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Wales and the League of Nations, c. 1918-1945

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Abstract

This thesis studies the history of the League of Nations in Wales between 1918 and 1945. It explores how the Welsh League of Nations Union (LNU) promoted the League and its principles throughout Welsh society. The Welsh LNU, as the largest social activist organisation in interwar Wales, became a popular feature of discussion in interwar society. From Anglesey to Aberdare, the Welsh LNU established a robust support network through local branches. The thesis demonstrates that the League was more than an international organisation discussed by politicians; it was pioneering and inspired Welsh communities to engage with international affairs. It provides a case study of how the League influenced international activism in different countries around the world. Previously Wales has been a sidenote to a broader Anglo-Centric study of the British LNU. In contrast, this thesis uncovers the numerous ways in which LNU's work bore distinct regional and national differences. Wales, therefore, was a country that wanted to interact with the League on its own terms and not as part of Britain. Analysing the different areas of society that the LNU's work intersected with, such as gender, religion, education and politics, reveals that the League was featured in interwar Welsh society. It was not possible for those who lived in interwar Wales to avoid the League. Ultimately, the thesis explores how Wales understood the international world and how the international world understood Wales.

Declarations

Declaration

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

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STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote(s).

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

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Statement 2: I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for electronic sharing after expiry of a bar on access approved by the Swansea University.

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Abbreviations

AEC	Advisory Education Committee
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BULNS	British Universities League of Nations Society
CO	Conscientious Objector
CWGC	Commonwealth War Graves Commission
FoR	Fellowship of Reconciliation
FRO	Flintshire Record Office
IPC	International Peace Campaign
LEAs	Local Education Authorities
LFNA	League of Free Nations Association
LNU	League of Nations Union
LNS	League of Nations Society
LSE	London School of Economic and Political Science
NCC	Non-Combatant Corps
NCW	National Council of Women
NWWPC	North Wales Women's Peace Council
NLW	National Library of Wales
NUT	National Union of Teachers
NUWT	National Union of Women Teachers
PCW	People's Collection Wales/ Casgliad Y Werin Cymru
UN	United Nations
UNA	United Nations Association
VOB	Visions of Britain
WaW	Wales at War
WCG	Women's Cooperative Guild
WFL	Women's Freedom League
WGAS	West Glamorgan Archive Service

WIL	Women's International League
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WSS	Women's Suffrage Society

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Introduction

This thesis explores the history of the League of Nations in Wales between 1918 and 1945. In 1920, the League was established as the first international intergovernmental organisation that attempted to preserve peace and encourage international cooperation. Throughout this period, the Welsh League of Nations Union (LNU) promoted the League and its principles throughout Welsh society. This thesis provides a case study of how the League influenced different countries around the world. It reveals that the League was a prominent feature of interwar Wales and was accepted by society. The Welsh LNU was numerically the largest social activist organisation in interwar Wales. Its work influenced numerous areas of society, such as education, gender, religion and politics, which are discussed in the six main chapters of this thesis. In Wales, people looked to the League to prevent another global conflict. The study demonstrates the importance of including the LNU in any examination of Welsh society during the interwar period.

Although it has been 100 years since the formation of the Welsh LNU, this is the first comprehensive study to explore exactly how the Welsh LNU was constructed, its activities and its influence on Welsh society. Previous scholarship has lacked a Welsh research focus as studies of it have been incorporated with accounts that focus on the British, mainly English, sphere of the British LNU.¹ While noting the usefulness of these accounts as a starting point for research, this thesis diverts from Anglo-centric approaches to illustrate that the LNU's work bore distinct regional and national differences. Wales, therefore, was a country that dealt with the League on its own terms and not as part of Britain. The Welsh LNU organised numerous events, which are explored in this thesis, to demonstrate there was a distinctive Welsh national element to its work. It also instituted practices, such as the Goodwill Message of the Children of Wales to the World, that still exists today, showing its work had a last legacy in Wales. Consequently, a study of the Welsh LNU

¹ Donald Birn, *The League of Nations Union 1918- 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism c. 1918-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

contributes to our understanding of the interwar period in Wales and internationally.

The League of Nations: An Overview

The context behind the League's formation gave substance to the Welsh LNU's work. Its roots were in the growing appeal of internationalism that emerged during the Great War. In Britain, several intellectuals were horrified by the outbreak of the war and looked to internationalism as a way of maintaining peace in the future. In late 1914, Goldsworthy Lowes Dickson, a political scientist and philosopher, created the Bryce Group that was constructed of British Liberals who conceptualised how to preserve peace through the creation of a type of international organisation.² As the war progressed, such ideas evolved from being discussed by individuals to more formal bodies. In 1915, the British League of Nations Society (LNS) was formed as an organisation that developed plans to create a League.³ Influential individuals also endorsed plans to create an international organisation. The most prominent individual was Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America. In January 1918, Wilson delivered a speech entitled 'Fourteen Points' to the American Congress, in which Wilson called for an end to private diplomacy by creating a 'general association of nations'.⁴ As a result, the idea of creating an international organisation gained momentum. In July 1918, the League of Free Nations Association (LFNA) was formed as a second organisation that promoted and discussed creating a League. The LFNA's chairman was the classical scholar Gilbert Murray, with David Davies, the Welsh industrialist and Liberal MP for Montgomeryshire between 1906 and 1929, as its deputy chairman and main funder.⁵

² The Bryce Group bore the name of James Bryce the former British Ambassador to the United States between 1907 and 1913. Casper Sylvest, *British Liberal Internationalism, 1880-1930: Making Progress?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 161.

³ Sakiko Kaiga, *Britain and the Intellectual Origins of the League of Nations, 1914-1919*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 6. The LNS was founded by British Liberals Willoughby Dickinson and Baron Leonard Courtney. Leonard Courtney was also known as 1st Baron Courtney of Penwith.

⁴ Robert E. Hannigan, *The Great War and American Foreign Policy, 1914-24* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), p. 132.

⁵ London, London School of Economics Library Archive (LSE), LNU/2/1, Minutes of a League of Free Nations Association (LFNA) Conference, 24 June 1918; Kaiga, pp. 121-122.

The end of the Great War saw an increase in debates surrounding the formation of the League. Public support for the idea grew as people saw opportunities to increase social, economic and political ties with fellow 'international citizens'; these were viewed as the building blocks of international society.⁶ In November 1918, the LNS and LFNA merged to form the British LNU, which promoted the League in the public sphere. They wanted to create a positive impression of the League and looked to promote a 'civil strategy' by showing people the League was a democratic victory.⁷ In 1920, the League was formally established, which marked a new dawn in the history of international organisations. For the first time on a broad scale, an organisation existed that brought countries together in an attempt to work on international topics such as disarmament, trafficking of women and children and health, some of which will be discussed throughout this thesis. While the success of these attempts varied, the League, as historian Daniel Gorman stated, inspired internationalism to come of age in the 1920s.⁸ The League was regulated by a Covenant that acted as a charter to regulate international affairs. The Covenant was written into all the post-war treaties by Allied Countries. Vanquished states were forced to accept the League as the allies' vision for promoting the new principles and maintaining peace.

Once the League's position as an international organisation was solidified, there were calls to create a distinct Welsh organisation. The creation of the League paved the way for the cause of peace to the promotion of national reputations. Advocates of the Welsh LNU wanted Wales to be seen as a country that acted on its own accord in promoting the League and international cooperation. In turn, these attitudes circulated at a time of growing national consciousness in Wales during the interwar period. Therefore, in 1920, David Davies organised a meeting in Llandrindod Wells, a historic spa town in Radnorshire, that discussed forming a Wales-based LNU to manage Wales's involvement with the League. A range of

⁶ Daniel Gorman, *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 2.

⁷ Kaiga, p. 159.

⁸ Gorman, p. 2; Ruth Henig, *The League of Nations* (London: Haus, 2010); Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: the Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920-1946* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

influential people from different backgrounds of Welsh society attended, including religious figures, politicians, lawyers and educationalists.⁹ The conference demonstrated that there was genuine interest in creating a Welsh organisation. It marked the beginning of the process that formed the separate organisation established in 1922. The Welsh LNU significantly developed the LNU's work. Under its direction, the number of branches grew from 21 in Wales in 1919 to 415 in April 1924.¹⁰ The Welsh LNU pursued a policy of social activism to promote the League in Welsh society. This thesis defines and applies social activism as promoting a cause to achieve a goal that benefits society. In this case, the Welsh LNU pursued a policy of social activism to promote the League in the hope that it would be supported and recognised by society as the organisation to prevent future conflict and maintain peace.

The Welsh LNU supported and endorsed the main ideological principles of the League. Its constitution noted that it wanted to 'secure the whole acceptance by the people of Wales to recognise the League as the guardian of international right and the organ of international co-operation'.¹¹ In parallel with the League and British LNU, its ideology was 'pacifist' rather than 'pacific', supporting the principles of the League but accepting that force and military intervention might be necessary for upholding rules of international law.¹² In contrast to its British counterpart, the Welsh LNU used the cause of peace to enhance national recognition. Several initiatives analysed in this thesis were created that placed the Welsh LNU's work on the map nationally and internationally. For example, the Welsh LNU introduced a Daffodil Day initiative. Using a national symbol, like the daffodil, created a distinctive Welsh national avenue for its international work. An additional example was the 1924 Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America, a petition that 390,296 Welsh women signed that appealed to the women

⁹ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (NLW), GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/1, Attendance list for the Llandrindod Well Conference, March 1920.

¹⁰ For 1919 number see: LSE, LNU 1/1 Report of Special Committee on Reorganisation to meeting of the General Council, 24 July 1919. The 1924 reference can be found in: *Wales and World Peace 1924* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1924), p. 11.

¹¹ LSE, LNU, 8/17, Rules of Objectives of the League of Nations Welsh National Council, June 1934.

¹² Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 2-5; McCarthy, p. 3.

of America to pressurise their government to join the League. Therefore, exploring the Welsh LNU as an independent study allows for these national variations of the LNU's work to be analysed. It reveals that there was a distinctive national avenue to the social activism of the League. It is difficult to draw parallels to other organisations that existed in interwar Wales. A study of the Welsh LNU uncovers the myriad of ways that the League influenced society and communities away from its Geneva headquarters.

Historiography

While this thesis explores the League movement in Wales, it contributes to the broader historiography of the League as an international organisation. Traditionally, literature that examined the League defined it as a failure. This evaluation was shaped by E. H. Carr's *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, published shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, whereby the League and its supporters were described as 'utopian'.¹³ His account has also been considered the foundational work in the development of the discipline of international relations.¹⁴ Carr's opinions heavily influenced generations of scholars and set the tone for the literature that emerged throughout the second half of the twentieth century. The League's founders have often been portrayed as ivory-tower thinkers who had no sense of how politics worked.¹⁵ Authors such as George Scott, F.S. Northedge and James Avery Joyce categorised the League as failing to achieve its central goals.¹⁶

¹³ E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: an Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 1946), pp. 5-9.

¹⁴ For examples, see: Ruth Henig, *The Origins of the Second World War 1933-1939* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 3; Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013), pp. 236-237. There is a growing body of scholarship that questions the authority of Carr's work. Thomas Davies considered it to be a 'widespread misconception' that the Great War led to the formation of International Relations, as a discipline, at University College Wales Aberystwyth. Instead, it developed in a range of contexts: Thomas Davies, 'The UIA and the Development of International Relations Theory', in *International Organizations and Global Civil Society: Histories of the Union of International Associations*, ed. by Daniel Laqua, Wouter Van Acker and Christophe Verbruggen (London: Bloomsburg Academic, 2019) pp. 155-170.

¹⁵ Kaiga, p. 7.

¹⁶ George Scott's account noted that it was an 'impossible task to deny the ultimate failure of the League', see: George Scott, *The Rise and Fall of the League of Nations* (London: Hutchinson, 1973); F.S. Northedge considered the League to have 'come and gone', see: F. S. Northedge, *The League of Nations: its Life and Times 1920-1946* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986); James Avery Joyce described the League as a 'broken star', see: James Avery Joyce, *Broken Star: the Story of the League of Nations 1919-1939* (Swansea: Christopher Davies, 1978).

The interpretation has also been adopted by key historians of the twentieth century.¹⁷ Eric Hobsbawm patronisingly described the League as ‘an almost total failure, except as an institution for collecting statistics’.¹⁸ The dismissive nature of these accounts gave little recognition to the League and failed to provide a diverse investigation into the social and cultural elements. They also indicate that the LNU was not traditionally a topic that interested scholars away from its organisational hierarchy.

Several historiographies have emerged in recent years which view the League more sympathetically. Susan Pedersen encouraged scholars to focus on what the League did and meant during its twenty-five-year existence rather than why it failed.¹⁹ Similarly, Mark Mazower argued that the League should be explored in the context of the enduring influence it had as a vehicle for world leadership.²⁰ A rich historiography has emerged that revised Carr’s approach by showing the multifaceted framework of the League by focusing on different areas of its work. These approaches highlighted the several ways the League was at the centre of international debates, such as human trafficking, women’s rights and slavery.²¹

¹⁷ Several histories of twentieth century Europe have considered the League to be a failure and have described the interwar period as a catastrophe. For examples see: Richard Overy, *The Morbid Age: Britain and the Crisis of Civilisation, 1919-1939* (London: Penguin, 2010); Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: the Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*; Christopher Thorne, *The Limits of Foreign Policy: The West, the League and the Far Eastern Crisis of 1931-1933* (London, 1972); Peter Raffo, *The League of Nations* (London, 1974).

¹⁸ Hobsbawm, p. 34.

¹⁹ Susan Pedersen, ‘Back to the League of Nations’, *American Historical Review*, 112. 4 (2007), 1091-1117 (p. 1092). Recently, Emma Edwards’ unpublished PhD thesis stressed that the League’s inability to function properly should not result in the neglect of the League in wartime historiography: Emma Edwards, ‘Wartime Experience of the League of Nations, 1939-47’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, Maynooth University, 2013).

²⁰ Mazower, *Governing the World*, p. 153. Similarly, Robert Gerwarth felt the League was not deserving of negative perceptions and called historical investigation to treat it objectively: Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End, 1917-1923* (London: Allen Lane, 2016), pp. 1-7.

²¹ Examples have included: Zara Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History 1919-1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Clavin, *Securing the World Economy*; Amalia Ribi Forclaz, *Humanitarian Imperialism: the Politics of Anti-Slavery Activism, 1880-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Marie Sandell, ‘A Real Meeting of the Women of the East and the West’ Women and Internationalism in the Interwar Period’, in *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movement Between the World Wars*, ed. by Daniel Laqua (London: I.B Tauris, 2011), pp. 161- 185; Kaiga; Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Nora Groce, ‘Disability and the League of Nations: the Cripple Child’s Bill of Rights and a call for an International Bureau of Information’, *Disability & Society*, 29:4 (2014), 503-515.

Other scholars, such as Thomas Burkman and Michael Kennedy, have researched how the League influenced and intersected with individual countries' foreign policy.²² A new historiography, therefore, has emerged with distinctive subfields transforming different areas of international history.²³ However, these newer studies have predominantly investigated the League as an institution. Little scholarly attention has been placed on exploring the League outside its institutional headquarters in Geneva. A great deal of work remains to be done on researching how the League intersected with society and what it meant to 'everyday' people. Therefore, there is considerable scope for scrutinising the League's place in individual countries. This study assesses the League's place in Welsh society, showing that the League was not only an international organisation acting on world affairs, but it profoundly shaped a society where hundreds of thousands of people supported the League. A project researching the League in Wales has a considerable amount to offer broader League historiography as it opens a subfield of research that focuses on how countries interacted with the League away from the parameters of its organisation. It could be applied to other countries in Europe or the world, such as Belgium, or regions of other countries with distinct differences in their national picture, such as Catalonia or the Basque country.²⁴

Historians have incorporated the study of the Welsh LNU into broader British studies. In a specific sense, this has failed to provide individual recognition to the separate LNU organisation formed in Wales. However, from a broader perspective, it has also overshadowed the individual work conducted in Wales. Donald Birn noted that the majority of the British LNU's branches were in England,

²² Thomas Burkman has explored the prominence of the League in Japanese Foreign Policy: Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations, Empire and World Order, 1914-1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008). Michael Kennedy's account explored how the League intersected with Irish Foreign Policy between 1919 and 1945: Michael Kennedy, *Ireland and the League of Nations, 1919-1946: International Relations, Diplomacy and Politics* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1996).

²³ Andrew Webster, 'The League of Nations, Disarmament and Internationalism', in *Internationalisms: a Twentieth Century History*, ed. by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 139-169 (p. 143).

²⁴ Some studies have started to explore national approaches to international, but these are framed more generally around internationalism than the League. See: Daniel Laqua, *The Age of Internationalism and Belgium, 1880-1930: Peace, Progress and Prestige* (Manchester: Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

therefore focused on these English case studies and omitted a Welsh research angle.²⁵ Helen McCarthy's study of the British LNU encapsulated the widespread participatory culture that the LNU inspired in Britain. Unlike Birn, McCarthy referred to LNU activities in Wales, explaining how the organisation intersected with areas that included religion, politics and education. McCarthy also interrogated Wales-based sources, namely the Welsh LNU's collection at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth. Despite acknowledging Wales, McCarthy's study predominantly focused on English branches and the British LNU as an organisation. She described the work in Wales as 'semi-autonomous' and the Scottish and Northern Irish movements as 'small'.²⁶ McCarthy's approach did not recognise the national variations to the LNU's work in Britain, hence the importance of looking at the LNU through a Welsh-centred study.

Studies that originally researched the Welsh LNU relied on a limited base of secondary literature to make their assertions. Goronwy Jones's study was published in 1969 and described such works by Kenneth O Morgan, A. C. F. Beales and F. P. Walters as being of 'great value'.²⁷ Similarly, Donald Birn's account, *The League of Nations Union 1918- 1945*, published in 1981, used a limited secondary source base. Both historians produced work that used literature heavily influenced by E. H. Carr's perception of the League as a failure. In contrast, a benefit of this study is its ability to draw on more recent scholarship, which has already begun to shift the image of the League into new directions. It draws on the rich historiography that has emerged since the 1990s, which interrogates different areas of the League's work. The multifaced approaches, not available to Birn and Goronwy J. Jones, are useful for explaining the context in which the Welsh LNU emerged.

Recent scholarship, such as work by Sakiko Kaiga, has developed the core works of Birn and McCarthy. Kaiga investigated the origins of the League movement in Britain during the Great War to challenge, what she deemed, as two

²⁵ Birn, p. 3.

²⁶ McCarthy, p. 5.

²⁷ Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace (From the Close of the Napoleonic Wars to the Outbreak of the Second World War)* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969), p. vii.

misconceptions about the movement: that its ideas were utopian and the movement promoted a purely peaceful ideal and therefore succeeded in receiving support from a 'war-weary public' at the end of the war.²⁸ Similar to the new approach by Kaiga, this thesis continues to explore the LNU from a different perspective. Studying the League in Wales provides a new narrative to Anglo-centric studies. Using the Welsh LNU as a central research focus will reveal that the LNU in Britain bore distinct national differences and was not one unified movement.

The Welsh LNU was the largest social activist organisation in interwar Wales. Yet, Welsh historiography is yet to see an individual and comprehensive study of the Welsh LNU. It has been incorporated as part of other studies in different areas of literature. Broader national histories of Wales have referred to the Welsh LNU, albeit on a small scale.²⁹ The Welsh LNU has been examined as part of studies investigating Welsh peace movements. Kenneth Morgan's study of peace movements in Wales between 1889 and 1945 noted that the Welsh LNU was challenged by 'absolute pacifists' who disliked the League's policy of using force as a last resort against aggressive nations.³⁰ Similarly, Goronwy J. Jones' account demonstrated that the Welsh LNU constituted a key part of peace movements in Wales.³¹ The incorporation of the Welsh LNU into studies of peace movements is not surprising given the tendency of Welsh historians to present Wales as a 'peaceful nation'.³² For example, several studies have referenced the role of conscientious objectors during the Great War.³³ John S. Ellis considered studies that presented Wales as a peaceful nation to be 'Janus-faced' as Welsh identity

²⁸ Kaiga, pp. 1-2.

²⁹ In these texts, information on the Welsh LNU has been written in a small number of paragraphs or as footnotes. See: John Davies, *A History of Wales*, 3rd edn (London: Penguin, 2007) pp. 578-579; Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), p. 203; J. Graham Jones, *The History of Wales*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), p. 156.

³⁰ Kenneth O. Morgan, 'Peace Movements in Wales, 1899-1945', *Welsh History Review*, 10 (1980), pp. 398-430.

³¹ The latter three chapters focus on the wider international events: Goronwy J. Jones, pp. 97 – 139.

³² Linden Peach, *Pacifism, Peace and Modern Welsh Writing* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019); Aled Eirug, *The Opposition to the Great War in Wales 1914-1918* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018); Gwynfor Evans, *Heddychiaeth Gristnogol yng Nghymru* (Llangollen: Cymdeithas y Cymod yng Nghymru, 1991).

³³ Eirug. For a local history account, see: Philip Adams, *Daring to Defy: Port Talbot's War Resistance 1914-1918* (Ludlow: Philip Adams, 2016).

represented both pacifism and militarism.³⁴

A study of the Welsh LNU builds on the work of Ellis that identified Wales as representing both pacifism and militarism by showing that the Welsh LNU promoted a 'pacifist' ideology instead of a 'pacifist' one. This mirrored the League's policy of supporting war as a last resort expressed in numerous articles of its Covenant.³⁵ Due to this failure to renounce war at all costs, many pacifists in Wales chose not to support the League and Welsh LNU. As this thesis will show, the history of the LNU in Wales presents a challenge to the idea of Wales as a 'peaceful nation' and does not link closely to the pacifist interpretations of some Welsh historians. Instead, it shows that the Welsh LNU favoured peace but acknowledged the use of force as a last resort. The Welsh LNU's membership figures vastly outnumbered the membership of pacifist organisations, thus showing that a larger proportion of Welsh society favoured its policies and views. Ultimately, a study of the Welsh LNU reveals that Wales was largely a pacifist, not pacifist, nation.

Some insights into the history of the Welsh LNU can be gained from the biographies of its leading figures, such as David Davies.³⁶ Historians have also studied Davies' involvement in creating and funding the Chair of International Politics at University of Wales Aberystwyth.³⁷ The Welsh LNU has also featured in biographical studies of Gwilym Davies, a Welsh Baptist minister and the honorary director of the Welsh LNU between 1922 and 1945, who has become a celebrated figure for his involvement in the LNU and cause of international peace. These studies have focused mainly on his role in creating the Goodwill Message of Wales to the Children of the World, an annual message shared from 1922 by 'the children

³⁴ John S. Ellis, 'A Pacific People - Martial Race: Pacifism, Militarism and Welsh National Identity', in *Wales and War: Society, Politics and Religion in Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Matthew Cragoe and Chris Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), pp. 15-37 (p. 15).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

³⁶ Brian Porter described him as a 'remarkable man who achieved remarkable things'. See: Brian, Porter, 'David Davies and the Enforcement of Peace', in *Thinkers of the Twenty Years' Crisis: Inter-War Idealism Reassessed*, ed. by David Long and Peter Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 58-78; J. Graham Jones noted that he relied on his personal wealth to achieve his goals. See: John Graham Jones, 'The Peacemonger', *Journal of Liberal Democrat History*, 29 (2001), 16-23 (p. 16).

³⁷ Kenneth O. Morgan, *Revolution to Devolution: Reflection on Welsh Democracy* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. 175-194.

of Wales', which will be discussed in chapter four.³⁸ David Davies and Gwilym Davies were important figures in the history of Liberal Wales. They were both passionate advocates of the League and Wales.

However, the tendency of historiography to focus on prominent individuals has deflected attention from the wider organisational structure. While revealing new insight into the role of David Davies and Gwilym Davies, this thesis knowledge of the Welsh LNU by going beyond these individuals to research other influential figures in the movement and the wider work of the League in Wales. Delving deeper into archival research allows for different elements of the LNU to be explored, such as its membership and local branch activity. Other individuals, such as David Samways, the General Secretary of the Welsh LNU between 1924 and 1944, Sara Pugh Jones, the Welsh LNU's regional organiser for north Wales, and Annie Hughes, chief organiser of the Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America and President of the Welsh LNU between 1925 and 1926, played a key role in the organisation but have not previously gained recognition. While these individuals lacked the notability and prominence of figures like David Davies, they conducted an important role in the functioning of the Welsh LNU. The Welsh LNU impacted the lives of hundreds of thousands of people across Wales. The work of branches was a prominent feature of interwar society, especially at local community levels. The support given to instances of community activism, such as Daffodil Days, the Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America and the Peace Ballot, reveal that communities were fully engaged with the work of the League. Consequently, the thesis challenges the assumption that it was synonymous with individuals and enforces the view that the League was a key part of society and public activism.

One reason for a lack of attention to the Welsh LNU by Welsh historians is that it does not appear to fit the left-wing labour histories, which have been so dominant and contributed significantly to modern Welsh historiography. In the 1960s, a new wave of Welsh historians entered the academic field influenced by the

³⁸ *Gwilym Davies 1879-1955: A Tribute*, ed. by Ieuan Gwynedd Jones (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1972); Craig Owen, *Man, Mission and Movement: The Welsh League of Nations Union and Gwilym Davies* (2019), <<https://www.wcia.org.uk/wcia-news/wcia-history/leagueofnations/>> [accessed 10 December 2019].

'history from below' movement that resulted in labour history becoming a dominant force in Welsh historiography.³⁹ Martin Johnes observed that the strong labour tradition of modern Welsh historiography stemmed from Labour's political dominance and the growing interest in British working-class history.⁴⁰ In 1970, the establishment of the journal *Llafur* provided an academic space for the growing number of works that explored labour histories. In 1973, the establishment of the Miners' Library in Swansea to house the south Wales Coalfield collection solidified the position of labour histories. Writing labour history soon became a trend in Welsh historiography.⁴¹ A prominent area explored by historians is Labour replacing the Liberal Party as the biggest political party in Wales during the twentieth century.⁴² The labour narratives have caused historical approaches to become fixated on the industrial south Wales coalfield, where support for Labour was strongest.⁴³ Historians have focused on a range of topics in this area, such as the rise of Labour, economic decline and poverty caused by the 1930s economic depression and the daily lives of people.⁴⁴ Recent scholarship has started to alter the presence of political labour histories, but labour histories are still a dominant

³⁹ Andy Croll, 'People's Remembrancers in a Post-modern Age: Contemplating the Non-Crisis of Welsh Labour History', *Llafur*, 8/1 (2000), 5-17 (p. 6).

⁴⁰ Martin Johnes, 'For Class and Nation: Dominant Trends in the Historiography of Twentieth-Century Wales', *History Compass*, 8/11 (2010), 1257-1274 (p. 1257).

⁴¹ Croll, p. 6.

⁴² Stephen Meredith, 'A 'Strange Death' Foretold (or the Not so 'Strange Death' of Liberal Wales): Liberal Decline, the Labour Ascendancy and Electoral Politics in South Wales, 1922-1924', *North American Journal of Welsh Studies*, 7 (2012) <<http://welshstudiesjournal.org/article/view/24/13>>; Labour Party in Wales, 1900-2000, ed. by Duncan Tanner, Chris Williams and Deian Hopkin (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000).

⁴³ Such accounts have seen south Wales constructed as a microcosm. Dai Smith and Hywel Francis's *The Fed* represented the coalfield as an alternative society, see: Hywel Francis and Dai Smith, *The Fed: a History of the South Wales Miners in the Twentieth Century* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980).

⁴⁴ Daryl Leeworthy, *Labour Country: Political Radicalism and Social Democracy in South Wales, 1931-1985* (Cardigan: Parthian, 2018); Stephanie Ward, "'Sit down to starve or stand up to live': Community, Protest and the Means Test in the Rhondda Valleys, 1931-1939', *Llafur*, 9 (2005); Gwenno Ffrancon, 'Documenting the Depression in South Wales: Today We Live and Eastern Valley', *Welsh History Review*, 22.1 (2004), 103-125; Steve Thompson, *Unemployment, Poverty and Health in Inter-War South Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006). A range of biographical literature has focused on key figures in the Welsh Labour movement. These studies have explored Aneurin Bevan and Cledwyn Hughes, see: Dai Smith, *Aneurin Bevan and the world of South Wales* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1993); Stephen Constantine, 'Cledwyn Hughes, MP for Anglesey – And St Helena', *The Welsh History Review*, 27.3 (2015), 552-573.

trend in modern Welsh historiography.⁴⁵ Researching the Welsh LNU does not fit the mould of topics researched in the labour history narrative, as it was a product of Liberal Wales. As the study reveals, the individuals associated with the movement were from a middle-class background and associated with the Liberal Party. For the most part, the League did not permeate into the working-class areas of the coalfield.

A study of the Welsh LNU does not attempt to displace these works but presents a challenge to the popular 'rise of labour' narratives encompassing interwar Wales studies. The LNU and its branches existed across Wales, and it was the biggest organisation by membership.⁴⁶ At the heart of these branches were people who tended to be from Liberal supporting backgrounds. This study offers a different perspective on interwar Wales. It moves away from the literature that is fixated on one geographical location, such as the south Wales coalfield. This thesis acknowledges that different parameters and influences existed in interwar society but views Wales as one whole rather than compartmentalised areas. It argues that the ideologies and influence of Liberal Wales lasted into the interwar period and did not fade with the declining support for the Liberal Party.

A broader issue with Welsh historiography is its failure to be outward looking and embrace internationalism. In 1992, Neil Evans called on Welsh historians to embrace the international world.⁴⁷ However, in his 2010 assessment of modern Welsh historiography, Martin Johnes noted that Wales had ignored the wider world of history and the wider world had ignored Wales.⁴⁸ Where studies have explored Wales internationally, left-wing approaches have intersected with

⁴⁵ Recent studies included: Daryl Leeworthy, *Labour Country: Political Radicalism and Social Democracy in South Wales, 1931-1985* (Cardigan: Parthian, 2018); Martin Wright, *Wales and Socialism: Political Culture and National Identity before the Great War* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016); Alun Burge, 'Hidden in Full View: The Co-operative Movement, the 1945-51 Labour Government and Questions for Welsh Labour History', *Llafur*, 12.1 (2016). An example of recent scholarship exploring different political histories can be seen in: Sam Blaxland, 'The Conservative Party in Wales, 1945-1997' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Swansea University, 2017).

⁴⁶ Membership figures taken from: NLW, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

⁴⁷ Neil Evans, 'Writing the Social History of Modern Wales: Approaches, Achievements and Problems', *Social History*, 17.3 (1992), 479-492, (p. 490).

⁴⁸ Martin Johnes, 'For Class and Nation', p. 1264.

studies of internationalism, namely Wales' interaction with the Spanish Civil War.⁴⁹ Welsh historiography exploring internationalism appears to favour left-wing narratives rather than the liberal perception of the League. Therefore, by exploring the liberal-inclined internationalism of the Welsh LNU, this study will show that different avenues of internationalism existed during the interwar period. It reveals that the Liberal Party's influence did not disappear after the Great War with the growth of Labour. Liberals in Wales invested resources into the Welsh LNU, thus showing that both nationally and internationally, Welsh society was prone to different influences, with liberalism remaining a strong influence.

Studying the LNU in Wales also adds to historiography that evaluates how nationalism and liberalism internationalism intersected in the interwar period. It is important to explore what type of liberal internationalism the League and Welsh LNU promoted to note the significance. Helen McCarthy noted that while the British LNU wanted to recruit members from all areas of the political spectrum, the League became identified with liberalism as it had philosophical roots in classical liberal internationalism.⁵⁰ Casper Sylvest's study highlighted how Liberal internationalism progressed from the nineteenth century into the twentieth century, setting the agenda for debates about international politics and infusing the emergence of the academic discipline of IR in the wake of the First World War.⁵¹ Similarly, David Long observed that liberal internationalism had three strands that stemmed from the decline of the liberal international order of the nineteenth century, these being Cobdenism, Hobbesian idealism and the new liberal internationalism.⁵² Therefore, the liberal internationalism promoted by League advocates drew on these elements

⁴⁹ Hywel Francis's *Miners Against Fascism* is considered as the most prominent work in this area. Francis constructed the event as a national story and created the perception Welsh miners' gallantly answered calls to join the International Brigades. See: Hywel Francis, *Miners Against Fascism: Wales and the Spanish Civil War*, 3rd edn (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2012). However, Robert Stradling criticised the idea that it was a national story by drawing a distinction between industrial and rural Wales, arguing that it was not possible to see the Welsh reaction as uniform. See: Robert Stradling, *Wales and the Spanish Civil War The Dragon's Dearest Cause?* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), pp. 15-17. A recent example of work in this area is: Graham Davies, *You are Legend: the Welsh Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War* (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2018).

⁵⁰ McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations*, pp. 53-56.

⁵¹ Sylvest, p. 4.

⁵² David Long, 'Conclusion: Inter-War Idealism, Liberal Internationalism, and Contemporary International Theory', in *Thinkers of the Twenty Years' Crisis: Inter-War Idealism Reassessed*, ed. by David Long and Peter Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 302-328, (p. 312).

as they envisaged an international community bound by the narrow interests of nation-states to promote a perceived 'common good'.⁵³

Therefore, historians have discussed the intersection of the nation-state and the League. Daniel Laqua, in his study of Belgium between 1880 and 1930, emphasised numerous ways internationalists conceived of themselves as members of an international community, while remaining interested in national principles, hierarchies of civilisation and imperial design.⁵⁴ Helen McCarthy made a similar point about support for the League in Britain. She noted that citizens, in the post-Versailles world of nation-states, were not expected to abandon their love for their country, but instead fit it into broader international contexts.⁵⁵ Liberal internationalists believed that several hats could be worn at once that demonstrated loyalty to Empire as well as humanity.⁵⁶ In this context, liberal internationalism was at the root of the Welsh LNU and promoted in its work. In Wales, a greater proportion of branch membership came from individuals who supported the Liberal Party or members of nonconformist denominations. The Welsh LNU promoted the League as important on the world stage and as an organisation that was crucial for the Welsh population to support. As will be discussed throughout different chapters, the Welsh LNU promoted the League in Wales as something important for liberal visions of internationalism but framed in a Welsh context to promote a certain vision of Welsh national identity. Liberal internationalism was shown as being compatible with visions of nationhood that Welsh LNU advocates favoured.

Researching the League in Wales contributes to academic debates that have expanded discussions of internationalism. As a field of study, internationalism has undergone vast reassessments in recent years. It has intersected with areas such as

⁵³ McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations*, p. 53.

⁵⁴ Laqua, p. 5.

⁵⁵ McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations*, p. 108.

⁵⁶ Helen McCarthy, 'The Lifeblood of the League? Voluntary Associations and League of Nations Activism in Britain', in *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movement Between the World Wars*, ed. by Daniel Laqua (London: I.B Tauris, 2011), pp. 187-208.

gender and liberalism.⁵⁷ This thesis defines internationalism as the interconnectedness of countries from a global perspective that involved bringing countries together to promote cooperation, and to work for the benefit of the international world. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin observed that internationalism enjoyed a methodological makeover in the 1990s and that it subsequently caused the historical investigation to be ripe for new assessment and analysis.⁵⁸ There is consensus amongst historians that the end of the Cold War broke down the deeply interwoven ideologies that existed in the international world and, as a result, inspired historians to think more critically about internationalism.⁵⁹ Some scholars claim that the present-day criticism on the purpose and function of international institutions, such as the European Union and the United Nations, has caused institutions to be scrutinised.⁶⁰ The Welsh LNU packaged internationalism differently to appeal to different areas of Welsh society to maximise support. This study contributes to these studies by taking international concepts, such as religion, education, gender and liberalism, to apply them in Wales to explore how global patterns intersected in a local context.

This thesis also links to academic debates about transnationalism and transnational history. Transnationalism moves beyond national boundaries with a focus on pursuing global goals that simultaneously occur beyond the boundaries of

⁵⁷ For gender see: Glenda Sluga, 'Women, Feminisms and Twentieth-Century Internationalisms', in *Internationalism: a Twentieth-Century History*, ed. by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 61-84; *Aftermaths of War: Women's Movements and Female Activists, 1918-1923*, ed. by Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe (Boston: Brill, 2011); Marie Sandell, "A Real Meeting of the Women of the East and the West", pp. 161- 185. For an overview on the study of liberalism see: Sylvest.

⁵⁸ Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 'Rethinking the History of Internationalism', in *Internationalisms: a Twentieth-Century History*, ed. by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 3-14 (p. 11).

⁵⁹ Mark Mazower, *Governing the World*. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin observed that internationalism enjoyed a methodological makeover in the 1990s, see: Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 'Rethinking the History of Internationalism', pp. 3-14 (p. 11). Jan Stöckmann argued that the end of the Cold War fueled a revival of 'idealist' thinkers of international relations: Jan Stöckmann, 'Nationalism and Internationalism in the Study of International Relations', *History Compass*, 15.2 (2017).

⁶⁰ Jessica Reinisch, 'Introduction: Agents of Internationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 25.2 (2016), 195-205; Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton University Press: Princeton and Oxford, 2009).

nations.⁶¹ In the twenty-first century, a growing number of historians have deemed internationalism to be old-fashioned and therefore adopted a transnational approach.⁶² Akira Iriye argued that the end of the Cold War allowed for transnationalism to be explored in regards to broader themes and alternative frameworks.⁶³ Jan Stöckmann noted that historians should focus on transnationalism as it does not assign people to national boundaries or focus on belonging to a nation.⁶⁴ The development of conceptualisations has resulted in historians studying the League through the prism of transnationalism.⁶⁵

Therefore, historians and scholars have studied the League using transnational and international approaches. This study is more aligned with the vibrant field of transnationalism. As a concept, transnationalism brings countries together to promote cooperation and work in the best interests of numerous countries. Some of the concepts discussed, such as ‘goodwill’ and ‘world citizenship’, were transnational in character as they extended beyond the boundaries of national borders for a collective cause. However, the work does references internationalism prominently throughout. The League community had an international outlook, but those countries involved maintained a national presence. The Welsh LNU promoted an international outlook while aiming to develop a distinct Welsh characteristic to the LNU’s work.

Methodology and sources

This thesis adopts a different approach to studies that have previously explored both the League as an entity and its organisation in Wales. Historians at an international level have used an institutional top-down approach when exploring

⁶¹ Patricia Clavin, ‘Defining Transnationalism’, *Contemporary European History*, 14.4 (2005), 421-439; Patricia Clavin, ‘Introduction: Conceptualising Internationalism Between the World Wars’, in *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movement Between the World Wars*, ed. by Daniel Laqua (London: I.B Tauris, 2011), pp. 1-14; Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁶² Clavin, ‘Introduction: Conceptualising Internationalism Between the World Wars’, pp. 1-14.

⁶³ Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 20.

⁶⁴ Jan Stöckmann, ‘Nationalism and Internationalism in the Study of International Relations’.

⁶⁵ See: Patricia Clavin and Jens-Wilhelm Wessels, ‘Transnationalism and the League of Nations: Understanding the Work of Its Economic and Financial Organisation’, *Contemporary European History*, 14.4 (2005), 465-492.

the League as an organisation.⁶⁶ Studies have focused on the diplomatic elements of the League. They have covered how it functioned, dealt with international events and influenced global politics during the interwar period. Therefore, these institutional histories have lacked depth in portraying lived experiences of the League. The thesis refers to lived experience as how people and communities in Wales understood and engaged with the League. Placing the LNU as the central research focus allows for its position in society to be understood away from the institutional approaches taken by previous historians. Focusing on branches also allows for assertions to be made about the type of people who engaged with the League in Wales. It also approaches the study of the Welsh LNU by using numerous themes, such as gender, education and religion, to show how different areas of society were deeply embedded in promoting the League in Wales.

Past approaches appear limited as they have not drawn on the wide range of sources available for a study of the Welsh LNU. The main collection of sources used by Birn were the papers of the British LNU housed at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE).⁶⁷ Other collections included the private papers of British LNU figures, such as Viscount Cecil and Gilbert Murray. While important for a study of the British LNU, they did not uncover or reveal information on the LNU's activities in Wales as they presented a more centralised view of the LNU's operation. Birn mostly used *Headway*, the British LNU's newspaper, to gain information about branches. These approaches overshadowed the Welsh LNU and the everyday experiences of the League in local communities. While *Headway* claimed to represent the British LNU, the Welsh LNU were provided limited space to issue updates on its work.⁶⁸ The Welsh LNU sent information to the British LNU's headquarters, but in most instances, the information provided was cut by *Headway's* editorial team.⁶⁹ Similarly, Goronwy J. Jones's study did not use branch records. He utilised reports produced by senior figures, such as David Davies and Gwilym Davies, to describe branch activity. While useful for providing insight, these

⁶⁶ Steiner; Clavin, *Securing the World Economy*; Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire*.

⁶⁷ Birn.

⁶⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT B5, *Headway* notes, Correspondence and Press Cuttings, 1922- 1937.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

reports are top-down and generalised, presenting an account that fails to consider the varying narratives in local areas.

In contrast, Helen McCarthy's study interrogated a broader range of primary sources. McCarthy used the central archive of the British LNU and local branch records, national and local archives of political parties, trade unions, religious bodies and other civic associations, and the national and local press.⁷⁰ This approach was the first to interrogate how the League and its concepts intersected with society. It revealed the myriad of ways that branches were active in their local communities. Yet McCarthy's account focused predominantly on the English section of the British LNU's work. Little coverage was provided to the other nations of Britain. McCarthy noted the 'Anglo-centric bias' of the material and approaches but framed this because of 'England's dominance in the movement'.⁷¹ McCarthy only used a few items from the Welsh LNU's archive in the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth. There are few references to Welsh branch records in her footnotes and bibliography. Acknowledging the importance of McCarthy's work in enhancing the British picture, this thesis uses Welsh-based materials as the main areas of resource to create a Welsh-specific approach.

Focusing on Wales allows for an investigation of how the League was discussed and conceptualised in local communities. For the first time in Wales and Britain, quantitative data has been compiled to create a numerical analysis of Welsh branches and membership. The sources used to collect this data include Welsh LNU membership figures found in their annual reports, Welsh LNU administrative folders and branch records. These sources were used to produce maps and tables based on statistics that analyse membership trends. These reveal that the Welsh LNU's membership expanded across society, peaking at 400,000 in 1931.⁷² As will be explored in the second chapter, membership numbers reveal that support for the Welsh LNU was greatest in the counties of Anglesey, Cardiganshire, Caernarvonshire, Merionethshire and Montgomeryshire, suggesting that areas that

⁷⁰ Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism c. 1918-45*, p. 7.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Membership figures taken from: NLW, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

still held some Liberal influence, mainly supported the League. Membership was strongest amongst the middle classes in these areas.

However, some caution is required with using membership numbers. The Welsh LNU's methods of record keeping was not always accurate. Small inaccuracies with the membership numbers have been noticed during research. For example, in the 1930s, the Welsh LNU changed its method of compiling membership from those who subscribed for that particular year rather than those who had ever been members. Similarly, branch membership figures were reported as existing and those who sent subscriptions for the respective year. It was important to understand these different approaches from a research perspective. However, it was also helpful as it was easier to analyse and plot reasons for why membership might have increased or decreased, such as international events causing uncertainty in the League or campaigns run by the Welsh LNU that boosted membership. Ultimately, research revealed a variety of branch sizes. Some were proactive, others sporadic, and others merely existed on paper. Thus, this reveals that the lived experiences of the League were varied in interwar Welsh society.

This thesis also deviates from other studies by focusing in detail on the LNU's organisational structure in Wales. The Welsh LNU's organisational archive held by the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth was the main source utilised to achieve this objective. It includes various qualitative and quantitative material, such as minutes of various Welsh LNU committees, publications, reports and branch records. The Temple of Peace and Health, the Welsh LNU's headquarters from 1938, which is discussed in chapters three and six, originally housed these materials. They were transferred from the Temple to the National Library of Wales in several phases between 1965 and 1970.⁷³ The National Library's finding aid recognises that a large proportion of records did not reach the library.⁷⁴ Some materials were destroyed prior to transfer because they were no longer of 'administrative value'.⁷⁵ It is evident from viewing these sources that collections are incomplete, meaning

⁷³ A copy of the collection's finding aid can be viewed and downloaded from: <<https://archifau.llyfrgell.cymru/index.php/league-of-nations-union-and-united-nations-association-records>> [accessed 2 January 2019].

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

that it poses an issue for research as some materials, such as personal letters, are incomplete with no account of the back-and-forth correspondence.

The Welsh LNU's branches are explored to trace how the League was discussed in Welsh communities. Doing so measures the extent to which the League inspired community activism. Branch records in the Welsh LNU's main collection at the National Library of Wales are utilised throughout various chapters. This collection includes correspondence between local branch secretaries and Welsh LNU headquarters, minutes of meetings of local branches and reports of activities. Such sources have assisted with building a picture of how local branches operated, the bureaucracy of local branches and the central issues relating to them. They also uncover the extent to which LNU branches cooperated with local organisations of other movements, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and local churches and chapels. Branch records from local record offices, such as the West Glamorgan Archives, were also used in this research. For example, a collection of the Pontarddulais membership registers between 1931 and 1935 has been used to track membership of local branches.⁷⁶ These were invaluable for tracing membership numbers, analysing membership patterns and identifying individual members. However, it did not contain any correspondence between branch members, so it is difficult to use this source to trace the main areas of work this branch conducted.

However, branch records do not exist as a neat or uniform collection. They are deposited in different archives, span across different collections and are often incomplete. The Pontarddulais branch, for example, existed throughout the interwar period, but the collection only covered a four-year period of its existence.⁷⁷ The uneven nature of branch materials required perseverance and cross-referencing different types of branch records. There are often gaps in sources that explore branches. The National Library of Wales's finding aid includes 115 branch records. While they offer promising potential, these branch records have gaps in dates and pages of documents missing. Some are only a few pieces of paper.

⁷⁶ Swansea, West Glamorgan Archive Service (WGAS), D/D Z 849/33, Bundle of Registers for the League of Nations Union Welsh National Council branches in Pontarddulais.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

There were also several instances where loose ends of material relating to different branches were in different collections.

The thesis has attempted to use branch records from across Wales. It has explored Wales as an entire nation and looked at branches across all thirteen counties. The NLW's finding aid was used to randomly select branches from across the counties where population sizes varied. Numerical support tended to be stronger in 'Welsh Wales', where support for the Liberal Party remained strong. Researching branches shows that more records have survived from branches in south Wales compared to north Wales. The project has been assisted by the abundance of papers that concern the District Committee branches of Newport (Monmouthshire), Cardiff and Llanelli. Most of the branch records used were mainly in the English language. Some branch records were kept in Welsh. However, the number of these was far fewer.⁷⁸ In such instances, the Welsh language elements appear to be translations of English material or reveal similar points of view about the League or function of the Welsh LNU as English correspondence. Studying the Welsh language material does not cause a different evaluation of the Welsh LNU's activities.

The pandemic caused the closure of several archives, namely local record offices. Electronic resources were utilised to overcome accessibility difficulties caused by the closure of archives in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. These included the British Newspaper Archive, People's Collection Wales, League of Nations Digital Archive, and the Welsh LNU's annual reports that were published yearly between 1923 and 1943.⁷⁹ These reports include information on the Welsh LNU's activities, finances and world events. They give a fascinating insight into the key events and areas that concerned the LNU. However, like the Welsh LNU's organisational collection at the National Library of Wales, such sources are favourable to the LNU's work and showcase its successes in certain areas. They do not include much criticism of the organisation.

⁷⁸ For examples see: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/26, Llanfachreth branch records; B2/48 Bwlch-y-cibau branch records; B2/114 Bancyfelin branch records.

⁷⁹ The Welsh LNU's annual reports between 1922 and 1945 are available to view online: People's Collection of Wales/ Casgliad Y Werin Cymru (PCW), Welsh LNU Reports, available online: <<https://www.peoplescollection.wales/collections/1040996>> [accessed 15 August 2019].

This thesis also uses personal papers to explore the key advocates of the Welsh LNU movement and highlight the prominence of key figures. This expands knowledge of the Welsh LNU's organisation structure and key advocates involved in the movement. Research has mainly focused on the personal papers of David Davies and Gwilym Davies.⁸⁰ These included personal letters, newsletters and reports of activities that all related to the Welsh LNU. The individual collections of these two individuals were crucial to help build a picture of both the Welsh LNU's operation. The collections also helped with tracing if there was a difference between the views of the Welsh LNU and these individuals.

This thesis has attempted to discover more about individuals previously unrecognised in historiography. These individuals include members of the Welsh LNU's organisation and branch secretaries who played an essential role in promoting the League locally. For example, some include David Samways, Annie Hughes-Griffiths and Sara Pugh Jones. Electronic databases of ancestry collections have been used to build a profile of such individuals. The main resources used on these websites have been the 1911 Census and the 1939 Register. Accessing these helped to identify the location and occupation of these individuals. It built a picture of their experience of the Great War and what happened to them during the outbreak of the Second World War. The release of the 1921 census came too late to be utilised during the main research phase of this thesis. Accessing this during the research stage, not the final stages, would have helped shed more light on individuals, especially in the second chapter that explores grassroots support of the LNU in Wales. It would have been beneficial to create developed profiles of branch secretaries to make stronger assertions about their backgrounds and experiences.

Various newspapers were used to uncover national and community opinions. The Welsh LNU gained coverage from newspapers across Wales, which included newspapers with a wide circulation, such as the *Western Mail*, a national newspaper mainly distributed in south Wales. The Welsh LNU was also included in

⁸⁰ A copy of the finding aid for each collection can be viewed and downloaded online. For Gwilym Davies, see: <<https://archifau.llyfrgell.cymru/index.php/rev-gwilym-davies-papers-3>> [accessed 4 January 2019]. For David Davies see: <https://archifau.llyfrgell.cymru/index.php/index.php/lord-davies-of-llandinam-papers;isad?sf_culture=cy> [accessed 3 January 2019].

local newspapers, many of which have been interrogated during research and include the *Brecon and Radnor Express*, *Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, *Caernarfon Herald* and *Merthyr Express*. The coverage of the LNU and League in both national and localised accounts included a discussion of international events, the Welsh LNU's work and information on the work of local branches. The Welsh LNU sent circulars to numerous Welsh newspapers that included information they wished to have published. Report of branches activities featured at all times of the year. They included summaries of activities, details of upcoming events and information on how to join branches. While this coverage was expressed at all times of the year, mentions were more frequent during certain times of the year, such as Armistice Day, or when the LNU were running initiatives, such as membership campaigns or Daffodil Days. Unlike the Welsh LNU's organisational records, newspapers include critical views and discerning voices of the League and Welsh LNU. Using these newspapers advances research away from the 'League favourable' Welsh LNU materials. They provided evidence for community perceptions of how different areas of society criticised the Welsh LNU.

Researching the history of the Welsh LNU also involved consulting sources outside of Wales, such as the British LNU's organisational records at the LSE. This allows for Welsh LNU to be understood and compared to the British LNU. This is important for the first chapter that explains the creation of the Welsh LNU. The collection includes similar sources to the Welsh LNU's organisational records. Therefore, by using research from both locations, the research in this chapter aims to prevent a 'Welsh-centric' and 'British-centric' approach. Instead, it reveals that the Welsh LNU and British LNU had similar objectives but functioned differently.

One issue with using the Welsh LNU's organisation collection is the absence of critical voices. Most organisational records provide a positive view of the League's work in Wales. While some voices expressed anxiety at the international situation during the late 1930s, the material still expressed aspirations for the League to work and desire to avoid war. Similarly, the material used resulted in difficulties in obtaining individual voices and opinions from certain groups of society, such as children. The fourth chapter explores the numerous ways that the Welsh LNU worked on education initiatives. However, the main sources used

include newspapers, reports of Welsh LNU activities and pamphlets used by educationalists. The positivity of the Welsh LNU in their organisational records has been considered throughout the research. It has been overcome by looking at sources other than the Welsh LNU's organisation archives, such as newspapers and personal papers. However, there has still, at times, been a great difficulty with obtaining the critical voices of LNU members and wider society. The sources used suggest that rather than be critical of the League, people did not discuss it.

Structure of thesis

This thesis is organised into six chapters, each focusing on a key theme or period related to the study of the League in Wales between 1918 and 1945. Chapter one and chapter two focus on the Welsh LNU from an organisational perspective. The first chapter answers the fundamental question of why Wales created a separate LNU organisation. It asserts that a separate LNU was established due to League advocates and Liberal 'nationalists' that desired Wales to have its own say on League matters and promote Welsh interests on the world stage. However, it stresses that the Welsh LNU had its roots and origins in the British LNU. It was not a Welsh-centric organisation from the start.

In the second chapter, the focus shifts to the grassroots elements of the Welsh LNU's branches. Investigating branches reveals that the Welsh LNU was numerically the largest social activist organisation that existed in interwar Wales. Therefore, grassroots activism contributed a key part to the Welsh LNU's work. Branches spanned across Wales, and their work was a prominent feature of interwar civil society. Branches relied heavily on their network of supporters to run them. The League gained support from around Wales, but its membership tended to be middle-class figures influential in communities, such as teachers, religious figures and their clergy. The frequency of branch activity is a central research aim of chapter two. It will be revealed that activities varied from branch to branch and depended on the geographical, economic and social contexts of where branches were located. The chapter claims that while branches sustained public interest in the affairs of the League, the engagement of branches differed, and there was not a typical pattern of branch activity.

Chapters three, four and five use a thematic approach to examine how the Welsh LNU promoted the League in society. These were prominent areas where discussion of the League and the Welsh LNU occurred in society. These chapters expose the numerous unique Welsh examples in the LNU's work. Chapter three focuses on the involvement of women in the Welsh LNU. The Welsh LNU considered the involvement of women to be crucial to the success and promotion of the LNU in society. Numerically, the Welsh LNU had the largest female membership of any voluntary association in interwar Wales. Some figures in the Welsh LNU established a link between material qualities and internationalism as a way of defining women's participation. However, the chapter argues that this idea was imposed on women, mainly by men, who used it to understand and gauge female participation. Women generally supported the League and acquired a range of responsibilities without maternal narratives.

As seen in chapter four, education was one of the key areas of the LNU's activities in Wales. The Welsh LNU worked on several education initiatives to create 'world citizens'. During the interwar period, international education received widespread interest from intellectuals, governments and various civic organisations around the world. These groups used education to inform young people about the international community in the hope that it would prevent another global conflict. The chapter interrogates how these international perspectives intersected with Welsh society. Several Welsh-based initiatives are mentioned to exemplify how the Welsh LNU used education to achieve a national difference in this period. In creating 'world citizens', the Welsh LNU enhanced and promoted national perceptions and interpretations of 'Welshness'. This work was conducted using a Welsh, not British, label, which showed differentiation between the Welsh and British LNU experience.

The relationship between the Welsh LNU and religion, namely nonconformity, is investigated in chapter five. Both internationally and in Wales, Christianity became closely aligned with the League during the interwar period. In Wales, League advocates presented the League and LNU as an organisation aligned with Christian principles. Religion was used to bring awareness of world issues, such as America's absence from the League, and to grasp League policies, like

disarmament. The Welsh LNU also linked with Christian doctrine by using the language of 'goodwill', 'holy spirit' and 'brotherhood' in its promotional activity. The chapter reveals that League in Wales was aligned with nonconformity in an abundance of ways.

The concluding chapter takes a chronological approach by exploring the Welsh LNU between 1935 and 1945. The late 1930s was a time when the League's influence faded. The chapter explores the extent to which the international events of the late 1930s affected the Welsh LNU's support. It reveals that the Welsh LNU went against the British trend of decline. In 1937, adult membership recorded its highest figure of the 1930s. However, this disappeared amidst the international situation. There was a growing difference of opinion between influential figures and members of branches. The chapter studies the wartime experience of the Welsh LNU. It is important to do this because it shows that the LNU continued to operate, albeit in a limited capacity. The ideas of internationalism also continued to be supported in Wales. The chapter examines how the Welsh LNU became the Welsh United Nations Association (UNA), the organisation that promoted the UN (United Nations) in Wales following the end of the Second World War.

When taken together, these chapters reveal the magnitude of the Welsh LNU's work. They show that the League's work spanned different areas of interwar Welsh society and had a genuine impact on Welsh communities. The idea of 'never again' was a concept that was regularly repeated in interwar society in Wales, Britain and around the world. The Welsh LNU wanted to avoid a global conflict and adapt its promotional work to engage different groups of Welsh society, such as women, religious groups and young people. This imposed responsibility on these groups to support the League's cause. Failure to do so would result in them bearing the consequences, which would be an outbreak of war. A Welsh-focused account will illustrate the pioneering ways Wales engaged with the League. Without this research's specific and individual approach, a Welsh perspective is distorted and lost amongst wider Anglo-centric studies.

Chapter 1

The Welsh League of Nations Union: Leadership and Organisation c. 1918-1925

In 1920, the rural mid-Wales spa town of Llandrindod Wells hosted the first national conference of the Welsh National Council of the LNU. Individuals from various backgrounds attended the conference, including religious figures, Members of Parliament (MPs), businesspeople, lawyers and educationalists.¹ They shared a mutual interest in forming a Welsh organisation of the League organisation. During discussions, J.H. Thomas, Welsh-born Labour MP for Derby, declared that Wales should 'show England how to do it' in promoting the League.² The statement encapsulated the growing interest in forming a Welsh-based organisation to manage the promotion of the League in Wales. Prior to the meeting, Wales's involvement in the activities of the League had come under the umbrella of the British LNU. The conference indicated that a range of Welsh activists wanted to gain autonomy from Britain in promoting the League. As a result, the Welsh LNU and a Welsh-based Executive Committee were established, marking the Welsh LNU's first steps towards autonomy.

This chapter examines the process of establishing the Welsh LNU by answering the fundamental question of why a Welsh organisation was formed. It is argued that a separate LNU was formed in Wales because League advocates wanted to support initiatives that would help achieve their sense of national difference. It came at a time when the elite and key figures in Wales demanded greater recognition for Welsh distinctiveness. Since the mid-nineteenth century, there had been growing conceptualisations of Wales. The most prominent example was the disestablishment of the church in Wales, which created a separate Welsh church and gave official acknowledgement that Wales was different from England. There was also a growth of Welsh identity in the social and cultural realm with the growth of the Eisteddfod and Welsh sports teams, such as rugby and football. Therefore, exploring the individuals and groups responsible for creating the Welsh LNU reveals

¹ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (NLW), GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/1, Attendance list for the Llandrindod Well Conference, March 1920.

² *Brecon and Radnor Express*, 3 June 1920.

that they wanted Wales to be seen as a progressive country that took the matter of international cooperation and peace seriously.

The chapter analyses the relationship between the Welsh LNU and its British counterpart. Prys Morgan and David Thomas placed Welsh institutions which emerged after 1920 into three categories: a branch of a British organisation, a Welsh offshoot of a British organisation or a distinctive Welsh language institution.³ Using the categorisation provided by Morgan and Thomas, this chapter argues that the Welsh LNU was a Welsh offshoot of a British organisation that originated as part of the British LNU. In 1920, on the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and the first meeting of the League, demands to form a Welsh LNU grew substantially. It resulted in the Welsh LNU becoming an independent organisation by 1923. A range of sub-committees were formed that demonstrated the diverse areas of the Welsh LNU's work. This encapsulated the Welsh LNU's attempts to become an influential organisation in Welsh society during the interwar period. The Welsh LNU was separate from the British LNU, especially financially and administratively. However, as the chapter shows, the two movements kept healthy working relations. On several occasions, British delegates attended meetings of the Welsh LNU. Also, despite being separate, the Welsh LNU was required to send a proportion of its annual income to the British LNU's headquarters. Ultimately, the Welsh LNU promoted itself as a national organisation but did not sever ties with its British counterpart.

This chapter takes a chronological approach from the Great War to the mid-1920s. These years are essential for understanding the formation of the Welsh LNU as it allows the organisation to be viewed in the wider context of the international situation. The success of the Welsh LNU was dependent on the overall existence of the League. Support for the League in Wales transformed following the creation of the League and the Llandrindod Wells conference held in 1920. Methodologically, this chapter uses a wealth of sources that include personal papers, minutes of meetings, annual reports and organisational correspondence. These have been collected from British and Welsh archives. Therefore, by using evidence from both

³ Prys Morgan and David Thomas, *Wales: the Shaping of a Nation* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1984), p. 221.

locations, the research in this chapter aims to avoid either a 'Welsh-centric' or a 'British-centric' approach.

Historiography

This chapter addresses two historiographical weaknesses. Firstly, as historian Sakiko Kaiga argued, the historiography of the LNU has focused on its interwar activities rather than how the movement originated during the Great War.⁴ Similarly, historians of the League in Wales have created the perception that the Welsh LNU established itself in a society receptive to internationalism. Its formation has often been described as consisting of three key events: a discussion at the Neath Eisteddfod in 1918, the 1920 National Conference at Llandrindod Wells, and the first Annual Conference of the Welsh LNU held in 1922.⁵ Furthermore, general histories of Wales followed a similar viewpoint by describing the three-stage process or by assuming the Welsh League organisation fell neatly into place.⁶ While these have offered an introductory explanation, they do not critically evaluate the prolonged and complicated process by which the Welsh LNU was formed. In contrast to previous works, this chapter analyses which individuals were responsible for creating the Welsh LNU, the issues the movement encountered during the early years and the relationship with the British LNU.

The second historiographical weakness that this chapter addresses is the focus placed on prominent individuals in the study of the League in Wales, especially David Davies. He was the grandson of the Victorian industrialist David Davies (1818-1890) of Llandinam, famously known as 'Top Sawyer', who founded the Ocean Coal Company, Barry Docks and created numerous Welsh railway lines.⁷

⁴ Sakiko Kaiga, *Britain and the Intellectual Origins of the League of Nations, 1914-1919*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 7.

