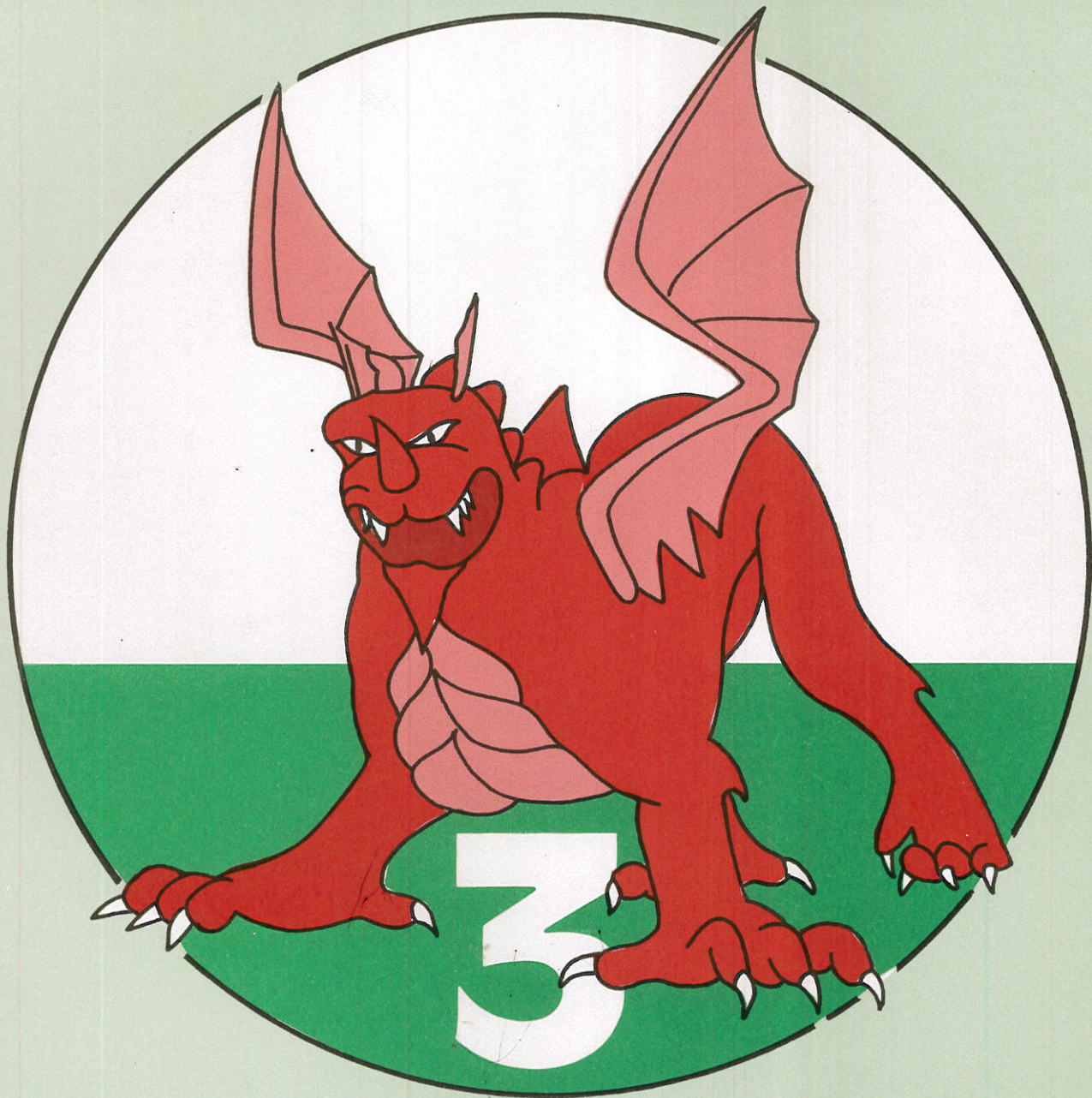


Hanes y Cymry

A history of the Welsh

The Dragon Has Two Tongues



OES Y WERIN

THE AGE OF THE PEOPLE



CHANNEL FOUR TELEVISION

Cynhyrchwyd gan Wasanaeth Archifau Gwynedd, Cyngor Sir Gwynedd, mewn cydweithrediad ag HTV a Sianel 4.
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Wynford Vaughan Thomas Gwyn A Williams

"... everything that has happened in the past is still influencing us about what we feel about the present, and indeed what we feel about the future."

"But the past is something we construct from the present. You called me a magpie. Every historian is a magpie including yourself, and the facts you choose invariably seem to me to turn Welsh history into something cosy, smug, and invariably support whatever status quo exists."

"I called you a Marxist magpie. The Marxist picks out certain facts in history to create a pattern for the pre-destined future."

"That is rubbish. What the Marxist does is see history as a process advancing through contradiction and you route yourself in whole peoples, not in tiny elites."

OES Y WERIN THE AGE OF THE PEOPLE

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The Welsh Economy I.
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The Welsh Economy II.

Yn y 1840au yr oedd cymoedd y Rhondda bron iawn heb eu cyffwrdd gan ddiwydiant.

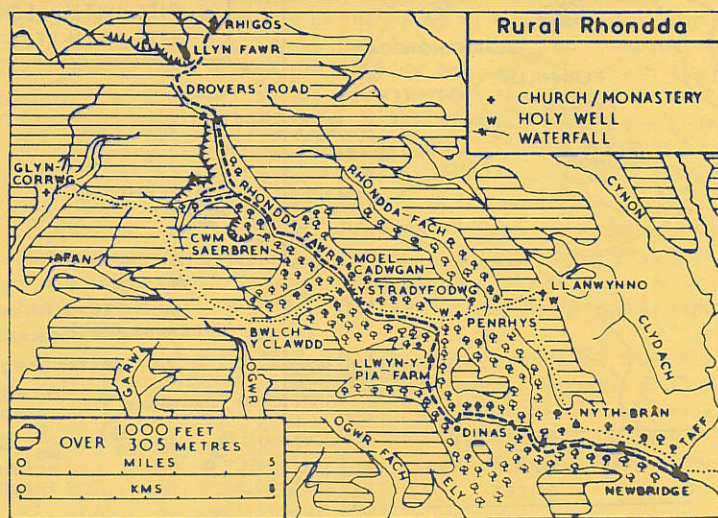
Y ffermydd oedd nodwedd amlycaf Cwm Rhondda (1) ac fe ddarluniwyd ei brydferthwch naturiol a'i lonyddwch mewn lluniau cyfoes megis y llingerfiad hwn o Ferw'r Rhondda ym 1805 (2) a disgrifiadau teithwyr (3). Gellir gweld cyflymdra gwylt datblygiad y diwydiant glo erbyn 1913 yn yr ychwanegiadau at y map o lofeydd y Rhondda (4). Cynrychiolir y gwrthgyferbyniad trawiadol mewn ymddangosiad y cymoedd yn y llun hwn o Lofa Morgannwg ym 1900 (5) ac yn nisgrifiad teithiwr diweddarach (6).

Yn wahanol i ddatblygiad cynharach y diwydiant haearn, Cymry ar y cyfan oedd *entrepreneurs* y diwydiant glo megis David Davies, Llandinam (7). O'i ddechreuad yn ffermwr ucheldirol, daeth Davies yn gontractwr ar gyfer heolydd, pontydd a rheilffyrdd. Ymgymrodd â'i fenter lofaol gyntaf ym 1865 pan, yn 47 mlwydd oed, ddewisodd Gwm Rhondda ar gyfer ei anturiaethau: glöfeydd y Maendy, Cwmparc, Dar a'r Dwyrain. Yn fuan lluniwyd y cyfan yn gwmni cyfyngedig o'r enw Cwmni Glöfeydd yr Eigion.

I gychwyn yr oedd ei anturiaethau'n fychan, eithr erbyn diwedd y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg cynrychiolai'r cwmni, Eigion a Wilson Cyf., y cyfuniadau cyfalafol enfawr a ddaethai'n nodwedd o'r diwydiant ager-lo. Aeth rheolaeth y cyfuniadau hyn a'r diwydiannau y perthynai iddynt yn fwyfwy i ddwylo'r ychydig (8). Tyfodd trefi newydd, megis Y Barri (9-10), yng Nghymru ddiwydiannol a bu llawer o drychinebau arswydus yn y pyllau glo (11).

In the 1840s the Rhondda valleys were virtually untouched by industrialisation: Rhondda's farms were the dominant features of the valley (1) and its natural beauty and stillness were captured in contemporary illustrations such as this engraving of *Berw y Rhondda* in 1805 (2) and descriptions of travellers (3). The frenetic pace of development of the coal industry by 1913 can be seen in the widespread addition to the map of Rhondda of the collieries (4), and the stark contrast in the changing physical appearance of the valleys is represented visually in this photograph of Glamorgan Colliery in 1900 (5) and in the description of a later traveller (6).

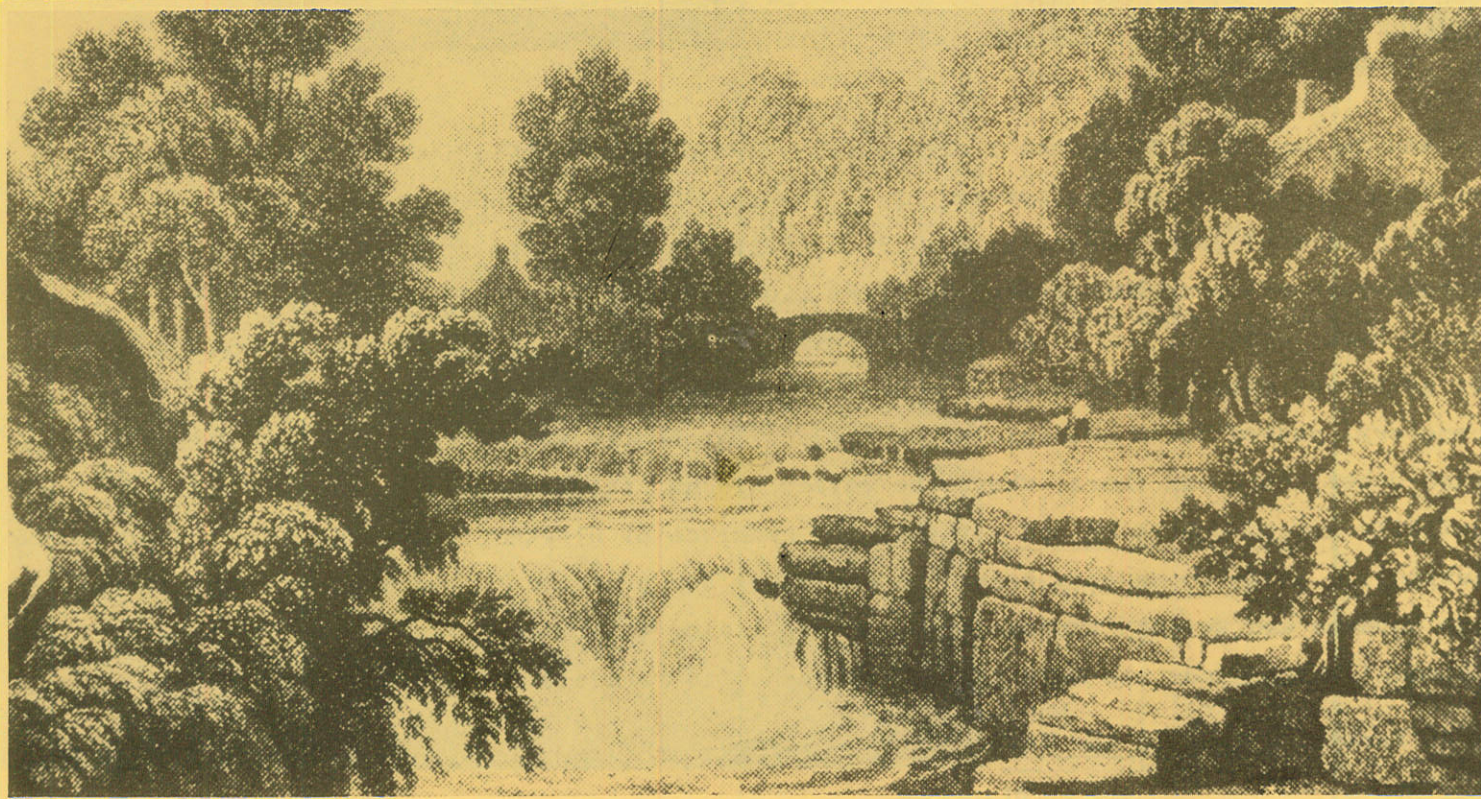
Unlike the earlier development of the iron industry the entrepreneurs of the coal industry were mainly Welshmen such as David Davies of Llandinam (7). Beginning as an upland farmer he later became a contractor for roads, bridges and railways. His first colliery speculation was in 1865 when at the age of 47 he chose the Rhondda valley for his enterprises, the Maindy, Cwmparc, Dare and Eastern Pits. Soon the whole concern was formed into a limited company known as the Ocean Collieries Company. To begin with his concerns were typically small-scale but by the end of the nineteenth century his company – Ocean and Wilson's Ltd. – was representative of the giant capitalist combines which had emerged in the steam-coal industry. Increasingly control of these combines and associated industries was vested in very few hands (8). Industrial Wales saw the mushroom growth of new towns like Barry (9,10) and the horror of pit disasters on a massive scale (11).



1

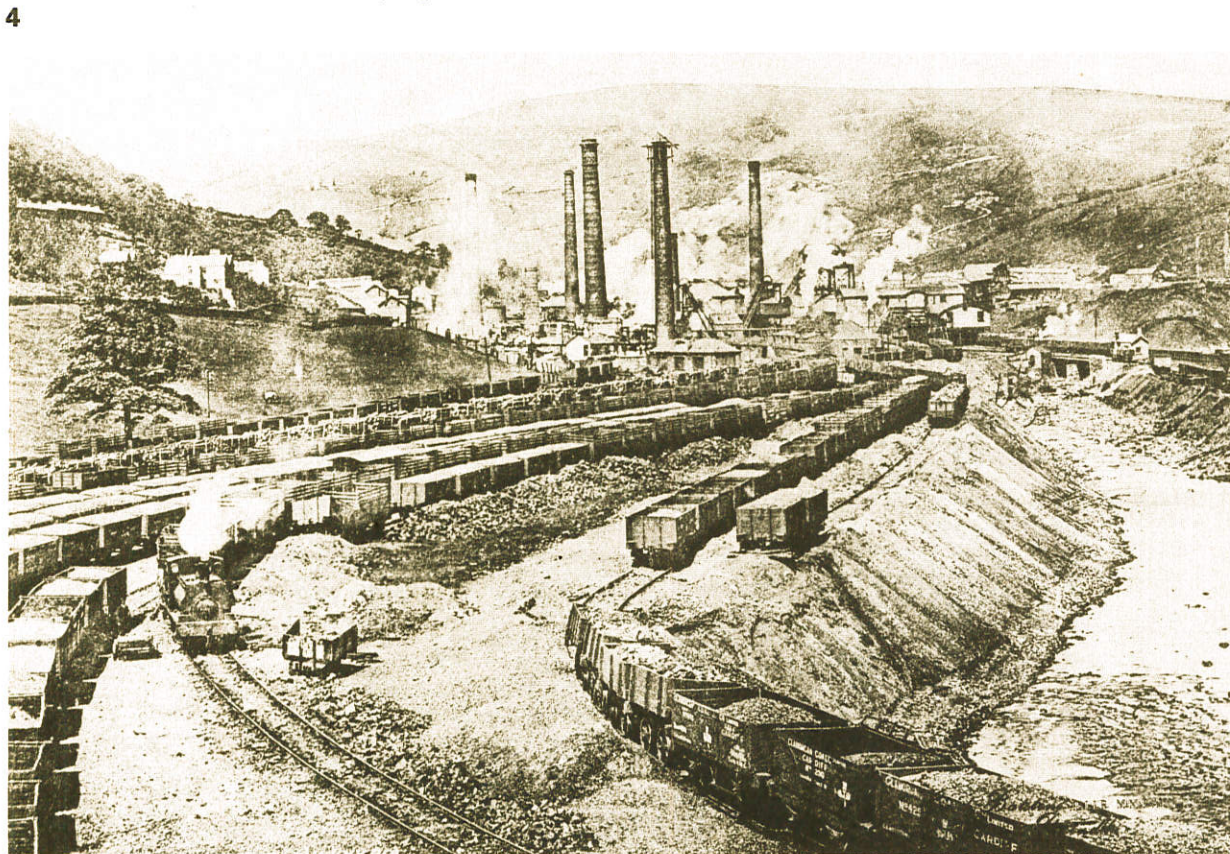
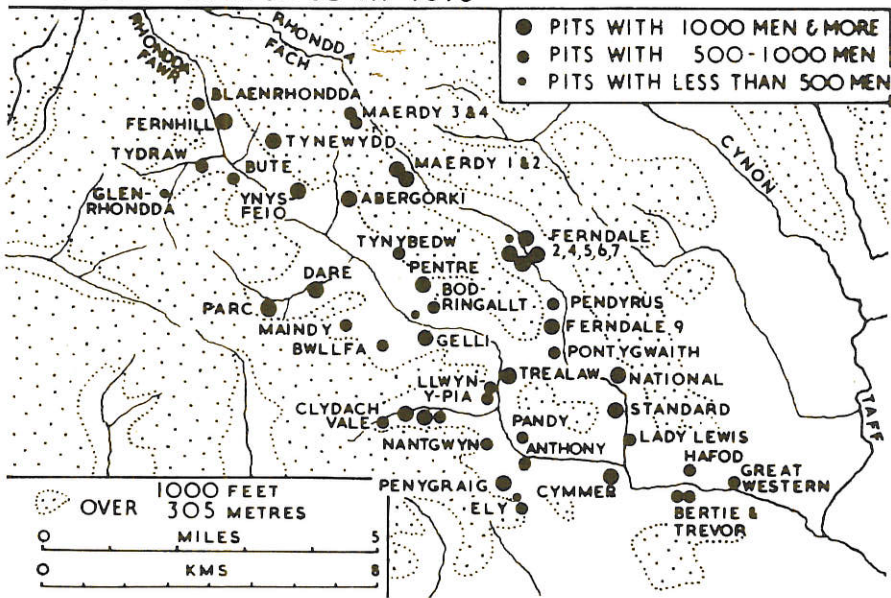
"We shall never forget our first impression of Ystradyfodwg. When we had walked about half a mile over the hill, the clouds, which had been down on the hill, began to lift, and suddenly the 'Green Valley' unfolded itself before us, with one of those exquisite effects peculiar to mountain scenery which a Claude could not transfer to canvas. The valley stretched for a distance of eight or ten miles between two nearly parallel lines of hills, broken by a succession of cliffs of singular beauty, apparently terminated by a vast Alpine headland, and feathered by trees or copse of woods to its summit, a mountain chief (Pen Pych) keeping watch as we descended. The emerald greenness of the meadows in the valley below was most refreshing. The scenery when explored in detail realized the first impression. The air is aromatic with the wild flowers and mountain plants. A Sabbath stillness reigns. . . . It is the gem of Glamorganshire."

3 B. Cliffe, *The Book of South Wales*; 1845.



2

Rhondda collieries in 1913



5 Glamorgan Colliery 1900.

It was in September 1924 when I arrived in a train which jerked its way through the deep valley, winding its course between high, treeless hills, stripped bare by less than a century of soul-less industrialism. From the train rarely did we lose sight of the shallow, sordid stream - once the crystal haunt of fish. Houses with semi-basements turned their dingy backs upon us; and these together with ugly tips and uglier pitheads surrounded by abandoned materials rusting into dust, colourless chapels and here and there a decrepit cemetery, passed us in unlovely pageantry.....Along the whole valley the villages run into each other, here and there, where the valley widens, thickening into clusters heaped untidily around coal-tips and pitheads - a necklace of black diamonds which have lost their lustre.....Sixty to seventy years ago one baker's van served the valley. When I arrived, one hundred and seventy thousand people were living in it and in its offspring, the 'little Rhondda' which winds its more attenuated way up to Ferndale and Meardy.

R.J. Barker, *Christ In the Valley of Unemployment*; 1936.



7

The **OCEAN COAL and WILSON'S, Ltd.**, are a gigantic concern of coal owners and coal exporters. The Company was formed in 1908 to acquire and hold all or any of the shares of the Ocean Coal Company, Ltd., and Wilson, Son & Co., Ltd., and of any Company in which either of such Companies had any interest. The Ocean Coal Company own nine pits, namely:—Maindy Colliery, Park Colliery, Dare Colliery, Eastern Colliery—all in the Rhondda Valley; the Lady Windsor Colliery (Ynysybwl), Deep Navigation Colliery (Taff Vale), Ocean Western Colliery (Ogmore Valley), Ocean Gawr Colliery (Gawr Valley), and the Great Western Colliery, at Blaengwynfd.

The annual output is about three million tons per annum. The Company has the largest unworked area of the celebrated Four Feet Seam of Coal in South Wales, and supplies the requirements of the English Admiralty for trial trips, for the use of Royal yachts, and other special purposes.

Wilson's, Sons & Co. have Coal Depots at almost all the principal ports of the world; and, besides the regular business of Coal Merchants and Steamship Agents, the Company owns Engineering Shops and Foundries at Pernambuco, Dakar, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and has executed many important contracts. The Chairman, **Major DAVID DAVIES**, is Director of:—

- Ocean Coal and Wilsons, Ltd.
- Powell Duffryn Company, Ltd.

- Deep Navigation Colliery Company.
- Barry Railway Company (Deputy Chairman).
- Brecon and Merthyr Tydfil Junction Railway.
- Cambrian Railway Company (Chairman).
- Mawddwy Railway Company (Chairman).
- Welsh and Llanfair Railway Company.
- London, City, and Midland Bank, Ltd.
- London, City, and Midland Bank (Executor) Trustee Co., Ltd.
- The Deputy-Chairman, **Mr. A. E. BOWEN**, is Director of:—
- Mortgage Company of River Plate.
- Buenos Ayres Great Southern Railway.
- Buenos Ayres Western Railway.
- Equitable Trust of London.
- Mirawda Estancia Company.
- Monte Video Water Works.
- Primitive Gas Company of Buenos Ayres.
- River Plate Trust Loan and Agency Company.
- On the Buenos Ayres Railways he joins hands with Sir Hugh Bell and other N.E. Coast Coal and Iron Magnates.

Mr. WILLIAM JENKINS is Director of:—

- Ocean Coal and Wilson's.
- Deep Navigation Collieries Company.
- Barry Railway Company (Aberconway Group).

Lieut.-Colonel EDWARD JONES is Director of:—

- Ocean Coal and Wilson's.
- Deep Navigation Collieries Company.

Mr. THOMAS EVANS is Director of:—

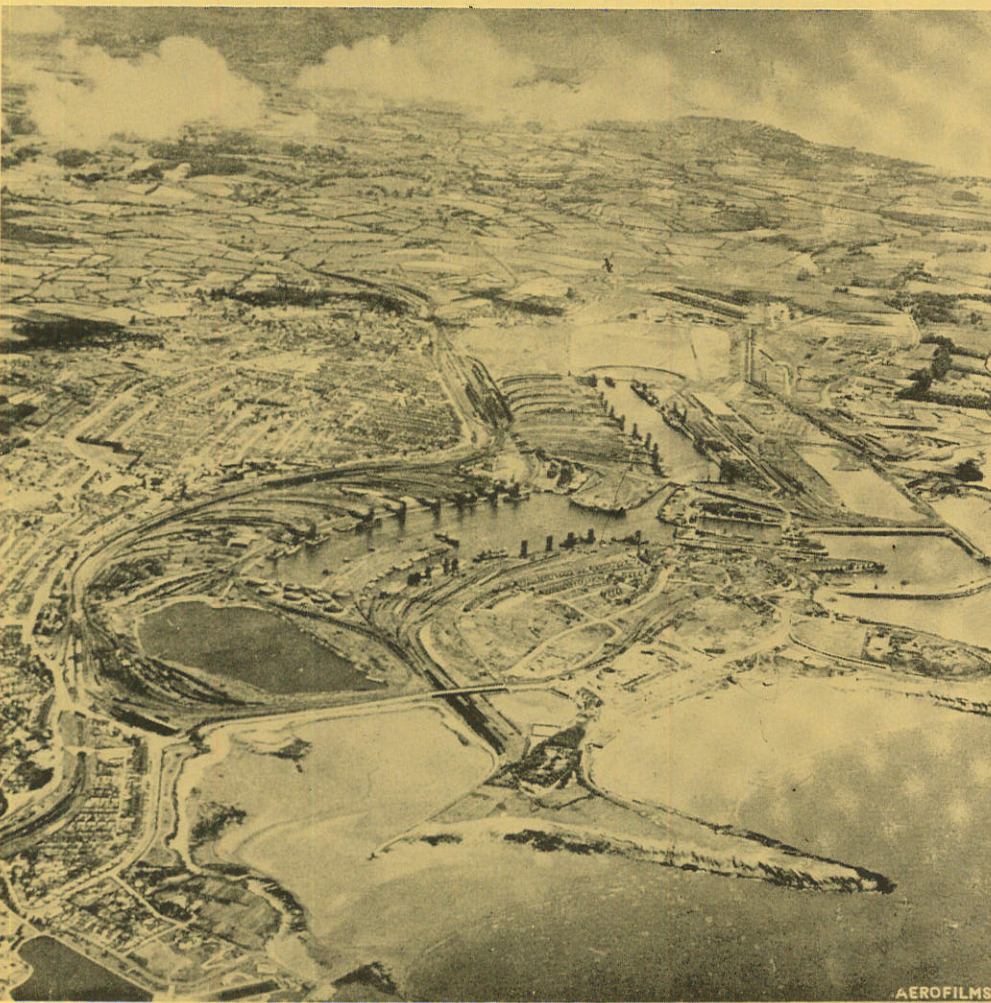
- Cardiff Coal and Shipping Exchange.
- Ocean Coal and Wilson's.
- Barry Railway Company.
- Dinan Coal Company.

Sir H. WEBB is Director of:—

- Lillovet Holdings (Calgary, B.C.).
- Deep Navigation Collieries Company.
- Ocean Coal and Wilson's.

Other Directors with "plural holdings" are:—**Mr. A. Harley**, **Mr. M. E. Hett**, and **Mr. F. J. Yarrow**.

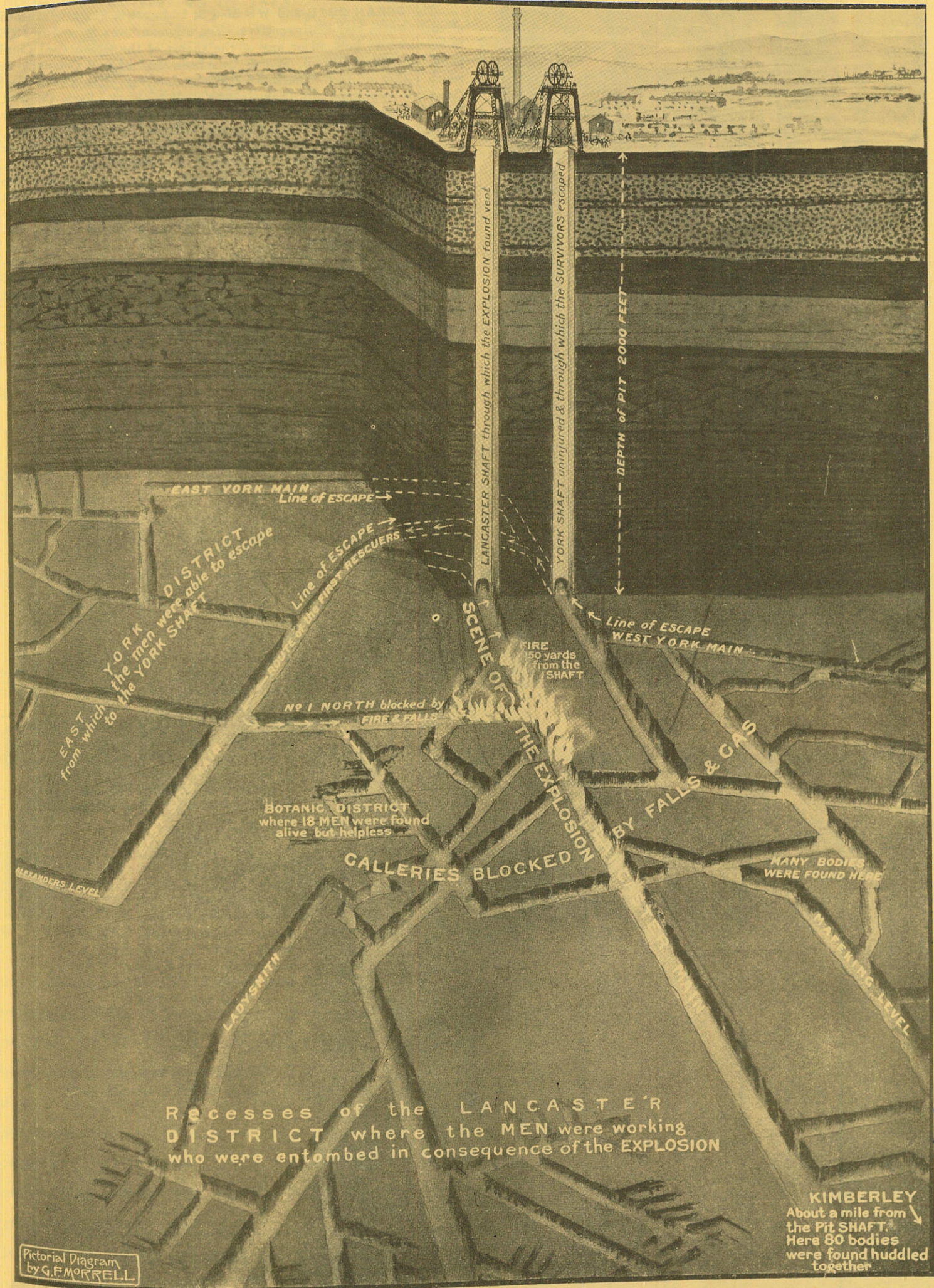
8 G. Harvey; Capitalism in the South Wales Coalfield 1918.



9

Population of Barry	
1881	500
1911	33,763

10



This pictorial plan of the Universal Colliery at Senghenydd, where 435 miners were entombed by the terrible explosion which occurred on the morning of October 14, shows the tunnelled galleries "with the lid off," so to speak, as if the 2000 feet of strata above them were removed. The force of the explosion, which blew up the Lancaster Shaft, transformed it from a "down-current" to an "up-air" shaft, thus preventing the fire and fumes from penetrating into the York district. To this fact the bulk of the men who were at work in that part owe their lives; but, as it is, the disaster is the greatest in the annals of British mining, the number of dead being 418.

Effeithiau Cymdeithasol
Diwydiant I, Ymfudo.Social effects of Industrialisation
I, Migration.

2

Gellir olrhain twf sydyn cymoedd glo de Cymru trwy ffigurau'r cyfrifiad ar gyfer poblogaeth siroedd Cymru gan sylwi ar y duedd gref i fudo o'r gogledd a'r canolbarth i'r de-ddwyrain (1). Portreadir 'sioc diwylliannol' y trawsleoli hwn ar unigolyn o ymfudwr mewn hanes dilys taith o Feirionnydd i dde Cymru (2). Yr oedd effaith yr economi diwydiannol yn ddwys yn bob agwedd ar fywyd, yn cynnwys priodas. Yn lle ymateb i rythmau traddodiadol y tymhorau a'r cynaeafau rheolid Cymru gyfan yn awr gan ffawd y diwydiant glo (3). Yn y blynyddoedd cyn 1900 yr oedd mewnfudiad ar raddfa ddigon isel i bobl ddi-Gymraeg gael eu cymathu a dysgu Cymraeg (4).

The spiralling growth of the mining valleys of south Wales can be gauged through census figures for the population of the Welsh counties, and the extent to which this population increase was achieved through migration from north and mid Wales can also be seen (1). The 'culture-shock' of this transition upon an individual migrant is vividly captured in an account of the actual journey from Merioneth to south Wales (2). The extent to which the rhythms of an industrial economy dominated all facets of life (including marriage) was remarkable. The whole of Wales instead of responding according to traditional rhythms of the seasons and the harvests was now dominated by the fate of the coal industry (3). In the years before 1900 migration was at a controlled rate so that non-Welsh speakers were absorbed and learned Welsh (4).

How did you actually get down to South Wales?

By train, the old railway. It was the Brecon and Merthyr chiefly, joining the Cambrian which took me I believe to Talylllyn Junction, and then to Brecon and Merthyr down to Merthyr. Oh I remember that journey very well, it was on a warm day in the month of May, and we were travelling through the Breconshire hills at a pretty slow pace I thought, and there was no signs, hour after hour passed - the whole thing was very leisurely. The train stopped for a good quarter of an hour at one station with no explanation, until we found a lady coming across the field from a village, with a basket of groceries and the train had been waiting for this young lady. We got to Pontsticill changing there as the train was going on to Newport..... But there was still no sign of the industries we had heard so much about. We had heard about the ironworks in Merthyr, to be seen before you'd see any coal mines. But anyhow, we came to a certain point, we started to go downhill, and lo and behold there was nothing but smoke in front of you for miles. There were the ironworks, Cyfarthfa, Dowlais, and the pits down the Taff Valley down towards Merthyr Vale. So now of course I realise that I was in industrial South Wales.

Transcript of South Wales Miners Library with J.L. Williams describing his journey from Merionethshire to South Wales in 1906.

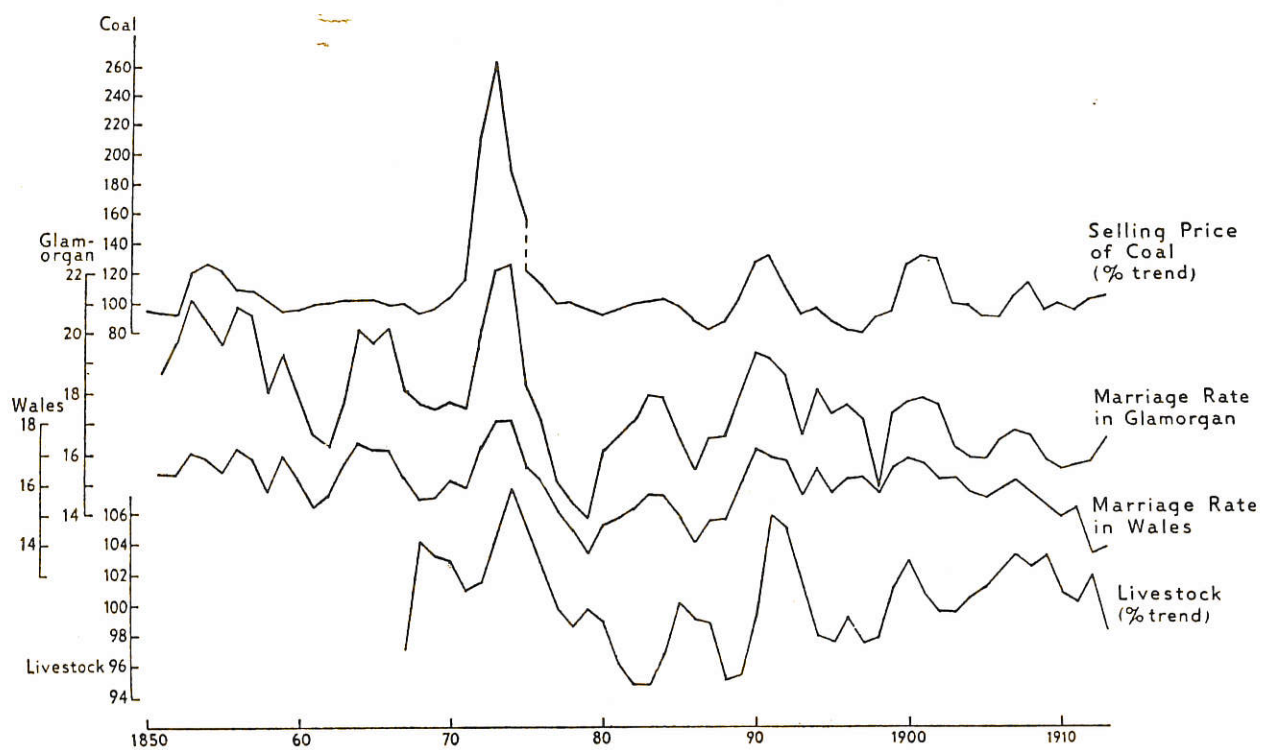
2

NET GAIN (+) OR LOSS(-) OF POPULATION MIGRATION FOR WALES AND WELSH COUNTIES 1851-1911.

	1851		1861		1871		1881		1891		1901		1911	
	No. 000s	%	No. (000s)	%	No. (000s)	%	No. 1(000s)	%	No. (000s)	%	No. (000s)	%	No. (000s)	%
Wales	+9.1	+0.85	-19.8	-1.67	-49.5	-3.82	-52.1	-3.67	-17.8	-1.13	-9.4	-0.53	+98.5	+4.
Anglesey	+1.2	+3.15	-5.0	-12.48	-5.0	-13.09	-2.4	-6.88	-3.2	-9.2	-1.5	-4.49	-1.9	-5.
Brecon	-2.4	-4.27	-6.6	-11.18	-9.0	-15.27	-9.5	-16.64	-7.0	-12.85	-5.6	-10.32	-3.5	-6.
Caernarvon	-2.5	-2.92	-4.5	-4.55	-2.6	-2.53	+1.2	+1.09	-8.5	-6.83	+2.8	+2.24	-4.9	-3.
Cardigan	-9.4	-9.82	-9.3	-9.54	-10.2	-10.43	-11.3	-11.56	-15.7	-16.53	-7.3	-8.41	-3.7	-4.
Carmarthen	-6.5	-7.23	-13.8	-14.60	-8.2	-8.52	-5.5	-5.38	-7.9	-7.07	-8.6	-7.30	+10.7	+8.
Denbigh	+1.6	+1.69	+0.4	+0.38	-6.1	-6.16	-4.1	-3.91	-7.5	-6.60	-1.2	-1.07	-3.4	-2.
Flint	-4.4	-10.79	-4.4	-10.67	-1.0	-2.45	-3.2	-7.37	-7.8	-17.04	-4.4	-10.26	+1.6	+2.
Glamorgan	+41.9	+23.52	+44.2	+18.42	+19.0	+5.82	+30.3	+7.47	+77.5	+14.94	+41.0	+5.92	+92.1	+10.
Merioneth	-4.2	-8.26	-2.8	-5.42	+1.7	+3.27	-1.5	-2.52	-10.7	-15.70	-5.2	-8.09	-8.4	-13.
Monmouth	+9.6	+6.36	-6.1	-3.45	-7.2	-3.65	-21.7	-9.89	+3.7	+1.58	-5.1	-1.86	+34.4	+10.
Montgomery	-7.6	-9.56	-7.3	-9.51	-6.6	-8.63	-11.1	-14.24	-15.8	-21.72	-8.7	-12.89	-6.6	-10.
Pembroke	-4.7	-5.99	-5.7	-6.80	-13.8	-15.77	-9.4	-11.20	-11.6	-13.85	-7.2	-8.79	-5.5	-6.
Radnor	-3.8	-11.81	-2.9	-9.19	-3.2	-15.07	-3.7	-18.78	-3.4	-18.48	+1.0	+6.06	-4.7	-23.

1

Fluctuations in the Price of Coal, Livestock, and the Marriage Rate. 1850-1913 •



3

Until some 15 to 20 years ago [i.e., about 1895-1900] the native inhabitants, in many respects, showed a marked capacity for stamping their own impress on all newcomers, and communicating to them a large measure of all their own characteristics; of more recent years the process of assimilation had been unable to keep pace with the continuing influx of immigrants.

Commission of Enquiry into Industrial Unrest, *Report for No. 7 Division (South Wales), 1917.*

4

**Effeithiau Cymdeithasol
Diwydiant II,
Amodau gweithio a byw.**

**Social effects of
Industrialisation II,
Working and living conditions.**

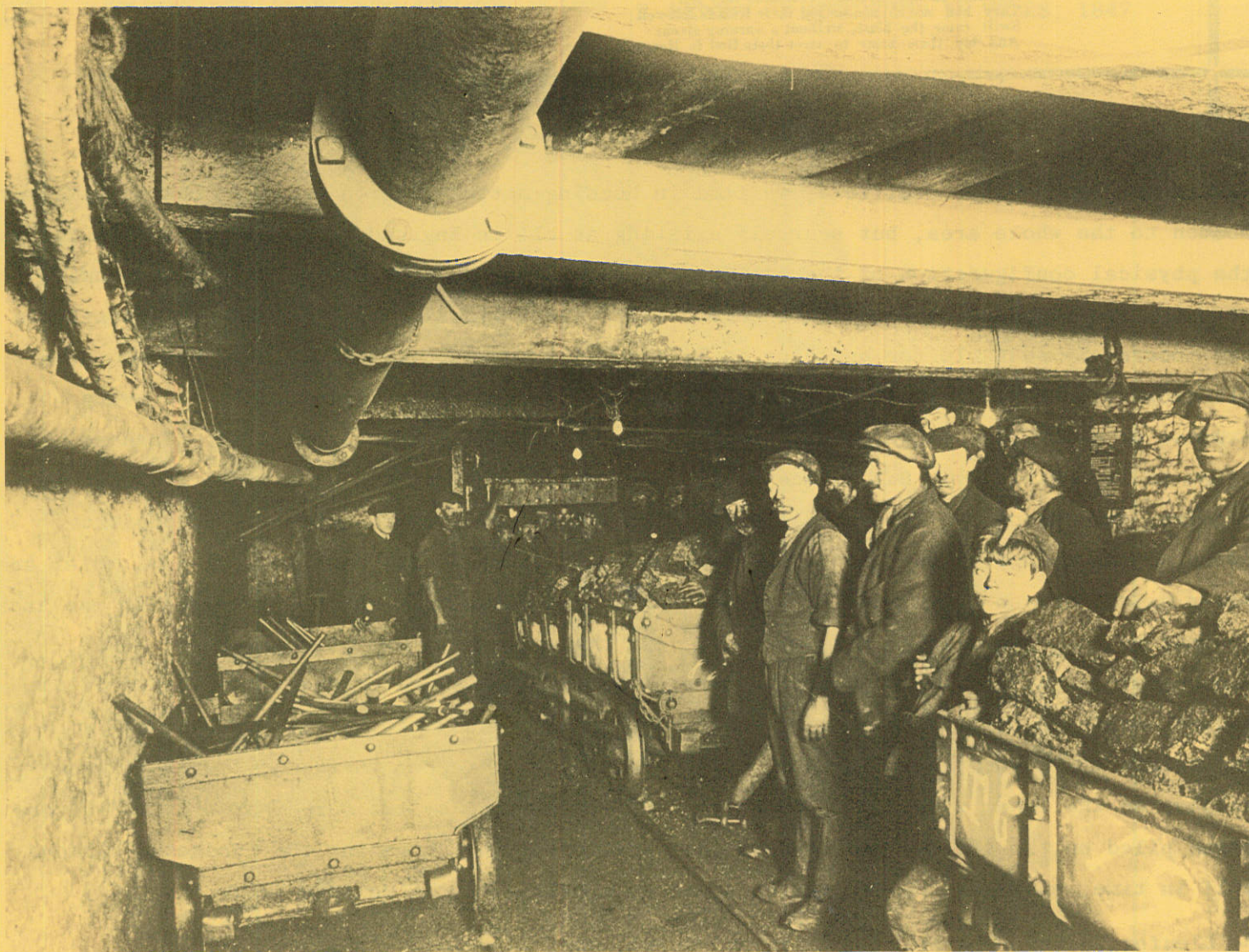
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Wrth gwrs yr oedd amodau gweithio yn dra gwahanol yn y diwydiant glo (1). Y mae'r llun yn dangos gwaelod y pwll ym Mhwll Glo Brithdir, Bargoed ym 1910 (2). Beth sydd yn drawiadol yw cyn lleied y newidiodd amodau yn y diwydiant glo yn ystod y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg: arhosodd crefftwaith llaw y glowr yn holl bwysig a pheryglon y gwaith yn holl bresennol (3). Rheolid cymunedau glo de Cymru gan y glofeydd a'r datblygiad rhuban o dai teras. Yn ddiâu yr oedd y tai hyn yn welliant ar yr hen drefi haearn, eithr arweiniodd cyfradd annigonol adeiladu a chyfyngiadau daearyddol y cymoedd cul at amodau afiach a pheryglus (4). Yr oedd i fywyd cymunedol y glowr a'i deulu berthynas agos â'r capeli a sefydliadau'r gweithwyr (5) a gynorthwyai i lunio diwylliant dosbarth gweithiol unigryw yr oedd y côr yn rhan draddodiadol ohono (6). Yr oedd tai gorlawn yn nodwedd o holl ardaloedd diwydiannol Cymru (7).

Conditions of work were, of course, different in the mining industry (1). The photograph shows the pit bottom at Brithdir Colliery, Bargoed in 1910 (2). What is striking is how little conditions changed in the coal industry during the nineteenth century: the skilled handwork of the collier remained pre-dominant and the dangers of mining were omnipresent (3). Mining communities in south Wales were dominated by the colliery complexes and the ribbon development of terraced housing. Housing conditions were certainly an improvement on the old iron towns, but the pace of housebuilding and the physical limitations of narrow valleys led to unhealthy and dangerous conditions (4). Community life in mining communities was closely associated with chapels and workmen's institutes (5) which helped to frame a unique working-class culture of which the choral tradition was a part (6). Severe overcrowding was characteristic of industrial districts throughout Wales (7).

The hewer down in the mine away from the sunlight and fresh air, sometimes in a temperature up to 90 deg., every moment of the day inhaling coal and shale dust, perspiring so abnormally as few men in other industries can realise; head throbbing with the almost inhuman exertion; the roof, perhaps, eighteen inches low, perhaps, twenty feet high; ears constantly strained for movements in the strata on which his limbs or his life is dependent, breathing always noxious smells due to the absence of any kind of sanitation, and to gases given off by water and the often imperfectly diluted natural gases of the mine; subject at any moment to the terrible list of mining diseases, most common of which is the dread nystagmus, which may, if neglected, lead to insanity; liable always to wounds and death from falls of roof and sides, and ever and over all the sickening dread of the awful explosion; such a man is entitled to our sympathy and our respect—but what he frequently gets—is abuse.

1 Noah Ablett, *What we want and why*, 1922



In Loving  Memory

of the

3508 MINERS WHO LOST THEIR LIVES

in

COLLIERY DISASTERS

IN NORTH WALES, SOUTH WALES, AND MONMOUTHSHIRE
DURING THE PAST 90 YEARS.

Killed.		Killed.	
1837—May 10, Plas-yr-Argoed, Mold ...	21	1877—March 8, Worcester Pit, Swansea ...	18
1837—June 17, Blaina (Mon.) ...	21	1878—September 1, Abercarn ...	62
1844—January 1, Dinas ...	12	1878—September 11, Abercarn ...	268
1846—August 2, Cwmlach ...	25	1879—January 13, Dinas ...	3
1846—January 14, Risca ...	35	1879—Sept. 22, Waunllwyd, Ebbw Vale ...	84
1848—June 21, Victoria (Mon.) ...	11	1880—July 15, Risca ...	119
1849—Aug. 11, Letty Shenkin, Aberdare ...	52	1880—Dec. 10, Naval Steam Colliery ...	96
1850—Dec. 14, New Dufryn Colliery ...	15	1882—January 15, Risca ...	4
1852—May 10, Dufryn ...	64	1882—February 11, Coedcae ...	6
1853—March 12, Risca Vale ...	10	1883—February 1, Coedcae ...	5
1856—July 13, Cymmer ...	114	1883—August 21, Gelli ...	4
1858—October 13, Dufryn ...	20	1884—January 16, Cwmavon ...	10
1859—April 5, Neath Chain Colliery ...	26	1884—January 28, Penygraig ...	11
1860—December 1, Risca ...	146	1884—Nov. 8, Pochin Colliery, Tredegar ...	14
1862—February 19, Gethin, Merthyr ...	47	1885—Naval Colliery ...	14
1863—October 17, Margam ...	39	1885—December 24, Mardy ...	81
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1875—December 4, New Tredegar ...	22	1913—October 13, Sengenhydd ...	436
1875—December 5, Llan Pit, Pentyrech ...	12	1923—April 26, Trimsaran ...	9
1876—December 13, Abertillery ...	20	1927—March 1, Cwm, Ebbw Vale ...	52

A sudden change; at God's command they fell;
They had no chance to bid their friends farewell;
Swift came the blast, without a warning given,
And bid them haste to meet their God in Heaven.

Taking the South Wales coalfield, we find in housing matters, certain marked characteristics common to the whole area, but scarcely existing at all in England. Many of these are due to the physical configuration of the mining valleys, which, scooped out by impetuous mountain streams, are deep and narrow with inconveniently steep sides. What land there is available and moderately suitable for building is limited in extent and therefore high priced out of all proportion to its value. The cost of building is generally increased by the heavy expense of excavating sites on the slope, and of road construction generally. Gardens are often an impossibility. Subsidence owing to mining operations add greatly to the cost of repairs, and reduce the life of all buildings, while much heavier rates are necessitated owing to the damage by subsidence, heavy floods, and occasional landslides, to gas, water and sewer mains, and to the roads, tram lines and public buildings generally. Excepting the area drained by the Ogmore and its tributaries, all the valleys in East Glamorgan and West Monmouthshire run in a south-easterly direction.....In several of the valleys most of the houses have been built on the less sunny side, often, indeed, in positions where it is impossible for any sunshine to penetrate the houses. Of recent years, the houses in the valleys on the lower slopes are still further overshadowed by the huge coal tips, which are being piled on the breasts and upper slopes and besides which making the landscape hideous, will in time, endanger the very lives of those dwelling in the valleys below.

D. Lleufer Thomas, The Welsh Housing and Development Association Yearbook 1916.

Every colliery creates its own small town of 6,000 or 7,000 inhabitants; and where the workers are well paid the whole character of the town is different. In South Wales and Monmouthshire, in those towns where wages are high, there is always a large Workmen's Institute with a fine hall, occupying a commanding position and costing from £6,000 to £20,000. It is equipped with reading rooms and library, billiard room, committee rooms, and class rooms, besides the meeting hall and a temperance refreshment room, and sometimes a gymnasium and baths. The cost is usually defrayed almost entirely out of the miners' wages, the contributions being sometimes deducted for the purpose at the colliery office. There may be a loan from the colliery company to finance the building, and officials and directors usually contribute subscriptions.

5 H.S. Jevons, *The British Coal Trade*; 1915

DENBIGH.

DISTRICT OF RHOSLLANERCHRUGOG.—I visited Rhosllanerchrugog Sunday January 31. It is situate midway between Ruabon and Wrexham, and is a place of great importance, owing to the vast number of operatives who are employed upon the extensive coal mines with which the district abounds. I visited the Sunday-schools of several religious denominations, which were filled with persons of all ages respectably dressed and well conducted. I then visited many cottages in different parts of the village. Some of these consist of a single room from 9 to 12 feet square; others have in addition a sort of lean-to, forming a separate place to sleep in. They are in general void of furniture; but in some I found a bed which is made to accommodate double numbers by arranging the occupants feet to feet. The roofs are wattled; sometimes plastered over with mortar, sometimes bare; others are of straw, and full of large holes open to the sky, which are frequently the only means for admitting light. Each of these hovels contains on an average a family of six children, with their parents. If they comprise two rooms the parents sleep in one, and the children in the other; if there is but one room, all sleep together. In either case the young people sleep together in the same confined room regardless of age and sex. I observed one cottage unusually neat and clean; it contained a father and mother well and neatly dressed, a son 18 years old, and a daughter aged 20. All these sleep together in the same room, which is about 9 or 10 feet square. Next door live two idiots, a brother and sister. In several other cottages I observed the inmates well and even expensively clothed, and the tables well supplied with food, bacon, &c. Yet in these the families were crowded in the same unseemly manner; the father, mother, and six children all sleeping together.

The following notes were taken by my assistant, Mr. James, during his visit to Rhosllanerchrugog upon a previous occasion:—

January 20, I went in company with the Rev. P. M. Richards, the officiating minister of the district, to visit some of the houses of the colliers at Rhosllanerchrugog; and though I have seen St. Giles's, Cow Cross, Wapping, and other places in the metropolis where the houses of the poor are unfit to live in, I never beheld anything to equal some of the cottages at Rhosllanerchrugog as regards confinement, filth, and utter unfitness for human abode.

Cottage, No. 1, consists of one low room, about 12 feet square, containing an old man perfectly black with dirt, lying on a bed of rags and filth. In the same cottage lives his son, who is in a consumption.

No. 2 consists of one small room, dirty and so close, that the atmosphere was insupportable. The floor was alternately of mud and stone. In the centre an idiot was seated on a stool. Her mother, an old woman, 70 or 80 years of age, was lying on a filthy bed beside her, reduced to a skeleton with disease. The room was without an article of what would be called furniture.

No. 3 contains only one room, in which live a man and his two idiot children, both about 20 years old.

No. 4, a cottage of one room, contains a father and mother, their daughter and her husband, occupying two beds placed close together, the room being very small. The beds were filthy, the furniture miserable, and the ventilation bad.

No. 5, a cottage of one room, inhabited by two adult sisters and their two adult brothers. All occupy the same bed, which may be enlarged a little, but is still the same bed. The room is low-roofed and ill-ventilated.

None of these houses had a necessary anywhere near them, nor did I see such a thing in the whole village.

The Rev. Mr. Richards and Mr. William Jones, of Llanerchrugog, informed me that houses of this description are frequent in this place; that they are for the most part built by the poor people themselves, an acknowledgment of from 7s. to 15s. per annum being paid to the landlord as ground-rent; that fever is very common in this district, although the village is well situated and naturally very salubrious; that morals are exceedingly low; that there is a man in the village who notoriously lives in a state of incest with his own daughter, and that this is not an isolated case.

Superstition is said to be very common among the poor of this neighbourhood: there was recently a woman in the village who gained her livelihood by conjuring, and there is now a pretended conjurer at Wrexham to whom scores of people are said to go annually from Rhosllanerchrugog.—JOHN JAMES, Assistant.

Respecting the condition, character, and employment of the inhabitants of Rhosllanerchrugog and the adjoining districts of Minera, Broughton, and Brymbo, I obtained the following information:—

Evidence of Mr. Thomas Francis, shopkeeper, Wrexham.

The children are employed in these mines at a very early age, some to carry food to their parents, others to clear the banks, and many work in the mines. The mines and quarries are for coal, lime, iron, &c. The children are employed in the mines and pits to open the doors for ventilating the pits, to drive horses which are employed below, and to drag small carts on their hands and knees. The average age at which children are employed is 8. When the Wrexham British school was held in the town-hall the number of children from the district above-mentioned was more than 100. Now there are not above 50, although the school is more commodious and more prosperous. The books of the master of the British school record the reason why each child who has left the school is withdrawn; and these books show that vast numbers of young children are taken off to work before they reach 9 years of age.

There are a great number of girls and young women employed, not in the pits but on the banks. Their employment is to carry coals on their heads to their own families, to remove obstructions;

* Mr. Richards confirmed this statement to me in person, mentioning two cases of incest. The frightful effects of these habits of life in procreant and incestuous intercourse were admitted by Mr. Thomas Francis, an intelligent member (and, I believe, a minister) of the Calvinistic Methodists at Wrexham, to be too true.

M

7 REPORT ON EDUCATION IN WALES, 1847



Rhwygwyd Cymru'n hwyr yn yr 1830au ac yn y 1840au cynnar gan wrthwynebiad poblogaidd yn y ddau fudiad cyffelyb iawn, sef Rebecca a Siartiaeth. Fel Rebecca, gwreiddid Siartiaeth mewn traddodiad hir. Yn bwydo ar aflonyddwch diwydiannol a threfol ac ar gasineb at gyfundrefn newydd deddf y tlodion, tynnodd Siartiaeth elfennau'r hen undebaeth fasnachol, y cymdeithasau Scotch Cattle ac Anghydfurfaeth at ei gilydd i lunio mudiad a chanolbwynt gwleidyddol newydd ganddo.

Gwreiddiodd Siartiaeth yng Nghymru yn Sir Gaerfyrddin i gychwyn (1) lle sefydlwyd cangen Cymdeithas y Gweithiwr ym 1838 gan Hugh Williams, ac, yn ddiweddarach yn yr un flwyddyn, yn nhrefi gwlan Sir Drefaldwyn, cymoedd Sir Fynwy a Sir Forgannwg, yn arbennig ym Merthyr. Anerchodd Henry Vincent gyfarfodydd Siartiaidd yng nghymoedd y de a phenodwyd masnachwr parchus o Gasnewydd, John Frost, yn ddirprwy i'r gynhadledd Siartaidd. Bu'r ddau'n ffyrnig wrth gondemnio'r gyfundrefn dloty. Ceid digwyddiadau treisiol ym 1839 yn Llanidloes ac, yn ystod gwrthdystiad yng Nghasnewydd yn erbyn cadw Henry Vincent yn y ddalfa, taniodd milwyr eu drylliau at y dorf gan ladd sawl person (2-5). Arestwyd yr arweinwyr a'u cludo dramor.

Eithr ni ddaeth y mudiad i ben ym 1839. Arhosodd pocedi o wrthwynebiad, yn arbennig ym Merthyr, lle cyhoeddwyd y cylchgrawn Siartaidd *Udgorn Cymru*, a hefyd yn Sir Fynwy. Arhosodd yr amodau cymdeithasol ac economaidd a symbylasai Siartiaeth a pharhaodd y mudiad gwrthdystio trwy foddion eraill, er iddo beidio â bod yn flaenllaw ar ffyrnt eang a suddo i mewn i wleidyddiaeth leol. Yn wir yr oedd un o aelodau gwreiddiol y Blaid Lafur Annibynnol ym Merthyr yn gyn-aelod o'r mudiad Siartaidd.

Er gwaethaf ei aflwyddiant, tynnodd y mudiad sylw at ddyfodiad y dosbarth gweithiol Cymreig i'r llwyfan gwleidyddol.

The Wales of the late 1830s and early 1840s was racked by popular protest in the two very similar movements of Rebecca and Chartism. Like Rebecca, the Chartist movement had its roots in a long tradition. Feeding on industrial and urban discontent, and hatred of the new poor law system, Chartism drew together elements of the old trade unionism and Scotch Cattle Societies and nonconformity into a movement with a new political focus. Chartism was the 'Rebecca' of the coal fields and woollen districts – a protest movement of industrial Wales.

Chartism took root in Wales first in Carmarthenshire (1) in 1838, where a branch of the Working Man's Association was established by Hugh Williams; and later in 1838 in the woollen towns of Montgomeryshire and in the Monmouthshire valleys and also in Glamorgan, particularly in Merthyr. Henry Vincent addressed Chartist meetings in the valleys of South Wales and a respectable Newport tradesman, John Frost, was appointed as a delegate to the Chartist convention. Both were vociferous in their condemnation of the workhouse system. There were outbreaks of violence in 1839 at Llanidloes and during a great demonstration at Newport, in protest at the arrest of Vincent, when troops fired shots into the crowd killing several people (2-5). The arrest (6) and transportation of the leaders of the movement followed.

1839 was not the end of the movement. Resilient pockets remained, especially in Merthyr where the Chartist periodical *Udgorn Cymru* was published and in Monmouthshire. The social and economic conditions out of which Chartism had sprung remained and the protest movement continued by other means, though for some time afterwards it ceased to be prominent on a broad front and submerged into local politics. A founder member of the Independent Labour Party in Merthyr was in fact an old Chartist member.

Despite its lack of achievement the movement highlighted the emergence of the Welsh working class into the political arena.

Liberty's Address to the Welsh
By Thomas Jenkins
(o Hugh Williams: *National Songs*: 1839)

Sons of Cambria! – come, arise,
And no longer be
Serfs enslaved, whom all despise
Who have known of me;
Will ye longer wear your chains? –
Still disgrace your native plains?
Will ye always bow so meek,
To th'imperious nod
Of a haughty race who seek
To rule you by the rod? –
Say – shall ignorance and pride
Still the sons of Wallia guide?
Long, too long, have knaves and fools
Lived in pomp and state –
Making you – their easy tools,
On their pleasure wait; –
For their luxuries provide,
Whilst they wallow in their pride.

Loudly boast their minions still –
Ye'll, like brutes, be led; –
As before, to them ye will
Give your children's bread!
Cast the slander back again –
Show *the slaves* that *ye are men*.

Shall the stupid, haughty crew
Still enjoy your gains?
Fresh demands shall they pursue?
Faster bind your chains?
Burst your shackles – and be free! –
Sons of Cambria! – follow me!

See around a thousand hills,
How my sons unite;
Like your purest mountain rills,
Foaming for the fight;
Soon a torrent they'll display,
Which shall sweep all mounds away;

Mounds, which long the freeborn mind
Compass'd like a wall, –
And in thralldom hold mankind,
Body – soul and all! –
Join my ranks and every mound
Shall be levelled with the ground.

Justice, truth and equal laws,
Claim we as our right!
Welshmen – join the glorious cause –
Arm ye for the fight!
Murd'rous arms ye need not find –
We bring – INTELLIGENCE AND MIND!

Leave to despots arms of steel –
Such the arms *they* wield;
(Madmen! – will they never feel?)
Bring ye to the field
Hearts determined to be free –
And glorious then the victory!

Carmarthen. April 10, 1839.



2 Chartist riots at Newport 1839

"... Ar y pryd hwn cynyddodd eu cyfarfodydd o fod yn wythnosol i fod bron yn ddyddiol; ac aeth rhai o'r blaidd dueddol at arfer eu nerth corphorol, oddi amgylch i gasglu arfau; casglwyd rhyw nifer fechan o berchenogaeth amaethwyr preswyledig y gymydogogaeth, sef oddeutu deugain dryll (*forty guns*) yn y cwbl. Anfonwyd hefyd o rywle ffwchaid o bicellau (*box of pikes*) iddynt... Ar ol cael yr arfau hyn, cryfhaodd iaith rhai o'r *Chartists*, fel y llafarent fygythion yn erbyn eu gwrthwynebwyr, nes peri arswyd i lawer o bersonau a theluoedd. Eu rhifedi oedd rhwng tri chant a hanner a phedwar cant, a llawer o'r rhai hyn o'r bymtheg i ddeunaw oed, a neb ohonynt o sefyllfa uwch na byw wrth yr hyn a ennillent... ac wrth eu cadw yn rhwym, tarawodd un o'r cwnstabiailid un Richard George, meddai y *Chartists*; ac ar hynny, dyma floedd i frwydr, a'r dref yn ymarllwys ei thrigolion i'r heol yn gannoedd, a'r rhai hynny heb wybod beth oedd yr achos, a ruthasant yn mlaen i'r golwg, a llawer o honynt at y gwyr arfog, y rhai a ddywedent "fod y *Police* a'r cwnstabiailid yn myned i gymeryd *Political Union* i fyny, na wyr neb am beth". Ar hyn wele y ceryg yn gawod yn erbyn ffenestri Trewythen Arms, ac yn erbyn y drysau; a thrigolion y dref rhai yn gwelwi, ereill bron yn llewygu, ac eraill yn ffoi i'w tai, gan feddwl nad oedd neb i gael byw yn hwy, ond y rhai a ddewisai y *Chartists*; ereill rhag ofn colli eu bywyd a'u cynorthwyent, neu a safent gyda hwy, gan ddywedyd y byddent hwythau yn *Union*: llawer o'r cwnstabiailid yn cael eu clwyfo yn drwm, ereill yn ffoi allan drwy ffenestri cefn y ty, - ac ymhen ychydig iawn o amser, yr oedd oddentu 57 o ffenestri yn nghyda'r drysau wedi eu dinystrio... Gwnaed dinystr mawr ar ddodrefn y ty (y golled oll yn werth oddentu £350);... Yn awr yn agos i hanner dydd, yr oedd y dref yn gythryblus iawn, ing a chyfyngder bron ymhob mynws..."

Yr Athraw, (Mehefin, 1839)

3

Nid oes gennym hanes am unrhyw wrthryfel yn erbyn y llywodraeth wladwriaethol yn y dref hon, er amser hen ryfeloedd y Cymry gynt hyd yn ddiweddar. Dechreuodd anfonlonrwydd ym ddangos mewn geiriau yn mysg rhai yn fuan ar ol sefydliad cyfraith newydd y tlodion; a chyn hir, ar ol sefydliad y gyfraith hon, darfu i ryw nifer yn y Drenewydd ffurfio eu hunain yn gymdeithas Undeb Gwladwriaethol (*Political Union*), ac yn nghorph y ffwyddyn ddiwethaf gwnaeth ychydig nifer yn y dref hon yr un peth; ond nid oedd eu cyfarfodydd ond bychan a disylw gan y cyffredin am hir amser; canys ni chlywid am neb yn areithio ynddynt ag oedd yn peri allyniad ar y cyffredin ynddynt, hyd nes darfu (meddent hwy eu hunain) i ryw weinidog bresenoli ei hun yn eu mysg; ac er hynny nid oedd deiliaid y Gymdeithas ond ychydig nifer nes ar ol ymweliad dau neu dri o bersonau a elwid *delegates* a'r dref, a chael cenad i gadw eu cyfarfod yn marchnad-ty newydd y dref.

Yr Athraw, (Mehefin, 1839)

4

"... At about nine o'clock the cheering of many voices was heard in the distance, from the direction of Stow Hill, producing the utmost alarm, as evidenced by the countenances of those inhabitants who appeared at their windows. In a few minutes after, the front ranks of a numerous body of men, armed with guns, swords, pikes, bludgeons, and a variety of rude weapons, made their appearance, and wheeled round the corner of the hotel, from Stow Hill, with more observance of regularity in movement than it is usual for rioters to display; - an observer, who saw the movement down Stow Hill, calculates that this body of Chartists must have amounted to five thousand men. When the head of the column arrived at the Westgate, the rear ranks were at the house of Mr. Sallows, and they appeared to be almost twelve abreast. The leading ranks then formed in front of the house, and a large body made an attempt to enter the yard leading to the stables, but found the gate too strongly secured against them. They then wheeled to the portico of the inn, holding their guns and other weapons in a menacing manner... The heat of the conflict lasted about a quarter of an hour, when the defeated Chartists took to their heels in all directions - throwing away their arms, and abandoning their dead and dying..."

The Monmouthshire Merlin, (Tachwedd 9, 1839)

5

"NEWPORT RIOTS—THREE HUNDRED POUNDS REWARDS

WHEREAS JOHN REES, a Welshman, about 5 feet 8 inches in height, rather thin in the face, cheeks hollow, pale dark complexion, rather dark sandy whiskers, light hair, full eyes, long neck, blunt manner, very talkative, walks upright, has a military air when walking; had a blue pilot cloth coat on, on the day of the riots, and a black hat; known as "JACK THE FIFER."

DAVID JONES, of Tredegar, Collier, a Welshman, about 5 ft. 8 in. or 5 ft. 9 in.; high, stout-built man, marked with small-pox, very wide mouth, sandy whiskers, sandy hair, a sort of collier's manner of walking, rough manner and appearance; generally wears a red plush waistcoat, short-cut dark colour pilot coat, blue trousers, and black hat; and known as "DAVID THE TINKER."

ZEPHANIAH WILLIAMS, a native of the Argoed, Bedwelty, in the county of Monmouth, Coal Agent, and who lately kept the King Crispin beer-house at Blaina; about 5 ft. 8 in. high, strong square built, dark hair, no whiskers, round smooth face, full dark hazel eyes, very short neck, nose a little inclined to turn up, pale complexion, rather a blunt manner, and bold talker; has the appearance of a seafaring man, and a loose swaggering walk; usually wore a black coat and waistcoat, and dark trousers, a small neck handkerchief round his neck, showing his shirt collar:

Severally STAND CHARGED with HIGH TREASON, - £100 REWARD."

The Monmouthshire Merlin, (Tachwedd 6, 1839)

6

Mudiad gwrthdystio poblogaidd ydoedd Rebecca (1) a darddodd nid yn unig o ddieter ynghylch tollbyrth gorllewin Cymru (2) ond hefyd o gronfa o ddieter a symbylid gan galedi cyffredinol ar ôl y rhyfeloedd, gan ddeddf newydd y tlodion a chan gymudiad degymau; y cwbl wedi'i waethygu gan yr hafau gwlyb a'r cynaeafau gwael o 1838/9. Darparodd y tollbyrth ganolbwynt i'r aflonyddwch hwn. Cymerodd y mudiad ffurf rhyfel cyrchfilwrol, achlysurol o wrthwynebiad. Dymchwelwyd y tollbyrth gyda'r nos gan grwpiau o ddynion, a'u hwynebau wedi'u duo, yn gwisgo dillad merched (3). Tarddodd y dyfeisiadau o rithiau, cyfrinach, odli (4,5), bygythiadau (6) a'r arferion pantomeim a aeth gyda'r mudiad yn uniongyrchol o draddodiadau gwerinol Cymru wledig a mudiadau gwrthdystio cynharach.

Digwyddodd y gwrthdystiadau cyntaf ym 1838 a 1839 yn Sir Gaerfyrddin lle buasai adfyd enbyd ers y rhyfeloedd. Ceid terfysgoedd hefyd yn Sir Benfro, Sir Gaerfyrddin a hyd yn oed yng ngogledd Sir Gaernarfon ym 1842. Mudiad cyfrinachol ydoedd Rebecca a lwyddodd am beth amser i osgoi'r heddlu milwrol a heddlu Llundain a anfonwyd i mewn i ymdopi â'r sefyllfa. O'r diwedd troes Rebecca ei sylw at gwynion eraill megis degymau a deddf newydd y tlodion. Ar 19eg o Fehefin goresgynasant Gaerfyrddin yng ngolau dydd ac anrheithio'r tloty nes i'r dragwys gyrraedd a gwasgaru'r dorf. Ceid ymosodiadau hefyd ar berchnogion amhoblogaidd degymau. Yn hyn o beth yr oedd Rebecca yn rhan o draddodiad hir o wrthdystio poblogaidd a gweithredu uniongyrchol yn erbyn anghyfiawnderau honedig.

Rebecca (1) was a popular protest movement springing not only from resentment against the toll gates of west Wales (2) but from a reservoir of discontent provoked by general post war hardship, by the new poor law and the commutation of tithes, exacerbated by distress caused by the wet summers and poor harvests of 1838-9. Turnpiking provided a focus for this discontent. The movement took the form of a sporadic guerilla war of protest. Groups of men with blackened faces, dressed in women's clothes, pulled down the toll gates by night (3). The trappings of disguise, secrecy, rhyming (4,5), threats (6) and the pantomiming that accompanied the movement sprang directly from the folk traditions of rural Wales and earlier protest movements.

The first protests occurred in 1838 and 1839 in Carmarthenshire, for long a black spot of rural, post war distress. There was another spate of rioting in Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire and even in the north in Caernarvonshire in 1842. Rebecca was a secret movement which for some time eluded both the military and the London police, sent in to deal with the situation. Eventually the Rebellaites turned their attention to other grievances such as tithes and the new poor law. On 19th June they invaded Carmarthen in broad daylight and sacked the workhouse until the arrival of the dragoons scattered the crowd. There were also attacks on unpopular tithe owners. In this it was in the line of a long tradition of popular protest and direct action against perceived injustices.

"The farmers loudly complain of the oppressive nature of the tolls, particularly on those roads originally parish roads, and which the trust adopted, placed turnpikes on them, and then called on the parishes to keep them in repair. They gave me an instance of a parish road between Llanelly and Pymbrae, a distance of five miles, on which a gate has been erected, and a sixpenny toll demanded for a horse and cart. A fortnight ago a bridge on this road was broken down by a flood. The trustees refused to do anything, and call on the parish to repair it. They say there is not a bye-lane of any sort by which a cart can get to the lime-kilns which has not a bar or a chain across it. They say if ever there is a lane by which one or two farmers can get to their farms without paying toll, an application is immediately made to the trustees to grant a bar on the lane, which is almost of course acceded to; that there is never a fair held in any of the villages or principal towns but the toll contractor surrounds the town by every approachable access to it with a *cordon* of toll bars. Chains catch every farmer who has cattle, or sheep, or horses, or carts to bring to the fair."

The Times (Awst 4, 1843)

2



3

CÂN NEWYDD SEF YCHYDIG O HANES BYWYD REBECCA A'I MERCHED

("Pray, what will old England come to?")

Mae hanes fod Becca a'i merched
Yn myned ar gerdded y nos,
I dori yn ddarnau'r holl Durnpikes,
Rhag talu am dramwy ffyrdd croes,
Mae rhai yn ei chanmol am hynny,
A'r lleill am ei chospi yn llym,
A llawer dyn call gellwch gredu,
Yn tewi a pheidio dweyd dim.

Aeth Becca a'i merched calonog,
Ryw noswaith yn arfog a hy,
Torasant y tollborth yn hollol
Yn ymyl pen Heol Llwyn-du;
Rhoed hwnw yn gryfach i fyny,
A physt haiarn bwrw'n ddi-bail,
Drachefn daeth Rebecca a'i merched
I'w falu mor llwyred a'r llall.

Er cymaint yn awr sy'n bugeilia,
Mae Becca yn uchel ei phen,
Gate Pwll-y-trap gadd ei thori,
Ryw noswaith, a Gate Efelwen,
Mae'n anhawdd i'r bobl fugeilia,
Plant Becca sy'n gymaint o rif,
Bu rhywun wrth weitio'r hen lodes,
Mi glwais dan ddanedd y llif!



1

Yn rhan olaf 1842 ymestynnodd y mudiad i Forgannwg o dan arweiniad dau ddyn o Forgannwg, John Jones (Sioni Sgubor Fawr) a David Davies (Dai Cantwr) ac ymlaen i Faesyfed.

O'r diwedd cafodd yr awdurdodau reolaeth ar y sefyllfa. Arestiwyd arweinwyr y mudiad a'u cludo dramor (7). Fodd bynnag mewn comisiwn a sefydlwyd wedyn i ymchwilio adchos Rebecca (8) penderfynwyd deddfu i reoli ymddiriedolaethau'r tollbyrth.

Cyfatebai Rebecca yng Nghymru wledig â Siartiaeth yn yr ardaloedd diwydiannol. Yr oedd aflonyddwch a dichter yn rhemp drwy Gymru wledig a diwydiannol. Parhaodd caledi ac anfodlonrwydd drwy'r pedwar degau newynnog.

In the latter part of 1842 the movement spread to Glamorgan under the leadership of two Glamorgan men John Jones (Shoni Sgubor fawr) and David Davies (Dai Cantwr) and on to Radnorshire.

Eventually the authorities got the upper hand and the ring leaders of the movement were apprehended and transported (7). However, a subsequent commission of enquiry (8) resulted in legislation controlling the turnpike trusts.

Rebecca was rural Wales's parallel to the Chartist disturbances. On a rural and an industrial front Wales was seething with discontent. Distress and discontent continued through the hungry forties.

Y Gate oedd gerllaw i Dregaron,
A daflwyd i'r afon yn lan;
Ac hefyd, tri thollborth ym Mrechfa
A dorwyd yn ddarnau pur fan;
Fe ddrylliwyd y gate ym Mhenllwynan,
A gates y Felindre fel carth;
Heblaw Castellnewydd-yn-Emlyn,
Pencader, Llanfihangel-ar-Arth.

4 D.D.J. Ll-n-b-th-r.

The opening verses of 'Rebecca', by Dafydd Jones

Cydnwch yn awr, Gymry mwynion,
Ymdyrwch yn dirion ymla'n.
Rhowch osteg ar unwaith yn ddiddig
Ac yna gwnaf gynrig rhoi cân.

