

**MISCELLANY RHETORIC(S) OF NATIONALISM:
POSTCOLONIAL EPIDEICTIC AND THE ANGLOPHONE WELSH PRESS, 1882-1904**

by

SARAH L. YODER

Bachelor of Arts, 2002
Northwestern College
Orange City, IA

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PREFACE

Throughout this manuscript, I have used italics to denote foreign-language words and phrases, while using underlining to denote titles of books and journals. Foreign-language book titles are both italicized and underlined. After this preface, I have also included a list of the illustrations referenced in the text. These figures are classified as supplemental files; though not essential, these illustrations give the contemporary reader an experience closer to that of the magazines' original readers.

My interest in Welsh literary and political history began during a semester abroad in 2001. A big thanks to Tecwyn Vaughan Jones (my former program director at Trinity College, Carmarthen) for instilling me with such respect for Welsh history and culture. While writing this project, his assistance with difficult bits of Welsh-to-English translation via e-mail was lively and nuanced; I could not have had a better cyber-collaborator. And *diolch yn fawr*, Tecwyn, for telling me to “always leave something undone” so that I would always need to come back to Wales, “just once more”—an inspirational piece of advice!

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CHAPTER ONE

TOWARDS A RHETORICAL HISTORY OF THE YOUNG WALES MOVEMENT: POSTCOLONIAL EPIDEICTIC IN THE ANGLOPHONE WELSH PRESS, 1882-1904

INTRODUCTION

Rhetorical theory, periodical studies, and postcolonial studies are three growing areas of contemporary scholarship which, despite their individual vitality, have been undertheorized in connection to each other. This dissertation takes as its starting point the need to better understand how these three areas relate to one another and, in so doing, to suggest how we may better conduct research both within and across these areas of inquiry. Though this study does not take theoretical innovation as its primary goal, my investigation of how Welsh nationalist discourse operates within periodicals necessitates the intersection of these three theoretical categories. Within rhetorical theory, this study is chiefly concerned with epideictic rhetoric and how it may be better understood within textual (i.e., written) communication as well as in relation to the emerging area of minority rhetorical theory and its connection to postcolonial discourse.

Though epideictic has been understood as a discrete genre since Aristotle's Rhetoric classified it as a ceremonial, community-based rhetoric of "praise and blame" in the late fourth century B.C.E., both Aristotle and the rhetoricians who have continued to study epideictic have overwhelmingly considered it as an oral mode of discourse, overlooking how epideictic operates within literate environments.¹ Little work has been done to investigate how epideictic rhetoric may function in written forms of communication such as periodicals. While periodical scholars such as Christopher Kent have suggested that community-based and community-*constituting*

appeals characterize periodicals as a genre, scholars have almost entirely failed to connect epideictic rhetoric with periodical studies.²

Historians who use periodicals to chart cultural change have neglected to inform their studies with the history and theory of epideictic rhetoric (a neglect that this dissertation seeks to remedy). Two notable examples are Virginia Glandon and Ben Novick, who have traced periodicals' pivotal roles in the Irish nationalist movement; their otherwise excellent studies lack attention to rhetorical theory, even while implicitly highlighting periodicals' epideictic roles. Glandon notes that Ireland's advanced-nationalist press both "publicized" and "politicized" the community of Irish nationalists; indeed, "these journalists promoted a romanticized version of Irish history and culture, in an effort to win what some have called a form of psychological home rule" (vii). What is particularly telling about Glandon's phrasing when referring to "what some have called a form of psychological home rule" is that she seems to be searching for a vocabulary to explain the shift in communal consciousness that journalists helped effect in Ireland—a vocabulary that epideictic rhetoric provides. Similarly, Novick writes of the power of periodical propaganda circulated in Ireland during World War I. In detailing how propaganda actually functions, Novick relies on an influential list of the "ABC's of Propaganda Analysis": strikingly, the first two items on the list identify concepts of "praise" and "blame" as crucial features of propaganda persuasion (40-41)—though not explicitly labeled as such and without a larger sense of epideictic's modes of "praise and blame."³ Like Glandon, Novick acknowledges what I would term the epideictic function of periodicals but lacks the benefit of rhetorical vocabulary and heuristics. Though the periodical studies of Glandon, Novick, and others are certainly valid without the use of rhetorical analysis, this dissertation demonstrates the value of explicitly investigating periodicals' epideictic appeals and of employing a combination of

rhetorical and postcolonial heuristics to investigate how periodicals serve as agents of political change.

To date, the largely unexplored relationship between epideictic rhetoric and periodicals may be due in part to a perception of epideictic as a solely oral mode of rhetoric as well as to the relatively recent, late twentieth-century resurgence in the status of rhetorical studies in the academy. Indeed, periodical studies itself is a relatively new field; Sean Latham and Robert Scholes's 2006 PMLA article chronicles the field's recent rise and dubs periodical studies "still-emergent" as an area of critical inquiry (517). This dissertation emphasizes the need to inform periodical studies with epideictic rhetorical theory (and vice-versa) and illustrates the benefits of this type of interdisciplinary analysis, especially as a means to better account for trends and fractures within nationalist movements and their unstable, ever-evolving constructions of communal identity.

Periodicals are particularly well-suited to a reassessment of epideictic as a literate mode in that they serve as a recorded intersection of competing ideologies, including epideictic's "praise and blame" discourses on values and identities. Central themes of such value- and identity-based discourses within periodicals include gender, race, class, and nation. While these different discourses of identity are interwoven and never mutually exclusive, this study foregrounds discourses on nation as an important theme of epideictic rhetoric. Since, as scholars such as Benedict Anderson and Homi K. Bhabha have established, national identity is a discursive, flexible construction (dependent on situation rather than essential or fixed), and since periodicals themselves are a flexible and dialogic genre (inviting as well as adapting to audience response), periodicals serve as a rich site of inquiry into "praise and blame" discourses that help to construct, revise, and disseminate national identity.⁴ As Robbie Meredith has noted, critics

have often ignored the diversity within national movements, relying instead on a more simplistic and desirable ideal of the “unity of culture” (179). John Sloop and Mark Olson contend that each culture contains diversity in “the circulation of meanings and pleasures that provides the materials out of which identity and knowledge can be (temporarily) fixed” (252). By reassessing periodicals as valuable records of the dialectic “clash” of competing rhetorics of nationalism, we can better understand how periodicals serve as both participants in and archives of the discursive formation of communal values and “(temporarily) fixed” identities. As such, connecting rhetorical theory with periodical studies can greatly enrich our understanding of cultural change. As this dissertation illustrates, the rhetorical dynamics of periodical texts are particularly relevant in reassessing postcolonial cultural movements and, as such, bear close examination in relationship to theories of minority rhetoric(s), especially postcolonial discourse.

As a whole, my dissertation investigates the interrelationship of epideictic and minority rhetorics, periodicals, and postcolonial nation-building. Specifically, I focus on the community-building role that three literary magazines played in the rise of modern Welsh nationalism—before, during, and after the formative *Cymru Fydd* (or “Young Wales”) Home Rule movement of the late nineteenth century (a movement that, as I demonstrate, extended into the twentieth century as well).⁵ By recognizing periodical texts as a genre that is particularly conducive to epideictic rhetoric, my study helps to bridge the gap between epideictic rhetorical theory and periodical studies. In addition, by emphasizing periodicals’ ability to circulate and popularize competing “imagined communities” of nationhood, my study helps account for the productive relationships between minority and postcolonial discourse, nation-building, and the periodical press.⁶ Though periodicals have been used skillfully by both the empowered and the disempowered in a variety of cultural contexts, the use of periodicals by minority groups (such as

colonized peoples) demonstrates a savvy rhetorical strategy of appropriation that may be understood as a “retooling the tools” of the empowered as well as “boring from within” as a means to resist majority control and form viable minority communities.⁷

Though Welsh-language texts may certainly exhibit such features of minority rhetoric, my study is limited to periodicals from an alternative literary tradition, that of “Welsh writing in English.” Once called “Anglo-Welsh writing,” the label “Welsh writing in English” is a semantic shift that helps rid this tradition’s title of some of its imperial flavor. This literary tradition has been traced back to the fifteenth century and has operated as a parallel tradition alongside the more lauded, less contested Welsh-language literary tradition.⁸ Though “Welsh writing in English” may seem a rather awkward label, the established status of this tradition demonstrates that a particular linguistic medium need not determine a writer’s communal identity. This four-word label itself bears witness to the flexible nature of national identity, which is always constructed rather than essential or fixed (though arguments to the contrary persist in global politics and foreign policies).

Recent studies of Welsh writing in English indicate that this unlikely literary tradition merits greater attention as a rhetorical site for understanding not only nation-building but postcolonial nation-building in particular. Edward I conquered Wales in the late thirteenth century, and Wales was reconquered in 1409 after Owain Glyndŵr’s uprising; the distance of these conquests has contributed to scholarly inattention to Wales as a colonized space. Further, despite a rise in Welsh nationalist thought and activism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the 1997 devolution referendum establishing a National Assembly for Wales (thus granting Wales a greater measure of local political control), Wales’s ongoing political affiliations with England and the United Kingdom have not invited a clearly *postcolonial* reading of its art and

literature. Since 2003, however, Jane Aaron, David M. Barlow, Kirsti Bohata, Catherine Brennan, Stephen Knight, Chris Williams, and others have built a compelling case for including Wales within the scope of postcolonial studies. Their work invites scholars to shift their gaze to Welsh writing in English of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Building on the precedent-setting studies of these critics, my dissertation investigates Welsh writing in English within three monthly magazines as both postcolonial and epideictic text.

Reassessing Epideictic Rhetoric: Civic Relevance, Literate Modes, and Cultural Change

Aristotle's seminal theory of rhetoric, often referred to as simply the Rhetoric, was composed in the late fourth century B.C.E. In this foundational text of rhetorical theory, Aristotle divides all of rhetoric into three main types or categories: forensic, deliberative, and epideictic (I.3). Only one chapter of Aristotle's Rhetoric is devoted exclusively to epideictic rhetoric, the rhetoric of "praise and blame" (I.9), while deliberative and forensic rhetorics get much more extensive treatment. Within the rhetorical tradition, Aristotle's Rhetoric has held a place of great influence (along with other classical treatises on rhetoric, principally Cicero's De Inventione and De Oratore and Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria). Indeed, Aristotle's categories of forensic, deliberative, and epideictic rhetoric continue to be applied over 2000 years after he created them. Within the Rhetoric, both forensic and deliberative rhetoric have clear civic roles, operating in overtly political settings such as the Greek law-courts and performing key functions in the Greek *polis*. However, the particular civic function of epideictic rhetoric is less immediately obvious, and this confusion has contributed to scholars' relative inattention to epideictic theory in relation to political affairs.⁹

Twentieth-century reassessments of Aristotle's theory of epideictic rhetoric have helped to clarify and detail a civic function for epideictic, showing that epideictic is more than "mere performance" in terms of showing off or displaying the skill of the rhetor (thus, rectifying long-held misconceptions of epideictic rhetoric). In particular, Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca's The New Rhetoric emphasizes epideictic rhetoric's centrality within any given social domain and its foundational role in argumentation. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca argue that epideictic rhetoric should be considered central to rhetoric, in that its "praise and blame" (i.e., praise of virtue and denouncing of vice) provide the foundational values for any given culture or group and also increase "adherence" to these values; in so doing, they suggest that epideictic rhetoric serves as a vital foundation for forensic rhetoric and deliberative rhetoric, which depend on cultural values as the starting points for argument (47-54). Contemporary rhetoricians such as Walter Beale, Gerard Hauser, Cynthia Sheard, and Dale Sullivan have extended Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's reassessment of epideictic's civic functions. These theorists have demonstrated how epideictic rhetoric alters social perceptions of reality, sets the limits of public morality by determining virtue and vice, and creates new visions of possibility for civic action.

As these contemporary studies illustrate, epideictic rhetoric is more than "mere performance" or display—rather, epideictic rhetoric plays a normative, educative role in cultural discourse. Aristotle's original conceptualization of epideictic rhetoric as an oral mode of discourse, however, perpetuates studies of epideictic that tend to consider this genre of rhetoric as solely an oral mode. This "orality bias" is problematic, given the variety of ways in which discourse circulates in contemporary society. Clearly, the rise and evolution of literacy practices necessitate significant revisions to epideictic theory if this area of rhetorical inquiry and practice is to remain viable and relevant. In particular, the study of periodicals—a genre created in the

wake of the printing press and often employed by groups seeking to form and *reform* culture—can serve as a vital investigation into the defining features of epideictic rhetoric within literate modes of communication. As such, reassessing the epideictic functions of periodical texts helps to illustrate the flexibility and continued relevance of epideictic theory.

Thus, to better account for how contemporary cultural dynamics shape rhetoric (and vice versa), we must investigate how epideictic rhetoric operates via written texts. Beale alludes briefly to this exigence, noting that we might consider sports journals' targeting of a "special-interest audience" to be an epideictic situation—in short, implying that magazines serve normative, community-building functions for particular interest groups.¹⁰ In addition, Kathryn Summers has considered how Victorian women writers used epideictic rhetoric within novels and periodicals. Working from her own definition of "epideictic narrative" (based on Walter Fisher's studies of how narratives create meaning), Summers claims that George Eliot, Charlotte Bronte, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning use a narrative mode of "praise and blame" to engage and revise gender norms (Creating Textual Space). In a more recent article, Summers tracks similar "praise and blame" of gender in the Englishwoman's Review. Beale's brief analysis of sports journals and Summers's investigation of women's persuasive use of mass-market texts indicate that epideictic rhetoric does indeed operate in literate genres such as fiction and periodicals. Indeed, Summers's development of a theory of "epideictic narrative" suggests that further analysis of epideictic rhetoric within fiction and even non-fiction narratives should be very productive. Unfortunately, studies of "literate epideictic" such as Beale's and Summers's are still exceptions rather than the norm.

Rhetorical theory still lacks a detailed exploration of how epideictic functions within literate genres, and specifically, it largely neglects the relationship between literate epideictics

and cultural change. In other words, rhetoricians have failed to sufficiently account for how groups of rhetors have used literate modes of epideictic rhetoric to reform and even redefine culture. In “The Rhetoric of Picturesque Scenery: A Nineteenth-Century Epideictic,” S. Michael Halloran offers an important early contribution to this line of inquiry. Halloran considers how the Hudson River School of painters created multiple representations and re-representations of the American landscape that served as a kind of place-based epideictic, fashioning an emergent American national identity within an idealized and Edenic landscape. Halloran claims that this mode of epideictic uses the land as a “locus of praise,” a rhetorical resource for nation-building. Though Halloran analyzes a visual mode of literacy rather than a largely print-based mode such as periodicals, his study is valuable in disrupting the “orality bias” of traditional epideictic theory as well as in connecting literate modes of epideictic to nationalist cultural change. An additional study of note is Gregory Clark’s Rhetorical Landscapes in America, in which Clark analyzes how experiences of landscape have affected the formation of American national identity.

Beale, Summers, Halloran, and Clark have begun to investigate how epideictic rhetoric functions in modes other than traditional orality and have also connected literate modes of epideictic to cultural formation and transformation. Still, their studies are suggestive rather than extensive. Further study is needed to understand the characteristics of epideictic rhetoric within literate modes and also to understand the relationship between literate epideictics and cultural transformations,(including transformations motivated by minority experience.

Rhetoric, Minority Groups, and Postcolonial Studies: Rewriting the Canon

Interest in what we might term “minority rhetoric(s)” (i.e., the ways in which marginalized or disempowered groups use rhetoric) is a relatively recent trend in rhetorical

studies, so new as to be relatively unnamed and largely unrecognized. Related in part to the rise of “women’s rhetoric(s)” (an emergent area of inquiry since the 1990s, based on feminist scholars’ critiques and revisions of the traditional white, male rhetorical canon), scholars are now investigating how minority rhetors use language persuasively. In particular, recent studies consider how the experience of marginality and disempowerment challenges traditional theories and standards and both constrains and enables rhetorical expression and reception. Among these studies of “minority rhetoric(s)” are those that center on the particular dynamics of colonial experience and postcolonial discourse.

Though the study of minority and ethnic literatures has become relatively well established in the contemporary academy, the study of minority rhetoric(s) has not yet become a discrete area of inquiry. To date, we can trace emergent work in minority rhetorical theory within not only rhetorical studies *per se*, but also within literacy studies, sociolinguistics, and postcolonial studies (especially in theories of minority discourse). College English devoted its September 2004 issue to “Rhetorics from/of Color”; this special issue signals an increased interest in minority rhetorics within English studies. This issue includes Jessica Enoch’s “Para La Mujer: Defining a Chicana Feminist Rhetoric at the Turn of the Century,” an archival analysis of Chicana feminist rhetoric(s) enacted by contributors to La Crónica, a border-crossing newspaper based in Laredo, Texas. Enoch’s study demonstrates the benefits of periodical studies that account for the minority status of contributors and that make this subject position as an important consideration in rhetorical analysis. Recent literacy studies are also valuable in conceptualizing minority rhetorical theory: e.g., Morris Young’s Minor Re/Visions, which analyzes Asian American students’ literacy narratives as a “rhetoric of citizenship,” and Jacqueline Jones Royster’s Traces of a Stream, which recovers a tradition of African American

women who wrote essays as a means of reforming society. In addition, John Gumperz and Jenny Cook-Gumperz's "Ethnic Differences in Communicative Style" illustrates sociolinguists' early engagement with questions of how ethnic background affects language use.

Of particular significance to my study, Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd's The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse represents postcolonial scholars' engagement with the question of what it means to use language as a minority—specifically, to use language in the wake of colonial control of language and belief. In their introductory essay, JanMohamed and Lloyd define minority discourse as “the product of damage—damage more or less systematically inflicted on cultures produced as minorities by the dominant culture” (4). JanMohamed and Lloyd argue that, in addition to the material damage inflicted on minority peoples by the empowered majority, minorities are subject to damage in terms of “cultural formations, languages, and diverse modes of identity,” to the point that these former markers of communal identity may be completely effaced. Within this context of endangerment, JanMohamed and Lloyd conceptualize minority cultural practices as “strategies of resistance” since “the physical survival of minority grounds depends on the recognition of its culture as viable” (5-6). Though JanMohamed and Lloyd do not specify which cultural practices contribute to minority resistance and survival, it is safe to assume that writing occupies an important role in minority discourse, particularly since they emphasize that the archival recovery of minority discourse (presumably, largely from texts) is vital to preventing “institutional forgetting” of that culture. They argue that such loss of memory or recognition is “one of the gravest forms of damage” in that it robs minorities of control over their own histories (6-7). JanMohamed and Lloyd imply that by not participating in archival recovery work, scholars are complicit in devaluing the discourse of minorities and, hence, their very identities. JanMohamed and Lloyd thus foreground the stakes

of recognizing and studying minority discourse—in effect, placing this mode of discourse at the center of far-reaching cultural and academic power struggles. JanMohamed and Lloyd are not rhetoricians and never use the term “minority rhetoric”; however, their work calls for further recovery and analysis of minority voices.

Though the range of these studies of minority voices and texts is thought-provoking and exciting, the overall lack of cross-disciplinary conversation regarding minorities’ use of language (both oral and written) tends to prevent scholars from benefiting from the strengths of each other’s projects. Specifically, rhetoricians have largely neglected to recognize that studies in minority literature, literacy studies, sociolinguistics, and postcolonial and minority discourse can all inform the way we conceptualize the rhetorical situations and persuasive strategies of minority rhetors. In particular, JanMohamed and Lloyd foreground the ethical consequences of neglecting minority discourse; *not to act* is, in effect, to act in a way that inflicts further damage on marginalized groups. Interdisciplinary work is certainly demanding and fraught with hazards. However, in light of these emergent studies of minority rhetoric(s) and the academy’s increased attention to the dynamics of difference, the time has come to recognize “minority rhetoric(s)” as a distinct area of scholarly inquiry that is both interdisciplinary and of particular importance to rhetorical theory.¹¹ My project synthesizes and draws on these early studies of minority rhetoric(s) in order to account for how the Welsh editors and writers who contributed to Anglophone monthly literary magazines produced in Wales from 1882-1904—a key era of Welsh nationalism—may have been operating within similar constraints and exigencies of minority disempowerment and the struggle for agency. As such, in the context of recent postcolonial studies of Wales, my project also works to more meaningfully connect rhetorical theory and postcolonial theory.

Nationalism and the Press: Wales, Ireland, and the *Ethos* of “Non-Political” yet “National”

Magazines

A number of scholars have begun to consider the role of periodicals in social movements, including nationalist movements. Though some inquiry has been applied to Wales, by and large, we still have very limited information about how the press has worked in relationship to Welsh political movements and shifts in social consciousness. In Press, Politics, and Society, the only book-length study of periodicals that were circulated primarily in Wales, Aled G. Jones calls attention to the role that the press has played in Welsh identity shifts, particularly in the nineteenth century. To date, Jones provides the most in-depth investigation of the Welsh press and its relationship to Welsh national identity; however, he focuses mainly on newspapers, especially Welsh-language publications.

Apart from Jones’s work, little attention has been paid to periodicals produced in Wales, particularly Anglophone texts—including monthly literary magazines or “miscellanies.”¹² We may partially attribute this inattention to English-language texts’ contested authenticity within the Welsh nationalist tradition (a tradition that privileges Welsh-language use and has been characterized by Welsh language activism); in and of itself, this inattention attests to the fractures and hierarchies within nationalist identity formation. The Red Dragon: The National Magazine of Wales (1882-87), Wales: A National Magazine for the English-Speaking Parts of Wales (1894-97), and Young Wales: A National Periodical for Wales (1895-1904) are all Anglophone Welsh monthly miscellanies that were self-reportedly “national” in scope and intention. These three magazines contributed to Welsh identity shifts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet they remain virtually unstudied.

Since a central aim of modern Welsh nationalism has been the preservation of Welsh as a living language, and since a number of periodicals produced in Wales have indeed been Welsh-language texts, it should come as little surprise that, in terms of scholarship, Welsh-language periodicals have been privileged over their English-language counterparts in Wales. Still, this very inequity in scholarly attention should motivate us to investigate the ways that, even within an apparently unified national movement, agents of change were perhaps as often divided as united. In the case of Wales, language certainly contributed to such division. Though some foundational historical work has been done on Anglophone Welsh periodicals, we have yet to understand the role that these English-language magazines have played in the construction of Welsh national identity. My dissertation is a recovery project that investigates these magazines' "imaginings" and "re-imaginings" of Welsh national identity—in essence, rhetorical constructions of communal identity that (as Tom Clyde has argued) are particularly enabled by and within the genre of literary magazines. Indeed, these imaginings are epideictic rhetorics inasmuch as they persuade readers to adopt particular visions of national identity as well as to increase adherence (i.e., allegiance) to the selective values and symbols that promote a sense of national distinctiveness.

The persuasive imaginings enabled by Anglophone Welsh magazines are an important example of how epideictic rhetoric functions within literate modes. Without further study, we cannot yet appreciate the roles that these periodicals played in constructing persistent "Welsh" identities that do not necessarily depend on fluency with the Welsh language. To live in Wales and self-identify as "Welsh" without the ability to speak, read, or write the Welsh language may seem unusual or unlikely, yet it is entirely possible. As this dissertation shows, Anglophone Welsh periodicals have played a vital role in enabling readerly identification with Welsh identity

in spite of what may be perceived as a tragic decline of Wales's so-called "mother tongue." Scholars of Ireland's advanced nationalist press offer useful paradigms for reassessing Anglophone Welsh magazines, particularly in considering how periodicals often considered solely "literary" actually have powerful political and rhetorical vectors. Specifically, both Virginia Crossman and Karen Steele have argued that the *Shan Van Vocht*, a literary magazine produced in Belfast from 1896-99, used the revival and revision of Irish national figures, literature, and history to galvanize a diverse readership and effectively win "converts" to the cause of Irish independence. Like Kent, Glandon, and Novick, Crossman and Steele do not directly engage with epideictic theory; however, their work clearly demonstrates the capability of the press to shape popular consciousness and effect widespread cultural change. These scholars show that, through the dissemination of narratives and icons (as tools of "praise of blame"), the press has epideictic power—power to unify a readership based on a perception of common identity while also shaping that identity into new forms of being, using new (or selectively revived) markers of identity.

In addition to the linguistic complexity of Welsh national identity, Welsh nationalism itself has often been pegged as a "failure" since, despite its new National Assembly, Wales has never achieved political separation from the United Kingdom (as opposed to the much more visible and publicized Irish independence movement, which achieved autonomy for the Republic of Ireland, though not all of Ireland's counties). In this sense, scholarly attention to the texts that contributed to the Welsh nationalist movement has been limited at best. In the case of the three Anglophone Welsh magazines that this dissertation analyzes, a further complication is, at times, their own apparent ambivalence about politics and, thus, their seeming disconnection from Welsh nationalism. Curiously, these magazines tend to refer to themselves as simultaneously

“national” and “non-political,” a combination that may understandably confuse critics and even lead us to dismiss these texts as politically innocuous. However, upon closer inspection, we can detect how these magazines make “non-political” self-references in order to construct a more expansive and inclusive *ethos*, a non-sectarian identity capable of wooing a larger Welsh audience to participate in the imaginative modes of “Welshness” that the magazines are constructing. In essence, calling one’s publication “non-political” in Wales—and even resisting explicit statements of political separatism from English rule—may rightly be read as an epideictic rhetorical strategy. Rather than announcing divorce from all political matters, “non-political” self-references in these magazines should be understood as a savvy political strategies in themselves.

In late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Wales, adopting a “non-political” yet “national” *ethos* would have been an effective rhetorical strategy in several ways. As with Ireland’s *Shan Van Vocht*, such purported political neutrality on the part of Welsh magazines certainly helped to engage and even unite readers who might otherwise have remained disinterested and/or divided based on regional, religious, labor, class, and political party loyalties. In this sense, the “non-political” *ethos* of these three Anglophone Welsh magazines aimed at fostering readerly identification with Welshness across traditional markers of difference; upon closer inspection, these magazines’ “non-political” claims are inherently and strategically political, working to fuse a potentially divided and demanding audience into a “national” one.

In terms of these magazines’ relationship to the Young Wales movement, adopting a “non-political” yet “national” *ethos* marks their engagement with a growing national consciousness as well as a desire to dissociate themselves from the region-, class-, and language-

based political divisions that led to the infamous “fall” of the Cymru Fydd League in January 1896. At first glance, these magazines’ use of English rather than Welsh certainly seems to target a largely middle- and upper-class readership (since English-language use in nineteenth century Wales is most often associated with privilege, commerce, and industry, while Welsh-language use is associated with the rural working class). However, the magazines’ construction of a “non-political” yet “national” *ethos* signals that they were casting a wider net than is immediately obvious based on their use of English. Indeed, as I illustrate in the following chapters, the editors of these magazines were repeatedly explicit about their aim to create Welsh readerships that bridged a number of social and even linguistic differences.

As a rhetorical strategy, this “non-political” *ethos* (and its accompanying attempt at unifying a divided readership) had its dangers. As with many attempts at innovation, this strategy—when applied to publishing in particular—was prone to financial failure (due to broad-based appeals that could fail to appeal to particular demographics and even to appear suspicious or “non-Welsh” in their inclusivity). Since these magazines were, in essence, working to re-imagine and thus *redefine* Welsh identity, we should not be surprised that their visions of Welshness did not always meet with a positive reception. In fact, we should actually see instances of readerly resistance (and perhaps even falling circulation figures) as evidentiary indicators of the radical nature of these magazines. Though not radical in an overtly political, separatist, or militant sense, these magazines’ imaginative definitions of Welshness were nonetheless revolutionary within their cultural context. While reflecting the changing linguistic dynamics of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Wales, these magazines’ editors were also taking calculated rhetorical risks by recasting Welshness through the medium of English.

SCOPE OF STUDY

In this dissertation project, I use a case-study approach to investigate how epideictic rhetoric functions in and through periodical texts, with particular attention to discourses on national identity and to the postcolonial role that such discourses can play. Specifically, I examine three English-language miscellany magazines produced in Wales from 1882-1904. As social historian Kenneth Morgan has detailed, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a key era of Welsh cultural renaissance. My study investigates how this era of Welsh revivalism produced competing ideas of national identity and shaped perceptions of a distinct Welshness apart from British identity. Since each of these magazines is multi-voiced, including texts and images from multiple contributors, they serve as particularly rich records of this era's competing versions of Welsh national identity. In a sense, they are remarkable fossils of Wales's national dialogic in this time period, yet the only scholarship on these texts to date comes in the form of brief historical surveys rather than in-depth textual analyses. If, as Nan Johnson argues, we should read rhetoric as a cultural site, then close analyses of these periodicals are vital for understanding the ways in which they served as discursive, formative sites for Welsh national consciousness.¹³

This study is limited to English-language periodicals published in Wales. Though Welsh-language periodicals have already received a degree of recognition in relation to Welsh nationalism, their English-language counterparts have been almost entirely neglected. English-language periodicals are particularly important in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Wales because their production coincides with a sharp decline in Welsh language fluency in nineteenth-century Wales. In 1891, the first census in which language data was available for Wales indicated that only slightly more than half of Wales's population (54.4%) spoke Welsh.

Morgan notes that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the industrialization and urbanization of Wales made English “the language of business,” which contributed to the gradual decline of the Welsh language (95). However, the industrialization and urbanization contributing to the decrease of Welsh-language use also encouraged the rise of print culture in Wales, both in print production (in commercial centers) and in literacy rates among readership. If we consider the linguistic make-up of Wales during this era, we can appreciate the pragmatism and rhetorical cunning of constructing “Welsh national” magazines in the English language. The editors of the three monthly magazines in my study were strategic in targeting a growing English-language readership within Wales and, in so doing, inviting these readers to participate in constructing national visions of Wales.¹⁴ As discussed above, these magazines’ construction of a “non-political” yet “national” *ethos* was also strategic in that their editors used non-threatening personae to create readerly identification with a Welshness that transcended traditional social divisions.

Though readership outside Wales is not a central concern of my study, in addition to reaching readers within Wales, the Anglophone Welsh periodicals within my study were also able to address members of the Welsh diaspora, including Welsh communities in England (especially London), the United States, Canada, and beyond. These periodicals’ editorial and correspondence pages leave a trail of the multiple audiences that these magazines were able to reach and to engage, though these magazines’ primary readerships do appear to have lived within Wales. Other purportedly “Welsh” periodicals of this era, both Welsh- and English-language texts, fall outside the scope of my analysis since their readers lived primarily outside Wales’s physical borders (if not “outside” Welsh identity in a psychological sense). Weekly and daily

newspapers also fall outside the scope of my study, though these periodicals also deserve further study.

The three monthly magazines included in my study played a key role in helping the Welsh people within Wales to engage in what Huanani Trask calls “decolonizing the mind”—a dynamic of postcoloniality easier to overlook than the flying bullets of militant revolts, yet no less valid. Specifically, these magazines served as a postcolonial “available means” for the epideictic rhetoric of Welsh nationalism, a rhetoric that serves a “decolonizing” function inasmuch as it creates a sense of distinct national identity. Building on emerging postcolonial studies of Wales, my dissertation reassesses constructions of Welsh national identity in Anglophone literary magazines that were produced and circulated in Wales from 1882-1904.

Some attention is also given to the gendering of Welsh national identity, building on recent studies by Kirsti Bohata, Peter Lord, and Alyce von Rothkirch, and more broadly, on studies of the gendering of nation by C. L. Innes and Anne McClintock. These scholars attest to the interconnectedness of gender and nation, and my dissertation helps account for this dynamic in the Anglophone Welsh press, particularly in considering how these periodicals circulated gendered icons of “praise and blame.” Even the non-human icons of Welshness that are not overtly male or female often carry subtle gender associations: e.g., the persistently masculine physicality of the Welsh “red dragon,” the central icon of the earliest magazine in my project. Such icons deserve attention in understanding how nationalist movements are implicated in gender politics and in tracing how unequal male-female power dynamics may shape epideictic constructions of national identity.

In investigating these periodicals’ constructions of national identity, this study analyzes these magazines’ traditionally “literary” features (poetry and fiction) as well as their nonfiction

and visual features. Each of the three periodicals within my scope of study, while part of an established genre of monthly literary magazines, are also true “miscellanies” that gather a number of elements other than the strictly literary. In particular, they frequently include editorials, biographies, popular histories, illustrations, and news reports (especially reporting on political, legal, and education matters). These nonfiction subgenres and visual elements are relevant to the overall *ethos* and scope of each periodical and are considered as such. My analysis foregrounds the epideictic role played by these magazines’ truly “miscellany” features—exploring these texts’ “imaginings” and “re-imaginings” of Welsh identity.

As a whole, my dissertation demonstrates that, in addition to its oral tradition, epideictic rhetoric functions as a literate mode that can operate within multi-voiced periodical texts and that can be employed by marginalized rhetors as a means to effect social change—for instance, as a means to popularize a modern Welsh national consciousness. As a case study of epideictic rhetoric in the Anglophone Welsh press, my study seeks to identify the competing rhetorics of Welshness that participated in the formation of this national consciousness in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an era that gave rise to a Welsh Home Rule movement and that served as a prelude to the first World War and the interwar economic depression that would radically alter Britain as well as America. In investigating a formative era of Welsh national identity within the pages of periodicals, my study helps revise epideictic theory to account for literate modes of communication and their roles in cultural change, especially in the growth of national consciousness. Overall, this project investigates the specific rhetorical techniques that construct communal ideologies within literate modes, particularly within marginalized social contexts.

**REVIVING THE HISTORY OF WELSH NATIONALISM:
“YOUNG WALES” IN LATE NINETEENTH- AND EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY CONSCIOUSNESS**

The late nineteenth century is commonly cited as the foundational era of modern Welsh nationalism.¹⁵ Welsh periodicals of this era, however, have been largely understudied—Anglophone Welsh magazines especially so; this dissertation illustrates how this genre of print media, in addition to public oratory, could be used for powerful epideictic purpose within the context of national revival. Modern Welsh nationalism tends to manifest features of broad-based “cultural renaissance” rather than separatist politics (as in the case of Ireland’s violent struggle for self-rule). However, Meic Stephens notes the emergence of Welsh separatist nationalism during the 1880s and 1890s in the form of the *Cymru Fydd* (or “Young Wales”) movement (528).¹⁶ As with many translations, the Welsh phrase “*Cymru Fydd*” has no exact English-language equivalent, but this concept translates roughly as “Wales of the future.” Since the phrase “*Cymru Fydd*” has been used to describe a Welsh cultural movement roughly contemporary to the Young Ireland movement, it is not surprising that “*Cymru Fydd*” has more commonly been dubbed the “Young Wales” movement. If “Young Wales” is perhaps less accurate than the more literal translation of *Cymru Fydd* (“Wales of the future”), the “Young Wales” labeling of *Cymru Fydd* invites us to consider this particular movement in Wales within the context of the rise of nationalism throughout Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁷ Stephens notes that the Young Wales movement was certainly influenced “by the example of Ireland and by the writings of continental Nationalists” (528).

Considering the significant amount of scholarship that nationalist movements tend to attract, the Young Wales movement has received an almost shocking lack of critical attention. As an object of historical inquiry, this movement has largely been relegated to a handful of book chapters and journal articles, most often appearing in a few paragraphs or footnotes within

surveys of Welsh history or Celtic revivalism. Kenneth O. Morgan's important book-length study—Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980—begins with the Young Wales era but extends well beyond its supposed 1896 “fall.” To date, however, Morgan's work in Rebirth (along, to an extent, with his study of Wales in British Politics: 1868-1922) has functioned as the definitive English-language study of the Young Wales movement—the study available to the larger academy. Morgan directly discusses the Young Wales movement on only a fraction of these two books' 800+ pages, tending instead to characterize the movement in terms of its connection to broader sweeps of Welsh and British political systems (particularly in relation to the Liberal and Labour Parties). Morgan is a thorough and sensitive historian, yet with few exceptions, scholars repeatedly rely on Morgan to tell virtually the whole history of Young Wales—when in fact, Morgan's work is more useful for situating the movement within the complex dynamics of an evolving British political system than for fully revealing the internal workings of the movement in its own right.¹⁸

While appreciating Morgan's exceptional range as an historian, we should also recognize that the history of Young Wales is far from exhausted; on the contrary, it invites much more extensive study. To be fair, the small group of scholars who have contributed to recovering the story of Young Wales have identified some important characteristics of the movement. To date, Young Wales scholarship emphasizes the following features of the movement: carrying a Home Rule agenda (seeking self-government for Wales), having a mere decade of life (from 1886-1896), owing its life to a relatively small group of “founding fathers” (i.e., Owen M. Edwards, Tom E. Ellis, David Lloyd Jones, and Michael D. Jones), assisting in the rise of national institutions, relying on the allegiance and leadership of Liberal politicians as well as religious Nonconformists and rural “chapel culture,” having factions (especially the famously failed union

of the North and South Wales Liberal Federations), and being popularized by (and popularizing) the Welsh language. While it may be tempting to accept these established narratives of Young Wales, upon closer inspection, this traditional history of Young Wales becomes problematic.

As noted earlier, Welsh nationalism has often taken more broad-based cultural forms than merely a separatist agenda, but historians have identified 1886-1896 as a distinct era of Home Rule hopes and activity. Like virtually all attempts at social unification, the Young Wales movement had multiple aims and competing interests rather than existing as a coherent ideology or identity. Still, Stephens's claim that "Home Rule was central to its programme" (137) is typical and reflects a consensus among historians. Morgan notes that Tom Ellis (an influential Welsh Liberal Minister of Parliament who would become chief whip in 1894) advocated a separatist mode of nationalism: "[Ellis] felt that only by pushing for self-government would the Welsh have truly 'a national programme and a national party'" (Rebirth 33, 113). Morgan credits Ellis with helping to conceive

. . . a new concept of nationhood, in which the history, traditions, social culture, literature, and political institutions of his people would be organically linked. The spirit of Wales . . . he argued, was a collective one, rather than individualist . . . Wales was the land of "*cyfraith, cyfar, cyfnawdd, cymorthau and cymanfaoedd*,"¹⁹ a land of social co-operation and of associative effort, predestined to act as a collective whole. (Rebirth 113-4)

Though Ellis was certainly not the sole spokesman for Young Wales, his vision of Welsh nationhood and the collective "spirit of Wales" had undoubted influence.²⁰

According to Morgan, by 1890, the Young Wales movement had shifted from a largely "cultural and literary" movement to a decidedly more political one (Rebirth 114). Although this

separation of “cultural and literary” elements from the political is more than a little problematic (as I address later), Morgan’s identification of 1890 as a turning point is related to how he narrates a key transition in the leaders or “fathers” of the movement. In the late 1880s, visionaries such as Ellis, D.R. Daniel, Owen M. Edwards, T. J. Hughes, , R. H. Morgan, W. J. Parry, and J. Arthur Price helped conceive and popularize the idea of Young Wales, whereas by 1890, a young David Lloyd George was advocating Young Wales to the North Wales Liberal Federation and promoting the adoption of a Home Rule platform (Rebirth 114-5). In essence, Morgan’s version of the Young Wales movement is that of two linked but distinct phases: (1) a broad-based cultural conception that evolved into (2) a discrete political application for Lloyd George and other Welsh Liberal politicians.

This supposedly “political phase” of Young Wales in the 1890s was undoubtedly connected with the spread of Welsh Liberalism but also to its factions—particularly to tensions between North and South Wales Liberal Federations (NWLF and SWLF). The creation of a national Cymru Fydd League in August of 1894 and the merger of this league with the NWLF in April of 1895 created significant pressure for the SWLF. The so-called “national” Cymru Fydd League really represented North Wales’s interests and neglected those of South Wales, which—as the more industrialized region—had more population and wealth. Ultimately, in January of 1896, hopes for Home Rule were crushed when an attempted merger of the NWLF (by then, renamed the Cymru Fydd League) and the SWLF ended in what Morgan portrays as an unqualified “disaster”:

The crisis came at the Newport meeting of the South Wales Liberal Federation.

This was a disaster. The pretensions of *Cymru Fydd* and of Lloyd George, the claims of political nationalism, were blown to atoms The largely commercial

and mercantile delegates from south-east Wales were in no mood to listen to a plea for separatism originating from the remote fastnesses of the Welsh-speaking rural north and west A crucial motion to merge the SWLF with the Cymru Fydd League . . . was defeated by 133 votes to 70 The meeting turned into a bear-garden, with Liberal hurling abuse at brother Liberal in a manner unthinkable in the heyday of party unity after 1885 By the end of 1896 *Cymru Fydd* was in ruins. The gulf between north and mid-Wales on the one hand, and mercantile, industrial south Wales on the other seemed alarming and gaping, and Liberals strove to patch it up by dropping the entire campaign for home rule. (Rebirth 117-8)

Morgan's compelling account of the "fall" of *Cymru Fydd's* Home Rule agenda highlights the key role of Welsh Liberalism in the movement as well as the power of the socioeconomic and linguistic divisions between north and south Wales.

This version of the death of Young Wales—emphasizing the fissures within Welsh Liberalism and between Wales's north and south regions—has become a dominant narrative of the failure of modern Welsh nationalism. But did this event truly mark the "failure" and even "death" of the Young Wales movement? While Morgan's points of emphasis in the story of the Young Wales movement are not wrong, *per se*, his influence as an historian appears to have been so great as to discourage alternative perspectives on this movement. For instance, though the Cymru Fydd League did indeed collapse in 1896, the *idea* of "*Cymru Fydd*" (a "Wales of the future" or "Young Wales"—emergent and rising) did not meet with such a decisive end.

A number of Welsh artists and thinkers remained preoccupied with the idea of Young Wales and kept it alive within popular consciousness, albeit in an array of texts and images that

did not give the ongoing nationalist movement any single face or form. Art historian Peter Lord highlights “the efforts of a substantial number of young artists who emerged . . . to image the national myth” based on “the interest in Welsh history which was stimulated by the general atmosphere of national revival in the *fin de siècle* period” (Imaging the Nation 330). Lord claims that these young artists’ attempts to portray Wales and Welsh identity “lacked coherence” (330). However, Lord foregrounds the influence of painter Christopher Williams in “imaging the nation” of Wales and demonstrates Williams’s and others’ ongoing engagements with the nationhood of Wales. In so doing, Lord begins exploring the artistic and ideological “afterlife” of Young Wales, post-1896—an exciting project that needs further attention.

Lord notes that in 1911, Williams created an allegorical painting called Wales Awakening, “intended to express the essence of the new Welsh age” (Imaging the Nation 333). In this painting, Williams resurrects the myth of Gwennllian (daughter of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, a famous Welsh prince). According to the myth, Gwennllian had “been bewitched at her baptism to sleep forever” (Lord, Imaging the Nation 333). As the “Last Prince of Wales,” Llywelyn ap Gruffydd has been a popular figure for Welsh artists and writers to revisit and revive.²¹ In Williams’s portrayal of Wales, however, he chooses to revive Llywelyn’s daughter from the mythic Welsh past (as well as from her long sleep) and to represent the nation as a red-haired woman:

[Fig. 1.1]

In effect, Williams’s allegorical painting fuses Welsh identity with the figure of Gwennllian, and his particular “imaging” of Wales as a nation is that of awakening from a long hibernation. In addition to foregrounding a female figure as a stand-in for emergent Welsh identity, Williams places Gwennllian astride a fire-breathing dragon—thus, invoking one of the oldest markers of

Welsh identity (a red dragon) while also creating a new narrative of Welshness that fuses an ancient, even savage Welshness with a graceful, feminized form. In this painting, Williams is certainly enacting a particular imagining of Welsh identity and, by reviving two select icons of Welshness, cunningly creates layered appeals of ideal national identity—a Welshness both old and new, savage and refined, masculine and feminine. Williams’s Wales Awakening is an important example of the “re-imaginings” of Wales that continued to circulate in the early twentieth century.

An analysis of Wales Awakening—published shortly after its completion in 1911—foregrounds the painting’s imaginative role as a stand-in for the nation and also demonstrates the continued life of Young Wales idealism:

The national spirit of Wales slept, but after seven centuries, under the influence of the new light, which is the light of education, she awoke . . . Cymru Fydd is no longer in its infancy, but her gentle fair face and bearing are seen awakening to the white light of dawn. She is older than England; but because she has slept so long, she is yet young, and sees new hopes,—new and limitlessly high—in the fields of song and art. (Thomas Matthews, qtd. in Lord, Imaging the Nation 335)

Matthews’s commentary on Williams’s painting emphasizes that, rather than having died in 1896, the Young Wales movement persisted into the early twentieth century. Indeed, by writing that “Cymru Fydd is no longer in its infancy, but . . . she is yet young, and sees new hopes . . . in the fields of song and art,” Matthews implies that the movement has actually gained strength and purpose by the 1910s.

Matthews credits “the light of education” with Wales’s national reawakening and also includes music and art in the history and future of the movement. His review of Wales

Awakening was written not long after the 1907 establishment of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education (an important step in the devolution of centralized British control) as well as the 1907 founding of two national institutions: the National Museum of Wales and the National Library of Wales. The recent rise of these organizations may explain why Matthews appears so effusive about the “light of education” and its centrality in Wales’s cultural renaissance. Each of these organizations attests to the vigor of Welsh nationalism in the early twentieth century. What remains somewhat mysterious, however, is just how the “fields of song and art” that Matthews lauds were contributing to the kind of popular consciousness and activism that could give rise to these organizations. That is, we still have regrettably limited information about how aesthetic and symbolic agents of change helped imagine a modern Welsh national identity capable of galvanizing support for institutions that would validate and further promote that identity.

This dissertation shows that periodicals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were important “fields of song and art” in which the Young Wales movement gained and maintained its life. The three magazines in this dissertation project bear close attention for their contributions to Welsh national renaissance. The run of The Red Dragon (1882-87) largely predates the established 1886-96 chronology of the Young Wales movement, and the runs of Owen M. Edwards’s Wales (1894-97) of Young Wales (1895-1904) are partially concurrent with that chronology but also extend beyond it. Despite transgressing the bounds of the traditional Young Wales timeline, however, the texts and images in these now-scarce magazines harbor important narratives and icons of Welshness that, like Gwennllian, have suffered a long hibernation and deserve a second chance at life; these magazines were participating in Wales’s modern reawakening in ways that scholars have not yet appreciated or understood.

J. Hugh Edwards's introduction to the bound collection of Young Wales's 1898 run (Vol. IV) emphasizes the magazine's engagement with nationalism and demonstrates that the cause of Young Wales did not die along with the Home Rule "disaster" of 1896.²² In reflecting on the past four years of the magazine's run (under his leadership as editor), Edwards states that his "main mission continues absolutely unchanged":

In common with that first Number issued in January, 1895 . . . each new issue finds its *raison d'être* in a deep desire to give distinct articulation to our national aspirations, to stimulate the sense of our racial unity, in spite of our sharp political antagonisms and keen sectarian rivalries, and to foster the innate consciousness of our destined heritage as a people . . . True, artificial divisions are still rife among us, and in every department of our national life the clash of controversy is too often heard. But in the Eisteddfod and in the University—the greatest of our national institutions,—there is embodied a prophecy of the advent of that time when strife shall have ceased among us, and when the various sections of our countrymen will be welded together in the passionate ardour of patriotic sentiment and in the strong bonds of national unity . . .²³ To that hope and to that prophecy YOUNG WALES joyously brings its meed of homage. (n.p.)

Writing several years after the 1896 "disaster," through a self-proclaimed "deep desire" for "racial unity," Edwards expresses an ongoing commitment to the "national aspirations" of Young Wales. Indeed, his magazine's very title continued to promote the movement until 1904. Edwards's resistance to "sharp political antagonisms and keen sectarian rivalries" hearkens back to the split between the NWLF and SWLF, yet he appears eager to promote a future Wales in which a more complete national unity will be achieved. Like Williams's later representation of

Wales (in Wales Awakening), Edwards locates “true” Welshness within a vision of an emergent future; through this “prophecy,” Edwards is arguing that *Cymru Fydd* (“the Wales of the future”) still deserves his readers’ allegiance and action.

In a March 1907 introduction to the first issue of the Nationalist (1907-12), an Anglophone Welsh monthly that was, in part, a descendant of the three magazines in my study, editor Thomas Marchant Williams echoes J. Hugh Edwards’s proclamation of Young Wales’s “main mission.” Like Edwards, Williams signals an ongoing engagement with Young Wales idealism through his editorial voice:

Nationalism is wider than sect and deeper than party. This Magazine directly and specially aims at fostering among the Welsh people of all sects and of all parties a true national spirit. It will encourage the study of the language and literature of the Welsh people, and will promote the development and extension of the educational system of Wales on national lines, and the advancement of every cause and every moment that tend to make the sons and daughters of Wales proud of the Land of their Fathers. (I, n.p., “To the Reader,” emphasis mine)

Like Edwards, Williams explicitly rejects sectarian and partisan differences in service of a larger, overarching nationalism; he locates his magazine’s purpose within this vision of a “true national spirit” that bridges such differences. Later in the same issue, Williams adopts the motto “Wales one, and united”; he uses this position to renounce a proposal for breaking the University of Wales (at that time, a single institution without branch campuses) into three or more smaller universities. Publishing from Cardiff, Williams reveals a bias for South Wales yet still resists

any measures that would break up the University:

The question of dissolving the University of Wales and of creating in its stead three or more Welsh Universities, is again being forced into public discussion We strongly disapprove of the idea, and shall offer every legitimate opposition to its realisation. ‘Wales one, and united’ is our motto A University at Cardiff, we admit, would not be an anachronism, and were it not that the separation of Cardiff from the rest of the Principality would have a *denationalising effect* upon the Welsh people, we should welcome the creation of such an institution. (Nationalist I.7)

Williams’s desire for a unified, anti-sectarian Wales is evident in these two passages, as is the Nationalist’s ongoing participation in the afterlife of the Young Wales movement (through such editorial statements as well as through the literary matter published throughout the magazine’s run).

All told, the idea of Young Wales persisted in Welsh cultural consciousness and in a number of texts and images well after the movement’s supposed “death” in January 1896. As my dissertation demonstrates, these apparent anachronisms are not anomalies. Although the 1896 “disaster” may indeed mark the end of the movement’s most prominent political platform (Home Rule as promoted by Lloyd George and the NWLF), this event should not draw the curtain on our investigation of the movement. Rather, we should identify and interpret the multiple ways in which Young Wales persisted in Welsh consciousness and activity, albeit in forms other than the easily discernible Home Rule agenda. If we accept Morgan’s strict division between the “cultural and literary” and “political” phases of Young Wales, 1896 would indeed seem the last gasp of the second and final phase of the movement. But if we blur this

chronological division to consider the ways that the “cultural and literary” Young Wales persisted in the 1890s and beyond—and even transgressed the supposed gulf between the “literary” and “political”—we can begin to recognize other ways to tell the story of modern Welsh nationalism.

While acknowledging the contribution of existing histories of Young Wales, this study seeks to complicate and enrich the story of Welsh nationalism. If we stop to ask what might be missing or even misleading in the current histories of Young Wales, we can identify a number of significant gaps—perhaps the foremost of these gaps being the sheer scarcity of scholarly activity on this period of changing national consciousness, along with the lack of recognizing the simultaneously “cultural,” “literary,” and “political” texts of Young Wales that were generated at its height (1886-96) but also before and beyond that decade. Acknowledging and then investigating this intersection of the “cultural,” “literary,” and “political” functions of the texts circulated in Wales during the Young Wales era are particularly vital critical tasks, necessary for creating a more complete history of this phase of Welsh nationalism and for drawing attention to the value of reassessing periodicals as texts worthy of study.

Kenneth Burke is astute in detailing the overlapping “cultural,” “literary,” and “political” dynamics of texts as they operate within social contexts; implicitly, his work sets up an agenda for recovering popular literature (such as literary magazines) and connecting these texts with documented political histories. Within an impressive body of twentieth-century theory and criticism, Burke works to destabilize the idea that “literature” is above and/or separate from the rest of discourse (including popular oratory and periodicals) as well as disrupting the ostensible divide between “literature” and that which is socially useful or even revolutionary. In works such as “Auscultation, Creation, and Revision,” “Revolutionary Symbolism in America,” and

“Semantic and Poetic Meaning,” Burke bridges the divide between traditional, “high” literature such as poetry and everyday texts such as pamphlets, noting that “there is no categorical breach” between the two (“Auscultation” 55).²⁴

Why is Burke’s bridging of these categories so significant? In terms of the Young Wales movement, Burke illuminates new ways to investigate and tell its history. Even in his early work, Burke demonstrates that literature should be taken seriously since its production and circulation of symbols can ultimately serve epideictic, community-building functions (enacting a rhetorical role that Burke would later term “identification”).²⁵ Burke notes the highly persuasive power of literature within culture, able to exert a long-lasting influence that more direct modes of argument may be unable to achieve; he particularly foregrounds writers’ abilities to help individuals identify with each other through the use of symbols and narratives. As such, both humble and “high” literature can serve as “incentive literature” for social change, and artists can make causes “radiant” through their art (“Auscultation” 46, 55-6).²⁶ As a whole, Burke’s transgressing of the traditional bounds between the “cultural,” the “literary,” and the “political” sets an important precedent for the way we approach literature, connecting it to the history of social change. Keeping this connection in mind, we should question the lack of attention to the literary and symbolic aspects of the Young Wales movement. Rather than accepting the traditional histories of Young Wales that privilege its more overtly “political” moments, we should work to investigate and interpret what Burke would term the “symbolic action” of the movement—in short, its rhetoric.²⁷ Miscellany magazines serve as important resources for this investigation since they are records of symbolic action as it circulated via print culture; as such, they hold valuable markers of complex cultural changes, such as those that animated the Young Wales movement. Investigating the symbolic action of Young Wales (as archived in the pages

of literary magazines) reveals an intricate network of agents and acts that are often overlooked in lieu of overtly political events (such as the NWLF's and SWLF's dramatic "crisis" of 1896).

Other problematic gaps in the history of the Young Wales movement include: the role of the English language (and the role of Anglophone Welsh periodicals, in particular²⁸), lesser-known but influential "players" (beyond the "founding fathers" mentioned above), gender dynamics, and—of special interest to the rhetorician and literary critic—the role of writers and artists in shaping the narratives and symbols that, on an aesthetic level that was simultaneously political, fostered communal identifications with "Welshness." Though scholars have touched on some of these topics, to date, these particular dynamics have not benefited from sustained research and analysis.²⁹

No single study is capable of remedying these gaps. In this dissertation, however, I reassess the role of English-language miscellanies in the Young Wales movement, paying particular attention to the narratives and symbols that magazine contributors wove into poetry and fiction as part of the rhetorical construction of a "truly Welsh" and "national" consciousness. In so doing, I am contending that the history of the Young Wales era of Welsh nationalism should be enriched by attention to Anglophone literature's community-building, political role in Wales. Indeed, without this close rhetorical attention, the story of Young Wales has not yet reached maturity.

