

# The Wages of **SERVITUDE**



**WALES' REWARD FOR  
COLLABORATION WITH  
ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.**

3d.

# THE WAGES OF SERVITUDE

## WALES' REWARD FOR COLLABORATION WITH ENGLISH GOVERNMENT

(Welsh Party Report for 1944.)

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## THE YEAR IN BRIEF

**DURING** the year, Wales in general collaborated with the English Government:—

Thousands of Welshmen gave their lives—voluntarily or under conscription—for the English Government and its interests;

Tens of thousands of Welshmen gave their full service—voluntarily or under conscription—in English armed forces;

Hundreds of thousands of Welshmen—voluntarily or under conscription—gave their industrial services to the English Government;

Millions of tons of Welsh minerals and goods were used in that Government's cause;

Scores of millions of pounds were contributed from Wales to the English Government's funds.

The reward received by Wales for all this collaboration was:—

Official disregard of the service and bravery of Welshmen in England's armed forces.

Continuance of the transference of Welsh people from Wales and the closure of Welsh industries.

"Indefinite postponement" of the unanimous demand of Welsh M.P.'s and Welsh local authorities for a mere "Secretary" for Wales;

No hope for the future of Wales, economically and socially, in the official policy of the English Government.

The reward of servile collaboration is always exploitation.

It was so after the last war. Wales collaborated to the utmost; her reward was contempt and misery. James J. Davies, the Welshman who was formerly a Minister of Labour in the U.S.A., said in 1935:

"No country, in size of its population, contributed a greater quota than Wales in the last Great War.

"And what has been the reward for her 'loyalty' ?

"Wales, which sacrificed the flower of its manhood on bloody foreign fields, is to this day denied a respectful hearing in the House of Commons."

Apart from contempt—or because of the contempt—Wales suffered fearful depression and poverty.

Is the same tale to be repeated after this war? Is Wales to be treated contemptuously and to suffer destruction? It will be so if Wales continues to give servile "loyalty" and cowardly "collaboration."

"If Wales gave more trouble to the Government, the Government would not dare to treat Wales as it does," said one who was Prime Minister in the government, Mr. Lloyd George.

Wales should remember that advice.

During recent years, some Welshmen did not want to trouble the English Government as long as there was danger of England's defeat by Germany. That danger is past. If Wales now desires to have just treatment, the people of Wales, her societies and local authorities, must withhold their "loyalty" and "collaboration" until justice is accorded to our nation.

What little justice gained and progress made in Wales during the year, has been the result, directly or indirectly, of the work and determined stand of the nationalist movement, the movement that gives its loyalty to Wales and not to any alien government:—

A small degree of acknowledgement of Welsh nationality in the new Education Act;

The transference of women from Wales was slowed down as a result of Blaid campaign;

There was a slight improvement, following a deputation from our Party, in the nature of B.B.C. Welsh news;

It may be that the Welsh M.P.'s have been goaded to be a little more loyal to Wales;

The "Welsh Day" in the English Parliament.

Some Trade Unions, industrialists and local authorities are slowly realising that Wales must save itself — by means of self-government.

Welsh people at home and—even more so—Welshmen in the forces are turning to the Welsh Party.



## 2. INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

### A. TRANSFERENCE OF WOMEN

It is estimated that the Ministry of Labour of the English Government transferred 2,500 women from Wales into England between August, 1943, and January, 1944.

The Blaid was the only movement to campaign against this transference. The facts were revealed in our papers<sup>1</sup> and gained much publicity. The Party supported one of the women—Kathleen Foley of Swansea—who was prosecuted for refusing to be transferred to England, the Swansea magistrate imposed a fine of £25 which was paid by Miss Foley's fellow-workers.

The Ministry of Labour in the columns of "The Western Mail," attacked the Blaid for making its campaign.

There is no doubt about the effectiveness of the campaign; from mid-January, 1944, transference was slowed down, but individual women were still transferred. The Nationalist stand was greatly appreciated by the women and their mothers.

### B. TRANSFERENCE OF MEN

In comparison with the transference of men and boys to England during the early years of the war<sup>2</sup>, there has been little transference during the year.

It is likely that it is now the policy of the English Government to transfer Welshmen into England in ones and twos, and not in batches as formerly, in order to avoid trouble. The Blaid is watching this.