⁵ Further insight can be viewed in: Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace (From the Close of the Napoleonic Wars to the Outbreak of the Second World War)* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969); Kenneth O. Morgan, 'Peace Movements in Wales, 1899-1945', *Welsh History Review*, 10 (1980), 398-430 (pp. 417-419).

⁶ Two examples of this can be found in: John Davies, *A History of Wales*, 3rd edn (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 578-579; Geraint H. Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007),

⁷ For more information on David Davies (1818-1890) see: Kenneth O. Morgan, *David Davies* (2006), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-37343?rskey=H5YqAO&result=4>> [accessed 28 January 2020].

David Davies inherited his wealth from his grandfather and, in a similar manner to his grandfather, was involved in numerous matters relating to Wales. He was a Welsh-speaking Liberal MP who represented the Montgomeryshire constituency between 1906 and 1929. David Davies supported home rule for Wales and participated in several conferences between 1918 and 1922.⁸ Moreover, Davies favoured creating a Welsh Parliamentary Party to promote Welsh matters at Westminster.⁹ However, he separated himself from the Welsh Nationalist Party, Plaid Cymru, on its foundation in 1925. His interest in Wales extended beyond views on home rule. He backed the formation of the National Library of Wales in 1907, played a founding role in the Welsh School of Social Service in 1911 and co-establishing the Welsh Town Planning and Housing Trust in 1913. These initiatives had been part of prewar interests the Welsh cultural elite took to form several Welsh-based organisations. As will be shown, the involvement of David Davies in these various initiatives meant he had relevant resources and contacts to form the Welsh LNU.

During the Great War, he served in the South Wales Borderers and the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. In June 1916, he was removed from the front line and appointed private secretary to the Secretary of State for War, later British Prime Minister David Lloyd George. After a period of good relations, the two endured an uneasy partnership and grew apart due to David Davies's criticism of other politicians, the British military and Lloyd George.¹⁰ It resulted in the departure of David Davies from Lloyd George's cabinet, whereby his interest in internationalism grew. He favoured the idea of a League to prevent another world conflict. This stemmed from the hope that it would develop into an organisation powerful enough to operate as a type of 'federal authority', a central organisation with the authority to implement collective

⁸ D Hywel Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945: a call to Nationhood* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1983), p. 20.

⁹ John Davies, p. 532.

¹⁰ Historians have disagreed to whether David Davies stood down or if he was dismissed. John Graham Jones claimed that Davies was dismissed, while David Steeds understood David to have stood down. For more on this discussion see: John Graham Jones, 'The Peacemonger', *Journal of Liberal Democrat History*, 29 (2001), 16-23 (p. 16); David Steeds, 'David Davies, Llandinam, and International Affairs', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 9 (2002), 122-134 (p. 126).

change.¹¹ As will be highlighted in the chapter, he became involved with the creation of international organisations at a British level in respect of co-establishing the League League of Free Nations Association (LFNA) and, upon its amalgamation with the League of Nations Society (LNS), worked in the British LNU.

The powerful standing of David Davies resulted in most studies of the Welsh LNU focusing on his involvement and influence as opposed to studying the origins of the LNU organisation in Wales. Helen McCarthy noted that he ‘reigned supreme’ over the Welsh National Council.¹² Similarly, Brian Porter’s work concluded that few had the time, energy and money to translate thoughts into schemes and initiatives of positive action.¹³ Consequently, to some extent, the League in Wales has sometimes been viewed as being synonymous with David Davies. The tendency to focus on the influential individuals of the British LNU is a trend evident in wider British historiography. Studies have included those on Gilbert Murray, Robert Cecil and Willoughby Dickinson.¹⁴ These contributed insight into individuals but did little to provide information on the British LNU beyond its leaders. Furthermore, few historians have explored the organisational structure of the Welsh LNU and its numerous sub-committees. Subsequently, research has not explored the vigorous debates that surrounded the creation of the LNU in Wales. Therefore, while noting the importance of David Davies in terms of his finances and influence, this chapter offers a nuanced view of the formation of the Welsh LNU. It focuses on the debates that surrounded the formation of the Welsh LNU. Unlike previous works, this chapter, while noting the importance of key individuals, shows that once the organisation was established, it was less reliant on these individuals and depended

¹¹ Goronwy J. Jones, p. 95.

¹² Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism c. 1918-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 53.

¹³ Brian Porter, ‘David Davies and the Enforcement of Peace’, in *Thinkers of the Twenty Years’ Crisis: Inter-War Idealism Reassessed*, ed. by David Long and Peter Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 58-78.

¹⁴ For information on Gilbert Murray see: Duncan Wilson, *Gilbert Murray OM 1866-1957* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Christopher Stray, *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre and International Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Robert Cecil can be viewed in: J.A. Thompson, ‘Lord Cecil and the Pacifists in the League of Nations Union’, *Historical Journal*, 20 (1977), 177-210; Gaynor Johnson, *Lord Robert Cecil: Politician and Internationalist* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). The involvement of Willoughby Dickinson can be seen in: Daniel Gorman, ‘Willoughby Dickinson, the League of Nations and the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 45 (2010), 51-73.

on a wider organisation. While the chapter discusses various spheres of the Welsh LNU's structure, it will only briefly mention grassroots support. The second chapter of this thesis investigates the Welsh LNU's grassroots organisation by focusing directly on local branches.

The League in Wales prior to the 1918 Armistice

There was little demand for establishing a Welsh League organisation during the Great War. The creation of a Welsh LNU was part of a wider British body. In Britain, two organisations were established that provoked debate and generated support for forming an international organisation during the Great War. The first of these groups, established in May 1915, was the LNS. It was led by the Liberal MPs Willoughby Dickinson (St. Pancras North) and Welsh-born Aneurin Williams (Northwest Durham), who acted as Chairman and Treasurer, respectively.¹⁵ Its foundation resulted from discussions by some of its members who had been part of the Bryce Group. Formed by the classical scholar Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson in late 1914, the group was constructed of British Liberals who exchanged ideas on how to create and preserve peace. It bore the name of James Bryce, the former British Ambassador to the United States between 1907 and 1913, who was a central figure in the wartime movement to establish a League.¹⁶ It further endorsed the view that a peace league should be created for states to join.¹⁷ The Bryce Group endorsed an alternative system for maintaining international affairs by proposing four interrelated war-prevention measures that would be central to the workings of an international organisation: the judicial settlement of international disputes, the formation of a so-called Council of Conciliation, a moratorium on hostilities and ultimately, collective security.¹⁸ These four proposals were underpinned by the idea that the public would be united against aggression.

The ideas of the Bryce Group trickled into the LNS. It attracted a similar membership base, largely composed of educated and well-connected middle-class

¹⁵ Henry R. Winkler, *The League of Nations Movement in Great Britain, 1914-1919* (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1967), p. 50.

¹⁶ Casper Sylvest, *British Liberal Internationalism, 1880-1930: Making Progress?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 161.

¹⁷ Donald Birn, *The League of Nations Union 1918-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 6.

¹⁸ Kaiga, p. 48.

liberals.¹⁹ The LNS wanted to promote the ideas of the Bryce group to the public in the hope that it would be influential in creating a post-war organisation.²⁰ LNS members favoured the establishment of a community of nations to maintain relations between states and form an impartial body to resolve disputes. Fundamentally, they aspired to break the perception that international relations only concerned those professionally engaged with it and instead endorsed open discussions of diplomacy.²¹

The primary aim of the LNS was to introduce some broad ideas and proposals for a post-war organisation of nations. The LNS attempted to stimulate discussion by constructing a programme that outlined its vision for a League. The main points included: forming an organisation at the earliest convenience, dealing with disputes collectively through a Council of member states or a Judicial Tribunal and requiring members to take necessary action to ensure every member abided by its terms.²² Membership in the society involved a general acceptance of its programme. However, as historian Sakiko Kaiga argued, the objectives of the LNS became lost by May 1917 as it stressed the creation of the League without going into mass detail surrounding different ideas about the organisation to be expressed or discussed.²³ Therefore, some of their proposals remained vague and undeveloped. There was no attempt to explain how it would be funded if any nation had a permanent seat and the consequences for members who ignored the rules. Signing a Treaty 'as soon as possible' indicated the vagueness surrounding its implementation.

The uncertainty was understandable, given the broader environment. With Britain at war, the LNS was confined to tight-knit circles. The war made public discussion of anything but victory a difficult subject to approach. The public heard very little about their proposals as a widespread publicity campaign was not

¹⁹ George W. Egerton, *Great Britain and the Creation of the League of Nations: Strategy, Politics and International Organisation, 1914-1919* (London: Scholar Press, 1979), p. 11.

²⁰ Kaiga, p.66.

²¹ E. H., Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: an Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 1946), p. 1.

²² Swansea, West Glamorgan Archive Service (WGAS), SL/WL/1/3/15, League of Nations Society publication by Sir Francis Younghusband entitled 'The Sense of a Community of Nations', June 1917.

²³ Kaiga, p. 67.

favourable in the circumstances. Members of the LNS were anxious not to be identified as pacifists, proponents of a negotiated peace or sympathising with the enemy. Pacifists detached themselves from the LNS due to its policy that involved using force in necessary situations.²⁴ The LNS largely worked undercover to avoid being viewed as pacifists before May 1917, after which it started publicising itself by using promotional activities.²⁵

Following the public promotion of the LNS, discussions started to focus on forming a League in Wales, but these were limited to intellectual circles. In Wales, discussions that focused on forming a League were limited to intellectual circles. In 1917, at a public education conference in Wrexham, Harry Reichel, Principle of the University of Wales Bangor, declared that the League needed to exist in every nation living under democratic institutions.²⁶ Moreover, one writer in the *Welsh Outlook* declared that a League was central to the foundation of a new Europe.²⁷ However, the policies of the LNS received limited support in Wales before 1918. Instead, pacifist groups had more success with gaining support in Welsh society. Involvement was placed through various organisations, but the two most prominent were the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FoR), which established a Welsh branch in June 1915, and the Independent Labour Party (ILP).²⁸

As the war progressed, the concept of the League entered mainstream debate. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America between 1913 and 1921, became the leading advocate of forming a League. In 1916, at a meeting of the American organisation the League to Enforce Peace, Wilson called for a universal association of nations to be set up as a chief war aim.²⁹ In 1917, American entry into the war signalled that Wilson would play a major role in constructing peace. While Wilson's peace aims were outlined in several speeches before 1918, the clearest indication of his vision was the Fourteen Points speech he delivered to Congress in January 1918. The speech itemised Wilson's programme for creating

²⁴ F. P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 17.

²⁵ Kaiga, p. 66.

²⁶ *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 29 June 1917, p. 3.

²⁷ *Welsh Outlook*, 1 October 1917.

²⁸ Aled Eirug, *The Opposition to the Great War in Wales 1914-1918* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018), pp. 1-3.

²⁹ Birn, p. 8.

peace. In point one, Wilson wanted to end private diplomacy by calling for discussions to be held in public view.³⁰ Moreover, point fourteen noted the requirement for forming a general association of nations.³¹ Wilson hoped to mobilise this plan to commit the Allies to a Liberal peace plan.³² It displayed how he favoured new diplomacy and disapproved of the old system.

For this reason, Wilson developed an authority that was not matched by any other European leader. His opinions were supported worldwide and helped to gain impetus for the idea. Erez Manela argued that the future of international society belonged to Wilson's vision and depended on him, as an individual, to act as the leading figure in world affairs.³³ Wilson wielded extraordinary leverage over the Allies, enjoying popularity among people and possessing the capacity to implement his vision.³⁴ The United States of America had emerged as a leading world power. As a result, European leaders followed Wilson's lead and committed themselves to the idea. Some historians, such as Mark Mazower, believed that without Wilson, the British government would not have backed the League.³⁵ In January 1918, David Lloyd George delivered a speech at Caxton Hall, London, declaring support for forming an international organisation after the war. Lloyd George considered that the main objective should be to limit armaments, which he felt would diminish the probability of war.³⁶ Despite the vagueness of this, it was an encouraging sign for League activists. Following the speech, the British government started to seriously consider the formation of a League. Lloyd George formed the Phillimore

³⁰ For a list of Wilson's Fourteen Points and some analysis, see: *Woodrow Wilson: Essential Writings and Speeches of the Scholar-President*, ed. by Mario R. Di Nunzio (New York: New York University Press, 2006), pp. 403-407.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Klaus Schwabe, *Woodrow Wilson, Revolutionary Germany, and Peacemaking, 1918-1919: Missionary Diplomacy and the Realities of Power* (Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 12.

³³ Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 7. For further accounts on the dominance of Wilson, see: Ruth Henig, *Versailles and After, 1919-1933*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 9-10, Ronald J. Pestritto, *Woodrow Wilson and the Roots of Modern Liberalism* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005). Schwabe; Di Nunzio.

³⁴ Manela, p. 10.

³⁵ Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton University Press: Princeton and Oxford, 2009), p. 118.

³⁶ F.S. Northedge, *The League of Nations: its Life and Times 1920-1946* (Leicester: Leicester University Press), p. 30.

Committee, constructed of historians, lawyers and diplomats, to investigate the feasibility of a League 'from a judicial and historical point of view'.³⁷ In March 1918, the committee reported that it favoured using international machinery between nations.³⁸ Therefore, forming a League stood at the centre of the ideological response by British liberalism to the tragedy of war.³⁹ However, a Welsh prime minister guiding British government policy on the League did not generate support for the movement in Wales.

The advocacy of Wilson and Lloyd George filtered down to League supporters who, as a result, intensified their efforts to publicise the League to the British public. The LNS began to advertise the League using a minor propaganda campaign that indicated how the League was deemed critical to securing peace after the war. These appeals were most popular among MPs, publicists, writers and clergymen. The LNS developed their policy and provided solutions to potential problems. Although, some of these topics were deemed controversial, such as favouring the inclusion of vanquished nations, including Germany, in a post-war League. However, the inclusion of Germany was on the premise that it should reform to a different system of government and become 'democratised'.⁴⁰ As a result, a growing dissatisfaction developed towards the policy of the LNS. It was considered 'too pacifist' and a fad of liberal and religious idealism.⁴¹ Furthermore, some individuals, such as David Davies, were dissatisfied with the LNS's decision not to establish a League during the war. Davies disapproved of the LNS's leadership, whom he regarded as having no experience running a 'great propagandist campaign' or 'raising the necessary funds to do so'.⁴²

As a result of the growing discontent with the policies of the LNS, David Davies instigated a split to form the LFNA in June 1918. The LFNA was the second British organisation that promoted the League during the war. He used his money

³⁷ Alan Sharp, *The Versailles Settlement: Peacemaking after the First World War, 1919-1923*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 21.

³⁸ Birn, p. 8.

³⁹ Egerton, p. 45.

⁴⁰ *Germany and the League of Nations, League of Nations Society Pamphlet (No. 29)*, (London: League of Nations Union, March 1918).

⁴¹ Winkler, p. 70.

⁴² Quote taken from: Kaiga, p. 134.

and influence to generate discussion of the League at a British level. He became the deputy chair of the LFNA and enlisted Gilbert Murray as the chairperson.⁴³ The LFNA endorsed the core principles put forward by the LNS of creating an international organisation, increasing cooperation between nations and using an impartial body to manage international disputes. However, it wanted to form a League immediately and to exclude enemy nations from joining until they were 'beaten, repentant and demoralised'.⁴⁴ The LFNA felt it was crucial to win support in government circles to please Woodrow Wilson.⁴⁵ Several of the LNU's members objected to the formation of the LFNA. They felt that having two separate organisations defeated the idea of a united movement.⁴⁶ The membership of the LFNA had similar views as the right wing of the LNS, with its members tending to be anti-German and pro-war. It was endorsed by politicians of different parties, religious leaders and wealthy businesspeople. Its widespread appeal was greater than the LNS, but it remained on the fringes of public debate.

A motivating factor for David Davies to form the LFNA was his interest in creating a Welsh pro-League organisation. Wilson's vision of a League benefitting small nations inspired Davies to express his vision for a unique Welsh response. In January 1918, David Davies stated:

If the League is to do anything, a large share of its activities will be devoted to the cause of small and struggling nationalities, and Wales too, has her part to play in the Commonwealth of Nations... as long as Wales is content to act as a passive spectator of the world-drama and to claim no share for anything that is distinctively Welsh in the Councils of the Empire, she will continue to be ignored.⁴⁷

David Davies was motivated by both commitments to internationalism and nationalism. Similarly, a writer to the *Welsh Outlook*, a monthly periodical that

⁴³ London, London School of Economics Library Archive (LSE), LNU/2/1, Minutes of a League of Free Nations Association (LFNA) conference, 24 June 1918.

⁴⁴ Egerton, p. 72.

⁴⁵ Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 61.

⁴⁶ Winkler, p. 71.

⁴⁷ *The Welsh Outlook*, 1 January 1918, p. 12.

promoted views linked to cultural nationalism, expressed that the people of Wales should demand self-determination.⁴⁸ While such statements from individuals encapsulated curiosity in Wales developing a distinct role in post-war internationalism, they attracted little widespread interest. At this stage, a distinctive Welsh response was non-existent due to there being a limited appeal for the idea of a Welsh-based League organisation.

Conversely to the LNS, the LFNA developed a Welsh dimension to its work. To the frustration of Davies, the work of the LNS had yet to develop in Wales. Therefore, he imported the movement and the policies into Wales. The *Brecon and Radnor Express* described him as the 'leading spirit' of the LFNA.⁴⁹ In June 1918, David Davies influenced the LFNA to create the position of organiser for Wales. He was responsible for managing the role, appointing Lewis Davies Jones, known as 'Llew Tegid', as the first LFNA Welsh organiser.⁵⁰ The regional organiser's role included translating documents from English to Welsh, organising public meetings and supplying LFNA headquarters with a monthly report.⁵¹ The LFNA also conducted a membership campaign in Wales that increased public engagement with the organisation (Figure 1.1). In this instance, membership was on an individual basis and affiliated with the British LFNA.

The LFNA's policies started to be endorsed at public meetings in Wales. In August 1918, Captain W. Henry Williams, General Secretary of the LFNA and private secretary to David Davies, declared at a public meeting in Aberystwyth (Cardiganshire) that a League would safeguard the peace of nations.⁵² In October 1918, the LFNA held its first public conference in Wales at Brynmawr (Brecknockshire). Attendees included Sidney Robinson, Liberal M.P for Breconshire, Evan Davies, a Miner's Agent from Ebbw Vale and Professor Joseph Jones, Principle of the Memorial College Brecon. The meeting adopted a resolution that supported the aims and objectives of the LFNA and endorsed proposals for a conference

⁴⁸ *Welsh Outlook*, May 1918.

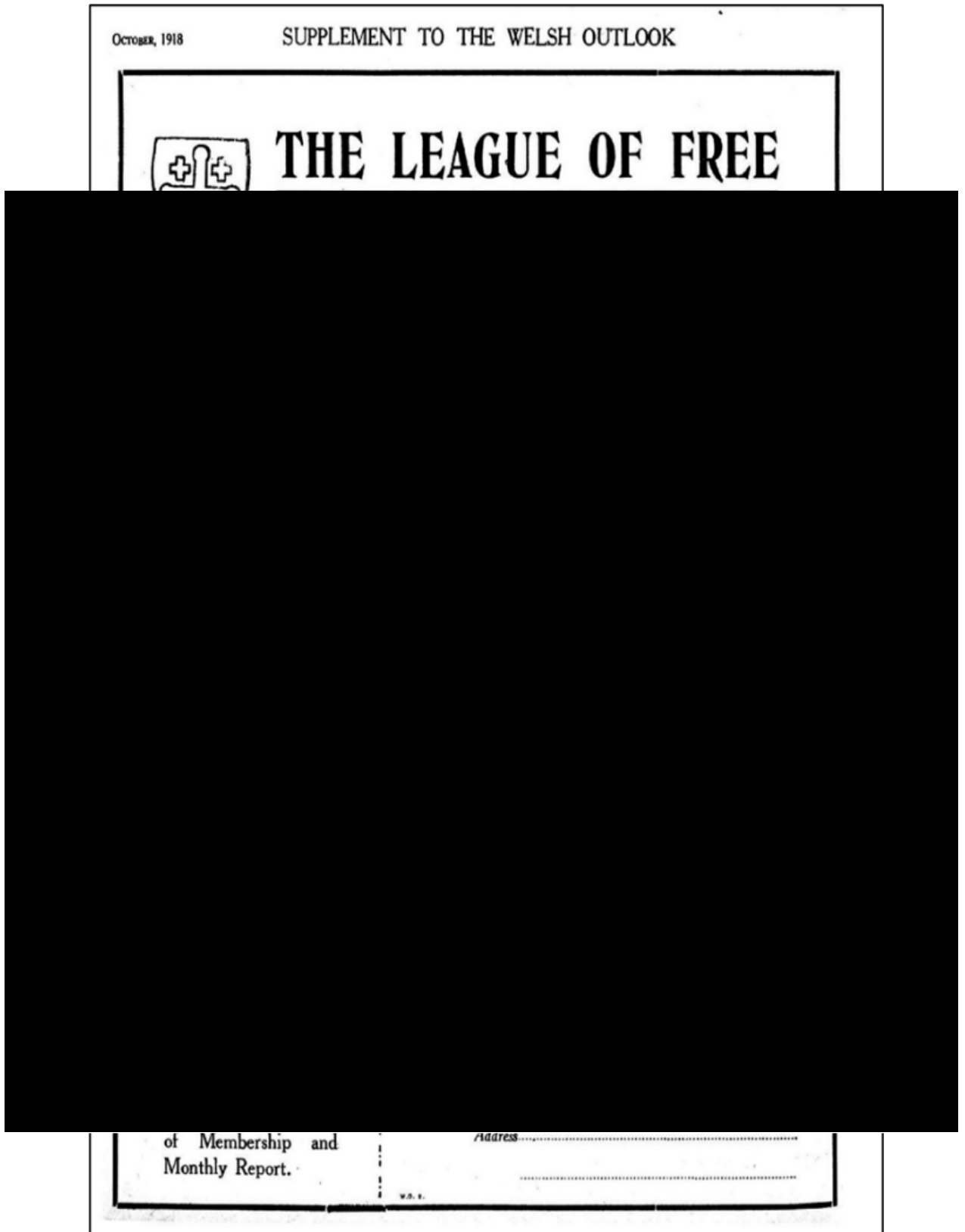
⁴⁹ *Brecon and Radnor Express*, 17 October 1918, p. 6.

⁵⁰ Thomas Iorwerth Ellis, *Lewis Davies Jones (Llew Tegid; 1851- 1928)*, <<https://biography.wales/article/s-JONE-DAV-1851>> [accessed 27 January 2020]>.

⁵¹ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B3/2, Letter to Lewis Davies Jones from David Davies, August 1918.

⁵² *Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 16 August 1918, p. 3.

Figure 1.1: An advertisement for the League of Free Nations Association, October 1918.⁵³



⁵³ *The Welsh Outlook*, 1 October 1918, p. 28.

between allied governments to form a constitution for a League.⁵⁴ While there were no direct calls for forming a Welsh organisation, the diverse backgrounds of the attendees indicated that a range of individuals was now engaging with the ideas of a League.

Following the first public meeting in Wales, policies of the LFNA continued to be endorsed in an intellectual capacity. Several figures supported the LFNA's policy of excluding Germany from the international organisation. Canon John Fairchild, Principle of the North Wales Training College Bangor, argued that:

Germany must not have anything to do with this matter until she has been brought to her senses, until she has learnt her lesson, until her evil spirit is exorcised. If they do not exorcise that spirit themselves, we must do it for them. She must pay for every atrocity, every crime she has committed, and until this is done Germany must never stand side by side with the civilisation of the world.⁵⁵

Others agreed with the view of Canon Fairchild, albeit in a less extreme manner. Griffith Ellis, Liberal MP for Anglesey, wanted Germany to be left out for several years.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, T. H. Edwards felt the situation regarding Germany was complicated. For him, Germany could not enter 'in its current aggressive state', but a League could not be complete without its presence.⁵⁷ In Wales, therefore, the debates occurring in the earlier years occurred under the umbrella of the British LFNA rather than harnessing a specific sense of Welshness.

The increased presence of the LFNA in Wales prompted David Davies to renew calls for the creation of a Welsh section of the League. At the 1918 Neath Eisteddfod, David Davies argued that Wales should play a special part in the campaign for world peace.⁵⁸ This was received positively compared to his previous attempts but did not achieve the desired result. Other internal matters, such as home rule, carried more weight compared to outward-looking discussions of

⁵⁴ *Brecon and Radnor Express*, 17 October 1918, p. 6.

⁵⁵ *Pioneer*, 5 October 1918, p. 2.

⁵⁶ *Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 18 October 1918, p. 5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Wales and the League of Nations 1929-1930* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union: Welsh National Council, 1930).

internationalism. Home rule for Wales had its roots in the nineteenth-century movement Cymru Fydd (Young Wales), headed by T. E. Ellis, the Liberal MP for Merioneth.⁵⁹ It took inspiration from the Irish Home Rule movement.⁶⁰ However, in the late 1890s, the movement collapsed due to the difference of opinions between representatives located in different parts of Wales. Yet, the core of its message continued and was sentimentalised by those who supported it, particularly Liberals such as David Davies, Robert Thomas and Herbert Lewis. They sought to convince Westminster that there was a substantial body of support in Wales for home rule.⁶¹ This group of Liberal 'nationalists' convened the first national home rule conference at Llandrindod Wells during Whitsuntide 1918. However, it revealed that while there was intellectual support, there was no grassroots enthusiasm for home rule. Cymru Fydd was largely an intellectual movement without grassroots support. The Great War, if anything, had strengthened the sense of British identity in Wales. Opinion was divided in Wales by sectional, regional and class antagonisms.⁶² The conference indicated that the dominant issue in Welsh politics was not Wales challenging Westminster authority but Labour challenging Liberal dominance in Wales.⁶³ Consequently, forming a Welsh-based organisation of the League lacked purpose during the war years. Discussion of the League in Wales focused on its general organisation rather than harnessing a specific sense of Welshness.

By October 1918, the LNS and LFNA started to merge into one organisation. While they differed in some policy areas, they had the same overall objective. Both were inspired by the sentiment of 'never again' and sought to do something productive to create lasting peace.⁶⁴ Developing support as separate organisations had been limited. The LNS deemed itself too small and divided; therefore, amalgamating with the LFNA was the only viable option. Despite open discussions

⁵⁹ Thomas Edward Ellis (1859-1899) was MP for Merioneth between 1886 and 1899 and chief Liberal whip between 1894 and 1895. For more information see: Kenneth O. Morgan, *Thomas Edward Ellis* (2004), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37394>> [accessed 30 March 2020].

⁶⁰ For an overview to the Irish home rule movement see: Alan Ferrier, *A Nation and Not a Rabble: The Irish Revolution 1913-1923* (London: Profile Books, 2015); Dermot Keogh, *Twentieth Century Ireland: Nation and State* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1994).

⁶¹ D Hywel Davies, p. 20.

⁶² Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics 1868-1922*, 3rd edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), p. 259.

⁶³ D Hywel Davies, p. 20.

⁶⁴ Alfred Zimmern, *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law* (London: Macmillan, 1936), p. 162.

of welding the two parts together, there was some disagreement between members of each organisation. David Davies viewed senior members of the LNS, such as G. Lowes Dickinson and Leonard Woolf, as liabilities due to them favouring 'peace by negotiation' rather than a military victory.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, many LNS members viewed the LFNA policy of creating a League immediately as out of touch with reality, thus having the potential to wreck the notion of a League.⁶⁶

On 9 November 1918, the LNS and LFNA were formally amalgamated into the British League of Nations Union (LNU). Neither group recorded any specific reasons for their amalgamation. Although, as historian Sakiko Kaiga noted, two major considerations were that a unified group would reinforce a pro-League campaign and individuals favoured the exclusion of Germany from the organisation in the first instance.⁶⁷ It aimed to convert the mainstream of British society to the cause of the League. The organisation was formed to promote international justice, collective security and permanent peace between nations. As a League still did not exist at this point, the primary goal was to continue asserting pressure on the government and mobilise support from society. Lord Edward Grey (1st Viscount Grey of Fallodon), British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs between 1905 and 1916, was elected as the first president.⁶⁸ Despite both organisations growing in interest prior to the armistice, support of the LNU came largely from those sympathetic to its policies. On the formation of the British LNU, its total membership across Britain numbered 3,227, comprised of 987 from the LFNA and 2,240 from the LNS.⁶⁹ While support existed, it lacked widespread popularity in Welsh and British society during the war.

The pre-armistice period signalled a growing popularity for the idea of a League. The concept had transformed from being discussed by a few supporters in close-knit circles to being endorsed by governments and politicians. For the LNS,

⁶⁵ Birn, p. 10.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶⁷ Kaiga, p. 137. The British LNU was made up of 3227 members on its formation. Of this total, 987 were from the LFNA and 2240 from the LNS: LSE, LNU 7/1, Annual Report 1920, p. 21.

⁶⁸ LSE, LNU/2/1, Minutes of a conference held between the LFNA and the League of Nations Society (LNS), 9 November 1918.

⁶⁹ Both societies did not keep a regional breakdown or detailed account of membership figures. They only kept an overall figure. The figures supplied are taken from: LSE, LNU 7/1, British LNU Annual Report, 1920, p. 21.

LFNA and LNU, forming a League was central to peace and the future conduct of international affairs. Yet, many questions remained regarding how an international organisation should be constructed, where it would be located and how it would be funded. These matters were out of the hands of LNU supporters. It was up to policymakers, politicians and governments to answer fundamental questions and bring the League to life.

The League in the aftermath of the armistice

In November 1918, the armistice ended four years of war. It was a conflict in which the most advanced nations in the world threw soldiers, wealth and fruits of their industry, science and technology at one another.⁷⁰ The result was death and destruction on an unprecedented scale. Globally around 9,722,000 soldiers died, with 21 million injured.⁷¹ Britain lost an estimated 750,000 soldiers. Of this figure, 35,000 were from Wales.⁷²

The armistice, and the months that preceded it, proved decisive in creating and planning an international organisation. However, apart from Wilson, the Allies were reluctant to immerse themselves in constructing a League in the immediate aftermath of the war. Governments and policymakers had to grapple with a myriad of problems thrown up by the armistice. A Peace Conference needed to be organised. This included factors such as setting a date, how the conference would function and the attendees, especially if vanquished and neutral nations should attend. Furthermore, countries fell victim to an influenza epidemic, and various domestic issues pushed aside during the war now needed addressing.⁷³ In Britain, a general election in December 1918 preoccupied politicians and the British public. Consequently, the formation of a League was overshadowed by other events occurring in society and became viewed as a lower priority.

The British LNU's attempts to generate support for creating an organisation were still obstructed by the League not physically existing. The LNU was slow to

⁷⁰ Margaret MacMillan, *Peacemakers: the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and its Attempt to End War* (London: John Murray, 2002), p. 2.

⁷¹ Peter Hart, *The Great War* (London: Profile Books, 2013), p. 717.

⁷² Robin Barlow, *Wales and World War One* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2014), pp. 1-7.

⁷³ Sharp, p. 20.

create sub-committees in different areas of work. An additional factor limiting success was its financial position. During the initial stages, individuals were hesitant to invest money into an organisation that lacked a physical presence. In January 1919, the Union recorded an income of £100 per month, compared to a total expenditure of £2000 per month.⁷⁴ A promotional campaign had been planned, but the financial position prevented it from launching.⁷⁵ The financial limitations of the British LNU continued throughout the early years. Robert Cecil, a Conservative politician who acted as head of the League section of the Foreign Office and president of the British LNU between 1923 and 1945, noted that the union could not carry out many activities due to the financial difficulties it faced.⁷⁶

The slow process infuriated some individuals, especially former members of the LFNA who had favoured the immediate creation of a League during the war. David Davies, who by now had been appointed as the General Secretary of the British LNU, became increasingly frustrated by the situation that prevented the British LNU from launching a promotional campaign. He demanded the movement take immediate action to raise money to assist with administrative costs, the organisation of public events and membership campaigns. However, the British LNU expressed reservations with the view of Davies until after the Paris Peace Conference.⁷⁷ Furthermore, David Davies' frustration with the British LNU increased because of the limited resources available. Davies wanted an office in Paris for the duration of the Paris Peace Conference to carry out work for the British LNU, but this was ruled out due to a lack of resources.⁷⁸ However, David Davies did visit France and Italy on behalf of the Union in late 1918. The objective of the visit was to network with internationalists and conduct research to develop relations between the British LNU and similar bodies.⁷⁹

By the end of 1918, additional organisations had been formed in a range of European countries that endorsed the creation of an international organisation. In

⁷⁴ LSE, LNU/2/2, Minutes of the British LNU Executive Committee, 13 January 1919.

⁷⁵ LSE, LNU/1/1, Minutes of a meeting of the General Council of the British LNU, 21 May 1919.

⁷⁶ LSE, LNU/1/1, Meeting of the Sixth General Council of the British League of Nations Union, 15 July 1920.

⁷⁷ LSE, LNU/2/2, Minutes of the British LNU Executive Committee, 9 April 1919.

⁷⁸ LSE, LNU/2/2, Minutes of the British LNU Executive Committee, 23 December 1918.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

France was the Association Française pour la Société des Nations, the Deutsche Liga für Völkerbund in Germany and Famiglia Italiana in Italy.⁸⁰ These groups aimed to exert pressure on their respective governments to invest time and resources into the League and to mobilise support from society. While the League was not a priority for policymakers in 1918, except for Wilson and America, it started gaining widespread interest across Europe.

In January 1919, the League was the first item discussed at the Paris Peace Conference. Largely, this was due to Wilson's insistence that establishing a League and drafting its Covenant should be an essential topic of the conference.⁸¹ On 25 January, the conference accepted proposals for creating a League. Subsequently, a committee composed of mainly Anglo-American policymakers set to work on creating a Covenant for the League. In April 1919, the conference unanimously adopted the Covenant, which had twenty-six articles. These articles focused on numerous ways to prevent the outbreak of war and develop international cooperation in which different nations have common interests to promote.⁸² The Covenant was an agreed set of rules between member states. It outlined the League's policy, gave procedures for managing international affairs and explained how to deal with international crises. The League was to operate not as a League of democracies, as Wilson had originally envisaged, but as a loose association of nations.⁸³

The signing of the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919 injected fresh enthusiasm into the British LNU. The Covenant of the League was the first section of the Treaty and the other four peace treaties. The signing assured supporters that policymakers and governments were committed to forming and working under the principles and jurisdiction of the League. As a result, the British LNU altered its central objective. It developed from supporting the creation of a League to instead focusing on building widespread popularity and ensuring the government stood by its commitment to

⁸⁰ Thomas R. Davies, 'Internationalism in a Divided World: The Experience of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 1919-1939', *Peace & Change*, 37.2 (2012), 227-252 (p. 228).

⁸¹ George Scott, *The Rise and Fall of the League of Nations* (London: Hutchinson, 1973), p. 14.

⁸² Philip Noel-Baker, *The League of Nations at Work* (London: Nisbet, 1926), p. xiii.

⁸³ Henig, p. 15.

the League. A month after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, the British LNU publicly announced that its new objective was to 'secure the wholehearted acceptance of the British people to view the League as the guardian of international peace'.⁸⁴ The LNU wanted to make the League a living force by making it a large organisation.

The alteration of the British LNU's objectives did not create immediate interest in forming a Welsh section for its work. At the beginning of the inter-war period, David Davies did not express any desire to form a Welsh LNU. He continued his work on the Executive Committee and on various sub-committees, including the press and literature, organisational and overseas sub-committees.⁸⁵ Moreover, David Davies continued to provide financial assistance that was crucial to the survival of the British movement. In May 1919, Gilbert Murray expressed gratitude for the financial support of David Davies, noting that the union had been dependent on his generosity.⁸⁶ Without the resources of David Davies, the British LNU would have struggled to survive. By 1920, he had donated approximately £14,737 17s. 4d. to the British LNU.⁸⁷ The money was used to produce pamphlets, arrange publicity events and, more importantly, reduce the LNU's deficit it had incurred since its formation. It also funded sporadic initiatives run by the British LNU. In 1920, the production of an anti-war film, *Auction of Souls*, incurred a cost of £1251. 17s. 4d that David Davies covered in its entirety.⁸⁸

Wales' financial backing to the British LNU was not only the contributions from David Davies. David Davies's sisters, Margaret and Gwendoline, donated £2500 towards the British LNU.⁸⁹ Moreover, Lady Rhondda (Margaret Haig Thomas) provided a cash donation of £1000.⁹⁰ Charles McLaren, landowner, industrialist and liberal, who held the title Lord Aberconway in the County of Denbigh, provided a further £100.⁹¹ While money sent from Wales to the British LNU was predominantly

⁸⁴ LSE, LNU/1/1, Report of the Special Committee on Reorganisation of the General Council, 24 July 1919.

⁸⁵ LSE, LNU/2/2, Sub-Committee Registers, 21 November 1918.

⁸⁶ LSE, LNU/1/1, Meeting of the General Council of the British LNU, 21 May 1919.

⁸⁷ LSE, LNU/7/1, British LNU Annual Report, 1920.

⁸⁸ LSE, LNU/2/2, Minutes of the British LNU Executive Committee, 30 March 1920.

⁸⁹ LSE, LNU/7/1, British LNU Annual Report, 1920, p, 45.

⁹⁰ LSE, LNU/2/2, Minutes of the British LNU Executive Committee, 24 November 1919.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

from wealthy individuals, there were also widespread community donations. In February 1920, a British LNU promotion in Cardiff raised £2324 19s. 1d.⁹² Subsequently, during the early years, wealthy individuals who had the resources to form a Welsh LNU invested in the British LNU. This signalled that there was a liberal support base who were investing money. It also challenges the narrative of David Davies being the sole funder. While his donations were significant, they were not the only source of income from Wales.

Aside from wealthy individuals, the British LNU amassed support from branches in Wales. Local branches emerged across Wales following the creation of the British LNU. They shaped public opinion in favour of the League. By July 1919, 21 of the 83 British LNU branches were in Wales.⁹³ These were in a range of locations, such as Swansea (Glamorgan), Aberystwyth (Cardiganshire), Mountain Ash (Glamorgan), Llangollen (Denbighshire) and Llanberis (Caernarvonshire). To a lesser extent, branches affiliated with the British LNU emerged in other parts of Britain. There were three branches in Scotland and two in Ireland.⁹⁴ The higher proportion of branches located in Wales was due to its wartime interaction with League groups, namely the LFNA. As previously discussed, the movement was imported into Wales by David Davies. While wartime membership of the LFNA was limited, it established roots for Welsh support. Therefore, once the LNU emerged, less work was needed to arouse further interest. During the war, there was little involvement in Scotland and Ireland. Moreover, from 1919 many in Ireland were concerned with the Irish War of Independence. The higher number in Wales compared to other parts indicated a unique 'Welsh' response beginning to emerge.

The establishment of the League and growing interest in a Welsh organisation

In January 1920, upon the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles, the League was formally established. Speaking at the first meeting of the League in Paris, Léon Bourgeois, President of the League's Council, expressed how:

⁹² LSE, LNU/7/1, British LNU Annual Report, 1920, p. 45.

⁹³ Figures taken from: from: LSE, LNU 1/1 Report of Special Committee on Reorganisation to meeting of the General Council, 24 July 1919.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

The 16 January 1920 will go down in history as the date of the birth of the new world. The decision to be taken today will be in the name of all the States which adhere to the Covenant. It will be the first decree of all the free nations leaguering themselves together for the first time in the world to substitute right for might.⁹⁵

The creation of the League marked a new period for the League and provided a 'radical departure from past international practice'.⁹⁶ The formation was a sign that member nations were committed to working in line with its Covenant. It caused a fresh wave of enthusiasm from League supporters around the world as statements had established a League to preserve peace.

The international situation inspired hopes for the creation of a Welsh organisation. The work conducted in Wales, under the jurisdiction of the British LNU, had expanded significantly and developed its own distinctive character. Individuals sympathetic to creating a Welsh organisation held important positions in the British LNU. From its creation in 1918 to early 1920, Major Wynn Powell Wheldon, a former soldier and the registrar of the University of Wales Bangor, held the British LNU position of organiser for Wales.⁹⁷ In this role, Wheldon promoted the League by organising public meetings and communicating with individuals, such as church ministers and educationalists. These types of individuals were deemed important to target because they were considered to have the ability to influence large numbers in favour of the League. Wheldon wanted to establish a Welsh presence at the London headquarters; he regularly attended meetings throughout 1920. However, these tended to be in the capacity of an observer rather than someone openly engaged in the discussion of British LNU policy.⁹⁸ In this role,

⁹⁵ *The Times*, Saturday 17 January 1920, p. 9.

⁹⁶ Zara Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History 1919-1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 40.

⁹⁷ For a biography of Wynn Powell Wheldon see: John Gwynn Williams, *Sir Wynn Powell Wheldon (1879-1961), lawyer, soldier, administrator* (2001), <[https://biography.wales/article/s2-WHEL-POW-1879?query=wynn%20powell&searchType=nameSearch&lang\[\]=en&sort=sort_name&order=asc&rows=12&page=1](https://biography.wales/article/s2-WHEL-POW-1879?query=wynn%20powell&searchType=nameSearch&lang[]=en&sort=sort_name&order=asc&rows=12&page=1)> [accessed 29 January 2020]. A brief overview of his experience during the Great War can be found in: *The Welsh Outlook*, February 1918 and John Richards, 'Wynn Wheldon', in *Wales on the Western Front*, ed. by John Richards, 2nd edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. 178-183.

⁹⁸ LSE, LNU/1/1, Meeting of the General Council of the British LNU, 5 February 1920.

Powell voiced support for forming a separate Welsh organisation. In March 1919, when speaking at a monthly meeting of a church group in Aberavon, he expressed his desires for Wales to have a 'separate society, so the voice of Wales could be heard in the counsels of nations'.⁹⁹ Furthermore, Lewis David Jones, former LFNA organiser for Wales, continued to promote the League in Wales by speaking at public events and aiding Wheldon.

An encouraging sign was the continuation of support from the Welsh public. By early 1920, the number of branches had grown to 51, with a total of 1,092 members.¹⁰⁰ However, many of these branches were considered by Welsh LNU advocates in the British LNU to have a 'shadowy existence' as they had a lower-than-anticipated membership base.¹⁰¹ While support had grown in Wales for the British LNU and, more broadly, principles of the League, a great deal of work remained to sustain levels of participation. Up to this point, a Welsh League organisation had grown as part of the British LNU. Yet creating an individual Welsh organisation was still in its infancy.

Consequently, the physical creation of the League inspired David Davies to rekindle his desire to form an organisation of the League in Wales. This was supported by Alderman Morgan Thomas, the newly appointed British LNU organiser for Wales and Mayor of Cardiff between 1912 and 1913, and Major Wheldon, who felt there was satisfactory interest to begin forming a Welsh organisation.¹⁰² David Davies looked to amalgamate interest by organising a conference at Llandrindod Wells in May 1920. The location was symbolic as past discussions of forming Welsh organisations had occurred in Llandrindod Wells, such as the Welsh School of Social Service and conferences on home rule in 1918. The meeting at Llandrindod Wells signalled the beginning of the formal process of forming the Welsh LNU. It was the first sign of a Welsh response to the new international system. In advance of the conference, a letter of invitation was circulated to those already familiar with the League, such as all of the MPs in Wales and branches of the British LNU based in

⁹⁹ *Herald of Wales and Monmouthshire Recorder*, 8 March 1919, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/1, Memorandum for delegates attending the Conference at Llandrindod Wells, 25 May 1920.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/1, Letter to David Davies from Major Wynn Wheldon, 2 March 1920.

Wales.¹⁰³ The invitation also welcomed new groups who had not traditionally given support but whose interests potentially overlapped with the policies of the League, for example, trade unions and ex-soldiers organisations.¹⁰⁴

David Davies used his influence to gain approval from the British LNU to create an independent organisation in Wales. The British LNU was assured by the fact that David Davies had not dominantly asserted his idea for a Welsh organisation at meetings of the British headquarters.¹⁰⁵ The British LNU covered part of the expenses incurred by the conference.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, the scale of the money he had contributed to the British LNU indicated that the decision to form a Welsh organisation had sufficient backing. As historian Sakiko Kaiga argued, David Davies's passion for peace meant he poured vast amounts of money into League activities during the Great War and interwar period.¹⁰⁷ The British LNU did not regard all attempts to gain independence positively. Until 1920, the work in Scotland was viewed as 'ill-defined', and steps had to be taken to form a closer cooperation between the Council for Scotland and the British LNU.¹⁰⁸ This revealed that David Davies used his money as a philanthropist to achieve his objectives, in this case, creating the Welsh LNU.

Influential individuals within the British LNU openly endorsed the conference. It gave a discussion of a Welsh organisation clear authority and helped raise Wales's profile internationally. Robert Cecil wrote a joint invitation with David Davies, expressing how:

Many branches of the Union have been formed in Wales. We feel, however, that this is a matter on which Wales will wish to give a lead, and by developing the work in her own way among her own people shew an

¹⁰³ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/1, Open letter circulated prior to the 1920 conference, 23 March 1920.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Extensive research had been conducted on the British LNU Executive Committee files and no evidence can be found of David Davies discussing the split of the Welsh organisation.

¹⁰⁶ LSE, LNU 2/2, Minutes of the British LNU Executive Committee, April 1920.

¹⁰⁷ Kaiga, p. 134.

¹⁰⁸ LSE, LNU/7/1, British LNU Annual Report, 1920, p. 23.

example to be followed throughout the world... we should very much value your presence and the benefit of your advice.¹⁰⁹

Robert Cecil wrote to the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, requesting him to attend the conference.¹¹⁰ Given the sore relations between David Davies and Lloyd George, Cecil had more chance of securing his attendance. However, Lloyd George did not attend the Welsh conference. A further sign of the friction with David Davies was the distance he kept from the Welsh organisation while being attached to the British LNU as an honorary figure. The assistance gained from Cecil showed how the British LNU accepted the idea of Wales establishing its own movement.

The Llandrindod Wells conference brought together various groups from different parts of Wales. It demonstrated that a Welsh organisation had a widespread national interest. Over 200 delegates, representing 80 public authorities from around Wales, attended the conference.¹¹¹ Interest had shifted considerably since 1918. The creation of the League gave individuals clarity that investing time and resources would bear fruit. An additional factor was that influential liberals, following unsuccessful home rule conferences in 1918 and 1919, dropped their curiosity about home rule and turned their attention to forming the Welsh LNU. Several resolutions were passed by individuals that illustrated that creating a Welsh LNU was beyond the sole view of David Davies. John Owen, the Lord Bishop of St Davids, Sir Francis Edwards, Baron of Knighton and Liberal MP for Radnor over three spells between 1892 and 1918, and J. H Thomas backed a motion to form a Welsh National Council to secure the 'firm alliance of the people of Wales to the Covenant of the League'.¹¹² Furthermore, Sydney Robinson, William Brace, Labour MP for Abertillery, and James Taylor, Lord Mayor of Cardiff, adopted a

¹⁰⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/1, Letter by Robert Cecil and David Davies circulated prior to the conference, April 1920.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ *Brecon and Radnor Express*, 3 June 1920.

¹¹² NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/1, Notes on the Conference held at Llandrindod Wells, May 1920; more information on Sir Francis Edwards can be found on the following source: Griffith Milwyn Griffiths, *Sir Francis Edwards (1852-1927) baronet and M.P.* (1959), <[https://biography.wales/article/s-EDWA-FRA-1852?query=Francis%20Edwards&sex\[\]=male&lang\[\]=en&sort=sort_name&order=desc&rows=48&page=9](https://biography.wales/article/s-EDWA-FRA-1852?query=Francis%20Edwards&sex[]=male&lang[]=en&sort=sort_name&order=desc&rows=48&page=9)> [accessed 20 April 2020].

resolution for branches to be established in every county of Wales.¹¹³ The conference included a public meeting and a musical recital (Figure 1.2). The events at Llandrindod Wells showed a collective response from several individuals, some of whom had been advocates of the liberal agenda for home rule. Therefore, these individuals were now pursuing a different type of Welsh organisation.

The conference also revealed that creating a Welsh organisation would give substance to the development of Wales as a country. David Davies noted that people needed to 'make better use of nationality as a unifying principle, not only in the Eisteddfod week, but all year'.¹¹⁴ He looked to use the Welsh LNU to bridge this gap. Sydney Robinson hoped the conference would create the 'greatest Welsh movement of our time'.¹¹⁵ J. H. Thomas noted that the Welsh population had played its part in the war, but they needed to help peace.¹¹⁶ By welding these ideas together, Thomas implied it was a patriotic duty to support the Welsh LNU. Ultimately, these views indicated that some influential figures in Welsh society were using the League to develop Wales.

The conference resulted in an Executive Committee being appointed to provisionally act on matters of a Welsh organisation. Like its British counterpart, the Welsh Executive Committee was largely constructed of middle-class liberal supporters. It was formed of individuals who had no experience working on the British Executive Committee. The role of the Executive Committee, like the British organisation, was to oversee the implementation of policies and make key decisions in the organisations' principles and visions. In the initial stages, the role of the Executive Committee was to discuss matters of planning work in Wales. However, due to the lack of guidance from chief figures, they met sporadically, and their work lacked a clear direction. As a result, a few key decisions were made by the Executive

¹¹³ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/1, Notes on the Conference held at Llandrindod Wells, May 1920; William Brace (1865-1947) was Liberal-Labour MP for South Glamorganshire between 1906 and 1918, President of the South Wales Miners Federation between 1912 and 1915, and a trade unionist. For more insight see: John Williams, William Brace (2004), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47328>>[accessed 20 April 2020]. James Taylor (1860-1935), was Lord Mayor of Cardiff between 1912 and 1913, a brief biography can be found: Llantrisant Town Trust, James Taylor (2016), <<https://www.llantrisant.net/index.php/freemen/notable-freemen/125-freeman/notable-freemen/485-1574-james-taylor>>[accessed 20 April 2020].

¹¹⁴ *Brecon and Radnor Express*, 3 June 1920.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Committee that helped the creation of a separate organisation.

Despite the first steps being taken to form a separate organisation, an abundance of central questions remained. There was no clear plan for the financial sustainability of the Welsh LNU. Immense revenue was required to form a successful movement. In the early years, there was no individual or sub-committee in charge of regulating finances. The Welsh LNU largely depended on the generosity of David Davies, the most notable investment being £755 in 1921.¹¹⁷ There were no other financial backers for a separate Welsh organisation during this stage. However, the money provided by Davies was a drop in the ocean compared to the amount required to form a fully operational organisation to cover administrative costs and salaries.

Despite a Welsh-based Executive Committee promoting the League in Wales, there was a degree of uncertainty existing over how to gain membership. An objective set at the conference at Llandrindod Wells was to 'secure a large membership and establish a branch in every town and village in Wales'.¹¹⁸ However, this was rather ambitious. There was no action plan implemented to achieve this goal. One opinion was for branch organisation to be tackled in a similar manner to in England.¹¹⁹ The number of branches grew because of the conference. One nonconformist minister was inspired, so he decided to form a branch in his chapel.¹²⁰ The Rev D. C. Davies, a Welsh Baptist minister from Blaengarw, a village north of Bridgend in Glamorgan, had now acquired the role of regional organiser for Wales, but it was under the jurisdiction of the British body.¹²¹ There was no clear distinction between the British and Welsh branches. It lacked a constitution to make the extent of its differentiation known. Branches in Wales officially existed under the British LNU. Whether these branches defined themselves as Welsh or British was a matter of preference.

¹¹⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, April 1921.

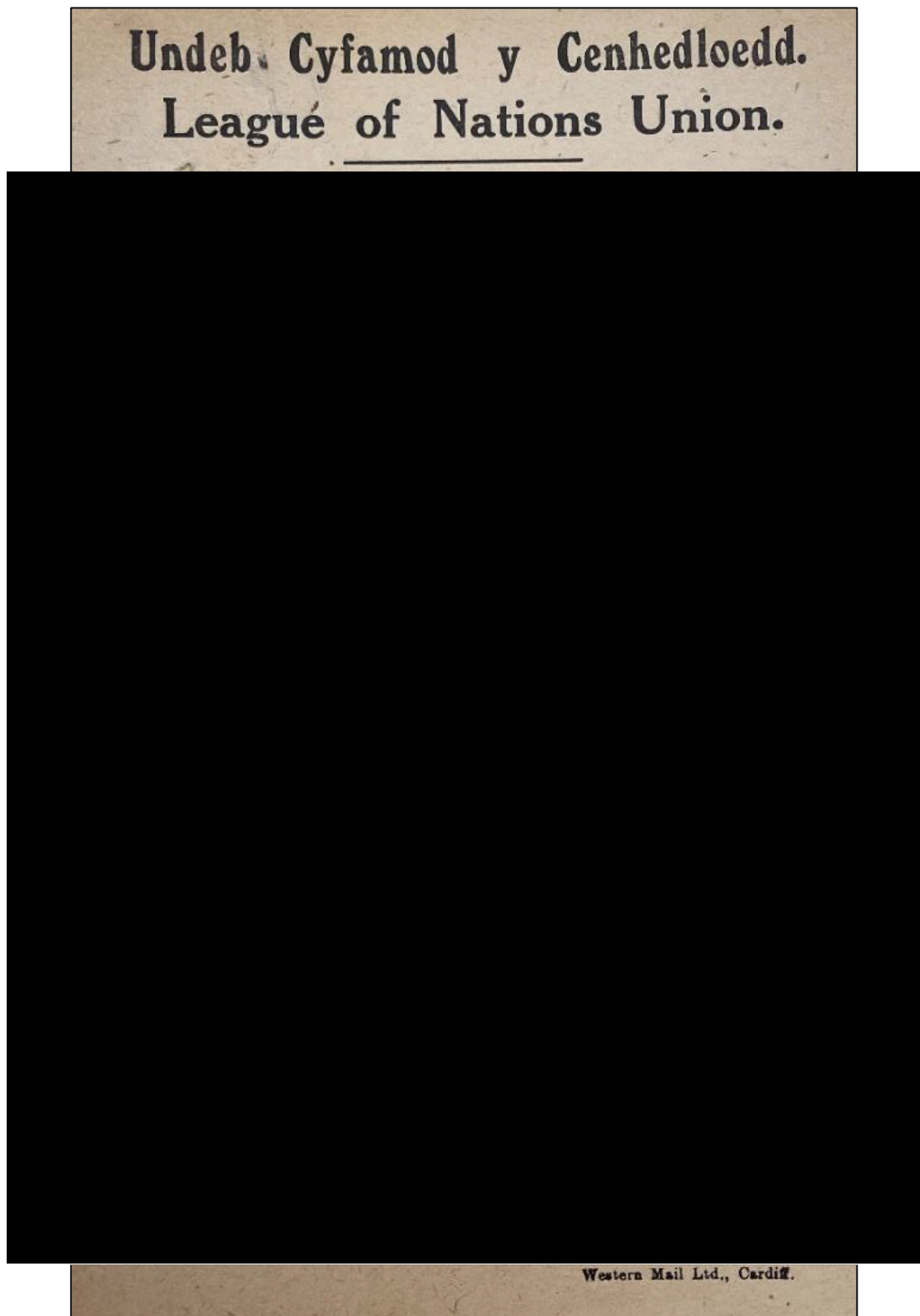
¹¹⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/1, Memorandum for delegates attending the Conference at Llandrindod Wells, 25 May 1920.

¹¹⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/3, Letter to David Davies from Gwilym Davies, 8 January 1921.

¹²⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/3, Letter to David Davies from Thomas Jeremy, 30 June 1920.

¹²¹ LSE, LNU/1/1, Meeting of the General Council of the British LNU, 2 June 1921. For a brief description of the life of D. C. Davies, see: *Western Mail*, 26 February 1945, p. 3.

Figure 1.2: An advertisement poster for a meeting held as part of the conference in Llandrindod Wells, May 1920.¹²²



¹²² NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/1, photograph of an advertisement poster for a meeting held as part of the conference at Llandrindod Wells, 1920.

Forming a Welsh organisation

At the beginning of 1922, there had been little success with the attempts to form a Welsh LNU. The interest inspired by the 1920 conference did not result in the immediate creation of a separate organisation. The British LNU was concerned by the limited support offered to the Welsh LNU, fearing an independent organisation could not be sustained in Wales. In January 1922, J.C. Maxwell Garnett, General Secretary of the British LNU, questioned whether Wales should continue to establish its own movement given that the number of new branches forming was lower than other parts of Britain, especially England.¹²³ The decline indicated that there needed to be more clarity with the work of the League in Wales.

There was also concern surrounding the relationship between the British and Welsh organisation. The British LNU believed dividing the union was not the best policy. The Welsh LNU's financial committee felt that the connection between the two had not been 'sufficiently defined'.¹²⁴ In April 1922, Maxwell Garnett informed Gwilym Davies that the British LNU did not wish to interfere with the actions of the Welsh organisation.¹²⁵ Largely, this was due to the growing visibility of the Welsh LNU in society. However, Maxwell Garnett was concerned that the Welsh LNU would sever ties with its British counterpart, something he deemed would result in 'all sorts of evil results and lose the increased influence at Westminster for the LNU's cause'.¹²⁶ As a result, a resolution was passed that allowed Wales to act independently, but it had to adhere to the British LNU's main constitution as the central aims and objectives of promoting the League were considered to be similar.¹²⁷

Conversely, those sympathetic to the creation of a Welsh organisation felt it was heading in the right direction. David Davies acquired the role of chairperson and spearheaded the attempts to form a separate organisation by acquiring the role of Chairman of the Welsh National Council. However, these attempts were largely fixated on using his personal wealth. In 1922, David Davies provided an endowment

¹²³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 31 January 1922.

¹²⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, 24 February 1922.

¹²⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/61, Letter to Gwilym Davies from J.C. Maxwell Garnett, 4 April 1922.

¹²⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/61, Letter to Gwilym Davies from J. C. Maxwell Garnett, 7 April 1922.

¹²⁷ LSE, LNU/1/1, Meeting of General Council of the British LNU, 25 May 1922.

of £1500 to be used as a nucleus for forming a separate organisation.¹²⁸ Despite the investment falling short of guaranteeing long-term financial success, it marked the emergence of a permanent organisation.¹²⁹ The short-term injection of revenue was matched by long-term planning of Davies to enlist trustees to the organisation. David Davies utilised personal contacts, in respect of Lord Colwyn, The Earl of Plymouth, Sir Robert J. Thomas and Sir Evan D. Jones, to act as trustees.¹³⁰ Trustees were crucial to the movement's success as they safeguarded finances to ensure the LNU ran sustainably. They also had general control of the organisation and could take important decisions on its behalf. The appointment of trustees signalled that the Welsh LNU had long-term planning at the forefront of its policy.

Yet, the contribution of David Davies started to be questioned. In February 1922, the Welsh LNU was described as 'at risk of being seen as his personal movement'.¹³¹ The movement diversified by having several people join the Welsh LNU in newly created positions that helped to guide its policy. David Davies enlisted the Baptist minister Rev. Gwilym Davies to act as the Welsh LNU's honorary director. Gwilym Davies had previously worked with David Davies in establishing Welsh organisations with respect to the Welsh School of Social Service in 1911. Gwilym Davies shared views with David Davies, particularly on matters of home rule. In 1918, Gwilym Davies argued that Wales should promote itself in its social, civic and national life to become a model country to the world.¹³² His appointment gave the Welsh LNU a leader who believed wholeheartedly in the purpose of the League. Given his past work, he had a wealth of contacts that helped the organisation grow. He stood down from his religious responsibilities to focus on the work of the League but was urged to maintain connections with the Welsh School of Social Service.¹³³ The appointment of Gwilym Davies moved focus away from David Davies. The appointment marked the start of a period where the Welsh LNU was less reliant on guidance from David Davies.

¹²⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, 24 February 1922.

¹²⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 19 April 1922.

¹³⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 31 January 1922.

¹³¹ NLW, GB 0210, LDDNAM, B1/4, Letter to David Davies from Harri Williams, 24 February 1922.

¹³² *The Welsh Outlook*, February 1918.

¹³³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 31 January 1922.

The influx of new faces was matched by the dismissal of individuals from roles. As previously explained, before 1922, the Rev. D. C. Davies was the British LNU's organiser for Wales. The position was managed under the British LNU; however, David Davies oversaw the role. The creation of a separate organisation meant that its management transferred from the British LNU to the Welsh LNU. The Executive Committee felt the Welsh LNU had made insufficient progress under D. C. Davies' leadership.¹³⁴ Subsequently, he was asked to stand down immediately due to the 'unsatisfactory results obtained during his tenure'.¹³⁵ While credited for the work conducted, the progress was viewed as unsatisfactory under the new direction of a Welsh-based organisation. However, following the dismissal of Rev D. C. Davies, no replacement was immediately appointed. The Welsh LNU wanted to appoint the correct individual to fix past issues incurred with the role. In July 1922, Captain Frederick Evans, an educationalist, acquired the role of organiser and travelling secretary.¹³⁶ This resulted in David Davies having less leverage over the functions of the Welsh LNU.

Moreover, the Welsh LNU began to expand its organisational structure by establishing a Finance Committee. Prior to 1922, the movement did not have anyone overseeing its expenditure. Despite this, money was being spent on various avenues of its work, such as funding educational resources.¹³⁷ The committee was composed of several influential people; most prominent was Harry Cocks, a Justice of the Peace and member of the Congregational Unionists in Wales, J. Herbert Cory, a Welsh Conservative politician and ship-owner and E. Hall Williams, a secretary of the Welsh Town Planning and Housing Trust. They used their business experience to regulate finances and make recommendations to the Executive Committee.¹³⁸ While they were not forced to become members of the Welsh LNU, they were on the Executive Committee.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/61, Letter to J.C. Maxwell Garnett from Gwilym Davies, 24 July 1922. The position came with a salary of £300 and a personal assistant, see: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, 4 October 1922.

