

‘For Wales, see England’: An investigation into the lack of a Welsh international cricket team.



Wales cricket hat, 20th century

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Abbreviations

Cricketing Bodies/Organisations:

ECB – *England and Wales Cricket Board*

ICC – *Imperial Cricket Conference (1909-1965), International Cricket Conference (1965-1987), International Cricket Council (1987-present)*

MCC – *Marylebone Cricket Club*

WCU – *Welsh Cricket Union*

Other:

ODI – *One Day International*

WAG – *Welsh Assembly Government*

Introduction

In no other context is this old adage, 'for Wales, see England', more applicable than in the world of cricket. Unlike virtually any other team sport, Wales have no independent cricketing body, let alone a national side.¹ And whilst this 'quintessential English game',² is 'generally seen as a minority pastime' in the 'Celtic fringe' of Ireland, Scotland and Wales,³ Wales is unique amongst them as having no international representation. Instead, Welsh cricket is organised by the England and Wales Cricket Board, shortened tellingly simply to 'ECB'.⁴ Wales has no nationwide domestic cricket league, instead having a men's county, Glamorgan, take part in the English County Championship, a Wales amateur side in the Minor Counties Championship, and a Wales 'national' side in the Women's County Championship.⁵ It is common for Welsh supporters to back the English national side, whether at one of the various England games hosted in Wales,⁶ or further afield.⁷ Further confusion stems from Glamorgan often being framed as a proxy national side,⁸ whilst themselves being firmly opposed to the foundation of an official one.⁹ Considering

¹ National Assembly for Wales Petition Committee, *The Establishment of a Wales Cricket Team*, May 2013, p. 8. Available at <https://business.senedd.wales/documents/s16914/Report%20The%20Establishment%20of%20a%20Welsh%20Cricket%20Team%20-%20May%202013.pdf>, Accessed 2 March 2022.

² Dominic Malcom, 'Cricket and the Celtic Nations', *Globalizing Cricket: Englishness, Empire and Identity* (London, 2013), p. 89

³ Alan Bairner and Dominic Malcom, 'Chapter Ten: Cricket and National Identities of the Celtic Fringe' in *Cricket and Globalization*, ed. by Chris Rumford and Stephen Wagg (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2010), p. 193.

⁴ ECB, *Raising the Standard* (London, 1997).

⁵ Owen Donovan, 'Owzat, butt!: Should Wales have national cricket teams?', *State of Wales*, 30 July 2018. Available at <https://stateofwales.com/2018/07/owzat-butt-should-wales-have-national-cricket-teams/>, Accessed 2 March 2022.

⁶ Andrew Yates, *Former England fast bowler Simon Jones (C, with flag) joins fans in the crowd during the fourth day of the first Ashes cricket Test match in Cardiff, in Wales, on July 11, 2009*, 11 July 2009. Available at <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/former-england-fast-bowler-simon-jones-joins-fans-in-the-news-photo/88980326>, Accessed 3 March 2022.

⁷ Randy Brooks, *Ben Stokes of England is bowled by Jayden Seales of West Indies during the 1st day of the 1st Test between England and West Indies*, 8 March 2022. Available at <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/ben-stokes-of-england-is-bowled-by-jayden-seales-of-west-news-photo/1239028490>, Accessed 9 March 2022.

⁸ For examples see Derek Hodgson, 'Welsh ready for title tussle', *The Sunday Times*, 26 April 1998, p. 42. Available at <https://link-gale-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/FP1802959439/GDCS?u=tou&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=370511b2>, Accessed 5 March 2022, and Brains, Brains Beer Mat - Glamorgan Cricket Official Beer, 6 January 2017. Available at <https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/546327>, Accessed 18 February 2022.

⁹ Donovan, 'Owzat, butt!: Should Wales have national cricket teams?'.

Wales' proud national identity, particularly in a sport context where opposition to the English 'other' is a key element,¹⁰ this is almost unthinkable.

Robert Croft, the Welshman capped twenty-one times for England, after having captained his improvised Welsh team to victory over England in a warm-up ODI in 2002, described the feeling of beating England as 'superb', though hastened to add that his Welsh team would 'all be cheering on England' in their upcoming tri-series.¹¹ This contradiction, a Welsh side assembled for the benefit of England, captained by a Welshman whose performance 'made a point to the England selectors',¹² disparaged by England's stand-in captain as a 'glorified county side',¹³ ultimately victorious and yet still performing the role of English cheerleaders, lies at the heart of Welsh cricket. This is hardly surprising, given that the only chance Welsh cricketers have of playing at the highest level is playing for England. But national identity and cricket is complex, with Malcom pointing out that cricket is '[ambivalent] to the European concept of the nation-state',¹⁴ with 'England' being analogous to a representative British and Irish side in all but name.¹⁵ Examinations of Wales' lack of a cricket team, therefore, intersect with questions of national identity, as sport history does generally. Martin Johnes, for instance, states that sport is a 'perfect vehicle through which collective ideas of nationhood can be expressed',¹⁶ and that 'for many people in the so-called Celtic fringes of Britain, it is one of the few pieces of tangible evidence that their nation exists',¹⁷ which only makes the virtual invisibility of Wales in cricket more intriguing,

¹⁰ Bairner and Malcom, 'Chapter Ten: Cricket and National Identities of the Celtic Fringe', p. 201.

¹¹ Fraser Angus, 'Croft's class exposes England's inadequacy', *Independent*, 25 June 2003, p. 30. Available at <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/FQ4202700838/GDCS?u=tou&sid=bookmarkGDCS&xid=b533b3fe>, Accessed 4 Mar 2022.

¹² *BBC Sport*, 'Wales humble England', 24 June 2002. Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/cricket/2062244.stm>, Accessed 1 March 2022.

¹³ Angus, 'Croft's class exposes England's inadequacy', p. 30.

¹⁴ Dominic Malcom, 'Cricket, Brexit and the Anglosphere', *Sports in Society*, 24.8 (2021), p. 1276.

¹⁵ Bairner and Malcom, 'Chapter Ten: Cricket and National Identities of the Celtic Fringe', p. 202.

¹⁶ Johnes, "'Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 52.

¹⁷ Martin Johnes, 'Eighty minute patriots? National identity and sport in modern Wales', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 17.4 (2000), p. 94.

especially considering that cricket has, historically, been one of the most popular Welsh past-times.¹⁸ But the topic's complexity makes it a worthwhile one, with the abundance of pre-existing literature regarding these themes making comparison all the more interesting.

That being said, however, sport history in Wales has tended to focus more often on football¹⁹ and (particularly) rugby union,²⁰ owing to their superior popularity and more visible sporting cultures. On the other hand, though there is plenty of literature dealing with cricket in Britain, this is almost always exclusively focused on England, with Wales being mentioned only as a footnote. There are exceptions, notably Andrew Hignell's works,²¹ but essentially, as Lewis describes, there is an 'almost total absence of Welsh cricket literature'.²² Beneficially, however, what little that does exist approaches the topic from various angles. Johnes, for instance, contrasts cricket with wider Welsh sporting culture, observing that rugby's popularity is partly due to its stars of the 1970s being 'amateurs, still mostly working and living in Wales, [keeping] them rooted in the society that worshipped them',²³ in stark contrast to the elite origins of cricket. Johnes also notes the quite hostile anti-English sentiment in the support of the Welsh national rugby and football teams,²⁴ which is sorely lacking in cricket. Another approach taken is from historians viewing Welsh culture more broadly,²⁵ which helps to contextualise cricket as a Welsh activity.

¹⁸ Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980*, p. 347.

¹⁹ See Martin Johnes, 'Anglo-Welsh football relations' in *Sport and English National Identity in a 'Disunited Kingdom'*, ed. by Tom Gibbons and Dominic Malcolm (Oxen, 2017), pp.184-198.

²⁰ For additional investigations of Welsh rugby see John Harris, 'Cool Cymru, Rugby Union and an Imagined Community', *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 27.3/4 (2007), pp. 151-62.