### C. CLOSURE OF INDUSTRY

The English Government continued to close industries in Wales.

The old Welsh heavy industries were not affected this year as much as the newer industries established in Wales during the war. The aluminium industry suffered; it is

1. "Welsh Nationalist" Nov., 43; Jan. & Feb., 44; "Draig Goch" Jan., 44.  
2. "Transference must Stop" (Wynne Samuel) 2d.

known that six factories, or sections of factories, were closed this year; and in their districts there are numbers of Welshmen unemployed and others have been transferred to England.

A magnesium factory in Wales has been closed; and also a number of branches of shell-filling factories; there are rumours of plans for the mass-transfer of Welsh women, employed in the latter, to parts of Southern England.

The best stand against the closure of a factory was made at Blaenavon in Monmouthshire, where an united meeting was held in protest and the local authority made a good Welsh fight.

In war and in peace, through times of depression or of crisis, no opportunity is lost to disintegrate and to destroy the social life of Wales. Polish and Belgian workers have been transferred by the oppressive Nazi government, and many of the industries of the defeated nations have been closed; transference and closure is no less oppressive when planned by Bevin and Dalton. It is the policy of the English Government in Wales. "Deliberate acts of state policy" were the words used by the Welsh Reconstruction Advisory Council.

Yet, Welsh representatives in Parliament collaborated fully with the English Government.

### CH. NORTH—SOUTH ROAD

All Welsh local authorities and many Welsh organisations have, for the last 12 years, called for the North-South Road. It would be of great economic benefit to Wales. The English Government has given no hope on this question.

Some south-eastern (and English) local authorities have asked for a Severn Bridge. Some Welsh Councils believe this would help to bring new industries to Wales; they do not realise that the bridge would make it easier to dump English goods into Wales. The English Government knows who will benefit by it. On June 7, Mr. Hugh Dalton announced in Parliament that priority would be given to the Severn Bridge plan after the war, in order to bring to an end the division between England and Wales.

Although no demand for it was made in Wales, Mr. Dalton on the same day announced that the English Government considered another plan important—to improve road and rail connections between South Wales and



the Midlands of England. That is a plan to help the marketing of Midland goods in Wales.

Neither Mr. Hugh Dalton, or any one else, even mentioned that day the united demand of Wales for the North-South road to benefit Wales itself.

#### D. TRADE UNIONISM

The Blaid continued to interest itself in Welsh Trade Union matters and to give a lead in them.

Strong protests against 1A (a) were made in all parts of Wales, for this regulation practically prevents workers from striking and prevents any outsider from supporting the efforts of workmen to secure justice. Meetings were held in Wales calling upon the English Government to withdraw this regulation; these meetings were supported by Blaid members.

Blaid members have also been active in maintaining our last strong Welsh union, the S.W.M.F., as a Welsh miners' union. The Federation's leaders have decided in favour of submerging it in a big English union, centralized in London. The Blaid's message on this subject has received good notice and much support among the miners.

The Party continued its work in favour of a Welsh Trade Union Congress.<sup>1</sup>

#### DD. AGRICULTURE

The English Government's Ministry of Agriculture has an agricultural policy for England which it has imposed upon Wales. Because of the humidity of many Welsh districts it has been impossible to gather in much of the harvests of the last years. Welsh farmers suffered heavy losses.

In the autumn of 1943, the Blaid<sup>2</sup> and other organisations called for a policy for Wales, which would not necessarily mean less ploughing of Welsh high lands but their cultivation to a better purpose according to Sir George Stapledon's policy. There is evidence that this campaign had some influence upon the Ministry and the County War Agricultural Committees who mitigated their plans to some extent.

No steps were taken by Welsh farmers to establish a Welsh Farmers' Union, nor to secure a Welsh Secretary within the N.F.U. The new Secretary to the Welsh Department of the Ministry may be expected to bring about some improvement in the department and to make it more Welsh in personnel and policy.

1. "Trade Union Congress for Wales" (Ithel Davies) 3d.

2. Vide "Cam-ffarmio Cymru" (Saunders Lewis) 1d.

#### E. REPORT OF THE WELSH RECONSTRUCTION ADVISORY COUNCIL

This Council has published its first interim report. During the last twenty years, the resources and possibilities of Wales have been reported upon time and again,—as if the mere investigation satisfied Wales. There is little that is new in this report.