Rhyw ddynes go ryfedd yw Becca
Am bianta mi goeliaf yn siwr.
Mae ganddi ryw gannoedd o ferched
Er hynny 'does ganddi 'run gwr . . .

Mae hanes fod Becca a'r merched
Yn myned ar gerdded y nos
I dorri yn ddarnau borth dolldai

5 Rhag talu am dramwy ffyrdd croes.

Take Notice

I wish to give you notice especial to those which has sworn to be constant in order to grant Becca and her children but I can see you that it will be to hard matter for Bowlin and cons. to finish the job that they began, and that is to keep up the Gate at St. Ann's and unrefact-gat. Now take this few lines as information for you to mind yourself, you that had any connection with Bowlin Mr. M. G. Lewis, Mr. Thomas Blue Boar, all their property in one night shall be in conflagration if they will not obey to this notice. and that to send them vagabonds away with you are favourable to, I always like to be plain in all my engagement is it a reasonable thing that they in pose so much on the country only picking poor labourers and farmers pockets, and you depend that all the Gates that are on these small roads shall be destroyed, I am willing for the gates on the Eveson Road to stand it is shameful thing for us welshmen to have the sons of Henegut, have a dominion over us, do you not remember the long knives which Henegut hath invented to kill our fore fathers and you may depend that you shall receive the same, if you will not give up, when I shall give you a visit and that shall be in a short time, and now I would give an order to leave the place before I will come, for, I do determine that I will have my way all through, As for the constable and the police men, Becca her children, heads no more of them than the grass before which fly in the summer there are others which as marked with Becca, but they shall not be named now but in case they will not obey to this notice she shall call about them in a short time.

Tom Harrison
Dec. 15 1842

Faithful to Death
with the country
Becca & children

A LETTER.

"To the Public generally, and to our Neighbours in particular."

"We, John Hughes, David Jones, and John Hugh, now lying in Cardiff gaol, convicted of the attack on Pontardulais turnpike gate, and the police stationed there to protect it—being now sentenced to transportation, beg, and earnestly call on others to take warning by our fate, and to stop in their mad course, before they fall into our condemnation."

"We are guilty, and doomed to suffer, while hundreds have escaped. Let them, and every one, take care not to be deluded again to attack public or private property, and resist the power of the law, for it will overtake them with vengeance, and bring them down to destruction."

"We are only in prison now, but in a week or two shall be banished as rogues—to be slaves to strangers in a strange land. We must go, in the prime of life, from our dear homes, to live and labour with the worst of villains—looked upon as thieves."

"Friends—neighbours—all—but especially young men—keep from night meetings! Fear to do wrong, and dread the terrors of the judge."

"Think of what we must, and you may suffer, before you dare to do as we have done."

"If you will be peaceable, and live again like honest men, by the blessing of God, you may expect to prosper; and we, poor outcast wretches, may have to thank you for the mercy of the Crown—for on no other terms than your good conduct will any pity be shown to us, or others, who may fall into our almost hopeless situation."

(Signed)

"JOHN HUGHES,
"DAVID JONES,

"The mark of JOHN HUGH."

Cardiff Gaol, Nov. 1st, 1843.

"Witness, JOHN S. WOODS, Governor."

7

By courtesy of the National Library of Wales

"647. Were you rightly understood to say that you thought the opinion of the farmers generally was, that if 2½d. was required for the toll on lime, that would not be objected to? - 3d. That is what it was three years ago. I think the farmers would not object to that.

648. Do you think that if the tolls had been kept at the low rate, the farmers would have increased the quantity of lime they carried? - I think they would.

649. You think the amount of the tolls has been an obstruction in the way of limeing? - Yes, they pay more for the tolls than for the lime.

650. What is the price of lime? - From 2/6 to 3/- according to the size of the cart, and the toll would be 5/- or 6/-.

651. In travelling what distance would the tolls come to 6/-? - In travelling eight miles.

641. Do you think they collect more money at the turnpike-gates than they pay to the trustees for renting them? - No doubt. William Lewis would not take the gates unless he profited by them.

643. Have you had occasion to observe that? - I have not the least doubt of it. I recollect the gates when they were only about £500 or £600 and now they have gone to £1500.

642. Is the profit large? - I think so. They generally get rich by them.

644. Has that arisen from increasing the number of toll-bars, or from the farmers increasing their limeing? - From increasing the toll. The toll was but 2½d. and now they have advanced it to 6d. . . . If they were to let the farmers go for 4d. every gate would have been standing now."

Y Parch Herberth Williams, William James, James Lewis,
William Williams yng Nghaerfyrddin

"8679. Do you think that the turbulent spirit which was excited in Carmarthenshire was excited by the bars? - No, I do not think there was more grievance to complain of in that county than there was in any other; everything was going on well, and they were beginning to feel the advantage of good roads . . .

8697. Have you heard, before these riots broke out, much complaints of tolls by people who paid them? - No, not more than you would hear in other parts of the country.

8698. Have you rented tolls in England? - Yes.

8699. To a considerable extent? - We have many trusts in different parts of the country.

8700. Have you now? - Yes, my uncle has, and I have in different places.

8701. What part? - The Hackney Road in London, the Portsmouth Road; we have some on the other side of London.

8702. Have you any about Bristol? - Yes, we have had the gates all round Bristol at different times.

8703. Do you consider the tolls higher in Wales than in England? - No, I do not think they are.

8704. Are the gates more frequent? - No, I do not think they are, I have enquired of coachmen, and the coachmen and guards will tell you that the tolls between Bristol and London are more than they are between Swansea and London."

8

Thomas Bullin yn Abertawe

Erbyn y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg daethai Cymru'n wirionedd anghydfurfiol. Gwnaeth cyfrifiad crefydd 1851 (1) ddileu gweddillion hawl yr Eglwys sefydledig ei bod hi'n Eglwys y Cymry (2). Adeiladodd y bobl eu capeli eu hunain ym mhob pentref ac ym mhob cwm; a hyd yn oed capeli mewn mannau anghysbell yng nghefn gwlad. Trwy Gymru gyfan cawn hyd i gapeli'r Bedyddwyr (3,4), yr Annibynwyr (5,6) a'r Methodistiaid Wesleiaidd (7) neu Galfnistaidd (8).

Nid adeilad ar gyfer addoli ar y Sul yn unig oedd y capel, ond calon y gymdeithas Gymreig (9). Rhaid oedd i'w aelodau dderbyn gwerthoedd cymdeithasol y capel (10), gwerthoedd a lywodraethai ymddygiad cymdeithasol yn ogystal ag ymddygiad crefyddol (11). Mudiad ydoedd a adfywiwyd gan nifer o ddiwygiadau megis Diwygiad 1905 (12).

Rheolid bywyd gwleidyddol Cymru gan anghydfurfiaeth. Cyhoeddodd mudiad y capeli lu o lenyddiaeth o'r 1840au ymlaen a gynorthwydd i ffurfio barn. Gwelodd etholiadau 1859 y merthyron anghydfurfiol cyntaf a drowyd allan o'u cartrefi gan Ystad Wynnstay ym Meirionnydd. Erbyn 1868 yr oedd y mudiad wedi ymgyrfhau ac ar ôl yr etholiad yr oedd gan Gymru 21 o aelodau Rhyddfrydol a 12 o Doriaid. Yn ystod etholiadau 1868 daeth pob capel anghydfurfiol yn llwyfan i'r blaidd Ryddfrydol a cheid llythyrau at y wasg am 'Sgrw'r Capel' (13). Yn yr 1880au rhoddodd diwygiad yr etholfraint fwy o nerth gwleidyddol i'r mudiad a rhoddodd y wasg newydd radicalaidd Gymraeg lais arall i'r mudiad. Troes Cymru anghydfurfiol yn Gymru Ryddfrydol.

By the nineteenth century Wales had become truly nonconformist. The religious census of 1851 (1) tore away the last shreds of the Established Church's claim to be the Church of the Welsh people (2). The people built their own chapels in every village, in every valley, even isolated chapels standing alone in the countryside. Throughout Wales we find the Congregationalists (3,4), the Wesleyan (7) or Calvinistic Methodists (8). The chapel was not just a building where one worshipped on Sundays; it became the heart of Welsh society (9). Membership of the chapel required acceptance of their society's social norms (10) and the chapel's function was as much social as religious (11). It was a movement revitalised by various revivals, such as the Revival of 1905 (12).

The political life of Wales was dominated by nonconformity. The chapel movement published a spate of periodical literature from the 1840s on which helped to form opinion. The 1859 elections saw the first nonconformist martyrs with evictions by the Wynnstay estate in Merioneth. By 1868 the movement had gathered strength and after the election Wales had 21 Liberal members and only 12 Conservatives. During the elections of 1868 every dissenting chapel became a platform for the Liberal party and there were letters to the press about the 'Chapel, Screw' (13). In the 1880s franchise reform gave the movement more political punch and the new radical Welsh language press gave the movement another voice. Nonconformist Wales became Liberal Wales.

FLINT, DENBIGH.] DIVISION XL—WELSH COUNTIES.

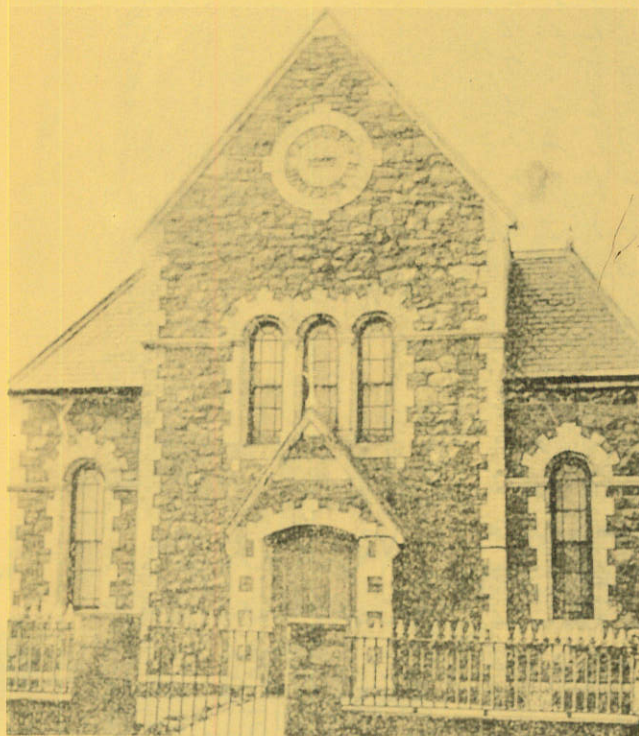
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION.	Number of Places of Worship.			Number of Sittings.			Number of Attendants at Public Worship on Sunday March 30, 1851. [including Sunday Scholars.]			Number of Places of Worship.			Number of Sittings.			Number of Attendants at Public Worship on Sunday March 30, 1851. [including Sunday Scholars.]		
	Free.	Appropriated.	Total.	Morn-ing.	After-noon.	Even-ing.	Free.	Appropriated.	Total.	Morn-ing.	After-noon.	Even-ing.	Free.	Appropriated.	Total.	Morn-ing.	After-noon.	Even-ing.
608. MONTGOMERY. Population, 20,381.																		
TOTAL	80	2941	7515	13,856	5549	3333	3174	117	7132	12,168	19,516	5386	4876	7966				
PROTESTANT CHURCHES:																		
Church of England	20	2710	5199	8309	3358	2031	622	20	1372	4274	5822	1708	738	475				
Independents	10	624	834	1458	403	301	284	23	1993	2012	4005	883	1191	1783				
Baptists	4	290	102	392	63	307	24	5	243	312	555	56	276	322				
Wesleyan Methodists	14	786	624	1410	486	463	578	30	1703	3752	5435	1417	1309	3258				
Primitive Methodists	21	657	40	697	89	308	695	1	40	30	70	..	..	48				
Calvinistic Methodists	17	674	716	1590	630	423	771	29	1631	1828	3509	1261	1225	1077				
Undefined	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100	..	100	..	..	311				
609. LLANFYLLIN. Population, 19,538.																		
TOTAL	129	13,330	18,838	32,177	14,471	7865	15,475	129	14,411	14,806	30,337	10,806	9932	11,731				
PROTESTANT CHURCHES:																		
Church of England	22	5011	3049	10,660	4931	1476	2429	21	4033	6632	12,255	4760	2278	1288				
Independents	21	1870	3057	4033	1573	1073	2380	19	1324	1063	2987	895	633	1829				
Baptists	11	818	584	1402	680	731	1100	13	2101	1207	3308	1478	2545	2303				
Unitarians	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	210	500	710	226	..	240				
Wesleyan Methodists	31	2232	4467	6749	2257	1503	4068	19	1330	1635	3021	909	1234	1837				
Methodist New Connex.	4	230	246	476	146	183	243	6	770	90	860	170	271	453				
Primitive Methodists	2	170	111	281	110	97	119	11	744	224	968	75	290	361				
Wesleyan Association	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	230	481	811	14	508	583				
Wesleyan Reformers	1	250	220	470	101	..	273	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Calvinistic Methodists	32	2364	4178	6542	3304	2333	4351	25	2000	2240	4039	1997	1084	2024				
Undefined	2	48	276	324	409	230	320	4	103	..	193	84	..	39				
OTHER CHRISTIAN CHUR.: Roman Catholics	2	230	50	280	354	180	90	1	230	75	305	210	40	89				
Letter Day Saints	1	..	..	..	..	12	16	1	..	..	..	68	19	24				

1

1851 Religious Census

Anglican Churches	1180
Dissenting Chapels	2769

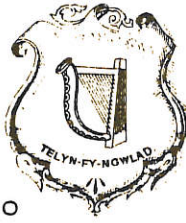
2



3 Libanus, Clwt y Bont, Caernarvonshire (Bapist).



4 Ebenezer, Llanllyfni, Caernarvonshire (Bapist)



DEWI SANT. A. D. 540

Rhaglen CYNGHERDD BLYNYDDOL MORIAH, CAERNARFON, YN Y PAVILION.

Dydd Gwyl Dewi - Gwefor 28^{ain} 1890
i ddechreu am 7-30 o'r gloch.

Llywydd:- Owen Jones, Ysw., Green Bank.
Cyfeilydd:- Mr. Richard Richard.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Amerchiad | gan | Y Llywydd |
| 2. Dechriad o Alawon Cymreig. | Cor Meibion, dan arwunniad Mr. Richd Owen. | D ^r Rogers |
| 3. Cân | "Pistyll y Llau"
Mr. John Corbell | Davies |
| 4. Violin Solo | Miss Katie Richard | |
| 5. Cân | "Dda a Mair"
Miss Jennie Griffith | M. W. Balfe |
| 6. Cân | "Fry Fry a'r Cwmun"
Mr. David Jones | R. S. Hughes |
| 7. Cân | "Bugeiliol Gwemith Gwyn"
Mr. Robert Parry | J. Thomas |
| 8. Cân | "How vain is man"
Mr. Maldwyn Humphreys | Handel |
| 9. Ffili Solo | Sergeant Major Barr | |
| 10. Cân | "Tell her I love her so"
Mr. R. H. Williams | Stave |
| 11. Amerchiad | gan Y Paroch John Hughes D.D. | |
| 12. Pianoforte Solo | Miss Lily Thomas | |
| 13. Cân | "O na byddai'n traf o hyd"
Mr. Maldwyn Humphreys | Davies |
| 14. Adroddiad | "The Bells"
Mr. George Jones | Edgar A. Pop. |
| 15. Cân | "Angel of Light"
Mr. Robert Parry | Piccolomini |
| 16. Cân | "Bye Bye"
Mr. R. J. Thomas | Blumenthal |
| 17. Cân | "The Lady's Prayer"
Miss Jennie Griffith | Hope Temple |
| 18. Cân | "The Diver"
Mr. David Jones | Loder |
| 19. Amerchiad | gan Y Paroch Owen Jones. | |
| 20. Cân | "The Star of Bethlehem"
Mr. Maldwyn Humphreys | Adams |
| 21. Cydgan | "Y Mlogwyn"
Cor Meibion | D ^r Parry |
- Hoen wlad fy Rhadau.

THE CALVINISTIC METHODISTS OF ARVON AND THE LATE ELECTIONS.

SIR,—Under the above heading I read in your last week's impression the following excuse brought forward by those who used their chapels to hold political meetings, viz., "And the plea adduced in defence of such proceeding is, that there were no other places in the neighbourhood in which such meetings could be held." Now the question is, will the above hold good with regard to "Disgwylfa" chapel, close to Llandinorwig? Within a few yards (in fact only a road separating the two buildings) of the above chapel is a commodious British School, one for boys and one for girls; and these could have been used conjointly, for there is only a sliding door dividing the two buildings.

I should like to know what excuse have those ministers and deacons who violated "an express resolution of the monthly meeting" to hold a political meeting in this chapel, and was it with the expectation that a meeting held in chapel (with preachers to address it) would have greater influence over the minds of the electors in this neighbourhood, who, (without this aid) the canvassers were unable to persuade to vote for Jones Parry? Besides, when ministers and deacons violate the resolutions of the monthly meeting, is it likely that the members will act differently?

DINORWIC.

Dec. 16th, 1868.

"SCREW SEIAT."

SIR,—Mr Thomas Lewis, Bangor, has endeavoured to show that the Calvinistic Methodists of Arvon have not been using the above terrible "screw." Oh dear no! Nothing of the sort—they are too religious, no doubt. But is the above gentleman aware that one rev. and another local preacher—(also a professional gentleman) of the above body, went to the village of B—, in the parish of Llanddeiniolen, the night before the poll, and "screwed" a poor fellow there to vote for Mr Jones Parry, when he had faithfully promised to vote for Mr Pennant. To make sure of him, they took him to Carnarvon that night, for fear the effect of their holy instructions (!) would vanish before morning. If he is not aware of it—then it is time for him to know that it is a fact.

As an answer to Mr R. Roberts, Eleanor-street, Carnarvon, who wrote to you the week before last, I would advise him to enquire what took place in a chapel not a hundred miles from Carnarvon, the Sunday night before the polling day at Carnarvon, and perhaps he will be convinced, though against his will, that there is such a thing as Screw Fawr Siat.—Faithfully yours,
X.

NORTH WALES CHRONICLE
13 DECEMBER 1868

11

REVIVAL SERVICE
IN A
COAL
MINE.



12

Gorwelion Ehangach

Widening Horizons

Nid yn unig yr ardaloedd diwydiannol yng Nghymru a welodd newid cymdeithasol a diwylliannol aruthrol. Cafodd dyfodiad y rheilffyrdd (1) ei effeithiau trwy gydol Cymru wledig. O'r 1840au dechreuwyd adeiladu rheilffyrdd ar raddfa sylweddol ac erbyn y 1870au dechreuai leiniau cangen dreiddio i lawer dyffryn. Yr oedd gan bentrefi diarffordd hyd yn oed, megis Groeslon yn Sir Gaernarfon (2), eu gorsaf reilffordd leol.

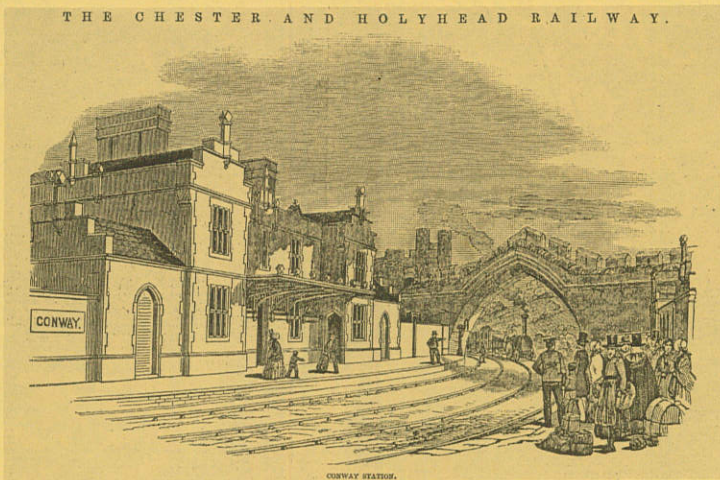
Daeth y rheilffyrdd â heidiau o ymwelwyr yn enwedig i'r arfordiroedd (3) ac arweiniasant at dwf cyflym y cyrchfannau gwyliau (4) a chyfleoedd newydd yn y diwydiannau gwasanaethol. Yn ogystal â dod â'r ymwelydd Saesneg am y diwrnod neu am fwy (5) cynigiai'r rhwydwaith gyfle i'r Cymry deithio oddi cartref (6) ac ehangu eu gorwelion. Un effaith y rheilffyrdd oedd i wanhau amrywiaethau lleol cryf. Dioddefodd yr iaith Gymraeg o ganlyniad i hyn ac fe gafodd fwy o effaith ar yr iaith na chanrifoedd o lywodraethu Llundain, am iddi ymosod ar ei sylfaen. I fynd ymlaen yn y byd, i fanteisio ar gyfleoedd newydd, rhaid oedd wrth fedru Saesneg (7) a dyfeisiodd athrawon gosbau megis y 'Welsh Not' i orfodi'u disgyblion i ddysgu Saesneg (8).

Gyrrodd *entrepreneurs* y rheilffordd megis David Davies i galon Cymru gan dybio y blodeuai diwydiant nwyddau yn sgîl y rheilffyrdd (9). Yn lle hynny, boddid marchnadoedd Cymru â nwyddau o'r ardaloedd diwydiannol. Diflannodd dulliau traddodiadol, gwledig o hunan-gynhaliath (10) a daeth mwy o ddibyniaeth ar nwyddau'r siop yn eu lle (11).

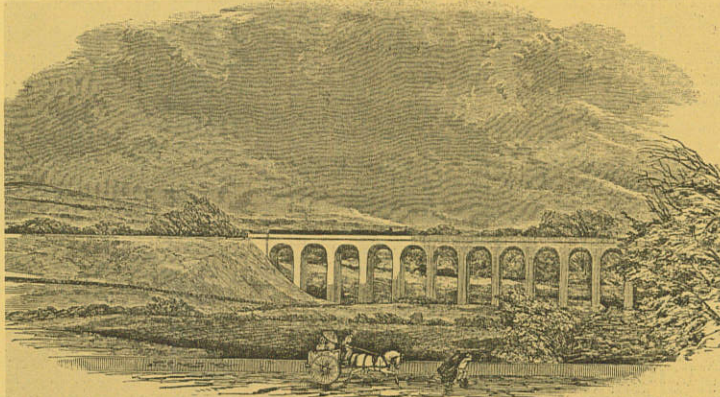
It was not only the industrialised areas of Wales which saw massive social and cultural change. The arrival of the railways (1) had repercussions throughout rural Wales. From the 1840s railway building in Wales began on a serious scale and by the 1870s branch lines were beginning to penetrate into every Welsh valley. Even isolated villages like Groeslon, Caernarvonshire (2) had their local railway station.

The railways brought in floods of visitors, particularly to the coastal areas (3) and led to a mushrooming of the holiday resort (4) and to new job opportunities in service industries. As well as bringing the English daytripper and holidaymaker into Wales (5) the network offered the Welsh new travel opportunities (6) and a widening of horizons. One effect of the railways was to iron out strong regional differences. The Welsh language was one casualty in this process and a few decades of the railway era had more impact on the language than centuries of rule from London because it struck at the grass roots. To get on, to take advantage of the new opportunities one needed to speak English (7) and schoolteachers devised such punishments as the 'Welsh Not' to compel their pupils to learn English (8).

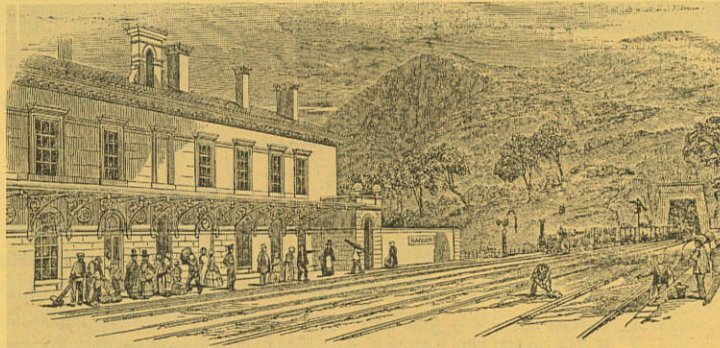
Railway entrepreneurs like David Davies drove railways into the heart of Wales in the belief that it would result in a flowering of manufacturing industry (9). Instead the railways flooded Welsh markets with goods from the manufacturing districts. Traditional rural ways of self sufficiency (10) were replaced by greater reliance on shop bought goods (11).



Conwy Station



Ogwen Viaduct



Bangor Station

1 ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS 26 AUGUST 1850



2



3 Official Souvenir Guide of The Cambrian Resorts Association.

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Oswestry, April, 1897.

C. S. DENNISS
GENERAL MANAGER.

BORTH

—BORTH—

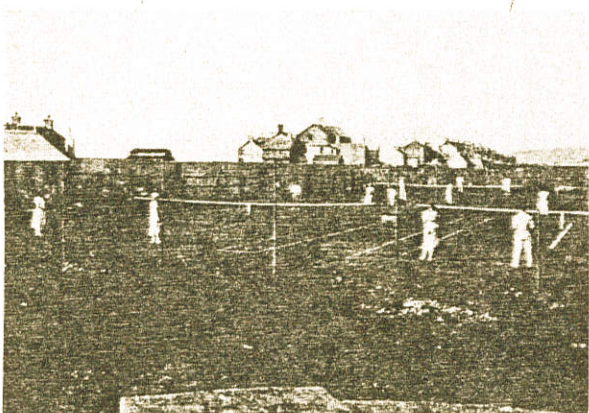
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 pool, Birkenhead, Wigan, and Warring-
 ton, from
 Oswestry, Llanymynech, Llanfyllin, Montgomery
 Welshpool, Newtown, Llanidloes, Machynlleth
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A PARTMENTS.—To all having Apartments to
 let. Do not lose pounds by having your
 Apartments empty when for 1s (or three weeks, 2s),
 you can have a thirty-word **ADVERTISEMENT** in
 six London Suburban newspapers, circulating in
 districts which each year send thousands of visitors
 to Towyn-on-Sea, Merioneth. Names of papers,
 Leyton, Leytonstone, West Ham, Wanstead, Wood-
 ford, and Forest Gate, Manor Park and Ilford
 Express and Independent.—Address, Publisher,

6

In a speech made at the National
 Eisteddfod in Aberystwyth in September 1865
 just after the opening of the railway line into
 the town, Mr. David Davies, the railway contr-
 actor stressed this:

'He had seen enough of the world to
 know that the best medium for mak-
 ing money was English and he advised
 everyone of his countrymen to master
 that language thoroughly. If they
 were content with barley bread of
 course let them remain where they
 were, but if they wished to enjoy
 the luxuries of life with white bread
 to boot the best way to do so would
 be to acquire a knowledge of English.'

7

*15 The day. One new pupil admitted. A pink card was
 given out on the T.D. as to force the class to talk English.
 The regulations about it are, that every
 child who gets 12 marks during the week, is to pay a fine
 of 2s, and all that will be under, to learn the same number
 (as they will have marks) of spelling.
 At the end of the quarter the marks
 are to be distributed amongst those that will have had
 the least number of marks good order*

LLANLLYFNI BRITISH SCHOOL LOG BOOKS 1865

8

'Why should not the Valleys of
 Wales be studded with manufact-
 urers and workshops as in England?
 It only required more energy and
 more capital and old Cambria would
 become as flourishing as any part of
 Her Majesty's dominions.'

**DAVID DAVIES, SPEECH TO THE NATIONAL
 EISTEDDFOD ABERYSTWYTH 1865**

9

The market days are Wednesdays and Saturdays, and from
 the circumstance of there being no town but this, of any conse-
 quence, for an extent in one direction of nearly twenty miles,
 the markets are numerous attended; and to a person who has
 never had an opportunity of seeing a large assembly of the
 natives in their holiday dress, it will appear remarkably
 striking, and different from a scene of similar nature in
 England, where the colour of the cloaks, gowns, coats,
 stockings, and every article of dress, are nearly as various as
 as the persons who wear them: but here, on the contrary, one
 uniform tint pervades the whole; the men being dressed com-
 pletely in blue, which is the prevailing colour, and the women
 wearing blue cloaks, and men's hats, with a white muslin hand-
 kerchief tied round the head and under the chin; this
 exhibiting one sombre moving mass of black and blue, in all its
 various shades and modifications.

CAMBRIAN MIRROR 1840

10

'Gloomy Prospect

The winter has come accompanied with
 tremendous storms of winds and rain.
 Work is almost impossible to be had
 and when the labourer finds a day's
 work the pay is woefully reduced ... The
 years of plenty of work and high wages
 with all their prosperity did not teach the
 working classes thrift it is to be feared
 that those preparations for a rainy day
 which used to be made in this country
 years ago have not been continued —
 such as the rearing of a pig, planting of
 potatoes out on the farms and getting
 in a store of peat for winter fuel The
 husband turned old shoes into clogs for
 himself and his family and the housewife
 knit and darned by the light of candles
 made out of peeled rushes and some
 little fat. Brooms and baskets were made
 for use at every home instead of run-
 ning to the shop for every little article
 as is the custom nowadays.

It is true that people were not so smart
 on a Sunday then as they are now but
 they were not so miserably helpless
 when thrown out of work. There existed
 some twenty years ago a greater tend-
 ency for the strong to keep the weak by
 giving a chance to do something for him-
 self '

11 CAMBRIAN NEWS NOVEMBER 1888

Gwleidyddiaeth Cymru yn y
Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg,
Dadleuon I.

Welsh Politics in the nineteenth
century, Issues I.

8

Mewn sawl ffordd yr oedd cwrs gwleidyddiaeth Cymru yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg yn ddrych i'r 'chwyltro gwleidyddol' ehangach ym Mhrydain, o ran twf Rhyddfrydiaeth a mudiadau gwleidyddol y dosbarth gweithiol fel ei gilydd. Fodd bynnag gellir gweld newid cyfeiriad yng Nghymru megis 1868 fel datganiol hefyd o ddadleuon hanfodol Gymreig yng ngwleidyddiaeth y wlad (1,2). Tynnodd ymosodiad Henry Richard ar Doriaeth ar y gymynrodd o ddieter a achoswyd gan y Comisiynwyr ym 1847 (3,4) a chan y driniaeth a gafodd y tenantiaid o ffermwyr wrth law eu tiffeddianwyr Anglicanaidd a seisnigedig (5,6).

The course of Welsh politics in the nineteenth century in many ways mirrored the wider 'political revolution' in Britain, both in the rise of Liberalism and the emergence of distinctly working-class political movements. However, a sea-change such as 1868 can be seen in Wales also to mark the arrival of specifically 'Welsh' issues in the politics of the nation (1,2). Henry Richard's assault on Toryism drew on the legacy of resentment occasioned by the Commissioners of 1847 (3,4) and the treatment meted out to tenant farmers by Anglican and anglicized landlords (5,6).

CHAMPAGNE ADDRESS

NO. 1.

TO THE Unprincipled and Corrupt Tories OF THE BOROUGH OF BRECKNOCK.

GENTLEMEN.—Expecting shortly to be under the necessity of again purchasing your Votes to elect me as your Representative, I beg to inform you that I still retain the Man from the Moon (alias Fly-by-Night) to do the dirty work of the Election. Brandy Face John is still with us to do the Watergate Business, as usual.

As their Tabernacle is out of repair, I have no doubt a few pounds placed with Brandy Face, Tom Cardy, or David Champagne, will put us all right with the Water Rats. I believe the donations of money, &c., that we lately gave to the various Chapels and Schools have had the desired effect of putting the Dissenters to sleep as far as Politics goes.

There is a good prospect of the Dead Acre Family coming out in my behalf, as I have assisted to get the Mansion House Pauper into a good County berth. I shall, with the assistance of the Landlords, follow up the new Shop-front Dodge, that answered our purpose so well at the last election. I have the promised assistance of old Colonel Twaddle, G.D., Doctor Blood, the Old Rook and family (especially Poaching Johnny), who can give us his experience in the College for Reforming Criminals.

I shall have the assistance of a couple of Petty Foggies who seldom have a client, and to whom a brief would be a Godsend. And I shall likewise have in readiness the whole rabble of rascality that hangs about this Corrupt Borough to let loose on the Independent Electors who will not accept of a Gilded Pill.

I am afraid I shall not be able to depend on Double Joe, as he has come in contact with men of Liberal Views, and has seen the folly of Toryism. I must not forget Old Bassy Cabbage Garden, who, I know, for the sake of a few Pounds to set the beer barrels going, and the promise that he shall be noticed by a real live Lord, will do all he can, and I further promise him (to flatter his vanity) that if the Queen of Sheba should come this way his daughter shall surely be presented.

I need not remind you, as Tories, we are opposed to all measures of Reform or Progress, and it was only for the sake of keeping Office that we assented to Billy Gladstone, Johnny Bright, and the united voice of the country getting any measure of Reform; but thanks to Dizzy & Co. you have not got the ballot, and we shall know how to apply the screw accordingly.

Should you assist us by your votes to retain Office, we will do all we can as Tories to further increase the Price of Provisions (we have managed since in Office to raise the 4lb. Loaf from 5d. to 8d.); to Raise your Rents, and Increase your Taxes, so that we may help you to the Workhouse, where you will be less cared for and worse treated than my own dogs.

But hold! Let me have your Votes before I say more.

Yours Deceitfully,

HOLLOW WIND.

1

"Mr. Richard at the Temperance Hall.

On Wednesday evening last Henry Richard, Esq., the popular candidate, addressed a crowded and most enthusiastic meeting at the Temperance Hall, in this town. Mr. Richard, accompanied by several friends, were drawn in an open carriage to and from the place of the meeting by a large body of working men and some hundreds of others bearing torchlights. The greater part of the houses along the route were also beautifully illuminated. Near the Blaengwawr Colliery, too, a monster bonfire was seen blazing away, lighting up the whole valley — — —

Amongst those present were noticed — — — the principal ministers of the neighbourhood — — —

Mr. Richard, after apologizing for delivering the former part of his address in English, said — — — I do not aver to the course taken by this paper tonight because I deem it of the smallest significance — indeed it has acknowledged itself that it has entered upon a hopeless undertaking to attempt to turn the mass of working men of Merthyr and Aberdare from the course which they have calmly and deliberately taken for themselves (Hear) — but I advert to it because there is, I think, at the bottom of the feeling which prompts these articles, evidence of a misconception, which I believe prevails among one class of the community in this neighbourhood — I mean the English speaking and propertied class. — — — The people who speak this language (the Welsh), who read this literature, who own this history, who inherit those traditions, who venerate those names, who have created and sustained and worked those marvellous organisations — the people forming three fourths of the people of Wales — Have they not a right to say We are the Welsh nation? Have they not a right to say to those small propertied class, but say it calmly and respectfully, and yet with energy and emphasis, We are the Welsh nation; and not you? This country is ours and not yours, and therefore we claim the right to have our principles and sentiments and feelings represented in the Commons House of Parliament (applause). It should be observed that up to this time the representation of the people of Wales has been almost entirely in the hands of the propertied class of whom I am speaking — — —

— — — Is it not true that for the most part, the way in which your elections have been managed hitherto has been this: that a few great families, a handful of landowners, and squires, and stewards, met together, and decided who were to be your candidates, and then they became possessed with the insane notion — — — that the votes of their tenants belonged as much to them as the rents of their farms. The farmers were then marched up or driven like herds of cattle to the hustings, and were there obliged to vote exactly according to the wishes of their masters. The consequences were — — — that the people of Wales, the Welsh nation — for I contend, as Mr. Bright nobly said on one occasion, "the nation in every country in the world dwells in the cottage and not in the palace" — the nation of Wales has never yet been represented in the House of Commons (Applause). — — —

2 Aberdare Times, 14 November 1868

IX. THE WELSH LANGUAGE.

The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to over-estimate its evil effects. It is the language of the Cymri, and anterior to that of the ancient Britons. It dissevers the people from intercourse which would greatly advance their civilisation, and bars the access of improving knowledge to their minds. As a proof of this, there is no Welsh literature worthy of the name.* The only works generally read in the Welsh language are the Welsh monthly magazines, of which a list and description are given in the Appendix lettered H. They are much more talented than any other Welsh works extant, but convey, to a very limited extent, a knowledge of passing events, and are chiefly polemical and full of bitter sectarianism, and indulge a great deal in highly-coloured caricatures and personality. Nevertheless they have partially lifted the people from that perfect ignorance and utter vacuity of thought which otherwise would possess at least two-thirds of them. At the same time, these periodicals have used their monopoly as public instructors in moulding the popular mind, and confirming a natural partiality for polemics, which impedes the cultivation of a higher and more comprehensive taste and desire for general information. This has been conclusively proved by Mr. Rees, the enterprising publisher at Llandoverly. He commenced the publication of a periodical similar to the Penny Magazine in the Welsh language, but lost 200*l.* by it in a year. This was probably too short a trial of the experiment;† but it sufficiently evinces the difficulty of supplanting an established taste, by means however inoffensive.

The evil of the Welsh language, as I have above stated, is obviously and fearfully great in courts of justice. The evidence given by Mr. Hall (No. 37) is borne out by every account I have heard on the subject; it distorts the truth, favours fraud, and abets perjury, which is frequently practised in courts, and escapes detection through the loop-holes of interpretation. This public exhibition of successful falsehood has a disastrous effect on public morals and regard for truth. The mockery of an English trial of a Welsh criminal by a Welsh jury, addressed by counsel and judge in English, is too gross and shocking to need

comment. It is nevertheless a mockery which must continue until the people are taught the English language; and that will not be done until there are efficient schools for the purpose.

On the subject of this disastrous barrier to all moral improvement and popular progress in Wales, and the ease with which good schools would remove it, I may cite the following brief extracts from the unanimous evidence on the subject.

The Dean of St. David's says—

"I do not think there is a very vivid desire for better instruction among the Welsh people, except for the purpose of learning English, and thereby bettering their condition in life, and obtaining situations to which an ignorance of the English language is a barrier. The natural capacity of the Welsh is great to a very wonderful degree. Archdeacon Williams, of Edinburgh, is, I have heard, of that opinion also, and that the Welsh have a great capacity for learning languages. They are very quick. Young men of 17 or 18 come to this college knowing very little of Latin or Greek, and in three years acquire a very respectable knowledge of these languages."

Mr. Williams, of Lampeter, says—

"The Welsh language is a decided impediment to the mental improvement of the people, for the books we have are generally translations, very badly done, of English works; and these are very limited. No business can be done in the language. Children taught in English are much quicker than those who know only Welsh."

"I think that the people know the advantage of learning English, and that they understand that it would enable them to rise in life. In agricultural life it is a great drawback not to know English. They cannot read the papers or know the prices. I believe that there is not a single Welsh weekly newspaper published in Wales. There are Welsh monthly magazines, which are chiefly controversial, and abuse each other and the opposite sects; they do more harm than good. They are generally read by the country people, and form the staple means of information. They are very deficient even for this purpose. There is very little original Welsh literature in Wales.

"If good education were given, the people are very capable of being instructed; and have, generally speaking, good natural abilities."

3 Report on Education in Wales, 1847



PICTURES FOR THE MILLION OF WALES.

No. 10.

DAME VENODOTIA SOUSING THE SPIES,

OR

WALES AND THE LATE COMMISSION.

In the year 1843, what was called the "Rebecca" riots commenced in South Wales, and in 1839 the Chartist outrage occurred in Monmouthshire. Both originated with, and were conducted by men, not of the class of the unenfranchised, and unanglicised Welsh, but chiefly by Englishmen. The working classes of Wales were not the parties principally aggrieved by the *turnpike* impositions; and as to Chartism, the Welsh, unacquainted with the English language, had known nothing of its principles, but had lived entirely beyond the pale of its influence. Dissenters in particular, of every grade, were not only uncontaminated with English infidelity and insubordination, but they were the chief impediments in the way of the success of both the riotous movements alluded to—they had made a great portion of the people the very antipodes of those concerned in them. In spite of all this, the friends of the rejected church in Wales, made these disturbances a pretext for commencing a convulsive agitation for more churches, and church schools, making it appear that the Welsh language and Dissent, with the prevalent ignorance of English (im) morality, were the causes of all the evils that had appeared, and ten thousand other evils that were said to be impending. Reason suggests that those who thus had a darling object to serve by the commission of crimes, were the original instigators of the disorders.

The Parliament and the Government were moved. Three commissioners, (their names were, Lingen, Symons, and Johnson), were sent into Wales under the pretence of examining the state of education; but, in reality, to prove, by the testimony of men hostile to the people, that the latter were worse in character, and lower on the scale of civilisation, than any people—that there was no virtue, no decency, no sobriety amongst them; and, as to religion, that "none could be found;" and that the places and the meetings for worship, were for *criminal intercourse!* that godliness was the parent and the nurse of the vices—that schools, and the press, were instruments of ignorance. Every thing was found to be, or reported to be, which is all the same, exactly as desired. If all Wales were not guilty of the riots, they were guilty of being quite prepared to engage in any mischief, because they spoke Welsh, and did not go to Church.

The foundation was laid for a system of "State Education," the object of which is, to teach the people not to speak Welsh, but to go to church. When the teaching of the "education" is found

to fail in its object, other means are to be used. But, now for SCHOOLS! and let them be gloriously liberal. The time is not yet come to interfere with the Welsh press; and chapels are not to be closed by the police, until a considerable change is effected by the "education." The Welsh press, and the Dissenting chapels, are both marked by the Commissioners, and it is well known for what purpose.

It is calculated that the Dissenting ministers who take state grants for schools, will take the same for their own maintenance when the proper time arrives. The remnant of the liberties of these will, in consequence, be preserved to them, while their friends the wings (who have been the first English politicians publicly to spit upon the idea that TRUTH forms a part of religion) remain in power. But when the pressure reaches them they will seek to be ordained deacons, in the triumphant establishment, with the clerks, and the ringers, to co-operate with the ladies, as "Pastoral Aid," in the "whipping-in" department. They will also be assiduous collectors of scorpions and faggots for the correction of the few pious and true Non-conformists who will not have fled the country for their lives.

The accompanying Lithograph is intended to be hung by Welshmen on the walls of their houses, as a memorial of the commencement of the new crusade of Church and State against liberty, and of the universal feeling of indignation with which the thirteen counties regarded the Whig espionage. The very land—the country literally, which has long worn the form of humanity, seems on this occasion, in sympathy with its inhabitants, to have assumed human passion, and threaten to drown the detested slanderers in Cardigan Bay! The streak of solid black down the middle of the print, shows the degree of geographical progress the English language has made in a thousand years. Joy is wished to the wiseacres who fondly predict the early extinction of the Welsh language. If the English advances at the same rate in future, the longed for extirpation may be looked for 10,000 years hence! But perhaps a "paternal" government, under spiritual guidance, may find means to hasten the glorious consummation—Could those who can speak nothing but Welsh not be prosecuted for speaking at all? The black spots in the drawing, indicate Llanbeulan, Nevin, Troed yr Aur, Builth, Brecon, and Aberdare—these being the places where the most atrocious clerical evidence was given to the Commissioners.

GREAT LANDOWNERS OF GREAT BRITAIN

"BEAUFORT, Duke of, K.G., Badminton, Chippenham.

		acres	g. an. val.
Coll. Eton.	Monmouth	. 27,299 .	24,582
Club. Carlton, Garrick, Boodle's,	Gloucester	. 16,610 .	21,220
Turf, Travellers'.	Brecon	. 4,019 .	3,625
b. 1824, s. 1853, m. 1845.	Glamorgan	. 1,218 .	4,356
Served in 7th. Hussars and as	Wilts	. 1,939 .	2,443
Master of the Horse.			
Sat for East Gloucester		51,085 .	56,226

PENRHYN, Lord, Penrhyn Castle, Bangor, etc.			
Club. Arthur's, Uni. Ser.,	Carnarvon	. 41,348 .	62,622
White's, Guards, Carl.,	Northampton	. 5,377 .	7,409
Travellers', Boodle's.	Denbigh	. 2,625 .	750
b. 1800, m. 1st. 1833,	Kent	. 121 .	67
2nd. 1846	Bucks	. 77 .	170
Served in Scots Fusilier Guards			
Sat for Carnarvonshire		49,548 .	71,018

PRICE, Richard John Lloyd, of Rhiwlas, Bala, etc.			
Coll. Eton, Ch.Ch. Oxon.			
Club. Carlton, Boodle's, White's,	Merioneth	. 40,500 .	10,600
Jun. Carl., V.Y.C.,	Denbigh	. 164 .	177
Kennel.	Carnarvon	. 600 .	314
b. 1842, s. 1864, m. 1869.		41,264 .	11,091

WILLIAMS-WYNN, Sir Watkin, Bart., of Wynnstay, Ruabon, etc.			
Coll. Westm., Ch.Ch. Ox.	Denbigh	. 28,721 .	24,368
Club. Carl., Jun. Carlton,	Montgomery	. 70,559 .	18,139
Boodle's, White's, Garrick.	Merioneth	. 42,044 .	7,438
b. 1820, s. 1840, m. 1852	Salop	. 3,856 .	4,453
Served in 1st. Life Guards.	Flint	. 224 .	152
Sits for Denbighshire	Cardigan	. 361 .	18
	Cheshire	. 5 .	7

Inclusive of manorial rights. 145,770 . 54,575

The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland.
John Bateman., 1883

5

'Diosg Farm is a tiny affair to be made a subject of "History"; but it serves to exhibit a well-studied, long applied system of wrong, just as advantageously as if it had been the finest Farm in the kingdom: and its History is thus published:

1. Because an industrious obliging tenant was grievously wronged.

2. Because that wrong was perpetrated in a manner heartlessly feudal.

3. Because that disgraceful wrong was done on an Estate represented as being managed on honourable principles.

4. Because many Memorials for redress were respectfully presented within the past twenty years – the last of which is given as an appendix.

5. Because all those Memorials were summarily dismissed on the plea that the tenant had no ground whatever for any complaint.

6. Because a small amount of redress, and that small amount allowed in the way of helping improvements, would have been most thankfully received by the tenant.

7. Because it is high time that landlords should consider the fearful injury done to their Estates by the cruel short-sighted policy so unhandsomely carried out against the Diosg tenant.

And lastly – Because the value of such Estates might be greatly enhanced, and the comforts of the country at the same time multiplied, by some just system of encouraging improvements.

The pith of the argument of the following brief narrative, can be comprised in a few words. A tenant was tempted by the fair promises of the managers of an extensive Estate of high name to take a small poor farm, and to invest a large amount of capital in its improvement. His plan of improvements ran over a period of seven years. At the end of those seven years, a land-agent from a distance came to re-value that farm. He made no enquiry whatever as to the cost of the improvements, but advanced the rent fifty per cent; and the tenant was informed that if he did not choose to take it at that advance, it would, "in a week's time," be let to another. If the managers did right on that occasion, this narrative is an unjust reflection on their memory; but if they then acted unjustly, it was a deep cruel injustice of the most dishonourable and most pernicious character. And as all entreaties for a reconsideration of the case have been refused, it is thus published: and the reader is respectfully requested to examine its facts and figures, for the Principle involved in it is one of vital importance to the success of agriculture. Llanbrynmair, Sep. 12th, 1854.'

6 Samuel Roberts, Diosg Farm, A Sketch of its History; 1854.

Adleisiwyd goslef gwynfanllyd radicaliaeth Richard yn ddiweddarach yn ymosodiad T.E. Ellis (1) ar yr Eglwys sefydledig yng Nghymru a'r degwm dirmygedig (2) a gellir gweld yr elfen fywiog anghytūn hon yng ngwleidyddiaeth Cymru yng nghryfder mudiad y dirwest hefyd (3). Y mae Lloyd George yn fynegiant o beth oedd, hwyrach, yr estyniad rhesymegol o'r agwedd Gymreig hon i ddatblygiad Rhyddfrydiaeth (4).

The stridency of Richard's radicalism was later echoed in T.E. Ellis's (1) attack on the Established Church in Wales and the hated tithe (2) and this vigorous dissenting element in Welsh politics can also be seen in the strength of the temperance movement (3). Lloyd George expresses what perhaps was the logical extension of this Welsh dimension to the rise of Liberalism (4).

In 1880, Wales declared instinctively and passionately for freedom to struggling peoples and subject races.

In 1886, that year of apostasies and disasters, Wales declared for Irish National freedom more decisively than did even Ireland herself.

Today, Wales herself appeals for freedom, and we are confident that the democracy of England will give to this appeal an early, a generous, and an enthusiastic response."

2 Speech by T.E. Ellis at Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1892

CANVASS OF HOUSEHOLDERS AT MOUNTAIN ASH ON THE QUESTION OF STOPPING THE SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUOR ON SUNDAYS, 14 MAY 1878

Occupation	Percentage of Each 'Class'					
	For	Against	Neutral	For	Against	Neutral
Colliers	438	12	15	94.2	2.6	3.2
Labourers	194	18	6	89.2	8.2	2.6
Mechanics	84	13	8	79.6	12.6	7.8
Tradesmen	58	5	5	85.2	7.4	7.4
Widows	50	—	2	96.1	—	3.9
Engine drivers and Firemen	35	2	—	94.6	5.4	—
Unemployed	29	5	2	80.6	14.8	5.6
Colliery Managers, Overmen and Weighers	26	3	—	89.7	10.3	—
Railway Employers	10	—	1	91	—	1
Ministers	7	—	—	100	—	—
Professionals	6	1	2	66.7	11.1	22.2
Publicans	3	5	1	33.3	55.6	11.1
Farmers	1	1	—	50	50	—
TOTAL	941	65	42	89.9	6.1	4

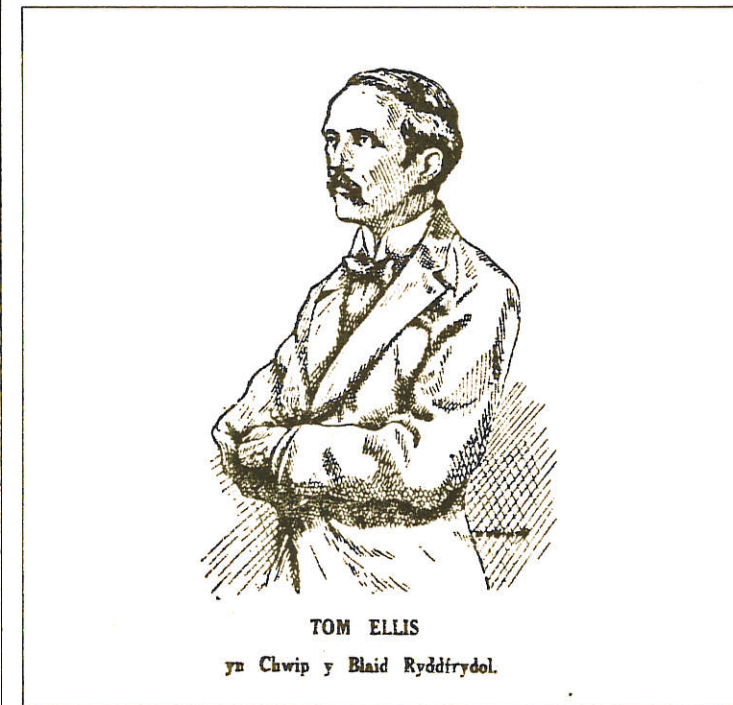
D. M. Richards to H. H. Vivian, 25 May 1878. N.L.W., Lord Swansea Collection: 'Sunday Closing and Permissive Bill, Correspondence, c. 1875' (an enclosure)

3

We have never quarrelled with tyranny as the Irish have done. We have rather turned the other cheek to the smiter . . . This resolution is a fitting climax to this meeting's programme. You have pledged yourselves to - Disestablishment, Land Reform, Local Option and other great reforms. But, however drastic and broad they may appear to be, they after all simply touch the fringe of that vast social question which must be dealt with in the near future. There is a momentous time coming. The dark continent of wrong is being explored and there is a missionary spirit abroad for its reclamation to the realm of right . . . That is why I feel so sanguine that were self-government granted to Wales she would be a model to the nationalities of the earth of a people who have driven oppression from their hillsides, and initiated the glorious reign of freedom, justice and truth.

¶Lloyd George, speech to South Wales Liberal Federation, February, 1890

4



1

"... We ask for Disestablishment not alone as an act of political justice, but also in the interests of the religious life and social peace of Wales . . .

... One of the leading champions of the Church in Wales lately said: "At the present moment, the one difficulty in the way of religious reunion in Wales, from the Nonconformist point of view, is the relation of the Church to the State; but, in reality, this is not a difficulty - it exists only in the imagination."

The Welsh peasantry have their goods distrained upon for tithe, their cattle, their hay, their corn, their very pigs and potatoes seized in the name of religion. Bailiffs and emergency men, police and soldiery invade their homesteads. A Cardiganshire farmer had to pay £98-15-7 for a tithe liability of £10-15-7. But it is all imagination!

Tithe-paid clergymen use every artifice of ingenuity to defeat the Burials Act, and by technicalities, harass those who mourn for their dead. The holy ordinances of religion, as administered by Nonconformist ministers, are scorned as of no avail and a mockery . . . But the grievance, forsooth, exists only in the imagination! One Welsh bishop denounces and denies the nationality of Wales. Another decries and insults the language of Wales, and publishes tainted statistics about Welsh Nonconformity, while a third brands the farmers who protest against tithes as dishonest and immoral. The sense of insult felt by Welsh Nonconformists is all imagination! The £4,200 a year, paid to each bishop out of the labour of Nonconformist tenantry, is all imagination!

No, it is a real, bitter wrong. Tried by every democratic test, the Establishment in Wales is an indefensible as Dublin Castle . . .

With all its phenomenal activity, under threat of Disestablishment, the Church is still a small minority in almost every parish in Wales. It is anti-national in its sympathies. It strains the exercise of its legal and social privileges so insidiously here and so wantonly there, as to create constant heart burning and irritation. Nay, more, its continued maintenance as an Establishment is a degradation . . . The people of Wales have, during the last two centuries, in spite of the neglect and hostility of their nominal rulers, built up religious organisations of their own . . . Yet the first fruits of its land and toil and thrift are filched from it by law, to build and maintain castles for Episcopalianism, the creed of a class, - and Toryism - the gospel of privilege. To the continuance of this degradation, Wales has determined once and forever, that she will not submit . . .

Gwleidyddiaeth Cymru yn y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg, Ymatebion I.

Welsh Politics in the nineteenth century, Responses I.

Ym 1868 yr oedd gwres y gwrthryfel poblogaidd yn erbyn Toriaeth ar ei anterth (1), ond o fewn ychydig flynyddoedd ceid derbyniad o gynnydd y Rhyddfrydwyr fel petai'n ddigon cyffredin (2). Fodd bynnag y mae'r argraff hon yn un dwyllodrus fel y mae parhad y frwydr anghydfurfiol (ar ffurf rhyfel y degwm (3,4) a'r achos claddu yn Llanfrothen, 1888 (5)) yn profi. O dan wyneb gwleidyddiaeth etholiadol parhai'r hen frwydrau.

Whilst in 1868 the heat of popular revolt against Toryism was clearly evident (1) within but a matter of years there seemed to be almost a commonplace acceptance of Liberal ascendancy (2). However, this is clearly deceptive as the continuance of the nonconformist 'guerilla warfare' (in the form, for example, of the campaign against the tithes (3,4) and the Llanfrothen Burial Case of 1888 (5)), shows that below the surface of electoral politics the old battles continued to be fought.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1868.

THE RECEPTION OF THE HON. G. D. PENNANT AT NANTLLE.

One of the principal topics throughout the county during the past week has been the reception of the Hon. Mr. Pennant and party at Nantlle, on Friday (yesterday) week. Many versions of the story, and many opinions on its merits have been current; and in some of our English contemporaries most exaggerated and false accounts have appeared. We now lay before our readers what we believe to be a correct statement, rather under than overdrawn, of what took place on the occasion. The facts are furnished by an eye-witness, and substantially agree with other reports we have received from various sources.

Mr. Pennant, says our informant, accompanied by Mr. Hayward, Mr. W. Watkins, and others, drove up to Penygroes on Friday, last week, where it was expected that Mr. Hayward's quarrymen would meet them to draw Mr. Pennant, as they had Mr. Jones-Parry, up to Talyarn, according to orders; but it appears that the quarrymen flatly refused to obey. The party drove on to Talyarn, and lunched there. It being the middle of the day the school children congregated near the window of the room in which the party were lunching, and shouted out "Parry for ever," which seemed to annoy them exceedingly. A jugful of water having been thrown at them through a window—some say by a servant girl—the children became more noisy. Then Mr. Hayward went out in a passion, and struck a boy of about fifteen years of age on the arm in a violent manner. The men of some quarries close by ran down, and hearing of the circumstance became enraged, and were going to handle the driver roughly, and destroy the carriage, but upon the driver's representation that the carriage was a hired one and that he himself had no connection with the party, they desisted. Mr. Hayward called upon the policeman to keep order, but he replied that it was quite useless for him single-handed to cope with such a number of men in such an exasperated state, as he might be torn to pieces. The number present, including women and children, were reckoned at from 1200 to 1500. The canvassing party had to beat a precipitate retreat, being accompanied, as they drove off, by a shower of clois, one of which, it is alleged, struck Mr. Watkins on the mouth. Such is the tale told by one spectator; elsewhere we give the testimony of another, and though the two statements may vary slightly, they agree in bearing witness to there having been an extraordinary demonstration of feeling on the part of the population of Talyarn, and to the fact that this outburst was provoked by the injudicious conduct of Mr. Pennant and his supporters, and aggravated by the violence of certain gentlemen of his party. Far be it from us to encourage displays of temper, passion, or violence, even in those of our own party. As a rev. speaker at the Criccieth meeting expresses it—"Such proceedings are quite contrary to their principles and their teaching," and, we may add, to the character and habit of the people, and we sincerely regret that the proceedings of Friday week should have taken place. But are the quarrymen, their wives, and children, alone to blame? In our opinion, far from it. One of the axioms of the generally-received code of morality is that the receiver is worse than the thief—the tempter more to be condemned than the tempted offender; and can Mr. Pennant and his canvassing party wash their hands in innocency in respect of this matter? But, it may be asked,—“May the Liberals go round asking people for votes, and would you forbid the Conservatives doing so?” Surely not: while the law allows canvassing—and we trust it will not some time hence—both parties must yield to the necessity, and seek for the support of the elec-

tors. We do not, therefore, object to Mr. Pennant's going to Nantlle to canvass; nor to his being assisted by his friends, if those friends be not the employers of the very men whose votes are sought, and some of whom were, if report speaks correctly, sent for on this occasion to promise their votes to Mr. Pennant in the presence of their masters. Does it then create surprise that this proceeding should have roused the indignation of the inhabitants? If our readers can recall their own feelings on any occasion when their honour and rights have been outraged—no matter in what way, for different things touch different men—we think they will sympathise with the Nantlle wrong-doers, even while they deprecate their conduct.

For ourselves, we cannot see how great severity can be dealt out to uneducated men, and ignorant women and children, who, under great provocation overstep the bounds of propriety and self-control, when gentlemen can be roused to use invective and violence by the mockery of a company of unruly children. It must be remembered that the provocation did not commence on this occasion. It had existed for a long term of years in forcing on the people a representative not of their choice, and alien from them in principle: it has been carried on with increased force during the past months of election preparation by agent and sub-agent, lawyer, and Tory zealot, and anger and indignation were simply brought to a head, and found a temporary vent in the circumstances we have detailed.

But while we say this, we earnestly hope we shall not again be called upon to palliate the conduct of our usually orderly, decorous, and intelligent quarrymen, in doing that which, if it be provoked, is, at least unwise, and likely to injure their own reputation and the cause they, with ourselves, have in hand.

As for the martyrs in this affair, we have small sympathy with them. On recovering from the first sense of discomfiture and anger the experienced, they, with true philosophy, began to see good in the rough usage they had received; or rather, that good might be brought out of the evil, if it were wisely dealt with. With what eloquence did they forthwith expatiate upon the injuries they had suffered at the hands of Welsh savages, and declaim against the party to which their assailants belonged; but like the martyrs of blessed memory they rejoiced in their suffering believing that the success which waits on persecution would now be theirs. That their efforts to enlist sympathy have not been entirely in vain, we think is possible, for unfortunately there are some respectable, but muddle-headed persons who, careful of their reputation for obedience to the teaching of their catechism—that they should order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters—and not blessed with power to discern and hold to a principle, no matter who its supporters may be, are greatly scandalised by the demonstrations at Nantlle, and acknowledge themselves ashamed of their party. Let such pause before they become perverts to a cause which, while it is far from being exclusively composed of gentlemen—even in the conventional sense—does not make it one of its chief aims to educate, elevate, and unite all classes, and prevent the occurrence of such scenes as that witnessed at Nantlle.

In conclusion, we advise our opponents to refrain from rousing a spirit they can neither quell nor govern. We know that at the present moment success is all they look to, but we can scarcely think so badly of any of our fellow-countrymen, as to believe they would gain their object at the risk of calling into action passions

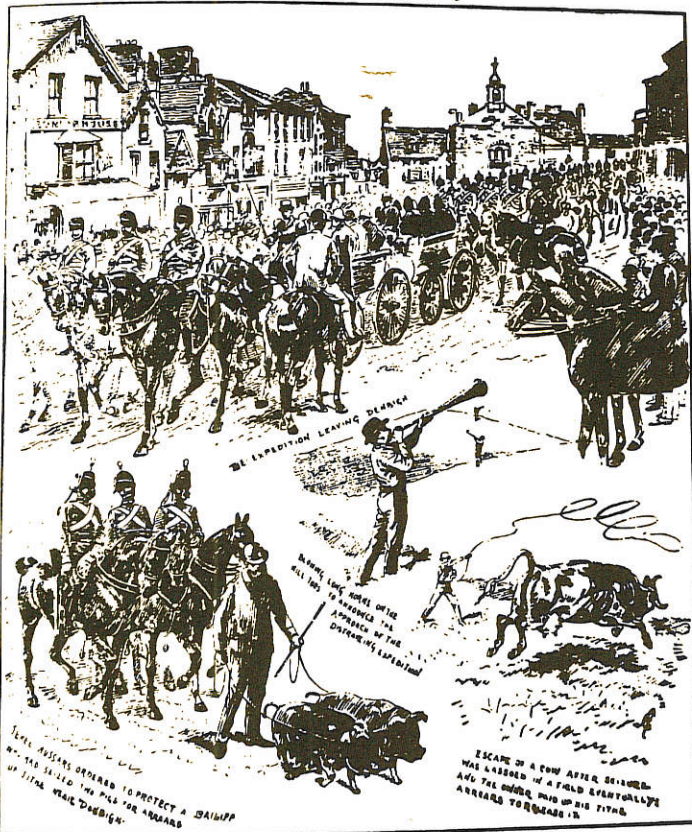
that may leave their mark on the country for years, that must sow hatred and distrust between classes, and retard all true progress.

“Nomination at Bridgend.”

For fifteen years the election of representatives for the county of Glamorgan has been a formal one. The candidates have met at the town-hall, they have been proposed and seconded, and, as knights of the shire, presented with swords by the Clerk of the Peace. They then addressed the electors, and with three cheers for the members, the excitement in the town ceased, and the people returned to their ordinary pursuits. On Wednesday the nomination of members to represent the county created no excitement whatever. The High Sheriff and Mrs. Stacey arrived in Bridgend about half-past eleven o'clock, and stood conversing on the foot-pavement in front of the Town-hall for some time. A few minutes before twelve o'clock the doors opened, and Mr. Stacey and Mr. C. W. Luard entered the room. In a few minutes Mr. H. H. Vivian accompanied by Mr. T. M. Talbot, and Mr. J. H. Rowlands, of Neath, entered and presented the nomination papers to the High Sheriff. Then Mr. Ebenezer Lewis, of Brocastle and Mr. Robert Evans of Brynteg, presented the nomination of Mr. C. R. M. Talbot, and Mr. Vaughan Lee, of Lanelay, and Mr. J. R. Homfray, of Penlline Castle, that of Sir Ivor Bertie Guest. No political feeling; no party manifestation. Each one laughing and joking with the others, and seeming to regard the event as one of a very ordinary occurrence. At the entrance to the Hall stood a guardian of the peace to prevent intrusion, but the inhabitants did not evince the least curiosity to ascertain what the proceedings inside the hall were. In the dinner hour a few loitered in front of the hall on their return to work, to read the notice announcing the names of the candidates nominated, but they soon passed away, and the inhabitants seemed to forget that anything beyond the course of events was taking place. Not a flag was to be seen or manifestation in any way of public feeling. Bridgend is a town long known for the Liberal sentiments. On the top of the hill stands an old church which shows a sparse select congregation. In the town are several Nonconformist churches, crowded every Sunday. It is not to be expected that in such a town Conservative principles find a resting place. With the exception of Mr. H. H. Vivian, none of the candidates appeared on Wednesday. Everywhere he appeared to meet with a cordial reception, and the inhabitants of Bridgend entertain no thought whatever of changing their representatives.”

2 The Cardiff Times, 7February 1874

1 CAERNARVON AND DENBIGH HERALD



3

Mr. RICHARD PARRY called and examined.
Chairman.

67,786. Where do you live?—Farchoel, Llanfihangel.

67,787. Are you a tenant farmer under Sir Watkin Williams Wynn?—Yes.

67,788. Is this your evidence?—Yes.

67,789. Do you object to its being read?—No.

[The following statement was then read:]

I live at Farchoel, belonging to Sir Watkin Williams Wynn. I have lived there since I was 14 months old, and I am now over 38 years of age. I joined the anti-tithe movement in Montgomeryshire in the year 1891, and I refused to pay the tithe on principle. I am a Nonconformist—a Congregationalist. The tithe is payable to the vicar of our parish. I farmed the place well, and put my labour and capital in it. After I had refused to pay the tithe Mr. Edwards, of Llangedwyn, and Mr. Edwards, of the Park (two sub-agents of Sir Watkin), came to my house and asked me to pay the tithe. I refused to pay. A sale took place at my farm to realise the tithe. Some time after the sale I had notice to quit the farm, and I went to Col. Hughes at Park, Llewidiarth, to ask him for the farm. He told me I should not have it even if it were let to nobody. The reason being, because I had not paid the tithe. I went straight to Sir Watkin. He said I had struck the first blow, and I must stand by it. He also told me I should have the first chance of it, but that the agent must come and value it. I told Sir Watkin that the farm had been valued in 1880, and it was dear enough then. If they raised the rent they would raise it on my work. They kept me till the spring without letting me know what they intended doing. They then told me that I could have the farm, but that the rent must be raised about 7*l.* a year, and that the tithe must be put with the rent. They raised it 7*l.* a year more than the rent and the tithe was before. I was bound to take the farm because

I had nowhere else to go, and my capital and my labour was all locked up in it.

Lord Kenyon.

67,790. How many times did you refuse to pay the tithe?—I cannot say; there was a sale yonder.

67,791. How many years' tithe did you refuse to pay—more than one?—I cannot say exactly for that.

67,792. I do not think you understand what I mean. Did you refuse more than one year to pay the tithe?—Yes.

67,793. For two years?—For two years, I think; I am not sure.

67,794. Do you not think it just to pay the tithes. Do you pay tithe now?—I have to pay it in the rent now.

Mr. Brynmor Jones.

67,795. Your complaint with regard to the payment of tithe is that it is appropriated to religious purposes with which you do not agree?—Yes.

67,796. If the tithe were properly appropriated to some general public purpose, you would not object to pay tithes?—No.

67,797. In what parish is your farm?—Llanfihangel parish.

67,798. Is that a Welsh-speaking parish?—Yes.

67,799. Are the people there mostly Nonconformists?—Yes.

67,800. Do they mostly share your views with regard to the tithe?—They came to the same view as myself at that time, but they did not stand to what they had promised.

4 Report of Royal Commission on land in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1896

THE HERALD

THE BURIAL SCANDAL AT LLANFROTHERN.

THE CASE BEFORE THE PORTMADOC COUNTY COURT.

VERDICT FOR THE DEFENDANTS.

THE Rev. Richard Jones, rector of Llanfrothen, Dean Lewis, of Bangor, and Archdeacon Evans of Llanllechid, sued Mr. Morris Roberts, Gareg, Llanfrothen, and seven others at the Portmadoc County Court, on Wednesday, for damages, the allegation being that defendants had unlawfully broken into part of the burial ground attached to the church at Llanfrothen, and of which the plaintiffs alleged they were trustees.

Our readers will remember that when the funeral of the late Mr. R. Roberts, Chapel House, Croesor, arrived at the entrance to the churchyard, they found the gate locked; and as the friends of the deceased had given notice to the rector that the funeral would take place under the Burials Act, believing that they had a legal title to the burial ground, they forced open the gate and buried deceased in a grave which had once been closed at the request of the rector. Naturally, the case created profound interest in the neighbourhood, and the court was densely packed throughout the hearing of the case by Judge Bishop and the following gentlemen as a jury:—Mr. E. M. Roberts (Pfriddfedw, Talsarnan), Capt. Morgan Jones, Messrs. John Owen (Paris House), Morris E. Morris (chemist), and Robert Owen (timber merchant); Messrs. Lloyd Carter and Vincent, Carnarvon, appeared for plaintiffs, and Mr. D. Lloyd George and Mr. W. George, Criccieth, for defendants and for the vestry of Llanfrothen parish. The case having been opened by Mr. Carter, the following

Caernarfon and Denbigh Herald, May 1888.

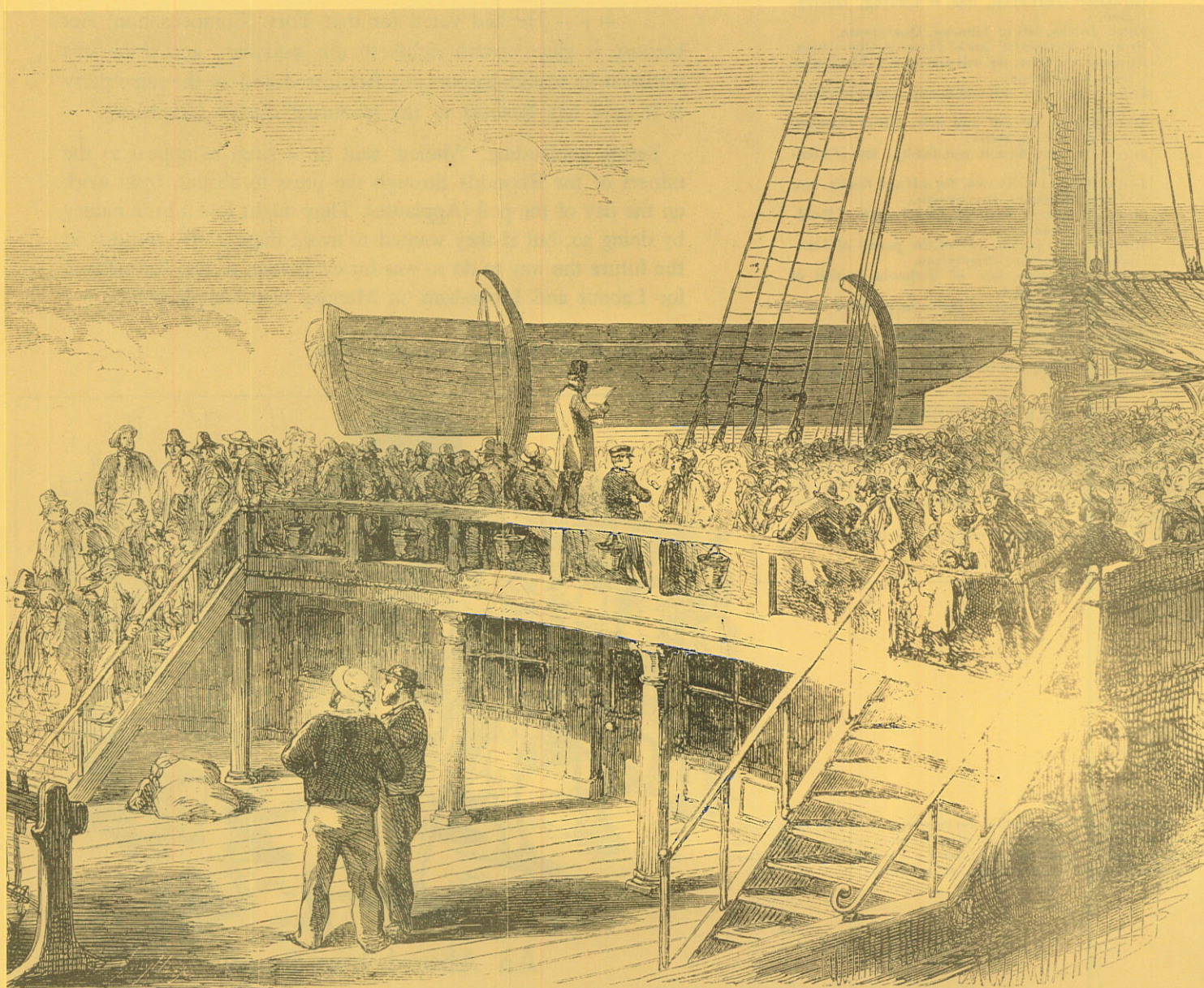
Tra y gellir gweld datblygiad Cymru Fydd (1) fel tystiolaeth bellach o fuddugoliaeth math neilltuol Gymreig o Ryddfrydiaeth, y mae'r ymfudo o Gymru yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg (2,3) yn ein hatgoffa bod Cymru yn dechrau mynd yn gydwladol yn ogystal â chenedlaethol, ond nid oedd Toriaeth wedi darfod ac fe ymladdai'n ôl yn erbyn ffermwyr tenant gwrthryfelgar. Wrth gwrs, nid y troi allan a'r anoddefiad gwleidyddol yn unig a ddarbwyllodd pobl i ymfudo: gellir gweld ffermwyr, chwarelwyr, glowyr a gweithwyr tunplatio fel dioddefwyr o dan Ryddfrydiaeth fasnach-rydd yn hytrach na Thorïaeth. Gellir gweld datblygiad o fewn y blaid Ryddfrydol o gynrychiolwyr llafur fel William Abraham (Mabon) megis tystiolaeth bellach o afael tyn Rhyddfrydiaeth dros fywyd gwleidyddol yng Nghymru, ond gweithredai'r tyndra amlwg rhwng 'Lib-Labiaeth' erbyn dechrau'r ugeinfed ganrif fel cywirydd i'r fath ddehongliad (4,5).

Whilst the emergence of Cymru Fydd (1) can be seen as further evidence of the victory of a specifically 'Welsh' Liberalism, the widespread emigration of Welsh people in the late nineteenth century (2,3) serves to remind us that not only was Wales becoming international as well as national, but that Toryism was far from exhausted as it fought back against recalcitrant tenant farmers. Of course, it was not only evictions and political intolerance which persuaded people to emigrate: farmers, quarrymen, miners and tinsplate workers may be seen as the victims of free-trade Liberalism rather than Toryism. The emergence within the Liberal Party of representatives of labour such as William Abraham (Mabon) can be seen to mark further evidence of the stranglehold of Liberalism over political life in Wales, but the strains which were apparent in Lib-Labism by the beginning of the twentieth century act as a corrective to such an interpretation (4,5).

CONSTITUTION AND RULES OF THE 'CYMRU FYDD SOCIETY'

1. That the main purpose of the 'Cymru Fydd Society' be to secure a National Legislature for Wales, dealing exclusively with Welsh affairs, while preserving the relations with the British Parliament upon all questions of Imperial interest.
2. That the Society shall assist in securing the return to the House of Commons of thoroughly representative men, who will in the meantime advocate Welsh reforms, in accordance with the National aspiration.
3. That the Society stimulate the Welsh Party to more united and energetic action with regard to Welsh reforms and the interests of Wales . . .
5. That the Society shall exert its utmost efforts to establish like Societies within and without the Principality, and shall co-operate with other societies for the promotion of these objects."

1 Home Rule for Wales, 1888



2 Quarter - Deck of an Emigrant Ship. The Roll-Call

NOTICE TO EMIGRANTS.