¹³⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 31 January 1922.

¹³⁸ *Wales and World Peace: A Summary of the Report of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union to Whitsuntide, 1923* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1923), p. 4.

Subsequently, by controlling funds, the Finance Committee influenced the local and national work of the Welsh LNU during the early years. The Executive Committee wanted to launch a recruitment drive that aimed to recruit 100,000 members by Armistice Day 1922.¹³⁹ However, the Finance Committee expressed concern given the dire state of finances of the Welsh LNU and, more generally, Wales. The early 1920s were marked by strikes and stoppages that affected key industries in Wales, such as coal and steel. The Great War boosted the Welsh economy but was unsustainable during the post-war slump. Many industries suffered overcapacity as demand did not meet pre-war and wartime levels.¹⁴⁰ Given the dominance of these industries and lack of economic diversity, when these industries suffered, it had a knock-on effect on the rest of society. As a compromise, the Finance Committee let the membership campaign go ahead, but as a small publicity campaign carried out by branches working in their local communities rather than nationwide.¹⁴¹ The decision to improve financial management indicated increased self-discipline in managing a newly formed organisation.

Despite the growth in organisational structure, David Davies continued to provide money to assist with the Welsh LNU's development. In 1922, he gifted £1500 that allowed the Welsh LNU to establish a permanent headquarters at 6 Cathedral Road in the centre of Cardiff. David Davies provided additional financial help when he purchased office furniture and equipment.¹⁴² This made the organisation more visible in Welsh society as the headquarters gave the League in Wales a permanent base. It housed an office for Gwilym Davies and the organiser and general secretary of the Union. Under the British LNU, there had been no centralised base in Wales, thus affecting the durability and success of the organisation. The new headquarters provided a base so the Welsh LNU could be recognised by people in Wales, Britain and the world. However, despite its significance, it appeared to be a short-term solution. By 1923, the Welsh LNU had outgrown its headquarters as its staff size had grown, but financial limitations

¹³⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 31 January 1931.

¹⁴⁰ Leon Goberman, *From Depression to Devolution: Economy and Government in Wales, 1934-2006* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), p. 12.

¹⁴¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, 24 February 1922.

¹⁴² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, June 1922.

meant the Welsh LNU could not relocate.¹⁴³

Establishing a headquarters in Cardiff allowed the Welsh LNU to be recognised as a national organisation and as part of the growing influence of Cardiff in modern Wales. By the late nineteenth century, Cardiff was viewed as the embryonic metropolis of modern Wales.¹⁴⁴ The creation of the University College (1899), Town Hall (1907) and National Museum (1907) all enhanced Cardiff's reputation of being Wales's only city after gaining city status in 1905.¹⁴⁵ The new Town Hall was made a national civic symbol, its dome was capped by a Welsh dragon, and it possessed a marble hall filled with 'heroes' of Welsh history.¹⁴⁶ Despite a growing resentment of many Welsh institutions being based in Cardiff, the years from 1918 to 1939 bore witness to its construction as an unofficial national capital. Establishing a Welsh Headquarters in Cardiff gave the perception that it was a national organisation and showed the League was being taken seriously in Wales. It indicated that it wanted to align itself with the other national institutions housed in Cardiff. The Welsh LNU sought to create the perception that it was progressive, modern and part of national identity. This was far more than any other peace movements in interwar Wales, such as Quaker groups, who often remained in rural parts and were separate from the national picture.

Despite the symbolism of the Cardiff headquarters to ingrain itself in the emerging national consciousness, the decision by the Welsh LNU to form a base appeared to be about its symbolism. The Welsh movement extended far beyond the confines of Cardiff and cannot be perceived as 'Cardiff-centric'. The Executive Committee and other sub-committees of the Welsh LNU met in mid-Wales, on the Welsh-English border, or at times, in London. Moreover, holding the annual conference at a different location each year symbolised that the Welsh LNU was not trying to concentrate everything in their Cardiff headquarters. The decision to take the LNU on the road indicated it was a Welsh movement for people from all parts of

¹⁴³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, September 1923.

¹⁴⁴ Ian Morley, 'Representing a City and Nation: Wales's Matchless Civic Centre', *Welsh History Review*, 24.3 (2009), 56-81.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁴⁶ Neil Evans, 'The Welsh Victorian City: the Middle Class and Civic and National Consciousness in Cardiff, 1850-1914', *Welsh History Review*, 12 (1984), 350-387 (p. 382).

Wales and different economic, political and social backgrounds.

Despite the growing public image of the Welsh LNU, it experienced problems with branches established as part of the British LNU. The formation of the Welsh LNU meant these branches found themselves as part of the new organisation. Some dissenting voices had reservations about the creation of the new movement. They were the subject of legislative and financial changes; this caused some disapproval and resistance from people who did not buy into the national vision. Existing branches felt it was unrealistic to run their local branch while only maintaining 25 percent of their proceeds, with the remaining 75 percent being sent to the Welsh LNU.¹⁴⁷ However, such policies had been used by the British LNU when they managed branches in Wales.¹⁴⁸ This suggested that reservations were about the Welsh movement compared to the financial arrangements.

The Welsh LNU as an independent organisation

In 1923, the Welsh LNU Executive Committee presented David Davies with a specially designed golden version of the LNU 'Crusaders' Cross' as a token of appreciation for his involvement in creating the Welsh LNU.¹⁴⁹ However, full autonomy was not formally declared until a meeting of branch representatives was held at Aberystwyth in May 1923.¹⁵⁰ The constitutional amendments and other legislative developments were now fully operational, meaning the Welsh LNU controlled League activities in Wales. The Welsh LNU comprised several areas that brought together various spheres of support in Wales. It was constructed of representatives of branches, Officers of the Council (the President, Vice-President, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Honorary Treasures and others appointed at the Council's discretion) and co-opted members.¹⁵¹ The Welsh LNU continued to expand its operational hierarchy. It copied the British LNU's structure by creating the role of president to be at the top of the hierarchy. Presidents were elected at the annual conference. To keep the Welsh LNU having ideas injected from different

¹⁴⁷ LSE, LNU, Webster/5/6, Honorary Director's Report and Memorandum for April-June 1922.

¹⁴⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, 24 February 1922.

¹⁴⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 30 January 1923.

¹⁵⁰ *Wales and World Peace 1924* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1924), p. 3.

¹⁵¹ LSE, LNU 8/17, Objects and Rules of the Welsh LNU, June 1934.

figures, the role of president was only held for one year. The president was not eligible for re-election until three years after completing their tenure.¹⁵² After their tenure as president ended, they automatically acquired the role of vice-President. Individuals who acquired the role of president, therefore, had a lifelong association with the League. The desire of David Davies to take a backseat now that the Welsh LNU had been established was impractical. The Executive Committee selected him to be the first President of the Welsh LNU.¹⁵³

Despite the nature of the title indicating a powerful position, the role of president was often an honorary position. They had little involvement in the day-to-day running of the movement. Aside from their official responsibilities of attending the annual conference and speaking at a few public events yearly, the rest of their involvement was at their discretion. Most presidents held the position due to their status and prominence in Welsh society. The inclusive nature of the Welsh LNU was symbolised by the diverse range of people who acquired the role of president. These included James Herbert Cory, previously mentioned as a member of the Finance Committee, the congregational minister and poet Reverend Howell Elvet Lewis, and Lord-Lieutenant of Flintshire, Henry Gladstone. Having an organisation endorsed by respected individuals was vital, hence the open-ended nature of the role they were required to perform.

Some individuals occasionally acquired the role of president due to their merit and commitment to the Welsh LNU. Annie Hughes Griffiths, the wife of a Welsh Baptist minister, held the position for the 1925-1926 period. Her leadership role was crucial in the 1924 'Petition of the Women of Wales to the Women of America initiative, which will be discussed in chapter three. Annie Hughes Griffiths was the first and only female President of the movement. Along with Professor Charles Webster, Chair of International Politics at the University of Wales Aberystwyth between 1922 and 1932, she attended the Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva in 1925.¹⁵⁴

A further indication of the Welsh LNU expanding its organisational

¹⁵² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/15, Information on the Election of Officers, March 1923.

¹⁵³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 14 March 1923.

¹⁵⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A3/1, Honorary Director's Report for July – October 1925.

framework was the creation of regional organisers. Initially, between 1922 and 1925, the organiser and travelling secretary, based at headquarters, were responsible for assisting local branches. As the movement expanded, the job of the organiser became difficult. Primarily, these issues were due to geography, which was mixed with the poor transport infrastructure of Wales, making it hard to visit a multitude of locations. In 1923, it was noted that the Welsh LNU had failed to make several local branches active.¹⁵⁵ These sections did not engage in the branch programme set out by the Welsh LNU, which included communicating with headquarters, holding public meetings and recruiting members.¹⁵⁶ A suggestion was made, but never implemented, to employ organisers for north Wales, mid-Wales and Cardiganshire, west Wales and south-east Wales.¹⁵⁷ The ambiguity of this proposal indicated a lack of efficient working relations between headquarters and local branches. As a result, the Executive Committee decided to appoint two regional organisers. In 1925, E.H. Jones of Bangor was appointed as the first organiser for north Wales and D. C. Davies, former regional organiser for Wales, was appointed the first organiser for south Wales. A salary of £300 per annum and travel expenses symbolised the importance of the role.¹⁵⁸ The re-hiring of D. C. Davies signalled that the Welsh LNU held a small network of trusted individuals to conduct important roles.

These organisers were integral to the success of the Welsh LNU. Unlike the President and members of the Executive Committee, they conducted a daily role in the running of the movement and were the main people on the ground who fed information back to the Welsh LNU headquarters. This is often related to the growth of branches and any difficulties encountered. The main responsibility of these regional organisers was to improve membership by visiting existing branches and assisting in forming new ones.¹⁵⁹ These regional organisers were the first port

¹⁵⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Memorandum on the future development of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union, 1923.

¹⁵⁶ *Suggestions for Branch Programmes* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union: Welsh National Council, 1930).

¹⁵⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Memorandum on the future development of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union, 1923.

¹⁵⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 7 April 1925.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

of call for local branches seeking to gain advice on membership or organising events. In 1925, D. C. Davies travelled 3057 miles, visiting ninety-eight different places in the seven counties of south Wales.¹⁶⁰ The precise conduct of their work was left to their discretion, given the range of local issues circulating in local areas.

Moreover, the Welsh LNU expanded its operational structure by permanently appointing a General Secretary. Prior to the establishment of the General Secretary, the role had either not been filled or abandoned during its tenure. In 1923, Frederick Evans stood down from the role of organiser.¹⁶¹ The predecessor, E.D. Jones, was only appointed temporarily from May until October 1923.¹⁶² Following this, there needed to be a Welsh organiser appointed by the Welsh LNU. Responsibility for its work had to be shared between Gwilym Davies, R. Lloyd Griffiths, the chief clerk and accountant at headquarters, and other staff members at headquarters.

In June 1924, the position of organiser was restructured to become that of General Secretary. David Samways occupied this role from 1924 until 1943. He played a proactive role in the success of the union. His main responsibilities included overseeing the running of the Cardiff headquarters, advising on policy to the Executive Committee and working with a range of people from across the organisation.¹⁶³ David Samways appeared to fit the mould of other individuals who had been involved in the organisation. He left his role as the Master of Port Talbot County School to become General Secretary.¹⁶⁴ Similar to David Davies, he had served in the war. Samways was described as a 'conscious and hardworking officer who has shown greater ability in the position of a Regimental Staff Officer'.¹⁶⁵ Samways conducted administrative responsibilities, advised policy and oversaw the

¹⁶⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A3/1, Honorary Director's Report for July to October 1925.

¹⁶¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 22 May 1923.

¹⁶² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 17 October 1923.

¹⁶³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 10 June 1924.

¹⁶⁴ David Bernard Samways (1888-1945) was born in Llanarthney (Carmarthenshire). He was educated at Maesybont Council School, of which his father, Herbert Samways, was the schoolmaster. Before joining the Welsh LNU, he studied classics at University College Cardiff, and gained teaching experience at schools in Wales, Western-Super-Mare and three years at Murro Secondary School in Jamaica. During the war he served for three years in the 19th Welch Regiment. For a short biography of his life up to 1924, see: *Western Mail*, 12 June 1924, p. 8.

¹⁶⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B2/12, Character Reference for David Samways by Lieutenant Colonel D. Grant-Dalton, 14 June 1918.

daily running of Welsh headquarters.¹⁶⁶ The role meant that Samways engaged with all spheres of the organisation in Wales. Historian W. R. Davies considered Samways an essential figure behind the scenes while viewing Gwilym Davies as an esteemed figure.¹⁶⁷ Further reference will be given to Samways in subsequent chapters, thus showing his prominence.

Aside from its organisational structure, the Welsh LNU's growing influence resulted in the relocation of its headquarters. By the middle of 1923, the Welsh LNU had already outgrown its headquarters. In 1924, growing frustrated by the stretched resources of the headquarters, the decision was made to secure a bank loan to pay for new headquarters.¹⁶⁸ In September, the Welsh LNU moved from their office at 6 Cathedral Road to 10 Richmond Terrace. Like the establishment of the old headquarters, the move relied on wealthy individuals. In 1924, Herbert Cory provided £200 towards furnishing and decorating the new Cardiff headquarters.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, the Welsh LNU secured a separate investment that assisted its new headquarters. In 1925, Margaret and Gwendoline Davies donated an interest-free loan of £5000.¹⁷⁰ A condition of the investment was for the £2096 incurred in the establishment of headquarters to be written off.¹⁷¹ The new headquarters gave greater impetus to the work of the Welsh LNU. However, the donation by Margaret and Gwendoline Davies indicated that once established, the LNU was less dependent on financial donations made by David Davies.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the Welsh LNU was created due to League advocates in Wales wanting to achieve national differences. It has shown that the Welsh LNU was established due to the interest of key individuals, namely David Davies, who had the resources available to make their vision become a reality. It was driven by

¹⁶⁶ NLW, GB 02010 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of a meeting of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 10 June 1924.

¹⁶⁷ W.R. Davies, *The Temple of Peace & Health, 1938-1998: Its Impact of Wales and the World (Cardiff: Welsh Centre for International Affairs 1998)*, p. 12.

¹⁶⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, July 1924.

¹⁶⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/64, Letter to David Samways from Gwilym Davies, 1 July 1924.

¹⁷⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, 12 June 1925.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

the desire for Wales to play a unique role in the post-war international world. The Welsh cultural elite was largely interested in forming a Welsh LNU. Most were the same people who had been promoting a Welsh programme before the war with respect to creating Welsh institutions. Ultimately, the chapter has argued that the Welsh LNU sought to create the perception that it was progressive, modern and a symbol of Welsh identity. It wanted to be considered as an organisation that was promoting Welsh interests during the interwar period.

Furthermore, the chapter has illustrated that once established, the Welsh organisation moved away from its reliance on David Davies. Individuals with similar views and objects played an important role in developing the LNU in a Welsh capacity. The role of committees, such as the Executive and Finance committee, were crucial to guiding the Welsh LNU during its early years. Moreover, they bore the responsibility of coming up with solutions to the problem caused by the breakaway from the British LNU. The role of the president gave the organisation official standing and indicated that the Welsh LNU had a certain respect and prestige. Moreover, the work of individuals lower down the hierarchy was equally important. The role played by David Samways and regional organisers was crucial to bridging the gap between influential individuals and local branches at the grassroots level. Their daily involvement in the organisation signalled the League was more than a speculative idea, but a permanent force.

Exploring the establishment of the League has argued that there was far more to the three-stage process often described by historians. During the war, the idea was only shared by a small handful of individuals in Wales. It relied on David Davies to import the views of the LFNA to create widespread discussion. Following the armistice, work concerning the League in Wales continued to grow under the British LNU. Funding from key individuals and support from society was expressed to the British LNU, not a Welsh organisation. At this stage, discussion of the League in Wales focused on broader international debates rather than harnessing a specific sense of Welshness. Forming a Welsh organisation did not gain widespread appeal until after the formation of the League in January 1920. The League's creation inspired Welsh LNU supporters to plan their vision. The 1920 conference at Llandrindod Wells illustrated the beginning of the formal process that formed the

Welsh LNU.

Moreover, the relationship with the British LNU was critical to the formation and succession of the Welsh organisation. While supporters of a Welsh LNU may have been supporting the LNU as a national organisation of Wales, the British organisation were behind much of the Welsh LNU's early success in helping to make society aware of the League. The growth of branches under the jurisdiction of the British LNU showed supporters of the League were not discouraged from joining the organisation, despite its 'British origins'. The willingness of the British LNU to grant the Welsh movement authority, particularly after the failure of the situation in Scotland, showed there was mutual respect between the organisations. The endorsement of Robert Cecil, on behalf of the British LNU, indicated that the British felt forming a Welsh-based organisation would benefit the union's work. The British LNU could not ignore the demands of Welsh LNU advocates to form a separate organisation.

This chapter has largely focused on the creation of the Welsh LNU from an organisational perspective. The second chapter offers a detailed view of regional differences and branches. Focusing on branch activity and organisation will show the varying degree of support for branches in Wales and how the organisation was experienced around the country.

Chapter 2

'A people fitted for the task of international thinking' branch organisation in Wales c. 1918-1935

In 1921, Alfred Zimmern, Chair of International Politics at University College Wales Aberystwyth, addressed the Oxford University Cambrian Society at Jesus College, Oxford.¹ Zimmern, speaking on his 'impressions of Wales' as an English academic, remarked there was not one Wales, but three Wales that represented different traditions and were moving in different directions: a Welsh Wales, an industrial Wales and an upper-class English Wales.² Zimmern's observation indicated that interwar Wales included different groups with conflicting interests. While the statement did not relate specifically to the LNU, the different experiences of Welsh society implied there would be great difficulty securing collective support for a national organisation like the Welsh LNU. However, the contrasting experiences of Wales did not prevent communities from industrial, rural, and urban areas of Wales from engaging with a national movement supporting the League. The bulk of this support was through branches. In 1929, at the peak of support, the Welsh LNU's membership of adult and junior branches numbered 56,762 across 973 branches.³

This chapter investigates grassroots support for the League in interwar Wales by focusing on Welsh LNU branches. It measures the extent to which Welsh society interacted and engaged with the League. It reveals that support for branches was geographically widespread and numerically substantial in some local communities. As will be shown, membership of branches was greater in the western and north-western counties of Wales, namely Anglesey, Merionethshire and Cardiganshire. Furthermore, the chapter explores the composition of branch membership to illustrate that membership of the League extended beyond the

¹ Alfred Zimmern held the Chair of International Politics at University of Wales Aberystwyth between 1919 and 1921.

² Alfred Zimmern, *My Impression of Wales* (London: Mills and Boon, 1921), p. 29; Brian Roberts discussed the significance of the three Wales model in creating different perceptions of 'Welshness', see: Brian Roberts, 'Welsh Identity in a Former Mining Valley: Social Images and Imagined Communities', in *Nation, Identity and Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales*, ed. By Ralph Fevre and Andrew Thompson (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), pp. 111-128 (pp. 111-112).

³ Figures taken from: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (NLW), GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

leading circles by trickling down to people outside of the upper spheres of the Welsh LNU. While the League gained support from around Wales, its membership tended to include people who were from middle-class backgrounds. This was largely because the League's liberal ideologies appealed most to this group. These individuals were influential community figures, such as teachers and religious figures. Ultimately, the chapter notes that membership of the Welsh LNU was associated with the support of the Liberal Party.

In addition, the chapter explores branch activity to focus on how branches were structured, what membership entailed and the relationship between branches and the Welsh LNU. It traces the types of branch activity to explore what branches did on the ground to raise the profile of the Welsh LNU and the League. By exploring different experiences of branch activity, the chapter reveals that activity levels of branches were determined by certain events, such as armistice commemorations and Daffodil Days. Throughout, it presents the ambiguity of branches' activity, as some branches were proactive, others sporadic, and others merely existed on paper. Some branches conducted work independently, whilst others relied on outside intervention from the Welsh LNU. The chapter claims that, while branches sustained public interest in the affairs of the League, the level of engagement differed, and there was not a uniform experience of branch activity. As will be explored, a main factor influencing the success of branches was the proactiveness of its members to organise events. Ultimately, the success of the Welsh LNU's work varied from branch to branch and depended on the geographical, political variations, economic and social contexts of where branches were located.

This chapter primarily focuses on adult branches and Welsh LNU membership between 1918 and 1935. Junior branches existed for those below sixteen years of age. They were often attached to schools and relied on adults, namely teachers, to establish, supervise, and maintain them. A full investigation of these junior branches will feature in chapter four which studies education. Grassroots support after 1935 is discussed in the final chapter that studies the League in Wales between 1936 and 1939. Methodologically, the chapter uses a range of sources but relies mainly on branch records. These provide rich content but have been underused by historians. Largely, this is due to the records'

incomplete nature in archives. Branch records are deposited at various archives, span across different collections and are not complete collections. The incomplete nature of branch records means the chapter references a greater number of branches in the south compared to the north. The type of materials found in branch records included letters, minutes of branch meetings and reports of activities. These materials shed light on the rich and diverse ways that branches went about their work throughout Wales. Consequently, using branch records has allowed for a bottom-up research approach.

Historiography

Historians of the League have referred to branches but have not provided detailed and focused accounts. Donald Birn claimed that the LNU's political work was based on 'grassroots support' but failed to expand on the assertion.⁴ No attention was afforded to the structure of branches and the types of activities they were involved in. In contrast, Helen McCarthy has gone further by consulting branch records to explore the types of people who partook in branch work, especially women.⁵ However, in a like manner to Birn, McCarthy referenced the role of branches as a side point to broader arguments. Additionally, McCarthy provided information on the geographical location of branches, explaining that higher levels of participation were in London, the Midlands and the home counties of England.⁶ As her primary focus was England, few references were made to the role of Welsh branches. By investigating the League from a British perspective, Birn and McCarthy studied membership in the areas where it was most prominent and hinted at the types of activities organised by branches. However, they have not created localised accounts for the LNU's membership in Wales. By focusing on Welsh branches and taking a regional-specific approach, this chapter builds on the evidence provided by Birn and McCarthy to establish a focused exploration of how League branches operated.

Similarly to Birn and McCarthy, Welsh historians have produced generalised

⁴ Donald Birn, *The League of Nations Union 1918- 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 127-128.

⁵ Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism c. 1918-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

accounts when researching Welsh LNU branches that have neglected the everyday experiences of the League. Goronwy J. Jones acknowledged LNU branches in Wales but downplayed their relevance, a prime example being the assertion that branches conducted their work 'in a quiet and unobtrusive manner'.⁷ Such assumptions created the perception that branches merely existed and held no real impetus in Welsh communities. Goronwy J. Jones's research did not make use of branch records. Instead, there was a tendency to use reports produced by senior individuals, such as David Davies and Gwilym Davies, to explain branch activity. While useful in gaining initial knowledge, these reports are top-down and generalised, presenting an account that failed to consider the varying narratives in local areas. In a like manner, J. A. Thompson's study of the Peace Ballot in Wales recognised the 'small army of regular members of the LNU who served as enthusiastic organisers'.⁸ By placing branch activity at the forefront of research, this chapter shows what it meant to members and how it intersected into communities.

Secondly, investigating League branches in Wales contributes to assertions about interwar Welsh society. The period has traditionally been written as one of major economic decline and, therefore, become a dominant theme of literature on interwar Wales.⁹ The prevalence of this research focus has been noted by historians. Gwyn Alf Williams considered the investigation of the depression in Welsh history to have played the same role in defining research as the Great Famine in Irish history.¹⁰ Welsh historians have predominantly focused on south Wales, although a smaller body of research has explored industrial decline in north Wales.¹¹ Kenneth O. Morgan perceived the economic situation to have caused

⁷ Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace (From the Close of the Napoleonic Wars to the Outbreak of the Second World War)* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969), p. 112.

⁸ J. A. Thompson, 'The Peace Ballot of 1935: The Welsh Campaign', *Welsh History Review*, 11.3 (1983), 388-399.

⁹ Dennis Thomas, 'Economic Decline' in *Wales Between the Wars*, ed. by Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), pp. 13-51.

¹⁰ Gwyn A. Williams, *The Welsh in their History* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 178.

¹¹ For south Wales examples see: Stephanie Ward, "'Sit down to starve or stand up to live": Community, Protest and the Means Test in the Rhondda Valleys, 1931-1939', *Llafur*, 9 (2005); Gwenno Ffroncon, 'Documenting the Depression in South Wales: Today We Live and Eastern Valley', *Welsh History Review*, 22.1 (2004), 103-125; Steve Thompson, *Unemployment, Poverty and Health in Inter-War South Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006). An account of industry in north Wales can be found in: Alun John Richards, *Slate Quarrying in Wales* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 1995).

industrial south Wales to descend into a growing sense of hopelessness during the 1930s.¹² Consequently, the preoccupation of historians has often been on the economics of the period.

Yet, historians have increasingly moved away from focusing on the depression and have illustrated the regional variations of the interwar period. Recent studies of interwar Wales have been more cognisant of developments in leisure and popular culture.¹³ Other literature on Welsh communities included a myriad of topics, such as the impact of the Great War, the rise of Labour Party activism and the decline of support for the Liberal Party.¹⁴ However, while they have provided invaluable insight into the structure of Welsh communities, the Welsh LNU's community activism has been overlooked. Consequently, from studying branches, this chapter reveals that the League and the international world were features of Welsh society during the interwar period. For most people, their local branch was the main way they interacted with international affairs. Therefore, a study of the LNU in Wales contributes to the growing body of literature that's primary focus is not the economic turmoil or depression in interwar Welsh society.

Composition of branch membership

In December 1921, Alderman Morgan Thomas, the British LNU organiser for Wales, addressed a public meeting at Tredegar Town Hall (Monmouthshire) in which he informed attendees they should support the League as it had 'come to stay,

¹² Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 219.

¹³ Mari A. Williams, noted that some areas of Wales, such as Flintshire, benefitted from several industrial developments and private car ownership increased. See: Mari A. Williams, 'In the Wars': Wales 1914-1945', in *The People of Wales*, ed. by Gareth Elwyn Jones and Dai Smith (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1999), 176-206. Deian Hopkin researched the rise of popular culture, see: Deian Hopkin, 'Social Reaction to Economic Change' in *The People of Wales*, ed. by Gareth Elwyn Jones and Dai Smith (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1999), pp. 52-98. Daryl Leeworthy examined the rise of greyhound racing in south Wales to showcase that popular culture provided a break from experiences of hardship and created new jobs and opportunities for investment. Daryl Leeworthy, 'A Diversion from the New Leisure: Greyhound Racing, Working-Class Culture, and the Politics of Unemployment in Inter-war South Wales', *Sport in History*, 32.1 (2012), 53-73.

¹⁴ For the impact of the Great War in Wales see: Angela Gaffney, *Aftermath: Remembering the Great War in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998). Examples on political topics can be seen in: Chris Williams, *Democratic Rhondda: Politics and Society, 1885-1951* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996); Daryl Leeworthy, *Labour Country: Political Radicalism and Social Democracy in South Wales, 1931-1985* (Cardigan: Parthian, 2018); Cyril Parry, *The Radical Tradition in Welsh Politics: A Study of Liberal and Labour Politics in Gwynedd, 1900-1920* (Hull: University of Hull, 1970).

whatever the pessimists might say'.¹⁵ At the end of the meeting, the attendees proclaimed their support for the League and founded a local branch of the LNU.¹⁶ The formation of the Tredegar branch was not an anomaly. From the creation of the Welsh LNU, branches sprung up across Wales. By the end of 1922, there were 177 adult branches with 14,298 members.¹⁷ As mentioned in the previous chapter, before 1922, branches emerged in Wales as part of the British-based LFNA and LNU. The Welsh LNU perceived the work of branches to be the most important element of its work.¹⁸

Researching the structure of branch membership is not a straightforward process. As Helen McCarthy mentioned when researching the British LNU, biographical data on branch records are difficult to obtain.¹⁹ The Welsh LNU did not keep registers for its branches at its headquarters. It only recorded the membership figures that were reported by individual branches. This was different at branch level, where most branches kept registers of the names and addresses of their members, but the vast majority have not survived.²⁰ However, it is possible to gain insight into the individuals who ran and were members of branches by using branch records to research names. Moreover, in the Welsh LNU's annual yearbooks between 1923 and 1926, the location of branches was supplemented with the names and addresses of their chairperson and secretary.²¹ Therefore, it is possible to build a profile of branch members by using sources such as ancestry websites, newspapers and census records to cross-reference names. This helps to make distinctions about the type of people who constructed the membership basis of branches in Wales.

The Welsh LNU sought to create the perception that branches were inclusive and composed of all members of society. They wanted to gain all Welsh people's

¹⁵ *Merthyr Express*, 29 January 1921, p. 16.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Figures taken from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

¹⁸ The opinion was regularly stated in its yearbooks. For an example see: *Wales and the League of Nations 1927-1928* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1928), p. 4.

¹⁹ Helen McCarthy, *British People and the League of Nations*, p. 163.

²⁰ For the main collection of those that have survived, see: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/1 to B2/115.

²¹ *Pioneering for Peace: The Annual Report of the Welsh League of Nations Union 1926* (Cardiff: League of Nations Unions, Welsh National Council, 1926), pp. 26-57.

'firm allegiances' to the Covenant of the League.²² This was a similar objective to its British counterpart. In 1920, Robert Cecil described the LNU as a movement that covered the whole of the British Isles and embraced every class.²³ These statements encapsulated attempts to make branch membership encompass a range of backgrounds. However, an investigation of the names of branch members in Wales showed that branches were dominated by middle-class groups, which included teachers, religious groups and influential community figures. In 1930, *Headway*, the official newspaper of the British LNU, described 'clergy, teachers and women' as typically being groups who were 'favourable to the League'.²⁴ This also reflected the base of branch leadership in Wales. The composition of branch membership was predominately from the middle class of Welsh society. Membership from those in the working class of society, namely miners and others who worked in industrial occupations, was less prevalent. This was due to the League's liberal ideologies differing from socialist ones and the types of activities conducted by the Welsh LNU not appealing to the working class.

A range of community groups were involved in branches. Religious leaders comprised a reasonable proportion of the Welsh LNU's branches. The Welsh LNU relied on churches to provide support. It would often reach out to church ministers for assistance when they hoped to create a branch in an area. This was particularly the case in rural Wales, where the chapel still had a firm grasp on communities. In 1923, fifty of the fifty-six branches formed in the county of Anglesey were affiliated with religious denominations.²⁵ In Holyhead, a town in the west of Anglesey, branches were created individually at various churches and chapels, which included the English Presbyterian Church, the Bethel Calvinistic Methodist Chapel and the Noddfa Welsh Independent Chapel.²⁶ The large number of nonconformist chapels in these areas accounted for the high figure. By contrast, thirty-nine of the eighty-four

²² NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/1, Letter to David Davies from Alderman Thomas, 31 May 1920.

²³ London, London School of Economics Library Archive (LSE), LNU 7/1, *The League of Nations Union (London 1920)*, p. 228.

²⁴ *Headway*, November 1930.

²⁵ *Wales and World Peace: A Summary of the Report of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union to Whitsuntide, 1923* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1923), pp. 15-18.

²⁶ Register found in: *Pioneering for Peace: The Annual Report of the Welsh League of Nations Union 1926*.

branches in the county of Glamorgan were affiliated with church branches.²⁷ Pamphlets targeted religious denominations by appealing to their Christian principles. One noted how the League 'voices the world's demand for world peace, based upon the principles of Christianity'.²⁸ In 1921, David Davies informed religious leaders that public opinion was behind the League.²⁹ The statement was an exaggeration, as the LNU in Wales did not have significant membership at this stage. However, it indicated that the Welsh LNU wanted to create influence amongst religious groups. While religious figures were targeted, it tended to be members of their congregation who took responsibility for overseeing church branches.

Women occupied organisational roles in branches. In these cases, they were not on the edges but the backbone of local community branches. This was part of a growing women's activism in interwar Wales, which will be analysed further in chapter three. In 1926, fifty percent of branch secretaries in the county of Monmouthshire were women.³⁰ Olwen Evans, a teacher and younger sister of educationalist and Welsh LNU supporter Frederick Evans, took charge of the Llangynwyd branch near Bridgend (Glamorgan).³¹ Her work involved organising public meetings, film screenings and assisting other branches in the Bridgend area. The experience of being a branch secretary resulted in her appointment to various positions in the Welsh LNU, most notably as a secretary to the Welsh Organiser of the Peace Ballot. In some instances, women formed female-only branches. In 1923, a group of women in Pontlottyn, a village east of Merthyr Tydfil (Glamorgan), established a female-only branch to show that 'women were prepared to assist with the work of the League'.³² This initiative was led by Hannah Beynon Davies, a former headteacher of Troedrhifwch School, Sunday School teacher at Bethlehem Welsh Presbyterian Church and Vice-President of the Pontlottyn branch

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 22-26.

²⁸ *The Church and the League: Plan of Campaign for the Presbyterian Churches of Monmouthshire* (Newport: Sims & Son), p. 8.

²⁹ *Western Mail*, 18 March 1921.

³⁰ Figures taken from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

³¹ *Pioneering for Peace: The Annual Report of the Welsh League of Nations Union*, p. 46.

³² *Merthyr Express*, 22 September 1923, p. 20.

of the British Legion.³³ Beynon Davies used her influence to bring together a cross-section of women from the local community. The branch's committee was constructed of females from middle-class backgrounds, which included Mrs J. R. Salmon of Nazareth Chapel, Miss E Jenkins, headmistress of Pontlloftyn school and Mrs Hill, the wife of a local Doctor.³⁴ The branch sought to secure 'the interest of every mother and woman of Pontlloftyn in favour of the League of Nations.'³⁵

However, it was not always an independent experience for women who held organisational roles in branches. In some shape or form, male members watched over them or criticised their work. In Bala, a town in Merionethshire, Rev. Ll. A Richards, the secretary of the Christchurch branch, voiced criticism and called for the resignation of Morfydd Davies, secretary of the local town branch. This criticism was due to branch subscriptions not being collected and a 'slow response' in organising a committee to arrange for the canvassing of the Peace Ballot. Rev Richards disapproved of her lack of participation and felt it would disrupt the progress of the League's work in their community.³⁶

In other instances, people who led branches had lost family members during the war. The son of Robert Owen, branch secretary of a religious group in Colwyn Bay (Denbighshire), was killed at Delville Wood in the Somme in September 1918.³⁷ The honorary secretary of the Charles Street Newport (Monmouthshire) branch, Agnes Thomas, lost her husband, Bertie Thomas, a mechanic in the Royal Air Force, in 1920 from injuries sustained from fighting.³⁸ Moreover, the son of Frederick Williams, the secretary for the Welsh Wesleyan branch in Colwyn Bay (Denbighshire), died from pneumonia two weeks into his army training. The bilingual newspaper of the Wesleyan Church, *Gwylidydd Newydd*, reported that the death caused 'great sadness to transcend over the town'.³⁹ In rural

³³ Hannah Beynon Davies was the first person from Pontlloftyn to receive an M.B.E. A short description of her life up to 1938 can be found in: *Merthyr Express*, 8 January 1938.

³⁴ *Merthyr Express*, 22 September 1923, p. 20.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/1, Letter to David Samways from Rev Ll. A Davies, January 1935.

³⁷ Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC), *Private Lewis Roberts Owen*, <<https://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/550016/owen,-lewis-roberts/>> [accessed 12 May 2020].

³⁸ CWGC, *Air Mechanic Bertie D. Thomas*, <<https://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/390111/thomas,-bertie-d./>> [accessed 12 May 2020].

³⁹ *Gwylidydd Newydd*, 7 August 1918, p. 4.

Cardiganshire, the Llangeitho branch was run by local miller Richard Ebenezer. His occupation meant he was exempt from active service. However, his younger brother, John Daniel Ebenezer, served in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers and died from injuries sustained in fighting, at Doullens Hospital in the Somme, in 1917.⁴⁰ Members of branches appeared to support the League in the hope that others would not have to endure grievances. Offering their time and energy to the LNU suggested that members of branches wanted to use their experience as a practical way of learning from the past, thus preventing future war.

Middle-class professionals and respected community figures were involved in branches. Often their occupation meant these individuals held authority and positions of influence. In Morfa Bychan, a village near Porthmadog (Caernarfonshire), the branch was presided over by W.D. Jones, a Welsh-speaking schoolmaster and lay preacher.⁴¹ His son, David John Jones, was one of five sailors from the Porthmadog area who were killed when their ship, the SS North Cambria, collided with another steamer in the mouth of the English Channel in August 1918.⁴² Moreover, the secretary of the Treorchy branch (Glamorgan) was Richard Cobden Austin, a staff member of the Ocean Coal Company, a member of the Treorchy Debating Society and a captain of the local tennis club.⁴³ In Abertillery (Monmouthshire), David Walters supported the branch but was not on the committee. Walters was a member of the War Memorial Committee, a member of the Town Relief Committee during the 1921 lock-out and elected chairman of the town council in 1926.⁴⁴ A small number of these respected community figures who were branch secretaries had served in the war. Owen Williams, schoolmaster of the Llanidloes County School (Montgomeryshire), was the secretary of the Llanidloes LNU branch. In 1915, he obtained a BA with honours in Latin from University College Wales Bangor. In February 1918, he was commissioned as a gunner in

⁴⁰ *Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 4 May 1917, p. 6.

⁴¹ Name included on a Branch register, see: *Pioneering for Peace: The Annual Report of the Welsh League of Nations Union*, p. 35. For reference to his work as a lay preacher see: *Liverpool Echo*, 22 September 1932, p. 8.

⁴² *Yr Herald Cymraeg*, 13 August 1918.

⁴³ *Western Mail*, 3 May 1923, p. 13.

⁴⁴ *South Wales Gazette*, 23 April 1926, p. 14.

France and demobilised in early 1919.⁴⁵ These examples give evidence that influential figures were involved in a wide range of organisations alongside the League. This reflected the numerous interests and groups that existed in Welsh communities.

In some instances, branch membership included people who had claimed exemption from fighting on personal grounds of being a Conscientious Objector (CO) during the war. In Swansea, Lewis Burrridge, a baker who worked at his family's bakery company, was the chairperson of the Gorse Mission LNU branch. As a result of Burrridge's CO status, he had been enlisted into the Non-Combatant Corps (NCC). Created by the British Government in 1916, the NCC was constructed of COs. In total, 3300 COs served in the NCC, with around 201 from Wales.⁴⁶ Burrridge did not appear to keep a record or talk openly about his experiences. As historian Peter Brock has noted, members of the NCC rarely left records of their wartime experience.⁴⁷ NCC conscripts were required to wear army uniforms and perform various functions, including road-making, loading and unloading ships and stretcher-bearing.⁴⁸ As Burrridge was attached to the 4th and 5th Western Company of the NCC, he was based in Oswestry, a town in Shropshire, and was only based in the UK for the duration of the war.⁴⁹ While members of the NCC sometimes encountered hostilities from society due to their objection, the Gorse Mission honoured the service of Lewis on their memorial to those who had served, which includes the title 'better death than dishonour'.⁵⁰ Moreover, Owen R. Owen, an

⁴⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/3, Letter to Major Ince from W Burnon Evans, 15 February 1921.

⁴⁶ Aled Eirug, *The Opposition to the Great War in Wales 1914-1918* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018), p. 179.

⁴⁷ Peter Brock, *Against the Draft: Essays on Conscientious Objection: From the Radical Reformation to the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), p. 245. Aled Eirug has researched the experience of T. J. Gwilym, a Bangor Theological student who was in the NCC: Eirug, pp. 180-181.

⁴⁸ Brock, p. 149.

⁴⁹ For Lewis Burrridge's Record of Service Paper see: British Army Service Records 1914-1920, Form B.2513, available online: <<https://search-findmypast-co-uk.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/record?id=gbm%2fwo363-4%2f007303202%2f00116&parentid=gbm%2fwo363-4%2f7303202%2f6%2f109>> [accessed 13 June 2020]. A divisional breakdown on the activities of the NCC can be seen at: The Long, Long Road, *The Non-Combatant Corps* (2020), <<https://www.longlongtrail.co.uk/army/regiments-and-corps/the-non-combatant-corps-2/>> [accessed 13 June 2020].

⁵⁰ A photo of the Gorse Mission war memorial is available online: Wales at War (WaW), Photograph of the Roll of Honour at Gorse Mission, Cwmbwrla (Swansea), <<http://www.walesatwar.org/cy/memorial/detail/1669>> [accessed 13 June 2020].

organiser of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FoR), was the branch secretary of the Blaenau Ffestiniog Maenofferen branch (Merionethshire).⁵¹ The inclusion of the groups of society who had been opposed to war but not complete pacifists signalled that the LNU was a broad church that included people of both pacifist and pacifistic views. The inclusion of the groups of society who had been opposed, but not complete pacifists, signalled their support for the League's policy of using force as a last resort. Therefore, they invested their energy into helping the Welsh LNU.

Branch membership was comprised of individuals and groups who were primarily from the middle classes of Welsh society. Respected community figures, such as teachers and religious figures, largely led branch leadership. A proportion of membership from women, albeit from middle-class backgrounds, showed that the LNU welcomed different groups of society. Therefore, exploring why people became members, such as experiences of the war, indicated there were different reasons for obtaining membership of the Welsh LNU.

'Mapping support': the location of Welsh LNU branches

The Welsh LNU was successful in attaining membership from around Wales. The existence of branches over the length and breadth of Wales signalled that the ideas of the League crossed numerous geographical boundaries. In 1929, at the peak of its membership, 1.62 percent of the Welsh population were members of the Welsh LNU (Table 2.1). When studied at a local level, it is evident that membership fluctuated by county. Nine of the thirteen counties of Wales numbered above the national average, with Merionethshire being the highest at 8.93 percent. Focusing on county levels of support allows for a detailed analysis of branch activity.

The largest proportion of the Welsh LNU's membership was in areas considered 'Welsh Wales' that encompassed the counties of Anglesey, Cardiganshire, Caernarvonshire, Merionethshire and Montgomeryshire. The higher levels of support were based on the characteristics of people who inhabited these areas. These counties were Welsh language strongholds. The Welsh language was a key concept to the idea of the Welsh nation. One periodical noted the Welsh

⁵¹ *Pioneering for Peace: The Annual Report of the Welsh League of Nations Union 1926*, p. 50.

Table 2.1: Welsh LNU Membership by County, 1929.

County	Population ⁵²	LNU Membership ⁵³	Membership percentage by county population (two decimal places)
Anglesey	49,029	3,340	6.81
Brecknockshire	57,775	614	1.06
Caernarvonshire	120,829	3,762	3.11
Cardiganshire	55,184	2,692	4.88
Carmarthenshire	179,100	3,260	1.82
Denbighshire	157,648	4,296	2.76
Flintshire	112,889	2,094	1.85
Glamorgan	1,225,717	11,360	0.93
Merionethshire	43,201	3,857	8.93
Monmouthshire	434,958	3,140	0.72
Montgomeryshire	48,473	2,264	4.67
Pembrokeshire	87,206	946	1.08
Radnorshire	21,323	349	1.64
Total	2,593,332	41,974	1.62

language as one of the greatest examples of Welsh nationality.⁵⁴ In 1921, 87.8 percent of Anglesey, 86.8 percent of Cardiganshire, 76.5 percent of Caernarfonshire and 84.3 percent of Merionethshire spoke Welsh.⁵⁵ Consequently, in these areas,

⁵² Population figures taken from: *The Welsh Outlook*, 11 November 1933, p. 15.

⁵³ Welsh LNU branch figures taken from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

⁵⁴ W. J. Wallis-Jones, *Welsh Characteristics* (Cardiff: Western Mail, 1898), p. 41.

⁵⁵ Janet Davies, *The Welsh Language: a history*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014).

the LNU conducted some of their activities in the medium of Welsh. During the early period, the Welsh LNU noted that the lack of Welsh literature tarnished its effectiveness in the Welsh-speaking areas of north Wales.⁵⁶ Members of branches requested for membership cards and certificates of the constitutions of the League to be produced in Welsh.⁵⁷ In 1931, the Anglesey District Committee organised a series of bilingual talks entitled 'Diarfogiad' (Disarmament) and 'Ty Tyfiant Cyd-genedlaetholdeb' (Growth of Internationalism).⁵⁸ The Welsh LNU, therefore, moulded discussion of the League in local areas with the Welsh language.

Furthermore, support for the Liberal Party in these counties remained strong and had not declined. The interwar period is often described as a time when Labour broke through and diminished the power of the Liberal Party in Wales.⁵⁹ While this was a trend nationally, the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Cardiganshire and Merionethshire remained strongholds of support for the Liberal Party. In these areas of Wales, LNU membership was deemed to result from support for the Liberal Party. The higher level of support in Merionethshire was due to it being the county of T. E. Ellis, Liberal M.P. and leader of the Cymru Fydd (Young Wales) movement.⁶⁰ The roots of Welsh liberalism, therefore, remained firmly planted in these areas. Organisations that prompted liberal agendas or ideas associated with influential individuals of the Welsh liberal movement continued to attract widespread support.

Despite the rural locality of these areas of Wales, there was a small proportion of industry located in these areas. The economic depression hit North Wales. The slate industry's output was only two-thirds of its pre-war figure.⁶¹ In 1920, a League supporter from Llanberis wrote to David Davies, concerned by the

⁵⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/2, Letter to David Davies from Mr Williams, 31 December 1920.

⁵⁷ *Wales and World Peace: A Summary of the Report of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union to Whitsuntide, 1923*, p. 10.

⁵⁸ *Wales and the League of Nations 1931-1932* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1932), p. 31.

⁵⁹ K. O. Morgan, 'The New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour: The Welsh Experience, 1885–1929', *Welsh History Review*, 6 (1973). Chris Williams considered Welsh Liberalism to have collapsed because of the First World War and its aftermath: Chris Williams, *Capitalism, Community and Conflict: The South Wales Coalfield 1898-1947* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), p. 51.

⁶⁰ *Western Mail*, 7 December 1922.

⁶¹ Richards, p. 169.

economic and industrial situation overshadowing support for the League.⁶² Support from these areas of north Wales indicated that membership came from areas that held traditional views of Wales and nationhood.

In contrast, the densely populated county of Glamorgan had the highest membership figure but one of the lowest rates based on its membership percentage by the overall population. The bulk of Wales's industrial region, namely the south Wales coalfield, was in Glamorgan. Undoubtedly, the economic situation prevented the membership of branches from being substantial. Between 1920 and 1937, 241 pits closed in south Wales, the workforce shrank from 271,161 to 126,233, and total annual wages plummeted from £65 million to £14 million.⁶³ In 1931, the unemployment figure in Glamorgan stood at forty-one percent.⁶⁴

The rise of Labour, therefore, rivalled LNU membership and branch activity. In Glamorgan, the increase of support for Labour has been considered the defining political event of the interwar period. The Labour Party won all six by-elections held between 1920 and 1922 in Welsh mining constituencies; all were won by the Labour Party. By 1922, Labour had gained all the seats located in the industrial areas. The Labour Party sold itself as the party of the working class and attracted widespread support from workers who felt it related more to their interests than the Liberal Party. As a result, support for the Liberal Party and nonconformity declined. Historian Robert Pope has argued that socialists and Labour were voicing the issues that concerned working men the most, hence why they turned away from traditional forms of religion.⁶⁵ Liberalism and non-conformity appeared out of touch with the people of the south Wales coalfield.

Membership of the Welsh LNU was generally associated with the support of the Liberal Party. An unidentified person in the Labour movement noted that the LNU would not be given any consideration in industrial areas.⁶⁶ A division between

⁶² NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/2, Letter from Mr Williams to David Davies, 31 December 1920.

⁶³ Hywel Francis and Dai Smith, *The Fed: a History of the South Wales Miners in the Twentieth Century* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980), pp. 33-48.

⁶⁴ Chris Williams, p. 73.

⁶⁵ Robert Pope, *Building Jerusalem: Nonconformity, Labour and the Social Question in Wales, 1906-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), p. 169.

⁶⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/61, Letter to J.C. Maxwell Garnett from Gwilym Davies, 9 October 1922.

Liberalism and Socialism was common in rural and industrial Wales during the interwar period.⁶⁷ In Merthyr Tydfil, the views and work of its former Liberal MP and peace advocate, Henry Richard, were used to promote membership.⁶⁸ The Welsh LNU, by promoting itself along the traditional lines of liberalism, counteracted support for the emerging Labour Party.

A further reason for the dissatisfaction towards the LNU was partly due to the resentment towards David Davies from working-class miners in the area. He was head of the Ocean Coal Company that, in 1923, owned 12 mines and employed 9,294 staff.⁶⁹ Some associated Davies directly with the Welsh LNU, which had the potential to tarnish its reputation. In one area, the Ocean Coal Company won a case against a miner who lost an eye in the pit; he was denied compensation and forced to return to work.⁷⁰ Such instances drove a gap between workers and their bosses. It showed an antagonistic relationship between miners and colliery owners in south Wales. The League, therefore, maintained a sustained existence in working-class areas during the interwar period.

In Glamorgan, several branches existed that were affiliated with religious denominations. Attendance at religious services was more likely to be from the middle classes. As historian Ross McKibbin argued, a member **of** the middle class was more likely to practise religion than a member **of** the unskilled working class, and someone living in the countryside was more likely to practise than someone living in a town.⁷¹ The culture of the working class was work centred. The rise of leisure activities away from work and the chapel appealed to many working-class people during the interwar period.⁷²

In contrast, membership and branch support was lower in the counties of

⁶⁷ Keith Robbins, *England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales: the Christian Church, 1900-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 194.

⁶⁸ *Merthyr Express*, 1 December 1928, p. 11.

⁶⁹ *1923 Colliery Yearbook and Coal Trades Directory* (Louis Cassier: London, 1923).

⁷⁰ Example taken from: Kirsti Bohata, Alexandra Jones, Mike Mantin and Steve Thompson, *Disability in Industrial Britain: A Cultural and Literary History of Impairment in the Coal Industry 1880-1948* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p. 44.

⁷¹ Ross McKibbin, *Cultures and Classes: England 1918-1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 294.

⁷² Martin Johnes noted that music-halls, cinema and football offered a stark contrast to the chapels' half-empty pews. See: Martin Johnes *Soccer and Society: South Wales, 1900-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002), p. 31.

Brecknockshire and Radnorshire. This was not surprising given the rural locality of these areas. The population of these areas were spread out, and the economy was primarily based on agriculture. Communities engaged with numerous agricultural organisations in these areas. Vicar Roberts of Brecon reported great difficulty gaining support as people 'did not like the League'.⁷³ Where membership did exist in these locations, it was at a sustained level. This was largely due to the close-knit communities. In a small number of cases, branches that existed outside of Wales were affiliated with the Welsh LNU. This was the case for branches on the English-Welsh border. The Kington LNU branch, a market town in Herefordshire two miles from the Welsh border, was under the auspices of the Welsh LNU. Moreover, Overton, a small town located near the Welsh border, was attached to the Welsh LNU, being listed as Flintshire. Ultimately, branches tended to be more prominent in areas where support for liberalism remained strong and still influenced society. This happened to be where the Welsh language remained firmly rooted as a key characteristic of promoting and conceptualising the League. In contrast, branches were less prominent in types of communities that experienced the displacement of liberalism with socialism. Moreover, there was little support in the rural areas of central Wales due to the smaller population.

Structure and Dynamics of Branches

The Welsh LNU's constitution included guidelines for branches that covered what constituted the membership of the LNU, the hierarchy of branches and the regulations on their size. The minimum number for each branch was twenty members. In contrast, the British LNU only required ten, but a chairperson, secretary, and treasurer were required to be appointed separately from this figure.⁷⁴ Branches relied on their chairperson and secretary to give up their time voluntarily. There was no financial incentive offered to leaders of branches. Smaller branches would only have a secretary and president. Others would have a bigger core base of committee members. In 1934, the Kington branch elected a president, vice president, treasurer, secretary, press secretary, supervisor of collectors and an

⁷³ *Brecon County Times*, 25 October 1923.

⁷⁴ *League of Nations Union: Objects and Rules* (London: League of Nations Union, 1922).

entertainment sub-committee.⁷⁵

In order to form a branch, a letter of application had to be sent to the Welsh LNU's headquarters to be considered by its Executive Committee. If approved, the branch would be sent a certificate of the constitution that formally recognised its existence. During the 1920s, applications were only rejected when they did not meet the minimum membership requirement. In such instances, those individuals would be offered membership through headquarters until sufficient membership figures could be reached. However, the membership figure would be added to the county where the member resided. The Wesleyan English Church in Mountain Ash only had one member on its initial application, Mr C Look, a staff member at the local Barclays Bank.⁷⁶ His membership was originally affiliated through the Welsh LNU before being transferred to the Wesleyan English Church's branch when membership numbered thirty-two.⁷⁷

In some instances, branches in the same locality collaborated to create District Committees. These district groups encouraged cooperation between branches by merging them together to form regional hubs of activities and plan collaborative branch promotion.⁷⁸ The Welsh LNU favoured this approach because it enabled volunteer members to work together. The number of District Committees grew from 62 in 1925 to 79 in 1929.⁷⁹ The location of these committees spanned across the different areas of Wales. They featured in locations such as Anglesey, Tonypany, Ammanford, Llanelli, Cardiff and Aberdare. District Committees were also favoured by the British LNU. However, these were often bigger groups given the larger population sizes of those who lived in these regions of England with the location of District Committees including Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle.⁸⁰

However, the perceived strength of District Committees contradicted with their work. In 1926, only twelve branches existed in Pembrokeshire, but there were

⁷⁵ *Kington Times*, 10 March 1934, p. 5.

⁷⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/10, Branches with insufficient membership, (ongoing register between 1924 and 1927).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Pioneering for Peace: The Annual Report of the Welsh League of Nations Union*, p. 13.

⁷⁹ Figures taken from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

⁸⁰ *League of Nations Union: Objects and Rules*.

eight District Committees.⁸¹ The Fishguard and Goodwick District Committee was the only District Committee to have more than one branch affiliated with it, indicating the instance to deviate from the rules that the Welsh LNU imposed on its members. This case study of Pembrokeshire implied that the use of District Committees differed from their purpose. Using this method exhibited that the Welsh LNU inflated its branch activity and made its work appear more proactive than was probably the case.

At times, branches disliked the regulations placed on them by the Welsh LNU constitution. Branches considered the rules to be unclear, thus indicating a detachment between them and Welsh LNU headquarters. In 1929, at a meeting of branch representatives, Mrs E. A. Metcalfe, a branch secretary, and Rev Arthur Blackwell, a minister at the English Methodist Church in Aberdare, asked for the Welsh LNU's constitution to be redrafted to offer a more practical guide to the formation and maintenance of branches.⁸² Additionally, organisers were confused by the differentiation between District Committees and branches.⁸³ Sara Pugh Jones, the regional organiser for north Wales, offered a temporary solution by explaining that a District Committee was 'purely consultative' and its role was to define the contribution of branches in their respective locality.⁸⁴ However, it was left to the Welsh LNU's Executive Committee to provide a solution. They provided clarity by noting that a District Committee was to be composed of leading branch representatives of the catchment area. The purpose of District Committees was to encourage cooperation and exchange ideas. The Welsh LNU stressed that local branches needed the freedom to act independently.⁸⁵ Furthermore, branches considered the funding of District Committees to be another issue with the Welsh LNU's constitution. The Welsh LNU decided that District Committees should decide if and how branches should provide funds to the District Committee.⁸⁶ The decision symbolised that the Welsh LNU relied on volunteer organisers to guide branch

⁸¹ *Pioneering for Peace: The Annual Report of the Welsh League of Nations Union*, pp. 56-57.

⁸² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/16, Summary of Proceedings for the annual conference of branch representatives, 21 May 1929.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 24 July 1929.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

policy. It also showed that some branch members were not happy with the extent to which the Welsh LNU regulated their work.

The requirement to pay membership subscriptions was also a feature of Welsh LNU membership. These subscriptions played an integral part in financing the Welsh LNU. The reliance placed on public funding was no secret. In 1921, a letter by Edward Grey, 1st Viscount Grey of Fallodon and president of the British LNU was published in the *Western Mail* that appealed for people to join the LNU, pay for membership and, where possible, contribute extra to the LNU's finances. Grey feared:

If insufficient money is not quickly forthcoming, the LNU will have to suspend many of its activities. That, in the state of world politics today, would be a disaster. It is upon the LNU, that it rests to bring home to the public the truth that an effective League is the only alternative to war.⁸⁷

The money raised from membership was a huge benefit to the work of the LNU in Wales. It roughly comprised a quarter of the Welsh LNU's income. From 1922 until 1929, the Welsh LNU's annual income from membership increased from £560. 14. 7. to £1083. 13. 11.⁸⁸ This implied that while David Davies was often accredited with financing the movement, as discussed in the previous chapter, the Welsh LNU's finances relied on its membership base.

The Welsh LNU had different levels of subscriptions that came with different benefits for its members (Table 2.2). The constitution of the Welsh LNU stated that it held no liability for any costs incurred by local branches in their activity.⁸⁹ The Welsh LNU only recorded how much money was sent from each branch. From the branch records that do exist, it is evident that the majority paid the basic 1/0 rate. In 1932, 171 of the 203 Pontarddulais (Glamorgan) branch members paid the rate of 1/0.⁹⁰ Contributing the basic rate signalled that most Welsh LNU members did not value the League enough to invest huge amounts of money. However, the

⁸⁷ *Western Mail*, 25 October 1921, p. 8.

⁸⁸ Figures taken from information in: NLW, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, 1922- 1935.

⁸⁹ LSE, LNU 8/17, Objects and Rules of the Welsh LNU, June 1934.

⁹⁰ Figures taken from: Swansea, West Glamorgan Archive Service (WGAS), D/D Z 849/33, Bundle of Registers for the League of Nations Union Welsh National Council branches in Pontarddulais.

economic depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s also signalled there were wider difficulties. By 1930, three main sources of income were described as the Endowment Fund, set up by David Davies in 1922 that made withdrawals from invested capital, branch subscriptions and the proceeds of Daffodil Days.⁹¹ The contributions by individuals to branches demonstrated that members invested their own personal income.

Table 2.2: Rates of subscription matched with membership benefit.⁹²

Subscription rate	Subscription entitlement
1/0	(a) Enrolled as a member. (b) Received membership card. (c) Entitled to attend branch meetings.
2/6	(a) Enrolled as a member. (b) Received membership card. (c) Sent a copy of the annual report of the Welsh LNU.
5/0	(a) Enrolled as a member. (b) Received membership card. (c) Sent a monthly copy of <i>Headway</i> .
10/0	(a) Enrolled as a member. (b) Received membership card. (c) Sent a copy of the annual report of the Welsh LNU. (d) Sent a monthly copy of <i>Headway</i> . (e) Sent various publications produced by the British and Welsh LNU.
1/0/0 and above	(a) Enrolled as a member. (b) Received membership card. (c) Sent a copy of the annual report of the Welsh LNU. (d) Sent a monthly copy of <i>Headway</i> . (e) Sent various publications produced by the British and Welsh LNU.

Branch representatives felt their work was limited by the financial restrictions. Charles Duckworth, secretary for the Buckley (Flintshire) branch, and

⁹¹ *Wales and the League 1929-1930*, p. 18.

⁹² *How You Can Join the League of Nations Union* (Cardiff: Welsh League of Nations, 1923).

Ernest Perfect, branch secretary for the Knighton (Radnorshire) branch, proposed an initiative where branches should be allowed to organise a fundraising event where it kept the entirety of the profits if they first held an event where proceeds were transferred to the Welsh LNU headquarters.⁹³ It was unanimously adopted by other branch representatives, indicating that such attitudes were shared throughout the organisation. The Welsh LNU approved by allowing branches to perform a fundraising event for their own funds only if they had complied with its rules and shown a level of commitment over previous years.⁹⁴ The criticism voiced by branch representatives implied that branches did not always think favourable of decisions made by the Welsh LNU's headquarters. Over time the Welsh LNU tightened its grip and became further involved in the affairs of branches. It required each branch to report the proceeds of its fundraising activities.⁹⁵ Moreover, every District Committee had to hand over any balance in excess of £10, the figure for branches being £5.⁹⁶ Branch representatives disapproved, but it was something they could not change. The decision had the hardest impact in areas where the economic downturn was most severe. Ultimately, branches were not afraid to voice their criticism and constructive advice to the Welsh LNU. However, changes often had strings attached and illustrated the desire from the Welsh LNU's headquarters to control and regulate branches.

Types of branch activity

Branch activity involved both members of the LNU and people in the wider community. The Welsh LNU required branches to conduct local work that benefitted the Welsh LNU at a national and international level. They issued a list of suggestions for branch activity, which included celebrating the foundation of the League annually on 10 January, assisting the formation of branches in the local area and organising fundraising events in aid of the Welsh LNU.⁹⁷ However, the

⁹³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/16, Summary of Proceedings for the annual conference of branch representatives, 21 May 1929.

⁹⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 24 July 1929.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ WGAS, D/D Z 849/33, Bundle of Registers for the League of Nations Union Welsh National Council branches in Pontarddulais.

implementation of these guidelines was at the branches' discretion. The Welsh LNU could not force branches to organise events.

Branches conducted a pivotal and unique role in local communities. Members who participated in various forms of activity believed they were promoting world peace and fostering international awareness. Branches were involved in various activities that differed from branch to branch. The frequency of branch activity also varied. However, two notable events frequently featured as branch activity: participation in events commemorating war, such as Armistice Day and the unveiling of war memorials, and Daffodil Days.