In its first part, which deals with the plight of Wales in the inter-war period, it declares that "deliberate acts" of the English state caused the bitter suffering of Wales in the depression; the Blaid has said this all along. The Report also warns that Wales will suffer similarly again unless very special efforts are made to avert this.

The Report contains no policy for Wales<sup>1</sup>. It does not show a path which Wales, by following it, could reach economic and social prosperity. For it is a report for the English Government, and by its terms of reference the Council was bound (?) to accept the powerless and irresponsible position of Wales. It is true that the Report gives half a page to advocate the establishment of an Economic Planning Authority<sup>2</sup>, long asked for by Nationalists; it is also true that the Report urges that this Authority should possess "very large powers," also that it "must be allowed, in very large measure, to decide its own destiny," and that "it must treat the Welsh Region as a whole." It is to be hoped that Wales will be determined to turn this half page into reality; Undeb Cymru Fydd has already demanded this; the Blaid will give its support.

#### F. THE PARTY'S POLICY

It is now known that the English Government has made no promise of any value that Wales will receive economic justice; it is known that Wales faces the likelihood of greater misery, unless by the force of national will Wales releases itself; it is known to be the policy of the English Government to maintain the transference of men and women from Wales to England whenever "necessary."

There is only one power which would force the Government to deal justly with Wales: viz: a strong determined national will expressed by the Welsh Parliamentary representatives formed into an independent Welsh

1. Vide "Welsh Nationalist" & "Y Ddraig Goch" June, 44 (2d. each).

2. "Plan Electricity for Wales" (London Branch) 6d.



party which would not accept injustice. But as long as the Welsh M.P.'s continue to give their allegiance to alien parties, the position of Wales is hopeless.

In Wales itself, our local authorities, without awaiting salvation from London, may adopt the first steps towards regeneration and self-help, viz: in the words of the 1943 Welsh Party Conference:

- (a) "That the local authorities should co-operate to form Joint Supplies Committees in order to secure the advantage of bulk orders of supplies.
- (b) That the local authorities should co-operate to found the necessary machinery for a detailed enquiry into the supplies bought by their spending departments, and how much and what kind are bought outside Wales;
- (c) That the local authorities co-operate to form Public Utility Boards, to establish factories to manufacture in Wales a good proportion of the materials bought by them and now manufactured outside Wales, thus giving work and livelihood to thousands who would otherwise be compelled to leave Wales."

### 3. SECRETARY FOR WALES

In June, 1943, the conference of Welsh local authorities at Shrewsbury, unanimously voted in favour of a Secretary for Wales. At the end of October, 1943, the Welsh Members of Parliament presented to the Prime Minister of England a petition:

"We, the representatives of Wales and Monmouthshire in Parliament pray for recognition of our nationality.....  
view.....Wales is treated as if she were merely a part of England....."

"We represent to you the urgent need for a Secretary of State for Wales."

"No," was Mr. Churchill's answer at the beginning of November; he was too busy even to receive a deputation—and went straight that day to a concert at his old school. Having received that answer, Sir Henry Morris Jones, M.P., said: "I am sure we shall have a Secretary of Wales sometime;" a hopeful comment when we remember that it is only for the last fifty years that the English parties have sought (?) a Secretary for Wales! Prof. W. J. Gruffydd, M.P., said:

"The fact is that Wales, in this matter as in every other matter, does not count....."

"The Prime Minister does not want to see Wales becoming another Eire; but he has made a promising start."

In spite of all this, the Members of Parliament continue to be "loyal" and collaborate with the English Government. At the end of January, 1944, it was made known that the Prime Minister had handed the matter over to a Cabinet committee of Ministerial duties; thus the matter is indefinitely postponed.

"While welcoming the demand for a Welsh Secretary of State, as an unmistakable sign of the emergence of that Welsh National consciousness it has been the aim of the Party to arouse," the Party Conference in August, 1943 announced that it "eagerly anticipated the day when the Welsh people realise how pitifully inadequate the post of such a Secretary is to meet the urgent needs of the Welsh people," and reiterated "that the only cure for those ills is full self-government."

