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'For Wales, See England?' **Suffrage and the New Woman in Wales** ^[1]

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ABSTRACT With a few notable exceptions, Wales has generally been portrayed as an overtly patriarchal nation, the haven of anti-suffragists. The first part of this article reassesses this reputation. It is argued that national as well as local historical specificities must be taken into account in order to achieve a more accurate representation of suffrage history in Wales and Britain. The second part examines Welsh suffragism in the context of the nationalist Cymru Fydd movement of the 1890s as it appeared in the English language nationalist periodicals *Young Wales*, *The Welsh Review* and (the bilingual) *Cymru Fydd*.

The relative absence of Wales from historical narratives of British women's suffrage movements has contributed to the popular portrayal of Wales as a backward and patriarchal nation. In fact, such silences ought perhaps to be recognised as the result of the way the terms 'Britain' and 'British' are used synonymously with England and English.[2] It is not enough, however, simply to try to insert a Welsh narrative into existing histories of English feminism, nor even merely to explain Welsh peculiarities and deviations from the English model. Rather, we must seek to examine Wales with reference to sociocultural and political contexts, and only then will we be in a position to conduct a truly *comparative* study and not simply offer a disconcerting and undermining exposition of Wales's failure to conform to English paradigms.

Yet there remains the problem of how one should approach a study of the women's movement in just one 'region' of the politically united entity of what was, between 1801 and 1922, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. That is, while there may be an increasing recognition of Wales as a separate national unit, with a common cultural heritage stretching back for many centuries, we must be careful not simply to impose our own national, cultural or academic agendas upon a period where awareness of such

national and cultural boundaries was conceived rather differently. As this article attempts to demonstrate through the example of Wales, there is a need to study the different regional manifestations of the early women's movements in Britain.[3] Sarah Pederson's examination of women's letters in the *Aberdeen Daily Journal* in this special issue demonstrates the value of such regionally specific studies and, like the area represented by the *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, Wales certainly constitutes a meaningful, 'well-defined geographical area, recognized in cultural, social and political terms'.[4] Thus, it is important to be aware of how the sociocultural, political and economic situation of Wales differed from that of other regions of the United Kingdom, and the Anglocentric narrative of the suffrage movement in particular, while at the same time remaining sensitive to the way *fin-de-siècle* and early twentieth-century Wales conceived of itself as intimately affiliated with 'Britain' and the Empire. Even Welsh national(ist) sensibilities were not necessarily incompatible with a sense of an imperial British identity at the end of the nineteenth century.

A cursory look at suffrage history in Wales tends to suggest a picture of Welsh apathy or even hostility towards the women's movement. Wales did not get its first branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) until 1906, while attacks upon suffragettes in Wales became infamous and have remained a popular anecdote in suffrage histories. Indeed, Angela V. John writes that '[j]ust as the term "suffragette" had assumed a symbolic meaning within Wales, so Llanystumdwy became shorthand for attacks on women'.[5] The caricature of the noisy, unfeminine suffragette is vividly captured in Rhys Davies's autobiography, *Print of a Hare's Foot* (1969), as is her rejection by respectable working-class Welsh society. Relating a visit to a miner's cottage in Clydach Vale, Rhondda, the author describes how, irritated by a pushy neighbour selling concert tickets, his hostess, Mrs Evans, launches into a diatribe:

'Miss Ceridwen can't be stopped when she starts about America ... Went there to visit her sister that emigrated,' she told me, dubious of this unusual enterprise. 'Bragging ever since, saying women are the top note over there'. 'She ought to be a suffragette,' Mr Evans said. His tone suggested there was only one thing worse.[6]

The humour of this passage, published forty years after women got the vote on the same terms as men, rests on our mockery of Mr Evans's patriarchal, 'respectable', disdain for suffragettes. However, this anecdote accurately illustrates how the stereotype of the New Woman and suffragette could be associated in Wales, to quote Angela V. John, 'with outsiders, [with] unwelcome temporary English importations'. John suggests that both at the time and in later historical accounts 'the suffragette represent[s] the "Other" in terms of gender, class and nationality'.[7]

