



Open Research Online

Citation

Jones, Simon (2022). 'Cofiwch Dryweryn' (meaning: 'Remember Tryweryn'): To what extent, if any, has this two-word, Welsh phrase, influenced nationalism, politics, language and culture in Wales since the mid-twentieth Century? Student dissertation for The Open University module A329 The making of Welsh history.

URL

<https://oro.open.ac.uk/85399/>

License

(CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0) Creative Commons: Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 4.0

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Policy

This document has been downloaded from Open Research Online, The Open University's repository of research publications. This version is being made available in accordance with Open Research Online policies available from [Open Research Online \(ORO\) Policies](#)

Versions

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding

A329: The Making of Welsh History

EMA/Dissertation

***‘Cofiwch Dryweryn’* (meaning: ‘Remember Tryweryn’): To what extent, if any, has this two-word, Welsh phrase, influenced nationalism, politics, language and culture in Wales since the mid-twentieth Century?**

Simon Jones

May 2022

(7597 words)

Contents:

List of Abbreviations.	p. 3
Chapter I/Introduction.	p. 4
Chapter II	p. 10
Chapter III	p. 27
Chapter IV/Conclusion.	p. 32
Bibliography.	p. 35

List of Abbreviations

BRC/FWA	Byddin Rhyddid Cymru (Free Wales Army)
CyIG	Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg
LC	Liverpool Corporation
MAC	Mudiad Amddiffyn Cymru (Movement for the Defence of Wales)
MG	Meibion Glyndŵr (Sons of Glyndŵr)
TWM	Three Wales Model
WAG	Welsh Assembly Government

I

(Introduction)

The Welsh phrase, or slogan¹, *Cofiwch Dryweryn*, translates, in English to ‘Remember Tryweryn’. Owing to the ‘mutations’ of some consonants² in the Welsh language (not for further discussion in this work) the initial letter changes from ‘T’ to ‘D’. However, for clarification, Tryweryn and Dryweryn have the same meaning; the river Tryweryn and the valley through which it flowed, Cwm Tryweryn, to the north of Bala, in rural Merionethshire, north Wales, whose river fed into the River Dee. ‘*Cofiwch Dryweryn*’ are ‘the words of academic and poet, Meic Stephens’³ (1938-2018)⁴, ‘daubed on the rock of a derelict wall’⁵ near the village of Llanrhystud, to the south of Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, in the 1960s and, for some in Wales, has become an iconic landmark⁶. It is a call, a command⁷, for the people of Wales to remember that small, river valley, and the controversy surrounding its fate, namely, the creation of an artificial lake, a reservoir, completed in 1965, by the Liverpool Corporation (LC) to provide the city of Liverpool and neighbouring Wirral with water⁸; a seemingly simple, civil engineering project for the purpose of exploiting the natural resources of one area in mainland Britain for the benefit of the population in another area

¹ ‘Cofiwch Dryweryn has become a slogan’, Guto Harri in *Remembering Tryweryn* (2020) BBC Radio 4.

² ‘TABLE OF MUTATIONS’ in *A Pocket Welsh Dictionary*. P. 6

³ Guto Harri *Remembering Tryweryn*, (2020) and ‘The image was the work of a young author and journalist, Meic Stephens. King, R. (2022) BRITTLE WITH RELICS A HISTORY OF WALES 1962-1997, P. 39

⁴ Professor Meic Stephens’ obituary profile can be found here:

<https://www.aber.ac.uk/en/development/alumni/obituaries/obituary-profiles/meic-stephens/>

⁵ Atkins, E. (2018) *Building a Dam, Constructing a Nation: The ‘drowning’ of Capel Celyn*

⁶ *Dam graffiti wall set to be saved* (2006) BBC News Wales

⁷ ‘Cofiwch means remember as a Command’ Marie Emlyn, author in *Remembering Tryweryn* (2020).

⁸ Atkins, 2018, p. 457.

some 60 miles away⁹. However, this simple feat of engineering, carried out in the name of ‘progress’¹⁰, involved the flooding, not only of ‘a marshy landscape’¹¹, but also, significantly, the removal of the, mostly, Welsh-speaking residents of the small village and community of Capel Celyn. For some of the ‘peoples’¹² of Wales, a reference to divisions within the Welsh populace throughout history, this was a significant catalyst for a concerted effort, by a revived Welsh ‘nationalist’¹³ movement, to preserve and promote the language and culture of a small, proud, historical nation. The fate of Capel Celyn may also, arguably, have provided the opportunity for a change in fortunes of Plaid Cymru¹⁴, The party of Wales, to become a more inclusive, nationally representative party with a change of policy direction away from its minority supported, nationalist roots.

On the historical divisions within Wales, briefly, early-medieval Wales consisted of several, competing, warring kingdoms. The Norman and Anglo-Norman periods saw new divisions

⁹ Griffiths, H. M. (2014) Water under the bridge? Nature, memory and hydropolitics, p. 452.

¹⁰ Progress was not a new justification. ‘To the engineers and scientists of 19th-century Britain, therefore, the building of reservoirs in rural Wales was an exercise in modernization and the progress of mankind’ Roberts, O. G. (2006) *Developing the untapped wealth of Britain's ‘Celtic Fringe’: Water engineering and the Welsh landscape, 1870 – 1960*, p. 124 and ‘The invocation of progress as a defence was made by E. M. (‘Bessie’) Braddock, a Liverpool Labour MP’. Cunningham, M. (2007) Public Policy and Normative Language: Utility, Community and Nation in the Debate over the Construction of Tryweryn Reservoir, p. 626.

¹¹ ‘the marshy landscape might be improved by the reservoir’ Johnes, M. (2012) *Wales since 1939*, p. 213 and ‘the rough and marshy landscape of the Tryweryn valley’ Roberts (2006) p. 130.

¹² See Zimmern, A. (1921). *‘My Impressions of Wales’* and Scully, R & Jones, W. J. (2012) *Still three Wales? Social location and electoral behaviour in contemporary Wales*.

¹³ For theories on nationalism see Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992) Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality, Hobsbawm, E. J. and Kertzer, D. J. (1992) ‘Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today’. *Anthropology Today*, vol. 8 (1), pp 3-8, Anderson, B. (2006 [1983]) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, O’Leary, B. (1997) ‘On the Nature of Nationalism: An Appraisal of Ernest Gellner’s Writings on Nationalism’. *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 27, (2) ,pp. 191- 222, Spencer, P. and Wollman, H.(2002) ‘Nationalism: A Critical Introduction, Smith, A. D. (2002) When is a Nation, *Geopolitics*, 7(2), pp. 5-32, amongst others.

¹⁴ ‘the effort to save Tryweryn created a rare unanimity in Welsh politics’, Jenkins, P. (1992) *A History of Modern Wales 1536-1990* p. 400

created, Marcher Wales and Pura Wales¹⁵. More recently, a tri-partite split has been posited, in 1921, along class lines by Sir Alfred Zimmern (1879-1957)¹⁶; Welsh Wales, industrial (American) Wales and Upper Class (English) Wales and, in 1985, along the lines of voting habits following the 1979 devolution referendum, not discussed in this work, by Denis Balsom: Welsh Wales, British Wales and (the Welsh-speaking) Y Fro Gymraeg¹⁷: his 'three Wales model' (TWM). The simplest classification of the peoples of Wales, even today, is Welsh-speaking and non-Welsh speaking. However, this belies a great complexity within most of Wales on how a Welsh resident defines him or herself. Wales is culturally and sociolinguistically complex; having a "Welsh identity" is likely to be open to more than a single group of "Welsh people" living in Wales, and they may experience "Welshness" in different ways¹⁸. This paper will not analyse the complexity of classification or perceived degrees of Welshness other than to indicate a difference between the adjectives, national and nationalist.

There are many accounts on the history of Welsh nationalist movements, struggles and ideologies of the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries including the forming of Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru, later, Plaid Cymru (PC)¹⁹, the Welsh Nationalist Party in 1925, not for further discussion in this work other than to state that PC was dominated by academics whose nationalism was defined and expressed in cultural terms²⁰ and whose

¹⁵ For accounts of medieval Welsh history see Jenkins, G. H. (2007) and Davies, J. (2007), Turvey, R. K. (2002), Lloyd, J. E. (1911), Davies, R. R. (2000 [1987]) amongst others.

¹⁶ Davies et al. (2008) in *The Welsh academy encyclopaedia of wales*.

¹⁷ See Figure 1. The three Wales model (source: Day 2010) in Evans, D. J. (2019) 'Welshness in "British Wales": negotiating national identity at the margins', p. 169.

¹⁸ Coupland et al, (2006) *Imagining Wales and the Welsh Language*, p.354

¹⁹ For more on Welsh nationalism and the history of Plaid Cymru see Christiansen, T. (1998), Davies, J. (2007), Jenkins, G. H. (2007), Morgan, K. O. (1971) and others.

²⁰ Jenkins, G. H. (2007) *A Concise History of WALES*, p. 292.

principal aim was the achievement of a Welsh-speaking Wales²¹, thus at the time, offering no credible threat to the Westminster Parties. In the decade following the Second World War (1939-1945) the number of Welsh speakers continued to decline²². Successive Westminster Governments paid little heed to calls for Welsh self-determination owing to a belief that separatism led to nationalism, the worst guises of which had been defeated in the recent, costly, global war²³; in 1948 the Council for Wales was founded, an advisory body with no powers²⁴ and in 1951 the office of the Minister for Welsh Affairs was created, initially as a branch of the Home Office and later, in 1957, under the Ministry of Housing and Local Government²⁵: In 1955 Cardiff was recognised as the Capital city of Wales²⁶. PC remained a political non-entity with regard to any challenge to Westminster administrations²⁷, indeed, infighting and the pacifist stance of its president, Gwynfor Evans²⁸, led fifty Plaid members to leave and found the Mudiad Gweriniaethol Cymru, the Welsh Republican Movement. The Welsh electorate consistently returned a majority of Labour Party MPs to the British Parliament²⁹. In what could be argued as a furtherance of English imperialist annexation of Welsh territory for the exploitation of resources by

²¹ Davies, J. (2007) *A History of WALES*, p.532.