Even before attaining self-government, even today, the need is not for a powerless Secretary under the control of Government departments, but of an independent Welsh Parliamentary Party free from the control of all English parties, to speak on behalf of Wales to the Government and to lead Welsh boroughs and counties, and all bodies and movements. "There is no one to speak on behalf of Wales or of the Welsh point of view" states the petition of the Welsh M.P.'s; they said the simple truth; neither will there be until the Welsh representatives give their loyalty to Wales, foregoing their loyalty to alien political parties. Today, of all times, there is an urgent need for an Independent Welsh Parliamentary Party; only in the Welsh Nationalist Party is found the will for this today.

During the year the English Liberal Party did no more than pass a resolution in favour of a Secretary and consider the union of the North and South Federations. In the English Labour Party in Wales, the members were urged to take an interest in Wales, as the youth of Wales were joining "the ranks of the Nationalist Party, in their thousands"; the Labour Party Conference refused even to consider Welsh proposals—on a Secretary and freedom for Wales. The Communist and Commonwealth parties toyed with Wales in making declarations in favour of freedom for Wales while giving their loyalty entirely outside Wales.

1. "Gauleiter for Wales" (Douglas Young) 3d.



However, many Welshmen in these English Parties have become restless and dissatisfied during the year, because they... "have lost faith in the English parties," to quote the words used by one of them. Some of these have already come over to the Blaid, and others are coming nearer.

#### 4. EDUCATION

It has been an important year in educational matters. Three important reports were issued by committees, namely "Norwood" on curriculum and Examination System in Secondary Schools; "MacNair" on Teachers and Youth Organisers, and "Fleming" on Private Schools.

Each of these gives a special chapter to Wales. Although this is a step forward, each one of them suffers from having to view Welsh education not as an entity but as an appendix to English education. The Interim Report of the Welsh Reconstruction Advisory Committee does no more than follow the 1943 Education Bill from point to point.

The White Paper on Educational Reconstruction was published just before our 1943 Conference. Since then, the Education Bill has been considered in Parliament, and it is natural for us to consider education in terms of that Bill.

It is an Educational Act for England and Wales,—and this time "Cymru" is not entirely swallowed in England. In a Bill which aimed to unify all education in the country, attention has been given to the special status of the Central Welsh Board. Further it enacts that two Central Councils be formed to advise the President of the Board of Education on matters educational, theory and practice, one for England and one for Wales. The members of the Council are nominated by the President of the Board.

There has been much criticism of the Bill in Wales from the Welsh standpoint, particularly of the constitution of the Council. As it is nominated by the President, it will give its advice according to the policy of the Board or the Government. Also the scope of its work is very narrow, omitting the organizing of education authorities and financial matters, as far as can be gathered from the wording. (But a promise was given on the floor of the House of Commons

that it could consider the future of the Central Welsh Board.)

The Federation of Welsh Local Education Authorities and the Central Welsh Board pressed for a Welsh Council of Education which would give Wales self-government in education on the lines of the Bruce Committee report. The Council would mean the control of educational administration entirely, within the limitations of the Treasury grants, and would include policy towards denominational schools. It is not evident from reports whether the above authorities sought power for the Council to frame a different educational policy or that they would accept the main lines of Mr. Butler's Bill; it is probable that the latter was their attitude, but that the Council, elected by Welsh public authorities, should have administrative as well as advisory powers.

Some of the Welsh national movements sought more: for example, Undeb Cymru Fydd and U.C.A.C. (Welsh National Union of Teachers) asked the English Government to pass a special Bill for Wales. **Unfortunately, no one with official standing took up that proposal,—no M.P. for instance.** That was very unfortunate, for there are aspects of the present Bill which will bear cruelly upon some Welsh Authorities. (Some of the M.P.'s, particularly Mr. Clement Davies and Mr. Arthur Jenkins, referred to the financial difficulty of some of the poorer authorities). They will squeeze Wales differently to England, if Wales is to be treated as a unit, mainly because of the uneven distribution of population and industry in Wales. They are a strong argument for planning Welsh education separately.

The Blaid has not been particularly active in these matters inasmuch as it did not consider it to be its special work to review the details of an Education Act for "England and Wales." Still, the occasion should induce the Blaid to work out its educational policy more clearly and in greater detail. Three aspects have been brought out: cultural, civic, and administrative.

If we accept the chapters relating to Wales in the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction and in the Norwood report, there is hope that Welsh language and culture may receive at last their proper place in the education of Welsh children. It will still be necessary to watch and to urge, but the principle has been adopted in English official circles.