Angela V. John has shown that a hostile response to suffragette ideology and activity in Wales was not uncommon, but she has undermined any possibility of a one-sided, simplistic account by also showing that Welsh women did become suffragettes. In her article, “‘Run Like Blazes’: the suffragettes and Welshness’, she reveals that the women who disrupted David Lloyd George at the 1912 National Eisteddfod and, later that year, at Llanystumdwy, cannot necessarily be regarded as the aliens that they have tended to be portrayed as, both at the time and in later accounts. While the suffragettes were portrayed as outsiders by the press, one of the women allegedly assaulted (her case was dismissed), Carolina Watson of Streatham, ‘admitted in court that she knew some Welsh and had understood part of Lloyd George’s speech’.[8] A suffragette from Nefyn was also in court.

To further complicate matters, it is not necessarily accurate simply to interpret the attacks upon the protesting women as conclusive evidence of virulent anti-suffrage sentiment, although it would be absurd to suggest that there was no misogyny involved. The politician verbally attacked by the suffragettes, Lloyd George, was something of a Welsh national hero. Furthermore, beyond his iconic status in Wales, he was chancellor of a Liberal party that had Welsh issues at the forefront of party policy. Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales, along with temperance issues such as Sunday closing, were of paramount importance in Wales. As Nora Philipps elaborated in the women’s pages of *Young Wales* in 1895, in an overwhelmingly Nonconformist country disestablishment was vital: ‘a Church must be national, and the Church of England in Wales is certainly not national. It is the Church of the few and the wealthy, not of the many and of the poor in Wales’.[9]

Nor is the primacy of disestablishment necessarily just another example of women’s issues being sidelined in favour of more general or patriarchal nationalist goals. Ursula Masson has explained how the NUWSS’s anti-government policy failed to win favour from the local committee in the Flint by-election of 1913, despite the National Union in Council’s rather dictatorial directives which advised ‘that the Federations were expected to carry out the policy laid down’.[10] The Conservative candidate in Flint was under no illusions about the nature of the political battle: ignoring a question on his position on suffrage, he responded that ‘the only issue in the forthcoming by-election is the Church’.[11] Aware of this, the North Wales Federation resolved that ‘in view of the special national conditions existing in North Wales, the new anti-government policy of the NU should not be applied in any constituency without the consent of the federation committee’.[12]

The Liberal Party could be seen as a champion of issues long fought for by the Welsh – by women as well as men. While it certainly ought not to be inferred that Welsh women necessarily put national and religious

interests before women's rights, we ought to be alert to the fact that tensions did exist between national(ist), religious and political aims and so recognise that differences between the political agendas of the various national groups (as well as between the classes) within the United Kingdom are an important factor in suffrage history. (In Ireland, where Liberals supported some degree of Home Rule, the situation was even more fraught with complex divisions of loyalty and strategy.) In our attempts to highlight the cultural, social and political specificities of Wales, however, we must be wary of simplistic assertions of difference. Ursula Masson has rightly challenged the ways in which:

the as yet inadequately researched history of the [suffrage] movement in Wales has begun, in the context of the 'national' history, to ossify into a simplified outline which hides all complexity of local and regional politics, including women's politics.[13]

Just as Welsh differences from England can be emphasised in historical accounts to conform to a modern nationalist agenda that wishes to accentuate cultural difference and distance from England, so contemporary portrayals of suffragist activity, and militancy in particular, as antipathetic to Welsh identity could be a useful anti-suffrage tool. These 'disclaimers' must, however, be seen in the context of another Welsh discourse in which Welsh womanhood was a central and culturally loaded symbol.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Welsh women became the focus of a massive national and cultural project to prove that Wales was, contrary to English assertions, a civilised and law-abiding nation. In response to alarming civil unrest in south and west Wales in the first half of the century, the British Government had commissioned a report into the state of education and the language in Wales. Published in 1847 and popularly known as the Treachery of the Blue Books (*Brad y Llyfrau Gleision*), the report portrayed Wales as an immoral, unclean and backward nation; furthermore, it was 'licentious women', unchastised by nonconformity and cut off from civilising influences by the impenetrable Welsh language, who were held up for particular condemnation: 'Want of chastity is flagrant. This vice is not confined to the poor. In England farmers' daughters are respectable; in Wales they are in the constant habit of being courted in bed'.[14]