Despite the lingering attractions of Romantic and modernist idealism (and the praise of "art for art's sake"), literature is political as well as aesthetic.³⁰ Literary texts can never be fully divorced from the social dynamics within which they emerge, and indeed, such texts serve as agents as well as products of these dynamics. Scholars of Irish cultural history have established that the story of Irish nationalism is incomplete without consideration of the literary texts that

participated in the formation of Irish nationalist consciousness; for example, William Butler Yeats and Lady Augusta Gregory resurrected Irish folktales, merging them with their nationalist ideologies in the imaginative space of poetry, fiction, and plays. Likewise, critics of Irish literature have demonstrated the rich analyses of these texts that are enabled by situating them within their original sociopolitical contexts, including consideration of the array of Irish nationalist literature disseminated in the pages of periodicals. In contrast, the Young Wales movement and the literary texts that circulated before, during, and after its peak in the 1890s have enjoyed very little critical attention—particularly English-language texts that, though very much in conversation with the cultural concerns taken up in their Welsh-language counterparts, have been marginalized within Welsh history and literary criticism. In this dissertation, I retell the history of Welsh nationalist consciousness from the pages of three literary magazines; in so doing, I demonstrate that Anglophone Welsh periodicals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are vital if surprising characters in the story of Welsh nationalism.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Whereas previous studies of Anglophone Welsh periodicals have been limited to brief overviews, this project takes these magazines seriously as “dense texts”—worthy of in-depth rhetorical analysis, not just general description. In particular, this study considers these texts in terms of epideictic rhetoric (as it operates in the literate, multi-voiced genre of monthly miscellany magazines) as well as in relation to emergent theories of minority rhetoric(s) (particularly in relation to postcolonial discourse) and to existing studies of the role of the press in constructing and popularizing national consciousness.

In terms of epideictic rhetoric, this project extends early disruptions of the “orality bias” within epideictic theory (disruptions begun by Beale, Summers, Halloran, and Clark), instead considering how epideictic rhetoric operates within the literate mode of periodicals and also how literate epideictic may be employed in both forming and transforming culture. Drawing particularly on Halloran’s concept of place-based epideictic, I consider how Welsh miscellany magazines use landscape as a “locus of praise.” Adapting Halloran’s original heuristic, I consider how, conversely, these periodicals may also use landscape as a site for “blame,” particularly when critiquing how industrialization and urbanization were transforming Wales.

My analysis also applies nascent theories of minority rhetoric(s)—including studies of women’s rhetoric, literacy studies, postcolonial studies, and sociolinguistic studies—that all deal with the uses of language from within contexts of disempowerment. Such language use often aims at transformation, even revolution, in consciousness if not also in material conditions; however, minority rhetorics often operate in innovative forms that go unrecognized. Though minority innovations in persuasive language use may actually benefit from near-invisibility in mainstream culture, their unconventionality can also, unfortunately, lead scholars to dismiss their worth or even fail to notice their existence. Minority rhetorics often elude our gaze, but they are no less worthy of study for taking on forms that may fall outside our traditional definitions of “argument” or “persuasion.” In this study, I contend that the imaginative space of fiction and poetry in three miscellany magazines enables the epideictic construction of new forms of Welsh identity; as such, these magazines fostered revolutions in cultural consciousness and fueled an identification with a nationhood separate from England and the supposedly United Kingdom.³¹

In characterizing the Welsh editors and writers in my study as “minority” and even “postcolonial” rhetors, I am recognizing what JanMohamed and Lloyd characterize as the

common experience of “damage” within “minority discourse” (a dynamic that actually helps to create minority communities) as well as their point that minority discourse is a strategy of resistance and survival (4-5). I consider how literary contributions to these periodicals show evidence of a persuasive “retooling [of] the Master’s tools,” a particular feature of minority rhetoric popularized by debates among Audre Lorde, bell hooks, and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. This strategic repurposing of existing majority beliefs and discourses (including the rewriting of stereotypes) is an important dynamic of minority discourse that merits further attention. Initially, the very use of “the Master’s tools” tends to make this mode of minority rhetoric seem complicit in the dominant power structure (or even “ambivalent” about cultural identity and colonization—a charge often leveled at Wales). This apparent complicity often leads such texts to be dismissed or discredited, when in fact, closer attention to such language use reveals the cunning ways that minority rhetors are “boring from within”: rewriting existing stereotypes, beginning from these points of “damage” but subverting and transforming these psychological and linguistic wounds. In the case of Wales, negative stereotypes of the thieving “Taffy” and the artistic, ineffectual “Celt” are both legacies of dominant “Masters” and colonial points of “damage” that initiate rewriting and subversion.

In considering Anglophone Welsh periodicals as sites of minority rhetorics, I also adopt Bohata’s view of Welsh writing in English as a means of countering the threat of cultural erasure (as part of postcolonial resistance). Within the context of the powerful “cultural imperialism” that Bohata foregrounds, these literary periodicals’ “re-imaginings” of Wales become more significant than mere entertainment or wordplay; indeed, this threat suggests that the imaginings within these literary texts are nothing less than cultural survival strategies and, as such, merit close attention.

In addition, this project relies on existing periodical scholarship in understanding the genre conventions and sociopolitical contexts of monthly literary magazines. Richard Altick's work on the rise of the periodicals in the nineteenth century in relation to the English sociopolitical climate is a foundational study of the politics of periodicals. Crossman and Steele's studies of the Irish advanced nationalist press form an important basis for understanding how revivalism functions within periodicals and how periodicals can nurture shifts in national consciousness; these studies motivate me to investigate which elements of the Welsh past are being revived and how these revivals are part of epideictic rhetoric within periodicals. As mentioned earlier, Aled G. Jones has established the connection between Welsh-language periodicals and Welsh identity shifts; I extend Jones's work in order to explain how Anglophone Welsh monthlies have also exerted influence on Welshness. Specifically, I analyze the imaginings of Welshness that these miscellany periodicals enabled and the particular techniques of persuasion at work in these imaginings.

My project's central research question is: **How was Welshness constructed and promoted by Anglophone Welsh miscellany magazines during the Young Wales movement?** (In this sense, how were these magazines operating as a literate mode of epideictic and minority rhetoric?) In pursuing this primary concern of my study, I also consider the role that periodicals play in cultural revivals, paying particular attention to the role of revivalism within colonized spaces—i.e., among minority rhetors. To investigate these rhetorical dynamics

in Welsh cultural history, I use the following secondary research questions as heuristics for analysis:

1. **How is Welshness rewritten in response to derogatory stereotypes of Welshness?** As “Master’s tools,” how are these stereotypes retooled by Welsh writers? How are these writers “boring from within” to rewrite Welshness?

2. **How is Welshness imagined through revival(s) of the past?** Which parts of the past are revived and which parts are erased or forgotten? How might these editorial choices be a literate mode of “praise and blame”? What role does the Welsh landscape play in these revivals—as a “locus of praise” and/or a “locus of blame”?

3. **How is Welshness imagined through “praise and blame” of icons? How are these icons gendered?** How is Welshness imagined in terms of heroes, every(wo)men, or even (anti-hero) villains? (Who/what is “praised”? Who/what are readers invited to identify with as truly “Welsh”?) How is Welshness imagined in terms of villains, invaders, and “others” (the non-Welsh)? Who/what is “blamed” or mocked as “non-Welsh”? Through the “praise and blame” of icons, how is Welshness gendered?

In this chapter, I have situated my project within rhetorical theory, periodical studies, and postcolonial theory, paying particular attention to its significance for epideictic and minority rhetorical theories. I have outlined this project as a rhetorical history of Welsh nationalism that helps to both enrich and complicate existing histories of the *Cymru Fydd* (or “Young Wales”)

movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I have introduced the three self-consciously “national” Anglophone Welsh magazines within the scope of my study as well as the methodology that helps illuminate these texts’ imaginative renderings of Welsh identity. Though the fiction and poetry in these miscellany magazines may initially seem merely entertaining, my rhetorical analyses in the following chapters will reveal how this imaginative literature functions as a postcolonial, minority mode of epideictic rhetoric—constructing a sense of national identity separate from traditional “British” or “English” identities. In this sense, these magazines participate in Wales’s psychological decolonization.

In Chapters 2-4, I analyze one magazine per chapter, primarily interpreting that magazine’s literary features in terms of their epideictic rhetorical dynamics. I arrange my chapters chronologically; in so doing, my analyses chronicle shifts in Welsh national consciousness within the overall scope of 1882-1904. Each of these chapters considers a particular periodical’s *ethos* and epideictic strategies (i.e., how epideictic techniques are operating in this particular magazine and contributing to shifts in Welsh national consciousness and concepts of Welshness). In each of these chapters, I center my analysis on one secondary research question, emphasizing that point of analysis in relation to a single magazine (though, to a degree, I consider all of these secondary questions throughout, and each chapter builds upon the findings of the previous chapter). In terms of emphasis, however, Chapter 2 investigates how Welshness is rewritten in response to derogatory colonial stereotypes within The Red Dragon: The National Magazine of Wales. My analysis of the Red Dragon centers on a series of “Welsh Character Sketches” that were chiefly, though anonymously, authored by the first editor of the magazine, Charles Wilkins. In Chapter 3, I show how Welshness is imagined through revivals of the past within the pages of Owen M. Edwards’s Wales: A National Magazine for the English-

Speaking Parts of Wales; this chapter also emphasizes how the Welsh landscape has served as an important locus of “praise and blame.” Chapter 4 uses John H. Edwards’s Young Wales: A National Periodical for Wales to locate additional icons of “praise and blame” that have constructed Welsh identity; this chapter also considers the gendering of these icons and the consequences of such gendering.

In my final chapter, I synthesize my analyses from Chapters 2-4. Chapter 5 gives the implications of my study for scholars of epideictic rhetoric, minority rhetoric, postcolonial studies, and periodical studies. I also discuss my project’s significance for Welsh studies. Ultimately, I situate my project as a case study of how epideictic rhetorics within periodicals can participate in widespread cultural change.

As a whole, this dissertation investigates how Anglophone Welsh periodicals have employed epideictic rhetorical strategies and ultimately promoted a more expansive national identity, extending Welshness to include English-language readers in Wales and beyond. Among other critical concerns, I consider how these magazines rewrite negative stereotypes of Welshness, revising Welsh identity into more attractive forms capable of empowering a growing sense of cultural nationalism via a literate mode of epideictic rhetoric. In so doing, this study also investigates how the Welsh literary press has functioned as a postcolonial mechanism, countering the threat of cultural erasure by offering alternatives to the colonial stereotyping of Welshness. On a larger scale, the connection between epideictic rhetoric and postcolonial nation-building within Anglophone Welsh literary magazines signals an important convergence between rhetorical theory, postcolonial studies, and periodical studies.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DRAGON WRITES BACK: WELSH EPIDEICTIC IN THE RED DRAGON, 1882-87

INTRODUCTION

In Wales and elsewhere, national identity is plural and fragmented—built and maintained by fostering communal attachments to particular symbols and narratives and, conversely, shifted by transferring adherence to new touchstones of belief. As such a touchstone, any national icon or tale may certainly fall both in and out of fashion, but such shifts in corporate identification are almost always tied to human intentionality, to an individual or group seeking to change societal norms (or perhaps, creating a widespread social shift as an impressive side effect on the road to personal gain). Wartime propaganda images, for example, certainly enact communal persuasion within national contexts, reconfiguring national identity in the service of military goals. Outside wartime contexts, however, markers of national identity still evolve within the play of human action. In a sense, nationalism is always at war, and representation (i.e., “who and what” represents “us”) is always at stake.³²

Acknowledging the plural and contentious nature of national identity allows us to appreciate how, within the context of English imperialism, the Welsh literary press has helped respond to the threat of cultural erasure while also providing a space for diverse imaginings of Welsh national identity. In the rhetorical situation of cultural threat, a literary magazine can serve as a dynamic nexus for nation-building. This epideictic function for periodical literature seems especially pronounced in late-nineteenth-century Wales, when the Anglicizing influences of industrialism and of English-language education had contributed to a significant rise in English fluency within Wales.³³ To this day, Welsh nationalists often cite Welsh-language

fluency as an essential component of national identity, thus advocating a linguistic form of nationalism; however, the growing use of English in nineteenth-century Wales meant that the Welsh reading public increasingly relied on English, not Welsh, as their literate mode.³⁴ Writers and publishers in late Victorian Wales recognized the efficacy of using English to reach those Welsh readers who lacked Welsh-language fluency, and these rhetorical agents could certainly use the English language for distinctly “Welsh” and national purposes.

Ironically, then, in the context of late-nineteenth century Welsh periodical publishing, the English language came to serve the very culture it had once colonized. Indeed, due to the often-essentialist view of the Welsh language in relation to national identity, the rise of English-language use in nineteenth-century Wales contributed to a kind of identity crisis, which in turn contributed to the rise of cultural and literary nationalism (in addition to Cymru Fydd’s push for political separatism, as discussed in the previous chapter). According to John Davies, in late-nineteenth-century Wales, “The Welsh . . . had little confidence in their Welshness” and a “main priority” of Welsh nationalists of this era was “to strengthen that confidence” (455).³⁵ Within this charged social climate, Anglophone Welsh literary periodicals came to serve as imaginative parlors of debate (in the Burkean sense) regarding what, exactly, constituted authentic Welshness. Working as Anglophone counterparts to Welsh-language publications, magazines such as the The Red Dragon: The National Magazine of Wales (1882-87) provided a vital available means of persuasion for Welsh nationalist discourse.³⁶

As alluded to in the previous chapter, the Red Dragon magazine circulated multiple symbols and narratives of Welshness (and did so almost exclusively in the English language); however, the magazine’s content was consistently preceded by the iconography of a red dragon, which not only graced its cover but also infused its internal features (such as “Draconigenae” and

“Our Red Dragons at Westminster,” which I will later detail). The magazine’s persistent “dragon *ethos*” functioned as a savvy epideictic strategy on the part of its editors, tapping into existing audience beliefs about dragons while also reshaping those beliefs to create a more attractive and powerful sense of Welshness. In effect, the figure of the dragon, as a personification of the magazine itself, offered a means for readers to identify with the magazine as well as with the nation for which it strove to speak as “[t]he inspiration, the prompter of the people” (II.96). After providing an overview of the magazine’s readership, editors, contributors, distinguishing features, and dragon-like persona, I demonstrate how the magazine’s literary matter engages in imagining “Welshness” within a rhetorical situation of redressing past “damage” to the Welsh character (such “damage” being an important exigence for nationalist rhetorics). Since each issue of the Red Dragon contained approximately 100 pages, its full run of 65 issues totals approximately 6500 pages of text—obviously, far too much to analyze in depth within a single chapter. While I acknowledge that almost any treatment of this amount of text must be partial, I nonetheless offer a rhetorical analysis of a significant sample of the magazine. Specifically, I analyze pieces that foreground Welsh people and society, especially in association with dragon iconography, as well as features that engage pre-existing, dominant stereotypes of Welshness. My analysis, then, centers on the magazine’s epideictic use of dragon *ethos* as well as editor Charles Wilkins’s re-representation of Welshness within a serialized feature entitled Welsh Character Sketches (published from 1882-84), while also incorporating related literary and editorial matter.

My analysis of the Red Dragon is a case study of the postcolonial, revisionist mode of nation-building in the Welsh press. In this chapter, I demonstrate that the magazine’s dragon ethos, Welsh Character Sketches, and other features engage in a rewriting of Welsh identity in

response to popular English stereotypes of the Welsh: namely, the tale of St. George and the dragon (which casts the English as heroes and dragons as villains), the rhyme of the thieving Welsh “Taffy,” and Matthew Arnold’s infamous portrayal of the Celt as essentially “sentimental” (“feminine” and undisciplined). My analysis foregrounds a specific set of responses to English appraisals of the Welsh that, by extension, demonstrates Wales’s complex relationship with Celtic identity and with English rule. Within a late-nineteenth-century context, damaging portraits of the Welsh (as artistic and spiritual but immoral, ineffectual, and inferior) are, like the English language, simultaneously tools of colonizing “Masters” and a pre-existing available means of persuasion for Welsh rhetors to “retool”—i.e., to manipulate into new forms. In taking advantage of these symbolic and discursive resources, the Red Dragon’s contributors enact a responsive, dialectic mode of national stereotyping.

Such resistant responses, in which colonized writers seek to re-represent their own people, should be recognized as a postcolonial form of epideictic rhetoric. As responses to the narrow and derogatory identity types imposed upon the Welsh by English colonizers and critics, the magazine’s contributors re-imagine the Welsh identity more expansively and positively, often by praising what was once blamed and blaming what was once praised. In effect, the Red Dragon’s contributors flip colonial standards of right and wrong, thereby reverse-casting heroes and villains within an ongoing drama of colonizers and colonized.³⁷ In so doing, the Red Dragon exerted a form of cultural nationalism too often overlooked, providing an imaginative framework for communal identification at the genesis of the Young Wales movement.

Such re-representation of self and community is a central concern of postcolonial writers as well as minority groups in general. Stephen Knight notes that writers working within colonial contexts “often deploy elements of their native culture both to entertain and also, if subtly, to

undermine the colonizing power” (xiii). Here, Knight suggests that existing cultural elements and types may be repurposed to challenge imperial power. Similarly, Joy Ritchie and Kate Ronald have illustrated that a central feature of women’s rhetorics is the need for (and performance of) re-representation; they characterize this rhetorical tactic as “a ‘figurative’ function” by which groups can “tak[e] hold of and contro[l] the tools of representation . . . [,] finding the means to represent themselves rather than to be represented by others” (xxiv-xxv).³⁸ Though Ritchie and Ronald focus on women’s rhetorics, their analysis may be applied to other minority and disempowered groups, for which a refiguring of self and community becomes a necessary means of subverting dominant representations and thereby empowering a new sense of identity on the part of the disempowered. Indeed, C. L. Innes offers a similar analysis within the context of Ireland, suggesting that writers revive and repurpose Celtic female figures for feminist and liberatory aims (“A Voice”).

Drawing on such studies, we would do well to recognize that the battle for self-representation is perhaps *the* battle for achieving postcolonial agency, whether on an individual or communal scale. For a minority rhetor in a colonized territory (speaking or writing from a context of pre-existing “damage” to your communal identity), persuading an audience to accept a new definition of your group’s identity constitutes a particularly difficult rhetorical situation: your *ethos* and thus your credibility are in question even as you are seeking to convince the audience of the validity of your claims. With the power inequities of this rhetorical situation in mind, minority rhetors’ choice to adopt indirect modes of persuasion (e.g., through the imaginative self-representations enabled by literary forms) is, understandably, a clever alternative to more direct modes of argument. When we read the Red Dragon with these dynamics of minority discourse in mind, we can appreciate how the magazine’s literary features

could function as subversive responses to English stereotyping of the Welsh character, empowering the Welsh as national subjects rather than as mere objects of scrutiny.

OVERVIEW: READERSHIP, EDITORS, CONTRIBUTORS, AND RECURRING FEATURES

The Red Dragon: The National Magazine of Wales, a monthly miscellany magazine, was published from 1882 to 1887 by Daniel Owen and Company of Cardiff.³⁹ The magazine's publishing location in southeast Wales and its tendency to focus on south Wales subject matter were conducive to attracting an Anglophone Welsh readership, in part because of the industrialization of the south Wales valleys and port cities (accompanied by a rise in English-language use in this region). For roughly two-thirds of the magazine's run, Charles Wilkins, a frequent contributor to south Wales weeklies, served as the Red Dragon's editor; under his leadership (from its inception in February 1882 until June 1885), the magazine served as a forum for literature and criticism, as well as for biographies, historical matter, and essays on Welsh social concerns. Once James Harris began editing the Red Dragon (starting with the July 1885 issue), the magazine became more antiquarian (featuring a more extensive "Notes and Queries" section), though literature and criticism still appeared in the magazine's pages until it ceased publication after the June 1887 issue.

Judging from the growth of its lively Notes and Queries section (the main evidence of readership), the Red Dragon met with a favorable reception from numerous readers in Wales and beyond; the magazine was both cited by and in conversation with other publications of its day. Nonetheless, the Red Dragon has been largely discounted and overlooked by contemporary critics, as have most Anglophone Welsh periodicals. Brynley F. Roberts gives an unfortunate though typical view of Welsh periodicals; he divides them according to language (Welsh vs. English) and assumes that a periodical's primary language defines its content and purpose (72).

Ultimately, Roberts places Welsh-language periodicals in a position of higher status (in terms of political importance) than their English-language counterparts: he generalizes that Welsh-language periodicals are “radical, political publications” in contrast to the “antiquarian and literary-historical . . . content” of Anglophone Welsh periodicals (72). Roberts devotes only a paragraph of an essay to the Red Dragon and depicts the magazine in a manner fitting his earlier binary. He claims that the magazine was a “brave attempt” to “. . . meet the needs of non-Welsh-speaking people [in Wales] . . .” but that since “. . . much of it was taken up with novelettes, dramatised [sic] and versified episodes from Welsh history and the like . . .,” the magazine was not meeting a “real . . . need” in Welsh society—i.e., not dealing with “political questions relating to Welsh nationhood . . . a disestablished church, education and national institutions” (82). Roberts’s dismissive view of the Red Dragon (and, indeed, largely dismissive view of all Anglophone Welsh periodicals) is problematic in several ways. First, his lack of regard for the Red Dragon is founded on his own faulty assumption that the content and purpose of Welsh periodicals are determined almost exclusively by language and that Anglophone Welsh periodicals are thus, by nature, apolitical. Secondly, Roberts’s basis for claiming that the Red Dragon failed to meet a “real . . . need” and was divorced from political matters is apparently that the magazine had too much literary matter (“novelettes,” etc.). In this sense, Roberts’s virtual lack of interest in the magazine relies on a further assumption that what is literary cannot meet a political “need.” This final assumption neglects the ways in which the literary can indeed be political (a view supported by Kenneth Burke and other textual critics).⁴⁰

Malcolm Ballin offers a more sympathetic view of the Red Dragon and of other Anglophone Welsh periodicals, but his rather cursory survey focuses on the evolution of these periodicals in terms of differences in genre (little magazine vs. miscellany). Ballin’s article-

length treatment of “Welsh Periodicals in English 1880-1965” draws attention to these texts as distinctly “under-researched” (1); however, overall, he appears interested in these magazines’ interior features only to the extent that they demonstrate a larger evolution in periodical genres (as opposed to affording in-depth textual analysis to each magazine, which would, admittedly, be impossible in an article-length study). Ballin does credit the Red Dragon with being one of several “direct and influential predecessors of twentieth-century periodicals” that contributed to an emerging “sense of Anglo-Welsh identity [Anglophone Welsh identity]” (2-3).⁴¹ Ballin also acknowledges that the Red Dragon had an explicitly “national” scope and aim through its “self-declared mission to speak for Wales as a whole” (4). He categorizes the magazine as a “typical” miscellany in its “mix of creative writing, reporting, cultural comment and reviewing” and, in terms of genre, groups the Red Dragon with Blackwood’s Magazine, the Fortnightly Review, and the Cornhill Magazine (late Victorian magazines that have been favored with much more attention by contemporary critics) (4-6). Ballin further characterizes the Red Dragon as decidedly middle-class, liberal, and tolerant in its values, if at times “high-minded” and “puritanical,” claiming that this particular vision of Wales permeates both its fictional and non-fictional features (4-6). Specifically, Ballin argues that the “Wales invoked” by the Red Dragon (in other words, its national “imagining” of Wales) is: “. . . that of established families, providing to the nation the parsons, lawyers, and respectable Nonconformist ministers that feature regularly in the magazine’s accounts of ‘notable’ individuals” (5-6). Here, Ballin’s characterization of the magazine’s *ethos* and national vision (read: epideictic of Welsh community) is problematic in that he relies too much on the chief biographical feature of the magazine, “Notable Men of Wales,” without significant attention to other features; moreover, he references only the first several years of the magazine’s run (1882-83) rather than treating the magazine in its full span.⁴²

In this chapter, I considerably expand Ballin's and others' analyses of the Red Dragon, highlighting the significance of both editors of the magazine (Charles Wilkins and James Harris) and considering features that occur both early and late in the magazine's run in order to illustrate the magazine's epideictic and postcolonial functions.

The surviving, bound volumes of the Red Dragon do not include an introduction with a rationale for the magazine's creation, for its "national" scope, or for its use of the English language; such an explicit rationale may never have existed in print. Likewise, little biographical information is available on either Wilkins or Harris, and we must necessarily make educated guesses about their motives in producing this magazine. Judging largely by the magazine's content, however, both editors seemed eager to create a magazine that could educate English-speaking Wales about Welsh cultural history and foster appreciation for Welsh art and intelligence. Though the magazine was not overtly radical or politicized, the Red Dragon certainly served as a forum for imagining Wales as a nation and thus functioned as an epideictic seedbed for the Cymru Fydd (Young Wales) movement, which would emerge ca. 1886 and become overtly separatist in 1890 (with David Lloyd George, then a young Liberal politician, pushing a Home Rule platform).

Wilkins was undoubtedly invested in a Welsh cultural renaissance, and Harris was perhaps equally so. According to Edward Ivor Williams, Wilkins succeeded his father, William, as postmaster of Merthyr Tydfil (in the heart of south Wales' coal valleys) ca. 1871 and held that position until retiring in 1898. This stable job apparently allowed Wilkins to write prolifically; he produced a number of books during his lifetime and frequently contributed to weekly newspapers, primarily those of Merthyr Tydfil and Cardiff, in addition to editing the Red Dragon. Perhaps due to Wilkins's relative geographic stability throughout his adult life and to

his collaboration with Welsh publishers (primarily Daniel Owen), his writings focus almost exclusively on Wales with a particular emphasis on its literature and history, and they do so in ways that seek to tell different accounts of Wales than those provided by the English press (when they are provided at all). For instance, Wilkins's Tales and Sketches of Wales (1879) is a nearly 400-page catalogue of Welsh cultural history as well as contemporary trends in Welsh life; in many ways, its content and rationale complement the Red Dragon's. Wilkins's preface to his Tales provides a rationale for the book's content as well as its roughly chronological progression; he also gives a disclaimer about its less-than-linear precision:

. . . I have endeavoured to mirror Wales, not only its old history, but social life, manners, customs, superstitions . . . I have endeavored . . . to keep strictly to chronological precedence, and thus early history and old customs precede farm life and mining industries; but should, accidentally, a grim Ironside come in too close proximity with a collier, or, worse still, a belted knight be inharmoniously contrasted with a weather-beaten farmer, believe more or less in the identity of each of the characters.⁴³ They have lived, or they live; the error is mine. (n.p.)

Wilkins's desire to "mirror Wales" in the 1879 collection of Tales certainly persisted in his 1880s work with the Red Dragon, as did his commitment to Wales as both past and present, both "belted knight" and contemporary "collier."⁴⁴

Within the pages of the Red Dragon itself, Wilkins indicates an aim similar to that of "mirror[ing] Wales." In the magazine, Wilkins adds a "Welsh national" emphasis to the more general goal of disseminating Welsh culture; in so doing, he simultaneously works to construct and to persuade an Anglophone Welsh readership. At the end of the December 1883 issue, Wilkins includes a note to readers in which he announces a price reduction (to sixpence per

issue, half of the previous price), then claims that the Red Dragon's circulation is equal to "three-fourths of the English monthlies" and that he expects the price cut to "treble" the magazine's circulation.⁴⁵ Significantly, Wilkins emphasizes the magazine's role in offering "in its every feature something wholly distinct from and unapproachable by any of its English competitors" ("To Our Subscribers," n.p.). Though we may rightly register this last claim as a shrewd sales pitch, we should also attend to Wilkins's self-conscious definition of the Red Dragon as "wholly distinct from" English magazines. Wilkins's distancing of the Red Dragon from the English literary press also functions as a distancing from English identity. In so doing, Wilkins is constructing a magazine as well as a readership that is first and foremost Welsh despite the use of the English language.

We can see further evidence of Wilkins's emphatically Welsh construction of the Red Dragon (and, by extension, its readership) in his replacement of English-themed serial fiction with Welsh-themed serial fiction, a content change he announces in June 1883 under the headline of an "Important Notice": "The Editor has determined to supply the place of the English serial by short stories of Welsh life, scene, or character We predict . . . a most favourable reception from all readers . . ." (III.576). Wilkins's announcement of a decided change from English- to Welsh-themed fiction signals something more "important" than a mere change in content; indeed, this announcement marks an increasing and self-conscious "Welshness" on the part of Wilkins. This shift to more "stories of Welsh life" began in the following issue (July 1883) with a serial entitled "Married by Advertisement: A Story of a Welsh Spa" (signed by "Gwynllwyn").⁴⁶ Wilkins intentional replacement of the magazine's English serials with Welsh ones indicates his desire to promote the Red Dragon as an authentically Welsh publication, despite its use of English; this desire is also evident in the magazine's Welsh Character Sketches

and other Welsh-themed content. In addition, Wilkins's prediction of a "favourable reception from all readers" in response to the magazine's inclusion of more Welsh-themed fiction demonstrates his construction of a consciously Welsh readership even among English-language readers.

Similarly, when introducing his History of the Literature of Wales from 1300 to 1650 (1884), Wilkins expresses an explicit desire to convince English-language audiences, including "doubters," of the value of Welsh literature. He writes: "Every Welshman, again, is thoroughly satisfied of the excellence of the literature of his own country; but the mass of Englishmen have to take the assertion on trust . . . We have now endeavoured to bring together an array of evidence that must satisfy all doubters . . ." (v-vi). Here, Wilkins reveals a central feature of his writing: the desire to educate Anglophone readers on the value of Welsh culture, art, and history. This ideology appears to motivate all of Wilkins's literary and historical projects, and it most certainly motivates Wilkins's use of the Red Dragon as a magazine promoting education as well as nationalism.

James Harris, the editor who succeeded Wilkins, was less prolific and has been even less studied; the primary evidence of his motives lies in the pages of the Red Dragon itself. In allying himself with the magazine, first as a contributor and later as editor, Harris was invested in attracting an Anglophone audience to reading about Wales in the "national" sense that the magazine's title proclaimed.⁴⁷ Neither the last issue of Wilkins's editorship (June 1885) nor the first of Harris's (July 1885) provides an explanation for the change in the magazine's leadership. Harris's expansion of the magazine's "Notes and Queries" section starting in July 1885 does indicate his preference for antiquarian content; on Harris's part, this kind of content selection demonstrates both preservationist and corrective instincts in regard to Welsh history. At the

same time, Harris shows interest in keeping the magazine's literary matter alive, even contributing an occasional poem in addition to his more regular editorial writings. In addressing the magazine's readers, subscribers, and contributors at the start of the June 1887 issue and explaining the decision to cease publication as one of "extreme regret," Harris thanks his literary contributors as well as the press critics who have offered "notices and suggestions"; he indicates that the magazine's "primary object" has been to publicize "the manifold beauties innate in the language, literature, history, music, and folk-lore" of Wales and encourages others to consider taking up the "noble" work that the Red Dragon can no longer do ("To My Readers," n.p.).

To some extent, Harris's vision of the magazine and its readers seems to have paralleled Wilkins's; however, Harris's final editorial statement suggests that, during his editorship, Harris may have become more interested in cultivating "literary excellence" (n.p.) than in printing, in Wilkins's words, "stories of Welsh life, scene, or character." The resurgence of English serials and corresponding decline in Welsh-themed fiction under Harris's leadership supports this possibility, as does Harris's apparent pride in "[g]radually eliminating the amateurs" (n.p.). Additionally, Harris appears to conceive of the magazine's audience rather differently than did Wilkins, speaking of his readers as "the great English world" (n.p.). Harris's phrasing here is ambiguous: does he mean "English" in a national or linguistic sense? If using "English" in a national sense, Harris would seem to be positioning himself as an apologist for Welsh culture, teaching imperial England about "the manifold beauties . . . of its little Welsh neighbour" (n.p.). If using "English" in a linguistic sense, however, Harris would seem to include Anglophone readers in Wales, England, and beyond in his "noble" project of spreading Welsh culture. This second interpretation of an "English world" readership seems more plausible, given that the magazine's Notes and Queries section included correspondence from Anglophone readers in

Wales, England, Ireland, and the United States. Still, judging from the magazine's correspondence pages, the majority of the Red Dragon's readers were living within Wales.

Though evidence of the aims of the Red Dragon's editors is certainly limited, we can reasonably assume that both Wilkins and Harris were committed to establishing a truly "national" Welsh magazine and to including an English-language audience, primarily within Wales, in this endeavor. By employing the English language in service to this national project, Wilkins and Harris invited Anglophone readers to inhabit and even to construct Welsh identity along with their Welsh-speaking neighbors. The *ethos* of the magazine was linguistically innovative for its time as well as being decidedly epideictic; this community-building mode of discourse would also feature strongly in the literary matter of the magazine.

Contributors to the Red Dragon included novelists Charles Gibbon, John Saunders, Lady Constance Howard, Dora Russell, Mabel Collins, Richard Dowling, and Frederic Talbot. Poems and other miscellaneous content came from the pens of Lord Aberdare (Henry Austin Bruce), Mayor R. D. Burnie, J. C. Fowler (a Swansea magistrate), John Howell, Thomas Marchant Williams, Arthur Mee, William Parry, Howell Elvet Lewis, and many others, including a number of ministers (adding a somewhat moral tone to the magazine, as Ballin has suggested).⁴⁸ Female contributors to the Red Dragon included Eliza Vaughan and Gwennllian Morgan as well as anonymous writers who preferred to adopt pseudonyms such as "Gwynllwyn" and "Welshwoman."⁴⁹ Some pseudonyms evoked masculine personas instead: "Tal-a-Hên," "Philorites," "Merlin," "Ieuan Gryg," "Ap Adda," "Cadwallader Griffiths," "Pendragon," "Llyfr Coch," "Llyfr Du," and "Nathan Dyfed." This group's pseudonym choices communicate a self-conscious Welshness among the Red Dragon's contributors, drawing on the Welsh language and on cultural references particular to Wales.

Among the recurring features of the Red Dragon were biographies of “Notable Men of Wales” (and occasionally “Notable Women”), serial fiction, poetry, “Our Red Dragons at Westminster” (political reports), “Literary and Art Notes of the Month” (reviews), “Gossip from Welsh Colleges,” “Notes and Queries” (correspondence), and “Draconigenae” (additional correspondence, editorial notes, jokes, and anecdotes of Welsh life). In the first issue of the Red Dragon, the biographical feature on the “notable” Thomas Stephens is immediately preceded by the looming figure of a dragon, perched above the feature as if above a precious hoard:

[Fig. 2.1]

As both a national icon and the magazine’s persona, a dragon figure communicates the value and importance of the biographical features of the magazine, as does these features’ positioning at the start of each issue of the magazine; the dragon also authenticates both Stephens and the magazine as Welsh since dragon iconography is often used to represent Wales. The poetry published in the Red Dragon alternated in theme and form; contributing poets retell Welsh legends, commemorate holidays and special occasions, translate Welsh-language poetry (especially the medieval verses of Dafydd ap Gwilym), promote romantic love (often neo-medieval in character, resurrecting chivalry as in English Victorian aesthetics) as well as grieve the loss of such love, and laud the beauty of nature, often meditating on Welsh scenes. As we will see in Chapter 3, the praise of the Welsh landscape would also serve as an epideictic strategy in the periodical literature of Owen M. Edwards’s Wales (1894-97), in keeping with a larger tradition of postcolonial reclamation of land—a resistant response to colonizing forces, even in verse form. With a few exceptions, then, the majority of the Red Dragon’s content was emphatically “Welsh.” Though not explicitly advocating political separatism for Wales, the Red Dragon asserted itself as a “national magazine.” As a rhetorical parlor for self-consciously

Welsh thought and art, the Red Dragon contributed to a psychological and literary separation from England.⁵⁰

“NEITHER FISH NOR FOWL”: THE PERILS AND POSSIBILITIES OF DRAGON *ETHOS*

The red dragon has functioned as an epideictic symbol of praise for the Welsh at numerous moments in history. As I will detail, Wilkins’s and Harris’s use of the red dragon instilled the magazine with a persona of authentic Welshness, despite their choice to use the English language throughout the magazine’s pages. In this sense, the Red Dragon’s editors drew on the symbolic power of the dragon in order to authenticate the magazine as truly “national” and “Welsh.” Moreover, this personification of the magazine appealed to readers to identify with the Red Dragon and the nation for which it stood; in this sense, Wilkins and Harris harnessed the epideictic power of the red dragon and directed this power at an Anglophone and bilingual readership.

The editors’ choice to adopt the figure of a red dragon as their magazine’s persona would have been highly persuasive in promoting the magazine as genuinely Welsh; as a national symbol, the red dragon occupied a strong presence in the Welsh imagination long before the appearance of the 1880s magazine bearing its name and image. A white dragon and red dragon appear in the tale of Vortigern, a fifth-century British warlord who allowed the Saxons to enter British lands and who was later plagued by the repeated and mysterious collapse of his hill fort. According to Welsh lore, the young Merlin tells Vortigern that an ongoing underground battle between the two dragons is causing the fort’s instability. In this tale, the white dragon represents the Saxon invaders and the red dragon represents the British or Welsh natives; Merlin promises Vortigern that though the white dragon is currently winning, the red dragon will triumph in the end.⁵¹ Merlin’s promise of the red dragon’s future triumph could certainly fuel Welsh national

pride as well as hope in hard times. The red dragon's praise function in Welsh consciousness is also tied to the dragon's associations with King Arthur, who supposedly carried its image into battle. According to Meic Stephens, the dragon's associations with Roman legions (and hence with battle) may well have encouraged a tradition in Welsh poetry of using dragon metaphors to praise Welsh leaders—for instance, dubbing Gruffudd ap Cynan “the dragon of Gwynedd,” calling Llywelyn ap Iowerth “*bendragon*” (“chief dragon”), and praising Llywelyn ap Gruffydd with the phrase “*Pen dragon, pen draig oedd arnaw*” (“A dragon's head he had”) (620). Stephens also notes the use of dragon heraldry by Owain Glyndŵr (ca. 1359-1416, leader of a revolt against Henry IV) and by the Tudors (likely, as a symbolic way to reinforce their rights to British rule) (620). Clearly, the dragon has been repeatedly linked with Welsh identity; today, the red dragon flies on the Welsh flag and is highly visible throughout Wales.

Beyond the dragon's associations with Welsh national identity, though, its image would have had additional connotations for readers in the 1880s, and these connotations would have been largely negative. Another important association for late-nineteenth-century readers was, for some, the perceived physical reality of dragons (a belief that, to a contemporary audience, may seem equivalent to believing in the Tooth Fairy or the Bogeyman). In the final issue of the Red Dragon (June 1887), Hartnell Spurrier of Cardiff addresses the topic of dragons. Spurrier's essay presents a brief history of dragons, recounting “grave and dignified” accounts of the dragon from natural history as well as glossing its importance as a symbol for both evil and good, including its associations with Wales (565-71). Spurrier notes that “[s]ome type of dragon is found in almost every country,” and he reviews “descriptions of this reptile” from sources such as an eighteenth-century Japanese writer who asserts that dragon-themed art is “drawn from nature” (565-66). Though Spurrier himself seems more apt to focus on the dragon as an icon rather than

a physical being, he indicates that a number of his contemporaries are “credulous people” and believe in the existence of dragons, even paying to see what are reportedly dragon bones (566). Spurrier claims that such “serious accounts” of the dragon, along with its “serpent-like characteristics,” are “no doubt, the cause of his universal adoption as a symbol of evil . . .”; he goes on to link this perception of dragons as evil to the dragon’s recurrence in religious iconography, especially as being slain by an array of saints (Michael, Margaret, Silvester, and Martha) and even being poisoned by Saint John (XII.566-67). Spurrier’s thus highlights those still “credulous” about dragons as real as well as the dragon’s frequent associations with evil, particularly in stories of the triumph of saints.

The story of St. George, in particular, functioned not only as a key narrative of the dragon but as a powerful ideology underlying British imperialism. For the English empire-builders, the dragon’s legendary vanquish at the hands of St. George served as an iconic narrative of heroism, one worthy of imitation. In the tale of St. George as well as in the Revelation of St. John in the Bible, the dragon is often equated with Satan—for Christians, the ultimate villain.⁵² In Victorian England, the tale of St. George and the dragon became fused with a distinctly English sense of chivalry, not to mention religious righteousness. The English seemed to be particularly attracted to the story of St. George and other chivalric tales because these narratives allowed the English colonizers to enter into the role of heroes and cast colonized peoples in the less desirable roles—namely, savage creatures inviting conquest or at least “civilizing.” As Mark Girouard explains:

The chivalry of the Empire was presided over by the figure of St. George slaying his dragon. In the early nineteenth century he was most often shown as a classical figure wearing a Roman helmet, but by the mid-century he normally appeared transformed into a knight in armour [sic]. The fact that he [St. George] was

England's traditional patron saint, that he was also accepted as the patron saint of chivalry and that slaying dragons, and rescuing those in distress by doing so, beautifully symbolised [sic] what imperialists believed the Empire was all about . . . [and] ensured his popularity. When the fourth Earl Grey was Governor-General of Canada in 1904-11, he asked his friends in England to send him banners of St. George and the Dragon to hang "like silent sermons on the walls of colleges," proclaiming the mission of the British Empire.⁵³ (229)

Girouard illustrates how St. George became a "beautiful symbo[l]" of Englishness as well as empire, a key icon of praise in English national consciousness that functioned in contrast to the supposedly villainous and thus culpable (or "blamed") dragon. The story of Earl Grey indicates the persistence of the iconography of St. George and the dragon in early-twentieth-century thought as well as its reach beyond English borders; visual depictions of St. George and the dragon could function as "silent sermons" reinforcing English dominance and virtue, even for Canadian college students. Samantha Riches also notes the use of St. George and the dragon within World War I propaganda images (195); in this context, German soldiers became the "dragons" in need of vanquish by neo-chivalric English soldiers. The hero myth of St. George and the dragon certainly functioned as a form of epideictic rhetoric in Victorian England and beyond, enacting "praise and blame" tactics that contributed to communal identification and helped justify England's imperial aims and actions. Within the context of late Victorian Wales, what is significant about the Red Dragon magazine is its epideictic function among Anglophone and bilingual Welsh readers.

Clearly, competing (though not mutually exclusive) dragon narratives were circulating in Wales and England in the 1880s, and the readership of the Red Dragon would almost certainly

have been familiar with multiple ways of understanding dragons—i.e., as real, mysterious, and potentially dangerous creatures; when red, as a distinctly Welsh symbol of a proud national past; conversely, as a symbol of evil; and, when conceived of in relation to St. George and Englishness, as a conquered monster. The adoption of a dragon persona on the part of the Red Dragon's editors, then, was certainly a loaded rhetorical choice; ultimately, Wilkins and Harris told readers how they should respond to the magazine's *ethos*, inviting them to adopt the dragon (and the magazine bearing its image) as a hero rather than a villain and, in so doing, inviting readers to identify with Welsh national identity as a praiseworthy and respectable choice.

Even at first glance, the Red Dragon clearly signals its investment in dragon iconography to its readers, inviting them to enter its pages with the expectation of distinctly Welsh content, despite the use of the English language. In black print on red paper, the cover of the magazine features a pronounced image of a dragon, detailed with scales, wings, claws, and an ample tail:

[Fig. 2.2]

The magazine's title hovers above the dragon's head and wings, and in the title's design, the word "dragon" is enlarged and thus stressed. In addition, the first letter of the title, "T," is ornamented in a style similar to that of illuminated manuscripts and includes a small dragon's head both above and below the letter. All told, the magazine's cover features three dragons' heads, one large and two small, but the largest is by far the most detailed as well as the most aggressive (with mouth open, teeth bared, and tongue extended). Though this imposing dragon may be capable of aggression, he also seems regal—holding an upright stance, exposing a crisp side profile, and proudly raising a waving banner that carries the magazine's title as well as a popular Welsh motto: "Y DDRAIG GOCH / A DDYRY GYCHWYN" ("The Red Dragon / Will Lead the Way"). This motto, as it appears on the magazine's cover, functions as both the

familiar promise that the red dragon “will lead the way” for Wales and, indeed, that the magazine itself “will lead the way” on behalf of its nation. This imposing dragon figure is undoubtedly the cover’s focal point as well as a visual representation of the magazine’s persona, and this particular version of the red dragon icon balances a sense of physical power with that of official national business.

The recurring “Draconigenae” feature of the magazine provides mainly humorous content such as anecdotes, jokes, and riddles, though it also includes editorial matter and functions as each issue’s conclusion (appearing at the close of each issue). In this sense, the entertaining back matter of “Draconigenae” functions partially in contrast to the magazine’s front cover and its imposing and serious version of the dragon. The combination of these two elements, both drawing on dragon iconography, construct an *ethos* for the magazine that is simultaneously formidable—conveying a sense of official national business—and entertaining—attracting readers to its pages and engaging them in its promotion of Welsh communal identity.

Another recurring feature, titled “Our ‘Red Dragons’ at Westminster,” further demonstrates the magazine’s reliance on dragon iconography. The author himself adopts the pseudonym “A. Pendragon” (a reference to King Arthur that, in effect, constructs a Welsh as well as a mythic persona for the anonymous writer). Pendragon offers political reports from the House of Commons and uses the phrase “red dragons” to represent Welsh politicians. Significantly, Pendragon stresses that, despite their partisan differences, the Red Dragons at Westminster retain a national bond: “Party differences of distinctions of political *caste* may keep them apart in the House, but for social purposes they are wonderfully national in their habits, inclinations, and tendencies” (I.550). In this characterization of Welsh politicians, Pendragon

reinforces the pull of Welsh nationality as well as its connection to the dragon symbolism, both of which the magazine as a whole works to promote.

An item in the “Draconigenae” feature of August 1882 offers a rare self-commentary on the magazine’s persona. Wilkins publishes a description of the Red Dragon from “[o]ur artist,” likely the creator of the magazine’s cover image. In characterizing the magazine, Wilkins begins by quoting the “artist,” then switches to his own voice with an inclusive “[w]e may add . . .”:

Our artist thus describes the *Dragon*:—It is a medley animal—neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, but a mixture of all, and thus may be expected to minister to a variety of tastes. It has the claws of an eagle, and thus soars high,—the scales of a fish, and may be assumed to bask on the sunny surface of the stream or dive down into the depths of metaphysical thought. It has the body of a lion, typical of strength and of that lordly character which stoops not to the petty and the mean. With eyes that have the eagle’s power, and dare to gaze into the sun itself, it has the wings of the bat, telling of the midnight oil, and of earnest quest for the gratification of readers when the world is lulled to sleep. It has the ears of a dog, symbolical of sagacity, of fidelity, and of the humbler virtues. And then its tail—like that of a serpent, typical of wisdom; it is barbed, that it may drive its moral home and sink deep in the estimation of our friends. We may add to this that the motto of the *Dragon* is—“The inspiration, the prompter of the people.” (II.96)

This self-commentary further develops the magazine’s persona and thus, its particular epideictic of Welshness (fused with the figure of the dragon). In calling the Red Dragon a “medley animal—neither fish, flesh, nor fowl,” the unnamed artist alludes to the magazine’s miscellany content and wide appeal “to a variety of tastes.” In expanding on the magazine as a “medley

animal,” the artist characterizes the magazine using an array of virtues; he implies that the Red Dragon is simultaneously ascendant, of deep thought, strong, “lordly,” morally upright (eschewing the “petty and the mean”), visionary, brave, earnest, wise, and loyal. The artist ends his encomium to the Red Dragon by emphasizing the magazine’s wisdom and moral power; Wilkins then chimes in to proffer a motto complementing the artist’s praise: “The inspiration, the prompter of the people.” The extended praise of the magazine in this excerpt from “*Draconigenae*” may well seem a bit overblown, but we should also recognize that such praise of a *dragon* strategically counteracts the traditional “blame” attached to the creature in the story of St. George and in Biblical accounts. In addition, the moral emphasis within this rare instance of the magazine’s self-commentary also counteracts the English tendency to mock the Welsh as decidedly immoral and backward (as when equating the Welsh with the thieving Taffy, as discussed later). Ultimately, this passage from Wilkins and the magazine’s “artist” appeals to Welsh readers to value the magazine but also to value themselves as a people.

Apart from such editorial statements about intent and appeal, reader response to the magazine’s persona is difficult to trace. Still, given the red dragon’s historic connection to Welsh culture and especially to resistance and aggression (on the part of Owain Glyndŵr and others), it seems likely that readers of the Red Dragon would have found the use of dragon iconography appealing. We can find evidence of such appeal in the magazine’s publication of correspondence from readers. Tellingly, one reader’s response clearly connects the magazine’s persona with the story of St. George and the dragon:

I presume I may correctly describe your editorial self as St. George’s antitype,

seeing that you can create each month what he could only destroy once, viz.: ‘Ye Sanguinary Dragon.’ His reptile fed on human kind as saith ye whilom joker, Spenser, whereas your Dragon is food for us a whole month, and may even then be dished up again from time to time. (III.190)

This piece of correspondence is suggestive of readers’ perceptions of the Red Dragon in several ways. The anonymous correspondent calls Charles Wilkins “St. George’s antitype”; in so doing, he represents both the magazine and its editor as dragon-like and, moreover, as the distinctly Welsh “antitype” of St. George (a figure fused with English identity). Yet the correspondent also *distances* the magazine from the “Sanguinary,” villainous dragon of the St. George narrative, praising the Red Dragon’s ability to offer a kind of “food” or sustenance to its Welsh readers.

Such a response indicates that the Red Dragon was indeed meeting a real need among its readers, despite the ways in which the magazine has been overlooked or derided by contemporary critics. By adopting a dragon-like persona and also teaching their readers to perceive that persona as a praiseworthy one, Wilkins and Harris were not only seeking to popularize their magazine but also to galvanize, encourage, and “prompt” an Anglophone and bilingual Welsh public. In this sense, the magazine’s dragon *ethos* functioned as a postcolonial mode of epideictic, garnering and then increasing adherence to a distinctly Welsh identity within a changing linguistic and political climate. A closer look at the magazine’s Welsh Character Sketches reveals a similar resistance to the ways in which Welsh identity had long been colonized. A rhetorical analysis of the Sketches demonstrates how minority writers can use literary texts as an available means for increasing the agency of their communities, re-imagining ethnic (and other) identities in newly appealing forms.

**THE THIEVING TAFFY, ARNOLD'S CELT, AND THE RED DRAGON:
(RE)SKETCHING THE WELSH CHARACTER**

Beginning with its first issue in February 1882, the Red Dragon published a monthly series of short prose pieces under the common heading of “Welsh Character Sketches.” In all, the magazine published 26 sketches from February 1882 to June 1884. Each sketch offers a combined visual-textual portrait of a particular Welsh figure or group. An illustration initiates every sketch, after which an explanation of the character appears, as in the sketch of “The Bard” (March 1882):

[Fig. 2.3]

The text of each sketch usually includes one or more narratives that detail that Welsh character’s personality and significance. Within the Red Dragon, these sketches generally appeared just after the serial fiction and sometimes appeared next to poetry. As a group, the Welsh Character Sketches constitute a spectrum of insider representations of the Welsh national character, implicitly resistant to the long history of English travelogues (such as George Borrow’s Wild Wales) that tended both to exoticize and degrade the Welsh people.

The authorship of the Welsh Character Sketches is unknown, but with the exception of two sketches, they seem to have been generated by a single author.⁵⁴ The majority of the sketches are signed using the pseudonym “Ap Adda”; though obscuring the writer’s particular identity, this pseudonym clearly promotes a Welsh identity through the use of “Ap” (the Welsh equivalent of “son of”). Tellingly, three sketches similar to those in the Red Dragon appeared in Wilkins’s Tales and Sketches of Wales (1879), published just a few years earlier. Multiple similarities exist between the three character sketches in Wilkins’s Tales and Sketches (under the

title “A Triad of Welsh Characters”) and the sketches that would later appear in the Red Dragon, strongly suggesting that all (or nearly all) of these sketches were authored by Wilkins.

At first glance, the Welsh Character Sketches may appear merely entertaining, a creative feature likely to encourage sales of the Red Dragon by providing eye-catching illustrations and humorous anecdotes to complement the longer and more serious features of the magazine. Upon closer inspection, however, these sketches evince a dialogue with existing discourses of Welsh identity, especially in their self-proclaimed detailing of the “Welsh character.” As such, they represent a characteristic of postcolonial writing in that they work to “write back” against existing cultural stereotypes imposed by an outside group.⁵⁵ Indeed, Wilkins’s publication of these serialized character portraits as “sketches” is, in and of itself, suggestive of a postcolonial response to colonial discourse. Knight notes that a common mode of colonial discourse is travel literature; these travel writings, produced by real or would-be colonizers and explorers, often occur in the form of “sketches” that dramatize the colonized space and its people as “mysterious, magical, even sinister” (3). In naming the Red Dragon’s series of Welsh character portraits, Wilkins reverses the usual mode of travel sketches. Rather than operating as colonial representations of the colonized, Wilkins offers “sketches” of Wales that operate “inside-out”—i.e., offering postcolonial re-representations of Welsh culture and identity.⁵⁶ In so doing, Wilkins repurposes a popular colonial literary mode (of voyeuristic “sketches” privileging the gaze of the empowered majority) in service of a Welsh national revival that was dependent, in part, on disrupting the English imperial gaze and its long-held power to represent Welsh identity. Such disruption was certainly an effective means to create “confidence in their own Welshness” among the Welsh people, a priority of the Young Wales movement. Thus, even a literary act of

aggression—in the language of the English, no less—could serve the cause of Welsh nationalism.

Stereotypes of Welshness in the late nineteenth century were far from flattering, which explains why they would have motivated revision on the part of Welsh writers, editors, and publishers. In an early editorial in the Red Dragon titled “Mocking the Welsh,” Wilkins addresses this long history of the degradation of the Welsh people (II.438-40). Wilkins’s rare inclusion of a signed editorial indicates his commitment to expressly combating negative stereotypes of Welsh identity employed by the English.

First and foremost, the English frequently represented the Welsh as immoral. Catherine Brennan writes of these colonial stereotypes within the context of nineteenth-century Wales:

The rapid industrialization of Wales in the mid-nineteenth century, with its social deprivations and demographic upheavals, has been well documented.

Representations of Wales and the Welsh which emerged at this point from English authors, both literary and sociological, depicted a rough and inhospitable country inhabited by a people whose ignorance and lawlessness were matched only by their spiritual destitution and moral dereliction, particularly that of its women. (18)

Here, Brennan notes that English authors tended to deride the Welsh as ignorant and immoral, particularly blaming such backwardness and corruption on Welsh women. Similarly, the infamous “Blue Books” of 1847 (English educational reports on Wales) accused Welsh women of failing to serve as moral guardians of the Welsh nation (Bohata 61-62).