²¹ See Andrew Hignell, 'Participants and providers: a micro-scale analysis of cricket in Cardiff during the nineteenth century', p. 165-180. Andrew Hignell, "'Wales says G'Day": National identity, Glamorgan CCC, and the 2009 Ashes Test Match at Cardiff', *Sport in Society*, 15.8 (2012), p. 1097. Andrew Hignell, 'Participants and providers: a micro-scale analysis of cricket in Cardiff during the nineteenth century', *Sport in Society*, 15.2 (2012), p. 487-514.

²² Lewis quoted in Malcolm, 'Cricket and the Celtic Nations', p. 92.

²³ Johnes, "'Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 54.

²⁴ Johnes, "'Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 54, 58.

²⁵ See Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980*, and Peter Stead, 'Popular culture', in *Post-War Wales*, ed. by Gareth Elwyn Jones and Trevor Herbert (Cardiff, 1995).

Though these sources, approaching Welsh cricket from differing angles, are illuminating, they again demonstrate that this is a topic littered with complexity. Therefore, with all available research on the topic of Welsh cricket insufficient in answering why Wales has no international representation, and what this says about Welsh national identity, further examination is required. The answers to this question are rooted in history, and so it is vital that this includes the origins of cricket in Wales, how its elitist nature has impacted the sport's relationship with Welshness, the changing popularity of cricket in Wales throughout the 20th century, the role that Glamorgan has played in Wales' cricketing culture, the differences to the cultures of rugby and football, and the modern calls for a Welsh national cricket side, as well as its opposition, in order to truly understand what Wales' lack of a national cricket team can tell us about its national identity.

Chapter One: Origins of Welsh cricket

Cricket, the oldest organised team sport in Wales, has been played in the nation since at least the 18th century, though its exact origins are unknown. Hignell traces its roots to 17th and 18th century games, like 'bando' and 'trap-cat', with the earliest instances of Welsh cricket likely taking place in 'pre-industrial [...] market towns and other locations where regular or annual gatherings took place'.²⁶ But if Welsh cricket's origins are rooted in community fairs and folk festivals, its organised form that emerged towards the end of the 18th century would prove different. Wales' first recorded cricket match was played in Carmarthenshire in 1783, for prize-money of fifty guineas. The match's organiser was J.G. Philipps, a Welsh gentleman who had spent most of his life amidst English high society.²⁷ The match was advertised in the *Hereford Journal*, perhaps implying that the contest was more than a simple local affair, and was described as being contested between

²⁶ Andrew Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History* (Cardiff, 2008), p. 3.

²⁷ Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 4.

'Gentlemen' of the east and west of the county.²⁸ Bairner and Malcom state that the Welsh landed gentry played a 'crucial' part in the origins of Welsh cricket, with their adoption of the sport 'an integral part of a wider anglicization process'.²⁹ Furthermore, Fahad Mustafa, whilst examining the 'Indianization' of cricket, states that the sport was initially a 'preserve' of both the 'English and South Welsh elite classes'.³⁰ Notably, the game also took place in South Wales, reflecting that there existed a less 'thriving cricketing scene' in the North.³¹ This match, then, is emblematic of Welsh cricket for much of its early recorded history, being played mostly as elite entertainment, particularly amongst South Walian gentlemen attempting to integrate themselves into the English upper echelons.

Fittingly, and partially thanks to transport improvements in Wales, Welsh cricket clubs began organising exhibition matches against English 'touring teams of star professionals', which organised considered 'measures of civic pride'.³² In 1855 a local paper described the first such match as 'an epoch from which we shall hereafter have to date the progress of south Wales to a higher elevation in the noble art of cricketing'.³³ The match ended in a stalemate, but, following numerous similar attempts, a South Wales side was eventually victorious against English opponents in 1859.³⁴ Subsequently the South Wales Cricket Club was formed that year, becoming the first 'regional team to represent the Principality'.³⁵ However, as most organised cricket was, the club was mainly used for gentlemen to find entertainment amongst their peers, the side consisting largely of those 'educated at English public schools who had the time and money to play cricket outside Wales', with annual club

²⁸ *Hereford Journal*, 'The GAME of CRICKET', 31 July 1873, p. 2. Available at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000397/17830731/015/0002>, Accessed 10 May 2022.

²⁹ Bairner and Malcom, 'Chapter Ten: Cricket and National Identities of the Celtic Fringe', p. 196.

³⁰ Fahad Mustafa, 'Cricket and globalization: global processes and the imperial game', *Journal of Global History*, 8.2 (2013), p. 319.

³¹ Craig Owen Jones, 'The development of cricket In North-West Wales, c.1840–1870', *Welsh History Review*, 28.3 (2017), p. 513.

³² Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 36.

³³ Quoted in Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 37.

³⁴ *The Cardiff Times*, 'THE GREAT CRICKET MATCH', 25 June 1859, p. 4. Available at: <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3380932/3380936/24/>, Accessed 5 May 2022.

³⁵ Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 41.

trips to London offering 'social and political opportunities, and [helping] to confirm the amateur's belief in the gentry's role in cricket's development in Wales'.³⁶ There is the sense that the elite viewed cricket as belonging to them, that they were its custodians. The club was largely unsuccessful on their travels, however, though they did secure the first ever Welsh victory at Lord's, the 'home of cricket', against the MCC³⁷ in 1861.³⁸ The upper-class nature of the club is clear from the photograph of the side after this victory,³⁹ with players donning bowties and bowler hats, along with pristine cricket whites, perhaps reflecting that this triumph was more likely to be seen as a respectful contest between peers, rather than a truly Welsh victory over English counterparts.

Despite this, South Wales was part of wider efforts to increase competitiveness in the region, culminating in the 1864 establishment of Wales' first county side, Carmarthenshire. Founded with lofty ambitions, the side quickly became the first Welsh side to play overseas, touring Ireland in 1865. This club was also prone to elitism, however, with its official rules prohibiting the admission of 'tradesmen or any of the working class'.⁴⁰ Though demonstrating that cricket was still firmly a game of gentlemen, the fact that the rules had to explicitly state this might, conversely, suggest that there was interest from the lower-classes to take part. However, an absence of contemporary reporting on lower-class cricket, or other forms of surviving primary sources, obfuscates the extent of this interest. Regardless, clearly organised cricket not only belonged to the Welsh elite, but they were also carefully guarding it. One reason for this might be how organised games, particularly cricket, were perceived by the elite in this period. Mustafa, for instance, states that they

³⁶ Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 42.

³⁷ The Marylebone Cricket Club, or MCC, is the most important cricket club in the world, with the club having been responsible for the Laws of Cricket since 1787, as well as having played a large role for the creation of the ICC, and were (until 1977) tasked with organising England tours overseas.

³⁸ *The Welshman*, 'SOUTH WALES CRICKET CLUB MATCHES, 1861', 27 December 1861, p. 5. Available <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4351469/4351474/32/>, Accessed 29 April 2022.

³⁹ Newport Cricket Club, *South Wales Cricketers after their victory over Marylebone Club and Grounds, 19 July 1861*, 12 November 2015. Available at <https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/478282>, Accessed 1 May 2022.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 51.

were considered essential in public schooling, thanks to the firm belief that 'physical education shaped the moral character of an individual'.⁴¹ An early 20th century headmaster of Harrow stated that 'discipline and loyalty [...] have been less clearly marked in the lower than higher social classes; and the reason is the deficiency of organised games'.⁴² This may have been a call to bestow organised sports upon the working-class, similar to industrialists of the 1870s who, in arranging workingmen's clubs, believed that 'by shaping working-class values and providing edifying recreation, they were preventing industrial society from denigrating into anarchy'.⁴³ It is equally possible, however, that the elite of this period (such as the gentlemen of Carmarthenshire) were instead glad for this difference in character, perhaps even believing that the lower-classes were simply unsuitable for games altogether.

Organised cricket being exclusive may well explain its lack of popularity in Wales, but it should be noted that this attitude extended beyond Britain itself, with sport utilised throughout the Empire in an effort to 'disseminate the gospel of athleticism', resulting in 'vigour and manliness' being transferred to the 'lazy native'.⁴⁴ Cricket was particularly special to Victorians in this regard, as they glorified it as embodying the 'English system of manners, ethics, and morals'. Essentially, they hoped that by forcing 'less civilised' peoples in the British Empire to play cricket, with all its supposed virtues, that eventually their cultures would come to replicate British society, knitting the Empire further together as a result.⁴⁵ But whilst cricket became wildly popular across the British Empire, this was not so in Wales. The crucial difference, despite cricket originating with the ruling British elite in both cases, is that cricket was introduced abroad specifically for native people's 'benefit', who were therefore heavily encouraged to play it. Meanwhile, in Wales, the landed elite

⁴¹ Mustafa, 'Cricket and globalization: global processes and the imperial game', p. 323.