Although there were many defenders of Welsh womanhood, a concerted effort was simultaneously launched to ensure that Welsh women would henceforth be above rebuke from England and a number of periodicals came into being over the following decades which aimed to improve the housekeeping skills and morality of their female readers. Jane Aaron has explained the endurance of the image of respectable Welsh womanhood in terms of a legacy of cultural imperialism: 'In colonized and post-colonized societies this type of conservative retention of repressive

behaviour patterns inculcated by the colonizing culture, after that culture has itself abandoned them, is, apparently, a common trait'.^[15] Thus, the idealised Welsh woman, inspired by England's middle-class angel of the house, would represent Welsh respectability long after English women had abandoned their haloes in favour of bicycles.

It is important, therefore, to remember that national identity is an ideological tool that can be used by various groups for a wide variety of often competing or conflicting purposes. National pride could be utilised in the pageantry of the suffragists' participation in royalist, imperial celebrations. Welsh women (organised by Edith Mansell Moullin, who would shortly become leader of the London-based Cymric Suffrage Union) marched in the 1911 King's Coronation procession in Welsh costume, thus asserting, according to Angela V. John, 'a right to citizenship and a belief that suffrage should be associated with Wales and Welshness'.^[16] As well as women in Scottish and Welsh costumes, there were contingents of Indian, Canadian and Australian women, who served simultaneously to show the broad support of the women's suffrage movement, to emphasise the feminist credo of universal sisterhood, as well as, of course, to celebrate Empire. Antoinette Burton has shown how British feminism was informed by the racial and colonial attitudes of the era and questioned how far Indian suffragists were really regarded as equals within a 'global sisterhood' and how far they were used to strengthen the cause of a British suffrage movement that subscribed heavily to the ideology of British imperialism:

Suffragists were eager to depict 'votes for women' as an international movement where women of all races and religions stood shoulder to shoulder, marching toward universal equality. In events such as the [1911] suffrage procession, they enlisted Indian women (as they did Welsh and Scots and Commonwealth women) as participants in a ritualized sisterhood which assumed the empire of Greater Britain as its natural base.^[17]

As Burton has shown, this ritualised sisterhood was, in reality, less about mutual support and more concerned with achieving the vote in Britain, from which platform British feminists would then be able to participate in the administration of empire and, through colonialism (maternal imperialism), bring greater equality to other women. Given, then, the dubious status of the Indian contingent in the 1911 procession, it seems pertinent to question whether the Welsh presence, like that of the Indian women, simply bolstered a centralised 'British' campaign that largely ignored their separate cultural identities. A 1907 NUWSS advertisement epitomises such Anglocentric ignorance, listing the Llandudno branch under the heading 'England'.^[18] It is not, of course, valid simply to equate the relationship of Indian women and Welsh women to empire, and although Wales might sometimes be portrayed as a peripheral and backward area to be conquered by the

'evangelising' speaking tours of feminist leaders, the performance of Welsh identity in the imperial pageantry of 1911 can be seen equally as laying a Welsh claim to participation in empire and the British metropole.

Moving away from the excitement surrounding the more extreme and visible activities of the twentieth-century suffragettes, the remainder of this article will examine the ways in which women in the Wales of the 1890s were active in promoting women's suffrage within a national framework. More than two decades before the 1911 procession, a strong suffragist position was allied to nationalist goals which, although still firmly imperialistic, were far more ambitious in envisaging the creation of an independent Welsh nation. In the pages of *Cymru Fydd* (1888-91), the bilingual periodical of the early, radical, Liberal nationalist movement, a story entitled 'Lady Gwen, or the days that are to be' was serialised. Inspired by Sir Julius Vogel's (the New Zealand premier) *Anno Domini 2000, or a Woman's Destiny* (1889), the anonymous author depicts a future Wales of the year 2000 where a woman president (Lady Gwen) presides over a successful Welsh republic that is an equal and prosperous member of a confederation of states known as the Empire of Greater Britain. The success of this future Wales at home and within 'Greater Britain' is largely due to the participation of women, who have not lost their femininity but brought all their feminine virtues to bear on politics. Culturally, Wales is experiencing a second golden age, and here too the centrality of women is of vital importance:

The leader of the reforming party was a woman, – [sic] and this accounts, to some extent, for the purity of ideals and chivalric behaviour of the party which recognized in her the most perfect [sic] example of an ideal Welsh womanhood. No one reproached the reforming party for being led by a woman. It had been clearly understood that all great periods in the history of the world had been characterised by the presence of heroic women. Welsh literature is characterised by what one may call a worship of woman; Dafydd ap Gwilym and Dafydd Nanmor and Ceiriog, the popular singers of Wales, are at their best when they describe the influence which woman exercises, – *a modifying, purifying, ennobling influence*. In Lady Gwen Tudor the new Welsh movement found an ideal leader, typical of what was best in the past and of what would be in the future, – a new Lady of Snowdon or Joan of Navarre.[19]

'Lady Gwen' is a fascinating tale, which is sadly left incomplete with the cessation of publication of *Cymru Fydd* in 1891, but the alliance of Welsh culture and tradition with feminist values is taken up again, and rather more plausibly, in the Liberal nationalist periodical, *Young Wales*. In March 1896 an article entitled 'Progress on Women in Wales' claims that the nationalist

movement of Wales has made women's rights central to their claims from the beginning:

The national movement in Wales has identified itself in the woman's cause. The national organisation has pledged itself to 'promote legislation with a view to secure equal rights of citizenship for women with men', as one of its objects, and the 'Wales that is to be' [i.e. Cymru Fydd] will be the better, because in it the desires of women as well as of men will have found fulfilment, and because they have served each other with loyalty and sympathy whilst uniting to attain an ideal that all may share.[20]

Indeed, the early numbers of *Young Wales* are full of references to Wales and the Welsh taking the lead in women's issues. In the second number of the periodical, Nora Philipps asserts that 'More Welsh representatives, in proportion to their numbers in Wales than in any other part of the country voted on the Local Government Act of 1894 in favour of qualified married women as well as single women having votes for Parish and District Councillors', and she follows this with a list of 'declared advocates of women's suffrage'.[21]

In 1895 Anna Jones described the efforts of the hardworking and determined but persecuted 'heroines of the history of Welsh Nonconformity', suggesting that '[i]t is not only within recent years that Welshwomen have awakened to their responsibilities'.[22] Two years later, in 1897, Gwyneth Vaughan - a singularly active woman in both temperance and suffrage movements - wrote that:

it is with glad heart that I feel that the men of my own land are in the vanguard of reform, with a very few exceptions, and those we need not worry about. The men of Wales encourage their mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters in their highest aspirations, after the noble, the true, and the beautiful, and rejoice with them in all their achievements. We have John Bull as usual lagging behind in his own thick-headed fashion, but are we not justified by the histories of other movements in hoping that where - 'The vanguard camps to-day, / The rear will camp tomorrow'.[23]

Commenting on this passage in *Pur Fel y Dur*, Jane Aaron expresses some surprise at these ambitious claims. Nevertheless, she is able to quote a different source, from outside Wales, which appears to support this image of Wales as a progressive rather than a reactionary nation as far as the position of women is concerned: 'The Englishwoman, it has been said, lags behind her husband, the American woman strides ahead, the French woman walks beside him. Of the English woman it is becoming less true and of the Welsh woman apparently hardly true at all'.[24] Certainly, whatever the true status of women in Wales may have been, Welsh feminists either genuinely

believed that their nation was at the forefront of feminism in Britain, or (perhaps more likely) they self-consciously promoted this idea as useful feminist-nationalist propaganda. Whether this was considered to be to the advantage of nationalism as well as feminism would make an interesting study.