The supposed moral failings of Welsh men and women alike were woven into the discourse of Welshness circulating in the nineteenth century. The supposed immorality of Wales

was frequently disseminated through the icon of the thieving Welsh “Taffy.” This English nickname for a Welshman parallels the Scottish “Jock” and the Irish “Paddy.” Though humorous, these nicknames carry a pejorative sting that can be attributed to the power of imperialism to mock, caricature, and even create cultural difference. Such is certainly the case with Taffy. This figure was popularized through an English rhyme:

*Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a thief,
Taffy came to my house and stole a leg of beef.*

The rhyme functions as a clear indictment of the Welsh, no less potent for its catchy phrasing. Stephens notes that though the rhyme was first published in 1780, we may trace its origin to as early as the twelfth century, and the rhyme remains in use today (699). In effect, the Taffy rhyme mobilizes an English caricature of the Welsh as thieves—immoral, sneaky, and suspicious.

In introducing Wild Wales, a popular travelogue published in 1861, George Borrow recounts a scene from his past in which English clerks repeatedly heckle a Welsh groom. The clerks call the groom “Taffy” and clearly intend this label to be an insult.⁵⁷

. . . At length a whisper ran about the alley that the groom was a Welshman; this whisper much increased the malice of my brother clerks against him, who were now whenever he passed the door . . . in the habit of saying something, as if by accident, against Wales and Welshmen, and . . . were in the habit of shouting out “Taffy,” when he was at some distance from them, and his back was turned, or regaling his ears with the harmonious and well-known distich of “Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a thief: Taffy came to my house and stole a piece of beef.”

(5-6)

Borrow says he eventually befriended this stoic groom and learned some Welsh from him, which in turn made Borrow interested in exploring Wales and led to the writing of Wild Wales (1-6); however, this scene from Borrow's past illustrates how the English used the idea of the immoral "Taffy" to mock the Welsh, even when addressing a Welsh person of apparently good moral and professional character.

As Borrow's story illustrates, Taffy's power as a caricature certainly persisted in the nineteenth century; this derogatory stereotype appears to have influenced perceptions of Welshness to such an extent that Wilkins and other Welsh writers found it necessary to rewrite the story of Taffy altogether. Wilkins responds to the popular Taffy rhyme in his Tales and Sketches of Wales, published just a few years before he launched the Red Dragon. In "Saxon Slaughter and Morfar Rhuddlan," Wilkins revisits the spectre of Taffy and historicizes the rhyme; Wilkins justifies Taffy's supposed thievery by switching the perspective on Taffy's actions from that of the colonizer to the colonized. Wilkins ultimately indicts the Saxon [English] greed that caused the invasion of Welsh territory, implying that the capture of Saxon cattle (Taffy's "leg of beef") was justified by the Saxons' conquest of Welsh lands: "One can imagine the rapturous delight of a people [the Welsh] who had up to this time suffered all the horrors of invasion, now to taste the sweets of spoil themselves" (83). Wilkins even compares the Saxon leader, Offa, to the infamous King Herod, noting Offa's cruel massacre of Welsh children (84). In highlighting "Saxon slaughter," Wilkins reverses the censure of the original Taffy rhyme, portraying Taffy's actions as a just response to "the horrors of invasion."

Like the Taffy caricature, Celticism often functioned as an imperial tool damaging to Welsh identity, though the character of the Welsh Celt is somewhat more ambiguous than Taffy's outright villainy. Within the context of widespread English disdain for Welsh culture and

history, Matthew Arnold offered a new vision of Welsh identity through an Oxford lecture series, On the Study of Celtic Literature; the Cornhill Magazine later published Arnold's series in 1868. Arnold's popular lectures have exerted a lasting influence on Welsh and Irish identity—specifically, in generating a particular vision of Celticism in binary opposition to the English identity of Arnold and his “brother Saxons.” In writing of the Welsh Eisteddfod, an annual gathering that includes poetic contests, Arnold compares the Welsh to the Greeks, claiming that both contain “something spiritual, something humane” that is lacking in the English people (9).⁵⁸ Arnold also attributes the quality of “Celtic genius” to both Wales and Ireland (12); this quality is closely related to spirituality and sensitivity. He represents the Welsh in particular as a “quiet, peaceable people” and echoes Ernest Renan's ascription of the feminine qualities of timidity, shyness, and delicacy to the Welsh (14, 75).⁵⁹ Ultimately, Arnold emphasizes that “the Celtic nature” is decidedly “sentimental.” For Arnold, sentimentality signifies a resistance to “fact,” a “habitual want [lack] of success,” and an “undisciplinable, anarchical, and turbulent” nature (77-82). In part, Arnold was working to address and revise existing notions of Celtic identity; in so doing, he was attempting to educate the public on Celtic history, customs, and literature and to elevate the status of all things Celtic. Though we may credit Arnold with offering a partially complimentary view of the Celt (including Welsh Celts or “Cymris”), his lectures also invoke colonial caricatures of the Welsh and assign traits to Celticism which ultimately reinforce English dominance.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the postcolonial nature of Welsh writing may be understood as a response to the threat of gradual cultural invisibility, an invisibility caused by English imperialism and its “civilizing mission” (9). Arnold's On the Study of Celtic Literature helps us consider how this “civilizing mission” operated in terms of Wales. Arnold's lectures offered a

powerful categorization or “worlding” of the Welsh; he used Welsh literature as evidence of a distinct Celtic identity and its particular racial traits.⁶⁰ In effect, Arnold’s lectures constituted and also promoted a particular imperial gaze on Wales through the lens of “Celticism.” Bohata deftly highlights the double-edged nature of Arnold’s “championing of the Celtic genius” in the 1860s and beyond, stressing that Arnold’s popularizing of this mode of Celticism “echoe[s] other imperial discourses which exoticiz[e] and cove[t] the artistic and material treasures of colonized territories at the same time as the native peoples were constructed as uneducated and uncivilized” (9). Arnold’s romanticizing of “Celtic genius” may seem alluring, and the attractions of Celticism have indeed contributed to a sense of distinct ethnic identity among modern Celts (and, in turn, nationalist fervor in Ireland as well as Wales). Nevertheless, we should carefully consider how Arnold’s portrayal of Celticism enacts a particular stereotype of Welsh identity, effectively limiting Welshness to pseudo-scientific Celtic traits such as sentimentalism and an irrational resistance to “fact.”

Along with the immoral Taffy, Arnold’s concept of the Celt operated as an influential English representation of Welshness in the late nineteenth century. Indeed, Arnold’s characterizations of the Celt were arguably as problematic for Wales as that of the thieving Taffy. At the same time, these caricatures have served as rhetorical resources for Welsh writers to appropriate and re-purpose, a discursive opportunity that Wilkins seized in creating and disseminating the Welsh Character Sketches. In analyzing Wilkins’s sketches within their original rhetorical situation, I focus on the ways in which the sketches respond to the purported immorality of the Welsh and the vision of Celticism popularized by Arnold. The sketches’ serialized portraits of the “Welsh character” may be fruitfully read as a nuanced rewriting of Welsh identity that addresses the stigma of Welsh immorality and the undisciplined and

feminized Celt of Arnold's imagining. As such, I demonstrate that Wilkins's Sketches reveal a powerful yet subtle mode of postcolonial epideictic, a mode that relies on the re-representation of the colonized using the very points of "damage" that have threatened to undermine their cultures.

Rewriting Taffy

Though few of the Sketches directly cite "Taffy," their dialogue with morality and its relationship to Welshness is unmistakable.⁶¹ These sketches demonstrate Wilkins's rewriting of Welsh morality, a re-imagining of Welshness that works to challenge popular English censure of Welsh character and trustworthiness. However, rather than portraying a merely prudish image of Welshness (i.e., a direct "anti-Taffy" response), Wilkins's sketches work both to redeem Welsh morality and to justify acts commonly considered immoral through English eyes.

In "The Bard" (March 1882), Wilkins rewrites Welsh morality through one of the most famous icons of Welsh identity. In this sketch, Wilkins emphasizes the integrity of the bard: "You read it [his innocence] in his clear blue eyes, in his open guileless laugh" (I.147). The sketch also includes a likeable rendition of a character named Taff (I.147). Here, Wilkins demythologizes the spectre of Taffy, transforming him into one of several harmless "brother bards" who meet to talk and smoke their pipes. Like the protagonist bard of the sketch, Taff is portrayed as "guileless" and charming, guilty only of the minor vice of smoking a pipe—a far cry from cattle thievery.

Other sketches also offer Welsh characters of decided integrity. A notable example is Wilkins's sketch of "The Stocking Dealer":

[Fig. 2.4]

Though, as illustrated, the dealer is of humble appearance, Wilkins takes care to stress the wandering merchant's temperance: "No one ever saw him taking more than a pint" (II.42).

Wilkins also emphasizes the dealer's religious faith, portraying this character as "thoroughly enjoying the Welsh sermon" at the local chapel (II.42).

Though a number of Wilkins's sketches offer decidedly moral characters that counter the stigma of the Welsh Taffy, Wilkins also complicates readers' expectations of morality by including sketches of justified crime. In "The Cardiganshire Butterman," Wilkins sketches a character simultaneously dodgy and moral; he cleverly justifies the butterman's occasional smuggling of liquor by dramatizing this act as an adventurous art of eluding the taxman (II.160-62).

[Fig. 2.5]

Noting that the Cardiganshire coast was once "a famous resort for smugglers" who relied on the butterman for assistance in getting "smuggled spirits" inland, Wilkins portrays this "quiet Cardy" as a cunning protagonist, a worthy opponent for the taxman. In dramatizing the act of smuggling in this way, Wilkins invites the reader to sympathize with the butterman and to wish him success in eluding the tax collector; this creation of sympathy for criminal activity is akin to the narrative appeal of Robin Hood. Rather than indicting the butterman for questionable morality, Wilkins stresses the butterman's honesty and quality in his real trade (butter), noting how much he is missed in an age of increased industrialization. Wilkins compares this character's butter to "gold" and notes that he has been known to be generous enough to give away excess butter, "scatter[ing] his gold in profusion." In this sketch, Wilkins invites the reader to sympathize with the butterman's questionable acts and ultimately emphasizes the quality of this character's trade and the generosity of his heart.

Wilkins's sketch of "The Quoit Player" offers a similarly appealing portrait of immorality, in which the protagonist (an able young athlete) takes great joy in dodging the police, inviting readers along for the thrill (II.348-50).⁶²

[Fig. 2.6]

Such portrayals of comic and even justified wrongdoing reverse the usual vector of morality, making the villain into a hero.⁶³ Lady Augusta Gregory's pamphlet on "The Felons of Our Land" (1900) offers a thoughtful commentary on this psychological and discursive phenomenon in Ireland (254-69). In Wilkins's "felons" of Wales, we can register a similar moral reversal. Indeed, this reversal seems a necessary corrective to colonial constructs and "policing" of morality; recasting the Welsh or Irish villain as a hero suggests a particularly postcolonial subversion of values.

A complication to Wilkins's rewriting of Welshness in terms of morality is the role of gender. While Wilkins is willing to attribute certain potentially immoral actions to Welsh men (which may be justified based on perspective), the women he portrays in the Sketches are consistently and thoroughly blameless to the point of lacking much depth or narrative interest. The Madonna-whore binary seems to be at work in Wilkins's thinking; he may be so intent on distancing Welsh women from the Blue Books' reports of their immorality that he is unwilling to afford them any faults whatsoever. Of the 26 sketches published in the Red Dragon, only five portraits are devoted to women: "The Cockle Woman," "Langum Fisherwomen," "Women's Clubs," "The Welsh 'Darlings'," and "The Old Welsh Stocking Knitter." Even these sketches offer little exploration of Welsh women's thoughts, motives, or personalities; in these sketches, women seem to function merely as national icons rather than as well-developed, three-dimensional characters such as the "sketched" men. Deirdre Beddoe has argued that national

images of Wales have been almost entirely male, contributing to Welsh women's cultural invisibility as well as indicating their social disempowerment. The presence of women in Wilkins's Sketches suggest that Welsh women have been more visible (in a "national" sense) than Beddoe indicates; however, the two-dimensionality of Wilkins's portrayals of Welsh women does emphasize the unequal power relations of Welsh men and women in the late nineteenth century. Indeed, these female sketches average only two-thirds the length of the male sketches, and in the prose of the female sketches, Wilkins tends to spend much of his time on tangential topics that fail to detail these women's characters in any depth. Tellingly, he tends to devote as much or more of these supposedly female sketches to describing Welsh men as to the women that these sketches' titles claim to promote.

In the limited descriptions of women that his sketches do provide, Wilkins portrays Welsh women as exceptionally moral and hardworking, even outworking the men, while serving as praiseworthy heroines. In sketching Welsh "cockle women" (or cockle gatherers), for instance, Wilkins emphasizes these women's dutiful engagement in their trade. He claims that train passengers need only look out their windows to see the cockle women of the Welsh coast "busily engaged in the work, in the attitude of a Japanese performing obeisance before a state dignitary" (II.263). Similarly, Wilkins's sketch of the "Langum Fisherwomen" emphasizes their work ethic: "Like the women of primitive times and countries, they work more than the men" (II.426). In Langum, Wilkins asserts, "it is the women who labour the hardest" (II.426). In "The Welsh Darlings," Wilkins offers a mere half-paragraph to describe the young and "darling" type of Welsh woman, a type akin to the Irish Colleen. Within this brief space, Wilkins relates a story of heroism in which two sisters, the tale's Welsh "darlings," save a man from drowning by throwing him the end of a twisted shawl (III.345). In closing this sketch, Wilkins carefully

contrasts the level of women's moral courage with that of Welsh men (III.345). Welsh women, then, are offered as prime examples of national character—despite the decidedly moral attributes that Wilkins also ascribes to Welsh men and despite the obstacles to Welsh women's involvement in national politics in this era.⁶⁴

Ultimately, the women of Wilkins's sketches largely function as static figures of morality in contrast to the more three-dimensional men, who are perhaps more flawed but undeniably more likeable. We may read Wilkins's straight-laced representations of Welsh women as indicative of a burden often cast upon women in nationalist contexts—i.e., that women are repeatedly made to serve as moral examples and foundational members of idealized national visions. In this way, female figures may carry the heaviest burden of postcolonial nation-building, even in the relatively progressive space of literary magazines. Thus, even while rewriting the Welsh national character by detailing Welsh morality, Wilkins seems caught in a common limitation of nationalist discourse: equating women with ideal national identity. Wilkins's engagement with Celticism, however, complicates his gendering of ideal Welshness in that he resists Arnold's assigning of essentially feminine traits to the modern Celtic people.

Rewriting Celticism

As previously noted, gender also figures strongly in Arnold's conception of the Celt, to whom he attributes a feminine sentimentalism as well as an essentially undisciplined nature. Of all the Sketches, Wilkins most directly engages with Celticism in the aforementioned sketch of "The Bard" and through a trio of later sketches that portray figures centered around the traditional Welsh Eisteddfod.⁶⁵ In all of these sketches, Wilkins resists the feminization of the Welsh (through the ideological lens of Celticism), preferring instead to represent Welsh virtues

that destabilize Arnold's binary division of Celt and Saxon as feminine and masculine, respectively.

Despite a pronounced romanticism in Wilkins's portrait of "The Bard" that is reminiscent of Celticism, Wilkins distances his bard from Arnold's Celtic stereotyping. In portraying the bard, Wilkins praises the bard's patience (I.148), an attribute of discipline that Arnold specifically had withheld from the Celtic character. Notably, Wilkins gives his bard an English wife who is practical to the point of discounting her husband's spiritual pursuit of poetry: "Her practical mind placed bright sovereigns far above the most gifted verse . . . She was of English extraction, which perhaps, accounts to some extent, for a mental darkness that could see no good in Bards" (I.147). Insofar as Wilkins separates the English wife's pragmatism from the Welsh bard's romantic spirituality, we may well trace Arnold's influence on Wilkins. However, when we consider the patience and discipline that Wilkins attributes to the bard, a central figure of Welsh identity, we can reassess the bard's supposed lack of discipline as a misinterpretation by an English wife who does not value the care with which the bard composes poetry nor the "patience" of the bard's hammer (in making and mending shoes). Within this narrative, Wilkins suggests that different epistemologies are to blame for the English belief that the Welsh lack discipline; in effect, Wilkins refuses Arnold's attempt to saddle the Welsh with an "undisciplinable" character. In so doing, Wilkins rewrites Arnold's version of the Celt; though working within Arnold's spiritual/material binary, he rejects Arnold's definition of the Celt as "undisciplinable." In Wilkins's "The Bard," we can register a postcolonial, revisionist portrayal of Welsh discipline.

In late 1884, Wilkins published three sketches entitled "The Old Chairman of Eisteddfodau," "The Young Competitor at Eisteddfodau," and "A Child of the Eisteddfod"

(IV.159-61, IV 252-54, IV.363-65). Like “The Bard,” these sketches exhibit a postcolonial dimension, rewriting Arnold’s version of the Celt: specifically, rewriting his definition of the Eisteddfod as essentially “spiritual and humane.” The first of these Eisteddfod sketches features the “Old Chairman,” the overseer of one of the local contests:

[Fig. 2.7]

Rather than perpetuating Arnold’s version of the Eisteddfod, Wilkins revises its romantic spirituality by portraying the chairman as a “working-man,” a former collier who “knew all a working-man’s trials and temptations” (IV.160). Here, Wilkins uses a working-class, corruptible figure to demystify Celticism, making even the Eisteddfod seem common and everyday. Wilkins also afflicts the chairman with health problems arising from both old age and hard work; he has to “stop various times going up hills, and . . . put his hand behind the small of his back and wheeze” (IV.160). The chairman attributes his deteriorating physical condition to his “early days” as a collier (IV.160). In this sketch, Wilkins communicates the human cost of industrialization through an affecting portrayal of an Eisteddfod leader who is decidedly mortal. In so doing, he disrupts the elevated spirituality that Arnold attributes to the Eisteddfod (and, by extension, to the Welsh Celt), focusing instead on the mortal and material challenges of Welsh life.

Wilkins’s second Eisteddfod sketch highlights a “Young Competitor”; here, too, Wilkins counters the romantic spirituality of Arnold’s imagining:

[Fig. 2.8]

In this sketch, Wilkins offers anecdotes of several young contest hopefuls. Rather than venerating these youth as essentially inspired or spiritual, Wilkins emphasizes their material challenges. He notes that one competitor, a tailor, “blend[ed] poetic effort with the stitching of

seams and the making of button holes” (IV.253), while another, a young printer, suffered an early death (IV.253). The last young competitor that he features is a “collier boy” who wants to educate himself in order to escape the mines (IV.253-54) – in essence, to avoid acquiring the wheeze and weakness of the Old Chairman. After detailing the material conditions of these young poets’ lives, Wilkins sounds a practical note that denounces “mere sentiment”: “The ways and needs of the world are such that mere sentiment plays but a little part when unaccompanied by the exercise of practical virtue The world demands more grit, more sinew and muscle” (IV.254). Wilkins’s closing moral refutes the sentimental nature of the Celt popularized by Arnold. Ultimately, Wilkins calls for increased discipline and persistence from Eisteddfod hopefuls, a call that extends to Wilkins’s larger readership as well. In the moral of this sketch, Wilkins adopts the sage and honorable persona of the Dragon, the same *ethos* that garnered the praise of an unnamed artist in its August 1882 issue.

The last of Wilkins’s Eisteddfod sketches, “A Child of the Eisteddfod,” also highlights the material challenges of Welsh life:

[Fig. 2.9]

This character exhibits some of the sentiment and excitability that we might expect from Arnold’s Celt: “For weeks previous to the [E]isteddfod he was wild with enthusiasm, and on the day of the gathering in an ecstasy of delight” (IV.364). Though this competitor enjoys a number of Eisteddfod successes, he ultimately meets defeat; soon, he becomes ill and bedridden, and his wife and children face economic hardship (IV.364-65). Through this character’s fall from grace, we can register a moving critique of sentimental Celticism as well as an echo of Wilkins’s earlier call for “practical virtue” through “more grit, more sinew and muscle” (IV.254). Such pragmatism is a far cry from the spirituality and sentiment of Arnold’s Celt, and the “grit, sinew,

and muscle” that Wilkins calls for sound strikingly like the rhetoric of Gaelic athletics disseminated by Irish nationalist periodicals.

In his sketches of “The Bard” and the Eisteddfod, Wilkins persistently rewrites the hyper-spiritualized Welsh Celt of Arnold’s imagining, instead emphasizing the material conditions of modern poets. In reimagining Celticism and revising Arnold’s version of Welsh identity, Wilkins’s sketches demonstrate how the Welsh literary press has engaged in postcolonial discourse, countering the threat of cultural degradation and erasure by offering alternatives to colonial stereotyping of Welshness. This challenge to cultural imperialism also operates in responses to the immorality of Taffy on the part of Wilkins and other Red Dragon contributors; in particular, Wilkins’s Sketches proffer a heightened sense of Welsh morality as well as clever justifications of supposed wrongdoing, though his portrayals of Welsh women make them out to be almost sickeningly upright.

Ultimately, Wilkins’s Welsh Character Sketches demonstrate how the Anglophone Welsh literary press has functioned as a postcolonial mechanism, countering the threat of cultural erasure by offering alternatives to colonial stereotypes of Welshness. In serializing these sketches in the Red Dragon, Wilkins aims their revisions of Wales at a “Welsh national” Anglophone audience. In so doing, he simultaneously constructs a new Wales and a new audience, inviting English-language readers to participate in the increased “confidence” and rebirth of Welsh national identity. In rewriting colonial stereotypes of Welshness, Wilkins played a nearly unsung role in the cultural and literary nationalism of the late nineteenth century, serving as a revisionist historian and artist capable of constructing and promoting a more attractive Welshness.

* * *

As a whole, the Red Dragon projects a new vision for the Welsh nation that bridges a widening linguistic divide, including Anglophone readers in the epideictic act of imagining a modern Welsh identity. As such, the Red Dragon was rhetorically strategic in appealing to readers who may have lacked Welsh-language fluency with the implicit message that they can and should still be Welsh. Wilkins and Harris constructed an engaging *ethos* for their magazine, encouraging readers to identify with Welshness by keeping company with a dragon-like publication. The Red Dragon helped enable English-language readers to inhabit Welsh identity, even while inviting those readers to participate in the construction of that Welshness. While not didactic political texts, the magazine's literary imaginings served as a psychological resource for the Welsh people, investing them with greater agency and control over their own cultural consciousness. In so doing, the Red Dragon refigured the Welsh as national subjects, rather than accepting a complicit role for the Welsh as passive objects of the English gaze.

Welsh nationalists have often denounced the English language due to its role in imperialism and the threat that the spread of English has posed to the survival of the Welsh language. However, reassessing the Red Dragon and other Anglophone Welsh periodicals complicates the roles that language has played in Welsh nation-building. Indeed, these magazines testify to the rhetorical possibilities for achieving aesthetic and cognitive separatism while still under English rule—retooling the Master's tools insofar as they used the Master's language (i.e., English) to enact a postcolonial form of epideictic rhetoric. In the Red Dragon, Welsh writers and readers alike were given a forum for resisting English caricatures of themselves and re-representing the Welsh national character. By adopting the guise of a dragon

and then shaping the magazine's persona into that of a moral and wise animal, Wilkins and Harris reinforced the authentic Welshness of the magazine while also resisting an historic demonizing of both the dragon and the Welsh. In the Welsh Character Sketches, Wilkins extended this resistance by also rewriting the Taffy and the Celt. Positioning the magazine as the "prompter of the people," the Red Dragon's editors offered self-consciously national content and fostered identification with Welshness among Anglophone and bilingual readers alike.

CHAPTER THREE

CIRCULATING A GOLDEN PAST, A GREEN PRESENT, AND A SHARED FUTURE: OWEN M. EDWARDS AND THE (RE-)EDUCATING OF WALES (1894-97)

INTRODUCTION

Beginning in May 1894, Owen Morgan Edwards published a monthly literary miscellany called Wales: A National Magazine for the English-Speaking Parts of Wales, which continued its run through December 1897. Edwards, a prolific scholar and influential educator, served as the magazine's sole editor and, arguably, the father of Welsh cultural nationalism. Responding to the 19th-century decline in Welsh-language fluency, Wales wooed a growing Anglophone Welsh readership, especially targeting Edwards's ideal audience—the common but cultured *gwerin* (“folk”). Like Cymru, one of Edwards's Welsh-language monthlies, Wales worked to bridge political, religious, and linguistic differences within Wales by popularizing tales and images from a shared national past. Though Wales was not as explicitly involved in Welsh nationalism as Young Wales would be, it helped spread national consciousness while self-consciously avoiding the sectarian divisions that were characteristic of the Welsh-language press. With Wales, Edwards worked to construct and educate a more expansively defined Welsh readership, one that included English-language readers in Wales.

As Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca discuss in The New Rhetoric, education and epideictic rhetoric share a number of traits, and this commonality is evident in how Edwards used Wales as both an educational and rhetorical tool. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca associate epideictic speeches with education, claiming: “In epideictic [sic] oratory, the speaker turns educator” (51). Though they discuss epideictic rhetoric as an oral form, the links they trace between epideictic rhetoric and education are relevant to the function of Wales within the Welsh

nationalist movement. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca note that epideictic rhetoric is “practised by those who . . . defend the traditional and accepted values, those which are the object of education . . .” and go on to say that “[e]pideictic [sic] discourse, as well as education, is less directed toward changing beliefs than to strengthening the adherence to what is already accepted” (51, 54). Thus explicated, the connection between epideictic rhetoric and education is based in tradition and value systems. As an experienced educator as well as public figure, Edwards seems to have understood the rhetorical power of historical traditions and their imbedded values; he wielded this power skillfully in the pages of Wales and elsewhere. Among his many public roles, Edwards was committed to educational reforms in Wales, and he used the magazine to publicize and promote these reforms. Increasing amounts of local administration over Welsh schools in the late 19th century constituted part of a gradual separation from centralized British control, not just over education but over Welsh affairs as a whole. In 1889, the passage of the Welsh Intermediate Schools Act marked the start of a system of secondary schools administered by newly formed county councils. In Wales: Rebirth of a Nation, historian Kenneth O. Morgan notes that, starting in 1891, free elementary education meant that “more and more Welsh young people were at least literate and numerate enough to participate . . . in their country’s national expansion” (105). In 1896, in the midst of Wales’s circulation, a Central Welsh Board was established and given the authority to administer school examinations. Morgan cites the growth of Welsh elementary and secondary education in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as making a “powerful difference” in Welsh life, with “national, even perhaps nationalist, implications” (105-06).⁶⁶ According to Prys Morgan, these educational reforms were “small but important step[s] in . . . devolution of power” (210). Within the ongoing story of devolution, Wales contributed to popularizing Welsh educational reforms and was itself an alternative form of

education in that Edwards used the magazine to teach Welsh history through the eyes of its own people rather than its colonizers, as is evident in the mass of historical content published within the magazine.

As a whole, Edwards used Wales as a teaching tool for educating readers about Welsh history and culture. In this sense, the magazine's rhetorical function mirrors Edwards's own persona: both were educators, and both called attention to Welsh traditions and values in ways that promoted national self-awareness and respect.⁶⁷ As one agent of a larger reform movement that affected both education and politics, Wales aimed at re-representation of the Welsh people in a way similar to that of the Red Dragon. In a feature called "Wales to English Eyes," Edwards takes issue with what he terms "stock libels about Wales" (I.51-52). He notes that, over the centuries, the Welsh have both risen and fallen in English opinion and that eighteenth-century English travelers are largely to blame for many of the prejudices against the Welsh.⁶⁸ As Charles Wilkins had done in the Red Dragon, Edwards takes issue with the figure of the Taffy, or Welsh thief; Edwards then confronts the derogatory concept of a "Welsh jury," which represents the Welsh as liars:

Pilfering is almost unknown in Wales, still there is a vague belief among Englishmen that Taffy is a thief. Truth is undoubtedly as highly honoured in Wales as in any country, still I have met Englishmen who insist on believing a statement made by some heated politician that all Welshmen are liars. A "Welsh jury," to the minds of some, means a body of men bent on defeating the ends of justice; and it is readily taken for granted, in ignorance of all English history, that an English juryman has always been the incarnation of immaculate impartiality. These misconceptions are all due to eighteenth century writers, and I have gone to

the trouble of finding the origin of all the stock libels about Wales. I shall publish them, month after month, in order that it may be seen from what hole of a pit they are dug. (I.52)

Here, Edwards pronounces his commitment to combating the damaging representations of the Welsh people that have persisted across centuries. He also indicates his intention of using history as his weapon of choice. Indeed, in promising to publish “the origin” of each libel on a monthly, successive basis, Edward implies that both history and serialized publication are tools for re-representation of the Welsh people. Indeed, a number of contributors to Welsh periodicals such as Red Dragon, Wales, and later Young Wales called attention to derogatory stereotypes of Welsh identity and worked to redeem the Welsh national character, though in multiple forms. In a sense, then, each of the magazines in this study contributed to the cultural re-education of Welsh readers as well as other Anglophone readers in England and beyond.

In Wales, however, educational themes are especially pronounced; thus, re-educating Wales becomes an explicit publishing endeavor as well as a classroom activity. Though Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca assign education a largely conservative role in any given society, they note that education can be an effective means of resisting propaganda: “. . . [T]o the extent that education increases resistance to adverse propaganda, the two activities may be regarded as forces working in opposite directions [A]ll argumentation can be considered as a substitute for physical force which would aim at obtaining the same kind of results by compulsion” (54). If we apply these insights to cultures affected by colonization, we might note that the seemingly conservative education in Welsh matters offered by Wales constitutes a form of “resistance” to the “adverse propaganda” of colonial discourses that sought to degrade the Welsh people and to justify English control. In addition, Edwards’s use of Wales as a cultural educator should be

recognized as “a substitute for physical force”: a kind of civil disobedience in which the pen substitutes for the sword.

In terms of educational content and coverage within Wales, Edwards afforded special attention to county schools, the University Colleges of Wales (later the University of Wales system), and educational progress throughout Wales.⁶⁹ Edwards published an array of features on education in Wales, including some features that were interactive.⁷⁰ For example, Edwards published a feature called “The County School Competition” that invited young readers to translate select passages in English, French, and Welsh into Welsh, Welsh or English, and English, respectively; Edwards offered a prize of five shillings for completing these translations successfully (IV.14). In titling the feature “The County School Competition,” Edwards was targeting students of the relatively new county school system, a system which he and others saw as part of both the educational and national progress of Wales, while also giving that system presence and publicity within the context of the magazine. In addition, in the first issue of the magazine, Edwards advocates the establishment of the University of Wales as a federal institution (I.41); this aim would be achieved in 1896 (Kenneth O. Morgan 110). Throughout the run of Wales, Edwards repeatedly equates educational progress with national progress; in this sense, praise of Welsh school reforms functions as praise of the Welsh people as well as evidence of their nationhood.

Using the magazine both as a means of publicizing educational reforms and a means of readerly re-education, Edwards constructed a persona for Wales that was primarily two-dimensional. First, the persona of the magazine was revivalist. Within the content of the magazine, Edwards worked to bridge political, religious, class, and linguistic differences within Wales by popularizing tales and images from Welsh history, thus fostering a sense of a shared

national past among readers. In this way, the magazine functioned as an extracurricular means of teaching Welsh history, a history that had been neglected in classroom instruction.⁷¹ In producing Wales, Edwards helped remedy the neglect of Welsh studies. In this and other periodicals, Edwards offered readers instruction in Welsh culture and history and, in so doing, invited them to identify with a national identity built upon such shared markers of community. In addition, the persona of Wales was highly visual and idealized rural Wales through extensive illustrations that repeatedly glorified the Welsh landscape as well as through textual features that reinforced such praise. These two related aspects of the magazine's persona (revivalist and laudatory of the rural) were central to the identification tactics—or epideictic strategies—that Edwards used to cultivate a more unified Welsh national community. In short, these strategies suited Edwards's educational and patriotic aims and would infuse the pages of Wales.

OVERVIEW: FEATURES, CONTRIBUTORS, EDITOR, AND READERSHIP

Beginning in May of 1894, Wales: A National Magazine for the English-Speaking Parts of Wales was published in Wrexham, an inland town in northeast Wales.⁷² Each issue of Wales was typically 48 pages in length and included an entertaining range of content.⁷³ The magazine included editorial pages and correspondence; educational news and other news items; features on history, traditions, and culture; and poetry, fiction, criticism, and other literary content. Among the recurring, named features were “The Editor's Pages,” “Queries and Replies,” “Welshmen Abroad,” “Stories of Welsh Life,” “Wales to Other Eyes,” “Wales to Our Eyes,” “The Home Reading Circle,” “Welsh Education,” “Our Traditions,” “Science and Art in Wales,” “The Industries of Wales,” “The Literature of Wales,” “The History of Wales,” “New Books,” “The Women of Wales,” and “The Struggle for Intermediate Education.” Although these features

include some attention to science and industry, the bulk of the magazine's content focused on history, education, literature, and geography. These features were authored by a sizeable group of contributors, including Henry Austin Bruce (Lord Aberdare, often serving as a Welsh-to-English translator), John Ceiriog Hughes ("Ceiriog"), Ivor James, John Viriamu Jones, Arthur Mee, Lewis Morris ("Llewelyn Ddu o Fon"), Daniel Owen, William Islwyn Thomas, and William Watkin Edward Wynne. Among others, contributors "Allen Raine" (Anne Adalisa Evans Puddicombe), Ernest Rhys, and "Y Ddau Wynne" (Mallt and Gwenffreda Williams) would also contribute to Young Wales, and contributor Thomas Marchant Williams would go on to edit The Nationalist.

The magazine also featured an impressive amount of illustrative matter, including black-and-white engravings, sketches, photographs, maps, and advertisements. Featured illustrations included both full-page, stand-alone illustrations and combinations of text and image in which visual elements and textual matter were juxtaposed on a single page, often in innovative layouts in which the illustrations caused interruptions in text along curves and angles. Contributing artists and photographers included David John (Dyer) Davies, Walter W. Goddard, E. R. Gyde, S. Maurice Jones (who designed the cover illustration), W. Symmonds, John Thomas, and M. Thomas. Jones's cover design was multifaceted and featured important figures from Welsh history, castles symbolic of Welsh political history, and scenes representing the beauty of rural Wales.

[Fig. 3.1]

In "The Editor's Pages" of the magazine's first issue, Edwards praises and explicates Jones's

cover design, a design which had almost certainly been guided by Edwards himself:

In preparing the design for the cover of WALES, Mr. S. Maurice Jones has tried to make the outside of the magazine characteristic of what the editor means its contents to be. It will be seen at a glance that the most important place is given to the history of Welsh education. The three University Colleges stand at the top of the page; and one side of the cover is given to Owen Glendower, Charles of Bala, and Sir Hugh Owen. The picture of Owen Glendower is taken from his seal,—he represents the desire for a University of Wales, and a distinct Welsh Literature. The statue of Charles, the work of Mynorydd, stands at Bala; Charles represents the Sunday school and religious education in Wales. Sir Hugh Owen,—his statue is at Carnarvon,—represents secular education. In selecting these representatives I was guided, to a certain extent, by the portraits available. I wish I could have placed Bishop Morgan and Griffith Jones of Llanddowror with the other three; but I could find nothing typical of them to place in the artist's hands . . . Pistyll Rhaiadr, in Powys; represents the physical characteristics of Wales; the history of Welsh political institutions is represented by Carnarvon and Caerphilly castles,—the one in Gwynedd and the other in Glamorgan. (I.41)

In explaining the intent of the cover design in relation to the magazine's content, Edwards emphasizes education, geography, and history as three significant themes for Wales. As I will illustrate throughout this chapter, these themes were interrelated and, as a group, functioned as part of Edwards's vision for re-representing the Welsh nation in response to the "stock libels" leveled against it.

Edwards is the best-known editor in this study, which is to say that there are two English-language biographies of his life as well as several entries in reference works such as the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and The Dictionary of Welsh Biography Down to 1940.⁷⁴ Biographer Hazel Davies calls Edwards “the father of the older, cultural side of modern Welsh nationalism,” claiming Edwards as “the most powerful single influence on his generation in revitalizing the living culture of Wales” (2, 4). She highlights his part in founding the Dafydd ap Gwilym Society at Oxford in May of 1886, noting the “vital role” that this society played in Wales’s “cultural reawakening” (21-2). By the mid-1890s, Edwards was already an established figure in the Welsh periodical industry, though prior to publishing Wales, his publications were limited to Welsh-language magazines. Appealing to an Anglophone audience, then, was a strategic shift from Edwards’s previous work with Welsh periodicals. Building on his work with Cymru (a Welsh-language monthly which Edwards launched in 1891), Edwards was committed to educating all of Wales with its history and literature: “My aim is . . . to help English-speaking Welshmen as I have tried to help their Welsh-speaking brothers” (I.2).⁷⁵ For Edwards, Welsh cultural unification was a central goal. In this sense, Wales also marked a shift from Edwards’s previous work, insofar as he had briefly co-edited Cymru Fydd, a bilingual periodical that was overt in its engagements with Liberal party politics and the Home Rule movement.⁷⁶

Edwards provides ample commentary on his linguistic and non-partisan goals for Wales within the pages of the magazine itself. Such commentary is pronounced in the first issue, published in May of 1894, as well as in a general introduction to Volume I (written ca. Dec. 1894). In introducing the first issue, Edwards himself cites the language data collected in the 1891 census in order to explain the need for a periodical “to help English-speaking Welshmen” better understand the history and culture of Wales (I.2). Noting that more than three-fourths of

Wales's population can speak English, while almost half cannot speak Welsh, Edwards intones, "I want to tell you the history of your forefathers . . ." (I.2). Edwards repeatedly communicates a desire to educate an English-language audience about the past of Wales, an education that he envisioned as assisting national unification. Indeed, Edwards critiques pre-existing English-language publications for their lack of attention to Welsh life and for their lack of accuracy when some attention was actually paid ("Stray Leaves," III.3-4). Given this gap in coverage, Edwards positioned Wales as a corrective influence in the Anglophone periodical market.

Later, in "The Editor's Pages" of the first issue, Edwards explicitly notes his goal to avoid political division within the magazine:

WALES will contain articles on religion and politics but regarded entirely from their historical and non-contentious side. The accounts given of the Wales of the past and of the present and of the future will, as far as the possibility lies with the editor, be unbiased by the prejudices of religious sect or political party. The majority of the contributors will, probably, have unbounded faith in the Welsh people; but many, especially John Jones-Jones, Esq., J.P., of Jones Hall, will have perfect freedom to express their many doubts and their semi-serious criticisms.

(I.41)

Edwards's early editorial statements lead readers to expect that the magazine will be "unbiased by the prejudices of religious sect or political party," a phrase that is also directive in terms of the kinds of content that contributors should consider acceptable for submission. We might easily be misled by Edwards's rather unexpected mention of John Jones-Jones as a contributor who "will have perfect freedom" to express criticism and—undoubtedly—bias, were it not for Joan M. Thomas's claim that John Jones-Jones is Edwards's own pseudonym ("Preface," n.p.). In

addition, by reassuring readers that any articles on religion or politics will be “entirely . . . historical and non-contentious,” Edwards implies that a focus on the past is a key means of escape from present divisions; this strategy would be important in terms of the magazine’s epideictic function, insofar as the magazine’s emphasis on the Welsh past could foster readers’ identification with nationalism.

Edwards’s target readers for Wales were the Anglophone working and middle classes.⁷⁷ In his editorials, Edwards characterizes the magazine’s readers as “the farmers, the artisans and the labourers of the English-speaking parts of Wales” and “the peasants of the English-speaking parts of Wales” (II.iii; “Preface” IV, n.p.). This kind of audience was still emergent rather than established during the magazine’s run. Indeed, Edwards himself was helping to construct this kind of reading public: Anglophone yet intent on educating themselves about the traditions and literature of Welsh culture. The “Editors’ Notes” and “Queries and Replies” sections of Wales evince the pre-existent yet nascent nature of this readership. In the second year of the magazine’s run, Edwards uses the “Editors’ Notes” to publicize indications that “the English[-]speaking part of Wales,—from Dafydd ab Edmwnt’s home in the extreme north to Islwyn’s home in the extreme south,—welcomes the Welsh literary revival” (II.380). Indicators include the recent “resuscitat[ion]” of the “Powys provincial eisteddfod,” Powys being a largely Anglophone county of east Wales in the late 19th century (II.380). In addition, the “Queries and Replies” section of the magazine records questions and comments contributed from Anglophone and bilingual readers across Wales, writing from towns including Welshpool and Newtown (both in Powys), Newport (in Monmouthshire, southeast Wales), and Fishguard (in Pembrokeshire, southwest Wales).⁷⁸

Within the scope of Edwards's impressive record of authorship and editing, critics have largely discounted the success of Wales, citing the magazine's relatively short run as evidence that it was not able to reach a "real" readership in late-nineteenth-century Wales. For example, Brynley Roberts remarks that Wales "failed after only four volumes" and implies that this supposed failure was due to Edwards's lack of understanding of Anglophone Welsh readers, whom he tried to merge with his national ideal of the Welsh *gwerin* (i.e., virtuous "common folk") (83). Hazel Davies contends that Wales ultimately "fell on deaf ears," with circulation falling from 3700 in June 1894 to 1100 by the end of 1897 (O. M. Edwards 48-49). However, such dismissals of the magazine's significance neglect the extent to which, particularly in the context of postcolonial nation-building, the imagining of communities and even readerships plays a crucial role in the very formation of these groups, as discussed in Chapter 1.

Even given the magazine's modest circulation figures, critics and historians have not sufficiently accounted for the combination of factors underlying the magazine's end with its December 1897 issue. 1897 marked a year of significant stress for Edwards, in which he would mourn the death of his five-year-old son, Owen ab Owen, while maintaining his teaching fellowship at Lincoln College, Oxford, and editing four periodicals in addition to Wales, namely: Cymru [Wales] (1891-1927), Cymru'r Plant [The Children's Wales] (1892-1907), Y Llenor [The Littérateur] (1895-98), and Heddyw [Today] (1897).⁷⁹ Though Edwards was known for an impressive work ethic, he seems to have reached his breaking point in 1897.⁸⁰ A closing editorial in Wales expresses Edwards's considerable fatigue, largely a result of overwork and multitasking: "Month after month, year after year, I expected to have more leisure; but the leisure did not come. And now the duties of my profession [teaching] demand all the short, but happy, hours I could once give to WALES" ("Preface," IV, n.p.). In short, though critics have

cited limited audience appeal as the primary reason for Edwards's decision to discontinue the magazine at the end of 1897, the combination of heavy personal and professional demands in Edwards's life may well have been equally as important.

Other likely factors in Wales's falling circulation include increasing competition in its niche in the periodical marketplace and its price per issue (sixpence from 1894-1896, then threepence in 1897). In particular, the January 1895 emergence of Young Wales, another Anglophone Welsh monthly magazine, may have stolen a portion of Wales's readership. As discussed in the next chapter, Young Wales offered the kind of entertaining literary content that also appeared in Wales, though not with the same degree of illustration. In addition, Young Wales included more explicit political commentary and engagement with the nationalist movement than did Wales; thus, Young Wales's selection of content would have been more appealing to readers seeking an ongoing connection with the Young Wales movement following the failure of the Cymru Fydd League in January of 1896. Young Wales was also more moderately priced (threepence per issue from its inception), whereas Wales cost double that price until the last year of its circulation.⁸¹ Though not a massive difference in cost, Wales's higher price for the majority of its run may have been a prohibitive for the working-class readers Edwards was trying to court. Rather than assuming that a "real" readership did not exist for Wales, then, we would do well to reflect on the challenge that other publications and economic considerations posed to Edwards's target audience.

One additional factor that may have contributed to Wales's diminished circulation is that Edwards made an explicit change in the magazine's subject matter in 1897, a decision he announced in the introduction to Volume III (1896), written at the close of the penultimate year of the magazine's run (III.iii-iv). In this introduction, Edwards announced his intention of

adopting a more modern and domestic focus for the magazine in 1897. Opting to shift the magazine's gaze away from nostalgia and toward more contemporary concerns may have well been a misstep despite Edwards's good intentions. This shift in content seems to have been an attempt to increase the magazine's circulation figures. In the January 1897 issue, Edwards made a plea for help in making this "little magazine" known (IV.20). By the end of 1897, however, circulation had fallen to approximately 1100, and Edwards announced that the magazine would not be published the following year. Though critics such as Roberts and Davies tend to attribute the magazine's discontinuation to Edwards's supposed difficulties in reaching a "real" readership, we should also pay attention to the magazine's content changes in 1897. Was the more modern emphasis a mistake that damaged Wales's circulation beyond repair? Records cannot help us answer this question with certainty. However, Edwards's Heddyw [Today], a Welsh-language periodical with a comparably contemporary focus in 1897, also met with a lukewarm reception that year and did not last into 1898. Hazel Davies note that Heddyw offered in-depth information on contemporary social issues such as drunkenness while also warning against "wastefulness of clothes, food and time" (qtd. in Davies, "Boundaries" 205). In Heddyw, Edwards explicitly asked Welsh readers: "Aren't we living too much in the past?" (qtd. in Davies, "Boundaries" 205). Heddyw's lackluster reception suggests that Edwards' readers did not mind living in the past and, indeed, may have preferred the emphasis on history and nostalgia offered in other of Edwards's projects, including Cymru. The apparent popularity of historical subject matter in Edwards's periodicals deserves further attention, for the allure of Welsh history in the late 19th century is linked to the formation of national consciousness in that era.

REVIVING WALES: CIRCULATING A “USABLE PAST”

One only need glance at an issue of Wales to notice a decided emphasis on the Welsh past; the magazine transmitted history to its readers in a number of entertaining features, many of them beautifully illustrated. Through these enticing offerings, readers were invited to make the Welsh past part of their current consciousness. Given that serial fiction was often the selling point of miscellany magazines such as Wales (in contrast with antiquarian periodicals that were almost entirely historical), how might we account for the considerable space that Edwards gave to historical features? Certainly, Edwards’s commitment to popular education influenced his content choices, but the magazine was also circulating during a time period in which Welsh history was becoming respectable and appealing.

By the late 19th century, Welsh history had emerged as a serious academic pursuit. This trend had important consequences for the careers of Edwards and others who would become leaders in what critics have termed “cultural nationalism.” During this period, studying Welsh history was still relatively novel, though its study would become increasingly popular thanks to the influence of scholars such as Edwards as well as other leaders in Welsh publishing and educational reform. What is distinctive about most histories of Wales written ca. 1880-1945, however, is that they are fairly selective, focusing primarily on the history of Wales prior to its conquest and colonization. According to Kenneth O. Morgan:

. . . the main emphasis [of these written histories] was always on pre-conquest Wales, when the nation retained its political independence, rather than on the years of union with and colonization by England, when Wales subsided into being a fringe society, perhaps a region, certainly not a distinct nation. The study of post-conquest Wales, especially for the industrial era, was really the achievement

of . . . historians in the years after 1945. (102-03)

Here, Morgan characterizes early scholars of Welsh history as captivated by pre-conquest Wales. In relative terms, these scholars were praising early and medieval Wales in terms of attention and coverage, dwelling on a seemingly golden age of political independence. We may trace an important connection between these late-19th century historians' selectivity and the era of national renaissance in which they lived. Morgan assigns a patriotic function to the histories of Wales written by early scholars such as John Edward Lloyd, noting that Lloyd's impressive two-volume history of Wales before the Edwardian conquest was "sober, unpolemical, and scholarly in approach" yet still hinted at Lloyd's sympathies with Welsh nationalism: "The impression left on the reader [of Lloyd's history] is that the Edwardian conquest was a massive tragedy, an imperialist invasion of a small, vigorous, self-conscious nation" (102). Lloyd was perhaps the pre-eminent scholar of Welsh history of his age, and his affiliations with *Cymru Fydd* nationalism and Liberal politics influenced not only his representation of Welsh history but also the next generation of historians, including William Rees. For Welsh people without access to university education or inclination to read scholarly histories, however, Lloyd's work had little direct influence. Both Lloyd and Edwards had been educated at Aberystwyth and Oxford, and both would become lecturers in history. The crucial difference, however, was that while Lloyd's audience remained chiefly fellow scholars, Edwards targeted the common "folk" (or *gwerin*) of Wales and was able to reach this audience through a number of periodical ventures as well as through his influence on elementary and secondary education.⁸² Via magazines such as Wales, Edwards served as a truly "popular educator" who could bring his considerable education in Welsh history to the working classes. Wales was a calculated risk for Edwards in that he was

targeting an Anglophone readership, but his commitment to reaching the *gwerin* remained consistent, if ambitious.

Initially, the magazine's historical content seems an episodic and more enticing version of a schoolbook, with a similar intention to educate readers in an unbiased manner. Indeed, Edwards's professed intention for Wales to avoid sectarianism would lead us to expect that its features would be anything but argumentative or polemical, and to an extent, they are carefully neutral in tone and content. Edwards and other contributors avoid professions of allegiance to political parties, religious denominations, and the like. Upon further consideration of the magazine's historical and revivalist content, however, we should recognize that the representations of Welsh history offered in Wales are decidedly and, perhaps unavoidably, rhetorical. In Wales, as in the scholarly histories of its era, Wales's pre-conquest past enjoys the most considerable coverage, and in effect, Edwards's editorial hand presents early and medieval Wales as the proper source material for study, reflection, and even entertainment.⁸³ As noted earlier, such selectivity privileged a vision of Wales as a "distinct nation" rather than the mere "fringe society" or "region" that Wales had become after colonization by the English (Kenneth O. Morgan 102-03). This selected range of historical content, thanks to Edwards, is a powerful example of what Van Wyck Brooks terms a "usable past." Brooks characterizes the past as "an inexhaustible storehouse of apt attitudes and adaptable ideals," a resource that can be tapped strategically for persuasive effect; he goes on to link this "usable past" to the construction of national identity (223-224).⁸⁴ Drawing on Brooks's characterization of the past and its connection to present concepts of nationhood, we can recognize how Edwards used the Welsh past rhetorically.

In effect, Edwards offered accessible and selected excerpts of history to Anglophone readers for their own “use” in identifying with Welsh nationalism. Through Wales and other publications, Edwards’s rhetorical influence is that of circulating and popularizing a version of Welsh history that foregrounds nationality rather than marginality. In editing and contributing to Wales in particular, his achievement is that of extending that sense of nationality to the Anglophone population of Wales that was itself experiencing marginalization within the nationalist movement (a second-class citizenship which still affects this population today). As editor, Edwards served as an epideictic rhetor for his readers insofar as he praised Welsh history, especially pre-conquest history; he thereby fostered a sense of familiarity with a national version of past Wales and, by extension, of present and future Wales.

As Edwards’s educator by proxy, the magazine helped spread national consciousness and foster a sense of common identity by circulating historical and revivalist features that emphasized the glory of the Welsh past. An example of this rhetorical use of history (or “usable past”) is a series on “The History of Wales.” Installments of the series include “The English Speaking Population in Wales” (I.11-16), “Who the Welsh Are” (I.193-95), “The Roman in Wales” (I.241-44), “Owen, by the Grace of God Prince of Wales” (I.289-92), “The Burial Place of Owen Glendower” (II.111-14), “English Laws Relating to Wales” (II.47-48, II.232-33, II.379), “Welsh Ordinances of Edward II (II.385-89, II.441-43), “The Welsh People and their National Emblems” (II.529-32, III.12), “One of Our Forgotten Princes” (IV.97-101), and “Bards and Friars” (IV.241-44). Often, as with “Who the Welsh Are” and “Owen, by the Grace of God Prince of Wales,” Edwards placed installments of “The History of Wales” feature at the front of an issue, giving them added emphasis. This privileged positioning is similar to the front-page status that Charles Wilkins afforded to “The Notable Men of Wales” series in the Red Dragon.

In both cases, the editors implicitly prioritized historical and biographical matter within the scope of a given issue, which was rather unusual given that the lure of the next installment of a serialized novel often sold a miscellany and would thus be positioned on its front page.

Additional historical and revivalist features in Wales included “Welsh Folklore,” “Our Legends,” “The Literature of Wales,” and “Local History”; the magazine also featured numerous offerings of “Original Poetry” (primarily Anglophone and newly authored, though often neomedieval in subject matter) and “Translations from the Welsh,” in which Anglophone readers were granted linguistic access to contemporary and historic Welsh-language verse and hymns.

A closer look at several installments of “The History of Wales” series illustrates the magazine’s use of history to create a sense of shared, national identity that included Anglophone readers. The first installment of the series, “The English Speaking Population in Wales,” appeared in the magazine’s first issue and, in effect, reinforced the position of Anglophone inhabitants of Wales within Welsh history. In publishing this installment, authored by T. Darlington, Edwards offered the target audience of Wales a means of identifying with nationalism by assigning them a role in Wales’s dramatic past. Darlington begins by citing the need “to go back to very ancient times” and leads readers on a journey through Saxon and Norman Wales up to their present day (I.11-16). In interpreting linguistic data from the 1891 census, Darlington predicts that the Welsh people are “rapidly approaching a state of things in which the English-speaking and the Welsh-speaking portions of the population of Wales will balance each other” (I.16). In response to fears that the rise of Anglophone Welsh would cause a corresponding change in “questions of great public importance,” Darlington writes of his confidence that “[o]n all matters of public interest, ecclesiastical and political, the voice of Welsh and of English Wales are one” (I.16). Though this is certainly an overstatement on Darlington’s

part, this confident claim nonetheless appeals to Anglophone readers to adopt a unified vision of Welsh identity, a vision supported by Darlington's narration of the centuries-old presence of the Anglophone Welsh.