⁴² Quoted in Mustafa, 'Cricket and globalization: global processes and the imperial game', p. 323.

⁴³ Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 69.

⁴⁴ Keith Sandiford quoted in Mustafa, 'Cricket and globalization: global processes and the imperial game', p. 323.

⁴⁵ Mustafa, 'Cricket and globalization: global processes and the imperial game', p. 322.

had little reason to share the sport. As noted, their reason for taking up cricket was to integrate themselves with the English elite, and allowing, let alone encouraging, the lower-classes in Wales to partake would have only been detrimental to this end. Crucially, as Mustafa notes, not only was cricket encouraged amongst native populations abroad, but this 'elite English game' was in turn 'appropriated' by them, and 'incorporated into their own cultural worlds'.⁴⁶ Though cricket originated as a folk game within the 'cultural world' of Welsh people, its organised counterpart being a reserve of the elite meant that there was little chance of this occurring in Wales.

Even in parts of the British Empire where proselytizing missions did not occur, i.e. settler colonies, cricket had another advantage. Mandle states that 'cricket provided the vehicle for an emerging Australian nationalism', enabling the 'peripheral colony' to 'thrash the motherland'.⁴⁷ Whilst Wales' rugby and football sides provided the chance to both defeat England at its own game, something which continues to take on massive cultural importance today,⁴⁸ and to show Welsh strength on the world stage against others, there was no national cricket side. Johnes labels Wales' 1905 rugby victory against New Zealand a 'defining moment in Welsh cultural history; the beginning of the popular relationship between rugby and Welsh national identity that has endured until today'.⁴⁹ Without an equivalent side, there was simply no opportunity for cricket to gain this sort of cultural recognition. After that victory, one jubilant contemporary writer declared that 'Gallant little Wales' had 'produced sons of strong determination, invincible stamina, resolute, mentally keen, physically sound',⁵⁰ demonstrating another important aspect of Welsh national

⁴⁶ Mustafa, 'Cricket and globalization: global processes and the imperial game', *Journal of Global History*, 8.2 (2013), p. 322.

⁴⁷ W. F. Mandle quoted in Mustafa, 'Cricket and globalization: global processes and the imperial game', *Journal of Global History*, 8.2 (2013), pp. 328-9.

⁴⁸ Johnes, "'Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 54, 58.

⁴⁹ Johnes, 'Eighty minute patriots? National identity and sport in modern Wales', pp. 94.

⁵⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 'THE GREAT WELSH VICTORY', 18 December 1905, p. 4.

Available at

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000919/19051218/075/0004>, Accessed 4 May 2022.

identity: a small nation punching above its weight. Famously evoked by David Lloyd George's 1914 'little five-foot-five nations' speech in order to encourage more Welsh people to enlist in WWI,⁵¹ the fact that clear connections can be made between this concept and Wales' rugby exploits only heightened its appeal. Essentially, just as cricket had with indigenous peoples abroad, rugby had become incorporated into the Welsh people's 'cultural world'. By contrast, cricket was largely seen as an English elitist sport, with any enthusiasm existing only within these parameters, as an opportunity for Welsh gentlemen to partake in this cultural sphere, essentially the opposite of 'Gallant little Wales'.

Notably, the 1905 triumph against New Zealand was also hailed as evidence of the superiority of the Celtic race, with the same correspondent stating that the Welsh players 'embodied the best manhood of the race', specifically noting 'the great quality of defence and attack in the Welsh race [...] traced to the training of the early period when powerful enemies drove them to their mountain fortresses'.⁵² Interestingly, this logic was also used to explain Welsh cricket's unpopularity, with Reverend W. Edwyn Jones, in a 1929 article for *The Welsh Outlook*, responding to a letter attributing the slow growth of Welsh cricket to the 'psychology of the Celtic people'. Jones, a clear Welsh cricket enthusiast, is inclined to agree, noting that the 'temperamental side' of cricket is unappealing to the 'active and restless trait in the character of the Welsh', whilst 'football appeals to the Celt because he is able to fight at close quarters'.⁵³ Jones even blames this for cricket's unpopularity in North Wales, stating that 'our ancestors in the North were especially skilled at close quarters in the use of the lance; the South Wales arm was pre-eminently the bow'.⁵⁴ Craig Owen Jones has a less sensationalist theory, stating that 'subtle differences in social

⁵¹ Quoted in Kenneth Owen Morgan, 'David Lloyd George and Wales' in *Wales 1880–1914*, ed. by Herbert, T. and Jones, G. E. (Cardiff, 1988), pp. 148.

⁵² *South Wales Daily News*, 'THE GREAT WELSH VICTORY', p. 4.

⁵³ W. Edwyn Jones, 'Cricket in Wales', *The Welsh Outlook*, 16.8, August 1929, p. 246. Available at <https://journals.library.wales/view/1311205/1317572/19#?xywh=-2025%2C-250%2C7570%2C4993>, Accessed 29 January 2021.

⁵⁴ Jones, 'Cricket in Wales', p. 246.

structure, as well as economic differences and the poorly developed road and rail network' were at fault, despite the abundance of clubs in the region.⁵⁵

Although ideas of racial predispositions to particular sports are simply untrue, the concept does have historical foundations, with Jones drawing on Norman classifications of native Celts as 'barbaric' peoples, with the Welsh being considered bloodthirsty and violent,⁵⁶ yet also undisciplined and lazy.⁵⁷ The medieval scholar Gerald of Wales, directly cited by Jones, stated that the Welsh, 'through their rebelliousness, bloodthirstiness, and perjury', exhibited 'barbarous mores'.⁵⁸ This characterisation, of a restless and violent people, stands in stark contrast to cricket as upheld by Victorians, and may have been a factor (conscious or not) in the Welsh being discouraged from the sport. This is reminiscent of views towards native peoples abroad, similarly deemed inherently incompatible with the 'essentially Anglo-Saxon' sport of cricket,⁵⁹ but testament to the cricketing skill that was subsequently shown to exist worldwide, clearly Celtic people are not unsuited to cricket by nature. There may be some truth, however, in Welsh people being drawn to more combative sports, such as football and rugby, simply because it was expected. As Johnes notes, 'such alleged national characteristics may have only been grounded in a distinctly limited reality but they formed part of a very real patriotism'.⁶⁰ And Welsh people (as well as the lower-classes) being deemed unsuitable for, and discouraged from, cricket, would naturally result in cricket appearing elitist, making them less likely to partake, causing a self-perpetuating cycle. Exclusion, therefore, is vital in explaining the relative lack of

⁵⁵ Craig Owen Jones, 'The development of cricket In North-West Wales, c.1840–1870', p. 513.

⁵⁶ Robert Rees Davies, 'English Synopsis: The Manners and Morals of the Welsh', *Welsh History Review*, 12.2/4 (1984), p. 174. Available at <https://journals.library.wales/view/1073091/1078923/185#?xywh=-714%2C-124%2C4245%2C3819>, Accessed 29 April 2022.

⁵⁷ Davies, 'English Synopsis: The Manners and Morals of the Welsh', p. 177.

⁵⁸ Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Stroud, 2006 [1982]).

⁵⁹ James Pycroft, *The Cricket Field*, 2nd edn, (London, 2016 [1854]), p. 18. Available at: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/52022/52022-h/52022-h.htm#>, Accessed 6 May 2022.

⁶⁰ Johnes, "'Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 54.

enthusiasm for Welsh cricket, despite the game being a popular pastime in Wales for hundreds of years.