²² Table 7.1 Percentage of Welsh speakers, recorded by county, 1931–71, p.181, Johnes, M. (2012) p. 181.

²³ ‘Aneurin Bevan was an avowed anti-separatist, and there were many like him’ Jenkins, G. H. (2007) p. 296.

²⁴ ‘given the task of advising the government on matters relating to Wales’, Davies, J. (2007) p. 604.

²⁵ German, G. E. (2015) *Welsh History A Chronological Outline*, p. 256 and Davies, J. (2007) pp. 639-40.

²⁶ German, G. E. (2015) p. 258 and Jenkins, G. H. (2007) p. 296.

²⁷ ‘despite modest growth the party remained peripheral to British and even Welsh politics until well into the 1960s’ Christiansen, T. (1998) *Plaid Cymru Dilemmas and ambiguities of Welsh regionalism* in De Winter & Tursan (eds) *Regionalist Parties in Western Europe*.

²⁸ ‘Gwynfor Evans (1912-2005), <https://biography.wales/article/s10-EVAN-RIC-1912#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=35&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F1459987%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=1227%2C354%2C1076%2C886> and (<http://www.hanesplaidcymru.org/gwynfor-evans-darlith/?lang=en>) is appointed president of Plaid Cymru’, German, G. E. (2015) p. 252 and Davies, J. (2007) p. 605.

²⁹ *British Electoral History Since 1832*, History Learning Site and Jones, R.W. (2021) *Nations, Class and Values: Nationalisms in Welsh Politics*.

expanding cities, killing off Welsh language and culture³⁰, the LC, in 1956, settled upon the Tryweryn Valley in which to create a new reservoir. Alternative locations in both Wales and England had been considered but dismissed on the grounds of cost and cultural importance³¹. Against this backdrop, it can be argued, the very existence of Wales as a nation, its language and its culture was, for some, under threat of extinction.

What follows is an analysis of the historiography of the Tryweryn affair, briefly outlined above, from its inception to completion, and what effect it had upon the awareness of the different 'peoples' of Wales at the time and since. Contemporary primary source material on the affair will include government debates and newspaper reports. Also, interviews with the residents displaced at the time are available together with descriptions, by historians, of some of the letters written which are available at the national archives, Kew. Primary sources on the legacy of the affair will include newspaper articles and interviews since the turn of the millennium and with particular reference to the fiftieth anniversary of the project's completion and reaction to Stephens' graffiti being 'vandalised' itself with graffiti.

Chapter II will seek to answer a number of questions: what support and what opposition was there to the project? What, if any, effects on nationalism, language and culture could

³⁰ 'One could argue that cities also saw their investments in waterworks as an exercise in marking out each city's territory. This mountainous western region of Britain constituted an 'underdeveloped estate', and its resources were to be harnessed to the greater good by the use of modern technology' Roberts (2006) p.124 and 'It was easy to see the project as another piece of the English imperialism that was killing the Welsh language and way of life' Johnes (2012) p.213.

³¹ 'The municipal authority had considered alternative sites – including within the English Lake District and Dolanog in Montgomeryshire, Wales. However, these alternatives had been rejected on the grounds of financial costs and the cultural importance of the respective regions' Atkins (2018) p. 457.

be attributed to the Tryweryn project at the time and in the quarter century after, and to what extent, with particular regard to PC and Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, the Welsh Language Society, and to more extremist elements? To whom was the command, *Cofiwch Dryweryn*, addressed, given that it appeared in the area defined as Y Fro Gymraeg or Welsh-speaking Wales, and what did it require the reader to remember? Chapter III will examine the legacy of both the Tryweryn project and Meic Stephens' graffito upon Welsh national politics, Welsh nationalism, language and culture. Richard King, author of *BRITTLE WITH RELICS A HISTORY OF WALES 1962-1997* (2022), suggests³² awareness is more apparent in this, the twenty-first, century, since devolution and the formation of the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG). To that end, the chapter will seek to answer further questions: what nationalist resonance, if any, does *Cofiwch Dryweryn* continue to have on the 'peoples' of Wales? Is there evidence to suggest that the divisions' national and nationalist classifications are blurring? Finally, a conclusion will provide a summary of the previous chapters, an assessment of the answers to the questions asked and an evaluation of the extent of any influence the phrase had at the time, and since, on Welsh national and nationalist, politics, language and culture.

³² Richard King spoke about his book at the Laugharne Weekend Arts Festival, 2022. He described the dust jacket colour and text as representing the white text on the red background of Meic Stephens' graffito when asked by the author of this work if it could be argued that 'Cofiwch Dryweryn' was the catalyst for the various nationalist movements which started in the 1960s.

Chapter II

As introduced above, the event prompting Meic Stephens to paint his protest slogan was the creation of a new reservoir, Llyn Celyn, in north Wales for the residents and industries of Liverpool. But protest against it was not universal. Tryweryn was not the first Welsh river valley to be dammed to provide water for English, or for that matter, Welsh, cities for domestic and industrial purposes; nor, indeed, the last³³. The late Victorian period saw the Efyrynwy and Elan valleys dammed for the expanding industrial centres of Liverpool and Birmingham respectively, with no serious, or widely reported³⁴, challenge from a growing Welsh population which was becoming increasingly politically and nationally aware; built at a time when the British Empire was expanding and Wales in particular was powering the world through the global exports of coal, iron and steel³⁵; a time when the nationalist sentiment supported the trappings of Empire, progress and modernity³⁶. However, most, if not all, of the earlier water-supply, engineering projects, carried out by English municipalities in particular, involved creating dams in the river valleys of the north, Welsh-speaking, Wales; collecting water resources lauded as pure and clean, 'untouched by modernity, pollution and dirt,...a lifeline for the dirty,...disease infected industrial city'³⁷. In comparison, post-Second World War Britain was a very different place to that of Victorian

³³ 'Wales has seen its rivers extensively engineered since the mid-19th century to provide motive power, potable water supply and hydro-electricity', Roberts, O. G. (2006) p. 121 and Griffiths (2014) pp. 450-53.

³⁴ 'There is ample evidence of local opposition to Liverpool's Lake Vyrnwy scheme, however this received almost no attention in the press or in parliamentary debates concerning the project', Roberts, O. G. (2006) p. 126.

³⁵ White, D. (1976) *The Puzzle of Welshness*, New Society, p. 189.

³⁶ 'The nationalist movement of the time, although strong, merely wished for the Welsh to play a full and free part in the commerce and government of the British Empire, rather than opposing Victorian notions of progress and modernity.' Roberts, O. G. (2006) p.126.

³⁷ Roberts (2006) pp. 125-6.

Britain. Its cities bore little resemblance to the filthy, overcrowded and unsanitary urban sprawls which would benefit from the earlier water engineering schemes³⁸, although many cities had embarked on slum-clearance to modernise their housing stock; traditional, heavy industry and Empire were in decline, lighter industries were expanding and the post-war baby-boom saw population rising. These factors, coupled with periods of low rainfall, resulted in an increased demand for water in British cities³⁹. So it was that the LC sought to increase the water security for its population and industry, deciding to flood the Tryweryn valley, with its small village of Capel Celyn, surrounding farms and population of forty eight residents, to achieve that goal⁴⁰. Welsh-speaking Wales, once again, appeared to bear the onslaught of English incursion, with little or no detriment to the non-Welsh, English-speaking or bi-lingual areas.

Reaction to the proposed scheme was mixed. Opposition to the scheme will be examined and analysed below, but there was some support for it. The LC's support for their own project was based on a number of factors; need, progress, utility and community, all for the benefit of its own residents, business and industry⁴¹. In Wales, from the conservation point of view, because the Tryweryn valley did not fit the British narrative afforded to the uplands

³⁸ 'The ideas of Chadwick and the sanitary movement had produced a public health discourse where a clean and abundant supply of water was perceived as the key to improving the health of the working class and curing many of the social ills of the industrial city' Roberts (2006) p.122.

³⁹ '...total demand increasing by approximately 2.5% per year in the 1950s, and 3% in the 1960s' Hassan (1998) in Atkins (2018) p. 456.

⁴⁰ 'NEW RESERVOIR FOR LIVERPOOL: Dolanog Reprieved' The Manchester Guardian, 21 December 1955, 'In 1956, fearing that its Vyrnwy reservoir would soon be insufficient, Liverpool Corporation proposed damming the Tryweryn river' Roberts (2006) p.130, and 'Liverpool ... chose Tryweryn, on the basis that, of the possible locations, this would cause the least public opposition' Johnes (2012) p. 212.

⁴¹ Cunningham (2007) pp. 626-9.

of the Celtic fringe; romanticism, aestheticism, cultural timelessness and spirituality⁴², an area much less popular with tourists, walkers and mountaineers⁴³, the scheme was thought to present little harm by many conservationist groups, many of whose leaders were overwhelmingly middle class, and many of whom were emigres or retirees from England—or at least mingled in Anglicized social circles⁴⁴. One particular group, the Council for the Protection of Rural Wales (CPRW), did not protest against the scheme on the grounds that hydro-electric schemes would be less likely to proceed in the area⁴⁵. The local, Bala Town, Council position was one, arguably, of inferred support in that it was the only council to refuse to back the Committee to Protect Capel Celyn when approached, possibly, as one academic suggests, on the basis that the lake supplying the town with water (Llyn Arenig Fawr) was not to be affected and that local people would be employed during construction⁴⁶ or that construction workers and then visitors would bring money to an area of high unemployment⁴⁷. At an individual level it is suggested that some of the people who were directly affected, the Tryweryn residents themselves, had little regret and were satisfied both with the compensation they received and for the scheme to proceed, not voicing this opinion because of pressure from protest groups⁴⁸. Indeed, of the hundreds of letters written about the affair one, from someone stating he had farmed in the valley for over fifty years, was very critical of the outsiders who knew nothing of the area or its difficulties but

⁴² Roberts (2006) pp. 122-3.

⁴³ Roberts (2006) p. 130 and Johnes (2012) p. 213.

⁴⁴ Roberts (2006) p. 130.