THE undersigned continue to engage Passengers for first-class fast-sailing AMERICAN PACKET SHIPS, which average from 1000 to 1500 Tons, for the following Ports: viz., NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, BOSTON, NEW ORLEANS, BRITISH AMERICA, &c.

Emigrants in the Country can engage passage by letter, addressed as underneath, stating the Port to which they intend to go, when the price of passage and all other particulars will be stated, so that they need not be in Liverpool until the day before the ship is to sail, and they will thereby avoid detention and other expenses, besides securing a cheaper passage, and having the best berths allotted to them previous to their arrival.

For further particulars apply (post paid, and enclosing a postage stamp for a reply) to JAMES BECKETT and SON, North End Prince's Dock, Liverpool, or Mr. ELLIS ROBERTS, Carnarvon.

CERTIFICATE.

Liverpool, 12th July, 1845.

WE, the undersigned, from the Principality of Wales, being passengers on board the Ship "Republic," hence for New York, do hereby certify, for ourselves, relatives, and friends, (in number one hundred and thirty-four), going by that vessel, that we have engaged our passage with Messrs. JAMES BECKETT and SON, General Emigrant Agents, north end Prince's Dock, Liverpool; and that they have been very kind and attentive to us, and we are perfectly satisfied with their treatment towards ourselves and all who accompany us. We therefore consider it our duty strongly to advise any of our countrymen, who may hereafter be going to America, to engage their passage with Messrs. BECKETT and SON, as we think they will act towards all such passengers in the same fair and honourable manner in which they have acted towards us.

- ROBERT CLOSS, for self and family, late of Llanberis, Victualler.
- ROWLAND JONES, for self and family, late of Glan-yr-afon, Llanrug, farmer.
- JOHN JONES, for self and family, late of Brynllan, parish of Llanrug, Farmer.
- JOHN JONES, for self and family, late of Llanrug, shoemaker.
- PUGH ROBERTS, Tan-y-buarth, Llanddeiniolen, Carnarvonshire.
- JOHN DANIEL, for self and family, late of Llanfair, Farmer.
- RICHARD GRIFFITH, late of Llanrug, Quarryman.
- JOHN JONES, late of Llanrug, Quarryman.
- ROBERT GRIFFITH, late of Llanrug, Quarryman.
- ROBERT DAVIES, for self and family, Llanddeiniolen, Quarryman.
- JOHN OWEN, for self and family, Llanddeiniolen, Quarryman.
- JOHN JONES, for self and wife, late of Caethro, near Carnarvon, Tailor.
- JOHN DAVIES, for self and family, late of Llanberis, Farmer.
- JOHN WILLIAM EVANS, for self and family; late of Llanddeiniolen, Quarryman.
- JOHN ROBERTS, for self and family, late of Beddgelert, Victualler.
- ROBERT WILLIAMS, late of the parish of Llanwnda, Carnarvon, Quarryman.
- HUGH EDWARDS, late of Bethesda, parish of Llandegai, Draper.
- EVAN EDWARDS, late of Bethesda, parish of Llandegai, Draper.
- JOHN EDWARDS, late of Bodwrog, Anglesey, Farmer.
- JANE THOMAS, late of Bodwrog, Anglesey, Farmer.

MR. ELLIS ROBERTS,

Begs to inform persons desirous of emigrating to the United States of America, or any of her Majesty's possessions in North America, that he has been appointed Agent for Messrs. James Beckett, and Son, and that he has obtained a licence as Passenger Broker, under the recent Act of Parliament.

Every information can be given by Mr. E. Roberts.

3

[Notwithstanding the admitted fact that the adoption of the Eight Hours Bill will result in an increase in the price of coal the miners' leaders, headed by "Mabon," took every opportunity to popularise the Bill, which, it is claimed, will handicap Great Britain in the race for supremacy in the world's commerce.]



An Absurd Impediment.

MABON (fastening on the weight): It will slow him a bit, but not nearly so much as some people think. Besides, what does it matter?

4 The Western Mail, 19 March, 1908

**"RHONDDA DIVISION.
'MABON' OPENS HIS CAMPAIGN.**

'Mabon' opened his campaign on Monday by addressing a mass meeting of the miners of Messrs. D. Davis and Sons collieries on the mountain side at Tylorstown. ---

--- 'Mabon', who was given a warm reception, said it had become necessary for him to be absent from the constituency for two or three days this week in order to regain some seats from the Tory party - (cheers) - but the working men of the Rhondda would go on with the campaign in his absence. He had been asked why it was that Ferndale - and Ferndale alone, should insist on getting him opposed. (A Voice: "Because they have beer there on a Sunday.") (Laughter) Well, he would tell them. He had offended a great number of the Tories there by what they termed his "Stupid advocacy of the Compensation Act ("Shame"). If they remembered, he advised the working men to retain their benefits with the old Permanent Relief Fund, and at the same time exact their rights under the Compensation Act. --- The "Western Mail" told them that "Mabon" was all right as a Labour candidate, but that because he was a Radical he must be opposed (Laughter). What was a Radical? A man who supported measures formed on the will of the people, which was the basis of Radicalism. Were the electors of the Rhondda prepared to return such a man? (Cries of "Yes"). He was prepared to fight the seat on Radicalism alone, but they must bear in mind that labour was their first cause - (applause) - and after that Radicalism, which included the rights of labour ---

--- He had voted for that Tory (Compensation) Act because it gave certain rights to the workman, and if he was returned he would support any Act introduced by the same party if it gave any benefits to the labouring classes (Applause).

Before concluding, 'Mabon' said he desired to appeal to the miners of the Rhondda through the press to abstain from work on the day of the poll (Applause). They might lose a little money by doing so, but if they wanted to avoid these costly contests in the future the way to do so was for every man to register his vote for Labour and Liberalism on Monday next (Applause)."

5 The Western Mail, 2 October 1900

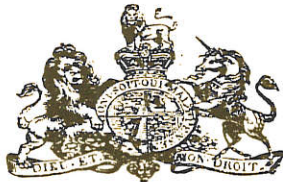
Er gwaethaf cyfyngiadau ar lwyddiant ac unbennaeth Rhyddfrydiaeth yng ngwleidyddiaeth Cymru yn hwyr yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg ac ar ddechrau'r ugeinfed ganrif, fe gyflawnodd bethau arwyddocaol dros Gymru. Ond dwy enghraifft yn unig oedd y Ddeddf Gau ar y Suliau, 1881 (1), a'r Ddeddf Addysg, 1889 (2) o'r gydnabyddiaeth gynyddol o wahanolrwydd Cymru a gafodd fynegiant yn sefydliad y Brifysgol Genedlaethol (3), Llyfrgell Genedlaethol, Amgueddfa Genedlaethol ac yn y blaen. Erbyn 1914 fe gyflawnwyd hyd yn oed y wobwr y disgwyliesid mor hir amdani, sef Datgysylltiad (4), er na pharodd hwn ond ychydig o gyffro erbyn gweithredu'r ddeddf ar ôl y Rhyfel Mawr.

Despite limits to the success and dominance of Liberalism in Welsh politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, its achievements for Wales were clearly significant. The Sunday Closing Act of 1881 (1) and the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 (2) were but two examples of the growing recognition of Welsh separatism which found institutional form in a national University (3), Library, Museum, etc. By 1914 even the long sought after prize of disestablishment was achieved (4) but by now it was almost regarded as an anticlimax and its implementation after the War caused little excitement.

The first opportunity the Welsh had of building up a system of education was eagerly grasped. The statistics of the Education Department will show with what zeal and passionateness the people of Wales set themselves to carry out the provisions of Mr. Forster's Act of 1870. In the establishment of the three Colleges at Aberystwyth, Cardiff, and Bangor they have shown their zeal for higher education. Wales contributed £75,000 to Aberystwyth College. When the Government promised £4,000 for the South Wales College, there was no difficulty in raising £25,000 from the people. How differently Wales has been treated from Scotland and Ireland. For Scotland, between 1873 and 1883, alone this House voted £409,250 for higher education, and £140,000 was voted to build the University of Glasgow. In Ireland I find from this year's Estimates the Queen's Colleges receive £37,173, and for the building of museums, agricultural schools, and other similar institutions, £41,084 has been expended, and as much as £203,700 has been spent on the Science and Art buildings in Dublin. Under the Act of 1878, £1,000,000 was devoted to intermediate education in Ireland. Surely the least Wales can ask is that you should give us this miserable pittance in order to meet the rate we are ready to take upon ourselves.

2 Hansard, 15 May 1889. Speech by T.E. Ellis on 2nd Reading of The Intermediate Education (Wales) Bill.

[44 & 45 VICT.] *Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881.* [CH. 61.]



CHAPTER 61.

An Act to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in Wales. A.D. 1881. [27th August 1881.]

WHEREAS the provisions in force against the sale of fermented and distilled liquors during certain hours of Sunday have been found to be attended with great public benefits, and it is expedient and the people of Wales are desirous that in the principality of Wales those provisions be extended to the other hours of Sunday:

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. In the principality of Wales all premises in which intoxicating liquors are sold or exposed for sale by retail shall be closed during the whole of Sunday. Premises where intoxicating liquors sold to be closed on Sundays in Wales.

2. The Licensing Acts, 1872-1874, shall apply in the case of any premises closed under this Act as if they had been closed under those Acts. Application of Licensing Acts. 35 & 36 Vict. c. 94. 37 & 38 Vict. c. 49.

3. This Act shall commence and come into operation with respect to each division or place in Wales on the day next appointed for the holding of the general annual licensing meeting for that division or place. Commencement of Act.

4. Nothing in this Act contained shall preclude the sale at any time at a railway station of intoxicating liquors to persons arriving at or departing from such station by railway. Sale of intoxicating liquors at railway stations.

5. This Act may be cited as the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881. Short title.

LONDON: Printed by GEORGE EDWARD EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. 1881.

[Public.-61.]

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES, ABERYSTWYTH.

PRESIDENT:

The Right Hon. LORD ABERDARE, G.C.B.

PRINCIPAL:

T. F. ROBERTS, M.A. (Oxon).

The College offers courses in Arts and Science suitable to students preparing for the B.A., B.Sc., and M.A. Examinations of the University of London, for Scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge, or for Medical Studies at these or other Universities.

Special facilities are offered to Students in modern languages wishing to take the Ph.D. Degree at a German University.

The fee for either the Arts or Science Course is £10, a small extra charge being made for Laboratory Practice.

Entrance Scholarships, ranging in value from £40 to £10, are awarded in September of each year.

The College possesses a well-furnished Gymnasium, Recreation Grounds, Boats, &c.

For Women Students a large and Commodious Hall of Residence is provided. Men Students reside in lodgings, which are obtainable at very moderate rates in the town.

Some of the professors receive a limited number of men students as boarders.

For general prospectus and also for special prospectuses of the Agricultural and Normal Departments, the Training Department for Secondary Teachers, the Summer Classes, and all other particulars, apply to

T. MORTIMER GREEN, Registrar.

An Act to terminate the establishment of the Church of England in Wales and Monmouthshire, and to make provision in respect of the Temporalities thereof, and for other purposes in connection with the matters aforesaid. [18th September 1914.]

BE it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, in accordance with the provisions of the Parliament Act, 1911, and by authority of the same, as follows:

PART I.

DISESTABLISHMENT AND VESTING AND DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY.

Disestablishment.

1. On the day after the expiration of six months, or such extended period as His Majesty may fix by Order in Council, not being more than twelve months, after the passing of this Act (in this Act referred to as the date of disestablishment), the Church of England, so far as it extends to and exists in Wales and Monmouthshire (in this Act referred to as the Church in Wales), shall cease to be established by law, and, save as by this Act provided, no person shall, after the passing of this Act, be appointed or nominated by His Majesty or any person, by virtue of any existing right of patronage, to any ecclesiastical office in the Church in Wales.

Disestablishment and prohibition of future appointments.

2.—(1) On the date of disestablishment every cathedral and ecclesiastical corporation in the Church in Wales, whether sole or aggregate, shall be dissolved.

Ecclesiastical corporations and bishops.

(2) On and after the date of disestablishment no bishop of the Church in Wales shall as such be summoned to or be qualified to sit or vote as a Lord of Parliament; but save as aforesaid every person who is at the passing of this Act a bishop, dean, canon, or archdeacon or the holder of any ecclesiastical office in the Church in Wales, shall during his life enjoy the same title and precedence as if this Act had not passed.

F f 2

Gwelid gogoneddiad o bwysigrwydd Cymru yng ngwleidyddiaeth Prydain ym mherson David Lloyd George (1). O ddyddiau cynnar ei yrfa wleidyddol gweithiai ei rinweddau a'i swyn; hyd yn oed ar Geidwadwyr megis T. Marchant Williams (2). Cyfeiria Williams at ei wrthryfel yn erbyn y llywodraeth Ryddfrydol yn achos Datgysylltiad Cymru: arwydd glir fod dadleuon Cymreig yn rhan o'i wleidyddiaeth yn y cyfnod hwn. Mewn erthygl yn *Young Wales* ym 1895 gwnaeth Lloyd George ddatgan yn gryno yr achos o blaid hunan-lywodraeth genedlaethol i Gymru a system bedwarblyg, ffederal i Loegr, Iwerddon, Cymru a'r Alban (3). Fodd bynnag, ar ôl siomedigaeth Cymru Fydd, yr oedd ei uniaeth â Chymru a phwysigrwydd cymreictod yn ei natur yn amlwg bob amser fel yr esgynnai ysgol gwleidyddiaeth Brydeinig: yn Ganghellor ym 1909 (4), yn Weinidog Arfau ym 1915 (5) hyd at y swyddogaeth uchaf oll mewn gwleidyddiaeth.

The real apotheosis of the recognition of Wales and the importance of Wales in British politics was seen in the person of David Lloyd George (1). From early on in his political career his qualities, and his ability to charm and beguile, were at work even on Conservatives such as T. Marchant Williams (2). Williams refers to his rebellion against the Liberal Government in the cause of Welsh disestablishment, a clear indication at this stage of Welsh issues in his politics. In an article in *Young Wales* in 1895 Lloyd George stated succinctly the case for Welsh national self government and for a fourfold federal system for England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland (3). However, after the disappointment of Cymru Fydd, whilst his sights were set much more on the British political arena, whether as Chancellor of Exchequer in 1909 (4), or as Minister of Munitions in 1915 (5) his identification with Wales and the importance of 'Welshness' in his make-up were always apparent as he rose to the highest political office.



THE ARCH-DRUID OF DOWNING STREET.

1

One of the main elements of Mr Lloyd George's character is push. He is largely endowed, too, with wordly wisdom. A superficial observer of the man may pronounce him rash and indiscreet; all who are thoroughly familiar with his history will, however, unite in saying that his rashness and indiscretion must be more apparent than real, for they always prove advantageous to him as a party politician by strengthening his position in his constituency and in the country generally. Even this little revolt of his, untimely though it may seem to most of us, will tell hereafter, we feel confident, to his advantage. It is distinctly in his favour that he has had the courage to revolt at all. If the Government yield to his demands, great will be his reward; if the Government decline to yield to his demands, great will be the disgrace in the sight of the Welsh people, not of Lloyd George, but of the members who have refused to follow his lead. But why did he revolt? Was it because he felt that he must do something heroic, something sensational, if the attention of his countrymen was to be distracted from his complete discomfiture in the Welsh Disestablishment Debate? If the revolt is to be regarded as a tactical movement designed for some such purpose as this, it must be acknowledged to have turned out a perfect success. The courageous little rebel has entirely overshadowed the fallen parliamentary champion of Welsh Disestablishment.

Mr George has a very interesting personality. He is very affable, very frank and outspoken. He has a bright and intelligent face and (in private life) very pleasing manners. One hardly knows what a Campbellite-Particular Baptist ought to look like, but one has no difficulty in bringing before one's mental eye the typical outward characteristics of a popular demagogue. They are by no means the outward characteristics of Mr Lloyd George.

He once delivered a powerful speech on Temperance in the House of Commons; he has delivered many equally powerful speeches on the subject in his constituency. He is one of the half-dozen total abstainers in the ranks of the Welsh parliamentary party.

Take him for all in all, he seems by far the best-fitted of the Welsh members for the leadership of the National party in the House of Commons. . . . He is quick-witted; he is eloquent; he is daring; in a word, he is perhaps the truest Celt that Wales has ever sent into the House of Commons.

† Marchant Williams, 'Mr David Lloyd George', in *The Welsh Members of Parliament*, 1894, Cardiff, 1894; from K.O. Morgan, *Lloyd George and Wales in Welsh History and its Sources 1880-1914* (The Open University in Wales) 1983.

2

David Lloyd George on National Self Government for Wales (From *Young Wales* October 1895).

. . . One dominating element in these disasters is what Lord Salisbury designated the swing of the pendulum. This operation is substantially confined to the English electorate. It is a noteworthy fact that no such tendency appreciably influences the decision of the Celtic constituencies of this country. Election after election they record practically the same vote. The Celt is Liberal in his politics because he is Conservative in his temperament. . . . The Celt alone stood in 1874 precisely where he was in 1868 . . . All these troubles have but one common origin. The Celt and the Englishman are at cross purposes. This diversity of opinion on political, social, and religious questions, instead of disappearing, widens as the years go by until it has at last produced a state of things intolerable to the Celt and inimical to the goodwill which ought to exist between the various nationalities constituting this United Kingdom. What is the remedy? . . . When the Imperial Parliament is Conservative the demands of the Celt are voted down. When it is Liberal, English must be attended to . . . It thus comes about that, although Wales has been praying for Disestablishment, Temperance Reform, and Land Reform for at least five general elections, she seems at the present moment to be another fifteen years remove from a settlement of most if not all of these questions at the hands of the Imperial Parliament . . . the only practical remedy left for discussion is to be found in some system of Federalism which confers upon each separate nationality the right to manage its own domestic affairs . . .

3

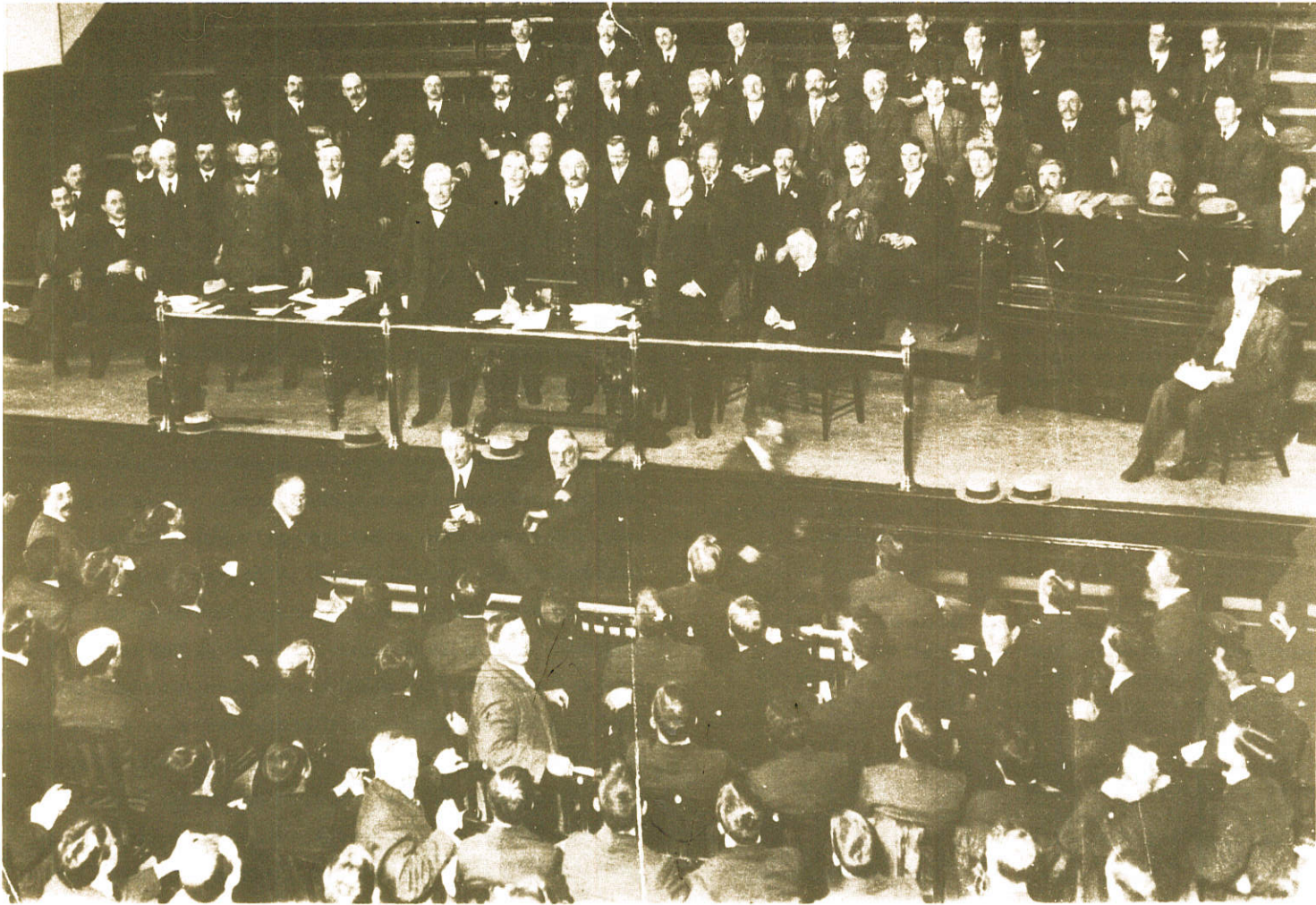


RICH FARE.

THE GREAT LLOYD GEORGE-DR:

Fee, Fi, Fo, Fat,
I smell the blood of a Plutocrat;
Be he alive or be he dead,
I'll grind his bones to make their bread.

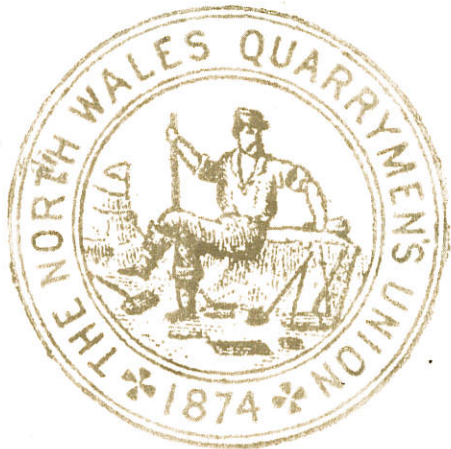
4



5 Lloyd George addressing Conference of the South Wales Miners Federation at City Hall, Cardiff, during coal strike, July 1915.

Dangosir cynnydd yr Undebau Llafur yng Nghymru yn ystod blynyddoedd olaf y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg drwy gyfeirio at chwarelwyr gogledd Cymru a glowyr y de. Ffurfiwyd Undeb Chwarelwyr Gogledd Cymru ym 1874 (1) a than arweiniad radicalaidd 'Lib-Lab' dynion megis W.J. Parry ymladdodd lawer brwydr chwerw â pherchnogion y chwarel megis yr Arglwydd Penrhyn. Yr un fwyaf nodweddiadol o'r rhain oedd 'Cloi Allan y Penrhyn', 1900-03 (2). Y mae'n glir fod cymynrodd 1868 yn elfen yn y dadleuon hyn. Yr oedd uniaethu arbennig y chwarelwyr gyda'u hundeb a phwyllgor streic (3) (a arweiniodd at chwerwder yn erbyn bradwyr (4)) yn ddyledus, i raddau helaeth, i'w dymuniad i barhau i reoli'r broses waith yn y chwarel. Yr oedd y chwarelwyr yn weithlu cymharol fechan mewn amgylchedd gwledig yng Ngwynedd.

The rise of trade unionism in Wales during the late nineteenth century is illustrated by reference to the quarrymen of north Wales and the coalminers of the south. The North Wales Quarrymen's Union was formed in 1874 (1) and under the radical Lib-Lab leadership of men such as W.J. Parry it fought many bitter disputes with the quarry owners such as Lord Penrhyn: the most notable of these was the Penrhyn lock-out of 1900-03 (2). It is clear in these disputes that the legacy of 1868 was a factor. The special identification of the quarrymen with their union and strike committee (3), leading to bitterness against blacklegs (4), owed much to their desire to continue to control the work process in the quarry. The quarrymen were a relatively small industrial workforce in a largely rural environment in Gwynedd.



The Penrhyn Lock Out.

WE make an appeal on behalf of Old Men, Widows, and Orphans, who are already suffering great hardships in consequence of the Lock Out.

We who are on the spot, and are sufferers ourselves, know full well the justice of the men's cause, and the oppression they have suffered ever since the present Lord Penrhyn came into possession. The good feeling that existed between his late noble father and his workmen was destroyed at a stroke by the present lord within three months of his coming into the property, and all his dealings with them ever since have been tyrannical. He terminated at a month's notice the conditions under which they worked with his noble father. He took away from them virtually the management of their Sick Benefit Club,—compelling them to take as Medical Officer one selected by himself,—they still paying the same amount of monthly subscription towards the club as they did when they had the right to select their own medical man. If they were allowed to select their own they would be more likely to accept his service, while now the bulk of the men go to others,

whom they have to pay in addition to their present subscription to the Quarry Club. He did all this without consulting the wishes of the men to whom it was of vital importance. He has by his actions endeavoured to create ill-feeling in the quarry between Unionist and Non-unionist workmen. On one occasion, after a deputation of the men had approached him with a written statement on behalf of the whole quarry, he called the three Union Members of the Deputation before him, and without giving them a proper opportunity to defend themselves, he read out to them a previously prepared notice of dismissal, for a supposed offence, for which there was no ground whatever, and was proved afterwards by the written defence of the men. This has been set out in the written defence of the men sent to his lordship in 1885, and never denied.

All his treatment of the men confirms the warning of his noble father to a Deputation that appeared before him in August, 1865, and which was given in the presence of the present lord, and in the presence of one of us, viz., "Beware that you do not offend George, for if you do he will never forgive, he can never forgive." It is generally believed that the results of the elections of 1868 and 1880 has something to do with his treatment of his men.

The circumstances of the Strike of 1896-7 for securing the Right of Combination are so familiar to all that we need not enter into them.

Lord Penrhyn claims that he has provided for the proper representation of grievances; but as the management will only consider complaints that are personally made by the aggrieved, it is obvious that complainants become marked men, and trifling faults can afterwards be made the cause of their dismissal.

The fact is clear to us all here, and there is no doubt in the minds of anyone in the district, that 5 men who took an active part in that movement have been dismissed from the quarry without any reason whatever been given for their dismissal, and the reasons have been refused to those of the men who asked for them. We all look upon it as a despotic act on the part of Lord Penrhyn, and believe that they have suffered for having done what they considered their duty as the representatives of their fellow-workmen. This has been of a piece with the treatment of his men since he came into the property.

It appears to us that the men are determined now to remain out till these men are reinstated, and their just rights are granted them; and we, with confidence, appeal to the public generally for support to enable them to secure these things.

On behalf of the Relief Committee,

W. J. PARRY, Chairman.

G. ROBERTS, J.P., Vice-Chairman.

DANIEL LLOYD, Treasurer.

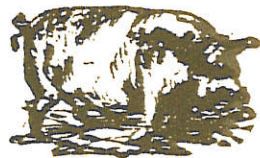
Rev. W. W. LLOYD, General Secretary.

February 6, 1901.



3

PUNT Y GYNFFON.



Mesur, "Y

Mochyn Da."

Glywsoch chw'r ystori anfwyn—
Stori'r brád, a stori'r cynllwyn?
Gwaeth na Brad y Cyllill Hirion
Yw ystori Punt y Gynffon.

Cydgan,

O! mor drwm yr ydym ni,
O! mor drwm yr ydym ni;
Y mae arnom aiar calon,
Punt y Gynffon,—ach á hi!

Ofer siarad am bersonau,
Baich y testyn yw cynffonau
Os am helynt—"teulu'r gynffon"
Holwch urdd y "crysau gwynion."

Cydgan,—O! mor drwm, &c.

Rhaid cael corph i ysgwyd cynffon,
Pwy yw hwnwr—corpws gwirion?
Rhyfedd iawn 'does ond cynffonau
Oll yn chware ar y bonciau!

Cydgan,—O! mor drwm, &c.

O! mor werthfawr yw cymeriad!
'Does á'i pryn holl aur y cread;
Dei'll yr hollfyd brynu dynion—
Fe eill *sofren* brynu cynffon!

Cydgan,—O! mor drwm, &c.

Bydd yn ffyddlon, O Chwarelwr!
Actia'r *dyn* gerbron uchelwr
Nis gall oescedd tragwyddoldeb
Ddattod dyn o'i *gyfrifoldeb*.

Cydgan,—O! mor drwm, &c.

Weithwyr! Cariwch bawb eich croesau,
Chw! gewch fendith mil o oesau;
'Welir "cynffon" ar fynyddoedd
Yn hollti creigiau'r mil blynyddoedd?

Cydgan,—

O! mor hardd fydd eu gwedd!
O! mor hardd fydd eu gwedd!
Dynion cryffon—bawb yn ffyddlon,
A phob "CYNFFON" yn ei fedd!!



"OLL YN CHWAREU' AR Y PONCIAU."

4

Undebau Llafur, Glowyr

Trade Unionism, Coalminers

Bu datblygiad yr undebau llafur yn arafach yng nghymoedd llwyr ddiwydiannol de Cymru gyda'u gweithlu anferth o lowyr. Tarddodd yr ymgais gyntaf i sefydlu undeb eang seiliedig yn y maes glo o Gymdeithas Arunedig y Glowyr a reolidd Swydd Gaerhirfryn. Yn gynnar yn y 1870au ymestynnodd y gymdeithas hon yn gyflym yn y cymoedd, ond ar ôl cael ei gorchfygu mewn streic ym 1875 (1) fe ddiffannodd yn llawn mor gyflym. Am yr ugain mlynedd nesaf canolid yr hyn ag a oedd o undebaeth llafur ar undebau lleol, gwan (2). Erbyn y 1890au, fodd bynnag, chwyddodd ton newydd o filwriaeth a gychwynnodd gyda 'minteoedd martsio' y cludwyr, 1893 (3), yn hytrach na chyda'r glowyr eu hunain, a oedd fel arfer ym mlaen undebau'r glowyr. Ym 1898, ar ôl cloi-allan a barodd am chwe mis (4,5), gorchfygwyd yr 'Undebau Ardal' gan orfodi i undebau'r glowyr gyfuno. Ffurfiwyd Ffederasiwn Glowyr De Cymru (6) ac, o fewn degawd, daeth y 'Ffed' yn un o'r undebau cryfaf a mwyaf milwriaethus ym Mhrydain.

Trade unionism was slower to develop in the totally industrialised mining valleys of south Wales with their huge workforce of miners. The first attempt to set up a widely based union in the coalfield sprang from the Lancashire controlled Amalgamated Association of Miners. In the early 1870s it spread rapidly in the valleys but after defeat in a strike in 1875 (1) it disappeared almost as quickly. For the next twenty years such trade unionism as there was centered upon localized and weak district unions (2). By the 1890s, however, a new wave of militancy appeared, first sparked off not by the colliers who were usually to the forefront of miners' unions, but by the hauliers of south Wales and their 'marching gangs' of 1893 (3). In 1898 the defeat of the district unions after a six months lock-out by the coalowners (4,5) finally forced unity upon the miners' unions. The South Wales Miners' Federation was formed (6) and within a decade the 'Fed' became one of the strongest and most militant unions in Britain.



1 Mass meeting at Merthyr during miners' strike, 1875. Illustrated London News.

ON MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS IN THE SOUTH WALES VALLEYS, 1892-98.

(Excerpted from Eleventh Report by the Chief Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade on Trade Unions in 1898 with comparative statistics 1892-1897 C. 9443 of 1899.)

—	TITLE OF TRADE UNION (Arranged in order of Year of Formation.)	Year in which formed	Branches at end of 1898	Number of Members at end of						
				1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898
<i>South Wales</i>										
229	South Wales Western District Miners (a)	1869	28	4,540	1,300	1,200	2,000	2,800	2,250	5,588
230	Caerphilly Miners	1881	—	1,340	1,040	(c)	—	—	—	—
231	Aberdare, Merthyr, and Dowlais Miners	1882	15	7,000	6,500	6,400	6,000	6,500	6,000	500
232	Anthracite Miners	1882	33	3,500	4,000	3,500	4,000	4,532	5,400	6,050
233	Ebbw Vale and Sirhowy Colliery Workmen	1886	—	2,500	2,400	2,500	3,000	3,250	3,500	(d)
234	Monmouthshire and South Wales District Miners (b)	1887	—	6,059	3,059	1,368	920	682	70	(e)
235	Abercarn Colliery Workmen	1889	—	35	(f)	—	—	—	—	—
236	Risca Colliery Workmen	1889	—	84	(g)	—	—	—	—	—
237	Colliery Enginemen and Stokers of Neath and District	1892	3	55	57	56	62	69	69	186
238	Hauliers and Wagemen of S. Wales and Monmouth	1893	—	—	3,004	5,500	(h)	—	—	—
239	Rhymney Valley Miners	1893	—	—	2,500	2,500	2,691	3,500	1,917	(i)
240	South Wales Colliery Winding Enginemen	1895	1	—	—	—	57	179	83	123
241	Monmouth Western Valleys Miners	1897	—	—	—	—	—	—	500	(j)
242	South Wales Miners' Federation	1898	200	—	—	—	—	—	—	60,000

(a) No. 229:—Late Neath, Swansea, and Llanelly District Miners' Association.

(b) No. 234:—This union in the Seventh Report is described as the Monmouthshire and South Wales Miners' Association (Branch of Miners' Federation of Great Britain) and as having 77 branches at the end of 1893.

(c) No. 230:—Dissolved 1894.

(d) No. 233:—In 1898 became a district of No. 242.

(e) No. 234:—In 1898 became a district of No. 242.

(f) No. 235:—Dissolved 1893.

(g) No. 236:—Dissolved 1893.

(h) No. 238:—Dissolved about 1895.

(i) No. 239:—In 1898 became a district of No. 242.

(j) No. 241:—In 1898 became a district of No. 242.

N.B.—The Board of Trade officials did not include Mabon's Cambrian Miners' Association in the list of trade unions.

2 R. Page Arnot, (South Wales Miners 1898-1914), 1967.



The Collieries Strike in South Wales

- 1 March of strikers to the Ferndale pits: hooting those coming from work
- 2 A striker and his dog
- 3 Women and children bringing bread and cheese to the men at the Merthyr meeting
- 4 Two thousand strikers passing up the main street of Merthyr
- 5 Halt on the way to the Merthyr meeting

The Illustrated London News

3 1893 Hauliers Strike in south Wales (Illustrated London News).

... Fred [her uncle] had been to a combine meeting on this Saturday evening. He came home, didn't say anything. My father was working nights in the pit, so he went to work on the Sunday night. Monday morning he would normally be home before I would get up. Father would come in, light the fire and call when it was time to get up. My mother came and said, 'Mav, your father's not come home from work.' 'Oh he's working on.' 'That's unusual, because if he's working on he sends a message.' Well, I didn't pay much attention, I went on getting the breakfast. Mother kept on going back and fore to the front door, she was uneasy because he hadn't come home from work. And presently she said, 'Hey, have a look, the boys are coming home!' The pit was at the top here and the youngsters were coming down the road. So she said, 'What's happened?' 'Oh, they're staying down.' 'Staying down?' 'Yes, and they've sent us up, we're too young. So we've given them our food and our water.' Well, it was the first we knew. Fred had come home, he had confided in my father, and – what I always felt was so interesting – in the old days, if there was a dispute, and they'd have a pithead meeting, one man had to take the cork out of his bottle or his can, and empty his water, and once they started emptying their water, that meant 'We're not going down.' That was it, it was settled, once you started. But that time instead of saying 'Empty your water', he said 'Take care of your water'. That was Dad's job then at the bottom of the pit to tell the men when they got down,

'Go easy with your water.' And when they sent out the old men and those who were ill, they all left their water down with them. Well, that was such a complete change and it was a new way of fighting the bosses.¹³⁹

I heard the town crier, there was to be a mass meeting in the Workmen's Hall. Well, the school was close, and as soon as twelve o'clock came, I was down at the Workmen's Hall, and the Hall was absolutely heaving, mainly with women. 'How are we going to get food down to them?' We were supporting the strike, of course, but 'How are you going to get food down to them?' Well, the instructions were, 'Go home, and if you've got a man down the pit, find a shoe box, fill it up with food, tie it up and put his name on it, and we'll see that it goes down the pit.' Until eventually we begin to organise a soup kitchen on top of the pit, now instead of a soup kitchen for children. Anyway, the women were the people working in the Hall, making cocoa and what have you, and oh, stacks . . . and there are some very funny stories about that because it was new to everybody. And one old lady, the son is still alive, they had had an argument on the Saturday, he was betting, she didn't approve of him betting and gambling on horses. But she was so concerned that she'd had this quarrel with him, that in his shoe box she had put the Echo, and a shilling for a bet. And we were trying to tell her – 'You can't. . . .' 'Oh never mind, let him know, all is forgiven.'¹⁴⁰

4 South Wales Miners Library, interview with Morris Llewelyn, Nantymoel.

Excerpts from *Justice* and from Keir Hardie's
Labour Leader 1898

SOUTH WALES DISPUTE

Since coming into this district I have seen many wage-sheets of miners, the majority of which bore testimony to wages considerably less than £1 per week—15s., 16s. 6d., 17s., 18s., &c.

In addition to this disgraceful rate of pay, wealthy colliery companies like the Great Western Company own the houses in which the men live, and take good care to get a good percentage of the inadequate wage back from the men in rack rents for miserable hovels. The housing of the workers in these industrial Welsh valleys is carried out in a lamentable fashion. Nowhere in London can be seen worse tenements than those in which some of the miners are housed in a number of these colliery towns and villages.

(*Justice*, Saturday, April 23, 1898.)

THE LABOUR WAR IN SOUTH WALES

In spite of these terrible sufferings, the miners resolutely refuse to give to their leaders plenary powers to settle. They assert that they have repeatedly been betrayed on previous occasions, and that W. Abraham, M.P., and some of his colleagues, when negotiating with the masters, are like "clay in the hands of the potter." Abraham is perhaps the most unpopular man in this district to-day, and the miners are not loth to point out that they pay him about £700 per annum for doing nothing at all.

(*Justice*, Saturday, May 7, 1898.)

* * *

During the hauliers' strike in Wales, in 1893, the then Liberal Government sent soldiers; now again, in the reign of a Tory Government, the same thing is done. The Welsh colliers will probably make a note of this fact. If so they will escape the blunder into which others who should know better have fallen of pretending to believe that it is the Tories who are doing this thing. The point for the men to remember is that it is a capitalist Government which is doing it, and whether that Government be named Liberal or Tory it will be done just the same.

This latest case is really an outrage on all preconceived ideas of Government. The Welsh colliers have been on strike for two months. During that

5 R. Page Arnot, (South Wales Miners 1898-1914), 1967.

time there has been no rioting, no disorder of any kind which even called for police interference. The men at their mass meetings often sing hymns, and to open and close with prayer is not uncommon. Hunger having failed to subdue them so quickly as the masters had hoped, they decided to bring soldiers, in the hope that their presence would induce a feeling of despair, if it did not provoke bloodshed, and thus lead to the victory of the masters.

(*Labour Leader*, Saturday, June 18, 1898.)

STARVING WALES

Men Fighting Gallantly and in
Good Spirit, but the Wolf is
Showing His Fangs

Merthyr, Monday Night.

The men are in rare fettle. A very tricky move is on foot to get them to resume work on the old sliding scale. If the men I have conversed with are any index to the temper of their mates, this is the last thing they will do. Mabon hints that if the employers definitely make this offer he will advise acceptance. Alderman David Morgan, on the other hand, declares he would prefer to see the men die by inches rather than accept the old terms. His is the voice of wisdom.

Soup kitchens and the stoneyard are the principal means of relief. I regret to hear that the soup kitchens in some districts are in danger of being closed for lack of funds. I renew my appeal of two weeks ago to readers of *The Labour Leader* to exert themselves in this holy war. *These men can win.* The shareholders in some of the big collieries are writing to the papers protesting against the action of the directors in accepting the dictation of Sir W. T. Lewis.

The Taff runs through the valley, which is enclosed by high mountains all round. In this grand amphitheatre is Troedyrhiw, and behind the village is the stoneyard. Today 1,045 men are at work. They are paid 1s. per day and 2d. for each child. The old men are kept for herding off the children, whilst the young and strong are at work earning their shilling. A picturesque sight they make, and from time to time they break out into a chorus which rolls up the mountain sides with fine effect.

In the Merthyr district there are 18,000 children being fed every day at a cost of five farthings a head per diem.

(Keir Hardie in the *Labour Leader* of Saturday, June 25, 1898.)



6 Banner of Naval Lodge, Penygraig, South Wales Miners Federation, 1898.

Yn ystod digwyddiadau 1898, sefydlodd Keir Hardie enw iddo'i hun yn ne Cymru ac, o fewn dwy flynedd, gellid gweld dechreuad Sosialaeth yng Nghymru gyda'i ethol yn aelod seneddol dros Fwrdeistrefi Merthyr (1). Yr oedd gan Gymru ei haelod seneddol Llafur annibynnol cyntaf, eithr yn y cyfnod hwn, cyn 1914, yr oedd Rhyddfrydiaeth yn gryf o hyd, er yr etholid Hardie drachefn (2) yr oedd bob amser yn 'aelod ieuaf' yn yr etholaeth ddeuol hon, gyda Rhyddfrydwr ar y blaen. Sut bynnag, fe ddaeth Cwm Merthyr yn gadarnle'r Blaid Lafur Annibynnol a geisiodd (3) dreiddio i bob agwedd ar fywyd y gymuned fel y gwnaethai Rhyddfrydiaeth gynt (4).

It was during the events of 1898 that Keir Hardie first established a reputation in south Wales and within two years the emergence of the Socialist movement in Wales could be seen through his election, aptly, to parliament for Merthyr Boroughs (1). Wales had its first Independent Labour MP but the sway of Liberalism was far from at an end in the period before 1914: although Hardie was to be returned in future elections (2) it was always as the 'junior member' in the double-barrelled constituency with a Liberal heading the poll. The Merthyr valley, however, gradually became a stronghold of the Independent Labour Party, which (3) attempted to pervade all aspects of the life of the community in the way Liberalism had done before it (4).



1 Keir Hardie Speaking at Dowlais Top 1900 South Wales Miners' Library



TRECH GWLAD NAC ARLWYDD

Come in Good
Time to be
Measured for
that Suit for
the Easter
Holidays.

RICHARDS,
Cloth Hall,
PORTH.

The South Wales Worker. Gweithwr y de.

NEW SUITS

For Spring
JUST
ARRIVED!

RICHARDS,
Cloth Hall,
Hannah St.,
PORTH.

No. 62. (Registered). Fortnightly.

APRIL 4th, 1914.

PRICE ONE HALF-PENNY.

3 The South Wales Worker 1914
South Wales Miners Library

Well the I.L.P. in Merthyr in those days controlled what I would say the labour movement. You had branches of the I.L.P. in Treharris, Merthyr Vale, Troedyrhiw, Pentrebach, Merthyr, Penydarren and Dowlais. And all these of course were affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council. In addition to this we accepted as a political responsibility of the I.L.P. that we should be also active in our Trade Union movements and as well as these various trade union branches of I.L.P. being affiliated to the Trade and Labour Council, we were also being able to have delegates through the trade union branches. So in the Trades and Labour Council of Merthyr Tydfil there is no doubt about it that the I.L.P. controlled it.

But as I said, there's a great spirit in this village, you know were we were attempting to keep people together. We had, I can remember, we had five football teams, we had dramas, movements for dramas in every chapel and organisations. In fact quite a few I.L.P. in those days had a drama that was putting over political plays. And we used to go around the valleys of South Wales, using this drama as two things, as a means of political socialist education and also training many of the young people in the I.L.P. to become propagandists so that they would be able to speak off public platforms.

In my young days it was very nearly a temperance movement. Very, very few people would be regarded as drinking, all because mind I think this had the impact, they had agreed to fight to establish themselves. As you know in the early days of Yeir Hardie he was denounced as an atheist and amoral person. Now we had to overcome this not by words, but we had to overcome this by our practical behaviour in society in general. And there's no doubt about it that the I.L.P. was able to break through with the help of some of what I would call liberal people in the religious movement joining the I.L.P., this gave it a real moral and ethical basis. And I think that

4 South Wales Miners' Library, interview with Claude Stanfield, member of I.L.P.,
Troedyrhiw, Merthyr Tydfil.

Yng nghymoedd y Rhondda datblygodd traddodiad sosialaidd gwahanol (1), mwy seciwlar a mwy chwyldroadol. Gwasanaethai hwn y Blaid Lafur yn ogystal â'r Blaid Gomiwnyddol a oedd yn gryf iawn yng nghymoedd Cymru (2,3). Mewn gwleidyddiaeth senedd-etholiadol, fodd bynnag, y Blaid Lafur a elwodd o awyrgylch gwleidyddol cyfnewidiol y 1920 a'r 1930au: erbyn etholiad cyffredinol 1945 ymdebygai gafael tyn Llafur yng Nghymru ddiwydiannol i eiddo'r Blaid Ryddfrydol ym 1906 (4).

In the Rhondda valleys a different, more secular and certainly more revolutionary, socialist tradition developed (1). This served both the Labour Party and the Communist Party which had one of its strongest bastions in Britain in the Welsh valleys (2,3). In parliamentary electoral politics, however, it was the Labour Party which became the beneficiary of the changing political atmosphere of the 1920s and 30s. By the General Election of 1945 the stranglehold of Labour over industrial Wales rivalled that which the Liberal Party had enjoyed in 1906 (4).

RED DAWN.

Organ of the FERNDALE COMMUNIST PIT GROUPS.

No. 7.

Fortnightly, October 16th, 1925.

Price, One Penny

IN OUR LODGE.

Our last Meeting gave rise to considerable discussion, and out of the conflict of opinions it is to be hoped that correct policies will be laid, and that some good will materialise.

The District Agenda contained an important resolution, namely the discontinuance of Central Executive Grants to the unemployed men. This resolution was carried. That this decision should have to be taken is regrettable, but in view of the harm done by depleting funds usually set aside for the purpose of fighting compensation cases, and for work inseparably bound up with the Trade Unions, the Mardy Lodge are to be congratulated on their courage in bringing forward a resolution that was bound to be unpopular with many recipients of the Grant.

Criticism of the "Red Dawn."

That our paper should be subjected to such severe criticism by the Lodge Secretary is a matter which gives us some concern. Were our statements in accord with the viewpoint of the Officials there can be no doubt that this criticism would not be so bitter. But because we differ fundamentally on many things, we are subjected to unreasonable assaults.

It is incomprehensible to men who have received a Marxian training that umbrage should be taken when workers are termed slaves. Workers! you are slaves; you will be slaves until you have overthrown the capitalist system.

When men who are devoting their whole time and energies in what they consider to be the service of the working-class are told that, by the publication of this paper, they are acting in the capacity of tale-bearers, an insult is hurled at the intelligence of the whole working-class. What we print in these pages the Colliery Company is already aware of.

With reference to the case cited in our last issue, we hold that what should have engaged the attention of the meeting was the fact that the man concerned was taken from his place for someone else to go there, and as a consequence, was sent home as much as three days out of six, owing to the shortage of places. That reference should have been made to Trade Union principle, or that offence should unwittingly have been given anyone is regrettable, and if it does not apply we

apologise for it. Yet we need hardly stress the point that the limitation of this practice is of all things desirable.

The fact that our Agent should put aside matters of importance in order to criticise the *Red Dawn* is significant, and only goes to prove how bitter he is against our point of view. Further we suggest that, if the time of the meeting is to be taken up, that matters pertaining to this paper should be placed on the Agenda, as well as other important matters, and posted up in a conspicuous place, in order that the Ferndale workmen should know exactly what is to be discussed. It is about time that "Any other business" received a death-blow.

We find that the important matter of electing Stewards for the coming quarter was not provided with. Stewards should have been appointed to commence duties on Friday, Oct. 9th. Again, some very important items in the District Agenda were left out, and we wonder what manner the delegate carried on some of these matters to the District meeting held on Monday, Oct. 12th.

There was the matter regarding the report of auditors for 1924. We could not discuss this very well for the simple reason that no District Balance Sheet has been given in any of our Lodge Meetings, yet they have been given out in neighbouring lodges.

Again, regarding re-organisation. The District Secretary has circularised the lodges with a draft form of re-organisation on the basis of pit-group committees, in accordance with the Trade Union Congress. We heard no mention of this made.

A few general Complaints.

It is usual, when examinations are held for resident scholarship at the Labour College for lodge Secretaries to post notices giving details concerning time and place at which they are to be held. No notices were posted up and the one member of this lodge who was successful had to receive his information elsewhere, owing to the apathy of our local lodge officials.

Was the District Classes Conference more important than the Rhondda Borough Labour Party Conference?

EDITOR.

The Workers' Bomb

TO DESTROY IGNORANCE AND PREJUDICE.

No. 2.

DECEMBER, 1920.

ONE PENNY.

Notice to Correspondents.

Copy for the Press, if unsealed, may be sent at the following rates:—

Not exceeding 1-oz.	...	1d.
" " 2-oz.	...	1d.
" " 4-oz.	...	1½d.
" " 6-oz.	...	2d.

NOTICE.

A MEETING of "The Workers' Bomb" Press Society will be held at the Aberystwyth Restaurant, Llwynpia, on SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12th, 1920, at 2.30 p.m. sharp. All interested please make every effort to be present.

All Communications, and all monies, to be addressed to The Editor, "The Workers' Bomb," 58, Tyntyla Rd., Ystrad-Rhondda.

The Workers' Bomb
DECEMBER, 1920.

The "Bomb." The enthusiastic reception accorded to our first number is highly gratifying, which augurs well for the success of the paper, and proves that the venture was justified. Repeated efforts at co-ordinating various Socialist and Communist bodies in the Rhondda have failed, chiefly through "geographical control." In the BOMB we have a means of, partially at least, making good such a desirable end, for here is a common platform which can serve all sections of the Labour Movement, and become, if we so use it, a powerful weapon in our hands. The days of compromise and half measures are relegated to a past epoch in the development of working-class consciousness; the occasion for mild propagandist clap-trap and vague meaningless slogans and generalisations is spent. Our fight has been a mere masque of mock-heroics. In justice to our cause and the tremendous issues at stake, let us cry "curtain" on it. Leaders have talked for decades, and the sum of it all may be aptly stated in the words of the man in *John Ploughman's Talk* who took to shearing the sow: "much noise and little wool." We are in dire need of leaders who are out to get what we tell them we want, and not what they think we ought to be satisfied with. If they are out for anything less than what we demand, let us give them the "bird," in other words, scrap them ruthlessly, for they are mere camouflaged tools in the hands of the capitalists. The BOMB exists to blow this game of sham histrionics, if not to blazes, well out of the way, we shall then, at least, know where we are.

Unavoidably held over. Increased Production and the Coal Strike. The Outcome of a Compromise. Four! Ranges in a Market. The Brain Wave of a Capitalist.

The Great Onslaught.

COOK REPLIES TO HARTSHORN.

During the past few weeks the miners with the rest of the working class have had an exhibition of leadership. The times are quite exciting, the capitalist Press has added more blood to its staff, so the workers can look for a jolly time. The old form of trade unionism is breaking down. It is failing to function to the best interests of the members. Just as the Cambrian Strike of 1910 brought home the necessity for drastic changes in our organization, so the national strike of 1920, with all its dire effects, compels us to again overhaul the machinery of the Federation. The working class movement has received a serious set back as a result of the last agreement.

Bitter Pills.

As a result of the refusal of the rank and file to swallow the pills prepared for them by their responsible, respectable leaders, we are promised a "bonnie fight" by Mr. Hartshorn, C.B.E., of the gate to more fame. The "ginger" is the subject of his attack and there is no quarter, so to prove his sincerity he goes outside the ring and takes his coat off. In the first place he seeks the assistance of the capitalist Press (which no doubt will increase his income), and then like a wise man fights from afar off, giving us a fine exhibition of shadow boxing. He appeals to the public for sympathy and support in his great trial and suffering. Behold him being crucified by the ginger group, hence his resignation.

The Parents of Datum.

Messrs. Brace and Hartshorn were sponsors for the Datum child. As proud parents they dressed him in the finest silks to present him before the miners, with all the praise of the Government, Pulpit and Press. Yet all his fine clothes could not hide his ugliness, which resulted in his being totally rejected. So they have left their illegitimate child to be reared by others. They have left us to our fate. Mr. Brace has gone back home, what heart pangs he must have suffered at the separation! He is manager of the datum line at a bare subsistence wage! How delightful it is to read his speeches, especially those condemning the new Mines' Bill, which has provided him with a cosy job. I would warn him that there may be accidents on the line. Mr. Hartshorn informs us that the Federation is going to smash; well, he has done his best towards it with his datum scheme. He has got the idea into his brain box that the Federation cannot go on without him, his knowledge of figures, etc., etc., will be indispensable. Therefore, we are damned, Hartshorn has resigned from our Executive. We were even able to select some one to take his place. He is now on a new mission—Saviour of the Empire. Surely the Government will continue to remember their friends, and share the honours so that Hartshorn may be sure of three meals a day.

One Man One Full Time Job.

Mr. Hartshorn has the distinction of controlling affairs in various spheres. He was until recently a Miners' Agent in Maesteg, County Councillor, Justice of Peace, Member of Executive S.W.M.F., Member of Executive

M.F.G.B., and a Member of Parliament. In his spare time he sat on various committees in the House, and occasionally made some very fine speeches. The present form of organisation with no uniformity, every district having different conditions with varying benefits, is Hartshorn's ideal, it gives plenty of scope for leaders desiring plenary powers.

The Future Policy.

Neither the loss of Messrs. Hartshorn, Brace or Cook will stop progress. The rank and file demand control of their own destiny. The first business is to reorganise the S.W.M.F. We cannot hope to control the mining industry before we control our own organisation. Districts must go with the Chief and Tribe idea fighting one another. Centralisation with rank and file control is necessary to ensure uniformity. Every member must be secure of equal treatment and benefits. The Executive must be brought nearer the coal face by having only members of the rank and file as its members. No full-time official should be on the Executive, only in an advisory capacity. The M.F.G.B. must be comprised of districts with uniform rules and control. The rank and file must have the first and last word. All disputes come under four heads: Safety, Wages, Hours, Customs. Members should attend their Lodge meetings and discuss these points.

Output Committee and a National Wages Board.

A ballot on piece work will take place immediately in South Wales. There is no need to advise the miners how to vote, as every miner knows the evils of our piece-work system. We know how numerous are the accidents as a result of it. The National Output Committee has been established. So now to business. Our leaders have committed us to increased output. District Output Committees are to be set up in South Wales to be a party to speeding up,—to driving men to their death before their time. The miners must supply the answer. Our Executive will set up a District Output Committee unless we stop them. Attempts have already been made to do so. Therefore, we should demand a conference to instruct our Executive not to touch this unholy thing. Rhondda No. 1 District has decided against these Committees, and I am only expressing the decision of the District. Let us standardise our wages immediately, having a new 1921 Standard. Comrades! the future is in our hands, we must decide whether we go forward, or backward.

It is to be feared that there are more Bolshies in the local Conservative Clubs than in the Labour Clubs.

The action of a member of one of our Conservative Clubs in attending Bolshie meetings on Sunday nights was the subject of a discussion at one of the committee meetings of the Club. The member concerned resented this and wanted to pursue the subject further, but his ardour was subdued by one of the officers of the club, who said, "Leave it there now, Ianto, we are all Bolshies here, man."

RHONDDA VANGUARD!



THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE RHONDDA COMMUNIST PARTY.

No. 6.

February, 1936.

Price—One Half-penny.

They Die to Give Their Children Warmth!

What's Wrong with Llwynypia Hospital

The treatment of certain children of unemployed parents is really outrageous. Certified, times out of number, by local doctors as requiring operative treatment, they are refused admission to Llwynypia Hospital. It all arises out of a dispute between the District and County Councils as to which authority is responsible for the maintenance of the child at hospital. Relieving officers have apparently been informed that a child of school-age can only be admitted to hospital if the Medical Officer of Health authorises the admission.

On the other hand, the Medical Officer of Health contends that he can authorise a child's admission if it is suffering **only** from tonsils or adenoids. A recent meeting of the Child Welfare Committee agreed to pay £1/11/6 per ordinary case operated. If the child has any other complaint which requires an operation, it is argued that the local relieving officer himself, upon production of a doctor's certificate, must make arrangements for the child's admission to hospital.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1.)

Death on the Tips

Every day, fresh reports of death and accidents in the search for coal. Tips and outcrop levels are reaping an increasingly heavier toll of life and limb. The whole valley was horrified when the other day news came through that an unemployed man was killed in a Ystrad outcrop level.

We had scarcely recovered from the shock when we learned that another young unemployed man had been horribly mutilated and killed on the Tylorstown tip, grimly referred to as the "Death-tip." It has been a scene of many tragic accidents. A few months back, part of a full journey ran wild on the incline, killing instantly one unemployed coal-getter, and so badly injured another that he later died in hospital. This was almost immediately followed by the discovery of a man at the foot of the tip badly hurt about the face, with one of his eyes torn almost completely out.

The story of Tylorstown tip can be told of other tips as well. "It was only after several hours of digging we were able to get them out," said a man. He was referring to the recent burying of three unemployed men in a Ferndale

outcrop level. "A man has been buried on the tip," shouted a woman at Mardy to her neighbours. Luckily, the sliding of the tip only resulted in him being buried up to his neck, otherwise death would have been almost certain.

When is it all going to end? The local Courts, apparently, demonstrate their sympathy by sending unemployed men to prison for two or three months' hard labour because they provide warmth for their kiddies. Last week, only one day before this young man was killed at Tylorstown, the Ystrad Stipendiary sentenced a married man with five children of school age to six weeks' imprisonment, fined another married man with two children for a first offence £3, and remanded a youth of 17 years for a week in prison to consider sending him to Borstal—all for stealing coal from a siding.

It is surely time that the Glamorgan County Council took steps in the direction of ensuring that the unemployed are supplied with coal. Human life must be more sacred to us than the expenditure of a little extra money.

Tylorstown workers are paving the way in the fight for free coal. In a meeting held to protest against the deaths and accidents on the tip, a strong committee was set up.

GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS IN WALES, 1945

Angelsey		
Lloyd-George, Lady Megan.	(Lib)	12,610
Hughes, Flg Officer. C	(Lab)	11,529
	Lib Maj.	1,081
Brecon & Radnor		
Watkins, T. E.	(Lab)	19,725
Guest, Maj. O.	(Con)	14,089
Lewis, D. L.	(Lib)	8,335
	Lab Maj.	5,636
Caernarfon		
Roberts, G. O.	(Lab)	22,043
Owen, Sir G.	(Lib)	15,637
Bebb, W. A.	(Welsh Nat)	2,152
	Lab Maj.	6,406
	Lab Gain.	
Cardigan		
Bowen, Capt. R.	(Lib)	18,192
Morgan, Iwan.	(Lab)	10,718
	Lib Maj.	8,194
Carmarthen		
Morris, R. H.	(Lib)	19,783
Hughes, R. M.	(Lab)	18,504
	Lib Maj.	1,279
	Lib Gain.	
Llanelly		
Griffiths, J.	(Lab)	44,514
George, Maj. G. O.	(Con)	10,397
	Lab Maj.	34,117
Denbigh		
Morris-Jones, Sir H.	(Lib Nat)	17,023
Evans, Wg-Cdr. G.	(Lib)	12,101
Jones, Lt-Cdr. W. L. M.	(Lab)	11,702
	Lib Nat Maj.	4,922
Wrexham		
Richards, R.	(Lab)	26,854
Miln, D. L.	(Nat)	13,714
Williams, J. D.	(Lib)	6,960
Jones, J. R. H.	(Welsh Nat)	430
	Lab Maj.	13,140
Flint		
Birch, Lt-Col. N.	(Con)	27,800
Jones, Miss E. L.	(Lab)	26,761
Hughes, J. W.	(Lib)	17,007
	Con Maj.	1,039
Aberavon		
Cove, W. G.	(Lab)	31,286
Llewellyn, Capt. D. T.	(Con)	11,860
	Lab Maj.	19,426
Caerphilly		
Edwards, Ness.	(Lab)	29,158
de Courcy, Capt. J.	(Con)	7,189
	Lab Maj.	21,969
Gower		
Grenfell, D. R.	(Lab)	30,676
Aeron-Thomas, J.	(Lib Nat)	14,115
	Lab Maj.	16,561
Llandaff & Barry		
Ungoed-Thomas, Maj. L.	(Lab)	33,706
Lakin, C.	(Con)	27,108
Williams, Maj. B.	(Lib)	10,132
	Lab Maj.	6,958
	Lab Gain.	
Neath		
Williams, D. J.	(Lab)	37,957
Bowen, D. J.	(Nat)	8,466
Samuel, W.	(Welsh Nat)	3,659
	Lab Maj.	29,491
Ogmore		
Williams, E. J.	(Lab)	32,715
Davies, Maj. O. G.	(Nat)	7,712
Morgan, T.	(Welsh Nat)	2,379
	Lab Maj.	25,003
Pontypridd		
Pearson, A.	(Lab)	27,823
Treherne, Capt. C. G.	(Con)	7,260
Williams, J. E.	(Lib)	5,464
	Lab Maj.	20,563
Merioneth		
Roberts, Sgn. Ldr. E. C.	(Lib)	8,496
Jones, H. M.	(Lab)	8,383
Hughes, C. P.	(Con)	4,374
Evans, G.	(Welsh Nat)	2,448
	Lib Maj.	112

Abertillery		
Dagger, G.	(Lab)	28,615
Hayward, Surg. Cmdr. J. J.	(Nat)	4,422
	Lab Maj.	24,193
Bedwellty		
Edwards, Sir C.	(Lab)	30,480
Tett, Lt. H. I.	(Con)	6,641
	Lab Maj.	23,839
Ebbw Vale		
Bevan, A.	(Lab)	27,209
Parker, Flt. Lt. S. C.	(Con)	6,758
	Lab Maj.	20,451
Monmouth		
Pym, L. R.	(Con)	22,195
Oakley, A. L.	(Lab)	20,543
	Con Maj.	1,652
Pontypool		
Jenkins, A.	(Lab)	27,455
Weeple, J. G.	(Con)	8,072
	Lab Maj.	19,383
Montgomery		
Davies, Clement	(Lib)	14,018
Owen, Capt. P. L. W.	(Con)	10,895
	Lib Maj.	3,123
Pembroke		
Lloyd-George, Maj. G.	(Lib)	22,997
Hienburgh, Maj. W.	(Lab)	22,829
	Lib Maj.	168
Cardiff Central		
Thomas, T. G.	(Lab)	16,506
Hallinan, C. S.	(Con)	11,982
Morgan, Lt. P. H.	(Lib)	5,121
	Lab Maj.	4,524
	Lab Gain.	
Cardiff East		
Marquand, Prof. H. A.	(Lab)	16,299
Grigg, Sir. J.	(Nat)	11,306
Emlyn-Jones, J. E.	(Lib)	4,523
	Lab Maj.	4,993
	Lab Gain.	
Cardiff South		
Callaghan, Lt. L. J. A.	(Lab)	17,489
Evans, Sir A.	(Con)	11,545
	Lab Maj.	4,944
	Lab Gain.	
Caernarfon Boroughs		
White, Lt. Col. D. Price	(Con)	11,432
Davies, D. S.	(Lib)	11,096
Jones, W. E.	(Lab)	10,625
	Con Maj.	336
	Con Gain from Lib	
Merthyr Tydfil		
Davies, S. O.	(Lab)	24,879
Jennings, S.	(Ind)	5,693
	Lab Maj.	19,186
Aberdare		
Hall, George.	(Lab)	34,398
Clover, Capt. C. G.	(Con)	6,429
	Lab Maj.	27,969
Newport		
Freeman, P.	(Lab)	23,845
Bell, Lt-Comdr. R. M.	(Con)	14,754
Crawnsnay, Maj. W. R.	(Lib)	5,362
	Lab Maj.	9,091
	Lab Gain.	
Rhondda East		
Mainwaring, W. H.	(Lab)	16,733
Pollitt, H.	(Comm)	15,761
Davies, J.K.	(Welsh Nat)	2,123
	Lab Maj.	972
Rhondda West		
John, W.		Unopposed Lab.
Swansea East		
Mort, D. L.	(Lab)	18,127
Harding, R.	(Lib Nat)	6,102
	Lab Maj.	12,025
Swansea West		
Morris, P.	(Lab)	18,098
Jones, Sir L.	(Lib Nat)	13,089
	Lab Maj.	5,099
	Lab Gain.	
Universities:		
Wales		
Gruffydd, Prof. W. J.	(Lib)	5,239
Jones, Miss G.	(Welsh Nat)	1,696

Yr oedd datblygiad Sosialaeth yng Nghymru yn gysylltiedig â thwf traddodiad hynod o addysg ddosbarth gweithiol, annibynnol yng nghymoedd de Cymru. Ceir hyd i darddiad y mudiad hwn yn y llyfrgelloedd gwych a grewyd yn Sefydliadau'r Gweithwyr yn y maes glo gyda phres a dynnwyd oddi ar gyflogau'r glowyr (1,2). I gychwyn, Cymdeithas Addysgol y Gweithwyr a elwodd fwyaf ar y dyhead hwn am hunan-addysg, ond, yn dilyn streic Coleg Ruskin, 1909, bu nifer o lowyr-fyfrwyr Cymreig â rhan yn sefydlu'r Coleg Canolog Llafur a fu, yn y diwedd (o dan berchnogaeth Ffederasiwn Glowyr De Cymru ac Undeb Cenedlaethol Gweithwyr y Rheilffordd), yn gyfrifol am addysgu cenhedlaeth gyfan o arweinwyr Llafur yn ne Cymru (3).

The rise of Socialism in Wales was intimately connected with the development of a remarkable tradition of independent working-class education in the valleys of south Wales. The origins of this movement are to be sought in the outstanding libraries created in Workmen's Institutes in the coalfield through deductions from miners' wages (1,2). To begin with it was the Workers Educational Association which was the main beneficiary of this passion for self-education, but following the Ruskin College strike of 1909, a number of Welsh miner-students were involved in the setting up of the Central Labour College which eventually, under the ownership of the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen, was responsible for educating a whole generation of labour leaders in south Wales (3).

Papers and Magazines.

The following list is subject to deletions and additions in accordance with the wishes of the Subscribers, with the approval of the Committee.

DAILY.

South Wales Daily News
Western Mail
Echo and Express
The Times
London Daily News

Daily Herald
Daily Mail
Daily Chronicle
Daily Mirror

WEEKLY.

Pembroke Guardian
(Welsh)
Montgomeryshire Express
(Welsh)
Cardigan and Tivy Side
Advertiser
Brecon and Radnor Express
Reynolds
Christian Herald
Rhondda Leader
Merthyr Express
Aberdare Leader
Church of England News-
paper
British Weekly
British Bandsman
Athletic News

Labour Weekly
Colliery Guardian
Amateur Gardening
Small Holder
Penny Pictorial
Public Opinion
Labour Leader
Exchange and Mart
Clarion
Punch
Tyst
Baner Cymru
Darian
Seren Cymru
Y Goleuad
London News
Sphere

MONTHLY.

Y Drysorfa
Cymru
Musical Herald
Musical Times
Brass Band News
Windsor
Welsh Outlook

Strand
Wide World
Boys Own Paper
Great Thoughts
Pearsons
Royal

Rules for the Control of the Lending Department of the Library.

1.—The Librarian will hand out books to Subscribers on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, between the hours of 10 a.m. to 12 mid-day, 2 to 4 p.m., and 5 to 8 p.m. *Thursdays* 10 a.m. to 12 noon *only*.

2.—All Subscribers to the Institute, upon obtaining a Borrower's Ticket, shall be entitled to borrow books from the Library.

3.—Every applicant for a Borrower's Ticket must fill and sign a Form of Application, which may be had on asking from the Librarian or Caretaker.

4.—The Borrower will be held responsible during the time of keeping any book which he may borrow, or for any damage done to such book.

5.—The time allowed for reading each book shall be **14 days**. A fine of 2d. per week shall be charged for each book detained beyond 14 days, and if not returned within 28 days, measures shall be taken to compel the return of the book: the Borrower being responsible for all expenses thereby incurred, and being also liable to lose his or her title as a Borrower.

6.—A book may be renewed at the expiration of the time allowed for reading, unless it has been asked for by another Borrower.

7.—A Borrower's Ticket shall be used only by the person whose name appears thereon, or in the case of Night Workers and others who are unable to personally apply, by an authorised messenger, who must be considered trustworthy by the Librarian.

Class Letter and Subject Group No.	Accession-Number.	
D156 Hammond, Mr. and Mrs. J. L.	3277	The Town Labourer, 1760-1832
D172 Sinclair, Upton	3271	The Industrial Republic
D172 Borgeaud, Charles	3272	The Rise of Modern Democracy
D172 Linton, W. J.	3273	The English Republic
D180 Daly, J. Bowles	3278	The Dawn of Radicalism
D190 Farrer, T. H.	3279	The State in its Relation to Trade
D204 Skottowe, B. C.	3280	A Short History of Parliament
D228 Baxter, Rt. Hon. W. E.	3566	England and Russia
D244 Chapman, Sydney J.	3281	Local Government and State Aid
D246 Shaw, Albert	3282	Municipal Government in Great Britain
D246 Rathbone, William	3567	Local Administration
D246	4136	Encyclopædia of Local Government Law. Vol. I.
D246	4137	Encyclopædia of Local Government Law. Vol. II.
D246	4138	Encyclopædia of Local Government Law. Vol. III.
D246	4139	Encyclopædia of Local Government Law. Vol. IV.
D246	4140	Encyclopædia of Local Government Law. Vol. V.
D246	4141	Encyclopædia of Local Government Law. Vol. VI.
D246	4142	Encyclopædia of Local Government Law. Vol. VII.
D246	4143	Encyclopædia of Local Government Law. Vol. VIII.
D248 Blunden, G. H.	3283	Local Taxation and Finance
D252 Webb, Sidney	3284	The London Programme
D272 Grey, Albert	3568	Church Reform (1st copy)
D272	3569	Church Reform (2nd copy)
D316 Smith, Josiah W.	3570	A Manual of Common Law
D329 Gibbons, David	3285	Labour Contracts
D356 Bowley, Arthur	3286	England's Foreign Trade in 19th Century
D356 Burnley, James	3287	The Story of British Trade and Industry
D362 Bridge, James H.	3288	Inside History of Carnegie Steel Co.
D370 Price, L. L.	3289	Money and Its Relation to Prices
D380 Rawlings, G. B.	3290	The Story of the British Coinage
D398 Spender, J. A.	3291	The State and Pensions in Old Age
D398	3292	The State and Pensions in Old Age (2nd copy)
D400 Willson, Beckles	3293	The Story of Rapid Transit
D410 Bright, Charles	3294	The Story of the Atlantic Cable
D426 Ware, Fabian	3295	Educational Reform
D426 Bain, Alexander	3296	Education as a Science

D426 Rigg, James H.	3297	National Education
D426 Mason, Charlotte M.	3574	School Education
D426	3575	Ourselves
D436 Montessori, Maria	3298	Spontaneous Activity in Education
D446 Black, Hugh	3299	The Practice of Self Culture
D446 Bennett, Arnold	3300	The Human Machine
D446	3301	Mental Efficiency
D446	3302	How to Live on 24 hours a day
D446 Avebury, Lord	3303	The Pleasures of Life. Part I.
D446	3304	The Pleasures of Life. Part II.
D446 Anonymous	3571	The Business of Life
D446 Smiles, Samuel	3572	Self Help (1st copy)
D446	3573	Self Help (2nd copy)
D446	4130	Cassell's Popular Educator. Vol. I.
D446	4131	Cassell's Popular Educator. Vol. II.
D446	4132	Cassell's Popular Educator. Vol. III.
D446	4133	Cassell's Popular Educator. Vol. IV.
D446	4134	Cassell's Popular Educator. Vol. V.
D446	4135	Cassell's Popular Educator. Vol. VI.
D448 Barnett, Edith	3305	The Training of Girls for Work
D454 Whitfield, E. E.	3576	Commercial Education

CLASS E. PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

E 0 Collier, Jeremy	3397	The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius
E 0 Jennings, William	3398	The Confucian Analects
E 0 Llewston, T. W.	3399	The Teaching of Epictetus
E 6 Rolles, G. H.	3400	A Biographical History of Philosophy
E 14 Elwes, R. H. M.	3401	Benedict de Spinoza
E 16 Seth, Andrew	3402	Scottish Philosophy
E 18 Bacon, Lord	3306	Novum Organum
E 18 Berkeley, George	3307	The Principles of Human Knowledge
E 18 Spencer, Herbert	3308	First Principles
E 18 Descartes	3403	Discours de la Méthodé
E 20 Creighton, James E.	3309	An Introductory Logic
E 22 Mill, John Stuart	3310	A System of Logic
E 24 Newman, Francis W.	3311	The Soul: Its Sorrows and Aspirations
E 32 O'Dell, Stackpool	3407	Heads: How to Read Them
E 36 Locke, John	3312	The Human Understanding
E 36 Galton, Francis	3313	Inquiries into Human Faculty
E 36 Ryland, Frederick	3314	The Story of Thought and Feeling
E 36 Baldwin, J. M.	3315	The Story of The Mind
E 38 Aristotle	3316	Aristotle's Ethics
E 38 Giles, Dr. Arthur E.	3317	Moral Pathology
E 40 Avebury, Lord	3318	On Peace and Happiness
E 42 Price, Rev. E. D.	3319	The Story of Religions

2 Catalogue of Nixon's Workmen's Institute Library, Mountain Ash, 1923.

The Labour College (London)

(Owned and controlled by the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation).

FOUNDED 1909.

13 Penywern Road, Earl's Court, London, S.W.5; also 334 Kew Road, Kew, London.

Secretary to the Governors: W. T. A. FOOT.

THE Labour College, London, can be regarded as a Staff College for the training of teachers for the regional Colleges, as well as for equipping men and women with the knowledge necessary for Trade Union and Labour Party functions. On the other hand, the various provincial Colleges serve in many cases as schools of preliminary training through which the future students of the London institution pass. This may in the course of time become a necessary condition for qualifying for admission to the London College.

The London College is a residential College with a two years' course of training. Time is thus afforded for a high degree of comprehensive and of specialised study. As the College acquires a wider support, a more extensive staff of teachers can be employed to permit of still more detailed and specialised study and research.

The training given at the College takes the form of Lectures, Class and Group work, Essay Writing, and Individual Tuition. One lecture per week followed by questions and discussion is given on the leading subjects to the whole of the students. During the same week and following the lecture, the students meet the tutor in small groups, not only for the purpose of revision, but also in order that the students themselves may develop the art of critical self-expression. The tutor is in this way able to estimate the progress made by the individual student. Essays are regularly written and examined, after which each student meets the tutor for discussion of the essay. The students are also encouraged to discuss mutually the controversial matters arising in the course of their studies, and since they live in the closest contact for two years, the opportunities for this kind of intercourse are many.

The following are the main subjects of study:—

Sociology: History of Economy, of the Family and State, of Morality, Religion, Philosophy, Science and Art; *Theory of Knowledge*; *Political Economy*; *Economic Geography*; *Imperialism*; *The Modern Working Class Movement*;

Trade Unionism, *The Labour Party*, *Working Class Education*, *Co-operation*; *Psychology*; *Literature*; *English Grammar*; *French*; *German*; *Esperanto*; *Public Speaking*.