Armistice commemorations were a major feature of interwar society. Historian Lucy Noakes regarded commemorative events as being firmly rooted in the national culture and practices of everyday life in Britain.⁹⁸ Taking place on, or near to, the 11 November each year, commemorative events provided the opportunity for communities and individuals to reflect. At such times it was impossible to escape the idea of remembering the war. Armistice ceremonies encouraged the living to understand they owed a debt of loyalty to those who had died in the war.⁹⁹ The idea of 'never again' carried significant weight. One writer in the *Western Mail* noted:

In an age of fleeting interests, short memories and changing fashions the Armistice Day Commemoration more than holds its ground. It has become a fixed centre of public interest and a national habit. "There are some things one would rather forget" is a somewhat familiar retort to a thoughtless reminder. There were episodes in the Great War which one would fain allow to pass into oblivion: but the War itself we cannot forget, nor the Armistice which heralded the Peace, nor those valiant defenders of their country who made the Great Sacrifice... Nor can we commit the crime of forgetting those who died for their country.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Lucy Noakes, 'A Broken Silence? Mass Observation, Armistice Day and 'Everyday Life' in Britain 1937-1941', *Journal of European Studies*, 45.4 (2015), 331-346.

⁹⁹ Dan Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), pp. 132-133.

¹⁰⁰ *Western Mail*, 12 November 1929, p. 6.

Despite the central message of remembering the war and honouring the dead, several factors influenced armistice ceremonies in Britain and Wales. People reflected differently during the minutes, or two minutes, silence. Some remembered the dead; others considered the possibilities of another war, and a few felt discomfort in having to participate in rituals that meant little to them but which they observed in order not to challenge the status quo of society.¹⁰¹ Additionally, Adrian Gregory posited that there was no routine way to conduct commemorations of Armistice Day in Britain during the interwar period.¹⁰² Moreover, Angela Gaffney illustrated numerous themes that included the Welsh language, religion, and organisations, such as the Veterans' groups, surrounded commemorating the Great War.¹⁰³ These ambiguities illustrated the extent to which patterns of commemoration were open to interpretation. Therefore, the armistice may have been experienced collectively, but its meaning to the individuals who participated varied massively.

The Welsh LNU attempted to exert some influence in the commemoration of the war. The contested nature meant branches took it upon themselves to interject in the commemoration of Armistice Day. The Welsh LNU considered this to play a central part in branch activity. In their view, 'people forgot the terrors and misery that war brought throughout the year; however, few failed to remember during the armistice period.'¹⁰⁴ The Welsh LNU regularly laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Westminster Abbey, the National War Memorial in Cardiff, and the North Wales war memorial in Bangor.¹⁰⁵

There were numerous ways in which branches conducted a range of activities during the Armistice period. They linked their activities with the traditional Armistice Day Commemorations into publicity activities. Both the British and Welsh LNU held thousands of public meetings and religious services on or around

¹⁰¹ Noakes, p. 336.

¹⁰² Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), p. 1-11.

¹⁰³ Gaffney, pp. 171-174.

¹⁰⁴ *Wales and the League of Nations 1927-1928*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/4, Minutes of a meeting of the North Wales Committee, 25 September 1928.

Armistice Day.¹⁰⁶ The Welsh LNU created their own orders of service and distributed them to branches performing these events. These were prepared by Gwilym Davies and Sir Walford Davies, Professor of Music at University of Wales Aberystwyth and Chairman of the National Council of Music for Wales.¹⁰⁷ These orders of service were also available in Welsh, with the translation being provided by Rev. Howell Elvet Lewis, a Minister at Tabernacle Chapel (Capel y Tabernacl) in King's Cross London between 1904 and 1940 and Archdruid of the National Eisteddfod between 1924 and 1928.¹⁰⁸ These orders of service did not publicise the League. They were oriented around re-enacting a religious ceremony by including prayers and hymns.¹⁰⁹ The LNU's emblem of the Christian crusade cross featured on the front and back cover, symbolising the indirect religious connotation to events. As a result, some branches held their ceremonies to coincide with events held in the wider community. In Llangollen (Denbighshire), the Rehoboth Chapel branch organised a special Armistice Sunday service in 1932.¹¹⁰ By tying itself to religious memorials of the armistice, the Welsh LNU signalled that it wanted the League to become a key element in the message of remembrance and build the perception that supporting the League was a proactive way of helping prevent any future wars.

Other branches organised public meetings during the armistice period. In 1919, the Barry LNU branch in Glamorgan held two public meetings, in the hall of St. Mary's Church and at the Holton-road English Baptist Church. The Barry LNU was supported by local politicians from different political parties. These included Major William Cope, the Conservative MP for Llandaff and Barry and a Major in the Glamorgan Yeomanry during the war, Major Russell Lowell Jones, a Labour Candidate who unsuccessfully stood against Major Cope in the 1918 election and

¹⁰⁶ Helen McCarthy, 'The League of Nations, Public Ritual and National Identity in Britain, c. 1919-56', *History Workshop Journal*, 70.1 (2010), 108-132 (p. 118); Susannah Wright, 'War and Peace: Armistice Observance in British Schools in 1937', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 13.3 (2020), 426-445.

¹⁰⁷ For a biography on Sir Walford Davies see: Jeremy Dibble, *Sir Henry Walford Davies* (2004), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32738>> [accessed 8 July 2020].

¹⁰⁸ WGAS, E/Dyn Sec 27/5, An order of Service for Armistice Day, prepared for use in schools by the National Council of Music and the Welsh LNU, 1920s.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ *Wales and the League of Nations 1932-1933* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1933), p. 35.

John Hughes Edwards, the Liberal MP for Neath.¹¹¹ The meetings stressed the importance of the League to the maintenance of peace. All speakers described the scale of destruction caused by the war and the importance of the League as a 'guiding light' for the future.¹¹² The meeting concluded with a medal presentation to Maria Ratcliffe, the widow of William Radcliffe, a soldier from Barry who died in October 1918 whilst serving in the Manchester Regiment. When presenting the medal, Major Cope declared his gratitude to Maria Ratcliffe for 'her husband's gallant deeds' and deemed it an honour that she was a citizen of Barry.¹¹³ While these events were less common, it showed that some local branches tried to embed the idea of the League being the future of peace at a community level.

Furthermore, branches took responsibility for representing the Welsh LNU at main armistice events held in their local communities. They laid wreaths on behalf of the union at local memorials. The Rhyl branch regularly laid wreaths at their local memorial during armistice commemorations.¹¹⁴ On occasion, local branches would ask a parent of a soldier who died in the war to perform the duty on their behalf.¹¹⁵ There was also cooperation between veteran groups and the Welsh LNU. In 1931, the Newcastle Emlyn British Legion branch presented a cheque for 10/6 to the Welsh LNU as a token of gratitude to Maurice Jones, president of the Welsh LNU, for speaking at the Newcastle Emlyn (Carmarthenshire) memorial service.¹¹⁶ Consequently, there were several ways branches were involved in Armistice Day. These symbolised how branches represented the LNU in their local communities and implied that branches collaborated with other movements.

Armistice Day caused a surge in levels of branch activity. In 1924, various branches in the south Wales coalfield organised a membership campaign during armistice week.¹¹⁷ On average, the Kington branch met monthly or bi-monthly. However, during three weeks between October and November 1933, they held an

¹¹¹ *Barry Dock News*, 7 November 1919, p. 5.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/112, Rhyl Branch Files.

¹¹⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/4, Minutes of a meeting of the North Wales Committee, 25 September 1928.

¹¹⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/72, Letter to Maurice Jones from David Evans, 23 November 1931.

¹¹⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/64, Letter to Charles Webster from David Samways, 28 July 1924.

LNU service at the Methodist Church on the 29 October, a members evening at the Grammar School on the 10 November and a branch meeting on the 20 November.¹¹⁸ The armistice period caused otherwise dormant branches to hold meetings. In 1929, David Samways, General Secretary of the Welsh LNU, addressed a small meeting at Narberth (Pembrokeshire). Prior to this, several efforts had been made to organise events but had failed.¹¹⁹ However, the increase in branch activity was not universally experienced. Branches were not always involved in local events. In 1927, there was no branch representation at an Armistice Day service held in Brecon. Other community groups were present, such as a representative from the South Wales Borderers, the Brecon branch of the British Legion, and the local company of Territorials, Guides and Scouts.¹²⁰ This highlighted the different patterns of branch activity in local areas.

Armistice commemorations were not confined to November. During the interwar period, communities throughout Wales and Britain built a range of local and national memorials that commemorated the war. Angela Gaffney's work argued that the construction of war memorials in Wales provided a testimony to the Welsh participation in the conflict, and memorials yielded a unique insight into the population's attitudes towards war.¹²¹ Likewise, the historian Jay Winter observed that memorials became a focal point for the public recognition of war and a pillar of local commemoration.¹²² Welsh communities valued having a memorial in their local town. In Swansea, William Owen, head of the War Memorial Committee, requested that families and the public inspect the panels at the memorial and inform the architect of any names missing so names could be added to the memorial.¹²³ War memorials became a key feature of towns and villages as a place of community remembrance. It was considered that any place that did not possess one was downgrading the value of remembrance. In 1925, a member of the Abertillery war memorial committee claimed that the town lacked dignity due to its

¹¹⁸ *Kington Times*, 21 October 1933, p. 4.

¹¹⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/72, Letter to Maurice Jones from David Samways, 8 October 1929.

¹²⁰ *Brecon County Times*, 17 November 1927, p. 2.

¹²¹ Gaffney, p. 5.

¹²² Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 97.

¹²³ *Western Mail*, 3 August 1923.

absence of a memorial.¹²⁴

The Welsh LNU participated in the unveiling of memorials that were symbolic events in local communities. In Abercynon (Glamorgan), the opening ceremony of its war memorial was performed by the child of a dead soldier.¹²⁵ The Welsh LNU participated in the unveiling of memorials. David Davies unveiled numerous memorials throughout Wales. His invitation to such events was due to his status as a former soldier, politician and businessperson. Yet, he used such opportunities to endorse the League and its values. In 1922, he unveiled the war memorial in Maesteg (Glamorgan) and spoke at a public meeting organised by the local LNU branch.¹²⁶ In November 1932, when opening Barry Memorial Hall with his sister Margaret Davies, David Davies's speech noted, 'a new system of arbitration and of law was substituting the old methods'.¹²⁷ Conversely, some events that unveiled memorials in local areas publicly criticised the League. In March 1933, at an event unveiling a war memorial in Treharris, Councillor Hugh Isaac Williams expressed how 'Democracy was in great danger. There was war in the Far East and war in the West between signatories of the League, and only a spark was needed to set Europe ablaze again... The League had proved a miserable failure'.¹²⁸

Branches contributed directly and played a pivotal part in the memorialisation of the Great War by unveiling memorials. In July 1926, a tablet was unveiled at the Windsor Place synagogue in Cardiff. The tablet listed twelve names of Jewish men from Cardiff who had been killed in the war.¹²⁹ At the event, an address was given by the Rev. M. S. Simmons, rabbi and the vice-president of the Cardiff LNU District Committee, in which he accredited the League as the only hope for peace and prosperity. He felt that 'without it (the League), civilisations would crumble'.¹³⁰ In Llanfair (Anglesey), the local branch co-operated with the British

¹²⁴ *South Wales Gazette*, 13 March 1925, p. 9.

¹²⁵ *Western Mail*, 28 July 1922.

¹²⁶ *Western Mail*, 7 December 1922.

¹²⁷ *Western Mail*, 12 November 1932, p. 7.

¹²⁸ *Western Mail*, 27 March 1938, p. 10.

¹²⁹ For information of the plaque, see: Roath Local History Society, *Cardiff United Synagogue War Memorials*, <<https://roathlocalhistorysociety.org/local-history/war-memorials/cardiff-united-synagogue-war-memorials/>> [accessed 8 July 2020]. The plaque is now displayed in the Cardiff United Synagogue in Cyncoed Gardens, Cardiff.

¹³⁰ *Western Mail*, 5 July 1926, p. 8.

Legion to secure a League speaker for the first event at the new war memorial.¹³¹ Furthermore, the Cardiff District Committee organised for a cherry tree to be planted near the National War Memorial in Cathays Park, Cardiff, to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the League in 1930. William Charles, Lord Mayor of Cardiff, announced that the tree symbolised the growth of the League, and he hoped it would act as an emblem of peace and goodwill.¹³² Branch involvement in armistice commemorations symbolised the varying narratives of commemoration throughout the interwar period.

A second notable feature of branch activity was participation in Daffodil Days. Inaugurated in 1922, Daffodil Days involved branches selling replica daffodils made of cardboard or paper to raise money for the Welsh LNU. It emerged when League supporters and LNU branches in Cardiff sold daffodils to aid the League's work of relieving famine in Russia.¹³³ The success of the first event resulted in it becoming a permanent date on the calendar for branch activity. Daffodil Days embodied a significant event of interwar Wales but have only recently received recognition from historians.¹³⁴

Using the daffodil to raise money for the League symbolised that the Welsh LNU took a national approach to form a distinctive avenue to its international work from a national perspective. The daffodil, along with the leek and the Eisteddfod, became part of the 'paraphernalia of Welsh patriotism' during the late nineteenth century.¹³⁵ Periodicals commented that the daffodil had a longstanding association with Welsh identity.¹³⁶ For Gwilym Davies, nothing else could match the daffodil as it was the emblem of aspiration and a visible symbol of hope.¹³⁷ This initiative lent

¹³¹ *Wales and the League 1932-1933*, p. 31.

¹³² *Western Mail*, 11 January 1930, p. 11.

¹³³ *Western Mail*, 4 March 1922, p. 6.

¹³⁴ Work has started to be developed: Rob Laker, *Daffodil Days of the 1920s-30s: Celebrating Wales-wide Community Activism* (2020), < <https://www.wcia.org.uk/wcia-news/wcia-history/daffodil-days-of-the-1920s-30s-celebrating-wales-wide-community-activism-on-worldpeaceday/>> [accessed 28 April 2020].

¹³⁵ Dai Smith, *Wales! Wales?* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), p. 45. Mervyn Phillips observed how the daffodil emerged as an emblem of Wales: Mervyn Phillips, *Wales: Nations & Region* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1997), pp. 56-57

¹³⁶ Thomas Jones, *Leeks and Daffodils* (Newtown: Welsh Outlook Press, 1942).

¹³⁷ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, V2/38, Press cutting entitled 'Emblem of Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union, 1929.

itself to examples of nationalism in an international context that grew during the interwar period.¹³⁸

The sale of daffodils amalgamated a national symbol of Wales with the international organisation of the League. In 1925, a report in the *Western Mail* noted that the 'national flower of Wales had become the international flower of peace'.¹³⁹ The sale of a national emblem indicated that branch activity merged nationalism with internationalism. Members who participated in the sale of daffodils genuinely believed they were promoting world peace and internationalism. In 1928, Annie Williams, an organiser for the Cardiff Daffodil Day, called for people to assist with organising the event. She hoped that people in Cardiff would assist in the Welsh LNU as she regarded Wales as 'universally recognised as being in the forefront of the campaign for world peace'.¹⁴⁰ The Welsh LNU was using the national symbol as a way of providing support for the League and concepts of internationalism.

Daffodil Days were often the pinnacle of branch activity. They increased in popularity throughout the interwar period. The number of events increased from 28 in 1924 to 254 in 1929.¹⁴¹ The ability to mobilise widespread support for the sale of daffodils showed the strength and depth of the Welsh LNU's network. Branches would elect a committee to run the Daffodil Days. This committee was responsible for ordering daffodils and other materials, publicising the event and arranging for individuals to sell daffodils. Women were largely involved in the sale of daffodils, often acting as organisers for successful events. In 1924, all thirty-six of the sellers of daffodils in Troedyrhiw (Glamorgan) were women.¹⁴² The Merthyr Tydfil District Committee felt their £47 was raised largely due to 'the enthusiasm of its female sellers'.¹⁴³ A Daffodil Day held in Bangor was under the control of Sara Pugh Jones. She positioned women across various locations in the town to maximise sales and

¹³⁸ Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 5.

¹³⁹ *Western Mail*, 3 August 1925, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ *Western Mail*, 11 April 1928, p. 11.

¹⁴¹ Figures taken from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

¹⁴² *Merthyr Express*, 7 June 1924, p. 14.

¹⁴³ *Merthyr Express*, 1 December 1928.

publicity.¹⁴⁴ The inclusion of women in the organisation and participating in Daffodil Days suggested they were adhering to roles considered suitable for women.

Overall, this method of branch activity brought in a substantial amount of revenue for the Welsh LNU. From 1925 onwards, Daffodil Days brought in more money compared to branch membership subscriptions.¹⁴⁵ On average, between a quarter and a third of the Welsh LNU's income was raised through the Daffodil Day initiative. There were regional differences in the amount raised. Of the total £1631 4s 5d raised in 1932, the biggest contributor was Glamorgan with £570 0s 0d, and the lowest was Breconshire with £23 5s 2d.¹⁴⁶ As anyone could purchase a daffodil, the sales indicated that the Welsh LNU was funded by the people of Wales.

Despite the attempt by the Welsh LNU to establish Daffodil Days as a national event, there were discrepancies in the pattern of events. Some branch hotspots, such as Newport (Monmouthshire), did not host a Daffodil Day.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, on several occasions, the Pontarddulais branch had difficulty organising Daffodil Days due to economic factors caused by the industrial depression.¹⁴⁸ While the Welsh LNU wanted to present the event as a national celebration, different factors often prevented the event from being run nationally.

Daffodil Days also brought out some rivalries between the LNU and other organisations that existed in local communities. Holding community events was a prominent feature of interwar society. To hold events, organisations needed to apply for a permit from their local 'watch committee', police constabulary or town council. In 1935, the Chief Constable of New Tredegar denied the local branch a permit to hold a Daffodil Day. He considered the event to be raising money for something that was not a charitable cause.¹⁴⁹ It demonstrated that the League had a negative connotation in some locations. In Conway (Caernarfonshire), the watch committee limited the number of events to eight per annum due to 'the numerous

¹⁴⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/70, Report of Sara Pugh Jones on Daffodil Days, 4 February 1929.

¹⁴⁵ *Wales and the League 1932-1933*, pp. 77-79.

¹⁴⁶ Figures taken from information in: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Finance Committee, 1922-1935.

¹⁴⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/64, Letter to David Samways from Trevor Davies, 1 September 1931.

¹⁴⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/85, Report of the south Wales Organiser, 17 September 1927.

¹⁴⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/54 Letter to David Samways from Robert Jones (Wrexham), 1935.

complaints received that too many flag days are held in the Borough'.¹⁵⁰ It indicated that other organisations were partaking in a similar pattern of public discussion. Some League organisers were angered by watch committees limiting community events. One supporter exclaimed that the League 'was a more worthy cause than St John Ambulance'.¹⁵¹

Daffodil Days had a striking resemblance to other events held during the interwar period, namely the British Legion's work of selling poppies. Adrian Gregory's work argued that selling poppies in this period was viewed as a female prerogative.¹⁵² Beginning in 1921, the poppy was sold to raise money for veterans. The poppy symbolised a token of remembrance. Buying one ensured the memory of war continued and the importance of peace was upheld.¹⁵³ Daffodil Days, therefore, were not trying to challenge the dominant narrative of the poppy but exist alongside and be another narrative for remembering the war in Wales. The difference was that the poppy was about remembering the Great War, and the daffodil signalled looking to the future to work to prevent future conflict. This was reflected in an advertisement poster (Figure 2.1). The poster encouraged people to contribute money and support to both causes by appealing to people to associate the poppy with the memory of war and the daffodil with preventing future conflict. In addition, to avoid a clash with the sales of poppies in November, the Welsh LNU made the decision in 1923 to encourage branches to hold Daffodil Days in May or June. Consequently, Daffodil Days entrenched themselves into Welsh society during the interwar period. It provided an additional narrative to the deeply embedded process of remembrance. The event also symbolised that branch activity promoting the League resulted in the creation of a prominent feature of interwar community activism.

Branch activity, therefore, appeared to be fixated on events relating to armistice commemorations and Daffodil Days. Although, this does not create an entirely accurate picture of branch activity as there were variations to methods of

¹⁵⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/64, Letter to David Samways from the Borough of Conway Town's Clerk, 9 February 1935.

¹⁵¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/5, Letter to J.B Stewart from Trevor Davies, 18 June 1932.

¹⁵² Gregory, p. 111.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

Figure 2.1: Poster advertising Daffodil Day, 1929.¹⁵⁴



¹⁵⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/70, Poster advertising Daffodil Day, 1929.

community engagement. Where work was conducted outside of fixed events, branches favoured occasional one-off activities rather than performing activities that required a constant level of input. Such events used methods that appealed to its middle-class membership base and reflected those who composed branch membership.

Branches took a traditional approach through the organisation of public meetings. Committee members of local branches would book a speaker through the Welsh LNU. Branches often demanded prominent 'first-class' speakers. The Caersws (Montgomeryshire) branch requested the internationally acclaimed author and public speaker Beverley Nichols, as he would 'draw an audience, get the community talking and gain new members'.¹⁵⁵ However, the Welsh LNU reminded the branch of its expectations, with it being 'impossible to secure any speaker of national repute without fairly long notice'.¹⁵⁶ The Welsh and British LNU shared speakers, which meant that different people with a range of experiences addressed branch meetings.

The high standing of speakers that addressed branches opened Welsh communities to some of the big ideas of the time. In 1932, Norman Angell, founder of the Union of Democratic Control, Nobel Peace Prize winner and Labour MP for Bradford North between 1929 and 1931, spoke at a meeting in Wrexham (Denbighshire) on the Manchuria Crisis.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, in 1934, Alexander Wilson, a second lieutenant in the Royal Army Service Corps during the war, an author and League supporter, addressed a meeting of the Kington branch. In his speech, Wilson noted:

'The whole world had become so inter-connected that some method of international control must be found that would bring home to each nation that they have certain obligations to other nations... there must be a civilisation of the nations... it was insecurities that led the nations of the world to keep huge armies and navies'.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/13, Letter to David Samways from A. Glyn Price, October 1935.

¹⁵⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/13, Letter to A. Glyn Price from David Samways, October 1935.

¹⁵⁷ *Wales and League 1932-33*, pp. 34- 35.

¹⁵⁸ *Kington Times*, 10 March 1934, p .5.

These areas being discussed implied that the broader core messages of the League trickled down and were spread by the Welsh LNU to members of the public in a matter that implied the success of the LNU being crucial.

Branch meetings were also addressed by figures who had a close association with Wales. Professor Charles Webster, Chair of International Politics at the University of Wales Aberystwyth between 1922 and 1932, frequently travelled across Wales to speak at branch meetings. His audiences included miners' associations, church groups and university students.¹⁵⁹ Webster's presence engaged people from across the community. In November 1928, Religious leaders, teachers, scoutmasters and guide leaders attended a talk Webster held in Hay-on-Wye.¹⁶⁰ Webster discussed the foundations of the League and stressed the importance of Lord Balfour's statement during the First Assembly of the League 'we are not here merely to talk, but to act'.¹⁶¹ However, branches did not always prioritise a visit from Webster. In 1924, a meeting at Wrexham had to be rescheduled as it clashed with a home fixture of Wrexham Football Club. Such games were deemed 'an attraction now Wrexham is in the Third Division of the English Football League'.¹⁶² It also implied the class difference in forms of popular culture. A group of supporters preferring a sporting event compared to a meeting that discussed the League showed there were class differences in forms of popular culture.

Other branches opted for a modern approach by using film screenings. These screenings, also known as lantern lectures, gave a visual opportunity for the public to learn about the League. The use of films was innovative as it linked to new forms of popular culture occurring in the period. Robert James has shown how going to the cinema was one of the most popular leisure activities during the 1930s.¹⁶³ The British LNU created films to promote its work. The Welsh LNU did not

¹⁵⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/114, Professor Webster's Conferences, 1925-1928.

¹⁶⁰ *Brecon County Times*, 22 November 1928.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² LSE, Webster/5/6, Letter to Webster from Edgar Griffiths, 25 January 1924.

¹⁶³ Robert James, *Popular Culture and Working-class Taste in Britain, 1930-39: A Round of Cheap Diversions?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p. 13. Laura Beers noted that between 1926 and 1939, around 2,000 picture houses were built with an average of twenty million Britons attend the cinema each week. See: Laura Beers, 'Education or Manipulation? Labour, Democracy, and the Popular Press in Interwar Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 48.1 (2009), 129-152 (pp. 129-130).

have its own film-making committees. The films viewed in Wales were borrowed from the British LNU. Branches borrowed the films from the British LNU in London. A fee was attached to their loan. Therefore, branches decided to charge their members and the public to view the films. These LNU films were produced on smaller lantern slides that meant, with the right technology, they could be shown in village halls, church rooms and other facilities used by branches for their meetings. A film entitled '*Star of Hope*' was a popular film for branches to view. It was thirty minutes in length and discussed the work of the League. A sequel, entitled '*The World War and After*', was an hour long and discussed the formation of the League and the key figures behind its creation.¹⁶⁴ Not all films, however, were viewed with enthusiasm. In 1935, when viewing the film '*Are We Civilised*', David Samways felt the principle behind that particular film was excellent but was poorly delivered in its delivery. Samways regarded the main character's monologue to be 'boring and clumsy', resulting in the viewers not taking positively to the films.¹⁶⁵

Branches organised events that were aimed at children. The Aberdare District Committee (Glamorgan) collaborated with the Trecynon Dramatic Society and children of Ynyslwyd School to organise a series of peace plays in eight communities covered by the Aberdare region, of which were Abercwmboi, Cwmbach, Hirwaun, Cwmaman, Trecynon, Aberdare, Aberaman and Cwmdare.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, a Bazaar organised in Llanishen (Monmouthshire) by the local LNU branch raised £50. It involved a range of events and children dressing in the traditional clothes of other countries.¹⁶⁷ Other events were organised by LNU branches where no focus was given to the League, peace or concepts associated with the League. In Defynnog, a village in Breconshire, the local branch organised an afternoon tea and musical concert for local schoolchildren from several schools in the area.¹⁶⁸ It was uncommon for branches to hold such events that did not promote the League in some form. Yet, doing so symbolised the attempt of branches to embed themselves into part of the community.

¹⁶⁴ LSE, LNU, 5/24, Minutes of the Education Committee, 26 November 1926.

¹⁶⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B2/4, Letter to Mr Foot from Davies Samways, 9 April 1935.

¹⁶⁶ *Wales and the League of Nations 1931-1932*, p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ *Western Mail*, 26 June 1926, p. 8.

¹⁶⁸ *Brecon County Times*, 27 May 1926, p. 3.

Other events hosted by branches embodied the international work of branches in a local context. The Criccieth branch (Caernarfonshire) organised a mock trial where it put the League on trial for failing to achieve its objectives but acquitted it.¹⁶⁹ In the build-up to the 1929 general election, the Anglesey District Committee organised a meeting of local parliamentary candidates. The candidates voluntarily attended and spoke about their opinion of the League. The candidates, Megan Lloyd George (Liberal), Albert Hughes (Conservative) and William Edwards (Labour), all favoured the principles advocated by the League.¹⁷⁰ These examples symbolised branches were trying to bring the League, as an international organisation, into the mainstream of Welsh politics.

In some instances, LNU branches collaborated with other organisations that shared similar objectives. In August 1931, the Brynmawr branch held a public meeting that included speakers who were students from Germany, Switzerland, Bulgaria, France and Syria.¹⁷¹ The students were in Brynmawr as part of the international exchange programme organised by Pierre Cérésolle, a peace activist and the founder of the International Voluntary Service for Peace.¹⁷² The exchange programme included student volunteers from British universities and a range of other countries. It involved building outdoor recreation facilities on land gifted to the project by the Duke of Beaufort. The objective was to aid poverty and other issues that high unemployment had caused in the area. The influence of the LNU branch at the Brynmawr exchange programme helped to build international connections. It also showed the Welsh LNU's branches engaging with initiatives organised on the world stage.

The Peace Ballot 1934-35

A prominent example of the Welsh LNU's branch work and community activism was during the Peace Ballot of 1934-35. The Peace Ballot, known officially as the 'National Declaration on the League of Nations and Armaments', was a British-wide

¹⁶⁹ *Wales and the League of Nations 1933-1934* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1933), p. 48.

¹⁷⁰ *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 20 April 1929, p. 4

¹⁷¹ *Western Mail*, 11 August 1931, p. 6.

¹⁷² For more on Pierre Cérésolle see: Marc Perrenoud, *Cérésolle, Pierre* (2005), <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/010567/2005-07-13/>> [accessed 6 July 2020].

survey that collected the public's opinion towards the League. The British LNU gave responsibility to the Welsh LNU for the ballot in Wales.¹⁷³ In total, 1,025,040, a figure that was 62.3 percent, of the Welsh electorate voted in the Peace Ballot (Table 2.3). The results showed that the Welsh population recognised the League and the Welsh LNU's activities. The Ballot revealed the intent of major groups within society to participate in conversations about Britain's future.¹⁷⁴

The ballot relied on branches and networks of supporters in Wales to gain responses. The Welsh LNU's branches assisted in promoting the ballot and helping to collect responses. Furthermore, members of branches who had taken responsibility for gaining votes on the Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America in 1923 used their past experiences to gain responses to Peace Ballot. J. Lloyd Jones, a branch member in Barry, helped to organise six public meetings and managed a team of canvassers.¹⁷⁵ J Evans, secretary of the Cardigan branch, addressed a public meeting and organised campaigners to gain votes in Cardigan.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, Miss A Davies of Mountain Ash organised several meetings and recruited members to help with canvassing.¹⁷⁷

Branches in towns and villages around Wales had designated individuals responsible for overseeing ballot papers distribution and collecting responses. These individuals were also responsible for managing groups of volunteer canvassers. Approximately between 10,000 and 15,000 people helped to canvass the ballot in Wales.¹⁷⁸ Canvassers were told not to 'be afraid of tackling people on their own doorstep! If they will not come into the Union, the Union must go to them!'.¹⁷⁹ Respondents were given the opportunity to answer in English or

¹⁷³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/64, Letter to David Samways from Maxwell Garnett, 30 July 1934.

¹⁷⁴ Helen McCarthy, 'Democratising British Foreign Policy: Rethinking the Peace Ballot, 1934-1935', *Journal of British Studies*, 49 (2010), 358-387 (p. 361).

¹⁷⁵ *Wales and the League of Nations 1934-1935* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1935), p. 23.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A4/7, Minutes of a meeting of the National Declaration Sub-Committee, 1 June 1935.

¹⁷⁹ PCW, *Canvassers Guide to the 1935 Peace Ballot*, available online:

<<https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/1246871>> [accessed 19 May 2020].

Table 2.3: Summary of results from the Peace Ballot in Wales, June 1935.¹⁸⁰

Question	Yes	No	No Answer
1) Should Great Britain remain a Member of the League of Nations?	1,002,284	16,296	6,460
2) Are you in favour of the all-round reduction of Armaments by International Agreement?	973,782	39,929	11,329
3) Are you in favour of the all-round abolition of National Military and Naval Aircraft by International Agreement?	926,381	83,702	14,957
4) Should the manufacture and sale of Armaments for private profit be prohibited by International Agreement?	957,528	51,132	16,380
5) Do you consider that if a Nation insists on attacking another the other Nation should combine to compel it to stop by:			
a) Economic and non-military measures?	909,195	51,927	57,514
b) If necessary, military measures?	579,994	248,846	188,501

Welsh.¹⁸¹ The work of individuals was paramount to the success of the ballot. The Welsh LNU were unwilling to provide its own funds and arrange its own schemes for canvassing.¹⁸² However, it demonstrated that League supporters in local communities were determined to make it successful.

¹⁸⁰ *Wales and World Peace 1935-1936* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1936) p. 41.

¹⁸¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A4/7, Minutes of a meeting of the National Declaration Sub-Committee, 18 October 1934.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

While the LNU organised the ballot, it was not solely promoted by its branches. Other organisations co-operated and aided the ballot. Helen McCarthy, when researching the ballot in Britain, discovered that British organisations such as Co-Operative Union, Women's International League and National Adults School Union.¹⁸³ There were similarities in Wales. Numerous organisations assisted the Welsh LNU in collecting responses and spreading awareness of the ballot. The Abertillery Peace Council co-operated with the local LNU branch to organise and run the Peace Ballot.¹⁸⁴ The Welsh LNU enlisted the assistance of the Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Welsh League of Youth). Ifan ab Owen Edwards, the Urdd's founder, promised to support the ballot locally by using the Urdd's branches to help distribute and collect the ballot papers.¹⁸⁵ However, he was hesitant to pledge any expression of opinion regarding the policy involved in the questionnaire.¹⁸⁶ The Commissioner for Wales of the Scouts informed the Welsh LNU that the Scout Organisation was precluded from helping in the national declaration.¹⁸⁷ However, Scoutmasters did sway from the official guidance. In Newport, the local Scout troop helped to collect responses.¹⁸⁸ In a similar manner, the Executive Council of the British Legion decided not to collaborate as they feared that the questionnaire might be interpreted as having 'political features'.¹⁸⁹ However, A. Kennedy Hunt, Welsh organiser of the British Legion, circulated a letter that asked for British Legion branches in Wales to appoint representatives to serve as canvassers.¹⁹⁰ While other organisations appeared reluctant to give their opinion, their willingness to help promote the ballot implied that they supported the League's ideals and Welsh LNU's objective to run the ballot.

The ballot caused a surge in the activities of branches and reinforced their importance. The Welsh LNU's north Wales Committee, a group composed of the north Wales organiser, members of the Welsh LNU's Executive Committee from

¹⁸³ Helen McCarthy, 'Democratizing British Foreign Policy', pp. 371-372.

¹⁸⁴ *South Wales Gazette*, 24 January 1936.

¹⁸⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A4/7, Minutes of a meeting of the National Declaration Sub-Committee, 28 August 1934.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Report of the Peace Ballot in Newport by J. B. Stewart, 15 July 1934.

¹⁸⁹ *Western Mail*, 7 January 1935, p. 8.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

north Wales and branch representatives, failed to meet between 1931 and 1934. However, the Peace Ballot re-energised and motivated support for the organisation.¹⁹¹ Some branches organised public meetings and events to stimulate public interest in favour of the ballot. In Swansea, Mrs A Watkin Williams, an organiser for the Ballot, organised for Rev. Shirwell Price to speak at a meeting at Sketty Hall.¹⁹² In Cardiff, organisers held several public events. Holding extra events indicated that branches were determined to make the ballot succeed.

The Peace Ballot developed in local villages where a local branch of the LNU had not existed throughout the interwar period. Fochriw, a village near Merthyr Tydfil (Glamorgan), had a varied degree of interaction with the LNU. It had sporadically organised Daffodil Days in the past, but these were not annual events.¹⁹³ Yet, when the Peace Ballot emerged, eighty-five percent of its inhabitants answered the ballot in a way that favoured the sentiment of the League. The results in Fochriw reflected the national tendency of the Ballot in Wales to support the ideas of the League (Table 2.4). It signalled that the League might not have been supported in terms of LNU membership, but it was on the edge of people's consciousness.

Table 2.4: Responses to the Peace Ballot in Fochriw.¹⁹⁴

Question (see Table 2.3)	Yes	No
1	688	9
2	688	9
3	656	41
4	663	32
5A	661	30
5B	451	173

¹⁹¹ NLW, NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/4, North Wales Committee Minutes.

¹⁹² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/65, Letter to David Samways from A Watkin Williams, 1935.

¹⁹³ *Merthyr Express*, 10 October 1925.

¹⁹⁴ *Merthyr Express*, 2 March 1935.

With a large proportion of votes favouring the League, the Welsh LNU presented the Peace Ballot as a national victory. The Peace Ballot showed how Welsh society engaged with the LNU in Wales. The turnout in some areas was significant. Welsh constituencies occupied the top twelve places of the total British responses to the ballot (Table 2.5). The large proportion of votes located in Montgomery, Merioneth, Cardigan and Caernarvon represented the higher levels of branch activity and membership in those parts of Wales. An 'Interested Enquirer', writing in the *Western Mail*, stressed the importance of knowing that the socialist party was weaker in these counties, thus demonstrating that 'the desire for international peace is not the monopoly of the socialist party'.¹⁹⁵ However, votes were not received from all areas of Wales. Responses depended on the number of volunteers available to distribute the forms. *Headway* reported that fewer responses came from areas where the union and co-opting societies were weak.¹⁹⁶ Gaps existed in branches' ability to gain votes in Pembrokeshire, the Gower, Brecon and Radnor, East Denbighshire and Flintshire.¹⁹⁷

The Ballot also drew some criticism from Welsh society, which in turn potentially affected the outcome of the ballot. In such instances, it was not the lack of canvassing by branches in their locality but the politics and sentiment behind the message. Captain Cutcliffe, writing in the *Western Mail*, declared that he would rather give his adherence to the British parliament and British statesman than the LNU.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, the wording of the ballot's questions was criticised. An anonymous writer to the *Western Mail* felt:

The five questions set out are unfair in their genesis, they have been carefully framed with a view to the answers required, and the answers will not give a true and just solution of the whole problem... the fact there was no Government referendum on the questions leaves no doubt that the organisation is self-appointed.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ *Western Mail*, 10 June 1935.

¹⁹⁶ *Headway*, July 1935.

¹⁹⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A4/7, Minutes of a meeting of the National Declaration Sub-Committee, 4 January 1935.

¹⁹⁸ *Western Mail*, 5 January 1935.

¹⁹⁹ *Western Mail*, 2 January 1935, p. 9.

Table 2.5: Top fourteen constituencies of the Peace Ballot in Britain.²⁰⁰

District	Percentage of turnout
1) Montgomery	86.6
2) Merioneth	86.4
3) Cardigan	83.1
4) Caernarvon Boroughs	80.1
5) Ogmore	78.6
6) Caernarvon County	78.1
7) Aberavon	78.1
8) Denbigh	77.6
9) Anglesey	77.1
10) Ebbw Vale	77.1
11) Aberdare	75.8
12) Swansea East	73.3
13) Rossendale (Lancashire)	72.9
14) Ashton-under-Lyne (Lancashire)	71.0

Others against the ballot argued that it manipulated voters by presenting them with a false choice.²⁰¹ These opinions provided alternative perceptions to the ones that LNU advocated in Wales wanted to promote. Nevertheless, they showed that some voices in Wales did not regard the ballot and felt it was counterproductive as it did not allow for a balanced discussion.

Ultimately, the ballot indicated that while respondents were not members of the Welsh LNU, they favoured the idea of the League. This was reflected in the ninety-seven percent of respondents favouring British League membership (Table

²⁰⁰ People's Collection Wales/ Casgliad Y Werin Cymru (PCW), *The Peace Ballot Bulletin*, 7 June 1935, available online: <<https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/1247091>> [accessed 5 May 2020].

²⁰¹ McCarthy, 'Democratizing British Foreign Policy', p. 370.

2.3). The ballot showed that most people supported international agreements that reduced armaments.²⁰² A prominent indication of the Welsh public's support for the League was the slight majority in respect of those who supported using military measures as a last resort. The Peace Ballot came at a time when the National Government was under pressure for their official policy of supporting the League, thus implying that the League and liberal internationalism were under pressure.

The Welsh public's support for the League in the Peace Ballot was not reflected by a surge in branch activity or membership. David Davies ambitiously wanted 100,000 new members of the LNU in Wales.²⁰³ Whilst membership did not increase to the extent Davies had envisaged, there was a small rise. Membership increased from 13,570 in 1934 to 18,255 in 1936.²⁰⁴ The Colwyn Bay branch (Denbighshire) gained eight new members; these were viewed as 'very welcome additions'.²⁰⁵ The rise in membership showed that people were inspired by the ballot to join the LNU. However, this trend was not universal. Membership in Denbighshire and Merionethshire decline between 1934 and 1936.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the Welsh LNU was a key feature of interwar communities. Studying the geographical location of branches revealed that membership of branches came from all corners of Wales. The chapter has stressed the importance of explaining membership based on proportional strength in terms of membership per proportion of the population. Doing so has revealed that support was larger in the rural counties of Wales. These were the Welsh Language heartlands, where support for the Liberal Party had not declined, and nonconformity was still prominent. These factors represented the items held highly on people's agendas and overlapped with the League. However, membership based

²⁰² Zara Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History 1919-1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 758.

²⁰³ PCW, *The Peace Ballot Bulletin*, October 1935. Available online: <<https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/1247126>> [accessed 25 May 2020].

²⁰⁴ Figures taken from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

²⁰⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/3, Letter to Miss N. B. Greenfield from David Samways, 19 February 1935.

on proportional strength underestimated the strength of the LNU in Glamorgan. It was Wales's most populated county, with the highest membership figure of 11,360. This was 7,065 more than the second biggest, which was recorded by Denbighshire at 4,296. Gaining a proportional view of membership revealed that the LNU lacked influence in some areas. The rise of the Labour Party and industrial turmoil meant that the League was not a mainstream feature of community life in all parts of Wales. The poverty experienced and migration away from the coalfield signalled other items held more importance. However, Labour's ideological and political rise meant that support for the Liberal Party and, to some extent, nonconformity was in decline. Therefore, the values associated with the League contrasted the main outlooks of people in this area.

The chapter has revealed that, whilst membership was located around Wales, it predominantly featured people typically from middle-class backgrounds. These included religious figures, teachers, doctors and lawyers. The Welsh LNU targeted these groups hoping that their status and prominence in society could be used to boost support for the LNU. As has been mentioned, the way the middle classes went about their lives, through attendance at public meetings and chapels or churches, meant they were more likely to be receptive to branch activity.

In addition, the chapter has argued that there was no singular way for the Welsh LNU to promote its cause and promote a precise mould of internationalism. Branches were pivotal to the success of the LNU in Wales. They organised a myriad of activities that exhibited the various elements of their work. While some branches were extremely proactive, others were less so. Branches used their own judgement to organise events using appropriate methods in their local area. The Welsh LNU understood that branches at a community level were best placed to organise activities. Interaction from the wider community with branches showed that the Welsh community were receptive to the principles of the League. Purchasing daffodils and engaging in events run by local branches indicated that the public interacted with the LNU, even if it was inadvertently. The high number of responses in the Peace Ballot indicated support for the principles of the League. While not representative of the two decades, it illustrated that the Welsh public favoured the League. Ultimately, even if branches might have been composed largely of middle-

class figures, the League was never far away from the public eye in interwar Wales.

Studying the Welsh LNU's branches also demonstrated that the League and international affairs were a feature of interwar Welsh society. It has claimed that branches had different levels and success in sustaining public interest in internationalism. Localised patterns of branch activity for certain events, such as events commemorating Armistice Day and Daffodil Days, revealed a core part of the LNU's activities and time when events were more likely. The fact that these were also the core events in the branch's calendars highlighted the infrequent nature of activities. Branches did not always have a sustained level of interest and were only as successful and proactive as the effort and time that their committee and members invested in them. The Peace Ballot, as a national initiative, revived branches and showed that, at times, support was not as strong as the Welsh LNU liked to suggest. Yet, the Peace Ballot showed that people, while not wanting to hold membership, held the sentiment of the League in high regard.

Chapter 3

Women and the League of Nations in Wales

In 1938, Minnie James, a woman from the village of Dowlais near Merthyr Tydfil (Glamorgan), opened the Temple of Peace and Health in Cardiff.¹ In her opening speech, Minnie James remarked how she was proud to represent Welsh women by opening a building that acted as a 'memorial to those gallant men who gave their lives in the war'.² Speaking as an individual who had lost three sons in the Great War, she was labelled by the *Western Mail* as 'Wales's Most Tragic Mother'.³ She was joined by twenty-four other 'female representatives' from Britain and other countries, that included Greece, Poland and South Africa and Spain, who were described as undertaking a 'pilgrimage of mothers who made war sacrifices'.⁴ Labelling this group of women as grieving mothers was no coincidence. Welsh LNU advocates, namely David Davies, wanted the ceremony to focus on 'mothers' fervent desire for peace' and the Temple to be a 'permanent symbol of that desire'.⁵ The rhetoric of women being grieving mothers and having a responsibility to partake in peace work linked with the message that the Welsh LNU promoted during the interwar period. They wanted women to support the LNU and work towards peace.

However, this view was not fully representative of the experience of Welsh women in the LNU during the interwar period. This chapter argues that while there was much talk of motherhood at a public level and it was a factor behind women's participation in the Welsh LNU, beneath this, women had similar motivations to

¹ A detailed evaluation of the Temple of Peace & Health can be found in chapter six of this thesis. For a brief history of the Temple of Peace, see: W. R. Davies, *The Temple of Peace & Health, 1938-1998: Its Impact of Wales and the World* (Cardiff: Welsh Centre for International Affairs 1998). For a recent evaluation of Minnie James, see: Welsh Centre for International Affairs, *Minnie James and the Temple's 'Mothers of Peace'* (2021), <<https://www.wcia.org.uk/wcia-news/wcia-history/the-story-of-minnie-james-and-the-temple-mothers-of-peace/#comments>> [accessed 19 June 2022].

² *Wales and World Peace 1937-1938* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1938), p. 5.

³ *Western Mail*, 24 November 1938, p. 7.

⁴ *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 1 September 1938, p. 5. Other women included Mrs Nixon, an eighty-two-year-old widow from Portrush, who represented Northern Island because she had lost four of her five sons in the war: *Northern Whig*, 14 November 1938, p. 6; Mrs Stillwell Wooden lost her only child in the war and was another member of the group: *Portsmouth Evening News*, 16 November 1938, p. 7.

⁵ *Gloucestershire Echo*, 1 September 1938, p. 1.

men in their interaction with the League. Those women who engaged in the Welsh LNU were genuinely interested in internationalism. Many of those involved embodied the typical background of those engaged with the movement in respect of being middle-class and liberal. Some women saw it as their duty to support the League to save future generations from bloodshed. In such instances, maternal internationalism was at the root of women's interest. Some figures in the Welsh LNU established a link between material qualities and internationalism as a way of defining women's participation. This idea was imposed on women, mainly by men, who used it to understand and gauge female participation. Women generally supported the League and acquired a range of responsibilities without maternal narratives.

This chapter argues that women were crucial to the success and promotion of the Welsh LNU. The Welsh LNU included the largest number of women of any organisation that existed in interwar Wales and was, therefore, a significant movement. This chapter explores the prominence of women throughout the Welsh LNU hierarchy and organisation to show that women were generally in support of the League without seeing it through the lens of motherhood. Therefore, women's participation in the Welsh LNU was a key feature of interwar life in certain parts of Wales.

The chapter assesses the contradictory relationship between women and the LNU in Wales. On the one hand, women did not operate in an entirely separate female sphere. As will be seen, their involvement was regulated and watched over by their male counterparts on numerous occasions. Yet, on the other, it provided an independent space and opportunities for Welsh women to promote the LNU. Helen McCarthy noted that the British LNU displayed marks of modernity by creating space for female leadership and gender mixing.⁶ The assertion can also be applied to the Welsh LNU. This will be highlighted by exploring the case study of the 1924 Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America, a petition that 390,296 women in Wales signed that appealed to the women of America to persuade their government to join the League. The petition illustrated the diverse ways in which

⁶ Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism c. 1918-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 10.

women were involved. It revealed their activities as being unique in terms of the women of one country reaching out to another, and it was not matched elsewhere. While the 1934-35 Peace Ballot discussed in the previous chapter was a Britain-wide initiative, the women's petition was unique to Wales and was rooted in Welsh interwar social activism. Finally, the chapter discusses the relationship between the Welsh LNU and other women's organisations. Here it will be seen that peace activism was one of several causes being explored by Welsh women. Some were often involved with numerous initiatives in their community, such as the chapel, Women's Institute (WI), youth groups and other organisations. Ultimately, this chapter argues that while motherhood was used to explain participation, women did not consider it the defining factor in supporting the League and Welsh LNU.

Historiography

Examining women in the Welsh LNU contributes to the growing scholarly interest in women and internationalism. Patricia Owens and Katharina Rietzler's edited volume of women's international thought uncovered the lack of engagement with female scholars of international relations by historians and international relations scholars.⁷ Similarly, Jan Stöckmann, in his evaluation of female scholars of international relations during the interwar period, revealed that women generated a range of scholarship that went beyond the mainstream, male-dominated areas of political thought. These areas included the role of women in war, mass political education and spiritual-universalist approaches to international politics.⁸ Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe's study of women's activism in Europe between 1918 and 1923 showed that women operated on the fringes of the peace process. They mainly contributed to rebuilding local identities and communities after the war.⁹ Moreover, Glenda Sluga showcased the global involvement of women in the major

⁷ Patricia Owens and Katharina Rietzler, 'Introduction: Toward a History of Women's International Thought', in *Women's International Thought: A New History*, ed. by Patricia Owens and Katharina Rietzler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 1-25 (pp. 1-2).

⁸ Jan Stöckmann, 'Women, Wars, and World Affairs: Recovering Feminist International Relations, 1915-39', *Review of International Studies*, 44.2 (2017), 215-235.

⁹ Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe, eds, *Aftermaths of War: Women's Movements and Female Activists, 1918-1923* (Boston: Brill, 2011).

political debates and processes of twentieth-century liberal internationalism.¹⁰ Other scholars have referred to the origins of women's internationalism. Marie Sandell considered women's interest in internationalism to have roots in nineteenth-century philanthropic, abolition and temperance activism.¹¹ Such studies have broadened the parameters of research on women and internationalism. Investigating Welsh women's engagement with internationalism through the League steps back from the broader work completed to assess what happened nationally and allows Wales to be placed in a global context.

At a British and Welsh level, studies of the League and LNU have traditionally focused on influential male figures, such as Alfred Zimmern, Gilbert Murray, Robert Cecil, David Davies and Gwilym Davies.¹² As mentioned in this chapter, several of these men had prominent female family members. The study of these male figures has long attracted interest from historians, particularly during the 1990s and 2000s. Women are notably absent from most studies of the British and Welsh LNU. Donald Birn provided little acknowledgement of women and examples of female activism.¹³ Goronwy J. Jones's study of the Welsh LNU did not investigate women beyond recognition of the Women's Petition.¹⁴ The traditionalist outlook is confirmed in primary sources by the tendency to call women by their husbands' names rather than their own. One example can be seen in Annie Hughes Griffiths, chief organiser of the Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America and President of the Welsh LNU between 1925 and 1926, being called Mrs Peter Hughes Griffiths on

¹⁰ Glenda Sluga, 'Women, Feminisms and Twentieth-Century Internationalisms', in *Internationalism: a Twentieth-Century History*, ed. by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 61-84 (p. 61).

¹¹ Marie Sandell, 'A Real Meeting of the Women of the East and the West' Women and Internationalism in the Interwar Period', in *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movement Between the World Wars*, ed. by Daniel Laqua (London: I.B Tauris, 2011), pp. 161- 185.

¹² Some examples included: Paul Rich, 'Alfred Zimmern's Cautious Idealism: The League of Nations, International Education and the Commonwealth', in *Thinkers of the Twenty Years' Crisis: Inter-war Idealism Reassessed* ed. by David Long; Peter Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 79-99; Christopher Stray, *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre and International Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Gaynor Johnson, *Lord Robert Cecil: Politician and Internationalist* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Brian Porter, 'David Davies and the Enforcement of Peace', in *Thinkers of the Twenty Years' Crisis: Inter-War Idealism Reassessed*, ed. by David Long and Peter Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 58-78; *Gwilym Davies 1879-1955: A Tribute*, ed. by Ieuan Gwynedd Jones (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1972).

¹³ Donald Birn, *The League of Nations Union 1918- 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

¹⁴ Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace (From the Close of the Napoleonic Wars to the Outbreak of the Second World War)* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969), p. 100.

several occasions.¹⁵ This chapter brings women to the front of research by attempting to study them individually. The women researched in this chapter were pioneering, but history has forgotten them. This is reflected by the fact that, despite extensive interrogation of sources such as LNU branch registers, newspapers and ancestry websites, it has not been possible, in some cases, to give women their own individual identity, especially at branch level.

However, studies of individual women have emerged in recent years. Rachel Crowdy, a British internationalist, social reformer and Chief of the Department of Opium and Traffic and Social Issues at the League between 1919 and 1931, is one example.¹⁶ Susan Pedersen argued that the diligence of individuals like Crowdy meant that women's involvement came to be regarded as a significant characteristic of the new 'spirit of Geneva'.¹⁷ Furthermore, Mona Siegel explored the role of Marguerite de Witt Schlumberger, a French philanthropist and feminist, at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, namely her communication with American President Woodrow Wilson.¹⁸ These studies have presented women as pioneering and contributing significantly to post-war peace. However, they have noticeably focused on women involved in the League's broad international spheres, namely those who participated in international meetings and congresses. Fewer studies have been devoted to the role of women at local and regional levels, indicating there is no equal recognition of women across all spheres of international organisations. This chapter suggests a new direction that other scholars can develop by exploring women at a regional level who were involved in the Welsh LNU. The role of women such as Annie Hughes Griffiths, Sara Pugh Jones and Alice Catherine (Kitty) Idwal Jones (née. Lewis) will be explored to explain who these women were,

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 112.

¹⁶ See chapter two, entitled 'Servant of the World Rachel Crowdy at the League of Nations', in Daniel Gorman, *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 52-82. A biography of her life can be found: Alice Prochaska, *Crowdy, Dame Rachel Eleanor* (2008),

<<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32647?rskey=KxBMTA&result=1>> [accessed 19 October 2020].

¹⁷ Susan Pedersen, 'Women at Work in the League of Nations Secretariat', in *Gender, Identities and Social Change in Modern Britain*, ed. by Heidi Egginton and Zoë Thomas (London: University of London Press, Institute of Historical Research, 2021), pp. 181-203.

¹⁸ Mona Siegel, *Peace on Our Terms: The Global Battle for Women's Rights after the First World War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020).

their background and how they engaged with internationalism in the local sphere of the LNU in Wales. It displays the interconnection of the international world with local communities.

However, there are complexities with bringing women to the forefront of Welsh historical research. Sian Rhiannon Williams noted the importance of providing a nuanced understanding of gender relationships while rediscovering women who made pioneering contributions to Welsh national life but have been absent from historical records.¹⁹ This chapter explores the involvement and contribution of women in the Welsh LNU. It predominantly explores women who played a considerable role in the LNU but are yet to be explored in Welsh historiography.

Furthermore, by researching the role of women in the Welsh LNU, this chapter contributes information on the position of women in interwar British and Welsh society. There has been a tendency for the contribution of women during to war to be overshadowed by the process of remembrance. Sharp and Stibbe explained that traditional processes of commemoration meant women were excluded and not considered central to the war narrative.²⁰ In Britain, male veterans, according to Niall Barr, commanded national respect during the interwar war period.²¹ Alison Fell has noted that the 'lost generation' narrative and the processes of remembrance that existed at the end of the war reflected the male dominance of veterans.²² Moreover, Fell and Susan R. Grayzel observed that the 'lost generation' narrative resulted in women being labelled as bereaved mothers.²³ These historians have indicated that women have been treated as an afterthought by some sections of society, and the role of women in the war was disregarded by Britain at the end of the Great War. While there is a large amount of literature on

¹⁹ Sian Rhiannon Williams, 'Rediscovering Ellen Evans (1891-1953), Principal of Glamorgan Training College Barry', *Trafodion Anrhydeddus Gymdeithas y Cymmrodorion/ Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 19 (2013), 100-115.

²⁰ Sharp and Stibbe, *Aftermaths of War*.

²¹ Niall Barr, *The Lion and the Poppy: British Veterans, Politics and Society, 1921-1939* (Westport: Praeger, 2005), pp. 9-11.

²² Alison S. Fell, *Women as Veterans in Britain and France after the First World War* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2018), pp. 1-5.

²³ Alison S. Fell and Susan R. Grayzel, 'Women's Movements, War and the Body', in *Women's Activists Between War and Peace: Europe, 1918-1923*, ed. by Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), pp. 221- 250.

women's war work, this work has not been considered equivalent to the war service of men.

Some Welsh historians have argued that the progress made by women in the suffrage movement ceased at the end of the Great War. Historians have highlighted how women returned to the domestic sphere at the end of the war. The war provided women with employment opportunities, but they were dismissed from the workforce. During the war, women entered the workplace *en masse*. Joanna Bourke estimated that in Britain, two million women replaced men in employment, resulting in an increase in the proportion of women in total employment from twenty-four percent of the total workforce in July 1914, to thirty-seven percent of the total workforce by November 1918.²⁴ However, at the end of the war, men returned to their old fields of employment. Subsequently, Deirdre Beddoe claimed that the perception of women's place being the home became the most prominent feature of interwar society.²⁵ However, exploring women's activism in the Welsh LNU reveals this was not true for all women. As will be seen, women often escaped the confines of their homes by partaking in activism alongside any 'domestic' responsibilities. A small number of women gained paid employment opportunities in secretarial positions at the Welsh LNU's headquarters in Cardiff. Therefore, this chapter argues that the LNU was an opportunity for some women to obtain individuality and progress with new opportunities that arose during the interwar period.

Finally, this chapter explores women's activism in interwar Welsh society. By the interwar period, women had received the right to vote, and the suffrage movement allowed women access to equal citizenship and political influence.²⁶ In 1918, the vote was granted to 8.5 million British women. While women did not receive the vote on equal terms to men until 1928, the enfranchisement of women

²⁴ Joanna Bourke, *Working Class Cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, Class, and Ethnicity* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 102.

²⁵ Deirdre Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty: Women Between the Wars, 1918-1939* (London: Pandora, 1989), p. 3.

²⁶ Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe, 'Introduction: Women's Movement and Female Activists in the Aftermath of War: International Perspective 1918-1923', in *Aftermaths of War: Women's Movements and Female Activists, 1918-1923*, ed. by Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe (Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 1-25 (p. 16).

in 1918 marked a turning point in the suffrage movement as their core principle of enfranchising women had been successful. Historians have noted that this caused divisions between women's organisations.²⁷ In Britain, women did not want to carry through with the feminist revolution that had occurred before the war.²⁸ Some historians have argued that feminism was in retreat during the 1920s.²⁹ However, women were prepared to campaign on various issues in inter-war Wales. As Ryland Wallace has argued, the 1920s saw a considerable widening of the objectives of the women's movement as a proliferation of organisations spearheaded by a diverse range of campaigns on issues such as women's employment, equal pay, an equal moral standard and the rights of married women.³⁰ These groups also mounted high-profile campaigns for international arbitration and disarmament.³¹ Women's activism was, therefore, varied. Exploring women's activism in the Welsh LNU reveals an international context to activism. Moreover, it uncovers a link between women in the suffrage movement and the Welsh LNU. These saw the LNU as a means of arguing for greater reforms, some of which would, they hoped, preserve peace.

Women in the Welsh LNU

The LNU was the largest social activist organisation in which women were represented in Wales during the interwar period. However, women were not evident in the organisation in the immediate aftermath of the war. In 1920, Megan

²⁷ Harold L. Smith noted that once suffrage had been achieved, divisions between feminisms became more apparent with women pursuing varying objectives: Harold L. Smith, 'Introduction', in *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Harold L. Smith (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1990), p. 1; Susan Kingsley Kent considered the women's movement to have lost its purpose and accepted the traditional perception of women: Susan Kingsley Kent, 'The Politics of Sexual Difference: World War One and the Demise of British Feminism', *Journal of British Studies* (27.3) 1988, p. 232.

²⁸ Julie V. Gottlieb, Judith Szapor, Tiina Lintunen and Dagmar Wernitznig, 'Suffrage and Nationalism in Comparative Perspective: Britain, Hungary, Finland and the Transnational Experience of Roskia Schwimmer', in *Women Activists Between War and Peace: Europe, 1918-1923*, ed. by Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 29-76.

²⁹ Deirdre Beddoe, *Discovering Women's History: a Practical Guide to Researching the Lives of Women Since 1800*, 3rd edn (London; New York: Longman, 1998), p. 34.

³⁰ Ryland Wallace, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Wales, 1866-1928* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), p. 254.

³¹ Andrew Webster, 'The League of Nations, Disarmament and Internationalism', in *Internationalism: a Twentieth-Century History*, ed. by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 139-169 (p. 150).

Lloyd George, the daughter of British Prime Minister and Liberal MP for Caernarfon David Lloyd George, wrote in the *Woman Teacher* that women were capable of doing tasks previously performed by men. She felt that Wales had been reluctant to share with women the work of the League.³² Megan Lloyd George's opinion was voiced when the British LNU were still responsible for promoting the League in Wales. When the separate Welsh LNU was established, however, women became more involved in the work of the LNU. The Welsh LNU was more receptive to women's activism than its British counterpart.

The presence of women was most evident in branches as opposed to the higher spheres of the Welsh LNU hierarchy. Exploring the number of women who held branch membership reveals that the Welsh LNU had the largest female membership during the interwar period. Archival records do not reveal the exact number of women members as an overall uniform figure. However, by interrogating and scrutinising branch records, it is possible to gain insight into how many women were members of the Welsh LNU.

The Pontarddulais District Committee (Glamorgan) kept registers that recorded the names of their members (Table 3.1). Researching these names across the numerous branches of the Pontarddulais District Committee reveals that branches were male-dominated. However, women's membership was proportionally higher in some instances, such as the Libanus Chapel and Tabernacl Baptist Chapel. The demographic breakdown of 63.8 percent male and 36.2 percent female from the Pontarddulais District Committee, can be used to estimate the wider demographic of Welsh LNU membership. In 1929, as shown in the previous chapter, LNU membership in Wales numbered 41,974. Extrapolating the proportion seen in the Pontarddulais case, as the only set of branch registers discovered from extensive research, would have meant 26,779 members were male, and 15,195 were female. Gaining an understanding of the number of women in other organisations reveals that the LNU had the highest level of female participation. Ryland Wallace has noted that, in 1933, the Labour Party women's section in Wales

³² *The Woman Teacher*, 11 June 1920.