⁴⁵ The CPRW was opposed to small-scale hydro-electric plants supported by PC which were intended for Wales to 'achieve electrification and modernity without surrendering sovereignty' Gruffydd, P. (1990) in Roberts (2006) p. 130.

⁴⁶ Griffiths (2014) p.465.

⁴⁷ The Manchester Guardian (1956) THREAT TO A WELSH VALLEY: Real Hardships Behind the Local Protests, Johnes, M. (2019) *Wales: England's Colony?* P. 152 and *Tryweryn: 50 yrs on* (2015) BBC

⁴⁸ 'many of those affected by the dam did not really regret it, but did not like to say so because of the pressure from the Nationalists' Johnes (2019) p. 153 and 'that 'the vast majority' of Tryweryn residents were 'more than satisfied' with the compensation and were 'satisfied for the scheme to proceed'' Johnes (2012) p. 215.

were at the forefront of the protest movement⁴⁹. These examples fall very short of describing a full-blown enthusiasm for the LC project and there appears to be little more in the way of any historical evidence uncovered to suggest that there was anything other than a limited backing for the scheme except for, what appear to be, economic grounds at a regional, local and individual level.

In contrast, opposition to the scheme has received significantly more historiographical comment because of the form and inference of protest against it, notably its perception by some as an English-imperialist attack on Welsh culture, a symbol of what was happening to Wales as a whole⁵⁰, and the perceived effects upon aspects of that culture which have been attributed to it. The LC appeared to decide upon Cwm Tryweryn late in 1955⁵¹ having had little or no consultation with the residents of Capel Celyn⁵² and, according to at least one newspaper report, plans were approved by Liverpool City Council in early 1956 for a bill to go before parliament in November that year⁵³. Locally, Pwyllgor Amddiffyn Capel Celyn, The Capel Celyn Defence Committee⁵⁴, was formed in response to oppose the scheme; no information on the numbers or background of the committee is presented in this paper. However, there is evidence to show that 'outsiders' ended up running the committee and

⁴⁹ Johnes, (2019) p. 153 and *Wales: England's Colony?* - Episode 2 (2019) BBC2 Wales

⁵⁰ *Wales: England's Colony?* - Episode 2 (2019)

⁵¹ *The Manchester Guardian* (1955)

⁵² 'The people of Capel Celyn claimed that it was the presence of surveyors which first alerted them to the project' Cunningham (2007) p. 629, 'The villagers claimed they found out about the plans only when surveyors arrived there' and Johnes (2012) p. 213 and quoting former Capel Celyn resident, Aeron Prysor Jones, 'In the fifties we were tricked...nobody minded when people came to drill test holes. In the village nobody took the threat seriously', Prestage, M. (1995) Welsh vow to fight new flood threat, *The Observer*.

⁵³ *The Manchester Guardian* (1956) New Plan For Welsh Reservoir

⁵⁴ 'Plans were made to oppose the proposals and in March 1956 the Capel Celyn Defence Committee was formed and comprised some of Wales's most influential and prominent personalities, including Megan Lloyd George and Ifan ab Owen Edwards' Crump, E (2015) Tryweryn: Shock plans to flood Snowdonia valley revealed in 1955 sparked years of protest, *Daily Post, North Wales News*

that PC became involved in the protest as evidenced by its president, Gwynfor Evans, then Alderman of Carmarthen County Council, addressing the Liverpool City Council on 21st November 1956 to no avail; the date on which the Council voted in favour of the scheme⁵⁵, citing the reasons outlined above for their decision; the date upon which the residents of Capel Celyn, young and elderly, marched peacefully and without hindrance in Liverpool to plead their case for a change of mind, or heart, according to a contemporary newspaper report⁵⁶, though the recollection of the youngest in the procession, over half a century on, suggests the reception was not so pleasant⁵⁷. Opposition and protest included many written objections from many parts of Wales and beyond, not just the affected community⁵⁸; resistance to the Tryweryn scheme developed a national character⁵⁹. Research carried out by PC argued, contrary to the assertions by the LC, that Liverpool's domestic water consumption had barely increased since the 1920s; drawing the conclusion that the city's demand for an increased water supply was for industrial use and for resale at a profit⁶⁰: research, some forty years on suggests that even today, Liverpool does not use all the water from Tryweryn⁶¹. Whereas the grounds for support appeared to be economic, acceptable perhaps in a progressive, capitalist society, the grounds and aims for its opposition appeared to be a halt to the acceleration of what was seen, by some, as the slow, terminal decline of an ancient race, its language, culture, history and

⁵⁵ "The council voted by ninety-four to one to flood Tryweryn and a bill was introduced into Parliament to facilitate that" Johnes (2012) p. 213.

⁵⁶ Cunningham (2007) P. 629, Johnes (2012) p. 213 and *The Manchester Guardian* (1956) "SAVE OUR HOMES" PROCESSION MARCHES IN VAIN: Capel Celyn Goes to the Big City.

⁵⁷ Eurgain Prysor Jones, three years old at the time recalls, "The reception we had in Liverpool was awful. People were spitting at us and throwing rotten tomatoes at us. It was an awful disappointment." Lloyd, D (2015) *Tryweryn: Personal stories 50 years after drowning*, a claim repeated in *Wales: England's Colony?* (2019)

⁵⁸ 'written objections to the scheme (from a total of 1055 public bodies) were not confined to the immediate area surrounding Capel Celyn, but were sent by organizations from across Wales, ranging from trade unions to churches', Griffiths (2014) p. 452, 'letters of support from across Wales and beyond', Atkins (2018) p. 457, 'The Ministry for Welsh Affairs received 680 letters of protest', Johnes (2012) p. 213 and Cunningham (2007) p.626

⁵⁹ Atkins, (2018) p. 457.

⁶⁰ Atkins, (2018) p. 461.

⁶¹ Iwan, L. (2006) in *Tryweryn reservoir 'unnecessary'*, BBC News, Wales.

landscape; all of which helped define its identity⁶². Peaceful, political protest was shown to be futile⁶³. At Westminster, the Parliamentary Bill introduced by the LC to facilitate the scheme received no support from the thirty six Welsh MPs; the required legislation was enacted authorising the scheme on its third reading⁶⁴ in July 1957. Arguably, Tryweryn represented a modern 'David versus Goliath' struggle⁶⁵: a city's demands pitted against a small village's right to exist unhindered; modern industry against traditional, rural agriculture; England against Wales⁶⁶, though, on this last point much of the language of justification from Westminster was of the UK as opposed to distinctly separate nations. The failure to stop the LC's project highlighted the lack of any right to self-determination of the Welsh. Despite Wales having thirty six MPs, elected to represent their constituents in the Westminster Parliament, this was a fraction of the total number of the representatives in the UK as a whole. Thus Welsh politicians, even if united, could never win a vote against any legislation proposed which was opposed by their constituents. What was made abundantly clear was that Wales, as a nation, had no rights as to the fate of its land, its people or its culture⁶⁷; Welsh opinion in opposing the scheme was impotent⁶⁸, a situation seized upon by Welsh nationalists. PC and the Capel Celyn Defence Committee had highlighted the national,

⁶² Griffiths, (2014) p. 452 and Atkins, (2018) pp. 459-60

⁶³ 'it was this failure to prevent the village's inundation that demonstrated the weakness of Wales to resist decisions made in Westminster, whilst highlighting the futility of any form of organised Welsh opposition within the Houses of Parliament', Adamson (1991) in Atkins, (2018) p. 460.

⁶⁴ 'As the legislation passed through Parliament, opposition petered out. Only twenty-seven Welsh MPs voted against its second reading, with the rest abstaining. By the third reading just twenty voted in opposition' Johnes (2012) p. 215, '27 of 36 Welsh MPs voted against the second reading of the bill' Cunningham (2007) p. 633, and '27 of the 36 MPs elected to represent Welsh constituencies at Westminster voted against the 1957 Liverpool Corporation Act that provided the power to acquire lands and rights to work in the Tryweryn Valley' Atkins (2018) p. 460.

⁶⁵ Gramwich, K. (2013) 'Still linked to those others': Landscape and Language in Post-war Welsh Poetry, p. 69

⁶⁶ 'Tryweryn was rhetorically positioned to reinforce a number of binary oppositions' Griffiths (2014) p.452.

⁶⁷ 'It soon became clear that, politically speaking, Wales was extremely vulnerable and unable to protect its own assets and resources' Thomas, W (2015) *Tryweryn: 50 Years On*, BBC One Wales

⁶⁸ A Major cause of frustration...was the impotence of Welsh opinion to prevent the Liverpool Corporation from drowning the village of Capel Celyn...' Wyn James, E. (2005)

cultural importance of the community threatened by the scheme and during the protest campaign Gwynfor Evans transformed the word Tryweryn into a verb to describe the act of exploiting the resources or destroying elements of identity of a small nation by a larger, neighbouring one⁶⁹. The lack of any authority of the Welsh over their own fortune was, arguably, the primary grievance from which many others grew, thus, following the Defence Committee's campaign failure to defeat the scheme, a broader, nationalist cause was taken up by others.

Tryweryn was, for many, the catalyst for a resurgence of a broad spectrum of nationalist sentiment in Wales sparking acts of violent and non-violent extremism carried out to save the language, protect communities and re-ignited passions for the arts; poetry, music and history. Many have argued that these were the effects of Tryweryn, others have argued that Tryweryn was one of many causes⁷⁰. One such cause occurred early in 1962, whilst the Tryweryn valley and dam were being prepared and constructed. On the thirteenth of February of that year Saunders Lewis⁷¹, one of the founders of PC and perhaps one of the first Welsh nationalist activists of the twentieth century⁷², delivered a lecture titled 'Tynged yr Iaith', 'The Fate of the Language'⁷³ predicting the end of Welsh as a living language by the

⁶⁹ Atkins (2018) p. 465.