Similarly, in a later installment of the same series titled "Owen, by the Grace of God Prince of Wales," the magazine encourages readers' identification with the Welsh past and, thereby, with Welsh identity. In this installment, readers are invited to identify with a national hero. The subject of this feature is Owen Glendower (or Owain Glyndŵr), the famous leader of a revolt against English rule in the early 15th century.⁸⁵ Glyndŵr would become a favorite figure for revival in Welsh nationalist literature and discourse; for many nationalists, including those of the *Cymru Fydd* era, Glyndŵr could be used to represent the possibility of a unified Welsh nation in that Glyndŵr had been able to secure the support of both the privileged and common people of his time.⁸⁶ The installment of "The History of Wales" that revives Glyndŵr's history, unsigned but likely authored by Edwards, portrays Glyndŵr in a typically heroic light. Rather than telling of Glyndŵr's military prowess alone, however, Edwards praises him as "a giant among [the] dwarfs . . . of his time" in more ways than one (I.290). Edwards's glorification of Glyndŵr contrasts sharply with his scathing representation of the English aristocrats of the time, whom he portrays as "usher[ing] in a period that is still the disgrace of English history":

. . . [T]hey burnt men alive . . . they flayed men alive, they took advantage to the utmost of the trials and punishments for treason which now seem so terrible to us, they perjured themselves over and over again, and jeered at the church that was so ready to absolve them. Among these brutal and lascivious and blasphemous barons Owen Glendower stands as a gentleman and a scholar . . . a munificent patron of a generation of great Welsh poets . . . (I.291)

In this feature, Edwards offers Glyndŵr not just as a military hero but as a humane and generous influence on Welsh learning and literature. Edwards commends Glyndŵr's "churchmanship, his love of learning, his championship of the oppressed, [and] his sense of justice of honor" (I.290). This litany of virtues not only lauds a figure who helped unify late medieval Wales (if briefly)—it also suggests the kinds of qualities to which the readers of Wales might aspire. In this sense, Edwards's revival of Glyndŵr is as much about the magazine's late 19th century readers as it is about Glyndŵr himself; in short, the past becomes "usable." By emphasizing the excellence of Glyndŵr's mind as well as actions, Edwards employs the Welsh past rhetorically and somewhat selectively, inviting a community of readers to aspire to learning, justice, and honor in lieu of armed revolt. Toward the end of the installment on Glyndŵr, Edwards calls for increasing national unity while also promoting knowledge of Welsh history:

If Scotland can honour Wallace without raising any of the old war spirit, surely we can honour Owen Glendower. If Protestant and Catholic can unite in bitterly-divided Bohemia to honour Hus, is it not time for us to honour the aims of one of the greatest men that ever gave his life to his country? Let us do it as a nation,—he [Glyndŵr] belonged to no party and no sect. Let our children, and let the strangers within our gates, know where our mighty ones are sleeping. (I.292)

Here, Edwards makes use of Glyndŵr's potential as a unifying figure, emphasizing that he "belonged to no party or sect" and implying that his readers need not let such affiliations divide them in terms of their sense of national identity. Edwards use of the past is decidedly persuasive and forward-looking, calling for Welsh children and immigrants alike to become educated about "where our mighty ones [Welsh heroes] are sleeping."

Rhetorical uses for the past also abound in the poetry published in Wales. Published poetry included original works contemporary to the magazine's publication (primarily English-language in origin) and translations of Welsh-language verse from the past and present. Many of these poems were neomedieval or otherwise revivalist, and a number of them resurrected the past in ways that we can identify as rhetorically strategic within the context of Edwards's national and educational aims. For instance, a poem by William Llewelyn Williams entitled "For Country or for King,—A Ballad" transports readers back to the age of Glyndŵr (I.293-94). By portraying the experiences of two medieval kinsmen caught up in the revolt, Williams invites readers to role-play within the Welsh past by taking sides in Glyndŵr's conflict with the English. Fittingly, the poem directly followed Edwards's historical feature on "Owen, by the Grace of God Prince of Wales" in the November 1894 issue (I.289-92); the first feature would have provided ample context for a reader of the poem who otherwise lacked familiarity with Glyndŵr and his revolt. In the poem, Williams makes use of a medieval Welsh scene in which nationhood was achieved, if only briefly: the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr, ca. 1400-1414.⁸⁷ Having selected this scene, Williams centers the story of the ballad around "[t]wo kinsmen of the nearest blood": one (Owen Vaughan) fighting for Welsh independence alongside Glyndŵr, and the other (David Gam) a loyalist siding with the English monarchy. The ballad also has two cantos: the first portraying events during the revolt, and the second occurring after the Welsh defeat and centering on the Battle of Agincourt (25 October 1415), in which the armies of Henry V of England and Charles VI of France battled each other during the Hundred Years' War. In Canto I, Owen Vaughan persuades Glyndŵr to spare David Gam's life after Gam is exposed as a traitor (293). In Canto II, Owen Vaughan tries to kill Henry V during the Battle of Agincourt in order

to avenge the Welsh cause of “Cymru Wen”, but David Gam intervenes and saves the king:

. . . The king’s foot slipped, and at his head

Vaughan aimed a deadly blow,—

The English throne right speedily

Would vacant be, I trow.

But David Gam was standing nigh

To guard his sov’ reign lord,

He threw himself between the king.

He recked not, as he dying lay,

What death to him might bring;

“My duty aye I’ve done,” he cried,

“I die for my true king.” (I.294)

In this moment in Canto II, Gam appears to be the ballad’s hero; however, his heroism is trumped by Vaughan’s final moments, moments which parallel Gam’s yet exceed them in poetic praise. Vaughan is struck through the heart by “an arrow of a clothyard long” from the bow of an English archer. Williams’s description of “the gallant Owen Vaughan” on his deathbed praises Vaughan’s loyalty to Wales:

With his last breath brave Vaughan cried out—

His words through Wales yet ring—

“’Tis nobler than a knight should die

For country than for king.” (I.294)

Ultimately, Williams depicts Vaughan as the nobler and braver of the two kinsmen: the one who saved loyalist David Gam only to have Gam thwart his attempt to fell the English king in service to Wales. Earlier, in Canto I, Williams writes of David Gam: “O Christ, forbend that Wales again / Should breed such treachery” (I.293). In both cantos, through contrasting depictions of Vaughan and Gam, Williams invites more sympathy with a Welsh nationalism (such as Vaughan’s) than to the loyalists who opposed it (such as Gam). Through publishing this ballad, then, Edwards invited readers of Wales to sympathize with a heritage of attempts at Welsh independence; moreover, the ballad seems to imply that though Glyndŵr’s nationalist movement failed, the Young Wales movement need not follow suit. Though the ballad concludes by calling for a future of “plenty, joy, and peace” rather than armed conflict (I.294), the poet’s emphasis on Vaughan’s heroism encourages readers to continue to champion the cause of Wales—and, if peacefully, to emulate heroic Welsh figures of the medieval past. Similarly, a poem titled “Haverfordwest Castle,” published in the final year of the magazine’s run, reinforces the call for national peace and progress rather than violent revolt (IV.35).

Additional English-language poems published in Wales fostered identification with the Welsh medieval past. Two such poems were authored by Ernest Rhys, a well-known figure in the Celtic Twilight movement of the 1890s (Stephens 636-37).⁸⁸ In “The House of Hendra,” Rhys depicts a Celtic afterlife which offers readers an imaginative connection with ancient bards and warriors (I.3-4). Similarly, in “Howel the Tall,” Rhys revives more Welsh heroes and suggests that the cause of Wales is still very much alive (I.84-85). Indeed, Rhys implies that poets have the ability to summon forth heroes; with this implication, he crafts an epideictic role for poets. Indeed, such poetic depictions of heroes of the Welsh past abound throughout the magazine and up through its final year, including “The Court of Ivor” (IV.52), “Arthur’s Sleep”

(IV.84), “The Lost Gwen” (IV.124), and “Llewelyn ap Madawc” (IV.161). In praising a variety of historic characters within the context of Wales, these poems introduce Anglophone readers to models of Welsh identity with which they can identify as well as be entertained.

An additional strategy for engaging readers in the Welsh past as well as Welsh identity is that of *hiraeth*. This term, roughly translated as “nostalgia,” is well-established within Welsh literature and criticism but has not become a part of more widespread scholarly vocabulary, nor has it been connected with rhetoric, despite its frequent use to invoke sympathy and connection among readers of Welsh literature. A poem called “The Cup of Nant Eos,” published in the third year of Wales’s run, centers on a legendary cup with healing, medicinal power (III.3). The poet praises traditional folk cures and legends, ultimately invoking a sense of *hiraeth* for what has been lost in “these wicked days” of modern medicine (III.3). In poetic form, Wales’s readers are presented with a legend that champions the Welsh past and blames then-modern science for some of the “wicked[ness]” or ills of the present. Similarly, a recurring feature called “Welsh Folklore” gave Welsh legends a decided presence within the magazine, a presence that invoked nostalgia for the past as well as a common set of reference points for current unity. In the installment for January 1897, the author (likely Edwards) invites contributions of oral history from “peasant lips,” thus encouraging readers to interact in the telling and retelling of folklore. Additional installments include “Pembrokeshire Fairies” (IV.15-17) and a “Welsh Ghost Episode” (IV.130-32). All told, a variety of contributions to Wales convey a strong sense of nostalgia, and this appeal to the past evokes emotion as well as respect for the Welsh people (and fairies) of yesteryear.

A number of features merge the magazine’s emphasis on Welsh history with the Welsh landscape; in so doing, Wales’s contributors invite praise of the land as well as praise of the past,

going so far as to depict the land itself as a keeper or source of national history. For instance, in a poem called “The Land of Cymry,” Evelyn Lewes writes of the Welsh hills in terms both magical and ancient (III.266):

[Fig. 3.2]

The poem suggests that the hills have cast a spell on the Welsh people and that the hills could tell of “legends” and “heroes” if only they had voices—thus, personifying the land as a kind of sorcerer as well as bard. Lewes goes on to praise heroes of the Welsh past: “Cambria’s princes,” “brave men” once housed in now-ruined castles. Moreover, she suggests that the Welsh land and the ruined castles adorning them are historical witnesses and agents—agents that are like the Welsh people in that they are, simultaneously, past and present. In the last two stanzas of the poem, Lewes fuses the Welsh past and present, linking heroes of old to the “Cymry [Welsh people] of these latter days”; in so doing, Lewes draws on the potent imagery of the Welsh past and, in effect, invites readers to identify with both past and present Welsh identity.

This fusion of history and landscape reappears in “The Golden Gorse, or the Passing of Llywelyn,” a poem that similarly includes elements of revivalism in relation to national identity (III.478). In thematizing the cause of Welsh “liberty” through the tale of Llywelyn, the last prince of Wales, the poet distances “Gwalia’s race” (the Welsh) from “Edward’s treacherous horde” (the English villains who kill Llywelyn). In this sense, the poem offers a racial and national binary, praising the Welsh while blaming the English. Significantly, gorse is used as the imagistic link (or symbol) for Llywelyn’s death. The poet goes so far as to mention gorse in a prefatory note and then invoke it in five out of the six stanzas of the poem. Gorse as trope, then, is representative of Llywelyn’s betrayal and *de facto* martyrdom for the Welsh nation. In the poem, even the birds mourn Llywelyn’s death. The poet’s use of natural elements (such as the

gorse and the birds) in reviving the tale of Llywelyn's death is yet another instance of the fusion of history and landscape in Wales's features. Such features invite readers to conceive of the Welsh landscape as a keeper, source, and sign of the past as well as a source of the nationality built upon shared identification with Welsh history, as fostered in Edwards's history-laden magazine.

In the magazine's poetry and elsewhere, repeated linkages of nature and history imply that travel within Wales's natural landscape is a way to travel back in time and to experience the sources of a national past. Such connections among history, geography, and personal experience in Wales seem to have been a natural progression from the kinds of history in vogue within Welsh and English schoolrooms of the late nineteenth century. According to John M.

MacKenzie:

Every teaching manual from the 1890s pointed to the close affinities between history and geography. The geography taught in late nineteenth-century schools was primarily human and historical. It was a more popular school subject than history because it was regarded as more likely to stimulate children's interest, and was in any case an invaluable basis for historical understanding School geography texts, in fact, became virtually indistinguishable from history texts

(174)

Though the history taught in 1890s British classrooms was still primarily English and imperial, the ways in which geography, history, and personal experience mingle within the pages of Wales suggest that the magazine's content was influenced by the interdisciplinary nature of what was being taught under the subject of "geography" in British schools. Rather than perceiving the study of land and space to be separate from the study of history, Edwards and fellow contributors

seem to have relished mixing what we now perceive as more discrete categories of study and genres of writing. Given Edwards's numerous associations with educational systems of his day, we may reasonably assume that would have been predisposed to present geography as "human and historical," as MacKenzie characterizes its form in 1890s curricula.

What is striking about Edwards's attention to geography in Wales is that he not only uses geography to teach history but also national character. Moreover, with a few exceptions, the geographical features and illustrations within the magazine focus almost exclusively on rural and idyllic scenes to the neglect of areas marked by industrial "progress." As demonstrated in the following section of the chapter, such instances of "usable geography" (in addition to "usable past") further demonstrate how imaginative elements of Wales perform epideictic, community-building functions for Anglophone readers of the magazine.

EDITING OUT INDUSTRY, RE-GREENING WALES: PRAISE OF LAND AS NATIONAL RECLAMATION

The nineteenth century was a time of rapid change for the Welsh economy as well as the Welsh landscape. In surveying Welsh history from 1750 to 1898, Prys Morgan characterizes this period as one in which Wales transitioned "from pastoralism to industrialism" (184-89). In the eighteenth century, Wales remained predominantly agrarian (Morgan 184). As of the late eighteenth century and later, however, industrialization in Wales caused significant societal, economic, and environmental changes. Lead, iron, tin, copper, iron, slate, and coal industries each played a role in these changes, though coal was especially important: ". . . [B]y the 1880s Wales was exporting about 25% of the world's coal, at a time when the economies of the advanced world ran on coal, so that south Wales was a kind of Victorian Saudi Arabia of the pre-petroleum age" (Morgan 188). By the late nineteenth century, Wales bore a number of industrial

scars, from coal pits in south Wales to giant piles of slag from slate mining in the north. The processing of copper also produced slag as well as air pollution in once-idyllic areas of Wales: “[T]he process used in copper smelting meant the despoilation of the environment, with miles of slag heaps under belching black clouds of poisonous fumes” (Morgan 188). So, even though industrialization had left its mark on much of Wales by the late nineteenth century, industrial references and scenes were rare in the pages of Wales. How might we account for this disparity between reality and representation?

For Edwards, using a largely picturesque set of iconography within Wales constituted a calming and even escapist strategy for unifying readers while avoiding the kinds of social fissures that tended to be fueled by textual features that discussed politics, religion, and the “language question.”⁸⁹ As experienced by the readership of Wales, the magazine’s very succession, or serialization, of rural images constituted an experience of geographic as well as temporal travel—allowing readers to journey to a green, pre-industrial (and, in theory, pre-partisan) version of Wales. In effect, the virtual, visual journey of reading these images could construct a sense of national character among the magazine’s readers. In Rhetorical Landscapes in America, Gregory Clark notes that viewers experience a succession of images as a narrative; he goes on to argue that such images do “epideictic work” in that they influence “private individuals . . . to enact a public identity” (21).⁹⁰ The selection of images in Wales, with emphasis on landscapes and historical sites, was itself rhetorical and furthered Edwards’s mission to engage readers in Welsh history and identity. Such images were reinforced by textual features that employed natural imagery in praiseworthy, idealized ways. In Wales, readers could be tourists of their own golden past and, in so doing, could come to share a sense of present and future identity. This particular strategy was an interesting choice for Edwards’s Anglophone

Welsh audience, given that much of this population was centered in industrial areas such as southeast Wales.⁹¹ Offering such readers a means of escapist as well as educational travel, then, seems a calculated choice. By the time he offered readers of Wales the opportunity to “travel” to beautiful and historic sites within its pages, Edwards was already an experienced traveler as well as travel writer, and these experiences seem to have strengthened his ability to engage the magazine’s readers with content that enabled virtual travel.⁹²

Another factor in Wales’s publication of pastoral illustration as well as textual imagery was that Edwards himself had been influenced by Romantic literature and thought. According to Gareth Elwyn Jones, “[Edwards] had a Wordsworthian affinity with the natural environment and adapted Ruskin’s belief in the moral dimension of craft labour to a Welsh context” (n.p.). Within Wales, Edwards’s penchant for Wordsworth and Ruskin seems to have translated into a decided emphasis on the natural world, editing out most of the signs of industry that marred Welsh hills and valleys by the 1890s. Such romanticized representation of the Welsh landscape served epideictic functions; within the magazine, Edwards offered readers a version of Wales with which they could be proud to identify. Thus idealized and washed of its industrial stains, the Welsh landscape could function as a “locus of praise” for national revival.⁹³

Edwards himself took pains to draw attention to the illustrated matter in Wales. In all but the last of the four bound volumes of the magazine, the table of contents includes a list of visual contributors (under the headings “artists” and “photographers”) as well as a list of contributing writers. In Volume III, the table of contents includes separate subheads for “Frontispieces” and “Other Illustrations,” the latter category being further subdivided into “Portraits,” “Landscapes,” “Subjects and Groups,” “Castles,” and “Sculpture.” These listings of illustrators and illustrations call attention to visual material in the magazine as well as implicitly calling for readers to “read”

visual content as praiseworthy. In addition, in the introduction to the first volume (written ca. Dec. 1894), Edwards proclaims his aspirations for the magazine's illustrations: "As far as illustrations and printing are concerned, the editor and publishers are determined to make WALES a credit to Welsh printing" (I.iv). His introduction to the second volume similarly promotes the magazine's illustrations (II.iv). Later, in the introduction to the third volume (written ca. Dec. 1896), Edwards notes that the quantity of illustrations would rise even higher in 1897, the magazine's next year of publication (which, unfortunately, would be its last) (III.iii). In the first issue of 1897, Edwards invited contributions of "picturesque scraps," especially photographs (IV.2). In this way, he encouraged readerly participation in illustrating the magazine. As a group, these editorials indicate that Edwards was increasingly committed to including visual content in Wales and that he worked to attract readers' attention to the featured images while also inviting them to influence the range of images from which he would select and publish.

In terms of selectivity, the magazine's illustrations idealized the Welsh landscape and, conversely, largely hid evidence of industrialization: slag heaps, coal pits, and the like. In effect, this selectivity communicated praise of pre-industrial, untouched scenes and valorized the natural world over man-made and mechanized influences on that world. In terms of format, the magazine's illustrations included features that combined text and image as well as in full-page, stand-alone illustrations. Both text-and-image and stand-alone illustrations in Wales contributed to Edwards's re-education of readers through re-representation of the Welsh landscape. Whereas this landscape had repeatedly been represented as a savage and hostile by English travelers (representations that justified colonization, control, and "progress"), Edwards's selection of illustrations within Wales resists the "damage" of both industrialization and colonial attitudes (as

expressed in travelogues such as George Borrow's Wild Wales [1862]). Indeed, in an editorial feature titled "Stray Leaves," Edwards re-speaks the supposed "wildness" of Wales in a way that redirects its power and harnesses it to stress the immediacy and presence of national revival.⁹⁴

A powerfully "wild" yet respectable landscape, then, is the achievement and message of Wales's illustrations. The magazine's cover design promotes this combination of wilderness and order through the juxtaposition of a north Wales waterfall (Pistyll Rhaiadr) with heroic figures and impressive buildings (see Fig. 3.1). In flanking the list of an issue's "Contents" on the right-hand side of the cover, the illustration of Pistyll Rhaiadr leads readers to expect more such scenes of beauty and power inside the issue's pages—an expectation which Edwards consistently fulfills through his editorial choices. At the front of the magazine's second issue, just preceding the start of Daniel Owen's serialized novel, Enoch Hughes (which offers an encomium to "Fair Wales, land of song" [I.49]), Edwards places a full-page engraving of a strikingly beautiful coastal scene (I, n.p.):⁹⁵

[Fig. 3.3]

In the foreground of "On The Pembrokeshire Coast," viewers are greeted by two boys near the water, one seated and one standing. The seated boy has just scooped up a net full of fish, and the standing boy is admiring his companion's catch. Beyond and above the little cove of the fishing boys, viewers see a sprinkling of figures on the beach and on a towering hill above the shore. Though the background includes a structure of some sort, it is half in ruin and serves primarily as a means of establishing perspective and scale for the pleasant characters and natural features which dominate the scene. Thus, though signs of man-made structures appear, peaceful human action and natural splendor dominate the engraving's composition and effect. The illustration is signed "Whymper"; though no such artist appears in the volume's table of contents, the engraver

is almost certainly Edward Whymper, an accomplished explorer and illustrator who contributed to a number of books and periodicals. Edwards's choice to publish Whymper's scene of Pembrokeshire early in the magazine's run seems strategic in terms of target audience, given that this southwestern county of Wales had a long-established Anglophone population.⁹⁶

Additional full-page illustrations occupied powerful positions in each issue of Wales and reinforced the beauty of the national landscape while coupling this praise with an array of persuasive if implied claims. For instance, a striking illustration titled "Between Breconshire and Radnorshire," appearing as a frontispiece to the April 1895 issue, carries the following subtitle: "Grisiau Falls, near Aberedw, the scene of Llywelyn's last struggle" (II, n.p.). The illustration itself, a reproduction of a painting by Walter W. Goddard, offers an idyllic scene with a series of waterfalls:

[Fig. 3.4]

At first glance, the illustration is merely an example of the picturesque. However, when coupled with its caption, the illustration takes on a persuasive message: namely, encouraging readers to "read" the image with sympathy and nostalgia for the slain Llywelyn. In effect, the lure of the appealing landscape predisposes readers to engage with the caption's nationalist message. Later in this same issue, readers could read an illustrated feature called "In Llywelyn's Country," which also features nationalist overtones coupled with Goddard's artistic skills (as discussed later in this chapter) (II.164-67). In a sense, the frontispiece "Between Breconshire and Radnorshire" functions as a teaser for that interior feature and encourages readers to "jump" inside the issue and read more (somewhat similarly to a modern-day hyperlink inviting internet readers to "jump" to a text only summarized by the link itself).

Additional full-page illustrations by Goddard pepper the magazine's pages with romanticized views of Wales, including "Tenby" (II.313), "The Worms Head, Gower" (II.315), and "Mumbles Head, Swansea Bay" (II.318), all of which feature seaside scenes as part of a feature titled "Along the Welsh Coast" (II.309-19). Each of these three illustrations, along with Goddard's "Between Breconshire and Radnorshire," has an interesting twist: Goddard enlarges a section of each scene as if the viewer were looking through a powerful telescope:

[Figs. 3.5, 3.6, 3.7]

The enlarged elements of each scene have a variety of frames, ranging from ovals to scrolls. In effect, Goddard enables viewers to experience not only travel but a sense of close, even scientific, observation. In publishing these images, Edwards seems to be asking readers of Wales to consider the Welsh landscape worthy of careful study as well as enjoyment. In pausing to consider such images, readers may have been more likely to identify with the kind of respectable, controlled landscape being offered them as "Welsh"—a marked contrast from the "wild Wales" popularized by English texts that depicted Wales.

Within Wales, readers are repeatedly reminded of the importance of place in relationship to Welsh identity; though such reminders often involved illustration, textual features also reinforced this relationship. A feature entitled "A Plea for our Celtic Place-Names" names appears at the start of the Sept. 1897 issue; this non-fiction feature focuses on the representation or naming of place and is authored by "Y Ddau Wynne," Malt and Gwenffreda Williams.⁹⁷ The feature's positioning gives it emphasis and implies that Edwards himself would like to emphasize its themes and claims:

[Fig. 3.8]

In this feature, the Williams sisters reinforce the tie between Welsh past and present. They quote George Meredith's claim that, among the Welsh, "the *past* is at their elbow continually" (IV.193). They also refer to the Welsh solely by the Welsh-language equivalent for this people group: the *Cymry*. In so doing, they imply praise of the ancient Welsh tongue and, conversely, blame of virtually all instances of linguistic imperialism—all this despite their use of English to reach Anglophone readers with their argument about Welsh place-names. As a whole, the Williams sisters critique and resist "the Anglicization of our place-names" in lieu of "the dear old native ones" (nostalgic praise) (IV.193). They claim that place names are "enduring monuments to a race," both in Wales and in the American context (IV.193). They mourn that Welsh family names were "hopelessly Normanized" but contrast that "hopeless" situation with the possibility and urgency of retaining Welsh place-names (IV.193-94). As a whole, the feature functions as a call to action, with the premise that saving Welsh place-names is a way of saving national distinctiveness. The land and the language which represents it are thus placed at the center of praise and blame regarding Welsh identity and that of its English colonizers, both geographic and linguistic.

Additional non-fiction features combine text and image and repeatedly draw attention to the glories and stories of the Welsh landscape. A number of such features may be classified as travel narratives or "sketches," as introduced in Chapter 2's treatment of the Red Dragon. Notable examples of this genre include: "In Llywelyn's Country" (II.164-67), as previously mentioned; "Along the Welsh Coast" (II.309-19); and a series entitled "Welsh Holiday Resorts," which featured multiple installments. These features, unsigned but very likely authored by Edwards himself, showcase his skills as a travel writer while also demonstrating his commitment to re-educating his readers about Welsh history and national identity.

“In Llywelyn’s Country” is part memoir, part travel narrative and employs an impressive degree of illustration by Walter W. Goddard (II.164-67). Goddard represents rural Wales as lush and idyllic:

[Figs. 3.9, 3.10, 3.11]

Edwards’s prose reinforces Goddard’s visual emphasis on rural Wales. Speaking from personal experience and memory, Edwards reflects on “the fastnesses of mighty [Mount] Snowdon” and the “shores of Menai” as “the homes of our last prince” (II.164). This “last prince” is an important nationalist figure, often called “Llywelyn the Last” (or “Llywelyn, *Ein Llyw Olaf*”: “Llywelyn, Our Last Leader”), and the grand scenes invoked as his “homes” are those of his youth and marriage. Later in the feature, Edwards revisits the site of Llywelyn’s famed death at the hands of the English, though enabled by the treason of a local blacksmith. In characterizing this site near Aberedw, Edwards writes that “the scene of Llywelyn’s death was to our minds a blasted heath” (II.164). Edwards thus implies blame of the Englishmen who killed Llywelyn, of the Welshman who betrayed him, and of the very ground on which he was killed (II.164). In this sense, the land adopts the blame of those who corrupted it with violent action. Coupled with appealing illustration of the Welsh countryside, the use of Llywelyn’s narrative of national martyrdom invites readers’ identification with Welsh identity by praising this identity in contrast with English identity, which is represented as villainous. Moreover, the use of beautiful illustrations of rural Wales throughout the feature contrasts with the way in which Llywelyn’s death site is represented as a “blasted heath.” This particular contrast illustrates that even rural Wales can be a site of blame—though here, blame is limited to a site of national betrayal. All told, rural Wales is still valorized in that readers are encouraged to mourn for Llywelyn as well as the “blasted heath” which has suffered the corruption of his death. In other words, the

“blasted heath” is represented as abnormal and special rather than, in contrast, the norm of “a country teeming with life” (II.165). In addition, Edwards invites readers to mourn for Llywelyn by depicting a scene at an inn at which “eloquent patriots” are paying tribute to “*ein llyw olaf*” (“Our Last Leader”) in both Welsh and English (II.166-67). This depiction of bilingual tributes to Llywelyn is significant in that Edwards seems to be suggesting to readers that even without Welsh-language fluency, glorification of Llywelyn is right and proper. In this sense, both the narrative’s depicted travelers and the narrative’s virtual travelers (namely, readers) can identify with Llywelyn and be authentic members of the Welsh nation still mourning his loss. Edwards concludes the feature by reflecting: “We love Wales more, and seem to know it better, after our visit to our last Llywelyn’s country” (II.167). In this closing passage, Edwards reinforces the links between history, travel, and nationalism for his readers.

Additionally, Llywelyn’s title itself invites readers’ identification through condensed argument. Specifically, this title is an instance of *antonomasia*: a condensed argument within a descriptive phrase that substitutes for a proper name.⁹⁸ In the title “Our Last Leader,” the condensed argument is that Llywelyn is not only being praised as an heroic leader of the Welsh past but that he also is “ours” in reference to the Anglophone Welsh readers of the magazine. Thus, invoking this title for Llywelyn invites readers to identify the Welsh past as “ours”—in effect, granting readers access to and authenticity within Welsh national identity. In short, the title itself is epideictic and educates readers into a belief that they, too, can claim Llywelyn as a national forbearer.

Llywelyn the Last is once again resurrected for persuasive use in “Along the Welsh Coast” (II.309-19). In this feature, readers are re-educated about the historical and national

significance of the Great Orme Peninsula, among other areas of coastal beauty such as Aberystwyth. Edwards writes:

[T]he Great Orme Peninsula stretches out into the sea, with the ruined court of the kings of Wales on its neck, and with lovely Llandudno sheltering beneath it. From Conway our path lies along the jagged and precipitous edges of the gigantic Eryri, the last home of Welsh independence.” (II.311)

Here, Edwards draws readers’ attention to the grandeur of this peninsula while also using the landscape as a teaching tool for national history. Notably, Edwards invokes nostalgia for “the ruined court of the kings of Wales” and constructs a sense of awe and reverence for Eryri, which he frames as “the last home of Welsh independence.”⁹⁹ Edwards goes on to reflect: “When we come to Aber it will be very difficult to withstand the temptation to wander up the lovely glen where Llywelyn once lived and where the waters still fall from the heathery mountain into this beautiful glen of woods and rocks” (II.311). The layout of the feature includes illustrations of both Llandudno and Aberystwyth which reinforce the glowing and historicized descriptions of these sites in the text (II.311):

[Fig. 3.12]

These descriptive and illustrative choices do more than praise the Welsh landscape; indeed, the landscape functions as “usable geography,” inviting readerly identification with coast and mountains in terms of these geographic features’ ancient associations with of Welsh nationhood.

Aberystwyth, Llandudno, and other sites also serve as “loci of praise” in a series on “Welsh Holiday Resorts.” This series is unsigned but almost certainly authored by Edwards, bearing many marks of his style and drawing on his considerable historical knowledge. Within this series, in combinations of illustrations and prose, towns become “usable geography” for

praising history, national characteristics and values, and more. This series demonstrates how Edwards uses the “available means” of the established genre of travel narratives for teaching history and encouraging readers’ identification with the Welsh past as well as its present revival and renaissance. In the installment titled “Aberystwyth,” Edwards uses a travel narrative on this geographic site as an opportunity to differentiate Welsh heroes from the villainous Normans, outline defining characteristics of Welsh identity, and link readers to a national past which is remains present (II.457-60). Goddard’s artistic talents set the scene for Edwards’s historicized argument:

[Fig. 3.13]

Early in the installment, Edwards describes this coastal town and site of a University College in terms of invasion and counter-attack:

It [Aberystwyth] was, very often, the scene of the first struggle when war broke out between the encroaching Normans and the much-enduring Welsh princes The first step towards re-establishing the union of Wales was the driving of the Normans . . . from Aberystwyth; the final triumph of the disintegration of Wales was marked by the security of a garrison of foreigners at Aberystwyth. “The king placed a strong garrison at Aberystwyth castle, but it nought availed, for Llywelyn came and drove them out again,”—that is a burden of many a chronicler’s page . . . (II.457)

Here, within the language of a geography-based history lesson, Edwards constructs Welsh princes as “much-enduring” heroes defending their homeland. This representation contrasts with Edwards’s depiction of the Normans, who are cast as “encroaching” villains and decided “foreigners.” In keeping with using geography to promote national distinctiveness, Edwards

later claims that Aberystwyth is a place in which to observe distinctively Welsh traits: “If you ask me where most Welsh characteristics are seen,—religious fervor, good Welsh [language], sincere hospitality, even the tall women’s hat,—I would answer that they are best seen at Aberystwyth” (II.459). This praise of values is both educational and epideictic, a link established by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (as previously noted). Edwards also links readers to the national past by portraying a university student on a stroll:

The student can have his solitude, to wander on market days through the picturesque throng on Great Darkgate Street, or along the most beautiful terrace in the British islands, or over the site of a castle that must have made even a thirteenth century man-at-arms feel something like the infection of poetry creeping over him. (II.459)

Here, Edwards invites readers to embark not only on a virtual stroll but in a virtual experience of time travel—namely, to imagine themselves in the role of a medieval man-at-arms who caught an “infection of poetry” from his thrilling surroundings. Edwards’s choice of a university student as representative traveler enables him to link past and present nationalism all the more powerfully since, in Edwards’s words, Aberystwyth is where “the new Welsh life is” in addition to its many reminders of the past nation (II.459).¹⁰⁰

In “Criccieth,” the third installment of “Welsh Holiday Resorts,” readers are invited to dwell on national symbolism in combination with picturesque landscape (II.406-08). The first-page illustration of the feature, likely by Goddard, shows viewers a traditional Welshwoman as she climbs a steep path towards Criccieth Castle.

[Fig. 3.14]

The figure of the tall-hatted Welshwoman would have been a recognizable national emblem for readers of Wales—in this sense, the artist marks Criccieth as a site and source of distinct Welsh identity. Edwards follows suit, using national symbolism within the text of the feature:

In a child's dream Criccieth might take the form of a black monster with two beautiful wings standing on the sea shore and looking over the water towards the south. The body of the monster would be the rock which is crowned by the ruins of a thirteenth century castle; the wings would be two terraces, one on each side, which are crowded in summer by visitors from all parts of the kingdom . . .

(II.406)

Within this travel sketch, Edwards likens the town of Criccieth to a winged monster that can be none other than a dragon. In effect, he represents the land itself as fused with national symbolism—“usable geography,” indeed.

Later, in a similar style to his temporal moves in “Aberystwyth,” Edwards teaches national history while tying that history to the present day within the installment of “Welsh Holiday Resorts” featuring Llandudno (III.320-21). He notes that this holiday town is close to the homes of ancient princes (“lords of land and sea”) and near the burial site of Llywelyn the Great (a predecessor of Llewelyn the Last) (III.320). Edwards goes so far as to describe the nearby Aberconwy as a place in which visitors can travel back in time: “. . . [A] walk through the quaint streets of this historical borough, still encompassed round by its walls, takes one back far into the middle ages” (III.320). While describing a stroll through Aberconwy as a means of time travel, Edwards simultaneously invites readers to travel, both through his powers of description and the feature's illustrations. In fact, Goddard's illustration on front page of the feature shows a

strolling couple, as if to invite readers to place themselves in these characters' shoes:

[Fig. 3.15]

Later in the prose of the sketch, Edwards promotes Llandudno as the site of the National Eisteddfod of 1896 (III.320). Within the context of this travel feature, Edwards's publicizing of the upcoming Eisteddfod constructs Llandudno as site of past, present, and future nationalism.

Much of the poetry featured in Wales also employs the landscape as a "locus of praise" through which readers can travel as well as learn about Welsh history and identity. Though not always illustrated, the poetry's textual imagery helps make the landscape present and praiseworthy in the minds of readers. "Among the Mountains," an illustrated poem issued as a supplement with the August 1895 issue, praises the Welsh landscape in combinations of textual and visual image (II, n.p.):

[Fig. 3.16]

S. Maurice Jones's illustration of "Among the Mountains" offers a powerful profile of the north Wales mountains, defining their grandeur with contrast from a sun-streaked sky. James Williams's poem reinforces the praise of north Wales established by the image. The poet longs for "but one half hour" on the shores of Caernarvon or a "league-long night" atop Cader Idris (a peak famed for turning those who spend a night in its heights into either madmen or poets).

From these imagined heights, the poet can praise all of Wales within his view:

. . . with harvest white

The little barley fields of Meirion stand!

I look, and all around on either hand

Sleeps an unrippled sea of plain, the sight

Wearies of horizontal rays that smite

To gold the level silver of the sand. (II, n.p.)

Here, the poet offers readers a vicarious trip up the mighty and mystical Cader Idris, all the better to survey the glories of Wales, complete with “gold” and “silver.” Indeed, Williams’s descriptions of the coastal sands invite readers to consider the land itself as precious treasure. Williams concludes the poem by longing for yet another mountaintop moment: he longs to climb Snowdon, too: “To see the clouds that swim on Snowdon’s peak” (II, n.p.). In all, Williams’s poem invites readers along in his yearning for communion with the marvels of Welsh lands—a yearning made more tangible by Jones’s skillful illustration.

Jones would also provide an illustration for Howell Victor’s “Love Song in Aberglaslyn,” a poem in which love of Wales is merged with romantic love for a woman whose voice is wedded to the features of the landscape (III.293):

[Fig. 3.17]

Throughout the poem, the lover Victor refers to as “m’lass” is indistinguishable from “that wild romantic pass” of Aberglaslyn (a gorge in Snowdonia, north Wales). This personification of “the crags of Aberglaslyn” invites readers to connect with the landscape emotionally and to treasure that “[p]aradise of love and beauty” along with Victor.

Poems in the last year of the magazine’s run continued to praise the natural realm within a distinctly Welsh context. In “The Sign of the Three Horse Shoes: A Wayside Ballad,” J. Craven Thomas portrays rural Wales and its people as hospitable rather than wild and savage (IV.102). In the poem, Thomas praises the hospitality, skill, and thrift of a wheelwright and his wife—characters who provide a warm welcome to any “weary pilgrim” who may approach their store and household:

. . . Hard by the wheeler’s shop a clean

And welcome hostelry is seen;
 To this his thrifty wife attends;
 And here, the traveller, or friends,
 Find every need supplied; and store
 Enough for all, both rich and poor.

The sign, the weary pilgrim sees
 Some distance through the quivering trees;
 And hails its presence with delight,
 As songsters herald in the night;
 Full well he cons its meaning o'er
 And stays his palfrey by the door.

Three signal horse-shoe, it is said,
 Portend a needful shoe, or bed,
 Or something missing, and to meet
 All wants, or make the horse complete,
 The wheeler's store or fires await,
 To welcome strangers at his gate. (IV.102)

In this depiction of a wheelwright and his “thrifty wife,” Thomas foregrounds the welcome that travelers can expect when passing through rural Wales. Calming fears of the “wildness” of Wales and its people, Thomas re-represents rural Wales as a place of hospitality for strangers and friends alike.

Though not always illustrated, fictional features within Wales also invited praise and respect for the Welsh landscape. As with Thomas's "The Sign of the Three Horse Shoes," "A Mystery of Cantffwrdd: A Tale of the Welsh Mountains" (an unsigned short story, perhaps authored by Edwards) demonstrates how writers can praise rural Wales by showing its interaction with human characters and by using primarily textual imagery, though "A Mystery of Cantffwrdd" is adorned with a nature-themed embellishment at its start (III.569-70).

[Fig. 3.18]

The setting for the story is the village of Eurog, a place of "blissful content" that would become marred by the early, tragic death of a young woman named Bessie Evans. Bessie's beauty is praised in terms of the land's beauty: "How lovely she looked there in the still pale moonlight! Silvery as the ripple of the Cantffwrdd [river] beneath was her voice; her modesty like unto the blushing mountain flower at her feet, her radiance vied with fair Luna's reflection on the water below . . ." (III.569). This description of Bessie in terms of the beauties of moonlight, stream, and flower affords praise to both Bessie and her natural surroundings. Readers learn that Bessie has given her heart to one Tom Jones, but a would-be suitor named Will Tomos kills Bessie in a fit of jealous passion. Will and Bessie meet by chance on a path over Pen Cribog, a mountain that rises above the Cantffwrdd river. Knowing full well that Bessie has a suitor, Will demands that Bessie marry him and "seizes her arm with a fierce grip" (III.569). When Bessie says "no" one time too many, Will shoves her away, causing Bessie to stumble and take a fatal fall over a cliff and into the waters of the Cantffwrdd river. Though Will manages to flee without punishment, the land itself seems to take revenge on Will forty years later. After he returns to the site of Bessie's fatal fall, Will's body is found floating in the same pool where hers fell forty years before. The tale concludes with a moral that reinforces the poetic justice of the event:

“Thus was the murder of an innocent girl avenged, and to this day the simple dwellers of Eurog look upon that pool in Cantffwrdd with respectful awe” (III.570). In this story, the land itself acts as an agent of righteous retribution. Offering a different kind of praise of the land, this story plays on the fears of the “wild Wales” stereotype while suggesting that the land’s magic and power operates for noble if violent purposes.

The magazine’s fictional features and poems also praise rural Wales by contrasting that glorified landscape with the ills of industrialization. In “Gabriel Yoreth: A Story Illustrative of Welsh Thought Fifty Years Ago,” author Rev. E. Cynffig Davies pairs praise of the natural landscape with sympathy for the coal miners who must go down into the pits each day. Gabriel, the young protagonist, tells John Yandale, a fellow miner: “I must admit, it affords me keen pleasure to glance at the flowers which this time of year seem to be creeping to the very verge of the shaft, as if they desired to show their sympathy with us whilst leaving the light for the darkness below” (I.95). In this passage, Davies personifies flowers in such a way that evokes admiration for nature in contrast with “the darkness below”: the deep coal mines. Davies also likens the darkness of the mines to the symbolic darkness (pain and grief) in the characters’ lives: “The dark path they [Gabriel and John] traversed from the eye of the pit to the distant workings was in many ways a fitting emblem of what life had been for one of the two [Gabriel, an orphan], and, to a great extent, of what it would be for the other” (I.195). Here, Davies evokes sympathy for the characters by emphasizing both the gloomy darkness of the mines and of miners’ lives.

In “Our Choirs: The Treorci Male-Voice Party,” poet Owen George takes up a subject of established national tradition—the male voice choir—and, like Davies, uses a contrast between nature and industry in order to praise nature (IV.21). The profiled choir hails from the Rhondda

coal valleys of south Wales. Within the poem, George offers a negative portrayal of coal mining and represents the choir's singing as an escape from and triumph over the realities of mining life:

. . . And whence come these, with the westering breeze,
 Song-laden, song-bursting, song-mad?
 From the dark noisome mine, in an ecstasy fine
 To bathe in sweet sound, and be glad;
 More light[-]hearted they than the children of day,
 Unselfish as birds on the tree . . . (IV.21)

George contrasts the miners' joy in being "[s]ong-laden, song-bursting, song mad" with the "dark noisome mind," the scene of their daily work. Later, George labels the miners "denizens bright of the region of night, / Who daily look death in the face," offering further blame of the coal mines while still praising the men who work them (IV.21). In addition, George praises the miners' unselfish character by comparing them to "birds on a tree." As with the character of Bessie in "A Mystery of Cantffwrdd," likening humans to the natural world effects praise of both.

In a poem published in the December 1896 issue, Howell Victor offers an even grimmer depiction of coal mines than Davies's and George's. In short, Victor represents mines as dangerous and even murderous scenes. In "A Collier's Christmas," Victor describes a mine explosion, focusing on its human cost (III.557). When focusing on the time of the explosion, Victor vilifies the mine: "The mine's on fire, and it blazes like hell . . . that tomb of death and fire . . ." (III.557). In highlighting the human impact of the explosion, Victor praises the miners as "the best and bravest in the land," though some do not survive the explosion (III.557). As demonstrated these features by George, Davies, and Victor, coal mines are repeated though not

frequent subjects in Wales, and the industrialization of the landscape is most met with blame rather than praise.

Cumulatively, the visual and textual features of Wales glorify the Welsh landscape to the exclusion of industrial “progress.” This selective focus functions as praise of largely untouched, rural Wales and becomes a way of reclaiming that landscape from colonization as well as industrialization. When industry does come within focus, the magazine’s contributors largely use it as a subject of blame rather than praise and, instead, recommend retreat to the natural world—a symbolic source of Welsh history and identity.

* * *

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how revivals of the past within the pages of Wales constitute an epideictic strategy in which the past could become “usable” for Edwards’s cultural and communal goals. In so doing, I have applied Van Wyck Brooks’s concept of a “usable past” to illustrate how Edwards employed history rhetorically. This chapter also emphasizes how the landscape has served as an important locus of “praise and blame” for Welsh nationalism. In glorifying rural Wales, Edwards’s Wales offered readers a means of communal identification that not only psychologically reclaimed a colonized landscape but also allowed readers to identify with each other despite divisions such as politics, religion, class, and language—divisions that were increasingly evident in the midst of the rapid industrialization of Wales in the 19th century. In other words, the succession of illustrations that invited readers to savor the glories of rural Wales also served as a persuasive group of symbols through which connection

with Welsh identity could take place, while conveniently avoiding the harsh realities of life in industrialized areas such as the south Wales coal valleys.

To some extent, Wales's nostalgic focus on the past and its selective praise of rural Wales demonstrate the influences of Romantic literature and art on Edwards and his fellow contributors. Yet Edwards and others were also applying these well-established genres to re-educating the readers of Wales *about* Wales: past, present, and future. When viewed holistically, Edwards's rhetorical uses of history as well as geography constitute nonviolent, re-representational responses to colonial "damage" (as termed by JanMohamed and Lloyd). Rather than accept the "stock libels" placed on Wales or the erasure of the Welsh past from classroom instruction, Edwards used the power of the press to "write back" and gather Anglophone readers into the national community he was helping to build.

CHAPTER FOUR

IDENTIFYING WITH YOUNG WALES: GENDER, NARRATIVE, AND NATIONALISM, 1895-1904

INTRODUCTION

This chapter evaluates the epideictic role of John Hugh Edwards's Young Wales (1895-1904), a monthly miscellany magazine and indirect descendant of The Red Dragon (1882-87) and Wales (1894-97). The magazine began circulation not long before the failure of David Lloyd George's Home Rule platform in January 1896. Despite the disintegration of the Cymru Fydd League, however, Young Wales continued to promote Welsh nationalism, thus extending the life of the nationalist movement. In disseminating symbols and narratives of Welsh identity well after the supposed "fall" of the Young Wales movement, the magazine bearing the movement's name performed a vital epideictic function. Specifically, through Edwards's leadership, the contributions of his team of editors, and submissions from additional writers, Young Wales maintained readers' allegiance to the idea of "Young Wales" while also inviting readers to participate in defining Welsh identity.

As discussed in previous chapters, both symbols and narrative structures of communication facilitate adherence to communal identities, a perspective emphasized in contemporary theories of epideictic rhetoric. In other words, symbol and narrative have become recognized as central to what Kenneth Burke terms "identification." In Wales, a succession of illustrations glorifying the rural Welsh landscape served as symbols by which psychological connection with Welsh national identity could take place. As experienced by that magazine's readership, this very succession, or serialization, of rural images constituted an experience of travel as well as a journey to a pre-industrial version of Wales. In effect, this virtual, visual

journey helped construct a sense of shared, national identity among the magazine's readership.¹⁰¹ In Young Wales, the types of serial features were somewhat different but had similarly epideictic, community-building functions. Illustrations were less plentiful in Young Wales than in Wales, though portraits of praiseworthy Welsh men and women adorn the later magazine's cover and internal features, inviting readers to model themselves after these examples of ideal Welsh identity. In comparison to Wales, Young Wales relies more on narrative, especially serial fiction, in order to persuade readers to support the nationalist movement and to identify with Welsh identity, despite the magazine's use of the English language. In Young Wales, fiction provides both positive and negative examples of Welsh identity through well-developed characterization and plotlines (and with greater length and detail than the Welsh Character Sketches published in the Red Dragon). In effect, the serialized stories in Young Wales function as "representative anecdotes" by which readers can understand Welsh identity and also become influenced to alter their own thinking and behavior in order to demonstrate commitment to this national identity in its ever-evolving forms.¹⁰² The succession of installments by which these stories arrived, issue by issue, encouraged readers to maintain allegiance to purchasing Young Wales as well as allegiance to the national movement that the magazine promoted.

In helping to promote national consciousness, Young Wales's rhetorical function aligned with that of the two other Anglophone literary magazines in this study. In contrast to these other periodicals, however, Young Wales afforded an unusual amount of rhetorical space to Welsh women, fostering their participation in politics and, specifically, in the nationalist movement. In this chapter, I analyze the magazine's epideictic tactics with an emphasis on the connection between gender and nationalism in the Young Wales movement. Within this analysis, I

highlight non-fiction features that appealed to female readers, then focus on contributions of fiction from Anne Adaliza Evans Puddicombe (“Allen Raine”), Sara Maria Saunders (“S. M. S.”), and sisters Mallt Williams and Gwenffreda Williams (“Y Ddau Wynne”).¹⁰³ Rather than dismissing the fiction in this magazine as less important than the more didactic editorial matter, I demonstrate the political significance of these stories, which could entertain readers but also instruct and persuade them.

As has been suggested in previous chapters, Welsh national identity has largely been represented by men, and women’s voices and stories have frequently been excluded from Welsh history, including the history of Welsh nationalism. Recent scholarship has begun to fill in the gendered gaps of Welsh history. Scholars such as Jane Aaron, Kirsti Bohata, and Katie Gramich have offered new studies of nineteenth-century Welsh women, beginning to detail these women’s social and political roles, including the ways in which Welsh women’s writing has engaged with the nationalist movement. Aaron, Bohata, Catherine Brennan, Stephen Knight, and Peter Lord have also emphasized the importance of Victorian- and Edwardian-era representations of Welsh women, both the dominant representations of these women from outsiders (often English men, as in the 1847 “Treachery of the Blue Books”) and the resistant representations created by Welsh women themselves.¹⁰⁴ Despite the value of such studies in addressing the gendered biases of Welsh history, these scholars have tended to focus on traditional literary texts (poetry, short stories, and novels) and on visual art (in the case of Lord). Though Bohata and Lord include excerpts of periodical literature in their studies, to date, no scholar has provided an in-depth case study of how a periodical itself has affected the gendering of Welsh national identity.

This chapter performs this analysis; specifically, I consider how Young Wales's editor, contributors, and features were not only performing a rhetorical function for Wales (namely, fostering a sense of national community) but were also serving the cause of Welsh women's progress. Specifically, Edwards endorsed Welsh women's voices and, in the pages of the magazine, juxtaposed female contributors with the most prominent Welsh male politicians and literary figures of the day. Recurring non-fiction features such as "Progress of Women in Wales" and "The Women of Wales' Circle" promoted the right of women to speak on national issues such as politics, education, and suffrage. These features also invited contributions from a variety of Welsh women, including both the self-consciously political and the more modest, who could nonetheless speak with authority about their experiences as Welsh women. Literary features also fostered women's rhetorical agency; in particular, the serialized fiction of Raine, Saunders, and the Williams sisters performed epideictic, community-building functions for both the Welsh nation and for the women who historically had been excluded from that nation's public image, except when cast in the extreme, binary roles of saints or sinners.¹⁰⁵ Through non-fiction and fictional features alike, Young Wales offered readers a succession of models, both praiseworthy and blameworthy, from which to construct a shared sense of Welsh identity—particularly so for Welsh women. Unlike Wales, which used the rural landscape as a central symbol of praise for national identification, the contributors to Young Wales brought greater attention to issues of gender and political commitment. In so doing, the magazine itself became an available means for persuading both male and female readers to identify and engage with the Young Wales movement.

OVERVIEW: FEATURES, READERSHIP, EDITOR, PERSONA, AND CONTRIBUTORS

Young Wales (1895-1904) was a monthly miscellany founded and edited by John Hugh Edwards, a supporter of the Liberal Young Wales movement who would go on to become a Minister of Parliament (M. P.) (Stephens 205).¹⁰⁶ Inspired by the Young Ireland movement and the Irish press, Edwards “preach[ed] the gospel of the national unity of Wales” (II.299) to Anglophone readers and publicized the early career of future Prime Minister David Lloyd George, who contributed to the magazine while still an M. P. and was featured in an early series on “Leading Young Welshmen” (I.12-19). Undeterred by the disintegration of the Young Wales movement’s Home Rule platform in January of 1896, Edwards used the magazine as a vehicle for the nationalist movement’s ongoing life in the Welsh press, publishing editorials, political news (including parliamentary reports), educational news, history, fiction, poetry, and literary reviews.¹⁰⁷

As with the Red Dragon and Wales, the almost exclusive use of English in Young Wales encouraged Anglophone readers to participate in Welsh nationalism. Unlike Cymru Fydd, a bilingual, Welsh- and English-language magazine which also claimed a national function, Young Wales was far more accessible to readers who lacked Welsh-language fluency.¹⁰⁸ Despite being a primarily English-language text, though, the magazine did express support for the use of the Welsh language and endorsed efforts to maintain Welsh as a living language. For instance, in its January 1902 issue, the magazine announced the creation of *Yr Undeb y Ddraig Goch* (The Red Dragon Union), a society dedicated to the preservation of the Welsh language. The anonymous feature praising the birth of this union claims the Welsh language as an important marker of the individuality of the Welsh nation; the feature’s author compares the Union to the *Alliance Française* and the Gaelic League (VIII.85.4).

Published first in Aberystwyth (1895) and later in Caernarfon (1896-1900), Wrexham (1901-02), London (1901-03), and Cardiff (1904), the magazine did not have a stable regional identity throughout its run, and it included contributions from across Wales and beyond.¹⁰⁹ In this sense, Young Wales was arguably more “national” than the Red Dragon, which was published in Cardiff and tended to privilege South Wales readers and their concerns; Owen Edwards’s Wales, published in Wrexham, had a similar bias for North Wales. The more broadly-based *ethos* of Young Wales also reflects John Hugh Edwards’s support for the cooperation of North and South Wales Liberals. Though Edwards witnessed the “fall” of the Liberals’ political alliance and Home Rule agenda in January of 1896 (just a year into the magazine’s run), his editorials reinforce a commitment to national cooperation across traditional regional, linguistic, and class divides. The magazine appealed to readers who held Liberal sympathies by participating in politics through written debate and support of Liberal politicians. Featuring series on “Welsh Liberal Politicians, Young and Old,” “Notes on the Work of Welsh Liberal Women,” and “Welsh Union Notes” [reports on the Union of Women’s Liberal Associations], the magazine promoted Liberalism in combination with nationalist sentiment. Despite the North and South Wales Liberal Federations’ failure to reach consensus on the issue of Home Rule in January of 1896, the magazine remained a venue for Liberal politics in service of Welsh national progress. Notably, it drew greater attention to women’s participation in Liberal politics, as with the statement: “By the Union of Women’s Liberal Associations which was inaugurated at Aberystwyth in March, 1891, some 10,000 women are banded together in a great forward movement . . . [W]omen of all classes and creeds have joined hand in hand and heart in heart with earnest endeavour” (“Welsh Union Notes,” II. 67).

Prior to serving as editor of Young Wales, Edwards was a co-editor of the Aberystwyth Young Men's Magazine, a bimonthly publication of the Aberystwyth Young Men's Christian Association (Walters 10-11). Along with fellow editors Henry Lloyd Snape, J. Mortimer Angus, and George Davis, Edwards contributed to the magazine's focus on matters of interest to the youth of Aberystwyth, a west Wales coastal town (Walters 11). As the site of the University of Wales (est. 1872), Aberystwyth has served as a hotspot for both Welsh youth and intellectual activity from the late nineteenth century to the present. Indeed, at the time of the publication of the Aberystwyth Young Men's Magazine, Edwards himself was only in his early 20s but already participating in Welsh periodical publishing. While tracing the effects of Edwards's work with this regional magazine is an uncertain task, we may reasonably assume that Young Wales's emphasis on university life and, more broadly, the educational aspects of Welsh nationalism owe a debt to Edwards's work on this earlier, more modest periodical.

Existing scholarship on Young Wales is scant and often inaccurate. The entry on the magazine in the Waterloo Directory mistakenly cites Young Wales as a continuation of Owen M. Edwards's Wales, an error difficult to reconcile with the approximately two-year overlap in the magazines' runs.¹¹⁰ This faulty entry in the influential Waterloo Index has, no doubt, contributed to critical neglect of Young Wales; being folded into the entry on Wales has made Young Wales even less visible to scholars. In addition, in surveying "Welsh Periodicals in English 1880-1965" in 2004, Malcolm Ballin leaves Young Wales entirely out of his study despite providing an overview of periodicals that both precede and follow this magazine's dates of publication. In short, Young Wales has been nearly invisible on the critical map, perhaps even more so than other Anglophone Welsh magazines. This neglect is particularly regrettable because Young Wales repeatedly demonstrates its close engagement with the Welsh nationalist movement. In

this sense, the magazine has much to offer a variety of scholars with interests in this phase of Welsh cultural history, not to mention literary production.