In addition to the residential training, facilities are provided for tuition through the medium of the Correspondence Department, in the following subjects:

English Grammar, *Industrial History*, *The Science of Understanding*, *Economics*, *Evolution*, *English Literature*, *Modern Revolutionary Periods*, *British Labour Movement*.

CONSTITUTION

The College is entirely owned and controlled by the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation. Each of those two organisations has twelve students in residence at the College for a period of two years' study and training.

In addition, other organisations participate in the educational work of the College. The cost of a scholarship is £125 per College year.

The College year begins in September and terminates at the end of July. There are two vacations—Christmas and Easter.

Non Resident Students.—Special arrangements can be made for non-resident students at a fee of £40 per College year. This entitles the Students to the same tuition as a resident student, but does not include board and residence.

Allowances to Students.—The National Union of Railwaymen, the South Wales Miners' Federation and other Unions establishing scholarships at the College have adopted the practice of making allowances to their respective students for:

- Textbooks.
- Railway fares on the occasion of Vacations.
- Personal expenses.

International Exchange of Students.—The Governors of the College are further anxious to develop a system of international exchange of students. The College has had a Miners' student in Berlin, studying under the auspices of the Educational Section of the Socialist Party of Germany. It is expected to be able to extend this interchange system in the immediate future.

Projected Extensions.—The College, in addition to its premises at Earl's Court, recently purchased property at Kew and it is hoped shortly to be able to raise a sum of money adequate to build a College entirely adapted for the nature of the work and capable of providing the necessary accommodation.

Developments along the lines of a greater division of labour on the tutorial side of the work are also under consideration, and wait only for the necessary financial support to be carried out.

The Governors of the College, on behalf of the controlling Trade Unions, are anxious and ready to extend the representative character of the institution, and heartily invite the Trade Unions to join with them in this co-operative educational work for the service of organised Labour. They would welcome an opportunity of interviewing the official representatives of any Union, or of meeting the delegates of any Union at their general meetings in order to discuss with them the nature of the College policy and practice in its relation to the Labour Movement, and the possibilities of their active co-operation.

3 Prospectus of Central Labour College, 1922.

Braich 'efrydiau allanol' y Coleg Llafur oedd Cynghrair y Plebs a Chyngor Cenedlaethol y Colegau Llafur a noddodd lawer coleg llafur megis yr un yn Nyffryn Aman, gorllewin Cymru (4). Eglurir y gwahaniaethau athronyddol ar natur a phwrpas addysg ddosbarth gweithiol yn ymosodiad Cyngor Cenedlaethol y Colegau Llafur ar Awdurdod Addysg Cymru (5). Fodd bynnag, er mai Cyngor Cenedlaethol y Colegau Llafur oedd i lywodraethu oeddi de Cymru, byddai'n anghywir i gollfarnu dylanwad Awdurdod Addysg Cymru ac, ar ôl 1927, dylanwad Coleg Harlech. Pery'r ddaud hyd heddiw. Yng ngogledd Cymru ddiwydiannol, hofyd, cawn fudiadau addysg ddosbarth gweithiol ar ffurf dosbarthiadau nos fel eiddo'r chwarelwyr hyn yn Nyffryn Nantlle, Sir Gaernarfon (6).

The 'extra-mural' arm of the Labour College was the Plebs League and the National Council of Labour Colleges which sponsored many local labour colleges such as the one in the Amman valley of west Wales (4). The philosophical differences on the nature and purpose of working-class education are also made clear in the N.C.L.C.'s attack on the W.E.A. (5). Whilst, however, it was the N.C.L.C. which was to hold sway in the south Wales coalfield, it would be wrong to underrate the continuing influence of the W.E.A. and, after 1927, of Coleg Harlech. In the industrial north Wales too we find active working class education movements such as this evening class of quarrymen in the Nantlle valley, Caernarvonshire (6).

Gwaun-cae-gurwen and Garnant District Social Science Classes.

PREAMBLE.

THE Labour Movement is summed up in the struggle of the working class for economic and social freedom. The source of the struggle is to be found in the prevailing method of wealth production, i.e., Capitalism. The struggle must therefore go on and develop with the development of Capitalism. The ultimate object of the Labour Movement is the emancipation of the working class from all forms of economic oppression and exploitation, but this realisation of the object cannot be accomplished until we eliminate the present economic system. This pre-supposes a knowledge of the forces at work in that system, and the laws which govern its development.

It is true the working class represent the majority of society, but this numerical superiority is not in itself sufficient for the winning of freedom. To numerical strength must be added consciousness of strength. The great lever of consciousness is education. To act successfully we must think clearly. To overcome the enemy we must understand the ground of battle, and the position of the field on which the struggle has to be fought out. But obviously we cannot look to the enemy to give us this knowledge. If he fights against our cause, he must think against our cause. We must, therefore, develop our own knowledge, organise our own intelligence department. We must think as independently as we act on the industrial and political fields. There is no magic that can transform an industrial or political enemy into an educational friend.

A study of Social Science will enable the working class to apprehend more clearly its present position, and understand its relation to other classes of society. Economics teaches us the real character of our industrial relations; unfolds the essential nature of those things called capital, wages, profit, rent, prices, money, etc., and shows us the actual connection between them. This knowledge cannot be looked for outside the Labour Movement itself. It is to the interests of the governing class to conceal such knowledge, a fact which at the present moment is clearly demonstrated in the educational movements brazenly called "democratic," whose only purpose it is to deceive the workers through the channels of the Universities, the educational establishments of the ruling class. This contention is most eloquently endorsed by one of the most eminent teachers of the University, ex-Professor H. Stanley Jevons, in an article which he wrote to the *Daily Chronicle* on March 25th, 1912:—"For six years I lectured on political theory as Professor of Economics and Political Science in the University College, Cardiff. Much . . . that I now write contradicts what I taught in College. What is the reason? Simply that I came gradually into contact with actual facts and real life. Whispers of miners' grievances came to me through my students, and I began to enquire for myself, and was shocked beyond all bearing when I learnt the truth. I resigned my chair as I felt I must now begin to learn not teach."

These Classes are an expression of a long felt need in the Labour Movement of an Independent Working-class Education, free from affiliation of any kind with governing-class institutions. They form a part of a provincial organisation of education which it is intended to develop throughout the Labour Movement, and run in conjunction with the Central Labour College, London.

The course of study for the Session is as follows:—

ECONOMICS.

LECTURES

- 1 *Political Economy*—Its Scope and Aims.
- 2 *Pre-capitalist Methods of Wealth Production*—(1) Slave Labour; (2) Serf Labour; (3) Wage Labour.
- 3 *Theories of Value*—(1) Ancient; (2) Mercantile; (3) Classic; (4) Marxian; (5) Utilitarian.
- 4 *Value*—(1) Two-fold Character of a Commodity; (2) Substance of Value; (3) Measure of Value.
- 5 *Value (contd.)*—(1) Two-fold Character of Labour; (2) Social Character of Value-Creating Labour.
- 6 *Forms of Value*—(1) Elementary Form; (2) Expanded Form; (3) General Form; (4) Money Form.
- 7 *Fetichism of Commodities*—Value Expresses a Relation.
- 8 *Exchange*—Barter and the Origin of Private Property.
- 9 *The Functions of Money*—(1) Measure of Value; (2) Medium of Circulation; (3) Medium of Exchange; (4) Currency and Credit.
- 10 *Transformation of Money into Capital*—(1) Circulation of Capital; (2) Buying and Selling of Labour Power.
- 11 *Production of Surplus Value*—Two-fold Character of Labour Process.
- 12 *Production of Surplus Value (continued)*—(1) Constant and Variable; (2) Rate of Surplus Value.
- 13 *Production of Surplus Value (continued)*—Absolute and Relative Surplus Value.
- 14 Machinery and Modern Industry.
- 15 Effects of Machinery upon Capital and Labour in Relation to the Hours Question.
- 16 Effects of Machinery upon Capital in Relation to Unemployment and the Value of Labour Power.
- 17 Interest and Profit.
- 18 *Wages*—(1) Nominal Wages; (2) Real Wages; (3) Relative Wages.
- 19 *Wages (continued)*—(1) Forms of Wages; (2) National Differences in Wages.
- 20 Economic Rent.
- 21 *School of Economists*—(1) Physiocrats; (2) Mercantilists; (3) Utilitarians; (4) Marxians.
- 22 General Law of Capitalist Accumulation.

TEXT BOOK:—*Capital*, Vol. I., II., and III. (by Karl Marx).

REFERENCE BOOKS:—History of Economic Doctrines	...	<i>Gide and Rist</i>
The People's Marx	...	<i>Gabriel Deville</i>
Selections in Political Economy	...	<i>W. B. Robertson</i>
The Theoretical System of Karl Marx	...	<i>L. B. Boudin</i>
Economics of Industry	...	<i>Prof. A. Marshall</i>
The Evolution of Modern Capitalism	...	<i>J. A. Hobson</i>
Marxian Economics	...	<i>E. Untermann</i>

A few Lectures on Formal Logic will be delivered during the Session.

4 Prospectus of Gwaun-cae-gurwen and Garnant, Social Science Classes, 1917.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE W.E.A?

"Why does the National Council of Labour Colleges persist in opposing the W.E.A.?" ask some. The answer is—

- (1) Because the W.E.A. is not and refuses to be entirely controlled by the Trade Union and Labour Movement generally.
- (2) Because, although there are no doubt local exceptions, the W.E.A.'s *Adult* Educational work is prejudicial to the interests of the Trade Union and Labour Movement, as it stands for confusionism on the most vital of all questions—Working-class Education.

University Extension or Independent Working-class Education? The W.E.A. stands for the extension of University Education to the Working-class Movement but, so long as Capitalism exists, Labour Governments may come and go but University Education will in the main be pro-capitalist. The orthodox education in any system of society never fails to reflect the needs of that system so that the main purposes of the University type of Education are—

- (1) To educate the Governing-class.
- (2) To educate the technicians of the Governing-class which group includes not only mining engineers, industrial chemists, etc., but journalists, welfare workers, historians, economists and so forth.

Access to Universities. Does that mean that the N.C.L.C. opposes the general Trade Union Policy of free access to the Universities? No, the N.C.L.C. supports that Policy because the Trade Union and Labour Movement will require the services of as many technicians as possible.

Is not University Education supposed to be entirely impartial? So the workers are told; so they must be told; so the workers who are trained as teachers are told. It is not true, however, so far as history and economics and many allied subjects are concerned, and these are precisely the subjects of most importance to the workers and, be it noted, the principal subjects taught by the W.E.A.

What the Employing Class Thinks. So far as is known, not a single Capitalist newspaper or Employers' Organisation has said one good word for the N.C.L.C. On the other hand, the Capitalist State of Great Britain and the Universities provide about three-fifths of the cost of the whole of the W.E.A.'s educational work—the subsidy amounting to tens of thousands of pounds per annum.

5 National Council of Labour Colleges Leaflet, 1925.



6 Talysarn Evening Class.

Aflonyddwch Cyn y Rhyfel

Pre War unrest

Gellid dadlau bod 1910, fel 1831 a 1868 o'i flaen, yn ddyddiad sydd yn nodi trobwynt pwysig yn hanes Cymru. Yn sydyn, darfu'r cydweithrediad cymdeithasol a fu, yn ôl pob golwg, (er gwaethaf ambell i nam), yn nodweddiadol o dde Cymru ddiwydiannol ar ôl 1850. Ni chyfyngwyd yr aflonyddwch a oedd i sgubo de Cymru hyd at 1914 i'r maes glo yn unig, fel y dengys terfysgoedd ym mhorthladd Caerdydd ac ymysg gweithwyr y rheilffordd yn Llanelli (1). Nid Tonypandy yn unig yn y maes glo a ffrwydrodd i ymrafael cyfunol ychwaith. Eithr Tonypandy a'r Rhondda fel cyfan

It might be argued that like 1831 and 1868 before it, 1910 is a date which marks a major turning-point in Welsh history. Suddenly, the social accommodation and harmony which had apparently characterised the development of industrial south Wales after 1850, despite occasional blemishes, came to an end. The 'unrest' which was to sweep south Wales up to 1914 was not solely confined to the coalfield as disturbances in the port of Cardiff and among the railwaymen of Llanelli were to show (1). Nor was it only Tonypandy in the coalfield which

TABLE 2: CONVICTED LOOTERS

(A) CHARGED WITH LOOTING OR RECEIVING FROM THE PROPERTY OF THOMAS JONES, J.P.

Name	Address	Status	Occupation	Age	Education	Penalty
Ann Edwards	34 Oxen Street	Marr. to occupier	Housewife	32	3	Bound over
Peter Kelliher	Prospect Place	Lodger	Labourer	41	1	2 m. 2nd div.
Richard Nurse	2 Park Terrace	Lodger	Labourer	21	0	2 m. hard
Thomas Page	2 Park Terrace	Lodger	Labourer	38	1	1 m. hard
Frederick Williams	Oxen Street	Lodger	Labourer	40	4	1 m. hard
James Price	3 Park Terrace	Lodger	Labourer	29	4	2 m. 2nd div.
Albert May	17 Mt. Pleasant Bldg.	—	Labourer	25	1	2 m. 2nd div.
Charles O'Neill	27 Water Street	Lodger	Fireman	20	3	3 m. hard
Thomas John Edwards	12 Church St.	Occupier	Haulier	27	1	3 m. hard

(B) CHARGED WITH LOOTING OR RECEIVING FROM THE G.W.R. SIDINGS

Name	Address	Status	Occupation	Age	Education	Penalty
William Tucker	Dolau Cottages	Occupier	Mason	43	4	2 m. 2nd div.
Gilbert Tucker	Dolau Cottages	Occupier	Labourer	19	4	Bound over
Thomas Lucas	Bidulph Street	(not owner)	Labourer	35	2	2 m. 2nd div.
Thomas Evans	2 Exchange Row, Dafen	—	Trickworker	21	4	2 m. 2nd div.
William Trimming	3 Bryn Road	Tenant	Bricklayer	32	3	2 m. 2nd div.
Fred Lewis	61 Ropewalk Road	Tenant	Labourer	36	4	2 m. 2nd div.
David John Daniel	Cilsaig Rd., Dafen	—	Behinder	20	5	2 m. 2nd div.
Thomas Davies	Deep Pit House, Dafen	—	Tinworker	29	2	2 m. 2nd div.
David Jones	Cilsaig Road, Dafen	—	Collier	27	5	2 m. 2nd div.
Thomas Williams	Neville Terrace, Dafen	—	Tinworker	20	—	Bound over
David Davies	Hendre Road, Llwynhendy	Lodger	Blacksmith	42	—	2 m. 2nd div.
David Daniel John	1 Exchange Row, Dafen	—	Labourer	27	4	2 m. 2nd div.

SOURCE: Quarter Sessions Papers, Dyfed Archives.

TABLE 3: VICTIMS

Name	Address	Age	Occupation	Details
John John	Railway Terrace	22	Tinplate Worker	Shot and killed in High St
Leonard Worsell	6 High Street	20	—	Shot and killed in High St
John Francis	Nelson Terrace	24	—	Wounded in throat
Benjamin Hanbury	Railway Terrace	—	—	Shot in the hand
Joseph Plant	Charles Street	31	Fireman	Killed in truck explosion
William Harris	25 Catherine Street	48	—	Died after explosion
Alfred Morris	The Dell	23	Chauffeur	Died after explosion
Mrs. A. M. Fisher	Stepney Place	30	—	Died after explosion
Thomas Jones	105 James Street	—	Collier	Lost 3 fingers, burns
William Pearce	Dafen House, Pwll	—	—	Burns, other wounds
Fred Powell	18 New Dock Road	—	—	Compound Fractures
Richard Gething	13 Brynmor Road	—	Superintendent, Old Lodge Works	Bayonet wounds
David Thomas	2 Globe Row	—	—	—
Tom Davies	Prospect Place	—	—	—
Ivor Thomas	20 Havelock Street	—	—	—
Thomas Thomas	7 Globe Row	—	—	—
Frank Francis	6 Crooked Row	—	—	—
Thomas Griffiths	4 Globe Row	—	—	—
William John	Station Road	—	—	—
Watt John	Austin Cottages	—	—	—
T. Ballinger	103 Ann Street	—	—	—
Elizabeth Davies	Christopher Street	—	—	Burns
T. G. Anfield	James Street	—	Solicitor's clerk	—
Mary Thomas	Christopher Street	—	—	Burns
Tom Treharne	—	—	Pickler	Alcohol poisoning

SOURCES: Llanelli and County Guardian; South Wales Press; Western Mail.

MAD SCENES IN THE RHONDDA.

DESPERATE ONSLAUGHTS BY STRIKERS.

CHARGE AFTER CHARGE BY THE POLICE.

SERIOUS INJURIES ON BOTH SIDES.

CROWDS WREAK VENGEANCE ON BUSINESS HOUSES.

After ominous murmurings and mutterings during the day the Cambrian Combine strikers again broke into a mad din of riot as soon as darkness fell last evening. Desperate onslaughts were made by the miners upon the police, who replied with equally desperate baton charges. Stormy scenes likewise occurred at Aberdare, where many strikers were wounded and also police. Pitched battles of a furious character took place in both the Rhondda and Aberdare Valleys.

And meanwhile where were the military? Someone had bungled! If the soldiers had been hurried on to the affected area yesterday morning there would have been no strife at night. Mr. D. Llewellyn Thomas, stipendiary magistrate, was in attendance all day at the Thistle Hotel, Llanyparis, to read the Riot Act, if necessary, but the troops did not arrive.

The strikers seemed to recognise that this was their last chance, and such shouts were heard as, "Come on, boys, we'll make the fight of our lives to-night. The military will be here to-morrow, and they'll stop us with their guns. We can beat the police, who have only their batons." Others were heard to say that they would not occupy the places of the police that night for all the gold in the world, but, as a matter of fact, the advantage in the fighting was always with the protectors of law and order, from whom the mob fled helter-skelter at every charge.

In their numerous rushes the police were no respecters of persons, and for this they could not be blamed, because in the darkness they could hardly be expected to pick and choose their victims. Thus, any male person who came within reach of their batons received stunning blows on the head, and after the officers had retired from each charge men and youths were left lying in the roadway till their friends crept up in the darkness and carried them away to the surgery of Drs. Morgan, Jones, and Morgan, the medical attendants to the Cambrian workmen.

The valuable power-house was made a special mark of. This contains 225,000 worth of machinery, and there were repeated appeals to the police from within to put a stop to the stone-throwing, as there was constant fear of serious damage being done.

Eventually finding the power-station an unassailable point, the crowd ran riot in the town of Tonypandy itself. General destruction of shop windows and looting followed, particular attention being paid to drapers', chemists', and tobacconists' shops. Charge after charge was made by the police through the main streets, and the mob were scattered in all directions.

BATTLE SCENES.

STRIKERS' MAD RUSHES IN THE RHONDDA.

[BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

MIDRHONDDA, Tuesday Night. Mid-Rhondda is in a state of anarchy. Such was the case to-night as almost

enterprise Heaven only knows what would have happened, and it was one of the most distressing features of the whole business that there has been so much delay in sending the military. It is no exaggeration to say that had the strikers gained admission into the power-station in a frenzied state they would probably have murdered Mr. Llewellyn and those who stood loyally by him in order to save the Glamorgan mine from absolute destruction. Whether Mr. Llewellyn or any of his brave

shop raised was that of a policeman, who happened to have stocked a large number of rifles. This is a portent of greater mischief than ever to be done unless some power, which cannot be foreseen at the moment, intervenes to prevent mob law becoming rampant.

PRESENCE OF MILITARY NEEDED.

If ever there was occasion in this country for reading the Riot Act, it was in Mid-Rhondda to-night, and it is impossible for those who read on the spot, and who have full knowledge of what is going on, to understand why the authorities have been so slow to appreciate the seriousness and extreme gravity of the situation. It is the opinion of everybody conversant with the situation of affairs of this kind that the presence alone of the military would have sufficed to prevent such terrible scenes as those that have to-night made history in the coal industry of South Wales. Why the soldiers should have been sent down to Cardiff and kept there passes all understanding.

Even Mr. Llewellyn Thomas, the learned stipendiary for the Rhondda, who has been hoping against hope for peace, has had to write two urgent messages to the authorities, but the only reply to these entreaties was that nothing could be done without the official sanction of one of the Government departments. Such weakness and vacillation on the part of the Government is indeed pitiful. Already thousands of pounds' worth of damage has been done to property, hundreds of people have been injured more or less seriously, and yet the small contingent of soldiers sent down from headquarters have been detained at Cardiff with the present state of things.

In the war zone, where the roads are strewn with huge pieces of timber, the services of cavalry would be perfectly useless, and what is wanted more urgently are a few companies of infantry and at least double the number of police. As far as the local committee are concerned, they are perfectly powerless. The men they are supposed to lead will not be led, and in this connection it is surprising that not one of the members of the South Wales Miners' Federation Council has visited Mid-Rhondda to make any attempt to quell the disturbances.

A HOPE OF SETTLEMENT.

There is, however, one hopeful sign of a settlement. In the early part of the afternoon a message was received by Captain Lindsay from the Home Secretary over the telephone. Mr. Churchill, after hearing Captain Lindsay's report on the position, offered his services to the men's leaders as mediator in the dispute. Captain Lindsay lost no time in communicating with one of the local committees, but, unfortunately, the message arrived too late to be communicated to the mass meeting of the men at the Mid-Rhondda Athletic Ground. An emergency meeting of the committee was called to decide upon the reply to be given to Mr. Churchill, and Mr. D. Watts Morgan and the men's delegates to wait upon him at the office of the Board of Trade in London to-morrow (Wednesday). For some mysterious reason they refused to speak of the decision they had arrived at. There was, however, a spirit of reasonableness among the members of the committee which prompted them to agree to meet the representatives of the Board of Trade in London to-morrow.

HORSES IN THE PIT.

PRIVATIONS OF TWO MEN WHO ARE BELOW.

The present state of things cannot possibly continue another day, and one of the saddest aspects of the whole situation, tragic as it is, is the inhumanity displayed to the 50 dumb animals entombed in the Cambrian Colliery in Cynhadri Vale. It was hoped to-day that the inevitable fate of these poor creatures would appeal to all that was best in the men, and, come what may, they would save the 50 horses from a slow and lingering death in the dark depths of the mine. This hope seemed about to be fulfilled when it was seen that the fires in the boilers were successfully lighted on Tuesday morning, but the position is this—that later in the day the

pitfall light, almost every shop having been demolished and the goods having been carried away. Further on one found that the whole of the railway connecting the Rhondda Collieries had been torn down and railway sleepers drawn over the track, making traffic impossible. Indeed, it is hardly going too far to say that the whole of the Rhondda valley is now a vast open space, where what remains of the houses is being pulled down by the organized strikers.

All the public-houses in the neighbourhood have been closed from an early hour, and there is not a shop which has not already been closed up. The people in the public-houses are retiring to the top rooms, because they fear that the crowd will rush into the houses at a moment's notice. To accomplish their damage the strikers used revolvers and railway sleepers.

I am telephoning from a private house, where the people are in mortal dread of what is going to happen. They are on the point of flying from the premises as they fear the consequences. Just within a stone-throw of this place there is a large body of strikers waiting their opportunity to make a dash on the shop premises.

ARRIVAL OF LONDON POLICE.

As I reached this place there was a ray of satisfaction and comfort in the knowledge that reinforcements of police were arriving on the scene. At the station a lot of special police drafted into the district from London have just arrived, and in order that their movements may not be seen by the riotous crowds they went over the railway line and not near the colliery.

There is a strong body of police round the main entrance of the Glamorgan Colliery. They watch every passenger coming along, either way.

SCENES IN A SURGERY.

VISITS OF WOUNDED MEN BY THE SURGEON.

One of the sights of the Rhondda last night was the surgery of Dr. Lewis Morgan, surgeon for the Glamorgan Colliery men. Wounded men poured in today in scores as the result not only of the free use of the batons by the police, but of wounds caused by missiles thrown by the reckless strikers. Whilst I was at the surgery several bleeding patients were carried in by their fellow-men. From five p.m. until eight p.m. Dr. Morgan and his assistant were attending over 100 cases, and scores of sufferers were waiting their turn. Fortunately, none of the wounds were of such a nature as to endanger life, but there were several fractures of arms and injuries to other parts of the body. The majority of the sufferers sustained ugly wounds, whilst a number of severe cuts over the eye and clean lacerations and wounds were inflicted. Attention was also rendered to a number of epileptics who dropped down in the streets in the course of the various stampedes of the strikers.

The injury to limbs on Monday was not to be compared with those of today, as on Monday a little more than 50 cases were brought in, but today the total number must be several hundreds, as numbers of the strikers ignored the services of Dr. Morgan and bound their own wounds.

Dr. Morgan's services were also requested on behalf of the police on Monday, but today it could not be ascertained what injuries the police had received, because they were attended to at the colliery.

OUTBREAK AT PENYGRAIG.

At the Naval Collieries, Penygraig, an outbreak occurred during the day, and it was only at night that any untoward incidents occurred. That was the result of a charge by the police about 9.30 o'clock, when the mob of a number of youths with stones, bent on wanton mischief, and smashing shop windows on their way, were challenged. Unfortunately, innocent lookers-on suffered, and six persons were seriously injured, one man, Mr. J. Jones, of Pleasant View, Penygraig, being so badly carried home on a chair by four companions.

The feeling of uneasiness amongst the tradesmen, who have hitherto as well as befriended the men at the Pit, led to their obtaining all the corrugated tin sheet-roofing to protect their shops, and other and other articles to happen before morning.

Knives of men and other articles to happen before morning. A Metropolitan superintendent, Powell, a main street of Tonypandy men formed up, and a "kating Bink" party, which had been provided held in readiness for the occasion.

FORCEMENTS.

MEN ARRIVE AT ANDY.

A Metropolitan police, at Tonypandy Station, he men detained, and on up on the platform, and proceeded in the direction of a mile from a thrown through one way. Having reached the detachment proceeded road, where a cordon he fort. The London Tonypandy. Passing p. decisively leading Metropolitan were of youths, who threw up near the Empire officer in command follows--

RIOTING AT ABERDARE.

ATTACK ON POWER STATION.

DRIVEN BACK BY POLICE.

A FUSILLADE OF STONES.

MEN, WOMEN, CHILDREN IN CANAL.

OVER SIXTY PERSONS INJURED.

[BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

ABERDARE, Tuesday Night.

The first real collision between the police and strikers in Aberdare occurred in the vicinity of Cambach between five and six o'clock this evening. The scenes were of a remarkable character, and about sixty of the strikers and three police officers were badly injured. The march of the strikers was of a premeditated nature, leaving no doubt whatever, and the attendant was made will ever remain vividly fresh in my memory.

MARCH AFTER A LECTURE.

At about 4.15 p.m. a lecture was given at Aberdare early in the afternoon by Mr. Adams, the subject being "Strikers and Their Children." A more tedious subject could not have been chosen, and what was the effect of the lady's remarks upon her audience, some of the strikers congregated at the close and held a kind of meeting in the open space behind the institute. The result of the meeting was that a march was made upon the power-station and road, which is situated midway between Aberdare and Aberaman. On the way the strikers were a most noisy and unruly crowd, with a catch-words "Are we done over?" "No, no!" and "Save to the tune of a burial service hymn."

An attempt had been made to put the police off the scent by the despatch of a contingent of strikers to the Parliament Colliery, where work has been in progress up to the present. But the ruse did not pay, superintendent and Inspector Ross of Cardiff, who were on duty that day, were able to follow the marching party.

MAY BURN AND PUT IN FLAMES.

On the arrival of the strikers at the V. O. Colliery, a number of them were found about twenty yards away from the power-station. The strikers presently took their way down along the Great Western Railway line. Meanwhile the police were busy with the crowd, and it was then that the strikers, who were in the most dangerous of the strike, had gathered round the power-station, and were endeavouring to force their way into the power-station. The strikers were seen in flames, and a large fire was seen in the power-station. A fusillade of stones had made its way into some of the windows of the power-station itself.

STRIKERS DRIVEN BACK.

MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN IN THE CANAL.

For a time the police moved on, but the hurling of stones in every direction made them realise the gravity of the situation, with the result that they at once set about trying to pour a flood of water on to the strikers by means of fire hoses fixed to the hydrants. The force of water, however, was not strong enough to reach the mob, and, consequently, the police resorted to their truncheons, with which they eventually succeeded in beating back the strikers along the side of the canal, into which nearly a hundred of them were precipitated, among the number being women and children who had figured prominently in the riot.

POLICE ASSAILED WITH STONES.

Some of them fell to the ground through exhaustion, but those of them who had not suffered very seriously from the blows and the immersion—the water being waist deep—directed a shower of stones at the police, while higher up the canal bank a number of women who had climbed the fencing on to the Great Western Railway line, followed the men's example in stone-throwing. At this stage the police walked down the bank, but they were quickly followed by the infuriated strikers, who again hurled stones, clubs of mud, and sticks. The police made another charge, and succeeded in driving the strikers back for the second and last time. Apparently the mob found out that it was out of their reach to execute their design to take possession of the power-station, and the less injured sat about rendering first aid to their comrades, some of whom lay

scattered on the ground. Mr. Isaac, who had been taken on the mob, was taken to a hospital. Mr. Isaac, who had been taken on the mob, was taken to a hospital. Mr. Isaac, who had been taken on the mob, was taken to a hospital.

He was, however, of a cheerful disposition, and did not seem to mind his wounds. He was, however, of a cheerful disposition, and did not seem to mind his wounds. He was, however, of a cheerful disposition, and did not seem to mind his wounds.

At the point of the power-station, the strikers were seen in flames, and a large fire was seen in the power-station. A fusillade of stones had made its way into some of the windows of the power-station itself.

"ABSOLUTELY"

MABON AN

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In the course of the day, the strikers were seen in flames, and a large fire was seen in the power-station. A fusillade of stones had made its way into some of the windows of the power-station itself.

UNDERTAK

CONFERENCE

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Mr. Llewellyn

Mr. Llewellyn

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Mr. Llewellyn

2 Tonypandy 1910



a ddaeth yn symbol a chanolbwynt y radicaliaeth newydd hon. Oherwydd y terfysgoedd a ddechreuodd yn y Rhondda ganol yn Nhachwedd 1910 (2,3) gydag anrheithio Tonypany yn ystod y ddadl am Gyfuniad Cambrian, daethpwyd â'r plismyn i mewn i gadw'r heddwch (4) yn ogystal â'r milwyr (5) (er gwaethaf dadleuon a barhaodd hyd yr 1980au). Aeth yr aflonyddwch y'u danfonwyd i'w dawelu yn ddyfnach o lawer na'r ddadl yngylch y tâl am amodau gweithio annormal yn y pyllau lle cychwynasai'r streic (6). Yn ddiweddarach ymddengys hyd yn oed yr Arglwydd Rhondda i grybwyll dealltwriaeth o hyn ac, os oedd yn amau o gwbl, byddai ymddangosiad y *Miners' Next Step* ym 1912 wedi ei argyhoeddi. Tystiwyd i effaith addysg annibynnol, ddsbarth gweithiol gan fuodlled a deallusrwydd y drafodaeth ddadleuol hon ac fe sicrhawyd ei lle fel un o'r gosodiadau mwyaf gwreiddiol a dwys o blaid gweithwyr yn rheoli diwydiant. Yr oedd ei hawduron (streicwyr Cambrian y rhan fwyaf ohonynt) i fynd â'u hathroniaeth i rengoedd uchaf Ffederasiwn Glowyr De Cymru fel y cipiasant y cadarnleoedd grym a ddaliwyd gynt gan Fabon a'i gyd-gymedrolwyr. Yn ddiaw, felly, dirywiai Lib-Labiaeth yng Nghymru 1914 er nad oedd Rhyddfrydiaeth yn farw o bell ffordd(7).

erupted into communal strife: but it was Tonypany and the Rhondda as a whole which became the symbol and the fulcrum of this new radicalism. The disturbances which began in the mid Rhondda in November 1910 (2,3) with the sack of Tonypany during the Cambrian Combine dispute brought not only the police (4) but also (despite disputations which have continued into the 1980s) the military (5) in large numbers to keep the peace. The discontent they were sent to assuage went far deeper than the issue of the payment for abnormal working conditions in the mines which had sparked-off the strike (6). Even the later Lord Rhondda seems to infer an understanding of this and if he was in any doubt the appearance of *The Miners' Next Step* in 1912 would have removed it. The eloquence and intellectual rigour of this polemic gave full testimony to the effect of independent working-class education and ensured its place as one of the most original and profound statements ever made for workers' control of industry. Its authors - drawn mainly from the Cambrian strikers - were to take its philosophy to the highest ranks of the South Wales Miners' Federation as they captured the seats of power which Mabon and his fellow moderates had previously held. If Liberalism in Wales was yet far from dead, clearly Lib-Labism was in terminal decline in the Wales of 1914 (7).

This all started at the Glamorgan Colliery, Llwynypia. And they were trying to stop....

Yes, yes, they were trying to get in on the colliery premises to wreck the colliery premises. Well this went on for some hours, the same thing went on again the next day, in the afternoon and again in the night. Then on the third night it was really hell. We had a terrible job there, driving them back to the Square, well we only could get them as far as the Square. On that night then, that was the night they wrecked all the shops, buildings there. One shop in particular they skint it out, that was Mr. T.P. Jenkin's shop, drapers shop, gents and one thing and another. There they were then parading about there, white waistcoats, top hats and God knows what, like a lot of showmen. And the whole of the time we could do nothing about it, we could not drive them further than the square. They drove us back every time. And on this night, they ripped down all the hoardings, the boarding that was running from the bottom, by the Thistle Hotel, the bottom of Tonypany Square, right up to the Colliery entrances. Boardings about nine feet high, enclosing the colliery you see. Well they pulled all these and ripped them up in the roadway, so that stopped all traffic and it stopped us. Well after that night then, when it did quieten down, oh it took us till the early part of the morning to clear the road. Well on that night the Bristol Police were there, and the stones were coming down so thick and heavy that we had to crouch down under some little offices that was running alongside the entrances. And amongst us Glamorgan boys there then, the Bristol Police were the other side of the entrance, but on them rushing back into the entrance to the colliery from the stones, the Inspector that was in charge of them, Inspector Rendall, Bristol City Police, instead of him turning left, he turned right and come into our group. And his men were the other side of the entrance. Well he was anxious to get back to his own men but we persuaded him not to, stay until the stones eased down a bit. So it did seem to ease down a little bit and he said, "I'm going", although P.C. Evans and myself we did our best to try and stop him from going across, the stones were still flying down. But he had hardly gone two paces before one caught him at the back of the head and down he went. Well we had to go and rescue him then and we carried him into the engine-room, down in the Colliery premises. We waited and eventually an ambulance did come but before he got to hospital he died. Big fine fellow, well that was the first casualty.

4 South Wales Miners' Library, interview with W. Knipe, Swansea, regarding his experiences as a Police Officer at Tonypany 1910

No. 8

“Chief Constable of Glamorganshire to Home Office
(Telegram: Received at 10 a.m. on Tuesday, November 8: Sent from Tonypany)

All the Cambrian collieries menaced last night. The Llwynypia Colliery savagely attacked by large crowd of strikers. Many casualties on both sides. Am expecting two companies of infantry and 200 cavalry to-day. Very little accommodation for police or soldiers. Position grave. Will wire again - Lindsay, Chief Constable of Glamorgan

No. 10

Home Secretary to Chief Constable of Glamorganshire
(Telegram: Sent at 1.30 p.m. on November 8)

Your request for military. Infantry should not be used till all other means have failed. Following arrangements have therefore been made. Seventy mounted constables and two hundred foot constables of Metropolitan Police will come to Pontypridd by special train leaving Paddington 4.55 p.m., arriving about 8.0 p.m. They will carry out your directions under their own officers. The County will bear the cost. Expect these forces will be sufficient, but as further precautionary measure 200 cavalry will be moved into the district tonight and remain there pending cessation of trouble. Infantry meanwhile will be at Swindon. General Macready will command the military and will act in conjunction with the civil authorities as circumstances may require. The military will not, however, be available unless it is clear that the police reinforcements are unable to cope with the situation. Telegraph news Home Office and say whether these arrangements are sufficient. - Churchill.

No. 12

Home Secretary to Chief Constable of Glamorganshire
(Telegram: Sent at 2.40 p.m. on November 8)

You may give the miners the following message from me:- Their best friends are greatly distressed at the trouble which has broken out and will do their best to help them get fair treatment. Askwith, Board of Trade, wishes to see Mr. Watts Morgan with six or eight local representatives at Board of Trade, 2 o'clock to-morrow. But rioting must cease at once so that the enquiry shall not be prejudiced and to prevent the credit of the Rhondda Valley being injured. Confiding in the good sense of the Cambrian Combine workmen we are holding back the soldiers for the present and sending only police. - Churchill.

No. 17

Stipendiary Magistrate, Pontypridd District, to Home Office
(Telegram: Sent at 7.45 p.m. and received at 9 p.m. on November 8.)

Police cannot cope with rioters at Llwynypia, Rhondda Valley. Troops at Cardiff absolutely necessary for further protection. Will you order them to proceed forthwith. Am ready to accompany them - Lleufer Thomas, Stipendiary Magistrate, Pontypridd.

No. 18

Home Office to Stipendiary Magistrate, Pontypridd District
(Telegram: Sent at 9.15 p.m. on November 8)

Home Secretary has already authorised officer commanding cavalry at Cardiff to proceed without delay into disturbed district if Chief Constable applies to him - Under Secretary, Home Office.”

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—It is difficult to characterise the course taken by the Executive of the South Wales Miners' Federation within the limits of Parliamentary language. Some allowance should, perhaps, be made for men who, in Mr. Hartshorn's final words, find themselves in "such a hopeless muddle," but nothing, I venture to say, can justify the deliberate and brazen attempt to mislead not only the M.F.G.B., but the public in South Wales, which is now being made by these gentlemen in the resolution they adopted so unanimously on Monday last.

They ask the M.F.G.B. to continue the grant of £3,000 per week pending a reconsideration of the Cambrian Combine dispute on the ground of

Mr. D. A. Thomas' declaration that the assurances contained in his letter to Mr. G. R. Askwith, K.C., of the Board of Trade, dated January 13th, 1911, guarantee no money value to the workmen, and do not mean that the workmen are entitled to 6s. 9d. per day under the terms as interpreted by Mr. Thomas Ashton in his letter of June 20th, 1911, to Mr. T. Richards, M.P.

In other words, they demand a reconsideration of their case by the M.F.G.B. in consequence of a declaration of mine made only a few days ago.

In using the expression that no money value attached to my assurance, which by the way I borrowed from Mr. Brace, I meant it in the sense that it afforded no guarantee of 6s. 9d. or any other fixed sum as a minimum wage without a fair day's work in return.

The Executive implies in the resolution, and wishes the public and their followers seriously to believe, that until within the last few days they were not previously aware of the meaning I attach to the assurances which, at the request of Mr. Askwith, of the Board of Trade, I gave in my letter to him of January last—that, in short, the disclaimer I have made of the construction put upon them by Mr. Thomas Ashton has come upon the Executive (including members of the Combine Committee) with the greatest surprise, and that their action hitherto has been taken under a misapprehension and in complete ignorance of the fact that my colleagues on the Naval Board and myself have all along definitely declined to guarantee a fixed minimum wage of 6s. 9d. to the colliers in the disputed seam.

"A Few of the Facts."

Members of the Executive of the South Wales Miners' Federation must surely credit

the public with a very short memory. Let me recall briefly a few of the facts in connection with the history of this unfortunate dispute.

1.—The trouble arose in the first instance because we failed after many months of negotiation to arrange a cutting price on the seam in question, and we found so long as the men were paid a guaranteed wage of 6s. 9d. a day they worked "ca'canny," and only put out about half the quantity of coal they were capable of getting.

2.—In the very letter to Mr. Askwith which contained the assurances—that of January 13th, and which was republished with the terms of settlement of May 15th—I declined to guarantee a minimum wage, and wrote:—

The question of a guaranteed wage can only be dealt with by the Conciliation Board for the coalfield as a whole, as it is not a question peculiarly affecting the Naval Collieries; consequently it is not within the competence of my Board, as such, to deal with it.

3.—After I left for South America a meeting was held on February 11th between the Naval Board and the Naval Workmen's Committee, with Mr. Askwith in the chair, when Mr. Brace and (please note) Mr. Thomas Ashton were present. I have a transcription of the shorthand note of the meeting taken at the time. Mr. Brace said:—

The meeting was necessary so that the workmen might know officially what value there is to be attached to these assurances of Mr. D. A. Thomas.

Mr. Brace, during the course of the discussion and in breach of the Conciliation Board general agreement, repeatedly pressed the representatives of the employers to agree to a fixed minimum wage, but both Mr. Callaghan and Mr. Llewelyn declined absolutely to commit the company to a guarantee of any fixed minimum wage. Mr. Brace then said that "the assurances do not therefore mean any money value." No exception was taken to the expression when used by Mr. Brace, but when I pay him the delicate compliment of adopting his words I am greeted with a howl of execration and my integrity is communicated to every Federation lodge in Great Britain. What in the miners' "leader" is but a choleric word, in the humble shareholders' servant becomes rank blasphemy.

4.—On February 16th the Executive Council of the South Wales Miners' Federation (Mr. Thomas Ashton again being in attendance) rejected the proposals for a settlement made through the medium of the Board of Trade, including the assurances, and made the following counter-proposal among others:—

(3)—That the price list arranged in October last be given a fair trial for twelve months, provided the owners agree that in any place where the workmen are unable to earn the wages paid to them prior to the stoppage the wages shall be made up to the men.

The wages paid to the men prior to the stoppage in the disputed seam were 6s. 9d. per day. It is clear, therefore, that the Executive Committee and Mr. Thomas Ashton were under no delusion at that time that my assurance meant a minimum of 6s. 9d., or there would have been no purpose in putting forward the counter proposal asking for a minimum.

5.—A conference of the South Wales miners held at Cardiff on May 28th unanimously rejected the terms of settlement arranged in London on May 15th. If the conference believed those terms meant the minimum of 6s. 9d. which the Executive had asked for in their counter-proposal of February 16th, why did they reject them?

6.—On June 9th a mass meeting of the workmen of the Naval Collieries unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

That neither Mabon nor D. Watts Morgan take any further part in the negotiations of the dispute of the Dly Pit, Penygraig, inasmuch as they state that they are of the opinion that the terms arranged are satisfactory to the men. And at the time of signing the agreements Mabon was aware that practically the same terms were placed before the men in October and rejected, and later by an overwhelming majority by ballot.

That is to say, the workmen put upon the assurance by the Naval workmen only a couple of weeks ago was that it added nothing to the terms offered in October, and which were rejected because they contained no guarantee of a minimum wage.

"Unblushing Hypocrisy."

7.—Mr. Tom Smith, the chairman of the Naval Committee, wrote a few days ago "by some mysterious process a definite wage of 6s. 9d. per day has been translated into meaning the same thing as Mr. Thomas' assurances. How this can be done passes all my powers of imagination to understand"—and Mr. Smith has proved on more than one occasion that he possesses an exceptionally vivid and powerful imagination.

I could produce more evidence of a similar kind, but I think I have furnished enough to satisfy any impartial mind that my colleagues on the Naval Board and myself have never varied in our refusal to concede a fixed minimum wage of 6s. 9d. or any other amount;

that the Executive, the Conference delegates, and the Naval workmen have all along fully recognised that the terms of settlement of May 15th did not mean a guarantee of a minimum wage of 6s. 9d. per day, and consequently that the affected surprise of the Executive on Monday last at my refusal to accept the interpretation placed upon those terms by Mr. Thomas Ashton is a piece of flagrant insincerity, not to say blatant and unblushing hypocrisy.

Had I allowed the statement contained in Mr. Ashton's letter to pass unchallenged I should have justly laid myself open to the charge of lacking candour, and I can well imagine the howl of indignation that would have gone up on all sides when after the men had gone back to work we refused to pay a man 6s. 9d. unless he had given us a fair day's work in return. No, however remote a settlement may be, it is far better when work is resumed that there should be no misunderstanding between us of the terms, and that peace when it comes shall be permanent.

—I am, etc.,

D. A. THOMAS.

Cardiff, 30th June, 1911.

P.S.—I have read the letter of Mr. Evan Davies that appears in your issue of this morning. In reply I can only say that he attributes to me statements I have never made. So far from "repudiating the sense and meaning of my own words," I adhere absolutely and without qualification to the meaning of the assurance I gave Mr. Askwith in January last. I have never said that "if a man does a good day's work my assurance does not necessarily mean 6s. 9d. or over for that man," or anything approaching it. My assurance was given in good faith, with a view to facilitate a settlement, and was intended to convey that we had no desire or intention in putting forward the proposed price list for the new seam to reduce the general average of colliers' earnings at the Naval Collieries, which prior to the strike were approximately 8s. per day, although the working of the collieries had on balance proved unprofitable to the proprietors. If a man did a good day's work there would be no risk, even in an abnormal place, of his wages not being made up to 6s. 9d. at least, while if he earned on the price list 10s., 15s., or even £1 a day, as I believe he might occasionally do in a good stall, I can only say the more he earned the better I should be pleased, but my colleagues and I are resolutely opposed to guarantee to every individual workman, however idle or incompetent he may be, a fixed minimum wage of any figure, and that is what the miners' leaders in South Wales are to-day asking us to do.—D.A.T.

6 Reprinted from the *South Wales Daily News* of July 1st, 1911.

THE MINERS' NEXT STEP

BEING A SUGGESTED SCHEME FOR THE

Reorganisation of the Federation

Issued by the Unofficial Reform Committee

TONYPANDY:

ROBERT DAVIES AND CO., GENERAL PRINTERS, ETC.

1912.

POLICY.

I.—The old policy of identity of interest between employers and ourselves be abolished, and a policy of open hostility installed.

II.—No dispute to be considered by the Executive Council until after failure is reported by the Lodge affected.

III.—Lodges failing to settle disputes arising in their respective collieries, must immediately report the same to the Secretary, together with all information relative to the cause, and subsequent conduct of the fight.

IV.—The Secretary on receipt of such information, must immediately call on the services of an Agent, the three parties to consult together, with a view of arriving at a policy mutually agreeable.

V.—Failing mutual agreement on a policy, the Lodge must be allowed to carry out their own, or the one favoured by them, until rescinded or altered by a Conference, whose decision must be final.

VI.—Any dispute not settled within 14 days after its report to the Executive Council, the Council to have power to call a special conference to deal with the same.

VII.—Any Lodge desiring to bring any grievance before a Conference, which has not been reported in the usual way, must first receive the sanction of the Business Committee, who must have due regard to its importance.

VIII.—For the purpose of giving greater strength to Lodges, they be encouraged to join together to form Joint Committees, and to hold joint meetings.

Newidiwyd rhythm gwleidyddiaeth Cymru gan dymestl Awst 1914 a fuasai'n datblygu yn y blynyddoedd yn union cyn y rhyfel. Cafwyd galwad i arfau gan Lloyd George (1) ymateb parod yng Nghymru, a roddodd i'r neilltu wahaniaethau cymdeithasol ac economaidd yn enw undod gwladgarol Prydeinig. Yn awr croesawyd milwyr ledled maes glo de Cymru fel arwyr (2) lle y'u triniesid ond ychydig flynyddoedd yn gynt megis byddin feddiannol. Ar ôl amheuo yn Awst 1914, daeth arweinwyr Ffederasiwn Glowyr De Cymru i'r blaen i gefnogi'r rhyfel trwy recriwtio brwdfrydig neu drwy annog i'w aelodau aberthu breintiau anodd eu hennill (3). Fodd bynnag, tra oedd dadleuon gwrth-rhyfel un o awduron *The Miners' Next Step* wedi bod yn ofer yn Awst 1914 (4), o 1915 ymlaen daeth de Cymru yn un o ganolfannau pwysicaf y gweithgaredd gwrth-rhyfel ym Mhrydain ac, er gwaethaf ymdrechion gwladgarol arweinwyr Ffederasiwn Glowyr De Cymru, daeth y glowyr yn fwy croch filwriaethus fel y dengys streic 1915, ac yn y diwedd, cymerwyd y maes glo drosodd gan y llywodraeth. Gallai gwrthwynebwyr cydwybodol a gwrthwynebwyr eraill i'r rhyfel gymryd ysbrydoliaeth (fel, wrth gwrs, y gallai gwladgarwyr) o ddigwyddiadau gartref megis rhoddi cadair eisteddfod Birkenhead, 1917 i'r ffermwr, Hedd Wyn o Feirionnydd, ar ôl ei farwolaeth (5) a hefyd o ddigwyddiadau mawr tramor megis chwyldro Rwsia yn Chwefror 1917 a gyfarchwyd yn gynnes iawn gan bobl de Cymru (6).

The cataclysm of August 1914 drastically altered the rhythms of Welsh politics which had been developing in the immediate pre-war years. Lloyd George's call to arms (1) found a ready response in a Wales which suddenly set aside its various social and economic fissures in the cause of British patriotic unity. Throughout the south Wales coalfield troops were now welcomed as heroes (2) where but a few years earlier they had been treated as a virtual army of occupation. After initial reservations in August 1914, leaders of the South Wales Miners' Federation came to the fore in support of the War, whether by acting as leading recruiters or in urging their members to forego hard-won concessions (3). Whilst, however, it was true that in August 1914 the anti-war tirades of one of the authors of *The Miners' Next Step* fell on mainly deaf ears (4), from 1915 onwards south Wales became one of the main centres of anti-war activity in Britain and despite the best patriotic efforts of the South Wales Miners' Federation leadership the miners of south Wales became even more stridently militant, as the strike of 1915 and the eventual 'taking-over' of the coalfield by the Government show. Conscientious objectors and other opponents of the War could take inspiration (as of course could patriots) from events at home such as the posthumous award of the chair at the Birkenhead Eisteddfod in 1917 to the Merionethshire farmer Hedd Wyn (5) and from momentous events abroad such as the Russian Revolution of February 1917 which was greeted with great popular acclaim in south Wales (6).



2 Troops at Mountain Ash, 1915

South Wales Miners' Federation.

NOTICE.

The Workmen's Representatives on the Conciliation Board having had an application from the Admiralty that the August Holidays should be curtailed as much as possible, unanimously decided to strongly recommend all Workmen to limit the holidays to ONE DAY, viz., MONDAY, AUGUST 2nd.

The Representatives urge upon every Workman to return to work ON TUESDAY NEXT, that the Coal supplies to the Navy and the Coal necessary for the transport of the Troops and the Manufacture of Munitions shall be interfered with as little as possible.

(Signed),

General Secretary.

NOTE.

The payment of wages on Saturday will be made upon the rates in existence prior to the stoppage; any differences resulting from the new terms will be paid as and from July 22nd, when the New Agreement is completed.

T.R.

22, ST. ANDREW'S CRESCENT,
CARDIFF, July 27th, 1915

3

'Ah! The world owes much to the little five-foot-five nations. The greatest art in the world was the work of little nations; the most enduring literature of the world came from little nations; the greatest literature of England came when she was a nation the size of Belgium fighting a great Empire. The heroic deeds that thrill humanity through generations were the deeds of little nations fighting for their freedom. Yes, and the salvation of mankind came through a little nation . . . Wales must continue doing her duty. I should like to see a Welsh Army in the field. I should like to see the race that faced the Normans for hundreds of years in a struggle for freedom, the race that helped to win Crecy, the race that fought for a generation under Glendower against the greatest captain in Europe - I should like to see that race give a good taste of its quality in this struggle in Europe; and they are going to do it.'

Lloyd George, speech at Queen's Hall, London, 19 September 1914

1 K.O. Morgan, 'Lloyd George and Wales, Welsh History and his Sources 1880-1914, (The Open University in Wales) 1983

WAR! and the Welsh Miner. ==

By W. F. HAY,
Editor "South Wales Worker."

WAR! and the Welsh Miner

'War! the sport of Kings, the hired assassins' trade' -
Shakespeare.

ARMAGEDDON

From a cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, the cyclone of death has rapidly extended until it covers Europe with a nightmare of horror. A population of over three hundred millions are affected. Throughout this vast concourse of humanity, the tremors and rigors of approaching social dissolution herald the death pangs of the present order. Capital, panic-stricken, cowers affrighted at the spectacle of the monster Militarism unleashed. And Labour - not yet realising the vast issues involved or too dull-brained to be actively interested - stands idly by with no reasoned policy or tactic, except that of negation, which fittingly expresses itself in pious prayers and resolutions. Had organised Labour in Great Britain been but partially organised along the lines we have laid down and stood for, it could have made a decisive stand to force a policy of neutrality on Great Britain in this struggle. If instead of worshipping political fetishism, the German Social Democracy with its four and a quarter million voters, had employed its energies in industrial organisation - instead of becoming critics where they could never hope to have control - organised British and German Labour could, by means of a General Strike have enforced a peaceful solution of the political situation. As it is, the powers of high finance and militarism are working their own sweet will with none to stay or hinder.

TOM MANN IN MERTHYR.

Audience of over Two Thousand endorse Leeds Conference
and Cheer Russian Revolution.

The Future of Industry and the Shop Committee.

The Socialist movement in Merthyr was jubilant on Sunday. With counter-attractions such as Ben Tillett, and the inspection of the V.T.C. by a high commander, and the competition of weather absolutely tropical, that almost compelled to inaction, or where a surplus of energy allowed action, called strongly to wooded glades and the breezes of the mountain side, it was scarcely to be anticipated that the Rink would prove the attraction it did; even with such a "draw" as the ever-popular Tom Mann. For over 2,000 persons of both sex to gather on such a day was indeed somewhat of a triumphant cause for jubilation; not triumphant because of success over the rival competitions of meeting or natural beauties, but triumphant because of the demonstrable certainty it has given to our contentions that the country has come around to our way of thinking; that something of a psychological revolution has been acted throughout our nation as a reaction of the Russian Revolution. It guaranteed that Leeds was but a reflex of Merthyr and of every other progressive industrial centre. Apart, too, from the size of the meeting there was inspiration in its spirit; a spirit which found spontaneous expression in the singing of the "Red Flag" by the audience, and originating in the audience; in the cheers which burst out for Russia, and rolled over Pen-y-darren Park, where a form of militarism was under review; and a spirit that had more significance in the intentness with which it followed Tom Mann's description of the Shop Steward and Committee method of organisation in Trades Unionism, as opposed to the current method of organisation.

Councillor L. M. Francis presided, supported by a strong platform. The meeting cheered Mr. W. Harris' announcement that next Saturday a meeting was to be called of the Discharged Soldiers and Sailors with a view to organising them into a protective body, purely democratic and with full autonomy to preserve their rights, redress injustices, secure better recompense for injuries sustained in the State's behoof, to open channels of employment, and, above all, to secure those channels from the possibilities of exploitation by insisting on full trades union rights and privileges. Such organisations had already been formed in 50 or more Lancashire and Yorkshire centres, and the local Trades Council had undertaken the preliminary work of organisation here at the behoof of the Trades Councils of Lancashire; but after next Saturday the organisation would be independent and free from

room for mis-understandings of their meaning on the part of any fair-minded and moderately intelligent person. The language of the manifesto was plain, clear and specific, setting forth that those responsible for the war should not have additions to Empire, and that they should not "rub it in" to those who sooner or later would be regarded as the beaten countries. He believed that all who lived here and had been connected with the advanced movements for a considerable period of years, had already thrashed out this problem in considerable detail and had come to the conclusion that the attitude adopted by the Russians was the only wise one. (Cheers.) He reminded us that Russia has a population four times as large as our own, and while it might be difficult to think that a vast percentage of the peasants constituting that huge population would be able to give expression to their desires in this direction, owing to the impression that the peasantry was densely ignorant on such matters, such was not actually the case. The Russian peasantry was really well educated, for there had been large numbers of teachers working at this question for a long period of years, honest-minded, well developed intellectually and otherwise, Revolutionists, who had suffered incarceration, banishment to Siberia, and death for no other crime than that they had laboured to carry knowledge to that vast percentage of peasantry to which he had made reference. As a consequence a really educated proletariat existed with regard to many phases of thought, although that would be astonishing to a large percentage of our people whose economic environment had not been so fierce and whose liberties, in some respects, had not been so curtailed as the Russians. So it was that the Russian peasantry could be referred to as a well-informed peasantry, who had been consulted on this question. He therefore, very heartily accepted the opportunity presented by the Leeds Conference to say that he genuinely and whole-souledly endorsed the Russian attitude, and believed that it covered not only the protection of small nations, but even in regard to the shockingly brutal behaviour meted out to British and other sailors whose vessels had been torpedoed, and who had been murdered in their open boats. These men ought to have special attention and special reparation, but he was perfectly sure that the men and women who were responsible for drafting the Russian Manifesto were keenly alive to the adequate reparation and restitution to these men or their dependents, and that the

Hedd Wyn

Mae'r hen delynau genid gynt
ynghrog ar gangau'r Helyg draw,
a gwaedd y bechgyn lond y gwynt
a'u gwaed yn gymysg efo'r glaw.

And the old harps which long ago were
played
are hung upon the distant willow branches
the shriek of boys is carried on the wind
and mixed with rain, their blood flows
through the trenches.

5

6 The Merthyr Pioneer 23, June 1917.

Bu buddugoliaeth o dan arweinyddiaeth Gymreig yn gyfrifol am droi etholiad 'Khaki', 1918, yn gystadleuaeth 'bersoniolaeth Lloyd George' yng Nghymru. Er gwaethaf ychwaneg o lwyddiant Llafur ni ellid beio'r blaidd Ryddfrydol am deimlo nad oedd fawr ddim wedi newid o ganlyniad i bedair blynedd o ryfel a, beth bynnag, fel y dangoswyd gan y gystadleuaeth yn Aberdâr rhwng y gwrthwynebydd cydwymbodol, dros Lafur, a chyn-asiant y glowyr, dros y Glymblaid, yr oedd Llafur yn bell o fod yn unedig o ganlyniad i'r rhyfel (1). Eto dechreuodd newidiadau arwyddocaol ddigwydd, a groesawyd yn ôl pob tebyg, gan y blaidd Lafur. Diddymwyd y stadau mawrion (ond nid eu perchnogion (2)) gan yr 'ocsiwn' anferth o lawer o dir yng Nghymru yn union ar ôl y rhyfel. Mynnai Comisiwn Sankey newid perchnogaeth y pyllau glo yn barhaol hefyd (3), ond, yn y cyswllt hwn, ni allai Clymblaid Lloyd George wynebu cyfnewid mawr o gyfoeth, a chafodd perchnogion y pyllau glo eu daliadau'n ôl. Bu'r canlyniad yn anochel, a daeth yn amlwg fod glowyr de Cymru, yr ymosodid arnynt yn awr, yn barod i droi'n filwriaethus fel y buasent o 1910-1914. Ym 1921 cloiwyd glowyr de Cymru allan o'u gwaith (4) am wrthod derbyn toriadau yn eu cyflog ac unwaith yn rhagor danfonwyd milwyr i'r maes glo (5). Yn yr amodau newydd ar ôl y rhyfel, nid oedd milwriaeth yn unig yn ddigon i ennill buddugoliaeth. Dechreuodd cyfrifon y Gronfa Adfyd (6) ymddangos gyda diwedd y cloi-allan a gorchfygiad chwerw y glowyr. Dyma un o'r ychydig fusnesion ffyniannus yn y cyfnod rhwng y ddau ryfel.

Victory under Welsh leadership turned much of the 'Khaki' Election of 1918 in Wales into a Lloyd George personality contest. Despite further Labour successes the Liberal Party could not have been blamed for feeling that little had changed as a result of four years of war and in any event, as the contest at Aberdare between the ex-conscientious objector for Labour and the ex-miners agent for the Coalition seemed to show, Labour was far from united as a result of the war (1). Yet, and in a way the Liberal Party could only have welcomed, significant changes did begin to take place. The virtual gigantic auction of much of the land of Wales which took place in the immediate post-war years saw the departure of the great estates if not of their owners (2). Had the Sankey Commission had its way another of Wales's major resources - its coal mines - would also have undergone a permanent change of ownership (3) but in this case the Lloyd George Coalition could not countenance a massive transfer of wealth and the coalowners, maligned on nearly all sides during the Sankey deliberations, were handed back their fiefs. The outcome was inevitable and it soon became clear that, now under attack, the miners of south Wales were ready as they had been from 1910-1914 to turn to militancy. In 1921 refusing to accept wage cuts, the south Wales miners found themselves locked-out (4) and again the Government frantically despatched troops to the coalfield (5). In the changed conditions of the post-war world militancy alone was not sufficient to bring victory and as the lockout ended in bitter defeat for the miners, the balance sheets of the distress funds, which were to become one of the few thriving concerns of south Wales in the inter-war years, began to appear (6).

Aberdare Leader 7th December 1918.

Cwmaman Meeting - An Independant Minister presided.

Rev. T.E. Nicholas said - The reconstruction of the social order was not enough; they wanted a new social order. They wanted a new system of society. They appealed to the electors to fight the capitalists on the political plane as they fought them on the industrial plane.

The Miners did not choose representatives from the employers to go to the coal field conferences, and why should they elect representatives to make laws for them ?

Aberdare Leader 14th December 1918.

Meeting at Aberaman.

Rev. T.E. Nicholas said - The Government voted millions of pounds for members of the moneyed classes who had suffered through the war but when the children of the sailors and soldiers needed boots a charity in the form of a flag day was organised.

It was said of that late wealthy lady, Miss Talbot, that she had made Port Talbot, but actually Port Talbot had made Miss Talbot.

Let the people insist on controlling their own industries said Mr. Nicholas.

"A Meeting held at Mountain Ash was invaded by 50 to 60 persons and the speakers were prevented from speaking. Threats of personal violence were freely used and the determination expressed that no more Labour speakers were to be allowed at Mountain Ash.

Epithets such as - 'pro-Germans, dirty conchies, and I.L.P. bastards' ~~were~~ used.

Signed : Edmund Stoneisake.
Matt Lewis.

Aberdare Leader 21st December 1918.

Who could lightly view the glorification of mob rule which culminated in the savagery of last night's disturbance at the Market Hall ? Surely in the Year 1918 A.D. any man, however unpopular he may be shall have the right to a fair hearing and shall not be subjected to personal violence and filthy abuse because hesstands for something that is not generally recognised as true or necessary.

Signed : DEMOCRITUS.

THE ELECTION RESULT WAS AS FOLLOWS -

Stanton (Britisher) 22,834.
Nicholas (I.L.P.) 6,229.

1 Extracts from Aberdare Leader re 'Khaki' Election in Aberdare, 1918

THE END OF THE GREAT ESTATES AND THE RISE OF FREEHOLD FARMING IN WALES

	PERCENTAGE OF HOLDINGS OWNED BY OCCUPIER					PERCENTAGE OF ACREAGE OWNED BY OCCUPIER				
	1887 ¹²⁷	1909 ¹²⁸	1941- 43 ¹²⁹	1960 ¹³⁰	1970 ¹³¹	1887	1909	1941- 43	1960	1970
Anglesey	5.1	12.08	30	48.2	54.5	5.8	12.9	34	47.2	54.0
Breconshire	9.4	9.37	44	60.0	64.2	9.8	9.7	46	60.5	60.7
Cardiganshire	21.6	18.53	48	71.4	72.0	19.3	15.9	48	69.4	69.6
Carmarthenshire	11.3	11.57	42	53.4	68.2	12.6	11.6	42	59.9	67.0
Caernarfonshire	4.2	11.66	30	48.8	58.4	4.6	11.5	32	44.7	49.9
Denbighshire	12.2	7.3	34	56.0	60.6	11.0	7.3	38	56.7	57.0
Flintshire	10.0	8.3	36	54.9	58.3	9.4	9.1	36	52.0	52.7
Glamorgan	9.1	6.02	24	52.9	57.6	8.6	6.5	22	47.4	53.9
Merioneth	7.5	7.09	25	48.3	58.6	7.6	6.9	26	49.7	62.1
Monmouthshire	13.8	12.84	33	61.0	64.2	11.4	9.9	34	57.5	60.1
Montgomeryshire	6.8	8.47	48	64.5	66.8	6.7	8.0	49	66.7	67.6
Pembrokeshire	10.3	10.53	36	57.7	64.2	14.0	11.2	40	56.8	62.3
Radnorshire	15.7	13.49	40	62.3	67.5	14.3	11.3	41	63.0	67.7
Wales	10.5	10.58	37	58.4	63.7	10.2	10.2	39	57.5	61.7
England	16.1	13.37	34	56.4	59.6	15.5	12.4	33	47.8	51.7

2 J. Davies, 'The End of the Great Estates and The Rise of Freehold Farming in Wales, (The Welsh History Review, Vol.7, 1974

REPORT

BY

THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE SANKEY, G.B.E.
(Chairman).

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

I HAVE the honour to present a further Report in
pursuance of the Coal Industry Commission Act, 1919.

1. RECOMMENDATIONS

I

I recommend that Parliament be invited immediately to pass legislation acquiring the Coal Royalties for the State and paying fair and just compensation to the owners.

3. METHOD OF PURCHASE OF COAL ROYALTIES

XIX

The value of each individual royalty owner's interest should be assessed by Government valuers with an appeal to a specially constituted tribunal.

XX

Such valuers should take into consideration—

- (a) the properties where coal has been developed;
- (b) potential properties where coal is known to exist and is awaiting development;
- (c) surface wayleaves and shaft rent in certain cases which destroy the amenities of the neighbouring property;
- (d) the usual royalty charged in the district for the class of coal in question;

but not—

- (e) properties in which the existence of coal is uncertain but suspected; and
- (f) underground wayleaves.

XXI

I also suggest that Parliament in laying down the principles of valuation should consider whether it is not possible to fix a total maximum sum which would form a pool to be allocated between the various individual royalty owners in accordance with the foregoing or any other principles which Parliament may adopt. The advantage of this plan would be that the State would at once know its total maximum liability.

II

I recommend on the evidence before me that the principle of State ownership of the coal mines be accepted.

5. METHOD OF PURCHASE AND CARRYING ON OF THE COAL MINES

XXXV

It is suggested that the State should purchase all the collieries, including colliery buildings, plant, machinery, stores and other effects in and about the colliery at a fair value subject to the next paragraph.

Balance Sheet of the Mardy Distress Fund Accounts.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
South Wales Miners' Federation, in conjunction with the Mardy Workmen's Institute	850 0 0	To Provisions, and Utensils for Kitchens	2766 17 9½
S.W.M.F.—Rhondda District	338 0 0	„ Leather, &c., for Repairing Boots	77 13 1
„ Tyllorstown Lodge	20 0 0	„ Crier, for announcing Meetings	3 5 0
„ Ferndale Lodge	10 0 0	„ Boys, announcing Meetings	0 6 0
S. Wales & Mon. Examiners' Association (Mardy Branch)	10 0 0	„ Barclays Bank, for Cheque Books	3 11 0
Master Hauliers' and Foremen Association	8 15 0	„ Repairs to Siloa Boiler, and Coal used	1 13 4
Mardy Brass Band on Tour	30 0 0	„ Repairs to Ebenezer Boiler and Clock	5 9 0
Concerts, Dramas, &c.	17 9 5½	„ Mr. William Lane, for old Boots	1 15 0
Mardy Women's Knitting Guild, per Mrs. Alf. Evans	50 0 0	„ Mr. James Jones, Bookseller, for Stationery	0 9 0
Teachers, Tradesmen, Railwaymen, Colliery Officials, &c. (per Messrs. Alf. Evans and A. Martin)	229 14 2	„ Printing of Balance Sheet	9 8 0
Conservative Club, Mardy	16 10 0	Refunded to Mardy Lodge, S.W.M.F., and Mardy Institute	2 10 0
Mardy Athletic Club	5 2 0		91 0 8
Mr. W. Blake, Royal Hotel	36 0 0		
Mr. E. W. Harries, Mardy Hotel	36 0 0		
	93 12 0		
R.U.D.C. (Feeding of Children)	1016 12 0		
Bethania Church	4 0 0		
Ebenezer Church	17 10 0		
Siloa Church	9 0 0		
Salvation Army	0 10 0		
All Saints' Church	6 0 0		
Carmel Church	3 0 0		
Seion Church	12 0 0		
Spiritual Church	5 0 0		
	57 0 0		
Women's Labour Section	8 0 0		
Women's Labour Unionist Section	5 12 6		
Economic Class	6 0 0		
	19 12 6		
Colliery Office Staff and Weighers (per Mr. R. D. Davies, Cashier)	24 7 0		
Colliery Weighers, in addition to the above (per Mr. W. Davies)	1 5 0		
	25 12 0		
Mardy Cinema (per Mr. J. Jones)	50 0 0		
Mardy Institute Employees	8 9 0		
	58 9 0		
Mardy Branch, Bristol, West of England (Mr. D. Jones)	3 3 0		
R.A.O.B., "Castell Nos" Lodge (per Mr. W. Pike)	0 10 6		
Mardy Cork Club (per Mr. T. R. Evans)	0 10 0		
	4 3 6		
Collected by Messrs. Lewis Lloyd and Pryce Jones from Tradesmen, &c.	57 19 0		
Rhondda Blind Institution (per Mr. H. E. Maltby)	5 0 0		
Cardigan Roadmen Association (per Sec. S.W.M.F.)	7 10 0		
N.U.R. Branch (per Mr. W. Bradfield)	3 0 0		
	15 10 0		
Messrs. Thomas & Evans, Porth	5 0 0		
Mr. David Lewis, J.P., Rhondda Miners' Secretary	2 2 0		
Mr. and Mrs. Dickinson, London (per Mr. Jos. E. Jones)	1 10 0		
Councillor Abel Jacob, Ferndale	1 0 0		
Councillor A. J. Cook, Miners' Agent	1 0 0		
Inspector Reed, Ferndale	0 10 0		
	11 2 0		
Rhondda Council Employees (per Councillor J. Bowen)	3 3 0		
Collected by Councillor John Bowen, Ferndale	6 15 0		
Porth Party (per Mr. D. Rees, 8 Richard Street)	3 0 0		
	12 18 0		
Ferndale Juvenile Choir (per Mr. Rhys Jones)	4 4 0		
Mr. Davies, Port Talbot (Eisteddfod Adjudicator)	0 10 6		
	4 14 6		
Mr. Ailey (per Mr. J. Addison)	0 10 0		
Messrs. Rigsley & Wakelin, Cardiff	1 14 6		
Messrs. Weaver & Co., Swansea (per Mr. J. Addison)	1 15 0		
	3 19 6		
Mrs. D. Roberts	0 10 0		
Mr. Evan Davies, 30 Pentre Road	1 0 0		
„ T. Howells (Winder), 33 James Street	0 10 0		
„ David Thomas (Winder), 8 Station Terrace	1 0 0		
„ Bert Williams, Electrician	0 14 0		
„ John Addison, Baker	0 10 0		
„ William Butler, 17 Hill Street	0 10 0		
„ James Jones, Bookseller	0 10 0		
„ George Taylor, 38 Edward Street	0 10 0		
„ Rees Moore, 38 Edward Street	0 10 0		
Mrs. David Evans, 8 Mardy Road	0 5 0		
Mr. John Jenkins, 10 Blake Street	0 3 6		
	5 12 6		
No. 3 Pit Checkweighers' Fund (per Mr. T. Jones)	0 4 6		
Anonymous	0 1 1		
Sale of Surplus Goods	0 13 2		
	0 18 9		
Total Receipts	£2952 13 10½	Total Expenditure	£2952 13 10½

In addition to the above, the Committee have received the following Goods free of charge.

Co-operative Butchery Dept.—Meat, value 16/-
 Messrs. Corbett & Turner, Bakers—790 Cakes.
 Mr. Bennett, Chemist—80lbs. of Peas; 150lbs. of Beans; 12 Pots of Beef Tea; 12 Pots of Marmite.
 Mr. William Jones, Grocer—One case of Boiled Beans.
 Mr. Samuel Hall, Bungalow—Two Loaves of Bread.
 Miners' Office, Porth (per Mr. D. Lewis, District Sec.)—One case of Neave's Food, one case of Margarine; one bag of Beans; one case of Jam; 100lbs. Tapioca.
 Mr. W. T. Maddock—500 Perforated Credit Slips

Meals served out, 195,808.

Auditors—WILLIAM JOHN DAVIES and ROBERT W. GRIFFITHS.

Chairman—DAVID LLOYD DAVIES.

Treasurer—JAMES JONES.

Secretary—SAMUEL DAVIES.

List of Subscriptions received for the Mardy Distress Fund.

Per Messrs. A. G. MARTIN and ALFRED EVANS.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Headmaster and Staff, Boys' School	15 12 2	Mr. T. J. Harries, Draper, Mardy Road	2 0 0	Mr. J. Bamford, Grocer	1 10 0	Mrs. Davies, Greengrocer, School Street	15 0
Headmistress and Staff, Girls' School	12 1 0	„ H. James, Ironmonger	2 0 0	„ T. Davies, 87 Richard St.	1 10 0	Mr. E. W. Watkins, 11 Ceridwen Street	15 0
Headmistress and Staff, Infants' School	10 4 0	„ John Hadfield, Brook Villa	2 0 0	„ E. Davies, 78 Griffith St.	1 10 0	„ G. Vignali, 47 Mardy Rd.	16 0
Mr. E. B. Williams (Mechanic), 50 Richard Street	11 0 0	Messrs. Turner & Corbett, Bakers	4 0 0	„ J. Williams, 14 North Terr.	1 10 0	„ W. Evans, 49 Richard St.	18 0
Mr. Bennett, Chemist	8 0 0	Mr. T. J. Evans, 16 North Terr.	2 0 0	„ J. Griffiths, 30 Griffith St.	1 10 0	„ J. Watkins, 20 Richard St.	16 0
„ T. Lewis, 15 Thomas St.	8 0 0	„ A. Maltby, Under Manager	2 0 0	„ Enoch Davies, Butcher	1 10 0	Messrs. Jones & Evans, Outfitters, Ceridwen St.	12 6
„ J. Jenkins (Builder)	8 0 0	„ D. J. Underwood, Fruiterer	2 0 0	„ A. Lewis, 100 Edward St.	1 10 0	Mrs. Williams, Confectioner, Mardy Road	12 0
„ A. Evans, Royal Stores	5 0 0	„ S. Williams, 73 Griffith St.	2 0 0	„ T. Jones, 37 North Terr.	1 10 0	Mr. D. Edwards, 11 Griffith St.	12 6
Employees T.V.R., Mardy	4 6 6	„ A. Lavis, 38 North Terr.	2 0 0	Mardy Co-op. Employees	1 7 6	„ J. Pickford, Co-op. Butchery	10 0
Mr. W. Jones, Mardy Stores	4 0 0	Dr. Boyd, Brynawel	2 0 0	Mr. B. Evans, Co-op. Manager	1 5 0	„ E. Bell, Mardy Road	7 0
„ J. Addison, Baker	4 0 0	Mr. D. Davies, Bettws House	2 0 0	Mardy Police Constables	1 4 0	„ W. Bateson, 52 Mardy Rd.	7 6
„ J. H. Rees, Grocer	4 0 0	„ B. Lewis, Manager	4 0 0	Sergt. Fudge	1 0 0	P.C. Sullivan, Glanville	7 6
„ J. L. Bamford, Griffith St.	4 0 0	„ David Jones, Painter, and Workmen	4 0 0	Mr. P. Gamborini, 7 Ceridwen Street	1 0 0	Mr. W. Lewis, 28 North Terr.	10 0
„ E. Morgan, 97 Griffith St.	4 0 0	Cash & Co., Boot Shop	2 5 0	Mrs. Doolan, Draper, Mardy Rd.	1 0 0	„ J. Holding, Barber	6 0
„ E. Jenkins, 3 Station Terr.	4 0 0	Mr. R. Jones, 70 Richard St.	2 5 0	Mrs. Davies, 75 Richard St.	1 0 0	„ W. Lane, 82 Mardy Road	6 0
„ Geo. Barkway, Ceridwen St.	4 0 0	„ W. L. Edwards, Glanynant Dairy	2 0 0	Mr. S. Fenny, Vet. Surgeon	1 0 0	„ B. Sterling, 92	6 0
„ L. Lloyd, 72 Griffith St.	3 10 0	„ T. Jenkins, 36 James St.	2 0 0	Mrs. Thomas, Oxford House, Oxford Street	1 0 0	Mrs. Poynton, 2 Royal Cott.	5 0
„ J. James, Draper, Mardy Rd.	3 10 0	„ D. B. Short, Outfitter	2 0 0	Mr. G. Gibbon, Boot Shop	1 0 0	Mr. L. Rees, Cash & Co.	5 0
„ E. Jeremiah, Bookseller	3 10 0	„ H. Owen, 14 Thomas St.	2 0 0	Rev. W. E. Williams, B.A.	1 0 0	Mrs. D. Jones, 75 James St.	5 0
„ Bert Williams, Electrician	3 0 0	„ W. Lewis, Cardigan House	1 15 0	Rev. J. Evans, 29 Griffith St.	0 2 0	Mrs. E. A. Watkins, Richard St.	6 0
„ A. G. Martin, Fish Shop, Mardy Road	2 10 0	„ D. Jones, Post Office	1 15 0	Rev. J. Hope Evans, Siloa	1 0 0	Mr. C. Bamford, Mardy Road	5 0
„ W. H. Evans, Fish Shop, Ceridwen Street	2 10 0	„ Dd. Evans, 10 Station Terr.	1 15 0	Mr. J. Williams, Butcher, Mardy Road	1 5 0	Mrs. Cooper, Ceridwen Street	4 0
„ J. Lewis, Hairdresser, Ceridwen Street	2 0 0	„ R. P. Edwards, Butcher	2 0 0	„ W. Jones, 3 Station Terr.	1 5 0	„ A. Campanini, Mardy Rd.	2 0
		Mrs. R. P. Edwards	2 0 0	„ H. J. Melluish, Milk Vendor	1 0 0	„ W. J. Evans, Barber, R. Cott.	2 0
		Mr. D. J. Lewis, 4 School St.	1 15 0	„ D. Bowerman, 10 Glanville	18 0	Mr. T. Evans, 24 Mardy Rd.	2 0
		„ R. J. Jones, Boot Stores	1 10 0	„ D. Rowlands, 1 James St.	15 0	Mr. J. Jones, 19 Richard St.	2 0

Conclusions of a Conference of Ministers at 10 Downing Street, 9 April, 1921.