An educational policy means more. As seen in Mr. Butler's provisions, it must conform to the need of the society, i.e., to the work obtainable and the national service sought. Education in the civic sense cannot be divorced from general economic and political policies. Educational self-government



would tend to give Wales the shell of a policy while the urge would lie elsewhere (e.g., in the work obtainable in London but not in Wales, or in the determination of the War Office to conscript boys and girls of 18).

Similarly, educational administration is dependent upon general state policy;—on financial policy in the main, and further on the relative importance of various national services.

In the last resort, even the cultural aspects of policy—of proper place of Welsh language and literature—depend for their efficiency upon the position of the language in our whole national life<sup>1</sup> and in particular upon giving the Welsh language official status.

## 5. HEALTH

The English Government issued a White Paper on Health Matters in February, 1944. It carries no special reference to Wales, and it has been worded so ambiguously that a definite opinion on many things in it is impossible. The medical profession does not know, as yet, its powers to support or to oppose the Paper.

The question of Welsh National Unity must be raised from it. The White Paper attempts to formulate the basic principles of health services; therefore social and economic environment, security from fear and want, and a positive health service as well as attending to the unhealthy, are given due importance.

To arrive at all this, every region within the island must take care of itself, for the problems are local ones. Wales, being a nation, knowing its own problems, should be a unit in the new medical service. The northern section should not be cut off from the southern on account of geographical difficulties—which are only for a time. Wales should be a Unit under a Welsh Medical Council.

However, Wales must show awareness. There are powers already working for the division of Wales, and for the attachment of the northern counties to Liverpool. The Denbighshire County Council made a definite declaration in favour of making Wales a Unit, and all Welsh authorities are favourable; but the Welsh national will must be strong and determined if it is to overcome the powers—some in the English Government and some in Wales—making for the division of our country.

1. Cf. "Grundtvig of Denmark; A Guide for Small Nations." (Dr. Noelle Davies.) 1/-; Swyddfa'r Blaid.

The Blaid urges Welsh doctors to come together to establish a representative body which could speak for them as Welsh medical men on these and other Welsh health matters.

## 6. RADIO

The Blaid is always aware of the importance of this institution for our national life.

It sought to improve the wretched wartime service granted to Wales, by urging among other things that the News in Welsh should include sufficient **Welsh** news as well as war news.

It sought, too, Welsh news for Welshmen outside Wales. Mr. Hopkin Morris gave a kind reception to the Party deputation which visited him. Following the visit, a slight improvement in the news was observed; but there must be a better system than the present if the news service is to be satisfactory.

In two years, the present Charter will lapse. Believing that it was time to prepare public opinion to demand Welsh and Scottish radio freedom, the Joint Committee of the Welsh and Scottish National Parties issued a declaration **demanding separate Corporations for Wales and Scotland.**

General support for this has been sought, but it will be necessary to intensify efforts. In this matter, all who seek the good of Wales can co-operate. Even though some people cannot co-operate with the Blaid in fighting for full freedom for Wales, such people are always in favour of "cultural nationalism" and "cultural freedom." The radio is primarily a cultural institution, wielding immense power for good or for ill upon Welsh culture. Yet, Wales does not rule this power which affects its life so forcibly. Therefore, in seeking to govern Welsh radio services, we may confidently expect the willing support of all people who believe in cultural freedom. **The aim is—a Welsh Broadcasting Corporation under the new Charter.**

## 7. PENYCHAIN

Wales has already lost much of its land — Penyberth, Epynt, the Vale of Glamorgan and scores of other places—to English War Offices; and lands and buildings to others who give not their allegiance to Wales.



However, during this year, Penychain was saved at least for a time from Messrs Butlin, Ltd., the amusement caterers.

When local authorities and some denominational conferences had welcomed the establishment of a high-amusement and holiday camp at Penychain on the quiet shores of Eifionydd, the Lleyn Defence Committee was formed. Following the publication of the facts regarding the nature and dangers of such a camp<sup>1</sup>, and after the rallying of public opinion by means of a successful petition, local councils reversed their decisions and now opposed a holiday camp and called for the use of the present buildings for humanitarian purposes beneficial to Wales.

Apart from the influence of earlier Blaid campaigns in defence of our land, the part played by our Welsh Party in the Penychain campaign was an honourable one. Our labour in the past has not been in vain. Because of legal complexities the Penychain fight is not over.