In terms of persona, Young Wales actually became more overtly nationalist following the failure of the Home Rule platform. Originally subtitled “A Monthly Magazine” and then “A Monthly Periodical,” the magazine’s subtitle later changed to “A National Periodical for Wales” (Feb. 1901-Aug. 1904). This change in subtitle signaled a more overtly nationalist *ethos* for the magazine, especially significant in the context of the failed merger of the North and South Wales Liberal Federations in January of 1896. Accompanying the change in subtitle was a change in the cover design as a whole, though each design included symbols that would have been recognized as distinctly Welsh. The initial cover design included leeks, which were intertwined with the words “Young Wales”:

[Figure 4.1]

The leeks’ organic quality emphasizes the youth and vitality of the “Young Wales” movement as well as suggesting that the nationalist cause is natural and wholesome. Later, the images of leeks were demoted from a central position and translated into a border pattern, with two facing dragons newly dominating the cover design at the bottom of the layout.

[Figure 4.2]

This visual shift reinforces the dragon’s national status while also endowing the magazine with a measure of the dragon’s power. The new cover design maintains the leeks’ national status while privileging the historical and physical power of dragons. Though the magazine’s persona did not center on dragon iconography (in contrast to the Red Dragon), Young Wales still tapped into readers’ recognition of the dragon’s national role.

Further, the motto and editorial matter of Young Wales instilled the magazine's persona with a sense of religious fervor and integrity in combination with nationalist commitment. The motto, appearing on the first interior page of an issue, read: "BE JUST, AND FEAR NOT: / LET ALL THE ENDS THOU AIMEST AT BE THY COUNTRY'S, / THY GOD'S, AND TRUTH'S." Here, at the start of each issue, Edwards used a combination of religious and patriotic appeals to guide readers' expectations of the magazine and its function. The motto helped create an *ethos* of respectability, justice, and truth that would have appealed to the largely Protestant population of Wales in the late Victorian era.¹¹¹ The motto establishes a moral and religious function for Young Wales as well as for the contributions it offers to readers within the context of a national magazine. This combination of religious and national appeals also appears in the editorial matter of the magazine. In the "Introduction to Volume II," Edwards writes that the first "*raison d'être* of Young Wales as a national periodical" is "to preach the *gospel* of the national unity of Wales" (II. n.p., emphasis mine). Edwards goes on to stress his desire to teach Wales "the great lesson of self-reliance": "*She* [Wales] *must seek to work out her own salvation*, rather than, as has been the case for so long in the past, patiently—and vainly—hope to receive it at the hands of English politicians who know little of our national needs and aspirations, and care less" (II, n.p., emphasis mine).¹¹² Within this editorial, Edwards casts the magazine as a kind of lay preacher that can assist in Wales's journey to self-reliance, which will purportedly be his nation's "salvation." Here, we find a layering of religious and national appeals that assigns a sacred as well as political function to the magazine. In this introduction, Edwards also stresses the need to avoid the kind of sectarianism that has often characterized religious as well as political life in Wales; like Owen M. Edwards, Edwards uses his role as magazine editor to call for greater unity and a stronger sense of shared identity (II. n.p.). By representing religion as

national rather than denominational within the context of these magazines, both editors were seeking to form a more cohesive, national readership within Wales.

In addition to Lloyd George, perhaps the magazine's most famous contributor, other notable contributors included Thomas E. Ellis (an MP and champion of the nationalist movement), Allen Raine (later a bestselling novelist), Ernest Rhys (a notable poet and critic), Sara Maria Saunders (a fiction writer who published under her initials, "S. M. S."), William Llewelyn Williams (journalist and future MP), and sisters Maltt Williams and Cate "Gwenffreda" Williams ("Y Ddau Wynne"), whose serialized novel A Maid of Cymru: A Patriotic Romance dramatizes the nationalist loyalty of Welsh women (as I will detail later). An illustration of the Young Wales "literary staff" in the April 1901 issue offers portraits of some of the magazine's most consistent contributors:

[Figure 4.3]

This illustration emphasizes the magazine's basis in group effort rather than being a soapbox for a privileged few. In publishing not only the names but also the faces of the fourteen staff members, Edwards was promoting the magazine as a collaborative venture within a nationalist scene, broadcasting a democratic persona that was also constructed through the language of Edwards's editorials. For example, in introducing the compiled volume of the second year of the magazine's run (1896), Edwards takes care to acknowledge the magazine's collaborative nature; he expresses his "warmest gratitude" for "the invaluable help which I have received in the literary equipment of this volume," help from both the literary staff (editors of recurring features) and additional contributors of "special articles" (II, n.p.). Edwards also extends thanks to the magazine's readers, "without whose silent, yet effective support no periodical can pursue the even tenour of its way" (II, n.p.).

Edwards's construction of a relatively egalitarian persona for Young Wales seems an implicit response to critiques of the Young Wales movement that represented Welsh nationalism as both the brainchild and pet of a small circle of upper-class Liberals. Edwards's use of the magazine to foster dialogue among readers, including women, contrasts with damaging representations of the nationalist movement as an exclusionary and elitist scheme. In this sense, Edwards's structuring of Young Wales with features that endorsed participation in nationalism and his promotion of the magazine's content as collaborative (the output of its group of editors and a variety of responsive readers) serve re-representational functions for the Young Wales movement in a way similar to the re-representation of Welsh identity performed by Charles Wilkins in the pages of the Red Dragon. Representing Young Wales as a venue for egalitarian and engaged dialogue may have also been a marketing tactic; in effect, buying an issue of Young Wales likely would have given readers a sense of agency in the nationalist cause, especially so if they chose to write to the magazine's staff in hope of having their contributions published.¹¹³ Buying, reading, and even contributing to the magazine, then, functioned as a kind of voting within the emergent political structure of the Young Wales movement.¹¹⁴ In consistently publishing contributions from women and devoting several recurring features to women's concerns, Edwards also signaled the magazine's endorsement of women's participation in the aims and actions of Young Wales nationalism.

“INTRUDERS” NO MORE: GENDER AND RHETORICAL SPACE IN YOUNG WALES

As previously mentioned, recent scholarship in Welsh history and literature has emphasized how the faces and voices of Welsh women have been repeatedly obscured and silenced. As in other nationalist movements, the cause of “Young Wales” was most often

represented by male leaders who themselves drew upon primarily masculine iconography in order to create rhetorical effects. Welsh leaders have invoked Celtic and folk icons such as bards and dragons and religious icons such as apostles in order to craft appealing public personas.¹¹⁵ Such masculine representations of Wales and its leaders were still prominent during the publication of Young Wales. For instance, the magazine itself proclaimed David Lloyd George to be “the Apostle of Welsh Nationalism” (II.196-99); contributor John Jones compared Lloyd George to Thomas Davis, leader of Young Ireland and “for all time the prophet of Celtic nationalism” (II.196-99).¹¹⁶ In assigning the personas of “apostle” and “prophet” to Welsh and Irish male nationalists, Edwards, Jones, and others appealed to readers to conceive of these men as both visionaries and spokesmen of their respective movements. In Wales and elsewhere, men’s voices have been those most frequently sanctioned to speak on behalf of emerging nations.

Despite its promotion of male politicians such as David Lloyd George and Thomas E. Ellis in features such as “Leading Young Welshmen,” the magazine also provided significant rhetorical space for women to engage in the Young Wales movement.¹¹⁷ For the most part, Young Wales’s gender inclusiveness contrasts with the patriarchal models of Welsh identity circulated by The Red Dragon and Wales. In this sense, Young Wales offered a relatively progressive vision of Welsh community that invited women’s participation in the nationalist movement. For instance, an 1896 feature on the “Progress of Women in Wales” attests to the magazine’s commitment to women’s progress as well as noting that the “national movement” itself increasingly “identifie[s] itself in the woman’s cause,” as in a then-recent pledge by the “national organization” [likely the Cymru Fydd League] to “secure equal rights of citizenship for women with men” (II.67). Though this pledge was still many years from fulfillment as of 1896,

the magazine's circulation of such statements and features signals its promotion of women's participation in nationalism. Like other periodicals of its era, Young Wales still published more male contributors than female contributors. Nevertheless, the magazine's inclusion of features both authored by women and centered on women's concerns offered Welsh women greater agency in furthering the cause of Young Wales. In addition, the magazine included advertisements for products such as Cadbury's Cocoa, Bird's Custard Powder, Mason's Extract of Herbs, Brown & Polson's Corn Flour, and Thos. Jones & Co. teas; such advertisements for household supplies suggest that a substantial portion of the magazine's readership was female.¹¹⁸

In an introduction to the compiled volume of the magazine's third year (1897), Edwards explicitly invites contributions from women as well as men, emphasizing their common identity as members of the Welsh nation:

[C]ontributions from men and women of all shades of conviction and opinion, and having reference to any of the manifold interests and activities which mark the trend of the nation, are always welcomed, in full hope and belief that the main result will be to beget within us that strength and passion of patriotism . . .

(III.iv)

Here, Edwards not only invites women's written contributions to the magazine but acknowledges the role they can play in fostering Welsh patriotism. Indeed, Edwards signaled his endorsement of Welsh women's contributions from the start of the magazine's run in 1885. A dignified photograph of a contributor labeled "Mrs. Wynford Philipps" appears on the cover of the second issue of the magazine (February 1885), following the use of Lloyd George's photograph on the first issue's cover.¹¹⁹

[Figure 4.4]

Visually highlighting Philipps's contributions to the magazine through a cover image indicates Edwards's support for female writers who, throughout the magazine's run, provided political commentary as well as literary contributions. Edwards's use of Philipps's image, both on second issue's cover and within its interior, also suggests his desire to woo women to join in the readership of the magazine from its inception and—by extension—to engage in Welsh Liberal politics and the Young Wales movement.

Contributors to Young Wales praised the magazine's support of women's involvement in the nationalist movement as well as in the magazine itself. In an early installment of "The Progress of Women in Wales," a feature co-edited by Mrs. Wynford Phillips and Miss Elspeth Philipps, these contributors proclaim:

Young Wales has recognised from the first that the welfare of a rising nation depends upon the combined efforts of men and women, and when the editor proposed to devote some portion of his magazine, to the opinions, work and history of Welsh women-workers, those who were invited to take part felt that they must not forego an opportunity that offered such scope for useful service The Editors of Young Wales are anxious to open their paper to progressive women, and the Editors of the "Progress of Women" page think that they can best serve the end in view by studying the various movements which combine to make the woman's movement. They desire to make known to women their past and present condition in educational, social, religious, philanthropic, and political spheres, that, out of the knowledge and sympathy which will ensue, they may co-operate even more closely than in the past (II.64, 67)

Here, the Phillipses praise Edwards's editorial and political support of Welsh women; they also express their own commitment to serve the cause of the Welsh nation as writers and editors of a feature centered on women's "progress" within a national context. They also emphasize women's ability to collaborate successfully, acknowledging their history of working together for "educational, social, religious, and philanthropic" aims as well as their ability to collaborate in the present "political spher[e]." Rather than limiting women's actions to domestic and religious activities, the editorial staff of Young Wales affirmed women's capability to engage in public and political life.

Additional contributions to Young Wales publicize and also invite Welsh women's political engagement—in short, encouraging both new and pre-existing political involvement on the part of female writers and readers. Mrs. Wynford Philipps, the co-editor of "Progress of Women in Wales" and a recently elected member of the Parish Council of Manorbier in southwest Wales, offers "Notes on the Work of Welsh Liberal Women" in the first two issues of the magazine. This two-part series foregrounds the growth in political activities among Welsh women.¹²⁰ In the first installment of "Notes," Philipps praises the 1892 unionization of Women's Liberal Associations in Wales (as of January 1885, numbering 47 associations and over 8000 members). She also notes these associations' involvement in a number of progressive movements, namely temperance, women's suffrage, and the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales (a resistance both religious and economic since the Anglican Church enforced a mandatory tithe system).¹²¹ Significantly, Philipps compares the collaboration of Welsh women with the recent formation of "a National Union for Wales" (almost certainly referring to the 1894 formation of the Cymru Fydd League, as discussed in Chapter 1). Philipps praises this national union because it ". . . not only seeks to unite every part of the Principality, but offers equal

opportunities of work to both men and women” (1.18). Philipps credits both the women’s union and national union with improving political opportunities for Welsh women in the then-recent past:

Three years ago men were asking why women should be political at all, and now there is scarcely a town that has not women running as candidates for the Board of Guardians, whilst in many villages women have already been elected as Parish Councillors It is perhaps not too much to claim that the Welsh Union has been instrumental in helping to awaken women to their responsibilities in inducing them to undertake them. Ever since it was formed, thousands of leaflets have been distributed, hundreds of lectures have been given, and the Press of the country, commenting on the work, has aroused public opinion, and given a stimulus to the great movement for the civic development of womanhood In every district there are unmistakeable evidences that the claims and qualifications of women for civic duties and for positions of public usefulness are now being recognized. (1.18)

Tellingly, Philipps recognizes the power of the press to stimulate women’s activism, even as she herself is participating in that “stimulus.” Philipps is apparently aiming to increase Welsh women’s political involvement and to combat the social norms that have historically impeded this new trend. She ends the first installment of “Notes” by decrying the frequent “waste” of both Welsh men and women, emphasizing the constraints placed upon women: “We curb their energies, we restrain their individuality, we limit their opportunity, we neglect their education” (1.19). In mourning the “waste” of Welsh women’s powers, Philipps implicitly calls for change, a call that is no doubt aimed at the readers of Young Wales.¹²²

Edwards's inclusion of Philipps's two-part feature on Welsh Liberal women in the first two issues of the magazine is significant, as is his use of her photograph on the second issue's cover. These editorial choices support not only Philipps's voice but the voices and involvement of other Welsh women. Additional features such as "Women Students in Wales," "Women and Religious Freedom," and "The Women of Wales' Circle" reinforce Edwards's support for Welsh women and their inclusion in the national dialogue of the magazine. In the first installment of "Women Students in Wales," a college student identified as "Miss Dobell, B.A." celebrates the construction of an all-female residence hall at the University of Wales in Aberystwyth. Dobell argues that this building project is evidence of women's progress in Wales:

But one has always lived too soon! The evolution which has been making such steady progress since the one or two women students almost apologetically, as I have been told, took their places at the College lectures, not even removing hat and jacket, assuming rather the air of intruders than of recognized members of the community, seems about to culminate in the erection of the new Hall of Residence. (I.61)

Here, Dobell's only regret seems to be that she is not young enough to be able to witness the full fruition of Welsh women's progress. Nevertheless, she expresses gratitude for women's progress to this point: in her words, they have become "recognized members of the [college] community" rather than "intruders." Dobell praises the growth in female enrollment at the college, citing 125 women in residence halls in the spring of 1895 in contrast to only 11 in the fall of 1887 (I.60). Though only one indicator of Welsh women's progress, these figures were undoubtedly encouraging to Dobell and to female readers of the magazine. As a whole, this feature on "Women Students in Wales" helps increase the credibility of Welsh women as rational

and worthy of education. By circulating Dobell's feature in Young Wales, as in the case of Philipps's "Notes," Edwards indicates his support for Welsh women's progress and implicitly asks them to identify with national community rather than feel like "intruders."

Additional non-fiction features worked to appeal to Welsh women readers and to promote activities in which women were already engaged and effective. The "Women and Religious Freedom" feature offered a connection between the Disestablishment movement and Welsh nationalism. Within the Disestablishment movement, women's participation was already sanctioned and established, in part because of Victorian attitudes that endorsed women's spiritual and moral leadership. By connecting the cause of Disestablishment with the cause of Young Wales, the "Women and Religious Freedom" feature publicizes an existing foundation of female agency (namely, religion) and used that previously sanctioned role as an entry for women into national politics. This feature reinforces the connection between religious and national empowerment also promoted in the magazine's motto.

Further, the recurring "Women of Wales' Circle" feature encouraged women's solidarity as well as their participation in Liberal politics and the nationalist movement. The feature was edited by women and aimed at educating and unifying women in relation to nationalist activities. Typically, each installment of the feature included a portrait of an accomplished Welsh woman who was praised in the feature's prose, such as artist Gwendoline Williams:

[Figure 4.5]

Featuring portraits of model Welsh women at the start of each installment of the "Women of Wales' Circle" constitutes a form of appeal as well as of praise, drawing women readers to the magazine while also giving them admirable examples of Welsh womanhood. In Gender and Rhetorical Space, Nan Johnson calls attention to the power of models that construct idealized

versions of gendered identity. Johnson focuses on male biographers' portrayals of women rhetors in nineteenth-century America; she critiques these writers for, in effect, sanitizing these women's voices through selective biographies that portrayed them merely as "noble maids" rather than progressive thinkers.¹²³ Some of this same selectivity may certainly have been occurring in the accounts of praiseworthy women featured in the "Women of Wales' Circle." At the same time, however, this feature offered readers largely positive and progressive examples of women whom they could seek to emulate, both politically and morally.

In effect, the portraits of accomplished Welsh women in the "Women of Wales' Circle" were encouraging readerly identification with the experience of Welsh identity as well as with virtuous womanhood. These two identities had often been withheld from Welsh women through marginalization within the nationalism movement and moral censure from the Blue Books and the imperial attitudes underlying their authorship. Given Welsh women's difficulty in identifying as both truly "Welsh" and respectable women, the models of politically engaged and morally upright womanhood offered in features such as the "Progress of Women in Wales," "Notes on the Work of Welsh Liberal Women," "Women Students in Wales," "Women and Religious Freedom," and "The Women of Wales' Circle" served an important epideictic function: offering women readers access to both nationalism and to pride, not shame, in their gendered identities. As a whole, the magazine's non-fiction features likely would have held considerable appeal for female readers, drawing more women into the national life and dialogues that the magazine fostered.

In addition, the magazine's literary features served as an imaginative and rhetorical space for constructing both national and gendered identities. Though the authors of these features were of both genders, offerings from female contributors such as Allen Raine, Sara Maria Saunders

(“S. M. S.”), and Mallt and Gwenffreda Williams (“Y Ddau Wynne”) emphasized the stories and perspectives of Welsh women. These four literary contributors merit further attention as rhetorical agents. Beyond entertainment, the fiction they circulated in Young Wales performed vital persuasive functions, resisting traditional representations of Welsh women as passive, domestic, irrational, and immoral.¹²⁴ In contrast to these damaging representations, both the authors themselves and the female characters they created would praise Welsh women, positioning them as active, rational, dignified, and politically engaged. Through imaginative prose, Raine, Saunders, and the Williams sisters were implicitly participating in the some of the leading debates of their era—specifically, circulating narratives and symbols of “praise and blame” that constructed new hierarchies of value and thereby reshaped national, racial, and gender identities. Indeed, these writers were representing Welsh women anew, thereby persuading female readers of their capabilities for social activism, collaboration, and national engagement. In this sense, these writers were epideictic rhetors for Welsh women as well as their nation.

REVEALING “THE AMAZING DISAPPEARING WOMAN”: ALLEN RAINE AND YOUNG WALES

By the time she contributed to Young Wales in 1902, Allen Raine (1836-1908) had become a bestselling novelist and short story writer, and her fiction exerted an anti-colonial influence in that it commented on the Welsh with an insider perspective that resisted Anglocentric biases. Born Anne Adaliza Evans into a middle-class Welsh family, Raine benefited from a good education in both Wales and England.¹²⁵ She married a banker, Beynon Puddicombe, in April 1872; they lived in England until 1900, when—following Beynon’s mental breakdown and early retirement—they moved to Cardiganshire (west Wales) and lived out the

rest of their lives there (Jenkins). Though Raine likely began attempting to write novels in the 1880s, Raine's "highly successful" and prolific period occurred from ca. 1894 to 1908 (Jones, "Puddicombe," n.p.; Aaron 271). During this time period, Raine became well-known in both the United Kingdom and abroad, publishing eleven novels and numerous short stories and selling approximately two million novels by the year of her death (Aaron 271). Raine's rise to fame began in 1894, when her first novel, Ynysoer, won honors at the National Eisteddfod of that year for "a story descriptive of Welsh life" (Jones, "Puddicombe," n.p.).¹²⁶

This description can be applied to the majority of Raine's fiction, which, in contrast to most English-language publications of the time, depicted Welsh society with the benefit of direct and prolonged experience of that culture; in this sense, Raine's work served an anti-colonial function rather than reinforcing colonial attitudes about the Welsh (e.g., as exotic and wild Celts). In contrast to the derogatory stereotypes fostered by London-based publishers and standing apart from London-centered fiction, Raine's novels and short stories served an ethnographic function for Wales as well as providing popular entertainment. While working within the genre of romance may be mistaken for furthering a kind of escapist idealism, romance may also have unexpected sociopolitical functions. Stephen Knight claims that, among the romance writers of her day, Raine "comes closest . . . to being an ethnographer of rural Wales in her period" and contrasts Raine's work with that of writers like Berta Ruck who "churned out London-focused romances" (25). Knight goes on to note that, in setting the majority of her fiction in western Wales, Raine was performing "an act of dissent against the English metropolitan power she had experienced in her years in outer London and that in this [decision], Raine was at least testing, even inherently resisting, the constraints of English publishing practices" (25). In turning readers' gaze to a rural Wales that defied colonial stereotypes of the

Welsh, Raine's literary output benefited the interests of the Welsh people (representing them with greater depth and sympathy that was the norm in English-language publishing) as well as supplementing her own income.¹²⁷

Despite Raine's commercial success during her lifetime, critics have tended largely to overlook or undervalue Raine's writing. The sources of this neglect are worth reviewing briefly since they relate to Raine's cultural and literary positioning and, more broadly, to the tradition of disempowering Welsh women writers, including Saunders and the Williams sisters. As Katie Gramich puts it: "Allen Raine is one of those sterling performers in a side-tent of the circus of the literary tradition: the amazing disappearing woman" (1).¹²⁸ Similarly, Sally Roberts Jones, author of the only book-length study of Raine, argues that the dominance of male writers in the Anglo-Welsh tradition has contributed to critical neglect of Raine's work (Allen Raine). A related factor in the lack of attention to Raine's work is the historic assumption that Raine's tendency to use romantic plots indicates a relative lack of literary prowess. Sally Roberts Jones cites Ernest Rhys's appraisal of Raine's work after her death as typically dismissive: "She wrote love-stories, in short" ("Puddicombe," n.p.). Though we cannot be sure of Rhys's motives in criticizing Raine, he seems to have been prone to read Raine's work as two-dimensional, unrealistic, and sentimental rather than socially engaged.

Since Raine was a woman as well as a writer of romance, she fails to fit neatly into the dominant canon of Anglo-Welsh writing. Though Raine's work predates that of the infamous Caradoc Evans, critics traditionally cite Evans as the first significant Anglo-Welsh fiction writer, and Evans's My People (1915) established a precedent for Anglo-Welsh fiction to function as a critique of Welsh life (in contrast to the more romantic themes evident in the fiction of Raine, Saunders, and the Williams sisters).¹²⁹ Recently, however, scholars such as Jane Aaron, Katie

Gramich, and Stephen Knight have begun to recover the work of Raine and other Welsh women and to argue for their significance in the Anglo-Welsh literary tradition.¹³⁰ Despite critics' frequent dismissal of Raine on the basis of her questionable literary merit and reliance on somewhat formulaic romance plots, Stephen Knight insists that:

in her commitment to writing about Wales, in her sometimes quite complex treatment of her themes and in her power to realize and critique the forces at work in the romances, she [Raine] deserves consideration as a postcolonial . . . writer . . . and certainly deserves . . . the title of the first major English-language fiction writer in Wales. (17)

Here, Knight implies that Raine should supplant Caradoc Evans as the first significant Anglo-Welsh writer. Moreover, rather than dismissing Raine as merely a writer of romance, Knight draws attention to the way in which Raine uses fiction to “to realize and critique the forces at work in the romances”; in short, Knight is suggesting that Raine deserves inclusion in postcolonial criticism due to her narrative abilities to critique the status quo—in the case of Wales, a status quo significantly influenced by English colonialism. Raine's abilities to critique society through narrative become evident in a short story she published in Young Wales late in the magazine's run. In reassessing this story, we can recognize how Raine served not only as a literary contributor but also as a rhetorical agent, tapping into the existing cultural beliefs of her readers while reshaping the shared values that helped instill a sense of Welsh national community.

In March 1902, Young Wales published a short story by Raine at the very start of its monthly issue, an unusual choice given that the magazine tended to position biographical, historical, and political features at the beginning of each issue.¹³¹ The atypical placement of

“Life’s Chase” signals the magazine’s endorsement of Raine and probably also indicates Edwards’s desire to profit from the fame of Raine’s reputation since Raine had already achieved commercial success as a fiction writer by this time.¹³² In placing the story at the start of an issue, Edwards also juxtaposes Raine’s story with the magazine’s motto, which is printed just above the story’s start. The motto’s close positioning with the start of Raine’s story reinforces the idea that fictional features in Young Wales are part of the larger, national function of the magazine; in effect, the motto is an ideological frame that implicates the story itself in a national as well as moral enterprise. Such juxtaposition of motto and serialized fiction demonstrates the value-laden, epideictic role that the magazine performed through imaginative features as well as more direct commentary, as in editorials.

In addition to performing a national function, however, fiction by Raine and other contributors participated in remaking the image and function of Welsh women. In “Life’s Chase,” Raine dramatizes an 1830s Welsh farm that is run by a woman, and she portrays this female protagonist as intelligent and assertive. Raine begins the tale by introducing us to the protagonist, Mistress Parry, and emphasizing this woman’s “clear, clever mind”:

In the soft twilight of a June evening, seventy years ago, and far from the haunts of busy life, when the hay was just fit to cut, Mistress Parry of Bryneidon walked out to inspect herself the state of the crops, and to decide in her own clear, clever mind, whether to-morrow or the next day should be fixed upon for the mowing.

(49)

Here, Raine offers a rural scene with a female character capably running her own property. Raine’s description of Mistress Parry endorses her capacity for rational decision-making; this

emphasis on rationality stands in contrast to the frequent dismissal of Welsh women (and, more broadly, Victorian women) based on their supposedly “irrational” and “sentimental” natures.

Raine’s portrayal of Mistress Parry also aligns this character with the iconic figure of the Welsh rural woman, a stereotype that by the turn of the century had become conflated with idealized national identity (to an extent, in response to the Blue Books’ censure of Welsh women’s immorality). As Mistress Parry surveys her fields, Raine paints the details of her rural garb for readers while also reinforcing this woman’s intellect:

With her red flannel scarf drawn tightly over her shoulders, the ends hanging down from the grip of her elbows over her dress of red and black homespun, her high muslin cap, very full at the top and flat at the sides, under its broad band of black silk, her gold-headed cane, and her high-heeled shoes, she looked what she was—a very determined and capable manager of her own affairs. (49)

This description of Mistress Parry draws on an existing stereotype of Welshness (the rural woman in cap and shawl) while also rewriting that stereotype to emphasize women’s agency and capability. In a rhetorical move similar to that of Charles Wilkins in his Welsh Character Sketches, Raine “retools the tools” (i.e., dominant representations of Welshness) and appeals to readers to accept Welsh women as intellectual beings, not merely decorative and domestic ones.

Throughout “Life’s Chase,” Raine represents Mistress Parry as an authoritative figure who speaks her mind and commands the male characters. Her authority is, admittedly, based somewhat on class since several of the male characters are hired help on her farm. Nonetheless, Mistress Parry exerts considerable control over the men in the story. For instance, she becomes incensed when Ben, one of her workers, scares away a humble tramp to whom she had offered

food and shelter. She rails:

“How darest thou—stupid lout!” said the mistress. “This is the second time thou hast driven that poor wanderer away. Next time, thou wilt be turned from my door on the instant, remember!”—and drawing her red scarf tightly round her shoulders, her heels and her walking stick tapping the stone floor, she turned angrily away and left the servants to their supper. (50)

Here and elsewhere, Raine emphasizes the mistress’s authoritative presence and “firm rule” (53) while still cloaking her in the traditional trappings of Welsh rural women. Raine’s portrayal of an assertive version of the stereotypical Welsh woman is progressive for its time, and circulating this rewritten stereotype in a national magazine would have appealed to the existing beliefs of her readers while also challenging them to re-imagine gender roles.

Raine’s literary influence was thus also rhetorical, and her influence would extend well beyond the reach of the magazine. As a bestselling novelist, Raine used her imaginative gifts to craft compelling female characters whose own powers had undeniable appeal to a wide readership. Katie Gramich notes Raine’s tendency to “polarise her main characters, creating impossibly virtuous heroines and thoroughly reprehensible villains,” an authorial trend that has contributed to harsh criticism of Raine’s work as something less than “good” literature (9). However, reassessing Raine’s fiction in terms of its rhetorical functions, particularly concerning the “praise and blame” of gendered characters, reveals her demonstrated ability to circulate representations of Welsh women as both virtuous and assertive. Raine’s narrative “praise” of assertive Welsh women posed a challenge to the ideal of the “mam,” the Welsh equivalent of the Victorian “angel in the house.” The “mam” was itself a powerful representation that emerged in response to derogatory stereotypes of Welsh women in the 1847 Blue Books. Whereas the

“mam” garnered praise for her submissive and domestic qualities, Raine offered praiseworthy female characters who challenged these norms.

In this sense, Raine’s fiction served as a form of epideictic rhetoric, reshaping Welsh women’s sense of identity as well as national community—a combination that would have been especially potent in the pages of Young Wales, with its self-conscious focus on both national and women’s affairs. Raine herself assigned a social function to her literary output, claiming: “This has been the great desire of my life: to shew [sic] the poetry and interest of Welsh life to the nation with which we are linked” (qtd. in Gramich 8).¹³³ In addition to contributing to Young Wales, Raine contributed to Owen M. Edwards’s Wales and garnered praise from its influential editor.¹³⁴ We may reasonably assume that Raine was sincere in citing the nationalist aims of her fiction. By contributing to explicitly “national” periodicals, Raine was also contributing to the national identity of Wales. Ultimately, we should conceive of Raine not only as a bestselling fiction writer but also as a rhetorical agent invested in the future of the Welsh nation, including the future of its women.

SARA MARIA SAUNDERS: SKETCHING WELSH VIRTUE AND VICE

Compared to Allen Raine, Sara Maria Saunders (1864-1939) enjoyed less commercial success in her lifetime but was a more frequent contributor to Young Wales. In this sense, Saunders’s authorial voice was more influential in terms of the magazine’s *ethos* and its portrayal of Welsh women and national community. In addition to her literary contributions to Young Wales, Saunders served as one of the editors of the aforementioned series, “The Women of Wales’ Circle,” as did Mallt Williams (one of “Y Ddau Wynne”). This editorial role signals

both women's engagement not only with Welsh literature but also with Welsh women's political involvement.

Like many contributors to Young Wales and like many Welsh women writers, Saunders has attracted very limited scholarship. Born Sara Maria Davies, she married Calvinist Methodist minister John M. Saunders in 1887, a decision which may have contributed to the use of Protestant values within her fiction—a value system appealing to late-nineteenth-century Wales since a majority of the population was self-reportedly Nonconformist Methodist at that time. Stephens writes of the skill and initial popularity of Saunders's short stories, with these qualities underscoring his regret that Saunders's work has been largely forgotten (667). In addition to contributing to Young Wales, Saunders contributed to Welsh-language periodicals such as Y Gymraes [The Welshwoman], Y Trysorydd [The Treasurer], and Yr Ymwelydd Misol [The Monthly Visitor]. In surveying her creative output, Stephens notes Saunders's use of both rural and industrial settings and her achievement of advanced psychological portraits in her characterization, especially of women (667). Saunders published volumes of stories in 1897, 1907, and 1908 (Aaron 269). The 1897 publication of the first volume of stories occurred during the period in which Saunders was a regular contributor to Young Wales; her appearance on the magazine's cover the following year promotes Saunders's popularity while also appealing to potential readers of the magazine.

The April 1898 cover of Young Wales features a photo of Saunders, labeled "S. M. S." (Saunders's *nom de plume*). By using Saunders as the focal point of this issue, Edwards signals his endorsement of Saunders's writing as well as her involvement with the nationalist movement. The headlines that flank Saunders's photo, such as "Welsh Land Reform" and "Among the Welsh Members: Home Rule All Round," reinforce Saunders's nationalist role. In addition, as

with Raine, Edwards may well have been capitalizing on Saunders's growing popularity in order to increase sales of the magazine, particularly with women readers, even as Saunders was using the magazine as a means of circulating her fiction. In this sense, Edwards and Saunders served as reciprocal partners, advertising and benefiting from each other's textual output.

[Figure 4.6]

This cover illustration presents Saunders as a dignified, engaging representative of Welsh women. The photograph portrays Saunders as a respectable and fashionable woman of her day, her pleasant expression belying the constrictions of her corseted waist. As with the earlier cover photo of Mrs. Wynford Philipps, Saunders's photo would have appealed to Welsh women as potential readers of Young Wales, encouraging these women's identification with the magazine and the nationalist movement it promoted.

In the pages of Young Wales, Saunders offered readers a number of short stories, but her most substantial contribution was a series entitled Welsh Rural Sketches (1896-99). This series features complex characters that resist traditional stereotypes and places these characters within Welsh scenes, primarily a village called Pentre-Rhedyn.¹³⁵ In so doing, through imaginative prose, Saunders performs a similar kind of resistance to colonial and patriarchal caricatures of Welsh people and place as do Charles Wilkins and Allen Raine. Through complex characterization as well as the use of distinctly Welsh settings, Saunders contributions to Young Wales circulated a kind of ethnographic detail capable of counteracting colonial stereotyping. In addition, Saunders's depictions of rural Wales are more complex and less idealized than those of Owen M. Edwards, as circulated in Wales. For Saunders, the Welsh countryside is something other than the utopian source of Welsh history and identity that it was for Edwards. That is, Saunders uses rural Wales for a different rhetorical purpose. Specifically, she uses the Welsh

landscape as a productive imaginative backdrop for her primary concern: the complicated people who inhabit those hills and shores. For Saunders, that is, scene is secondary to character. In Welsh Rural Sketches, Saunders's portrayals of the Welsh people, particularly women, re-imagine Edwards's concept of the *gwerin* (the Welsh "folk") not as idealized rural figures but rather as flawed characters with free will: in short, as national subjects who are held up for "blame" as well as "praise" as Saunders details their vices and virtues. Through this more three-dimensional and realistic characterization, Saunders invites readerly reassessment of dominant assumptions about the Welsh "race" as well as about the women who have repeatedly been held accountable for the ills of their people. Indeed, Saunders centers the Welsh Rural Sketches around a conflict between two of the families of Pentre-Rhedyn (the Morris and Rogers families), and as this local feud plays out in each installment of the series, Saunders explicates the virtues and vices of Welsh rural life. In so doing, Saunders's fiction served an epideictic function for the magazine's readers—praising certain qualities of identity and behavior while decrying others, thus creating a nuanced hierarchy of national values. Specifically, through the Welsh Rural Sketches and the related stories she contributed to Young Wales, Saunders fuses Welsh national identity with Christian values and with a greater appreciation for the ethics and agency of Welsh women, who had often been misrepresented and blamed for the problems of the Welsh "race."

Saunders's Welsh Rural Sketches dramatize an ongoing feud between two community leaders; this conflict fuels the serialized Sketches while also teaching readers about virtue and vice in a Welsh context. The feud is between a strict and somber deacon, Morris Cwmdwr ("Mr. Morris"), and a warmer, more compassionate lay preacher named Rogers. Saunders teaches readers about virtue and vice by detailing the conflict between these two Welshmen and the

repercussions that their division has on their families and the rest of the village of Pentre-Rhedyn. In “His Majesty of Pentre-Rhedyn,” published in the January 1896 issue of Young Wales, Saunders details the start of the Morris-Rogers conflict and makes fun of the pride and self-righteousness of Morris in contrast with the humility and kindness represented by Rogers’s character.¹³⁶ In this installment, an unnamed elderly resident of Pentre-Rhedyn narrates the genesis of the Morris-Rogers feud while also illustrating the contrasting characters of the two men:

It wor this way. Jonathan, the saddler’s daughter wor turned out o’ the church; an’ Mr. Morris wor more severe than usual; an’ e said something about God *hatin’* ’er for doin’ wot she done. Mr. Morris ‘ad called on Joe the tailor to finish the meetin’ wi’ prayer; when instead up gets old Mr. Rogers, ’is face lookin’ (for ’im) very black. ‘I can’t sit still,’ says ’e, ‘an’ hear the God I loves spoken of like that;’ an’ he gets up, an’ walks down to where Becca was sittin’, an’ ’e put ’is ’and on ’er ’ead, an’ said:—‘Whatever you’ve done, whatever sin you’ve bin guilty of, remember, God loves you. He does’nt [sic] hate thee, my little girl, any more than I’d hate my little Nancy if she wor wicked. It’s sorry He is; oh, very sorry, but not angry; an’ He’s lovin’ thee now this very minute.’ ‘It’s not true,’ says Mr. Morris; ‘an’ you’ve no right, Mr. Rogers, to say agen’ my words . . .’
(II.I.6)¹³⁷

Here, Saunders contrasts Morris’s Calvinistic piety with Rogers’s more compassionate mode of theology and action. While Morris almost seems to revel in punishing the wayward Becca, Rogers reassures her of God’s love and forgiveness. Rogers’s words infuriate Morris, perhaps equally so for going against Morris’s earlier severe proclamation as for not being “true.” In

Morris's rejoinder to Rogers, Saunders highlights the pride at the heart of Morris's character, and throughout the series of Sketches, Saunders uses Morris's pride as a negative example of Welsh moral character. Saunders's close acquaintance with Nonconformist Methodism in Wales would have made her a particularly skilled critic of the inner workings of this hierarchical religious community. As discussed earlier, critics have long asserted the significance of Caradoc Evans's critique of Welsh Nonconformity (beginning with My People in 1915), but Saunders's earlier critique of this same social community has been almost entirely overlooked. Moreover, Saunders's Welsh Rural Sketches, by appearing in a nationalist magazine and bearing a self-consciously "Welsh" title, certainly functioned as a critique of Welshness as well as of the actions of prideful deacons such as Morris. In effect, then, Saunders's Sketches fuse Welsh national and religious identities, depicting characters who are distinctively Welsh in speech and setting while also staunchly religious, though with different implications.

In "The Courtship of Edward and Nancy," the Morris-Rogers feud takes a romantic turn when the children of the two men fall in love (III.28-32). Though not quite the star-crossed courtship of the houses of Capulet and Montague, Edward Morris and Nancy Rogers's romance provides a rhetorical space for Saunders to further reproach the pride of Mr. Morris, the severe deacon. Edward becomes embittered toward his father because of Mr. Morris's refusal to accept Edward's engagement (and later, marriage) to Nancy, the daughter of his enemy: "The courtship throve apace, but Edward and his father never spoke to one another, and passed each other as strangers" (II.31). Tellingly, both Mr. Harris, the village schoolmaster and the story's narrator, and Edward blame Mr. Morris's pride as the source of significant trouble. Harris emphasizes Mr. Morris's overabundance of pride in detailing the deficiencies of Morris's staff:

No man with any independency of thought would consent to be ruled with the authority practised [sic] by Mr. Morris; so his employe[e]s were usually of the stolid order of intellect: creatures who did what they were told without asking any questions or expressing any opinion. (II.31)

Later, in conversing with Harris, Edward emphasizes the negative consequences of his father's pride: "He has gone through life looking at everybody as if they were insects, and it was his business to finish them; but if he thinks that he's going to treat me in that way he's very much mistaken . . ." (III.31). In Edward's account of his father, Saunders shows the destructive effect that pride has on relationships—especially in dividing father and son.

In addition to blaming excess piety and pride, Saunders's Sketches also promote the agency of Welsh women—in particular, by showing the power of the women in the Rogers family in the midst of the men's feuding. In the first sketch of the series, "His Majesty of Pentre-Rhedyn," Saunders portrays Mrs. Rogers's fearless intervention in the conflict between her husband and the imposing Mr. Morris. Saunders contrasts Mrs. Rogers's personality with that of her husband, demonstrating Mrs. Rogers's assertiveness, especially when challenging powerful Mr. Morris one night at the church:

[Q]uite sudden Mrs. Rogers began ter sey as she'd got somethin' pertickler to say ter Mr. Morris . . . 'Well sir' says she, . . . 'I'm goin' to speak my mind to you: if everybody else's afraid o' you, *I'm not*; an' the man as can make Martha Rogers frighten'd o' him, 'asn't bin born yet. Oh yes! I know very well, as you think, as you've got us all under yer thumb, an' the more you squeezes us, the better we like it. No sir! th' only ones, as you can keep down, under yer foot, is them as has a guilty conscience; which, thank God, I've not got, nor Rogers neither, been both

o' us honest, hardworkin' folks, as has done our duty accordin' to our light . . .
 An I'd advice you, sir, to read yer Bible a bit more, an' then you'll find as the
 ones God likes are them that's kind to his little uns; an' I for one ud'nt be
 surprised to know as your wife, as you looks down on, as a poor critter o' no
 special use in the world, but ter wait on you, ull'ave a higher place in the
 Kingdom of Heaven after all than you.' (II.7)

In this passage, Saunders highlights Mrs. Rogers's agency, portraying this woman as the only member of the church willing to speak out against Mr. Morris's pride and bullying tactics. Significantly, Mrs. Rogers draws on Biblical authority to challenge the intimidating deacon and to critique his treatment of the congregation as well as of his own wife. Saunders's choice to construct Mrs. Rogers's argument using Christian values and references is important because this choice demonstrates Saunders's knowledge of Young Wales's readers, primarily Welsh Protestants. Moreover, in this passage, Saunders implicitly offers a Biblical basis for treating women such as the long-suffering Mrs. Morris with compassion and respect rather than as "poor critter[s] o' no special use in the world." Through Mrs. Rogers's speech to Mr. Morris, Saunders emphasizes the vice of underestimating and mistreating women. In so doing, Saunders offers Mr. Morris as negative, blameworthy example of a Welsh man and conversely, praises women's power and worth by crafting an outspoken female character who draws on Biblical authority to state her case.

Through the character of Nancy, the Rogerses' daughter, Saunders revisits the portrayal of a strong female character and implicitly praises female assertiveness while critiquing women's tendency toward passivity. In "Nancy on the Warpath," the installment published after "The Courtship of Edward and Nancy," Saunders offers readers a glimpse of the divisive aftermath of

Edward and Nancy's decision to marry (III.54-58). Their marriage further strains the relationship of Edward and his parents; Edward's mother is sympathetic toward the match but remains distant and silent due to the iron rule of her husband and her own ill health, both of which keep her homebound. Even after the birth of Edward and Nancy's son and Edward's battle with a serious illness, the rift between Edward and his parents remains. The callousness of Mr. Morris in the midst of these circumstances drives Nancy to go "on the warpath," and she confronts her father-in-law with a bravado similar to that of her mother. Nancy goes so far as to threaten Mr. Morris with church discipline:

". . . I'll call the attention of the church to your conduct, and I'll ask them if they consider that a man who has rejected every advance on the part of his son, who allowed his only son to be on the brink of death without stretching out a finger to help him, who leaves his sick wife to the tender mercies of a lot of stupid, ignorant servants . . . I'll ask them if they think that such a man as that is fit to be a deacon? I'll tell you, Mr. Morris, you'll have no chance; let a person but put a match to the gunpowder that's in that chapel and you'll not forget the blaze in a hurry" (III.58)

Nancy's choice to threaten Mr. Morris's powerful position within the church and community proves to be a clever tactic, ultimately persuading Mr. Morris to reconcile with his son, Edward, and earning Nancy her father-in-law's grudging respect. After hearing Nancy's speech, Mr. Morris actually takes tea with Nancy and then speaks to his son for the first time since Edward and Nancy's marriage: "'You've married a woman of spirit, Edward'" (III.58). In this installment of Welsh Rural Sketches, Saunders extends her exploration of strong female characters and their social impact. Nancy's ability to mend the deep rift between her husband

and his father suggests women's capacity for mediation. In this sketch, Saunders also implicitly blames the weakness of certain women on overbearing husbands, offering Mrs. Morris as a case in point: "[W]hen you have been under subjection for thirty years, you lose the capacity for self-assertion . . ." (III.54). Saunders contrasts Mrs. Morris's passivity with Nancy's agency and, though inviting readers to sympathize with Mrs. Morris's condition, praises Nancy's confidence and actions by showing her eventual victory over the social obstacles that her father-in-law has helped to create for her, her husband Edward, and her parents. Nancy attributes her boldness to her mother's example: "[M]y mother's daughter has never yet been afraid of anyone, *and she's not afraid of you* [Mr. Morris]" (III.57). Here, Saunders suggests that the women of today must help model such assertiveness for the next generation of women, as Mrs. Rogers has done for Nancy. Saunders's suggestion of women's capacity for future influence would have been well suited to Young Wales's emphasis on attracting women readers to the nationalist cause. Saunders's fiction, then, was likely attracting women readers to the magazine while also instilling Welsh women with a greater sense of patriotic duty and power—persuasive themes that would be reinforced by the Williams sisters in their serialized novel, A Maid of Cymru.

In the Welsh Rural Sketches, Saunders also emphasizes the need to discern between appearance and reality, praising such discernment as an important aspect of the Welsh national character. In "A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing," Saunders cautions her readers against being fooled by appearances, translating the popular fable of a deceiving wolf into a Welsh rural and religious context (III.246-49). In this installment of the Sketches, a young scholar named Henry Jones attracts admiration for his fine sermons, but readers soon discover that Henry is a particularly pernicious variety of "wolf." Indeed, Henry is a plagiarist who takes credit for sermons he memorizes from books. Likely anticipating retribution from the duped residents of Pentre-

Rhedyn, Henry leaves town in a hurry, managing to con several friends and even his girlfriend out of money and property before he departs. Through this fable-like narrative, Saunders warns readers that even those with the utmost outer appearance of piety may actually be rogues—thus implying the need to be watchful and discerning. Throughout the tale, Saunders also suggests that women may have exceptional abilities for such careful discernment; Nancy Rogers is the only character who suspects Henry Jones of wrongdoing before it is too late, while the supposedly learned and wise Mr. Harris (Henry's teacher and the story's narrator) falls for all of Henry's tricks.

An untitled editorial note that appears just underneath the conclusion of "A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing" reinforces the need for "soundness of judgment" among the Welsh people (III.249). In this anonymous note, the author (likely John Hugh Edwards himself) emphasizes the need for the youth of Wales to develop better language skills ("style in conversation") in both the Welsh and English languages (III.249). Significantly, the writer bases this argument on a desire for "the youthful scholar[s]" of Wales to be able to compete with the more advantaged English youth (III.249). The anonymous author offers "a sound sense . . . of style" to be one example of the "soundness of judgment" which should abound throughout the Welsh nation (III.249). Through this argument, the writer extends the moral of Saunders's tale (i.e., to practice good judgment) and applies this lesson to the linguistic and educational situation of the readers of Young Wales.

In a later installment of the Sketches entitled "A Crotchety Old Maid," Saunders continues to promote sound judgment among her readers while also foregrounding gender dynamics in rural Wales (V.29-32). In this story, Saunders offers a female protagonist who, by all outward indications, is a perfect embodiment of the stereotype that the sketch's title

proclaims. By the story's end, however, Saunders teaches readers not to trust appearances and, in so doing, challenges popular stereotyping, particularly of Welsh women. From the start of the tale, Saunders tempts readers to adopt a negative impression of the "old maid" in question, Miss Thomas:

"If there's one woman in the world whom I dislike more than another, it's that old Miss Thomas," said Dr. Edwards to me [Harries] one Thursday, as we stood outside the chapel, watching the people as they gathered in groups by the door, waiting for the *seiet* [meeting] to begin. "I see, you are in need of a *seiet*," I returned, with a laugh, "you've no right to dislike anyone, especially a sister in church." "P'raps not," he returned, "but I'm not a saint; and only a saint could find a redeeming quality in that creature." (V.29)

Here, Saunders emphasizes popular dislike of the old maid by representing Miss Thomas as a woman in whom not even her fellow Christians can find "a redeeming quality." Miss Thomas remains a subject of scorn in her community until the very end of the tale, wherein Saunders reveals that Miss Thomas has been anonymously giving to numerous families in need. Alys, the sister of Dr. Edwards (Pentre-Rhedyn's town physician), reveals that she has secretly been assisting Miss Thomas with her anonymous acts of generosity, including providing significant financial support to help improve the health of the doctor's own wife:

[S]he [Miss Thomas] is paying the school fees of young Robert Jones . . . she is providing food and clothing to more families than I can remember; and this winter she has denied herself the necessaries of life for the sake of trying to restore a wife to her husband, and a mother to her children. (V.32)

Readers also learn that Miss Thomas maintained anonymity in her giving due to her religiously based conviction to not publicize one's own generosity—that all the secrecy of Miss Thomas's doings stems from the Biblical teaching to “not let our left hand know what our right hand doeth” (V.32). Alys confronts her brother and Mr. Harries¹³⁸, the story's narrator, about their misguided judgments of Miss Thomas: “I know she [Miss Thomas] is peculiar, that she has perhaps accepted that verse about the right and left hand too literally; but she is a grand woman, and we ought to be proud of her” (V.32). Alys's defense of Miss Thomas as a “grand” if peculiar woman cuts through the men's wrongful stereotyping of Miss Thomas, illustrating that this supposed miser has actually been the most generous resident of Pentre-Rhedyn all along.

Within the narrative structure of “A Crotchety Old Maid,” Saunders appeals to the widespread Protestant belief system of Young Wales's readership while also persuading these readers not to be deceived by appearances (as in “A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing”). This tale also challenges readers to reconsider the power of Welsh women. Indeed, in this tale, Miss Thomas's wealth gives her an unusual amount of agency for a woman, even though her commitment to secrecy causes her to be misunderstood and treated with scorn until her female accomplice, Alys, reveals Miss Thomas to be the source of so many good deeds. Saunders uses the negative icon of an old maid, one who is also perceived to be a miser, and transforms this traditional object of blame into a heroic figure. Thus, Saunders's “A Crotchety Old Maid” invites praise of Christian beliefs, generosity, and humility and, conversely, implies blame of those who judge others based on appearances and also those who give to others while seeking to publicize their own generosity. Given that this and other installments of Saunders's Welsh Rural Sketches appeared in a magazine focused on Welsh nationalism and identity, we can recognize that Saunders's portrayal of female agency and dignity would certainly have complemented more didactic

arguments for women's participation in the Young Wales movement, as offered in a number of non-fiction features. In the midst of the publication of her serialized Sketches, Saunders emphasized women's agency through her editorial work with "The Women of Wales' Circle." In effect, Saunders used both non-fiction and fictional features to promote Welsh women's capabilities.

ON BEING “A MAID OF CYMRU”: SACRIFICING ROMANCE FOR PATRIOTISM

Not long after Saunders’s series of Welsh Rural Sketches had run its course, Young Wales started publishing a serialized novel called A Maid of Cymru: A Patriotic Romance (1900-01), its byline reading: “By ‘The Ddau Wynne’.” This pseudonym (roughly translated: “The Two Wynnes”) invokes a common Welsh surname and also cloaks the sisters in a masculine persona (given that “ddau” is the masculine form of “two,” while “ddwy” is the feminine form). The two female authors behind this pseudonym were Mallt Williams and Gwenffreda Williams, though Mallt was likely the dominant writer within their collaboration.¹³⁹ Using the same pseudonym, the Williams sisters previously published a novel titled One of the Royal Celts (1899) and had already acquired a degree of fame within Wales. Though Mallt Williams is the only woman pictured in a group of 14 members of “The Literary Staff of ‘Young Wales,’” she is featured in the top row of the layout, giving emphasis to her contributing role.¹⁴⁰ Like Raine and Saunders, however, the Williams sisters’ lives and writings have been largely forgotten.

Limited scholarship is available to help reveal the authorial and political motivations of the Williams sisters, but existing studies indicate that the sisters held strong commitments to the Welsh nationalist movement and to related interests such as Eisteddfod celebrations, bardic dress, traditional Welsh music and art, and the Pan-Celtic movement (Löffler 61, 63-66). The Williams sisters’ contributions to Young Wales provide further evidence of these commitments. Prior to publishing A Maid of Cymru, the sisters contributed several non-fiction articles to the magazine, including commentaries in 1899 on “St. David’s” and “Things Celtic: Some Suggestions,” the latter of which espoused Pan-Celticism. The sisters would revisit the theme of

Pan-Celtic coalition with a feature on “Celtia’s Congress” (March 1901), published during the run of A Maid of Cymru.¹⁴¹

Though the two Williams sisters grew up without the benefit of a Welsh-speaking household, Mallt worked hard to learn Welsh later in life and became an ardent advocate of the language; this emphasis on language preservation was a reoccurring theme in both Pan-Celtic and Welsh nationalist rhetorics. The preface to A Maid of Cymru emphasizes the importance of “restoring the language of Arthur to the nursery, the schoolroom, and the drawing room” (Young Wales VI.80). As I will detail further, the narrative of the novel itself helps persuade readers to revere and to use the ancient Welsh tongue (often referred to as the “*hen iaith*” or “old language”). Ironically, in order to promote this language-based appeal to nationalism, the Williams sisters relied heavily on the English language, making English their language of choice in A Maid of Cymru. Apart from occasional code-switching to the Welsh language within the novel, over 95 percent of the novel is written in English, making the story accessible to Anglophone readers who might be receptive to the Williams sisters’ appeals to patriotism and also to Welsh language learning.

A Maid of Cymru is indeed “a patriotic romance,” one which clearly advocates fealty to the Welsh homeland, including whatever personal sacrifices might be necessary to enact that loyalty. The heroine of the story, Tangwystl Hywel, refuses to marry a man she deeply loves (Garry Thoyts) because he is an Englishman and thus complicit in the industrialization of her beloved rural Wales. Instead, Tangwystl eventually marries Hoel Cadwgan, who—like her—is a descendant of a respectably old Welsh family. Thus, the courtship plots in the novel are explicit regarding duty to Wales and making sacrifices on behalf of patriotism. Following her marriage, Tangwystl convinces her husband, Hoel, to improve his knowledge of the Welsh language and to

be a better landlord, one who is both honest and traditional; thus, the Williams sisters' characterization of Tangwystl models the influence that women can have in terms of bettering Welsh life and preserving its traditions. Tragically, Tangwystl dies not long after her marriage to Hoel. Just before she dies, she entreats her husband: "*Gwasanaetha Gymru*" ("Serve Wales"). This deathbed message leaves readers in no doubt about the moral of this tale. Indeed, the Williams sisters' preface to the novel indicates that the Williams sisters have written this work based on their own desire to "serve Cymru [Wales]" (VI.80).