⁷⁰ 'The strength of opposition to the Tryweryn scheme... underlines the fact that [it] cannot be considered in isolation of the wider political events and movements shaping Wales at the time, Griffiths (2014) p. 453

⁷¹ Biographical information on Saunders Lewis can be found at [https://biography.wales/article/s10-LEWI-SAU-1893?&query=saunders%20lewis&searchType=nameSearch&lang\[\]=en&sort=sort_name&order=asc&rows=12&page=1](https://biography.wales/article/s10-LEWI-SAU-1893?&query=saunders%20lewis&searchType=nameSearch&lang[]=en&sort=sort_name&order=asc&rows=12&page=1)

⁷² Moore, D (2022) *How Saunders Lewis' Tynged yr Iaith speech inspired Cymdeithas yr Iaith*

⁷³ An English language translation by G. Aled Williams can be found here: <https://morris.cymru/testun/saunders-lewis-fate-of-the-language.html>.

turn of the twenty-first century⁷⁴. Reference to Tryweryn formed a part of the lecture; Lewis was critical of the lack of political influence available to Wales and implied that blame for the failure of opposition to the scheme lay predominantly with the Welsh-speaking Welsh⁷⁵ in part because the predominantly English, Westminster Government saw no, nor owed any, obligation to the Welsh language which was, as stated, in decline and, in accordance with the laws enacted by Henry VIII some four centuries earlier⁷⁶, was not required to do so; a situation whose change, according to Lewis, could only come about through revolution⁷⁷. Such rhetoric has been described by some as a challenge for the decline in language and the assault on culture to be reversed and defended by radical means, intended for, and possibly directed at, PC⁷⁸. Within a few months of, and in response to, Lewis's broadcast, owing to a sense of frustration amongst younger members of the party at the lack of official recognition of Welsh as the language of Wales, its poor electoral performance in recent elections and, arguably because of its perceived impotence in opposing Westminster and English local authorities; Tryweryn representing the most recent of many examples⁷⁹, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (CylIG), The Welsh Language Society, was founded⁸⁰. The

⁷⁴ 'I shall also presuppose that Welsh will end as a living language, should the present trend continue, about the beginning of the twenty-first century', Lewis, S. translated by Williams, G. A. (n.d.) and Johnes (2012) p. 221.

⁷⁵ 'Tryweryn was our concern, our responsibility, and ours alone' Lewis, S. Translated by Williams, G. A. (n.d.)

⁷⁶ Widely referred to as the 'Acts of Union' in 1536 and 1543, see Davies (2007) and Jenkins (2007) amongst others.

⁷⁷ 'It will be nothing less than a revolution to restore the Welsh language in Wales. Success is only possible through revolutionary methods' Lewis, S. translated by Williams, G. A. (n.d.) and 'drastic action, including civil disobedience' Wyn James (2005) *Painting the World Green: Dafydd Iwan and the Welsh Protest Ballad*, p. 595.

⁷⁸ 'Lewis's radio lecture was a veiled appeal for Plaid Cymru' Wyn James (2005) p. 596 and 'Lewis' plea was directed at Plaid Cymru' Merriman, P. & Jones, R. (2009) 'Symbols of Justice': the Welsh Language Society's campaign for bilingual road signs in Wales, 1967–1980, p.355 and 'it was said – I don't know it's true – that primarily this was aimed at Plaid Cymru' Ffred Ffransis, former chair of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, in King (2022) p. 26

⁷⁹ Land requisition by the Ministry of Defence throughout Wales had been a bone of contention since the early twentieth century, see Davies, J. (2007), Jenkins, G. H. (2007), Johnes, M. (2012) and King, R. (2022) amongst others.

⁸⁰ 'impetus for the creation of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg in 1962 was provided by the proposed drowning of the village of Capel Celyn in Tryweryn' King (2022) p. 30, 'The Formation of the Welsh Language Society'

Society was created as a radical, direct-action, non-violent movement espousing civil-disobedience tactics, influenced by Gandhi and Dr Martin Luther King⁸¹, to reverse the decline of the Welsh language and seek a change to the 1536 Act which effectively banned the use of Welsh as a language of official, administrative business and what its founding members saw as British state sanctioned attacks on their national language on many fronts⁸². Their method of protest was to target the machinery of government, local and national, a precursor of which had been carried out by a married couple, Mr and Mrs Trefor and Eileen Beasley, a miner and schoolteacher from Llangennech in the Llanelli Rural District, where much of the population were Welsh speakers. Throughout the 1950s, in an isolated, individual act of protest, before Tryweryn, they had refused to pay their Council rates bill unless they received a demand in Welsh. Their stand resulted in over a dozen court appearances for not paying their rates and property seizure by bailiffs on several occasions. Eventually, after years of personal sacrifice they received a demand in Welsh⁸³. The Beasley's protest directly challenged what was interpreted as anti-Welsh oppression authorised by the state. CyIG's initial aims were primarily for Welsh to be recognised as equal to English as official languages in matters of administration by national and local authorities within Wales and also awaken the Welsh population to what has been described as an oppressive English/Welsh relationship particularly on matters of language⁸⁴. Formally

Williams, C. H. (1976) "Non-Violence and the Development of the Welsh Language Society, 1962-c. 1974" p. 28 and Merriman, P. & Jones, R. (2009) p. 354.

⁸¹ 'Bothe the life and works of Gandhi and of Martin Luther King were translated into Welsh between 1967 and 1969 and had a substantial influence on the movement', Ffred Ffransis in King, R. (2022) p. 57.

⁸² 'they and others felt were continual attacks on the Welsh language by the British state, official organisations, and commercial forces' Merriman, P. & Jones, R. (2009) p. 354.

⁸³ Johnes (2012 p.221, J. Davies, N. Jenkins, M. Baines & et. al. (2008) BEASLEY, Trefor (1918-94) Language campaigner and Eileen Beasley's obituary in the *Independent* 29th September 2012.

⁸⁴ Williams, C. H. (1976) p. 430.

constituted in Aberystwyth⁸⁵ and consisting largely of University students and young professionals, its first campaign was to establish the right to receive court summonses in Welsh⁸⁶. However, no summonses were issued following their first protest in Aberystwyth, a sit-down occupation of the Trefechan Bridge in February 1963⁸⁷. Their direct action campaign was halted in July 1963 as a response to the establishment of an inquiry by the Conservative Government in part owing to the effects of Tryweryn, chaired by Sir David Hughes Parry⁸⁸ to examine of the legal status of the Welsh language and consider changes to legislation on its use which resulted in the Welsh Language act 1967. However, the direct action campaign continued throughout the late 1960s and into the 1980s involving refusing to pay for, or display, road tax discs⁸⁹ in or on their motor vehicles, refusal to respond to summonses received in English and causing damage to road signs by painting over the English representations of Welsh place names with green paint, prompting the protest song, 'Peintio'r Byd yn Wyrdd' ('Painting the World Green'), written by Dafydd Iwan (see below). Many CyIG activists were imprisoned during the direct action campaigns, including Iwan himself, but many notable victories were won including the founding of the Welsh language television channel⁹⁰ and later Welsh Language Acts.

⁸⁵ 'Cymdeithas was constituted in my parents' house in Aberystwyth, 51 North Parade' Ruth Stephens, wife of Meic Stephens, in King, R. (2022) p. 31

⁸⁶ 'Some were already doing that' Johnes, M. (2012) p.222

⁸⁷ Jones, R. (2008) Relocating nationalism: on the geographies of reproducing nations, pp. 329-31, Williams, C. H. (1976) p. 434 and King, R. (2022) p. 25

⁸⁸ Parry, R.G. (2010) David Hughes Parry: A Jurist in Society p. 141-3, 'After its first flurry of activity, CyIG held back on further direct action while the government's inquiry into the legal status of the Welsh language took place' Johnes, M. (2012) p. 226, 'David Hughes Parry, a Welsh-speaking law professor, was appointed as its chair' Johnes, M. (2012) p. 222 and Williams, C. H. (1976) p.434.

⁸⁹ Johnes, M. (2012) p. 231.

⁹⁰ Gramwich, K. in Bassnett, S. (2003) *Studying British Cultures: An Introduction*, p.113

A far more sinister effect of Tryweryn was the appearance of militant, nationalist groups; most widely described are Mudiad Amddiffyn Cymru (MAC), Movement for the Defence of Wales; Byddin Rhyddid Cymru, Free Wales Army (BRC/FWA) and Meibion Glyndŵr (MG), Sons of Glyndŵr; though many other groups supporting a separatist struggle appeared⁹¹. Historiography refers to the above named groups as paramilitary outfits who advocated, and adopted, violence and armed struggle as a tactic in protecting Wales from the loss of its language. Indeed acts of terrorism were carried out by each to various degrees of success. Founded as a direct result of the Tryweryn affair and to prevent the reservoir's construction⁹², members of MAC used explosive devices to cause damage to machinery at the Tryweryn site early in 1963 before being caught, tried and imprisoned for twelve months⁹³. This was not the end of MAC; former British army sergeant, John Jenkins provided technical and professional knowledge to the group enabling many bomb and arson attacks⁹⁴ throughout Wales in the latter half of the decade targeting water pipelines, military and administrative buildings and the spectacle of the Investiture of the Prince Charles as Prince of Wales in 1969⁹⁵, before his imprisonment, for ten years, in April 1970. Whilst MAC appeared to be a secretive, shadowy organisation, BRC/FWA in contrast courted publicity; Members, in uniform, attended the farcical, and crass, opening ceremony of the Tryweryn reservoir in 1965⁹⁶; its leader-cum-spokesman, Julian Cayo-Evans (1937-1995), became a well-known media figure⁹⁷, speaking to the press offering opinions on the organisation's

⁹¹ 'a number of shadowy organizations... of uncertain membership, connection and wider affiliation, were responsible for a variety of actions' Ireland, R. (2015) *Land of White Gloves?* P. 96 and Jenkins, P. (1992) p. 401.

⁹² King, R. (2022) p.44.

⁹³ Johnes, M. (2012) p.234.

⁹⁴ Jenkins, P. (1992) p. 401.

⁹⁵ *The Prince and the Bomber* (2019) BBC2 Wales.

⁹⁶ Johnes, M. (2012) p. 233 and *Tryweryn: 50 yrs on* (2015) BBC.