## 8. WELSHMEN IN THE FORCES

We sadly regret the loss of a number of members of the Blaid, and of sympathisers as well, killed in the war; we extend our sympathy to their families.

In spite of sufficient evidence of the valiant part played by Welshmen in the Forces, the English Government and its spokesmen continued to ignore the Welsh. "The unfair treatment of Wales is an old story" commented the London Correspondent of the "Western Mail" (18: 7: 44); "it began in the last war." And even the Editor of the "Western Mail" (17: 7: 44), after referring to the praise given to Scottish and English soldiers had to ask: "Why is this invidious differentiation maintained?"

(It is easy to reply to this question by the Editor of the "Western Mail"; Wales is ignored and despised because of her slavish "allegiance" to and collaboration with the English Government and Parties.)

1. "The Lleyn Camp: For Capitalist Monopoly? Or for Public Service?" (2d.)

The most important fact regarding the Welshmen in the Armed Forces is—that they are rapidly becoming Welsh Nationalists. Scores have joined the Party; scores have even contributed, from their meagre pay, to our funds, including the fund to support members prosecuted for refusing to be conscripted into the English Armed Forces; hundreds have written to us to support our work, and to express their hope of an early return to Wales to join in our work.

As an instance we may quote these words by H. W. Jones :1

"I read in 'Y Faner' of your untiring fight for Wales and her rights, and of the stand of members of the Blaid for their principles. It is cheering to realise that Wales is not entirely undefended while so many of her sons and daughters are away on account of the war; it follows that the burden on those of you left behind must be heavier—and of vital importance."

Party officials, branches and individual members maintained contact with these our friends by means of the special publication "Cymru am Byth<sup>2</sup>, and by means of Party papers and pamphlets and personal letters.

The Welsh M.P.'s did nothing to get Welshmen posted together in Welsh units.

As the English Government has declared its intention of retaining military conscription after the war, the Welsh Party calls upon Wales as soon as hostilities cease in Europe to demand the establishment of Special Welsh Units. It would be futile, until Wales has self-government, to demand that Wales be excluded from conscription. The enmity of the War Office and of the Air Ministry to Wales should and could be made to give way to a full acknowledgement of the right of Welsh boys to be together, without diffusion among other nationalities.

Two nationalists suffered imprisonment during the year for refusing service to the English Government; fines totalling over £120 were imposed in eight cases. Although English C.O. Tribunals have recognised the political nationalist objection as valid and sufficient in the cases of an Irishman (Leslie A. Monaghan), an Indian (Suresh Vaidya), an Italian (V. H. Caesari), and a Belgian (G. L. A. Jensen), the Welsh Tribunals continue to disregard this same conscientious objection when held by Welshmen.

1. "Llais y Cymry yn Lluedd Lloegr" (2d.)—being quotations from letters of Welshmen in England's Forces on Welsh freedom.
2. "Cymru am Byth." English and Welsh copies. Free.



## 9. THE NATIONALIST PARTY.

It remains the main work of the Welsh Party to arouse Wales to will its own salvation.

There is no doubt that the Welsh national will is quickening. But it is urgent, or it will be too late to save Wales. During the year the Blaid received much testimony to the gradual strengthening of the national will among Welshmen at home and abroad.

As an organisation, the Welsh Party made excellent progress. Fifteen new branches have been started,—six others were annulled; there are now 137 branches in 13 Districts. Contributions to the Blaid funds were more generous than ever, and the 1944 St. David's Day Fund reached £1750. The year was, on the whole, the best for public meetings, which drew better crowds; sales of literature and numbers of new members were much higher.

A new office of the Party was opened at Cardiff 1. Plans are made for considerable intensification of Party activities in the non-Welsh-speaking parts of Wales.

Co-operation with the Scottish National Party was maintained; the Joint Committee met twice, at Caernarfon and Glasgow. The Welsh Party and its members co-operated with many Welsh movements; **for we as Welsh Nationalists are anxious to co-operate with all others who are sincere in seeking the interests of our Welsh nation, who are ready to acknowledge publicly and unequivocally their belief that Wales is a nation with the right to its own life, and to defend that national life, and to acknowledge also that every other political aim is of secondary importance, is comparatively of no moment.**

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1. At 48 Charles Street.