"Situation in Wales: The Conference were informed that the situation in South Wales was dangerous and the population of Tonypany was restive.... The G.O.C. Western Command had despatched 3 Companies of the Yorkshire and Lancashire Regiment to Cardiff. These troops were not sufficient to enable guards to be placed at the pit heads.. The opinion was expressed that unless the disturbed areas in South Wales were taken in hand, serious trouble would arise and that action should be taken immediately..... Agreed (1) That the Admiralty should immediately form a battalion for service on land from such naval ratings as were available.... (2) That in view of the expected arrival of troops from Silesia one battalion should be moved immediately by railway from London to Wales for the purpose of freeing the 3 companies at Cardiff for use in the disturbed areas."

Cabinet Minutes CAB/23/25/22 App VIII)

5



Five thousand miners from Mardy marched to the United National Colliery, Watstown, to demand the withdrawal of all workers, including p men, from the pit. Our photograph shows a portion of the procession. Inset, Mr. Lloyd Davies, who headed the deputation to the owners ar cing the result of the consultation. With him (on the right) is Mr. Noah Tromans, miners' agent for Ferndale. [Western Mail ph



6 The Western Mail, July 1921

Y mae 1926 yn dal i fyw yng ngof pobl de Cymru oherwydd ei thristwch. Pery 'Naw Niwrnod' y Streic Gyffredinol, i'r rhan fwyaf o'r bobl a fu'n byw trwyddynt, fel cyfnod neilltuol. Er i ymddangosiad y papurau newyddion (1), ar ryw ffurf, awgrymu rhyw fath o reoleidd-dra. I'r Cynghorau

1926 continues to live in the collective folk memory of south Wales and its poignancy will probably ensure that it always will. During the 'Nine Days' of the General Strike, although the appearance in some form of the newspapers (1) suggested some kind of normality, in most respects the period endures for

South Wales Argus

Coal Crisis Emergency Issue.

OUR EXPLANATION.

Because of the General Strike we are unable to publish the "South Wales Argus" in the usual form, we therefore give the news in brief as best we can.

10,477.

NEWPORT, TUESDAY, MAY 4, 1926

ONE PENNY.

At midnight the "cease work" instruction of the Trades Union Congress came into effective operation; and in city, town and hamlet the wheels of industry began to slow down.

There was a march through the West End of London. One demonstrator who carried a red flag came in for police attention, and after a sharp struggle, was deprived of his emblem.

In the final message just as the strike commenced the Trade Union Council stated that the Trade Unions were fighting in defence of the mine workers. They declared that the responsibility for the national crisis lay on the Government. With the people the trades unions had no quarrel. They were assured that the trades unionists of the country would stand loyally by their leaders until victory and an honourable peace had been won.

Crazy-looking contraptions of very ancient orders rattled noisily along the streets of London, groined in many cases with fair passengers perched precariously upon hastily constructed seats of boxes and packing cases. A few pirate buses in London gleaned a rich harvest. Each time a bus drew up at a stopping place there was a wild though good natured stampede to mount it.

No trams are running at Manchester and but for the volunteer service the whole transport organisation of the city is dead. The principal Manchester stations were picketed.

All the iron and steel works closed at Hanley. A number of potteries stopped for want of coal. The London and North Eastern Railway announce a skeleton service of trams.

The transport services for the supply of milk in London is working according to scheme. Drivers are working and all is quiet.

On the G.W.R. all milk and fish trains have arrived at Paddington. A skeleton service of trams and buses was run by volunteers at Glasgow.

The stations at Pontypool were closed, and Pontypool Road, particularly, presented a very desolate appearance.

Newport was like Sunday with the shops open. There was a curious crowd of persons at Newport Station but there was nothing for them to see except a train in a siding. A good percentage of railway clerks have remained at work at Newport.

At Abertillery at midnight hundreds of young colliers marched the streets singing the "Red Flag." Abertillery Tinworks (500 employees) and Abercromby Tinworks (700) closed down.

Woolwich Arsenal is involved in the strike. Several thousand men are said to be affected, and strike pickets are on duty outside the Arsenal gates.

A destroyer passed Woolwich Arsenal going up the Thames, carrying a large number of naval ratings.

A statement issued by Mr. John Moxon, Chairman for Newport and Monmouthshire, as a volunteer service are accepted as "key" to handle food, fuel, light and power, etc., essential to the well-being of the community. They will not act as strikebreakers. All engaging volunteer labour will be held responsible that this instruction is adhered to. Any complaint should be addressed to "Civil Commissioner, Ministry of Health, Cardiff," who will investigate and take action.

Ebbw Vale Sheet Mills (200 employees) are idle. Ebbw Vale-Cwm bus service was running this morning.

All gunpowder stores at collieries in the Eastern Valley have been removed to Cardiff. Nineteen men were sworn as special constables at Pontypool to serve on the Great Western Railway.

The Railway Co., Du Midi, France, received a telegram from the Southern Railway, asking it not to accept any goods destined for England.

The "Echo de Paris" says that the strike affects the very existence of England, while the "Matin" declares that the outcome of the struggle will have its effect outside the frontier of Great Britain, and expresses the fear that the political and social evolution of other countries may be gravely affected thereby.

At Blackwood, all the railwaymen ceased work. Omnibus service suspended. A number of business vans, lorries and private cars were running.

A special meeting of Tredegar Valley District of the Miners' Federation was held at Blackwood. It was decided to hold a mass meeting of miners and members of all other Trades Union organisations at Blackwood on Tuesday afternoon.

Blackwood Trades and Labour Council have made arrangements for sitting up a joint council of action under Blackwood and Mynyddislwyn Trades and Labour Council. A meeting for this purpose is to be held this evening.

"This conduct in these times is doubly dangerous," said Mr. J. J. Aronson at Pontypool on Tuesday, when Thomas and William Allen labourers, were sent to a month's hard labour each for being drunk and assaulting police.

Train and tram services were completely paralysed at Newcastle. Large dockers cease work.

Bristol dockers at Breton have not yet ceased work.

A skeleton team service is running at Leeds. A trainload of stranded passengers were sent from Carlisle to London.

The ex-Labour Member for Norwich, Mr. G. H. Roberts, formerly Secretary of Typographical Association, declared at Toronto that the action of the printing staffs of London newspapers in ceasing work was unjustified interference with the liberty of the press. The Government must not yield, declared Mr. Roberts. If it does, the Country will be driven into bankruptcy.

By the closing down of Blaenavon Colliery's blast furnace the last of the Blaenavon industries is at a standstill. Blaenavon workmen, numbering between 3,000 and 4,000, are idle, except a small number engaged in safety work at the colliery. The mechanics were locked out on Friday.

Almost complete industrial paralysis. Almost complete industrial paralysis prevails in the Nottingham district.

At Swansea idle workers are parading the streets. The Mumbles Railway is included in the stoppage.

Hull Docks and Railway are at a complete standstill. Motor transport has been arranged for fish supplies.

The Midland Railway are running no trains.

GENERAL NEWS.

Sir John Holden, Bart., of Sharples Hall, Leigh, Lancs., died after a long illness aged 60. An empty passenger train left the metals at Newport Station last night, through a parcel which fell on the level crossing. No one was injured. Traffic slightly delayed.

The Prince of Wales has arrived in Paris, but nothing has been fixed in regard to his journey to London.

Henry Cecil Hales, of Stanbury Road, Pontnewydd, was taken to Pontypool Hospital suffering from head injuries received by being knocked down by a motor car on the Abercromby Road, near Pontypool.

Mrs. Tom Jones, president, Mrs. A. E. Harries, J.P., chairman, and Mrs. E. L. Boulder, treasurer, have been elected officers of Newport Liberal Women's Association.

A case of sleep sickness has been reported by the Medical Officer for Newport. A deficiency of £2,688 8 7 is shown by Wm. John Davies, builder and contractor, 4 Yorkrd., Newport, at a meeting of creditors on Tuesday. Liabilities were £3,383 12 7, and assets £697 4 7.

The House of Commons Standing Committee on the Electricity Bill adjourned until next Tuesday.

Business on the Stock Exchange is practically purely a matter of negotiation for dealers continue loath to market prices. Railway prices, Great Western 83, Brunel 70 1/2, Southern deferred 43, are quite nominal.

Neath Watch Committee appointed Sergt. Keefe, Wwanen Boroug, Plence Forse as Chief Constable.

Garage proprietors at Caerphilly are reaping a rich harvest by running buses from Caerphilly

Men employed in motor manufactures at Birmingham are still at work.

Derby industries are in a state of chaos.

The London Midland and Scottish Railway managed to run one train to Manchester and one to Sheffield.

Boot factories are running as usual at Northampton.

Over fifty thousand men are out in Sheffield. Traffic is maintained in North Derbyshire by bus services.

A Cabinet meeting was held at the Home Office. The Miners' Executive re-assembled with their officials, but there was no actual meeting of the Executive, the miners' case having passed into the hands of the T.U.C. General Council.

The Great Western Bus Service, from Crickhowell to Abergavenny, carried on till noon. Pickets were then successful in getting the men to abandon the buses.

There is no road transport between Abergavenny and Crickhowell. The bus services from Brynmawr to Abergavenny, from Pontypool to Abergavenny are being maintained.

Monmouthshire County Council to-day protested against the Budget proposals for taking money from the Road Fund.

Mon. County Council have decided to make application for a loan of £11,320 for the erection of a new boys' school at Newbridge and for other smaller sums for a site for a new infants' school at Bedwas and for land for the Agricultural Institute, Usk.

Newport docks were completely at a standstill to-day.

Ald. W. C. Watkins, chairman of the Mon. County Council, has appealed for everyone, whatever his opinion, to accept the responsibilities which fall upon him in this crisis.

It is anticipated that the milk supply to hospitals, institutions, schools, hotels, restaurants, and private consumers will be maintained. Owing to the increased cost of emergency measures, the prices will be increased by 8s. per gallon, wholesale and 2d. per quart retail.

The T.U.C. Council, which met at Eccleston Square, was joined by Mr. Robert Smith, Mr. Cook and Mr. Richardson. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Henderson arrived later. Great privacy was observed and the outer door was closed.

The Executive Council of the Miners' Federation were summoned to the House of Commons for a conference with the General Council of the T.U.C.

Wholesalers in Newport have raised the price of frozen meat by 2d. per lb.

The railway repair shops at Caerphilly are closed.

Saklatvale, the Communist M.P., for North Battersea, was arrested in Highgate and will be brought up at Bow Street charged with making a seditious speech in Hyde Park.

COUNTY CRICKET.

Australians 336 (Gregory 120), Leicester 41 for 3.

Lancashire 179 and 153 for 5. Warwickshire 140.

Yorkshire 359 (Rhodes 132). Essex 110 and 95 for 4.

Notts. 180. Northants 111 and 170 for 3.

Surrey 243 and 44 for 0. Hampshire 182.

Cambridge U. and Middlesex abandoned owing to strike.

TO-DAY'S SPORTING.

Chester.

2.0 1, Cabbage. 2, Little Grey. 3, Bayona. Eight ran.

Betting: 6-1, 11-10 on, 8-1.

2.30 1, Bouge. 2, Phaethon. 3, Jehu.

2.30 Betting: 6-1, 10-1, 11-4.

3.0 Chester Betting: 3-1, 6-1, 5-2.

Chester.

3.10 1, Swift and Sure. 2, Bicarlonette.

3, Lancaster.

Perth.

2.0 1, Golden Hero. 2, Grosvenor Light.

Only two runners. 7-4 on Grosvenor Light.

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Gweithredu a ymffurfiodd (2,3) gwireddwyd y freuddwyd o rym i'r gweithwyr am ennyd. Eithr, prin y cychwynasai'r Streic Gyffredinol cyn iddi ddarfod, gan adael y glowyr, dan arweiniad carismatig A.J. Cook (4) i frwydro wrth eu hunain, ymysg cryn dipyn o ddrwgdeimlad. Fel yr ymlusgodd yr haf hir tuag at orchfygiad bu gormes gwleidyddol yn arswydus, eithr mewn cymunedau bychain megis 'Moscow bach', sef Maerdy, lle cafodd Cynghrair y Comiwnyddion dynnu eu llun o flaen baner a gyflwynwyd illuont gan lowyr o Rwsia (6), ni leihaodd gwrthsafiad o gwbl. Aros hefyd y mae'r argraff o hyfdra cellweirus y bandiau Jaz a Chomig (7).

most people who lived through it as a time apart. For the Councils of Action which sprang into being (2,3) the dream of workers' power fleetingly became a reality. Before it had hardly started, however, the General Strike was over, and, amidst considerable rancour flowing from the feeling of betrayal, the miners under their charismatic leader A.J. Cook (4) were left to fight alone. As the 'long summer' dragged on to defeat, political repression was formidable, but in communities such as the 'little Moscow' of Maerdy where the Young Comrades League posed proudly in front of a banner presented by Russian miners, resistance was no less strong (6). The tongue-in-cheek brazenness of the jazz and comic bands is another impression which continues to linger (7).

Explanatory Note of Diagram of Organisation throughout the Borough.

THE Merthyr Tydfil County Borough, with its population of about 80,000, lies mainly in the Taff Valley, with a broad stretch of three and a half miles in width at its northern point, Dowlais, tapering down to less than a mile at its southern extremity, Treharris. The distance from north to south is ten miles, and lying between these points is a succession of populous townships and villages, viz., Dowlais, Penydarren, Merthyr, Heolgerig, Abercanaid, Pentrebach, Troedyrhiw, Merthyr Vale, Aberfan, Quakers' Yard, and Treharris.

Merthyr Tydfil itself is the centre of these townships, and the Merthyr Tydfil Trades Council is the means whereby the workers throughout the Borough can express their desires. There are 52 lodges affiliated to the Trades Council, and three unemployed organisations, the whole representation comprising 85 delegates, 6 aldermen, 15 councillors, 13 guardians, 8 ward secretaries, 9 district secretaries and organisers of Trades Unions, with 6 ex-officio officers of the Trades Council, making a total of 142. The Executive Committee of the Trades Council consists of 16 members and 6 ex-officio members.

The Central Strike Committee comprised the Executive Committee of the Trades Council, plus its co-opted members, plus one delegate from each of the Industry Strike Committees.

The large circle at the head of the diagram represents the Central Strike Committee which governed the whole of the Strike activities throughout the Borough. The first row of six smaller circles indicates the Sub-Committees of the Central Strike Committee. Each Sub-Committee had its Minute Secretary, who submitted his report to the Central Office, where it was recorded, and each evening considered by the Central Strike Committee.

The work of the Central Sub-Committees may be gauged by indicating the nature of the tasks allotted to each.

First came the SPORTS AND ENTERTAINMENTS COMMITTEE, which became responsible for organising concerts, and matches in football, cricket and bowls. At least a dozen concerts were held, and the large attendance shewed how much they were appreciated. Artists were very generous in their support, and the standard of entertainment was very high. There was also a football competition, involving two matches a day, and trophies were presented to the winning teams.

The PERMITS COMMITTEE daily reviewed and confirmed permits for work and transport on the recommendation of the various Industry and District Strike Committees, while the FOOD COMMITTEE co-ordinated the setting up of communal kitchens, and arranged for the wholesale buying of provisions.

The FINANCE COMMITTEE undertook the difficult task of co-ordinating the raising monies in the districts, and the COMMUNICATIONS COMMITTEE registered the names of dispatch riders and arranged the rota of daily duties. The riders from other localities regularly visited the Central Office, whence their news was broadcasted to all concerned. Finally, as far as Central Sub-Committees are concerned, we had the INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE, which reviewed all reports and news received, and saw that this information was disseminated throughout the Borough.

The third row of circles, four in number, symbolises the DISTRICT STRIKE COMMITTEES, consisting of representatives from the unions involved in the struggle in each separate locality in the Borough.

The fourth row of circles indicates the Sub-committees of each District Committee, viz., Sports and Entertainments, Permits, Food, and Finance. With the exception of the first named, which became autonomous, these all worked under the corresponding Sub-committee of the Central Strike Committee. The daily proceedings of the District Strike Committees were submitted to Central Strike Committee each evening who in turn informed the districts of their own findings of the day before.

This short explanation, with the diagram, should make plain the multifarious activities undertaken, and the way in which they were co-ordinated and made efficient throughout our area.

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING ORGANISATION OF CENTRAL STRIKE COMMITTEE.

Pontypridd.

Organisation.—My Trades Council formed the basis of the organisation which functioned during the last fortnight. Without waiting for instructions I sent out a special summons to the delegates and also to the Secretaries of all the Trade Unions in the district, whether affiliated or not to the Trades Council. As a T.C. we discussed the whole matter and resolved to form ourselves into the Pontypridd Central Committee. Then, avoiding delay, we straightway set up the following departments:—

- (a) Intelligence and Publicity. (c) Transport Permits.
- (b) Lines of Communications. (d) Picketing.

I may say that the experience gained by the Trades Council as such, in dealing with various problems previous to the General Strike, served us in good stead during its nine days' course. The organisation is being maintained. We have resolved to keep in session.

Special points.—I would just like to mention that the organisation we set up worked very smoothly. Specialisation was our principle. Much greater efficiency could be attained if all the telegrams were sent to me as Secretary of the Strike Committee instead of to the several Trade Union branches.

Publicity.—Bulletins were issued only to the extent of putting them up in prominent places, and sending to the surrounding Strike Committees. Prior to the *British Worker* being delivered we issued, on one day only, 1000 copies of a cyclo-styled sheet at ½d each.

Arrests.—No arrests have taken place in Pontypridd yet. The police made a raid on my house on the 15th, on a warrant signed by the Chief Constable.

Porth.

Organisation.—The Ward Committee was reverted into an Industrial Strike Committee, composing two additional representatives of each organisation whether affiliated to the local Party or not. This committee was working under the instructions of a Central Body, comprising one member of each local Strike Committee, and other organisations; in turn they were under the General Council of the T.U.C. Each local Strike Committee is still in existence into the present crisis is over.

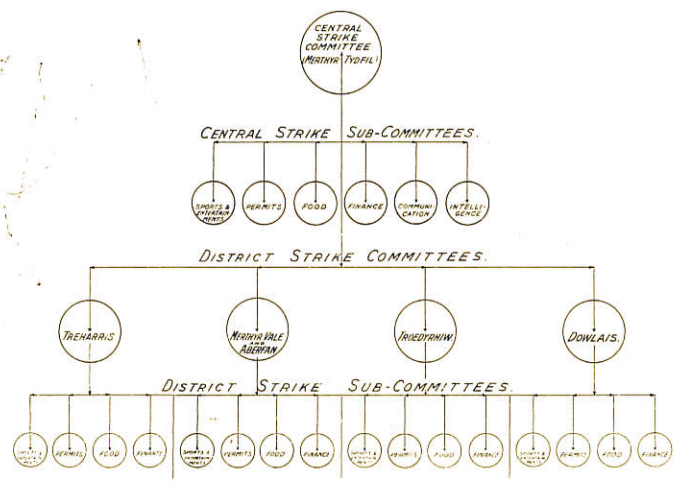
Arrangements with Co-op.—No arrangements of note were made with the Co-op. other than working with them during that period.

Special points.—The only point of note was the linking up of every Strike Committee, and the exchanging of news by a courier system, which was very successful.

Publicity.—The Central Strike Committee issued bulletins from the T.U.C., also the Local Committees issued several. The first day they were published was on May 5th, and they continued until the 13th.

Arrests.—Four Communists have been arrested in this locality. They were arrested on Saturday, May 15th. They were given two months, one month, and three weeks, and the youngest boy of 17 years of age was bound over for twelve months; they have made an appeal against that decision.

3 Report from Trades Councils in E. Burns, The General Strike. Trades Councils in Action, 1926





4 A. J. Cook, General Secretary of MFGB 1926

May 7th

There were sensational developments in the Rhondda Fach on Saturday following police raids upon houses and the confiscation of documents.

The police arrested four men....

At Maerdy where the Communist Party is stronger than in any other place in the Rhondda, the Ferndale police raided the house of two well-known Maerdy men. News of raid spread through the town and a crowd of many hundreds gathered.

The police were only 5 in number and the crowd made a hostile demonstration marked by much boing and singing of the "Red Flag".

May 14th - 20th

Communists and other militants arrested in the Rhondda, Maesteg, Pontycymmer, Aberavon and Neath.

May 18th

Rhondda men before Pontypridd magistrates:-

Frank Bright (35) Colliery repairer, Ynysgir.

Emrys Llewellyn (24) Labourer.

D. J. Lewis (22) Colliers, Llwyncelyn, Porth.

Isaac Lewis (17)

All charged with being in possession of seditious literature likely to cause disaffection amongst the troops, police, fire brigades and civilian population (under the Emergency Powers Regulations).

May 22nd

Thousands of demonstrators from Risca, Abercarn, Cross Keys, Nine Mile Point, Pontymister, Bedwas, Machen. Marching to Newport to protest to the Board of Guardians on lack of relief. Prevented by Emergency Powers Regulations from entering Newport.

May 24th

Pontypool magistrates sentence a newsagent, Frederick Charles Chapman to 1 month hard labour for putting the following question and answer on a poster in his shop window:-

Child: What is a blackleg, Daddy?

Father: A blackleg is a traitor my boy, who knows not honour or shame.

Child: Are there any in the Eastern Valley, Daddy?

Father: No, my boy, only the station master at Abersychan and two clerks at Crane Street Station.

Child: I am glad you are not a blackleg, Daddy.



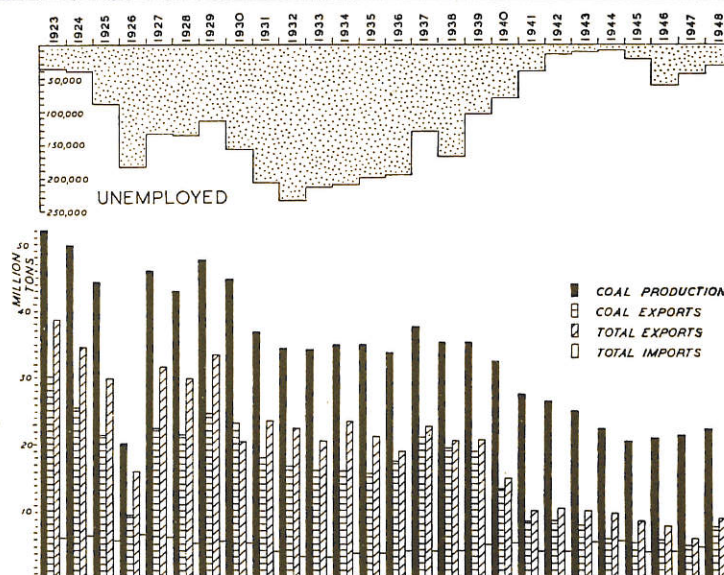
6 Maerdy Institute with Russian Miners Banner in Background, 1926



7 Pontypridd Jazz Band, 1926

Wedi llewyrch byrhoedlog yn dilyn y rhyfel, daeth dirwasgiad ofnadwy i'r diwydiant glo yn ne Cymru (1) gan ddwyn diweithdra ar raddfa eang i Gymru yn y cyfnod rhwng y ddau ryfel (2). Yng ngogledd Cymru hefyd dioddefai'r diwydiant llechi oherwydd cystadleuaeth o lechi rhatach oddi tramor a'r defnydd cynyddol o deils ar doeau (4,5). Gellir cyfrif effaith glwyfus diweithdra hir-dymor ar safonau byw yn gymharol rwydd (3), ond nid yw mor hawdd amcangyfrif ei effaith ar deimladau dynol.

After a short-lived post-war boom the coal industry in south Wales underwent a fearful recession (1) bringing the trauma of mass unemployment to inter-war Wales (2). The crippling effect of long term unemployment on families' standard of living can be fairly easily gauged (3); more intractable is the effect that such barrenness had on human sensibilities. In north Wales too a hard pressed slate industry was suffering from competition both from cheaper foreign slates and from roofing tiles (4,5).



Coal Production, Trade and Unemployment in South Wales. (M. Davies, Wales in Maps, 1958)

2

Colly.	Colly.	No. Emp. in 1924	No. Now Employed	Date Colly. Closed	Is Colly. Abandoned?
Corrwg Vale	Corrwg Vale Colliery Co.	80	None.	1925.	Yes.
Cwmmawr.	Briton Ferry Colls Ltd	120.	20.	1925.	No.
Glyncymmer.	Glenavon Garw Colls Ltd	140.	None	Oct. 1927.	Yes.
Glyncorrwg Pits	Glyncorrwg Colly Co.	550.	None	July 1925.	Yes.
Abergwynfi Pits.	do	500.	None	July 1925	Yes.
Merthyr Llanwit.	Merthyr Llantwit Colly Co.	80.	None	1924.	Yes.
Corrwg Rhondda	Glenavon Garw Colls Ltd	40.	None.	1924.	Yes.
Duffryn Rhondda No. 2.	Imperial Nav Coal Co. Ltd	140.	None.	1925.	Yes.
Argoed.	H.Hudson Ltd	120.	None	July 1927.	Yes.
Talbot Merthyr.	T.M.Colly Co	40.	None	1924.	Yes.
Oakwood.	Oakwood C.Co.	200.	None.	1927.	Yes.
Oakland.	Oakland C.C.	50.	None	1928.	Yes.
Ynyslas.	Ynyslas C.Co	30.	None.	April 1926	Yes.
Craiglyn.	Craiglyn C.Co	25.	None	1925.	Yes.
Maesmelyn.	H.Hudson Ltd	40.	None.	1925.	Yes
Llwynffynon.	Llwynffynon Colly Co.	30.	None.	1926.	Yes.
Bwlch.	Bwlch C.Co	20.	None	1925.	Yes
Court Herbert.	Main Coll Co	180.	None	1927.	Yes.
Brynderwen.	do	350.	None	1924.	Yes.
Bryncoch.	do	250.	None	1924.	Yes.
Villiers.	do	60	None	1924.	Yes.
Glyn Merthyr.	Ynisarwed CO	90.	None	1926.	Yes.
Clyne Merthyr.	C.M. Coll Co	130.	None	1930.	Yes.
Gored Merthyr	G.M. Coll Co	160.	None	1926.	Yes.
Cilfrew.	Cilfrew C.Co	160.	None	1931.	Yes
Premier Merthyr.	P.M. Col Co	130.	None	1926.	Yes
Blaengwrach.	Cory Bros.	60.	None	1927.	Yes.

1 Collieries closed in Afan Valley 1918-1928 3770
S.W.M.F. Records, South Wales Miners' Library

Weekly Income and Expenditure for Unemployed and Employed Miners and Their Families

Two Case Studies from Blairstown, Summer 1937

1. Unemployed miner, wife and 4 children: Income 39/- per week from Unemployment Assistance Board.

Expenditure:	s.	d.
Rent	10.	4.
Doctor		1.
Hospital		1.
Light	1.	0.
Coal		6.
Soap		9½.
Starch		1½.
Blue		1.
Cleaning things, polish, etc.		4½.
Insurance		8.
Clothes and Boots for children	1.	6.
Bread	4.	0.
3 lbs. butter	3.	6.
Meat (Sunday only)	1.	6.
1 lb. cheese		11.
2 tins of milk		7.
1 lb. bacon	1.	2.
2 qutrs of tea	1.	1.
4 lbs sugar		11½.
1 lb margarine		7.
½ lb lard		4½.
1 tin cocoa		5½.
Potatoes	2.	6.
Other vegetables	1.	0.
Jam		7½.
Tin of fruit and cream for Sunday	1.	0.
Baby milk food	2.	0.
	<u>37.</u>	<u>9½.</u>

- Comment
- Total food bill - £1. 2. 3d.
 - Balance of only 1s. 2½d. for extra food, biscuits, amusements, breakages, emergencies etc.
 - Coal bill eased by unemployed working eight hours at a level for 4 bags.
 - Excluding baby, 1½d. spent per person per meal.

2. Employed Miner, wife and 2 children: Net Income £2.12.2d.

Expenditure:	s.	d.
Fares	1.	9.
Carbon for Lamp		10.
Rent and rates	6.	0.
Clothes	3.	0.
Food	25.	0.
Milk		-
Fuel	2.	6.
Nursing		1.
Insurance	1.	8.
Newspapers		8.
Trade Union		6.
Household replacements and cleaning things	2.	6.
Pocket money	3.	0.
Furniture	2.	6.
Children	1.	2.
Amusements	1.	4.
Radio		3.
	<u>£2. 12.</u>	<u>9.</u>

- Comment
- Total food bill £1.5.0d.
 - Expenditure exceeds income.
 - 3½d. spent per person per meal.

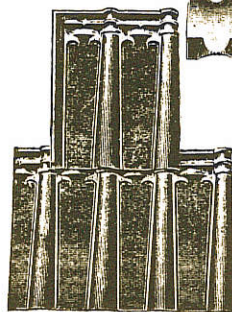
Source Philip Massey, Portrait of a Mining Town (Published in Fact, November, 1937.)

H. J. & C. MAJOR, LD.: THE PATENT TILE WORKS, BRIDGWATER. (LATE SEALY)

ESTABLISHED 250 YEARS. Are the Sole Manufacturers of the well-known Bridgwater Weather-proof Roofing Tiles, C. Major's Patent, Double Roman Pattern, Angularly Corrugated, &c. &c. Ridge Tiles to match. And also of C. Major's Patent Improved Interlocking Plain and Ornamental Tiles, 10 1/4 by 6 1/2 - about 500 Tiles per square of Roofing. Either sort of the above-named Patent Tiles will make a perfect roof covering; they require no nails, nor must mortar or cement be used to fix them.

HIGHEST AWARDS IN EVERY COMPETITION IN GREAT BRITAIN; THE HIGHEST AND ONLY AWARD FOR ROOFING TILES, PARIS EXHIBITION 1900. PRICES PER SQUARE OF ROOFING. Subject to alteration with or without notice.

Patent Weatherproof Tiles, Roman Pattern, Red Blue About 16/6 19/-



Section showing lap of Patent Interlocking Plain Tiles.

Patent Interlocking Plain Tiles, about 30/3 26/3
Patent Interlocking Plain Tiles, Ornamental, about 32/9 37/9

PAVING SQUARES. MALT KILN TILES. LAND-DRAIN PIPES. PLAIN & ORNAMENTAL BRICKS & TILES.

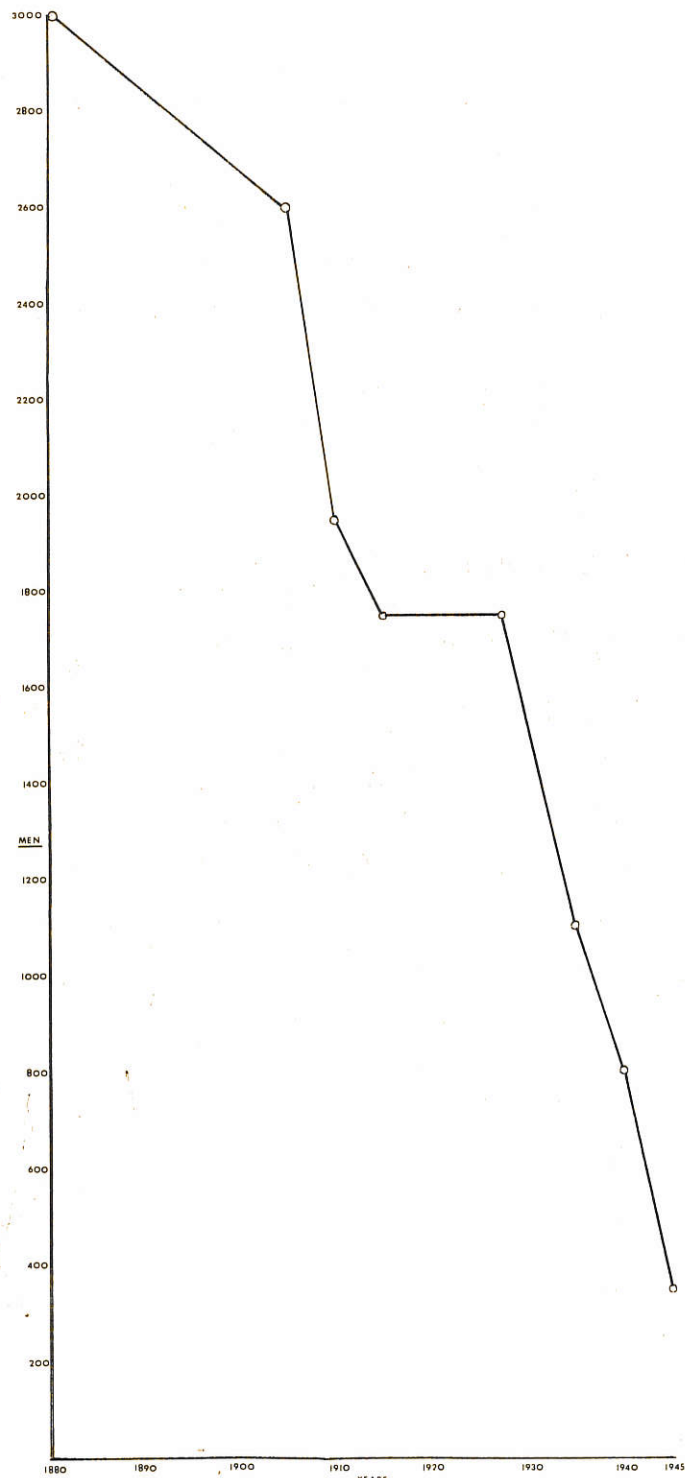
RIDGE TILES AND FINIALS TO ARCHITECTS' DESIGNS.

Quotations on Application.



PATENT WEATHER TILES Cost per Square, Red, about 26/-

4



5 Decline in the number of slate quarrymen employed in the Nantlle Valley, Caernarvonshire, 1880 - 1945.

Diweithdra II, Ymatebion

Unemployment II, Responses

Daethai gwrthwynebiad chwyn i nerthoedd gormesol yn weithred digymell bron yng nghymunedau glofaol de Cymru. Daeth delwedd yr Orymdaith Fwyd (1,2) yn symbol barhaol o hyn, ond yr oedd ymgyrchoedd diflino Mudiad Cenedlaethol Gweithwyr Di-waith yn erbyn safon y cymorth ac yn erbyn y 'prawf moddion' cas yn llawn mor bwysig (3,4). Nid ymdrechodd pawb, wrth gwrs. Heiddasant i fywydau newydd yn Slough, Rhydychen a'u tebyg. Elwodd ychydig a arhosodd o'r ymdrechion gwan i ddarparu gwaith trwy weithiau cyhoeddus (5). Nid unigolion yn unig a ddirodd o'r tlodi, ond cymunedau cyfan. Effeithiwyd yn arw ar fywiogrwydd Sefydliadau'r Glowyr yn enwedig, ac nid oedd ymdrechion mudiadau gwirfoddol ac elusennol yn agos ddigon i gymryd eu lle (6).

Fierce resistance to oppressive forces had become almost a reflex action in mining communities in south Wales. The image of the Hunger March (1,2) has become the most enduring symbol of this, but the ceaseless campaigns of the National Unemployed Workers Movement against the standard of relief and the hated 'means test' was not less impressive (3,4). Many, of course, did not struggle. They simply left in droves for new lives in Slough, Oxford and the like. A few of those who stayed benefitted from the meagre attempts to provide unemployment through public works (5). The impoverishment was not only of individuals but of whole communities. In particular, the former vitality of Miners' Institutes was severely affected and the efforts of voluntary and charitable organisations was no more than a poor substitute (6).

OUR APPRECIATION
 A pleasing feature, and one for the thanks of this movement is due, is the number of women who have come out on the streets, in the recent agitation, to demonstrate and support the demands of the movement.
 The burden of making the small and inadequate pittances allowed to the Workers and Unemployed stretch as far as possible, rests upon our Women, who in the past, have been too docile.
 The urgency of the present situation of the workers has made our women realise the necessity of being up and doing and taking an active part in the fight for existence for themselves, and for their children.
 Their attitude has certainly been an incentive to the leaders to carry on.
 DON'T FORGET THE DEMONSTRATION TO CARDIFF ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF THE "PRINCE OF WALES".
 "NOW WOMEN? AGAIN TO THE FRONT!"

Luxury for the Rich While the Masses Starve

The Prince of Wales comes to Cardiff on Jubilee Week. ... to demand more money for the

2



1 South Wales Hunger March to Bristol T.U.C. 1931 (South Wales Miners' Library)

South Wales Marchers' Organising Council.

SOUTH WALES MINERS'
MARCH TO LONDON

CALL TO ACTION! VOLUNTEERS WANTED!

Arising out of the pronouncement by A. J. COOK, 18/9/27, a Miners' March to London from S. Wales is being organised. The March will commence on the day Parliament opens--Nov. 8th, and the Marchers will arrive in London on Nov. 20th, where they will be received by an All London Working Class Demonstration.

The object of the March shall be two-fold, to arouse a Nation-wide feeling concerning the Appalling Conditions in the Minefields created by the policy of the Government and the Coal-owners, and to seek an interview with the Prime Minister, the Minister of Mines, the Minister of Labour, and the Minister of Health.

The purpose of such interview shall be :

1. To draw attention to the Chronic Destitution affecting Unemployed and Employed Miners arising out of the Failure of Private Enterprise in the Mining Industry.
2. To draw the attention of the Government to the persistent Closing of Mines, thus causing further widespread Unemployment.
3. To point out the consequences of the 8-hour Day.
4. To urge the Government to make Satisfactory Provision for the Employment of those Unemployed.
5. To demand State Aid to permit Guardians to more effectively Relieve Distress.
6. To protest against the Continuous Disqualification of Men and Women from Benefit at the Labour Exchange, and to urge More Adequate Scales of Benefit.
7. To press for a system of Adequate Pensioning of Miners over Sixty Years of age as a means of Reducing the Number of Unemployed.

 Those wishing to Enrol as Recruits for this Historic March should make application at once to :

THE TRAGEDY OF THE MINEFIELDS MUST BE MADE KNOWN !

Thomas Bro. Printers, &c. Pandy Square, Tonypandy

NEWS OF THE MARCH

Issued by the



MARCHERS' STILL GOING STRONG

Marchers' Organising Committee.

MARCHERS IN SPLENDID "SPIRITS"

Despite the efforts of the Capitalist Press to create the impression that the Marchers are discontented, and that by now they are all desirous of returning etc, we are pleased to be able to denounce those statements as being further attempts to mis-lead the workers. In a letter forwarded by Comrade Tom Thomas which we received to-day, the following statement is made:-

"I AM PROUD TO STATE THAT ALL THE LADS ARE DOING WELL - THEIR SPIRIT IS COMPLETELY SPLENDID"

The above statement is a direct denial of the sharp practices of the capitalist papers.

(Tuesday, Nov. 15th)

BRISTOL RECEPTION AND SEND-OFF.

The following is a statement sent to us regarding the welcome given at Bristol. "We were received at Bristol with wild enthusiasm. The Bristol women could not do too much for us. We had good accommodation with Blankets and Two Meals provided. Record collections were made at the meetings. In leaving Bristol the people brought in an abundance of clothing and Boots. A packet of Players and Two packets of medicines were given every man upon leaving. They also sent along a Barrel of Apples for the Marchers. The Lads were in good spirits leaving this town"

The above conveys the wonderful display of solidarity which the workers give to the Marchers. This despite the attitude of the Reactionary Leaders in the Labour movement.

APPRECIATED AT BATH.

The marchers were fed and housed by the Bath Labour Party and the Quakers. In this aristocratic city everyone manifested sympathy and indignation at the suffering of the Miners. Everyone of the Marchers lined up at the Pump in the centre of the City, and all men filled their mugs with the warm medicinal water from the spring. The men afterwards sang Welsh melodies and left the city singing the Red Flag. Everyone was appreciative of the orderly conduct of the Marchers. On the Road between Bath and Chippenham, the men were provided with a Hot Meal, prepared in the FIELD KITCHEN by cooks from the ranks of the Marchers.

CONTINUED AT CHIPPENHAM

The Marchers on nearing Chippenham was met by an old Labour Veteran, 70 years of age, who championed the Miners' cause by marching in front of the contingent for a distance of Three Miles to Chippenham. Despite the fact that Chippenham is a busy small town, with very few workers, the workers there gave the Marchers a warm reception. The men entered the town with their lamps lit and singing Rebel Songs. The Spirit of the marchers was splendid despite the long march from Bath to this town. A report was sent from stating that "All is Well. going ..."

The Marchers must be given a Real Welcome Home.

They are expected home on Nov 29th. Everyone should now be preparing to give the Lads a Real reception when they come back. Watch for announcements in this respect.

Remember by sending to the Marchers' Fund. This will assist towards giving the Lads a Real Welcome Home

A.J. Cook, 55 Russell Sq; W.C.1

COUNCIL'S CARE OF MARCHERS.

At Chippenham on Saturday morning, the Marchers Council, having regard to the fact that the men were faced with a 21 mile tramp in order to reach Swindon over a very bad road miles of which was under repair, decided that the men should march to Dauntsey 7 miles from Chippenham, and entrain there for Woodon Bassett which is 6 miles from Swindon. By thus doing, they cut off 9 miles of roadway. The men, who have every confidence in their leaders, greatly appreciated the decision of the Marchers Council. For the benefit of the Daily Mail readers, we would state that the TRAILHEADS WERE DERIVED FROM DONATIONS RECEIVED ALONG THE ROUTE OF MARCH.

A.J. COOK'S MAGNETICISM.

Along the road from Woodon Bassett Swindon all eyes were on the "look-o-for Cook's Motor-car. Everyone expected, knowing well that he would fulfil his promise. When about 3 miles from Swindon a motor-car passed the men on the road from behind and stopped immediately in front of the marchers, many of the front ranks made some very inignant remarks about the occupants of this car obstructing their course, but when they saw the occupants of the car step out on the road and saw that it was their great A.J. "little" Arthur Hornor and Strachey Editor of the Miner, the air seemed to have been electrified, the tremendous roar from the marchers, could be heard a mile away according to statements of some of the Swindon Trade Council Officials who were on the way to meet the marchers.

LIGHTING UP TIME.

After a few words of encouragement by Cook, the order was given for all lamps to be lit. The men endowed with arrow spirit, briskly fell into line, and with Cook now in the front ranks they proceeded on to Swindon, the sight of these men marching with their lamps lit was magnificent. Motor-car after motor-car stopped on the road to watch the procession pass, the occupants of these motor-cars gazed with astonishment.

SWINDON'S WELCOME.

When about 2 miles from Swindon they were met by practically the whole members of the Swindon Trades Council accompanied by their wives, the men showed their appreciation by another tremendous cheer. Ultimately, marching in excellent manner into the town of Swindon. They were met by hundreds of men women and children who lined the route, cheer after cheer of welcome was given by the crowd. All traffic in the town was practically stopped whilst the men marched triumphantly through. About 6 P.M. they entered the Swindon Swimming Baths, their resting place for the night. An excellent meal, prepared by the women of Swindon, was waiting them on the tables. BRAC SWINDON.

Whilst at their meal, each man was presented by Cook, with a gilt model of a miners safety lamp. This action was greatly appreciated by the men. Each man was also given 1/- for cigarratts, by the marchers' Council out of donations received on the road.



5 Unemployed Miners engaged in building of Rhego's Mountain Road, Ronda, in 1930's.

EDUCATIONAL SETTLEMENTS

57. This report could not claim to be in any way a conspectus of Social Service in South Wales unless it made specific reference to the work of the Educational Settlements. The year has seen the welcome establishment of a new Settlement at Pontypridd and the assumption by Community House, Brynmawr, of a larger sphere of activity, and there are now in South Wales nine of these power houses of friendship, service, and education situated as follows:—

Rhondda	..	The Maesyraf Settlement, Trealaw	Mr. & Mrs. William Noble.
Merthyr	..	The Merthyr Settlement	.. .. Vacancy.
Risca	..	Oxford House Settlement, Risca	.. Mr. & Mrs. J. V. Alexander.
Pontypool	..	The Pontypool Settlement, Rockhill Road, Pontypool.	Mr. & Mrs. Ivor Thomas.
Bargoed	..	The Bargoed Settlement, Cardiff Road, Bargoed.	Mr. & Mrs. J. H. Thomas.
Aberdare	..	Coleg Gwerin Cynon, Aberdare	.. Mr. and Mrs. J. Victor Evans.
Brynmawr	..	Community House, Brynmawr	.. Miss Eileen Thomas.
Pontypridd	..	The Pontypridd Settlement, Taff Street, Pontypridd.	Mr. and Mrs. T. Glyn Davies.
Dowlais	..	Trewern House	.. .. Mr. John Dennithorne.
Senghenydd	..	Community House	.. .. Mrs. Ada Wright.

58. In addition, Cardiff, Barry and Penarth has been defined as a "Settlement area" and a new Governing Body and its officers under the honorary Wardenship of Mr. R. H. Lomas are seeking to provide somewhat similar facilities in that area.

59. While it should be emphasised that each Settlement is an independent self-governing unit with its own ideas and methods and its own financial problems, they are all willing partners in the work with which the Council is concerned. The work in clubs for men and women referred to in this report is undertaken in their areas by the various Settlements and the helpful advice and co-operation of the Wardens is available to the Council in committees and otherwise when work of a general regional character is planned. There is a happy interchange of staff and ideas and a partnership such as this, in which independent units living daily amid the problems co-operate with a central regional body, of which they are themselves a vital constituent part, goes far to preserve vitality and variety in this work and is a helpful safeguard against the disadvantages of centralisation. It is impossible to deal in any adequate way in this report with the work of the Settlements and the Council can only emphasise here their important place in the general structure of social and cultural work in South Wales.

6 4th Annual Report of The South Wales and Monmouthshire Council of Social Service 1937-38.

Gwelodd diwedd cloi-allan y glowyr ym 1926 Ffederasiwn Glowyr De Cymru yn deilchion fel y dychwelodd nifer fawr i'r gwaith cyn i'r Undeb ddbennu'r ymyrthion yn swyddogol. Byggythiodd y bwch hwn yn undod glowyr de Cymru ddod yn barhaol fel y datblygodd undeb arall 'anwleidyddol', tebyg i eiddo George Spencer yn Swydd Nottingham. I Ffederasiwn Glowyr De Cymru nid oedd Undeb Diwydiannol Glowyr De Cymru yn ddim namyn 'undeb cwmni' wedi'i noddi a'i gynnal yn ariannol gan y perchnogion ac yn tynnu'i gefnogaeth o lowyr a fygythid â diweithdra ac erledigaeth (1). Mewn sawl man bu nerth y Ffederasiwn yn ddigon o hyd i dagu'r mudiad (2), ond yn lleoedd megis Taf, Merthyr (3,4) a Pwynt Naw Milltir (5) ceid rhyfel propaganda llawn yn ystod y deng mlynedd nesaf hyd nes y dychwelwyd y maes glo i'w deyrngarwch i'r Ffederasiwn trwy'r streic 'aros i lawr'.

The end of the miners lock-out in 1926 saw the South Wales Miners' Federation in tatters as a widespread return to work took place before the union officially terminated the dispute. This breach in the solidarity of the south Wales miners threatened to become a permanent one as a rival 'non-political' union emerged along the lines of that brought into being by George Spencer in Nottinghamshire. To the S.W.M.F. the South Wales Miners' Industrial Union was no more than a 'company union' sponsored and financed by the coalowners and drawing its support from miners intimidated by the threat of victimisation and unemployment (1). In many places the strength of the Federation was still sufficient to nip the breakaway in the bud (2), but in places such as Taff Merthyr (3,4) and Nine Mile Point (5) the next ten years saw a full scale propaganda war until through the weapon of the stay-down strike the coalfield was returned to its solid allegiance with the S.W.M.F.

A Brief History of the Trouble at the (Ocean Company) Dare Pit.

At the latter period of the 1926 Stoppage, the Lodge Officials of the Park and Dare Pits were asked to meet the Management of these Pits, and they met at the Company's Offices, Treorchy. There was the usual wailing about the disastrous strike, and then the following proposition was put to the Lodge Officials:—"That the workmen at these Pits be asked to break away from the Miners' Federation and return to work, the Company would then break away from the Coalowners' Association." There would be a separate Agreement, and they would work harmoniously together for ever after.

This offer was refused. The Management did induce some men to return to work soon afterwards. This created a very bitter feeling in the district. Opinions were expressed at meetings which were never forgiven. The non-Political Union officials were encouraged to establish a branch at this Colliery. The villain in the piece was Iorwerth Thomas, the Checkweigher. Attempts were made to remove him by getting at the Colliers. Ballots were conducted, but the men displayed their loyalty. Failing to deprive him of his livelihood, the next move was to starve him out by refusing to make deductions at the Colliery Office.

The preference shown to members of the Company's Union and the privileges granted to them at the Pit has been the cause of more strife among the workmen at Treorchy than anything else.

The President, Secretary and Miners' Agents of the S.W.M.F. have done all in their power by peaceful persuasion to get the Management to treat all men alike. The local M.P.'s have done what they could. Deputation after deputation met the Management. Cases where preference had been shown were cited; particulars were given by Miners' Agents and Lodge Officials, and on every occasion the Management denied that any preference had been shown to any one. That they were not antagonistic to the Miners' Federation; they did not encourage the Non Political Union; that the men were free to join any Union they choose.

Numbers of meetings have been held, appeals have been made, even to Lord Davies, who is at the head of this Company, and who has done so much to foster peace among nations, but who is prepared to allow war at the Pit. This has gone on since 1926, and it was not until July, 1934, that they were driven into the open and compelled to disclose their hand.

On the 6th of July, meetings were held at these Pits. On the 13th a Ballot was held, when the men were allowed to express themselves in secret, and over 7 to 1 were in favour of the Miners' Federation policy.

On the 14th of July the men at the Dare Pit were given 14 days' Notice. During the running of these Notices, I spoke to the General Manager over the 'phone and asked him what was his intention in giving Notices. His reply was that they were closing down the Dare Pit, the Ocean Garw, and one other Pit, through lack of orders, and that no useful purpose would be served by a meeting just then, and that I should be kept informed of any change.

The next move was from the Non Pols., who held a meeting, met the Management, and the Pit was re-opened. I was amazed at this deceit, and tried to get the General Manager on the 'phone, but failed. The General Secretary tried, and he also failed. I lodged my protest by letter.

There was a meeting arranged at Treorchy between the Officials of the S.W.M.F. and the Company. This meeting took place on the 22nd of August. On the 15th of August, the General Manager, writing to the "Western Mail," said: "We have never taken any steps to induce our men to join the Miners' Federation or the Industrial Union." He was asked if that was his attitude or was this said deliberately to deceive the public. After pressure, he said no member of the S.W.M.F. need apply for work at Dare Pit. We now know where we stand.

It is now not a question of Wages, but of Liberty and Democracy. I have appealed to the Officials of the Free Church Council to hear our case. It appears as if the Officials of this Company control the Free Church Council. They shout out for religious liberty, for peace among nations, and equality for all, but they move heaven and earth to prevent this spirit entering their pits.

We have offered to submit to a ballot the question which Union the men would join if they were free to choose. The Management would not agree. The recent ballot revealed where the men stood. This tyranny must be fought.

OCEAN WORKMEN, CLOSE YOUR RANKS AND BE PREPARED.

To the public at large, judge for yourselves; attend our meetings. We shall be pleased to answer questions.

To all other Workers, join the DARE Men in this struggle for freedom. We shall win and end this tyranny. The Management have in mind the 1st of October. Their policy in all Ocean Pits is "Divide and Conquer."

On behalf of the Ocean Joint Committee, who are prepared if need be to stop work in defence of their Dare Comrades,

(Signed),

W. H. MAY, Miners' Agent.

CYMRIC FEDERATION PRESS, NEVILLE STREET, CARDIFF.

When the men, when you were forced back at the end of the lock-out you couldn't get work unless you joined the scab union - is that right?

When the lock-out ended, nobody could get work in Brynwith, that was the only one that started up at that time, unless they signed in the office for the Manager to deduct the union contribution from their wages.

I went to the office, I had a dozen things to talk about, and V. O. Jones the Manager, he wouldn't see me. And I call a meeting with Ted Williams, who was the miners' agent then, and we held it, we held the general meeting in what was the public hall there down at Pencoed on a Sunday night.

We called it by putting notices of the meeting in the house of everybody who was working there. We had a full turn out, women and all. The Hall was crowded. And we decided to have a meeting on the pit in the morning, on the drift, and if V. O. didn't see Ted Williams, it would become a district dispute, that we'd stay out. So Ted was there, the police were there, came to me and told me I'd be responsible for anything that happened, I told them that wasn't unusual. Ted went to the office; the manager refused to see him, held a meeting on the tip just outside, and the men went home. That couldn't have been more than a fortnight after they'd started work, and I don't think they'd drawn a pay at all. So that shows the depth of their loyalty to - not only to one another but their faith in the - that their only hope was in the trade union.

Yes. So what you say is that the scab union disappeared?

Oh the scab union, the dozen of them, may have been thirteen, may have been eleven, they were sitting on the speaks waiting to see what was happening, whether the men would come to the speaks and go down, or whether they'd go home. And I can see them today, they looked terrible, sitting there whilst this meeting was going around us, and as we shifted away to the tip to have our meeting, they looked - they looked what they must have felt - in their hearts.

South Wales Miners' Library, interview with Merfyn Payne, Pencoed.

INDUSTRIAL UNION RECORD.

Extracts from Balance Sheets of M.I.U.

To the Taff Merthyr Workmen,

Bedwas is now going through a period identical with that which you have gone through. The tyranny of the South Wales Miners' Federation did not break you in 1934 and it will not break Bedwas in 1936, whatever lying literature might say. The Federation's claim of its increase of membership is on a par with all the lying statements they have made at Taff Merthyr.

At Taff Merthyr, the ranks of the Miners' Industrial Union are whole and steady, in spite of the mass intimidation and physical violence which you have endured.

During the next few weeks the South Wales Miners' Federation will try your patience in many ways, hoping to cause trouble and strife at the Colliery. They will try to break through our ranks with unscrupulous propaganda, but together we can hold back this Red tide of Communism.

TAFF MERTHYR COMMITTEE,

The South Wales Miners' Industrial Union.

IS THIS WHERE THE FOURPENCES GO ?

1934	One Motor Car	- -	£325
1935	One Motor Car	- -	£468
1936	The Price of a Hearse ?		
1934	Legal Charges-Compensation		Nil
1935	Legal Charges-Compensation		£4 7 0
1934	Pit Examinations	- -	£12 0 0
1935	Pit Examinations	- -	£5 10 0
1934	Vacuum Cleaner	- -	£20 0 0
1935	Vacuum Cleaner, Balance		£8 0 0

More spent on a Vacuum Cleaner than on Pit Examinations.

200 times more spent on Motor Cars than on Compensation Cases.

What was spent on Negotiations for Wages Increases? NOTHING!

What was spent on Conferences for Members? NOTHING!

To-morrow we will give the record of the SOUTH WALES MINERS' FEDERATION - the only Organisation that is fighting for the South Wales Miners.

JOIN THE FEDERATION!



South Wales Echo

SIXTH EDITION



MRS. M. DAVIES, EDWARDS TERRACE, TAFELWIL.

& Evening Express

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1935.

STAY-IN STRIKERS DEFY FEDERATION

NINE MILE POINT, CWMPARC & GARW MEN STILL IN PITS

"Will Not Leave Until Rival Union Workers Clear Out"

OFFICIALS' VAIN PLEA

Risca and Rhondda Miners Up: Some Resume Work To-day

"Stay-in" miners at the Nine Mile Point, Dare, Cwmparc, Parc No. 2 and the Ocean Garw Valley collieries have refused to leave the pits, despite the advice of the Federation Executive Committee to do so.

Federation officials spent an hour in the three pits comprising the Nine Mile Point Colliery, but the men remained adamant.

It is stated that they are determined to remain below until the owners' verbal agreement to employ only Federation men is translated to black and white, while the men in the Cwmparc and Garw pits declare their determination to



A Taff Merthyr man who stayed-in being embraced by a miner's wife, on his way home after picketing up to-day.

Big Italian Concentration In Libya

20,000 More Troops Sent Last Week

OUR FLEET IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

THE Central News diplomatic correspondent reports today that the British Government at the end of last month made representations through Signor Grandi, the Italian Ambassador in London, about the large concentration of Italian forces in Libya.

These forces have since been reinforced, and during the past week between 15,000 and 20,000 more Italian troops are believed to have arrived in Libya from Italy.

These developments throw a new light on the conversations between M. Laval and Sir George Clerk, the British Ambassador in Paris, this week.

Sir George Clerk asked M. Laval on Monday whether Britain could rely on the co-operation of the French Fleet in the Mediterranean in the event of an attack on the British Fleet by the Italians resulting from our action under the League Covenant.

Violent Italian Press

Although France is bound under the Covenant to come to the aid of Britain the British Government felt it necessary to seek a definite assurance of this kind from the manufacturers' union of

Baronet's Marriage Promise To Nurse

Made When Decree Nisi Was Not Absolute

PROBLEM FOR HIGH COURT

CAN a promise of marriage made between the time a man's wife obtains a decree nisi for divorce and the date when that decree is made absolute be relied upon in a breach of promise suit?

This was the question set before Lord Justice Greer, Stotes, and Greaves in the Court of Appeal to-day when their lordships reviewed the decision given by Mr. Justice Haise last May in a breach of promise action brought by Miss Emily Fender, formerly a State telephone nurse, against Sir Anthony St. John-Medley, Bt, whose address was given as The Cottage, Alport-place, Haverstock London, W.

Sir Anthony admitted the promise to marry Miss Fender and the breach of promise.

It was argued in his defence, however, that the promise was null and void in law because it was made after a decree nisi had been granted against him, so before the decree had been made absolute.

The case involved the legal principle that a promise by a husband to marry his wife is binding on him.

Y mae'r enghraifft y cyfeiriwyd ati gynnau o'r diddordeb yn Chwyldro Rwsia ym 1917 yn ne Cymru yn arwydd o draddodiad cydwladol cryf ym mywyd gwleidyddol Cymru. Y dystiolaeth hynotaf i hyn oedd y gefnogaeth a roddwyd gan Gymry i'r achos gweriniaethol yn Rhyfel Cartref Sbaen. Yr oedd Ffederasiwn Glowyr De Cymru (1) yntau'n rhwym i'r achos a gwelodd ei lywydd, Arthur Horner, gyffelybiaethau uniongyrchol rhwng eu brwydr hwy yn erbyn undebaeth gwmni a'r frwydr yn erbyn Ffasgiaeth yn Sbaen. Yn ddiau fe addysgwyd llawer o'r Cymry a ymladdodd gyda'r Brigadau Cydwladol (2) yn helbulon y cyfnod 1921-1936. Bu cyfraniad y Blaid Gomiwnyddol yn arbennig o amlwg (3) er y cynrychiolid undebau gwleidyddol eraill hefyd (4). Cododd rhan Cymru yn ymrafael Sbaen deimladau gwrth-gymodi i lefel arbennig yn y cyfnod hyd at ddechrau'r Ail Ryfel Byd (5,6).

The example referred to earlier of interest in the Russian Revolution of 1917 in south Wales is an indication of a strong internationalist tradition in Welsh political life. The most remarkable evidence of this was the support given by Welsh people to the Republican cause in the Spanish Civil War. The South Wales Miners' Federation itself (1) was highly committed and its President, Arthur Horner, saw direct analogies between the struggle they were fighting against company unionism and the fight against Fascism in Spain. Certainly many of the Welshmen who fought with the International Brigades (2) had been schooled in the struggles of the 1921-1936 period with the contribution of the Communist Party being particularly noticeable (3), although other political traditions were represented as well (4). The involvement of Wales with the Spanish struggle raised anti-appeasement sentiments to a particular height in the period up to the outbreak of the Second World War (5,6).

South Wales Miners' Federation. AID FOR THE SPANISH PEOPLE AN APPEAL.

The dreadful sufferings of the Spanish people, the ruthless slaughter of men, women and children, and the destruction of their homes by the rebel Franco and his FASCIST accomplices, ITALY and GERMANY, call for the active sympathy of ALL Workers.

The Fight of the SPANISH WORKERS against Fascism IS YOUR FIGHT.

The success of Fascism in Spain would endanger the liberties of the Workers in all Countries.

Fascism means the horrors of the Concentration Camps, Imprisonment and Death.

Help the Spanish People in their heroic struggle.

A Collection will be taken at your Colliery on FRIDAY NEXT, JULY 16th, to help to relieve distress caused by the Civil War.

THE SPANISH PEOPLE ARE GIVING THEIR LIVES, WE ASK YOU TO GIVE A GENEROUS CONTRIBUTION.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

1



2 Welsh volunteers in the International Brigades before the Ebro Offensive 1938



In Memoriam



WILLIE DAVIES

OF Court Street, Blaenclydach, joined the International Brigade in November, 1936. One of the first to volunteer he was on active service until his death. Leaving London, where he was then staying, with Ralph Fox, noted writer and Political Commissar of the International Brigade, Willie was in the first big battles; he was one of those heroes that saved Madrid when the hour was darkest for the people of Spain, when everyone thought that all was lost.

Although wounded, his spirit was unquenchable. All the terrors of Fascism could not break his heroic spirit, and on recovering he was again in the front line, cheering his comrades and playing a magnificent role. Again he was wounded and the Medical Commission offered him his discharge, even providing him with facilities for returning home. He refused, and from his last letter to his mother and father we quote, with grief and pride, his reason:

"I was willing to pay the supreme sacrifice for my ideals and I knew to what I was coming—war, the most loathsome thing ever known. Although I have been wounded I still hold to my views."

"I am not going to pretend to be any kind of a hero by saying that I don't want to come home, because I do wish to return, but as long as the workers of Spain need my services I shall stay."

Comrade Paynter, Political Commissar of the International Brigade, said of Willie Davies: "He was one of our best comrades and his comrades fight on, inspired by his example."

FRANK OWEN

OF Pentre Road, Mardy, had been a member of the Communist Party since 1936 and a member of the committee of the Mardy Lodge, S.W.M.F., since 1935.

He was imprisoned three times for his working-class activities. At the time of joining the International Brigade he was the "Daily Worker" agent for Mardy.

Answering the call for the defence of Spanish Democracy, he joined the Brigade in April of this year, and was killed in the recent big Government offensive on the Madrid front.

Writing to his wife in June, Frank said: "I'll come home sometime. I have no fear that anything will happen to me, but I must leave it to you to impress on the kids that I'll be home sometime. While I'm on this point, I must say that I came here to do a job which I must go through with and am more determined now than ever I was when I started from home. The line which I took and which you, fortunately, were a party to, has been proved correct a dozen times over since I came here. It's an ideal worth fighting for. I fought Fascism back home and read quite a lot concerning it, but you cannot visualise the brutalities of German, Italian and Spanish Fascism until you come here, see it in its most horrible nakedness and hear what the poor people tell you of conditions before and during the civil war. I do not wonder why these people are fighting with a determination previously unknown. Further, it is only a matter of time, as the legal Spanish Government has at its command an army second to none."

Of Comrade Frank Owen, Will Paynter, Political Commissar of the Brigade, said: "He proved himself worthy of the revolutionary traditions of 'Red Mardy.' A disciplined soldier, ready at all times to respond when a job had to be done."

DAVID JONES

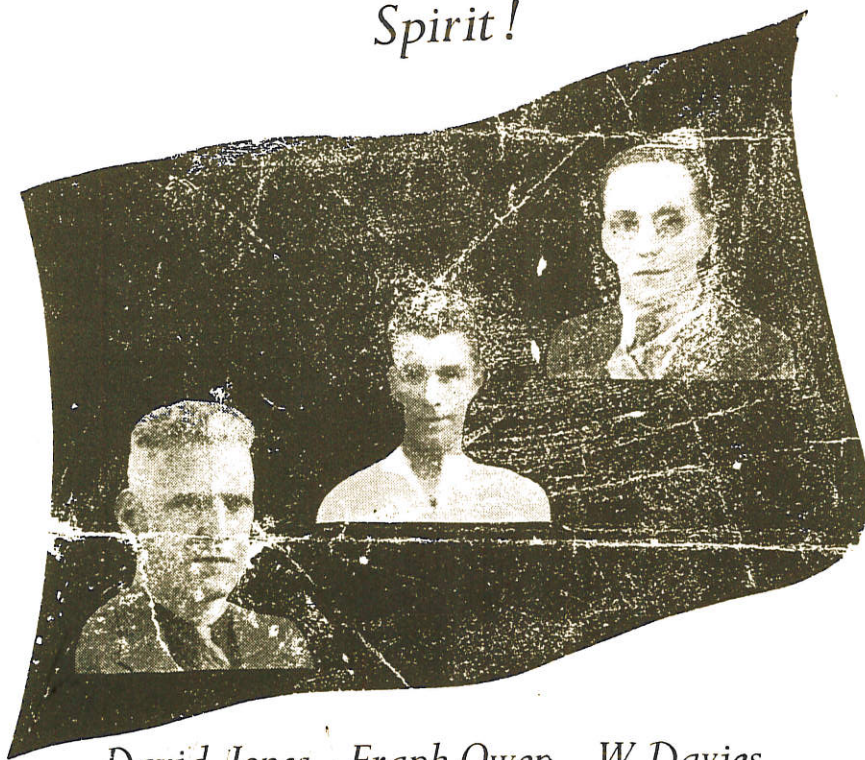
OF George Street, Penygraig, was an ex-Grenadier Guardsman and joined anti-Fascist forces in London, where he was then living, in November, 1936. Proceeding to Spain, he joined the International Brigade on its formation and took part in all of its activities until he was killed in action in February last.

Comrade Springhall, leader of the London Communist Party, who was Political Commissar in the International Brigade during this period, said of our late comrade: "He was a splendid comrade, capable and reliable. His previous military training was utilised to the full in helping to train his comrades and sustaining their morale under fire. He carried his political convictions to the uttermost by making the supreme sacrifice."

THEY WHO LIVE IN THIS UNCONQUERABLE SPIRIT CAN NEVER DIE, AND FOR ALL TIME WILL THEIR MEMORY SERVE TO INSPIRE HUMANITY TO LIBERTY AND FREEDOM



Unconquerable Spirit!



David Jones (PENYGRAIG) Frank Owen (MARDY) W. Davies (BLAENCLYDACH)

who died fighting in the

BRITISH BATTALION

of the

International Brigade in Spain

Dear Friend,

I am writing this from the front 'somewhere in Spain'. A few weeks ago I saw a letter out here addressed to Daniel D. Davies. I wonder if its our friend? I should like very much to know since I wrote him a few days before I left South Wales asking him if he cared to come along. I got no reply, at least before I left.

These days are among the happiest in my life, since I'm doing what I think is most worth doing in all the world at the moment; the driving of these Fascist bastards from Spain and eventually I think from the face of the earth. Its Sunday today I believe and this morning our artillery observed it by sending a few dozen rounds into the enemy lines. All's quiet at the moment it being afternoon and siesta time. Silent but for the hum of unnumbered flies, a grasshopper or two and a few larks and occasionally the vicious crack of an explosive bullet. I have never heard a more uplifting sound than the whine of our 60 lb'ers as they go overhead. Or anything more devastating than to have one land nearby. The fascist artillery men are either secretly communists or damned rotten marksmen since, on this front at least, they rarely get near their objective. The fliers are much more accurate. There was a time when one took pains to kill them but since they outnumbered us by a thousand to one its a waste of time.

Last night we had an alarm. The enemy were well oiled with wine and under its influence appeared to start an attack on one of our flanks. Then hell was let loose. My job only takes me up the line at daytime but I found a pretext for going up a few minutes after the shindy started. Its funny how quickly one loses fear of bullets and what not. That I think is because ours is the first army since the Crusades which knows what its fighting for and is utterly confident of success.

Now that the tide has turned in favour of the government it is possible for us to be trained. Since I've been here, I've met comrades of the same age and lack of experience as myself from every principal country in the world. Here too one meets the finest type of Spaniard. Not the cafe-lizard type who made trouble in Barcelona the other day, ably seconded by the half-dozen ILPers present in Spain. One thing is clear, that the Fascists will never pass here except it be over the dead bodies of every man on the front. Here there are none of those whom Houseman designated in his epitaph on an Army of Mercenaries. We get good food, 10 cigarettes a day and plenty of newspapers, good guns and ammo and pay - 6 pesetas a day. The regular army gets 15 a day. It must be disappointing to Englands gutter press to know that. Most of us look upon the matter of pay with indifference. One or two people have gone back to England and spread all sorts of lying reports. The truth about them is that they deserted in the most trying hours. Some of them absconded with money that belonged to dead comrades. One in the course of an advance is known to have stopped, taken a few pounds from the pocket of a comrade who had failed and quit. Later he wrote a letter to the Times about rotten treatment by the Spanish authorities. I hope you'll use my remarks to counteract any such reports you may hear. Someday those quitters will get what's coming to them. In our experience the Spanish authorities and the people are ambarringly helpful and kind. And its impossible to refuse them. Appropos of this matter of desertions, etc. It appears that the only way to get help from British consular authorities is to complain of bad treatment by the Spanish authorities. On the other hand, worth while people would hardly need the help of our consular authorities. All of us I believe are quite content to leave our destinies at large, in the hands of the Spanish authorities.

I was lucky enough to be put in a detachment which is trained to use any and every weapon which we love with a love surpassing that of man for woman. I don't think any of us knew such pride before. We have very good officers, one an artist and a Scotsman. Our second in command is also a Scotsman, a miner from the Kentish Coalfield sound men. We are three Welshmen, above five Englishmen and all the rest Scots. I'm almost becoming a Scot myself since all in the group to which I am attached are Scots. True comrades all. We have in our ranks miners, factory workers, building trade workers, an industrial chemist, a chartered accountant, a public schoolmaster and a few students. A motley crowd. Tom ought to invite us all to Harlech someday, when the war is over. I'm sure we'd exert a good influence on the boys there. Discipline and all that, I can assure you that we are well disciplined, but its self-discipline. Here there is a minimum of discipline imposed from above. We had a chat with our general the other day. Who ever heard of that in any other army, certainly in any capitalist army?

There is so much manyana in Spain that I think I shall be a very efficient fighter when I come home. I don't think I've been less lazy since those early days at Harlech when I was really keen. A temperate climate would work wonders again. I have learned for instance that a man doesn't need more than 5 to 6 hours sleep and can keep an active mind for the other 14, provided he's on the right job.

If you know of any people who'd like to help us you might ask them to send books to the address overleaf. A book is good company in the hours when we are not standing to.

So far I've only met one other WEA worker out here. He's a tutor in the Nottingham district. There's a shocking shortage of Harlech and Ruskin men out here. I guess the quality of their class-consciousness is not good. There are many whom I know who have not good reason for not being here. Sure they know their own minds best, but how they still their consciences beats me. Since I'm here I've found that several friends of mine have fallen in the fray. Had I not taken this step I don't know how I should have lived it down in after years. As it is it gives the fight a personal issue in addition to that of principle. I put other personal issues in store before coming out, (one) problem gave me food for thought, on not to get married beforehand. On consultation we decided to defer it, on the basis of the old Roman maxim that that which is deferred is not lost. Maybe that was a mistake, maybe not. The lady in question is not my friend of Harlech last August. I can imagine you saying what another? But I think my days of folly are over I've got permanence of direction now and I want some degree of permanence in relation.

I hope the newly disbanded body of students did something more than the passing of resolutions in support of Spain. Maybe they're coming out here in a body. Of course you know that Italy and Germany don't observe Non-Intervention in the least degree and never have. It would have been so much better for the menagerie specimens M & H if they had. Their period on earth and in power has been greatly shortened by this latest experiment of theirs.

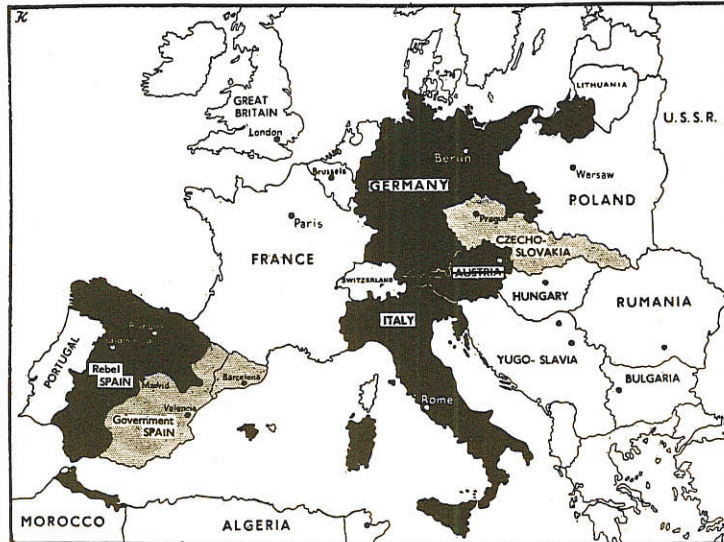
Kindest Regards to all my friends on the Staff and in Harlech. I'd appreciate a few letters from them.

As ever,
Jim Brewer

4 Hywel Francis, Miners Against Fascism, 1984

THIS MAP SHOWS THAT:

- 1.—British Trade Routes are Menaced.—Starvation can Follow.
- 2.—Naval and Air Bases in Northern Spain.—French Sea-Board Valueless.
- 3.—France Encircled by Fascist Forces.—A Weakened Ally.
- 4.—Air Bases in Northern Spain.—France and South Wales at Mercy of Bombers.
- 5.—Fascist Naval Bases in Spain.—Render Ineffective Co-operation Between Democracies.
- 6.—DEFEAT OF SPANISH REPUBLIC.—PROBABLE DEFEAT OF DEMOCRACY IN BRITAIN AND EUROPE.