⁹⁷ 'Cayo was not making a secret of the fact he was on a PR exercise' Iwan, D. in King (2022) p. 49, Johnes (2012) p. 233, Jenkins, P. (1992) p. 401, Ireland (2015) p. 96.

personnel, resources and bomb threats⁹⁸. One of its member's influence for joining the group was coming across the Welsh proverb, 'cenedl heb iaith, cenedl heb galon', 'a nation without a language is a nation without a heart'⁹⁹. The group's publicity was enhanced by its claims of responsibility for bomb attacks, more likely carried out by MAC in the late 1960s¹⁰⁰. Several leading members of BRC/FWA were arrested in the weeks leading up to Prince Charles' Investiture as a result of threats to disrupt the event. Boasts to reporters formed part of the evidence in the case against them resulting in convictions and sentencing on the day after the Investiture¹⁰¹. The militant nationalist group MG used arson as its modus operandi. From the late 1970s to the early 1990s second, or holiday, homes owned by residents of England and English estate agents in border towns and in London¹⁰² promoting such properties, were targeted as a protest in defence of Welsh communities whose members were being priced out of the housing market in their own towns and villages and to stem the influx of non-Welsh speakers¹⁰³. Several dozen second homes were fire-bombed, credit for which was taken by MG¹⁰⁴. This campaign could arguably claim to be tenuously linked to Tryweryn's influence by highlighting and challenging a continued, Anglicised erosion of Welsh language, culture and community as opposed to the direct links attributed to MAC and BRC/FWA, albeit on a much smaller, but nonetheless equally perilous, scale.

⁹⁸ *The Guardian* (1966) Welsh fighting talk and *The Guardian* (1966) Severn Bridge threat.

⁹⁹ Johnes, M. (2012) p.233 and Clowes, C. I. in King (2022) p.24.

¹⁰⁰ Johnes, M. (2012) p. 233.

¹⁰¹ Johnes, M. (2012) p. 236 and Johnes (2019) p. 157.

¹⁰² Ireland, R. (2015) p 96

¹⁰³ Jenkins, P. (1992) P 403.

¹⁰⁴ Pitchford, S. R. (2001) Image-making movements: Welsh Nationalism and Stereotype Transformation, p. 56.

Cultural effects of Tryweryn included poetry, art and music inspired by the event, both in the Welsh and English languages, which evoked a sense of remembrance. Poetry and song are celebrated, historical and cultural, Welsh traditions having been so for more than a millennia¹⁰⁵ and Welsh language poetry in particular is linked to Welsh identity and culture; indeed poetry in general can be used to analyse not only a sense of identity but also memory, and to some degree, politics in its form, style, vocabulary and imagery¹⁰⁶.

Tryweryn, it is said, fuelled a cultural revolution which took form in literature, music and art resulting in many poems written by poets with strong links and poets with no links to the area¹⁰⁷ because of the exposure of political impotence of Welsh representation in the Westminster Government. The word 'cof', Welsh for memory, plays a very important role in poetry and song on the theme of Tryweryn¹⁰⁸, evident in the works of Welsh-language poets such as Gwenallt (1899-1968), Alan Llwyd, Gerallt Lloyd Owen, Elwyn Edwards, Twm Morys amongst others. Memory is not the only word of importance in prose on the subject. Loss, violence, drowning, woe and grave (Welsh – colli, trais, boddi, gwae and bedd) are words often repeated. Some poems describe a sense of shame and betrayal¹⁰⁹ which could be interpreted as a link to Saunders Lewis's criticism, in 'Tynged yr Iaith', of those Welsh speakers as suggested above; many refer to the destruction of the landscape of the Tryweryn valley with particular reference to drowning. Drowning suggests an act of violence but also provides a symbolic dramatism, a suggestion that something remains despite being

¹⁰⁵ See Jenkins, G. H. (2007), Davies, J. (2007), Evans, G. (1992).

¹⁰⁶ Griffiths, H. M. (2014) p.456.

¹⁰⁷ Griffiths, H. M. (2014) p. 452.

¹⁰⁸ 'memory plays a very strong role in Welsh poetry', Eurig Salisbury, poet and author *Remembering Tryweryn* (2020).

¹⁰⁹ Griffiths, H. M. (2014) p. 463.

underwater¹¹⁰. However, Tryweryn inspired poetry is not all about the drowned landscape. Welsh language poems were written praising the nationalist extremists responsible for bomb attacks on the construction site and poems by Welsh poets in both Welsh and English use Tryweryn as a metaphor to represent the constant threat to language and culture. The 1968 poem, *Reservoirs*¹¹¹ by R. S. Thomas (1913-2000) represents the poet's anger at the metaphoric drowning not only Tryweryn but of the language and culture of Wales by a deluge of English immigration aided by the complicit Welsh¹¹². The fate of the Tryweryn valley has also been represented in Welsh-language lyrics by songwriters including those by folk-singer and Welsh language activist, Dafydd Iwan whose songs have inspired by the many aspects of the struggle, emotions and legacy of the affair¹¹³ and in art, for example in a series of controversial paintings by the painter, Claudia Williams many of which depict the fate of the women and children affected by the event¹¹⁴.

There were effects upon Welsh nationalist politics attributable to Tryweryn as described above, but nowhere near as influential. After the failure of the fight by PC and the Capel Celyn defence committee to save the valley, despite the support of the thirty six Welsh, Westminster MPs: twenty seven Labour, six Conservative and three Liberal, most of whom voted, some abstaining, against the LC bill's parliamentary passage through the House of

¹¹⁰ Guto Harri, artist, Bedwyr Williams and Nicky Wire of the Manic Street Preachers rock band in *Remembering Tryweryn* (2020).

¹¹¹ teifidancer (2015) Cofiwch Dryweryn / Remember Tryweryn.

¹¹² Gramwich, K. (2013) in Alexander, N. & Cooper, D. (eds) (2013) p. 69 and Griffiths, (2014) p. 458-59.

¹¹³ 'The name 'Tryweryn' reverberates through Dafydd Iwan's songs from his earliest compositions to the present', Wyn James (2005) p. 595.

¹¹⁴ *Remembering Tryweryn* (2020) and Claudia Williams RCA (n.d.) artwales.com.

Commons¹¹⁵ when it passed by a margin of 166 votes to 117¹¹⁶, nationalist voting increased marginally in the general election of 1959, including outside of the Welsh-speaking areas¹¹⁷ despite criticism of its leader, Gwynfor Evans, over the affair. However, the party was still not seen as a genuine alternative to the Westminster parties particularly away from the more nationalist, non-Welsh speaking areas where it is argued that people voted against Labour as opposed to voting for PC¹¹⁸. What was of benefit to PC was the formation and campaigning of the direct action groups discussed above¹¹⁹. CyIG took on the role of saving and expanding the Welsh language; the more militant groups, whilst never publicly supported by the party, indicated the willingness of a (very) small minority to use violence and terror to achieve its aims, leaving PC to attempt to become a more acceptable, respectable, mainstream organisation with a commitment to espouse the political system of the whole nation, tailored to represent the national, Welsh electorate, although this is, arguably, an oversimplification of the change in direction of nationalism in Wales in the early 1960s. During the 1960s the Westminster government, arguably in response to the actions of Welsh nationalist groups, granted a number of investments and concessions to, mostly south and south east, Wales in an attempt to contain Welsh nationalism and its anti-English rhetoric. In 1962, as a consequence of Tryweryn according to a former, senior politician, Lord Peter Brooke¹²⁰, son of the then Minister for Housing and Local Government whose portfolio included the Ministry for Welsh Affairs, Henry Brooke, investment was made in the Steel industry with the Llanwern Steel works being sited near Newport; 1964

¹¹⁵ For the legislative process, see Cabinet Office (2013) Legislative process: taking a bill through Parliament

¹¹⁶ Atkins, E. (2018) p. 460.

¹¹⁷ 'At the 1959 general election...[it] secured 17 per cent in Rhondda West', Johnes, M. (2012) p. 216.

¹¹⁸ Jenkins, P. (1992) p. 396.

¹¹⁹ 'The foundation of the Language Society allowed Plaid to concentrate on electoral politics... there was in a sense a division of labour' Christiansen, T. in De, W. L. & Tursan, H. (1998) p. 127.

¹²⁰ *Tryweryn: 50 years on* (2015).

the position of secretary of state for Wales was created by the Labour government; in 1965, Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency (DVLA) was moved to Swansea and 1968, the Royal Mint was moved to Llantrisant¹²¹. Few, if any, concessions appeared to have been made to the Welsh-speaking heartlands in which the grievance of Tryweryn had occurred. PC did achieve electoral success in 1966 when Evans won the by-election in Carmarthen, in the Welsh-speaking heartland, becoming the first ever PC MP. The Party went on to poll well in a series of by-Elections which challenged the main Westminster parties in the late 1960s but it could not match this in general elections¹²²; however, the Party did achieve three parliamentary seats in the mid-1970s but were unable to convince the Welsh electorate to vote 'Yes' in the 1979 devolution referendum almost a quarter of a century after the LC surveyors descended upon Cwm Tryweryn: the population of Wales voted against devolution, voting for continued governance by Westminster. This suggests that the nationalist response and reaction to Tryweryn was not repeated on a national scale in Wales.

Meic Stephens painted his slogan sometime after the creation of CylG of which he was a member, around the time of the completion of the dam, before the drowning of Capel Celyn. It was originally painted as *Cofiwch Tryweryn*; Stephens apparently having not yet mastered the mutations of the Welsh language being an adult learner, before being anonymously corrected¹²³, in a place, within the Welsh-speaking heartland, where the local population would have been exposed to it. To that extent this would arguably have been a case of 'preaching to the converted'. However, sited in a lay-by on a main road in the west,

¹²¹ *Tryweryn: 50 years on* (2015) and *Wales: England's Colony? – Episode 2* (2019).

¹²² Balsom et al. (1984) *The political consequences of Welsh identity*, p. 299 and Johnes, M. (2012) p. 225.