Table 3.1: Gender demographic of branches in the Pontarddulais District
Committee, c. 1930.³³

Branch	Men	Women	Percentage Men	Percentage Women
Babell Baptist Church	23	2	92%	8%
Calfaria	6	7	46.2%	53.8%
Capel Newydd	4	1	80%	20%
English Wesleyan	9	3	75%	25%
Goppa	20	5	80%	20%
Hendy Council School	6	10	37.5%	62.5%
Hermon	39	18	68.4%	31.6%
Hope	54	3	97.3%	5.3%
Libanus	19	24	44.2%	55.8%
Pontarddualis Schools	17	24	41.5%	58.5%
Sardis	1	0	100%	0%
Siloh	19	2	90.5%	9.5%
Swansea Road	22	10	68.7%	31.3%
St Teilo and St Michael Church	6	5	54.5%	45.5%
Tabernacle	20	26	43.5%	56.5%
Trinity	21	22	48.8%	51.2%
Total	286	162		
Total of both	448		63.8%	36.2%

³³ Swansea, West Glamorgan Archive Service (WGAS), D/D Z 849/33, Bundle of Registers for the League of Nations Union Welsh National Council branches in Pontarddulais.

had 9,160 members; this was 45 percent of individual party membership in Wales.³⁴ Moreover, Helen Thomas noted there were approximately 2,000 members of the Women's Co-operative Guild (WCG) in south Wales during the interwar period.³⁵ In comparison to wider British peace movements, WIL had 3000 members in the mid-1920s.³⁶ These figures were far below the estimated 15,195 membership figure of women in the Welsh LNU. It reveals that ideas centred around internationalism and Liberalism carried significant weight in Welsh society.

Explaining female participation in the Welsh LNU

In October 1922, Winifred Coombe Tennant, a liberal and suffragist from Neath (Glamorgan), represented Britain at the Third Assembly of the League in Geneva. Appointed to the delegation by British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, Coombe Tennant became the first woman in history to represent Britain as an international diplomat.³⁷ In her diary, Coombe Tennant remarked that her appointment would have been 'impossible in international politics ten years ago... it is rather strange to me how we women endured to be shut out from all this, where the threads of destiny were spun'.³⁸ Prior to Coombe Tennant's appointment, criticism had been made of the British Government's failure to appoint a woman as a delegate to the League. *The Vote*, the official newspaper of the Women's Freedom League (WFL), reported that Britain had been 'very backwards' in appointing a female.³⁹ Other countries, such as Denmark, Romania and Sweden, had appointed female delegates since the First Assembly of the League in 1920. Coombe Tennant's appointment might have symbolised a development in the position of women in diplomacy. However, international affairs reflected traditional attitudes and perceptions of

³⁴ Wallace, p. 252.

³⁵ Helen Thomas, 'A Democracy of Working Women: The Women's Co-operative Guild in South Wales, 1891-1939', *Llafur* (2012), p. 154.

³⁶ Webster, p. 150.

³⁷ Winifred Coombe Tennant was a suffragist, Liberal politician, spiritualist and philanthropist. In 1920, she became the first woman to serve as a magistrate for Glamorgan. For a biography of her life, see: Deirdre Beddoe, *Winifred Margaret Coombe Tennant* (2011), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-70091?rskey=e4Y9Os&result=2>> [accessed 28 July 2020].

³⁸ WGAS, D/DT 3978, Diary of Winifred Coombe Tennant from the Third Assembly of the League of Nations, September 1922, pp. 8-9.

³⁹ *Vote*, 1 September 1922, p. 5.

women. While she was given diplomatic responsibilities, she was denied diplomatic status and had no official ties to the foreign office.

While Coombe Tennant's experience of visiting Geneva as an international diplomat was individual and not reflective of most women in Wales, her appointment was indicative of the changing attitudes in British diplomacy and symbolised the importance of women in engaging with international affairs. In advance of her visit to Geneva, Coombe Tennant stated that women had 'a distinct contribution to make to the work of the League', one that concerned 'a number of questions that closely affected women and children'.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Coombe Tennant recorded that her visit to Geneva gave her a 'flash of intuition that motherhood would be the ruling power'.⁴¹ Her life experience was partly responsible for shaping her opinions, as one of her sons was killed in the Great War.⁴² In 1922, Winifred Coombe Tennant reiterated the motherhood narrative by stressing the importance of female engagement in international affairs. Coombe Tennant warned women who tried to 'turn a blind eye' to the League that 'it was international affairs that came into their homes and took their sons, brothers and husbands from them during the war'.⁴³ Coombe Tennant's statements suggested that women's role in international affairs and the League should have been based on conservative and traditional concepts of femininity, such as motherhood.

Some women saw it as their duty to support the League as they felt it would save future generations from bloodshed. In such instances, maternal internationalism was at the root of women's interest. In 1918, Irene McArthur, secretary of the Women's Liberal Association, explained that while there were many subjects on which women disagreed, a topic that united women regardless of politics, religion, and social standing was the hope that children would not experience war again.⁴⁴ In 1920, when the Welsh LNU was still part of the British

⁴⁰ *Cambria Daily Leader*, 28 August 1922.

⁴¹ WGAS, D/DT 3978, Diary of Winifred Coombe Tennant, September 1922, p. 9.

⁴² For a recent evaluation of Winifred Coombe Tennant, see: Rob Laker, *Gendering International Affairs: Winifred Coombe Tennant and the League of Nations Assembly, 1922*, by Robert Laker (2021), <<https://womenshistorynetwork.org/gendering-international-affairs-winifred-coombe-tennant-and-the-league-of-nations-assembly-1922-by-robert-laker/>> [accessed 9 January 2022].

⁴³ *Sunday Illustrated*, 3 September 1922.

⁴⁴ Irene McArthur, *Women and the League of Nations* (London: League of Nations Union Press, 1918).

LNU, a pamphlet was circulated where several notable individuals from England and Wales signed an open letter endorsing the League. Signatures included those from Nancy Astor, the Conservative MP for Plymouth Sutton who was the second woman elected to Westminster, but the first to take her seat; Millicent Fawcett, former leader of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and Margaret Haig Thomas (Lady Rhondda), a Welsh business woman, suffragette and peeress.⁴⁵ The letter informed women that they were focused on working for their children to enjoy security and prosperity and that they knew 'intuitively that permanent peace' was the only way to achieve their goals.⁴⁶

Similarly, the narrative was imposed on women by men who used it as a way of gauging women's interaction with the LNU in Wales. In 1925, Rev Watcyn Price, a member of the Presbyterian Church in Wales, wrote in the *Welsh Outlook* to appeal for Welsh women to support the League.⁴⁷ Price remarked that it was the:

Duty of every woman to see that such a massacre shall never occur again. Unless she makes her voice heard, the babe in her arms may be bayoneted within the next two decades. But, on the other hand, it is within her power to place war between nations practically beyond the bounds of possibility. Her remedy is the League the greatest protector of life ever devised by man.⁴⁸

The article showed the perceived inferiority of women, albeit indirectly. The League, being 'devised by man', implied women and men had different characteristics, with men cast as leaders of governments and women as mothers. The article also stressed that women were responsible for supporting the League due to their

⁴⁵ The first woman elected to parliament was Sinn Féin politician Constance Markievicz. However, she did not take her seat in line with Sinn Féin's abstentionist policy. For a biography on Nancy Astor see: Adrian Fort, *Nancy: the Story of Lady Astor* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2012). For an overview of Millicent Fawcett see: Janet Howard, *Fawcett, Dame Millicent Garrett* (2007), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33096>> [accessed 29 October 2020]. A biography of Margaret Haig Thomas is produced by: Angela V. John, *Turning the Tide: the Life of Lady Rhondda* (Cardigan: Parthian, 2013).

⁴⁶ Pamphlet available at: London, London School and Economic Library Archive (LSE), LNU 7/2, Manifesto Outlining Women's Support for the League of Nations Union, 1920.

⁴⁷ Rev Watcyn Price was listed as an Organiser and Travelling Secretary for the Presbyterian Church in Wales in *Western Mail*, 8 October 1935.

⁴⁸ *Welsh Outlook*, October 1925.

motherly characteristics. According to the article, failure to do so would be catastrophic and result in another global conflict. Rev. Price's article also indicated that men told women of their responsibility to support the League. Women were being told that, as mothers, they had an important contribution to make in attempts to preserve peace.

The views of Rev Watcyn Price were reflected at an international level. In 1920, a resolution was passed at a Congress of Women in Geneva that described women as 'the natural custodians of child life'; therefore, 'the welfare of children in any country is a matter for which the women of all countries have a special responsibility'.⁴⁹ Women's interactions with the new international order were viewed as the responsibility of mothering the world. Historians have argued that motherhood was central to how women perceived their role in internationalism.⁵⁰ It was a popular theme in constructing identities in post-war society because it created a universal experience and common ground between women from different backgrounds.⁵¹ Sarah Hellowell's study of the Women's International League (WIL), the British section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), revealed that feminists of WIL used social and cultural experiences of motherhood to challenge discourse on gender and build bridges with the women of former enemy nations.⁵² The discourse of motherhood allowed WIL to operate in the realm of international politics – a traditionally male domain – to demonstrate that women had a valuable contribution to the public sphere.⁵³ Ultimately, the idea of motherhood and maternal internationalism as a central factor was being imposed on women and, as a result, viewed by women as a factor key to their involvement with internationalism.

While views on motherhood did feature in the Welsh LNU, it was not a

⁴⁹ Taken from a monthly pamphlet of the British LNU entitled: *Today and Tomorrow* (London: League of Nations Union, 1920), pp. 160-164.

⁵⁰ Susan Kingsley Kent argued that a gender system of separate spheres and a new emphasis on motherhood provided the parameters for which activities were to be conducted. See: Susan Kingsley Kent, 'Gender Reconstruction after the First World War', in *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Harold L. Smith (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1990), pp. 66-83 (p. 66).

⁵¹ Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p. 2.

⁵² Sarah Hellowell, 'Antimilitarism, Citizenship and Motherhood: the formation and early years of the Women's International League (WIL), 1915-1919', *Women's History Review*, 27.4 (2018), 551-564.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

defining factor in female motivation and participation. Women appeared conscious of their place in the international community beyond the view of motherhood. While women featured across all areas of the Welsh LNU's organisational structure, the upper spheres of the organisation were dominated by men. Women rarely rose to equal positions. However, this resembled the norm of most organisations that had male and female members at the time. In theory, the League's Covenant enshrined equality between men and women. Article seven noted that all positions, under or in connection with the League, including the secretariat, were to be open 'equally to men and women'.⁵⁴ In some cases, it allowed women to be involved in international affairs. However, women rarely rose to equal positions with their male counterparts. Many of the women involved had two avenues of work open to them: as League delegates for their nation-state or on the League's advisory commissions.⁵⁵ The areas of work they were assigned to were focused on the traditional perceptions of women. They were often involved in advisory commissions on topics considered 'feminine', such as the Trafficking of Women and Children or Refugees.⁵⁶ These areas, therefore, enforced the view that women's attention should be directed towards areas in which they were perceived to have expertise.

A small number of Welsh women did hold positions high up in the Welsh LNU's organisational hierarchy. These women tended to be middle-class, Liberal, and well-connected to the political and intellectual elites. Annie Hughes Griffiths was the only female president of the Welsh LNU, holding the position between 1925 and 1926. Born in 1873 as Annie Jane Davies in Llangeitho, rural Cardiganshire, she was the daughter of Robert J. Davies, an influential Liberal, leading Calvinistic Methodist and secretary of the campaign to erect a statue of Liberal MP and peace advocate Henry Richard, in Tregaron. Her brother was John Humphreys Davies, a lawyer, educator and supporter of the decision to establish the National Library of Wales. In 1898, she married the Liberal MP for Merionethshire, home rule advocate

⁵⁴ Arthur Ponsonby, *The Covenant of the League of Nations* (London: Union of Democratic Control, 1920).

⁵⁵ Glenda Sluga, 'Women, Feminisms and Twentieth-Century Internationalisms', p. 69.

⁵⁶ Magaly Rodríguez García, 'The League of Nations and the Moral Recruitment of Women', *International Review of Social History*, 57.20 (2012), 97-128.

and leader of the Cymru Fydd (Free Wales) movement, T. E. Ellis. Their one son, Thomas Iorwerth Ellis, was born a few months before the death of T.E. Ellis in 1898. In 1916, she married Peter Hughes Griffiths, a Reverend at a Welsh chapel in Charing Cross, London.⁵⁷ She partook in the Welsh LNU individually, away from these male individuals. Acting as a female president, she conducted the same activities as other presidents of the Welsh LNU. Her appointment as president was due to her involvement in the Women's Petition to Wales to the Women of America. However, her appointment was also an attempt to get more women to support the Welsh LNU. Gwilym Davies felt that her appointment would benefit the LNU as she was respected by the women of Wales.⁵⁸ On one occasion during her tenure as president, Annie Hughes Griffiths spoke of the women of Wales's responsibilities as mothers. In December 1925, she worried that 'our sons may again be called to re-enter the shambles of the long inglorious history of our race'.⁵⁹ However, the view was a one-off occurrence and not representative of her opinion.

Women were also members of the Welsh LNU's male-dominated Executive Committee. However, the number of women on this committee was small, but still more than the British LNU.⁶⁰ In 1923, there were only four women out of thirty-three members.⁶¹ These four women were Rosina Davies, a Welsh free church evangelist who made numerous missionary trips to America during the twentieth century, Mrs A. B. Badger (Newport), Mrs Bottomley, the wife of Ben Bottomley, a Conservative Agent in Swansea, and Mrs H.D. Williams (Morrison).⁶² By 1934, the number of women had grown to nine out of forty-eight members.⁶³ Women members of the Executive Committee represented different backgrounds. In 1924,

⁵⁷ For a brief biography of her life see: Craig Owen, *"Inspired by Annie": The Story of the 1923 Welsh Women's Peace Petition to America* (2019), < <https://www.wcia.org.uk/wcia-news/wcia-history/womenspeacepetition/> > [accessed 20 October 2020].

⁵⁸ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (NLW), GB 0210 TIELLIS, A360, Letter to Annie Hughes Griffiths from Gwilym Davies, 4 May 1925.

⁵⁹ NLW, GB 0210 TIELLIS, A358, A copy of the president's New Year Message, December 1925.

⁶⁰ Helen McCarthy noted that women were outnumbered in the British LNU's Executive Committee and, as a result, the power lay in the masculine inner circle: McCarthy, p. 185.

⁶¹ *Wales and World Peace: A Summary of the Report of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union to Whitsuntide, 1923* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1923).

⁶² For a biography of her life see: Rosina Davies, *The Story of my Life* (Llandyssul: Gomer Press, 1942).

⁶³ *Wales and the League of Nations 1934-1935* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1935).

Rose Davies, a feminist and labour activist and a different person to Rosina Davies, held a seat on the Executive Committee.⁶⁴ Women who were involved with and supported the Liberal Party were also featured on the Executive Committee. Kitty Lewis, daughter of liberal politician John Herbert Lewis, was a member.⁶⁵ Mrs Owen Williams was also a member between 1930 and 1939. In 1939, she was appointed vice-chair of the South Wales Women's Liberal Federation.⁶⁶ Women from nonconformist religious backgrounds were also involved, often the wives of leading religious figures, such as Mrs P. E. White Phillips from Blaenau Ffestiniog.

The Welsh LNU also allowed women to be involved in its day-to-day running in respect of acquiring full-time paid positions. In 1927, Sara Pugh Jones, from Llangollen (Denbighshire), was appointed as the regional organiser for north Wales. This entailed overseeing the running of branches, organising public events and promoting the work of the LNU in their area of Wales. In deciding her appointment, the Welsh LNU looked at the characteristics and experience of the applicants rather than their gender. Two candidates were interviewed for the position. It was noted that Mr W Greenfield held 'better qualifications' if it was important for the person fulfilling the role to be from a business background and treat the LNU like a profit-making organisation.⁶⁷ In comparison, Sara Pugh Jones was deemed to hold better 'organisational ability' if the object was to maintain publicity.⁶⁸ Therefore, it was decided that Sara Pugh Jones should fill the position. When women held these mid-tier roles, they were treated equally to men. Sara Pugh Jones received £300 per annum for her role. Moreover, she was offered a bonus of five percent if she raised more than £2000 in a year for the funds of the Welsh LNU.⁶⁹ This payment structure was the same for men who held the position.

As an individual, Sara Pugh Jones was from the same background and had

⁶⁴ Neil Evans, *Rose Davies* (2011), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-70090>> [accessed 12 August 2020].

⁶⁵ Archival records of Alice Catherine 'Kitty' Lewis can be located as part of her father's, John Herbert Lewis, collection. See: Flintshire Record Office (FRO), GB 0208, D/L: Sir J Herbert Lewis MSS Collection, 270-298.

⁶⁶ *Western Mail*, 26 April 1939, p. 13.

⁶⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/4, Minutes of the North Wales Group, 5 July 1927.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/70, Letter to Sara Pugh Jones from David Samways, 23 July 1927.

the same outlook as some of those members of the executive committee. She embodied the definition of a nonconformist liberal and sympathised with, but did not directly support, the National Party of Wales. In October 1927, she wanted to enlist John G. Brookes, an influential figure in the nationalist party, to work with the Llandudno District Committee to organise a series of public meetings.⁷⁰ However, Brookes' affiliation with the nationalist party Plaid Cymru meant the Llandudno District Committee viewed it impossible for the two groups to work together.⁷¹ Pugh Jones considered these nationalists as lively and passionate individuals who would help generate support, thus different from some of the 'terribly dull people' whom she considered to run branches.⁷²

Sara Pugh Jones's work was integral to the success of the League's work in north Wales. She conducted her role bilingually in English and Welsh. In 1928, she looked to inject fresh enthusiasm into branch activity in Montgomeryshire, an area deemed by Pugh Jones to be a 'sleepy county'.⁷³ Holding the position allowed Sara Pugh Jones to learn to drive so she could travel around north Wales to promote the League. In 1927, she noted the liberating experience of driving solo from her house in Llangollen to Dolgellau (Merionethshire) and Barmouth (Merionethshire) to speak at meetings of local LNU branches.⁷⁴ However, her pioneering work did not stop people from presuming a man held the role. Throughout her tenure, Sara Pugh Jones regularly received letters addressed to 'Dear Sir' or 'Mr Pugh Jones'.⁷⁵

The most evident example of her pioneering work was creating and organising the 'Capture the Castle for Peace' initiative across north Wales. In 1930, this initiative was held as a one-off event to celebrate the tenth birthday of the League. Sara Pugh Jones wanted the pageants to 'convey the idea of the wastefulness of strife and development of co-operation and peace as the proper adventures of humanity'.⁷⁶ There was a growing 'pageant' culture that brought

⁷⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/70, Letter to David Samways from Sara Pugh Jones, October 1927.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/70, Letter to Davies Samways from Sara Pugh Jones 19 October 1928.

⁷⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/70, Letter to David Samways from Sara Pugh Jones, 18 September 1927.

⁷⁵ For example: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/70, Letter to Sara Pugh Jones from Rev. Arthur Blackwell, 4 November 1927.

⁷⁶ *A Pageant of War and Peace* (Caernarfon, 1930).

these events to the forefront of ideas in interwar Britain.⁷⁷ The inspiration came from a speech delivered by British Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald at the Assembly of the League that compared the League's work to that of castles by needing to build foundations that would be around for generations to come.⁷⁸ The process involved promotional events being held at castles in Beaumaris (Anglesey), Criccieth (Caernarfonshire), Harlech (Merionethshire) and Gwydir (Denbighshire) before ending with a few events being held at Caernarfon Castle (Figure 3.1 and 3.2). All the events involved dramatic performances, the participation of school children and stalls selling literature, postcard images of the respective castle and refreshments to raise money for the Welsh LNU. These events had audiences from every corner of north Wales. However, only a small number of attendees were from the immediate locality because of the depression in the slate quarries.⁷⁹ The 'Capture the Castle for Peace' initiative resulted from Sara Pugh Jones's determination to promote the League and create peace rather than having any association with traditional perceptions of motherhood.

Women also sought paid employment in positions that were behind the scenes. The Welsh LNU employed female staff members at its headquarters (Table 3.2). These were often unmarried women at the start of their careers and belonged to a growing number of women who sought employment and a career in the interwar era. The employment rate of women stood at an average of twenty-one during the interwar period.⁸⁰ It is accepted by historians that Welsh women mainly gained employment in domestic service during the interwar period.⁸¹ While this is true, a small number of women entered clerical and administrative jobs. Low-paid administrative positions became a source of employment for young unmarried

⁷⁷ The most evident example can be seen in: Tom Hulme, "A Nation of Town Criers': Civic Publicity and Historical Pageantry in Inter-war Britain", *Urban History*, 44.2 (2017), 270-292.

⁷⁸ *Welsh Outlook*, October 1929.

⁷⁹ *Welsh Outlook*, September 1930.

⁸⁰ Figures taken from: Deirdre Beddoe, *Out of the Shadows: a History of Women in Twentieth Century Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), p. 78.

⁸¹ Deirdre Beddoe 'Munitionettes, Maids and Mams: Women in Wales, 1914-1939', in *Our Mother's Land: Chapters in Welsh Women's History 1830-1939*, ed. by Deirdre Beddoe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), pp. 189-209 (p. 196).

Figure 3.1: A poster advertising the 'Capture the Castle for Peace' event. 'Pasiant Rhywfel a Heddwch - A Pageant of War and Peace' at Caernarfon Castle, 1930.⁸²



Figure 3.2: A picture of the ceremony held at Caernarfon Castle, 1930.⁸³



⁸² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/70, A poster advertising the 'Capture the Castle for Peace' initiative at Caernarfon Castle, 1930.

⁸³ Photo taken from: *A Pageant of War and Peace*.

women.⁸⁴ The employment of women in clerical roles in the Welsh LNU was part of a national trend in female employment patterns, which saw young women take up clerical roles in offices. In the Welsh LNU, women held clerical and administrative positions. By 1930, sixteen out of twenty-six employed in administrative roles had been women.

As noted in the previous chapter, women also played a pivotal role in branch activity. These were spaces where women held positions of influence. In some instances, women established their own branches. In Llangollen, the branch of the National Council of Women (NCW) formed their own separate branch of the Welsh LNU in April 1926. On its creation, it had twenty-two members.⁸⁵ Founded in 1895, the NCW was a British organisation that brought women together to discuss various local, national and international issues. The Llangollen branch of the NCW had seen an influx of members following the Llangollen Women's Suffrage Society (WSS) disbanding once enfranchisement had been achieved in 1918, as its members were encouraged to join the NCW.⁸⁶ The branch's secretary was Margaret A. E. Hughes, a secondary school teacher at Llangollen County School.⁸⁷ As was seen in the previous chapter, most LNU members in Wales paid the basic rate of subscription. In this case, only Margaret A. E. Hughes and the wife of Hugh Jones, the Principle at Llangollen County School, paid above the base rate.⁸⁸ The branch conducted the same activities as any other LNU branch in respect of holding Daffodil Days and public meetings. Its affiliation with the NCW did not interfere with the Welsh LNU, as there was no interference between the groups' policies. However, on one occasion, the NCW asked for its Llangollen branch to organise a film screening of an

⁸⁴ R Guerriero Wilson, 'Women's Work in Offices and the Preservation of Men's 'Breadwinning' Jobs in Early Twentieth-Century Glasgow', *Women's History Review*, 10.3 (2001), 463-482.

⁸⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/87, Letter to Margaret A. E. Hughes from Davies Samways, 10 April 1926.

⁸⁶ Wallace, p. 256.

⁸⁷ In the 1911 Census, Margaret A. E. Hughes was listed as living at 3 Bryntirion Terrace in Llangollen.

⁸⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/87, Members Register of the Llangollen National Council of Women (NCW) Branch, 1926.

Table 3.2: Register of the female clerical staff employed by the Welsh LNU, 1922-1930.⁸⁹

Name	Age	Job Title	Date of appointment	Date appointment ended (if applicable)	Wage (weekly)
Miss G. M. Thomas	22	Secretary's Assistance & Typing and Clerical	1 January 1920		£2. 15s. 0d.
Miss M. Roberts	19	Typing and Clerical	16 October 1922	27 December 1924	£1. 5s. 0d.
Miss F. M. Pool	23	Typist	1 January 1925	25 May 1926	£1. 10s. 0d.
Miss L. Wintle	26	Typist	1 January 1925	28 April 1925	£1. 15s. 0d.
Miss W. Washer	24	Clerical	26 January 1925	25 April 1925	£1. 7s. 6d.
Miss L. M. Jones	18	Typist	3 February 1925	21 March 1925	£1. 10s. 0d.
Miss L. M. Pryce	21	Typist	23 March 1925	24 April 1926	£1. 17s. 0d.
Miss B. Hooper	18	Clerical	20 April 1925	11 July 1926	£1. 10s. 0d.
Miss H. K. Haynes	32	Typist	27 May 1926	27 November 1926	£1 15s 0d
Miss M. Evans	18	South Wales Organiser's Typist	6 December 1926	16 February 1929	£1 10s. 0d.
Miss G. M. Davies	19	Typing and Clerical	6 April 1925		£2 0s. 0d.
Miss M. Judd	21	Typing and Clerical	11 February 1926		£2 0s. 0d.
Miss Mair Jones	19	North Wales Organiser's Typist	19 September 1927		£1 7s. 6d.
Miss R. Pugh	17	South Wales Organiser's Typist	18 March 1929		£1 0s. 0d.

⁸⁹ Information collected from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

LNU film for its visitors at its national conference.⁹⁰ This illustrated that, for some women at least, becoming involved in the Welsh LNU was motivated by a desire to find a new outlet for campaigning activity.

Some of the most visible women in the Welsh LNU were the wives of leading members. Henrietta Davies regularly accompanied her husband, David Davies, during his travels around Wales. In November 1938, David Davies and Henrietta Davies hosted 600 branch representatives to afternoon tea at the annual meeting of branch delegates held in Cardiff.⁹¹ Nora Webster joined her husband, Charles Webster, Chair of International Politics at University College Wales Aberystwyth, between 1922 and 1932 during his tours around Wales and overseas visits. As historian Katharina Rietzler has noted, numerous women supported their husbands' intellectual work by providing research assistance, commenting on draft work, typing and keeping house.⁹² Yet, the voice of these women has been lost by the focus on their husbands, who were in the limelight and took most of the attention. The wives of leading figures would often perform some role in a ceremony they attended with their husbands. This included laying a wreath or helping with behind-the-scenes organisation whilst their husband delivered a speech. However, these females had a voice and were their own individual people.

Married couples also worked together at the branch level. The wife of Richard Cobden Davies, Treorchy branch secretary, oversaw the collection of signatures for the Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America.⁹³ Furthermore, Mable Shaxby, the wife of University of Wales Cardiff Professor John Shaxby, was the Honorary Secretary of the Cardiff District Committee throughout the 1930s and was influential in organising events.⁹⁴ Similarly, Blodwen Walters, the wife of David Walters of the Abertillery (Monmouthshire) branch, was noted to have provided 'valuable assistance to her husband in his public duties and, like the

⁹⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/82, Letter to David Samways from Margaret A. E. Hughes, 26 September 1926.

⁹¹ *Western Mail*, 24 November 1938, p. 7.

⁹² Katharina Rietzler, *IR's 'Power Couples'* (2019), <<https://blogs.sussex.ac.uk/whit/2019/10/28/irs-power-couples/>> [accessed 3 August 2020].

⁹³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/4, List of Area Secretaries for the Petition from the Women of Wales to the Women of America, 1923.

⁹⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/21, Cardiff District Committee Branch Records. Her work was also mentioned publicly in newspapers, see: *Western Mail*, 28 October 1925, p. 9.

wives of most public men, has made many sacrifices in the interest of her husband's public work'.⁹⁵ In Swyddffynnon (Cardiganshire), the secretary of the local branch was Richard Osborne Jones, but his wife was responsible for organising the local Daffodil Day.⁹⁶ Married couples working together showed a shared a mutual interest in the League and internationalism during the interwar period. It also indicated that married women worked independently to promote the LNU in Wales.

As with the wider demographic of the LNU, the involvement of women in the Welsh LNU was based on a class hierarchy. Cross-referencing women's names with census records and biographical information has uncovered that mainly middle-class women and groups interacted with the Welsh LNU. In June 1922, a report into the League's progress called for support from all social classes of Welsh women.⁹⁷ However, this contrasted with what happened as women from different classes were often divided into different spheres meaning they experienced the Welsh LNU differently. The class divide was evident in the Welsh LNU's Women's Daffodil Day Committee. The honorary secretaries were from political backgrounds and connected to the political and cultural elites of the period. The representative for Caernarvonshire was Margaret Lloyd George, the wife of David Lloyd George; in Montgomeryshire, it was Gwendoline Davies, the sister of David Davies; and Flintshire's was the wife of Henry Gladstone, also known as the Baron Gladstone of Hawarden.⁹⁸ The endorsement from high-ranking women did provide substantial backing. However, they did not contribute to the organisation or participation of the event. Instead, it was left to middle-class women at the branch level to conduct grassroots activism.

'Women's Agency?' The Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America, 1923-1924

In 1924, a group speaking in the name of the women of Wales sent a petition to the women of America that appealed for them to pressure the American government to

⁹⁵ *South Wales Gazette*, 23 April 1926, p. 14.

⁹⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/72, Swyddffynnon branch files.

⁹⁷ LSE, Webster/5/6, Honorary Director's Report and Memorandum, June 1922.

⁹⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A3/1, List of Area Secretaries for the Women's Daffodil Day Committee, 1926.

join the League. The petition noted that Welsh women felt peace 'would be hastened were it possible for America to take its place in the Council of the League'.⁹⁹ It was not the first-time women had used a petition to promote awareness of the League. The Women's Petition of Wales took inspiration from a similar petition that Japanese women had sent to the Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament and a petition that Danish women sent to their government to support the League.¹⁰⁰ However, the Women's Petition of Wales was the first petition where women from one country attempted to communicate with women from another country. From late 1923 to early 1924, 390,296 Welsh women signed the petition. This figure represented sixty percent of women in Wales who were over the age of 18. The petition illustrated the pioneering efforts of Welsh women in international affairs and participation in the LNU. Overall, the petition was one of the most outstanding examples of women's participation in the Welsh LNU during the interwar period.

The petition's wording emphasised four connections between the women of both nations. These were framed around items that reflected the interests of women but drew short of directly referencing ideas of motherhood. Firstly, the petition showcased the historical links of peace work between individuals from Wales and America. The petition celebrated the close connection between Elihu Burritt, an American diplomate and social activist who founded the League of Universal Brotherhood in 1846, and Henry Richard, a Welsh nonconformist Congregational Minister who became Secretary of the Peace Society in 1848 and Liberal MP for Merthyr Boroughs in 1868. In September 1848, Burritt and Richard organised the first international meeting of the Friends of Peace in Brussels. The meeting was attended by over two hundred delegates from Britain and America. The petition stated that the historical link of peace between 'the united efforts of the American from Connecticut and the Welshman from Tregaron' had started the work of building 'the Temple of Peace'.¹⁰¹

Secondly, it implied a shared war experience between the women of both

⁹⁹ WGAS, D/DT 4081, Copy of The Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America, 1923.

¹⁰⁰ *Welsh Outlook*, November 1923.

¹⁰¹ WGAS, D/DT 4081, Copy of The Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America, 1923.

nations. It described how Welsh women felt it was 'no exaggeration that a thrill of joy was felt in many of our homes when the United States of America entered the war and shared a common sacrifice with us'.¹⁰² It signalled that Welsh women identified a common cause and looked to develop this to working together in peacetime with the intention of saving both nations from future bloodshed.

Thirdly, the petition spoke of international developments made by America outside of the League. The petition noted that the women of Wales rejoiced 'in the measure of co-operation which has already been achieved by America and Britain with other nations at Washington in the limitation of naval armaments'.¹⁰³ Taking place between November 1921 and February 1922, the Washington Naval Conference resulted in the signature of a Treaty that scrapped the building of new battleships.¹⁰⁴ This conference showed that America was working on international agreements outside the League. The Women's Petition hoped to inspire women in America to take such instances to promote membership benefits.

Finally, the petition presented the cooperation between women along the lines of sisterhood. The petition stated that political motives did not inspire the women of Wales, but they were speaking as the 'daughters of a nation whose glory it has been to cherish no hatred towards any land or people and whose desire is for the coming on earth of the reign of fellowship and goodwill'.¹⁰⁵ The petition's wording was an apolitical approach that drew on the interests of women. However, this was slightly contradictory given that they sought a political outcome in respect of America joining the League. Consequently, the underlying and indirect sisterhood narrative suggested that women should be conscious of the international world beyond motherhood which men used to understand female participation with internationalism.

The women's petition did not emerge as a women-led initiative. Historians have been unclear in explaining the origin of the petition. Goronwy J. Jones noted that the idea was first suggested by a group of women at a meeting of the Welsh

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Zara Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History 1919-1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 375-382.

¹⁰⁵ WGAS, D/DT 4081, Copy of The Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America, 1923.

School of Social Service in April 1923.¹⁰⁶ The idea, however, was first conceptualised by Gwilym Davies. Although he founded the Welsh School of Social Service, he conceptualised the idea away from the movement. On 3 July 1922, Gwilym Davies wrote to David Davies to suggest organising an initiative between the women of Wales and America. Gwilym Davies expressed his desire to do something substantial that would be discussed in every area of Wales and capture the public imagination overseas.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, Gwilym Davies wanted to create another initiative, along with his recently established Goodwill Message, to build the profile of Wales on the world stage.¹⁰⁸ On 17 July, Gwilym Davies proposed the idea to the Executive Committee of the Welsh LNU.¹⁰⁹ However, no progress had been made by January 1923. In the previous November, a meeting was organised between women interested in the petition and Gwilym Davies. However, it was cancelled as most of the women were occupied with the upcoming December 1922 General Election. It signalled that female LNU activities were involved in other campaigns, some of which were political causes. Moreover, the staff at the Headquarters of the Welsh LNU were overstretched and did not have the capacity to undertake the work and no available funds to allocate towards it.¹¹⁰

Despite the petition not emerging from women, there had been previous attempts to gain the support of Welsh women towards a collective cause. In 1915, Gwenda Gruffydd, from Rhiwbina, near Cardiff (Glamorgan), wrote in the *Welsh Outlook* that:

“We want peace, and a lasting peace an end forever to war. We believe that disputes can always be settled otherwise than by lawless brute force, and we must make others share our beliefs. We want to establish goodwill among the nations, and to suggest that will make warfare an impossibility”.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Goronwy J. Jones, p. 100.

¹⁰⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/5, Letter to David Davies from Gwilym Davies, 3 July 1922.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 22 May 1923.

¹¹⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 30 January 1923.

¹¹¹ *Welsh Outlook*, September 1915, p. 40.

Gruffydd, therefore, looked to collect the names of ‘sympathisers’ to the above statement.¹¹² However, the plan had no clear objective of how it would result in meaningful action.

Following the slow progress of the Women’s Petition of Wales, Gwilym Davies led attempts to re-energise the petition. He publicly drummed up support for the idea. In 1923, he shared in the *Western Mail* that he had been in contact with some ‘leading Americans’ who supported the idea because they thought ‘America would listen to Wales when they might not listen to the British Empire’.¹¹³ He wrote personally to several Welsh women to become involved with the moment. He also asked Annie Hughes Griffiths to lead the initiative as she had contacts with numerous influential Welsh women.¹¹⁴ Gwilym Davies organised a meeting of women to take place during the Welsh School of Social Service’s conference at Llandrindod Wells in April 1923. Along with drumming up support, Gwilym Davies also drafted the wording of the petition that was then approved by this group of women.¹¹⁵

Therefore, exploring the message’s origins reveals that while the petition claimed to speak on behalf of the women of Wales, it was not purely a women-led initiative from its inception. It represented a male view of what women could contribute to the Welsh LNU. Once the idea generated momentum, it grew organically among the women of Wales. In April 1923, a group of women held a public conference at the University College of Wales Aberystwyth that formed a committee to develop the petition. Annie Hughes Griffiths felt the petition should be of critical importance as:

The women of Wales had to consider, suggest and plan what they could do to promote world peace... it was their sacred duty to face it, a duty entrusted to them by those who were no longer with them and a duty which they as mothers of the oncoming generations could not ignore.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ *Western Mail*, 31 January 1923, p. 8.

¹¹⁴ NLW, GB 0210 TIELLIS, A357, Letter to Annie Hughes Griffiths from Gwilym Davies, 7 March 1923.

¹¹⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 22 May 1923.

¹¹⁶ *Cambrian News*, 25 May 1923.

Women who served on the committee were assigned different roles. It was composed of influential and well-connected individuals. M. F. Rathbone was appointed to the full-time position of secretary to the women's petition, which came with a salary of £200.¹¹⁷ The treasurers were Lady Llewelyn and Annie Hughes Griffiths. Mrs E. E. Poole was elected as the organiser for South Wales and Monmouthshire. Mary Pritchard, or 'Mrs Hugh Pritchard', was elected as the organiser for North Wales and Cardiganshire. As an individual, Mary Pritchard was an esteemed figure in her local area of Pwllheli (Caernarfonshire). In 1920, she was awarded an MBE for her work at a local level that included being the first woman member of the Pwllheli Board of Guardians, a member of the North Wales Temperance Society's Executive Committee and a member of the local war pensions' committee. She married Hugh Pritchard, a local solicitor and son of Captain Pritchard of Pwllheli, a Liberal and close associate of David Lloyd George. In 1920, Hugh Pritchard died, and in 1924 she remarried Rev J. Lloyd Jones, Calvinistic Methodist Minister of Capel Mawr in Pwllheli.¹¹⁸

The petition was financially supported by the women of Wales and not, as has been seen in the previous chapters with numerous initiatives, the money and wealth of David Davies. In total, £834 1s 10d was raised by Welsh women to help fund the petition to pay for costs such as administrative staff and printing materials.¹¹⁹ Henrietta Davies, the wife of David Davies, donated £200, Gwendoline Davies, sister of David Davies, donated £50, Lady Llewellyn contributed £105, and Mary Rathbone £51, respectively.¹²⁰ Initially, Henrietta Davies contributed £100, and Gwendoline Davies only £21, but they contributed more following an appeal for extra funding from the women in charge of the petition.¹²¹ The total contributed by these women was £406, just under half of the total raised. The backgrounds of these women highlighted class distinctions in the fundraising initiative. They were from middle-class and upper-class backgrounds and were associated with male

¹¹⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, May 1923.

¹¹⁸ The death of her husband was reported in: *Caernarfon and Denbigh Herald*, 19 March 1920, p. 8. For reference of her remarriage to Rev. J. Lloyd Jones see: *Caernarfon Herald*, 22 February 1924.

¹¹⁹ NLW, GB 0210 TIELLIS, A357, Memorial from the Women of Wales to the Women of America 1923-1924: List of Subscriptions, 1924.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ NLW, GB 0210 TIELLIS, A361, List of Subscribers, 20 November 1923.

figures involved in the Welsh LNU. They embodied individuals being associated with Welsh Liberalism. Therefore, they held similar views to those who wanted to build the profile of Wales on the world stage.

People and groups in Wales provided other contributions, but these did not mirror the amount provided by influential individuals. The types of groups here included individuals, local chapels, and other organisations, such as local branches of the Labour Party and temperance unions.¹²² These donations evoked immense pride and healthy rivalry. In May 1924, R. Lloyd, secretary of the petition in Trimsaran, a rural village in Carmarthenshire, claimed that the women of the mining village had collected towards the expenses of the petition and if every town and village in Wales assisted the 'worthy cause', the results would be 'very substantial'.¹²³ This suggested that the petition had a wider reach than its other initiatives as it brought together people from different areas.

The Welsh LNU relied on its networks of supporters to collect signatures. In total, 407 people oversaw the collection of signatures in local areas. They organised publicity events, arranged for small groups to collect signatures and sent completed forms to Welsh LNU headquarters. Of this total, 307 were women (Table 3.3). These secretaries were often from middle-class backgrounds. In Burry Port, Emily Williams, the wife of a local doctor and magistrate, Owen Williams, oversaw the collection of signatures. Female teachers also came forward to help collect responses. In Carmarthen, the responsibility was given to Beatrice Alice Holme, the Mistress of Carmarthen Girl's County School. While women mainly collected responses, 100 men were also area secretaries. Like women, those men who oversaw the collection of signatures were middle class. The Welsh LNU relied on its middle-class grassroots support base to collect signatures on the ground.

The grassroots nature of the petition yielded significant results. The ability to collect 390,296 signatures from canvassing signalled the strength of support for the Welsh LNU and the Women's Petition. One reason why the petition attracted so much support was that canvassing for the petition in local areas meant several

¹²² NLW, GB 0210 TIELLIS, A357, Memorial from the Women of Wales to the Women of America 1923-1924: List of Subscriptions, 1924.

¹²³ *Western Mail*, 1 May 1924, p. 11.

Table 3.3: Number of area secretaries of the Women's Petition of Wales by gender.¹²⁴

County	Number of women secretaries	Number of men secretaries	Total number of area secretaries
Anglesey	51	1	52
Brecknockshire	4	7	11
Caernarvonshire	19	4	23
Cardiganshire	8	4	12
Carmarthenshire	19	10	29
Denbighshire	15	2	17
Flintshire	11	2	13
Glamorgan	103	24	127
Merionethshire	13	2	15
Monmouthshire	5	0	5
Montgomeryshire	40	10	50
Pembrokeshire	8	14	22
Radnorshire	8	2	10
Outside of Wales	3	18	21
Total	307	100	407

responses could be collected from a small handful of households. In Pontypridd (Glamorgan), Miss E Bowen, town secretary for the petition, collected ten signatures from four households in Graig Avenue.¹²⁵ At a separate address in

¹²⁴ Number taken from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, List of Areas and Secretaries for the Petition of the Women of Wales to the Women of America, 1923.

¹²⁵ Cardiff, Temple of Peace & Health (TOP), Responses of the Women's Petition, 1923 (uncatalogued material).

Pontypridd, three signatures were collected by mother and daughters, Ellen, Mary and Hannah.¹²⁶ On average, each secretary collected 1,011 signatures. In Brecon (Breconshire), 1,213 signatures were collected from a possible 4,393 women who lived in the area.¹²⁷ In Aberdare, 12,000 signatures were collected from 15,329 women who lived in the area.¹²⁸

Overall, more signatures were collected from the counties of south Wales compared to north Wales. This was not surprising, given the population difference between the two areas of Wales. In January 1924, 355,447 signatures were collected. These had been divided into three categories: north Wales and Cardiganshire, south Wales and Monmouthshire and outside of Wales (Table 3.4). No breakdown of the total figure by area exists. However, it is possible to get an understanding of the final breakdown by using proportions offered by the January 1924 figure. This suggests that 135,042 signatures were from north Wales and Cardiganshire, 252,912 from south Wales and Monmouthshire and 2,341 from outside Wales (Table 3.5).

Table 3.4: Breakdown by area of signatures received to the Women’s Petition, January 1924.¹²⁹

Area	Number of Signatures	Proportion of overall signatures (percent)
North Wales and Cardiganshire	122,102	34.5
South Wales and Monmouthshire	229,093	64.8
Outside of Wales	2,252	0.6
Total	355,447	100

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ *Brecon County Times*, 15 November 1923, p. 8. For population figures see: Visions of Britain (VOB), *Population Figure of Brecknock by Gender*, <<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10006960/cube/GENDER>> [accessed 24 September 2020].

¹²⁸ *Western Mail*, 29 November 1923, p. 8. For population figures see: VOB, *Population Figure of Aberdare by Gender*, <<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10215547/cube/GENDER>> [accessed 24 September 2020].

¹²⁹ Numbers found in: NLW, GB 0210 TIELLIS, A360, Letter to Annie Hughes Griffiths from Gwilym Davies, 14 January 1924 and *Seren Cymru*, 25 January 1924.

Table 3.5: Projection of the overall signatures based on the actual proportion figures given in Table 3.4.

Area	Number of signatures	Proportion of overall signatures (percentage)
North Wales and Cardiganshire	135,042	34.5
South Wales and Monmouthshire	252,912	64.8
Outside of Wales	2,341	0.6
Total	390,296	100

The Women's Petition attracted local, national and international recognition. Mainly, this was through details of the petition circulating in various newspapers. The *Manchester Guardian*, *Glasgow Herald* and *Westminster Gazette* all gave coverage to the petition.¹³⁰ The press reports not only gave coverage but also offered words of support. The *Evening Express*, a local paper serving Aberdeen, felt the petition symbolised that people were working consistently and unostentatiously in favour of the League.¹³¹ The American newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor*, reported that it represented a unique effort of women in the mission of achieving world peace.¹³² Similarly, the *Birmingham Evening Despatch* noted that if the women of the world could unite to end war, the suffering and failures of the war would not have been in vain.¹³³

The delivery of the petition illustrated the symbolic nature of the petition. The responses were sent to Welsh LNU headquarters and placed into a specially designed oak chest (Figure 3.3). A delegation of influential Welsh women travelled to America to deliver the chest to the women of America. The Welsh female delegation consisted of Annie Hughes Griffiths, Mary Ellis, Inspector of Schools in Wales and Eluned Prys, the daughter of Owen Prys, a Calvinistic Methodist minister

¹³⁰ For examples see: *Manchester Guardian*, 21 February 1924, *Glasgow Herald*, 29 March 1924 and *Westminster Gazette*, 21 February 1924.

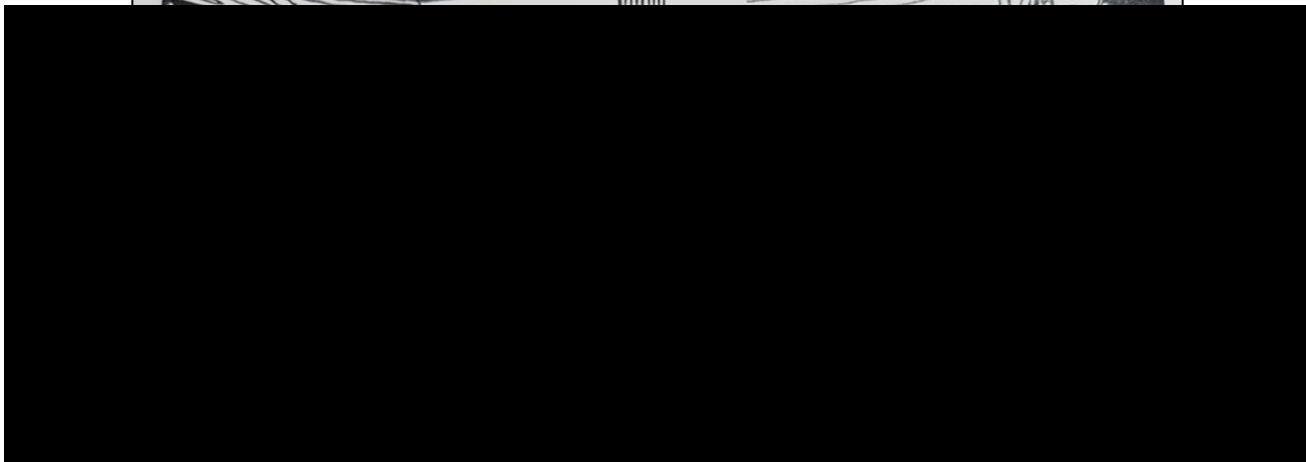
¹³¹ *Evening Express*, 17 January 1924.

¹³² *Christian Science Monitor*, 5 February 1924.

¹³³ *Birmingham Evening Despatch*, 20 February 1924.

and College Principle at Theological College, Aberystwyth. Annie Hughes Griffiths spoke of her pride and was pleased that she could represent the mothers of Wales.¹³⁴ The oak chest was handed over to the Women of America at a ceremony held at Biltmore Hotel in Washington on 19 February 1924. At the ceremony, the representatives of 52 American women's groups, such as the Young Women's Christian Association, National American Woman Suffrage Association and Women's Peace Union, were in attendance. These women represented an estimated fifteen million American women.¹³⁵

Figure 3.3: Illustration of the Oak Chest that contained the signatures of the Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America.¹³⁶



The delegation of Welsh women experienced first-hand the petition's impact on the world stage. During their visit, they briefly met with the president of the United States of America, Calvin Coolidge. This attracted widespread media attention in America and Britain (Figure 3.4). The *International Woman Suffrage*

¹³⁴ NLW, GB 0210 TIELLIS, A357, Letter to Annie Hughes Griffiths from Gwilym Davies, 6 December 1923.

¹³⁵ *Lancashire Daily Post*, 20 February 1924

¹³⁶ *Wales and World Peace 1924* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1924), p. 19.

Figure 3.4: Photo of the Welsh female delegates delivering a copy of the Women's Petition to President Calvin Coolidge at the White House, Washington. Left to right: Mrs M. G. Thomas, Mary Ellis, Annie Hughes-Griffiths and Eluned Prys.¹³⁷



News reported that President Coolidge showed 'great interest' in the petition and felt the Smithsonian Institution was the best repository for it.¹³⁸ While the entry in Annie Hughes Griffiths' diary does not give much information on the meeting, it symbolised the impact the petition of Welsh women had on the world stage.¹³⁹ During their visit to the White House, they also met with Charles Evans Hughes, the American secretary of state between 1921 and 1925, who was the son of a Welsh

¹³⁷ Photo taken from: *Western Mail*, 4 March 1924.

¹³⁸ *International Woman Suffrage News*, 4 April 1924, p. 8.

¹³⁹ People's Collection Wales/ Casgliad Y Werin Cymru (PCW), *Annie Hughes Griffiths Personal Diary 1924*, available online: <<https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/1886876>> [accessed 25 August 2021].

immigrant preacher.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, the delegation also visited the tomb of Woodrow Wilson. In recording her thoughts, Annie Hughes Griffiths noted that 'Wilson passed away as Henry Richard had passed away, without seeing the realisation of his dream'.¹⁴¹

The petition epitomised the international magnitude of women's work in the Welsh LNU. While it did not achieve its goal in respect of America joining the League, it encouraged further cooperation between the women of Wales and America. While these never matched the petition, it highlighted that the women of the two countries had established a working relationship. In 1925, Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, wrote the Welsh LNU asking for a collaboration between the women of both countries.¹⁴² Chapman Catt suggested that a radio message should be broadcast to the world around the world on a set day.¹⁴³ While nothing materialised from these efforts, it showed that the women of Wales yielded the capacity to turn their ideas into meaningful actions.

Cooperation between women's organisations in Wales

The Welsh LNU co-operated with other organisations that had similar objectives. Throughout the interwar period, women became increasingly involved in the LNU and different organisations in the peace movement. International work often caused a decline in domestic feminism.¹⁴⁴ By the 1930s, many feminists concentrated their efforts on the peace movement.¹⁴⁵ In 1926, WILPF launched a multinational campaign for universal disarmament that ended in a 'Peace Pilgrimage' to London. Mary Gladys Thoday, honorary secretary of WILPF, and Charlotte Price White, a suffragist and the first woman to be elected to Caernarvonshire County Council in 1925, was central figure in north Wales branch

¹⁴⁰ *International Woman Suffrage News*, 4 April 1924, p. 8.

¹⁴¹ *South Wales News*, 13 March 1924.

¹⁴² For more on Carrie Chapman Catt see: Mona Siegel, *Peace on our Terms: The Global Battle for Women's Rights after the First World War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020), pp. 1-4 and pp. 20-21.

¹⁴³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/96, Letter from Carrie Chapman Catt to Gwilym Davies, 19 June 1926.

¹⁴⁴ Carol Miller, "'Geneva – the key to equality": inter-war feminists and the League of Nations', *Women's History Review*, 3.2 (1994), 219-245 (p. 219).

¹⁴⁵ Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty*, p. 2.

of the WILPF. She led a group of women from north Wales to London. In 1928, the North Wales Women's Peace Council (NWWPC) was established as an organisation that campaigned for peace and disarmament.¹⁴⁶

At this time in Wales, there was an increased collaboration between different organisations of women. In 1922, proposals were made to establish a 'Union of Welsh Women' to unite different women's organisations under a single flag.¹⁴⁷ The groups included a range of organisations, such as the National Union of Women Teachers (NUWT), Welsh School of Social Service, Women's Guild of Empire and all 'big three' political groups.¹⁴⁸ However, despite the impressive range of organisations that attended the inaugural meeting, the organisation was not established. The attempt symbolised that women's organisations had similar goals and characteristics, but there was no willpower for permanent cooperation.

In 1930, the Welsh LNU established a Women's Advisory Committee. It was hoped that the women of the Welsh LNU could lead a collaborative campaign for peace. This was part of the wider re-organisation that the Welsh LNU carried out. In 1929, it created a Reorganisation committee consisting of the president, members of the Executive Committee, the Finance Committee, regional organisers and the trustees. The Women's Advisory Committee aimed to 'rouse the women of Wales to a wider sense of international responsibility, especially by enlisting in the work of the Union organised groups of women throughout the principality'.¹⁴⁹ There had been attempts to establish a separate committee of women before 1930, but these were unsuccessful. There were calls for a Women's Advisory Committee to be formed following the success of the 1923 Petition from the Women of Wales to the Women of America. However, the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, which was male-dominated, deemed there to be a lack of interest in the idea of forming a group of women. Moreover, in 1928 the Financial Committee of the Welsh LNU advised that creating a Women's Committee was undesirable due to the costs it

¹⁴⁶ Wallace, p. 272.

¹⁴⁷ *Western Mail*, 21 March 1922, p. 6.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/127, Minutes of the Women's Executive Committee, 16 March 1932.

would accumulate.¹⁵⁰ In such instances, men made decisions on women's positions in the Welsh LNU.

Those groups who collaborated with the Women's Advisory Committee represented a range of interests. The organisations included the North Wales Temperance Movement, twelve county Federations of Women's Institutes and the NUWT (Figure 3.5).¹⁵¹ While it brought together different groups, the Women's Advisory Committee was largely a discussion-based committee. There was no collaborative effort to organise events. The range of organisations present on the Women's Advisory Committee meant there were other factors favoured and agendas at play alongside the League. This showcased the numerous interests and groups that represented women during the interwar period. These groups favoured the League and its concepts, for example, cooperation between nations, peace through arbitration and improving women's lives and equal rights for women internationally. However, for groups other than the Welsh LNU, this was not their main purpose. The uncertain purpose indicated that the League was respected, but its Advisory Committee could not gain widespread appeal for the Welsh LNU, hence that it served as a discussion group rather than having any wider purpose.

Figure 3.5: Female members of the Welsh LNU's Women's Advisory Committee at a reception held in Cardiff, 1933.¹⁵²



¹⁵⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/5, Minutes of the Finance Committee of the Welsh LNU, 27 November 1928.

¹⁵¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/127, List of women's organisations associated with the Welsh LNU, 1932.

¹⁵² *Western Mail*, 11 December 1933, p. 12.

At a local level, collaboration between women took place on several occasions at a local level away from the formality of the Women's Committee. Often this collaboration was one-off rather than permanent. Most evident was cooperation with the NWWPC. In 1927, Sara Pugh Jones collaborated with the Caernarvonshire section of the Women's Peace Council by organising an Arbitration Campaign in Anglesey.¹⁵³ Often the relations between different organisations of women were healthy and co-operative. In 1928, the Welsh LNU recommended that a pamphlet produced by Anglesey and Caernarvonshire sections of the NWWPC should be distributed to local LNU branches.¹⁵⁴ In 1929, further cooperation between the two organisations occurred when the NWWPC donated to the LNU. This was a token of their gratitude to Rev. Owen Thomas, the LNU branch secretary for the branch in Menai Bridge, for giving them free use of the chapel hall for a meeting.¹⁵⁵ At times, other women's groups came directly to the Welsh LNU hoping to expand their message. In 1931, Maglona M. Rees, the secretary of WIL, asked for the information of branch secretaries in Monmouthshire to ask about being a speaker at their local meetings.¹⁵⁶

The most evident collaborative effort was the Welsh LNU's decision to collect votes for WIL's petition in advance of the World Disarmament Conference that took place between 1932 and 1934.¹⁵⁷ In 1930, Frida Perlen, a German WILPF member, suggested that the WILPF should create a disarmament declaration. This was during the year that the League celebrated its tenth anniversary, and disarmament had started to be debated as a potential item for a conference. In total, the petition collected over six million signatures from around the world. The petition collected 2,146,775 signatures in Britain, including 122,198 of the total Welsh population. This constituted the largest proportion of the population of any

¹⁵³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/70, Letter to David Samways from Sara Pugh Jones, 1 October 1927.

¹⁵⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/4, Minutes of a Meeting of the North Wales Group, 26 March 1928.

¹⁵⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/70, Letter to David Samways from Sara Pugh Jones, 16 March 1929.

¹⁵⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT A1/4, Letter to David Samways from Magolna M. Rees, 24 August 1931.

¹⁵⁷ Accounts of the petition included: Sarah Hellawell, 'Feminism, Pacifism and Internationalism: The Women's International League, 1915-1935' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Northumbria, 2017), pp. 171-178; Thomas R., Davies, *The Possibilities of Transnational Activism: The Campaign for Disarmament between the Two World Wars* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007). For information on the World Disarmament Conference, see: Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (London: Penguin, 1999), pp. 66-67; Zara Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History 1919-1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 784-796.

countries involved.¹⁵⁸

The petition also provided an example of supporting and working with different organisations. Charlotte Price White was a vice-president of the NWWPC but also an active member of the LNU and Conservative association in Carmarthen who organised signatures in mid-Wales.¹⁵⁹ Similarly, Mabel Shaxby worked with numerous LNU volunteers in Cardiff and south Wales to collect signatures by means of canvassing, creating a peace shop and cinemas, and collecting 202,000 votes, 1/10 of the population.¹⁶⁰ These collaborations indicated that international women's activism was an important part and a key feature of the Welsh LNU's activities.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that women's involvement in the Welsh LNU was motivated by a genuine desire for world peace rather than considering their purpose to 'mother the world'. It has been discussed how men conceptualised motherhood to understand and gauge the participation and involvement of women in internationalism. In the Welsh LNU, some women viewed their involvement to be on the premise of motherhood. At the same time, others appeared conscious of the international world beyond the view of motherhood. Examining the role of female participation has shown that motherhood was not the defining feature behind women's engagement in the Welsh LNU.

Furthermore, women's interaction with the Welsh LNU was world-leading. The Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America showcased the pioneering efforts of Welsh women. It was the most evident sign of women's participation in the LNU. While it was inspired by similar initiatives in Denmark and Japan, it was unique as it involved one country reaching out to another directly. Moreover, the petition illustrated that the Welsh LNU had networks of support that could be organised successfully and efficiently. It collected responses *en masse* from women across Wales. Yet exploring the message's origins has revealed that while

¹⁵⁸ Sarah Hellawell, 'Feminism, Pacifism and Internationalism', p. 175.

¹⁵⁹ North Wales Women's Peace Council Report for 1931 (Wales, 1932), pp. 2-3.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

the memorial claimed to speak on behalf of the women of Wales, it was not purely a women-led and based initiative from its inception. Moreover, men acting as secretaries suggest that the petition was not fully representative of women's agency but of both genders working equally.

The involvement of women in the Welsh LNU organisational hierarchy illustrated that they were vital to the success of the LNU in Wales. Holding positions across different spheres showed that the League was, for some women, a prominent feature of interwar life. However, as has been shown, the involvement of women in the Welsh LNU was based on a class hierarchy. The higher spheres of the LNU only included women from upper-class backgrounds. Moreover, the type of women involved in the LNU tended to be Liberal, middle-class, and well-connected.

Overall, women's participation was constant throughout the interwar period. Women from different backgrounds were involved in numerous areas of the LNU's work, whether on the Executive Committee or in branches. Exploring membership figures has revealed that women made up a reasonable proportion of the Welsh LNU's membership. It was the organisation that had the largest female membership in Wales during the interwar period. This was reflected in its ability to mobilise a large number of women to support national initiatives, such as the Women's Petition and Daffodil Days.

Chapter 4

International Education and the League of Nations in Wales.

In September 1923, the fourth assembly of the League passed a resolution that urged its member states to arrange for young people in their respective countries to be made aware of the League, its aims and its Covenant.¹ How to implement this was not clearly defined at the assembly, but it signalled the League's commitment to making young people aware of the League and broadening their international consciousness.² The assembly's resolution spurred internationalists and League advocates' attempts to create 'world citizens' during the interwar period. The League and its supporters targeted young people as a key group. The LNU in both Britain and Wales considered young people to be a pivotal factor in maintaining peace and establishing the new system of international order.³ Teaching young people about the League and international affairs became a key element of the attempts to create 'world citizens'.⁴ However, this was interpreted differently and carried out in an abundance of ways. This chapter explores how the international phenomenon of creating 'world citizens' was enacted in Wales.

This chapter reveals that education was one of the most important areas of the LNU's activities in Wales. The Welsh LNU adopted several initiatives designed to enhance young people's awareness of international issues. Most notable of these attempts was the work done to internationalise education. In Wales, the emphasis placed on international education was largely due to the enthusiastic and vigorous work of the Welsh LNU's Advisory Education Committee (AEC), a body established in January 1921 which researched and conceptualised international education. It considered international education to incorporate two elements. The first element involved teaching that directly focused on informing young people about the League. The second element focused on creating a wider awareness of other countries and enhancing young people's perceptions of the world. The chapter will

¹ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (NLW), GB 0210 GWVIES, V/5/2, Report on International Education in the Schools of Wales, 1926.

² Ibid.

³ London, London School of Economics Library Archive (LSE), LNU, 7/31/6, Youth Group Manual, July 1934, p. 6.