Despite this, however, there were pushes for change towards the tail-end of the 19th century. 'Old Stager', for instance, was scathing in his 1886 critique of the 'miserable cliqueism that at present marks the management of our leading clubs'.⁶¹ South Wales (having remained 'parochial and elitist' since their formation) duly proved this, with officials unanimously voting to cease operations that same year, after losing all of their annual fixtures.⁶² In its place there was determination to establish a true Welsh county side, with one 1887 correspondent to the *South Wales Daily News* stating that 'it is a well-admitted fact that cricket is far in arrears in South Wales', with a potential county club providing a 'goal of ambition for local players to strive at'.⁶³ They also countered claims that 'South Wales takes no interest in cricket', blaming the 'inferior quality' and 'mediocrity' of the region's cricket, stating that there is still 'plenty of it', and that 'local clubs are many, and some of them exhibit keenness for the game'.⁶⁴ Fittingly, Hignell calls this 'a time when more people were playing cricket in the region than at any other period in the nation's history', with only 'a representative cricket team' lacking,⁶⁵ proving that, even despite the sport's elitist status, there was always passion at the grassroots level, passion which was soon to be utilised.

⁶¹ 'Old Stager' quoted in Andrew Hignell, "'Wales says G'Day': National identity, Glamorgan CCC, and the 2009 Ashes Test Match at Cardiff", *Sport in Society*, 15.8 (2012), p. 1097.

⁶² Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 74.

⁶³ *South Wales Daily News*, 'County Cricket Club For Glamorgan.', 25 August 1887, p. 8. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3668050/3668058/147>, Accessed 3 May 2022.

⁶⁴ *South Wales Daily News*, 'County Cricket Club For Glamorgan.', 25 August 1887, p. 8. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3668050/3668058/147>, Accessed 3 May 2022.

⁶⁵ Hignell, "'Wales says G'Day': National identity, Glamorgan CCC, and the 2009 Ashes Test Match at Cardiff", p. 1087.

Chapter Two: Glamorgan, a Welsh national team?

One official of the newly formed Glamorgan County Cricket Club wrote in 1887 that ‘everyone who takes an interest in cricket will have a voice in starting the club’, with constituent clubs ‘entitled to send delegates to act on this committee according to the number of their members’.⁶⁶ Though this seems unambiguously positive, the official also stated that ‘no one can affirm that it is exclusive; on the contrary, it is too inclusive, if anything’. It is notable that the official was, just like ‘Old Stager’ the year before, writing in the *South Wales Daily News*, a paper advocating ‘Welsh Liberal politics’.⁶⁷ This may imply that altruism was not the main motivation behind exposing Welsh cricket to the – as yet untapped – potential of the lower-classes, even to a target audience that was (theoretically) more inclined to support progress and equality in cricket, with a more representative side essentially a necessary by-product of the true goal: increased competitiveness. Fittingly, perhaps, Glamorgan’s principle founders were J.T.D Llewelyn and J.P. Jones, the former a ‘symbol of the established order and the gentry who had first played the game’, the latter representing the ‘dynamism and energy of the middle classes of Victorian Wales’.⁶⁸ Crucially, both were committed to broadening access to cricket, with Llewelyn, in his letter organising the meeting at which Glamorgan was created, stating that ‘it is essential that the meeting should be thoroughly representative of cricket in the county’.⁶⁹ Hignell described their goals being ‘assisted by a tidal wave of nationalistic feelings which had swept across the booming industrial centres during the 1880s’, alongside the National Eisteddfod Society and Welsh Rugby Union (with Llewelyn fittingly also president of the latter).⁷⁰ But despite Glamorgan perhaps signifying a more representative and culturally Welsh cricket, the club ultimately had ‘long-term goals of being admitted into the first-class [English] County

⁶⁶ *South Wales Daily News*, ‘Glamorgan County Cricket Club’, 7 July 1888, p. 2. Available at: <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3669408/3669410/11/>, Accessed 4 May 2022.

⁶⁷ *British Newspaper Archive*, ‘South Wales Daily News’ (no date). Available at <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/south-wales-daily-news>, Accessed 4 May 2022.

⁶⁸ Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 75.

⁶⁹ Quoted in Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 76.

⁷⁰ Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 75.

Championship, and to stage [an England] Test Match'.⁷¹ Their first such bid for the latter was in 1905, though they ultimately failed in their attempt to host an Ashes Test versus Australia. Interestingly, Glamorgan's pitch to the MCC highlighted the club's 'similarities with England, rather stressing the nation and the differences', Hignell calling this the 'Achilles heel in [their] presentation', pointing out that a 'tub-thumping speech from Llewelyn, full of Welsh passion and pride, might have been better'.⁷² Their caution was understandable given that the MCC are 'an inherently conservative and traditionally minded body', and Glamorgan were neither English nor yet a first-class county, but it could also indicate that Glamorgan were reluctant to fully embrace their Welshness. Regardless, the MCC were impressed, and gave Glamorgan the consolation prize of hosting the touring Australians. The Australian captain, after their draw against the South Wales XI, declared that his side 'could not have played before a fairer or more enthusiastic crowd of spectators', and were 'keen on playing a Test Match at Cardiff'.⁷³ Glamorgan are far from the only county side to play such matches, with touring nations commonly preparing to face England by warming up against domestic teams, but with Glamorgan being the only Welsh county their matches naturally take on an international feel.

After interruptions to their first-class aspirations due to WWI, Glamorgan were finally successful in their bid to join the County Championship in 1921,⁷⁴ and though Morgan states they 'aroused somewhat limited interest at first beyond the coastal ports of Swansea and Cardiff',⁷⁵ they played their debut match in front of 'a large attendance of spectators',⁷⁶

⁷¹ Hignell, "'Wales says G'Day': National identity, Glamorgan CCC, and the 2009 Ashes Test Match at Cardiff", p. 1089.

⁷² Hignell, "'Wales says G'Day': National identity, Glamorgan CCC, and the 2009 Ashes Test Match at Cardiff", p. 1090-1.

⁷³ *South Wales Daily News*, 5 August 1905, p. 7. Available at <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000919/19050805/155/0007>, Accessed 13 May 2022.

⁷⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 'Important Cricket Meetings'. 18 February 1921, p. 13. Available at <https://link-gale-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/I00706038644/GDCS?u=tou&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=710d9b34>, Accessed 3 May 2022.

⁷⁵ Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980*, p. 237.

⁷⁶ *The Daily Telegraph*, 'Glamorgan's First-Class Debut', 19 May 1921, p. 9. Available at <https://go-gale->

with the ecstatic crowd running onto the field after Glamorgan claimed victory.⁷⁷ Despite this, Morgan notes that football was more popular, even in Swansea and Cardiff, whilst rugby 'continued to capture far more support amongst the sporting population of south Wales'.⁷⁸ Still, Glamorgan's successes led to a surge in Welsh cricket's appeal, with Hignell noting that there was 'much talk about the possibility of having a representative Welsh side'.⁷⁹ Subsequently, the North Wales Cricket Association and Welsh Cricket Union (WCU) were formed in 1924 and 1927 respectively, resulting in Jones stating that 'Wales is now considered a representative country'.⁸⁰ Indeed, the WCU had lofty ambitions, arranging international matches against test-playing nations, Wales beating the West Indies in 1928⁸¹ and losing narrowly to South Africa in 1929,⁸² eventually aiming to make Wales a full international side. This, coincidentally, helped convince Glamorgan to support the organisation, as it would potentially land Glamorgan a Test match.⁸³ However, Welsh cricketing independence would see Glamorgan unable to remain in the County Championship, and, considering their struggle to join in the first place, inevitably caused friction.⁸⁴ Following 1928 complaints from WCU President G.E. Rowlands that Glamorgan, despite being 'expected to release players for Wales when required', had not avoided fixture clashes (specifically with the West Indies match), Glamorgan's general committee chairman stated that 'Glamorgan was Glamorgan and was not subservient to the Welsh

com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/ps/i.do?p=GDCS&u=tou&id=GALE|IO0706558416&v=2.1&it=r&sid=bookmark-GDCS&asid=476018b5, Accessed 28 April 2022.

⁷⁷ Glamorgan Cricket Archives, *The jubilant crowd congratulate the Glamorgan team after their fairytale start at the Arms Park against Sussex*. Available at <https://glamorgancricketarchives.com/2020/05/04/match-of-the-season-1921/>, Accessed 7 May 2022.

⁷⁸ Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980*, p. 237.