¹²³ Huw Stephens, son of Meic Stephens in King, R. (2022) p.40.

near the coast it was undoubtedly visible to a much wider audience. The message to the reader would appear to have been, and to be, a reminder of the injustice of the entire process surrounding the water supply project because of the inadequacy of Welsh representative institutions and the lack of recognition of the Welsh language in this period¹²⁴; the marginalisation of concerns of those affected, locally and regionally, if not nationally with regard to the relationship between language, culture and landscape, together with the lack of political avenues available to adequately represent the national sentiment and to remember, in the face of an existential decline in the Welsh language, that there was no legal nor institutional safeguard¹²⁵ to protect it.

¹²⁴ Cunningham, M. (2007) p.625.

¹²⁵ Cunningham, M. (2007) p. 634.

Chapter III

As the new millennium approached memory of Tryweryn seemed to be fading into the mists of time. The reservoir, Llyn Celyn, Tryweryn river, Avon Tryweryn, and the surrounding landscape, became tourism destinations, marketed as such by the Welsh Tourist Board; angling, rafting, horse-riding and hiking amongst many activities available to tourists from far and wide, as well as more locally. The community of Capel Celyn was long since forgotten, but for a small stone chapel and cemetery created for those graves exhumed and reinterred. Today, the road, the A4212, from Bala to Trawsfynedd, tracks the northeast shore of the reservoir, looping around the northern tip, to run along the western shoreline before sweeping away westward. It is a well-maintained, well-travelled route, popular with holiday-makers heading to the Llyn peninsula or the west coast with its long stretches of golden sandy beaches. There was little, if anything, to show those driving this scenic route what had happened a generation or two ago, save for the odd bit of graffiti painted onto boulders along the way. *Cofiwch Dryweryn* remained, on the derelict wall sixty miles away. Remember Tryweryn, would seem to have been a lost cause, a visual plea which few could see. Little, if anything was taught about Tryweryn in Welsh schools. It is not uncommon for people who were in school throughout the 1980s and 1990s to know nothing, or very little, about Tryweryn. The latter decades of the twentieth century saw continued industrial decline. Western, neo-liberal economic policies of allowing the 'market' to determine the cost of manufacturing and global trade saw the almost total collapse of heavy industry. In its place the service and financial sectors grew. And so did inequality; the gap between the poorest and the richest widened. Traditional Welsh communities continued to come under pressure again; this time from the affluent English desiring second homes in the relative tranquillity of a small Welsh town or village, somewhere to visit for a long weekend or a couple of weeks during the holidays thus pushing property prices higher and out of the reach of the less well-off local population an issue of concern which continues today (see

above). CylG's campaign for equal status of Welsh with the English language, which had resulted in jail sentences for many activists as personal sacrifices for the cause, could claim some success in the introduction to the statute books of another Welsh Language Act in 1993; this Act established the Bwrdd Yr Iaith Gymraeg, the Welsh Language Board, which provided that certain public bodies should uphold the principle that Welsh and English languages are given equal status in the conducting of public business in Wales¹²⁶; most, if not all, road signs and markings were, by now, bilingual introducing Welsh words to English holidaymakers: 'araf means slow' being repeated ad infinitum in offices and canteens on Monday mornings to the east of Offa's Dyke.

In 1997, by the narrowest of margins in a low voting turnout; a fraction over fifty per cent of the half of the people of Wales who voted in that referendum voted for a form of devolved government in contrast to the eighty per cent¹²⁷ of voters who voted 'No' in 1979. The 1979 referendum took place during a time when the memory of the injustice of Tryweryn was still relatively fresh in the Welsh nation's conscience; the Welsh national campaign continued to capture newspaper headlines and so too did the nation's rugby team. But it was also a time of wider political and social difficulty. People, particularly in the more populous, industrial heartlands of the southern valleys were far more likely to be interested in their own welfare and security¹²⁸ than that of the language and culture, be it traditional or popular. For the electorate in 1997 Tryweryn was a distant memory. Former First Minister for Wales, Rhodri Morgan (1939-2017) was convinced there was no connection between the two, describing suggestions that there was as nationalist myth-making, that too much time had elapsed and people's priorities were different¹²⁹; but this viewpoint does

¹²⁶ Law Wales (n.d.) *Welsh Language Act 1993*, <https://law.gov.wales/culture/welsh-language/welsh-language-act-1993>

¹²⁷ *Wales: England's Colony?-Episode 2* (2019) BBC

¹²⁸ *The Story of Wales* (2012) BBC1

¹²⁹ Lloyd, D. (2015) *Tryweryn: Personal stories 50 years after drowning*, BBC News

not necessarily reflect the changes to the Welsh national perspective attributable to the affair, particularly from a biased, Labour party standpoint. However others believed the contrary; The BBC Wales Welsh affairs editor at the time suggested that "It would not be an exaggeration to say that the road to the National Assembly for Wales began in Tryweryn"¹³⁰ and historian Dr Wyn Thomas supports the assertion; his argument is that Tryweryn had a significant part to play in the passing of the Government of Wales Act, 1998, which led to the formation of the WAG¹³¹: neither standpoint is necessarily wrong. Morgan's assertion may well have shown a belief that there was a lack of overt, categorical reference to the affair or a grudging denial on Party political grounds whereas Thomas's showed a belief there was a historical background and undercurrent of nationalist influence, roots of which formed a significant part.

Some aspects of Welsh culture have continued to feel the effects of Tryweryn from around the millennium and since. Tryweryn influenced the fourth track, '*Ready for Drowning*' on the Welsh rock group, Manic Street Preachers' 1998, number one, album '*This Is My Truth, Tell Me Yours*'. The band's bassist and lyricist, Nicky Wire acknowledges the brutal, poetic honesty of the poet, R. S. Thomas, particularly his poem *Reservoirs*¹³². In 2004 Tryweryn was remembered again. The wound, described as a festering sore¹³³, was opened again when Liverpool, the English city responsible for the drowning of Capel Celyn and the destruction of the small, traditional, Welsh-speaking community, with little apparent sense of irony, asked to host the National Eisteddfod¹³⁴, the Welsh language festival of culture, in 2007. Historically the Eisteddfod had been held in Liverpool on three

¹³⁰ *City's apology for drowned valley* (2005) BBC News, Wales.

¹³¹ *Tryweryn: 50 Years On* (2015).

¹³² Nicky Wire in *Remembering Tryweryn* (2020).

¹³³ *Tryweryn: 50 Years On* (2015).

¹³⁴ Eisteddfod (2008) in *The Welsh Academy Encyclopaedia of Wales*.

occasions, the last being in 1929, around a half century before Tryweryn. The Arch druid of Wales, Dr Robyn Lewis, denounced the bid asking ‘What has Liverpool ever done for us? ... The last thing it did for us was to drown Tryweryn’¹³⁵. The following year, on 19 October 2005, Liverpool City Council apologised for the flooding of the community of Capel Celyn¹³⁶ after the intervention of Lord Roberts of Llandudno who approached the Liverpool Council leadership, saddened by reference to the drowning of the village in criticism of the City’s bid¹³⁷. The response to the apology was mixed; it was described as ‘useless’, ‘too late’ and ‘a political gesture’¹³⁸ by some residents of Bala, near to Llyn Celyn reservoir, when asked by reporters as news of the apology broke. Meic Stephens’ unofficial memorial artwork has been the subject of attention in various forms in this new century, much of which has received press coverage at the time. In 2006 the local council announced its intention to preserve the wall as a national landmark and proposed a national fund-raising appeal for that purpose¹³⁹. In 2008 ‘Cofiwch’ was vandalised, altered to read ‘Anghofiwch Dryweryn’, or ‘forget Tryweryn’, causing upset to some people, but was repainted shortly after¹⁴⁰. In 2019 the word ‘Elvis’ was painted over the slogan and, in a separate incident, part of the wall damaged. On each occasion the landmark was restored to its original representation of white text on a red background after being rebuilt by volunteers¹⁴¹. Later that year a charity, *Tro’r Trai* was set up to protect it¹⁴². Following the vandalism in 2019 there appeared to be an awakening. The slogan was painted all over the place, on walls and bridges, in cafes and schools apparently going viral, bringing new life to the story of the drowned village and valley. This awakening, in response to the attempts to destroy the landmark memorial prompted author Marie Emlyn to write *Cofiwch Dryweryn - Cymru’n Deffro, Wales Awakening* (2019), a bilingual story of the home

¹³⁵ *Anger at Liverpool eisteddfod bid* (2004) BBC News.

¹³⁶ Cunningham, M. (2007) p. 625.

¹³⁷ *Official apology over Tryweryn* (2005) BBC News, Wales.

¹³⁸ City apology ‘40 years too late’ (2005) BBC News, Wales.

¹³⁹ *Dam graffiti wall set to be saved* (2006) BBC News Wales

¹⁴⁰ *Dam memorial’s slogan repainted* (2008) BBC News Wales

¹⁴¹ *Calls to protect vandalised Cofiwch Dryweryn memorial* (2019) BBC News Wales

¹⁴² *Cofiwch Dryweryn: Charity set up to protect memorial* (2019) BBC News Wales

made murals which appeared all over Wales¹⁴³. The years 2013 to 2015 saw the fiftieth anniversaries of the bombing and drowning of Tryweryn accompanied by renewed calls to remember. The BBC ran stories in its news website, revisiting the episode of national injustice and celebrating the nationalist gains. Since then Tryweryn has been used as an alarm call from those opposed to new environmental and energy projects proposed by private, non-Welsh companies¹⁴⁴ together with calls for a tax on Welsh water being supplied to English cities to fund the Welsh National Health Service¹⁴⁵, indicative of a continuing sense of injustice for many in Wales.; that the slogan's message, like the landmark, has endured into the twenty-first century. Children in Welsh medium schools are taught about the drowning of the Welsh village so Liverpool could have more water, the *Cofiwch Dryweryn* mural can now be found on T-shirts, phone cases, homewares and socks (!)¹⁴⁶, and Yes Cymru, the group promoting independence for Wales appear to have chosen the mural colours, white text against a red background, for its logo and marketing designs. The message would still appear to be received, loud and clear.

¹⁴³ Guto Harri in Remembering Tryweryn (2020).