⁴ Susannah Wright, *Morality and Citizenship in English Schools: Secular Approaches, 1897-1944* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 145.

argue that the Welsh LNU was successful in its attempts to internationalise education, in some shape or form, across all levels of Welsh education. They considered children aged eleven and above the key age to target in attempts to create 'world citizens'. Ultimately, the Welsh LNU's work was most prominent in secondary education.

However, as will be seen, the successes of the Welsh LNU varied. Teaching was often extra-curricular and did not become embedded in the curriculum. In most cases, it did not feature all year, only when the issues discussed took on currency, such as armistice day or the League's anniversary. The Welsh LNU used extra-curricular formats, such as public events and junior branches. Therefore, the chapter broadly defines education and does not view it solely inside a traditional classroom environment.

The chapter also argues that the Welsh LNU used education to create awareness of the world and global issues that advanced the ideas of Wales as a nation. Some elements of the Welsh LNU's work resembled its British counterpart, such as debates conceptualising international education and the methods used to engage children. In contrast, other elements were unique and showed the Welsh LNU's education work being individual to Wales. This was motivated by the Welsh LNU's desire for Wales to be viewed as a country embracing the international world. International education was used to give young people a sense of national belonging from Wales in the broader contexts of the international world. This will be discussed at numerous points throughout the chapter by drawing reference to Welsh LNU initiatives, such as the series of conferences on international education held at Gregynog Hall between 1922 and 1938, the Goodwill Message of the Children of Wales to the World and the Geneva Scholarship Scheme. These examples will reveal the international impact of the Welsh LNU's work was self-defined and regarded as Welsh, not British. This symbolised the Welsh LNU's attempts to achieve a national difference in this period and achieve individuality from the British LNU. In creating 'world citizens', the Welsh LNU enhanced and promoted national perceptions of 'Welshness'.

Finally, exploring education allows for the development of children's participation in the Welsh LNU's initiatives. Exploring children's experiences reveals

that ideas of international citizenship were imposed on young people. It was instigated by teachers and educationalists rather than being a topic that children could decide if they wanted to learn. As will be seen, it is hard to measure the extent to which children willingly engaged with the work of the Welsh LNU. This was especially the case when the League was taught in schools. Methodologically, the chapter uses various sources; these include personal papers, newspapers, Welsh LNU reports of activities, school reports and pamphlets produced by educationalists and the Welsh LNU. These sources reveal that the voices of young people themselves were largely absent. Where they do feature, it is unclear if these views were personal, their teachers or Welsh LNU advocates. It is difficult to trace how much autonomy there was for students and how these widespread international debates reflected young people's attitudes. This problematic nature of source material is a broader issue that historians have identified in childhood studies.⁵ Consequently, this chapter argues that while education occupied one of the most important elements of the Welsh LNU's work, it was largely influenced and shaped by the Welsh LNU, educationalists and teachers. It is difficult to assess its impact on children, and the partial nature of the sources suggests that this assessment needs some qualification.

Historiography

There is a vast array of literature that has explored the League's attempts to promote international citizenship through education. Eckhardt Fuchs recognised the League's work at its Geneva headquarters to be most influential in the areas of child welfare and curriculum reform. Fuchs argued that the work in these areas influenced the role played in building international networks and, in turn, showcased how the League's work was among the foremost topic of international

⁵ For a brief overview of this discussion see: Andreas Lange and Johanna Mierendorff, 'Method and Methodology in Childhood Research', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Childhood Studies*, ed. by Jens Qvortrup, William A. Corsaro, Michael-Sebastian Honig (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 78-95 (pp. 78-83).

discourse in the field of education in the 1920s.⁶ Historians have also noted the work of international organisations in investigating and reforming textbooks.⁷ For example, Ken Osborne perceived the purpose of the League's attempts to revise textbooks was not to abolish the teaching of national history but to incorporate and blend in the new concept of creating international minds.⁸ The League's work on international education has also been investigated through the study of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), an advisory body affiliated with the League that researched education, among other things.⁹ The ICIC deemed intellectual cooperation at the 'heart and soul' of the League's Covenant.¹⁰ These studies have revealed the range of international interests generated by the League during the interwar period. Moreover, historians have also explored how League advocates used emotional terminology to promote the League.¹¹ Consequently, there is an array of literature that explores the internationalisation of education. However, these approaches do not draw a link between organisations and how these ideas were carried out on the ground in countries.¹² This chapter

⁶ Eckhardt Fuchs, 'The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s', *Paedagogica Historica*, 43.2 (2007), 199-209 (pp. 199-200). Daniel Laqua has researched the importance of educational schemes to protagonists of interwar internationalism in the 1920s. His research focused on the impact of the Union of International Associations (UIA), a non-governmental body formed in 1907, that had similar outlooks to the League: Daniel Laqua, 'Education Internationalists: The Context, Role and Leagcies of the UIA's 'International University'', in *International Organizations and Global Civil Society: Histories of the Union of International Associations*, eds by Daniel Laqua, Wouter Van Acker and Christophe Verbruggen (London: Bloomsburg Academic, 2019), pp. 53-72

⁷ See: Tomás Irish, 'Peace Through History? The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Inquiry into European Schoolbooks, 1921-1924', *History of Education*, 45.1 (2016), 38-56.

⁸ Ken Osborne, 'Creating the "International Mind": The League of Nations Attempts to Reform History Teaching, 1920-1939', *History of Education Quarterly*, 56.2 (2016), 213-240.

⁹ Examples can be found in: Jimena Canales, 'Einstein, Bergson, and the Experiment That Failed: Intellectual Cooperation at the League of Nations', *MLN*, 120.5 (2005), 1168-1191; Tomás Irish, 'The "Moral Basis" of Reconstruction: Humanitarianism, Intellectual Relief and the League of Nations', *Modern Intellectual History*, 17.3 (2020), 769-800; Corinne A. Pernet, 'Twists, Turns, and Dead Alleys: The League of Nations and Intellectual Cooperation in Times of War:', *Journal of Modern European History*, 12/3 (2014), 342-358; Daniel Laqua, 'Transnational Intellectual Cooperation, the League of Nations, and the Problem of Order', *Journal of Global History* 6/2 (2011), 223-47.

¹⁰ Jo- Anne Pemberton, 'The Changing Shape of Intellectual Cooperation: From the League of Nations to UNESCO', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 58.1 (2012), 34-50 (p. 34).

¹¹ Stephanie Olsen, 'Children's Emotional Formations in Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, around the First World War', *Cultural and Social History*, 17.5 (2020), 643-657; Ilaria Scaglia, *The Emotions of Internationalism: Feeling International Cooperation in the Alps in the Interwar Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

¹² The British LNU's Junior Branches have been explored: Susannah Wright 'Creating Liberal-Internationalist World Citizens: League of Nations Union Junior Branches in English Secondary Schools, 1919-1939', *Paedagogica Historica*, 56.3 (2020), 321-340.

attempts to bridge this gap by exploring how the League's broad attempts to promote international citizenship influenced education in Wales.

Traditional studies of the LNU have only partially explored the importance of education in the activities of both the British and Welsh LNU. Donald Birn's brief coverage and description of the education efforts as 'propaganda methods' does not accurately reflect the LNU's work.¹³ Goronwy J. Jones noted that the Welsh LNU used education to promote world peace.¹⁴ However, it is mainly condensed into a footnote and has not provided any reference to some of the Welsh LNU's initiatives, such as the Geneva Scholarship Scheme or Goodwill Message.¹⁵ Moreover, B.J. Elliott regarded attempts to teach pupils about the League through lessons and extracurricular activities as flawed with 'benevolent bias'.¹⁶ More recently, scholars have researched the British LNU's education initiatives.¹⁷ However, the Anglo-centric focus of these works has resulted in little contribution towards the internationalisation of education in Wales. Focusing on Wales reveals that the Welsh LNU's education initiatives were unique in a British context.

Furthermore, little scholarly attention has been allocated to international education in interwar Wales. Welsh historiography has mainly focused on national education, with the most evident example being the Blue Books.¹⁸ In 1847, a three-volume report exploring education entitled *Reports of the Commissioners of Enquiry into the State Education in Wales* was published. The report caused widespread disapproval in Wales as the authors viewed education negatively and created a backward view of Welsh people, namely the Welsh language and nonconformity. As

¹³ Donald Birn, *The League of Nations Union 1918- 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp.138-141.

¹⁴ Goronwy Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace (From the Close of the Napoleonic Wars to the Outbreak of the Second World War)* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969), p. 113.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ B.J. Elliott, "The League of Nations Union and History Teaching in England: A Study in Benevolent Bias," *History of Education* 6 .2 (1977), 131-41.

¹⁷ See: Wright, 'Creating Liberal-Internationalist World Citizens' and Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism c. 1918-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 79-102.

¹⁸ Examples Included: Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, *The Language of the Blue Books: the Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998); Harri Roberts, 'Embodying Identity; Class, Nation and Corporeality in the 1847 Blue Books', *North American Journal of Welsh Studies*, 3.1 (2003); Gareth W. Evans, 'Merioneth and the "Treachery of the Blue Books", 1847', *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society*, 12 (1997).

a result, education acquired a new significance that promoted a Liberal nationalist agenda in Wales. It pushed back against the information reported in the Blue Books. Away from the study of the Blue Books, little scholarly attention has been provided to studying international education in Wales. Welsh historians have explored the impact of influences inside Wales on education, including focusing on a range of factors such as policy, administration and the Welsh language.¹⁹ Similarly, historians have explored the influence of other factors on making education policy. Glanmor Williams argued that the intense rivalry between the Church and Chapel was played out in education.²⁰ Similarly, Pyrs Gruffudd noted that Welsh society had an inherently liberal approach to education that was most evident in rural Wales.²¹ This chapter contributes to Welsh education historiography by showing how the Welsh LNU continued to develop education in Wales and use it to implement national differences. Moreover, it combines the wider themes of Welsh historiography with the international context of the Welsh LNU's attempt to create 'world citizens'.

Conceptualising International Education

In March 1919, the *Children's Newspaper* published a feature that asked children to support the League.²² The front page of its inaugural copy informed its audience that 'nothing can save the League unless children are on its side'.²³ A feature inside the paper further stressed the perceived importance of the League by remarking how 'the whole fate of the world, the success of the League, and the welfare of sixteen hundred million people is in the hands of children'.²⁴ The statement

¹⁹ For policy and administration, see: Leslie Wynne Evans, *Studies in Welsh Education: Welsh Education Structure and Administration, 1880-1925* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1974); Gareth Elywn Jones and Gordon Wynne Roderick, *A History of Education in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003); Chapter five of: Rhys Jones and Carwyn Fowler, *Place the Nation: Aberystwyth and Reproduction of Welsh Nationalism* (University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2008), pp.101-134. An overview of the Welsh language: Martin Johnes, 'For Class and Nation: Dominant Trends in the Historiography of Twentieth-Century Wales', *History Compass*, 8.11 (2010), 1257-1274.

²⁰ Glanmor Williams, *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales: Historical Essays* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1979), p. 105.

²¹ Pyrs Gruffudd, 'The Countryside as Educator: Schools, Rurality and Citizenship in Interwar Wales', *Journal of Historical Geography* 22.4 (1996), 412-423, (p. 421).

²² *The Children's Newspaper* was a paper aimed at pre-teenage and teenage children. Arthur Mee, journalist and educator, was the chief editor. It published its inaugural copy in March 1919.

²³ *The Children's Newspaper*, 22 March 1919, p. 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

encapsulated the perceived importance that children had placed on them during the interwar period. They were a group of society considered pivotal for maintaining peace and promoting international cooperation. Views such as those expressed in the *Children's Newspaper* implied that children failing to support the League would result in its demise.

Young people became a key group targeted in attempts to create 'world citizens' during the interwar period. As historian Laura King argued, children stood out as a key group to influence because they were viewed as 'future citizens, workers, leaders and adults' in mid-twentieth-century Britain.²⁵ Ideas relating to world citizenship existed before the formation of the League. In May 1912, Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University in New York, coined the concept of the 'international mind'.²⁶ He based the definition on nations of the 'civilised world' aiding the progress of civilisation by 'developing commerce and industry and spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world'.²⁷ At the end of the Great War, creating 'world citizens' became a key concept promoted by internationalists, educationalists and League advocates. Glenda Sluga posits that the 'international mind' gained popularity in the interwar period as it conveyed an '*international mentalité*', an idea that encouraged international outlooks to be shared in interwar communities.²⁸

The end of the Great War accelerated attempts to create 'world citizens'. The League did not define what being a 'world citizen' entailed; therefore, it was based on the interpretation of educationalists and intellectuals who sought to promote the idea. The League's Covenant did not refer to education. While there was no set definition, League advocates in Wales, Britain and internationally accepted that being a 'world citizen' encouraged people to have a national and international perspective on citizenship.²⁹ It promoted the League's liberal-

²⁵ Laura King, 'Future Citizens: Cultural and Political Concepts of Children in Britain, 1930s-1950s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 27.3 (2016), 389-411.

²⁶ Nicholas Murray Butler, *The International Mind: An argument for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), p. 102.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 30.

²⁹ McCarthy, p. 108.

internationalist vision, which viewed the League as the correct way to manage international affairs. However, such views did not look to undermine the broader ideas of nationality and imperialism.³⁰ In turn, this was part of numerous narratives based on citizenship during the interwar period.³¹ These opinions circulated throughout Wales. In 1922, David Davies, when opening a new secondary school in Merthyr Tydfil, announced that once pupils left school, they should be 'able to perform duties of citizenship, not only with respect to their own country, but to become 'world citizens', and be interested in the affairs and problems which confronted our own and other nations'.³² Similarly, teachers in Caernarvonshire were informed by the county branch of the National Union of Teachers (NUT) that pupils should leave school 'ready to draw on their responsibilities as both a patriot and a 'world citizen'.³³ Therefore, the main concepts around League teaching and world citizenship appeared to promote national and international identities. The objective in Wales was to teach children in a Welsh context and enhance their knowledge of the international world.

However, the open-ended nature of the definition meant attempts to create 'world citizens' was difficult. Historian Derek Heater argued that teaching world citizenship was problematic because it was based on interpretation and, as a result, lacked universality.³⁴ Similarly, educationalists in the interwar period noted that a lack of universality was necessary to deal with the requirements of individual countries. Charles Webster, Chair of International Politics at the University of Wales Aberystwyth, felt countries had a responsibility:

Not to produce children who are taught the same thing and turn out in the same mould... we must deal with children who are already living as members

³⁰ Wright, 'Creating Liberal-Internationalist World Citizens', 323-324.

³¹ Pyrs Gruffudd, 'Back to the Land: Historiography, Rurality and the Nation in Interwar Wales', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 19.1 (1994), 61-77; Tom Hulme, 'Putting the City Back into Citizenship: Civics Education and Local Government in Britain, 1918-45', *Twentieth Century British History*, 26.1 (2015), 26-51; McCarthy.

³² *Merthyr Express*, 6 May 1922.

³³ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, Pamphlet entitled 'The Teaching of World Citizenship'. A Memorandum Submitted to the Teachers of Caernarvonshire by the Council of Caernarvonshire Association of the N.U.T', n.d.

³⁴ Derek Heater, *A History of Education for Citizenship* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 219.

of different nations, and who are already filled with certain emotions and aspirations.³⁵

The view of Webster illustrated that, while education was used to create 'world citizens', individual countries were required to develop what they deemed as the best approaches to international education.

While international education appeared hard to define, two distinctive elements to creating 'world citizens' focused on incorporating the League into education across all age groups and different countries. These two approaches were direct and indirect teaching of the League. Direct ways of teaching pupils about the League were the most ambitious element of educationalists' attempts to create 'world citizens'. George H. Green, Welsh educationalist and member of staff at the University of Wales Aberystwyth, considered direct League teaching as not 'the mere giving of several facts and details' but creating a new subject in the school curriculum that had several resources, including books, maps and pictures, that would broaden students' knowledge of the League.³⁶

In contrast to the direct teaching method, educationalists felt the League yielded the potential to be taught indirectly. Here the League was incorporated into different subjects on the curriculum, such as history, geography, languages, science and literature.³⁷ Some educationalists felt that 'almost any subject' could be used to 'turn the child's mind'.³⁸ In such approaches, educationalists sought to alter the curriculum. George H. Green considered history and geography to have been taught by 'lazy, indifferent and bigoted people'.³⁹ Teaching the League indirectly aimed to create 'world citizens' by diversifying subjects and introducing concepts related to internationalism. Charles Webster considered history teaching to have been concerned with a small part of the world and that it did not allocate sufficient

³⁵ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, Charles Webster, *The Teaching of World Citizenship, An Address delivered under the auspices of the League of Nations Union at the Fourteenth Annual Conference of Education Association held at University College, January 1926.*

³⁶ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, George H. Green, *Training Method: Direct and Indirect Teaching*, n.d.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, Charles Webster, *The Teaching of World Citizenship, An Address delivered under the auspices of the League of Nations Union at the Fourteenth Annual Conference of Education Association held at University College, January 1926.*

³⁹ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, George H. Green, *Training Method: Direct and Indirect Teaching*, n.d.

coverage to countries across all continents.⁴⁰ Similarly, Frederick J. Gould, a British educationalist, wanted history books to be produced for young people to promote a 'spirit and civic service of international sympathy and co-operation'.⁴¹ Therefore, incorporating information about the League into different subjects revealed the subtle and not-so-subtle ways young people were taught about the League.

International Education and the Welsh LNU

The importance placed on young people heavily influenced and shaped the Welsh LNU's approach to education and creating 'world citizens'. In 1921, the Welsh LNU's AEC was created as a body responsible for discussing and implementing international education policies in Wales. Its establishment before the Welsh LNU existed as an independent body illustrated how education was considered a crucial area of the LNU's work. It was constructed of educators, intellectuals, politicians and League supporters. Major Wynn Powell Wheldon, registrar of University of Wales Bangor and British LNU organiser for Wales, was a key figure in the AEC. Wheldon claimed that the group's ultimate objective was to develop citizens with an 'international mind'.⁴² Furthermore, he described the AEC as an 'unofficial group of men with a special interest in or knowledge of International Politics, History and Education, who meet from time to time to consider the problems of the League from an educational standpoint'.⁴³ Among the main objectives of the AEC was to collect information on history teaching in schools, establish contact with education authorities, train teachers on different ways to include world citizenship in the curriculum and produce materials, such as pamphlets, that shared information on the education work done in Wales.⁴⁴ The Welsh LNU described itself as the 'first' education authority in Europe that explored matters relating to teaching world citizenship in schools.⁴⁵ However, the British LNU's Education Committee held its

⁴⁰ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, *The Teaching of World Citizenship*, January 1926.

⁴¹ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, Frederick J. Gould, *The Presentation of History to Youth*, 1927.

⁴² *Welsh Outlook*, July 1925.

⁴³ *Ibid.* Wheldon's declaration the Advisory Education Committee (AEC) as a 'group of men' reflected the male dominance of the committee. The AEC did not have any female members at any point during the interwar period.

⁴⁴ *Welsh Outlook*, July 1925.

⁴⁵ *Wales and the League of Nations 1934-1935* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1934), p. 6.

first meeting in December 1919.⁴⁶ The British LNU's education organisation matched the Welsh LNU in terms of its aims, activities and the background and profile of members of its sub-committee.⁴⁷

Inspired by the wider concepts of world citizenship, the AEC researched and developed international education in Wales. It wanted to identify what happened in Wales and develop education to reflect attempts to create 'world citizens'. Gwilym Davies perceived the main priority to be what was being taught in the schools of the world, not what was being discussed at the League's Geneva headquarters.⁴⁸ One element of the AEC's work was to explore children's attitudes towards perceptions of nationality and ethnicity. During the late 1920s, Sydney Herbert, a lecturer at University of Wales Aberystwyth and George H. Green, conducted a survey on racial prejudices of Welsh schoolchildren. The study obtained 30,000 statements from 4,500 children aged between six and seventeen.⁴⁹ These responses were collected from industrial, rural and urban areas of north and south Wales. The study involved teachers and students answering questionnaires. It uncovered two areas concerning prejudices held by children. First, it noted that children preferred one nationality to another when asked to describe different types of nationalities. The second finding was that students held specific views on groups of people. The references collected in the questionnaire included viewing 'Americans as boastful', 'the Dutch as greedy' and 'Germans as scientific'.⁵⁰ In summarising the findings, Sydney Herbert felt it was important to produce a generation who would 'not dislike a foreigner at sight'.⁵¹ The study also explored how children's exposure to certain influences led them to form opinions. It claimed that children formed fifty percent of their opinions from textbooks and the other fifty percent from five-ten percent areas of the home, newspapers, cinema, personal experiences and schools.⁵² The questionnaire

⁴⁶ LSE, LNU/5/23, Minutes of the British League of Nations Union Education Committee, December 1919.

⁴⁷ It was headed by Charles William Kimmins who was an educational psychologist and appointed as Chief Inspector at the Education Department of the London County Council (LCC) in 1904.

⁴⁸ Gwilym Davies, *The Schools of the World and the League* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union: Welsh National Council, 1926).

⁴⁹ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, George H. Green, *Training Method: Direct and Indirect Teaching*, n.d.

⁵⁰ *Welsh Outlook*, March 1930.

⁵¹ *Yorkshire Post*, 11 June 1930.

⁵² LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, *Training Method: Direct and Indirect Teaching*.

attracted international attention. In September 1929, it was discussed at the Ninth International Congress of Psychology at Yale University. Summaries of the findings also appeared in magazines and journals outside of Wales, including the *Boston Sunday Global* (United States of America), *La Revue Internationale de l'Enfant* (Switzerland) and *Kwartalnik Psychologiczny* (Poland).⁵³

Furthermore, AEC members also researched other topics. One example was research conducted on the genre of books preferred by children. George H. Green felt there was often a disconnect between adults who produced reading lists and children who read them.⁵⁴ In 1927 and 1928, E.T. Owen, headteacher of Penybont Boys' School in Bridgend (Glamorgan), and J. Lloyd Jones, headteacher of Gladstone Road Boys' School in Barry (Glamorgan), carried out two studies on behalf of the AEC. The objective was to produce a reading list that would broaden children's perspective of the international world.⁵⁵ In 1927, 127 male pupils between the ages of seven and eleven were asked what type of books they preferred to read and the reasons why.⁵⁶ When asked about the type of picture books they preferred, fifty-seven of the 127 children interviewed favoured books that explored war.⁵⁷ This went against the attempts to promote world citizenship.

In 1928, a second study developed the findings of the previous study. In total, 3,357 responses were received from children aged between seven and fifteen from across seventeen schools.⁵⁸ The County Inspectors of Glamorgan and the Cardiff LNU District Committee assisted in collecting responses. Similar to the first study, the second study uncovered that war picture books were the most favourable group of picture books for children of all ages. One headteacher felt the preference for war pictures was due to them depicting an event that 'showed our side in favourable light'.⁵⁹ The findings revealed that the Welsh LNU promoted world citizenship against the backdrop of views that endorsed war. They did not

⁵³ *Welsh Outlook*, March 1930.

⁵⁴ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, J. Lloyd Jones and E. T. Owen, *Books Children Like Best* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1929).

⁵⁵ *Welsh Outlook*, December 1927.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁸ *Welsh Outlook*, December 1928.

⁵⁹ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, *Books Children Like Best*.

propose any changes to their objectives but unveiled other factors influencing education.

Teaching pupils about the League and world citizenship in Wales was also used to redefine approaches to learning about the British Empire. The Empire was a source of pride, but no longer viewed as an expansionist empire defined by military conquest in the interwar period.⁶⁰ Views that promoted the British Empire positively featured in Welsh education. In 1926, Evan Davies, the Labour MP for Ebbw Vale, addressed an awards event at Tredegar County School (Monmouthshire). In his speech, Davies stressed that 'if the League were to become a living reality, Britain needed to drop the idea it was educationally and racially above any other nation. We must give up singing 'Rule Britannia' and instead sing 'Land of Hope and Glory'.⁶¹ Similarly to the view of Evan Davies, the Welsh LNU's AEC expressed that the 'spirit of 'Rule Britannia' must be exorcised from schools' as should the 'shallow, ignorant and blatant patriotism of war-glorifying poems'.⁶² This indicated that the Welsh LNU looked to redefine Britishness by removing war from its ideology and instead embracing world citizenship. However, while the preference for 'Land of Hope and Glory' looked to remove the war definitions, it had imperial undertones and was linked to conceptualisations of British superiority. The Welsh LNU did not want to challenge the deeper undertones of imperialism that existed in society. Instead, it looked to remove war elements in its attempts to create 'world citizens' and world peace. This mirrored the Liberal Internationalism that most LNU advocates drew inspiration from.

Opinions relating to imperialism revealed the contested nature of world citizenship in Wales. In April 1918, R. T. Jenkins, a historian and editor of *Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig/ the Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, felt teachers had no more of a right to impose the British Empire on pupils than they did Calvinistic Methodism.⁶³ Narratives of Wales and the British Empire circulated throughout education during the interwar period.⁶⁴ Historian Russell Grigg developed the

⁶⁰ McCarthy, p. 143.

⁶¹ *Merthyr Express*, 1 May 1926.

⁶² LSE, Webster/5/7, Pamphlet entitled 'The Teaching of World Citizenship'.

⁶³ *Welsh Outlook*, April 1918.

⁶⁴ Prys Gruffudd, 'The Countryside as Educator', p. 421.

growing national idea and importance of celebrations for St. David's Day in Welsh Schools.⁶⁵ Grigg's study showed that events that promoted a Welsh national identity became a feature of interwar education. Similarly, Emily Baughan's study of Save the Children, Britain's most successful international charity in the interwar years, revealed how perceptions of world citizenship were not only important but prone to influences from the British Empire and imperialist attitudes.⁶⁶ The League, therefore, was one of many influences that appeared in education during the interwar period.

The Welsh LNU's AEC published its own materials that attempted to influence conceptualisations of international education. The content of the publications included material suitable for children, guides for teachers and reports on education work. A prominent example was a pamphlet published in 1925 with suggestions for teachers who wanted to teach children about the League.⁶⁷ It provided them with a range of suggestions that the Welsh LNU felt should be considered in teaching, such as the history of international disputes, the origins of the League, its structure and workings and what the League had accomplished.⁶⁸ It was translated by the Welsh LNU into French, illustrating the international magnitude of its education work. Other publications that the Welsh LNU produced included a series of collections of children's plays, a pamphlet for junior readers on famous world personalities and a handbook for senior children to describe the historical growth of world civilisation.⁶⁹ The topics of these materials showed that LNU activists were looking to create 'world citizens' by providing young people with a broader view of the world beyond Wales.

A Welsh language publication sub-committee was created to ensure publications were produced in the Welsh medium. Ceridwen Gruffydd, an

⁶⁵ Russell Grigg, 'You Should Love Your Country and Should Ever Strive to be Worthy of Your Fatherland': Identity, British Values and St David's Day in Elementary Schools in Wales, c. 1885-1920', *Welsh History Review/Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, 29.1 (2018), 99-125.

⁶⁶ Emily Baughan, 'Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save Children!' Empire, Internationalism and Save the Children Fund in inter-war Britain', *Historical Research* 86. 231 (2013), 116-137.

⁶⁷ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers in Framing Schemes of Lessons on the League of Nations* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1925).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, III/4/18, Minutes of the Advisory Education Committee, November 1928.

educationalist and teacher of Welsh and Latin, produced short stories suitable for young pupils.⁷⁰ Furthermore, David James Williams produced several books for Welsh schoolchildren.⁷¹ The work of the Welsh language sub-committee also included translating documents from English to Welsh and Welsh to English. A report on teaching history in the secondary schools of Wales, provided by Professor J E Lloyd of Bangor University, was translated to feature in the Welsh language magazine *Yr Athro* (the professor).⁷² Rhys T. Davies published a Welsh version of his book that focused on Henry Richard.⁷³ The topics of these discussions in the Welsh language were like those produced in the English medium. Therefore, the Welsh language education message was providing a similar message to the English medium rather than providing a different interpretation of the League and Welsh LNU.

A further sign of the Welsh LNU and AEC's contribution to international education was the organisation of the Gregynog Education Conferences. Frederick Evans, Inspector of Primary Schools in Glamorgan and member of the AEC felt the AEC needed to educate Wales about the world and educate the world about Wales.⁷⁴ The Gregynog Education Conferences held between 1922 and 1938 epitomised the Welsh-based approaches to international education. The two aims of the conferences were to discuss how education in Wales could promote world cooperation and to expand education around the world.⁷⁵ Figures from Wales, Britain and internationally acclaimed intellectuals attended Gregynog Hall, a country hall in rural Montgomeryshire, to discuss education and world citizenship. The facilities at Gregynog Hall were provided free of charge by Gwendoline and Margaret Davies, its owners and sisters of David Davies. During the initial years, the attendees were largely individuals from Wales. In May 1922, thirty Welsh educationalists attended the first conference; these included the Secretary for the University of Wales, inspectors of schools and headteachers of secondary schools.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, III/4/19, Minutes of the Advisory Education Committee, November 1929.

⁷² NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, III/4/20, Report on Education by T. Jenkins, 1927.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ *Welsh Outlook*, December 1930.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/4, Letter from Gwilym Davies to Major Ince, 23 May 1922.

However, Maxwell Garnett, the secretary of the British LNU between 1920 and 1938, attended throughout the interwar period. As a result, the British LNU praised the Welsh LNU's work in the schools of Wales.⁷⁷

Once the conferences became an annual event in the Welsh LNU's calendar, internationally acclaimed figures attended. In 1926, Inazō Nitobe, one of the undersecretaries of the League at Geneva, spoke about international education in the Schools of Japan.⁷⁸ Attendees at the same conference included Charles Garnier, a French academic and inspector of national education in France, who informed attendees of the situation of international education in French schools and José Castiellojo, a professor at Madrid University, who discussed international education in Spanish schools.⁷⁹ On the conference's final day, all three were involved in a round table that discussed ways forward in international education.⁸⁰ Furthermore, in 1932, S. H. Wood, a member of the Board of Education's Department of Special Inquiries and Reports, delivered a lecture on international education in Britain.⁸¹ Charles Webster regularly attended, noting that the Gregynog conference caused the work of Wales to extend beyond its boundaries.⁸² In 1932, G.G. Kullman, the Director of the Education Centre of the League at Geneva, delivered a paper exploring the principles of international education.⁸³ In 1933, Ernst Jäckh, a German academic, journalist and founder of the German League of Nations Union (*Deutsche Liga für Völkerbund*), attended the conference.⁸⁴ Jäckh delivered a talk that

⁷⁷ LSE, LNU, 5/28, Minutes of the Education Committee, 20 December 1937.

⁷⁸ Welsh National Council Advisory Education Committee, *Gregynog Conference Programme for October 1926* (Gregynog, 1926). Inazo Nitobé's career included being an educator, politician and educator. His work at Geneva is documented in: Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), chapter six entitled 'The Japanese Faces at Geneva: Nitobe Inazo and Ishii Kikrujiro', pp. 142- 164.

⁷⁹ Welsh National Council Advisory Education Committee, *Gregynog Conference Programme for October 1926* (Gregynog, 1926).

⁸⁰ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, III/4/17, Minutes of the Advisory Education Committee, October 1926.

⁸¹ *Wales and the League of Nations 1932-1933* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1933), p. 55.

⁸² *Wales and the League of Nations 1934-1935*, p. 6.

⁸³ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, III/4/18, Minutes of the Advisory Education Committee, November 1928.

⁸⁴ Ernst Jäckh has been explored by: Peter Weber, 'Ernst Jäckh and the National Internationalism of Interwar Germany', *Central European History*, 52 (2019), 402-423; Jan Stöckmann, 'Studying the International, Serving the Nation: The Origins of International Relations (IR) Scholarship in Germany, 1912-33', *International History Review*, 38 (2016), 1055-1080.

discussed the situation in Germany since Adolf Hitler's rise to power.⁸⁵ The Gregynog conferences, therefore, helped the Welsh LNU's work gain recognition on the world stage. The conferences brought world-renowned individuals to rural Wales to share their views on international education, to be informed of the Welsh LNU's work and provided them with an opportunity to gain awareness of Wales as a nation. It demonstrated the magnitude of the Welsh LNU's work.

The Gregynog conferences symbolised the attempts of the Welsh movement to lead the education of 'world citizens'. These conferences made the Welsh LNU different to its British counterpart. During the interwar period, the British LNU's Education Committee did not organise any meetings or conferences that included international educationalists.⁸⁶ Their activities were largely confined to the British LNU's London headquarters. When compared to its British counterpart, the Welsh LNU used the field of international education to showcase national differences away from British narratives. It sought to create the perception that it was world-leading in international education.

The Welsh LNU's interest in world citizenship was also symbolised by creating the Goodwill Message of Wales to the Children of the World. In 1922, the message was created by Gwilym Davies, who wanted to promote international communication between children.⁸⁷ Despite claiming to speak on behalf of the children of Wales, the message was written each year by Gwilym Davies. Therefore, it was promoted to children. His idea was for a message to be sent by the children of Wales to other nations. Despite claiming to speak on behalf of the children of Wales, the message was written each year by Gwilym Davies. Therefore, it was imposed on children. He decided the message should be broadcast each year on 18 May, a date considered symbolic as it was the same day that the first meeting of the Hague Peace Conference of 1899.⁸⁸ The Goodwill Message showed a unique approach in the Welsh LNU's attempts to create 'world citizens'.

⁸⁵ *Wales and the League of Nations 1933-1934* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1933), p. 53.

⁸⁶ A comprehensive range of sources has been investigated. These are: LSE, LNU/5/23 to LNU/5/28.

⁸⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/5, Agenda of the Welsh League of Nations Union Council, July 1922.

⁸⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, J1/1, The 15th Annual World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales, published by the League of Nations Union Welsh National Council, May 1936, p. 2.

The wording of the Goodwill Message developed the ideas of world citizenship that internationalists were working towards in the period. It developed ideas of world citizenship by directly stating support for the League. A similar message was broadcast between 1922 and 1928, which concluded by describing the League as the 'friend of every mother, the protector of every home, and the guardian of the angel of the youth of the world'.⁸⁹ In the 1930s, the message moved away from directly referencing the League, but the wording continued to imply support indirectly by mentioning support for its ideals. In 1933, it mentioned that the spirit of the international world could be spread if all nations 'came together as one family'.⁹⁰ Similarly, in 1935, acknowledgement was given to countries that had 'conquered disease' and 'brought health and happiness to mankind'.⁹¹ The message, therefore, looked to develop the concept of the League directly and indirectly as an important organisation for the world's future.

The message promoted Wales as an independent nation. It was always sent in the name of the 'children of Wales', not Britain. It encouraged both children in Wales and the recipients of the message in different countries to see Wales as a separate nation. In 1929, the message reported Wales to be constructed of 'Mountains, Valleys, Villages and Towns'.⁹² In 1934, the message described Wales as a 'little land of poetry and song'.⁹³ Therefore, it presented an exchange between young people to reflect the growth of Wales as a nation. The message displayed an idealised vision of Wales that individuals like Gwilym Davies promoted. The message, therefore, was being used to create and enforce a Welsh national identity.

The Welsh LNU regarded the Goodwill Message as a key part of its educational work. Gwilym Davies wanted to broadcast the message on radio stations into homes around Wales. The idea to broadcast a radio message was indicative of the development of radio technologies in the interwar period. Nations

⁸⁹ For an example see: *Wales and the League of Nations 1927-1928* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1928), p. 22.

⁹⁰ *Wales and the League of Nations 1932-1933*, p. 70.

⁹¹ *Wales and the League of Nations 1934-1935* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1935), p. 51.

⁹² *Wales and the League of Nations, 1928-1929* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1933), p. 32.

⁹³ *Wales and the League of Nations, 1933-1934*, p. 71.

used broadcasting to show national differences and growing international connectedness during the interwar period.⁹⁴ 'Wireless internationalism', as coined by historian Simon Potter, became a way of defining and reinforcing national identity during the interwar period.⁹⁵ Using the radio was assisted by advancements in technology which had been undergoing intense development before the Great War. However, this was due to commercial and government sponsored military involvement rather than for consumer interest.⁹⁶ The end of the Great War meant that the wireless became accessible to the masses. It transformed leisure time, communication and broadcasting. In September 1924, an estimated 900,000 homes in Britain had radio licenses that represented around three million listeners.⁹⁷ The League formed its own radio station, Radio Nations, that broadcast information on international matters and music. In the 1920s, radio and broadcasting enjoyed popularity and directly impacted culture and society.⁹⁸

However, broadcasting the message in Wales encountered difficulties. In 1928, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) claimed that characteristics in broadcasting meant the message was an ineffective method of securing the desired result.⁹⁹ The nature of broadcasting in Wales meant that the message could not be broadcast in all areas of Wales.¹⁰⁰ During the interwar period, there were technical difficulties with broadcasting radio programmes from Cardiff to north Wales. These issues annoyed figures in the Welsh LNU, namely Gwilym Davies, who felt the BBC disregarded Wales and its people.¹⁰¹ The difficulties with the BBC limited the potential of the Welsh LNU's education work.

The Goodwill Message showed an international perspective by being taught

⁹⁴ Simon Potter, *Wireless Internationalism and Distant Listening: Britain, Propaganda and the Invention of Global Radio, 1920-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 3.

⁹⁵ Richard J. Hand and Mary Traynor, 'Radio in Small Nations: An Introduction', in *Radio in Small Nations: Production, Programmes, Audiences*, ed. by Richard J. Hand and Mary Traynor (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), pp. 1-5, p. 1.

⁹⁶ Stephen Barnard, *Studying Radio* (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 10.

⁹⁷ Figures taken from: Potter, p. 23.

⁹⁸ Hand and Traynor, p. 1.

⁹⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, J1/2. Letter to Gwilym Davies from C.F. Anderson (BBC Director of the Foreign and Dominions Department), 3 August 1928.

¹⁰⁰ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, J2/2, Letter to William John (Secretary of the Welsh Parliamentary Party) from Gwilym Davies, 24 June 1931.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

in countries around the world. In Germany, Dr Alfred Ehrentreich helped to broadcast the message during the children's hour of *Deutsche Welle* on a Berlin radio station.¹⁰² In France, Madame Prudhommeaux, the wife of Jules Prudhommeaux, a historian and secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Paris office, used her position to share the message in France. From 1922 to 1936, the message collected over 70 replies from different countries.¹⁰³ The message was sent in English and Welsh and European languages such as French, Spanish and German. By the mid-1930s, the message had been broadcast on numerous radio stations in different countries. These included: the New Zealand Broadcasting Company, Tokyo Central Broadcasting System and Kringkastingselskapet Station in Norway.¹⁰⁴

The international dynamic of the Goodwill Message was best illustrated in 1929 when the Welsh LNU displayed an exhibition at the World Congress of Education Associations in Geneva. The congress brought together educationalists from around the world to discuss international education. The Welsh LNU's exhibition at the Congress promoted the Goodwill Message (Figure 4.1). The message's prominence was evident in the display, with snippets of the message and a world map listing countries that had sent responses. The Welsh LNU also used the exhibit to push forward ideas of Wales as a nation. Most evident was the inclusion of a dragon flag and a map of Wales. This was combined with images and descriptions of prominent figures of the Peace movement in Wales, such as Henry Richard. The Welsh LNU used the message to spread a distinctive Welsh identity around the world that presented Wales as a key player in peace and internationalism.

The Welsh LNU and AEC targeted teachers in the hope that they would teach world citizenship to children. The language used by educationalists created the idea that failure by teachers to embrace international learning would yield

¹⁰² NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, J1/1, Notes by Gwilym Davies on Germany and the Goodwill Message, 1936.

¹⁰³ *The Children's Newspaper*, 20 May 1933, p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ NLW, GB 0210 GWWIES, V/1/55, List of Stations that Broadcast the Wireless Message, 1930s.

tragic consequences. In 1926, Charles Webster, speaking at the Fourteenth Annual Conference of Education Association, informed teachers that:

When we hear those catchwords that “there is a race between education and destruction” or that “the teachers are the trustees for posterity”, let us remember that they are true; and that in our hands, quite literally, in conjunction with our colleagues in all other countries of the world, there does lie the fateful choice between life and death for the civilisation of mankind.¹⁰⁵

A pamphlet issued to teachers in Caernarvonshire informed teachers they could either ‘lay the foundations of a better international understanding’ or suffer the ‘terrible consequences of hatred, fear and ignorance’.¹⁰⁶ Teachers became a key group who were targeted, regardless of the personal choice of students.

In their quest to reach out to teachers, the Welsh LNU aimed to collaborate with educational authorities in Wales. The Welsh LNU had to contend with decentralised education boards as the government issued no central curriculum. Bodies such as the Board of Education, Welsh Education Board and Local Education Authorities (LEAs) were responsible for the curriculum. The Welsh LNU managed to collaborate with all these organisations. They gained support from educationalists who held positions of influence on local and national education boards. These included Major Wynn Powell Wheldon, who was appointed as Secretary of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education in 1932, D. T. Jones, the Director for Education in Monmouthshire, Captain Frederick Evans, an educationalist and Inspector of Primary Schools for Glamorgan County Council and R. Botting, Director for Education in Aberdare.¹⁰⁷ By 1927, every LEA in Wales and Monmouthshire, in some shape or form, was teaching the League in schools.¹⁰⁸ However, classification ranged from the League featuring prominently throughout the year to being mentioned in a small handful of lessons.

¹⁰⁵ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, *The Teaching of World Citizenship*, January 1926.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ *Wales and the League of Nations 1933-1934*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁸ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, III/4/20, Report on Education by T. Jenkins, 1927.

Figure 4.1: Photograph of the Welsh Children's Message Exhibit at the World Federation of Education Association Congress in Geneva, 25 July - 4 August 1929.¹⁰⁹



Networks of influential educationalists were vital for gaining recognition and support for the League in schools throughout Wales. They provided teachers with opportunities that allowed them to learn about the new approach to education and world citizenship. The collaboration between the AEC and LEAs allowed teachers to attend events organised by the Welsh LNU. The Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Education Authorities granted a half-day holiday to schools, enabling teachers to attend the Welsh LNU's annual conference in Bangor (Caernarfonshire).¹¹⁰ Similarly, LEAs in Cardiganshire and Radnorshire granted schools a half-day holiday for teachers to attend training sessions organised by the Welsh LNU.¹¹¹ In one instance, Denbighshire's Education Committee allowed teachers to take a paid half-day

¹⁰⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, D1/1, Photograph of the Welsh Children's Message Exhibit at the World Federation of Education Association Congress in Geneva, 1929.

¹¹⁰ *Wales and the League of Nations 1932-1933*, p. 57.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

holiday to attend a conference on the teaching of world citizenship by George H. Green.¹¹² Another initiative that the AEC used was sending literature to teachers who attended training sessions. In 1925, it published a memorandum that outlined methods that could be used to teach the League in schools.¹¹³ Teachers were encouraged to pass the publication to a colleague or place it in the school library once they finished reading it.¹¹⁴ In addition, the AEC directly addressed Teachers' Associations. In 1927, J. R. Gabriel addressed a meeting of the Rhymney Valley National Union of Teachers at New Tredegar.¹¹⁵ In 1932, the Welsh Federation of Head Teachers invited J. Lloyd Jones to their annual conference to speak about the educational activities of the Welsh LNU.¹¹⁶ These collaborations illustrated the importance that working with other teaching organisations had to the Welsh LNU's attempts to create 'world citizens'.

Alongside attempts to collaborate with current teachers, the AEC reached out to student teachers in training colleges. These were considered an important group as their 'in training' status meant they could shape their teaching experience around the new desire to teach the League and create 'world citizens'. The AEC often followed a similar method with its approach as it did with current teachers. Speakers delivered talks in training colleges on international affairs. In 1928, Gwilym Davies addressed a meeting at Caerleon Training College (Monmouthshire) and D. Hughes Lewis, south Wales organiser of the Welsh LNU, spent a weekend at Carmarthen Training College to discuss the League with its students.¹¹⁷ Students at Training Colleges became interested in the League. Welsh LNU branches were formed at numerous training colleges, including Barry (Glamorgan), Carmarthen (Carmarthenshire) and Bangor (Caernarvonshire).¹¹⁸ The activities organised at the Barry Training College branch between September 1933 and May 1934 included an

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, V/5/1, Memorandum entitled 'For Teachers who Desire to Explain the Principle and History of the League in Schools', January 1925.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ *Wales and the League of Nations, 1927-1928* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1928), p. 11.

¹¹⁶ *Wales and the League of Nations 1932-1933*, p. 58.

¹¹⁷ *Wales and the League of Nations, 1928-1929*, p. 22.

¹¹⁸ For examples see: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/39, Carmarthen Training College and NLW, B2/109, Bangor Training College.

‘International Fancy Dress Dance’ and weekly study groups.¹¹⁹ Similarly to schools and education authorities, the Welsh LNU were most successful when staff members supported the League. The progress made at Barry Training College was down to the support of Ellen Evans, its principal, between 1923 and 1953.¹²⁰

So far, this chapter has explored how the international concept of creating ‘world citizens’ was interpreted in Wales. It has revealed that the Welsh LNU established the AEC as a specialist body that conceptualised and worked around the concept of world citizenship. It has shown that the AEC focused on developing work in Wales away from the British LNU. Some of its work, such as studies on race and the Gregynog Conferences, showcased the independent work conducted in Wales. Also, the Goodwill Message showed the unique development of work by the Welsh LNU that sought to create ‘world citizens’ in a manner that advanced the ideas of Wales as a nation. The chapter now discusses how world citizenship was debated and promoted in Welsh schools.

The Welsh LNU relied on the willingness of schools to cooperate with them to incorporate ideas of world citizenship into education. There was a varied level of engagement with schools. In 1926, Gwilym Davies produced a report on his findings on international education in Welsh schools.¹²¹ Davies reported that the school’s engagement with the League could be placed into five classifications. The first classification reported schools as providing no recognition to teaching the League. Second were schools where no teaching was done, but communication was being made between the Welsh LNU and the schools’ authorities. Similarly, the third classification was where communications had succeeded and teaching about the League would be introduced in the future. The next classification was the League taught in schools on certain days of the year, such as St David’s Day, Armistice Day and Empire Day. The final group was schools that attempted to teach the League as a standalone subject and incorporate it into subjects such as history and

¹¹⁹ *Wales and the League of Nations 1934-1935*, p. 24.

¹²⁰ For a biography on Ellen Evans see: Sian Rhiannon Williams, ‘Rediscovering Ellen Evans (1891-1953), Principal of Glamorgan Training College Barry’, *Trafodion Anrhydeddus Gymdeithas y Cymmrodorion/ Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 19 (2013), 100-115.

¹²¹ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, V/5/2, Report entitled ‘International Education in the Schools of Wales’, 1926, pp. 14-15.

geography.¹²²

In Monmouthshire, for example, Gwilym Davies's report found that most of the teaching that focused on international relations was restricted to the fourth classification in respect of featuring at certain times of the year. The study found that schools incorporated the Welsh LNU's Goodwill Message of the Children of Wales to the World in various ways. At Abertillery Girls' School in Monmouthshire, the objectives of the League and its Covenant were taught alongside the Goodwill Message.¹²³ The Cwmtillery Boys' School organised a special assembly in which the Goodwill Message was read out, and students were taught about the League in a special assembly.¹²⁴ Students at the Queen's St Girl's School in Monmouth copied the Wireless Message from the board and took their copies home.¹²⁵ The report did not reveal why different schools had different levels of participation. However, it did note that several teachers, who were anonymous, were anxious to promote international cooperation in their teaching.¹²⁶

In Wales, the Goodwill Message became a feature of education in schools. This occurred both in classrooms and as extra-curricular activities. The 18 May, the day the message was broadcast, became known as 'Goodwill Day'. The activities organised in schools on this day included reading the message in foreign languages and learning about the history of different countries.¹²⁷ Frederick Evans produced a play based on the Goodwill Message that encouraged children to learn about other cultures by including scenes that included singing songs in the native language of countries and discussing characterises of different national outfits.¹²⁸ Pageants were held that involved young people from a variety of schools. In 1929, an event was held in Aberdare, which 750 children from local schools attended.¹²⁹ In 1935, the

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 20.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 20.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

¹²⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, J1/1, The 15th Annual World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales, published by the League of Nations Union Welsh National Council, May 1936, p. 14.

¹²⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, J1/4, Pamphlet entitled "Where There's a Goodwill, there's a Goodway: a play for children based on the wireless message", by Frederic Evans and H. J. Anderson, n.d.

¹²⁹ *Western Mail*, 15 May 1929.

most notable of these pageants occurred at Aberystwyth.¹³⁰ It involved forty schools from Aberystwyth and Cardiganshire travelling to Aberystwyth Castle ruins for a peace pageant arranged by George H. Green.¹³¹ Before the pageant, each school was assigned a country. They were taught about the country in lessons and attended the event in what was considered the national dress of their assigned country.¹³² Intertwined in the education of the Goodwill Message was the promotion of other cultures and national and international ideas.

The Welsh LNU also received significant coverage in schools during commemorations of war, such as armistice day.¹³³ It viewed the armistice period as a key date to spread its message. Sympathetic LEAs encouraged teachers to mention the League during Armistice Day.¹³⁴ The Welsh LNU focused on the League taught in schools during the armistice period. They collaborated with the National Council of Music to produce an Armistice Day order of service.¹³⁵ Gwilym Davies noted there was a small body of schools that did not give coverage to the League throughout the year, but they helped to educate youngsters to become 'world citizens' during the armistice period.¹³⁶

The Welsh LNU valued those schools that incorporated the League into their curriculum and felt it positively affected the school's environment. From his visits to Welsh schools, Charles Webster recalled visiting a school that had incorporated international education into their curriculum created 'an exhilarating response like drinking a pint of good champagne'.¹³⁷ However, Webster also noted that visiting a school where no attempt had been made to internationalise the curriculum

¹³⁰ Pageants were a key part of culture that existed in interwar Britain. For literature on the topic see: Tom Hulme, 'A Nation of Town Criers': Civic Publicity and Historical Pageantry in Inter-war Britain', *Urban History*, 44.2 (2017), 270-292.

¹³¹ *Wales and World Peace 1935-1936* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1936), p. 55.

¹³² NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, J1/1, 'A Peace Pageant, An Experiment in the Dramatic Methods', 1935.

¹³³ Susannah Wright, 'War and Peace: Armistice Observance in British Schools in 1937', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 13.3 (2020), 426-445.

¹³⁴ McCarthy, p. 118.

¹³⁵ Swansea, West Glamorgan Archive Service (WGAS), E/Dyn Sec/27/5, Programme for Order of Armistice Day Service, Prepared for use in schools by the National Council of Music and the Welsh League of Nations Union, 1920s.

¹³⁶ NLW, GB 0210 GWWIES, V/5/2, Report entitled 'International Education in the Schools of Wales', 1926.

¹³⁷ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, The Teaching of World Citizenship, January 1926.

resulted in needing ‘the pint of champagne when you come out because the school is dead and there is no reality in the teaching’.¹³⁸ While this did not present an accurate insight into what was happening in schools, it showed the sentiment held by internationalists in their attempts to be widely respected.

Most of the Welsh LNU’s energies were directed towards initiatives that involved secondary schools in Wales. The Welsh LNU considered eleven years of age as the ‘golden age’ for when children became interested in learning about world citizenship.¹³⁹ They felt this was an appropriate age for when children understood the world and its problem. Several methods were used to educate children about the League during the interwar period, such as pamphlets, textbooks and films.¹⁴⁰ The Welsh LNU and AEC also arranged competitions. In 1933, schoolchildren were asked to create a badge design that could be used as the LNU’s logo. The specification asked it to be black and white, symbolic of ‘the crusade of Wales for World Peace’ and suitable for use as a small brooch or button badge.¹⁴¹ In total, 191 entries were received from eighteen schools around Wales. Its winner was Margaret Gillison, a pupil at Howell’s School in Denbigh, who received £1 worth of books.¹⁴² The range of techniques used in the classroom drew on interactive ways to learn about the League rather than being textual and uninformed.

The Welsh LNU engaged pupils in an extracurricular format. One of these methods involved using junior branches to extend its message to children outside of the classroom. In 1929, there were 17,788 members in 217 junior branches at the peak of junior membership.¹⁴³ Members of junior branches were under eighteen years of age. Membership was held by a school on a collective basis. Secondary schools paid £1 for membership. Meanwhile, primary schools with over 200 pupils paid 10/0 and schools with less than 200 pupils paid 5/0.¹⁴⁴ Junior branches relied on teachers to run them. The Merthyr Intermediate School (Glamorgan) branch was

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, *Training Method: Direct and Indirect Teaching*.

¹⁴⁰ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, III/4/8, Discussion of the Advisory Education Committee on the Position of the Teaching of the League in the Schools of the World, November 1932.

¹⁴¹ *Wales and the League of Nations 1933-1934*, p. 57.

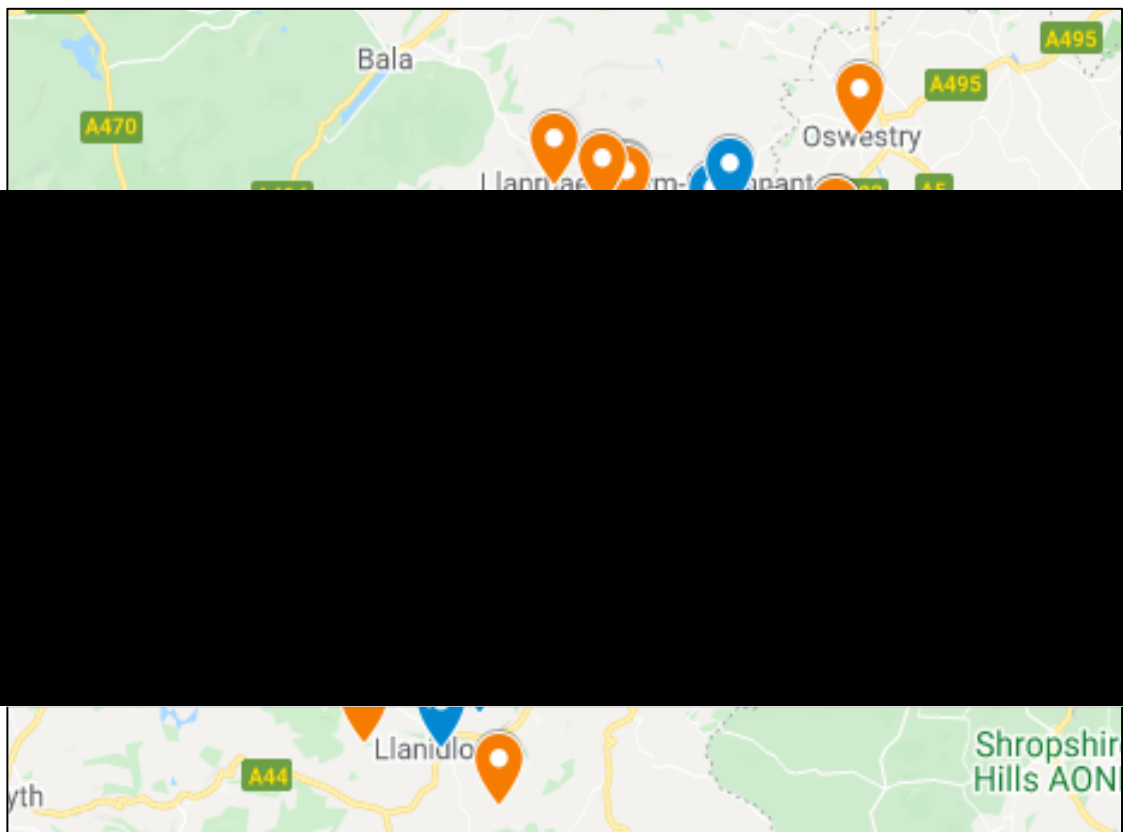
¹⁴² Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁴³ Figures taken from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

¹⁴⁴ *How to Form a Junior Branch* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1933).

run by the school's headteacher, Alice Gornall, who was considered a 'great advocate of peace'.¹⁴⁵ In some counties, there were more junior branches than adult branches. Montgomeryshire had 41 junior branches compared to 34 adult branches (Figure 4.2). This showed that the Welsh LNU invested resources to get young people to support the League.

Figure 4.2: A map of junior branches (orange) compared to adult branches (blue) in Montgomeryshire.¹⁴⁶



Junior branches allowed young people from all areas of Wales to learn about the international world. Often, especially for those in rural areas, it was the first time they encountered the international world or people outside their community. Junior branches enabled pupils to connect with the imagined community of the world citizen and to develop the dispositions that the LNU's vision of world citizenship required.¹⁴⁷ The same can be said of junior branches in Wales. A guide

¹⁴⁵ *Merthyr Express*, 24 July 1937.

¹⁴⁶ Figures taken from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

¹⁴⁷ Wright, 'Creating Liberal-Internationalist World Citizens', p. 326.

issued to schools mentioned that they should hold regular meetings and social activities to help spread awareness of the League.¹⁴⁸ All Welsh LNU junior branches were run as extra-curricular groups. This was reflected in junior branches' activities. In 1928, a letter was circulated to all junior branches informing them of a peace festival being organised in Montgomeryshire in May 1929. The letter encouraged pupils to work on competition entries being organised as part of the festival. These included the 'best handwritten and illuminated copy of the Kellogg-Briand Pact' and entries for a cigarette card collection of any of the League's member states.¹⁴⁹ School pupils were encouraged, but not compelled, to join junior branches. In 1929, the junior branch at Haverfordwest Hill House College recorded that not all children had joined its branch, but it was hoped they would because pupils at the school 'wanted to prevent war'.¹⁵⁰ Junior branches also worked with adult branches to help recruit members. In 1920, twenty-four students from the Barry County School assisted the Barry LNU branch with a membership campaign that resulted in 186 new adult members joining the local LNU branch.¹⁵¹

There were also a small number of branches involved in peace initiatives away from the Welsh LNU. In 1933, Fédération Interalliée Des Anciens Combattants (FIDAC), an interallied veterans' movement, provided the British Legion with three bronze medals to award schools doing work considered to be of 'outstanding important to the cause of peace'.¹⁵² Schools could both apply directly and be recommended by individuals or LEAs. In total, twelve schools were shortlisted, with three being from Wales. Those shortlisted were the Barmouth County School (Merionethshire), Clydach Council School (Glamorgan) and St Francis' Catholic School in Milford Haven (Pembrokeshire).¹⁵³ While these Welsh schools did not win

¹⁴⁸ *How to Form a Junior Branch*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/6, Letter circulated to junior branches in Montgomeryshire by Welsh LNU north Wales organiser, 1928.

¹⁵⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/74, Letter to Welsh LNU headquarters from B. M. Gwynne (Branch secretary), 31 July 1929.

¹⁵¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/2, Monthly Report on the South Wales and Monmouthshire Region, August 1920.

¹⁵² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/88, Letter to Welsh Headteachers from Maxwell Garnett, 29 June 1933. For information of F.I.D.A.C see: *The Great War and Veterans' Internationalism*, ed. by Julia Eichenberg and John Paul Newman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

¹⁵³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, LNU, B1/88, Letter to Welsh Headteachers from Maxwell Garnett, 29 June 1933.

the overall prize, it was an achievement to be shortlisted. These schools all had junior LNU branches during the interwar period. Therefore, through engagement with junior branches, young people were given the opportunity to learn about internationalism away from the Welsh LNU's activities and the traditional classroom environment.

Junior branches also helped with Welsh LNU fundraising initiatives. The most evident example was fundraising for the bust of Robert Owen, a Welsh philanthropist, textile manufacturer and social reformer. In 1928, the idea emerged after Edmund D Jones, Headmaster of Barmouth County School, wrote to Gwilym Davies to state that Wales should be represented in the new International Labour Office (ILO) building.¹⁵⁴ Robert Owen was specifically chosen as a symbolic figure who introduced key changes to working conditions and workers' rights. These were viewed to overlap with the ILO's vision of working to improve labour conditions in countries around the world. The bust was presented to the ILO of the League in Geneva as a gift from the 'people of Wales'. The bust was designed and created by the prolific Welsh sculptor William Goscombe John (Figure 4.3). In 1929, a delegation including David Davies, Harry R. Reichel, Principal of the University of Wales Bangor and Welsh LNU president between 1928 and 1929, Annie Hughes Griffiths and Gwilym Davies, travelled to Geneva to present the bust.¹⁵⁵ Junior branches were a key part of the fundraising initiative. In total, twenty-two junior branches provided donations.¹⁵⁶ Donations exceeding £1 were provided by seven junior branches, which included Barmouth County School, Llanberis County School and Barry County School.¹⁵⁷ The involvement and interaction from junior branches implied that young people assisted with building Wales's profile on the world stage.

There were some similarities between junior branches located in junior and secondary schools. Both favoured the wearing and promotion of national costumes. Schools regularly held classes where pupils would learn about other countries using

¹⁵⁴ *The Robert Owen Memorial Fund of the Welsh League of Nations Union 1928-1929* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1929).

¹⁵⁵ *Western Mail*, 5 March 1929, p. 6.

¹⁵⁶ *The Robert Owen Memorial Fund of the Welsh League of Nations Union 1928-1929*.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Figure 4.3: The bronze bust of Robert Owen presented to the International Labour Office of the League of Nations Union in Geneva, 1929.¹⁵⁸



¹⁵⁸ *The Robert Owen Memorial Fund of the Welsh League of Nations Union 1928-1929* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1929).

music and songs, dressing in clothes and lessons exploring the culture.¹⁵⁹ However, not everyone was favourable to these methods. Alfred Zimmern, a classical scholar who held the Chair of International Politics at University of Wales Aberystwyth between 1919 and 1921, disapproved of the use of ‘fancy-dress internationalism’, pageants and model assemblies as he felt they failed to promote a ‘grasp of the principles for which the League and its machinery exists’.¹⁶⁰ George H. Green, similarly, felt national costumes were used ‘disadvantageously’ as they enforced stereotypical views such as the people of Wales being considered a nation of ‘elderly women’ and French people as a ‘Breton onion man’.¹⁶¹ The Welsh LNU wanted to avoid creating such stereotypes. Yet children learned about other countries in ways that indirectly reinforced traditional and outdated perceptions of other nations.