In its circulation in Young Wales, the Williams sisters' novel served as a teaching tool for Welsh women in particular, appealing to these readers to identify with nationalist sentiment and to commit themselves to "serve Wales." We can find evidence of the novel's appeal to women in its emphasis on courtship and romantic love, in its preface (calling for women's participation in nationalism), and also in Owen M. Edwards's hearty recommendation of the novel "to all Welshwomen who [can] read English" (qtd. in Löffler 61).¹⁴² Edwards's prominence within Welsh politics and educational matters suggests that his recommendation of the novel would have carried significant weight. Indeed, Edwards's publicized respect for the Williams sisters' patriotic activities and writings, especially A Maid of Cymru, was a powerful endorsement of women's roles in the Welsh nationalist movement and, more broadly, in the political sphere.

What little criticism exists on A Maid of Cymru emphasizes its patriotic message and import. Meic Stephens acknowledges that the novel may be rather "unremarkable in literary terms"; however, he stresses that this novel "combines romanticism with a demanding Welsh patriotism and an outspokenness very uncommon at the time" (786). Löffler goes so far as to call the novel a "manifesto" for Welsh nationalism (61). Indeed, the novel's patriotism is perhaps didactic to the extent that other important elements of the novel have been overlooked.

The characterization of A Maid of Cymru highlights issues of gender, race, and class, thus giving the Williams sisters opportunities to shape perceptions of virtue and vice within the context of the Welsh nationalist movement—a movement which was necessarily concerned with defining who was truly and rightly “Welsh,” despite all the perils of such definition. Specifically, we should attend to the novel’s “blame” of mixed marriage (i.e., warning against a perceived mixing of the Welsh and English “races”) as well as its cautions to those who faced the temptation to emigrate in search of better financial prospects.

In the context of its years of publication, the novel highlights perceived racial differences between the English and the Welsh; in so doing, the Williams sisters argue for an essentialist Welsh identity that should be kept distinct from racial mixing, even if this preservation means the sacrifice of romantic love. Part I of the novel, published throughout 1900, is titled “The Sais” (“The Englishman”); this first half of the novel introduces us to a young Englishman named Garry Thoyts. Garry becomes the first love of the story’s heroine, Tangwystl, and the Williams sisters paint a highly appealing and sympathetic portrait of Garry. Indeed, Part I of the novel seems designed to attract female readers to Garry’s character even though the novel will eventually teach Welsh women that they should resist the temptation to marry the English.

Garry’s initial allure seems quite strategic, for in courting female readers through their depiction of an appealing “Sais,” the Williams sisters’ message of personal sacrifice on behalf of Wales would ultimately be more keenly felt and understood. In the first chapter of the novel, Garry is 21 and has just returned to his family home for a visit after the death of his mother. This

chapter emphasizes Garry's sensitivity to his mother's passing and, more broadly, to affairs of the heart:

A . . . clean limbed, young fellow, was Garry, with a round head, dark hair and eyes, and a small, fair moustache, that gave picquancy [sic] to a dark face
Some six months before this story opens the first great sorrow of his life had come to Garry, when . . . a message, flashed across the seas, had told him of his mother's death Now that he had returned [home] . . . where every association reminded him of her lost presence, he realized his loss as he had never done during the first early days of mourning. (81)

This introduction to Garry establishes his emotional sensitivity, a quality of likely appeal to many female readers. Indeed, readers would not have been able to overlook the "romantic side" that the authors assign to Garry's character (82). The Williams sisters demonstrate Garry's chivalry when he assists two Welsh girls at a busy train station, helping them find a cab when they are disoriented and overrun by the crowds (80-81). Garry is immediately attracted to the older sister, whom we later discover to be Tangwystl, but she leaves England before he can properly introduce himself. When Garry's cousin, Lord Entwhistle, asks him to leave England in order to help manage limestone quarries in "the wilds of Wales," Garry's heart leaps at the thought that he might somehow find Tangwystl again: "Somewhere among the fastnesses of Wales he knew his 'princess' dwelt" (104).

To modern sensibilities, the Williams sisters' rather sentimental portrayal of Garry may seem merely romantic; however, within the social context of the story's publication, Garry represents an unusual type of Englishman, one with sympathies for Wales and its people, even if he can never fully fit in among the Welsh. The authors describe Garry's emotionality as "strange

to the family attributes” and contrast Garry with the more stoic personalities of his father and brother (82). For instance, during a conversation between Garry and his brother Robin, the authors attribute Robin’s avoidance of sentimentality with “the Englishman’s intense dislike of ‘scenes’” (82). Later, after Garry injures his ankle during a cricket match, the authors once again draw attention to Garry’s “romantic side”:

Athletics had reigned mistress of his heart hitherto, now a rival [Tangwystl], and that a formidable one, had arisen on the field. The romantic side of his nature was asserting itself, and the mere athletic existence of the average Englishman of his age and class had passed from him for ever [sic]. (101)

Here, the Williams sisters depict Garry as a romantic young man with undoubted allure to female readers; however, their characterization of Garry also reinforces his less-than-English personality. This distancing of Garry from traditional qualities of English identity is crucial to the plot of the novel, for it is Garry’s romantic qualities that draw him to Tangwystl, and she to him. Though Tangwystl ultimately rejects Garry in favor of a Welshman, the authors’ portrayal of Garry’s sentimentality implicitly assigns him a Celtic streak. Specifically, since late Victorian readers would have associated sentiment both with femininity and Celticism (thanks in part to Matthew Arnold’s influence), the Williams sisters’ choice to depict Garry as more sentimental than most Englishmen was quite possibly an intentional signal to readers of Garry’s potential to bridge the traditional divide between English and Welsh identities. This subtle commentary on Garry’s less-than-English identity would not have been lost on the readers of Young Wales.

The courtship of Garry and Tangwystl, while unsuccessful within the narrative itself, succeeds at teaching female readers about resisting the temptation to marry an Englishman, no matter how charming and even Welsh-seeming he may be. In Chapter XII, the authors highlight

the high stakes of Tangwystl's difficult choice (love or patriotism?). In this chapter, Tangwystl talks with her friend Blodwen, who tells of her cousin Sian's recent marriage to a "rich Sais [Englishman]" (VI. 259). While Blodwen thinks her cousin has made a prudent match, the news has quite a different effect on Tangwystl, who immediately declines Sian's invitation to have Tangwystl come to visit her in her new home:

[T]he life and gaiety in Tangwystl's face . . . had died out. Her face looked set in stone . . . "[P]lease tell her [Sian] that I decline to visit her now or ever . . . I'm sorry to have to speak so plainly of a cousin of yours, Blodwen," noticing her flushed face, "but I consider a Cymraes who marries an alien a reproach to her race . . . [I]f you really love your country you must desire to see the purity of your country's race preserved—to live and die, in your native land,—to wed (if you must wed) with a compatriot. Oh, I cannot comprehend how women can prate of patriotism, and then at the wooing whisper of a stranger, throw off their allegiance to their country, take an alien's name in place of their native name, give their children an alien father, make them natives of a strange land."

(VI. 259-60)

In this passage, the authors depict Tangwystl's fierce commitment to a mode of Welsh patriotism that views all non-Welsh as "aliens" who are best kept separate from her own "race," especially in the case of marriage. The issue of racial mixing dominates this exchange between Tangwystl and her friend Blodwen, and Blodwen's grandfather soon joins the conversation to praise Tangwystl's patriotic fervor (VI. 260). We should never assume that a character's arguments and feelings are those of the authors themselves. In this scene, however, Tangwystl's speech is highly praised by the wise grandfather figure (Ab Crawnant), and the depiction of Tangwystl

remains noble and elevated throughout the novel, as when Hoel (her future husband) places her name alongside the names of ancient heroines such as Boadicea and Gwennlian (VI. 263). Given the praise which Tangwystl garners throughout the novel, we may reasonably assume that the Williams sisters intended the readers of Young Wales to sympathize and identify with Tangwystl's position: i.e., committing to marry a "compatriot" rather than an "alien." The Williams sisters' own lives reflect this extreme patriotism—in particular, Mallt's actions on behalf of the Welsh cause, including her determination to learn and promote the Welsh language. The problem of "an alien's name," an issue raised in Tangwystl's exchange with Blodwen, was one with which Mallt herself had grappled. Lacking the benefit of a Welsh-language name or upbringing, Mallt changed her name in order to reflect her nationalist commitments, as discussed earlier. Mallt also served as an advocate and patron of Welsh language preservation (Löffler 63-66).

Within the narrative structure of A Maid of Cymru, the Williams sisters represent Welsh nationalism as a cause which will demand personal sacrifice. This representation of sacrificial patriotism occurs primarily through the love triangle of Tangwystl, Garry, and Hoel but also in the depiction of the economic temptations of additional characters. In the aforementioned exchange between Tangwystl and Blodwen, readers learn that Blodwen's cousin Sian who has succumbed to the temptation to marry a rich Englishman. In so doing, Sian achieves financial stability but sacrifices her reputation as a loyal Welsh woman, at least through the eyes of the story's heroine. In effect, the Williams sisters offer Sian as the negative, blameworthy example of a woman who has chosen not only between love and patriotism, as Tangwystl does, but who has chosen wealth over patriotism. In addition, the Williams sisters use the character of Gwilym

Parri, a tenant farmer and “poor poet” (VI. 240) to depict the kind of economic inequities that can motivate both patriotism and emigration.¹⁴³

Through several affecting scenes, readers learn that the Parri family has fallen on difficult times and is at the mercy of Byng Orris, the landlord’s agent; the conflicts between Orris and the Parri family illustrate the power of class and economic divides in rural Wales as well as the patriotic implications of these tensions. The Williams sisters invite readers to sympathize with the Parri family by portraying them as religious, Welsh-speaking, and disadvantaged. Against heavy odds, Gwilym struggles to care for his “poor witless sister” and aging grandmother (VI. 256-57). In contrast, the authors paint Orris as a heartless villain who scoffs at Gwilym’s “Methodist cant,” evicts the Parri family from their land and home, and sells the Parris’ household goods to compensate for the rent they owe him (VI. 256, VI. 263-64). Due to these misfortunes, including his grandmother’s death the day after the eviction, Gwilym resolves to emigrate to New Zealand, where a cousin has offered him employment (VI. 275-76). The authors emphasize Tangwystl’s strong objections to Gwilym’s plans to emigrate, objections which readers learn are based not only in her personal affection for Gwilym, a friend and distant relative, but in her patriotic conviction that Wales needs all of its “sons” (VI. 276).¹⁴⁴ In depicting Tangwystl’s inner monologue as she unsuccessfully pleads with Gwilym to stay in Wales, the authors tell readers that Tangwystl is “the sworn foe of emigration”:

[She] looked upon the draining of her country’s young and virile manhood as one of the greatest of modern ills She thought of deserted homesteads gone to ruin for the lack on inmates . . . , that there was hardly a farm in the three valleys that had not given one stalwart son or blooming daughter to lifelong exile, and now the young bard [Gwilym] of whom Dyffryn expected such great things, was

going the same road—leaving his native land—the wild hills and valleys of
Cymru for ever,—for she knew he would never return. They never did. (VI. 276)

In detailing the passionate convictions underlying their heroine's resistance to Gwilym's departure, the Williams sisters invite readers to view emigration as a patriotic issue as well as an economic one. Gwilym's role as the promising young poet of the village of Dyffryn underscores emigration's effects on those left behind; with Gwilym's departure, his former neighbors are losing not only a friend but a bard, a symbolic figure who occupies a central position in Welsh society. The loss of Gwilym, then, represents a loss of cultural identity, as does emigration on a larger scale. Through Tangwystl's certainty that Gwilym and others have entered "lifelong exile," the Williams sisters dramatize the irrevocability of such cultural losses. In this and other scenes in the novel, the Williams sisters implicitly call for fervent loyalty to Wales despite any number of economic and personal obstacles.

Though the Williams sisters' preface to A Maid of Cymru invites a range of readers into the story, their particular address to Welsh women suggests that they intended the story primarily female readers. The dominance of courtship plots within the novel also indicates a targeting of a female audience. If, as Löffler claims, the novel functions as a "manifesto" for Welsh nationalism, we may reasonably assume that the Williams sisters aimed at fostering patriotism among Welsh women. The example of Tangwystl, the story's heroine, illustrates the kinds of personal sacrifices that may be necessary in serving the Welsh nation. The novel also raises issues of race and class. Ultimately, the Williams sisters seem to suggest that the readers of Young Wales should identify with one another based on a supposed racial distinctiveness, resisting the potential corruption and financial lure of "mixed" marriages with the English, as Tangwystl's choices exemplify. Conveying patriotic messages through a romantic narrative, the

Williams sisters appeal to Welsh women to be engaged readers as well as active participants in the cause of Young Wales.

* * *

During its nine-year run, Young Wales served several important functions in Welsh consciousness. First and foremost, the magazine helped to create identification among its Anglophone readership, fostering attachment to Welsh identity after the defeat of Home Rule and during a time of increased English-language use in Wales. Further, the magazine helped to promote and justify women's participation in the ongoing nationalist movement, reshaping the structure of the movement in a way that made women more visible and valued. As such, Young Wales helped to create a new hierarchy of values within Welsh nationalism, praising women as necessary and powerful partners in defining Welsh cultural identity.

The community-building effects of the magazine happened collaboratively, through the joint efforts of editor John Hugh Edwards, male and female contributors, and the readers that read and responded to the magazine. Both non-fiction and fictional features functioned as epideictic rhetoric, offering new visions of ideal and shameful Welsh character traits. In particular, reports on university life and the work of Welsh Liberal women showcased the effectiveness of women already engaged in Welsh political life. Contributions of fiction from Allen Raine, Sara Maria Saunders, and sisters Mallt Williams and Gwenffreda Williams praised reason, dignity, outspokenness, and patriotic loyalty among Welsh women characters as well as blaming men who undervalued or mistreated these women. In addition to re-imagining gender roles, these contributors resisted colonial stereotypes of the Welsh and offered insider

perspectives on Welsh life that painted much more sympathetic portraits of the Welsh people. Saunders' Welsh Rural Sketches suggested the fusion of religious and nationalist ideals while also critiquing excess piety and pride within Nonconformist chapel culture, a vital critique predating that of the more famous Caradoc Evans by over 15 years. Saunders's tales also stressed the need for discernment, a skill which the Williams sisters' A Maid of Cymru applied to maintaining Welsh racial distinctiveness.

Like earlier magazines such as the Red Dragon and Wales, Young Wales primarily appealed to Anglophone readers in Wales, reinforcing these readers' identification with Welshness despite a widespread decline in Welsh language use. In addition to circulating new visions of Welsh community, Young Wales invited readers to participate in the process of "decolonizing the mind" of Wales. This process necessitated imaginative as well as political action, and the magazine's miscellany structure and use of multiple genres of text provided an important available means for the Welsh people to rewrite their national identity. Unlike previous periodicals of the same genre, however, Young Wales afforded women an impressive degree of involvement in the nationalist movement, thus tapping a much larger reserve of collective imagination and action.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

Given the late twentieth-century rise in studies of minority rhetoric(s) and periodical studies as well as renewed interest in epideictic rhetoric, I became interested in learning more about how epideictic theory could be reassessed to account for the rhetorical situations and tactics of minority groups, including those in colonized contexts, and especially how epideictic and minority rhetoric(s) functioned within and through periodical texts. This investigation was also influenced by commonalities I had begun to trace among theories and practices of women's rhetorics, minority rhetorics, and postcolonial discourse while completing graduate coursework and qualifying exams. Conceiving of rhetoric itself as a cultural site (as discussed in Chapter 1 in reference to the work of Nan Johnson), I began formulating a project based, in part, on the premise that studying rhetoric is an important means of studying culture and its evolution and that, conversely, further study of culture can greatly benefit rhetoricians. Within this framework of interest, I wanted to investigate how epideictic rhetoric operates among colonized people groups and in the literate and multimodal forms enabled within miscellany periodical texts.

When considering promising cultural scenes for rhetorical analysis within the context of a dissertation project, I chose Wales for a number of reasons. Given the past decade of rising interest in studying Wales as a postcolonial space and Welsh writing in English as postcolonial literature (as demonstrated by the work of Aaron and Williams, Brennan, Bohata, Knight, and others), I envisioned a rhetorical analysis within the context of Welsh culture as an opportunity

to contribute to conversations in postcolonial theory as well as rhetorical theory. In addition, I was interested in connecting Welsh studies with greater academia in order to help redress a gap in scholarship I had noticed while studying in Wales for four months in the fall of 2001. That same semester, while studying Welsh literature and political history in the context of separate courses, I learned about the influence of Welsh literary figures on politics and cultural evolution, especially in regard to issues of national identity, language rights, and cultural activism. Given this combination of personal experience and theoretical training and awareness, I became interested in investigating the origins of Anglophone Welsh literature as a politicized tradition insofar as that tradition has offered a range of responses to colonial ideologies and discourses. I then narrowed the scope of my study to three English-language magazines circulated during the Young Wales era of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Based on these goals and interests, I formulated the following primary and secondary research questions:

- Primary Research Question: **How was Welshness constructed and promoted by Anglophone Welsh miscellany magazines during the Young Wales movement?** (In this sense, how were these magazines operating as a literate mode of epideictic and minority rhetoric?)
- Secondary Research Questions:
 1. **How is Welshness rewritten in response to derogatory stereotypes of Welshness?** As “Master’s tools,” how are these stereotypes retooled by Welsh writers? How are these writers “boring from within” to rewrite Welshness?

2. **How is Welshness imagined through revival(s) of the past?** Which parts of the past are revived and which parts are erased or forgotten? How might these editorial choices be a literate mode of “praise and blame”? What role does the Welsh landscape play in these revivals—as a “locus of praise” and/or a “locus of blame”?

3. **How is Welshness imagined through “praise and blame” of icons? How are these icons gendered?** How is Welshness imagined in terms of heroes, every(women), or even (anti-hero) villains? (Who/what is “praised”? Who/what are readers invited to identify with as truly “Welsh”?) How is Welshness imagined in terms of villains, invaders, and “others” (the non-Welsh)? Who/what is “blamed” or mocked as “non-Welsh”? Through the “praise and blame” of icons, how is Welshness gendered?

Originally, I had included a fourth set of secondary research questions relating to Welsh identity and hybridity that I intended to apply to an analysis of Thomas Marchant Williams’s The Nationalist (1907-12).¹⁴⁵ Within the course of research and writing, however, I decided to reserve this analysis for a separate article or book project since this magazine differed from the other three magazines in my study in a number of ways that would have made it difficult to use in a single project’s comparative framework. Challenging differences included the Nationalist’s largely satirical style and a chronologically distinct context just prior to World War I. After realizing the difficulties posed by these differences, I approved a revision in scope with my

committee chair and narrowed my focus to the research questions listed above and to the three magazines that I analyze individually in Chapters 2-4.

To answer my remaining research questions, I used a combination of established methods and heuristics from rhetorical studies, postcolonial and cultural studies, and periodical studies. In the early stages of my project, my emphasis was archival research and recovery work. Among a number of critics who have advocated recovery work and other primary research methods, recovery work has been cited by Krista Ratcliffe as a key methodology in feminist rhetorical scholarship.¹⁴⁶ I chose to recover rare periodical texts in order to be able to supplement the minimal study of Welsh nationalist discourse in the Young Wales era as well as to bring these texts to bear on well-established critical conversations in rhetorical theory, postcolonial theory, and periodical studies. Once I had been able to access and select the magazines within the scope of my study, I combined different methods of analysis, drawing especially on theories and heuristics from rhetorical criticism and postcolonial criticism. Epideictic rhetorical theory played the most significant role in my methodology. In regard to epideictic rhetoric, I drew on: Aristotle's concept of its relationship to "praise and blame"; Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca's attention to its construction of hierarchies of value and to its close relationship with education; its associations with imaginative literature and, more broadly, poetics; and its enactment in regard to imagery, physical space, and national identity, as demonstrated in studies by S. Michael Halloran and Gregory Clark. Theories of women's and minority rhetoric(s) and of postcolonial discourse also affected my methods of analysis. I read the magazines within the scope of my study with heightened awareness to the re-representation of self and/or community in response to points of representational "damage" experienced by the colonized Welsh. In conceiving of the kind of cultural "damage" that might serve as an exigence

for postcolonial discourse, I am indebted to Abdul JanMohamed and David Lloyd's work for getting me started. In analyzing re-representation, I drew on related theories from Audre Lorde and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (on "retooling the Master's tools) and Joy Ritchie and Kate Ronald (who have applied re-representation to women's rhetorics).

In selecting periodical texts to be included in this study, I applied six criteria. All the selected texts were: (1) monthly miscellany magazines that included literary matter, (2) published primarily in Wales, (3) explicitly "Welsh" and "national" in content, and (4) appealed to readers primarily in Wales (5) through the English language (in contrast to the Welsh-language press). The Welsh-language press has been better studied than its Anglophone counterpart and has often been assumed to be the "authentic" Welsh publishing industry, especially in relation to nationalism—a condition which, along with rarity and difficulty of access, has led to significant neglect of Anglophone Welsh periodicals. Selected texts also had to (6) engage with the Young Wales movement, though some were more directly engaged with the movement than others, and as a group, these texts tended to be more focused on cultural and literary renaissance than on political separatism or activism.

Based on these six criteria, I selected three magazines as the data for this study.

- The Red Dragon (1882-87)
- Wales (1894-97)
- Young Wales (1895-1904)

I had originally selected a fourth magazine, the Nationalist (1907-12), but I eventually decided to exclude it from this study for reasons previously discussed.

For each selected magazine, I provided an overview of its editor, contributors, readers, and more; interpreted selections from the magazine using rhetorical and postcolonial theories;

and formulated a claim explaining the epideictic features and tactics of that magazine. Within each overview section, I described that magazine's physical features and publishing background, including biographical and ideological information on editors, contributors, and features, with educated guesses about the readership of the magazine (based on the price, regional biases, ideology, etc. of the publication), given a lack of hard evidence about circulation. I also consistently explicated each magazine's cover design in relation to that magazine's constructed persona and nationalist aims. As this element of my study illustrates, analysis of persona can be an important way to understand epideictic rhetoric (especially identification tactics) within the context of periodical publishing. My main targets for analysis were originally selections of imaginative literature (poetry and fiction) from each magazine. Although these genres remained important to my analysis, I ultimately incorporated more analysis than expected on non-fiction features. As I moved from completing the prospectus and first chapter of the study into data chapters, I realized that it was crucial to place imaginative literature within the context of each magazine's format and persona as well as in conversation with non-fiction features and with illustrations. Given that the majority of non-fiction features could be authored by the editors themselves, as in the case of Owen M. Edwards, such features became more important to my analysis than initially predicted. After this realization, in terms of each magazine's content, I performed a more balanced and holistic analysis within each of the data chapters (2-4) than initially planned.

Preceding and during the analysis stage, I was faced with a number of challenges in accessing relevant and sufficient source material. First and foremost, I had the challenge of collecting source material from rare magazines, some of which are only available at the National Library of Wales, if there. After identifying periodicals suitable for the scope of my study and

traveling to the National Library of Wales to access texts not available in the United States, I did extensive photocopying and note-taking. From this trip and additional research trips to the Newberry Library in Chicago and the New York Public Library, I have created a sizeable home archive of 19th-century and 20th-century Anglophone Welsh periodicals.¹⁴⁷ My research has also greatly benefited from Texas Christian University library services and holdings; I used Interlibrary Loan services frequently (particularly in gathering rare secondary criticism on Wales) and also enjoyed access to the full run of the Red Dragon within TCU's Special Collections (an acquisition that supported my research).

In my analysis of three Anglophone Welsh monthly magazines that were engaged with the Young Wales movement, I discovered a range of tactics and features of epideictic rhetoric that occur within contexts of colonization and marginality. By extending consideration of epideictic rhetoric to periodical texts (a continuation of Kathryn Summers's work), I was able to analyze multimodal rhetorical patterns that combined image and text. I also drew attention to the rhetorical effects of these miscellany magazines' correspondence features and serialized publication patterns, both of which invited audience participation rather than the mere "spectator" role that Aristotle assigned to epideictic audiences, as discussed in Chapter 1. Overall, drawing on updates to epideictic theory by Burke, Halloran, Clark, and others, I focused on analyzing epideictic rhetoric via symbols and narratives and within the framework of postcolonial criticism.

In Chapter 2, "The Dragon Writes Back: Welsh Epideictic in the Red Dragon, 1882-87," I analyzed the power of the magazine's persona in combination with editor Charles Wilkins's rewriting of Welsh identity in response to colonial stereotypes. I illustrated how Wilkins, later editor James Harris, and other contributors helped to re-imagine Welshness as respectable and

powerful rather than morally suspect. Reassessing the potent symbols of dragon, Taffy, and Celt along with these contributors, I discovered that the rewriting of stereotypes can serve as a powerful epideictic strategy within contexts of colonization. This finding extends the work of Joy Ritchie and Kate Ronald on the strategy of re-representation within women's rhetorics as well as the productive debate between Audre Lorde and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., on "retooling the Master's tools." Within this chapter, I extend these theoretical conversations and develop their implications within the context of Welsh nationalism, which I critique through a postcolonial lens.

In Chapter 3, "Circulating a Golden Past, a Green Present, and a Shared Future: Owen M. Edwards and the (Re-)Educating of Wales, 1894-97," I focused on the commonalities among education and epideictic rhetoric. I applied this theoretical link, developed by Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, to my analysis of revivalism and the picturesque in Edwards's national magazine. In the course of this analysis, I discovered that contributors' use of revivalism (skilled handling of Wales's "usable past," to echo Van Wyck Brooks) as well as their rhetorical use of landscape (which I dubbed "usable geography") constituted epideictic tactics based on these strategies' role in re-educating the Welsh public in regard to national history and geography. This extracurricular re-education, which employed both symbolism and narrative, offered readers an array of touchstones for communal identification. Insofar as Edwards positioned the miscellany as responsive, and to some degree resistant, to colonization, the magazine's epideictic features demonstrate imaginative possibilities for postcolonial nation-building.

In Chapter 4, "Identifying with Young Wales: Gender, Narrative, and Nationalism, 1895-1904," I analyzed the layering of gender and national appeals in the context of editor John Hugh

Edwards's endeavors to prolong the life of the Young Wales movement following its 1896 "fall." I traced the promotion of women's progress and political engagement in both non-fiction features and serialized fiction. Cumulatively, the magazine's elevation of women's national status as well as Edwards's desire to foster identification across economic classes restructured the Young Wales movement's "hierarchy of values" (an important component of epideictic rhetoric, as conceived by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca). In addition, I analyzed the fusion of religious and national ideals in the fiction of Sara Maria Saunders, a fusion also enacted in the magazine's motto. Such combined praise of Christian ethics and nationalist commitment demonstrates Saunders' knowledge of rhetorical situation, including target audience, in that the Protestant Welsh and Anglophone Welsh populations had significant overlap during the run of the magazine. In another vein, my analysis of Mallt and Gwenffreda Williams's *A Maid of Cymru* uncovered its appeals for women to value patriotism over all else, including romantic love; I also demonstrated the novel's narrative capacity for spreading an ideology of racial essentialism. Ultimately, my analysis showed how the magazine extended the life of the Young Wales movement primarily through the use of narrative structures, which we might conceive of as national parables (or, in Burkean terms, "representative anecdotes" of Welsh identity). These narratives were capable of fostering readers' identification with Young Wales as well as reshaping the values associated with the movement.

As a whole, this study has implications for scholars of epideictic rhetoric, minority rhetoric(s), postcolonial criticism, periodical studies, Welsh and Celtic literatures, and Welsh cultural history. Within rhetorical theory, this study offers an investigation of the dynamics of epideictic rhetoric within a context of marginalization, specifically colonization. As such, this project contributes to the nascent body of work in minority rhetoric(s) while also connecting that

scholarly conversation to postcolonial criticism. The study of minority rhetoric(s) and of postcolonial discourse and literature would benefit from ongoing critical attention to unexpected and alternative forms of communication and persuasion. As demonstrated by this project, these conversations could benefit from more attention to how forms often categorized as aesthetic or apolitical (a categorization that betrays a Romantic separation of literary and political) can function as potent forms of rhetoric. The cultural interplay of symbols (including illustration and poetic imagery) as well as narratives (including short stories and novels) deserves greater attention from scholars of rhetoric, despite rhetoricians' tendency to maintain disciplinary separation from literary scholarship. Kenneth Burke was quick to blur the boundaries between literary and rhetorical expression, but ensuing scholars have too often overlooked the rhetorical dimensions of what Aristotle terms the "poetic." Though somewhat dated, Wayne Booth's The Rhetoric of Fiction (1961) is a notable exception, as is a 2007 study by Richard Johnson-Sheehan and Paul Lynch on the "Rhetoric of Myth, Magic, and Conversion: A Prolegomena to Ancient Irish Rhetoric" which argues for an understanding of early Irish discourse as "mythopoetic rhetoric based in narrative" (233). My project's emphasis on the analysis of symbol and narrative applies a similar respect for the rhetorical functions of the poetic in investigating the evolution of the Young Wales movement.

Within rhetorical studies as well as periodical studies, the function of poetry and narrative within the circulation of periodical texts has been an area of scholarly neglect. Linda Hughes has addressed this gap in a recent article in Victorian Periodicals Review on "What the Wellesley Index Left Out: Why Poetry Matters to Periodical Studies," a subject Hughes first explored as the keynote speaker at the 2006 conference of the Research Society for Victorian Periodical Studies. Hughes notes the frequency with which poetry has been considered entertaining "filler"

rather than significant content, which has led to critical neglect of periodical poetry. My study is not primarily aimed at filling this gap in scholarship, *per se*; however, my analysis of periodical poetry illustrates its capacity to foster readers' identification with nationalism and is suggestive of additional rhetorical functions for poetry. In addition, my rhetorical analysis of narrative structures, particularly in Young Wales, demonstrates how narratives can serve as "representative anecdotes" in the formation and evolution of cultural identity.¹⁴⁸

Recent trends in the study of rhetoric and composition have led to increased attention to multimodal forms of expression and persuasion, forms which rely on image as well as narrative. Barbara Warnick's Rhetoric Online is an important example of this trend. However, examples of "old media" such as periodicals have been largely excluded from rising interest in the rhetorical analysis of media. In contrast, my project calls for attention to periodicals on the part of rhetorical critics and demonstrates the benefits of re-reading "old media" as well as pursuing an electric chase after the "new." Indeed, the miscellany format of the periodicals within my study is particularly appropriate for the kind of multimodal analysis currently generating so much attention in relationship to blogs and other electronic media. Periodicals are also a site for investigating diachronic rather than synchronic audiences, as categorized by Edwin Black in Rhetorical Criticism. The complexities of distanced and multiple reception(s) of rhetoric and of audience interaction with rhetor are evident in periodicals as well in the flow of "new media." My project gives limited attention to such complexities but suggests the capability for further study of diachronic reception(s) of rhetoric as enabled by periodical texts.

My project also demonstrates the need for greater attention to linkages among rhetorical theory and postcolonial theory. A monograph on Writing and Cultural Influence: Studies in Rhetorical History, Orientalist Discourse, and Postcolonial Criticism, Lahcen Ezzaher reads

18th- and 19th-century Orientalist discourses as rhetorical. My study offers a similar contribution to the study of colonial discourse in relationship to race, though I focus on discourses of Celticism rather than Orientalism and largely limit my analysis to epideictic forms of rhetoric. Such studies are but early indicators of the possibilities for fruitful exchange among rhetorical and postcolonial critics.

Wales, in particular, merits further attention from rhetorical and postcolonial critics. As discussed in Chapter 1, work by Aaron and Williams, Brennan, Bohata, Knight has established the presence of Wales in postcolonial criticism. Still, these studies are suggestive rather than exhaustive, and these studies have yet to be sufficiently and comparatively received within the context of postcolonial theory. One drawback of this condition is that Welsh literature is rarely taught outside Wales, despite its potential to enrich the pedagogy of postcolonial and world literatures. Though my project is not pedagogical in nature, my hope is that it may draw further attention to Wales's potential contributions to the study and teaching of postcolonial literature. One benefit of making Wales a more important part of the postcolonial conversation is that such inclusion may encourage the viability of Welsh literature, both outside and inside Welsh borders.

Within the study of Welsh literary and cultural history, my project is a contribution to our understanding of the emergence of Anglophone Welsh literature as a respectable and recognizably "Welsh" tradition. Though Caradoc Evans is often cited as the first such writer worth of note, my analysis demonstrates the considerable literary abilities and cultural influences of earlier writers, among them: Charles Wilkins, Allen Raine, Sara Maria Saunders, and Mallt and Gwenffreda Williams. Sadly, studies of these early Anglophone Welsh writers are all but nonexistent; they have been excluded from not only the canon of British literature but also that of Welsh literature, in part because of the appearance of their work in periodicals as well as the

contested authenticity of Anglophone writers within the Welsh literary tradition. The time has come to give such writers their due—not to praise them beyond their merits, but to acknowledge their role in establishing Welsh writing in English as a viable and politically engaged tradition of expression.

These and other writers within the scope of my study played important roles in the Young Wales movement. As discussed in Chapter 1, the “fields of song and art” established by such writers and artists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries have been foundational to the ongoing life of Welsh nationalism, including (somewhat ironically) activism aimed at strengthening Welsh language rights as well as the recent establishment of the National Assembly for Wales. Both the periodicals within the scope of my study and additional Welsh periodicals, no matter their linguistic medium, deserve further critical attention for their rhetorical, literary, and historical significance. In its preoccupation with national iconography as well as its fusion of dragon and feminine personas, Christopher Williams’s vibrant depiction of Wales Awakening, [Fig. 1.1] is but one example of the ideological legacy of the periodicals in my study. Through the circulation of symbols and narratives that fostered identification with nationalism, these magazines’ “fields of song and art” offered the Welsh people an appealing scene in which to recognize each other as members of a community, despite differences in language, class, gender, and more. The imagined community of “Young Wales” was less than stable, to be sure, but the national vision which these periodicals furthered continues to linger and evolve within the play of social action.

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study, by design and scope, has several limitations which provide opportunities for future research. One such limitation is that this study is limited to Anglophone texts. This linguistic limitation was intentional based on my own limitations in Welsh-language fluency as well as my knowledge of an existing scholarly gap in Welsh periodical studies, a body of work which has largely excluded Anglophone texts. With knowledge of this limitation, opportunities for future research include additional study of both Anglophone and Welsh-language periodicals as well as comparative work across these texts.

Another limitation is the genre of periodicals I chose for my study: monthly miscellanies with a combination of non-fiction, literary, and visual content. My choice of this genre was, in part, informed by my desire to study periodicals that themselves incorporated multiple genres of expression, including a significant amount of illustration. Opportunities for future research include daily, weekly, and quarterly serials as well as monthly magazines that fall outside my years of study (1882-1904) and/or have different generic formats than that of a miscellany.

An additional limitation is the spotty and somewhat serendipitous existence of primary and secondary material to contextualize the production and reception of the magazines within my study. For example, editor Owen M. Edwards has enjoyed enough relative fame within Wales so that the National Library of Wales offers an archival holding of his papers. The majority of other editors and contributors, however, are effectively “off the map” in terms of an existing material or archival presence. I suspect that hidden or home archives on such figures as Charles Wilkins and James Harris may exist, but it may take a lifetime and/or the efforts of multiple researchers in order to uncover or reconstruct a body of material that would reveal, for instance, these editors’ journals and correspondence during the production of the Red Dragon. Indeed, such

evidence may not exist, which leaves the pages of the magazines themselves as the nearly sole evidence of editorial intent as well as audience reception. Even with the knowledge that editorial statements and correspondence pages are themselves a rhetorical performance on the part of the editors, I have been obliged to rely on these texts.

In the future, I plan to make additional research trips to the National Library of Wales and related holdings in order to locate additional primary and secondary evidence in relation to the magazines analyzed within this project. The limitation of the chronological scope of my study is one that I plan to breach as well. Future research projects will include analyses of the Nationalist (1907-12) and the Welsh Review (1917-33), the latter of which could easily merit a book-length project. Additional Anglophone Welsh periodicals awaiting study include Ernest Bowen Rowlands's The Welsh Review (1891-92) and a later periodical of the same name (1906-07) as well as Keidrych Rhys's Wales (1939-1945), a formidable "little magazine" that published the work of Dylan Thomas and Lynette Roberts, among other notable Anglophone Welsh poets of the mid-20th century.

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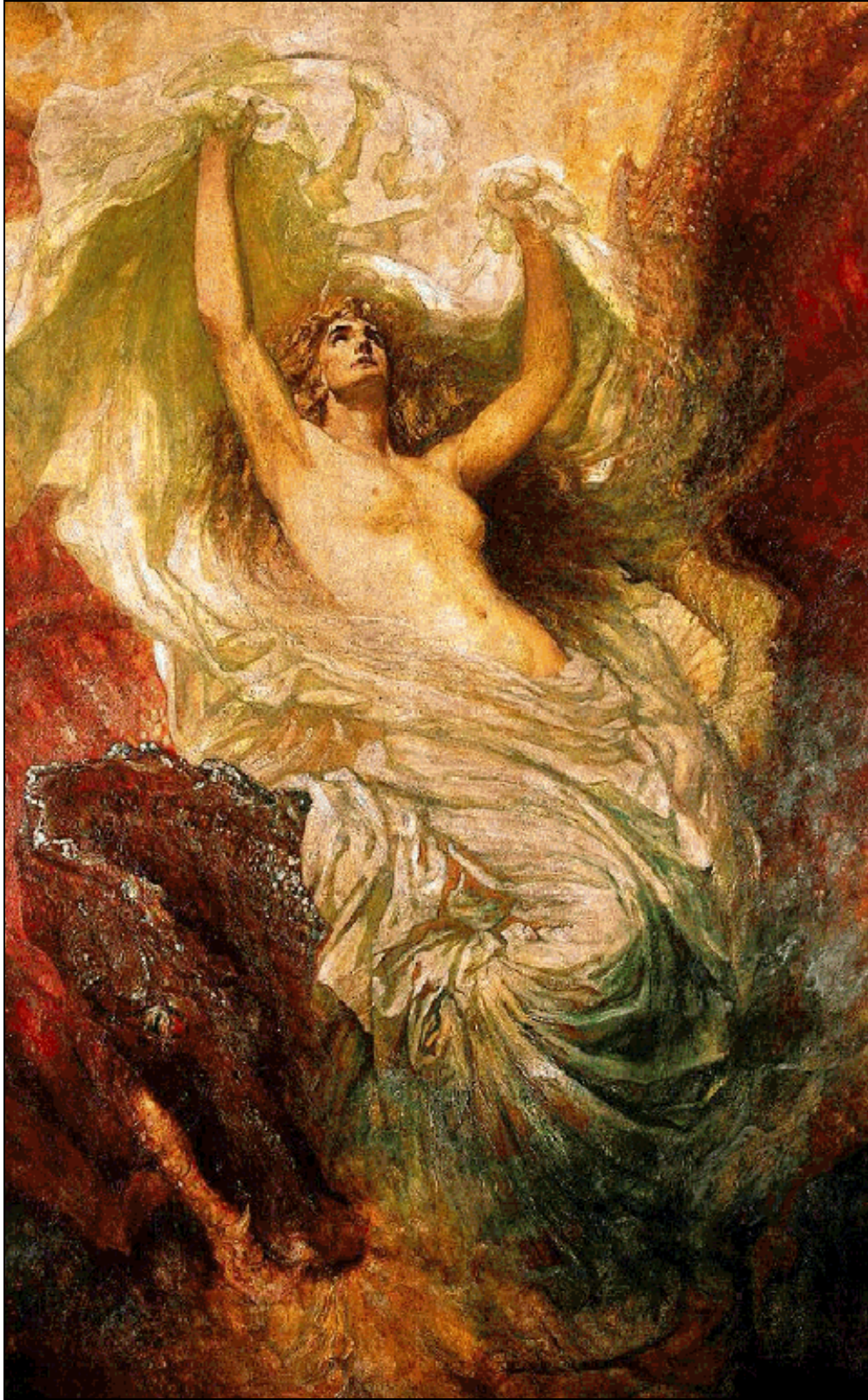


Fig. 1.1: Christopher Williams, Wales Awakening, 1911

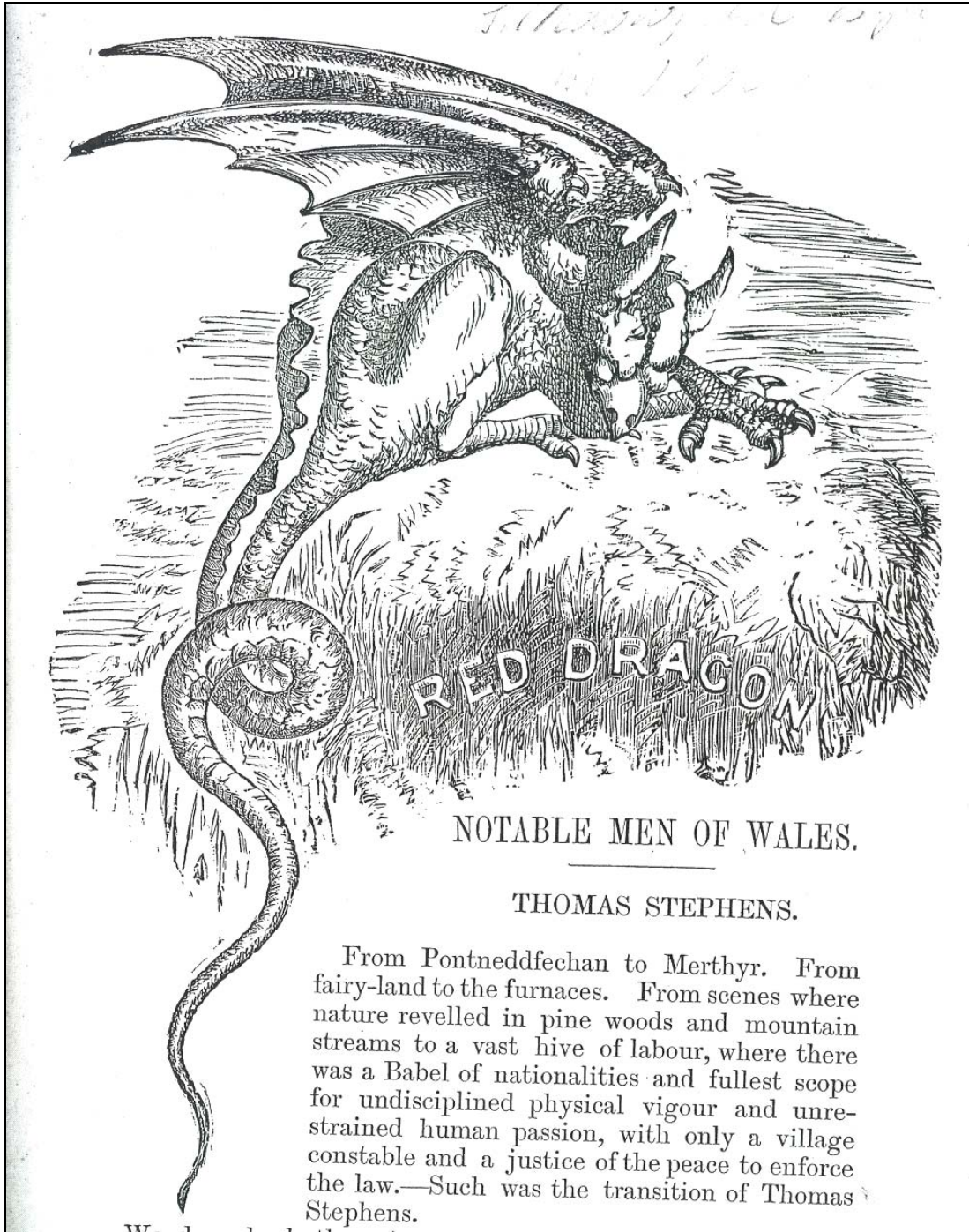


Fig. 2.1



Fig. 2.2

WELSH CHARACTER SKETCHES



THE BARD.

He was a Bard, and—a shoemaker. Great men have been associated with the lapstone and the awl. Did not Fergusson work out his astronomical problems on scraps of leather? Have not the ranks of thinkers as well as philanthropists been largely supplied from the poor cobbler's house? The very pursuit of shoemaking is a reflective one. The hand moves mechanically, and the mind strays, either like that of the gifted Scotsman, to

Fig. 2.3



THE STOCKING DEALER.

Fig. 2.4



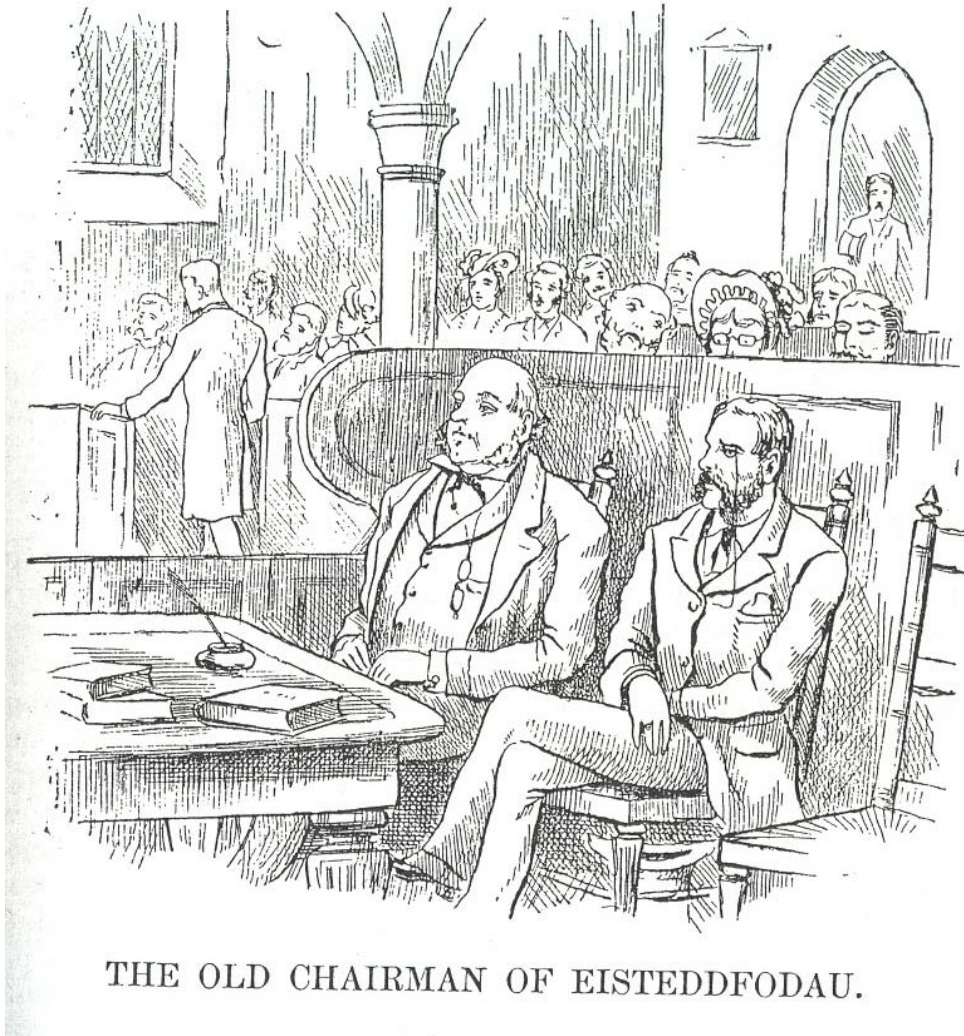
THE CARDIGANSHIRE BUTTERMAN.

Fig. 2.5



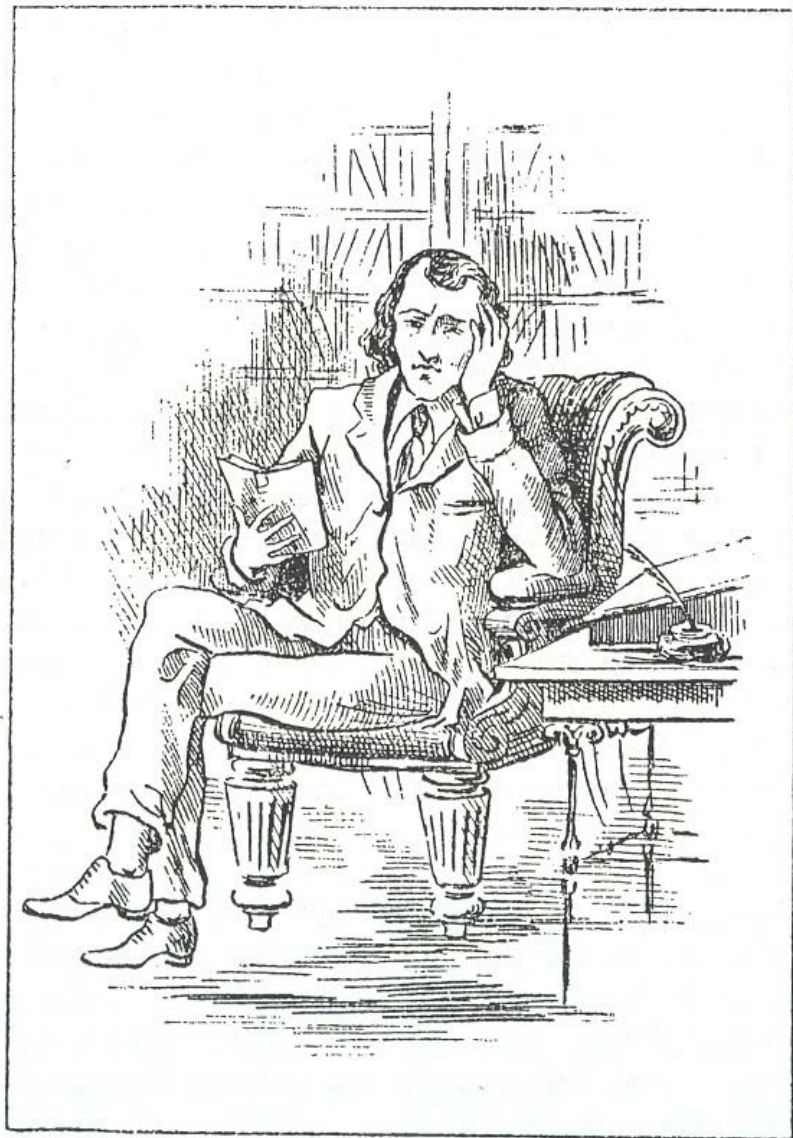
THE QUOIT PLAYER.

Fig. 2.6



THE OLD CHAIRMAN OF EISTEDDFODAU.

Fig. 2.7



THE YOUNG COMPETITOR AT EISTEDDFODAU

Fig. 2.8



A CHILD OF THE EISTEDDFOD.

Fig. 2.9

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WALES

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Owen M. Edwards, M.A.,
Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.

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Fig. 3.1

THE LAND OF THE CYMRY.

WHERE mountain streams dance rippling
 To water verdant vales; [down,
 The birch trees fling their shadows brown
 Scarce stirred by western gales.

The golden gorse-slopes scent the air,
 And hide the stone-chat's nest.
 What woods and glens! With beauties rare,
 Methinks our land is blest.

Oh! wild rough hills, we feel your spell;
 If voices ye could find,
 What glorious legends could ye tell,
 What heroes call to mind!

What of the bards, who neath thy shades,
 Pure inspiration found

Ciliau Aeron.

And tuned the *telyn* while the glades
 Made echo with the sound?

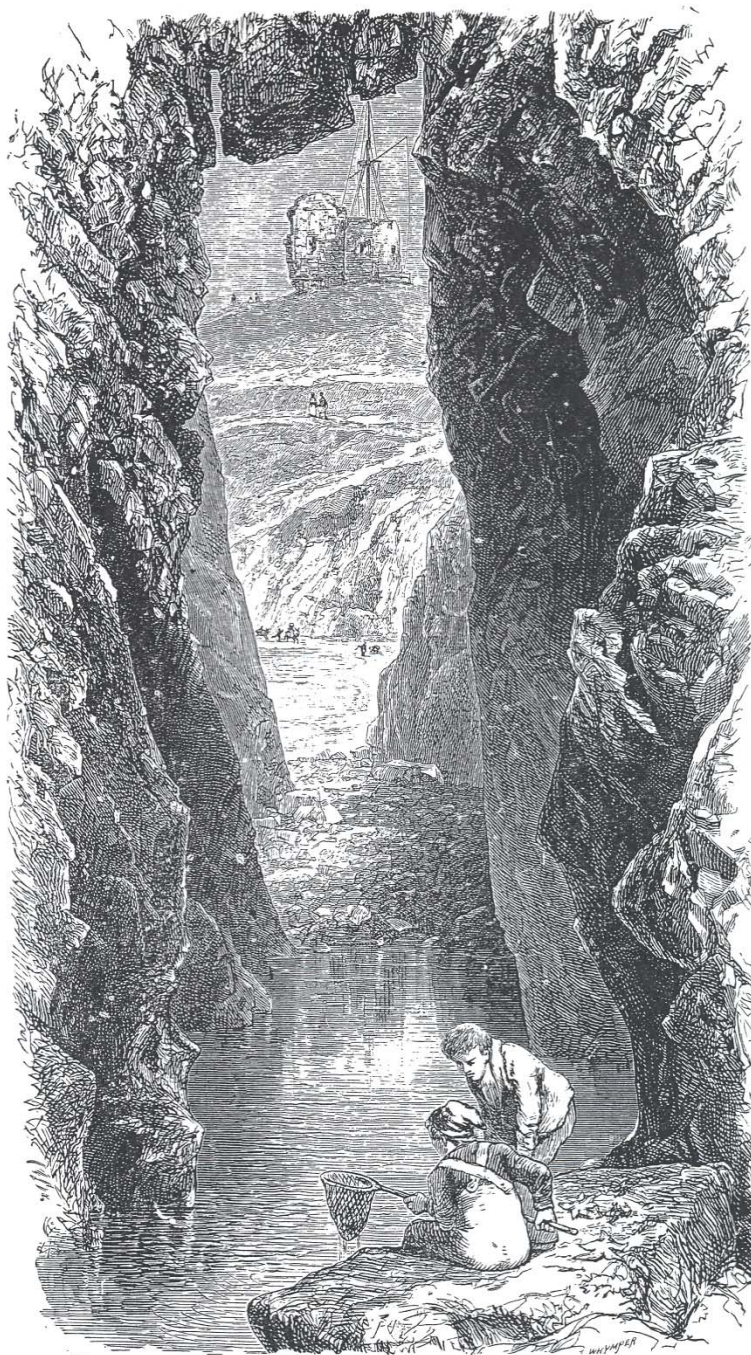
Rough ruined grass-grown castles hoar,
 On mounds of pasture green,
 Where Cambria's princes lived of yore,
 What brave men have ye seen!