¹⁴⁴ *Campaigners compare proposed solar farm to Tryweryn* (2021) Nation.Cymru, *Councillor likens £24 million plan for solar farm to flooding of Tryweryn* (2021) Nation.Cymru and *Companies buying up Welsh farms for carbon offsetting is another Epynt and Tryweryn says farmer's magazine* (2022) Nation.Cymru.

¹⁴⁵ *Why we need a Tryweryn Tax to protect our NHS* (2021) Nation.Cymru.

¹⁴⁶ Cofiwch Dryweryn Socks, £16.11 at the time of writing from www.redbubble.co.uk

IV

Conclusion.

Richard King, the author of the recently published, oral history of Wales, *Brittle with Relics* (2022) suggested in conversation with the author of this paper, that the effects of Tryweryn have become more apparent in this new century. However, it is acknowledged that not everyone in Wales knows the story of Tryweryn. One reason for this is that people in Wales are not generally well educated about their own history; many are simply not interested in history as a subject for their own reasons; and Welsh history is littered with injustices, predominantly at the hands of its immediate neighbour to the east, be it Anglo-Saxons building a dyke to retain, Anglo-Normans building castles to subdue, Henry VIII's Acts of Union to assimilate, blue book reports to humiliate or resources being plundered: perhaps there is a fear, in Westminster and in Cardiff, despite the perceived oppression and a suggested resilience, determination and refusal to be overcome by it, that nationalist, or possibly republican, sentiment could be increased to the detriment of the Union and to Wales in particular. However, steps have been taken, if not to ensure the formal teaching of Welsh history, to keep history alive in other ways by many larger organisations and smaller groups and committees. The Welsh language is compulsorily taught in Welsh schools, though this is not without its critics.

Tryweryn could be described as the seed of change for the recovery of a Welsh identity, language, culture, and to a limited degree, politics; but not a solitary seed. Language protest

precedes Tryweryn as discussed above by the Beasleys of Llangennech but CylIG's existence arguably owes more to Tryweryn than any other cause; indeed as one writer has put it: 'Darlith Saunders Lewis oedd y fydwraig; Tryweryn oedd y fam' ('Saunders Lewis's lecture was the [Society's] midwife; Tryweryn was the mother')¹⁴⁷. Its successes in securing equal status for Welsh and English languages in Wales have become a mainstream policy for the devolved WAG, a key language-planning agency for Welsh, acting through Bwrdd Yr Iaith Gymraeg, the Welsh Language Board, and is formally committed to engineering a 'truly bilingual Wales' through a raft of language promotional initiatives¹⁴⁸ helping to ensure that Welsh competence is no longer clearly a 'heartland' or 'traditional' characteristic. It has come to prominence in the large conurbations of southeast Wales, especially among young learners¹⁴⁹. The relatively brief Welsh militant extremist activity was arguably the result of Tryweryn and the political impotence it exposed as indicated by the explosions caused at the site during construction and the inspiration for later actions against the threat to Welsh-speaking communities. The pain of the Tryweryn affair provided the subject matter for the arts and Welsh artists of all genres and some of the most critical work suggests the condemnation of a backward looking, victim-like acceptance of the Welsh in the hope that a realisation of that may be prompted and their gaze be readjusted to the future. Lastly, as stated above, arguments continue today as to whether or not Tryweryn had an effect on the 1997 vote for devolution. There has been no obvious, uplifting effect upon nationalist politics. Tryweryn allowed PC to widen its appeal by throwing off its Welsh-only credentials and gradually re-adjust its focus on more modern, national as opposed to traditional, nationalist issues but it remains, for now, a minority party, even within Wales. The fiftieth anniversaries mentioned above have brought renewed awareness of the event; it is crossing the line separating nationalist to

¹⁴⁷ Wyn James (2005) p. 596

¹⁴⁸ Coupland et al. (2006) p.352

¹⁴⁹ Coupland et al. (2006) p.354

national in its relevance which suggests a blurring of the two concepts; attempts to obliterate the slogan landmark have been met with copies being painted all over Wales and the slogan being worn as fashion. Perhaps the greatest irony of all is that the Welsh word, Tryweryn, is a verb in the English language.

In summary, the slogan painted on the wall near Llanrhystud by Meic Stephens has caused the drowning of Cwm Tryweryn, of Capel Celyn and the displaced, Welsh-speaking residents to be remembered. It continues to cause the Welsh to remember the impunity with which an English city took possession of Welsh land for its own benefit, in a repeat of a tale a thousand years old. Tryweryn has left an indelible mark on the relations between the two nations, Wales and England, which persists to this day, resistance against which represents a landmark event for Welsh nationalist politics¹⁵⁰, language and culture from the mid-20th century. It could be argued that Tryweryn was when Welsh nationalist endeavour began to change to Welsh national endeavour, a process incumbent upon all the peoples of Wales to achieve.

¹⁵⁰ Atkins, E. (2018) p.458.

References/Bibliography:

Primary Sources.

Anger at Liverpool eisteddfod bid (2004) BBC News, Wales, 14 December [Online] Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/4094191.stm> (Accessed 20th May 2022)

Anon. (1978) *A Pocket Welsh Dictionary*, Cardiff, Celtic Educational Ltd

Cabinet Office (2013) *Legislative process: taking a bill through Parliament* [Online] Available at <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/legislative-process-taking-a-bill-through-parliament> (Accessed 17th May 2022)

Calls to protect vandalised Cofiwch Dryweryn memorial (2019) BBC News Wales, 14 April [Online] Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-47925924> (Accessed 22nd May 2022)

Campaigners compare proposed solar farm to Tryweryn (2021) Nation.Cymru, 5 September [Online] Available at <https://nation.cymru/news/campaigners-compare-proposed-solar-farm-to-tryweryn/> (Accessed 22nd May 2022)

City apology '40 years too late' (2005) BBC News, Wales, 19 October [Online] Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/north_west/4357438.stm (Accessed 20th May 2022)

Cofiwch Dryweryn: Charity set up to protect memorial (2019) BBC News Wales, 6 August [Online] Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-49256441> (Accessed 22nd May 2022).

Cofiwch Dryweryn Socks (n.d.) Redbubble shop [Online] Available at https://www.redbubble.com/i/socks/Cofiwch-Dryweryn-by-Gelert/55223256.9HZ1B?utm_source=google&utm_medium=cpc&utm_campaign=g.pla+no

[tset&country_code=GB&msckid=b17f894cdabb11ec9584c0344ff0e157&fclid=b17f894c-dabb-11ec-9584-c0344ff0e157&ptn=2&p=eb0e1afdbded5aabc4be67af347a9f82193abbe40753645bc0b647df275e35fcJmdvaWQ9NTE1NDk1NjI4NjYmaW10cz0xNjUzMzI2MDIxJm1rdD1lbi1nYiZwdmRpZD05Njg1MA](https://www.gov.uk/guidance/11ec-9584-c0344ff0e157&ptn=2&p=eb0e1afdbded5aabc4be67af347a9f82193abbe40753645bc0b647df275e35fcJmdvaWQ9NTE1NDk1NjI4NjYmaW10cz0xNjUzMzI2MDIxJm1rdD1lbi1nYiZwdmRpZD05Njg1MA) (Accessed 23rd May 2022)

Companies buying up Welsh farms for carbon offsetting is another Epynt and Tryweryn says farmer's magazine (2022) Nation.Cymru, 26 February [Online] Available at <https://nation.cymru/news/companies-buying-welsh-farms-for-carbon-offsetting-is-another-epynt-and-tryweryn-says-farmers-magazine/> (Accessed 22nd May 2022)

Councillor likens £24 million plan for solar farm to flooding of Tryweryn (2021) Nation.Cymru 23 November [Online] Available at <https://nation.cymru/news/councillor-likens-24-million-plan-for-solar-farm-to-flooding-of-tryweryn/> (Accessed 22nd May 2022)

Dam graffiti wall set to be saved (2006) BBC News Wales, 17 October [Online] Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/mid/6056566.stm> (Accessed 22nd May 2022)

Dam memorial's slogan repainted (2008) BBC News Wales 13 May, [Online] Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/mid/7398081.stm> (Accessed 22nd May 2022)

Jones, R. J. (2021) *Nations, Class and Values: Nationalisms in Welsh Politics*, 24 November. [Online] Available at <https://www.cymmrodorion.org/talk/nations-class-and-values-nationalisms-in-welsh-politics/> (Accessed 10th May 2022)

King, R. (2022) *BRITTLE WITH RELICS A HISTORY OF WALES 1962-1997*, London, Faber & Faber

King, R. (2022) Unpublished interview conducted by Simon Jones, 27 March

Law Wales (n.d.) *Welsh Language Act 1993* [Online] Available at <https://law.gov.wales/culture/welsh-language/welsh-language-act-1993> (Accessed 19 May 2022)

Lloyd, D (2015) *Tryweryn: Personal stories 50 years after drowning*, BBC News [Online]. Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-34528336> (Accessed 20th May 2022)

Official apology over Tryweryn (2005) BBC News, Wales, 19 October [Online] Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/4354256.stm> (Accessed 20th May 2022)

Prestage, M. (1995) Welsh vow to fight new flood threat, *The Observer*, 11 June, p. 7 [Online] Available at <https://www.proquest.com/docview/477748990/80A423461DA2461APQ/2?accountid=14697> (Accessed 5th May 2022)

Remembering Tryweryn (2020) BBC Radio 4, 6 February [Online] Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000dxt1> (Accessed 8th April 2022)

The Guardian (1966) Welsh fighting talk, 18 April [Online]. Available at <https://www-proquest-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/docview/185130135?pq-origsite=primo> (Accessed 20th May 2022)

The Guardian (1966) Severn Bridge threat, 7 June [Online]. Available at <https://www.proquest.com/docview/185120342?parentSessionId=pqGYDJNq081z%2FtP7ae25Qwwt1CU5vock2rmTGIWpUzc%3D&pq-origsite=primo&accountid=14697> (Accessed 20th May 2022)

The Manchester Guardian (1955) 'NEW RESERVOIR FOR LIVERPOOL: Dolanog Reprieved', 25 December. [Online] Available at <https://www-proquest-com>

com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/docview/479821520?pq-origsite=primo (Accessed 30th April 2022)

The Manchester Guardian (1956) 'NEW PLAN FOR WELSH RESERVOIR: City's water Problem' 5 January. [Online] Available at

Unknown. (2021) *Professor Meic Stephens (1938-2018)* [Online] Aberystwyth University.