The Welsh LNU also promoted world citizenship outside of education by collaborating with other youth organisations that existed in interwar Wales. One of these organisations was the Girl Guides Association. As an organisation, they had a badge for ‘International Knowledge’ that required ‘acquiring a real and fairly wide knowledge of League activities’.¹⁶² However, there was also localised cooperation that revealed varied success with collaboration. In Denbighshire, the guides helped to make posters for a local LNU meeting.¹⁶³ In Monmouthshire, a girl guide leader gave a two-to-three-minute talk on the League at every meeting she attended in the county.¹⁶⁴ In Merionethshire, no collaboration had occurred.¹⁶⁵ These examples showed that, while success was varied, there was a determination to collaborate with other groups to promote the League and create ‘world citizens’.

¹⁵⁹ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, V/5/1, Memorandum entitled ‘For Teachers who Desire to Explain the Principle and History of the League in Schools’, January 1925.

¹⁶⁰ Alfred Zimmern, *Education in International Relations: A Critical Survey* (1932), p. 17.

¹⁶¹ LSE, WEBSTER/5/7, George H. Green, *Training Method: Direct and Indirect Teaching*, n.d.

¹⁶² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/28, Report of activities, 1928-1930.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Geneva Scholarship Scheme

A further example of the Welsh LNU's international work was the creation of the Geneva Scholarship Scheme. Awarded annually between 1928 and 1939, the scheme provided a small number of students in Wales who won an examination competition with the opportunity to attend international summer schools held in Geneva. It was one of the first examples of international exchange opportunities for young people in Wales. While the idea of student exchange predated the interwar years, international exchange between students was a feature of interwar education.¹⁶⁶

The idea for the scholarship first emerged in 1927 when the Welsh LNU's Executive Committee asked the AEC for its opinion on creating an examination competition where successful candidates would receive a scholarship to attend a fortnight junior summer school in Geneva that the International Federation of League of Nations Societies organised.¹⁶⁷ These proposals were discussed, and it was decided that two Geneva Scholarships should be offered for competition amongst pupils of County and Secondary Schools in Wales.¹⁶⁸ However, scholarships were only available to County and Secondary Schools with a junior branch of the Welsh LNU.¹⁶⁹ To receive the scholarship, students between the ages of fourteen and eighteen sat a three-hour examination set by the Welsh LNU's Geneva

¹⁶⁶ Daniel Laqua, 'Activism in the 'Students' League of Nations: International Student Politics and the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants, 1919-1939', *The English Historical Review*, 132.556 (2017), 605-637; Tamson Pietsch, 'Commercial Travel and College Culture: The 1920s Transatlantic Student Market and the Foundations of Mass Tourism', *Diplomatic History*, 43.1 (2019), 83- 106; Ilaria Scaglia explored the terminology used to promote international cooperation and how it linked to children and young people. See chapter two entitled 'Managing Emotions at the League of Nations' in: Scaglia, pp. 51-82. Tara Windsor's study of student exchange between British and German students revealed that exchanges were multi-layered and tended to focus on rebuilding relations between former enemy nations: Tara Windsor, "'The Domain of the Young as the Generation of the Future": Student Agency and Anglo-German Exchange after the Great War', in *The Academic World in the Era of the Great War*, ed. by Marie-Eve Chagnon and Tomás Irish (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 163-187; Similarly Peter Polak-Springer's study of cultural exchange between German and Polish children, noted cross-border exchanges were often celebrated as promoting peace and international understanding: Peter Polak-Springer, 'Gain Weight, Have Fun, Discover the Motherland: The German-Polish Children's Summer Camp Exchange and Interwar Era Revisionism', *Contemporary European History*, (2020), 1-17.

¹⁶⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU's Executive Committee, 16 November 1927.

¹⁶⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU's Executive Committee, 21 February 1928.

¹⁶⁹ *Wales and the League of Nations 1932-1933*, p. 59.

Scholarship sub-committee. The examination challenged students to answer questions related to the League. In 1928, the questions required students to discuss the statement “The League is not a form of government but a form of co-operation” and ‘Why is a League of Nations so much more necessary today than it was a hundred years ago?’.¹⁷⁰ In total, 43 students from 29 schools received scholarships between 1928 and 1939. Of this total, 29 were from south Wales and 14 from north Wales, with 27 male and 16 female.¹⁷¹ However, the scholarship initiative was not met with widespread enthusiasm. M. R. Lewis, the headteacher of Abertillery County School (Monmouthshire), felt that the examination would interfere with the school’s curriculum, and they had no pupil who had ‘any prospect of success’.¹⁷² This suggested that, from the point of view of schools, the League was not always viewed as relevant or a useful tool for internationalising education.

The Welsh LNU financially supported the scholarship initiative. On average, a scholarship for one student cost £16. The Welsh LNU only assigned funds for two students per year. However, they decided to fund extra students who had submitted high-quality work. In such instances, Welsh LNU supporters and branches provided money that funded additional scholarships, allowing extra students to attend summer schools. In 1928, the extra funding came from Welsh LNU supporters, including Annie Hughes Griffiths, Dudley T Howe, Dr Arthur Jones from Mountain Ash, and J. H. James.¹⁷³ Moreover, in 1929, an additional two places were funded by individuals and branches. In 1933, branches in Flintshire helped to fund extra places.¹⁷⁴

For those who were lucky enough to receive Geneva Scholarships, it gave them a first-hand experience of the League, how it functioned and the wider atmosphere of Geneva. A report by Gwyneth M. Williams, a pupil from Colwyn Bay Secondary School who received a scholarship in 1928, outlined what scholars could expect during their visit to Geneva. She met with numerous individuals, including

¹⁷⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/6, Correspondence regarding the Geneva Scholarships Examination, 1928.

¹⁷¹ Figures compiled from material in: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/46.

¹⁷² *South Wales Gazette*, 5 December 1930.

¹⁷³ *Western Mail*, Thursday 31 May 1928.

¹⁷⁴ *Wales and the League, 1934-1935*, pp. 40-41.

Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League, Princess Radziwill, a member of the secretariat from Lithuania, and Countess Van Heerdt, a Dutch League worker.¹⁷⁵ Her visit included a tour of the ILO and visiting the home of Eluned Kotschnig-Prys, formerly Eluned Prys, who had been involved in the Welsh LNU's petition to the women of America.¹⁷⁶ Gwyneth M. Williams described the exchanges with other young people from countries that included Belgium, Australia, Denmark, the Netherlands and Spain. Gwyneth Williams reported her satisfaction meeting people from countries she had 'only heard of before'; however, 'language problems' prevented too much communication.¹⁷⁷ After her visit, Gwyneth Williams shared her experience at a Welsh LNU meeting that discussed 'The League and the Children'.¹⁷⁸ Similar experiences were recorded by other students who received Geneva Scholarships. In 1930, one recipient reported they had been given a rare experience as their second week was during the League's Assembly, in which the scholars attended a meeting of the League's Council.¹⁷⁹ In 1936, a recipient of a Geneva scholarship noted they had a 'crammed schedule', which included visits to the League's headquarters, viewing the site where the League's new headquarters, the Palais des Nations, was under construction, meeting members of the secretariat and listening to lectures on the work of the League in the Council Chamber.¹⁸⁰ This student concluded their account by summarising the experience as the most 'memorable holiday' but strengthening their opinion of the League as 'whole-hearted in support of the League'.¹⁸¹ It is evident that those pupils who received scholarships embraced the opportunity to travel to Geneva and, in the short term, enhanced the perception of being a 'world citizen'.

However, other students expressed dissatisfaction with their trip to Geneva. William B. Hopkin, a Geneva Scholar from Barry County School for Boys, felt his visit

¹⁷⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/46, Report by Gwyneth M. Williams entitled 'My Visit to Geneva', 1928. A copy of her report also appeared in the *Welsh Outlook: Welsh Outlook*, 1 October 1928.

¹⁷⁶ She was Eluned Prys at the time of the Women's Petition. She subsequently married Walter Kotschnig, a leading figure in the International Student Service.

¹⁷⁷ *Welsh Outlook*, 1 October 1928.

¹⁷⁸ *Western Mail*, 23 May 1929, p. 6.

¹⁷⁹ *Wales and the League of Nations, 1930-1931* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1931), p. 36.

¹⁸⁰ *Wales and World Peace, 1936-1937* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1937), pp. 37-38.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

to Geneva was 'a great success as a holiday', but as a help to fuller understand the League it was, 'unnecessarily a failure'.¹⁸² Hopkin wanted to improve his knowledge of the League as an organisation but recalled that the lectures and classes of the summer school were 'too elementary' as he had already obtained such knowledge from school lessons.¹⁸³ Hopkin further noted the lectures failed to cover information on topics that interested him, such as Peaceful Settlement, Mandates and the Covenant; they instead included discussion of topics with 'comparatively minor importance', such as the League's work on drugs, functions of the Secretariat and the League's work in the Far East.¹⁸⁴ Aubrey Vivian Jones Hinds, a Geneva Scholar from Jones' West Monmouth School in Pontypridd, also expressed dissatisfaction as it failed to 'fulfil expectations as an opportunity for studying the League'.¹⁸⁵ Similarly to Hopkin, Hinds was left 'disappointed' by the content of the lectures as they did not cover topics of interest or were too basic.¹⁸⁶ Although a handshake from Robert Cecil was 'enough to make the trip worthwhile'.¹⁸⁷ While reports from pupils were largely supportive and positive, the opinions of Hopkins and Hinds illustrated that some scholars were looking to use the experience to advance their knowledge of the League. They implied that the Welsh LNU did not assess the requirements of those who partook in the Geneva Scholarship Scheme and if sending them to Geneva was the most beneficial outcome. Therefore, this showed that the activities did not meet the requirements of young people.

The future careers of the pupils who received scholarships revealed that they took inspiration from their experiences of attending Geneva summer schools. Raymond Williams, a renowned Marxist theorist, academic and novelist, received a scholarship in 1937 as a student at King Henry VIII Grammar School in Abergavenny (Monmouthshire).¹⁸⁸ He placed second for his essay 'If I was foreign secretary'. He

¹⁸² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/46, Report by William B. Hopkin entitled 'Account of the Trip to Geneva', 1931.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/46, Report by Aubrey Vivian Jones Hinds entitled 'Account of Visit to Geneva', 1930.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ For a biography of Raymond Williams see: Dai Smith, *Williams, Raymond Henry* (2004), <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-39847?rskey=f0X3p1&result=3>> [accessed 6 January 2021].

was inspired to enter the competition by his teacher Arnold L. Ralph, a history teacher and strong advocate of the League. Ralph enrolled every pupil at the school into the junior branch.¹⁸⁹ On the final day of the programme in Geneva, Raymond Williams was selected to read his working group's report on reforming the League in front of the 'full assembly of the summer school' and the guest chair, Norman Angell, founder of the Union of Democratic Control and Nobel Peace Prize winner.¹⁹⁰

Another renowned recipient was Gwynfor Evans, who became a lawyer and a politician who was president of Plaid Cymru for thirty-six years and was elected as Plaid Cymru's first MP in the 1966 Carmarthen by-election. Gwynfor Evans reported that the experience allowed him to meet young people from other nations. He recalled there was a 'feeling of good-fellowship that pervaded the schools and encouraged fraternisation despite the language difficulty'.¹⁹¹ Moreover, Evans was impressed by the speakers' passion for the League. This inspired him to 'act as apostles in the causes of peace at home'.¹⁹² The visit to Geneva left him with a long-term appreciation of the League and its values. In 1933, while studying at University College Wales Aberystwyth, he was chairperson of the university LNU branch.¹⁹³ At the outbreak of the Second World War, Gwynfor Evans refused to serve in the armed forces based on being a conscientious objector. He became active in Heddychwyr Cymru, a Welsh organisation associated with the Peace Pledge Union. While it is difficult to know the extent to which Evans' experience in Geneva influenced his life experiences, receiving one of the Welsh LNU's Geneva scholarships provided him with firsthand experience of international exchange and the broader mechanisms of the League and internationalism.

Other recipients of Geneva Scholarships became esteemed figures in Wales. Gwilym Owen Williams, a student from Llanberis County School who received a scholarship in 1930, became principal of Llandovery College in 1948, Bishop of

¹⁸⁹ Dai Smith, *Raymond Williams: A Warrior's Tale* (Cardigan: Parthian, 2007), p. 65.

¹⁹⁰ Dai Smith, p. 71

¹⁹¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/46, Report by Gwynfor Evans entitled 'Account of Visit to Geneva', 1930.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ *Wales and the League of Nations 1933-1934*, p. 32.

Bangor in 1957 and Archbishop of Wales between 1971 and 1982. In later life, he became an advocate for the Welsh language television channel Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C) and influenced the decision that allowed females to become ordained as priests. In addition, Dewi Watkin Powell, a student at Penarth County School for Boys who received a scholarship in 1936, became a judge in Glamorgan, a Welsh language campaigner and an honorary vice president of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, these individuals went on to promote numerous areas of Welsh life. In some respects, they embodied the Liberal view of Wales that David Davies and Gwilym Davies promoted in the Welsh LNU.

Welsh Universities and the League

The Welsh LNU's education initiatives also extended into Welsh Universities. From the beginning of the interwar period, academics and university students in Welsh universities were interested in international education. The League became a topic of discussion at universities in an extra-curricular format. Students in Welsh Universities created LNU branches instead of teachers like the Welsh LNU's junior branches. Support for the League among this group was significant because it came directly from students.¹⁹⁵ These branches were affiliated with the Welsh LNU and the British Universities League of Nations Society (BULNS), the universities section of the British LNU. The BULNS was part of a wider trend emerging of student activism that emerged in the interwar period.¹⁹⁶ Its core objectives were to 'promote international understanding, study international relations and spread awareness of the League's Covenant'.¹⁹⁷ Welsh LNU branches were established at all four universities in Wales: Aberystwyth, Bangor, Cardiff and Swansea. They performed the same activities as adult branches of the Welsh LNU. These included

¹⁹⁴ BBC Cymru, *Cyn-farnwr Dewi Watcyn Powell wedi marw* (2015), <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/cymrufyw/32620886>> [accessed 23 June 2021]. Powell co-produced a history of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, see: Emrys Jones and Dewi Watkin Powell, *The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion: a Concise History, 1751-2001* (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 2004).

¹⁹⁵ Georgina Brewis, *Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond 1880-1980* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 197

¹⁹⁶ Daniel Laqua, 'Activism in the Students' League of Nations': International Student Politics and the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants', 1919-1939', *The English Historical Review*, 132.556 (2017), 605- 637 (p. 606).

¹⁹⁷ NLW, GB 0210 GWWIES, III/4/18, Minutes of the Advisory Education Committee, 1934.

study groups and hosting guest speakers to address meetings. In 1930, Alfred Zimmern, William Graham Labour MP for Edinburgh Central and Dr Delisle Burns, a secularist writer and lecturer, spoke at an LNU branch meeting of the University College Wales Cardiff.

In contrast to the dynamic and vibrant work completed in schools, Welsh universities had less activity. While the League featured in student life, it remained small during the interwar period. The Welsh LNU's AEC relied on members of staff at universities for updates on the League's work in universities rather than receiving them from students themselves. There was often little information regarding student activism. Updates centred on what had been discussed at meetings or topics discussed in study circles. Support from Welsh students, therefore, lacked the drive and ambition that was seen in other parts of Britain and the BULNS. Scottish Universities established their own sub-committee of the BULNS.¹⁹⁸ There was often no representation at BULNS meetings from individuals in Welsh universities. In 1930, BULNS membership numbered 7000 members, comprising 1000 from Cambridge University and 600 from Oxford University.¹⁹⁹ This reflected the different contexts of universities in Wales. There were fewer institutions that were established more recently compared to universities elsewhere. Three of the Welsh Universities, Aberystwyth, Bangor and Cardiff, had been formed in the latter part of the nineteenth century, whereas Swansea was established in 1920. For the 1938-39 academic year, there were only 2,606 students enrolled in Welsh universities.²⁰⁰ While the LNU was discussed in Welsh universities, it did not feature as prominently compared to British, namely English, universities.

The League's most notable influence in Welsh education was beyond the Welsh LNU and instead influenced the topics of tuition. Most notable was the creation of the Woodrow Wilson Chair of International Politics at University of Wales Aberystwyth. The chair, endowed in 1919, was the first university academic position for international relations anywhere in the world. Its creation was made

¹⁹⁸ For examples see: LSE, LNU 6/1, British Universities League of Nations Society Scottish Inter Universities Conference, October 1928 and LSE, LNU 6/1, British Universities League of Nations Society Scottish Inter Universities Conference, April 1929.

¹⁹⁹ Birn, p. 140.

²⁰⁰ Elwyn Jones and Roderick, p. 139.

possible by a £20,000 donation from David Davies. As a result, the chair was very influential in developing international relations as a discipline.²⁰¹ Numerous studies have seen the internationalisation of Welsh education as synonymous with the chair. Holders of the chair included esteemed individuals, such as Alfred Zimmern, Charles Webster and E. H. Carr.²⁰² The holders of the chair were only required to spend one term of the academic year in Aberystwyth. Most, therefore, used it as an opportunity to undertake extra research and hold other positions alongside the chair.²⁰³ In 1930, the holder was paid £1000 per annum, with £400 per annum for travelling expenses.²⁰⁴ Some of the Chair's holders focused solely on their teaching job. Others embraced the wider ideals of international cooperation and assisted the Welsh LNU. Charles Webster, holder of the chair between 1922 and 1932, was associated with the Welsh LNU and contributed to the internationalisation of education in Wales. Webster wrote numerous articles for the *Welsh Outlook*. In December 1925, Webster produced an article explaining the Locarno Pact's outcomes.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, Webster helped to produce a scheme of study on International Sanctions that Welsh LNU branches used for study circles and public meetings.²⁰⁶ The chair's creation has dominated how people view the internationalisation of education in Wales. The chair was traditionally associated

²⁰¹ Michael Haas, *International Relations Theory: Competing Empirical Paradigms* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2017), p. 6.

²⁰² For accounts on Alfred Zimmern, see: D. J. Markwell, 'Sir Alfred Zimmern Revisited: Fifty Years on', *Review of International Studies*, 12 (1986), 279-92; Paul Rich, 'Alfred Zimmern's Cautious Idealism: The League of Nations, International Education, and the Commonwealth', in *Thinkers of the Twenty Years' Crisis: Inter-War Idealism Reassessed*, ed. by David Long and Peter Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 79-99; Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace the End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 66-103. For E. H. Carr see: Michael Cox, 'E. H. Carr and the Crisis of Twentieth Century Liberalism: Reflections and Lessons', *Millennium*, 38.3 (2010), 523-533; Jonathan Haslam, *The Vices of Integrity: E. H. Carr, 1892-1982* (London: Verso, 1999).

²⁰³ LSE, WEBSTER/5/2, Memorandum of the Department of International Politics, University College Wales, Aberystwyth, 1930.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ *Welsh Outlook*, December 1925.

²⁰⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/4, Minutes of a meeting of the North Wales Group, 7 October 1930.

with the birth of the discipline of IR.²⁰⁷

Away from the Aberystwyth Chair, staff members in Welsh universities held positions in the Welsh LNU's organisational structure. Professor William Rees of University of Wales Cardiff, Professor R. F. Treharne of Aberystwyth University, Professor Ernest Hughes of University College of Swansea and Professor R. L. Archer of University of Wales Bangor held positions on the Advisory Education Committee.²⁰⁸ Their support of the organisation meant they implemented the League into their teaching. In November 1928, Charles Webster reported that he had introduced a new course in General History at Aberystwyth, which focused on the League as an organisation.²⁰⁹ Beyond the contested association with international relations, universities were another site where the League featured, although it was smaller compared to what happened in Welsh schools.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the Welsh LNU's attempts to internationalise education and create world citizens during the interwar period. It has been argued that international education was a prominent area of the Welsh LNU's activities. It has shown that the Welsh LNU's AEC was a group that conceptualised, discussed and implemented educational policy. This resulted in a distinct focus being placed on internationalising education in Wales. While it did not radically revolutionise education across Wales, it broadened the capacity for international teaching. The

²⁰⁷ Recent scholarship has challenged the dominance of the chair and started to break down its impact and legacy. These debates have focused on its role in being pivotal to the discipline of IR. Thomas Davies perceived it to be a 'widespread misconception' the Great War led to International Relations, as a discipline, being established at Aberystwyth University: Thomas Davies, 'The UIA and the Development of International Relations Theory', in *International Organizations and Global Civil Society: Histories of the Union of International Associations*, ed. by Daniel Laqua, Wouter Van Acker and Christophe Verbruggen (London: Bloomsburg Academic, 2019) pp. 155-170. Similarly, Jan Stöckmann noted the problem of international relations being the periodisation that credited the chair as the birth of international relations as an academic subject: Jan Stöckmann, 'Studying International, Serving the Nation: The Origins of International Relations (IR) Scholarship in Germany, 1912-33', *International History Review*, 38.5 (2016), 1055-1080. Recent scholarship has noted that there is a lack of engagement in women's roles with both historians and IR scholars: Patricia Owens and Katharina Rietzler, 'Introduction: Toward a History of Women's International Thought', in *Women's International Thought: A New History*, ed. by Patricia Owens and Katharina Rietzler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 1-25 (p. 1).

²⁰⁸ *Wales and World Peace 1935-1936*, p. 2.

²⁰⁹ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, III/4/18, Minutes of the Advisory Education Committee, November 1928.

AEC's research work was influential in exploring international education. The Gregynog conferences that gained international recognition were also indicative of the Welsh LNU's and AEC's attempts to lead the way in discussions of international education.

The chapter has also shown that teaching internationalism featured across all spheres of Welsh education. This was done in an abundance of ways that were designed around the age group targeted. For younger students' methods included interactive methods such as stories, creating artwork and fancy dress. Older students were targeted by methods that included group discussions, essay writing and reading. However, by exploring these approaches to international education, this chapter has revealed that League teaching in schools varied, and no universal approach was taken to creating world citizens. The variation between schools often depended on the view of the headteacher, subject teacher or education authorities. Teaching students about the League and internationalism had to contend with other narratives and subjects. As a result, attempts inside the classroom were unsuccessful all year round. It only featured when the League acquired a certain relevance and prominence in society, such as on armistice day. The Welsh LNU, therefore, appeared to have more success with extra-curricular internationalism. Using junior branches allowed students to learn about the League away from the main curriculum. Moreover, the Geneva Scholarship Scheme and Goodwill message revealed that attempts to create world citizens occurred away from the classroom.

Finally, this chapter has argued that creating global awareness among young people was carried out in a way that advanced the ideas of Wales as a modern nation. As has been shown, various initiatives, such as the Gregynog Education Conferences and the Goodwill Message of the Children of Wales, were designed to raise the profile of Wales on the world stage. It showed educationalists, League advocates and wider populations that Wales was performing distinctive work that developed international education away from the British LNU. These activities symbolised Wales's determination to strive for international peace while simultaneously creating a national narrative for Wales in a cultural context. Moreover, methods used inside the classroom and with the Goodwill Message indicated that the League was being taught to children in Wales to give them a

sense of national belonging in a Welsh context and broaden the horizons of young people to the international world. Ultimately, in creating 'world citizens', the Welsh LNU enhanced and promoted a perspective of Welshness.

Chapter 5

Christianity and the League of Nations in Wales

In June 1918, David Davies published an article in the *Welsh Outlook* that stressed the importance of Christianity to peace and the promotion of internationalism. He felt it was the duty of the Christian church to 'prepare the minds of its followers for a righteous reconstruction of the world' based on 'the principles of Christianity'.¹ Davies remarked that there was a widespread belief that the church had lost its 'hold on humanity'; therefore, if the church wanted to become 'a living force again, it needed to become an exponent and leader of the ideas of the League'.² The article concluded by posing a rhetorical question that asked if the church would 'play its part in the culmination of this holy crusade?'.³ Both internationally and in Wales, Christianity was closely aligned with the League. Advocates told Christians that it was their duty to support the League. Failure to do so would result in the Christian world being responsible for potential consequences such as the outbreak of war.

This chapter asserts that nonconformist Christianity was a key component of the Welsh LNU's message. It will argue that League advocates in Wales presented the League and LNU organisation as aligned with Christian principles and expected Christians to support it naturally. The Welsh LNU used religion to convey messages about world issues, such as disarmament and America's absence from the League, to gain support for the movement in Wales. The language of religious internationalism was closely linked with Christian doctrine as it used terminology such as 'goodwill', 'holy spirit' and 'brotherhood'. The Welsh LNU also looked to utilise the Christian ideas of financial generosity. Ultimately, Christian internationalism was used by the Welsh LNU in an abundance of ways throughout the interwar period.

The chapter also measures the level of cooperation between Welsh churches and the Welsh LNU. It will be argued that support came predominately from nonconformist denominations rather than the Anglican Church. To note the

¹ *Welsh Outlook*, June 1918, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

significance of this, it is important to understand the context of religion in Wales. By the mid-nineteenth century, nonconformity had displaced Anglicanism as the principal form of Welsh Christianity.⁴ Nonconformists disapproved of Anglicanism being the official state religion, as they felt it did not accurately reflect patterns of religious allegiance in Wales. As a result, there was an increased politicisation of Welsh dissenters who, with the support of political liberalism, mounted a campaign to disestablish the church. Their mission was heightened by the growing national consciousness. A religious revival in 1904-05 further boosted the nonconformist cause in Wales.⁵ Historian D. Denis Morgan noted that Welsh Christianity was most ebullient during the Edwardian era.⁶ In 1914, the Church in Wales Act was signed, which saw the Church of England disestablished in Wales. This was delayed until 1920 due to the outbreak of the Great War. Once finalised, it meant Anglicanism ceased to be the official Church in Wales.⁷ Historians, such as John Davies, have argued that disestablishment was the final victory of Welsh political nonconformity.⁸

The structure of these religious groups informed how the Welsh LNU gained support from Christian groups. Helen McCarthy, in the study of the British LNU, recognised that the LNU failed to bridge the divide between Protestants and Roman Catholics, whilst non-Christian communities remained marginal in the movement.⁹ A similar description can be applied to Wales. Despite support for religious groups declining in this period, the four major nonconformist denominations, the Calvinistic Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists and Wesleyan Methodists,

⁴ D. Denis Morgan, 'The Essence of Welshness?: Some Aspects of Christian Faith and National Identity in Wales, c. 1900-2000' in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. by Robert Pope (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), pp. 139-162, p. 141.

⁵ R. Tudur Jones, *Ffydd ac Argyfwng Cenedl: Cristionogaeth a Diwylliant yng Nghymru 1890-1914* (Abertawe: Ty John Perry, 1982); John Davies, *A History of Wales*, 3rd edn (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 490-492; R Tudur Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of a Nation: Wales 1890-1914*, ed. by Robert Pope (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004).

⁶ D. Denis Morgan, *Wales and the Word: Historical Perspectives on Religion and Welsh Identity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), p. 212.

⁷ John Davies, p. 521; Norman Doe, *A New History of the Church in Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

⁸ John Davies, p. 521.

⁹ Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism c. 1918-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

recorded a joint denominational membership of 536,000 in Wales in 1926.¹⁰ In contrast, in 1926, the Anglican Church recorded 177,933 'Easter Communicants' members.¹¹ While the Welsh LNU aimed to reach all denominations, they were most successful with nonconformists as they lacked a central body and favoured autonomy among their clergy. This assisted the Welsh LNU's promotion as they could appeal to individual branches. The Welsh LNU also became embedded in 'chapel culture' by being a topic of discussion or subject that activities centred on. The chapter views 'chapel culture' as the ideas, customs and influences of religion in local communities. The term involves the influence of religion away from doctrine and religious services by organising social groups and activities. In contrast to nonconformist denominations, the Anglican Church in Wales adhered to a clear hierarchy and was headed by the Archbishop of Wales. As a result, there were different levels of support and involvement from nonconformist groups. As clergy had the freedom to choose if they promoted the League and Welsh LNU, it was not uncommon to see differences within nonconformist groups. Despite the implied collectiveness of Christian groups to unite, adopt a 'world view' and embrace the League, the promotion of the League in Wales was divided along denominational lines.¹² It had greater support from nonconformist groups. Christian internationalism and the League were a topic of conversation and occasionally featured, rather than a defining feature of interwar Christian ideals and chapel culture in Wales.

Finally, focusing on religion reveals that it was an area used by the Welsh LNU to assert national differences in its work compared to its British counterpart. The chapter mentions the Memorial from Leaders of Religious Bodies in Wales to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to show how, in an official format, religion was being used to push the idea of Wales as a nation on the world stage. While Christianity claimed to be universal and existed across national boundaries, the Welsh LNU used religious internationalism to show unique Welsh

¹⁰ Figures taken from: D. Densil Morgan, 'The Essence of Welshness?', pp.139-162 (p. 148).

¹¹ John Williams, *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics*, Volume 2 (Cardiff: Welsh Office, 1985), p. 257.

¹² Keith Robbins, *England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 189-196; D. Densil Morgan, 'The Essence of Welshness?', pp. 141-149 and Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics 1868-1922*, 3rd edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), pp. 286-297.

characteristics. These were assisted by the nonconformist denominations embracing an idea of being uniquely 'Welsh'.

Historiography

There is a growing body of literature that focuses on religious internationalism during the interwar period. Historians have observed that Christian principles such as tolerance and goodwill aligned closely with international organisations promoting relations between nations.¹³ Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene noted that the modern world saw the emergence of a new and distinctive phenomenon of 'the religious international' that served as an umbrella term for a broad spectrum of international and transnational religious activity in the modern world.¹⁴ A prominent area of this research concerned the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches (The World Alliance).¹⁵ Founded in 1913, the World Alliance promoted Christian values and ethics, freedom of individuals and international Christian society.¹⁶ Religious organisations were key players in some of the most dynamic areas of interwar internationalist activity, such as peace movements and refugee relief.¹⁷ These accounts have illustrated the myriad of ways in which religion was involved in international organisations and, therefore, have shown the thrust of the League.

Historians have also studied the close association between Christian perceptions of internationalism and the League. Michael G. Thompson's study of Christian internationalism revealed that both Christian supporters and opponents of the League, both internationally and in Britain, assumed it would adhere to a Christian framework.¹⁸ In turn, this resulted in some disputes between Christian

¹³ Daniel Gorman, *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 214.

¹⁴ Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene, 'Introduction: Rethinking Religion and Globalisation', in *Religious Internationals in the Modern World*, ed. by Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 1.

¹⁵ Gorman, pp. 213-258; Priit Rohtmets, 'Ecumenical Peace Organisation "The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches" and Resistance to Totalitarian Regimes Between Two World Wars', *Usuteaduslik Ajakiri (Theological Journal)*, 64.1 (2013), 62-83.

¹⁶ Rohtmets.

¹⁷ Abigail Green, 'Religious Internationalism' in *Internationalism: a Twentieth-Century History*, ed. by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 17-37 (p. 17).

¹⁸ Michael G. Thompson, *For God and Global: Christian Internationalism in the United States between the Great War and the Cold War* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2015), p. 13.

denominations. Markku Ruotsila argued that American churches were divided in their attitudes towards the League. Ruotsila deemed the 'League Controversy', a term used to describe the period between February 1919 and March 1920 in American society, where debates surrounding the usefulness of the League were as much a religious issue as a political one.¹⁹ These approaches demonstrated that the League emerged in an environment that sought to unite Christianity and internationalism. This chapter builds on these broader interpretations by exploring how approaches to Christian internationalism filtered down to Welsh society. Doing so reveals that the LNU in Wales promoted the League as being closely associated with Christian values. In contrast to American churches, the League was largely accepted by Christian groups in Wales.

Studies of religion in interwar Wales have highlighted the increased secularisation of society. Historians have noted that the Great War led to the beliefs and practices of Welsh nonconformity being challenged.²⁰ A decline in Church attendance mirrored the secularisation of attitudes.²¹ Paul Chambers argued that social and cultural attractions, such as attending the cinema and the rise of socialism, undermined the position of Christianity, but the Great Depression in the 1930s was the biggest factor that accelerated the process of secularisation.²² Historians consider a significant aspect of twentieth-century Welsh history to be the decline of nonconformity and the rise of Labour in local and national politics.²³ Historians have, therefore, used religion to explain divisions between liberalism and socialism. Despite secularisation being on the rise during the interwar period in

¹⁹ Markku Ruotsila, *The Origins of Christian anti-Internationalism: Conservative Evangelicals and the League of Nations* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2008), p. 2; Markku Ruotsila, 'The League of Nations Controversy Among British Protestants', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 65.2 (2014), 327-346.

²⁰ Gethin Matthews, 'For Freedom and Justice': The Response of Chapels in the Swansea Area to the First World War', *Welsh History Review/Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, 28.4 (2017), 676-710.

²¹ Robert Pope, *Building Jerusalem: Nonconformity, Labour and the Social Question in Wales, 1906-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014) p. 241.

²² Paul Chambers, *Religion, Secularisation and Social Change in Wales: Congregational Studies in a Post-Christian Society* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), p. 6.

²³ Robert Pope, *Building Jerusalem*; Terrance Turner, 'Conflicts of Faith? Religion and Labour in Wales, 1890-1914', in Deian Hopkin and G. Kealey, eds., *Class, Community and the Labour Movement: Wales and Canada, 1850-1930* (Aberystwyth: Llafur, 1989), pp. 67-85; Robbins. Historians have focused on the rise of socialism, see: *Labour Party in Wales, 1900-2000*, ed. by Deian Hopkin, Duncan Tanner and Chris Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000).

Wales, religion still played an important part in communities and forming societal views.

Despite playing a key role in developing nineteenth-century Welsh national consciousness, religion has often been overlooked in modern historiographical accounts and research. Religious history makes up a relatively small part of modern Welsh historiography.²⁴ This chapter sheds more insight into the religious history of Wales, namely the interwar period. This chapter will show that, despite a general decline in numbers attending religious events, Christianity still played an important part in interwar Welsh society. Christianity was in public view, and the opinions of religious figures were still valued and helped to shape society. Chapel culture continued to play an important part in community life.²⁵ The Welsh LNU looked to use 'chapel culture' to promote its cause. Furthermore, Christian churches in Wales embraced the wider attitudes relating to internationalism as they considered it a way of addressing the decline in support. The 1920s was a period of intensive self-examination among the religious leaders of Wales, and many expressed they were 'struggling desperately for a clearer vision'.²⁶ Ultimately, it offers evidence for an evaluation of the trend of secularisation in interwar British and Welsh history.

Historians have also explored religion as a way of asserting national differences and growing Welsh national consciousness. Studies of Welsh religion before the Great War have focused on the disestablishment of the Church in Wales.²⁷ The creation of the Church in Wales gave it its own national religious body. It was sceptical of any outside Christian denomination. Trystan Owain Hughes's study of the Catholic Church in Wales revealed that while Catholicism was gaining support in interwar Wales, it was met with opposition and hostility as its roots were

²⁴ Recent examples include: Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales: a History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2017); Eryn White, 'A Woman is stir'd up to Speak: Pioneer Women Preachers of Eighteenth-Century Welsh Methodism', in John Lenton, Clive Murray Norris and Linda A. Ryan, eds., *Women, Preachers, Methodists* (Oxford: Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History, 2020), 95- 124; *Evangelicalism and Dissents in Modern England Wales*, ed. by David Bebbington and David Ceri Jones (London: Routledge, 2020).

²⁵ John Davies, p. 490; Martin Johnes, *Soccer and Society: South Wales, 1900-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002), pp. 29-32.

²⁶ John Davies, p. 551.

²⁷ Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?* (London: Penguin, 1985); John Davies.

external to Wales, and some considered it to stem from a 'foreign character'.²⁸ Historians have, therefore, shown how patterns of religious affiliation exposed divisions within Wales and, as a result, shaped Welsh national identity.²⁹ As D. Denis Morgan stated, the interwar period witnessed a change where Welsh identity was represented not by people such as James Griffiths, the moderate chapel-going MP for Llanelli (Carmarthenshire), but by Aneurin Bevan, the openly atheistic non-Welsh speaking MP for Ebbw Vale (Monmouthshire).³⁰ However, by exploring Christian internationalism in Wales, this chapter will show that in the period after disestablishment, Anglicans and nonconformists had similar interests. In this case, the interests were world peace, the League and internationalism.

Religion has also been used to assert national differences by creating a perception that Wales was a country that rejected militarism and war.³¹ Although pacifist groups attracted a minor following, they have often been viewed as a feature of modern Wales.³² Religious studies of Wales have created the image of Wales as a peaceful nation. Some historians have challenged this perception by showing that several Christian denominations enthusiastically promoted enlistment during the Great War.³³ John S. Ellis considered such views to have been Janus-faced, as Welsh identity represented both pacifism and militarism.³⁴ This chapter develops this by exploring the ideology of the Welsh LNU. It is argued that the Welsh LNU tapped into the perspective of Wales as a peaceful nation. It linked its ideology closely with pacifist nonconformists such as Henry Richard, Samuel Roberts and Williams Rees (Gwilym Hiraethog). However, it will also be shown that the

²⁸ Trystan Owain Hughes, *Winds of Change - Roman Catholic Church and Society in Wales, 1916-1962* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), pp. 1-4.

²⁹ D. Denis Morgan, 'The Essence of Welshness?'

³⁰ D. Denis Morgan, *Wales and the Word*, p. 221. James Griffiths was appointed as the first Secretary of State for Wales in 1964.

³¹ Aled Eirug, *The Opposition to the Great War in Wales 1914-1918* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018).

³² Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace (From the Close of the Napoleonic Wars to the Outbreak of the Second World War)* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969), pp. 78-96; Eirug.

³³ Matthew Cragoe and Chris Williams, 'Introduction', in *Wales and War: Society, Politics and Religion in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), pp. 1-14.

³⁴ John S. Ellis, 'A Pacific People - Martial Race: Pacifism, Militarism and Welsh National Identity', in *Wales and War: Society, Politics and Religion in Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Matthew Cragoe and Chris Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), pp. 15-37 (p. 15).

Welsh LNU did not promote an absolutist pacifist view, such as that endorsed by the well-known pacifist George Lloyd Maitland Davies. The Welsh LNU, and its supporters, aligned itself with the League and adopted a 'pacifist' view of resorting to war as a last resort rather than an all-out rejection of militarism. The Welsh LNU and pacifist groups were largely separate from one another and favoured different approaches to peace.

Conceptualising Christian Internationalism

Christian internationalism was the dominant religion associated with the League. In 1919, J. C. Maxwell Garnett, General Secretary of the British LNU, produced a pamphlet that discussed the relationship between Christianity and the League. Maxwell Garnett expressed that while the League provided a means for settling disputes between nations in a Christian way, all world faiths were welcome to join and engage with the League.³⁵ He stressed that the League did not tell nations that they 'must all be Christian' before they joined.³⁶ Despite the perceived openness of the League to world faiths in principle, the overriding Christian influence was heavily embedded in the League. Maxwell Garnett expressed how it was the duty of Christians, particularly the churches, to be the driving force behind the League.³⁷ He reminded church leaders that they had led 'the campaign a hundred years ago to end the slave trade. And the churches, in leading that movement, tremendously increased their own hold on the public opinion of the country'.³⁸ These calls for Christians to take responsibility were echoed by others. The Rev. Daniel Lamont, addressing a meeting in Glasgow in October 1918, called for the Christian church to play a key role in the mission of international peace. He warned that if the church decided that the 'establishment of the Kingdom of God among nations is not part of the will of God, they cannot repudiate the obligation to take the lead in a great campaign'.³⁹ Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States of America between

³⁵ J.C. Maxwell Garnett, *Christianity and the League of Nations* (London: League of Nations Union Press: 1919), p. 19.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁹ Rev. Daniel Lamont, *Church and International Peace*, (London: League of Nation Union Press: 1918), p. 2.

1913 and 1921, felt that 'Christian principles' were the 'solid foundation' for creating a system of international order.⁴⁰ The Christian influence was further asserted by the four countries who were the biggest influences on creating the peace treaties - France, Britain, the United States of America and Italy, being predominately Christian countries.⁴¹ Therefore, the League was associated with being a Christian movement from its outset.

The Christian internationalist strength of the League had associations with a perception of Christian superiority. Maxwell Garnett believed that the League should appeal to the nations of the world to assist with treating 'backward races of the world as a sacred trust of civilisation'.⁴² Article 22 of the League's Covenant on the Mandates noted that the security and existence of territories and colonies that were considered not to be ready to 'stand by themselves' should be protected by the Covenant as it would help the 'well-being and development of such peoples to form a sacred trust of civilisation'.⁴³ Stressing civilisation as a core concept through international law offered a 'moral justification' for European expansion into non-Christian areas.⁴⁴ The idea of maintaining values and upholding civilisation was a topic of popular discussion during the interwar period. In 1922, David Lloyd George, British Prime Minister and Liberal MP for Caernarfon, deemed the League to be an essential part of the 'machinery of civilisation'.⁴⁵ Civilisation was seen as being inherently Christian. The concept of civilisation failing and society falling apart was a prominent topic discussed in Britain during the interwar period.⁴⁶ Mark Mazower noted that there was a belief in the superiority of European civilisation in this

⁴⁰ Ruotsilla, *The Origins of Christian anti-Internationalism*, p. 14.

⁴¹ Scholars have also noted the importance of Japan with constructing the peace treaties. See: Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations, Empire and World Order, 1914-1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008).

⁴² J.C. Maxwell Garnett, p. 20.

⁴³ Arthur Ponsonby, *The Covenant of the League of Nations* (London: Union of Democratic Control, 1920).

⁴⁴ Sakiko Kaiga, *Britain and the Intellectual Origins of the League of Nations, 1914-1919*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 16.

⁴⁵ London, London School and Economics Library Archive (LSE), Webster/5/7, Pamphlet entitled 'Cenhadaeth Cymru', 1922.

⁴⁶ Richard Overby, *The Morbid Age: Britain and the Crisis of Civilisation, 1919-1939* (London: Penguin, 2010), p. 2.

period.⁴⁷ Therefore, views such as those expressed by Maxwell-Garnett and Lloyd George showed how this European view of civilisation was seen through Christian eyes. It had the central objective of upholding Christian principles. Protecting civilisation gave a sense of direction and acted as a narrative to lead populations out of the war towards peace.

In promoting the League, advocates invoked and took inspiration from the ideology of Gladstonian Liberalism. William Ewart Gladstone, British Prime Minister on four occasions during the nineteenth century, felt that any world order established in the future should be based on Christian values. At the peak of Gladstone's authority, he hoped that an international organisation would be constructed of an 'ecumenical council of nations where public right would reign as a disembodied tribunal of paramount authority'.⁴⁸ In Wales, Britain and internationally, some Church leaders supported the League as they felt it marked a natural progression of the Gladstonian tradition of liberal internationalism.⁴⁹ Therefore these ideals were entrenched in the promotion of the League. All Christians were presumed to believe in peace, forgiveness, charity and amity; they had a duty to act on these principles.⁵⁰ Therefore, liberalism and religion went hand in hand in promoting Christian internationalism.

The dominance of Christianity was also displayed in indirect ways. The League was regulated by a Covenant that acted as its charter to regulate international affairs and act as a rulebook for member states to abide by. The Covenant only made one reference to religion which was Article 22, which dealt with mandates and former colonial territories.⁵¹ The article noted that people, especially those in Central Africa, should be allowed freedom of religion.⁵² The Covenant also expressed the dominance of Christianity indirectly. In its very nature, the word Covenant stemmed from a Christian term whereby members of a church

⁴⁷ Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present* (New York: Penguin, 2015), pp. 70- 81.

⁴⁸ Quote taken from: Ruotsilla, *The Origins of Christian anti-Internationalism*, p. 8.

⁴⁹ McCarthy, p. 79.

⁵⁰ Gorman, p. 242.

⁵¹ Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: the League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁵² Ponsonby.

act together in promoting their gospel. This term alone implied, albeit indirectly, the dominance of Christianity. It was enhanced by Woodrow Wilson, as a Presbyterian, playing a pivotal role in drafting the Covenant.⁵³ While the League pursued a global membership base and called for the freedom of religion, Christian countries were largely its founding members and often held the most dominant position in the League's work and were Council members, especially European Christian countries such as Britain and France. These indirect factors alone signalled that the League looked to build international cooperation and peace on Christian values. This implied that the League and its founders did not acknowledge and recognise other world religions.

The Characteristics of Christian Internationalism in the Welsh LNU

The broader concepts of Christian internationalism on the world stage were mirrored in Wales. Prior to the November 1918 armistice, a conversation circulated in Wales that stressed the importance of Christianity to maintaining peace. In February 1918, a letter from several British religious leaders appeared in *Y Cymro*, a Welsh language newspaper, that called for Christians to welcome the creation of an international organisation, such as the League, to be the 'safeguard of international right and permanent peace'.⁵⁴ Similarly, David Davies called on Christians in Wales to embrace the idea of supporting the foundation of the League.⁵⁵ Such accounts demonstrated that religion was used to promote the League before its formal creation.

Following the establishment of the League in 1920, the Welsh LNU increased the religious rhetoric behind its message. In 1920, Captain Morgan Thomas informed a public meeting in Fishguard (Pembrokeshire) that religious groups should support the League because it was based on 'a fundamental principle of Christianity and the true brotherhood of man throughout the world'.⁵⁶ Similarly, Alderman Morgan Thomas, British LNU organiser for Wales, informed a meeting at

⁵³ Margaret MacMillan, *Peacemakers: the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and its Attempt to End War* (London: John Murray, 2002).

⁵⁴ *Y Cymro*, 27 Chwefror (February) 1918, p. 4.

⁵⁵ *Welsh Outlook*, June 1918.

⁵⁶ *Pembrokeshire County Echo*, 2 December 1920.

the Plasnewydd Presbyterian Church in Cardiff that the church had a 'duty to support the Covenant of the League and the League as a way of maintaining peace'.⁵⁷ Therefore, the Welsh LNU wanted to weld religion and the League together to demonstrate that their interests overlapped.

Individuals who represented different religious denominations in Wales also stressed the importance of Christianity to internationalism. In 1924, the Bishop of St Davids, Rev. John Owen, argued that it was the duty of every Christian man and woman to support the League.⁵⁸ Likewise, Rev. Watcyn M. Price, honorary secretary of the Presbyterian Church in Monmouthshire and member of the Welsh LNU's Executive Committee, called for Christian Churches of all denominations to:

Champion once more the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ and prepare for the advent of a true and lasting peace which shall make possible a better world for our children and those who come after us. For Christian ideals can only be realised by a frank recognition of need for the moral and spiritual dynamic working through the "machinery" of the League. The machinery of the League is generally acknowledged to be perfect- but we (the Christian church) must supply the driving power.⁵⁹

Similar views were expressed in the Welsh language. For example, in 1925, Gwilym Davies wrote in *Gwylidydd Newydd*, the weekly Welsh language newspaper of the Wesleyan Church, that:

Ni f'um erioed yn fwy sicr ynghylch dim nag ynghylch dyletswydd pob Cristion i gofnogi Cyngrair y Cenhedloedd a'i holl egni, canys achos Teyrnas Dduw yw achos Heddwch a chyfiawnder rhwng holl genhedloedd y byd a'i gilydd.⁶⁰

I have never been more certain about anything than the duty of every Christian to memorialise the League of Nations and all its energies, for the

⁵⁷ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (NLW), GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/2, Monthly report of branch activity by Alderman Morgan Thomas, October 1920.

⁵⁸ *Western Mail*, 12 June 1924, p. 8.

⁵⁹ *The Church and the League: Plan of Campaign for the Presbyterian Churches of Monmouthshire* (Newport: Sims & Son, 1920).

⁶⁰ *Gwylidydd Newydd*, 3 Mehefin (June) 1925.

cause of the Kingdom of God is the cause of Peace and justice between all the nations of the world.

The message from these individuals was that Christians needed to support the League with full thrust if it wanted to ensure long-term peace.

The promotion of peace by Christian denominations contrasted with the experience of most mainstream religious denominations during the Great War. In 1914, the outbreak of war saw an 'almost total abandonment' of any pacific principles as Christian denominations embraced the war effort in Wales.⁶¹ Many church leaders justified participation in the Great War on the basis that the fundamental values of Christianity were being defended.⁶² Historians have noted that religion is essential to explaining why people went to war. Philip Jenkins argued that the Great War was a religious event as Christian nations fought each other in what many viewed as a 'holy war' and 'spiritual conflict'.⁶³ Similarly, William Mulligan's study analysed the myriad of ways that the Great War was considered to be justified because it aimed to achieve peace.⁶⁴ Christian groups described their involvement in the war as being necessary to protect their view of 'civilisation'.⁶⁵ Christian groups, therefore, were tolerant of the idea of fighting in the Great War.

However, the justification of war was the opposite of the promotion of peace that occurred in the interwar period. In the months that followed the Armistice, Christian groups looked to rediscover their pacifist tendencies.⁶⁶ They shared messages that contrasted with their position during the Great War. This altered the messages they communicated to the public. Rev. Daniel Lamont felt that the armistice allowed Christians to make their mark on national policy, like

⁶¹ Robert Pope, 'Christ and Caesar? Welsh Nonconformists and the state, 1914– 1918', in *Wales and War: Society, Politics and Religion in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Matthew Cragoe and Chris Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), pp. 165–83.

⁶² Annette Becker, 'Faith, Ideologies, and the "Cultures of War"', in *A Companion to World War I*, ed. by John Horne (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 234-247; Patrick J. Houlihan, "Religious Mobilisation and Popular Belief", in *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopaedia of the First World War*, ed. by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson, available online: <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/religious_mobilization_and_popular_belief/2015-08-26> [accessed 18 May 2021].

⁶³ Philip Jenkins, *The Great and Holy War: How World War I Changed Religion For Ever* (Oxford: Lion Books, 2014), p. 11.

⁶⁴ William Mulligan, *The Great War for Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 1-10.

⁶⁵ Houlihan, p. 4.

⁶⁶ Matthews, pp. 676-710.

enlistment at the outbreak of war.⁶⁷ In 1919, the Bishop of Swansea, Edward Bevan, speaking at an event in Brecon, informed the audience of the advantages of peace.⁶⁸ Such views implied that religious groups felt a sense of guilt about their involvement in enlisting and promoting war, so they looked to preserve peace through the League.

This view was shared by figures in the Welsh LNU, for instance, David Davies. While he was not from a military background, he supported the war effort at the outbreak of the Great War. He was an active member of the armed forces, serving as a Lieutenant-Colonel in the 14th Battalion of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers and aiding army recruitment in Caernarvon and Anglesey.⁶⁹ In 1916, he was removed from the front line to serve as David Lloyd George's parliamentary private secretary.⁷⁰ Yet, David Davies was a supporter of the League and a key individual behind the creation of the Welsh LNU. He justified the war as being essential to 'protect civilisation' and 'make war impossible'.⁷¹ He wanted to assist churches with building the view of Wales as a pacifist nation. This was highlighted when, in 1922, he called for churches in Wales to unite, hoping it 'would be possible to carry reforms which are absolutely vital and urgent if world peace is to come within our time'.⁷² The Welsh LNU, therefore, wanted to use the influence of religion to build a perception that Wales supported efforts to maintain peace.

The Christian ideology of the Welsh LNU was expressed in its emblem. The Welsh LNU used the same logo as the British LNU (Figure 5.1). It included a crusader cross, also known as the Jerusalem cross, that was positioned on a shield. This emblem represented Christian participation in the medieval crusades. The symbol is often associated with Christian superiority in the Western World, as it implies serving God and symbolising Christian ideals.⁷³ The Welsh and British LNU were not

⁶⁷ Rev. Daniel Lamont, *Church and International Peace*.

⁶⁸ *Brecon County Times*, 10 July 1919, p. 2.

⁶⁹ David Steeds, 'David Davies, Llandinam, and International Affairs', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 9 (2002), 122-134, p. 124.

⁷⁰ John Graham Jones, 'The Peacemonger', *Journal of Liberal Democrat History*, 29 (2001), 16-23..

⁷¹ *Welsh Outlook*, January 1918.

⁷² NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/4, Letter to John Owen from David Davies, 1922.

⁷³ Christopher Tyerman, *The Crusades: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 2-3.

Figure 5.1: British LNU membership badge.



the only organisation to include a Christian-style cross in this period. The International Red Cross used a similar crusader cross. This reflected the religious, namely Christian, origins of some international organisations.

The use of the crusader cross as an emblem was part of a wider association with the idea of 'crusading' during the interwar period. The crusader cross reflected the alternative meaning that the emblem came to symbolise. The historian Christopher Tyerman argued that there are few periods in history where the concept of the crusades has not gripped the minds and imaginations of countries.⁷⁴ The image of medieval crusades persisted through the interwar period for various uses and a range of contexts. The term 'crusade' was often used in Britain to describe campaigns for housing, disarmament and 'a crusade for peace'.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Mike Horswell, *Rise and Fall of British Crusaders Medievalism, c. 1825-1945* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp, 142- 151, (p. 142).

Reference to a 'crusade for peace' was reflected constantly throughout the Welsh LNU's work in interwar Wales. In 1930, the Prince of Wales described the efforts towards creating world peace as 'the greatest crusade of all'.⁷⁶ Essentially, the LNU's emblem was an oxymoron as it used Christian history and language, often associated with war and domination, to create peace and encourage international cooperation.

Ideologically, the Welsh LNU did not associate itself with the religious pacifist view often attached to Wales. Green and Viaene considered pacifism in the interwar years to be an international protestant cause.⁷⁷ Welsh society had little widespread support for outright pacifism during the interwar period. In the November 1918 general election, Rev. Herbert Morgan and Rev. T. E. Nicholas were both defeated in their attempts to be elected to parliament due to expressing pacifist views during the war.⁷⁸ In 1924, an article in the *Western Mail* claimed that the League had strong support in Wales. It described the Welsh population as 'pacific not pacifists'.⁷⁹ It further explained how:

They (the Welsh population) are pacific in that they are peaceably disposed towards their neighbours and desire to see the rule of law and justice confirmed and extended: they are not pacifist, for when the call to arms arose ten years ago, they flocked to the standard of war, realising that, where the law does not rule, right must be defended and maintained by other means. Adherence to the League does not mean pacifism nor the timidity and cowardice which pacificism expressed. Those who refused, when the need arises, to defend the right by recourse to arms must be condemned as persons whose championship of right is feeble and undependable at all times.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ *The Times*, 31 October 1930, p. 16.

⁷⁷ Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene, 'Introduction: Rethinking Religion and Globalisation'.

⁷⁸ Robert Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, p. 170.

⁷⁹ *Western Mail*, 12 June 1924, p. 6.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

As the Welsh LNU promoted a 'pacifist' ideology rather than a 'pacifist one', individuals and pacifist groups were separate from the Welsh LNU.⁸¹ George Lloyd Maitland Davies, a Welsh pacifist and Christian Pacifist Member of Parliament for the University of Wales constituency between 1923 and 1924, considered the League ineffective and merely using the 'old spirit' of international relations under a new format.⁸² He further expressed that while it was natural that Christians should welcome the League as the world alternative to the armed and hostile nationalism of pre-war European Christendom, it failed to maintain peace as member states were subject to party conflicts and military tendencies.⁸³ Due to this failure to renounce war at all costs, pacifists in Wales chose not to support the League and Welsh LNU.

Despite this, the Welsh LNU celebrated and associated itself with the religious ideology of individual individuals in the Peace movement to gain support from Welsh nonconformists. The individuals included Henry Richard, Samuel Roberts and William Rees (Gwilym Hiraethog). These figures embodied nonconformist religious pacifism and cultural nationalism during the nineteenth century. The pacifist legacy association with these people linked to their nonconformist association.⁸⁴ They became celebrated figures in the Welsh Peace cause. In April 1923, the Welsh LNU celebrated Henry Richard, a Welsh nonconformist Congregational Minister who became Secretary of the Peace Society in 1848 and Liberal MP for Merthyr Boroughs in 1868. It involved what its organisers described as a 'pilgrimage' to his birthplace in Tregaron in rural Cardiganshire. The Welsh LNU organised three public meetings, one for children in the morning and one for adults in the afternoon and evening.⁸⁵ The speakers included David Davies, Rev. D.C. Davies and Professor Ernest Hughes (Figure 5.2). The Welsh LNU, by invoking the memory of these figures often associated with

⁸¹ Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 2-5. Adrian Gregory noted that pacifism is the phrase used to describe groups of people who seek the elimination of war, but who are not unconditionally opposed to war: Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), p. 151.

⁸² George Ll. M. Davies, *Essays Towards Peace* (London: Sheppard Press, 1944), p. 67.

⁸³ NLW, GB 0210 GEOIES, 180, League of Nations Analogy, n.d.

⁸⁴ Eirug.

⁸⁵ *Wales and World Peace 1924* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1924), p. 4.

pacifism in Wales, implied that while it fundamentally rejected absolute pacifism, it wanted the legacy of these individuals to be part of peace movements in Wales.

Figure 5.2: Advertisement for the Henry Richard Pilgrimage, 1923.⁸⁶



⁸⁶ NLW, GB 02010 LEANAT, B1/93, Advertisement Poster for the Henry Richard Pilgrimage, 1923.

The Welsh LNU and religious activities

The Welsh LNU gained support from Christian denominations in an abundance of ways. Gwilym Davies argued that churches of all denominations in Wales would naturally support the League as it was the 'political exponent of their higher aspirations'.⁸⁷ A notable example of the Welsh LNU's appeals to denominations was their terminology that embodied Christian principles, especially Christian internationalist ones. The Welsh LNU reminded the Welsh population that supporting the League was their 'Christian duty'. In 1920, at the inaugural meeting of the Welsh LNU in Llandrindod Wells, the Lord Mayor of Cardiff stressed the importance of the 'missionary work' and that the League movement was 'in consonance with the spirit of Christianity'.⁸⁸ In 1924, the Welsh LNU expressed that the League needed to become the embodiment of the Christian concept of 'universal brotherhood' and that all churches needed to help 'regenerate mankind'.⁸⁹ Therefore, religious terminology was used in such ways that signalled that Welsh LNU and Christian concepts were aligned.

The Welsh LNU tailored its message to suit the needs of different denominations. This attempted to promote a general brand of religious Christianity designed to bridge denominational divides. It suggested an abundance of ways that churches could support the Welsh LNU. These included holding a special prayer meeting at least once a month, forming an LNU branch for their denomination and arranging an annual collection towards the 'missionary and educational work' of the Welsh LNU.⁹⁰ This was endorsed by prominent individuals, such as John Owen, the Bishop of St Davids and Welsh LNU president between 1924 and 1925, who felt that by participating in the work of the Welsh LNU, churches in Wales would be taking part in an alliance of churches for a united cause.⁹¹ John Owen, therefore, implied that the LNU could bridge the divide between Anglicans and nonconformists. Other

⁸⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/4, Copy of the Resolution passed at the General Assembly of the Calvinistic Methodist Assembly, 15 June 1922.

⁸⁸ *Brecon and Radnor Express*, 3 June 1920.

⁸⁹ *Wales and World Peace 1924*, p. 13.

⁹⁰ *Wales and World Peace: A Summary of the Report of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union to Whitsuntide, 1923* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1923).

⁹¹ *Western Mail*, 12 June 1924.

prominent religious figures in Wales held similar opinions. In June 1922, the Rev. John Hughes (Bridgend) and the Rev. R. J. Rees (Aberystwyth) passed a resolution at the General Assembly of the Calvinistic Methodist Assembly that praised David Davies for financing the creation of the Welsh LNU and pledged their support for the organisation, assuring him 'a large place in our prayers on his own behalf and on behalf of the great League, which is so important for the peace of the world'.⁹²

While the Welsh LNU wanted to gain support throughout the year, special attention was placed on certain times of the year, such as commemorations of the November 1918 Armistice.⁹³ This appeared similar to the Welsh LNU's methods of branch activity. The Welsh LNU wanted to ensure that Christian groups embedded a narrative of remembrance that focused on the League to prevent future wars. In 1928, the Welsh LNU voiced it was 'truly inspiring' that churches led in the observance of Remembrance Day as it showed they had the 'earnest determination that we will not break faith with those who died'.⁹⁴ The Welsh LNU's objective was enhanced by religious figures from various denominations speaking of the importance of preaching about the League during the armistice period. The Rev. Lord Bishop of St Asaph stressed it was important to promote the League during the Armistice Period as it 'renewed dedication to the cause of World Peace'.⁹⁵ Similarly, Rev. H. R. Protheroe, Vicar of the Penyfai Anglican Church in Bridgend, remarked that those members of his community who 'truly wanted to honour the dead should go to church on Remembrance Sunday to pray and think about the League'.⁹⁶ The statement implied that Rev Protheroe wanted his churchgoers to support the League to make a meaningful change in commemorating the war.

The Welsh LNU viewed the coverage it gained during the Armistice period as a fundraising opportunity. In 1934, a letter was sent to churches and chapels across

⁹² NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/4, Copy of the Resolution passed at the General Assembly of the Calvinistic Methodist Assembly, 15 June 1922.

⁹³ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/10, Report of Armistice Day Activities, 1934.

⁹⁴ NLW, GB 02010 LEANAT, B1/36, Report of Church Appeal, 1928.

⁹⁵ *Wales and World Peace 1937-1938* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1938), pp. 6-7.

⁹⁶ *Western Mail*, 4 November 1933, p. 10.