⁷⁹ Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 113.

⁸⁰ Jones, *Cricket in Wales*, p. 247.

⁸¹ *Daily Mail Atlantic Edition*, 'Sporting Items. Cricket.', 28 July 1928. Available at <https://link-gale-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/EE1862061020/GDCS?u=tou&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=8815211f>, Accessed 9 May 2022.

⁸² *Daily Mail*, 'Wales Lose by 10 Runs', 13 July 1929. <https://link-gale-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/EE1865750167/GDCS?u=tou&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=53921a50>, Accessed 9 May 2022.

⁸³ Hignell, "'Wales says G'Day": National identity, Glamorgan CCC, and the 2009 Ashes Test Match at Cardiff', p. 1093.

⁸⁴ Hignell, *Cricket in Wales: An Illustrated History*, p. 114.

Cricket Union or anybody else'. Rowlands, disputing claims of WCU interference, was apparently simply 'anxious [from a national point of view] that Wales should be as well prepared in their International matches as other countries'.⁸⁵ For many within Glamorgan, their club's prosperity came before any desire for Welsh cricketing independence. Regardless, the WCU's fixtures were quietly ceased in the 1930s, thanks to 'modest finances and limited playing resources',⁸⁶ and Wales' fleeting representation on the international stage was over.

While this might suggest that Glamorgan held little interest in their Welshness, this was not necessarily the case. Morgan, for instance, attributes much of the increasing popularity of Welsh cricket post-WWII to Glamorgan, 'consisting almost wholly of local players under the captaincy of Wilfred Wooller, a famous pre-war rugby international', winning the 1948 County Championship,⁸⁷ with Morgan even stating that 'some of the enthusiasm traditionally linked with rugby was now associated with "the Welsh cricket team"'. Here Glamorgan conflated directly with a national team, one even capturing some of the zeal that rugby had until now monopolised, though Morgan indicates that this was fairly localised to Cardiff and Swansea. Regardless, some might point out that Glamorgan have little claim to represent Welshness, given that they are deeply embedded within English domestic sport, but crucially they are far from alone in this regard, with fans of Cardiff City, Swansea City and Wrexham preferring to partake in the English Football League, reaping rewards of increased competition and finance, than go it alone. Conveniently, Johnes notes that for these fans 'playing in an English rather than Welsh league, with all its opportunities to taunt and beat the English 'other', is actually a way of declaring one's Welshness'.⁸⁸ But whilst for these fans this means frequent chants of 'England's full of shit', Glamorgan fans would be

⁸⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, 'Glamorgan & Welsh Union', 2 February 1928. Available at <https://link-gale-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/IO0706608682/GDCS?u=tou&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=a5c93a6f>, Accessed 10 May 2022.

⁸⁶ Hignell, "'Wales says G'Day": National identity, Glamorgan CCC, and the 2009 Ashes Test Match at Cardiff', p. 1093.

⁸⁷ Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980*, p. 347.

⁸⁸ Johnes, "'Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 61.

unlikely to engage in such hostility. This may represent a weakness in Welsh cricketing nationalism, but this level of anti-Englishness may be unique to football culture, which Johnes states 'celebrates and even creates rivalries, hatreds and divides'.

In any case, Glamorgan's supporters certainly take similar pride in their Welshness, with the side, on their return home after their 1948 County Championship victory, greeted by 'thousands of Welsh people, among them women and children, cheering and singing the Welsh national anthem'.⁸⁹ *The Daily Telegraph's* correspondent cited the 'zeal and fervour behind all' as '[turning] the scales', though regretted that Glamorgan sealed their title away from Cardiff's 'true Celtic crowd'.⁹⁰ Likewise, when Glamorgan did finally seal a County Championship title in Cardiff in 1969, their supporters 'came in their thousands' and sang "Land of My Fathers",⁹¹ before '[invading] the pavilion and [singing] the Welsh national anthem',⁹² with *Times* reporter John Woodcock noting that, aside from their three overseas players, all bar one of Glamorgan's cricketers were 'of the principality'.⁹³ Glamorgan's latest County Championship victory in 1997 was similarly greeted by supporters bursting into 'enthusiastic renderings of Bread of Heaven and the Welsh national anthem'.⁹⁴ It is clear that Glamorgan are no normal county side, with Scyld Berry arguing that Glamorgan 'was different in kind from anything else in England', with their players being 'born in Wales, short and stocky, [speaking] Welsh in the field, [fielding] brilliantly,

⁸⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 'Welsh Welcome Glamorgan Team'. 25 August 1948, p. 1. Available at <https://link-gale-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/IO0709708271/GDCS?u=tou&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=8681d797>, Accessed 1 May 2022.

⁹⁰ E. W. Swanton, 'Glamorgan Champions'. *Daily Telegraph*, 25 August 1948, p. 3. Available at <https://link-gale-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/IO0709708290/GDCS?u=tou&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=a689cfae>, Accessed 1 May 2022.

⁹¹ John Woodcock, 'Glamorgan are undefeated champions'. *The Times*, 6 September 1969, p. 6. Available at <https://link-gale-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/CS100888870/GDCS?u=tou&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=5583b2d7>, Accessed 3 May 2022.

⁹² Alex Bannister, 'Glamorgan champion!'. *Daily Mail*, 06 September 1969, p. 12. Available at <https://link-gale-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/EE1864522061/GDCS?u=tou&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=6b5cdfd9>, Accessed 3 May 2022.

⁹³ Woodcock, 'Glamorgan are undefeated champions', p. 6.

⁹⁴ Graham Otway, 'Glamorgan are champions'. *The Sunday Times*, 12 September 1997, p. 40. Available at <https://link-gale-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/FP1803159215/GDCS?u=tou&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=e4a5d307>, Accessed 3 May 2022.

and [bowling] a lot more spin than other counties'.⁹⁵ Berry is an English journalist, so is likely embellishing these traits for dramatic effect, but there is still a lingering impression that Glamorgan are, to some at least, the 'other'. Appropriately, Graham Otway, reporting in *The Times*, declared that the 'all-embracing feeling of hwyl – Welsh national pride and passion – [...] has to be counted as a crucial element' in the side's 1997 victory, with Robert Croft famously stating that 'playing for England is like playing for the British Lions, while playing for Glamorgan is playing for Wales'.⁹⁶ Notably, Croft only likens England to the Lions, but his statement regarding Glamorgan and Wales is declarative. For many, there is no ambiguity: Glamorgan is the national side of Wales. Fittingly, Berry also noted that 'if [Glamorgan] players seldom shone [...] when selected to represent England, Welsh nationalism fired them up against touring teams [...] as when they defeated the Australians of 1964'.⁹⁷ As Croft remarked three decades later, there is the sense that, despite the honour, playing for England does not elicit the same national pride as it does for Glamorgan.

The 1964 victory against Australia was significant for another reason, as it was played only a mile from that year's National Eisteddfod, the 'premier cultural festival' of Wales.⁹⁸ *The Western Mail* observed that 'Welshmen from all parts of the world poured into the town by road, rail and air' for its opening, with 'Red dragons and three-feather motifs [welcoming] visitors along the flag-festooned approaches to Singleton Park'.⁹⁹ This celebration of Welsh culture may not be the most obvious source of support for cricket, but Stead states that 'Eisteddfod compère, broadcaster Alun Williams, did his best to link the two events, combining his introductions in the eisteddfod pavilion with the latest cricket score', with Williams even stating that 'I am going to speak English

⁹⁵ Scyld Berry, 'County File: Glamorgan tradition has been extinguished by Kolpaks – their past and future are Welsh', *The Telegraph*, 27 April 2020. Available at <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/cricket/0/county-file-glamorgan-tradition-has-extinguished-kolpaks-past/>, Accessed 10 May 2022.

⁹⁶ Quoted in Otway, 'Glamorgan are champions', p. 40.

⁹⁷ Berry, 'County File: Glamorgan tradition has been extinguished by Kolpaks – their past and future are Welsh'.

⁹⁸ *The Welsh Academy Encyclopaedia of Wales*, 'Eisteddfod', 1st edn (2008). Available at <http://libezproxy.open.ac.uk/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/waencywales/eisteddfod/0?institutionId=292>, Accessed 14 May 2022.