With Acknowledgement to "News-Chronicle."

Stop the Fascist Dictators before they conquer the Democracies of Britain, France & Central Europe

Printed by the Cymric Federation Press, Cardiff, and Published by the South Wales Miners' Federation.

5

Ferndale, Mardy, Tylorstown Joint Lodges and Religious and Political Organisations.

**NO SURRENDER TO HITLER and MUSSOLINI
CHAMBERLAIN MUST GO !**

Chamberlain's Government is sacrificing Democracy and Peace to Fascist Aggression.

That way lies disaster for the British People.

DOWN WITH THE FRIENDS OF HITLER and MUSSOLINI !

DISSOLVE PARLIAMENT and

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE !

Let the working people and all who stand for Democracy and Peace put in a new Government with a Peace policy.

A Government that will join hands with France, the Soviet Union and the United States to help the peoples of Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia against Fascist Aggression.

ONLY THIS WAY LIES SECURITY FOR THE BRITISH PEOPLE AND PEACE FOR THE WORLD.

SAVE PEACE—SAVE BRITAIN !

JOIN IN THE
DEMONSTRATION

which takes place

SUNDAY NEXT, FEB. 27th, 1938

Contingents start from—

- Mardy (Workmen's Hall), 1-30 p.m.
- Ferndale (Maxwell St.), 2 p.m.
- Blaenllechau (Glynrhedynog), 1-45 p.m.
- Tylorstown (Penrhys Hotel), 2 p.m.

Other arrangements will be made if the weather will be unsuitable to Demonstrate.

No Pact with Fascism.—Remember Guernica.

W. T. Maddock and Co., Printers, Ferndale.

6 South Wales Miners' Library

Yng Nghymru cafwyd ymateb llawer mwy unedig o blaid y rhyfel 1939-45 nag a gafwyd yn y Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf. Yr oedd y mudiad Llafur yn enwedig yn fwy unedig ei agweddau (1). Ceid gwasanaeth milwrol gorfodol, ond, ar y llaw arall, ceid hefyd ymdrechion i osod Cymry mewn catrodau Cymreig (2,3) megis y Gwarchodlu Cymreig a'r Ffiwsilwyr Brenhinol Cymreig. Dyma lun o ffiwsilwr o Gaernarfon a ymladdodd dramor (4), er nad oedd pob milwr yn y gatrawd yn hanfod o Gymru. Ystyriwyd y rhyfel yn erbyn Ffasgiaeth fel eu brwydr eu hunain gan lawer (5). Bu gwrthwynebiad i'r rhyfel wrth gwrs a gwrthwynebwyr cydwytbodol; aelodau o Blaid Cymru yn amlwg iawn yn eu plith (6). Ceid rhai yn erbyn y rhyfel oherwydd mai rhyfel Prydain ydoedd, a rhai anghydfurfwyr yn ei erbyn am eu bod yn heddychwyr. Triniwyd gwrthwynebwyr cydwytbodol yn fwy dynol (7,8) nag yn y Rhyfel Mawr ac yr oedd llai ohonynt.

There was a much more unanimous response in support of the 1939-45 war from Wales than there had been in the First World War. In particular the organised Labour movement was much more unified in its attitudes (1). There was of course conscription, but there were some moves to put Welshmen together into Welsh regiments (2,3) like the Welsh Guards or the Royal Welch Fusiliers. Men like the R.W.F. soldier from Caernarfon (4) fought on active service abroad, though not all the soldiers in the Welsh regiments were from Wales. Many saw the war against fascism as Wales's fight (5). There was opposition to the war of course and some conscientious objectors notably from Plaid Cymru (6) who opposed the war as being not Wales's war; while there were other nonconformist elements who opposed on purely pacifist grounds. Conscientious objectors, though less numerous than in the last war, seem to have been more humanely treated (7,8).

We must all appreciate that the fight against Fascism now is the way to ensure that the evils of the past are ended, and that the future is one of progress and not of reaction.

Without adequate supplies of coal there can be no victory. Shortage of coal would negative all the efforts of the fighting forces. This is not a theoretical question; it is practical and immediate in view of the serious coal crisis which exists in this country at the present time. . . . The uncertainty about the future organisation of the industry (since the Coal Control Scheme of 1942) is affecting the attitude of those engaged in the industry. Supervisory grades often times pay more regard to the desires and future interests of the coalowners than to the needs of the existing situation, whilst workmen's representatives in certain cases fear to advocate or support measures which are absolutely essential in the present situation lest these measures be utilised against them in post-war days.

I have stated that the vast majority of our members deserve full credit for the manner in which they have borne the burden of coal production in these monotonous and difficult war days. I would not be doing my duty, however, unless I declared that there is still a small minority who are acting in a fashion which cannot be justified by this or any other organisation, pledged as we are to the effective conduct of this war.

It is necessary to establish in the minds of all members that this organisation is operated on the principle of Majority Rule. Those are the blacklegs who refuse to carry out the will of the majority even though they strike or hold up work in violation of the policy of this Organisation to which we all belong. To depart from this fundamental principle would bring about the early disintegration of this Federation. . . . The coming months may force all of us to a new understanding of the significance of the word 'sacrifice'. Mineworkers everywhere know too well what sacrifice means, and we are ready. Our readiness will be effective to the extent we are united. Let us close our ranks; let us set an example by what we are prepared to do in the struggle for victory; let us remove every factor which prevents the realisation of the task we are called upon to perform.

We must never forget what our comrades in the Armed Forces and the Merchant Service are expected to face and suffer; what the comrades in occupied Europe are doing, and, above all, the unprecedented sacrifices of the people of the Soviet Union in these recent months. Let us steel ourselves to intensify our work so as to justify our demand upon the Government to open a Second Front in Europe. Let us demonstrate our readiness to play our full part in the struggle to destroy the war machine of Hitler's Germany. . . .

Once this is done we can face the future in all the indestructible confidence of the organised working-class, and go forward unitedly to conquer new fields of social advance, increasing the rate of development towards Socialism.⁹⁰

Address by Arthur Homer, President of the South Wales Miners' Federation to the Annual Conference 1943.

1

WELSH GUARDS

Volunteers required now for the **WELSH GUARDS. Age 20-35. Height 5ft. 9ins. or over.**

Men can present themselves for enlistment at all **Recruiting Centres. Enquiries will be answered at all Police Stations.**

Men registered to be called up under **National Service**, but not already called, may enlist *now* in the **WELSH GUARDS.**

Enlistment on **Normal engagement**, or for the **Duration of War.**

2 North Wales Chronicle 8.11.1939

WELSHMEN FOR WELSH UNITS

Registration of Youth

NORTH WALES CONFERENCE DISCUSSION

About 500 people representing churches and Welsh movements in North Wales attended a meeting at Colwyn Bay last Saturday, convened by the New Wales Union (Undeb Cymru Fydd).

Albeman Wm. George, Criccieth, presided.

DEMAND FOR FAIR TREATMENT.

Mr. Saunders Lewis in the course of his speech, said: "The ultimate result of the conscription of youths into the Army would be that the Government would control their lives, and we have the right to ask that the Government should respect the personalities of our young men. To deny a Welshman his Welsh personality and at the same time as

some control over his life is an oppression on the nation itself."

Alleging that no attempt had been made by the War Office to implement the promise to put Welshmen in Welsh regiments as far as possible, Mr. Lewis quoted from a letter he had received from a number of Welsh quarrymen and miners serving in the Army, and said that these men were suffering ridicule and contempt because of their insufficient knowledge of the English language and their inability to comprehend commands given them. These men also claimed that their medical officers were all English, and that they were subjected to ridicule because they could not make themselves properly understood when they appeared before them.

"A country receives the Parliamentary representation that it merits," he continued, "and if you ridicule your Welsh M.P.'s you are only ridiculing yourselves. Wales must show its Parliamentary representatives and the Government that she is determined that Welsh personality shall receive fair treatment equally with that of the English. You must make known your views throughout Wales and in London. The Welsh nation may die as a result of this war unless we claim our rights now. There would be no value in victory if everything that makes life worth living were lost."

Mr. Lewis proposed a resolution to impress upon the Welsh M.P.s the necessity for posting Welsh boys of 18½ called up to Welsh regiments, that these boys should be kept in Wales under Welsh officers during their period of training, and that means should be devised to keep them in touch with the nation's religious, moral and cultural influences.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

GOVERNMENT IGNORED WALES.

The Chairman said the conference was not concerned with the measures the Government had passed for winning the war. Their complaint was regarding the administration of those measures and their effect upon Welsh life. The Government had ignored the nationhood of the Welsh, in which respect there was a conspicuous deterioration as compared with the 1914 War when there was a Welsh Army Corps in which Welshmen preserved their own lives and identity. Keeping their identity had resulted in the corps receiving great praise for bravery and courage.

Mrs. Humphrey Evans, Llandudno proposed another resolution calling attention to the "moral dangers" that threatened young women called up for service, and expressed anxiety as to the effect of the new influences on Welsh life. Mrs. Evans suggested that Welsh girls should be posted to Welsh units of the W.R.N.S., A.T.S., and the W.A.A.F. It was decided to ask Mr. Ernest Bevin to receive a national deputation to discuss the question.

3 Caernarvon Denbigh Herald
27.10.1939

IF HITLER WON

A MELANCHOLY OUTLOOK FOR WALES

"WILL LOSE ALL HER BACKGROUND," SAYS PROF. GRUFFYDD

In his editorial notes in the current issue of "Y Llenor," the Welsh literary journal, Professor W. J. Gruffydd discusses the likely fate of Wales if Hitler were to win the war.

"Wales has more to lose than any other part of Britain if we are defeated," he writes, pointing to the present subject condition of Poland as a moral. He goes on to say:—

"England, a great country, strong and assured of her traditions and her language, and with so great a background in America and in the Empire, will certainly rise even if she were thoroughly vanquished to-day, but Wales will lose all the background she has ever had. A few years of German oppression will suffice to quench the flame that is now burning, alas! so feebly.

"Though we are a poor nation and without succour, we enjoy freedom of opinion and of speech. We have the right to hear the truth and to utter it, and things being such as they are, we still have hope, and the future lies in our hands. Even if Hitler should see fit to grant us a shadow of independence as was promised to Brittany, no regard for Wales will prompt such a step, but merely a desire to weaken England. Then we should find ourselves under the feet of our own Quislings, with neither a Parliament nor a Whitehall to raise a finger on behalf of the common people. I cannot imagine a darker picture."

As to the future of Wales after Germany has been beaten, Professor Gruffydd says that a complete re-organisation of the economic life of the country will be necessary, for no future for Wales could be envisaged if Welsh rural life was to be impoverished as in the past and if the suffering of the colliery districts was allowed to be repeated.

5 South Caernarvonshire Chronicle
23.5.1941

WALES AND THE WAR

Nationalist Party's Policy

LEADERS' SPEECHES AT CAERNARVON MEETING

Mr. Saunders Lewis, ex-President, and Prof. J. E. Daniel, the present President of the Welsh Nationalist Party, addressed a crowded conference of the North Wales counties at Caernarvon, on Saturday. So many had come from all the North Wales counties that many failed to get admission, although in receipt of tickets or membership cards.

The chair was taken by the Rev. L. E. Valentine, M.A., Llandudno, the Party's first President in 1926. He said that these days of war were of great danger to Wales. The Party's duty, he said, was to see that Wales did not cease to exist as a nation when England was supposed to be fighting for the justice of other small nations.

The conference's attitude to the war was reflected in two resolutions which were unanimously passed, namely:

(1) That this Conference of the Welsh Nationalist Party, firmly believing that nothing but evil can come to Wales through this war, requests the Government to call an armistice and a peace conference without delay.

(2) That we ask the Government, in so far as it professes to be fighting for the freedom and rights of small nations and national minorities, to regard and respect Wales as a nation, and acknowledge that fact in three ways: (a) By accepting the National Petition for granting official status to the Welsh language in the courts of law. (b) By establishing a Consultative Committee for Wales, to safeguard Welsh interests during the war, and to represent the Welsh nation before the Government. (c) By accepting Welsh nationality as sufficient grounds for conscientious objection to military service.

These resolutions were put to the meeting by Councillor E. V. Stanley Jones, B.Sc., Caernarvon.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Professor J. E. Daniel, M.A., Bangor, made his first public appearance since his election to the Presidency in August. "We are a Nationalist Party," he said. "Our first duty is to secure self-government for Wales. Although Wales is not regarded as a separate entity by England, nor has its nationality respected, we are asked to sacrifice everything for the war effort. There are different policies that we could now follow," he continued. "One is unconditional co-operation with the Government, as is done by the majority of Welsh people at present. That would acknowledge the final rights of England over us, but no one has a right to ask the Welsh nation to commit suicide for any cause. Or, our Party could co-operate conditionally, and ask certain promises from the Government, giving service in return. This is what the Indian Nationalist Party is doing at present, but we cannot do that, for we are as yet not strong enough to bargain with the Government as an equal. We have officially adopted the pacifist standpoint in our annual conferences. It is a policy of non-co-operation and means the refusal to England of our body and soul in its war game. Any efforts we make must be for the preservation of life, the relieving of pain, and the production of food, within the political boundary of Wales.

He hoped that no member of the Party, appearing before the Tribunal for conscientious objectors would fear to put forward his Welsh national objection to war, or to put this objection as something inferior to the other objections which may exist.

In conclusion, Prof. Daniel said Party members could, without irritating their con-



4 The R.W.F. in action in France, 1944.

sciences, take up agricultural work in Wales, for the people of Wales must be fed. They should refuse to be moved out of Wales.

MR. SAUNDERS LEWIS.

Mr. Saunders Lewis, the ex-President, complimented Professor Daniel upon the clear and heroic leadership displayed in his speech. Then he continued: "Membership of our Party up to now has been a very easy thing. Very few had known what real sacrifice and suffering had meant." (At this point someone shouted: "What about the three heroes of the Bombing School fire?") That day, he continued, the Government was calling up young men of the 20-22 age group. We shall never see freedom for Wales unless we are now ready to sacrifice. There is not going to be a speedy victory for England and France, if this war is fought to the bitter end. We have a right to speak for Wales in this time of stress, although we may be in the minority.

6 Caernarvon and Denbigh Herald
27.10.1939

Hostility to C.O.'s TRIBUNAL CHAIRMAN'S COMMENT

Their Legal Rights

At the North Wales C.O. Tribunal at Caernarvon last week Arthur Sylvanus Owen, of Plas Iwan, Queen's Drive, Colwyn Bay, objected to military service. Owen stated he had applied to join the Friends' Ambulance unit, but would not be called until January next.

Sir Artemus Jones, in giving the tribunal's decision, said he desired to draw attention to a matter of public importance. Applicant had joined a body of stretcher bearers in connection with a Colwyn Bay hospital. When, unfortunately, it was discovered that he was a conscientious objector, a minority refused to work with him, and he was asked to leave. The chairman, proceeding, said: "It is not the first time a matter of this kind—hostility towards conscientious objectors—has been reported to the tribunal. I want to call attention to one aspect of the question which some people and public bodies are apt to overlook. It is inevitable that there should be extreme views on both sides. Some take the view that they cannot be associated with conscientious objectors, and at the other end there are extremists who denounce A.R.P. work as being militarism. In time of war the desire for national safety is rather apt to carry some people beyond the bounds of fair play and they are inclined to take the law into their own hands.

"The tribunal desires to call attention to the fact that in taking up this attitude these people are overlooking one important aspect of the question and that is, that the supreme authority of the country, viz., Parliament has, by Act, expressly recognised the rights of conscientious objectors to freedom of conscience. In other words, the Act has conferred on conscientious objectors the right to object to military work. In view of that fact it is wrong for anybody or any class of persons to penalise conscientious objectors in any way."

The tribunal's decision was that applicant unless he is called up by the Friends' Ambulance unit by the end of January, must seek employment on the production or distribution of food.

"SAME IDEA AS MR. GANDHI"

Ronald Carlyle Davison, 6, Meirion Gardens, Colwyn Bay, a 26-year-old clerk in the Ministry of Food, stated that he had been a member of the P.P.U. since its early days.

The chairman remarked that the objection was based on the same idea as that of Mr. Gandhi—willingness to do anything to help providing it would not violate his conscience.

Applicant said that the R.A.M.C. was, in his view, constituted to form the efficiency of the fighting machine.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS' TRIBUNAL

SITTINGS AT CAERNARVON

WELSH LANGUAGE USED

CHURCH MEMBERS AND PEACE PLEDGE UNION

The first sitting of the North Wales Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors was held at Caernarvon on Tuesday, presided over by Sir T. Artemus Jones, who was accompanied by three other members of the Tribunal.

A large crowd assembled, including many ministers, representatives of various organisations, etc., and much interest was taken in the proceedings.

CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT.

Sir T. Artemus Jones, in opening the proceedings, explained to the applicants in Welsh what their rights were under the Act. Every conscientious objector could get a personal friend or professional advocate to speak for him, and if he were aggrieved with the decision of the local tribunal he could, under certain conditions, take the matter to the Court of Appeal. On the other hand the Tribunal was empowered to put conscientious objectors upon oath and this course would be followed. In setting up this Tribunal, Parliament had recognised that a small minority of citizens—a very tiny percentage of the population—held deep-rooted scruples against the taking of human life and armed violence. No doubt, the vast majority of citizens regretted such a standpoint, but as the Prime Minister had explained in the House of Commons, so long as these scruples were genuinely and sincerely held, Parliament considered it just to make fair and reasonable provisions for their difficulties.

The function of the Tribunal rested upon the basis that the rights of conscience should be respected in genuine and honest cases. They had to classify the objectors to the three categories set out in the Act. Extreme pacifists, who felt in their conscience that they could do nothing to help in the war could be registered as such with or without conditions. Another group consisted of those who, while they were opposed to military service, felt they were not less anxious than their fellow citizens to help the country in times of danger by doing work of importance to the nation.

In the third category were men who, while not prepared to take any human life, were yet anxious to do their share in saving life. Two things, however, would have to be remembered. The onus of proof was on the objectors to establish their case that these scruples of conscience were truly and sincerely held. The other was that the Tribunal was a court of judicial inquiry and not a place for verbal duels.

The Act did not apply to insincere men who sheltered under it in war to evade the duty which compulsory military service imposed upon others. If such persons appeared before them and the Tribunal were not satisfied as to their sincerity they would be placed at once on the register for military service.

The Chairman: Do you know the history of the R.A.M.C.?—No.

Asked if he would do full-time hospital work, the applicant said he would; he was at present learning first aid.

He was registered for work on the land.

Other decisions were:

Arthur Davies, Anslow, 69, Minydon Avenue, Old Colwyn—Case referred to the Ministry of Labour.

Bernard Thomas Stacey, Evans Hotel, Charlton Street, Llandudno.—Registered for non-combatant work with recommendation for the R.A.M.C.

Ernest C. Brown, Brelades, Sandhills Road, Old Colwyn—Registered for production or distribution of food.

Mr. Stanley Davies said wide interest was being taken throughout the country, not only in soldiers serving with the Army, but in the young men who were opposed to war and all that was associated with war. The churches, in particular, had the interest of conscientious objectors close to their hearts. The nature of these hearings, said Mr. Davies, was novel from a legal point of view, and attention would have to be given to considerations that would be inadmissible in a court of law. It was not part of the task of the advocates present to support cases which they felt had no merit.

CASES OF OBJECTORS PEACE PLEDGE BOOK.

The first case was that of Elias G. Hughes, Carmel, 20 years of age (who was represented by Mr. Stanley Jones). He was a van driver for a provision shop. He was a conscientious objector, believing that war was contrary to Christian principles, and was a sinner against God. He was a church member at Pilsigah. As far back as 1936 he signed a Peace Pledge book, declaring his opposition to war and pledging himself to do everything in the interest of peace.

Asked by Mr. Stanley Jones if he would undertake work of national importance, such as transport driver, Hughes said he could not as he was against doing any work that would help to carry on the war. He had been taught from childhood and believed that war and Christianity were incompatible.

The Chairman: Do you, as a van driver, carry any food for soldiers in the district?

Hughes: No.

The Rev. D. B. Jones, minister of Pilsigah (C.) Chapel, Carmel, said Hughes had, since he was a boy, held views strongly opposed to war, and had signed a Peace Pledge register opened by the church some years ago.

Richard Peris Hughes, Caradoc Place, Deiniolen, 20 years of age, said he was opposed to military service and could not conscientiously take part in a war. He was secretary of the Sunday School at Ebenezer and was a member of the church's Peace Society. Should he be told to undertake national service he would not object to agricultural work as he had experience of it. He now worked at a quarry.

Replying to a question, he said he would not object to taking up farm work immediately.

The Rev. Ll. Boyer, minister of Ebenezer (C.), church, Deiniolen, said Hughes was a member of the Peace Society of the Congregational Union of Caernarvonshire. He believed Hughes was most conscientious in his belief, and was the first in the district to take up this stand.

He was registered as a conscientious objector unconditionally.

8 Caernarvon Denbigh Herald
17.11.1939

7 North Wales Weekly News
21.11.1940

Cymru a'r Ail Ryfel Byd, Profiadau.

Gweddnewidiwyd bywyd economaidd Cymru gan y rhyfel gyda 'gwaith rhyfel' (1) megis y Ffatrioedd Ordnans Brenhinol yn cyfrannu at adfer cyflogaeth a oedd bron yn gyflawn. Cyflogai'r Ffatri Ordnans ym Mhen-y-Bont ar Ogwr 37,000 o weithwyr erbyn 1941, y rhan fwyaf ohonynt yn fenywod. Unwaith eto llifodd cyfalaf a llafur i mewn i Gymru. Ail-leolwyd llawer o ffatrioedd o ardaloedd a ddiodeffai ymosodiadau trwm o'r awyr i ddiogelwch cymharol Cymru wledig. Ar ddiwedd y rhyfel yr oedd ym Mangor ffatri Daimler gyda'r gweithdy mecanyddol mwyaf soffistigedig o'r holl ddiwydiant modur.

Dioddefodd de Cymru'n eithafol ar brydiau oddi wrth effeithiau milwrol uniongyrchol y rhyfel, sef yr ymosodiadau o'r awyr. Dinistriwyd canolfan Abertawe yn Chwefror 1941 (2) a niweidiwyd llawer o bobl a oedd wedi cilio rhag ymosodiadau ar ardaloedd eraill.

Hyd yn oed yn yr ardaloedd gwledig teimlid effaith y rhyfel (3-5) gyda dyfodiad y bobl a symudwyd yno o'r dinasoedd mawr. Weithiau ceid gwrthdrawiad rhwng y Cymry Cymraeg a'r mamau a phlant bach a ddaeth o slymiau Lerpwl. Bu nifer o gwynion am blant budr heb ddigon o ddillad yn cyrraedd cartrefi cefn gwlad Cymru (6,7) a chanddynt safonau tra gwahanol.

Cyfrannodd Cymru at anghenion bwyd Prydain (8) a oedd yn ddifrifol (9). Bu'n rhaid troi tiroedd pori yn ystod y rhyfel ac fe fecaneiddiwyd ffermydd Cymru ar yr un pryd (10).

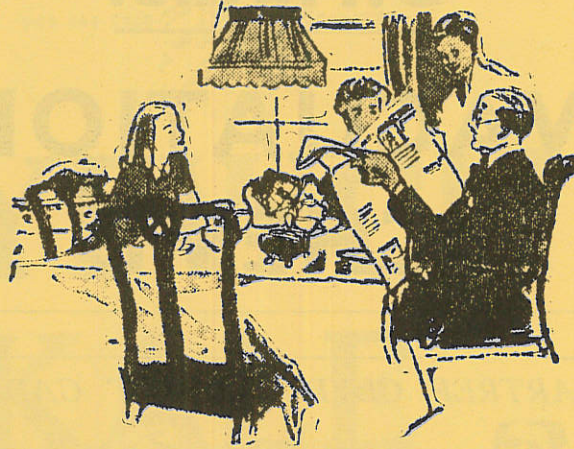
Wales and World War 2, Experiences.

The war transformed economic life in Wales, with 'war work' (1) such as that in the Royal Ordnance Factories contributing to the return of almost full employment – the Bridgend Ordnance factory employed 37,000 workers by 1941, the majority of whom were women. Capital and labour flowed back again into Wales and many factories from areas suffering heavy air attacks were relocated in the comparative safety of rural Wales.

South Wales suffered acutely at times from the direct military effects of the war through air raids, especially Swansea, where the city centre was destroyed in February 1941 (2) and where ironically many of the air raid victims were those who had been evacuated there from other areas suffering bomb attacks.

Even away from the main centres of population, evacuees ensured that the effects of the war were felt (3-5). In some cases the removal of evacuees led to conflict. The evacuation of mothers and young babies from the slums of Liverpool uprooted into a rural environment amongst a totally Welsh speaking population caused friction and there were numerous cases of slum children arriving dirty and with totally inadequate clothing into Welsh homes (6,7) with far different standards.

Agricultural Wales made a contribution to the country's desperate need for food supplies (8) which led to rationing (9). The war resulted in the ploughing up of grasslands in Wales and, of more long lasting effect, the mechanisation of Welsh farms (10).



“...And WE can attack too, in WALES”

Now's the time for men of Wales past military age.

There are factories here in Wales that need thousands of men of every age for essential work—NOW. So great is the need that a personal appeal is made to you, the men of Wales, to see that the necessary labour flows into the factories from within Wales itself.

Age or industrial experience is not so important as common-sense and devotion. Whatever your previous calling, you will soon learn a job, in the production of the supplies that the Forces need so urgently. Sign on to-day to help them to attack and win. All details of the work and the rates of pay are to be had at your local office of the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

There is a job HERE for you!

**YOUR DUTY
NOW IS**



ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE

1



2 Swansea after an air raid in World War II.

O.H.M.S. EVACUATION SCHEME

PROBLEMS OF EVACUATION

MINISTER OF HEALTH IN NORTH WALES.

TOUR OF THE RECEPTION AREAS.

Explaining that it was in accordance with his belief that a Minister should not merely sit in Whitehall and be dependent on the information supplied to him, Mr Ernest

which was aggravated by army service. They were discharged minus a pension. The Minister said that a medical board of five carried out the examination.

6

3

CARTREF CLYD I BLANT CADW



FE glysoch am yr hen wraig a'r esgid. Yr oedd ganddi gymaint o blant fel na wyddai beth i wneud a nhw. Rhywbeth yn debyg yw safle Mrs. Hughes, Newborough, Penllyn, Llanberis. Y mae ganddi 17 o blant cadw yn y ty; ond fe wyr hi'n iawn both i'w wneud A phob un ohonynt, a cha'r cwbl herffraith chwarae teg yn y ty.

Y mae pymtheg o'r plant, a ddaw o Everton, Lerpwl, gyda Mrs. Hughes er dydd cyntaf y rhyfel, ac y mae'r cwbl yn perthyn rhywbeth i'w gilydd—yn frodyr, chwirydd, cefndryd, cyfaitherod a pluth. Am gyfnod bu tri o Japaniaid bach (brawd a dwy chwayer) gyda hi. Gwasnaethai eu tad yn y Llynges Fasnach, ond ymadawodd y tri bach ychydig cyn i

Japan tldod i'r rhyfel, ac ni wyr Mrs. Hughes ddim o'u helynt hwy'n awr.

Pan elwas heibio i Mrs. Hughes yr oedd pymtheg o'r plant yn yr ysgol a dau adref—Dolly Maeston fach bump oed ac un bach arall. Y mae Dolly yn brysur gollu ei Saesneg ac nid oes ganddi fawr fwy ohono ar ol nag sydd gan y plant Cymraeg lleol o'r un oed a hi. Siaradai Cymraeg a chanodd "Mae Bys Meri Ann wedi brifo" ag accu Arfon yn draw ar y geiriau.

Gall pob un o'r dau-ar-bymtheg siarad Cymraeg, ac ambell gyda'r nos bydd niri mawr yn y ty pan flurfir y cwbl yn e'r Cymraeg i gannu alawon Cymru ac eiriau Cymraeg. Un o wleddeoddi y fro yw gwraudo ar y dau-ar-bymtheg o Saesnaech yn cydganu "Hen Wlad fy Nhadau" fin nos.

4

COPY ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY LOUDSPEAKER ON SATURDAY, 2nd September, 1939.

HELLO EVERYBODY.

THE PUBLIC ARE WARNED THAT THE EVACUATION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN FROM THE LIVERPOOL AREA WILL COMMENCE TOMORROW (SUNDAY) AND WILL BE COMPLETED ON MONDAY NEXT.

WILL ALL HOUSEHOLDERS MAKE A SPECIAL NOTE OF THIS ANNOUNCEMENT AND BE PREPARED TO RECEIVE THE EVACUEES WHEN THE BILLETING OFFICERS CALL.

ANY HOUSEHOLDERS FAILING TO ACCEPT THE EVACUEES PRESENTED AT THEIR PREMISES WILL BE COMMITTING AN OFFENCE AND BE LIABLE TO PROSECUTION.

5

PARLIAMENT AND EVACUEES

MAJOR GORONWY OWEN AND PATHETIC CASES

The problem of the evacuees in Wales figured prominently in the deliberations of the House of Commons yesterday.

Major Owen (Caernarvonshire, Ind. L.) said: "I represent a constituency which is a reception area and not an evacuation area. I have in my hand a report which reached me this morning from my constituency, signed by six of the billeting officers in a part of my county, drawing attention to what has happened in that particular area. I know each one of those billeting officers. One of them is the second master at the county school in that area and the others are headmasters of five village schools.

"The account is a perfectly fair one, but it describes what happened in that one area. Similar things have happened in other areas. I should like to place before the House the position of the receiving areas. There has been a great deal of lack of forethought and care in selecting the areas to which people are sent. In my view it is ridiculous and impossible to send people from Liverpool, for instance, into the far end of South Caernarvon. Aberdaron, a little village on the point of the Lleyn Peninsula, is a beautiful village, but there are not many people who have been accustomed to town life who can put up for more than with a week or a fortnight in a place like that.

"There are no public-houses there—except two very ordinary quiet country public houses, more in the nature of small hotels than anything else," he continued. "There is no place of entertainment. They sent mothers and children from the Edge Hill district of Liverpool to that area. On September 4th 424 mothers and children were sent there. What has happened? In the whole of the area there are not more than 50 left—I am not quite sure of the exact figure. The others have returned. Who, I wonder, is responsible for this state of affairs?"

"The children of school age belonging to these mothers have been sent to Wrexham. The mothers were told that they also were to be evacuated to the Wrexham district. The train stopped there on the way and the mothers got out, but then found they were not going to Wrexham. Eventually, they were told to get back into the train and were taken a journey of 120 miles in a non-corridor train. Who was responsible for that? I have a great deal of sympathy with these mothers and the condition in which they arrived."

Proceeding, Major Owen said: "I do not want to go on and read this document on the floor of the House; but I have been challenged. Here is another statement: 'In some cases, as a result of their filthy habits, every scrap of bedding, clothing and even blinds and curtains had to be destroyed. The district nurse who visited these cases in the Aberdaron district can testify to their filthy habits and verminous condition.'

TYPICAL CASES

"Here are a few typical cases. They say: (a) This case is pathetic. The poor woman, the householder, is nearly brokenhearted amongst the ruins of her home. The room which one woman and her two children had occupied for only two nights is dreadful, and no words can describe to you the terrible state of the whole room. Every scrap of bedding, clothing and even blinds and curtains had to be burned immediately. It was really horrifying to set eyes on the scene. (b) Two other cases are reported, both having been visited. Everything had to be burned. (c) In plain words, the bedroom was turned into . . . In fact, the bedroom had been used as a latrine."

"This has happened not merely throughout the whole of my constituency, but in places like Colwyn Bay, Anglesey, Montgomery and Cardigan—everywhere along that coast. We are told that the children needed clothes. I was present myself at the time of their arrival, and the people in that area gave them the warmest welcome, prepared food for them when they arrived and lent their cars to take them to their billets. There was one case of refusal—a woman was fined £25 because she refused to take a verminous woman into her house. I know her and I can sympathise with her."

"I am expressing what is the general feeling of that area. We wish to do all we can. The people there have bought new clothes and boots for the children. We have clothed them completely. They have had no benefit whatever from the amount allowed. It is hard that there is no compensation so far as I know for the losses endured by the people in those districts as a result of lack of care and attention on the part of the medical authorities in the city of Liverpool before they sent these people."

After further debate, Mr Elliott, Minister of Health, said that proper preparation involved many weeks of previous investigation, and these were not available. Local authorities had the power to commandeer private houses. The Government would do their best to deal with difficulties such as those arising under public health matters and in giving guidance to local authorities as to dealing with infectious diseases and hospital treatment. The Government felt that it would be agreed that parents



TYFWCH KALE

i gadw i fyny

Gyflenwad Llefrith y Gaeaf

Kale—Marrow Stem neu Thousand Head—sy'n cyfateb yn y gaeaf i borfa'r haf. Gall eich stoc gael bwyd glas ffres drwy'r hydref a'r gaeaf ond ichwi dyfu peth o'r ddau.

MARROW STEM—ceir 15 i 20 tunnell neu fwy yr acer o hwnnw a saif hyd y Nadolig.

THOUSAND HEAD—nid yw hwn yn ildio oystal, ond y mae mwy o sylwedd yn y cnwd. Ac y mae'n dal yn hwy — hyd ddechrau'r gwanwyn, gan lenwi'r bwch rhwng y das wair a'r borfa.

Amfônwch at y Ministry of Agriculture, Hotel Lindum, St. Annes-on-Sea, Lancs., am y Growmore Leaflet No. 27

Cofiwch y Pwyntiau Hyn—

HAU CYNNAR—y mae hynny'n osgoi'r "pry," yn rhoi cyff tewach a gwell cnwd. Gellir plannu planhigion o dwf cynnar i gael cnwd deiliog.

KALE YN BORTHIANT TRWM.—Hauwch 1½ cant o Sulphate of Ammonia cyn drilio, a 1½ cant eto cyn scyfflio y tro olaf.

AMAETHWYR A GWEITHWYR: Y mae'ch tasg chwi'n hanfodol bwysig. Gwnewch y gorau o bob awr. Gweithiwch gymaint ag a fedrdech. Rhag-gynlluniwch. Rhowch eich holl fedr ar waith. Mynnwch y gorau allan o'r peiriannau—ni ddylai'r un sefyll yn segur pan ellir helpu cymydog.

HELPWCH EICH CYMYDOG

Cyhoeddir gan y Weinyddiaeth Amath a Physgodfeydd

8

7



"FE DDYBLAF EICH YNNI"

medd TWM TATEN

Bwyd ynni yw tatw—rhoddant nerth ychwanegol i chwi i gyflawni eich gwaith rhyiel. Maent hefyd yn fwy amddiffynol, ys dywed y meddygon. Maent yn rhad ac yn hawdd i'w coginio. A gallant gymryd lle bara ac arbed lle mewn llongau. Beth am sgoniau tatw i de ar y Sul neu Siamp at ginio'r plant? Dyma un cyngor isod.

Sgoniau Tatw

Amser Coginio: 15 munud.
Defnyddiau: 6 oz. o flawd plaen, 1 llond llwy de o halen, 2 llond llwy de o bowdr pobi, 4 oz. o stwns tasiem, 1 oz. o frasfract, 4-5 llond llwy ferdd o laeth. Maint: Digon i bedwar o bobl. Dull: Cymysgwch y blawd, y halen a'r powdr pobi mewn dysgl. Rhewiwch y braster i mewn â blaenau eich bysedd, ychwanegwch y daten wedi ei stwnsio a gwnewch yn does meddal a'r laeth. Rowliwch yn

1 modfedd o drwch, torrdech yn ddarnau orymion a dodwch sglein ar eu pennau â laeth. Craswch ar baddell wedi ei hiro neu wedi ei gorchuddio â blawd mewn popty poeth am 15 munud.

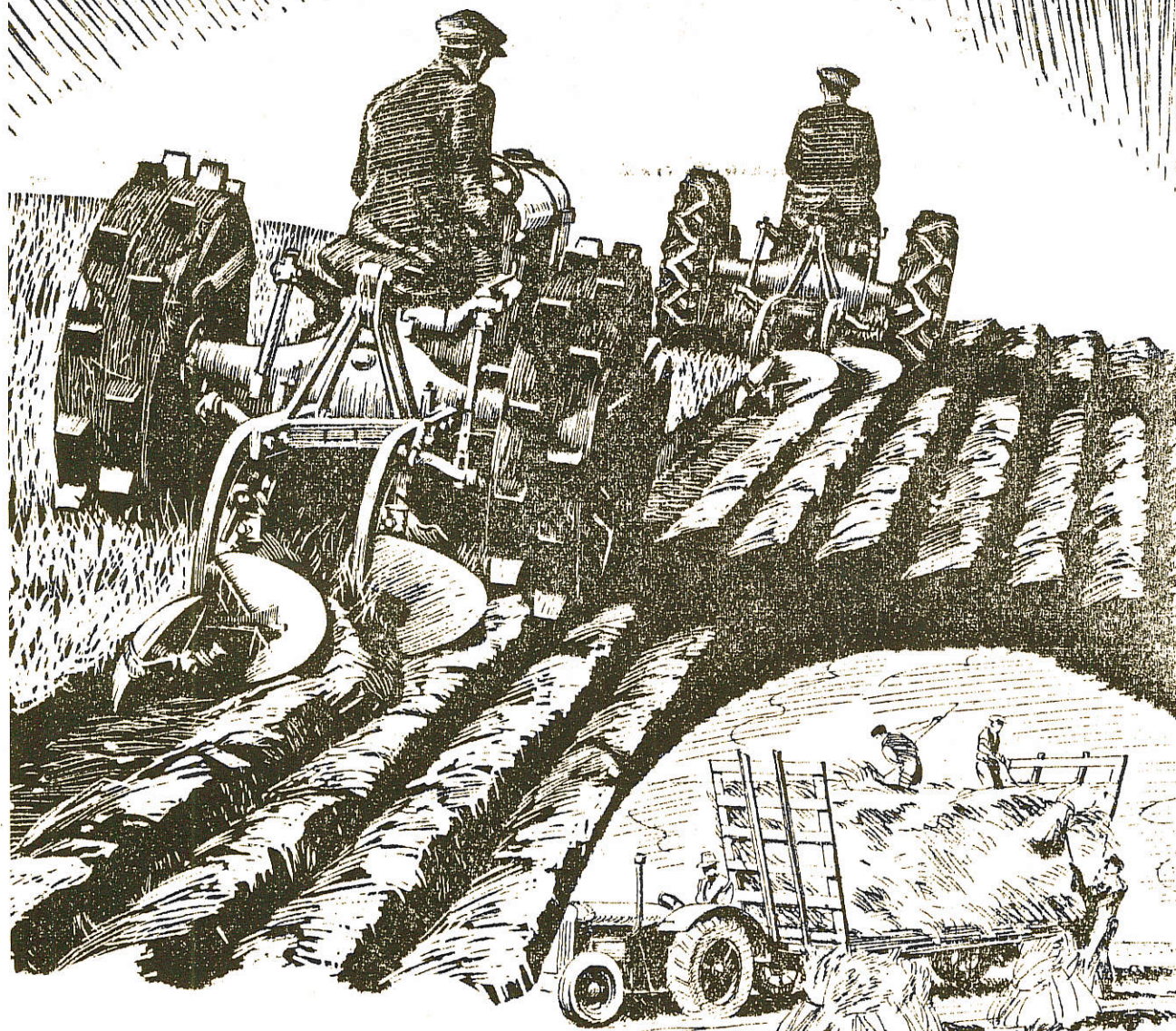
FREE—ask at any of the Food Advice Centres or Bureaux for a free copy of the Potato Peter Recipe Booklet, or write direct to the Ministry of Food, London, W.1.



POTATOES KEEP YOU FIGHTING FIT

9

PLOUGH *the* FIELDS



INCREASE THEIR YIELDS

Plough up your grassland. Make every field give a greater yield. You cannot grow guns and 'planes; but you *can* grow more food and more root and fodder crops, so releasing ships to carry guns and 'planes. Make no mistake—ploughing is the key to victory—and the key is in *your* hands.

£2 per acre ploughing grant:
time extended to April 30th
**BUT DON'T DELAY
YOUR PLOUGHING**

Comply with your County Committee's directions. "Plough now by day and night" should still be your motto in the great battle for production.

PLOUGH NOW!

Er i Lloyd George siomi llawer o'r Cymry wrth fethu â chyflawni gobeithion mudiad Cymru Fydd, ni pheidiodd dadeni diwylliannol y cyfnod Edwardaidd yn ystod y blynyddoedd rhwng y ddau ryfel. Nid oedd ei amlygiadau'n llenyddol yn unig. Sefydlwyd Urdd Gobaith Cymru Fach gan fab O.M. Edwards, Ifan ab Owen Edwards. Ym 1922 gwahoddodd ddarlennwyr *Cymru'r Plant* i ymuno â'i gilydd yn y clwb gwladgarol hwn i ddal yn ôl lanw'r Seisnigeiddio (1). Sefydlwyd gwersylloedd a roddai gyfle i blant Cymru fwynhau gwyliau mewn awyrgylch hollol Gymraeg a Chymreig. Er gwaethaf safbwynt anwleidyddol, darganfu'r Urdd na ellid dadgysylltu diwylliant oddi wrth wleidyddiaeth (2). Bu'n rhaid i'r mudiad gerdded yn ofalus trwy wlad lle daethai'r iaith yn ddadl wleidyddol danboeth a lle'r oedd gweithredu uniongyrchol yn ddigwyddiad cyffredin. Teimlai llawer o bobl yn ddig ac yn rhwystredig ar ôl methiant yr ymgyrch yn erbyn cronfa Tryweryn (3), lle boddwyd pentref Capel Celyn, pentref a chanddo ddiwylliant Cymraeg arbennig iawn. Dangosodd ffigurau cyfrifiad 1961 ostyngiad pellach yn nifer y siaradwyr Cymraeg (4) a blwyddyn yn ddiweddarach symbylwyd sefydlu Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg gan ddarlith radio gan Saunders Lewis yn dwyn y teitl *Tynged yr Iaith*. Yna

Although Lloyd George had disappointed many Welsh people by failing to fulfil the aspirations of the Cymru Fydd movement, the cultural renaissance of the Edwardian years did not subside in the inter war years. Its manifestations were not purely literary. Urdd Gobaith Cymru Fach was founded by O.M. Edwards's son, Ifan ab Owen Edwards. In 1922 he invited readers of *Cymru'r Plant* to join together in this patriotic club to hold back the tide of anglicisation (1). Camps were established to allow Welsh schoolchildren an opportunity to holiday in a thoroughly Welsh environment. Urdd found that culture could not always be disassociated from politics (2). It had to tread warily in a situation where the language had become a hot political issue and direct action was a common currency. The unsuccessful campaign against the building of the Tryweryn reservoir (3) had produced widespread frustration. The village of Capel Celyn which was drowned had a highly distinctive Welsh culture. The 1961 Census figures showed continued decline in the number of Welsh speakers (4) and a year later a radio lecture by Saunders Lewis entitled *Tynged yr Iaith* (The Fate of the Language) prompted the formation of the Welsh Language Society. Protest actions and imprisonments



CYMRU'R PLANT.

"MAE BRÂN AT BOB BRÂN,
A DWY FRÂN DDRWG."

Cyf. XXXI.

IONAWR, 1922.

RHF 361.

- (1) Siarad Cymraeg gyda phob plentyn Cymreig; yn enwedig gyda phob un sydd yn perthyn i'r Urdd.
- (2) Darllen a phrynu llyfrau Cymraeg.
- (3) Canu caneuon Cymraeg.
- (4) Chware bob amser yn Gymraeg.
- (5) Peidio byth a gwadu mai Cymry ydym, na bradychu ein gwlad ar unrhyw amgylchiad.
- (6) Edrych ar bob Cymro a Chymraes, hyd yn oed pe baent dlawd ac yn eu carpiâu, fel cyfeillion inni, a gwneud ein goreu trostynt.
- (7) Gwisgo'r bathodyn cyn amled ag y gallwn.

ER MWYN CYMRU, EIN GWLAD FECHAN NI.

Y peth nesaf fydd i'ch enw ymddangos yn CYMRU'R PLANT, canys fe ymddengys enw pawb sydd yn ymuno ynddo. Ceisiwch gael eich ffrindiau yn yr ysgol i ymuno; meddyliwch ysgol mor dda fuasai eich un chwi pe bai pob plentyn ynddi yn perthyn i "Urdd Gobaith Cymru Fach." Ysgwn i o ba bentref neu o ba ysgol y daw y mwyaf o enwau? Cawn weled wrth gyfri'r enwau a ymddengys yn CYMRU'R PLANT o fis i fis.

Ond cofiwch hefyd mai CYMRU'R PLANT sydd y tu ol i'r Urdd, ac y dylai pob aelod fod yn hynod o drw iddo. Beth pe bai pob aelod yn ceisio cael o leiaf un i'w dderbyn o'r newydd? Wnawn ni mo hynna yn rheol, ond yn hytrach yn rhywbeth i bob un geisio cyrraedd ato.

1

Monday, December 16, 1968

THE NATIONAL NEWS

Urdd will boycott investiture after re-think

By MANSSEL JONES

Wales's national youth movement, Urdd Gobaith Cymru, will boycott the investiture to prevent a major split in their ranks. Two leaders have already quit and others have said they will leave if the Urdd backs next year's ceremony.

The "stay-at-home" decision was reached by the Urdd Council at Aberystwyth at the weekend.

2



3

Table 4 POPULATION PRESENT ON CENSUS NIGHT AGED 3 AND OVER 1921-81: proportion of population speaking Welsh

Area	Percentage of all persons speaking Welsh					
	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981
a	b	c	d	e	f	g
WALES	37.1	36.8	28.9	26.0	20.8	18.9
<i>Counties</i>						
Clwyd	41.7	41.3	30.2	27.3	21.4	18.7
Dyfed	67.8	69.1	63.3	60.1	52.5	46.3
Gwent	5.0	4.7	2.8	2.9	1.9	2.5
Gwynedd	78.7	82.5	74.2	71.4	64.7	61.2
Mid Glamorgan	38.4	37.1	22.8	18.5	10.5	8.4
<i>Powys</i>						
South Glamorgan	35.1	34.6	29.6	27.8	23.7	20.2
West Glamorgan	6.3	6.1	4.7	5.2	5.0	5.8
	41.3	40.5	31.6	27.5	20.3	16.4

Table 5 POPULATION PRESENT ON CENSUS NIGHT AGED 3 AND OVER 1921-81: proportion of population speaking Welsh by age

Age last birthday	Percentage of all persons speaking Welsh					
	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981
a	b	c	d	e	f	g
All ages 3 and over	37.1	36.8	28.9	26.0	20.8	18.9
3-4	26.7	22.1	14.5	13.1	11.3	13.3
5-9	29.4	26.6	20.1	16.8	14.5	17.8
10-14	32.2	30.4	22.2	19.5	17.0	18.5
15-24	34.5	33.4	22.8	20.8	15.9	14.9
25-44	36.9	37.4	27.4	23.2	18.3	15.5
45-64	44.9	44.1	35.4	32.6	24.8	20.7
65 and over	51.9	49.9	40.7	37.2	31.0	27.4

4

AD-DALIAD TRETH

Gellir ildio'r drwydded hon unrhyw adeg ar gyfer ad-daliad treth am bob mis cyfan sydd ar ôl. Bydd mis yn cyfrif ar gyfer ad-daliad yn unig os caiff y drwydded ei chyflwyno neu ei rhbi yn y post **erbyn diwrnod olaf y mis blaenorol.**

I wneud cais am ad-daliad, anfonwch eich cais a'r drwydded i'r Ganolfan Trwyddedu Gyrrwyr a Cherbydau, **SWANSEA SA99 1AL** neu eu cyflwyno mewn unrhyw Swyddfa Leol Trwyddedu Cerbydau. Gellir cael ffurflenni cais am ad-daliad (V14) mewn unrhyw Swyddfa Leol Trwyddedu Cerbydau neu bŵr swyddfeydd post.

REFUND OF DUTY

This licence may be surrendered at any time for a refund of duty for each complete month left to run. A month will only count for refund if the licence is handed in or put in the post **on or before the last day of the preceding month.** To claim a refund send your application and the licence to the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Centre, **SWANSEA SA99 1AL** or hand them in at any Local Vehicle Licensing Office. Refund application forms (V14) may be obtained from any Local Vehicle Licensing Office or main post offices.

5

daeth ymgyrchoedd protest a charcharu â llwyddiant, gyda chydnabod y Gymraeg fel iaith swyddogol (5,6). Yr oedd arwisgiad y Tywysog Siarl yng Nghastell Caernarfon ym 1969 yn darged amlwg (7), ond yn y 1970au anelai'r ymgyrchoedd iaith yn bennaf at sianel deledu Gymraeg. Cefnogwyd y syniad mewn sawl adroddiad swyddogol (8), ond celodd y llywodraeth y gwir, ac nid tan i Gwynfor Evans, llywydd Plaid Cymru, fygwth ymprydio hyd farwolaeth y daethpwyd â'r ymgyrch i ben gyda sefydlu Sianel Pedwar Cymru.

followed but several of the campaigns for official status for the language were successful (5,6). The investiture of Prince Charles at Caernarfon Castle in 1969 was an obvious target (7) but in the 1970s the main thrust of language campaigns was towards a Welsh television channel. Several official reports supported the idea (8) but government prevaricated and it was not until Gwynfor Evans, president of Plaid Cymru, threatened to fast to death, that the campaign was brought to a conclusion with the establishment of Sianel 4 Cymru.

Welsh Language Act 1967

ELIZABETH II



1967 CHAPTER 66

An Act to make further provision with respect to the Welsh language and references in Acts of Parliament to Wales. [27th July 1967]

WHEREAS it is proper that the Welsh language should be freely used by those who so desire in the hearing of legal proceedings in Wales and Monmouthshire; that further provision should be made for the use of that language, with the like effect as English, in the conduct of other official or public business there; and that Wales should be distinguished from England in the interpretation of future Acts of Parliament:

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1.—(1) In any legal proceeding in Wales or Monmouthshire Use of Welsh the Welsh language may be spoken by any party, witness or in legal other person who desires to use it, subject in the case of proceedings proceedings, in a court other than a magistrates' court to such prior notice as may be required by rules of court; and any necessary provision for interpretation shall be made accordingly.

(2) Section 1 of the Welsh Courts Act 1942, and in paragraph 7 1942 c. 40. of the Schedule to the Pensions Appeal Tribunals Act 1943 the 1943 c. 39. words from the beginning to "language and", are hereby repealed.

2.—(1) Where any enactment passed either before or after this Welsh Act specifies the form of any document or any form of words versions of which is to be or may be used for an official or public purpose, statutory forms etc. the appropriate Minister may by order prescribe a version of

6

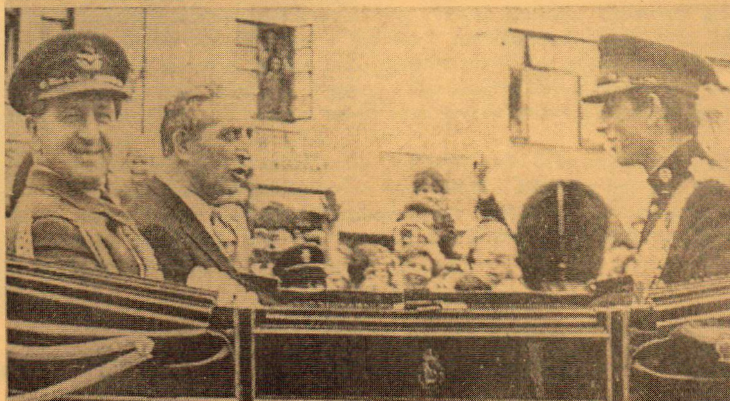
of the Council for the Welsh Language. So not only will we be making a specific forward commitment to the support of the language in our spending plans for the first time, but we will be finding three times as much as any of our predecessors have been able to, at a time of great financial stringency. I think I am entitled to claim that as clear evidence of a political commitment to the Welsh language.

I am sure that the Council for the Welsh Language would have argued, had they still been in existence, that they never contemplated compulsion when they recommended that the Government should "announce a positive policy of effective bilingualism in Wales"; and it was to avoid presenting that policy as a threat to monolingual English speakers they said that the policy should "concentrate on children, starting with those of pre-school age".

Nonetheless, I have to say that I believe there was an element of unreality about a blanket policy directed towards universal bilingualism. Wales is too variegated in its speech patterns, as in so much else, for such uniformity to succeed, and I do not believe that universal bilingualism could be made a reality without a drive by Government on a scale which I fear would inevitably provoke a counter reaction.



The Queen presents the newly-invested Prince of Wales to the people on the balcony overlooking the square. Holding the sword is the Marquis of Anglesey.



The Prince drives in an open carriage to his investiture, accompanied by Secretary of State George Thomas and equerry.

7 The Investiture 1969.

I do not believe that any Government can suddenly decide, especially in a country where less than a quarter of the population are already bilingual, that they should seek to achieve a situation where every individual can speak Welsh well enough to use it on all occasions and for all purposes; and the very fact that the Council proposed that it should devote £½ million out of the initial programme for £1½ million on a propaganda exercise in support of this policy reinforces my doubts.

72. Our conclusion is that the only way of providing a separate Welsh-language service quickly enough to meet the urgency of the Welsh need would be to use the Fourth Channel. An important advantage of this solution would be that it would not require any change in existing receivers or impose a financial burden on viewers.

a subsidy by the Government may be needed. We recognise that a subsidy for a domestic service of a general nature would be breaking new ground, but, in the special circumstances of the Welsh case, we do not see an objection of principle. The cost would represent an investment in domestic, cultural and social harmony in the United Kingdom; the money spent would, in effect, be aimed at supporting within the home the other central and local government expenditure which is being incurred to satisfy Welsh aspirations.

8

Agorwyd yr ysgol Gymraeg ei chyfrwyd gyntaf, ysgol breifat, yn Aberystwyth ym 1939. Agorwyd yr ysgol gyntaf Gymraeg gan yr awdurdod addysg yn Llanelli ym 1947. Ers hynny bu twf y gofyn am addysg Gymraeg yn rhyfeddol. Ym 1982 yr oedd dros ddeng mil o blant mewn ysgolion cynradd Cymraeg. Ategid y cynnydd hwn ymhellach gan sefydliad a chynnydd y Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin (1). Erbyn 1983 codasai nifer yr ysgolion meithrin i 401 yn ogystal â 100 o grwpiau mam a phlentyn ar gyfer plant o dan ddwyflwydd a hanner.

Amcangyfrifir bod tua saith mil yn yr ysgolion meithrin ar hyn o bryd. Yn fuan cadarnhawyd llwyddiant yr ysgolion cynradd a meithrin gyda sefydlu ysgolion uwchradd Cymraeg a thrwy gynyddu nifer y pynciau a arholir drwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg. Dilynnodd y Brifysgol a'r colegau gyda rhai cyrsiau ac arholiadau drwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg a ffuriodd myfyrwyr Cymraeg eu hundebau eu hunain. Ceir llawer o gyrsiau ledled Cymru ar gyfer oedolion a fydd ddysgu Cymraeg. Y mae gan ddysgwyr y Gymraeg eu papur newydd eu hunain (2) a gweddnewidir hen bentref gwag, Nant Gwrtheyrn, yng Ngwynedd, yn ganolfan iaith breswyl.

Y mae nifer o gyrff yn ymwneud â'r celfyddydau yng Nghymru sydd yn derbyn cymorthdal o'r Swyddfa Gymreig (4), sef Cyngor y Celfyddydau, yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol (3), yr Academi Gymreig, a'r Cyngor Llyfrau Cymraeg.

Y mae'r iaith Gymraeg yn amlwg yn y celfyddydau traddodiadol a chyfoes sydd ill dau'n fyw iawn yng Nghymru heddiw. Ceir cerddoriaeth yn amrywio o'r Wyl Gerdd Dant i gyngherddau cerddorfaol, opera, pop, canu gwerin a chorau meibion (5). Y mae Cwmni Sain yng Ngwynedd yn cynhyrchu'r rhan fwyaf o'r recordiau Cymraeg. Y mae theatr yn cynnwys dramâu cenedlaethol (gan sgrifenyddyr cyfoes yn Gymraeg a Saesneg), theatr y gymuned a theatr addysgol; y ddau olaf yn gweithio'n lleol ac yn dyfeisio'u gwaith eu hunain (6). Ceir dawnsio gwerin traddodiadol a dawnsio cyfoes (7) hefyd. Ar wahân i Amgueddfa Genedlaethol Cymru a'r Amgueddfa Werin yn Sain Ffagan, Caerdydd, ceir llawer o orielau ledled Cymru sydd yn derbyn arddangosfeydd teithiol (8).

Cefnogwyd a chalonogwyd dawn llenyddol Cymraeg gan y Cyngor Llyfrau Cymraeg, Cyngor y Celfyddydau, yr Academi Gymreig, y Babel Lên yn yr Eisteddfod, siopau llyfrau a chyhoeddwyd Cymraeg (9). Ceir nifer o Gymry yn sgrifennu, neu a oedd yn sgrifennu, yn Saesneg, er enghraifft, Dylan Thomas ac R.S. Thomas (10).

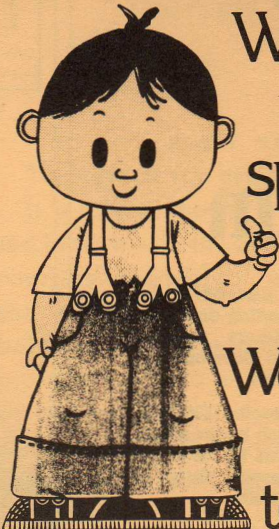
Ffurfiwyd y Bwrdd Ffilmiau Cymraeg ym 1971 i gynhyrchu

The first Welsh medium school, a private one, was opened in Aberystwyth in 1939. The first local authority Welsh medium school was opened in Llanelli in 1947. Since then the growth in demand for Welsh-medium education has been phenomenal. In 1982 over ten thousand children were attending Welsh medium primary schools. This expansion was supported further by the establishment and rapid growth of Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin, the Welsh Nursery Schools Movement (1). By 1983 the number of nursery schools had risen to 401 with a further 100 mother and toddler groups for children under two and a half. It is estimated that these are now attended by over 7,000 children. The success of primary and nursery schools was soon to be matched by the establishment of Welsh medium secondary schools, and a growth in the number of subjects examined by the WJEC through the medium of Welsh. The University and the colleges followed on with some courses and examinations through the medium of Welsh and Welsh students formed their own students' unions. There are many courses for adults to learn Welsh throughout Wales. Welsh learners have their own newspaper (2) and the old deserted village of Nant Gwrtheyrn, Gwynedd, is being transformed into a residential language centre.

The Welsh Arts Council, the National Eisteddfod (3), Yr Academi Gymreig, Cyngor Llyfrau Cymraeg are some of the national organisations concerned with the arts in Wales. These bodies receive grant aid from the Welsh Office (4).

Both the traditional and modern art forms are alive in Wales today. The Welsh language figures strongly in both. Music ranges from the Gŵyl Gerdd Dant to orchestral concerts, from a night at the opera to pop, folk and male voice choir (5). Cwmni Sain in Gwynedd produces the majority of Welsh language records. Theatre embraces both national productions often of plays by contemporary writers in English and Welsh and community theatre/theatre in education companies operating locally and devising their own work (6). Similarly, dance ranges from dawnsio gwerin (traditional Welsh folk dancing) (7) to contemporary. Apart from the National Museum of Wales and the Folk Museum at St Fagans, there are many local galleries throughout Wales which accommodate touring exhibitions (8).

The Cyngor Llyfrau Cymraeg, the Literature Department of the Welsh Arts Council, Yr Academi Gymreig, Y Babel Lên at the Eisteddfod, Welsh bookshops and publishers have supported and encouraged Welsh literary talent



Would you like
your child to
speak Welsh?
Yes?
Then join a
Welsh medium
playgroup
toddler group.

1

HYDREF/TACHWEDD 1984 25c
RHIF 27
AR EI NEWYDD WEDD!

DOES DIM GWOBUR
£1,000,000
YN SIOP SIARAD ...

Ond mae ● HANES YR HWNTW MAWR
● CYMRAEG RHWNG FFRINDIAU
● LLYFRAU ● CROESAIR a llawer mwy ...

GWASANAETH POST
POSTWYDDIADAU FFRINDIAU
CATALOG Y DYSGWYR
LLEWELLYN CATALOG
AM 0000

siop siarad

2

eisteddfod
genedlaethol
frenhinol
CYMRU 1985

Rhestr
Testunau

Y RHYL A'R CYFFINIAU
AWST 3-10, 1985
Adran y Dysgwyr

3

Language grants up to £1m

GRANTS totalling almost £1m to help the Welsh language are announced today by Mr Wyn Roberts, Under-Secretary for Wales.

The grants, to non-local government organisations, have increased in line with inflation.

Among those receiving cash are the National Eisteddfod to help build a new theatre, and Yr Academi Gymreig, to speed publication of a much-needed high standard English to Welsh dictionary.

The grants total £996,000 compared with £951,000 last year. They are additional to the £920,000 for local authorities announced early last month.

Grants include: Mudiad Ysgellon Meithrin, for the development of Welsh language nursery groups throughout Wales, £190,000.

National Eisteddfod, for capital spending on a new theatre, literary pavilion and general development work, £180,000.

Welsh Books Council, for the Welsh books grant, £320,000, plus the development of books clubs in schools, £22,000.

Welsh National Centre for Children's Literature, Aberystwyth, for continuing development work, £13,000.

Yr Academi Gymreig, for the dictionary, £22,000.

YFCs, £3,300 and Papurau bro to be distributed between these monthly community papers by the regional arts associations, £18,000.

The balance will be distributed later. Some will go for further development at the Glanllyn, Bala, camp of Urdd Gobiath Cymru.

TAPLAS 35pic

WALES' FOREMOST FOLK MUSIC MAGAZINE
PRIF CYLCHGRAWN CERDDORIAETH WERIN CYMRU

Winter/Casaol 1984-85 Rhif/Numr



Sir Geraint Evans as Truwr Cais in "The Beach of Faleas", the opera by Welsh composer A Iun Hoddinott, screened by IITV.

The Welsh pop group 'Y Brodyr'.

Welsh National OPERA
Cenedlaethol Cymru

WELSH NATIONAL OPERA
SIEGFRIED
NORMA
RIGOLETTO
TOSCA
CARMEN
DON GIOVANNI

4

THEATRE WEST GLAMORGAN / THEATR GORLLEWIN MORGANNUG
presents
"THE ONLY WAY UP!"
AUTUMN TOUR - 3 OCTOBER to 22 DECEMBER

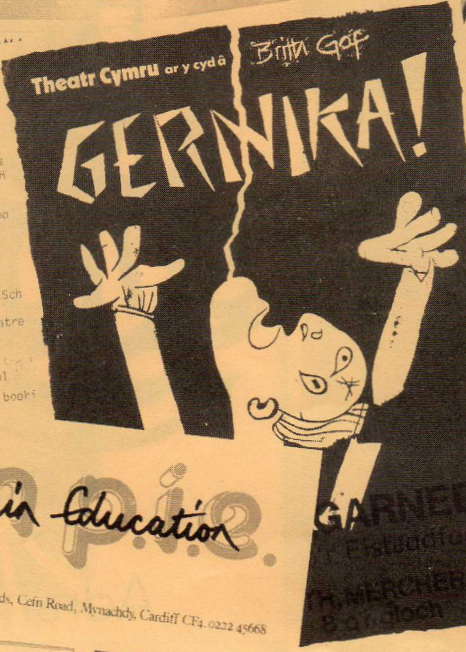
WED	3 Oct	Drama Hall, Sandfields Comprehensive School, Port Talbot.
THURS	4 Oct	Parkland Primary School
FRI	5 Oct	Longford Memorial Hall (hosted by Neath Abbey Infants Scho
TUES	9 Oct	Upper Killay Community Hall (hosted by Cilia Primary School
WED	10 Oct	St. Phillips - Swansea Fringe Performance
THUR	11 Oct	Llanrhidian Primary School
FRI	12 Oct	Blaenymaes Primary School
MON	15 Oct	Wauarlwydd Primary School
TUES	16 Oct	St. Lillyd's RC Primary School
WED	17 Oct	Gwngwrach Welfare Hall (hosted by Blaenwchach Primary S
THUR	18 Oct	Garnswllt Village Hall (hosted by Garnswllt Primary Sch
FRI	19 Oct	St Joseph's RC Junior School, Port Talbot.
SAT	26 Oct	***
MON	29 Oct	Godre'roraig Pr
TUES	30 Oct	The Hospital Ch
WED	31 Oct	***
THUR	1 Nov	Phylfawr Primar
FRI	2 Nov	Tonnau Primary
SAT	3 Nov	***
TUES	6 Nov	Dunvant Junior
WED	7 Nov	Llangwngwr Primary
THUR	8 Nov	Blaenrhondda
FRI	9 Nov	Tal ysgwath Cc
SAT	10 Nov	***
MON	12 Nov	Bishopston Ju
TUES	13 Nov	Crymllt Inf
WED	14 Nov	Ynystawe Pri
THUR	15 Nov	Towmhill Pys
FRI	16 Nov	Rhymard Primary
SAT	17 Nov	***
MON	19 Nov	Cilfrin Primary School
TUES	20 Nov	Ynysfach Primary School
WED	21 Nov	Ysllwr Primary School
THUR	22 Nov	Glyn Primary School
FRI	23 Nov	Glyn Community Arts Ce
SAT	24 Nov	Gwaith-y-Garth Village H
MON	25 Nov	Groes Primary School
TUES	26 Nov	Dwmlas Primary School
WED	27 Nov	Blaenau Primary School
THUR	28 Nov	Skeith Junior School
FRI	29 Nov	Crossarts Primary School
SAT	30 Nov	Rhigos Community Centre
MON	1 Dec	***
TUES	2 Dec	Owngors Primary School
WED	3 Dec	Gwauncaegurwen Primary Sch
THUR	4 Dec	***
FRI	5 Dec	Trefechin Community Centre
SAT	6 Dec	***
MON	8 Dec	***
TUES	10 Dec	***
WED	11 Dec	***
THUR	12 Dec	***
FRI	13 Dec	Gwrosydd Junior School

The community and schools theatre company of Mid Glamorgan
SPECTACLE THEATRE

THEATR CRWBAN
YN CYFLWYNO
Y GWAHODDIAD
COMEDI GAN WILLIAM R. LEWIS

TUOFAWR POWYS

THE DRA...



BARA CAWS



PAWB
AI
FY'S...

Action Projects in Education

South Glamorgan Theatre-in-Education Team Old School Grounds, Cefn Road, Mynyachdy, Cardiff CF3, 0222 45668

6

Artistic Director
 Roy Campbell-Moore



With the support of
 the Welsh Arts Council

22 EXHIBITIONS



LSH CHAPELS at the NAT. MUSEUM till Aug 28

7 KNIGHT GALLERY
 July 14-Sept 8. Turner in Wales. The Gallery's major exhibition of watercolours, oils and sketchbook produced by J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851) during his tours of Wales July 20-22, Friday eve. to Sunday lunch. Special series of illustrated talks, excursions of film screening for those interested in Turner. Tickets from the Gallery 0492 7921

LLANDUDNO EUROPEAN CENT. FOR FOLK STUDIES
 Until July 29. Hungarian Open-Air Museums. An exhibition from Hungary showing the pattern and development of open-air museums.

LLANGOLLEN
 Until July 29. Telford and the Dee Valley, 1985 marks the 100th anniversary of Telford's death. Llangollen was on the Shropshire Union Canal. This exhibition commemorates the life and achievements of Telford, along with examples of canal barge painting.

paintings, sculpture, pottery from traditional to modern by members of the North Wales branch of A.A.D.W.
WYSEIDE ARTS CENTRE.
 July 30-Aug 6. Brecon & Radnor Guild of Weavers, Spinners & Dyers Exhibition
WYSEIDE ARTS CENTRE, Galleries
 Aug 9-21 Ross Law - Potter in Residence. Exhibition and demonstration - Mr Law will be working on new pieces throughout exhibition so visitors can watch.

CALDICOT
CALDICOT CASTLE, Tower Gallery.
 Until July 15 Gerry Theron Recent Paintings and drawings loosely based on people.

CARDIFF
NAT. MUSEUM OF WALES
 Until July 30. Photography in the Service of Science 1833-1983. A portrayal of the development of the use of photography in science during the last century.

SHERMAN THEATRE
 Until Sept 29 Chen Chi-Mao Prints from Taiwan. A willing exhibition of colourful Taiwanese prints by Chen Chi-Mao. Admission free.

NAT. MUSEUM OF WALES
 Until Aug 31. 100 Years of Geology in Wales. This exhibition traces various aspects of the geology of Wales with particular reference to work undertaken at the University College of Cardiff.

NAT. MUSEUM OF WALES
 Until Aug 28 Welsh Chapels Welsh Chapel buildings are not only manifestations of the faith of non-conformists, but an expressive form of architecture. Professor Anthony Jones' films that the men who built them created the National Architecture of Wales.

ST DAVIDS HALL
 July 16-21. Foyer Exhibition - Welsh School of Architecture.

CHAPTER
 Until July 28. Richard Deacon Sculpture. The artist's interest in expressing the process which his sculptures have been made suggests parallels with engineering. Throughout the work there is a direct relationship between the final appearance of the piece and the way it has been joined, or balanced, or supported.

CRUEL
 Aug 4-Sept 1. Lives of the Saints. Photographs of St Helena by Rory Coohan and Stuart MacKay. St Helena is one of a handful of remaining British colonies. The origins of the 3000 inhabitants are diverse. 'The Saints' as they are known are descended from slaves imported by the East India Company which ran the island to the mid 19th century. The photographs capture the trappings of colonial government, the people at work and the sub-tropical landscape.

NEW FACES - Portraits. Crabtree doesn't set out to flatter the people he paints. Their age is revealed starkly, their expressions range from gentle resignation to the apprehensive and disdainful. The sitters are against plain colourless backgrounds, details of clothing and hands are minimal.

Until July 28 Maggie Jennings Prints. Maggie Jennings' vegetable form the ideal complement to the restaurant this summer. Her prints of peppers, cabbages, and sweet beans resemble the prizewinners

CARMARTHEN MUSEUM
 July 21-Aug 11. Prints by Monet An exhibition of 29 etchings by Edouard Monet which is being toured by the Arts Council of Great Britain Also on August 1 & 2 there will be an informal talk at 2pm and 7pm on The World of Edouard Monet by Sally Moss, the Assistant Curator.

CHEPSTOW MUSEUM, GWY HOUSE
 Until Aug 5. Dolly Mixtures. Dolls made by British Doll Artists Association.

COWBRIDGE
OLD HALL
 All July. Barbara & David Mawaring Paintings.

HARLECH
KING GEORGE V Playing Field
 July 21-29. 12.30-4pm. Colour-scape. A sensation of colour and space, inside and out.

THEATR ARDUWY
 July 23-Aug 18. Exhibition of Prints by Kyffin Williams

HAVERFORDWEST
CASTLE MUSEUM
 Until July 31. Exhibition of the work of twenty Pembrokeshire Artists selected by Donald Moore for Pembrokeshire Museums.

NEVERN
COMMUNITY HALL
 July 25 for 10 days. Arts & Crafts Exhibition - organised by Newport CND. Details: Crosswell 360.

PORT TALBOT
MARGAM COUNTRY PARK
 August 6-31. Sculpture Exhibition by Gordon Young & Frank McHugh.

RYHMNEY
DAY CENTRE
 July 14. Rhyemney Art Society Exhibition. Mon-Fri. 10.30-7.30pm. Sat. 10.30-5pm.

SWANSEA
GLYNN VIVIAN GALLERY
 Until July 28. Room for Thought 8 works from the Arts Council collection.

SWANSEA ARTS WORKSHOP GALLERY, Gloucester Place
 August 1-16. 10am-5.30pm. Changes in the Making. Anne Liddell - structured fabric pieces David Potts - collages, theatre Gegenwart - ceramics.

LAMPETER COMPREHENSIVE
 Aug 4-12. 12.30-4pm. Colour-scape.

UNDER MILK WOOD

[Silence]

FIRST VOICE (*Very softly*)

To begin at the beginning:

It is spring, moonless night in the small town, starless and bible-black, the cobblestreets silent and the hunched, courtiers'-and-rabbits' wood limping invisible down to the sloeblack, slow, black, crowblack, fishingboat-bobbing sea. The houses are blind as moles (though moles see fine to-night in the snouting, velvet dingles) or blind as Captain Cat there in the muffled middle by the pump and the town clock, the shops in mourning, the Welfare Hall in widows' weeds. And all the people of the lulled and dumbfound town are sleeping now.

Hush, the babies are sleeping, the farmers, the fishers, the tradesmen and pensioners, cobbler, school-teacher, postman and publican, the undertaker and the fancy woman, drunkard, dressmaker, preacher, policeman, the webfoot cocklewomen and the tidy wives. Young girls lie bedded soft or glide in their dreams, with rings and trousseaux, bridesmaided by glow-worms down the aisles of the organplaying wood. The boys are dreaming wicked or of the bucking ranches of the night and the jollyroddered sea. And the anthracite statues of the horses sleep in the fields, and

Dylan Thomas, Under Milk Wood.

Welsh History

We were a people taut for war; the hills
 Were no harder, the thin grass
 Clothed them more warmly than the coarse
 Shirts our small bones.
 We fought, and were always in retreat,
 Like snow thawing upon the slopes
 Of Mynydd Mawr; and yet the stranger
 Never found our ultimate stand
 In the thick woods, declaiming verse
 To the sharp prompting of the harp.

Our kings died, or they were slain
 By the old treachery at the ford.
 Our bards perished, driven from the halls
 Of nobles by the thorn and bramble.

We were a people bred on legends,
 Warming our hands at the red past.
 The great were ashamed of our loose rags
 Clinging stubbornly to the proud tree
 Of blood and birth, our lean bellies
 And mud houses were a proof
 Of our ineptitude for life.

We were a people wasting ourselves
 In fruitless battles for our masters,
 In lands to which we had no claim,
 With men for whom we felt no hatred.

We were a people, and are so yet.
 When we have finished quarrelling for crumbs
 Under the table, or gnawing the bones
 Of a dead culture, we will arise,
 Armed, but not in the old way.

R. S. THOMAS

8

HYDREF 1984

OLAW J EAW	T. ROWLAND HUGHES
BYWYD A GWALD DYPED	Bob Blyas
YCAPTEN JAC ALUN	Golygydd GERALD JONES
BYN BACH O'R WYLD	NEW PINES
Castell Cyfacklawd	R Cyril Hughes
CERDDI JOHN RODERICK REES	
GRAWYGRYNNAL	
SEALF DORRIS	

WORLD TALKERS

Writing and Talking about
 Reading and Talking about
 Writing and Talking about

ACADEMIA CAMBRENSIS

BEIRO BARNANT
 GYRHO GALLON

GUINEDD ROUIS DEHEU BARCH

For further information see displays in your local library

Writing Workshops are organised with the support of the Galatrada and the Galatrada Foundation

Writing Workshops are organised with the support of the Galatrada and the Galatrada Foundation

ffilmiau Cymraeg eu hiaith ac i ddybio ffilmau i'r Gymraeg. Bu cynnydd sylweddol mewn darlledu yn y ddwy iaith, a chyda dyfodiad S4C, sefydlwyd cwmnïau ffilmio ledled Cymru. Ym 1983 cynhaliwyd yr Wyl Ffilmau Celtaidd yng Nghaerdydd (12).