Given the ascendancy of the Liberal Party and the prominence of Welsh issues (not to mention the prominence of Welsh politicians) in Liberal policies, allying the women's cause in Wales with Liberal nationalism could have appeared to be strategically advantageous in the late nineteenth century - especially when it is remembered that women were involved in a broad range of political and social campaigns, not just the fight for the vote. Nevertheless, despite the optimism of the women's pages in the early issues of *Young Wales* (with their faith in the feminist values of Cymru Fydd, and the self-assured reports of the proceedings of meetings of the Welsh Union of Women's Liberal Associations taking place under a banner reading 'We will have the Vote'), nationalism in the form of the Cymru Fydd movement as well as the Liberal Party appears to have failed the women of Wales.[25] In an unpublished paper, Ursula Masson describes how Welsh Liberalism moved away from its early radicalism and towards a more conservative and romantic cultural nationalism, and she suggests that this movement is reflected in the reduced space and prominence given to women's claims in later issues.[26] Even in the first issue of *Young Wales*, Nora Philipps's use of the future tense - 'when they [Welsh women] shall have interlaced and interwoven their ideals and activities in every national success' [27] - belies the gap between ideal and reality.

Although Nora Philipps espoused the causes of increased Welsh autonomy and disestablishment as good liberal (as well as Liberal) causes, her great passion was women's suffrage. In a debate with Eliza Orme, in *The Welsh Review*, Philipps refuses to defer in her feminist beliefs to any other cause.[28] An article by Philipps that focused on the importance of women's rights, and particularly suffrage within the Women's Liberal Associations, was attacked by Eliza Orme for its assertion that 'Woman's Suffrage is the burning question in the Women's Liberal Federation at the present moment'.[29] Orme counters with the assertion that the burning issue of the Women's Liberal Federation is how to win the forthcoming general election. Without declaring herself to be against women's suffrage, Orme takes exception to the furtherance of women's rights over the stated aims of the Liberal Party, that is, 'Home Rule for Ireland, Disestablishment for Wales, Social Reforms for the poor in town and country, and One Man One Vote'.[30] Orme objects to those 'members who are without the sense of *relative importance* and who will work for a particular reform in season and out of season'.[31] This position seems to imply that women's suffrage must give way to the effort to win the election (without which, of course, no

reform can be achieved from within the Liberal Party), but it also suggests that women's suffrage must defer to the other, somehow more important, policies of the Liberal Party. Philipps, however, refuses to accept that a good Liberal (by which she means one of liberal persuasion as well as a supporter of the party) should be content merely with supporting mainstream party policy. She points out that 'working for women's questions' is already an object of the Federation and that it is the duty of women to make this better known, arguing that this would attract more women than it deterred. What is evident in this exchange is not only the skill and perseverance with which women's rights could be advocated as central to the Liberal cause, but also how easily the Woman Question could be put aside in favour of the 'general good'.

In the end, Philipps moved away from the Cymru Fydd movement and regional/national Liberal associations (she wrote her last article for *Young Wales* in 1896, although she edited the increasingly infrequent women's column until 1897) and towards the centralised NUWSS, apparently in the belief that the best hopes for women's suffrage lay in this direction. Her championing of nationalist and feminist aims in Wales as united causes could then be seen as largely expedient (Philipps herself was of English origin and returned to England following the death of her Welsh husband). However, there were other women who seem altogether more committed to the nationalist cause for its own sake. Gwyneth Vaughan, quoted earlier, is described in *Young Wales* as an Eisteddfod winning poet, a linguist who speaks five languages, 'an orator, [who] can hold thousands spellbound'; she is credited with having established 'the 162 branches of the British Women's Temperance Association' and also acts as Secretary to the Welsh Union of Women's Liberal Associations.[32] Although her background is a long way from the stereotype of the comfortable, educated, middle-class New Woman, with her fashionable clothes and her bicycle (she was, in fact, 'a miller's daughter ... who, after a paltry education and an apprenticeship as a milliner, married the son of a local tradesman' [33]), Jane Aaron nevertheless describes her as a '*Cymraes Newydd*' (within revealing inverted commas and in italics), which literally means New Welshwoman.[34]