⁹⁹ *Western Mail* quoted in Stead, 'Popular Culture', pp. 121.

tonight because I want to welcome the teams. The all-Welsh rule does not come into force strictly speaking until tomorrow'.¹⁰⁰ This moment was notable, with the Eisteddfod 'championing' Welsh as part of its aimed 'revival of Welsh culture', and its strict Welsh-only policy being enforced since 1950.¹⁰¹ When Glamorgan achieved victory over Australia two days later, *Western Mail* correspondents described their players as 'Welsh cricketing heroes', with the crowd 'gathering round the pavilion and solemnly sang the national anthem in thanks for a great victory'.¹⁰² The patriotism from Glamorgan fans is familiar, but, notably, Glamorgan were not only considered the Welsh national side in a cricketing context, but also here, at the epicentre of Wales' cultural world, having transcended cricket, and representing Wales as a whole. This, then, may offer one explanation for a national side's absence: that, for many, there was no need for one when Glamorgan already existed.

On the other hand, undermining this theory somewhat is the lack of a Wales and England rivalry in cricket. Glamorgan may have acted like a national side, playing fixtures against international counterparts and representing a great source of national, but one thing they lacked was the ability to challenge (and defeat) England itself. Their international competitors were almost always visiting overseas sides playing county side (like Glamorgan) as part of their tour of England. This creates the sense, therefore, that in cricketing terms, England is effectively Glamorgan's nation. This is particularly interesting given that the Welsh national rivalry with England, both in football and (particularly) rugby, takes on tremendous importance. For instance, during the 20th century, when Welsh nationalism 'was not generally separatist in character', Johnes notes that rugby union provided the 'perfect vehicle [as] an opportunity to get one over the English neighbour without any of the uncertainties or extremities of a political movement'.¹⁰³ Conversely, he observes that during the 1960s, which saw 'a growth in political nationalism in Wales', fans

¹⁰⁰ Williams quoted in Stead, 'Popular Culture', pp. 121.

¹⁰¹ *The Welsh Academy Encyclopaedia of Wales*, 'Eisteddfod'.

¹⁰² Quoted in Stead, 'Popular Culture', pp. 123.

¹⁰³ Johnes, 'Eighty minute patriots? National identity and sport in modern Wales', pp. 96.

became 'more overtly nationalistic', with 'Free Wales Army T-shirts visible in the crowd and the concerted booing of 'God Save the Queen'.¹⁰⁴ In a sense then, the Wales and England national rivalry reflects wider Welsh society as a whole, being moulded by, and itself coming to define, the Welsh national identity. With this element completely lacking in a cricketing sense, it may explain the lack of some of the Welsh passion for cricket that is traditionally associated with rugby and football.

Another point to consider is that, as mentioned, overseas players became permitted to play for county sides in the 1960s. Morgan observes, despite this sense that Glamorgan became a 'Welsh national team' following WWII, that the side was later 'afforded by Pakistanis and West Indians of great skill'.¹⁰⁵ This did not discourage Welsh pride surrounding Glamorgan, however, with their supporters serenading their superstar Pakistani fast bowler Waqar Younis with chants of 'Waqar is a Welshman', following his crucial role in the 1997 victory.¹⁰⁶ Attitudes were not always so hospitable, however, with Johnes noting that in 1934 'racial attitudes' (regarding his West Indian heritage) left Billy Boston's ambitions to 'play cricket for Glamorgan and rugby for Wales' in tatters.¹⁰⁷ Attitudes had potentially become more accepting following WWII, but this was not necessarily the case. In a 1969 satirical article responding to the new rule allowing overseas players, Glamorgan captain Tony Lewis imagined a 'Powellite dystopia'¹⁰⁸ in the year 2000, including a 'Free Wales XI' consisting of 'four Indians, three West Indians, a West African, a Pakistani and an [sic] Chinaman'¹⁰⁹. Interestingly, to Tony Lewis, a Welsh

¹⁰⁴ Johnes, "Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 55.

¹⁰⁵ Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980*, p. 347.

¹⁰⁶ Johnes, "Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 63.

¹⁰⁷ Johnes, "Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 63.

¹⁰⁸ 'Powellite' being the term that Stephen Wagg uses to discuss the political views of infamous MP Enoch Powell, in his article discussing systematic racism in cricket. See Stephen Wagg, 'Towards a safer past: thoughts on the invocation of English cricket's soul', *Sport in Society*, 24.8 (2021), p. 1463.

¹⁰⁹ Tony Lewis quoted in Wagg, 'Towards a safer past: thoughts on the invocation of English cricket's soul', p. 1463.

Glamorgan captain (though one who did later become England captain and MCC chair), the idea of a 'Free Wales XI' is the subject of ridicule, even horror, as is a future where overseas players have effectively replaced white British cricketers. In a sense, these two concepts are intrinsically linked, as parts of an inevitable, yet inconceivable, future that will destroy cricket's soul. Glamorgan, even in a period in which it had become 'the Welsh team', was still, in a sense, diametrically opposed to this concept. Then Glamorgan club secretary (and former captain) Wilfred Wooller was similarly concerned, advising the club that 'one must bear in mind that British cricketers must be protected and developed'.¹¹⁰ For Wooller, the importance of producing British cricketers, who he presumably hoped would eventually play for England, was a higher priority than strengthening Glamorgan. Ironically, Glamorgan would win the County Championship that year thanks, in part, to their overseas players, simultaneously receiving acclaim for their Welsh spirit.¹¹¹ But, as society progressed, overseas players playing for Glamorgan went from something to be resisted, something damaging to the status quo that many in the county were content with, to another potential manifestation of 'Welshness'.

Interestingly, this parallels the debate regarding Welsh rugby in the 1990s, with coach Graham Henry introducing 'players whose Welsh heritage was remote and sometimes somewhat dubious' to the national side, culminating in the 'Grannygate scandal', when 'the Welsh ancestry of [two] capped players, both from New Zealand, was proved false'. Johnes asks: 'did victory matter more than a team that represented the nation in a meaningful way?'.¹¹² This is particularly relevant because of Wales' identity, especially in a rugby context, as a small national side punching above its weight, rooted in its nation's working-class communities, in stark contrast to its arrogant English neighbours.¹¹³ And yet

¹¹⁰ Wagg, 'Towards a safer past: thoughts on the invocation of English cricket's soul', p. 1463.

¹¹¹ Woodcock, 'Glamorgan are undefeated champions'.

¹¹² Johnes, "Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', pp. 58-59.

¹¹³ Johnes, "Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 59.

Glamorgan, a side with no actual obligation of including Welsh players at all, came to represent Wales as a nation, whilst simultaneously eschewing this strict nationalism. But, more recently, Berry has argued that Glamorgan, due to their reliance on South African-born players, have lost their Welsh identity.¹¹⁴ While Tony Lewis claimed that his side 'did all our sledging in Welsh',^{115,116} today the county's second language is 'more likely to be Afrikaans'. This, Berry says, 'is not Welsh cricket', despite overseas players' skill.¹¹⁷ Clearly there is a fine line between Welshness being open and accepting, and forfeiture of a proud Celtic identity, making Glamorgan less distinguishable from English counties. Perhaps this stems from the fact that Glamorgan are, ultimately, not Wales, with their burden to represent the whole nation within the English game too great, particularly when their own successes are naturally their first priority. It may, therefore, be questioned whether Wales can ever truly be represented whilst Glamorgan are included in English cricket.

Chapter Three: Cricket in post-devolution Wales

On 19 September 1997 Wales voted in favour of devolution. Two days later Glamorgan had won their third County Championship. *Sunday Times* reporter Graham Otway described the latter cause for 'the Welsh nation [to celebrate] for the second time in 48 hours'.¹¹⁸ Considering the narrow margin of the referendum (with results uncertain until the final declaration¹¹⁹), it was

¹¹⁴ Scyld Berry, 'County File: Glamorgan tradition has been extinguished by Kolpaks – their past and future are Welsh', *The Telegraph*, 27 April 2020. Available at <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/cricket/0/county-file-glamorgan-tradition-has-extinguished-kolpaks-past/>, Accessed 10 May 2022.