Available at <https://www.aber.ac.uk/en/development/alumni/obituaries/obituary-profiles/meic-stephens/> (Accessed 8th April 2022)

The Manchester Guardian (1956) THREAT TO A WELSH VALLEY: Real Hardships Behind the Local Protests, 30 October. [Online] Available at

<https://www.proquest.com/docview/479947553?parentSessionId=AoH%2FVRQcR8uiJrYkkkZFiRArGML4jD6Avy02tZiKC8E%3D&pq-origsite=primo&accountid=14697> (Accessed 5th May 2022)

The Manchester Guardian (1956) "SAVE OUR HOMES" PROCESSION MARCHES IN VAIN:

Capel Celyn Goes to the Big City, 22 November [Online] Available at

<https://www.proquest.com/docview/479989870/3F2BCC40889A4DB7PQ/1?accountid=14697> (Accessed 5th May 2022)

Tryweryn reservoir 'unnecessary' (2006) BBC News, Wales, 9 March [Online] Available at

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/4789372.stm> (Accessed 21st May 2022)

Why we need a Tryweryn Tax to protect our NHS (2021) Nation.Cymru, 3 September [Online]

Available at <https://nation.cymru/opinion/why-we-need-a-tryweryn-tax-to-protect-our-nhs/> (Accessed 22nd May 2022)

Secondary Sources.

Atkins, E. (2018) Building a Dam, Constructing a Nation: The 'drowning' of Capel Celyn,

Journal of Historical Sociology, Vol. 31, Issue 4, pp. 455-468 [Online]. Available at

<https://doi-org.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/10.1111/johs.12186> (Accessed 8th April 2022)

Chapman, T. R., (2014). LEWIS, JOHN SAUNDERS (1893-1985), politician, critic and dramatist.

Dictionary of Welsh Biography. [Online] Available at [https://biography.wales/article/s10-](https://biography.wales/article/s10-LEWI-SAU-1893)

[LEWI-SAU-1893](https://biography.wales/article/s10-LEWI-SAU-1893) (Accessed 11th May 2022)

Christiansen, T. (1998) Plaid Cymru Dilemmas and ambiguities of Welsh regionalism in De

Winter & Tursan (eds) *Regionalist Parties in Western Europe*, Taylor & Francis Group,

London [Online] Available at [https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/open/detail.action?pq-](https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/open/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=169875)

[origsite=primo&docID=169875](https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/open/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=169875) (Accessed 8th April 2022)

Claudia Williams (n.d.) Martin Tinney Gallery - The Welsh Art Specialists. www.artwales.com

[Online] Available at <https://www.artwales.com/artists-detail-mtg-en.php?artistID=56>

(Accessed 16th May 2022)

Crump, E (2015) Tryweryn: Shock plans to flood Snowdonia valley revealed in 1955 sparked years of protest, *Daily Post, North Wales News* 20 October [Online] Available at

<https://www.dailypost.co.uk/news/north-wales-news/tryweryn-shock-plans-flood->

[snowdonia-10240443](https://www.dailypost.co.uk/news/north-wales-news/tryweryn-shock-plans-flood-snowdonia-10240443) (Accessed 10th May 2022)

Cunningham, M. (2007) Public Policy and Normative Language: Utility, Community and

Nation in the Debate over the Construction of Tryweryn Reservoir, *Parliamentary Affairs*,

Vol. 60, Issue 4, pp. 625–636 [Online]. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsm037>

(Accessed 10th April 2022)

Davies, J. (2007) *A History of WALES*. Revised and updated ed. London, Penguin

Davies, J., Jenkins, N., Baines M. & et. al. (2008) BEASLEY, Trefor (1918-94) Language

campaigner. *The Welsh academy encyclopaedia of wales*. [Online] Available from:

http://libezproxy.open.ac.uk/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/waencywales/beasley_trefor_1918_94_language_campaigner/0?institutionId=292 (Accessed 14 May 2022)

Davies, et. al. (2008) ZIMMERN, Alfred [Eckhart] (1879-1957) Academic and author in *The*

Welsh academy encyclopaedia of wales. [Online]. Cardiff: Literature Wales. Available from:

http://libezproxy.open.ac.uk/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/waencywales/zimmern_alfred_eckhart_1879_1957_academic_and_author/0?institutionId=292 (Accessed 23 May 2022)

'Eileen Beasley' (2012) *Independent* [London, England], 29 Sep, 46, [Online] Available at

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A303655762/STND?u=tou&sid=bookmark-STND&xid=838b5e9c> (Accessed 13 May 2022)

Eisteddfod. (2008). In J. Davies, N. Jenkins, M. Baines & et. al., *The Welsh academy*

encyclopaedia of wales. [Online]. Cardiff: Literature Wales. Available from:

<http://libezproxy.open.ac.uk/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/waencywales/eisteddfod/0?institutionId=292> (Accessed 20th May 2022).

Evans, D. J. (2019) 'Welshness in "British Wales": negotiating national identity at the

margins', *Nations & Nationalism*, 25(1), pp. 167–190 [Online] Available at [https://doi-](https://doi.org.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/10.1111/nana.12390)

[org.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/10.1111/nana.12390](https://doi.org.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/10.1111/nana.12390) (Accessed 10th April 2022)

Griffiths, H. M. (2014) 'Water under the bridge? Nature, memory and hydropolitics', *Cultural Geographies*, 21(3), pp. 449–474 [Online] Available at <https://doi-org.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/10.1177/1474474013510109> (Accessed 10th April 2022)

Gramwich, K. (2013) 'Still linked to those others': Landscape and Language in Post-war Welsh Poetry in Alexander, N. & Cooper, D. (eds) (2013) *Poetry and Geography: Space and Place in Post-War Poetry*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool. [Online] Available at <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/open/reader.action?docID=1481060&ppg=6> (Accessed 16th May 2022)

History Learning Site (n.d.) British Electoral History Since 1832 [Online] Available at <https://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/british-electoral-history-since-1832/> (Accessed 9th April 2022)

Ireland, R. (2015) *Land of White Gloves?* Routledge, London [Online] Available at <https://www-taylorfrancis-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/chapters/mono/10.4324/9780203069981-14/twentieth-century-radicalism-drugs-sheep-richard-ireland> (Accessed 14th May 2022)

Jenkins, G. H. (2007) *A Concise History of WALES*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Jenkins, P. (1992) *A History of Modern Wales 1536-1990*, Routledge, London [Online] Available at <https://doi-org.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/10.4324/9781315837048> (Accessed 14th May 2022)

Johnes, M. (2012) *Wales since 1939*, Manchester University Press [Online] Available at <https://manchester-universitypressscholarship->

com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/view/10.7228/manchester/9780719086663.001.0001/upso-9780719086663 (Accessed 8th April 2022)

Johnes, M. (2019) *Wales: England's Colony?* Cardigan, Parthian.

King, R. (2022) *BRITTLE WITH RELICS A HISTORY OF WALES 1962-1997*, London, Faber & Faber

Merriman, P. & Jones, R. (2009) 'Symbols of Justice': the Welsh Language Society's campaign for bilingual road signs in Wales, 1967–1980, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 35, Iss. 2, pp. 350-375. [Online] Available at <https://www-sciencedirect-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/science/article/pii/S0305748808000960> (Accessed 12th May 2022)

Moore, D (2022) How Saunders Lewis' Tynged yr Iaith speech inspired Cymdeithas yr Iaith, *The National*, 17 January [Online] Available at <https://www.thenational.wales/news/19852338.saunders-lewis-tynged-yr-iaith-speech-inspired-cymdeithas-yr-iaith/> (Accessed 11th May 2022)

Morgan, K. O. (1971). Welsh Nationalism: The Historical Background. *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 6 No. 1, pp. 153–172. [Online]. Available at https://www-istor-org.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/stable/259629?sid=primo&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents (Accessed 8th April 2022)

Parry, R.G. (2010) *David Hughes Parry: A Jurist in Society*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff. [Online] Available at <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/open/reader.action?docID=602636&ppg=168> (Accessed 14th May 2022)

Phillips, I., (2021). MORGAN, HYWEL RHODRI (1939 - 2017), politician. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* [Online] Available at <https://biography.wales/article/s12-MORG-RHO-1939> (Accessed 20 May 2022)

Roberts, O. G. (2006) Developing the untapped wealth of Britain's 'Celtic Fringe': Water engineering and the Welsh landscape, 1870 – 1960, *Landscape Research*, Vol. 31, Issue 2, pp. 121-133 [Online]. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1080/01426390600638422> (Accessed 12th May 2022)

teifidancer (2015) Cofiwch Dryweryn / Remember Tryweryn, RANDOM THOUGHTS IN A DIGITAL AGE [Blog] Available at <https://teifidancer-teifidancer.blogspot.com/2015/10/cofiwch-dryweryn-remember-tryweryn.html> (Accessed 17th May 2022)

The Prince and the Bomber (2019) BBC2 Wales, 3 July.

The Story of Wales – Episode 6 (2020) BBC1 Wales, 29 August [Online] Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/b01f102t/the-story-of-wales-6-wales-and-britain> (Accessed 20th May 2022)

Tryweryn: 50 Years On (2015) BBC1 Wales, 19 October.

Wales: England's Colony? - Episode 2 (2019) BBC2 Wales, 18 March [Online] Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AizYg0Bewkk> (Accessed 2nd May 2022)

Wyn James, E. (2005) Painting the World Green: Dafydd Iwan and the Welsh Protest Ballad, *Folk Music Journal*, Vol. 8. No. 5, pp. 594-618 [Online] Available at <https://go-gale->

com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=tou&id=GALE|A151426309&v=2.1&it=r

(Accessed 12th May 2022)