Their red blood flowed on many a field,
 To guard their country dear,
 They joyed to die, n'er would they yield,
 The Cymry knew not fear.

The Cymry of these latter days
 Still share that spirit bold,
 And Gwalia's bards still sing their lays
 In Gwalia's language old.

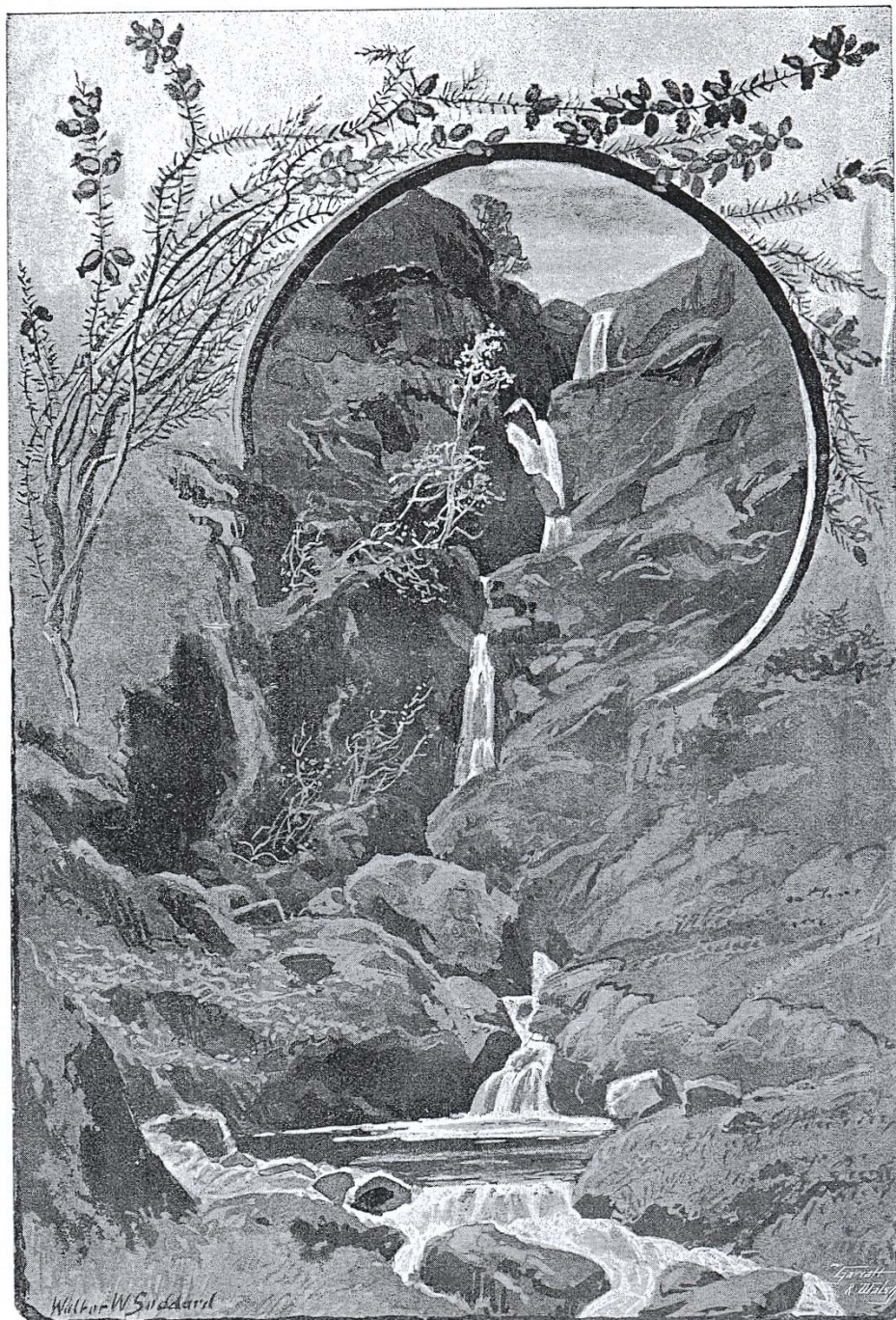
EVELYN LEWES.

Fig. 3.2



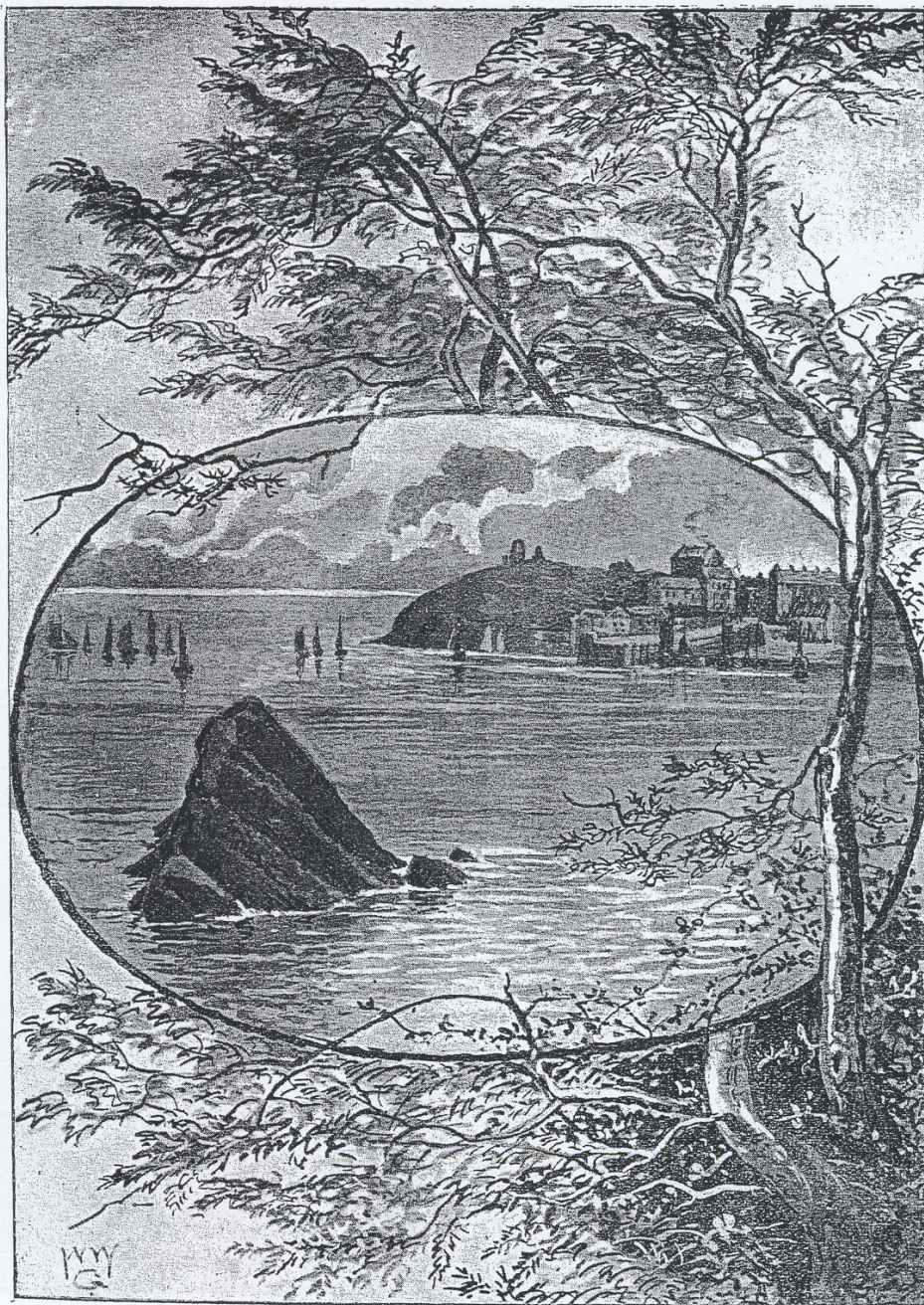
ON THE PEMBROKESHIRE COAST.

Fig. 3.3



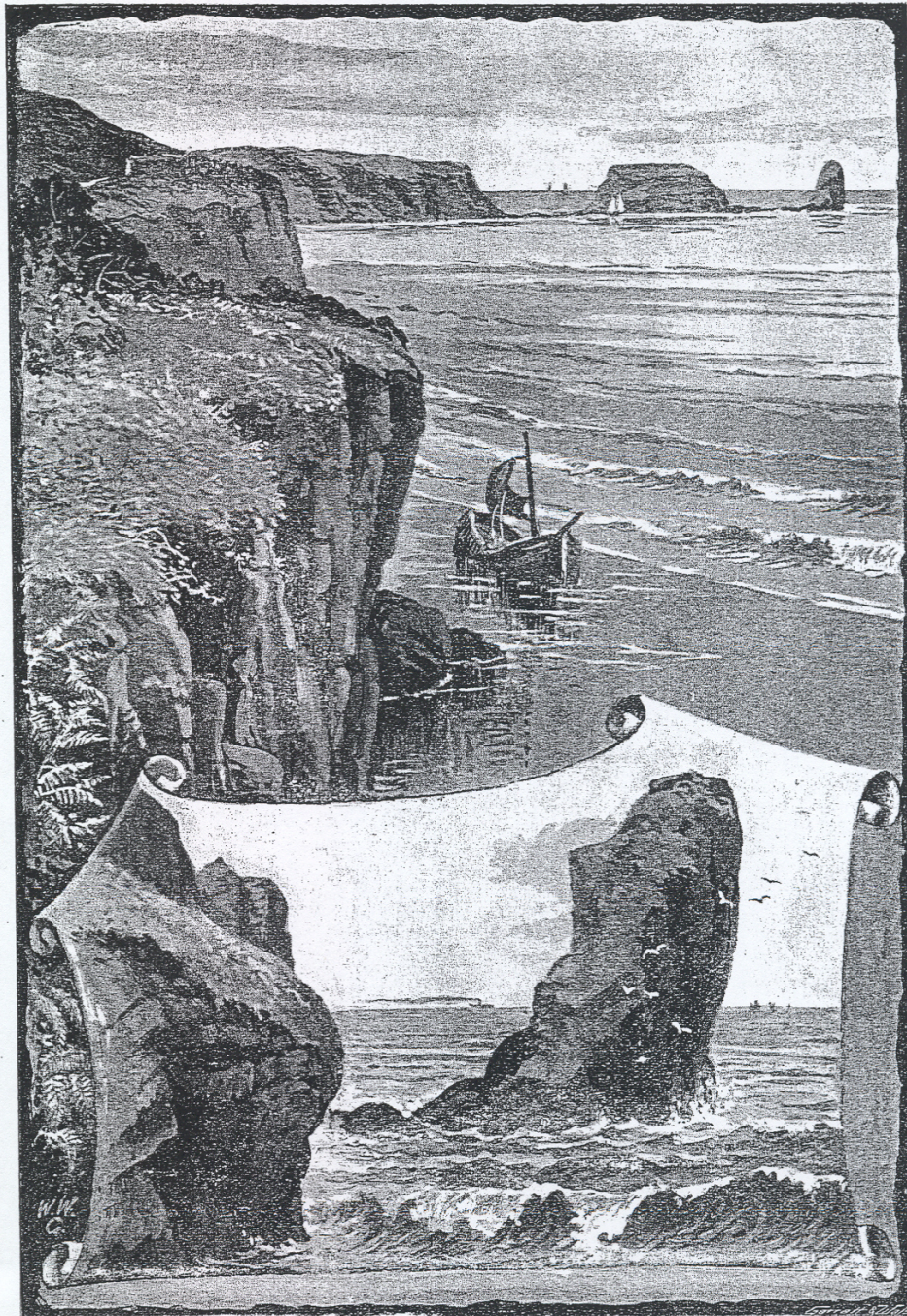
BETWEEN BRECONSHIRE AND RADNORSHIRE.
(Grisiau Falls, near Aberedw, the scene of Llywelyn's last struggle.)

Fig. 3.4



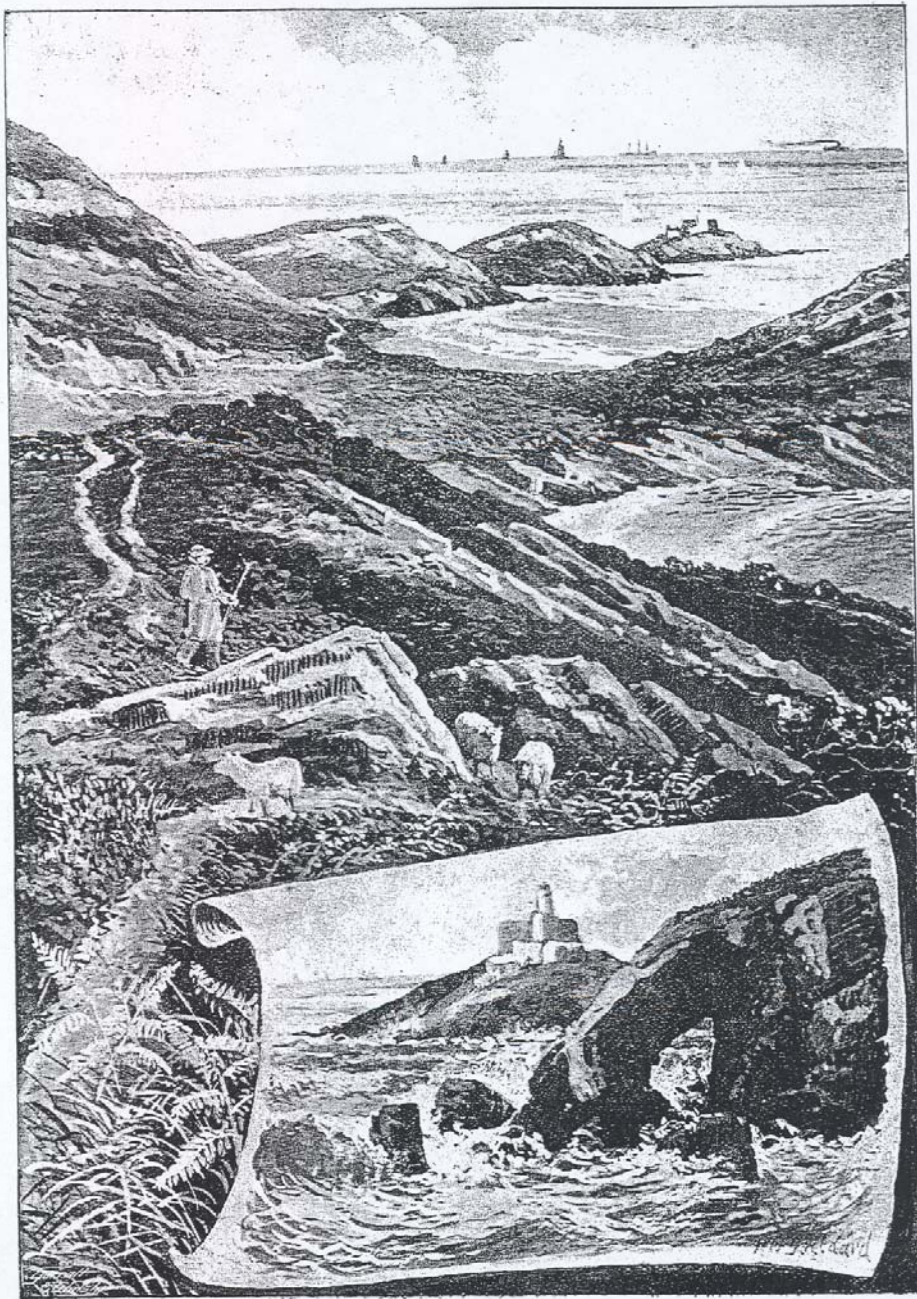
TENBY.

Fig. 3.5



THE WORM'S HEAD, GOWER.

Fig. 3.6



MUMBLES HEAD, SWANSEA BAY.

Fig. 3.7

WALES.

Vol. IV.]

SEPTEMBER, 1897.

[No. 41.

A PLEA FOR OUR CELTIC PLACE-NAMES.

By Y DDAU WYNNE, authors of "One of the Royal Celts," "What the Celts are doing," &c.



AMONG the many questions relating to Cymru, discussed in these days, there is one which appears to have escaped attention, and yet it should be a subject of interest to all true lovers of their country. I refer to the Anglicization of our place-names, carried on in many cases to the entire adoption of

English appellations in lieu of the dear old native ones. There are some who may consider the question of slight importance, but I would remind such that there is no more enduring monuments to a race than the names their mountains, streams, and valleys, bear through the ages. To illustrate this by one example,—the Red Indians are dying out before the white man's advance, throughout the continent of North America, but as long as the Alleghanies rear their crested peaks, as long as the Mississippi winds its stately way to the ocean, so long will the memory of a passing race remain, and the red man not be entirely forgotten in the lands that once owned his sway.

Our ancestors lived their allotted span of life, and then passed away from earth, leaving to us the sacred heritage of our mountain land, committing to our hands the perpetuation of their language, manners, and customs. How do we Cymry of the

present day requite that trust? In this nineteenth century, it is left to the antiquary alone to lament the wholesale sweeping of national place-names into the great gulf of oblivion.

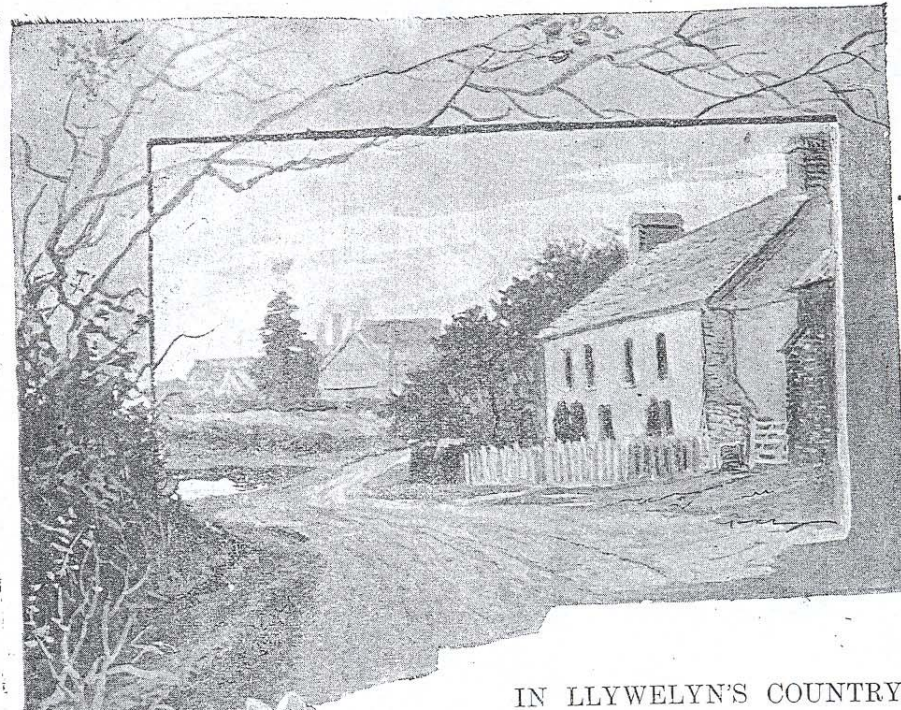
During the last twenty years, three great factors have been at work undermining our language. I allude to the general introduction of railways, bringing in a flood of English settlers; to emigration, draining the land of its old race; and to Forster's Education Act, making English compulsory in the schools.

Our family names are hopelessly Normanized. Could a Cymro of the eleventh century revisit our part of the world, he would imagine by the frequent repetition of such names as Roberts, Edwards, Williams, and so on, that his beloved country had become a mere Norman province.

But our place-names! At least let us, before it is too late, unite in one general effort to retain them, and so hand down, in unbroken purity, to the generations of the future, what no less an authority than Matthew Arnold calls Celtic place-names,—“Poems in themselves.”

Yes, history, romance, legend, is often hidden under the names that the mystical, poetic, ardent Celt has scattered like gems over the land. And these memorials to our dead forefathers should be most jealously guarded by us, if we can lay claim to George Meredith's description of the modern Cymry, when he writes,—“Now to the Cymry and the pure Celt, the *past* is at their elbow continually. The past has lost neither face nor voice behind the shroud,—nor is the animate soul wanting to it. *Other* races forfeit

Fig. 3.8



IN LLYWELYN'S COUNTRY.

WE believed when we were children that we lived in our last Llywelyn's home. We had been told by the old fireside that the fastnesses of mighty Snowdon and the pleasant shores of the Menai were the homes of our last prince. Was it not there his youth was spent? Was it not there that his wife Eleanor, the lady of Snowdon, died in the bloom of youth, in that early spring so long ago?

But nowadays Llywelyn's name is associated with the country in which, by treachery or in an obscure skirmish, he died while defending his countrymen's rights. And once, when the primroses decked the sides of Breconshire roads, we two happened to have a holiday at the same time. We determined to spend it in visiting the country where Llywelyn lost his life, and where it was decided by providence that Wales was to lose her political independence.

Our childish imaginations had invested the district around Aberedw with gloom, the scene of Llywelyn's death was to our minds a blasted heath, and we were not

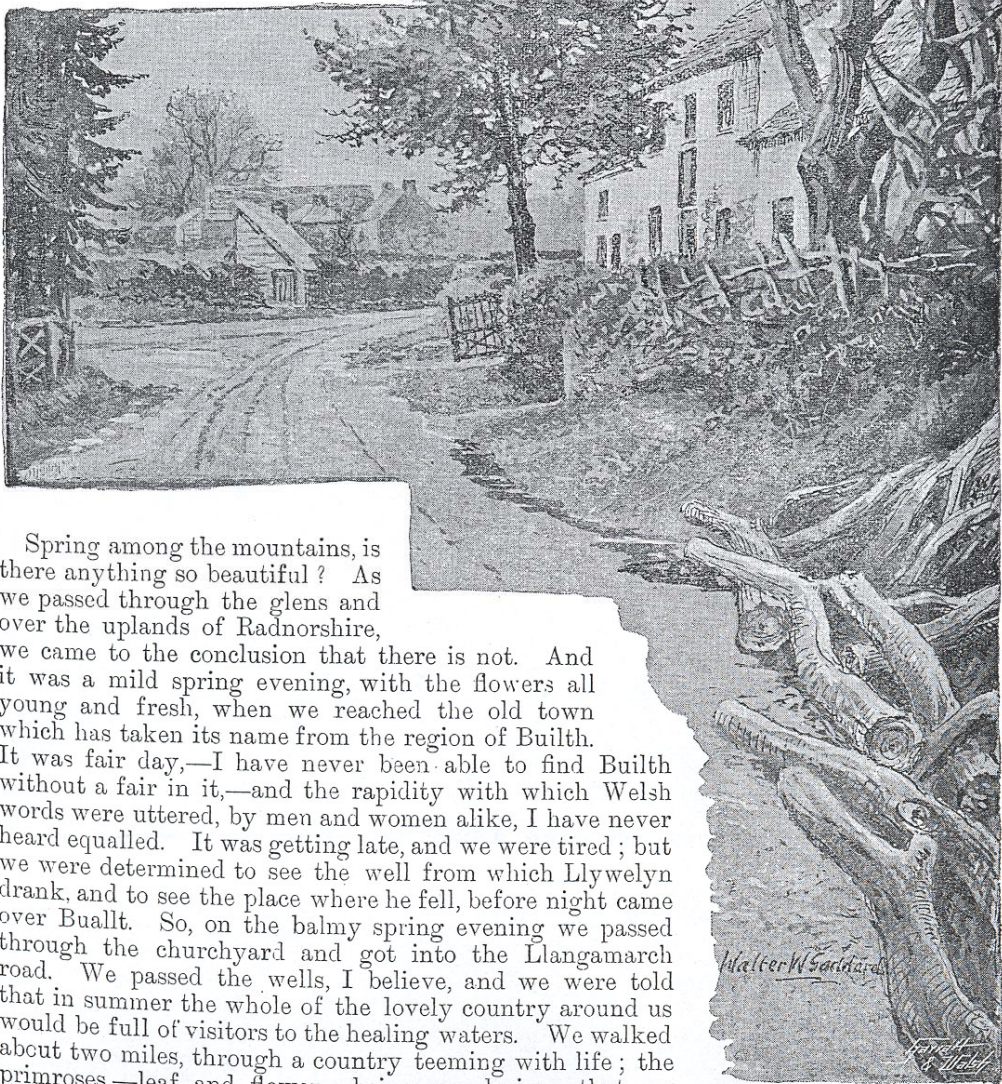
certain that we could not tell, by a hideous leer their faces could not get rid of, that some of the people we were to meet were the direct descendants of the traitorous blacksmith of tradition. It was rather inconsistent, it is true, to think of spending our one holiday

Fig. 3.9

IN LLYWELYN'S COUNTRY.

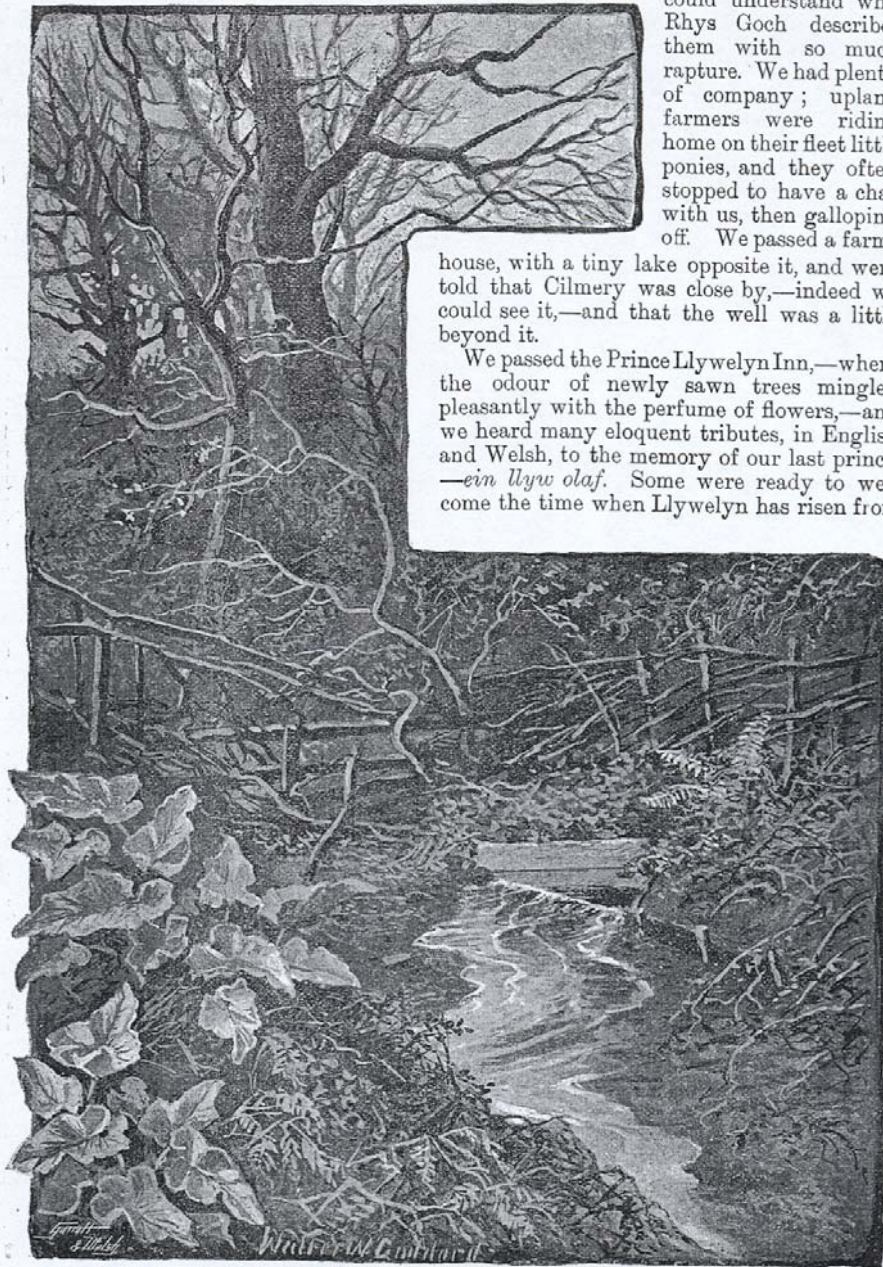
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in a place so divested of all dues of rejoicing. But there are certain periods in our life when our thoughts are very inconsistent indeed. Let it be said here that the Breconshire scenes we visited are among the pleasantest we have seen, and that the "traitors of Builth" have a place in our thoughts with those we think the ideals of kindness and honesty.



Spring among the mountains, is there anything so beautiful? As we passed through the glens and over the uplands of Radnorshire, we came to the conclusion that there is not. And it was a mild spring evening, with the flowers all young and fresh, when we reached the old town which has taken its name from the region of Builth. It was fair day,—I have never been able to find Builth without a fair in it,—and the rapidity with which Welsh words were uttered, by men and women alike, I have never heard equalled. It was getting late, and we were tired; but we were determined to see the well from which Llywelyn drank, and to see the place where he fell, before night came over Buallt. So, on the balmy spring evening we passed through the churchyard and got into the Llangamarch road. We passed the wells, I believe, and we were told that in summer the whole of the lovely country around us would be full of visitors to the healing waters. We walked about two miles, through a country teeming with life; the primroses,—leaf and flower,—being so glorious that we

Fig. 3.10



could understand why Rhys Goch describes them with so much rapture. We had plenty of company; upland farmers were riding home on their fleet little ponies, and they often stopped to have a chat with us, then galloping off. We passed a farm-

house, with a tiny lake opposite it, and were told that Cilmeri was close by,—indeed we could see it,—and that the well was a little beyond it.

We passed the Prince Llywelyn Inn,—where the odour of newly sawn trees mingled pleasantly with the perfume of flowers,—and we heard many eloquent tributes, in English and Welsh, to the memory of our last prince, —*ein llyw olaf*. Some were ready to welcome the time when Llywelyn has risen from

Fig. 3.11

ALONG THE WELSH COAST.

revive all dead hopes, they renew all feelings of delight. New plans come into our mind, new surprises for those we serve and love.

The train stops at Rhyl. Crowds leave it, and well may they choose Rhyl, for it is almost everything that nature and art can make to entice the holiday sojourner into it. Its promenade is magnificent, and from it the glorious Vale of Clwyd stretches into the mountains, with its golden breast of wheat.

Here we alight, and our tramp along the coast begins. We cross the skirts of the Hiraethog mountains, the wild home of the lark and plover, from the valley of the Clwyd to the valley of the Conway. Right beneath us rises the stately pile of Conway Castle, where the Conway flows into the sea. On our left the enchanting valley of the Conway invites us, with all its romantic glens and historic scenes. On our right the Great Orme peninsula stretches out into the sea, with the ruined court of the kings of Wales on its neck, and



LLANDUDNO.

with lovely Llandudno sheltering beneath it.

From Conway our path lies along the jagged and precipitous edges of the gigantic Eryri, the last home of Welsh independence. Above us mighty historic remains, now silent and untenanted; below us, dashing against the precipice through which our path is cut, the sea which once owned the sway of Maelgwn,—we pass from the shadow of bold and craggy Penmaenmawr, and wander through a series of pretty villages, with unrivalled mountain scenery

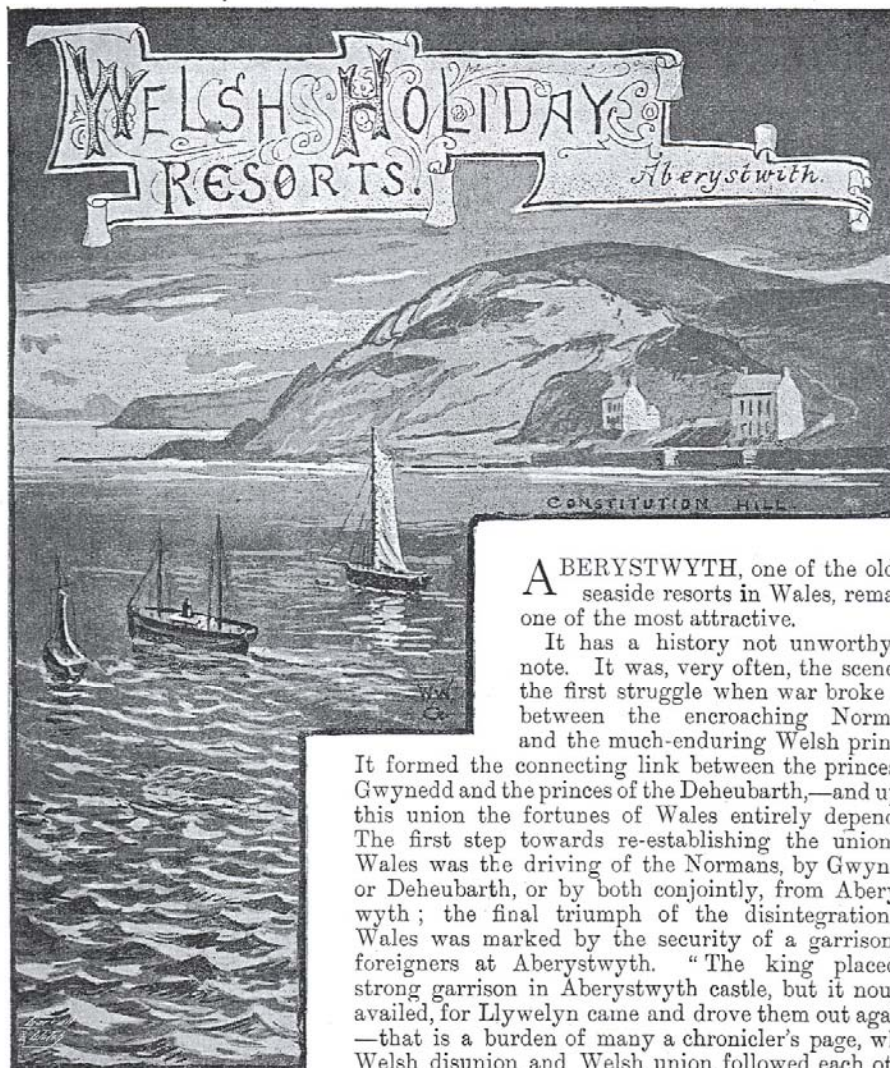
on the one hand and with unrivalled sea scenery on the other. When we come to Aber it will be very difficult to withstand the temptation to wander up the lovely glen where Llywelyn once lived and where the waters still fall from the heathery mountain into this beautiful glen of woods and rocks.

We reach Bangor, and here it is possible to find new pleasures with



ABER.

Fig. 3.12



ABERYSTWYTH, one of the oldest seaside resorts in Wales, remains one of the most attractive.

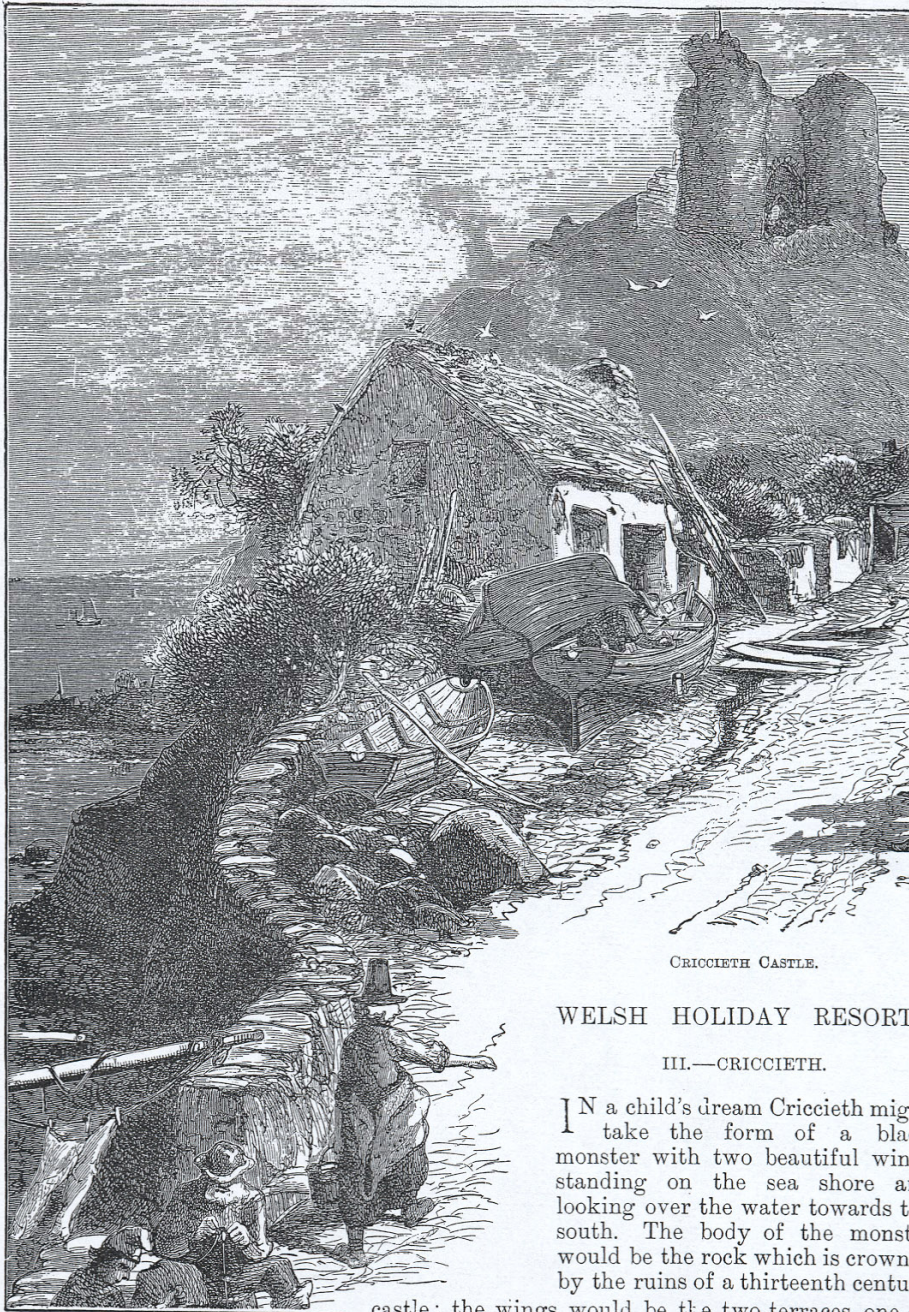
It has a history not unworthy of note. It was, very often, the scene of the first struggle when war broke out between the encroaching Normans and the much-enduring Welsh princes.

It formed the connecting link between the princes of Gwynedd and the princes of the Deheubarth,—and upon this union the fortunes of Wales entirely depended. The first step towards re-establishing the union of Wales was the driving of the Normans, by Gwynedd or Deheubarth, or by both conjointly, from Aberystwyth; the final triumph of the disintegration of Wales was marked by the security of a garrison of foreigners at Aberystwyth. “The king placed a strong garrison in Aberystwyth castle, but it nought availed, for Llywelyn came and drove them out again,”—that is a burden of many a chronicler’s page, while Welsh disunion and Welsh union followed each other like the waves of the sea.

The castle is now in ruins, and it makes up for the evil it did when its towers and walls rose smooth and impregnable from its rock between town and sea. It is now a most lovely promenade; and a moonlight night on the grassy slopes within its ruined walls, between dark silent mountains and mysterious sea, once made a professor of mathematics write real poetry. The townspeople say that the castle was destroyed by Oliver Cromwell, and that the Puritan army passed between the castle rock and the sea, a feat they could not perform now, for the sea dashes right on the castle rock.

In Wales, especially in Cardiganshire, three beings get the credit for building and constructing,—the devil, the Roman, and the monk; and three beings get the credit for pulling down what the others built,—Oliver Cromwell, the black nations, and the sea. All these are supposed to have been busy about Aberystwyth in their time,—the devil

Fig. 3.13



CRICCIETH CASTLE.

WELSH HOLIDAY RESORTS.

III.—CRICCIETH.

IN a child's dream Criccieth might take the form of a black monster with two beautiful wings standing on the sea shore and looking over the water towards the south. The body of the monster would be the rock which is crowned by the ruins of a thirteenth century

castle; the wings would be the two terraces, one on each side, which are crowded in summer by visitors from all parts of the kingdom, their gay holiday costumes being in striking contrast to

Fig. 3.14



LLANDUDNO, as everyone knows, is a most delightful holiday resort. It is in itself a lovely place,—with sand, valley, and mountain for choice. Its only drawback in summer is the fact that it is over-crowded with holiday-seekers, attracted to it year after year by its beauty and salubrity.

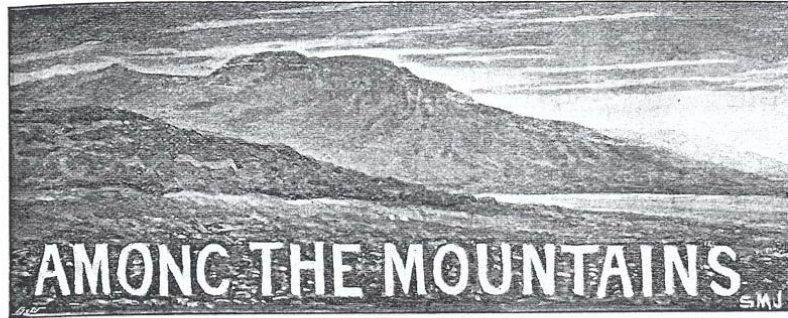
It is a town of yesterday, nestling in the bosom of the Great Orme,—a holiday town, and nothing

else. But its immediate surroundings are of the greatest historical interest. Close to it, at Deganwy, stood the home of the princes of the House of Cunedda,—Maelgwn Gwynedd and his successors, lords of land and sea. Aberconway, the burial place of Llywelyn the Great, is close by, and a walk through the quaint streets of this historical borough, still encompassed round by its walls, takes one back far into the middle ages.

It is a mercy that the National Eisteddfod of 1896, which is to be held at Llandudno, comes on so early,—the last day of June and the first days of July,—and not during the ordinary summer season. The town will, however, be extremely full, for the

Fig. 3.15

[Supplement to WALES, August, 1895.]



Le vent qui vient à travers les montagnes me rendra fou.—VICTOR HUGO.

Oh for but one half hour of Cumberland
 Or of Caernarvon or the league-long night
 Of Cader Idris when with harvest white
 The little barley fields of Meirion stand !
 I look, and all around on either hand
 Sleeps an unrippled sea of plain, the sight
 Wearies of horizontal rays that smite
 To gold the level silver of the sand.

Oh winds that gather in the west and north,
 I die for you, come breathe on me and speak
 With keen hill voice and whisper,—“All is well,
 The day is near when thou shalt go hence forth
 To see the clouds that swim on Snowdon's peak,
 Or cling in close embrace around Scafell.”

JAMES WILLIAMS.

Fig. 3.16



ABERGLASLYN. (From the *Llenor*.)

LOVE SONG IN ABERGLASLYN.

By HOWEL VICTOR.

FROM the crags of Aberglaslyn,
 Far up amid the mountains high
 I can hear a woodlark warbling
 Like some glad angel in the sky.
 On the bridge at Aberglaslyn
 Amid the wild romantic pass,
 I sit list'ning to the singin',
 O to the love song of m' lass.
 O the love song, O the singin'
 In that wild romantic pass,
 When the torrent rushes roarin',
 When the smile is on my lass.

Paradise of love and beauty,
 Far from the maddening throng of men,
 Aberglaslyn how I love thee,
 The grandeur of thy mountain glen ;
 With my loved one so beside me,
 And woodland rugged heights above,
 I can hear naught but melody,
 Thou art my paradise, my love ;
 O the love song, O the singing,
 In that wild romantic pass,
 When the torrent rushes roarin',
 When the smile is on my lass.

Fig. 3.17



THE MYSTERY OF CANTFFRWD.

A TALE OF THE WELSH MOUNTAINS.

Fig. 3.18

Published on the 15th of each month.

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[VOL. I. No. 1.]

PRICE THREEPENCE.

YOUNG WALES

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

* *

Contributions by

Earnest Rhys.

—

W. Llewellyn

Williams, B.A.

—

Professor

Anwyl, M.A.

—

Rev. Richard

Hughes, B.A.

* *



D. LLOYD-GEORGE, M.P.

* *

Contributions by

Mrs. Wynford

Phillips.

—

Beriah Gwynve

Evans.

—

D. Samuel, M.A.

—

J. Hugh Edwards

* *

* * Our next number will be ready on February 15th. It will contain an important Article on "Welsh Politicians—Young and Old" by J. Gibson, Editor of the "Cambrian News"; "Gleanings from the Study" by Professor Anwyl, M.A.; "Welsh Nationalism" by R. A. Griffith; and interesting contributions by Mrs Wynford Phillips, J. H. Davies, B.A., Mr. William Jones (Oxford), Prof. D. Morgan Lewis, M.A., and others.

Editorial communications should be addressed to the Editors, "Young Wales," Aberystwyth.

ABERYSTWYTH: J. AND J. GIBSON, "CAMBRIAN NEWS" OFFICE.

Fig. 4.1

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YOUNG·WALES

A·NATIONAL·PERIODICAL

Edited by J.HUGH.EDWARDS.



MR. D. LLOYD-GEORGE, M.P.

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The Classics of Welsh Literature.
CYNDELW BRYDYDD MAWR.
By PROFESSOR ANWYL, M.A.

Studies in Welsh Chiliaistic History.
By REV. D. WYNNE EVANS, CHESTER.

A Maid of Cymru. By 'Y DDAU WYNNE.'
Cantre'r Gwaelod.

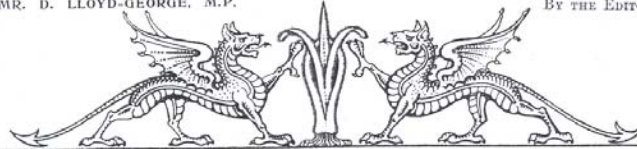
On St. David's Day. 601—1901.
By ERNEST RHYS.

Wales a Century Ago.
By J. ARTHUR PRICE, B.A.

Welsh Leaders:
II.—Mr. D. Lloyd-George, M.P.
A CHARACTER SKETCH BY HAROLD SPENDER.

The Book of the Month:
"Welshmen from earliest times to Llywelyn."

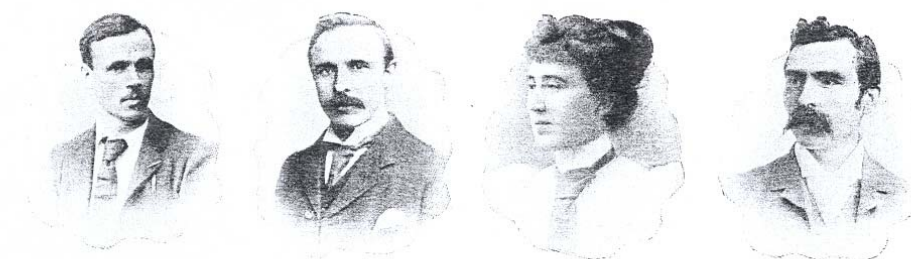
Wales: Month by Month.
By THE EDITOR.



WREXHAM: HUGHES AND SON. LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & Co.

"OWEN REES:" A Story of Welsh Life and Thought. By Eleazar Roberts. Cloth, Crown 8vo. 382 pp. 2/6

Fig. 4.2



Prof. E. EDWARDS, M.A. W. L. WILLIAMS, M.A. MISS ALIS M. WILLIAMS. R. BRYAN.



Prof. J. YOUNG EVANS, M.A.



THE EDITOR.



Prof. ANWYL, M.A.



ERNEST RHYNS.



J. TREVOR OWEN, M.A.



L. J. ROBERTS, M.A.



GWILYM HUGHES.



F. E. HAMER.



HAROLD SPENDER.



WILLIAM GEORGE.

The Literary Staff of "Young Wales."

Fig. 4.3

Published on the 15th of each month.

FEBRUARY, 1895. [Vol. I. No. 2.] PRICE THREEPENCE.

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Mrs. WYNFORD PHILIPPS.

Contributions by

Mrs. Wynford
Philipps.

—

Professor Anwyl

—

J. H. Davies, B.A.

—

Roy Amor.

A New Edition of the January Number will shortly appear. Orders should be sent at once.

*** Our next number will be ready on March 15th. It will contain an Ode by Mr. Lewis Morris; an important Article on "The Future of Welsh Fiction" by Prof. Lewis Jones, of Bangor; an Article on "The National Awakening in Wales in its relation to European Movements" by William Jones (Oxford); a Portrait and Character Sketch of Principal Roberts; a Portrait of Miss E. A. Carpenter; and other interesting contributions.

Editorial communications should be addressed to the Editors, "Young Wales," Aberystwyth.

ABERYSTWYTH: J. AND J. GIBSON, "CAMBRIAN NEWS" OFFICE.

Fig. 4.4

The Women of Wales' Circle.

CONDUCTED BY MISS ALIS M. WILLIAMS.

TO MY COUNTRY-WOMEN.—The Editor has placed a space in this Magazine at the disposal of the Women of Wales, for the discussion and promotion of matters relating to Wales, in which their influence can be used with advantage. I think the burning question of the day for us, daughters of Wales, is the *language question*. Let us look facts frankly in the face. It is a generally accepted axiom that a small nation can only hope to preserve its individuality, among its powerful neighbours, through *its language*. Woman is paramount in the home—her influence throughout the world is immense, and, therefore, all the more sadly, it must be confessed that in the past the Welsh-woman of culture and refinement systematically tabooed her *hên iaith*—that in the present day she is still following the same unpatriotic line, and unless a departure is quickly made, she will continue to do so in the future.

But why should not the new century see that departure began—aye, and perfected! Let the modern Welshwoman spare some of that superabundant energy which she devotes to Temperance Work, Primrose Leagues, Girls' Friendly Societies, Liberal Federations, and the like, to the raising of the grand old mother-tongue to its ancient place of honour and affection in the home. It is a noble and patriotic work. Who will help in it?

The pages of YOUNG WALES are open to all those who feel enough interest in the question to wish to discuss it in all its bearings.

Miss L. Gwendoline Williams is the second daughter of the Rev. H. Venables Williams, Vicar of Bleasby, Nottinghamshire. Mr. Williams is the descendant of an old Welsh family settled for generations in Flintshire, at Galchog and Highfield Hall, near Mold. Miss Williams received her art training at Wimbledon Art College, and at the School of Art, South Kensington,

at both of which places she distinguished herself by carrying off medals for sculpture. She then proceeded to Paris to the Studio of Colarossie, one of the best masters in Europe, for portrait painting and figure study. Here she did some excellent work, winning the second place in a *concours* of a large number of students of all nationalities.



MISS L. GWENDOLINE WILLIAMS.

Miss Williams has been settled now for a few years in a studio of her own in that home of London artists—Holland Park.

While yet a very young art student, she had the honour of exhibiting her work at the Royal Academy, and she has since continued to exhibit a large number of busts, groups, &c., at the Royal Academy, Paris Salon, New Gallery, and the best provincial exhibitions. Her work is chiefly remarkable for its grace, purity of style, and poetic feeling. We may, perhaps, especially mention a few of them. The bust of a *Pétri*, exhibited in the Academy last

Fig. 4.5

<p style="text-align: center;">Contents.</p> <hr/> <p>The Fascination of Comparative Philology. By W. T. G. L.</p> <p>Taffy's Impressions of Sandy is an Ecclesiastic. By REV. T. EYNON DAVIES.</p> <hr/> <p>The Welsh Intermediate Schools Circle. By J. TREVOR OWEN, M. A. (Headmaster, County School, Cararvon.)</p> <hr/> <p>"Stones from Babylon." II.—"A DAUGHTER OF REBECCA." By TEDDY BACH.</p> <hr/> <p>Welsh Land Reform. By RICHARD JONES (Member of the Welsh and Commission.)</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">"S. M. S."</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Contents.</p> <hr/> <p>Our Sunday Note Book. By WILLIAM GEORGE.</p> <p>The Night of Welsh History. By ERNEST RHYS.</p> <hr/> <p>Christian Literature, its Function and Task in the Present Day. By PROFESSOR K. LENTZNER, PH.D.</p> <hr/> <p>Among the Welsh Members. HOME RULE ALL ROUND. By T. ARTEMUS JONES.</p> <hr/> <p>Howell's Song to Myfanwy. (<i>Cân Hywel i Myfanwy</i>). By PROFESSOR J. YOUNG EVANS, M.A.</p> <hr/> <p>"Faithful unto Death." By RHYS RHYDDERCH.</p>
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Fig. 4.6

ABSTRACT

MISCELLANY RHETORIC(S) OF NATIONALISM: POSTCOLONIAL EPIDEICTIC AND THE ANGLOPHONE WELSH PRESS, 1882-1904

BY SARAH L. YODER, PH.D, 2008
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE CHAIR:
ANN GEORGE, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH

My dissertation concentrates on an important but still largely unexplored area of rhetorical and cultural history: the Young Wales nationalist movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I recover three Welsh miscellany magazines of this era: the Red Dragon (1882-87), Wales (1894-97), and Young Wales (1895-1904). I demonstrate how these magazines construct Welsh identity using editorials, poetry, serial fiction, biographies, folklore, correspondence, and illustrations. My analysis illustrates how these Anglophone periodicals functioned not merely as entertainment but as an available means for Welsh writers and editors to re-imagine their nation's identity in response to English cultural dominance.

My aim in studying the nationalist rhetoric of Welsh magazines is, in part, to enlarge our understanding of how the practice of epideictic rhetoric has evolved from its oral and classical roots to circulation in mass-produced texts such as periodicals. Among the many other changes brought on by the invention of the printing press, this technology powerfully affected the relationship between rhetor and audience in ways that have not yet been sufficiently studied. This heightened degree of interaction challenges the mere "spectator" function that Aristotle affords to epideictic audiences and indicates that

classical theories of epideictic rhetoric need to be reassessed to account for literate modes of communication. Engaging in this reassessment, my dissertation extends the epideictic theories of Kenneth Burke, Chaim Perelman, Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, and others to better account for the community-building functions of periodical texts.

In addition to contributing to our understanding of the epideictic functions of periodicals, my dissertation helps reveal the particular forms of epideictic rhetoric that emerge within contexts of disempowerment, particularly colonization. Drawing on recent scholarship in women's rhetorics, minority rhetorics, and postcolonial discourse, I illustrate how these magazines use narratives, icons, revivalism, and gender to champion Welsh communal agency. In foregrounding the epideictic tactics of Welsh miscellany magazines, I also connect these texts with a transnational tradition of politicized fiction and verse that repeatedly emerges within postcolonial scenes. As a whole, my dissertation reveals the ways in which cultural disempowerment both shapes and fuels epideictic rhetoric.