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Berry, 'County File: Glamorgan tradition has been extinguished by Kolpaks – their past and future are Welsh'.

¹¹⁶ 'Sledging' is the cricketing term for 'insults and witty put-downs to intimidate [...] opponents and throw them off their game', see *BBC Bitesize*, 'The origins of cricket jargon'. Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/articles/z683qp3>, Accessed 9 May 2022.

¹¹⁷ Berry, 'County File: Glamorgan tradition has been extinguished by Kolpaks – their past and future are Welsh'.

¹¹⁸ Otway, 'Glamorgan are champions', p. 40.

¹¹⁹ Vaughan Roderick, 'Wales devolution: The referendum night the BBC almost got wrong', *BBC News*, 16 September 2017. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-politics-41147462>, Accessed 16 May 2022.

unlikely to be a unanimous cause of Welsh delight. Otway, then, not only equates Glamorgan with Wales, but their support with the type of (arguably contentious) nationalism that would effectively distance itself from England. Otway may simply have been conveying the jubilation of Glamorgan's victory without deeper political implication, but it neatly demonstrates that Glamorgan is inextricably linked to Welsh patriotism. This is truer than ever post-devolution, with Holden noting that, in an effort to secure 'renewed economic strength' in a period of Wales '[lagging] behind the rest of the United Kingdom' economically, Wales has 'sought to project itself through a range of popular cultural spheres', especially sport.¹²⁰ It is puzzling, then, with Welsh nationalism notably on the rise, that calls for a national team have remained fairly muted. This is especially peculiar with Wales alone amongst their neighbours as being unrepresented internationally, with Scotland, Jersey and Guernsey all being ICC associate members¹²¹, and Ireland a full Test-playing nation since 2017¹²². And with Wales arguably the nation with the richest cricketing pedigree of all, many rightfully ask why Wales too cannot follow their lead,¹²³ with the campaign for a Welsh team having been supported by 'representatives of the Labour, Liberal Democrats and Plaid Cymru parties in Wales and from the Scottish National Party'.¹²⁴ Subsequently a petition, with 187 signatures, was put forward to the Senedd calling on the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) to 'support the establishment of a Welsh international cricket team',¹²⁵ resulting in an extensive report on the topic, with views collected from all sides.¹²⁶ Glamorgan were opposed, fearing lost ECB revenue, also stating that 'the best that Wales could

¹²⁰ Russell Holden, 'Never forget you're Welsh: the role of sport as a political device in post-devolution Wales', *Sport in Society*, 14.2 (2011), p. 274.

¹²¹ National Assembly for Wales Petition Committee, *The Establishment of a Wales Cricket Team*, p. 8.

¹²² RTE, 'Ireland awarded Test status after 10-year quest', 22 June 2017. Available at <https://www.rte.ie/sport/cricket/2017/0622/884643-irelands-await-test-status-verdict-after-10-year-quest/>, Accessed 15 May 2022.

¹²³ Gair Rhydd, 'The case for a Welsh national cricket team', 24 February 2015. Available at <https://cardiffstudentmedia.co.uk/gairrhydd/case-welsh-national-cricket-team/>, Accessed 18 February 2022.

¹²⁴ Bairner and Malcom, 'Chapter Ten: Cricket and National Identities of the Celtic Fringe', p. 197.

¹²⁵ *Senedd Cymru | Welsh Parliament*, 'P-04-335 The Establishment of a Welsh Cricket Team' (2013). Available at <https://business.senedd.wales/mgIssueHistoryHome.aspx?Ild=1901>, Accessed 10 April 2022.

¹²⁶ National Assembly for Wales Petition Committee, *The Establishment of a Wales Cricket Team*.

hope for would be to battle it out with Ireland, Scotland, Kenya and so on every four years to try to get a place in the World Cup'.¹²⁷ This was also the view of Cricket Wales¹²⁸, who deemed a national side 'neither reasonable or feasible'. The ECB were less outwardly opposed, offering to support 'the democratic decision and preferences expressed by cricketers in Wales'.¹²⁹ This makes sense given that any definitive statement from the ECB would appear to be flagrant English overlordship of Welsh cricket, whereas their affiliated organisations justify their positions using their Welshness.

Though little came of this report, subsequently, in 2018, then First Minister Carwyn Jones stated that he would 'like to see us represented internationally [...] as long as, of course, there's no financial hit on Glamorgan'.¹³⁰ Despite his diplomacy, Glamorgan consider any arrangement involving a Welsh national side unworkable, with chief executive Hugh Morris declaring that 'while it is an easy thing to say we should have a Welsh cricket team and I completely understand as a proud Welshman myself, financially it does not make any sense whatsoever'.¹³¹ Glamorgan tend to continuously walk this line, both fiercely proud of their Welsh identity but also adamant of their complete dependency on the ECB. Bairner and Malcom note, perhaps unsurprisingly, that many Welsh cricket fans 'resent the power exerted by Glamorgan'.¹³² Glamorgan chairman Paul Russell evoked a similar sentiment following the ECB's 2006 announcement that Cardiff would host a 2009 Ashes match, which he affirmed was a 'great day not only for Welsh cricket but also

¹²⁷ Quoted in National Assembly for Wales Petition Committee, *The Establishment of a Wales Cricket Team*, p. 15.

¹²⁸ Cricket Wales are the ECB-funded cricketing body in Wales, responsible for 'over 250 clubs, leagues and associations involving almost 25,000' people. See *Cricket Wales*, 'What We Do' (no date). Available at <https://cricketwales.org.uk/what-we-do>, Accessed 25 April 2022.

¹²⁹ Donovan, 'Owzat, butt!: Should Wales have national cricket teams?'

¹³⁰ David Williamson, 'Carwyn Jones says Wales should have a one-day international Welsh cricket team', *Wales Online*, 5 July 2017. Available at <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/politics/carwyn-jones-says-wales-should-13283819>, Accessed 18 February 2022.

¹³¹ *BBC Sport*, 'Glamorgan chief executive says Wales cricket team makes "no sense"', 14 June 2008. Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/cricket/44487411>, Accessed 20 March 2022.

¹³² Bairner and Malcom, 'Chapter Ten: Cricket and National Identities of the Celtic Fringe', p. 197.

Wales'.¹³³ Indeed the WAG backed their bid, mainly due to 'research commissioned by UK Sport suggesting that Test cricket could boost a local economy by over £1 million a day', as well as the prospect of '[keeping] the names of Cardiff and Wales on the world stage', after the city's string of notable sporting events.¹³⁴ As a result of this political support, the club's bid took a 'Team Wales' approach, which Russell stated was critical to its success.¹³⁵ The WAG backing Glamorgan, quite content to maintain the status quo rather than pursue a Welsh national side, may highlight the uniqueness of Welsh cricket's situation and the unlikelihood of change, but, as noted, the phenomenon of Welsh incorporation within wider British sporting context is not unique. Holden states that 'Wales and Welsh individuals [are] content, in the most part, to reconcile themselves with Wales's Britishness', including the British and Irish Lions' status as the 'pinnacle achievement' for Welsh rugby players, and the 'lack of burning desire for Wales to extricate itself from the continuing existence of the UK sporting umbrella and the Olympic movement'.¹³⁶ This may also paint the WAG's continuing support to Glamorgan in a different light, perhaps saying more about Welsh identity generally being content with its Britishness, rather than just in a cricketing context.

But during this period Wales were not without representation altogether. As noted, a makeshift men's side famously defeated England in a 2002 ODI, and that same year a women's Welsh national team was founded. Wales even hosted, and participated in, the 2005 Women's European Cricket Championships, defeating both Ireland and Scotland, and ultimately finishing 3rd.¹³⁷ Though Wales finally had international cricketing representation, the competition turned out to be a one-off, with Wales now still competing in the English domestic scene. Any Welsh women

¹³³ Quoted in Andrew Hignell, "'Wales says G'Day': National identity, Glamorgan CCC, and the 2009 Ashes Test Match at Cardiff", pp. 1095-6.

¹³⁴ Hignell, "'Wales says G'Day': National identity, Glamorgan CCC, and the 2009 Ashes Test Match at Cardiff", p. 1095.