In assessing support and agitation for women's suffrage in Wales, we must look beyond membership of suffrage societies alone. The first line of the entry for 'Wales' in the *International Encyclopedia of Women's Suffrage* reads: 'The movement for women's suffrage was slow to develop in Wales, but after 1906, branches of both the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) and the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) were formed and attracted increasing support'.[35] While there is nothing wrong with this statement in itself, and while the entry goes on to note the importance of Women's Liberal Associations and other societies in the history of women's suffrage in Wales, it nevertheless lays too heavy an

emphasis on these centralised British societies. The women's pages of *Young Wales* placed great emphasis on the way various causes in which women were involved could cooperate in the common cause of women's rights. Nora Philipps and other writers too were keen to emphasise how the various causes of Liberalism, nationalism and feminism as well as specific policies such as the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church, temperance, Home Rule etc., could be worked for together for the benefit of all – perhaps partly in an attempt to rally these disparate groups to cooperate on the issue of women's suffrage. A report on the progress of the union of Women's Liberal Associations in Wales describes how those concerned with temperance, disestablishment and suffrage had come to support each others' causes alongside their own:

The breadth of basis on which the Welsh women reared their edifice of social and political endeavour secured their success, because of the diverse interests and individualities that linked themselves together. Those who joined for the sake of promoting some one wing of work which they considered paramount, by thus combining with others, with whose underlying principles they were in harmony, learnt that large lesson of sympathy and genial goodwill which alone can secure the progress of any movement.[36]

In a later issue of the periodical, direct reference is made to 'the various movements which combine to make the women's movement'.[37] In her contribution to this issue, Sarah Pederson describes how some female correspondents to the *Aberdeen Daily Journal* during 1911-12 on the subject of 'Servant Tax' explicitly distanced themselves from the suffragist cause (one using the pseudonym 'Not a Suffragette') or simply did not make any connection between their protest and their lack of political representation. It is quite possible, therefore, to understand the emphasis in *Young Wales* upon the cooperation of disparate causes championed by women and the insistence that suffrage was of natural importance to all as a deliberate attempt to rally the support of as wide a range of women as possible to a cause that they might otherwise regard as irrelevant.

In conclusion, then, the course of the campaign for women's suffrage in Wales was inextricably intertwined with the course of other movements and subject to the influence of Wales's complex and uneasy relationship with England. A consideration of this relationship, and in particular the manner in which Wales related to and was regarded by the central British suffrage organisations would make a fascinating future study. In attempting a Welsh, British or comparative history of the women's movement we should take heed of Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan's warning that we must 'be careful not to make support or otherwise of the single question of suffrage an index of emancipation among Welsh women of this period'.[38] While women in Wales (and beyond) could use their Welsh identities to further their causes,

it was possible for their national(ist) alliances and allegiances to work against them. The political and social conditions during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Wales did not directly parallel those in England at the time. It is vital that we learn to recognise and respect these differences, as well as acknowledging the various and often conflicting claims upon women's loyalties.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

- [1] The direction, 'For Wales, see England', is sometimes attributed to the 1910 *Encyclopaedia Britannia*, while others regard it as apocryphal. In the introduction to the second bound volume of *Young Wales* (January–December 1896), however, the editor, J. Hugh Edwards, wrote, 'It may be safely said that there is not a subject on which the great bulk of the English people is so astoundingly misinformed as that which has reference to Wales and her people. The Editors of the *Encyclopaedia Britannic [sic]* – that storehouse of nineteenth century knowledge – could arrange for contributions for almost every subject within the range of learning, but when they came to the item WALES, they found themselves absolutely devoid of a single idea in reference to the history of the country and of its people, and so they had no alternative other than to place on record in their great work: – WALES – see England' (p. 300).
- [2] For an excellent and long overdue discussion of the misuse of the words Britain and England, see Norman Davies (1999) *The Isles: a history*, esp. pp. xxi-xlii (London: Macmillan).
- [3] The sources upon which this discussion is based are predominantly English language and, in this sense, the discussion might be regarded properly as a discussion of the English-speaking populace (and exiles) of Wales. In a discussion of the press in nineteenth-century Wales, Aled Jones has written that '[t]he journalism of Wales was divided most starkly along lines of language' (Aled Gruffydd Jones [1993] *Press Politics and Society: a history of journalism in Wales*, p. 178 [Cardiff: University of Wales Press]). However, in the nationalist periodicals referred to here, and particularly in *Young Wales* (which claimed to have chosen English as its medium since there was little point in preaching nationalism to the converted), there is an ever-present consciousness of the Welsh-language culture of Wales, and frequent references to the Welsh-language press. Most of the principal contributors to *Young Wales* were Welsh speaking (Gwyneth Vaughan, for

example, wrote extensively in the Welsh press), and therefore it does not seem quite accurate to suggest that the English-language nationalist press is wholly distanced from Welsh-language nationalism, although it is important to be aware of the existence (and divisions) of the two languages of Wales.