VITA

Personal	Sarah L. Yoder
Background	Born March 30, 1980, in Goshen, Indiana
Education	Diploma, MOC-Floyd Valley High School, Orange City, Iowa, 1998 Bachelor of Arts, Humanities, Northwestern College, Orange City, Iowa, 2002 Doctor of Philosophy, English, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, 2008
Experience	Teaching Assistantship, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, 2004-2007 Research Assistantship, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, 2005-2006 Graduate Assistantship, TCU Center for Writing, Fort Worth, 2005-2007 Assistant Professor of English, Westmont College, Santa Barbara, 2008-
Professional Communication	Conference on College Composition and Memberships Modern Language Association National Council of Teachers of English Rhetoric Society of America

¹ Though recent trends in scholarship have complicated our definitions of literacy, for the sake of clarity, I rely on Walter Ong's influential division between oral and literate (i.e., written) communication.

² A notable exception to the lack of scholarship connecting epideictic theory with periodical studies is Kathryn Summers's "Epideictic Rhetoric in the Englishwoman's Review." She focuses more on gender constructions than on the national identity constructions that I investigate throughout this project. Regrettably, her epideictic approach to periodical studies appears limited to this article.

³ Novick quotes the 1937 propaganda criteria published by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis; the first two "necessary factors for success" being "Name Calling: Giving an idea a bad label, and thereby rejecting it and condemning it . . ." [read: blame] and "Glittering Generality: Associating something with a 'virtue word' and creating acceptance and approval . . ." [read: praise] (40). Indeed, the praise of virtue and the blame of vice infuse all seven of the "ABC's" that Novick applies to Ireland's advanced-nationalist journalists (40-41). Though Novick's use of this particular list is not naïve or simplistic, his neglect of epideictic theory is a lost opportunity within his study.

⁴ Anderson and Bhabha are among the most influential theorists of cultural and nationalist dynamics. Anderson foregrounds the "imagined" qualities of nationalism (which, despite being "imagined," can nevertheless motivate people to both kill and die), and Bhabha questions the "location," origin, and stability of any given culture.

⁵ The Welsh phrase "Cymru Fydd" translates as either "Young Wales" or "The Wales of the future." Like Welsh national identity in general, the *Cymru Fydd* "movement" (which most scholars date from 1886-96) actually had multiple aims and competing interests, rather than existing as a coherent ideology or identity. However, Meic Stephens notes that the movement aimed at reclaiming greater political control for Wales from the central British government. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, this nationalist aim has evolved into "devolution," and this ongoing movement for the decentralization of British political control has had several major victories in the last decade (e.g., the formation of a National Assembly for Wales). This dissertation project investigates the modern origins of Welsh devolution during a key area of cultural renaissance.

⁶ In foregrounding the concept of "imagined communities" in relation to periodical studies, I draw on Anderson's influential metaphor for the formation of national consciousness.

⁷ In relation to strategies of minority resistance, Audre Lorde, bell hooks, and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., have famously discussed the use of the "Master's tools" of dominance and oppression and the possibility of "retooling the tools" to resist that same oppression and achieve liberation. Similarly to "retooling the tools," Kenneth Burke proposed "boring from within" as a rhetorical strategy of resistance.

⁸ Though the term "Anglo-Welsh writing" emerges ca. 1922 (according to Stephens), Welsh writing in English was a practice and tradition well before this date (despite the contested criteria for "Welshness" and the complex subject positions of English-language writers who have claimed Welsh identities).

⁹ Aristotle notes that epideictic is a performative type of rhetoric, used at ceremonies such as festivals and funerals, and that its "end" or goal is *kalon* (the Greek concept of "the honorable"). Aristotle conceives of the epideictic audience as "spectators," which is problematic in that they appear to not be involved in meaning-making—i.e., that "spectators" do not seem to play a dialogic, co-creating role with the rhetor in the interpretation of values, definitions, causes, etc. Rather than assigning epideictic rhetoric a clearly defined civic role, Aristotle seems to include epideictic as a kind of "catch-all" or placeholder category within his theory of rhetoric.

¹⁰ According to Lloyd Bitzer's theory of the "rhetorical situation," an exigence is "an imperfection marked by urgency" that necessitates (rhetorical) action. The "orality bias" of epideictic theory constitutes a particular exigence for contemporary rhetoricians.

¹¹ In terms of situating minority rhetorical practices within rhetorical studies as a whole, they bear close resemblance to women's rhetorics. We should resist the temptation to subsume women's rhetorics within the category of minority rhetorics (thus, assuming women to be just another minority rather than holding a distinct subject position); however, the rhetorics of women and other traditionally disempowered groups are understandably similar in terms of their strategies for accessing power and gaining agency.

¹² The term "miscellany" highlights the variety of texts within these magazines—often a mix of serial fiction, poetry, popular biography and history, letters to and from readers, and additional editorial comments. The three miscellany magazines analyzed in this dissertation include all these characteristic features of a miscellany as well as educational reports, updates on Welsh participation in Parliament, jokes, images, and more. The images in these miscellanies were sometimes closely related to their textual elements (essentially serving as illustrations of the text—e.g., a photograph of a text's author placed at the start of the text) and sometimes functioned more independently (e.g., an original or reproduction of a sketch, painting, or sculpture). Analysis of visual rhetoric is not a central goal of my

dissertation; however, I will consider the rhetorical dynamic of images in these magazines insofar as the images contribute to epideictic rhetorics of “Welshness” within these magazines.

¹³ Johnson calls for investigation of “the complicated relationship between rhetorical practices and the inscription of cultural power” (1). In setting up her methodology, Johnson foregrounds rhetorical theories and practices “as cultural sites where we can observe the interdependence of codes of rhetorical performance and the construction of conventional identities, particularly but not exclusively gender identities” (1). I apply Johnson’s concept of rhetoric (as itself a cultural site for identity formation) in investigating constructions of Welsh national identity.

¹⁴ Though the editors of these periodicals could not have foreseen the increasing strength of the literary tradition of Welsh writing in English in the twentieth century, these magazines certainly laid a foundation for the growth of this tradition and cemented its participation in Welsh nationalism. As Salman Rushdie has argued in “‘Commonwealth Literature’ Does Not Exist,” the English language can be put to use in service of the very cultures it once helped to colonize and even erase.

¹⁵ Meic Stephens identifies the late nineteenth century as a time when nationalism first became “a significant force in Wales” (528). Kenneth O. Morgan concurs; his influential history, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980*, specifically locates the beginnings of the “rebirth” of the Welsh nation in the 1880s and denotes 1880-1914 as a key period of cultural “reawakening” in Wales. See also Matthew Cragoe, who argues that modern Welsh nationalism began as early as the 1860s, even though a Home Rule agenda aimed at “the institutional trappings of self-government” did not emerge until the 1880s and 1890s (44).

¹⁶ Whether any of the magazines I recover in this dissertation project advocates a separatist mode of Welsh nationalism is open to debate (and is not a central concern of my study). Each of these periodicals, however, is self-consciously “national” and—as I demonstrate—works to define Wales as culturally and aesthetically distinct from an overarching English or British identity. Bohata has argued that, in the case of Wales, the use of postcolonial paradigms allows us “to see instances of devastating cultural imperialism . . . [that] attempt to make Wales ‘invisible’” (9). I argue that these three magazines were working within a resistant mode of postcolonial rhetoric that refused to let Wales become culturally invisible, resisting the threat of “cultural imperialism” by circulating texts and images that promoted a sense of national distinctiveness.

¹⁷ As Timothy Baycroft notes, though the roots of nationalism certainly extend deeper and wider than eighteenth-century Europe, “the novelty of the specifically modern character of nationalism” (1) stems from the French Revolution and, more broadly, from the Enlightenment philosophy of natural law—rejecting the authority of divine law and locating power in the collective will of the people.

¹⁸ Even Welsh-language studies of the movement are relatively scarce, with William George’s 1945 *Cymru Fydd: Hanes y Mudiad Cenedlaethol Cyntaf* serving as a notable, if dated, book-length study of the movement.

Unfortunately, without translation, such Welsh-language studies remain inaccessible to most scholars.

¹⁹ This phrase comes from Ellis’s speech “The Memory of the Kymric [or Welsh] Dead,” and it translates roughly as “law, society, shared protection, mutual assistance, and gatherings.” The “*cyf*” prefix indicates sharing; as a whole, the motto emphasizes commonality.

²⁰ Morgan assumes that Ellis’s rather idealistic vision of Wales was “too ethereal to make much impact” (*Rebirth* 114); however, this claim neglects Ellis’s ongoing role in Welsh nationalism as a contributor to periodicals as well as his posthumous role as a national hero (and powerful icon of “praise”) following his death in 1899. As a source of national revival, Ellis may arguably have had as much influence after his death as before it.

²¹ Also known as *Llywelyn, Ein Llyw Olaf* (“Llywelyn, Our Last Leader”), Llywelyn lived ca. 1223-82 C.E. and was the last prince of an independent Wales prior to its conquest by Edward I.

²² This introduction would have been composed sometime shortly after the publication of the December 1898 issue of the magazine, ca. Dec. 1898-Jan. 1899.

²³ The *eisteddfod*—a Welsh cultural and literary festival—began to be held annually in 1858, though in earlier forms, it has been traced to at least 1176. The University College of Wales (later, the University of Wales) opened in Aberystwyth in 1872.

²⁴ Although this move may seem derivative of literary studies’ “turn” to cultural studies in the 1980s and 1990s, Burke transgressed the supposed divide between the “cultural” and “literary” well before this, beginning at least as early as the 1930s.

²⁵ In *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Burke explicitly develops his concepts of identification and consubstantiality.

²⁶ Burke writes that “a cause does not recommend itself . . . it is a radiant cause when some poet has made it radiant” (“Auscultation” 46).

²⁷ In *A Grammar of Motives*, while developing his theory of dramatism (a system for understanding human nature and behavior), Burke distinguishes between symbolic action and non-symbolic motion, placing nearly all human behavior in the category of symbolic action. He writes: "Dramatically, the basic unit of *action* would be defined as the human body in *conscious or purposive motion*" (14, emphasis mine). Burke thus merely excludes unconscious behavior (e.g., heartbeats) from the category of symbolic action. All other behaviors (including writing) constitute symbolic action—indeed, rhetoric or persuasion.

²⁸ Aled G. Jones, Kenneth O. Morgan, and Matthew Cragoe acknowledge the role of the press in the rise of modern Welsh nationalism. As Cragoe puts it: "The dissemination of this new consciousness of nationhood was facilitated by the press . . ." (41). By and large, however, historians credit the Welsh-language press as an aid to nationalist consciousness and tend to overlook the English-language press in Wales.

²⁹ Art historian Peter Lord has provided some of the best insights into the aesthetic features of Welsh nationalism (though he focuses on visual culture rather than literature). For more on the aesthetics and symbolism of Welsh nationalism, see also *Wales: The Imagined Nation* (ed. Tony Curtis) and Jeremy Hooker's *Imagining Wales*. For consideration of gender dynamics within modern Welsh history, which I discuss in Chapter 4, see also Jane Aaron et al., Deirdre Beddoe, Kirsti Bohata, Catherine Brennan, Katie Gramich, Angela V. John, and Alyce von Rothkirch.

³⁰ As Summers notes, "Much of our current resistance to the idea that stories can be viewed as rhetorical is a legacy of Walter Pater's popularization of aestheticism and the later influence of modernism" (*Creating Textual Space* 33). These artistic ideologies have contributed to a lack of attention of the rhetorical and political dimensions of literary texts.

³¹ Though all but forgotten, these magazines also served as important precursors to a contemporary literary tradition of Welsh writing in English. Though contested, this tradition has gradually gained favor, and Welsh writers working in the medium of English continue to gain credibility in relation to a very well-established Welsh-language literary tradition.

³² The Nazis' control of ideal German identity (through praise of Aryan racial features and blame of Jewish or Semitic traits) is a prime example of just how high stakes the control of national identity can be.

³³ Janet Davies details the results of the 1891 census, which (though somewhat flawed) provided the first empirical language data for Wales: ". . . [T]he figures for 1891 . . . show that 54.4 per cent of the inhabitants of Wales claimed a knowledge of Welsh and 69.7 per cent claimed a knowledge of English. The situation had changed markedly since 1801, when the population was probably 70 per cent monoglot Welsh, 20 per cent monoglot English and 10 per cent bilingual" (55). Davies also cites industrialization and English immigration as factors in nineteenth-century language change in Wales: "Between 1801 and 1891, the population of Wales trebled; the number of Welsh monoglots rose by 25 per cent and the number of English monoglots rose seven-fold; the number with a knowledge of Welsh doubled and the number with a knowledge of English rose seventyfold" (55). Though we do not have language data on the readers of the *Red Dragon*, this Anglophone magazine's publication corresponds with a marked rise in English-language use in Wales in the 1880s, particularly in industrial south Wales (where the magazine was published).

³⁴ See Wynne Lloyd for an argument characteristic of linguistic nationalism: ". . . [A] meaningful Welsh identity is not credible or even possible without the [Welsh] language" (795).

³⁵ Davies implies that the Dafydd ap Gwilym Society (established by a group of young Welshmen at Oxford in 1886 in honor of a medieval Welsh-language poet) played a vital role in creating this "confidence" among the Welsh people (455). Among these young nationalists was Owen M. Edwards, who would later edit an Anglophone monthly magazine entitled *Wales* (1894-97); Edwards's rhetorical influence on Welsh nationalism is the subject of my next chapter.

³⁶ Here, I draw on Aristotle's oft-quoted definition of rhetoric: "'The faculty of observing, in any given case, the available means of persuasion'" (Book III).

³⁷ Stephen Knight supports the connection between Anglophone Welsh writing and postcolonial discourse; however, Knight claims that Welsh writers' shift from "colonial" (and complicit) to "postcolonial" (and resistant) did not happen until well after the run of the *Red Dragon* (1882-87). Knight emphasizes the strong influence of London editors on the literary tradition of Welsh writing in English, tracking this influence well into the twentieth century. He argues that English influence on these Welsh writers was consistently "colonial," if implicitly so. According to Knight, the colonial influence of London editors circa 1900 included the publication and promotion of writing that validated the English view of Wales (e.g., as a curiosity to be visited but not taken seriously) and the corresponding rejection of Welsh fiction that challenged dominant English views of Wales. Knight offers a progress narrative of English colonial influence in Welsh writing in English, implying that by 2000, a large increase in publishing based in Wales itself led to a marked increase in fiction that challenged colonial depictions of Wales (3). Knight thus

emphasizes that the location of publishing (in London versus Wales) correlates with the way in which Wales has been portrayed on the printed page, and he suggests that only in the last several decades has Wales really begun to break free of English colonial stereotypes. Knight's study focuses on fiction, especially novels. Had he taken early Anglophone Welsh periodicals such as the Red Dragon into account when tracking colonial influence, he might reconsider just how dominant and consistent the influence of London editors on Wales has been. As early as the nineteenth century, Anglophone magazines produced in Wales used the English language to imagine Welsh identity anew and in forms resistant to English stereotypes of the Welsh.

³⁸ In writing of the persistent re-representation of self and community on the part of women rhetors, Ritchie and Ronald offer the example of Sojourner Truth and her famous efforts to redefine "woman" in 1851 (xxv).

³⁹ At the start of the Red Dragon's run, its publisher is cited as "Daniel Owen, Howell and Company, Cardiff." Starting with the February 1883 issue, publication of the magazine is credited merely to "Daniel Owen and Company, Cardiff," though from July 1884 on, the publication site in Cardiff is specified as the Western Mail Building. A full-page ad in the December 1883 issue of the magazine promotes Daniel Owen and Company as "Printers, Publishers, Lithographers, / Bookbinders, Account Book Manufacturers / Wholesale Stationery" and as "Printers to the Corporation of Cardiff, the Bute Docks Estate, Bookbinders to the Cardiff Free Library and Swansea Free Library. / Publishers of ABC Railway Time Tables, / Cardiff Tide Tables and Almanac, / Illustrated Guide to Cardiff, / The Red Dragon (the National Magazine of Wales), &c., &c., &c." (n.p.). This ad clearly gives the Red Dragon's publisher a South Wales *ethos*; Daniel Owen and Company appears especially proud of announcing its service to Cardiff and Swansea institutions and even its assistance to travelers exploring south Wales (with its "Illustrated Guide to Cardiff" and train schedules). Although the press's namesake is uncertain, we may reasonably assume that this publisher held an affiliation with Welsh novelist Daniel Owen (1836-95), a contributor to Welsh and English periodicals who seems a likely supporter of the Red Dragon. One of Owen's novels, Enoc Huws, would later be reprinted (in translation) as a serial in another Anglophone Welsh monthly magazine, Owen M. Edwards's Wales.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 1.

⁴¹ Along with that of the Red Dragon, Ballin highlights the precedence of Ernest Bowen Rowlands's Welsh Review (1891-93), Owen M. Edwards's Wales (1894-97), and J. Hugh Edwards's Wales (1911-14) (3-4).

⁴² Working from Ballin's citations, we may reasonably assume that he based his characterizations of the Red Dragon on its February 1882 (first issue) and January 1883 issue alone. To be fair, the scarcity of extant copies of the Red Dragon may have limited the scope of Ballin's analysis.

⁴³ Wilkins's mention of a "belted knight" is likely a reference to Robert Burns's "A Man's A Man For A' That (Is There For Honest Poverty)": ". . . A prince can mak' a belted knight / A marquis, duke, an' a' that . . ." In this moment, Wilkins is alluding to an earlier tradition of Celtic nationalism.

⁴⁴ This dynamic, narrative relationship between historic and contemporary Wales is evident throughout Wilkins's writings as well as in later Anglophone Welsh periodicals (as discussed in this study). Such close alliance between past and present may rightly be called a hallmark of the Young Wales movement as a whole, and, indeed, is a key feature of epideictic, community-building discourse.

⁴⁵ Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate circulation figures for the Red Dragon. According to Huw Walters, when Harris became editor, the price of the magazine was raised to 1 shilling per issue (i.e., returning to its original cost). Harris's motive for the price increase is unclear; however, judging from his opening statement in the final issue, the magazine was ultimately unable to raise enough revenue to compensate the publishers' "large pecuniary outlay" ("To My Readers"). Thus, the price hike was likely an attempt to keep the magazine afloat financially.

⁴⁶ Adopting the pseudonym "Gwynllwyn" is self-consciously Welsh; the magazine's readers would have associated this writer with mythic figure of Gwennllian, daughter of prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd.

⁴⁷ James Harris's early contributions to the magazine include the poem "The Song of the Cynic" (Nov. 1884) and a feature on "Wales as [Thomas] Carlyle Saw it Forty Years Ago" (Dec. 1884), a follow-up to an earlier series by John Howells on "Carlyle's Holidays in Wales" (April-June 1884).

⁴⁸ Wilkins promoted this list of contributors in a note "To Our Subscribers" in the December 1883 issue. Lord Aberdare's contributions to the Red Dragon included translations of Welsh poetry. Contributor R. D. Burnie was likely the mayor of Cardiff. In citing John Howell as a contributor, Wilkins uses the phrase "Messrs. Jno. [sic] Howells," likely indicating that a father and son of the same name contributed to the magazine; this may also have been the Howell family once affiliated with Daniel Owen and Company publishers. Thomas Marchant Williams would later edit the Nationalist (1907-12), as referenced in Chapter 1. Howell Elvet Lewis (or "Elfed"), a minister and hymn-writer as well as poet, garners respect from Welsh literary critics to this day; Roland Mathias goes so far as to call Lewis's poetry the best thing in the Red Dragon (though he apparently holds a low opinion of most of the

competition) (280). Stephens praises Lewis's extensive knowledge of Welsh-language literature (431); this base of knowledge informs Lewis's English-language poetry, which would have, in turn, lent a sense of authentic Welshness to Lewis's contributions to the Red Dragon and to the magazine itself. Stephens also notes that Lewis's hymn "*Cofia'n Gwlad*" ("Remember the Country") has become "the second national anthem" of Wales because it is sung so often at patriotic events (431).

⁴⁹ Contributor Eliza Vaughan may have been the woman who became Henrietta Eliza Vaughan Stannard in 1884 (when she married Arthur Stannard). Henrietta Stannard used the pen-name "John Strange Winter" and contributed fiction to a number of different magazines, including the Graphic. In addition to authoring fiction, Stannard wrote on women's issues and led the Society of Women Journalists from 1901-03. In her lifetime, she produced over sixty books and often adopted a sentimental approach to military stories. Stannard may be the author of an unsigned story, "Four Years' Residence in Africa: A Sketch by a Lady," that appeared in the Red Dragon in 1882.

⁵⁰ Ballin has characterized the Red Dragon as Loyalist rather than separatist, basing this judgment on the appearance of the "Dieu et mon droit" crest (associated with the English monarchy) on the magazine's title page and, implicitly, on the magazine's lack of explicit resistance to English rule. Though Ballin understandably associates the use of "Dieu et mon droit" with English rule, his characterization of the magazine as loyalist seems a bit hasty, simplifying the complexity of this multi-voiced text and overlooking the politically resistant possibilities of its literature.

⁵¹ For early histories of Vortigern, see Gildas's *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* (On the Ruin and Conquest of Britain), ca. 540 C.E., and the *Historia Brittonum*, ca. 883 C.E. For an earlier tale of the battling white and red dragons that involves the red dragon's scream, see the tale of Lludd and Llevelys in the Mabinogion.

⁵² See especially Revelation chapter 12.

⁵³ Harold Begbie, Albert, Fourth Earl Grey. London and New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918. 128-129.

⁵⁴ The two exceptions to this generalization are the sketch of "The Old Puddler" (III.443-48), signed by "Merlin," a frequent contributor, and the sketch of "The Pilot," signed by F. Atkins of Cardiff (V.60-67).

⁵⁵ See earlier references to Knight, Ritchie, and Ronald regarding theories of repurposing and re-representation.

⁵⁶ Stephens is dismissive of the Red Dragon's sketches as "living on the credit of the early Tours of Wales" (621). In detailing these early Tours, he dubs them "[t]he practice of travelling in Wales and . . . writing an account of the sites visited," noting that such accounts "became suddenly popular" in the late eighteenth century and persisted into the early 1900s (728-30). Of the hundred-plus such travel narratives, Stephens claims that most were derivative and uninspired; however, he gives a measure of respect to the "originality of material and viewpoint" in sketches of Wales by Gerald de Barri [Giraldus Cambrensis] (1188, trans. 1806), William Camden (1586, trans. 1610), Thomas Churchyard (1587), Michael Drayton (1613), Thomas Pennant (1778-84), William Gilpin (1782), Wordsworth (1791, 1793, 1799-1805), Henry Wyndham (1793-1810), Coleridge (1795), Richard Warner (1798), J. T. Barber (1803), Benjamin Heath (1804), Colt Hoare (1810), Michael Faraday (1819, 1822), Thomas Roscoe (1837, 1844), and George Borrow (1854-67). Stephens highlights Borrow's Wild Wales (1862) as "the shaped experience of a creative writer" and praises Borrow's "knowledge of the Welsh language" and "unusual reverence for Wales's bardic tradition" while also outing his "array of unconventional prejudices" (729-30).

⁵⁷ The Quarterly Review published excerpts of Wild Wales in January 1861; the travelogue was published as a book in 1862 by John Murray of London.

⁵⁸ Since 1861, a national Eisteddfod has been held annually at different locations in Wales. Eisteddfodau also occur on local levels, often in preparation for the national contests.

⁵⁹ Significantly, Arnold disagrees with Renan's attribution of these qualities to the Irish, arguing that "however well [that description] may do for the Cymri [Welshman], it will never do for the Gael, never do for the typical Irishman of Donnybrook fair" (76).

⁶⁰ Here, I'm drawing on Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's influential concept of "worlding."

⁶¹ Other features in the Red Dragon engage the stereotype of Taffy by name and, like the Sketches, seek to rewrite Welsh identity more favorably. In a report on "Crime in Wales," S. H. Jones-Parry begins by addressing the Taffy rhyme's popularity (with "credence among our Saxon neighbours") and ends by promoting a revision of the rhyme (apparently reprinted from Punch magazine) that represents Taffy as moral and law-abiding instead of immoral and thieving ("I went to Taffy's house, many things I saw, / Cleanliness and Godliness, obedience to the law") (522, 530). Similarly, in a political report from the House of Commons, dated 11 May 1883, the Welsh author notes that the Taffy rhyme was used by "Mr. Warton" (presumably an English politician) to interrupt a speech by "Mr. Richards" (presumably a Welsh politician, one of the "Red Dragons at Westminster"). This reporter calls the Taffy rhyme a "libellous assertion" and states his disgust with its use (Pendragon 574).

⁶² Quoit is a throwing game similar to horseshoes.

⁶³ Such likable but roguish behavior is also characteristic of picaroon figures, which emerge in 16th century Spanish literature and 18th century English literature.

⁶⁴ As discussed in Chapter 4, by the late 1890s, opportunities for women's involvement in Welsh nationalism would increase, as publicized in *Young Wales* (1895-1904).

⁶⁵ The magazine clearly engages Arnold's concept of Celticism in other features as well. Notably, in the June 1883 installment of "Our 'Red Dragons' at Westminster," political reporter "A. Pendragon" (clearly identifying himself as Welsh) uses the term "Saxon" interchangeably with that of "English," speaking of both "Radical Saxons" and "Saxon Conservative[s]." Tellingly, the Welsh author resists any direct mention of Celts or Celtic traits, calling Welsh politicians simply "Welsh" while also explicitly resisting the derogatory associations of the "Taffy" label. By repeatedly calling the English "Saxons" while implicitly discarding the term "Celt" in reference to the Welsh, the reporter—by extension—grasps the Master's tools (here, Arnold's racial ideology) while also resisting Arnold's representation of Welsh identity.

⁶⁶ Morgan notes: "By 1902, there were 95 'county' schools in Wales, which provided a network of opportunity and instruction superior to that of England. Under an amendment supported by the Welsh party in the House of Commons in December 1902, the Welsh 'county' schools were brought under the same administrative framework as the elementary schools . . . and run by the same elective county education committees. On the eve of war in 1914, Wales could claim 117 recognized secondary schools, of which only six were private, while 99 were 'county schools' established under the 1889 Act. *Clearly, there now existed the basis of a Welsh educated class, culturally aware, more intellectually sophisticated, poised to supply political, social, and cultural leadership in the new century . . . [I]t is clear that the new educational provision . . . had powerful cultural and national, even perhaps nationalist, implications.* New ranges of professional opportunities were being opened up for Welsh boys, and to some extent girls. Many of them were to become schoolteachers and headmasters and headmistresses in their turn, *to transmit cultural and patriotic values to new generations of Welsh pupils.* Certainly, social and educational mobility was a significant fact in the new Welsh renaissance" (105-06, emphasis mine).

⁶⁷ From humble beginnings in rural North Wales, Edwards enjoyed a number of educational opportunities, eventually becoming an Oxford don and later the chief inspector of Welsh schools. Edwards was born in 1858 and grew up in a Welsh-speaking, rural home near Llanuwchllyn. Edwards attended a so-called "National" school run by the Church of England, though he was a Nonconformist, Calvinistic Methodist. In 1880, Edwards began three years of study at the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth, which he would later describe as a formative personal as well as educational experience (*Wales* I.169-73). While in Aberystwyth, Edwards studied history, philosophy, modern languages, and English literature. From 1883-84, he studied briefly under philosopher Edward Caird in Glasgow. From 1884-87, Edwards studied history at Balliol College, Oxford. Kenneth O. Morgan describes Edwards's time at Balliol as a "turning-point" that would launch Edwards's commitment to popular education and cultural renaissance in Wales (103). Morgan notes with irony that the mid-1880s were also "the very heyday of the imperial elite that Balliol was supposed to be offering to a grateful world" (102); Edwards broke from this mold and went on to become a key figure in what Morgan terms Wales's "cultural explosion" (103). In 1889, Edwards was elected a Fellow in Modern History at Lincoln College, Oxford, and would continue as a don until 1907. During his time as a teaching fellow, Edwards financed and published an impressive group of periodicals, translations, short stories, and travel literature. In 1907, he returned to Wales and became the chief inspector of schools, though which he influenced curricular decisions, advocating "new subjects technical as well as literary" as well as less emphasis on examination-driven education and more attention to "the raw talents of the sons and daughters of the Welsh working class" (104). Gareth Elwyn Jones notes that Edwards "attempt[ed] to counteract the lack of imaginative teaching and the excessive emphasis on examinations in the schools of Wales. He stressed the importance of Welsh language, history, and geography, as well as the centrality of craft subjects, to individuals and communities. He was one of the few original thinkers in the history of state education in Wales, linking a belief in child-centred education to the special circumstances of Wales" (n.p.). Whether visiting Welsh schoolrooms or publishing magazines, Edwards exhibited respect for Welsh people of all classes and ages and sought to further their understanding of Welsh culture and, more broadly, European history and thought.

⁶⁸ Edwards writes: "To the Norman, the Welsh were foxes; to the Englishman they have been, at different times, gentlemen and buffoons. During the sixteenth century, when the Welsh chieftains crowded into the court of the Tudors, and found favour in the eyes of the sovereigns of their own race, the Welshman was regarded as a gentleman . . . During the seventeenth century the reputation of Welshmen began to decline . . . It was during the eighteenth century that the Welshman sunk lowest in English eyes . . . At the beginning of the eighteenth century the scenery and the people of Wales were barbarous to English eyes" (I.51-52).

⁶⁹ By 1884, three University Colleges of Wales had been founded: in Aberystwyth (1872), Cardiff (1883), and Bangor (1884), respectively. Kenneth O. Morgan notes that all three colleges had connections to “the new patriotic movements of *Cymru Fydd*” but that the college at Aberystwyth made the strongest impression “on the social and national consciousness of the Welsh people” (106-07). This institution became a training ground for future politicians and scholars, including Tom E. Ellis, the leader of the *Cymru Fydd* Home Rule movement who would be profiled in Young Wales; Owen M. Edwards himself, who studied at Aberystwyth in the early 1880s; and Thomas Marchant Williams, a lawyer and M.P. who would edit The Nationalist from 1907-12.

⁷⁰ See also Wales IV.2 for another published competition.

⁷¹ Edwards was one of a number of critics who challenged curricular biases and limitations in Welsh schools of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Kenneth O. Morgan writes that, ca. 1870 and following: “[N]either the voluntary schools, National or British, nor the newly-founded Board schools had much inherent connection with the culture and traditions of the Welsh. Indeed, men like Owen M. Edwards were to attack the Board schools for superimposing on their pupils a largely alien range of studies, narrowly literary and mathematical, which did not relate to the daily experience of the Welsh people. The gradual admission of Welsh as a recognized school subject made only a partial difference” (105). In addition, scholars have noted that Edwards’s “conviction that the new intermediate schools established in the 1890s were severe anglicising influences in Wales” (“O. M. Edwards Papers,” n.p.). Clearly, Edwards demonstrated concern for what was being taught in Welsh schools, but his interests in education went beyond classroom instruction—translating into periodical publishing and other endeavors.

⁷² Wales was published in Wrexham by Hughes and Son, a company which also published four of Edwards’s other periodical projects (*Cymru*, *Cymru’r Plant*, *Heddyw*, and *Y Llenor*) as well as Young Wales, the subject of the next chapter. In addition to being printed and published by Hughes and Son of Wrexham, Wales had a secondary publisher: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co. of London. In London, the magazine’s circulation was likely among the London-based Welsh community, often labeled the “London Welsh.”

⁷³ The August 1895 issue included an additional eight-page supplement.

⁷⁴ Book-length biographies of Edwards include Hazel Davies’s (O. M. Edwards) and Jac L. Williams’s (Owen Morgan Edwards 1858-1920).

⁷⁵ Edwards would edit Cymru until his death in 1920.

⁷⁶ Edwards served as joint editor of Cymru Fydd from 1889-1891. According to Jac L. Williams, Cymru Fydd was “party-political in origin and mission,” and though Edwards made sure the periodical featured literary and educational content, he eventually became frustrated with the magazine’s “political character” and resigned his editorship in 1891 (41). In his parting editorial, published in the April 1891 issue, Edwards stated: “I still believe that there is some wonderful sense of unity underneath all the party politics and sectarianism in Wales; a sense of unity that is manifest in every period in our history, a sense of unity that has survived all attempts that have been made to divide us and to undermine our Welshness, in spite of their numbers and strength” (qtd. in Williams 41). According to Williams, Edwards’s next periodical venture, Cymru, was a reflection of Edwards’s belief in this “wonderful sense of unity” and in publications that could be “non-party” (41). Extending Williams’s argument, I would position Wales as Edwards’s next practical step in furthering national unity through a magazine that was non-partisan as well as Anglophone—thus admitting readers lacking Welsh-language fluency into the “wonderful . . . unity” of Edwards’s Wales.

⁷⁷ Brynley Roberts characterizes Edwards’s audience as the “non-Welsh-speaking workers and middle class” (83).

⁷⁸ See Wales II.92, II.381, etc.

⁷⁹ For more information on Edwards’s range of periodicals, see Huw Walters.

⁸⁰ See Gareth Elwyn Jones on Edwards’s “puritan ethic of extreme hard work” and the “unrelenting schedule” he kept in this time period (n.p.).

⁸¹ Young Wales sold for threepence per issue with the exception of several special issues, which were priced at sixpence per issue.

⁸² Morgan cites Edwards’s considerable influence on the Welsh working class, claiming that Edwards performed a “crucial act” insofar as he translated the emergent scholarly work in Welsh history, language, and literature to the “ordinary” people: “Bridges had to be built to make this cultural renaissance one capable of being grasped by ordinary working men and women on the farm, at the quarry-face or down the pit. This crucial act of popular transmission was the work of . . . Owen M. Edwards, the great popular educator of Welsh-speaking Wales and perhaps the most powerful single personal influence upon the generation up to 1914 . . . [T]he Oxford don was always consumed with a sense of wider mission to educate and civilize the Welsh [*g*]werin with which he identified, in literary and indeed in national values . . . His main concern was to provide for the Welsh people popular forms of communication that could spread a secure, living culture throughout the nation as a whole” (103). Notice that

Morgan calls Edwards the “great popular educator of *Welsh*-speaking Wales.” Edwards did perform this role; still, his influence on the Anglophone Welsh working class, though likely more limited, is also evident in [Wales](#).

⁸³ This focus on early Welsh history is especially pronounced in the first two years of the magazine’s run. See Edwards’s introduction to Volume II (II.iii-iv).

⁸⁴ Dwelling on the present and future shape of the American nation in the 1930s, Brooks writes: “We have every precedent for cutting it [our past] to fit ourselves” (224). See also M. Lane Bruner for a recent study of the rhetorical use of history in nation-building.

⁸⁵ “Owen Glendower” is the Anglicized version of “Owain Glyndŵr” (or “Owain Glyn Dŵr”). Though Edwards chooses to use the Anglicized spelling of the name, I have opted for the Welsh-language equivalent, which is less contested in that it is perceived to be free from English influence.

⁸⁶ Alun Roberts notes that Glyndŵr was hailed as a “messiah” figure in his day (ca. 1359-1415) and gained popular support from “the squirearchy, the ecclesiastics and the common people” (29-31). Though Glyndŵr’s armed revolt and formation of a Welsh Parliament were short-lived, his symbolic power spanned centuries and continues to persist. Historian John Lloyd dubbed Glyndŵr “the father of modern Welsh nationalism” (qtd. in Roberts 31).

⁸⁷ See R. R. Davies, among others, for a recent history of Glyndŵr’s revolt.

⁸⁸ In 1906, Rhys began editing Dent’s Everyman Library; he edited 983 Everyman titles before his death and became known as “Mr. Everyman” (Stephens 636). Though Meic Stephens cites Rhys’s association with the Everyman Library as his primary claim to fame, he also stresses that Rhys was “a poet and prose-writer who was held in high esteem during his own lifetime” (636-67). Rhys published two poetry collections in the 1890s and would go on to publish four more poetry collections as well as a total of four novels, two autobiographies, two textbooks (on Welsh literature and history, respectively), and a number of English translations of Welsh poems (Stephens 636-37). Stephens appears to have a rather low opinion of Rhys’s poetic ability, claiming that none of Rhys’s poetry collections “has great literary merit” and that the fact “that he was considered the chief representative Welsh poet of his day is a sad comment on the state of Anglo-Welsh literature at the turn of the century and on England’s acquaintance with literature written in English” (636-37). Whether or not contemporary readers may appreciate Rhys’s literary merit, however, his rhetorical powers in resurrecting the Celtic past are evident in his contributions to [Wales](#).

⁸⁹ In characterizing the magazine in a brief reference entry within [The New Companion to the Literature of Wales](#), Meic Stephens notes that “photographs and illustrations played an important part in its [[Wales](#)’s] appeal” (763).

⁹⁰ See also my discussion of Clarke and Burke in Chapter 4.

⁹¹ Prys Morgan comments on how the linguistic shift from Welsh to English happened “in Monmouthshire and the large towns such as Cardiff, and then further afield, until only half the population was Welsh-speaking by the time of the first language census in 1891” (189). Monmouthshire is the most southeastern county in Wales, bordering Gloucestershire and Herefordshire on its east and northeast boundaries.

⁹² For more on Edwards’s travels and travel writings, see Hazel Davies’s “Boundaries.”

⁹³ As referenced in Chapter 1, S. Michael Halloran has illustrated how representing landscape in laudatory ways—in other words, making landscape a “locus of praise”—constitutes a place-based form of epideictic rhetoric. Thus, landscape can be used as a means of nation-building, as in the case of [Wales](#).

⁹⁴ Quoting M. O. Evans’s [Christianity and Churchmanship](#), which Edwards praises as representative of “tendencies in Wales at the present time” as well as “a vigorous and interesting address,” Edwards inserts the following passage from Evans into his own editorial: “‘Education is the foremost question in Wales just now; it may be said to be the only national question, and we already rejoice in a national system of education in a somewhat rudimentary stage. This is the hour of *our own wild Wales*’” (III.4-5, emphasis mine).

⁹⁵ Each issue of [Wales](#) carries a full-page illustration prior to the first feature; the subjects of these images rotate among nature, history, art (especially sculptures), and prominent Welsh figures.

⁹⁶ Pembrokeshire’s nickname, “Little England,” reflects this demographic while also (via *antonomasia*, a claim replacing a name) arguing that this part of Wales is perhaps less authentically “Welsh” than its neighboring counties. Edwards’s inclusion of Pembrokeshire readers in his target audience, among other Anglophone Welsh, demonstrates his desire to gather English-language users into the fold of the Welsh nation.

⁹⁷ See Chapter 4 for further discussion of “Y Ddau Wynne.”

⁹⁸ In defining *antonomasia*, Andrea Lunsford and John Ruskiewicz write: “[S]uch shorthand substitutions of a descriptive word or phrase for a proper name can pack arguments into just one phrase” (295).

⁹⁹ Eryri is roughly translated as “the land of the eagles.” In English-language usage, this mountainous region of north Wales is known as Snowdonia, which is not related to the original, Welsh-language meaning.

¹⁰⁰ Edwards also praises the University College at Aberystwyth as “one of the finest buildings in Wales” (II.459).

¹⁰¹ As Gregory Clark states in *Rhetorical Landscapes in America*, “a succession of vicariously salient sensory images is experienced as a narrative” (21). Here, Clark is characterizing Kenneth Burke’s emphasis on the rhetorical power of “succession,” as theorized in works such as *A Grammar of Motives*, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, and *Attitudes Toward History*. Clark applies Burke’s concepts of succession and “representative anecdote” to argue that travel itineraries, whether they are “actual or vicarious” experiences of place, “do the epideictic rhetorical work of representative anecdotes . . . [T]hey direct private individuals to experience for themselves some of the stories that enact a public identity” (21).

¹⁰² Kenneth Burke’s concept of “representative anecdote” offers a link between story and persuasion. In Burke’s words, a representative anecdote is a story that provides an “imagistic summary” of the values underlying communal identity (*Grammar* 338). Thus expressed in narrative, these values (the basis of epideictic rhetoric) become more appealing and present.

¹⁰³ Within this chapter, I will refer to Anna Puddicombe by her pseudonym, Allen Raine, since she published so successfully under this name and since contemporary critics tend to favor its use. In contrast, I will refer to the other highlighted contributors by their real names, though there is some variation in these as well. Maltt Williams, as she preferred to be called, was also known as Alis Maltt Williams, Alice Matilda Langland Williams (her birth name), Fonesig Williams, and Maltt Merch Brychan (Löffler 58). Gwenffreda Williams was also known as Cate Williams (her birth name). The sisters adopted the Welsh versions of their names, (Alis) Maltt and Gwenffreda (or Gwenffrida) as part of their conversion to Welsh nationalism; this conversion was partially due to the influence of Lady Llanover, a neighbor and “fervent supporte[r] of Welsh and Celtic revivalism” (Aaron 268).

¹⁰⁴ 1847 marked the infamous publication of Blue Book reports on education in Wales. The authors, English educational commissioners, blamed the Welsh language and the failings of Welsh women for the supposed backwardness and immorality of Welsh society. The sense of outrage and betrayal regarding the content of the reports led to calling their publication “The Treachery of the Blue Books.” The reports helped justify the spread of English-language education throughout Wales. Following the publication of the reports, schoolchildren could be punished for speaking Welsh in school.

¹⁰⁵ These binary representations were especially common in the aftermath of the 1847 Blue Books. In response to these reports’ characterization of Welsh women as immoral and at fault for the backwardness of the Welsh people as a whole, publications such as *Y Gymraes [The Welshwoman]* offered hyper-spiritualized representations of Welsh women. In a documentary called *Mam*, Diana Bianchi traces the emergence of the “mam” figure (a highly pure and domestic representation of Welsh motherhood) back to the resistant Welsh response to the Blue Books; she notes that *Y Gymraes*, for instance, was among the publications that aimed at improving the morals of Welsh women and turning them into diligent and moral mothers—in short, the opposite of Welsh women’s previous representation. The figure of the mam, then, is the Welsh equivalent of what Virginia Woolf terms “the angel in the house” and was a resistant reaction to derogatory portrayals of Welsh women’s identity.

¹⁰⁶ The length of *Young Wales*’s run has been the object of scholarly disagreement. In his bibliographic work, however, Huw Walters has carefully detailed the magazine’s run from 1895-1904, including changes in publication venue and printers throughout this time period. Unfortunately, no known copies of *Young Wales*’s 1903-04 issues are in public domain, so I have been unable to access these issues or to include them within the scope of my analysis.

¹⁰⁷ The magazine sold for three pence per issue, with the exception of several special issues, which cost sixpence apiece. For a monthly magazine of its time, *Young Wales* was moderately priced. The magazine would have been affordable for middle- as well as upper-class readers and, to a lesser degree, within reach of the working class.

¹⁰⁸ The English translation of “Cymru Fydd” is “Young Wales” or “Future Wales.”

¹⁰⁹ Accounting for these changes in the magazine’s place of publication is a difficult task. Likely causes of these moves include financial problems, instability of the presses themselves, or perhaps relocation on the part of the editorial staff. Aberystwyth and Caernarfon are both coastal towns (in the west and northwest regions of Wales, respectively) that would have had relatively bilingual populations during the magazine’s run. Wrexham, on the other hand, is in northeast Wales and further inland, not far from the English border. This venue for the magazine’s publication would have been more Anglicized in both language and mentality, as would London and Cardiff; in these venues, the magazine’s nationalist function would have been particularly needed but perhaps also quite vulnerable to inconsistent sales, not to mention greater competition among English-language periodicals.

¹¹⁰ The *Waterloo Index* mistakenly lists *Young Wales*’s run as 1897-1904.

¹¹¹ The combination of Christian and nationalist appeals appearing in the motto of Young Wales would be reinforced in the fiction of Sara Maria Saunders, one of a number of female contributors who shaped the persona and function of the magazine as a whole.

¹¹² Here we find an instance of Wales being represented as a woman, as was often the case with Ireland. Ironically, though, both Welsh and Irish women have tended to be marginalized within their respective nationalist movements.

¹¹³ In addition to writing some of the magazine's content, the magazine's staff sometimes solicited contributions, as in the case of at least one contributor to an installment of "The Women of Wales' Circle." On the topic of "Woman's Place in Fiction," Miss M. C. Ellis begins her contribution with a polite nod to its solicitation before proclaiming: "What would fiction be without woman? Nothing better than dry bones without flesh, or a nutshell without a kernel" (III.231). Ellis's contribution is one of six women's contributions published on this topic, with the installment as a whole edited by Sara Maria Saunders, herself engaged in the publishing of fiction in Young Wales and elsewhere.

¹¹⁴ A contemporary equivalent of media that fosters communal identity and decision-making are reality television shows that broadcast invitations for viewers to cast votes using their cellular phones. Within the structure of programs such as American Idol and Make Me a Supermodel, audience members at home can participate in deciding the fate of contestants, though they do so via online voting, phone calls, or text-messaging rather than in letters to the editor. Though using different modes of communication, inviting audience response also fosters identification with and allegiance to periodicals as well as television programs, respectively. In part, such invitational tactics enable reading publics and television audiences to form a sense of shared, group identities centered on the titles of magazines or television shows. As such, these tactics are a component of epideictic rhetoric; moreover, they challenge the mere "spectator" function that Aristotle assigned to epideictic audiences. Contemporary examples of epideictic rhetoric tend to rely more heavily on audience participation, perhaps due to the new forms of media that continue to develop and to allow nearly immediate audience response.

¹¹⁵ Later, with the rise of Labour Party politics in the early twentieth century, Welsh leaders tended to favor working-class appeals based on industrious figures such as coal-encrusted miners.

¹¹⁶ Lloyd George would also acquire the nickname "The Welsh Wizard."

¹¹⁷ The magazine promoted Lloyd George and Ellis repeatedly, using both images of the men and features detailing their biographies and political views. For instance, Young Wales included both men in its series on "Leading Young Welshmen," profiling Lloyd George in 1896 and Ellis in 1897, respectively (I.12-19, II.89-94). This series performed similar epideictic functions to that of "Notable Men of Wales" in the Red Dragon. In both cases, these national magazines offer men as the figureheads of the Welsh people.

¹¹⁸ An advertisement for Bird's Custard Powder (a kind of dairy substitute) claims that the product is "the best resource for every housekeeper—affording a constant variation in the daily menu" (n.p.). The advertisement for Brown & Polson's Corn Flour is more modest in its claims; however, it does promise that the flour will allow "many dainty dishes for dinner and supper" (n.p.). Such ads target female readers, promising to make their domestic duties easier and more enjoyable.

¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, I have been unable to determine Philipps's first name. It seems likely that the Philipps family she married into was, according to David John Griffiths, "one of the most prominent old gentry families of Pembrokeshire" and that her husband was John Wynford Philipps (1860-1938), 1st Viscount of St. David's. If so, one of her brother-in-laws was Laurence Richard Philipps (1874-1962), 1st Baron Milford (in 1939), an industrialist who established the Court Shipping Line and a philanthropist who donated generously to the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth (Griffiths). See also Charles on the genealogy and achievements of this family.

¹²⁰ At the end of the first installment of "Note on Welsh Liberal Women," an anonymous note (likely authored by Edwards) reports: "Our readers will be interested to learn that Mrs. Phillipps has been elected a member of the Parish Council of Manorbier. We trust that the day is not far distant when Mrs. Phillipps and other leaders of the Women's Movement in the Principality will be elected to a duly-established Welsh National Assembly" (1.19).

¹²¹ The Disestablishment movement aimed at liberating the Welsh from paying allegiance as well as tithes to the Anglican Church in Wales. As such, the movement carried religious, economic, and political implications.

¹²² Philipps's call for change is further developed in her second installment of the "Notes" (222).

¹²³ Johnson traces the ways in which influential nineteenth-century women rhetoricians were "relentlessly portrayed" as "models of American womanhood" by their contemporary biographers (16). In effect, Johnson claims that such biographers sought to neutralize the progressivism of these women's voices through "gender policing."

¹²⁴ Such praise of Welsh women and resistance to pre-existing stereotypes are evident in the non-fiction features of the magazine as well. For instance, in an installment of the "Progress of Women in Wales" feature, women garner praise as "magnificent" and powerful: "An excessive admiration for the graces of woman, her gentleness and

softness[,] led to the emphasizing of these qualities, till gentleness became weakness, and softness degenerated into flabbiness; yet the new movement for the development of the mental, moral, and physical fibres of women, is producing, and will continue to produce, a magnificent type of womanhood, worthy descendants of their most heroic ancestresses” (II.64).

¹²⁵ Regarding the significance of the pseudonym “Allen Raine,” Sally Roberts Jones notes: “The pseudonym . . . appeared to Ada in a dream, and it is unlikely that she deliberately chose a masculine pen-name. Whether this affected the earliest critical response to her novels is not clear . . .” (“Puddicombe,” n.p.).

¹²⁶ Following its Eisteddfod win, Ynysoer was published as a serial in the North Wales Observer; after Raine’s death, the novel was published as a book in 1909 with the title Where Billows Roll (Jones, “Puddicombe,” n.p.).

¹²⁷ Critics dispute how much Raine relied on her writing to produce income. Sally Roberts Jones suggests that, despite the relative financial stability of Raine’s household, Raine likely welcomed some additional income after her husband’s retirement and ongoing mental instability; in addition, Beynon may have been resistant to financially supporting Raine’s writing habits (Allen Raine, 23). At any rate, Raine’s income from writing seems to have supported her ongoing literary output, if not being vital to supplying her basic needs.

¹²⁸ Gramich argues that “[t]he disappearance of Raine and other phenomenally successful female authors of the past . . . is a direct result of a patriarchal bias against the supposedly inferior literary productions of women” (1). In keeping with Gramich’s argument, we should reassess the merit of work by women writers since such work has been especially vulnerable to censure by a male-dominant literary establishment that itself sets the standards for “good” writing.

¹²⁹ Gwyn Jones has characterized Raine’s literary success as a “sandcastle dynasty” that was eroded and obscured by Caradoc Evans and his followers (qtd. in Knight 18).

¹³⁰ See especially publications by Honno Press, which specializes in recovering works by Welsh women.

¹³¹ This story is Raine’s only contribution to Young Wales that I have been able to confirm. Judging from the copies of the magazine housed at the National Library of Wales, Raine began contributing to Young Wales late in its run, after she had already achieved success as a fiction writer. I find it likely that Raine continued to contribute to the magazine in 1903 and 1904 (the last two years of its run); unfortunately, these issues currently are not available at any public institution or archive, including the National Library of Wales.

¹³² Raine’s first bestselling novel, variably titled Mifanwy or A Welsh Singer, was published in 1897; A Welsh Singer was one of two Raine novels that would be made into silent films, thus signaling as well as furthering Raine’s popularity (Gramich 4-5).

¹³³ For instance, in her last novel, Queen of the Rushes (1906), Raine dramatized the Nonconformist religious revival of 1904-05, an event she self-reportedly hoped would effect “a real reformation in our national character” (qtd. in Gramich 6).

¹³⁴ In addition to publishing her work in his magazine, Owen M. Edwards apparently sent Raine “fan mail” (Gramich 8).

¹³⁵ “Pentre-Rhedyn” translates approximately as “Fern Village” or “Bracken Village.” This name emphasizes Saunders’s explorations of a rural Welsh community. Throughout the series of Welsh Rural Sketches, this village’s name appears alternately with and without a hyphen. For the sake of consistency, I have maintained the hyphenation of the name throughout this chapter since “Pentre-Rhedyn” appears in the title of the first installment of the series.

¹³⁶ Unlike the following installments featuring the same setting and characters, “His Majesty of Pentre-Rhedyn” does not carry the heading “Welsh Rural Sketches,” nor is it numbered (unlike the other installments). Still, “His Majesty” clearly serves as the originating tale of the series, introducing the characters, scene, and conflict that would reoccur throughout the Welsh Rural Sketches.

¹³⁷ Saunders’s choice to use dialect to represent the narrator’s speech patterns reinforces the rural setting of this fictional sketch as well as indicating that the narrator is likely of the working class and not highly educated in the standard English of the time.

¹³⁸ This character is likely the same schoolmaster as in previous installments of Saunders’s Welsh Rural Sketches, though in earlier sketches, his name was spelled “Harris” rather than “Harries.”

¹³⁹ According to Marion Löffler, Mallt Williams is likely the primary author of A Maid of Cymru and possibly even its sole author (60).

¹⁴⁰ This illustration appeared in the magazine’s April 1901 issue; see illustration earlier in this chapter.

¹⁴¹ Prior to publishing in Young Wales, the Williams sisters evinced an engagement with Pan-Celtic thought—for instance, in contributing to Owen M. Edwards’s Wales with non-fiction items such as “What the Celts are Doing” (III.290-91) and “A Plea for Our Celtic Place-Names” (IV.193-94), the latter of which is highlighted in Chapter 3.

¹⁴² In their brief preface to A Maid of Cymru, the Williams sisters claim that their “one wish” in writing this novel has been “to serve Mam Cymru [Mother Wales].” For service to Wales, they appeal to their “compatriots” who occupy positions of influence to “perpetuat[e] in their own circles the grand old language, music, and national characteristics of Cymru [Wales].” The preface also includes the national motto, which reads “Cymru, Cymro, a Chymraeg [Wales, Welshman, and the Welsh language].” The Williams sisters take care to address “our country-women” with the “plea” to “restor[e] the language of Arthur” as part of the nationalist vision, thus affirming women’s participation in nationalism (VI. 80).

¹⁴³ The spelling of Gwilym’s surname varies within the novel, alternating between “Parri” and “Parry” without apparent intention.

¹⁴⁴ In Chapter XIII, “The Agent’s Handiwork,” readers learn that Gwilym Parri is the grandson of Tangwystl’s mother’s second cousin, a connection which partially explains Tangwystl’s sympathetic response when she learns of the Parri family’s eviction (VI. 263).

¹⁴⁵ Additional secondary research questions (later omitted): “How is Welshness imagined in terms of hybrid or liminal figures (the partially Welsh)? How might this hybridity complicate or destabilize previous imaginings?”

¹⁴⁶ Ratcliffe lists four methods in this category: recovery, rereadings, extrapolation, and conceptualizing.

¹⁴⁷ In Dwelling in the Archive, Antoinette Burton draws attention to the politicized space of archives while also suggesting that what can constitute an archive may occur in the domestic sphere.

¹⁴⁸ Though not addressed in the scope of this project, the use of Welsh proverbs in periodicals and elsewhere can also serve an epideictic function. In The Penguin Book of Welsh Verse, Tony Conran compares *englynion* (poetic Welsh proverbs) to Greek epigrams. Both epigrams and proverbs can operate as laudatory as well as “blaming” cultural expressions, capable of upholding existing hierarchies of value but also restructuring those hierarchies.