Yn ystod y deng mlynedd diwethaf cafwyd twf ym mhoblogrwydd y papurau bro. Bu hwn yn ddatblygiad pwysig am iddynt gael eu sgrifennu a'u cynhyrchu gan bobl leol (13).

(9). Some distinguished Welsh writers write in English: Dylan Thomas and R.S. Thomas, for example (10).

Y Bwrdd Ffilmau Cymraeg was formed in 1971 to produce original Welsh language films and to dub films into Welsh. There has been a considerable increase in Welsh broadcasting in both languages; with the arrival of S4C (11) many independent film companies have been set up all over Wales. In 1983 the Celtic Film Festival was held in Cardiff (12).

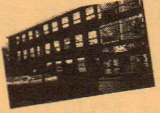
During the last 10 years there has been a growth in the popularity of local Welsh newspapers, 'papurau bro'. This has been an important development as they are written and produced by local people (13).

*S4C
~ Trefn Newydd
i Ddarlledu
yng Nghymru*

Beth yw S4C?
Awdurdod S4Cel 4 Cymru, yw'r sefyllfa'n gyhoeddus darlledu'r bobl raglennu seledu ar S4C.
Dechreuodd S4C ddarlledu ar Ddechreaf y cyntaf 1982.
O'n dyfodiad y sianel newydd roddi gan wlyw yr ym Nghymru ddeus o dair sianel - gyda dwy o'r rheini - BBC Cymru a HTV Cymru - yn darlledu rhaglennu yn yr iaith Gymraeg.
Dan yr hen drefn bu cryn anuddogrwydd ymhlith y Cymru Cymraeg a'r di-Gymraeg - y'r iaith yn anfforiol a'r iaith yn rhaglennu Cymraeg a ddarperniad ac eu cyfer, yn amsennu amwedd a'r prinder amwybydd, a'r iaith yn anamwybydd oherwydd fod y rhaglennu Cymraeg yn ymroddi a'u awybir i'w hysgrifennu a'u rhaglennu a'u hysgrifennu.

*S4C
~ A New
Structure for
Broadcasting
in Wales*

What is S4C?
S4C (S4Cel 4 Cymru) - the Welsh Fourth Channel Authority is responsible for broadcasting all television programmes on the fourth channel in Wales.
S4C began broadcasting on 1 November 1982.
Prior to the advent of S4C viewers in Wales had a choice of three channels - and they could see Welsh language programmes on two of those - BBC Wales and HTV Wales.
Under the old order both Welsh and non-Welsh speakers were disadvantaged - the former with the number of Welsh programmes broadcast, their variable timing and the lack of choice, while the latter complained that the Welsh programmes interrupted their viewing and reduced the number of English language programmes available to them.



WALES4CYMRU

11

Pumed Wyl Ffilm a Theledu yn y Gwledydd Celtaidd CAERDYDD CYMRU EBRILL 1984

*Cymruana Festival
Celtic and Film and Television
CARDIFF WALES
APRIL 1984*



12

BARN

TACHWEDD 1984


RHIF 262

PRIS: 60c



CYNEFIN
HYD/TACH 1984 60c
CYLCHGRAWN NATUR I'R TEULU

**CYDFYW
Y PRY GENWAIR
Y DDAEARGRYN FAWR**



PAIS
RHAGFYR '84 40c

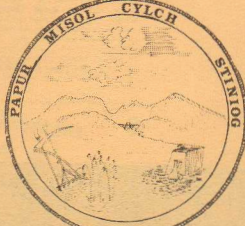


CRISTION

9

LLAFAR BRO

15c

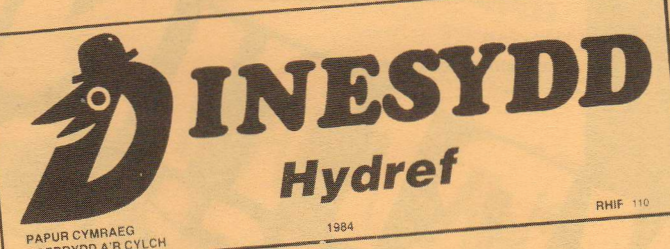


leuanc a hen ddarlledu—O leufer brwd Llafar Bro

RHIF 100

GORFFENNAF 1984

O GARNIEAL Y...



INESYDD
Hydref

PAPUR CYMRAEG
CAERDYDD A'R CYLCH

1984

RHIF 110

Y LOFFWR

RHIF 57 PAPUR BRO CYLCH DINEFWR GORFFENNAF 1984 20c

LLAETHDY BELLE VUE
17 A. a. J. A. Jones
Llyfrau'dd 20243

BWYDDYD A FFRWYTHAU
1985
LLAETH AM IECHYD DA

Y BRODYR TOMOS LLANGADOG
OS AN DEITHIEN
BLESE HUS GOMH BACH
87c

CURIAD

PAPUR BRO CYMRU GYFAN
Y PAPUR A'I FYS AR BYS

Pris 30c
Medi/Hydrif 84
Rhif 32

13

Tyfodd Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru, a sefydlwyd ym 1926 gan John Saunders Lewis, allan, hwyrach, o obeithion diwylliannol ei sylfaenydd. Ni fynodd annibyniaeth i Gymru fel gwladwriaeth ond, yn hytrach, rhyddid i'r diwylliant Cymraeg ddod allan o'r fignen o Seisnigeiddio a'i lyncasai yn ystod y cyfnod o ddatblygiad diwydiannol. Cyfransai'r Rhyfel Mawr hefyd at y dirywiad hwn drwy hyrwyddo teyrngarwch i Brydain ac i'r Ymerodraeth Brydeinig, a hefyd, drwy golled llawer iawn o Gymry ieuanc, yr oedd ysgolheictod Cymraeg yn dlotach o lawer. Amlinella'r erthygl hon (1,2) rai o'r cymelliadau a arweiniodd at

Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru, founded in 1926 by John Saunders Lewis, arose perhaps out of the cultural aspirations of its founder. Its aim was not independence for Wales as a nation-state, but, rather, freedom for the Welsh culture to re-emerge from the quagmire of anglicization which had engulfed it during the period of rapid industrial growth. The Great War, too, had contributed further by fostering loyalty to Britain and the British Empire and also, through the loss of many young Welshmen, had greatly reduced Welsh scholarship. This article (1) outlines some of the motives which led to the formation of the party. It refers also to the reasons

Dramatic End to Nationalists' Trial

SCENES AT THE OLD BAILEY

Accused Refuse to Call Witnesses

"NO DEFENCE OF ANY SORT" SAYS JUDGE

DEMONSTRATION IN HYDE PARK

(Special Press Association Report).

LONDON, Tuesday.

Three Welsh Nationalists appeared before Mr. Justice Charles at the Old Bailey today on charges arising out of a fire at the Royal Air Force base and bombing school near Pwllheli last September. They were:—

John Saunders Lewis, (42), of St. Peter's-road, Mumbles, Swansea.

The Rev. Lewis Edward Valentine, (42), of St. Andrew's-place, Llandudno;

David John Williams, (51), of High-street, Fishguard.

All the defendants are well-known figures throughout Wales. Mr. Lewis is President of the Welsh Nationalist Party and a lecturer in Welsh at Swansea University College. The Rev. Lewis Valentine is Vice-President of the party and pastor of the Welsh Baptist Church, Llandudno.

Mr. Williams is a Welsh master at Fishguard Secondary School, and has attained some prominence as a Welsh novelist. The trial was removed from Caernarvon Assizes where, in October, before Mr. Justice Lloyd, the jury failed to agree.

The charges upon which accused were committed for trial accused them of unlawful and malicious damage to buildings, timber and other articles, the property of the King, to the extent of £2,355, and feloniously and maliciously setting fire to certain buildings, the property of the King.

Counsel for the prosecution were Mr. W. N. Stable, K.C., and Mr. Bertram Reece (Recorder of Birkenhead).

AN EARLY QUEUE.

The Old Bailey has had many queues outside its entrances for famous trials, but never one of the type that waited for hours to-day. They spoke Welsh, and comprised bankers, stockbrokers, shopkeepers, ministers, and schoolmasters. Many of them were accompanied by their wives.

The first Welsh contingent—one from North Wales—arrived promptly at eight a.m. They had reached London about three hours previously and after breakfast marched to the Old Bailey. They were the "advance guard" of about seven hundred Welsh men and women coming to London.

Among the places represented in the queue shortly after nine a.m. were: Caernarvon, Llanberis, Penygroes, Momi Bridge, Conway, Llandudno, and Colwyn Bay. The wife, sister, and sister-in-law of Mr. Valentine, one of the defendants, were in the front of the queue. They had a letter from the Chief Constable of Caernarvon asking the police to give them every facility in order to hear the case.

It was only after much persuasion that any of the Welsh people consented to speak in English to a Press Association reporter.

out a special ticket was allowed to enter the well of the court. Among those left outside were many prominent public men in Wales, religious leaders, and "Bards."

Nevertheless, the floor of the court was filled to its utmost capacity when the three accused were called upon to surrender to their bail. They came from the lobby into the court and passed through the dock to the rooms below, and there waited until the jury, which had been engaged in the part-heard case, had been dismissed.

THE TRIAL BEGINS.

Then the three men walked to their places in the dock. Valentine stood in the centre, and was an impressive and commanding figure. Lewis, had his hair brushed smartly back, revealing a high forehead, with eyes which took a deep interest in everything around him.

Williams, stout, with ruddy complexion, and wore thick horned spectacles.

ONE WOMAN ON JURY.

There was one woman on the jury. Mrs. Valentine did not enter the court but remained seated outside with a friend. None of the prisoners was legally represented.

THE CHARGES.

The charge against them was of maliciously setting fire to certain buildings belonging to His Majesty the King on September 8, 1936.

On a second count they were charged with maliciously committing damage to buildings, stocks and other articles, the property of the King, to the amount of £2,355, in the night, between September 7 and 8, 1936. The prisoners pleaded not guilty, and the judge allowed them to be seated.

PROSECUTION'S CASE.

Mr. Stable, opening for the prosecution, said that the indictment against the three defendants contained two counts, but the occurrence, the facts in relation to which they were charged, all related to one occurrence and one occasion. Those facts lay in the smallest possible compass. In the summer of last year the Government, having bought the ground, was in course of constructing a camp for the I.A.F. near Pwllheli. On the night of September 7-8 the night watchman who was employed at the camp was making his rounds, and up to a point he found that everything was in order. Some time after midnight he was set on from behind by two men. He was thrown to the ground, and was held there. While he was on the ground he saw another person quite close moving about this partially constructed camp, and then he saw flames beginning to spring up in one or two places. He did not suggest that he was struck, or that he was

tion to build a bombing camp was first announced, and many leaders of the public life of Wales did everything we could to get the English Government to refrain from building an institution which would endanger all the culture and traditions of one of the most Welsh regions in Wales. But in spite of all our pleas, in spite of letters of protest that we have had from hundreds of religious and lay societies throughout the whole of Wales, and though thousands of the electors at Pwllheli itself sent a petition imploring the prevention of the atrocity, yet the English Government refused even to receive a deputation from Wales to talk over the matter. Lawful and peaceful methods failed to secure for Wales even common courtesy at the hands of the Government of England. Therefore, in order to compel attention to this immoral violation of the sure and natural rights of the Welsh nation, we have taken this method, the only method left to us by a Government which is contemptuous of the Welsh nation."

The statement was signed by the three accused. The Chief Constable pointed out to them that they had admitted doing a very serious thing, and asked them if they understood the position. Each answered, again speaking in Welsh, that they did understand.

The Superintendent asked them how they set the place on fire. Lewis answered first, saying that everything was in the letter, that it was all explained there. That was not quite what the Superintendent meant and he asked them again how they set it alight. Saunders Lewis, looking at the other two, answered, "With petrol and a syringe."

"It is a commonplace of British justice that the prosecution have got to prove a criminal charge before anyone can be convicted. If there be any reasonable doubt in the matter then it is the duty of the jury to acquit. But in this case there is no room for doubt of any sort, kind or description. To set fire to a camp of this kind, is, of course, a criminal act. These men have admitted in the clearest possible way that it was they who set fire to the camp, that they did it deliberately and intentionally with the object of calling attention to a grievance."

"They felt that this particular part of the United Kingdom had suffered by having an Air Force camp erected there. It is clear from the statement by the accused that what they did, they did deliberately, knowing that they were breaking the law and that they would in consequence have to stand their ground in a criminal charge. Indeed, they did it with that very object. In pleading not guilty to that charge they are presumably inviting you to return a verdict in their favour of not guilty, notwithstanding their admission of their direct responsibility for what was done."

"It is no part of my duty" (added Counsel) "in presenting the case for the Crown, to suggest that these three men were not honestly opposed to the erection of this Air Force camp on that site. I do not suggest for a moment that their opposition to the camp was not a perfectly honest opposition. But neither is it part of the duty of those on whom falls the responsibility of saying by their verdict whether the defendants did what the prosecution alleges they did, and which, incidentally, is admitted by the defendants themselves, to decide or even to consider whether the opposition of these men to this camp was well or ill-founded."

"In this country there are other places and other occasions for the discussion of the different points of view on these and similar matters, which may be the subject of perfectly honest controversy between honest men."

"This is a court of justice, and here, the administration of justice in this country, no political or other outside consideration is allowed on one side or the other to deflect us from our duty as by a hair's breadth from the discharge of our duty which is to administer the law of the country as we find it."

Mr. Stable said that the defendants in asking the jury to return a verdict of not guilty—the three defendants on their own admission having broken the law—were inviting the jury to return a verdict which was in flat contradiction to the whole of the evidence, and which must involve a violation by each of "an oath which they had taken."

"I invite you to return a true verdict and

Mr. Justice Charles: Of your own knowledge can he speak English?—He can, my lord.

Have you heard him speak English?—I have my lord.

Now regarding Williams: Of your own knowledge can he speak English?—I have never heard him speak English, my lord. You can only deal with the other two?—Yes.

Supt. Hughes then left the box and Davies returned.

"ENGLISH OR NOT AT ALL."

Addressing the accused, Mr. Justice Charles said: "John Saunders Lewis, do you wish to ask the witness any question, in Welsh, and his Lordship said, 'I have said if you want to ask a question, you must do so in English or not at all.'"

Lewis made no reply. Mr. Justice Charles then put the same question to Valentine, who replied to him in Welsh, and his Lordship said, 'I have said if you want to ask a question, you must do so in English or not at all.'"

Valentine replied again in Welsh and was told to sit down. When there was some talking in the public gallery the judge said, 'I must have no talking in court. If people wish to talk let them talk on side and not inside.'"

The judge added that the police inspector had told him that he had never heard David John Williams speak English. Williams must have an interpreter.

An interpreter was sworn and asked Williams if he had any questions to ask. Williams, through the interpreter, replied that he did not wish to ask any questions.

The judge: Ask him whether he has understood the evidence which has been given by this witness.

Williams, through the interpreter, replied that he did.

TIMEKEEPER'S EVIDENCE.

John Mackie Abbott, of Dundee, who is employed as a timekeeper at the aerodrome, stated that about ten minutes to three on the morning of September 8 he went to the aerodrome. Stacks of cedar wood and sections of huts were ablaze. His own office was burned to the ground and all the men's health and unemployment insurance cards and the office records and letters were burned. After the fire was extinguished he found that a number of buildings had been burned, including the office, a big tool shed and two huts.

Counsel: After the fire did you find anything about the place?—Yes, I went back to where my office stood to see if I could find several of my own belongings and just in front of where the door had been I found a syringe.

A brass syringe about two feet long was produced and Mr. Abbott, said that it was the one that he had found.

Counsel: So far as you know is that the sort of thing kept at the aerodrome?—I have never seen one at the aerodrome.

Three petrol tins, two painted green and one blackened as if by fire, were produced.

Counsel: Have you ever seen those at the aerodrome?—No, no, until just after the fire.

Two more brass syringes were shown to the witness who said that he had never seen them at the aerodrome.

The judge asked Lewis and Valentine whether they wished to put any questions in English. Lewis shook his head and Valentine replied "No" in Welsh.

The judge then called the interpreter to put the same question to Williams.

Williams uttered a few sentences in Welsh. The judge: What does he say?

He says, the interpreter replied, "that he will not ask any questions in this court since he refuses to recognise the jurisdiction of the court and asks for the trial to be removed to his own country."

The judge: Very well, he may sit down.

Andrew Ferris, of Baker Street, Glasgow, said that he was employed as telegraph-bricklayer at the aerodrome. On the night of the fire he was roused and went to the aerodrome with Mr. Abbott, arriving about ten to three in the morning. Before the fire was put out he found a petrol tin beside a stack of bricks about thirty yards from the buildings which were burning. The tin, when he found it, was half full of petrol, and the stopper was off. The fire was blazing pretty fiercely.

asked if it were important, and Va plied that the aerodrome was on Superintendent got up and came office, where Lewis handed him a

Preston said that he subsequently named the Superintendent to the and later in the day cautioned all the three defendants. They were charged on September 16, but made Superintendent W. M. Hughes, o said that he was called by Constab and saw the three defendants in tl the police station. Lewis handed statement which had been written

The Superintendent said that he statement and then told defend they admitted having done a ve thing. He asked them how they h place on fire, and Lewis replied, "I is in the letter." He again asked had set the aerodrome on fire. Le at the other two defendants and plied. "With a syringe and petro

Answering Mr. Justice Charles, tendent Hughes said that the doc signed by the three defendants a joint statement.

He visited the aerodrome and stacks of timber all ablaze. The north-westerly gale blowing.

Thomas William Jones, a solicitor clerk, of Pwllheli, who had acted preter in the court, was the at w said that he had prepared a tra the statement that had been referre other witnesses. This was the dresed to the Chief Constable o von, and dated September 7. It v and accurate translation.

ACCUSED'S LETTER TO PC

The Clerk of the Court was th the two pages of foolscap which witnesses had identified as the stat laid in the letter to the Chief lie read it as follows:

"Sir, we who sign this letter at our responsibility for the dam was done to the buildings of th camp this evening. Ever since th to build a Llyen bombing camp announced we, and many of the the public life of Wales, did eve could to get the English Govern train from placing in Llyen an which would endanger all the c traditions of one of the most goas in Wales. But in spite of ings, in spite of the letters at forwarded from hundreds of re lay societies throughout the wales, and although thousand electors of Llyen itself signed imploring prevention of the at the English Government refus receive a deputation from Wa over the matter. Lawful an methods failed to secure for a common courtesy at the hands o Government of England. Therefo to compel attention to this imn tion of the sure and natural rig Welsh nation, we have taken th the only method left to us by ment which is contemptuous of nation.

"Yours in the bonds of Wale

The letter was signed by the defendants.

Mr. Stable said that at the Assi defendants had said, "We do not v anything, we do not wish to ca nesses."

This was the case for the Cro

ACCUSED DECLINE TO EVIDENCE.

Lewis and Valentine both de Justice Charles' order to go into t box or address the jury, and we was asked by the interpreter if to say anything, he replied in Wel going to say one word, my Lord addressing the jury in Welsh, translated by the interpreter, wil "I am not going to plead my case consider, with every respect to th juryment, that they can do just cause, and that no one can do jus cause except jurors from our o nation."

JUDGE'S SUMMING U

Summing up, the judge said th

PROFILE—SAUNDERS LEWIS

BY washing his hands of the National Eisteddfod, Saunders Lewis, one of the most distinguished Welshmen of the century—in the Nationalist view the greatest Welshman since Owain Glyndwr—has made the last possible gesture of disassociation from organised Welshness.

That the best and most famous Welsh poet, playwright and scholar should have nothing more to do with what is popularly thought of as the power behind poetry and drama, if not scholarship, in Wales is a restatement of Lewis's paradoxical position in Welsh life, of the almost fanatical idealism which has characterised his career.

He has been the Roman Catholic leader of a predominantly Nonconformist political party; the ex-Army officer at the head of a band of pacifists; the most brilliant Welsh teacher of his generation who in his own country could not find a place to teach in; the Welshman who went to an English gaol because of his Nationalism and had his job taken away from him by Welshmen; a man of all the talents but that for compromise, who began his career as a lecturer at a Welsh University College and is ending it lecturing at a Welsh University College.



JOHN SAUNDERS LEWIS was born in 1893 in Liverpool. His father was a Calvinistic Methodist minister; his maternal grandfather one of Wales's most famous biographers. At Liverpool University he took a first under Lascelles Abercrombie, immediately volunteered for the Army, was commissioned in the South Wales Borderers, wounded in France and, towards the end of the war, served in Greece under that uncrowned King of Scotland, Sir Compton Mackenzie.

He returned to the University, until in 1923 he became a lecturer in Welsh at the new University College of Swansea. Three years later, after establishing a reputation as teacher, poet, scholar and orator, he founded the Plaid Cymru (Welsh Nationalist Party) and became its first president. The philosopher had come down into the market place.

Lewis's vision was of a Wales that no longer existed. His Wales—he has recreated it movingly in his plays—was a gentle and civilised country, its culture homogeneous, its literature the oldest and among the greatest of the European literatures. It was also a Roman Catholic Wales.

A man with this vision could not help but find the contrast between the golden days of Wales and the impoverished Wales of the nineteen-twenties intolerable. Everywhere, it seemed to Lewis and others, the interests of Wales were being subordinated to foreign wishes; the major political parties were obsessed with their doctrinaire squabbles when an historic European culture was dying. Lewis's new party demanded: "... not independence but freedom. And the meaning of freedom in this matter is responsibility. We who are Welsh people claim that we are responsible for the civilisation and the ways of social life in our part of Europe."



MANY notable Welshmen supported their articulate young compatriot. Many more were sympathetic to the Plaid's cultural arguments but found the party's economic programme absurd, considering economic devolution anachronistic and unreasonable. It has never won a seat in the British Parliament.

What its supporters have done, by persisting in their extreme and rather impractical nationalism, is to create a situation in which a watered-down version of their policy, like Lady Megan Lloyd-George's present campaign for a Parliament for Wales, can gain public support and cause the Labour Party machine



JANE BOWN

much trouble. By functioning as a revolutionary cadre, but without arms, and, as they claim, infiltrating influential places, schools, university, pulpit, the stage, journalism, they have done a great deal, if by no means all, to bring about the revival of interest in Welsh language and culture within Wales and in Welsh affairs outside, which has been so marked a post-war development.



IT has been known for Nonconformist ministers in Wales to speak of Roman Catholicism as if it were the work of the Devil. Therefore, when the leader of the mainly Nonconformist Plaid became a convert to Roman Catholicism there was widespread uneasiness; the conversion emphasised the difference between Lewis and his followers. His Wales was not their Wales; his life even was quite unlike theirs.

He had a highly cultivated taste in wine; among wine merchants in South Wales he is regarded as a connoisseur. Yet total abstinence was the traditional doctrine of the chapels from which the Plaid drew its support. Lewis liked cigars—in the context a curiously aristocratic trait. He was passionately concerned to raise standards in Welsh literature and always considered it from the highest standards of European criticism. Inevitably he found much in Welsh writing wanting and never minced his words in saying so. The more parochial of his followers, for whom it was enough that a work was Welsh for it to be perfect, were baffled or angry at his intellectual honesty.

In time, the pressure of these incompatibilities became intolerable, and in the early years of the war Lewis resigned his presidency of the Plaid. The simple reason given was that he considered his Roman Catholicism hindered the progress of the party. This, however, was not the first time that the people to whom he had devoted himself had behaved curiously towards him.

In 1936 Saunders Lewis and two Nationalist colleagues, the Rev. Lewis Valentine and the Welsh short-story writer, Mr. D. J. Williams, tried to set on fire a bombing school which the

Air Ministry had begun to build in the Lleyn Peninsula. Although the men admitted their offence, the jury at Caernarvon failed to agree on a verdict; throughout the trial there were large Nationalist crowds outside the courthouse. The trial was then removed to the Old Bailey, where the Welshmen refused to plead and were sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

Lewis's speech in his own defence at Caernarvon was characteristic of him, lucid, reasonable and persuasive. He drew the court's attention to the other proposed bombing schools, at Abbotsbury and Holy Island, which the Air Ministry had not built after highly-publicised protests:—

Will you try to understand our feelings when we saw the foremost scholars and literary men of England talking of the "sacredness" of ducks and swans, and succeeding on that argument in compelling the Air Ministry to withdraw the bombing range, while here in Wales, at the very same time, we were organising a nation-wide protest on behalf of the truly sacred things in Creation—a Nation, its language, its literature, its separate traditions and immemorial ways of Christian life—and we could not get the Government even to receive a deputation to discuss the matter with us? The irony of the contrast is the irony of blasphemy.

When the ~~comparators~~ were released from prison the Rev. Lewis Valentine resumed his pulpit; Mr. Williams, who had been English master at Fishguard Grammar School, became the Welsh master there—and Saunders Lewis was dismissed from his post at University College, Swansea.

This extraordinary behaviour had serious results for Lewis. For fourteen years he found nowhere to teach, and supported himself and his family by his Welsh-language journalism and his plays, neither of which earned him much money. His journalism during this time is regarded by many Welshmen as having been the finest in the language, as his verse and plays are recognised as being in the highest tradition.

But even during the lean years he would not write in English and still does not. He reads as little English as possible; the influence of the English language in Wales being so great, he believes it has to be resisted positively; and so mostly he reads Italian and French.



SINCE 1943, when he stood unsuccessfully as a Welsh Nationalist candidate in a University of Wales Parliamentary by-election, he has cut himself free from politics, although he still believes in the Plaid Cymru policy and is willing to comment, usually scathingly, always with great humour, on movements such as the "Parliament of Wales Campaign." He regards his excursion into politics as a necessary duty which has now been performed; he has finally returned to his scholarship, which has won him a European reputation if little recognition in England.

In 1951 he was appointed senior lecturer in Welsh at University College, Cardiff. He lives now in Penarth, on the outskirts of Cardiff, among the decaying Gothic Palaces, the Rhine Castles and the Chateaux of the long-dead coal millionaires—a lonely eminence in Welsh life, respected as incorruptible, as the supreme idealist, the genius of modern Welsh literature, the man whose life with its promise and tragedies is the solitary exemplar of his argument that Wales is a European nation, and of the predicament of small cultures.

Saunders Lewis, a frail, small man, persuasively eloquent, even *tête à tête*, is, in the words of a friend, "an omniscient sort of joker."—Copyright.

ffurfio'r parti. Cyfeiria hefyd at y rheswm dros ymgais Saunders Lewis, y Parch. Lewis Valentine a D.J. Williams i ddirigio Ysgol Fomio y Weinyddiaeth Awyr ym Mhenrhyn Llŷn (1,2). Ni chytunai'r rheithgor yn yr achos yng Nghaernarfon a chynhaliwyd ail achos yn yr 'Old Bailey' yn Llundain. Fel yr aeth Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru'n ddyfnach i mewn i ddadl gwlidyddol, yn arbennig y ddadl ynghylch annibyniaeth, cillodd Saunders Lewis yn fwyfwy i fyd dysg ac ymddiswyddodd fel llywydd y blaidd ym 1945. O dan arweiniad Gwynfor Evans, aeth Plaid Cymru ymlaen i ennill ei sedd gyntaf yn etholiad Caerfyrddin, 1966 ar faniffesto o annibyniaeth i Gymru wedi'i chyfiawnhau'n bennaf gan adnoddau dŵr Cymru a chan yr angen i ddarparu gwaith arall cyn cau'r pyllau glo: rhywbeth a welid yn anochel (3). Ceid amryw ymatebion i'w fuddugoliaeth hanesyddol (4). Ym 1968 yng Nghaerffili ysgwydwyd calon y de ddwyrain diwydiannol, cadarnle y Blaid Lafur, gan Phil Williams, Plaid Cymru, a dorrodd fwyafrif y Blaid Lafur gan dros 19,000 o bleidleisiau i 1,874 (5). Symbylodd llwyddiant etholiadol Plaid Cymru ystyriaeth ehangach o'r holl ddadl ynghylch hunan-lywodraeth i Gymru gan bartion gwleidyddol eraill yng Nghymru (6).

for the attempt by Saunders Lewis, Lewis Valentine and D.J. Williams to sabotage the Air Ministry bombing school in the Llŷn Peninsula (1,2). As Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru became more deeply involved in political arguments, and in the argument concerning independence, Saunders Lewis retreated more and more into the world of scholarship, resigning presidency of the party in 1945. Under Gwynfor Evans's leadership Plaid Cymru went on to win its first parliamentary seat at Carmarthen in 1966 on a manifesto of independence for Wales justified economically mainly by Wales's water resources and by the need to provide alternative employment in anticipation of coal pit closures which were seen to be inevitable (3). There were various reactions to his historic victory (4). At Caerphilly, right at the heart of the industrial south-east, Plaid Cymru shook the very foundations of Labour's heartland by cutting the Labour majority by over 19,000 votes to a mere 1,874 (5). The continuing momentum of Plaid Cymru's electoral success opened up a much broader consideration of the whole question of 'Home Rule for Wales' by other political parties in Wales (6).



Gwynfor's day

THERE will be few in Wales today who will grudge Gwynfor Evans his magnificent victory in the Carmarthen by-election. This, surely, is an occasion on which political sympathies must come second. For 21 years, as president of Plaid Cymru, Gwynfor Evans has toiled ceaselessly in what appeared, in election after disappointing election, to be a hopeless cause. Now at last his sincerity and dedication have been rewarded. In sending him to Parliament as their elected representative the voters of Carmarthenshire have performed a generous, heart-warming act. Gwynfor Evans's triumph is no greater than his personal deserts.

But there is more to the Carmarthenshire results than the personal achievement of one man. Plaid Cymru's victory in what was apparently a safe Labour seat must rank as a major event in the political history of Wales. There has never before been a Welsh Nationalist Member of Parliament. The fact that there is one today must make not only the Government but also the Conservative and Liberal Parties think long and deep about their attitudes to Wales and their policies for its future development.

It is true that this was a by-election held under the unusual political circumstances which flowed from the death of Lady Megan Lloyd George. It is also true that the survival of the Government was not at stake. But no amount of special pleading can disguise the fact that this mixed rural and industrial constituency has overwhelmingly rejected the Labour Party in favour of a party which claims to speak in the name of Wales and in that name only. The message is simple enough. The people of Carmarthen may or may not want Wales to be represented at the United Nations but they certainly believe that their county, and no doubt the rest of Wales, has received short shrift from successive Governments at Westminster. With the unemployment rate for Wales standing at double that of Britain as a whole, who is to say that they are wrong in this belief?

The Western Mail has consistently argued that the creed of nationalism is backward-looking and founded on a misconception as to the nature and function of the modern state. This criticism remains valid. But if Gwynfor Evans's victory in Carmarthen can awaken Westminster to the basic needs of Wales, the Principality will have cause for gratitude. How can we cure the evils of unemployment and rural depopulation in the absence of real economic growth? How can we expect this economic growth with a system of communications a century out of date?

4

WELSH NATIONALISTS almost wreste Caerphilly away from Labour in last night's by-election—but not quite.

The Government held on to this Rhymney Valley seat by the skin of its teeth, its majority slashed from 21,148 to a slender 1,874.

Both Conservative and Liberal candidates lost their deposits.

The man who did the damage was Welsh Nationalist candidate 29-year-old Dr. Philip Williams, an electronics lecturer at the University College of Aberystwyth.

He came second with 14,274 votes, a huge increase in support compared to the Welsh Nationalist vote of 3,949 in the 1966 General Election.

The Figures

Fred Evans (Lab)	16,14
Dr. Phil Williams (W. Nationalist)	14,27
Robert Williams (Con.)	3,65
Peter Sadler (Lib.)	1,25
Majority	1,87

No change.
1966. Ness Edwards (Lab) 26,330; R. J. Maddocks (Con) 5,182; J. D. Howell (Wel. Nat.) 3,949. Lab. maj. 21,14

5

Wales has a duty to serve humanity. What is the use of all our sentimental talk about universal brotherhood if so much more of the Welsh taxpayer's money goes to support military bases in the Far East than to help the famine-stricken countries of Asia? With world food shortages imminent, where is the morality and the sense of Labour's agricultural policy of putting the family farmer of Wales out of business?

Charity of course begins at home. There must be work for our young people in their own communities. New jobs must be available for our miners before the mines close. Motorways and dual carriageways must be built and railways modernised. A more just tax system must be created. The great water resources of Wales must be protected and developed to help her poorer areas.

We have no right to preach to the world without first making Wales a country that commands admiration and respect.

There is a great reservoir of untapped ability and idealism in the people of Wales, a pride which could not only transform Wales herself but make her one of the best citizens of the world community as well. Will you help us to make every Welshman prouder, more responsible and truer to himself by voting for a cause this time?

Yours sincerely,

Gwynfor Evans

3

Devolution not home rule, say MPs

Most Welsh M.P.s are against a parliament for Wales, but all of them support greater devolution, giving Welsh people a bigger say in the running of their own affairs.

Most of them call for an expansion of the Welsh Office with the Secretary of State for Wales taking over responsibility for education, health and agriculture. Although some Labour M.P.s support the idea of a parliament, others are non-committal, stating that a parliament could take many different forms, including a federated structure or one which controlled Wales's economic destiny.

Convinced

But the large majority reject completely any idea of economic separation for Wales. Others are against a Northern Ireland-style parliament which they regard as being of little use to the Principality.

The veteran Labour M.P. for Merthyr, Mr. S. O. Davies, who unsuccessfully presented a Home Rule Bill 13 years ago, is still convinced a Welsh parliament is needed.

Mr. Tudor Watkins, M.P. for Brecon and Radnor, who supported the Bill, still favours a Welsh parliament. And Mr. G. E. Davies, M.P. for Rhondda East, said a large number in the Labour Party favoured it.

Greater powers for the Secretary of State were pledged in the 1966 Labour Party manifesto, and some M.P.s said the Government was giving constant thought to devolution for Wales.

Conservative M.P.s also

want a strengthened Welsh Office and more powers for the Secretary of State. One, Mr. W. G. O. Morgan, M.P. for Denbigh, said he did not oppose a regional parliament.

The Liberal and Plaid Cymru M.P.s want a parliament. The leader of the Welsh Liberal Party, Mr. Emlyn Hooson, said that given an opportunity he would submit again his own Home Rule Bill.

The Labour Party's National Executive have turned down a scheme for a regional parliament in Wales. Greater devolution for Wales and Scotland will however be a major issue at this week's Labour Party Conference.

News Focus asked M.P.s if they supported a parliament for Wales, and if they did, with what plans they propose to speed its introduction.

If they did not, they were asked what forms of devolution they favoured. Here are the replies:

ARTHUR PROBERT, Lab., Aberystwyth: I do not support a parliament for Wales as it would have disastrous consequences for the people. I support devolution by giving extended powers to the Welsh Office.

CLIFFORD WILLIAMS, Lab., Aberystwyth: I believe no good purpose will be served by having a Welsh parliament. There should be devolution by giving extended powers to the Welsh Office.

Mania

DESMOND DONNELLY, M.P., Pembroke: I believe the log jam at Westminster has to be broken and replaced by a federated structure with parliaments for Wales, Scotland and six English regions. The only way to bring this about is for the present Labour Government with its mania for centralisation to go.

G. E. DAVIES, Lab., Rhondda East: I think it would be a good thing to

have a parliament for Wales, but it must be looked at from all angles before a decision is made. A large number in my own party favour a parliament.

DONALD COLEMAN, Lab., Neath: I am not sure it would be of benefit if Wales had a parliament like the one in Northern Ireland. I am strongly in favour of increasing the fields of responsibility of the Secretary of State for Wales.

ALUN WILLIAMS, Lab., Swansea West and Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Economic Affairs: The question of a parliament is entirely irrelevant to the problems of Wales. I think devolution through the Welsh Office would be of more value than a parliament.

A fallacy

LEO ABSE, Lab., Pontypool: I am not in favour of a separate parliament for Wales, but I do favour greater devolution of administration from Whitehall to Wales, which would lead to an improvement in administration in Wales.

IFOR DAVIES, Lab., Gower and Parliamentary Secretary for Welsh Affairs: It would be quite wrong for the impression to be given—that a parliament for Wales is going to solve Welsh problems. This is a fallacy. The Government is anxious to go as far and as fast as it can to bring more devolution, but there is a limit to what can be done.

HAROLD FINCH, Lab., Beaufort: I would not like to commit myself on the question of a parliament for Wales, but I do believe there should be more devolution in Wales. I believe the Government should at once establish an elected Welsh Council and strengthen the Welsh Office by transferring powers to

J. IDWAL JONES, Lab., Wrexham: I do not want a separate parliament for Wales, but there is a place for devolution, such as an elected Welsh Council. But we still want the voice of Wales to be heard as strongly as possible at Westminster.

GWYNFOR EVANS, Plaid Cymru, Carmarthen: It becomes clearer every week that we shall get a parliament for Wales within the decade. The Government should at once establish an elected Welsh Council and strengthen the Welsh Office by transferring powers to

JAMES GRIFFITHS, Lab., Llanelli: I want to see the



An important survey on Welsh political thinking, commissioned by the Western Mail and carried out by the Opinion Research Centre, revealed that 60 per cent. of the electorate want a parliament for Wales.

NEWS FOCUS has been finding out what Welsh M.P.s think on the subject.

scope of the Welsh Office expanded and its authority strengthened. I am convinced a representative Welsh Council will be of greater value and benefit than a mini-parliament existing in the shadow of Westminster.

EMLYN HOOSON, Lib., Montgomery and leader of the Welsh Liberal Party: Of course, I support a parliament for Wales. It is evident from the survey that most people want a parliament along the same lines as the Bill I presented and reject dominion status or total separation. Given the opportunity I will present my Bill and hope for more support from the Welsh members of Parliament.

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deal with agriculture, education and health.

S. O. DAVIES, Lab., Merthyr: I support a parliament for Wales. To get it we shall have to put fresh pressure on the Government. Wales has suffered badly through governments working from Westminster.

DONALD ANDERSON, Lab., Monmouth: I would not comment on the question of a Welsh parliament unless it was known what form it

There are many among those Welsh M.P.s who are members of the Government who still hold sympathies which are strongly for devolution, writes DAVID G. ROSSER, Our Political Correspondent.

As members of the Government, however, they are restricted in comment by the protocol of collective responsibility in matters which do, or could, concern Government policy.

Sympathy

ELVYTH MORGAN, Cardiff: Joint Under-Secretary at the Home Office, is well-known for his pre-ministerial pronouncements in favour of a domestic parliament for Wales.

In this he has been a persistent lobbyist among

TUDOR WATKINS, Lab., Brecon and Radnor: I favour a parliament for Wales, and if anyone is prepared to introduce another Bill I will support it. But if I had the opportunity of introducing a private member's Bill I would be more concerned with difficulties facing my own constituency, such as flooding of valleys.

RAYMOND GOWER, Con., Barry: I do not support a parliament for Wales at this stage. We should concentrate on the formidable task of strengthening the Welsh Office. Any future Welsh parliament, in my view, would be of small use if it were only on the model of the Northern Ireland Parliament.

W. G. O. MORGAN, Con., Denbigh: I personally do not oppose the principle of a regional parliament although I would have to be satisfied that the people of Wales were in favour of this very basic change. But first I

would like to see more power given to the Secretary of State.

MICHAEL FOOT, Lab., Ebbw Vale: When told of the result of the Western Mail poll and asked if he supported a parliament for Wales, said, "I do not believe such questions can be settled by a poll or valuable information given by them."

EDNYFFED HUGHES, Lab., Conway: I have always strongly supported an elected council for Wales. I do not see for economic separation but favour as much autonomy as possible within the United Kingdom framework. Domestic Welsh issues should be decided by Welsh people in Wales.

WALTER PADLEY, Lab., Oswestry: No comment.

NIGEL BIRCH, Con., Flint West: No comment.

would take. There are many different forms it could take. I am in favour of devolution provided it leads to greater efficiency and is not simply set-up to satisfy nationalistic inclinations.

FRED EVANS, Lab., Caerphilly: I would welcome further devolution whether it was through an elected Welsh Council, a strengthening of the Welsh Office or centralisation of administration in Wales. I would not like a parliament which controlled Wales's economic destiny.

More power

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...and Ministers agree

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ELVYTH MORGAN, Cardiff: Joint Under-Secretary at the Home Office, is well-known for his pre-ministerial pronouncements in favour of a domestic parliament for Wales.

In this he has been a persistent lobbyist among

fellow Welsh members and responsible for the strongest representations to the Government—and even to the Prime Minister. There is no reason to believe he has changed his views.

Another Minister whose sympathies have been, and I understand continue to be, in support of Welsh Home Rule is **GORONWY ROBERTS, Caerparwyn,** Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

He has always been a strong believer in some kind of federal solution. In 1955 he presented an all-party petition proposing a domestic legislative parliament for Wales on federal lines. He remains firmly opposed to any economic separation for Wales.

The Minister of Agriculture and the M.P. for

ANGLESEY, CLEDWYN HUGHES, was another Welsh M.P. who at that time supported a Home Rule movement. In present circumstances he finds himself unable to comment on the latest poll.

MRS. EIRENE WHITE, Flint East, Minister of State, Welsh Office, does not favour Home Rule, and is passionately opposed to any form of legislative body for Wales.

Silent

But she does favour greater devolution in Welsh affairs, and has supported the idea of an elected council for Wales with certain defined and specific administrative functions—but no legislative powers.

Two other Ministers who

would like to see more power given to the Secretary of State.

MICHAEL FOOT, Lab., Ebbw Vale: When told of the result of the Western Mail poll and asked if he supported a parliament for Wales, said, "I do not believe such questions can be settled by a poll or valuable information given by them."

EDNYFFED HUGHES, Lab., Conway: I have always strongly supported an elected council for Wales. I do not see for economic separation but favour as much autonomy as possible within the United Kingdom framework. Domestic Welsh issues should be decided by Welsh people in Wales.

WALTER PADLEY, Lab., Oswestry: No comment.

NIGEL BIRCH, Con., Flint West: No comment.

would not comment because of their Government positions were **JAMES CALLAGHAN, Cardiff South-East,** the Home Secretary, and **JOHN MORRIS, Aberavon,** the Minister of Defence (Equipment).

NEIL MCBRIDE, Swansea East, did not wish to say anything on the subject because of the position he holds as the Welsh Labour Whip.

GEORGE THOMAS, Cardiff West, the Secretary of State for Wales, said, "I will make my position clear when I speak in the Welsh Day Debate on October 15 on matters affecting Wales."

Three other Welsh M.P.s, **Tref Rhydolfa, Cardiff North,** **Roy Hughes, Newport,** and **Alex Jones, Rhondda West,** were abroad when inquiries were being made.

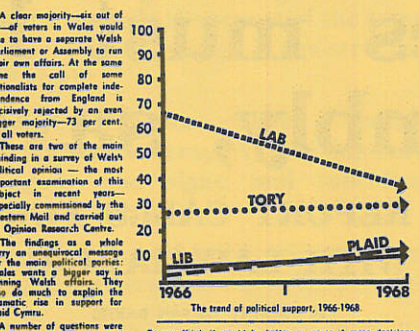
Datblygiadau Gwleidyddol II Cenedlaetholdeb a Datganoli

Political developments II Nationalism and Devolution

Gellid gweld creu siarter Ysgrifenydd Gwladol i Gymru gan y llywodraeth Lafur newydd ym 1964 (1) fel y Blaid Lafur yn gwobrwyo Cymru am ei theynrgarwch. Sut bynnag darbwyllyd y Blaid Lafur gan dafw Plaid Cymru rhwng 1964-1970 a chan y gefnogaeth gynyddol i'r syniad o ddatganoli (2) i sefydlu Comisiwn Brenhinol ar y Cefnysoddiad a adroddodd ym 1973 (3) o blaid rhyw fath o ddatganoli o rym i Gymru. Nid ataliwyd cynnydd cenedlaetholdeb, fodd bynnag, ac ym 1974 etholwyd dau aelod seneddol ifanc newydd (4,5) a fygythiodd afael tagfaol y Blaid Lafur gyda chefnogaeth gynyddol mewn etholiadau llywodraeth leol mewn lleoedd megis Merthyr. Nid llafur oedd yr unig blaid sosialaidd yng Nghymru mwyach. Er nad oedd y Blaid Lafur yng Nghymru, nac ym Mhrydain hithau, yn unedig ar ddatganoli, trechwyd cynigiadau'r llywodraeth Lafur ym 1974 (6) ar ôl ymgyrch bywiog (7,8) a referendwm (9). Wrth reswm, bu'r canlyniad yn loes i achos cenedlaetholdeb, ond parhaodd Plaid Cymru i ddangos bywiogrwydd mewn termau fyfwyfryddiaidd (yn enwedig o dan arweiniad Dafydd Elis Thomas a etholwyd yn llywydd ym 1984), er denu ond ychydig o lwyddiant etholiadol.

The creation of the charter Secretary of State for Wales by the new Labour Government in 1964 (1) could be seen as the Labour Party rewarding the country for its solid allegiances. However the rise of Plaid Cymru between 1964 and 1970 and the growing public support for devolutionist ideas (2) persuaded the Labour Party to set up a Royal Commission on the Constitution which in 1973 (3) reported largely in favour of some form of devolution of power to Wales. The rise of nationalism was not checked, however, with the 1974 election providing Plaid Cymru with two new young M.P.s (4,5) who with growing support in local government elections in places such as Merthyr Tydfil, threatened Labour's stranglehold and its claim to be the only socialist party in Wales. Although the Labour Party in Wales, as in Britain as a whole, was hardly united on the question or extent of devolution, in 1979 the Labour Government's proposals (6) were defeated after a lively campaign (7,8) put to the Welsh people in a referendum (9). The result obviously set back the cause of nationalism in Wales, but Plaid Cymru, in increasingly socialist terms (and by 1984 under the new leadership of Dafydd Elis Thomas (10)), continued to show vibrancy, if attracting little electoral success.

WHAT WALES THINKS about Welsh rule A heavy defeat for separatism



A clear majority—six out of 10—of voters in Wales would like to have a separate Welsh Parliament or Assembly to run their own affairs. At the same time the call of some nationalists for complete independence from England is decisively rejected by over a bigger majority—73 per cent. of all voters. These are two of the main findings in a survey of Welsh political opinion—the most important examination of this subject in recent years—especially commissioned by the Western Mail and carried out by Opinion Research Centre. The findings as a whole carry an unequivocal message for the main political parties: Wales is a bigger day in running Welsh affairs. They also do much to explain the dramatic rise in support for Plaid Cymru. A number of questions were asked on various aspects of the relationship between a Wales and England in order to gauge attitudes and levels of satisfaction. The answers were analysed in a number of different ways so that it was possible to separate out the views of Welsh speakers from non-Welsh speakers, members of different political parties, and the views of different age groups. How strong? The key questions were those concerned with the degree of devolution Welsh voters would like. The questions were framed to get answers to three things: (1) How satisfied are the Welsh voters with the existing degree of control they have over their own affairs? (2) How strong is the demand for complete national independence? (3) How strong is the demand for partial independence (control by a Welsh Parliament or Assembly over Welsh affairs)? The answer to the first point is that the Welsh are not satisfied with the existing degree of control they have over their own affairs. We fewer than eight out of 10 voters think things would be better if more decisions were taken in Wales.

21 per cent. of those who are "chapel" are in favour of complete independence as compared with 14 per cent. of Anglicans and 10 per cent. of Methodists. But those who are classed as "other religions" (including Roman Catholics, Jews and atheists) even more (25 per cent.) favour independence. Another important part of the poll is to disclose, for the first time, the actual support for Plaid Cymru over Wales as a whole, together with the relative positions of the other political parties. Voting intention: Now General Election 1986. Labour 27, Conservative 28, Plaid Cymru 12, Don't know 33. The most striking change since the general election is the fall of over 23 per cent. in the support for Labour, a sharp reminder, if one was needed, of the Government's unpopularity. No one party has gained more than a fraction of the vote but by Labour, but all have benefited. The largest gains have been made by Plaid Cymru but their total support is still only 12 per cent. of the Welsh electorate. ANALYSIS BY OTHER CATEGORIES SHOW MORE INTERESTING RESULTS. Further questions were answered with discovering attitudes to the Welsh Council and attitudes to its method of recruitment. Do you understand what the Welsh Council is? Further questions were answered with discovering attitudes to the Welsh Council and attitudes to its method of recruitment. Do you understand what the Welsh Council is? Further questions were answered with discovering attitudes to the Welsh Council and attitudes to its method of recruitment. Do you understand what the Welsh Council is?

WALES AND WESTMINSTER

How will the changes in the structure of Welsh government affect us? How much power will the new Secretary of State be able to exercise? How does the new system compare with that of Scotland? These questions are answered today in this special Focus.

ROSSER: How will the Secretary of State bring more influence to bear on Government decisions affecting Wales? GRIFFITHS: I shall have my place in the Cabinet and this will enable me to be present when all major matters of policy are discussed, so that I shall be able to speak exclusively on behalf of Wales. Whenever it seems to me that a special Welsh interest arises in these Cabinet discussions, it will be my task and my privilege to ensure that it is fully taken account of, so that the resulting policy will accurately reflect the particular needs of Wales. Because my job concerns Wales I fully expect to reflect our needs more accurately and more vigorously than has been possible in the past. To this end I am determined, with the help of my ministerial colleagues, to keep myself fully informed about the different needs of Wales and the trend of opinion in the Principality. ROSSER: Mr. Wilson's definition of your functions gives executive authority over only two Government departments in Wales—housing and local government and transport. To what extent are you responsible for the other departments? GRIFFITHS: It is true that the transfer of executive functions to the Secretary of State will cover virtually the whole of the work of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, and that part of the work of the Ministry of Transport which is concerned with roads in Wales, including trunk roads. These are in themselves transfers of major importance, not only because the work of the Ministry of Housing touches people and local authorities in many points in their daily lives, but also, with regard to roads, because it is vital for the future that we link town and country planning (in particular, urban development) very closely with the development of the road system. We are living in the Buchanan era—in Wales as well as in the rest of the country—and I am delighted that I shall have the direct opportunity to foster the growth of a new urban environment in Wales in this way. But I shall also be concerned—and to this I attach the

In this exclusive interview the Rt. Hon. JAMES GRIFFITHS, M.P., Secretary of State for Wales, discusses the implications of his appointment with the Western Mail's Political Correspondent, DAVID G. ROSSER.

A seat in the Cabinet



recognition of the country and its nationhood? GRIFFITHS: This is undoubtedly for us, an historical event of the greatest importance. For many many years we have been pressing for this, in our own name, mark of our national identity, and now we have it established. No one has ever denied the importance of the Welsh contribution to the life of Britain; we were the original inhabitants of this island, and we have played a major part ever since in all the important walks of life from the monarchy downwards. But when all is said and done, this nation with its distinctive traditions and language could not feel at peace without the constitutional recognition that has now been gained: our place in the life of the country has at last been properly marked by recording us our special place in government itself. As the first Secretary of State for Wales, it is the greatest honour that I could have expected at the end of a long life in Parliament. More detailed ROSSER: How will a Secretary of State be more beneficial to Welsh regional development? GRIFFITHS: I regard my responsibilities in the field of regional development as perhaps the most exciting and important of all. Under the previous Government, as you know, the responsibility for regional planning in Wales was administered as an off-shoot of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Now it lies with me as part of my overall responsibilities, and I hope that I can lend to the work of the Welsh Regional Planning Board and the Advisory Council the right sort of guidance derived from my knowledge and experience of Wales, and at the same time place clearly before them the future objectives. We must all work coherently towards a better environment for the people of Wales, better prospects of employment and a better life in every way. I shall seek to exert my directing authority with this in mind, both for the sake of the Welsh people and so that Wales can make the greatest contribution to national prosperity and development. ROSSER: What effect will the Secretary of State have in the conduct of Welsh affairs at Westminster? GRIFFITHS: As the Prime Minister said in his statement on November 19, I shall be dealing with all Parliamentary questions arising out of my executive responsibilities and out of regional planning. But, in addition, I shall make arrangements with other Ministers to answer Parliamentary questions on matters of special concern to Wales. I do not think it either necessary or desirable to say at this stage just what sort of questions these would be; I know my colleagues well enough to be sure that we can work out suitable arrangements which will meet the wishes of the House and will be in the best interests of Wales. Apart from this, we are anxious now to improve arrangements for giving time for the discussion of Welsh matters, both in the Welsh Grand Committee and in the House itself. Naturally, any changes will involve discussions through the usual channels, and I cannot at the moment predict what will be the result. But it might be that more meetings of the Welsh Grand Committee will be arranged, and I would hope that we might be able to secure more time for debates on the floor of the House. My colleagues and I are reviewing the present methods of giving information about Welsh matters to members of Parliament, and it may well be that more detailed and specific provision for the future. The important objective which I have always in mind of me is to secure the fullest and best-informed exchange of views about everything affecting Wales. Close touch ROSSER: Is the new department likely to be a permanent part of Welsh administration? GRIFFITHS: I cannot commit any future government, but for the present Government the answer to your question is emphatically "yes". Looked at in the long perspective, what has now taken place is obviously a major step forward, and the most important step forward in constitutional terms that we have witnessed so far. In my judgment there can and should be no turning back. It is my confident hope that, once we have established this new system of administration in Wales on a sound foundation, it will become a permanent part of our constitution. ROSSER: Is the Council for Wales to be continued in its present form, or be integrated with the Welsh Office? GRIFFITHS: I have already met the chairman of the Council for Wales, Councillor Henson, and we have discussed fully the very valuable work it has played in the recent past, and the projects it has in hand now. There is no doubt at all, when one looks over the history of the council, that it has been valuable in providing a sounding board for Welsh opinion, and in bringing the problems and needs of Wales to the attention of the central government. At the moment the council is engaged on a study of the provision for the arts in Wales, and for my part I should like to see this completed. After that, as I have told Councillor Beaton, I should like to look again at the matter and decide, with particular reference to my regional planning responsibilities, whether or not the council should continue in being and, if so, in what form. ROSSER: Should there not be a Resident Minister in Wales to exercise on-the-spot influence in Welsh departments policy? GRIFFITHS: I am sure it will be realised that Wales now has three Ministers, all representing Welsh constituencies, in the House of Commons. This keeps us in close touch with our people in Wales. It is our intention to take every opportunity of visiting various parts of Wales. Last week my colleague, the Minister of State for Wales, and I visited four counties in North Wales, while the Parliamentary Under-Secretary was working in Cardiff. During the recess I will be visiting Mid-Wales, while my colleagues will be making other visits elsewhere in the Principality. In this way we will remain in close contact with Wales.

Wales must have an elected assembly, says Kilbrandon

REPORT CALLS FOR A SENATE WITH LAW-MAKING POWERS

By GERAINT TALFAN DAVIES

WALES AND Scotland must have their own directly-elected assemblies. That is the unanimous view of the Kilbrandon Commission on the Constitution, though its 13 members are deeply divided on what those assemblies should do.

The commission, as expected, emphatically rejects any notion of separatism for both countries, because it feels they would be materially worse off outside the United Kingdom, and because the vast majority of people just do not want it.

But it does present four alternative schemes of devolution, ranging from advisory councils to virtual domestic Home Rule. And Government action is sure to be influenced as much by the public debate that is bound to follow as by the commission's arguments.

Three of the four schemes are outlined in the main report, and the fourth in a minority report signed by two members.

The score runs as follows: Six of the 11 who signed the

main report, including all the Welsh and Scottish members, want a virtual parliament for Wales, with complete law-making powers over a wide range of subjects, although subject to the ultimate authority of Westminster, which would only be invoked in "exceptional circumstances."

The same six members are joined by another two in supporting a similar scheme for Scotland.

They suggest the Welsh body might be called the Senate. It would have about 100 members elected by proportional representation and would be run on Westminster lines, with a premier and cabinet chosen from the majority party. It would be elected for a fixed period of four years.

This Welsh government would then be backed by a Welsh Civil Service.

If this were adopted, the commission says it would entail the end of the post of Secretary of State

for Wales and Scotland. It does recommend, however, that both countries should continue to have representation in the British Cabinet, but probably through Ministers who would also have other duties.

The other consequence would be a reduction of the number of Welsh M.P.s from the present 36 to about 31, and of Scottish M.P.s from the present 71 to about 51. This would end the present over-representation of both countries at Westminster, and put Wales and Scotland on an equal basis with England with regard to M.P.s in proportion to the population.

There would be an independent exchequer board set up to act as a referee between Westminster and the Welsh and Scottish governments in deciding on the amount of money to be allocated to Wales and Scotland for their annual budgets. The aim would be to give both countries the maximum freedom of expenditure.

Two members who signed the main report, and the two who wrote the minority report, are also in favour of elected assemblies of about 100 members, also elected by proportional representation. But these assemblies would have no legislative powers.

Instead they would have executive power, with Westminster laying down policy and the assemblies filling in the details and implementing them. The advantage of these schemes of executive devolution, say the four, is that they are suitable for extension to the regions of England.

No member of the commission thinks that legislative devolution should be extended to those regions.

The four argue that there must be equality of political rights between all parts of the United Kingdom, and that giving Wales and Scotland their own governments would thus be unjust.

The scheme outlined in the minority report would give the assemblies greater powers than that outlined by the two supporters of executive devolution in the main

report, but both schemes envisage the assemblies taking over the work of the large number of nominated ad hoc bodies such as tourist boards, arts councils, health and water authorities.

The minority report would also give them supervisory powers over the boards of nationalised industries.

These schemes would entail no change in the number of Welsh and Scottish M.P.s, but, as in the legislative scheme, the posts of Secretary of State for Wales and Scotland would be abolished.

Three members want Wales to have an elected assembly that would be purely advisory, though only one of them would want such an assembly for Scotland. And even he, Sir David Renton, would give the Scottish council the power to assist Westminster in the passage of Scottish Bills.

But this scheme is castigated as a talking shop by those members who do not support it.

expert opinion is that with independence both countries would be materially worse off. But they add that the decisive factor in their rejection of separatism is the fact that the vast majority of people do not want it.

During its researches the commission carried out an extensive opinion poll into people's attitudes to government and devolution, and the members surprisingly found greater support for an elected assembly in Wales than they did in Scotland.

They also urged that the Secretary of State system be retained, and the functions of the Welsh Office should be added to give it parity with the Scottish Office in everything but legal matters and the maintenance of law and order.

The commission also emphatically rejects the argument that the events in Ulster prove that the establishment of "Stormont" in other parts of Britain would lead to similar trouble.

"The fact that devolved government did not provide a lasting solution to a political and community problem which has persisted for several centuries, and is peculiar to Ireland, in no way implies a defect in the concept of devolution which was there applied," the report says.

Full details, interpretation and reaction — Pages 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13. Editorial Comment — Page 8.

GIVE NOW FOR WALES!

Dear Friend,

This year, St. David's Day marks the tenth anniversary of Plaid Cymru's first-ever general election victories — as well as the fifth anniversary of the referendum fiasco.

Both events show how important Plaid Cymru is for the good of Wales — and how vital it is for Plaid Cymru to be strong.

During the last decade Plaid Cymru has fought a more determined series of campaigns for Wales than ever before — just look at the list of successes. The occasional disappointment may sometimes lead us to forget how much Plaid Cymru has achieved since 1974. Ask yourself — where would Wales be today without Plaid Cymru?

In 1979, we learnt how little we could trust other parties to protect the interests of Wales.

The Labour Party, conservative to the core, seeks nothing but to cling on to local power and patronage in the interests of their establishment. The Liberal-SDP alliance has just dumped its commitment to a Welsh parliament.

Today only Plaid Cymru fights for Wales' interests — economic, social and national. We are the only party consistent in its commitment to nuclear disarmament, women's rights, civil liberties and the Welsh language and culture.

Plaid Cymru is at this moment deeply involved in important campaigns:

- * Protecting employment — such as jobs in Welsh mines, Plant Breeding Station etc.
- * Fairer water charges.
- * A new Language Act.
- * Defending the health service.

This year, we are mounting a substantial European election campaign with four excellent candidates, the ablest of any party in Wales. Our aim is to get our message to every home in Wales, and for the first time we will co-operate with parties on the continent who share our vision of a fairer and safer world. We can win at least one seat.

But to succeed, we must have your practical help. Many of our members give generously of their time and money, and we thank them sincerely. If every member and supporter helped Plaid Cymru as generously, we would have the resources to do a thorough job.

Not everyone can be in the front line every day, as are our officials, councillors and MPs. But everyone can contribute. I appeal to you once again to dig deeply into your pocket to give Plaid Cymru the resources we need.

Yours sincerely, DAFYDD WIGLEY



DAFYDD WIGLEY, M.P. for Carmarthen since March 1st 1974, and president of Plaid Cymru since October 1981 (when he succeeded Gwynfor Evans, who had led Plaid Cymru since 1945). They've given everything for Wales — now Dafydd Wigley asks you to help.

PLAID'S SUCCESS LIST 1974-84

- * Setting up of S4C.
- * Dust disease compensation.
- * Disabled persons' Act.
- * Transfer of responsibilities from London to Welsh Office.
- * Establishment of Welsh Development Agency and Rural Development Board.
- * Forcing Devolution Bill through Parliament (later sabotaged by Labour treachery).
- * Helping the Nuclear-Free Wales declaration.
- * Setting-up of Select Committee on Welsh Affairs.
- * Trebling number of Plaid local councillors — control of Merthyr and Rhymni Valley District Councils 1976-79.
- * Purchase of permanent Plaid Cymru National H.Q. and opening of ten local offices.

WHERE WOULD WALES BE WITHOUT PLAID?



DAFYDD ELIS THOMAS M.P.

Dear Elector,

The present election of a new leadership for our party is of crucial importance to us all. It is not only that the new leadership will have to continue the important work that Dafydd Wigley has undertaken for the past three years on issues such as unemployment, the cost of water, and policies to support the future of the Welsh language.

It is also a vitally important election because it will partly determine the way that Plaid is to develop over the next few years. For a decade now although the party has been a successful movement in many parts of Wales, we have been unable to appeal to the wider cross-section of Welsh voters necessary to enable us to achieve our goal of a democratic, socialist and independent Wales.

The votes we have already won at local government and parliamentary elections cannot on their own give us the electoral strength to assert our rights for jobs, Welsh culture, and control over our lives. Only by reaching out into other areas of Wales, and only by adding to our present voters other Welsh men and women can we hope to generate the 20% to 30% of Welsh votes that we need to become a real political force. Over the last few years, I have been attempting to broaden our support by campaigning on issues like the miners' strike, on nuclear disarmament, on women's rights, on rights of ethnic minorities, and on other issues of importance to all the people of Wales. Inside this leaflet my position on these issues, and on the traditional issues that have always been important to our party, are repeated.

Our movement has a clear choice before it. Either it grows in all areas of Wales or it will be impossible for us to fulfil our historical role. I believe sincerely that these policies are essential for this to happen. But we can only make it happen together.

Yn gywir iawn
Dafydd Elis Thomas MP for Meirionnydd Nant Conwy.

It will be for the Assembly itself to decide on the use of the Welsh language in its business.

What will the Assembly deal with?

The Assembly will be responsible for all the following:

Health matters, including the Health Service

Personal social services such as the care of children, the elderly, the handicapped and others in need of special help (but not pensions or other welfare cash benefits — these need to be the same throughout the United Kingdom)

Schools

Further and higher education, except the University of Wales

Housing, except control of mortgages from building societies, insurance companies and the like

Physical planning and the environment — such as the control of new development, restoring derelict land, new towns, sport and recreation, national parks, and controlling atmospheric pollution and noise

General oversight of local government, and providing money to local councils in support of the rates (but the proposals do not include any change in the structure of local government in Wales)

Much of transport policy — including providing roads, planning local transport, licensing road services, deciding on bilingual road signs, and subsidising bus and railway passenger services

The arts, including libraries, museums and galleries, all cultural matters, and the welfare of the Welsh language

Freshwater fisheries and most forestry functions

Tourism

A wide range of other matters — such as fire services, betting, Sunday observance, shop hours, registration of births, marriages and deaths, and licensing taxis, liquor and places of entertainment.

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Make Cardiff a Real Capital



***CARDIFF - The Past:** Once, Cardiff ranked alongside New York as one of the world's chief ports - a city of over a thousand industries - jobs were plentiful. Our civic centre, beautiful parks and commercial buildings were the envy of other cities.

***CARDIFF - The Present:** The loss of coal exports, many small industries and East Moors has left Cardiff a sad and sorry city. With around 20,000 unemployed in the area and little variety of jobs, our youngsters are leaving in droves.

***CARDIFF - The Future:** On March 1st 1979 our choice is, to build on our advantage as a capital city or decline to the level of being an outpost of Bristol. The creation of the Assembly for Wales in Cardiff will give the city a status second only to London in the United Kingdom. As a real capital, we will flourish as a growth centre, offering a wide range of jobs. Immediately, the Assembly itself will provide 1,150 jobs for local people.

YES X A Capital Choice!

whole for this purpose. Devolution to Wales without devolution to the English regions does not make sense.

2. The Government intends to staff the proposed Assembly with civil servants. NALGO believes that, if Welsh devolution is to work, a Welsh public service independent of Whitehall and staffed by our own public servants is essential.

3. The devolution legislation (the Wales Act) provides for a review of local government followed by recommendations for change. NALGO is opposed to further upheaval of local government in Wales so soon after the reorganisation of 1974.

The situation now is that, unless less than 40 per cent of those entitled to vote in the referendum vote 'Yes' or a majority of those actually voting vote 'No', the Assembly will be created and devolution will go ahead. NALGO believes that the only way now to protect its members' interests and safeguard the services in which its members are employed is to say



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7 From 'Devolution! The New Assemblies for Wales and Scotland' issued by H.M. Government, 1975

Y CYMRO

Y CYMRO, HYDREF 9, 1984

Tel: Oswestry 655321

PRIS 17c

GWYLIAU'R STEDFOD YNG NGWERSYLL-SWYDD DERBY

Prisiau wythnos
Oedolion £36
Plant 5-15 oed £45
Plant 1-4 oed £26

Prisiau'n cymysgu llythy, brocwest a bwyd nos ac adloniant.

YMLADD ER YN GYTŪN

Yn ystod y deng niwrnod nesaf bydd canghennau Plaid Cymru yn mynd ati i ddedwle olynedd i Dafydd Wigley, A.S. Caernarfon, fel llywydd y blaid. Brwydr fydd hi rhwng dau Ddafydd arall — Dafydd Iwan, y Cadeirydd presennol a Dafydd Elis Thomas, A.S. Meirionnydd Nant Conwy.

Mae'r ddau ohonynt am osgoi dadl o bersonoliaethau a dyfnhau'r syniad o rwyg. Serch hynny mae'n debyg o fod yn frwydr rhwng carfannau'r chwith a'r traddodiadol o fewn y blaid er bod y ddau yn gytŷn ar y rhesylw o safbwyntiau sylfaenol.

Dyweddodd Dafydd Iwan: "Mae Dafydd Elis Thomas yn fflamau'r gytŷn ar lawer rwyg o bwyntiau sylfaenol na mae rhai'n meddwl. Mae'n bwysig pwybwlta hynny cyn rhoi label arnom", meddai.

Dyweddodd ei fod yn cofnogi brwydr y glowyr ac mae am gael gwybodaeth o'r holl wledydd. Cyhoeddodd Dafydd Elis Thomas mai'r ewstion pwysica yw'r ewstion heiddweh.

Hwyrach mai'r prif wahaniaeth rhyngddynt yw eu safbwyntiau ar genedlaetholdeb.

Cyaylltiadau

Ofna Dafydd Iwan i'r blaid ddod yn rhan o fudiad sosialaidd Prydeinig ar draul cenedlaetholdeb tra y gwel Dafydd Elis Thomas genedlaetholdeb fel arf i sicrhau Cymru Sosialaidd.

"Yn ystod y deng i bymtheng mlynedd diwethaf dwi wedi bod yn gwneud cyaylltiadau gyda'r mudiadau hollwch, iaith, hawliau aful ac yn ddiweddar gyda'r glowyr a'r undebau gan grodu mai'r ffordd ymlaen ydi gwneud y cyaylltiadau yma ac ehangu cofnogaeth y mudiad cenedlaethol. Dydi o ddim yn golygu bod rhywun yn cefnu ar safbwynt cenedlaetholdeb", meddai Dafydd Elis Thomas.

Yn sicr, mae i'r ddau Ddafydd eu dilynwyf brwd. Mae Dafydd Iwan yn parhau i fod yn eilun edmygedd cenedlaetholwyr era y dyddiau pan y'i carcharwyd fwy nag unwaith dros yr iaith pan oedd protestio Cymdeithas yr iaith ar ei anterth. Er iddo geisio garchuso'n wledyddol yn ddiweddar gyda'i ethol yn Gadeirydd Plaid Cymru, mae llawer yn parhau i faddwl amdano fel canwr caneuon protest.



● Dafydd Elis Thomas



● Dafydd Iwan



● Dafydd Wigley

Yn ôl Dafydd Elis Thomas mae'n rhaid newid agwedd "negyddol" llafur tuag at iaith a diwylliant Cymru yn ogystal â newid syniadaeth rhai o fewn y blaid nad ydynt am baidio ag ymhel â gwleidyddiaeth weithredol ond eto gynnal diwylliant.

Dywed mai'r un yw'r frwydr ymhob rhan o Gymru a bod y ffermyr a'r glowyr yn ymladd yn erbyn oelli rheolaeth Gymreig dros eu awydd.

Mae cynnal etholiad am y llywyddiaeth yn rhoi'r cyfle i wahanol farn god ei mynegi ac yn creu diddordeb sy'n bwysig i hawb o fawn rheingodd Plaid Cymru a'r tu allan. Llywyddodd Dafydd Wigley i gadw Plaid Cymru yn fudlad gwleidyddol er gwaetha siom Datganoli 1970 a bydd yn bwysig i Lywydd newydd y blaid gyflwyno syniadau yn glir ac ymgyrchu ar ran y mudiad ac eiddo cofnogaeth.

● Cyhoeddodd Dafydd Wigley yr wythnos diwethaf y bydd yn ymddiswyddo o'r llywyddiaeth yng Nghynulliad Flyneddol y blaid yn Llambod oeni. Bydd yn gwneud hynny ar ôl bod yn y awydd am dair hlynedd era ei ethol yng Nghynulliad Caerfyrddin ym 1981 pan olynodd cyn-A.S. Caeirfyrddin, Gwynfor Evans.

Gwnedh Dafydd Wigley y penderfyniad oherwydd, rheymau teulol i'w atluogi i drwilio mwy o amser gartref yn ei etholaeth oherwydd cyflwr gwaethygal ei ddau blentyn methedig Alan (13) a Geraint (12). (Gweler Golygyddol tud. 8).

Cig oen o Seland Newydd i ysgolion Gwynedd

Er mai ffermio defaid yw prif nodwedd amaethyddiaeth yng Ngwynedd ymddengys ei bod hi'n rhatach i fewnfori cig oen o Seland Newydd i fwydo plant ysgol y sir.

Mewn llythyr a dderbyniodd Ysgrifennydd Cangen Caernarfon o Undeb Amaethwyr Cymru (FUW) dywed Mr Hywel Hughes, ar ran Cyngor Sir Gwynedd fod cig oen yn ddrud i'w bynnu a bod posibilrwydd y byddant yn prynu cig a fewnfori o Seland Newydd i fwydo'r plant yn ysgolion y sir.

Roedd Undeb Amaethwyr Cymru wedi gofyn i'r Adran Addysg am amlinellad o gynnywys prydau hwyd oherwydd pryder yr aelodau ynglŷn â'r defnydd o gig noya yn lle cig eidion a chig oen.

Aelodau

Yn ôl y Mfuraau, ychydig lawn o gig noya a ddefnyddir ond codwyd gwrychyn aelodau'r FUW aha y ffaith fod cig Seland Newydd yn cael ei brynu yn lle cig o ffermydd Gwynedd.

Dyweddodd Mr Meurig Voyle, Ysgrifennydd Cangen Sir Ddinbych o'r FUW, fod hysbysu'r gartref i'r aelodau a'u hysbysu eu cyddelwng.

"Os nad yw Cyngor Sir Gwynedd am brynu cig oen a'r holl ddefaid yn y sir pa ddiawyl i neb arall ymued", meddai.

10

COUNTY - those entitled to vote	Votes Cast	% Turnout	Yes (%)	No (%)	No Majority	
GWYNEDD	165,318	103,834	65.40	37,363(34)	71,157(65)	33,784
POWYS	80,027	53,520	65.87	9,834(18)	43,502(82)	33,653
W. GLAM	273,260	159,084	58.22	28,653(19)	128,834(81)	99,171
S. GLAM	288,610	165,912	59.48	21,830(13)	144,186(84)	122,355
DYFED	245,071	180,359	85.43	44,849(28)	114,947(72)	70,088
CLWYD	282,273	145,780	51.62	31,384(22)	114,119(78)	82,735
M. GLAM	388,587	232,026	59.40	46,747(20)	184,186(80)	137,440
GWENT	316,931	176,947	55.83	21,389(12)	155,388(88)	134,020
WALES	2,038,049	1,203,422	59.04	243,048(20)	956,380(80)	713,282

9 Results of Referendum on Devolution in Wales, 1976

Ar ôl y rhyfel yr oedd Cymru yng ngafael tyn y Blaid Lafur. Cwmpodd gweddill y cadarnleoedd rhyddfrydol yn fuan (1) ac aeth hyd yn oed Megan Lloyd George, merch y Prif Weinidog Rhyddfrydol, draw i'r Blaid Lafur yng 1955 (2). Yr oedd aelodau seneddol Cymreig yn flaenllaw ymhob llywodraeth Lafur gyda thri arweinydd, Michael Foot, James Callaghan a Neil Kinnock yn cynrychioli seddi Cymreig (3). Tueddai'r tri hyn i weld Cymru'n rhan hanfodol o wleidyddiaeth Brydeinig. Methodd yr ymgyrch ffrwydlog dros senedd i Gymru, 1950-56. Tynnodd beth cefnogaeth o bob plaid, ond lleiafrif bychan o aelodau seneddol Cymreig (4). Yn y 1960au a'r 70au, er gwaethaf cefnogaeth ddiwyll o rai mannau yn y Blaid Lafur, gellid gweld cynigiadau i greu Cynulliad Cymreig megis ymgais i atal gwaedlif o gefnogaeth Lafur o fewn ac y tu allan i'r Senedd (5). Er i ddadleuon cyfansoddiadol amlygu'u hunain am gyfnod, ynghylch newidiadau poenus yn adeiladwaith economi Cymru y bu'r pryder mwyaf: dirywiad y diwydiant cylo yn y 1970au a'r 1980au gynnwys a ffawd maes glo de Cymru, lle'r oedd y Bwrdd Glo Cenedlaethol yn rhagweld colledion mawr ar y gorwel.