- [4] See Sarah Pederson's article in this issue.
- [5] Angela V. John (1994) 'Run Like Blazes': the suffragettes and Welshness, *Llafur*, 6(3), p. 34. Suffragettes shouted at Lloyd George as he opened a Village Institute at Llanystumdwy on 22 September 1912. The women were attacked, beaten, had their clothes ripped and one was almost thrown off a bridge.
- [6] Rhys Davies (1997, new edition) *Print of a Hare's Foot: an autobiographical beginning*, pp. 86-87 (Bridgend: Seren; first published 1969, London: Heinemann).
- [7] John, 'Run Like Blazes,' p. 29. In the foregoing example from *Print of a Hare's Foot*, the foreignness of England is replaced by America, while the form of address conveys Miss Ceridwen's Otherness in terms of class and marital status, especially in Rhondda, where men substantially outnumbered women, where there was little scope for female economic independence and where, consequently, the marriage rate was very high.
- [8] John, 'Run Like Blazes', p. 35.
- [9] *Young Wales*, 1(2), February 1895, p. 37. Nora Philipps goes on to suggest women had a particularly important role to play in this sphere, where they may bring a certain harmony and sympathy into politics. 'The earnest pleading of women for the liberation of the Church from State control and especially the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England in Wales must necessarily do much to help on the work of conversion in others, to the recognition of that underlying principle of justice, upon which the demand is based and which must inevitably help, rather than hinder, the spiritual life of the people' (ibid., p. 38).
- [10] Ursula Masson (1998-99) Divided Loyalties: women's suffrage and party politics in South Wales 1912-1915, *Llafur*, 7(3-4), p. 115. NUWSS Executive Committee Minutes, 1 May 1913.
- [11] Masson, 'Divided Loyalties', p. 115. NUWSS Executive Minutes, 13 January 1913.
- [12] Masson, 'Divided Loyalties', p. 115. NUWSS Executive Committee Minutes, 1 May 1913.
- [13] Ursula Masson (2000) 'Political Conditions in Wales Are Quite Different ...': party politics and votes for women in Wales, 1912-15, *Women's History Review*, 9, p. 370. For a discussion about the difficulties of disseminating suffrage principles in Wales and the possibility that Welsh women regarded such principles as alien, see Kay Cook & Neil Evans (1991) 'The Petty Antics of the Bell-Ringing Boisterous Band'? The Women's Suffrage Movement in Wales 1890-1918, in Angela V. John (Ed.) *Our Mother's Land: chapters in Welsh women's history 1830-1939*, pp. 159-188 (Cardiff).