¹³⁵ Quoted in Hignell, "'Wales says G'Day': National identity, Glamorgan CCC, and the 2009 Ashes Test Match at Cardiff", p. 1096.

¹³⁶ Holden, 'Never forget you're Welsh: the role of sport as a political device in post-devolution Wales', p. 274.

¹³⁷ *CricketEurope*, '2005 European Women's Championship' (2022). Available at <https://www.cricketeurope.com/IRISHCRICKETHISTORY/TOURNAMENTSWOMEN/2005/EUROPEAN/results.shtml>, Accessed 13 May 2022.

looking to play on the international stage must be content to represent England.¹³⁸ Just like the brief escapades of Wales' men, however, what this proves is the abundance of Welsh cricketing talent, and the very real potential to compete as Wales internationally. But whilst this continues to seem unlikely, another area of interest for both Welsh men and women were the 2018 plans for a new ECB limited-overs competition, with Glamorgan awarded a franchise.¹³⁹ The main selling point of The Hundred, named for its casual-targeted novel 100-ball format, is that the competition's eight franchises would encompass several traditional counties, whilst also having both a men's and women's team. Glamorgan's side, based in Cardiff and named 'Welsh Fire', curiously also represents the nearby English counties of Gloucestershire and Somerset.¹⁴⁰ Supporters of the latter are (theoretically) expected to support a team, which despite ostensibly representing their English counties, is marketed exclusively as Welsh, complete with red uniforms, a name evoking a Welsh dragon, and a logo displaying the side's Welsh name of 'Tân Cymreig'.¹⁴¹ This is 29reminiscent of the choice presented to Welsh fans internationally, with the team representing 'England and Wales' being England in all but name (and name as well), though it should be noted that only 2 of the 36 current Welsh Fire players are actually Welsh. Regardless, one former Somerset player noted that '[spectators] do feel a bit alienated in the West Country of England', and that few fans would '[cross] the bridge to watch Welsh Fire playing in Cardiff'.¹⁴² At one stage the ECB, in seeking broader appeal, even considered changing the name from 'Welsh' to 'Western'.¹⁴³ Many might feel, therefore, that while the ECB are happy to commodify Welshness for commercial benefit, this faux-nationalism is strictly contained, and is utilised only as long as it makes business sense. Perhaps influencing the ECB's thinking were the

¹³⁸ Donovan, 'Owzat, butt!: Should Wales have national cricket teams?'

¹³⁹ *BBC Sport*, 'ECB holds talks to introduce 100-ball format to new competition', 19 April 2019. Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/cricket/43824037>, Accessed 15 May 2022.

¹⁴⁰ *Sporting Life*, 'The Hundred: Team-by-team guides, coach details and venues', 21 October 2019. Available at <https://www.sportinglife.com/cricket/news/the-hundred-team-by-team-guides/172297>, Accessed 16 May 2022.

¹⁴¹ *The Hundred*, 'Welsh Fire' (no date). Available at <https://www.thehundred.com/teams/welsh-fire/overview>, Accessed 21 April 2022.

¹⁴² Quoted in Matt Roller, 'Cardiff Hundred team may drop 'Welsh' from name in favour of 'Western Fire', *ESPN cricinfo*. Available at <https://www.espn.com/story/cardiff-hundred-team-may-drop-welsh-from-name-in-favour-of-western-fire-1196153>, Accessed 16 May 2022.

¹⁴³ Roller, 'Cardiff Hundred team may drop 'Welsh' from name in favour of 'Western Fire'.

initial plans for the women's side to play games in Somerset and Gloucestershire, meaning the possibility of a 'Welsh' team playing home games in England (as England do in Cardiff). In any case, COVID-19 scuppered these plans, with the 'Welsh' name ultimately retained and both sides remaining in Cardiff. Notably, the choice presented to Welsh cricket fans continuously is, when reversed, considered unfair. This may be due to Wales still, despite their integration in English domestic cricket, being seen as the 'other' for many English fans. It may also reveal persisting weakness in Welsh nationalism within cricketing, with fans of other nations less likely to accept similar circumstances. Regardless, it is clear that, for both men and women, Wales' long-term cricketing future looks inextricably tied to the ECB, with few seeming unhappy at this prospect.

Conclusion

In conclusion, questions surrounding Welsh national identity and cricket are unendingly complex. Welsh cricket has a history second only to its birthplace of England, being the oldest team sports in Wales and is consistently one of the nation's most popular summer pastimes. Wales also possesses a first-class team in Glamorgan, and continues to produce remarkable talent. And yet, particularly in the context of sport being a vector for nationalism in post-devolution Wales, it is surely one of the most curious cases of a lack of representation in sport. The elite origins of cricket, the exclusion of the lower-classes, and the popular imagining of the Welsh as more suited to combative sports are all elements which play a part, but, ultimately, it is difficult to ignore that Glamorgan are the biggest obstacle to the creation of a Welsh national side, with Welsh cricket, in a sense, a victim of its own success. Had Glamorgan been less accomplished, then Wales would be free to form an independent cricketing body and apply for ICC associate membership, just as their neighbours have successfully done. And though they may have less cricketing pedigree than Wales, many might argue that Wales following in their footsteps and standing on its own, despite loss of ECB funding, would be worthwhile in order to one day compete on the international stage. Though many connected with Glamorgan, including former

players, understandably feel that their club is the national team, that they must continuously justify this position (e.g. by likening England to a representative British/Irish side) essentially proves that this is not the case. As Johnes notes, 'Welsh sport has consistently required fans and players to make such rationalisations about their national identity, even if only subconsciously'.¹⁴⁴ And, as noted, perhaps the most crucial difference between Glamorgan and a national side is the lack of a rivalry with England. Holden argues that Wales' relationship to England is crucial to Welsh national identity, since 'one of the defining characteristics of the Welsh is the sharing of a common ethnic boundary',¹⁴⁵ and England's annexation of Wales and measures taken to eradicate the Welsh language have 'not only [defined] Wales and the Welsh but also England and the English'.¹⁴⁶ Essentially, Wales being separate (and rival) to England is an intrinsic part of Welsh identity, and when this is missing, or, worse, when Wales is viewed as an English appendage, it has a tangible effect. This is overwhelmingly true of cricket, which may ultimately explain why the sport (despite its popularity) has never achieved the recognition that, for example, rugby does as symbolic of Welshness. And whilst Glamorgan frequently does take on and defeat English opponents in domestic competition, cricket's upper-class Welsh origins mean that, unlike in rugby where the very different roots of the sport in Wales and England 'added a touch of social friction to national contests with the old enemy',¹⁴⁷ these games might reasonably appear to be ones contested amongst peers, without that same sense of friction (social or cultural).

Instead Welsh cricket has a peculiar role, both popular and disregarded, a niche curiosity and beloved game. In some ways, it is emblematic of a large part of Wales' history and identity. While Scotland and Ireland have arguably always managed to maintain a higher degree of

¹⁴⁴ Johnes, "Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 62.

¹⁴⁵ Holden, 'Never forget you're Welsh: the role of sport as a political device in post-devolution Wales', p. 274.

¹⁴⁶ Rose cited in Holden, 'Never forget you're Welsh: the role of sport as a political device in post-devolution Wales', p. 274.

¹⁴⁷ Johnes, "Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 59.

separateness from England, Wales was simply absorbed politically and legally, its identity obscured for a large portion of its history, both an accepting and unwilling hostage of its neighbour. Even on the Union flag or Royal coat of arms Scotland and Ireland find themselves included (though subservient to England), whereas Wales' presence is simply assumed. If England are represented, then, by proxy, so too are Wales. And perhaps rugby and cricket represent two differing elements of Welsh identity. Both popular sports originating with the English elite, but where the former has been reimagined as Wales' national sport, a game representing the industry, community and togetherness of a small nation punching above its weight on the world stage, and as an opportunity to defeat their arrogant English neighbours,¹⁴⁸ the latter represents the willingness of Wales to act within Britain, still acknowledging their Celtic roots, but ultimately happy to accept their 'Britishness' as long as they are permitted to take part.

¹⁴⁸ Johnes, "Every day when I wake up I thank the Lord I'm Welsh": Sport and national identity in post-war Wales', p. 59.

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