Daeth amddiffyniad niwcliar yn bwnc llosg gyda'r cynghorau sir yn ymroi i bolisi o 'Gymru ddi-niwcliar' (6). Gwnaeth newidiadau demograffig, yn enwedig ar hyd arfordir gogledd Cymru, ac arfordir y de-ddwyrain eu marc ar y map gwleidyddol, gan ddwyn enillion mawr i'r Blaid Geidwadol a ystyriesid ers talwm fel y blaid fwyaf Seisnig ohonynt i gyd yng Nghymru. Gwnaeth yr un newidiadau demograffig hyn, a newidiai deithi diwylliannol ardaloedd mawr o Gymru wledig,

Post war Wales was very much Labour Wales. The remaining strongholds of Liberalism fell quickly (1) and even Megan Lloyd George, daughter of great Liberal Prime Minister, deserted to the Labour Party in 1955 (2). Welsh Labour M.P.s were prominent in every Labour Government and provided the party with no less than three of its leaders, Michael Foot, James Callaghan and Neil Kinnock (3). These tended to see Wales very much as an integral part of mainstream British politics. The shortlived Parliament for Wales campaign, 1950-56, proved abortive. It drew some support from all parties, but only a small minority of Welsh M.P.s (4). In the sixties and seventies, despite sincere support in some quarters of the Labour Party, proposals to create a Welsh Assembly could be seen as an attempt to arrest a haemorrhage of support within Parliament and without (5). Although constitutional issues commanded the stage for a period, painful structural changes in the Welsh economy were the main concern: the rundown of steel in the 1970s and early 80s and the plight of the south Wales coalfield for which the NCB was posting large losses. Nuclear defence also became a pre-occupation with county councils committing themselves a policy of 'a nuclear free Wales' (6). Demographic changes, particularly along the north Wales coast and in the south east coastal strip also made their mark on the political map bringing unprecedented gains for the Conservative Party which had long been regarded as the most anglicised of the parties in Wales. Those same demographic changes that were altering the cultural characteristics of large tracts of rural Wales also spawned

ETHOLIAD 1951
THE ELECTION OF 1951



Y CANLYNIAD
THE RESULT

Cledwyn Hughes (Lab)	11,814
Lady Megan Lloyd George (Lib)	11,219
O.M. Roberts (Con)	6,366

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Y SIOC O GOLLI LADY MEGAN

Megan allan- Barn ar y newydd anocheladwy hwnnw a gaech gan bawb brynhawn Gwener, pan gyhoeddwyd canlyniad yr etholiad ym Môn. Rhoes y flaith ysgytwad i'r rhan fwyaf o etholwyr, yn cynnwys Toriaid a Sosialwyr. "Dyna beth yr oeddwn yn ei ddisgwyl," meddai rhai. "Roedd yn amser iddi gael ei symud. Mi gewch chi weld y daw hi allan fel Llafur y tro nesaf," ebe tyddynwr.

Ebe ffamwr go fawr: "Fotiodd lot o ffamwrs i Mr. Cledwyn Hughes. Yr oeddwn i'n amau y basa hi'n bur dynn arni, ond dim yn y disgwyl iddi fod allan chwaith."

"Be ydych chi'n feddwl?" gofynnodd ein gohebydd i glarc a phortar relwe. "lawn," atebodd y ddau. "Peth da i'r hen Gledwyn fynd i mewn."

Barn cofrestrwyd ydoedd fod Môn wedi gwned "llanast" ohoni. "Yr ydych chi wedi colli aelod da a chawn ni ddim cyfle arni eto."

"Nid oeddwn yn hoffi ei gwled hi ar y clwt, oherwydd ei huddas a'i thras," sylwodd blaenor M.C. "Ffars oedd yr haeru iddi; geisio sedd Môn ar ei phen ei hun oni bai ei bod yn ferch i'w thad. Ffwrli fu siarad rhai Rhyddfrydwyr pybyr ei bod yn airesymol iddi gael ei churo oherwydd bod llawer o Doriaid am bleidcicio iddi."

"Cawsom ymgeisydd i'r diben o wthio Lady Megan o'r ffordd," meddai merch o Dori.

"Mi fydd yn sioc farwol iddi," ebe Rhyddfrydwr mawr.

"Collwyd brwydr heddiw, ond mae aml frwydr mewn rhyel," meddai Lady Megan ei hun, wrth annerch tori fawr yng Nghaer-gybi, nos Wener. Aeth ymlaen i ddeud nad oedd hi mewn oed, nac o natur i ymneilltuo. "Yr wyf yn barod am yr ornest nesaf," meddai, "a chofwch y dof o gyff ymladdgar."

Priodola Mr. Cledwyn Hughes ei fuddugoliaeth i record y Blaid Lafur yn ystod ei theyrnasiad, yn enwedig ynglŷn â lleoedd dirwasgedig fel Caer-gybi.

"Hei lwc iddo. Bachgen ifanc ydi o," ebe gwraig ffarm ar y teleffon yn gynnwys y prynhawn.

Yr Herald Cymraeg, Hydref 30, 1951.

Trwy'r Blaid Lafur y medraf wneud fy ngorau i Gymru

Gan y Fonesig MEGAN LLOYD GEORGE (y Blaid Lafur)

Yr wyf yn sefyll dros Lafur yng Nghaerfyrddin am dri rheswm pwysig. Trwy Lafur y medraf wneud fy ngorau dros Gymru. Trwy Lafur y medraf wasanaethu'r werin bobl yn effeithiol. A thrwy Lafur y medraf wneud fy nghyfraniad i heddwch.

Gwyr fy nghydwladwyr fy mod wedi ymdrechu bob amser hyd eithaf fy ngallu i helaethu rheolaeth y genedl Gymreig ar e materion hi ei hunan. Y mae'n berffaith eglur i mi, fodd bynnag, fod yn rhaid wrth gefnogaeth a chydymdeimlad y mudiad Llafur yn hyn o beth, neu ni ddaw llwyddiant. Nid trwy ddiffrio Llafur a'i harweinwyr y mae gwneuthur hynny.

Dros fuddiannau Cymru

Y mae yn rhengoedd Llafur lu o wŷr a merched sydd yn ymladd yn ddiffuant dros fuddiannau

Cymru. Yr wyf yn awyddus i ymuno â hwy yn y Senedd, fel yn y wlad, a gwneud fy nghyfraniad innau fel Cymraes lwyrgalon. Apeliaf felly at Gymry da "Shir Gâr" am eu pleidlais a'u cefnogaeth i un a fagwyd i barchu ei chenedl, ei chrefydd, a'i hiaith, ac un sydd yn falch o sefyll drostynt ar bob amgylchiad.

Pwy bynnag a etholir yn aelod dros Gaerfyrddin, bydd gofyn iddo ef, neu hi, "ddangos ei ochr" yn berffaith eglur ar lu o gwestiynau cymdeithasol. Y mae fy athroniaeth a'm safiad i yn hollol ddealladwy i bawb. Condemniad yn llwyr waith adweithiol y Llywodraeth Doriaidd—y modd y cefnogodd y cyfoethog ar draul y tlawd a'r methedig, eu mesurau creulon i godi rhenti, prisiau bwyd, a chostau byw yn gyffredinol; a'r ffordd y maent wedi

gwanychu cyfleusterau addysg ac iechyd y werin. Heddiw, y mae rhif y di-waith yng Nghymru yn uwch nag y bu ers diwedd y rhyfel, ac y mae'r rhagolygon yn ddu.

Yn erbyn Toriaeth

Gofynnaf i etholwyr Sir Gaerfyrddin sefyll yn gadarn gyda mi yn erbyn Toriaeth a'i firwythau drygionus, ac o blaid egwyddorion Llafur a gwir Radicaliaeth.

Yn drydydd, y mae'n berffaith amlwg i bawb bellach na fedrir ymddiried cwestiynau mawr heddwch a diarfogiad i Lywodraeth Doriaidd. Bu bron iddynt fodd holl obeithion gwerinoedd byd yn nyfroedd Swes. Nid ydynt yn deall nac yn hoffi'r byd modern, ac y mae eu bwnglera'n berygl einioes i ni.

Arweiniad dros heddwch

Y mae'r dystiolaeth yn eglur o bob cyfeiriad mai trwy i wledydd Prydain roddi arweiniad newydd dros heddwch a chyfraith byd y ceir ail gyfle. Ni cheir y fath arweiniad o dan lywodraeth Doriaidd. Rhaid newid y llywodraeth nes bod y byd yn deall mai Llafur gyda'i hegwyddorion heddychlon a chydweithredol sydd yn siarad drosom.

Yr wyf yn gwbl hyderus y bydd i etholwyr cynnes a chraff Sir Gaerfyrddin ystyried yn ofalus trwy pa fudiad y gwasanaethir eu buddiannau hwy a'u plant orau.

Eu traddodiad hwy a'm traddodiad i yw eiddo Robert Owen, R. J. Derfel a Henry Richard. Fy mraint a'm cyfrifoldeb mawr fydd gwasanaethu'r traddodiad hwnnw yn llwyfrydig a diffuant fel eu cynrychiolydd seneddol.

symbylu hefyd yr ymgyrch llosgi tai haf neu ail-gartrefi (7) yn hwyr yn y 1970au ac yn parhau yn y 1980au. Ymosodwyd ar ryw 70-80 o dai a dinistrio rhai yn llwyr. Arestwyd tua 50 o genedlaetholwyr ym 1980 yn 'Operasiwn Tan' ond ni ddaethpwyd ag achos yn erbyn neb ohonynt. Yn dilyn nifer o ymosodiadau, yn cynnwys dyfeisiadau ffrwydrol ar swyddfeydd y llywodraeth, cafwyd disgyniad tebyg gan yr heddlu ar aelodau'r Mudiad Gweriniaethol Sosialaidd Cymreig. Ar ôl achos cynllwynio a barodd am naw wythnos cafwyd pob un o'r saith diffynnod yn ddi-euog o gynllwynio i achosi difrod i eiddo (8,9). Yr oedd cyhuddiadau o anwybyddu hawliau sifil, ac o'r heddlu yn poeni unigolion, yn rhemp, ac fe'u hadleisiwyd hefyd gan lawer o grwpiau radicalaidd eraill (10).

a campaign of arson attacks on second or holiday homes (7) in the late seventies and eighties. Some 70-80 properties were attacked and many destroyed completely. Police investigations in 1980 (Operation Fire) led to the arrest of some 50 nationalists, but without any convictions. Following a number of attacks involving explosive devices on government offices a similar operation led to the arrest of members of the Welsh Socialist Republic Movement. After a nine week trial all seven defendants were acquitted of conspiring to damage property (8,9). Allegations of serious infringements of civil rights and police harassment were widespread and were echoed by many other radical groups (10).



I warn you

The Neil Kinnock so little known outside the Labour party is a powerful Welsh orator. Here was his eve-of-poll message of doom, hoarsely delivered to the voters of Bridgend

If Margaret Thatcher is re-elected as prime minister on Thursday, I warn you. I warn you that you will have pain—when healing and relief depend upon payment. I warn you that you will have ignorance—when talents are untended and wits are wasted, when learning is a privilege and not a right. I warn you that you will have poverty—when pensions slip and benefits are whittled away by a government that won't pay in an economy that can't pay. I warn you that you will be cold—when fuel charges are used as a tax system that the rich don't notice and the poor can't afford. I warn you that you must not expect work—when many cannot spend, more will not be able to earn. When they don't earn, they don't spend. When they don't spend, work dies.

I warn you not to go into the streets alone after dark or into the streets in large crowds of protest in the light. I warn you that you will be quiet—when the curfew of fear and the gibbet of unemployment make you obedient. I warn you that you will have defence of a sort—with a risk and at a price that passes all understanding. I warn you that you will be home-bound—when fares and transport bills kill leisure and lock you up. I warn you that you will borrow less—when credit, loans, mortgages and easy payments are refused to people on your melting income. If Margaret Thatcher wins on Thursday— I warn you not to be ordinary I warn you not to be young I warn you not to fall ill I warn you not to get old.

3

'Parliament only allocated one day to consider Welsh problems. If Parliament was to work effectively it had to shed its load. Wales was going to ask Parliament for justice . . . Our action is 400 years overdue . . .'

Megan Lloyd George, Llandrindod, 1950



4

Labour's support in Wales lowest since war

A GRADUAL decline of the Labour Party in Wales turned to a near rout last week. The party lost nine per cent of its vote and is now attracting fewer votes than at any time since World War II.

The only party which gained from the Alliance in every seat in Wales's southern heartlands, Liberal candidates seized second place.

It was the biggest substantial loss made by any political group in the country's history. The Alliance is now the second largest party in Wales.

Labour was challenged in 19 seats, while the Conservatives were second in 11, the Liberal Democrats in seven and Plaid in one. Tony Blair was the only Labour MP to be re-elected.

By CLIVE BETTS, Welsh Affairs Correspondent

The Alliance's advance was consistent in almost every constituency. But therein lies a danger. Some candidates were acknowledged, even by party officials, to be poor, and one had been refused permission by party headquarters in London to become a candidate in England.

Surprise

In some seats, the Alliance advanced despite the candidate and despite poor organisation locally. The dangers of support vanishing were realised by Mr Gwynor Jones, SDP

chairman of Wales, last week when he called for his party to double its Welsh membership of 2,500 within two years.

The big parties have realised the importance of organisation, and the SDP does not want to be left high and dry.

The Liberals' organisation problem is seen in the Cardiff head office, which is manned only part-time. The Liberal Party in London has complained about this but its influence on the Welsh party — the Liberals have a federal organisation — is limited.

A surprise of the election was the small number of seats in which the third party candidate was "squeezed" by voters flocking to the two main candidates.

A significant number of Welsh seats are now three-way fights, which means anyone could win.

While the Conservatives gained three seats, they attracted both fewer voters and a smaller proportion of the poll than in 1979. Despite all the fuss about the number of seats they have gained over the past decade, the Tories are now winning the same proportion of the vote as in 1951 when they held only six seats.

Decline

The Tories' great advance has been into the Celtic rural areas of the West and North-West. In 1945, these seats were solidly held by Liberals, except for Caernarvon which fell to Labour in that year's landslide.

Ordinarily, most of these seats went Labour. But now the Labour Party has been crushed in many of these districts and the party often has to watch the electoral battles as if from the sidelines.

In this area, only Carmarthen is now Labour-held. The most potent challengers are often the Conservatives.

It is this Labour decline more than any other which worries some senior figures in the party. They look back to the days when Labour naturally represented Welsh radical and rural views.

Appeal

But now they complain about lack of commitment by local constituency parties, about the scarcity of high-quality candidates, and about the lack of policies which appeal to voters outside industrial areas.

Not that the party's policies appeal to everyone in such industrial districts. Labour lost in 1979 because skilled factory workers placed their crosses elsewhere. It is clear that those same people did the same last week.

PERCENTAGE OF VOTES FOR EACH PARTY

Constituency	Lab	Con	Alliance	Plaid	Others
Abertawe	59	16	29	5	
Alyn & Deeside	46	37	17		
Bosman Gwent	70	11	15	4	
Bosman & Radnor	25	48	24	2	1
Briggion	35	39	23	3	
Caermerion	19	31	7	53	
Cardiff Central	45	20	21	14	
Cardiff North	54	41	32	2	
Cardiff South	30	47	31	2	
Cardiff S & Penarth	41	36	21	2	
Cardiff West	34	38	25	2	1
Carmarthen	32	29	11	27	1
Cardigan & Pemb N	14	30	42	13	1
Clwyd NW	16	51	29	4	
Clwyd SW	27	34	30	9	
Conwy	17	42	31	10	
Cynon Valley	56	14	21	9	
Delyn	29	42	26	3	
Gower	38	35	24	3	
Islwyn	59	14	23	4	
Llanelli	48	29	19	12	1
Maldwyn	15	29	17	39	
Merthyr & Rhymney	67	13	15	5	
Monmouth	22	40	28	1	2
Newport	9	41	42	5	
Newport East	54	17	22	7	
Newport West	39	33	26	2	
Ormskirk	37	38	24	1	
Ormskirk	59	15	15	8	1
Pembrokeshire	29	47	21	2	
Swansea East	45	23	26	5	1
Swansea West	62	8	17	10	3
Swansea West	54	29	21	4	1
Torfaen	42	37	19	2	
Torfaen	47	23	29	2	
Valley of Glamorgan	26	48	24	2	
Wynham	34	33	30	3	
Ynys Mon	17	38	12	53	

Year	Lab	Con	Alliance	Plaid	Others
Overall 1983	38	31	23	8	
1979	47	32	11	8	2
Oct 1974	49	24	16	11	
Feb 1974	47	26	16	11	
1970	52	28	7	12	1
1966	61	28	6	4	1
1964	58	29	7	5	1
1959	57	33	7	5	
1955	58	30	7	5	2
1951	61	31	8	5	
1950	58	27	13	1	1

* Asterisk — less than one per cent

Appendices

Gwent County Council passed the following resolutions

On 26th November, 1980

"Gwent County Council is gravely concerned by the present threat to the survival of mankind caused by international tension, and the catastrophic power of modern nuclear chemical and biological weapons.

We believe there is a need for peace initiatives, to lessen international suspicions and we propose that Gwent leads by encouraging understanding and confidence.

This could be achieved by reconsidering our County role in future major Home Defence exercises and by fostering strong links with potential future enemy countries through visits, sporting and cultural exchanges, school links and exchanges and appropriate language courses."

On 30th July, 1981

"We declare Gwent to be a nuclear free zone. This Council is opposed to the siting of nuclear weaponry, or nuclear power stations and the burial or transport of nuclear waste within our boundaries."

On 30th December, 1981

"The Gwent County Council expressed its horror and revulsion at the reported Pentagon proposals that stocks of American nerve gas weapons be stored in Britain.

Their special worry was that the existing United States arms store at Caerwent could be used, because of the strong public opposition of Americans and West Germans to the creation of new nerve gas dumps in their countries.

The Council affirmed its total opposition to the siting of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons within its boundaries and instructed that the U.S. Ambassador in Britain be so informed."

6 Gwent County Council, Gwent and Emergency Planning.

5 1983 election results in Wales from the Western Mail.

HOLIDAY HOME BLAZE



A policeman stands guard at the bungalow, which was badly damaged inside.

North Wales police were today trying to trace the owner of a Mostyn bungalow extensively damaged by fire in what they believe is another arson attack on a holiday home.

Although the police know that the woman owner of the property lives in Liverpool, they were still attempting to make contact with her. The fire at Fairways on the A548 coast road close to the Mostyn Garage, gutted a bedroom, and the rest of the bungalow suffered heat and smoke damage.

The blaze began at about 12.40 am and appliances attended from Prestatyn and Holywell. It was brought under control within half an hour.

A police spokesman said it was "too early" to say how the fire began, but it was confirmed that a window had been broken. The fire is being treated as suspicious

and forensic scientists were travelling from Chorley, Lancashire.

The blaze follows similar incidents in recent weeks. Cottages at Lloc and Gronant were damaged by fire earlier this month but the police say it would be "apposition" to link the Mostyn fire with them.

Mewn termau economaidd, profodd yr Ail Ryfel Byd i fod yn fath o egwyl, er i ychydig o'r cwmnïau rhyfel a symudasai i mewn i Gymru aros yma a newid i beirianwaith ysgafn (1).

Dangosodd economi Cymru anghydwysedd trwm tuag at y diwydiannau trwm 'hynafol' (2) megis glo, haearn a dur a llechi. Parhai porthladdoedd Cymru i ddirywio (3) ac anaml y gwelid elw yn y diwydiant glo (4).

Arhosodd un agwedd ar Gymru yn ddigynfnewid ers 1945: erys yn gymdeithas mewn penbleth yn nhermau mudiad y boblogaeth (5). Yr oedd colli poblogaeth o gymoedd de Cymru yn ganlyniad uniongyrchol i gau pyllau (6) ac mae'n arbennig o amlwg. Bu effaith y fath newidiadau mawr ar gymunedau eraill un-diwydiant yn llai amlwg, ond yn llawn mor ddwys (7). Ar raddfa wahanol, ond nid llai trawmatig, ceid dirywiad y diwydiant llechi yng Ngwynedd a drawyd yn eithafol gan effeithiau'r rhyfel (8,9). Yr oedd y ddibyniaeth ar ddur hefyd yn arbennig o amlwg (10). Yn y 1950au, 60au ac yn gynnar yn y 70au gwelid newid i ddiwydiant

In economic terms World War II proved to be something of an interlude, though a few of the wartime firms which had moved into Wales stayed on and diversified into light engineering (1). The economy of Wales still showed a heavy imbalance towards the 'archaic' heavy industries (2), such as coal, iron and steel or slate, the Welsh ports remained in decline (3), and the coal industry rarely got into profit (4).

At least in one aspect Wales has maintained its traditions since 1945 - it remains a society in flux in terms of population movement (5). The human drain from the mining valleys of south Wales as the result of swingeing colliery closures (6) is particularly noticeable; the effect of such drastic changes on single industry communities was less stark but no less profound (7). On a different scale, but no less traumatic, was the decline of the slate industry in Gwynedd which was severely hit by the effects of the war (8,9). The dependence on steel too was particularly noticeable (10).

Light Engineering

Hunting Aviation Limited, Peblig Mills

The modern Aircraft and Light Engineering Works of Hunting Aviation Limited, which might well be called the most important of Caernarvon's newer industries, occupies a site of a little over seven acres, just outside the borough boundary on the Beddgelert Road.

This plant, which is one of the most up-to-date in North Wales, was, during the War, responsible for the manufacture of thousands of important aircraft components. One of the most noteworthy achievements in this direction being the manufacture and assembly of Lancaster Bomber fuselage noses which were delivered to a main contractor complete with all equipment fitted and tested, including gun turret, hydraulics, electrics, pneumatics, bomb gear and automatic pilot.

Although the plant, which consists of assembly, detail fitting, machine, process and treatment shops was originally laid out on an aircraft basis, it is particularly suited for the manufacture of light engineering products of all kinds including such things as pressings, high class machining, electroplating, and kindred metal treatments, welding, also structural assemblies of all descriptions.

At the moment the largest assembly shop which covers an area of 25,000 square feet, is turned over to the manufacture of aluminium and plastic bedroom furniture for the home market. Many first class seaside hotels have been fitted with this furniture, which is marketed under the trade name of Basildon "New Period."

Another commodity manufactured at Peblig is the "Vega" all electric washing machine, and together with tailplanes, elevators and undercarriages which are being manufactured for Percival Aircraft Limited, this plant may be considered as one of the most versatile in Wales.

1 Caernarvon Corporation. Industries of Caernarvon.

United Kingdom, Wales, and Scotland: Average numbers employed, average annual earnings, and aggregate earnings, by industry group, 1948

	Estimated average numbers employed ('000)			Average annual earnings (£)			Aggregate earnings (£m.)		
	United Kingdom	Wales	Scotland	United Kingdom	Wales	Scotland	United Kingdom	Wales	Scotland
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	966.7	42.7	127.6	279	222	255	270.2	9.5	32.6
Mining and quarrying	876.7	140.8	98.5	385	366	392	338.0	51.6	38.6
Manufacture	8,098.4	243.0	756.0	310	321	289	2,514.4	77.9	218.6
Building and contracting	1,323.7	59.8	146.7	317	305	320	419.1	18.2	47.0
Gas, electricity, and water	318.3	13.1	23.8	344	320	323	109.5	4.2	7.7
Transport and communication	1,778.0	90.0	191.7	370	363	356	657.3	32.7	68.3
Distributive trades	2,077.2	80.7	229.9	278	257	256	577.0	20.7	58.9
Insurance, banking, and finance	431.6	10.2	31.1	457	421	421	197.4	4.3	13.1
Public administration	1,463.0	69.9	122.2	348	310	330	509.2	21.7	40.3
Professional services	1,320.9	57.9	144.4	345	344	348	455.3	19.9	50.3
Miscellaneous services	1,805.8	70.3	160.7	223	211	212	402.4	14.8	34.1
TOTAL, ALL INDUSTRIES	20,460.3	878.2	2,032.6	315	314	300	6,449.8	275.5	609.5

SOURCE: Phyllis Deane, 'Regional Variations in United Kingdom Incomes from Employment', J.R.S.S. (A), vol. cxvi, Part II, 1953.

2

Trade at the South Wales ports—Newport, Cardiff, Penarth, Barry Port Talbot, and Swansea, 1913-59

Year	Total trade ('000 tons)	Inward traffic		Outward traffic	
		('000 tons)	(% of total)	('000 tons)	(% of total)
1913	47,233	5,133	11	42,100	89
1938	24,528	3,909	16	20,619	84
1947	10,245	4,382	43	5,863	57
1948	13,651	5,091	37	8,560	63
1950	18,586	7,154	38	11,432	62
1952	22,583	10,008	44	12,575	56
1954	21,438	9,811	46	11,626	54
1956	18,838	9,951	53	8,887	47
1959	16,529	10,356	63	6,173	37

SOURCES: Council for Wales and Monmouthshire, Report on the South Wales Ports, Cmd. 9359. British Transport Commission, Statements of Trade at the South Wales Docks.

3

North Wales coal industry, 1947-59

Year	Number of collieries	Saleable output ('000 tons)	Wage-earners on colliery books ('000)	O.M.S. overall (tons)	Capital expenditure (£'000)	Profit (+) or loss (-) (£'000)
1947	8	2,038	9.0	—	—	-291
1948	8	2,165	9.0	0.99	14.1	-83
1949	8	2,120	8.8	1.02	164.7	+12
1950	7	2,188	8.5	1.08	101.5	+66
1951	7	2,338	8.9	1.05	104.4	-58
1952	6	2,230	9.3	0.98	221.7	-398
1953	6	2,183	9.1	0.97	430.1	-396
1954	6	2,159	8.8	0.99	726.7	-547
1955	6	2,336	8.8	1.09	332.9	-329
1956	6	2,288	9.0	1.06	503.2	-234
1957	6	2,254	9.2	1.04	214.4	-729
1958	6	2,166	8.7	1.06	55.6	-611
1959	6	2,070	7.7	1.15	233.0	-301

SOURCES: National Coal Board, Report and Accounts, 1947-59.

4

The Components of Population Change in Wales 1951 - 71

	(000's)					
	1951 - 1961			1961 - 1971		
	Natural Change	Net Migration	Actual Total Change	Natural Change	Net Migration	Actual Total Change
Wales (Total)	+ 82.3	-35.4	+48.5	+98.8	- 8.3	+90.0
Ind. South Wales Incl:	+ 69.8	-19.5	+50.3	+80.6	-39.6	+41.0
West South Wales	+ 11.7	- 3.4	+ 8.3	+ 9.2	- 6.3	+ 2.9
Central & Eastern Valleys	+ 22.1	-49.3	-27.2	+23.0	-43.4	-20.5
Coastal Belt	+ 35.9	+33.3	+69.2	+48.4	+10.2	+58.6
Ind. North East Wales	+ 9.5	- 5.0	+ 4.5	+13.8	+11.4	+25.2
North West Wales Incl:	- 2.8	- 0.8	- 2.0	- 0.4	+20.6	+20.2
North Coast	- 3.4	+ 9.4	+ 6.1	- 3.7	+18.8	+15.1
Remainder	+ 0.6	- 8.7	- 8.1	+ 3.2	+ 1.9	+ 5.1
Central Wales	+ 2.0	- 6.7	- 4.6	+ 1.1	- 2.8	- 1.8
West Wales	+ 3.8	- 3.4	+ 0.3	+ 3.3	+ 2.1	+ 5.4

Source: Digest of Welsh Statistics

5 Wales T.U.C. Document, 1972

*Colliery Closures - South Wales,
Forest of Dean and Somerset Coalfields,
1947-79*

1947	Blaenclydach, Charmborough, Cynon, Erskine, Llanerch, Llanmarch, North Rhondda No. 2, Penrhys, Rhiwcolbren No. 3	9	1959	Aberbaiden, Arthur and Edward, Cwmllynfell, Eastern United, Ferndale No. 5, Garth Merthyr, Glengarw, Mount, Pentre, Steer, Ty Trist, Tydraw	12
1948	Broad Oak, Cwmhneol, Glanamman, Hook, Islwyn, Mardy, Maindy, Nantewlaeth, New Gellihir, Pwllgwaun, West Blaina	11	1960	Britannic, Cannop, Hendy Merthyr, North Rhondda, Tylorstown No. 9, Carway, Rock (Glam.)	7
1949	Blaendare, Brithdir, Coalpit Heath, Cwm Cynon, Eryl Bryn, Glynogwr, Marsh Lane, Pontyberem, Tareni, Werfa Dare, Wen Fawr	11	1961	Clydach Merthyr, Graig Fawr, Llanbradach, Maritime	4
1950	Camerton, Cilely, Rhiw Colbren No. 2	3	1962-3	Aberaman, Blaenhirwaun, East, Gelli, Great Mountain, Llanharan, New Cross Hands, Onllwyn No. 3, Princess Royal	9
1951	NIL	-	1963-4	Cwmgwrach, Bryn, Ffaldydre, Harry Stoke, New Rockwood, Seven Sisters	6
1952	Garngoch No. 1, Talyclun	2	1964-5	Cwmgorse, Daren, Garth Tonmawr, Nine Mile Point, Norchard, Onllwyn No. 1, Pochin, Rhigos, Varteg, Wern Tarw	10
1953	Oaklands, Pidwellt, Pwll, Rhas	4	1965-6	Glyncastle, Fforchaman, Felinfran, Wernos, Aberbeeg South, Northern United, Garngoch No. 3, Parc, Pwllbach, Norton Hill	10
1954	Brynteg, Radstock, Trimsaran	3	1966-7	Dillwyn, Old Mills, Cambrian, Glenrhondda, Albion, Risca, Duffryn Rhondda, Abercrave	8
1955	Brynhenllys, Lucy Thomas, Mynydd Maen, Ynysarwed, Mynydd Newydd	5	1967-8	Elliot, Abergorki, Crumlin, Wyllie, Pentreclwydau, International, Newlands, Ynyscedwyn	8
1956	Bedlinog, Crynant, Deakins Red Ash, Pengam, Saron	5	1968-9	Cwmcarn, Groesfaen, Llanhilleth, New Rock, Cefn Coed, National, Pantyffynon, Penllwyngwent	8
1957	Deakins Slope, Gelliceidrim, Rock (Mon.), Ystalyfera	4	1969-70	Tiptentwys, Waterloo, Avon, Mountain	4
1958	Glenhafod, Llandybie, Naval, Pensford, Tirherbert	5	1970-1	Glyncorwg	1

1971-2	
NIL	-
1972-3	
NIL	-
1973-4	
Coed Cae, Kilmersdon	2
1974-5	
Ogilvie	1
1975-6	
Beynon, Glyntillery	2
1976-7	
Ammanford No. 2	1
1977-8	
Bargoed	1
1978-9	
Graig Merthyr, Caerau	2

Source: National Coal Board, South Wales Public Relations Department.

6

dominance of the coal industry. Decline in coal mining has consequences beyond the purely economic, as the social characteristics of the villages are liable to change. A policy of economic development and diversification may result in the population stabilising, but the villages will be socially very different from those that were created by coal mining. The largely homogeneous class nature of the villages will be diluted; no longer will the overwhelming proportion of the population be employed in a single and particularly dangerous industry. Within the working class, the proportion of skilled manual workers may increase with each generation of school leavers as apprenticeships become available in different industries. Greater differences in apprenticeships may emerge and replace the solidarity that comes from all working in one industry. In some localities a new breed of middle class commuters may move into what were previously mining villages. While most local residents share the same occupational background a man's standing in the village is closely linked to the status he is given by his workmates. This cannot be maintained when men work in a number of different types of factory dispersed over a wider geographical area. Local leaders have traditionally been drawn from the N.U.M. lodges and as long as coal dominated they could legitimately claim to represent the local interest. As the collieries close the N.U.M. leaders may attempt to extend the base of their authority but with increasing industrial and social diversification, different and conflicting interests may emerge. The local interest will be as difficult to define as the national interest.

7 J. Sewell; Colliery Closure and Social change

Slate

The slate industry - the great symbol of North West Wales at the turn of the century - continued to decline after the war. There was a brief period in the early 1960's when it looked as if trade might pick up again, especially through exports to France where slate enjoyed a brief popularity as a fashionable building material. But by the end of the decade this hope had vanished, and it became clear that the end was in sight. Between 1969 and 1972 all the major quarries closed, except Penrhyn which ran down to a modest level at which it has been able to survive ever since. Pen yr Orsedd, Dorothen and Eborwig closed leaving 350 men redundant. Of these 50 are known to have found work soon after at one of the new factories, but of the rest little is known. The Oakley quarry at Blaenau closed two years later. Blaenau's quarries re-emerged in the 1970's as tourist centres.

The economic development of North West Wales since the 1950's has been a process of losing jobs in the traditional industries and gaining some sort of alternative employment in construction, tourism, the public sector, or the new manufacturing factories. Of course many of the men who retired or were made redundant in slate quarrying or farming never worked again, and many of the new workers in the offices or factories or on the building sites came straight from school.

8 John Lovering 'Gwynedd A County in Crisis' 1983.

Unlike the war of 1914-1918, the very nature of the Second World War ultimately created an urgent demand for slates. The bombing of British cities and towns by the enemy from the autumn of 1940 onwards soon revealed the folly of allowing a skilled industry of this kind to disintegrate with the decline of the normal market. The existing stocks of slates were soon exhausted and steps had to be taken by the Government through the Ministry of Works to encourage the output of roofing slates and to economise their use, but irreparable damage had already been done to the productive capacity of the industry. It is true that the fighting forces would probably have absorbed the same number of quarrymen in any case, and that some might have been directed to other industries, but a well considered policy for the slate quarries at the beginning of hostilities would have prevented the drift of a substantial number of men in the older age-groups to unskilled occupations from which it has since been extremely difficult to reclaim them.

Government control of the slate industry began in March, 1941, when a Director of Roofing was appointed by Lord Reith, and the production of roofing slates became the concern of the Ministry of Works. Early in the following month a census was taken of the slates in the hands of builders' merchants throughout the country, and, at a meeting of the Ministry of Works with quarry owners at Bangor, all existing orders were cancelled and a voluntary system of control established. A Roofing Slates Executive Committee was set up under the Director of Roofing to regulate the distribution of slates, with sub-committees for Wales, Cornwall and Westmorland. The Welsh committee entitled the Welsh Slate Quarries Regional Committee, established a central orders receiving department at Port Penrhyn to market the slates produced under a quota system. In June, 1941, the slate quarries were scheduled under the Essential Works Order. Efforts to meet the unforeseen demand resulted in a temporary expansion of the labour force and output in 1941, but subsequently, owing to wastage, and the calling up of young men to the Forces, there was a steady decline. In 1945, when hostilities came to an end, the annual production in the Welsh quarries was less than 40 per cent. of that of 1938.

During the first year of peace the quarries have been faced with an enormous demand for slates, both for repair work and for new houses, with which they have been unable to cope. Although tiles were extensively used in the inter-war years, it is important to remember that the older houses, particularly in the great industrial centres which suffered most from enemy bombing, were slated. In normal times there was a steady demand for maintenance and repairs, but this was enormously increased by the damage caused by bombing. The expansion of output, however, was impeded by a number of difficulties.

Government Enquiry on the Welsh Slate Industry, 1948.

9

Wales: Net output of manufacturing industries, 1950

	£m.
Treatment of non-metalliferous mining products other than coal	6.1
Chemical and allied trades	14.0
Metal manufacture	58.7
Engineering, shipbuilding, and electrical goods	15.7
Vehicles	10.5
Metal goods not elsewhere specified	8.5
Precision instruments, jewellery, &c.	2.1
Textiles, leather, leather goods, fur, and clothing	16.2
Food, drink, and tobacco	7.6
Manufactures of wood and cork	3.2
Paper and printing	3.3
Other manufacturing industries	4.0
Error	1.2
TOTAL	151.1

10

Table 10.1: Changes in Employment in Wales, 1951-71

Employment sector	1951-61		1961-71	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Fishing	- 604	+ 3	+ 260	+ 20
Agriculture	-18,227	- 3,797	-16,100	+ 1,150
Metal manufacture and engineering	+ 29,940	+ 6,565	+ 17,750	+ 5,640
Mining and quarrying	-30,530	- 12	-42,970	+ 40
Professional, technical and artistic	+ 19,394	+ 9,196	+ 9,420	+ 9,320
Services, sport and recreation	+ 2,720	+ 531	+ 4,830	+27,640
Clerical	+ 8,605	+ 18,207	- 4,020	+21,820
Total	- 4,483	+ 36,189	-48,650	+ 91,680

Source: L.J. Williams and T. Boyn, 'Occupation in Wales, 1851-1971', *Bulletin of Economic Research*, 29, (1977), pp. 71-83.

11

ysgafn yn ddatrysiad i wendid economaidd Cymru a'i diweithdra uchel. Dyma athroniaeth y cynllun ar gyfer Cymru, *Cymru, y Ffordd Ymlaen*, 1967. Yn ddiaw, gwelodd y cyfnod wedi'r rhyfel newid economaidd sylweddol (11). Y mae datblygiad y stadau diwydiannol newydd (12), adeiladu ffatrioedd parod a chymelliadau a gynigir gan raglenni ar gyfer datblygiad rhanbarthol (13) wedi newid economi Cymru i raddau ac wedi darparu rhywfaint o swyddi.

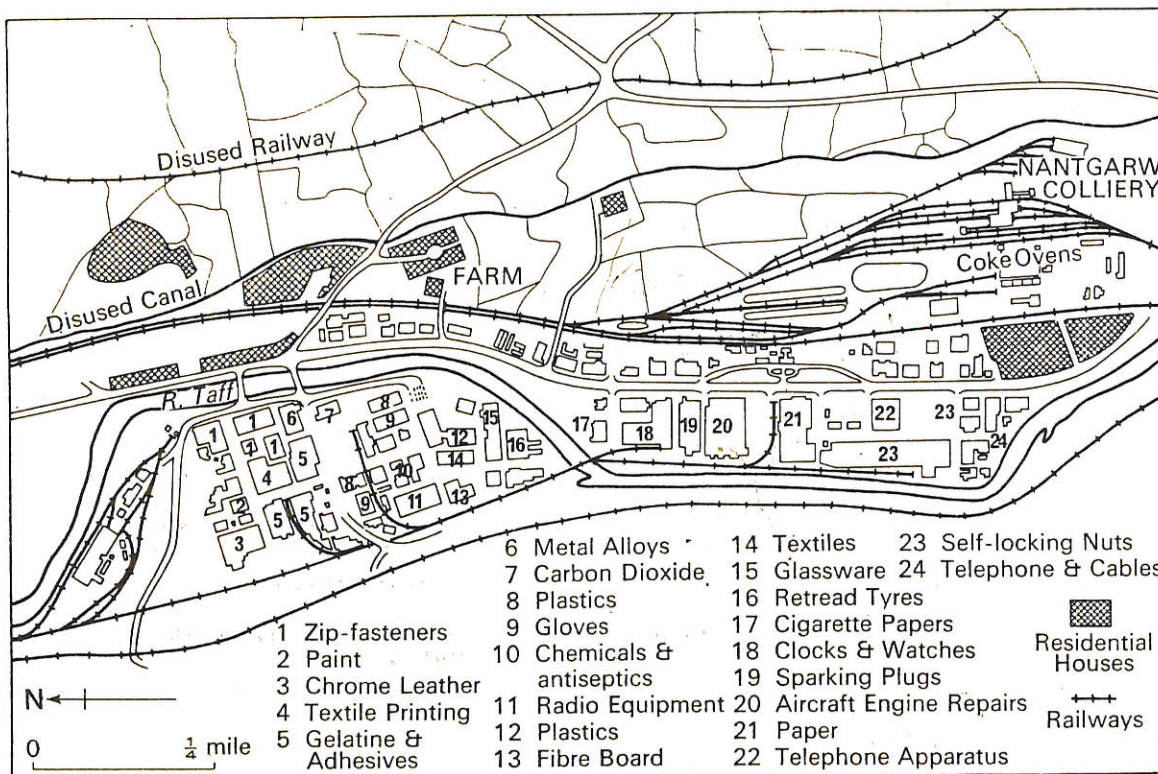
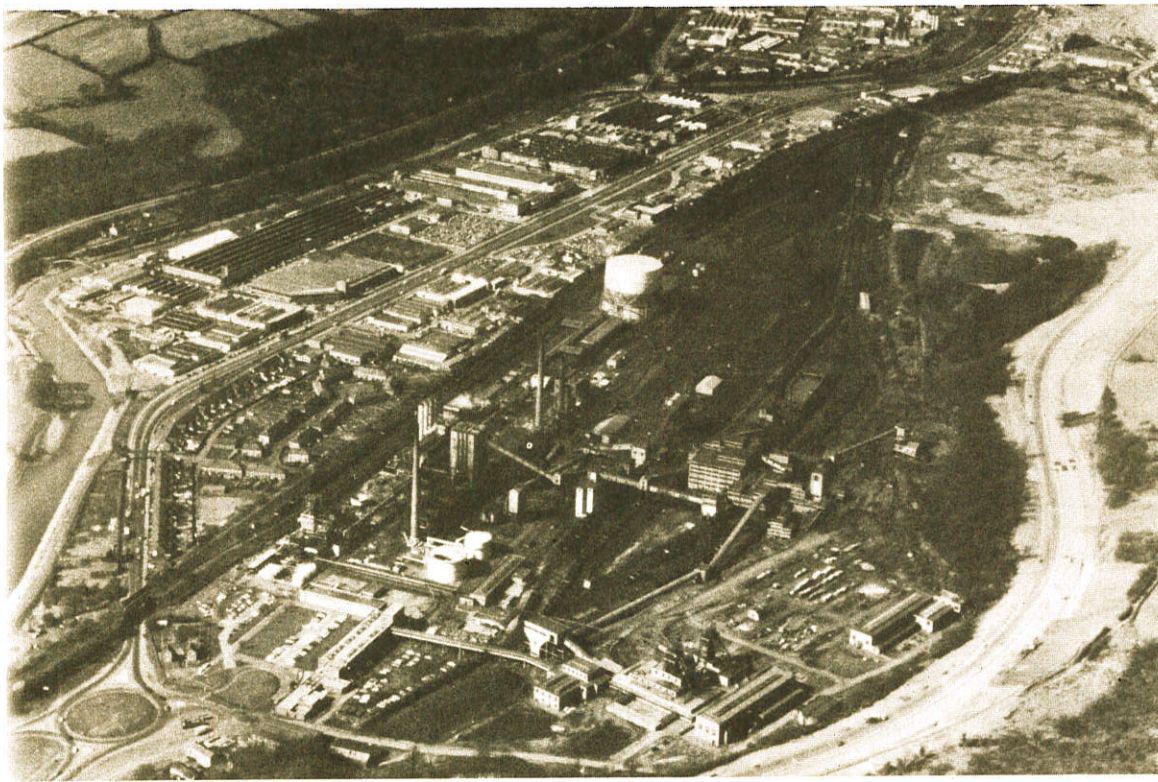
Daeth chwistrelliad o arian cyhoeddus i gynlluniau megis cynhyrchu trydan, cyflogaeth mewn llywodraeth leol ac ail-leoli rhai o swyddfeydd y llywodraeth â rhywfaint o waith hefyd.

In the fifties, sixties and early seventies the panacea for Welsh economic weakness and the high level of unemployment was seen in the diversification into light industry. This was very much the philosophy of *Wales, the Way Ahead* of 1967. The post war period has undoubtedly seen considerable economic change (11). The development of new industrial estates (12), the building of advance factories and incentives offered by regional development programmes (13) have diversified the Welsh economy to a certain degree and provided some jobs.

Injections of public capital into projects such as electricity generating schemes, local authority employment and the relocation of certain government offices have brought other jobs.

Perhaps the most far-reaching aspect of state intervention in rural Wales has involved the 'regional development programmes'. Their purported objective is to entice private enterprise (especially manufacturing industry) from the core areas by offering incentives which will induce firms to locate in the Development Areas. Conventionally, this sort of policy approach is justified by the claim that without monetary inducements industry would not locate in peripheral areas; that is, it does so against its 'natural preferences'. By offering such inducements, the state thereby ensures the creation of job opportunities in areas of high unemployment; a rationale clearly couched in social welfare terms.

13



12 Plan of Treforest Industrial Estate

Pwysleisiwyd mor simsan ydoedd economi Cymru, fodd bynnag, yn ystod y dirwasgiad a ddilynodd yr argyfwng olew ym 1974 (1). Oherwydd y sioc ynghylch olew, daeth cyfnod hir o gynnydd a datblygiad yn economiâu gwledydd y gorllewin i ben yn sydyn iawn. Yna daeth rhyw fath o adferiad, ond yn y 1980au cafodd dirwasgiad arall, hwy, effeithiau dwys ar gyflogaeth drwy Ewrop orllewinol gyfan. Collodd diwydiannau cynhyrchu Cymru 150,000 o swyddi yn ystod y degawd 1973-83. Caewyd llawer o'r diwydiannau newydd a sefydlesid yng Nghymru yn y 1960au a'r 70au gyda chymorthdaliadau a chymelliadau eraill. Bu cryn ddadlau am bolisiau economaidd yn dwyn y teitl *Cymru: y Ffordd Ymlaen* ym 1967. Erbyn 1971 profesid ei ragolygon am gyflogaeth yn anghywir ac erbyn canol y 70au yr oedd llawer o'i amcanion niwlog, gwreiddiol wedi mynd i ebargofiant. Er gwaethaf natur ansefydlog ac anghrefftus (2,3) y swyddi newydd hyn a greuid yng Nghymru (llawer ohonynt ar gyfer menywod (4,5)) daeth yr effaith fwyaf poenus oddi wrth orddibyniaeth ar yr adrannau trwm traddodiadol - 'diwydiannau'r machlud'. Dioddefodd dur yn waeth nag eraill (6,7). Ceisiodd y Swyddfa Gymreig ac Awdurdod Datblygu Cymru leddfu effeithiau'r dirwasgiad, ond nid oedd eu hymdrechion yn ddigonol i atal y dirywiad mewn gwneuthuriad. Erbyn canol yr 80au yr oedd rhywfaint o 'ddiwydiannau'r wawr' yn cael eu denu i Gymru, diwydiannau'r uwch-dechnoleg (8,9) ond nifer gymharol fechan ohonynt. Yr oedd eu dyfodiad yn rhannol ddyledus i welliannau mewn ffyrdd a chyfathrebu, ond golygai lefel gyfyngedig eu buddsoddiad na allent ond cyffwrdd ag wyneb problem diweithdra. Cymerodd cymoedd de Cymru y gwaethaf o'r newidiadau hyn. Cafodd cyfnodau o gau pyllau, ac o osod swyddi newydd yng ngwaelodion deheuol y cymoedd, ganlyniadau andwyol ar gymunedau yn y cymoedd eu hunain (10,11). Sut bynnag, y gostyngiad yn nifer y glowyr a ysgogodd streiciau 1972 a 1974 (12,13). Erbyn 1984 ni chyfyngid y dadleuon mwyach i gyflogau ac amodau, oherwydd i'r glowyr, erbyn hyn, fod yn argyhoeddedig mai dyfodol y maes glo a'i gymunedau a oedd yn y fantol. Yr oedd glofeydd gogledd Cymru yn llai milwriaethus o dipyn a phleidleisiasant i barhau i weithio. Erbyn 1984, hefyd, fe effeithiwyd yn llym ar ffermwyr gan benderfyniad Cymuned y Farchnad Gyffredin i ddod â gormodaethau o lefrith yn Ewrop i ben.

Ceid ond dwy adran y gellid eu galw yn 'adrannau datblygu' (14) - nifer yr hunan-gyflogedig (i fyny

The vulnerability of the Welsh economy, however, became starkly apparent in the recession that followed the 1974 oil crisis (1). This oil shock brought to a sudden halt a period of sustained growth in Western economies. A recovery of sorts did ensue but in the 80s another more prolonged recession had dire effects on employment throughout western Europe. The Welsh production industries lost 150,000 jobs during the decade 1973-83. Many of the new industries set up in Wales in the 60s and 70s with the aid of grants and other incentives closed their Welsh factories. There was much questioning of economic policies for Wales. An economic plan entitled *Wales, the Way Ahead* was published by the Welsh Office in 1967. By 1971 its employment forecasts had been discredited and by the mid 70s many of its originally imprecise targets had been abandoned. Despite the impermanence and unskilled nature (2,3) of these new jobs created in Wales (many of them for women) (4,5), the most painful impact came from over dependence on the heavy traditional sectors - the sunset industries. Steel suffered more than most (6,7). The Welsh Office and the Welsh Development Agency tried to mitigate the effects of the decline but their efforts were not enough to arrest the contraction in manufacturing. By the mid 80s the sunrise, high tech industries were being drawn to Wales (8,9) in limited numbers, partly as a result of improved road communications but their capital intensity meant they could do no more than dent the numbers of unemployed. The south Wales valleys took the brunt of these changes. Successive waves of pit closures and the placing of incoming jobs at the valley mouths had devastating consequences for communities in the valleys themselves (10,11). The shrinking number of miners were however at the forefront of the momentous national strikes of 1972 and 1974 (12,13). By 1984 the issues were no longer only wages and conditions, since miners were now convinced that the very future of the coalfield and its communities were at stake. Collieries in north east Wales were markedly less militant and voted to continue working.

By 1984, too the farming community was being sharply affected by EEC action to curb European milk surpluses.

There were only two identifiable growth areas (14) - the number of self-employed (up by 20% between 1979 and 1984) and the service industries (up by 71,000 between 1974 and 1984 and now constituting over 60% of all employment) (15). This latter sector includes tourism (16) which provided mainly seasonal jobs in rural areas and proved vulnerable to recession and currency fluctuations, and public

We are now living in a different economic climate from that of the 1950's and 1960's. The post-war 'long boom' is over, and we are back with the uncertainty and the booms and slumps which pre-war generations knew well. The turning point could be located somewhere between perhaps 1966 and 1974. In the latter year profits in British manufacturing industry reached an all-time low, while inflation shot up to its all-time high. The government was alarmed to discover that private business intended to reduce its investment the following year by around one-tenth - an unprecedented drop equalled only in the Thatcher years⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. Dennis Healey as Chancellor of the Exchequer decided that the only way out was to begin cutting those forms of spending which people had become used to in order to make money available for investment, and to this end he inaugurated a series of attacks on public spending which lasted through to the 1980's. The new conservative government of 1979 essentially took the same logic and applied it more severely and more consistently. Since the mid-1970's, therefore, the British economy has suffered a declining number of public sector jobs (or at least, a dramatic slow-down in the rate of creation of such jobs) at the same time as the private sector has been running down employment in its factories, offices and shops.

1 from "Gwynedd A County in Crisis" by John Lovering 1983.

Many new firms, both large and small, set up initially to exploit the relatively low-paid labour available in Gwynedd. This meant that they tended to create jobs which were undemanding and thus taught the labour force no new skills. Often the jobs were for women, and women earn around 40% of men's earnings. Particularly in routine assembly, textiles and factory-farming the new economy in effect substituted well-paid secure skilled jobs for men with poorly-paid, irregular, insecure jobs for women.

2 from "Gwynedd A County in Crisis" by John Lovering 1983.

The major employers were of this kind: Ferrantis in Bangor, Hotpoint in Llandudno Junction, Lairds at Beaumaris, and Bernard Wardle at Caernarfon. Altogether the emerging manufacturing sector had a particular character: it was located in North Wales but was not 'of' it. Most of these firms were very closely tied to other firms or markets elsewhere, and the linkages between them were few. Gwynedd attracted firms for its natural resources of deep water or clean air, and for its cheap routine labour (often female). There is a certain limited truth in the claim that Gwynedd was rather like an underdeveloped country courting the favours of international - or at least national - firms.

3 from "Gwynedd A County in Crisis" by John Lovering 1983.

Women at work in Wales in 1977 (II)

Women as %age of workers in job category (in order of participation)

Hairdressing(94)	Cinemas, theatres, radio(44)
Clothing(86)	Wholesale, general(43)
Catering Contractors(82)	Electrical engineering(42)
Laundries(79)	Food, drink, tobacco(42)
Pubs(77)	Instrumental engineering(37)
Medical-Dental Services(77)	Paper, print, publishing(31)
Restaurants(77)	Local Govt.(30)
Legal Services(76)	Textiles(29)
Entertainment(74)	Wholesale, food-drink(29)
Retail, general(73)	Chemicals, pharmaceuticals, toiletries(26)
Education(69)	Dealers, coal, grain, building materials etc(26)
Retail, food-drink(67)	Garages(25)
Clubs(67)	Metals, smallware(25)
Betting(66)	Research and Development(21)
Hotels(64)	Timber, furniture(20)
Accountancy(59)	Vehicles(motors)(18)
Banking(56)	Dealers, industrial materials(18)
National Govt.(52)	Bricks, pottery etc(17)
Finance(49)	Gas, electricity, water(17)
Property management(48)	Mechanical engineering(15)
Insurance(47)	Transport and Communications(15)
General business service(47)	Marine engineering(13)
Sports, recreation(44)	Steel(7)
Toys, games, sports equipment, drums(44)	Coal-Petroleum products(5)

o 20 y cant rhwng 1979 a 1984) a'r diwydiannau gwasanaethol (i fyny o 71,000 rhwng 1974 a 1984 ac yn awr yn cyfrif am 60 y cant o'r holl gyflogaeth (15)). Y mae'r adran olaf hon yn cynnwys twristiaeth (16) sydd yn darparu llawer o swyddi tymhorol yn yr ardaloedd gwledig, ond sydd yn dueddol i ymateb yn gyflym iawn i ddirwasgiad, newid yng ngwerth y bunt a gweinyddiaeth gyhoeddus - yr olaf yn cyfrannu at ddiwydiannau drom Cymru ar yr adran gyhoeddus o'i chymharu â gweddill Prydain.

administration - the latter contributing to Wales's heavy dependence on the public sector compared with the rest of the U.K.

Wales TUC Steel and Coal Campaign Broadsheet

"Due to a combined programme of extensively increased coal imports together with closure and cut-back proposals at Llanwern and Port Talbot and in addition the demanding programme for other steel works, we are faced with immediate redundancies of between 35,000 - 45,000 coal miners, steel and transport workers, to be followed in the next few months by the ripple effect which would probably double these figures. This is an area where we have a notably higher unemployment rate than in other areas, where we have lost three other steel making plants in the last 18 months and we have yet to suffer the further unemployment increases occurring through cut backs in public expenditure."
(George Wright, General Secretary, Wales TUC, January 7th 1980).



Save Steel — Save Pits Save Wales

The spectre of a devastating economic slump is now hovering over industrial Wales. A vicious circle of events involving the steel and coal industries is threatening to return Wales to levels of unemployment previously only experienced in the 1930s. In the meantime, the government committed to massive cut backs in public sector finance and involvement have shown a total lack of concern and brutal disregard for the industrial chaos and social misery which their economic mismanagement is bringing to Wales. The Wales TUC sent an urgent plea to the Prime Minister for her to visit Wales and see for herself the damage which her government has inflicted. Our request was arrogantly spurned.

With the government standing aloof the fight for the survival of our industrial base can only be won by a wholly united and determined labour movement.

The support and fighting spirit which is currently uniting our movement in the steel industry pay dispute, must be maintained and transferred to carry the fight against the BSC's proposals to reduce steel output in South Wales by 50% whilst vastly increasing its importation of coking coal.

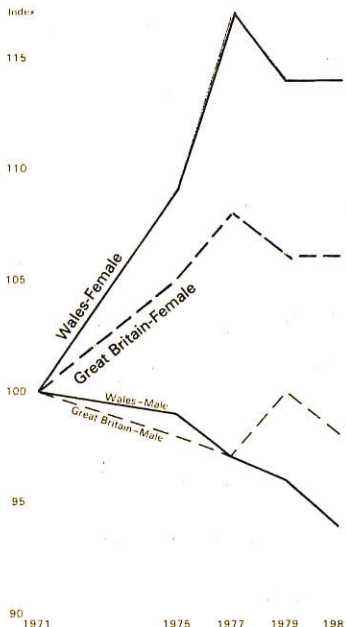
As the first step in this campaign the Wales TUC have with the full agreement of its constituent unions set out the following programme of demands:—

- 1 An inquiry to be set up into BSC, particularly into its commercial management. In the meantime the present Executive Management to be suspended and replaced by a Caretaker Management.
- 2 That any cut back or closure proposals and any policy making decisions of major imports to be held up for two years to allow the area to cope with the social, industrial and redeployment problems that would be created.
- 3 That an immediate investigation take place on the question of imports and the need for selective import controls to avoid the dire consequences such as would be created here.
- 4 That should there be no response to the previous points, all out action should be called from the unions involved with total support from other unions to prevent redundancies occurring at this rate and on this scale.

It is vital that the Labour Movement unites unequivocally behind these demands nothing less than the survival of Wales is at stake.

THE WORKING POPULATION

Change in activity rates



7

The axe to fall on 5,000 more Welsh steelmen

By JOHN EVANS, Labour Correspondent

BRITISH STEEL will axe about 5,000 more jobs in Wales — but the plants at Llanwern and Port Talbot, thought to be in danger, will remain open.

At least 26,000 jobs will go in Britain as part of the controversial plan by BSC chairman Mr Ian MacGregor to save Britain's ailing steel industry.

Jobs to go are at Trostre and Velindre 1,702; Onow Vale 1,003; Shotton 838; Port Talbot 700; Associated Products Group, Newport 580; Llanwern 323; Tinsplate group office and other Welsh works 77; Headquarters — Product Unit Cardiff and Newport 77.

This means that plants in the corporation's tinsplate group bore the brunt of the Welsh job losses with more than half the 2,200 workforce at Velindre near Swansea going.

The 5,000 Welsh jobs to go are on top of the 19,000 to disappear in the past year.

Only one major plant, at Southborough will be shut as part of Mr MacGregor's blueprint for survival. Steelmaking capacity will be cut by 600,000 tonnes nationally from the present figure of 15 million tonnes.

Although more jobs will be lost in Wales, the capacity of the Llanwern and Port Talbot works is actually

TINPLATE GROUP BADLY HIT, BUT NEITHER LLANWERN NOR PORT TALBOT WILL BE SHUT

being stepped up from the current 1.4 million tonnes to 1.7 million tonnes each and work will be transferred to the South Wales plants from Teesside and Scotland.

Mr MacGregor said on TV last night the plan was not a "big stick" or a threat. It was a "recognition of the realities of our business."

Outlining his plans in London earlier he said: "This plan provides an opportunity for employees of BSC to secure their future by making a major move towards becoming competitive by international standards."



Spelling out the grim news for steelmen yesterday... BSC chairman Mr Ian MacGregor speaks to Pressmen in London. Flanking him are deputy chairman Mr Bob Scholey (left) and personnel director Dr David Grievies.

"Failure to achieve these standards will result in steps towards the progressive liquidation of the corporation," he said. "Some £30 to £60 of each taxpayer's money has been poured into British Steel and I do not think the taxpayers will go for that much longer."

Jobs would go right through the corporation irrespective of position, he said. "There is no guaranteed future for a damned soul in this business anywhere — not even my job."

In Cardiff, Mr Peter Allen, managing director operations of BSC's important strip products group which runs virtually all the West steel plants, repeated Mr MacGregor's earlier warnings that the next six months were absolutely vital for the steel industry. The announcement gave the two plants at Llanwern and Port Talbot "the opportunity to really prove themselves."

"If the plan does not work there will be some closures," said Mr Allen.

"The plan has been submitted because we believe that if things go our way we shall succeed."

BSC is aiming to regain its pre-strike market share of 54 per cent by aggressive marketing and pricing and by improving quality and delivery. It is also making a concerted drive for increased efficiency and better productivity.

Talks with the unions on these new plans began yesterday at plants in South Wales. BSC's timetable for agreement with the unions is strict — agreement for the plants is being sought by the end of March 1981.

Mr Allen said he hoped the plans would be accepted by the workforce and by the unions without great friction. He claimed BSC had not been influenced by the Government "or any other factors" in drawing up the plan.

In addition to major Welsh plants where jobs will go, 77 workers will lose their jobs at BSC's Cardiff offices and at its product unit at Newport.

At Velindre which will be cut to a one-shift operation 1,096 shopfloor workers will be out of a job. At Trostre 110 shopfloor workers will go with a further 496 white-collar workers at the two plants being cut.

In the Associated Products Group, based at Newport, jobs will be

lost at five plants and 19 jobs will go at the group offices. Orb works and Whitford works, both at Newport, will each lose 100 jobs.

Llanwern and Port Talbot jobs have been slashed dramatically in the past 12 months as a result of the BSC's "rationalisation" plans which Mr MacGregor hailed as "encouraging" yesterday.

If these plans are put into effect Llanwern's workforce will fall to 4,600 — compared to 9,200 a year ago and the Port Talbot payroll will be down to 4,400 from more than 12,000 at that time.

Labour leader Mr Michael Foot accused the Government of making BSC's problems even worse.

Mr George Wright, general secretary of the Wales TUC, said the decision to keep Llanwern and Port Talbot was "a significant victory" but warned the loss of jobs at tinsplate works would have devastating impact.

Mr John Foley, of the Iron and Steel Trade Confederation, said the alternative to preserving steelmaking in some form in South Wales was "too terrible to contemplate."

Newport Borough Council leader Mr Aubrey Hayes said there was a great feeling in the town and the chance of a breathing space with new factories might be attracted into the area.

In North Wales there was a stunned reaction from unions and political leaders. Mr Owen Jones, an ITC official at Shotton, said: "We will want to fight the plan. It is not the end of the line but I cannot say more until I contact my members."

Mr Mervyn Phillips, Clwyd County Council chief executive said the fresh cuts at Shotton would add to the area's already serious jobs crisis. We will be seeking early discussions with BSC in an attempt to meet this new threat to the community," he said.

Mr Ian Kelsall, director of the Confederation of British Industry in Wales said the cutbacks were inevitable. He was seriously concerned about the implications for employment.

Redundancy payments made this year are expected to double last year's record £22m, said Mr Jim Lester, Employment Under-Secretary in a Commons reply yesterday. The amount paid out up to the end of October this year was £364,800,000 compared with £232,333,000 paid out last year.

Further reports. — Page 2.

North Sea oil targets fall short by £1bn

CHANCELLOR SIR Geoffrey Howe admitted to MPs last night that his North Sea oil revenue targets — set last April — will fall short by a massive £1bn

INSIDE

Western Mail SPECIAL HOLIDAY OFFER

Gun battles stop poll count

Violent prisoner goes on run

A dangerous prisoner escaped from the back of an ambulance while being transferred from Neath General Hospital, under Police escort, to Cardiff jail yesterday.
Police said Rashid Abdullah, a 16-year-old Cardiff man, was violent and warned the public not to approach him.

Students help company to develop micro-trainer

A GROUP of South Wales students have helped to develop a unique high-technology training device.

The electronics section at Mid Gwent College of Higher Education, Pontypool acted as guinea-pigs for a London firm, Antronics, in the development of a unit to train people in the use of micro-processors.

The "micro-trainer" prototypes were modified according to the response of the students, and lecturer Mr Steve Morgan wrote a 250-page manual as part of the training package.

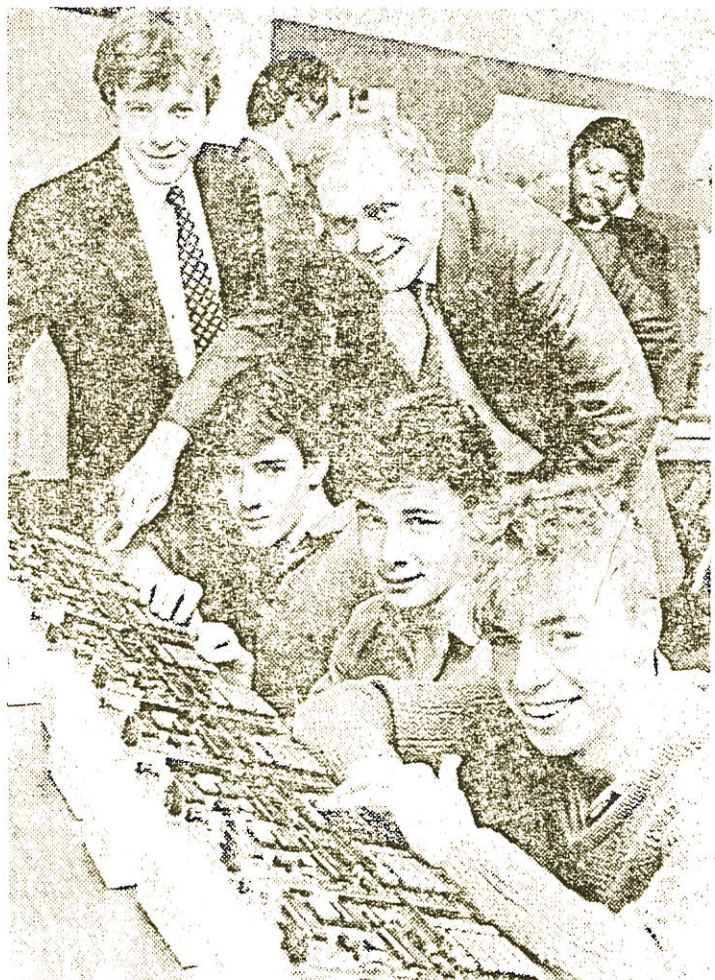
The package, which is designed to support students at various levels of learning, will now be sold to educational organisations and businesses.

Interest has already been shown by groups in America and China as well as Britain. And one of the systems was presented to Zimbabwe's Minister of Education, Dr Dzingai Mutumbuka, who visited the college yesterday.

Antronics managing director Mr Joel Cosham also presented ten to the college. The project was "a unique example of education and industry working together," he said.

"The input of the students was an important part of the development."

Mr Morgan said, "Too often, companies come along with what they think we need. But this time, we have been able to tell them just what we want, and help them to get it right."



High technology . . . with the "micro-trainers" are (left to right) standing, lecturer Mr Steve Morgan and Antronics managing director Mr Joel Cosham with students George Davies, Mark Rostron and Nick Howells.

New company springs from town's hi-tech drive

A NEW company will be launched in Wales next month in a spin-off from the high-technology centre set up to train young people in Neath.

The new firm, which already has a broad range of work lined up, will sell and service computers and Belgian-made equipment for educational use with computers. The company will also make its own products.

The number of jobs to be provided is not yet clear but the company, Neath Valley Technology, is expected to employ people who have spent a year in the town's HiG-tech Centre.

Initiative

In the past year the centre has trained 30 young people in many aspects of high technology. It was set up on the initiative of the Neath Development Partnership which, backed by industry and public organisations, was formed to regenerate the economy of the area.

By GARROD WHATLEY,
Industrial Editor

The venture also included workshops to get small businesses going and schemes to boost tourism.

Neath Borough Council funded the factory space and all but one of the 36 units at Lonlas have been let, and 160 jobs created, in just over eight years.

Larger units will become available shortly at the Neath Abbey site and already eight firms are on the verge of signing up.

Work is about to start on another 10 workshop units at Glynneath — a possible first step in expanding the concept to the villages in the Neath Borough Council area.

Tourism projects, which will help to create jobs, are also well advanced. They include a marina, access to a range of waterfalls, and a dry ski slope on the hillside above Aberdulais.

FLYING VISIT: Mid Wales

Development officials were last night trying to play down a mission to fly in a group of English industrialists to view potential business sites in Wales.

On board the chartered helicopter from London, due in Wales today, will be 13 high-technology industrialists from South-East England. They will visit sites as far apart as Ystradgynlais, Brecon, Rhayader, Llandrindod Wells and Newtown.

Anxious

Earlier this week MWD gave out a Press release on the visit, but yesterday officials said the industrialists were anxious that their visit and prospects that they might be moving operations to Mid Wales be kept quiet.

Today's visit is the first in an open-ended series of such flights planned by Mid Wales Development as part of its campaign to boost the development of manufacturing industries and new job opportunities in its area.

9 Western Mail, 18 August 1983

They have closed our collieries and that is good. It's good to get men from underground, although there is millions of tons still there. (But) when a way of life depends on one means even to the extent of buying a loaf of bread and that means is taken away, you have destroyed that entire way of life. That is what has happened in the valleys. (unpublished interview, Upper Afan Migration Study: see Rees, 1976a, 1976b)

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Two forms of population movement are of critical significance in the region: daily journeys to work; and permanent migration to a new place of residence. The former has been central to the strategy of regional development adopted by the state (of which more later). It has been argued that daily commuting offers the means of maintaining the established coalfield communities, as well as reaping the benefits of new employment opportunities at the 'valley mouths'. Clearly, many people do travel daily to the jobs available at places such as Llantrisant, Bridgend, Pontypridd and, above all, at the service centre of Cardiff (Davies and Musson, 1978). However, equally clearly, costs are imposed by this necessity to commute: not simply the obvious financial costs, but also those of time and social disruption. These costs are, in turn, exacerbated by the generally poor provision of public transport in areas of low car ownership (for an especially acute example, see Rees, 1974). Moreover, daily journeying to work is a selective process. In much the same way that working people vary in their ability to meet the requirements set down for jobs, they vary in their ability to travel to the locations where they are available. Most obviously, car owners are in a highly favourable position (although this solution to the travel-to-work problem in itself creates problems for other members of the household in terms of their access to work, school, shops and so forth). Equally, other factors such as age and family commitments play a significant role.

A second sort of response to the changing spatial distribution of economic activity is for workers to migrate to the new 'growth areas' — to the areas where employment opportunities are available and, to simplify, standards of living are higher. As we have seen, this form of population movement has been a pervasive feature of industrial development in South Wales. In the most recent period, for example, the Central and Eastern valleys (broadly equivalent to the valley areas of Mid Glamorgan and Gwent) lost some 21,000 people during the decade 1961 to 1971, in spite of a natural increase of almost 23,000; it is, of course, no coincidence that this was the period during which the closure programme in the coal industry was at its most severe. At a more detailed level as well, the patterns of growth and decline within the region have called forth distinctive population changes. Hence, as we should expect, many of the 'valley mouths' have experienced considerable population growth as a result of net inward migration, whilst many of the coalfield areas have experienced major population losses

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Gormley pledges 'peaceful picketing'

PIT STRIKE IS ON!

-IT STARTS SUNDAY

THE MINERS' STRIKE is on. NUM leaders today called an all-out national stoppage in Britain's pits from midnight on Saturday after rejecting a Government plea for more talks.

The strike order went out from the union's 27-man executive committee after nearly four hours of talks at their London headquarters.

12 Western Mail on the 1972 pit strike.

WANTED

1,600 UNDERGROUND WORKERS TO FILL VACANCIES IN SOUTH WALES COALFIELD

FREE

- * DUST MASKS
- * GOGGLES
- * EAR MUFFS (for excessive noise)
- * OIL SKINS (when working in water)
- * RESPIRATOR MASKS (for emergencies)
- * CHEST X-RAYS (monitoring Pneumoconiosis)



Good Bus Services to neighbouring pits from nearby towns and villages—commencing at 5 a.m.

Hours of Work — 7½ plus winding time (you will be on the colliery premises approximately 8½ hours.)

Good Canteen facilities before and after your shift.

Death benefits if you die in service.

Present Basic Gross Wage (for 5-day week)	Basic Gross Wage from 1st March, 1974 for 5-day week (if offer accepted)
Coal Face — £36.79	*Coal Face — £39.29
Grades A — £36.79	Grades A — £39.29
B — £31.71	B — £34.21
C — £29.99	C — £32.49
Grades 1 — £28.16	Grades 1 — £30.66
2 — £27.66	2 — £30.16
3 — £27.29	3 — £29.79

*IF YOU ARE PREPARED TO WORK NIGHTS REGULARLY ON COAL FACE YOU CAN EARN £46 PER WEEK GROSS

Note:—For the majority of miners the MINIMUM Wage Rates are also the MAXIMUM

SORRY — NO SURFACE VACANCIES AVAILABLE THESE ARE USUALLY RESERVED FOR INJURED AND DISABLED UNDERGROUND WORKERS!

THE NATION NEEDS COAL — JOIN THE DWINDLING BAND OF THOSE PREPARED TO DIG IT!

Issued by the National Union of Mineworkers (South Wales Area) and printed by the Cyfnewydd Federation Press, Newydd Street, Cardiff.

13 Leaflet issued during 1974 miners' strike.

M.P. ON 'SCOURGE OF ANGLESEY'

"GORONWY OWEN is a classic example of the scourge that has bedevilled Anglesey for generations upon generations, exiled from his native heath, never to return".

This was the theme of Saturday afternoon's president, Mr Cledwyn Hughes, M.P. for Anglesey. "Anglesey is not a place to mourn for longinly from far off lands, but a place to live in and to bring our children up", said Mr Hughes.

"No man can stay here without a job, neither

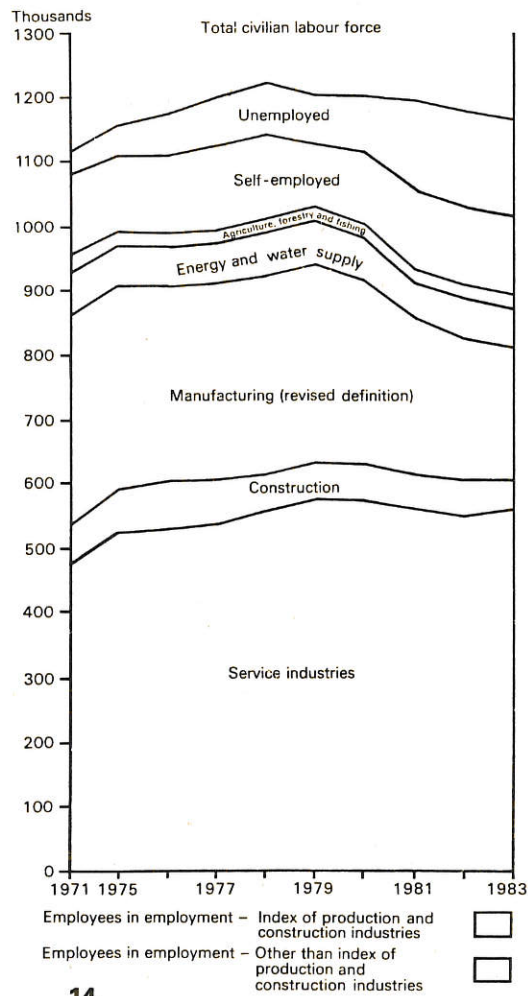
could Goronwy without a benefice".

He referred to the days when Anglesey people were without hope and work. They had no decent houses, no proper roads, no electricity or water. It was impossible under such circumstances to keep the young people from emigrating. Without belittling the importance of the tourist industry, Mr Hughes emphasised that the isle of Anglesey was not a place for people to spend their holidays on, but a community of people with their own way of life.

16 North Wales Chronicle, 29 May 1969

THE WORKING POPULATION

Distribution of the civilian working population 1971-1983



14

The major exception to this pattern of 'dualistic' development is the city of Cardiff itself; here, the uneven patterns of growth and decline are manifest within the city. Hence, the loss of some 3,000 to 4,000 jobs following the closure of the East Moors steel plant has come on top of a decline in other sorts of manufacturing industry in the city. However, there has been an over-all expansion of employment in the service sector and, more particularly, in certain types of service activity such as public administration, professional and scientific services, distribution and finance (these grew by some 9,000 jobs between 1961 and 1971 — South Glamorgan County Council, 1976). What is perhaps most significant here is that it is these sorts of employment that provide jobs which tend to be filled by women. This, in turn, raises the general question of the nature of the new jobs being created in South Wales.

The critical point to be made in this context is that a significant proportion of the new jobs in South Wales have been filled by women; what were historically very low rates of female activity have risen to levels much closer to the British average. For example, in Mid Glamorgan, the largest in terms of population of the counties of South Wales, there was a net increase in employment of some 6,300 jobs during the ten years up until 1975. However, by far the greater part of this is attributable to changes in female employment, which rose by 7,700 jobs between 1965 and 1971 and a further 8,600 jobs in the subsequent four years. These striking increases were recorded in both manufacturing (and especially electrical engineering) and the service sector. The general trend that emerges, then, is one of employment losses in the traditional, male-dominated industries being counter-balanced by gains in new, female-dominated industries.

Allied to the growth of female employment is the question of the 'skill profile' of the jobs being created in South Wales. Certainly, McNabb (Chapter 8, above) argues that a great many of the new jobs in the tertiary sector are part-time and/or semi- and unskilled, and therefore badly paid. Equally, Davies and Thomas (1976) have shown that for their sample of overseas firms (significant providers of new jobs) there is a concentration of workers in the unskilled category (58.2 per cent) with only 5.2 per cent in the senior administrative category, 5.4 per cent senior scientific, 20.9 per cent skilled workers and 10.3 per cent clerical workers. And Lovering (1978a) suggests that a similar pattern may be characteristic of those other non-Welsh-owned firms which comprise some 60 per cent of all manufacturing employment.

15