- University of Wales Press). The difficulties of an alliance between feminism (even after the vote was won) and early twentieth-century Welsh cultural nationalism are explored in a fascinating article on Kate Roberts's early political journalism of the 1920s; see Francesca Rhydderch (2000) 'They do not breed de Beauvoirs here': Kate Roberts's early political journalism, *Welsh Writing in English: a yearbook of critical essays*, 6, pp. 21-44.
- [14] Quoted in Jane Aaron (1994) Finding a Voice in Two Tongues: Gender and Colonization, in Jane Aaron, Teresa Rees, Sandra Betts & Moira Vincentelli (Eds) *Our Sister's Land: the changing identities of women in Wales*, p. 185 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).
- [15] Aaron, 'Finding a Voice in Two Tongues', p. 189.
- [16] John, 'Run Like Blazes', p. 35.
- [17] Antoinette Burton (1991) The Feminist Quest for Identity: British Imperial suffragism and 'global sisterhood', 1900-1915, *Journal of Women's History*, 3(2), p. 67.
- [18] Brougham Villers (Ed.) (1907) *The Case for Women's Suffrage* (London: T. Fisher Unwin). The advertisement for the NUWSS appeared in the back cover of this volume. Llandudno is wedged between Liverpool and London; however, societies in Scotland are listed separately and there is a note on the cooperation of the Irish society.
- [19] A Welsh Nationalist (1890) Lady Gwen, or, the days that are to be, *Cymru Fydd*, 3(6), June, p. 344, my emphasis.
- [20] Mrs Wynford Philipps [Nora] & Miss Elsbeth Philipps (Eds) (1896) Progress of Women in Wales, *Young Wales*, 2(15), March, p. 67.
- [21] Mrs Wynford Philipps [Nora] (1895) Notes on the Work of Welsh Liberal Women, *Young Wales*, 1(2), February, p. 40.
- [22] Anna Jones (1895) Women and Religious Freedom, *Young Wales*, 1(3), March, p. 55.
- [23] Gwyneth Vaughan (1897) Women and Their Questions, *Young Wales*, 3(25), January, p. 20.
- [24] Jane Aaron (1998) *Pur Fel y Dur: Y Gymraes yn Llên Menywod y Bedwared Ganrif ar Bymtheg*, p. 196 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press); citation from T. Athol Joyce & N.W. Thomas (Eds) (1901) *Women of All Nations: a record of their characteristics, habits, manners, customs, and influence*, p. 756 (London: Cassell).
- [25] Ada Thomas (1896) Welsh Union Notes: Notes of the Annual Meetings of the Welsh Union, *Young Wales*, 2(17), May, p. 118.
- [26] Ursula Masson (unpublished paper) Nationalism and Feminism: women Liberals and Cymru Fydd, 'Mamwlad 2000/Motherland 2000' conference, Trinity College, Carmarthen, April 2000. See also Emyr Wyn Williams (1990) Liberalism in Wales and the Politics of Welsh Home Rule 1886-1910, in Dellis Evans, J. Beverley Smith & Robin G. Livens (Eds) *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 37, pp. 191-207, for a discussion of the move away

from radicalism towards a romantic conservatism that occurred in the Cymru Fydd/Liberal nationalist movement.

- [27] Nora Philipps (1895) Notes on the Work of Welsh Liberal Women, *Young Wales*, 1(1), January, p. 18.
- [28] For Nora Philipps, feminism clearly came before any sympathies she had with the cause of Welsh nationalism, although she may not have seen it as a case of 'either/or' but, rather, one where nationalism must automatically embrace feminist causes. She and her sister-in-law, Elsbeth Philipps, wrote in *Young Wales* that 'the welfare of a rising nation depends upon the combined efforts of men and women' (Mrs Wynford Philipps [Nora] & Miss Elsbeth Philipps, 'Progress of Women in Wales', p. 64), a sentiment echoed by feminist interventions in male-dominated nationalist movements across the world.
- [29] Nora Philipps (1892) The Problem of the Nineteenth Century, *The Welsh Review*, 1(4), February, p. 355.
- [30] Eliza Orme (1892) A Commonplace Correction, *The Welsh Review*, 1(5), March, p. 468.
- [31] *Ibid.*, p. 467, my emphasis.
- [32] Miss Mallt Williams (1901) The Women of Wales Circle: Madame Gwyneth Vaughan, *Young Wales*, 7(80), August, p. 188.
- [33] See Jane Aaron (Ed.) (1999) *A View across the Valley: short stories by women from Wales c. 1850-1950*, p. 270 (Dinas Powys: Honno Press).
- [34] Aaron, *Pur Fel y Dur*, p. 211, emphasis in original.
- [35] June Hannam, Mitzi Auchterlonie & Katherine Holden (Eds) (2000) *International Encyclopedia of Women's Suffrage*, p. 313 (Oxford: ABC-CLIO).
- [36] Mrs Wynford Philipps [Nora] (1895) Notes on the Work of Welsh Liberal Women, *Young Wales*, 1(1), January, p. 18.
- [37] Mrs Wynford Philipps & Miss Elsbeth Philipps, 'Progress of Women in Wales', p. 67.
- [38] Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan (1991) From Temperance to Suffrage, in John, *Our Mother's Land*, p. 154.

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