Wales that asked them to donate money or organise a collection among their clergy to collect funds for the Welsh LNU.⁹⁷ In their view, there was:

no better way of helping towards the protection of our homes, and the saving of our children from the horrors of war, than to be assisting the voluntary societies like the Welsh LNU to still greater activity in the vital task to which they have been called. And is there a better way of raising a living Memorial to those who went out never to return, or of translating into practice or resolve that these our dead shall not have died in vain?⁹⁸

The quote signalled that the Welsh LNU wanted religious groups to proactively support an international organisation like the League and the LNU. Failure to do so implied they would be responsible for any negative consequences. The letter was signed by different members of the Welsh LNU's organisation. It also included numerous religious individuals, such as the Lord Bishop of Bangor, Lord Bishop of Llandaff, President of the Welsh Baptist Union, President of the Union of Welsh Independents, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Wales and President of the Welsh Methodist Assembly.⁹⁹ The endorsement from such figures gave clout to the Welsh LNU's objectives as it showed that prominent members of religious groups endorsed the movement. The decentralised nature of religious denominations allowed individuals to express such views and increased momentum behind the LNU's cause.

The Welsh LNU also used the Christian celebration of Christmas to spread awareness of the League and raise funds for the Welsh LNU. An annual Christmas appeal was made to religious groups to raise a one-off donation. They drew on what it perceived as the financial generosity of Christian groups that had raised around £100,000 a year for 'foreign missions'.¹⁰⁰ They conducted this by welding together Christian doctrine with the importance of peace. In December 1923, an advertisement was published in the *Cambrian Daily Leader* that described 'the first

⁹⁷ NLW, GB 02010 LEANAT, B1/64, Copy of the Armistice Appeal sent to Religious Bodies and Congregations in Wales, 1934.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ *Wales and World Peace: A Summary of the Report of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union to Whitsuntide, 1923.*

Christmas'. It quoted a passage from Luke 2:13-14 of the New Testament that referenced the birth of Jesus as 'suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, 'Glory to God in the highest and on Earth peace, goodwill towards men''.¹⁰¹ The advertisement described the previous Christmas of 1922 by paraphrasing a quote from Francesco Saverio Nitti, former Prime Minister of Italy, that said the world situation was 'seething with fresh wars: and the almost feverish preparations of aeroplanes, of asphyxiating and poisonous gases, and of submarines can arouse nothing but anxiety'.¹⁰² It concluded by predicting that the state of the world during Christmas 1932 depended on the support which Churches of Wales and Monmouthshire would give to the work of the LNU and that donations would be gratefully received.¹⁰³

These appeals did not receive widespread support from the outset. They were aimed at both churches and chapels. Yet, the number who engaged with them was small. In 1924, 431 churches responded, raising a total of £348. 10s. 11d.¹⁰⁴ In 1926, around 500 of 4,000 churches who received the appeal responded.¹⁰⁵ This continued into the 1930s when the reception to the appeals was described as 'disappointing' on numerous occasions.¹⁰⁶ Welsh LNU advocates regularly voiced concern that Welsh churches and the LNU were not linked as closely as desired.¹⁰⁷ The lack of widespread engagement showed that the responses from Christian denominations to the Welsh LNU's fundraising activities were patchy. It was not assisted by the decentralised nature of nonconformist denominations making it difficult to obtain support from an entire group.

The Welsh LNU built links with Christian denominations by working together on disarmament. It was an area where both groups had common ground and one of

¹⁰¹ *Cambrian Daily Leader*, 23 December 1923.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Wales and World Peace, 1925* (Cardiff: League of Nations Unions, Welsh National Council, 1925), p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ *Pioneering for Peace: The Annual Report of the Welsh League of Nations Union 1926* (Cardiff: League of Nations Unions, Welsh National Council, 1926), p. 10.

¹⁰⁶ *Wales and the League of Nations 1932-33* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1933), p. 62.

¹⁰⁷ *Wales and the League of Nations 1927-1928* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1928).

the biggest issues discussed and conceptualised during the interwar period.¹⁰⁸ The public pressure groups and state policymakers saw disarmament as maintaining peace between states.¹⁰⁹ Article eight of the League's Covenant required members to support the concept that peace required the reduction of national armament to ensure national safety, and the League's Council would deal with any threat to this.¹¹⁰

The Welsh LNU gained support from Christian groups for its work on disarmament. Most notable was its attempts to spread awareness and gain support for the World Disarmament Conference. In January 1931, the League's Council set a date for the conference to begin in 1932. It had followed months of work conducted by the Preparatory Committee, who had noted sufficient support from countries to hold a conference.¹¹¹ In total, fifty-nine states were represented at the conference.¹¹² The conference attracted widespread attention from around the world, namely in the form of international activism. Several petitions were sent to Geneva from around the world that expressed support for the Conference.¹¹³ The most notable example of gaining global recognition was a petition launched by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), as researched in chapter three, which called on governments to take disarmament from a theoretical concept and put it into reality.¹¹⁴ Their petition was translated into 18 languages and received around 2.6 million votes.¹¹⁵ It revealed that the Welsh LNU were not the only organisation running petitions to submit change during the period.

The Welsh LNU worked closely with religious denominations to generate a Welsh response to what was occurring on the international stage. In early 1931, a bilingual affirmation was created for religious groups to use that spread awareness

¹⁰⁸ Thomas R. Davies, *The Possibilities of Transnational Activism: The Campaign for Disarmament Between the Two World Wars* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007), p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ Andrew Webster, 'The League of Nations, Disarmament and Internationalism', in *Internationalisms: a Twentieth Century History*, ed. By Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 139-169 (p. 145).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 140; Ponsonby.

¹¹¹ Zara Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History 1919-1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 756.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 755.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Webster, p. 151.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

and generate support for the World Disarmament Conference. The Welsh LNU requested that the affirmation be read out by a religious figure or clergy member on Armistice Sunday in November 1931.¹¹⁶ While it was a one-off example, it was further evidence that the Welsh LNU wanted to gain leverage during armistice commemorations. The affirmation noted how Churches in Wales felt using war to settle international disputes was 'incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ'.¹¹⁷ It concluded by noting that those who had heard the affirmation would 'pray that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon the World Disarmament Conference so that justice and peace shall be secured to all the peoples of the world'.¹¹⁸ The Welsh LNU asked those churches and chapels that read it out to sign a copy and return it to their headquarters. In total, 1,000 Churches in Wales returned a signed copy of the affirmation.¹¹⁹ They used these copies to make a specific Welsh response on the world stage by placing these into a folder that was presented to the President of the World Disarmament Conference, Arthur Henderson, a Labour politician and prominent trade unionist, at the conference's opening.¹²⁰ This declaration showed that international debates, such as disarmament, feature in Christian ceremonies. It also demonstrated that the Welsh LNU looked to use religious groups to promote and gain recognition for its cause on the world stage.

Similarly, the Welsh LNU collaborated with churches on a separate petition. In 1933, the Welsh LNU created and collected signatures from its branches and church denominations for a petition urging the British government to act regarding the Manchuria Crisis. In 1931, Japan occupied the Chinese region of Manchuria. It was naturally assumed that the League would resolve the dispute, as Japan had broken the Covenant of the League and the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which it had signed.¹²¹ The League called for Japan to leave the region, but it refused and left the

¹¹⁶ *Wales and the League of Nations 1930-1931* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1931), p. 38.

¹¹⁷ NLW, GB 0210, GWVIES, V/2/39, Copy of the Affirmation and Resolution used by Welsh Churches, 8 November 1931.

¹¹⁸ *Wales and the League of Nations 1930-31*.

¹¹⁹ *Wales and the League of Nations 1931-1932* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1932), p. 15.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ A detailed overview of the Manchuria Crisis can be found in: Steiner, pp. 707-751.

League in 1933. In Article 16 of its Covenant, the League could impose economic and financial sanctions on Japan. However, its members could not reach a collective decision. The event, therefore, is often regarded by historians as a turning point in Europe.¹²²

The Welsh LNU's resolution attempted to address the misgivings of the League. It appealed to the British government and other members of the League to adopt the Lytton Report, place an embargo on Japan and, if Japan refused the measures set out Lytton Report, sever diplomatic, financial and economic relations with Japan.¹²³ The League issued the Lytton Report by drawing on Article 11 of its Covenant, which stated that if a member of the League brought a matter to the Assembly or Council that threatened to disturb international peace, it was a matter of concern for the entire League as an institution.¹²⁴ In 1931, the League studied the situation in Manchuria by organising a delegation headed by the British politician the Early of Lytton to evaluate the magnitude of the situation.¹²⁵ In October 1932, the report concluded that Japan was the aggressor and wrongfully invaded Manchuria, which should be returned to China. In total, 694 Welsh churches, which represented 129,906 members, signed the petition that urged the British government to take a stance on the Manchuria Crisis. Religious leaders from all denominations signed the petition for the clergy they represented. However, more responses came from nonconformist denominations compared to Anglican groups. The early 1930s, therefore, appeared to be a time when the LNU and Christian groups in Wales had a pronounced interest in international affairs.

The Welsh LNU was successful in gaining support from a range of Christian denominations. Most support came from nonconformists rather than Anglicans. During the interwar period in Wales, there was a perception that the Liberal Party was synonymous with nonconformity, while the Anglican church was the 'tory party at prayer'.¹²⁶ The Presbyterian Church in Wales was extremely active in promoting

¹²² Ibid, p. 750.

¹²³ NLW, GB 02010 LEANAT, A2/25, Signatures for the Petition Entitled 'The Crisis in the Far East', 1931.

¹²⁴ Arthur Ponsonby, *The Covenant of the League of Nations* (London: Union of Democratic Control, 1920), p. 10.

¹²⁵ Steiner, p. 721.

¹²⁶ Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, pp. 247-248.

the League. They heavily endorsed the League and became involved with the main discussions that surrounded the League. In 1922, a meeting of the Presbyterian Church in Wales passed a resolution that appealed to the British government to admit Germany to the next assembly of the League, viewing it as vital to peace in Europe.¹²⁷ In June 1925, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Wales called for the government to strengthen its support of the League and, as a result, appealed for its churches to form Welsh LNU branches.¹²⁸ They also published a pamphlet entitled *The Church and the League of Nations: Plan of Campaign for the Presbyterian Churches of Monmouthshire* that outlined guidance to its denominations about the League and how they could encourage its participation.¹²⁹ The booklet informed readers about the League in respect of its foundation, how it operated, and its work to date. It stressed that if the League failed to create a foundation for a peaceful solution to future quarrels, the war would be a certainty.¹³⁰ It further mentioned that it was important for Presbyterian groups to support the League. It stressed that the League 'voices the world's demand for World Peace, based upon the Principle of Christianity'. The pamphlet concluded by explaining to clergy how they could drum up interest by forming a branch, what the work of branches entailed and suggestions for how to ingrain the League and international affairs into services.¹³¹

The most proactive sign of religious denominations supporting the Welsh LNU was by creating LNU branches. In such instances, branches were created by church leaders or their clergy rather than being the denomination's official policy. As with most of the Welsh LNU's branches, they varied in size and influence. They added to the League's support network and performed a similar role to other branches. In 1928, the Ferndale English Wesleyan Church Welsh LNU branch had 23 members.¹³² Their work mainly consisted of organising public meetings and holding

¹²⁷ NLW, GB 0210, LDDNAM, B1/4, Letter to David Samways from T. Gray Davies, R. W. Davies and W. M. Price, 22 June 1922.

¹²⁸ *Pioneering for Peace: The Annual Report of the Welsh League of Nations Union 1926*, p. 20.

¹²⁹ *The Church and the League of Nations, Plan of Campaign for the Presbyterian Churches of Monmouthshire*.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/97, Letter to David Samways from T. J. Davies, 21 March 1928.

study groups.¹³³ The Buckley Methodist Church branch regularly held Daffodil Days and helped to organise several public meetings.¹³⁴ They also encountered problems with membership numbers. A figure from Blaenavon Calvinistic Methodist Church reported how he had been trying to promote the League in his church but had failed to secure enough interest to form a branch.¹³⁵ Therefore, attempts to establish branches among religious denominations were sometimes hampered by a lack of interest from individuals in denominations.

Other nonconformist denominations also offered their support in several ways. In November 1926, the annual meeting of the North Wales Federation of Evangelical Churches discussed the importance of the role Churches had in maintaining world peace.¹³⁶ In 1927, the Welsh Baptist Union collaborated with the Welsh LNU by organising activities to promote peace in their chapels.¹³⁷ The examination papers for the ministry of the North and South Wales Christian Methodist Association contained the topics of 'World Peace and 'The League of Nations'.¹³⁸ Groups featured information about the League and the Welsh LNU in their circulars and newsletters. At English Wesleyan Chapel in Aberystwyth, Rev. H. Highfield often included different updates on the Welsh LNU's work and the League in the monthly bulletin to clergy members. Similarly, the secretary of the Rhymney Valley District Union of Christian Endeavour included updates about the League in the periodical programme of work.¹³⁹

Despite the abundance of support from nonconformist denominations, there were few signs of cooperation between them. In some instances, the church and LNU branches appeared to have conflicting interests. In 1920, the Carmarthen LNU branch reported difficulty gaining a large attendance at its meeting due to a clash with the evening services of some local churches.¹⁴⁰ The lack of cooperation

¹³³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/97, Records of the Ferndale English Wesleyan Church branch, 1928-1936.

¹³⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/81, records of the Buckley Bistre United Methodist Church branch, 1925 - 1941.

¹³⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/ 79, Letter to David Samways from B. J. Hopkins, 15 April 1925.

¹³⁶ *Wales and the League of Nations 1927-1928*, pp. 17-18.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Pioneering for Peace: The Annual Report of the Welsh League of Nations Union 1926*, p. 20.

¹³⁹ *Wales and the League of Nations 1927-1928*, p. 18.

¹⁴⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B1/2, Monthly report of work in south Wales, June 1920.

between denominations was evident in the restructuring of branches. In March 1933, David Samways, general secretary of the Welsh LNU, suggested that religious and non-religious branches should form a united branch rather than being isolated into different branches.¹⁴¹ This proposal received a mixed response. In Llanelli (Carmarthenshire), the Capel Als Congregationalist chapel and Greenfield Baptist Church responded positively to the idea, while the Welsh LNU felt the other denominations with branches could have been more proactive to 'form a strong central Llanelli branch'.¹⁴² Therefore, branch activity remained confined to individual branches and did not extend into cooperation between denominations.

The Welsh LNU also used Christian internationalism to collaborate with Christian groups' Sunday schools. This diversified its education work by teaching young people about the League and Welsh LNU using a religious narrative. In 1925, Rev. Watcyn Price suggested that it was the task of Sunday schools to 'use the Church of Christ to promote international spirit in the life of the child'.¹⁴³ The Welsh LNU worked proactively to instigate a working relationship with Sunday schools from different denominations. In 1931, it established a Sunday School Subcommittee attached to the Welsh LNU's AEC, whose responsibilities included building relations with different denominations and producing books and resources suitable for young people.¹⁴⁴ It also communicated with ministry training colleges. In 1936, it sent 500 copies of its pamphlet *Athrawon Ysgol Sul a Heddwch Byd (Sunday School and World Peace Teachers)* to Welsh Theological Colleges.¹⁴⁵ However, the meetings of this committee were sporadic. They only met a few times during the interwar period. Moreover, attendance at meetings of the Sunday School subcommittee was scarce and often only attracted a smaller number of attendees. In 1932, only two members attended its meeting, Rev Herbert Morgan and Sara Pugh Jones, regional organiser for north Wales.¹⁴⁶ The AEC's wider work appeared more important than the Sunday school areas.

¹⁴¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/16, Letter to John H. James from David Samways, 2 March 1933.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ *Welsh Outlook*, October 1925.

¹⁴⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A4/5, Collection relating to the Sunday School sub-committee.

¹⁴⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B2/10, Minutes of the Sunday School sub-committee, 5 January 1937.

¹⁴⁶ For example, see: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT A4/5, Minutes of the Sunday School sub-committee, 11 August 1932.

The decentralised structure of nonconformity meant there was no universal way the League was taught in Sunday Schools. At times the LNU struggled to control the organisation of its religious activity. Rev. D. J. Jones, the chair of the Welsh LNU's Sunday School Committee, wanted the League to be discussed in Sunday Schools with the Governing Body of the Anglican Church. He felt the governing body consisted of individuals 'who can help the work of the League in Wales immensely if we can only get their activity interest'.¹⁴⁷ David Samways, General Secretary of the Welsh LNU, attempted to solve this issue by circulating a letter that asked churches and chapels if and how the League was brought to the notice of children in their Sunday Schools.¹⁴⁸ The responses received illustrated the range of actions taken. The Union of Welsh Independents gave no special provision to the instruction of world peace, as their denomination was generally against allocating certain Sundays to events.¹⁴⁹ The Monmouthshire Sunday School Union reported that they dealt with teaching of peace, but not on any given day or with any structure.¹⁵⁰ It also varied between locations. The Welsh Wesleyans recalled how in Ruthin, children were taught about the Goodwill Message, but in South Wales, no recognition of the League or lessons were given.¹⁵¹ The Welsh LNU attempted to combat this disconnect by creating its Sunday School Committee, comprised of different Christian figures.¹⁵² However, this was small and did not carry out anything of note. By 1933, it had disbanded. Mainly, this was due to a lack of support from faith leaders and the inability to decide on a central objective.

The Welsh LNU also used Christian groups to generate support for religious appeals that gained international recognition. An evident example was the Memorial from Leaders of Religious Bodies in Wales to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. In 1925, Charles Webster put forward the idea for a religious memorial. He felt that 'more could be accomplished if the Churches in

¹⁴⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/48, Letter to David Samways from Rev. D. J. Jones, 5 February 1929.

¹⁴⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/48, Letter circulated to religious groups by David Samways, 27 August 1929.

¹⁴⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/48, Collection of responses to the letter sent by David Samways, 27 August 1929.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT A4/5, Minutes of the Sunday School sub-committee, 28 March 1931.

Wales and Churches in America were drawn closer by their common effort for the furtherance of World Peace'.¹⁵³ Webster researched the demand for the appeal from the American side by communicating with Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, a Congregationalist Minister, educator and Secretary of the Commission of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, during his 1925 visit to Geneva for the sixth assembly of the League. Webster wanted to ensure his idea had reciprocal backing from the American side. Gulick felt that the appeal needed to include strong Christian language like that quoted at the Stockholm Conference of the Federal Council of the Churches in 1918 that urged the establishment of the League as the 'objective expression of the Kingdom of God in International Relations'.¹⁵⁴ In part, this was a continuation of the Welsh vision of looking to America in the period. It showed the strength of the League. It also indirectly wanted America to join, framing the importance around the Christian values embedded in the country.

The Welsh LNU's Executive Committee supported the initiative as they felt it would produce 'far-reaching results on the attitude of America towards the League'.¹⁵⁵ The memorial took inspiration from the Women's Petition.¹⁵⁶ It wanted to link Wales and America to improve relations between organisations that held leverage with influencing support for the League and internationalism. The Federal Council of America represented thirty religious bodies whose total membership numbered twenty million.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the Welsh LNU wanted to use an initiative that maximised impact.

The memorial was signed by twenty-two prominent religious figures from Welsh religious groups. The majority were from nonconformist denominations. Those individuals included Rev. David Hoskins, Moderator of the North Wales Calvinistic Methodist Association, Rev. D. Morgan Lewis, President of the South Wales English Congregational Union and Rev. D. Lloyd Morgan, Chairman of the

¹⁵³ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, II/1/27, Report entitled 'A Welsh Approach: Notes on the Rev. Gwilym Davies's Visit to the United States, December 1925', 1926.

¹⁵⁴ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, I/2/1, Letter to Gwilym Davies from Charles Webster, 14 September 1925.

¹⁵⁵ NLW, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 20 October 1925.

¹⁵⁶ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, I/22, Letter circulated to the press by Gwilym Davies, 17 November 1925.

¹⁵⁷ *Welsh Outlook*, February 1926.

Union of Welsh Independents.¹⁵⁸ Only two signatures came from figures in the Anglican Church - Charles Green, Bishop of Monmouth, and John Owen, Bishop of St Davids. This implied that the centralised structure of the Anglican church in Wales meant it was hard to gain widespread support, and they were not overly welcoming of initiatives run by the Welsh LNU. There were no signatures from members of the Catholic Church in Wales. By collaborating with the Welsh LNU, religious figures indicated to the public that Christian denominations endorsed the League's work publicly.

The language of the memorial drew on the principles of Christianity. It noted that nations who regarded themselves as Christian in outlook had 'special international obligations'.¹⁵⁹ It wanted to get America to join the League. The memorial viewed the item as the 'most hopeful way towards the establishment of the Kingdom of God in international affairs'.¹⁶⁰ The memorial also stressed how the League could not 'attain its stature until it has listed in its service a fire and passion that only the Church of Christ could give'.¹⁶¹

The memorial also showed how the Welsh LNU used religion to promote a Welsh identity. It claimed to be speaking on behalf of Welsh religious life.¹⁶² It also advanced the idea of Wales as a nation. On receiving the petition, Rev. Dr. Robert Speer, an American Presbyterian religious leader, spoke of the great debt that America owed to Wales, which was a 'country so small and yet so great'.¹⁶³ *Y Drych*, a Welsh language newspaper, considered the memorial a significant event. They felt it illustrated:

the new spirit of adventure which has seized the Welsh nation. No-one would have dreamed of such a thing years ago. The Welsh people have had a new vision of their duty and their opportunity to be of greater service to the world. This brings the people of Wales into greater world prominence and gives them a large field in which to exercise those moral and spiritual

¹⁵⁸ NLW, GB 0210 GWWIES, II/I/26, Copy of the Religious Leaders of Wales Memorial, 1925.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ *Western Mail*, 14 December 1925, p. 6.

gifts which belong to them. The Red Dragon of Wales is stretching its wings wider than it ever did before.¹⁶⁴

The memorial symbolised that religion advanced the position of Wales as a nation. It had similar objectives to the women's memorial with expanding the profile of Wales on the world stage. It showed a different area, in this case, religion, that Welsh LNU advocates wanted to develop. It showed Wales working on the world stage and politics in its attempts to try and influence the American people to campaign for their country to join the League. This was viewed as a milestone and core objective.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the connection between religion and the League in Wales. It has been argued that the Welsh LNU drew on religious denominations' networks to bolster support for its organisation. It has shown that internationalists were promoting the League using Christian concepts. This looked to frame support for the League as something naturally associated with the principles of Christianity. The Manchuria petition has shown how Christians in Wales became involved in LNU initiatives. The Welsh LNU valued having Christian denominations to develop their position and standing in society. There was a shared view that Christians had a duty to support the League. Religion, similar to gender and education, was another area where the Welsh LNU stressed the importance. There was a genuine perception that if churches failed to embrace the international ideal of the League, they would be responsible for the League's failure and any potential consequences.

While religion was angle broader for all Christians in Wales, the chapter has argued that there was no universality from Christian denominations. Despite the language of its message attempting to be universal and give the impression, it was bridging denominational divides, the Welsh LNU had the most success co-operating with nonconformist Christian denominations in Wales. The Welsh LNU tailored its message to suit the needs of different denominations. This attempted to promote a general brand of religious Christianity designed to bridge denominational divides.

¹⁶⁴ *Y Drych*, 10 December 1925.

The structure of nonconformist denominations, being decentralised and more flexible than the Anglican church, meant it was more likely to work with the Welsh LNU. Local organisers could take the initiative and lead LNU activity in their churches. However, there was no universality from religious denominations. Some were proactive in helping to fundraise, spread awareness and establish branches. In contrast, others did not acknowledge the League. Therefore, branches were often established by individual clergy who were sympathetic to the League and LNU's cause. Even among nonconformist groups, there was not a monopoly or widespread reason for support. As was seen in the sporadic nature of Christmas donations and reports from religious groups, some chapels and elements did not engage with the League or interact with some of the Welsh LNU's initiatives. Consequently, Christian internationalism and the League was a topic of conversation that featured occasionally rather than a defining feature of interwar Christian ideals and chapel culture in Wales.

Finally, the example of the Memorial from Leaders of Religious Bodies in Wales to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has shown that the Welsh LNU were using religion to build its identity on the world stage. The memorial was from religious leaders in Wales, not Britain, illustrating the Welsh-based initiative. Similar to the Women's Petition, it put Wales on the world stage and developed advocates' desires for Wales to be seen as a progressive country working on internationalism away from England. It showed how, in an official format, religion was being used to push the idea of Wales as a nation on the world stage. While Christianity claimed to be universal and existed across national boundaries, the Welsh LNU used religious internationalism to show unique Welsh characteristics. These were assisted by the nonconformist denominations embracing an idea of religion acting as the religion of Wales.

Chapter 6

'Years of great anxiety and strain' The Welsh League of Nations Union, 1935-1945¹

In June 1935, Robert Cecil, president of the British LNU, addressed a Peace Ballot celebration at the Royal Albert Hall in London. The 1934-35 Peace Ballot, known officially as the National Declaration on the League of Nations and Armaments, was a Britain-wide survey that collected public opinion on the League, war and disarmament. In his speech, Cecil informed attendees that they should not see the Peace Ballot as an endpoint but as a stage 'in the struggle for peace' and a starting point for strengthening the support of peace organisations.² Cecil's view epitomised the reinvigorated determination of League advocates in the aftermath of the Peace Ballot. The ballot revealed that a substantial number of the British public overwhelmingly supported British membership of the League. Similar optimism was voiced in Wales. E. William Jones, an LNU branch secretary in Llanelli (Carmarthenshire), welcomed the success of the ballot. He hoped it would avert the 'black clouds which darkened the political sky of Europe and the world.'³ However, these clouds that E. Williams Jones referred to did not blow over. In September 1939, the Second World War broke out. The League's fundamental task of preserving peace and preventing a global conflict had failed.

This chapter explores the League in Wales between 1935 and 1945. It traces how the renewed optimism that followed the Peace Ballot was strained by growing international tension that culminated in the outbreak of war in September 1939. It argues that, despite the world situation, the Welsh LNU maintained a strong presence in Welsh society. It used the aftermath of the Peace Ballot to increase the membership of its branches and reaffirm the League's position in society. In November 1938, the Welsh LNU also established a new headquarters, with the financial support of David Davies, at the Temple of Peace and Health in Cathays Park, Cardiff. However, by 1938 support for the League in Wales was at an all-time

¹ For quote see: *Wales and World Peace 1935-1936* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1936), p. 7.

² Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (NLW), GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/65, Pamphlet Entitled '*The Ballot Worker*', volume 9, 11 July 1935.

³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/22, Letter from E. William Jones to David Samways, 11 March 1935.

low due to the increasing uncertainty that peace would not be possible amidst the international backdrop. Despite the decline in support, there was not a complete abandonment of support for the Welsh LNU and the League. As will be highlighted by exploring the wartime experience of the Welsh LNU, dedicated members continued to run branches and support the League. The Welsh LNU's support network remained firmly in place, and the outbreak of war did not result in the dissolution of the Welsh LNU. While League advocates generally supported the war, they renewed their commitment to internationalism. The purpose of international organisations continued to be discussed, and a small number of branches still operated in Wales. This chapter notes that the prevalence of the Welsh LNU during the interwar period, mixed with the wartime discussions of international organisations, planted the roots for the creation of the Welsh United Nations Association (UNA), the social activist organisation of the United Nations (UN) that replaced the League in the aftermath of the Second World War. This reveals that the Welsh LNU's supporters held onto their internationalist ideologies and transferred their time, energy and resources into a future international organisation beyond the League.

This chapter uses a chronological approach that allows for the Welsh LNU's activities to be understood against the backdrop of successive international events. The Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, the German Anschluss with Austria and the Munich Agreement in 1938, the German Occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, and the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 are often regarded as the main international events of the late 1930s that resulted in the League's demise.⁴ These events, in some shape or form, undermined the League's authority and the Covenant's specific provisions to solve international disputes. The events received widespread coverage in the Welsh media and were a source of anxiety. In all instances, the Welsh LNU

⁴ Ruth Henig argued that many accounts that research the origins of the Second World War focus exclusively on the years between 1933 and 1939. See: Ruth Henig, *The Origins of the Second World War 1933-1939* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 2-3. This view is also reflected in Zara Steiner's innovative work on European International History in the 1930s, see: Zara Steiner, *The Triumph of the Dark European International History 1933-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Eric Hobsbawm also makes this claim. See: Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: the Short Twentieth Century, 1914- 1991* (London: Abacus, 1995), p. 37.

continued to support the League and felt all international disputes should be resolved using the League. As will be highlighted throughout the chapter, the Welsh LNU stood by the League's Covenant. They viewed it as its guiding policy and referred to exact articles appropriate to solve international disputes. However, the discussion of the Covenant was largely confined to the Welsh LNU at a higher organisational level. There were few, if any, references to it at branch level. Ultimately, this suggested differences between discussions held in the Executive Committee and at the branch level, thus showing a disconnection between both spheres.

Finally, the chapter analyses the disengagement between the different levels of the Welsh LNU's organisation. There was a growing difference of opinion in the Welsh LNU in the years leading up to the Second World War. Prominent individuals like Gwilym Davies and David Davies continued to work vigorously and did not abandon the Welsh LNU. They wanted to maintain the public image that the Welsh LNU was a well-supported peace movement in Wales. However, such views contrasted with opinions behind the scenes. There was an increased number of disapproving voices in the movement that challenged the Welsh LNU's authority. This was highlighted by proposals from a handful of Welsh LNU advocates to create a Welsh Committee of the International Peace Campaign (IPC), an organisation created in 1935 that had similar objectives to the LNU by shaping public opinion in favour of peace, disarmament and the League. Concerns were also raised over finances, the decline of support from branches and, more generally, the status of the League as an institution. There was also growing discontent and a lack of optimism from communities in Wales that became heightened as the period progressed. An increased number of members voiced difficulty organising events in local areas due to a growth in community-wide perceptions that the League was failing. This was a factor that LNU branches could not act directly on, but it signalled that what was happening to the League at an international level affected local communities. Therefore, the Welsh LNU faced increasing difficulties with factors inside and outside of its control that caused support for the movement and its influence in society to diminish.

Historiography

Studying the Welsh LNU between 1935 and 1945 provides a reassessment of the League in the 1930s. Traditionally, historical approaches have noted that the League lost authority due to its inability to deal with the international situations that arose later in the decade.⁵ These accounts have been shaped by Edward Hallet Carr's *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, written during his time as Chair of International Politics at University College Wales Aberystwyth. Carr's work is often regarded as the foundational work in the theory of international relations.⁶ In the text, Carr tensed the ambitions of the League's supporters, labelling them as 'utopian'.⁷ This opinion has been reflected in historiography, especially in debates surrounding rearmament and British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasement.⁸ These accounts have revealed how appeasement became a divisive debate in the 1930s. Historians have noted that those who opposed appeasement felt it risked national security.⁹ Appeasement, therefore, became and remained a 'politically loaded term'.¹⁰ These approaches reveal the complexities and diverse discussions the League and the Welsh LNU faced in this period. Taken together, this literature

⁵ Eric Hobsbawm considered the League's failure to deal with the Abyssinia Crisis tarnished its reputation and ability to deal with other issues that arose, see Hobsbawm, p. 36. Peter Clark stressed that the League retained a 'ghostly presence' at Geneva and talk of collective security became meaningless after Abyssinia: Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory Britain 1900 – 2000* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 187. For another example, see: Arthur Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War: War, Peace and Social Change, 1900-1967* (London: Bodley Head, 1968), p. 250.

⁶ E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: an Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 1946). For examples of this view see: Ruth Henig, *The Origins of the Second World War 1933-1939*, p. 3; Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013), pp. 236-237. There is a growing body of scholarship that questions the authority of Carr's work: Thomas Davies, 'The UIA and the Development of International Relations Theory', in *International Organizations and Global Civil Society: Histories of the Union of International Associations*, ed. by Daniel Laqua, Wouter Van Acker and Christophe Verbruggen (London: Bloomsburg Academic, 2019) pp. 155-170.

⁷ E.H. Carr, pp. 5-9. Debate of 'idealists and realists' are also discussed in Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (London: Penguin, 1999), p. 63.

⁸ For examples see: Robert Shay, *British Rearmament in the Thirties: Politics and Profits* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015); David Faber, *Munich 1938: Appeasement and World War II* (London: Pocket, 2009); Clarke and Andrew David Stedman, 'A Most Dishonest Argument?': Chamberlain's Government, Anti-Appeasers and the Persistence of League of Nations' Language before the Second World War', *Contemporary British History*, 25.1 (2011), 83-99.

⁹ Jeremy Weiss, 'E. H. Carr, Norman Angell, and Reassessing the Realist- Utopian Debate', *The International History Review*, 35.5 (2013), 1156-1184.

¹⁰ G. H. Bennett, 'British Foreign Policy, 1900-1939' in *A Companion to Early Twentieth Century Britain*, ed. by Chris Wrigley (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), pp. 152-166 (p. 152).

presented the League as performing no notable work and implied it was a failure from its establishment. Therefore, historians' neglect of the League after 1939 has created the perception that the fundamental principles of the League, such as international cooperation and open diplomacy, ceased.

Recent scholarship has drawn continuities between the League and the UN. These accounts moved away from the outlook created by Carr. Scholars have been inspired by Susan Pedersen's opinion that stressed focus should not be on why the League failed but on what it did and meant during its twenty-year existence.¹¹ While the League did not prevent the outbreak of a second global conflict in 1939, it did not dissolve. A small team remained at its Geneva headquarters. The League also paved the way for the creation of the UN. The League's influence on the post-war world remained largely hidden from view, primarily because no one wanted to associate the new UN with the 'failed' League.¹² Emma Edwards's study of the League during the Second World War stressed that the inability to function properly should not cause the neglect of the League in wartime historiography.¹³ Historians have also noted that over two hundred employees of the League secretariat found employment in different areas of the UN.¹⁴ As Corinne A. Pernet observed, the technical organisations of the League shaped the UN and post-war international order.¹⁵ There were also continuities in the League's attempts to create international intellectual cooperation by establishing UNESCO in 1946.¹⁶ The Council and Assembly of the League set the framework for the Security Council and General Assembly of the UN.¹⁷ While such studies are essential for tracing the longevity of

¹¹ Susan Pedersen, 'Back to the League of Nations', *American Historical Review*, 112.4 (2007), 1091-1117 (p. 1092).

¹² Patricia Clavin, 'Europe and the League of Nations', in *Twisted Paths: Europe 1914-1945*, ed. by Robert Gerwarth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 324-355 (p. 352).

¹³ Emma Edwards, 'Wartime Experience of the League of Nations, 1939-47', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Maynooth University, 2013).

¹⁴ Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea*, p. 153.

¹⁵ Corinne A. Pernet, 'Twists, Turns and Dead Alleys: The League of Nations and Intellectual Cooperation in Times of War', *Journal of Modern European History*, 12.3 (2014), 342-358.

¹⁶ Jo-Anne Pemberton, 'The Changing Shape of Intellectual Cooperation: From the League of Nations to UNESCO', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 58.1 (2012), pp. 34-50. The role of individuals, such as René Cassin, a French delegate to the League between 1924 and 1938, has been explored to show how individuals also transitioned from the League to the United Nations. See: Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *René Cassin and Human Rights: From the Great War to the Universal Declaration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

¹⁷ Clavin, 'Europe and the League of Nations', p. 330.

the League, they investigated it from a top-down organisational perspective. In contrast, this study observes how the transition played out at a Welsh level. It will reveal that, like the League as an organisation, the Welsh LNU continued to operate in a limited capacity. Similarly, support continued to come from a small proportion of branch members. The continuation of the Welsh LNU as an organisation and its support from branches was essential to establishing the Welsh UNA, the organisation that succeeded the LNU.

The chapter also gives a new perspective on the LNU in the late 1930s. Historians have argued that the international events of the late 1930s resulted in the demise of the LNU. Helen McCarthy viewed the period as sounding ‘the death knell’ for the British LNU’s civic strategy, and its support was gradually withdrawn.¹⁸ Donald Birn considered the public to have lost faith in the British LNU because the League was not offering realistic solutions to the international challenges faced in the 1930s.¹⁹ Richard Overy claimed that there was an exodus from the British LNU in the mid-1930s.²⁰ Likewise, Goronwy J. Jones’ study described the period between 1935 and 1939 as the ‘drift to World War II’, adding to the perception that the LNU in Britain and Wales lacked authority.²¹ This chapter offers a different view by showing that the Welsh LNU enjoyed a period of growth in the immediate aftermath of the Peace Ballot. It is argued that there was a short-term resurgence of Welsh LNU membership and activities between 1935 and 1937. In 1936, the Welsh LNU recorded 18,255 members, its highest membership of the 1930s. However, this eventually declined after 1937. This indicated that Wales bucked the wider trend of decline at a British level as the decline was not evident until later, thus showing individuality. The chapter also mentions case studies discussed in previous chapters, such as branch activities and membership. Doing so allows them to be understood alongside the international situation, revealing that the initiatives and networks of

¹⁸ Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism c. 1918-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 213.

¹⁹ Donald Birn, *The League of Nations Union 1918- 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 229.

²⁰ Richard Overy, *The Morbid Age: Britain and the Crisis of Civilisation, 1919-1939* (London: Penguin, 2010), p. 260.

²¹ Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace (From the Close of the Napoleonic Wars to the Outbreak of the Second World War)* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969), pp. 140-158.

support fell victim to the international situation and the war but were not eradicated.

Decline and reorganisation before 1935

The Welsh LNU's support network experienced difficulties in the latter 1920s and early 1930s. It is important to briefly explore this to evaluate the Welsh LNU between 1935 and 1945. The Welsh LNU were concerned by the decline of support for its branches that started to creep in from the late 1920s. They were particularly concerned by the number of branches disengaging with its programme. There was a growing gap between the number of branches that existed and the number of branches sending subscriptions to headquarters (Figure 6.1). In 1929, there were 794 listed in Wales, but only 311 had sent subscriptions to the Welsh LNU headquarters.²² By 1930, this number had dropped to 273.²³ These problems were largely caused by the expansion of the Welsh LNU. During the early years, the priority was forming new branches and securing new members.²⁴ Little thought had been given to the long-term objective of branch activity. In 1927, a report by David Hughes Lewis, the south Wales organiser, reflected the patchy existence of branch activity. Branch activity was described as 'hopelessly apathetic' in Radnorshire and Carmarthenshire, 'dead' in Pembrokeshire and 'half roused' in Cardiganshire.²⁵ Lewis considered branch activity to be limited by economic circumstances and a perception people had of the LNU's activities being 'too propagandist'.²⁶ Branches also recorded these concerns. In Llanelli (Carmarthenshire), the Capel AIs branch remarked how the economic situation had not only affected its membership but had altered 'everything trusting that peace has come to stay'.²⁷ In Port Talbot (Glamorgan), a local newspaper reported how its branch 'merely existed' and a number of people did not believe in 'anything the League can do simply because

²² Figures taken from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/4, Minutes of the North Wales Committee, 1928.

²⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/85, South Wales Organisers Reports 1927-1930, Report for September-October 1927.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/11, Letter from D Harris to David Samways, February 1927.

they know nothing about it'.²⁸ These instances showed differences between what the Welsh LNU thought was occurring in Wales and what was happening in local communities.

As a result, from the late 1920s, the Welsh LNU prioritised retaining existing support. It wanted to create strongholds of branches and vibrant hubs of activity rather than having limited support spread out.²⁹ Initially, a small body of work was conducted by regional organisers and chairs of District Committees. In north Wales, Sara Pugh Jones managed to revive some branches and merge others together. However, it resulted in twenty-one branches being dissolved; these included the Conwy town branch, Blaenau Ffestiniog town branch and Colwyn Bay English Congregational.³⁰ The process relied on voluntary communication from secretaries and leaders of branches. Branches were merged to become hotspots of activities rather than having numerous branches spread across Wales.

In 1928, the Welsh LNU addressed the issues encountered by appointing a Reorganisation Committee. This was composed of members of the Executive and Finance Committees, regional organisers and branch secretaries. Its main purpose was to alter the structure of branch activity. The work of the Reorganisation Committee showed a calculated and rational attempt to regulate branches. Their work discovered that the Welsh LNU had, in some cases, been exaggerating membership. It had been compiling its membership based on those who had ever held membership rather than those who paid membership subscriptions for a particular year.³¹ To solve this, it was decided that membership figures would be compiled from the number of branch subscriptions received. It resulted in membership figures drastically declining (Figure 6.1). However, it was felt that a streamlined LNU would be proactive, and branch activity would benefit.

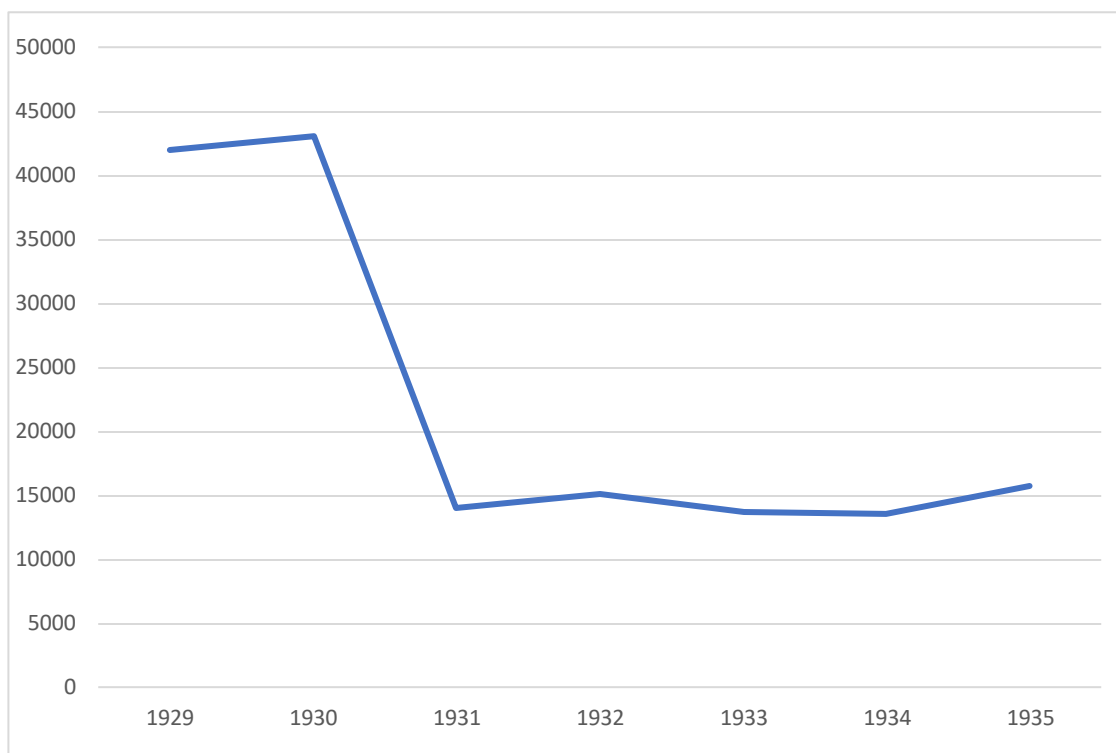
²⁸ *Port Talbot Guardian*, 14 September 1928, p. 4.

²⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

³⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/4, Minutes of a Meeting of the North Wales Committee, 25 March 1929.

³¹ Membership figures in the Welsh LNU's yearbooks between 1923 and 1930 were inflated, for an example see: *Wales and the League 1933-1934* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1934).

Figure 6.1: Membership of the Welsh LNU between 1929 and 1935.³²



The Reorganisation Committee reflected anxieties the Welsh LNU had about the future of branch activity. As a result, alterations were made to the branch constitution. The minimum membership number was twenty members, but the members of new branches needed to organise events and conduct their work 'energetically'.³³ Moreover, there became a requirement for large public demonstrations to be held annually.³⁴ Branches with membership below the permitted number of twenty were merged with other branches. However, some branches resented this provision. In Newport, the Alma Street Baptist Church Branch and St. Mark's Church asked to be treated as separate branches.³⁵ The work of the Reorganisation Committee did not inject life into branches that had been dormant for a long period of time. In Narberth (Pembrokeshire), H.G. Walters tried to re-establish the branch after he moved into the area. However, he claimed that

³² Figures taken from: NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A2/5, Information supplied for the use of the Reorganisation Committee, December 1930.

³³ *Wales and the League of Nations 1930-1931* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1931), p. 35

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/5, Letter to David Samways from D.D. John, 1 March 1933.

the branch had been dormant for some years, resulting in people having forgotten it existed.³⁶ By 1932, implementing the suggestions of the Reorganisation Committee had improved branch activity but remained difficult.³⁷ Overall, total membership figures continued to decline. However, membership in some counties, such as Brecknockshire, Denbighshire and Monmouthshire, marginally increased (Table 6.1). This differed slightly from the membership patterns that had emerged in the 1920s. Branch membership in 'Welsh Wales' had declined while membership from areas that might not have traditionally supported the League increased.

Table 6.1: Welsh LNU adult membership by county between 1931 and 1933.³⁸

County	1931	1932	1933
Anglesey	881	556	572
Brecknockshire	80	233	169
Caernarvonshire	1036	1751	1473
Cardiganshire	1098	281	803
Carmarthenshire	1191	707	807
Denbighshire	1227	1962	1576
Flintshire	673	936	591
Glamorganshire	4083	5165	4863
Merionethshire	1504	1663	640
Monmouthshire	815	947	991
Montgomeryshire	949	580	655
Pembrokeshire	287	169	172
Radnorshire	227	196	318
Total membership	14051	15146	13630

³⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT B2/6, Letter to David Samways from H. G. Walters, 8 February 1935.

³⁷ *Wales and the League of Nations 1931-32*, p. 17.

³⁸ *Wales and the League 1933-1934*, pp. 27-30.

The public's support for the Welsh LNU did not benefit from the wider situation facing the League. In the 1930s, the League was enduring a period of uncertainty, which in turn affected support for branches. Its failure to deal with the Manchuria Crisis in 1931, the German withdrawal from the League in 1933, and the lack of success from the Disarmament Conference held between 1932 and 1934 tarnished its reputation. These events were a fatal blow to the League, its Covenant and the idea of enforcing peace by collective action.³⁹ Consequently, some historians have argued that the League lost its glamour during the 1930s.⁴⁰ The Peace Ballot, therefore, came at a time when League advocates wanted to re-energise itself and establish a new determination behind the Welsh LNU.

The Aftermath of the Peace Ballot in Wales

Despite these events, the Welsh LNU and its branches were energised by the Peace Ballot of 1934-35. In 1935, Gwilym Davies remarked that the Peace Ballot had proved 'beyond any shadow of doubt' that the population were 'deeply committed to the League and collective security as the hope of the world and way of international life'.⁴¹ The Peace Ballot exceeded expectations at a British level. There were eleven and a half million responses compared to the initial estimate of four to five million.⁴² As it was carried out near a general election, it was hoped that the government would not ignore the pro-League sentiment created by the Peace Ballot.⁴³ As mentioned in chapter two, in Wales, 1,025,040, a figure that was 62.3 percent of the Welsh electorate, voted in the Peace Ballot. The results of the ballot indicated that most respondents in Wales favoured British membership of the League. In total, 1,002,284 voters approved of British membership of the League.⁴⁴ In addition, 973,782 respondents favoured the reduction of Armaments by International Agreements, a further endorsement of the League's attempt to bring

³⁹ F.S. Northedge, *The League of Nations: its Life and Times 1920-1946* (Leicester: Leicester University Press), p. 161.

⁴⁰ Kenneth O. Morgan, *Revolution to Devolution: Reflections on Welsh Democracy* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), p. 182.

⁴¹ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B2/8, Flyer entitled 'The Peace Ballot and its meaning, Onward! - the next step!' produced by Gwilym Davies, 1935.

⁴² Ruth Henig, *The League of Nations* (London: Haus, 2010), pp. 161-162.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Wales and World Peace 1935-1936*, p. 41.

about change on diplomatic matters.⁴⁵ Despite the general approval of the League and its principles, the fifth and final question of the Peace Ballot, which asked for opinions on how to treat a nation that attacked another nation, divided opinion. The vast majority, 909,195, approved of using economic and non-military measures. However, opinion was divided when asked about the use of military force. Unlike previous answers, responses failed to show outright support for the League. In total, 579,994 voted in favour, while 248,846 opposed, and 188,501 could not reach a decision.⁴⁶ The difficulty in reaching a decision on this question revealed that most responders, albeit a slight majority, favoured force. This linked with the objectives of the League, which was not a pacifist organisation and never ruled out the use of force. The wider Welsh public, therefore, shared the League's aim of trying to prevent global conflict.

The Welsh LNU looked to build on the success of the Peace Ballot with a recruitment drive to increase the membership of its branches. It wanted to convert the public support for the League, and its principles, to support for the LNU in Wales. Gwilym Davies, as with many League advocates in Wales, took great satisfaction from the result of Ballot. He felt the results showed that people viewed the League as providing hope and that collective security was considered 'a norm for international life'.⁴⁷ Furthermore, he wanted League advocates to put 'new weight behind the crusade for peace'.⁴⁸ Gwilym Davies and David Davies led an overly optimistic initiative to recruit 100,000 new members to the Welsh LNU, a tenth of those who voted in the ballot.⁴⁹ The initiative took inspiration from the organisation's early years when, in 1922, David Davies aimed to recruit 100,000 members.⁵⁰ The plan appeared ambitious as the highest membership number recorded of adult branches was 43,050 in 1930. Yet, it symbolised how heightened support and coverage of the League in the public domain inspired the Welsh LNU to

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 41.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ People's Collection Wales/ Casgliad Y Werin Cymru (PCW), *The Peace Ballot Bulletin*, October 1935. Available online: <<https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/1247126>> [accessed 25 May 2020].

⁴⁸ *Wales and World Peace 1935-1936*, p. 41.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/1, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 19 April 1922.

grow in influence and size.

In 1935, a sub-committee was established to drive the membership campaign. By early 1936, it had been responsible for distributing 200,000 leaflets throughout Wales.⁵¹ The committee asked branches to generate public awareness of their branch and their activities.⁵² It was hoped that, by exercising their influence, branches would be helping to 'safeguard the Covenant of the League'.⁵³ However, some Welsh LNU's Executive Committee members stressed caution with the membership campaign. David Samways, the honorary secretary, was pleased that the campaign was launched but warned that translating ballot votes to membership subscriptions would be difficult.⁵⁴ Essentially this was because the Welsh LNU was asking for 'shillings and not signatures', which was perceived as difficult to obtain, especially in areas of Wales with high unemployment levels.⁵⁵ Therefore, the increased confidence of Welsh LNU officials had to be understood in the context of wider events.

There was a short-term increase in branch membership in the aftermath of the Peace Ballot, although the Welsh LNU's recruitment drive failed to reach the ambitious target of an extra 100,000 members. In 1935, adult branch membership increased by 2,000 to 15,675 (Table 6.2). In 1936, the Welsh LNU recorded its highest membership figure of the 1930s, with 18,255 members of its adult branches (Table 6.2). These new members were predominately from south Wales. The Welsh LNU gained 4,994 new members, 4,066 in south Wales and 928 in north Wales, between June 1935 and April 1936.⁵⁶ A branch secretary in Aberystwyth wrote to David Davies to explain how a membership campaign in Cardiganshire gained around 700 new members.⁵⁷ The Welsh LNU were pleased with the increase in membership, even if it did not meet their publicised target. They felt it was a prime example of how people in Wales were determined to continue 'the cause of

⁵¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/9, Minutes of the Campaign Sub-Committee, 11, March 1936.

⁵² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/9, Letter circulated to branch secretaries from Dudley Howe, David Davies, Gwilym Davies and David Samways, 13 June 1936.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/9, Letter to N.B. Foot from David Samways, 20 March 1936.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/9, Summary of Statistics for the Campaign, 1936.

⁵⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/8, Letter to David Davies from G. J. Grindley, 19 September 1935.

international co-operation and collective security'.⁵⁸ Branches also remained particularly active in fundraising activities such as Daffodil Days. In 1936, the Welsh LNU held over 300 Daffodil Days, its most successful year of fundraising for this initiative.⁵⁹ The small increase in membership revealed that, by translating their vote in the Peace Ballot into branch membership, there was a direct correlation between the support shown towards the League in the Peace Ballot and the growth of the LNU in Wales.

Yet, the growth of the movement's branches was not universal. In 1936, when the Welsh LNU's membership was at its highest in the late 1930s, the membership figures declined slightly in the counties of Caernarvonshire, Cardiganshire and Monmouthshire (Table 6.2). While it is difficult to pinpoint exactly why membership declined in these areas due to a lack of primary sources, research from branches in other areas reveals wider factors affecting branch activity. Some members of branches expressed anxieties over the status of the League. Charles Duckworth, branch secretary of the Buckley LNU branch, was concerned that the British government had ignored the League and, as a result, was 'smashing the League through lack of policy towards it'.⁶⁰ Correspondence from branches also revealed that support was hampered by negative perceptions of the League at a community level. In 1936, the Llanelli District Committee reported that its attempts to recruit new members and organise a Daffodil Day had been hampered by two factors outside of its control, such as schools being preoccupied with a sports afternoon and bad weather.⁶¹ However, it also noted that some members of the community held the view that the League was failing.⁶² In a like manner, the Caerwys branch near Mold (Flintshire) reported that its attempts to increase membership had failed due to influential members moving away from the area, some members passing away and the increasing perception among the

⁵⁸ *Wales and World Peace, 1936-37* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1937), p. 8.

⁵⁹ Rob Laker, *Daffodil Days of the 1920s-30s: Celebrating Wales-wide Community Activism* (2020), <<https://www.wcia.org.uk/wcia-news/wcia-history/daffodil-days-of-the-1920s-30s-celebrating-wales-wide-community-activism-on-worldpeaceday/>> [accessed 28 April 2020].

⁶⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/81, Letter to David Samways from Charles Duckworth, 12 July 1936.

⁶¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/22, Letter to David Samways from John H. James, 21 July 1936.

⁶² *Ibid.*

community that the League was in decline.⁶³ These examples highlight that there were factors beyond the control of branches that affected their support and the message behind their cause. Branches could not do anything about bad weather or their communities' perceptions of the League in terms of how it was operating. Yet, the League's work at an international level trickled down to communities and affected local support of the League.

Table 6.2: Welsh LNU adult membership by county between 1934 and 1937.⁶⁴

County	1934	1935	1936	1937
Anglesey	328	384	539	190
Breconshire	171	115	377	82
Caernarvonshire	765	1148	1072	720
Cardiganshire	1053	2886	2042	1963
Carmarthenshire	658	834	1752	973
Denbighshire	2206	1188	1651	1569
Flintshire	804	951	1073	848
Glamorgan	4433	4976	5962	3875
Merionethshire	1189	779	1185	455
Monmouthshire	1081	1299	1176	1077
Montgomeryshire	642	733	815	551
Pembrokeshire	47	98	279	131
Radnorshire	160	284	332	311
Total	13537	15675	18255	12745

⁶³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B1/64, Letter to David Samways from Annie Jones, 30 March 1936.

⁶⁴ Figures taken from: *Wales and World Peace, 1937-38* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1938) and *Wales and World Peace, 1938-39* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1939).

The international situation threatened the renewed optimism that followed the Peace Ballot. The growth of the Welsh LNU after the Peace Ballot came at a time when the League faced an existential threat. In 1934-35, the Abyssinia crisis threatened the authority of the League and was a direct threat to its Covenant. Historians often consider The Abyssinia Crisis to have marked the end of the League.⁶⁵ The crisis was a dispute between Mussolini's Italy and Abyssinia, one of two African nations, along with Liberia, that had individual membership of the League.⁶⁶ Mussolini sought to expand Italian territory by claiming Abyssinian land, which in late 1934 and 1935, resulted in both sides engaging in conflict along the border between Italian-occupied Somalia and Ethiopia. In January 1935, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, appealed to the League for assistance and encouraged arbitration to settle the dispute. The League placed limited economic sanctions on Italy, but these were limited.⁶⁷ However, there was not a collective response from League members, and these sanctions were not upheld or widely adopted by member states. In October 1935, Italy invaded Abyssinia. The League decided Italy was the aggressor and wanted further sanctions to be imposed, but like before, these sanctions were not widely supported by League members. The ineffectiveness of the League angered the Welsh LNU. At an Executive Committee meeting in October 1935, they felt that ineffective sanctions prolonged the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia and damaged the League's prestige.⁶⁸

There were attempts to settle the dispute outside of the League. Britain faced a choice of continuing Italian goodwill or upholding the League's principles, but it attempted to do both.⁶⁹ Most notable were Britain and France's attempts to solve the dispute away from the League. Samuel Hoare, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Pierre Laval, French politician, met in private away from the

⁶⁵ Ian Kershaw, *To Hell and Back: Europe 1914-1949* (London: Penguin, 2016), p. 254. Some scholars note that the failure to deal with the Manchuria Crisis (1931-33) began the process that undermined the League, see: Steiner, *The Triumph of the Dark*, p. 95.

⁶⁶ Adom Getachew covered Liberia and Abyssinia at the League. She noted that while, in theory, they were members on an equal footing, their membership illustrated the unequal integration and produced the conditions for their domination. See: Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), pp. 37-70.

⁶⁷ Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*, p. 67.

⁶⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/2, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 25 October 1935.

⁶⁹ Bennett, pp. 162-4.

League and drew up a proposal, known as the Hoare-Laval pact, that aimed to solve the issue by offering Italy parts of Abyssinian land.⁷⁰ It was hoped that Italy and Abyssinia would accept the proposals. However, before it was presented to the relevant parties, it was leaked to the press and caused public outrage.⁷¹ It resulted in Samuel Hoare resigning as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The situation caused issues for the League as two of its most prominent members, Britain and France, were acting outside of the organisation, implying to the public that the League was no longer useful for settling international disputes. The Welsh LNU opposed the Hoare-Laval pact. It demanded that the secret discussions between Britain and France, two member states of the League, be abandoned and returned to the Council of the Assembly of the League at Geneva.⁷² The Welsh LNU wanted an investigation by countries who were impartial and favoured using a committee similar to the Lytton Commission, which had advised the League on the Manchuria Crisis in 1932.⁷³ Ultimately, the Welsh LNU did not abandon support for the League. Its disapproval of the closed-door diplomacy of the Hoare-Laval pact indicated that it continued to support the League and open diplomacy to solve international disputes.

The Welsh LNU used the Abyssinia crisis to generate discussion of the League. Ahead of the 1935 General Election, the Welsh LNU issued a questionnaire to candidates standing in the election that asked for their opinion on the League. It asked if the League should use collective force to end Italian aggression in Abyssinia and if they wanted the production of armaments to be placed into public control.⁷⁴ The initiative showed there were continuities in efforts to spread knowledge of the League. In some instances, branches discussed the Abyssinia Crisis on their own accord. On two separate occasions, branches in Newport (Monmouthshire) discussed and passed resolutions on the Abyssinia crisis. In October 1935,

⁷⁰ Henig, *The League of Nations*, pp. 161-162.

⁷¹ Kershaw, p. 254.

⁷² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 21 December 1935.

⁷³ Ibid. The Lytton Commission was appointed by the League to visit Manchuria to explore the situation between Japan and China in 1932. See: Zara Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History 1919-1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 739-750.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

discussions concluded that 'the majority of people would support full use of the collective authority of the League to cut all communications between Italy and the African Colonies'.⁷⁵ Similarly, in December 1935, the Newport District Committee held a meeting in which it drafted and sent a resolution to the government that noted a settlement was required to be made through the League, thus disapproving of the Hoare-Laval pact.⁷⁶ The opinion, in this instance, was similar to the Welsh LNU.

The League came under further pressure from two events in 1936. The first occurred in March 1936 when Hitler reoccupied the Rhineland, a region in the west of Germany demilitarised as part of the Treaty of Versailles and, therefore, a blatant breach of the treaty.⁷⁷ Hitler's actions broke down the main security barrier the Versailles treaty had erected and led to anxieties, especially from France, over an increased chance of war.⁷⁸ The disarray caused in Western democracies over Abyssinia and the loss of credibility of the League provided Hitler with the opportunity to perform this action.⁷⁹ In response to the reoccupation of the Rhineland, the Welsh LNU voiced that it favoured the demilitarisation of the area.⁸⁰ It felt the only way to maintain peace in the region was to use 'an International Police Force that was constructed of members of the League, which excluded France and Germany'.⁸¹ David Davies was an ardent supporter of the idea that the League should create an International Police Force with countries from member states to maintain world peace.⁸² The function, according to Davies, was to repel aggression on the part of a member or non-member state and to enforce the decision of the judicial and arbitral tribunals of the international authority.⁸³ Therefore, by supporting David Davies' concept of using an international police, the Welsh LNU were determined to use the League to solve disputes.

⁷⁵ *South Wales Argus*, 25 October 1935.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Henig, *The League of Nations*, pp. 170-171.

⁷⁸ Robert Paxton, *Europe in the Twentieth Century*, 4th edn (Fort Worth: Harcourt College Publishers, 2002), pp. 384- 387.

⁷⁹ Kershaw, p. 256.

⁸⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 23 March 1936.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² David Davies, *An International Police Force* (London: Ernest Benn, 1932), pp. 360-382.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

The second event that caused increased pressure on the League was the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. In July 1936, war broke out between the Republicans, the government, and the Nationalists, headed by General Francisco Franco. The Spanish Government appealed to the League under article eleven of the Covenant, an article that noted any war or threat of war that affected members of the League was a matter for the entire League.⁸⁴ However, members of the League were split in their response. Britain and France did not favour assistance, Poland objected to the question being brought before the Council, while no support for Spain came from the South American members of the League's Council.⁸⁵ Gwilym Davies warned of a lack of unity between nations. For him, nations were failing the League as they were not trying to make the Covenant work.⁸⁶ Therefore, the lack of consistency with actions from member states further tarnished the League.

A difficulty caused by the Spanish Civil War was the influence of different countries, some of whom were members of the League. The Soviet Union, Mexico and France supported the Republicans, and Germany and Italy supported the Nationalists. Both sides also recruited foreign volunteers made up of people who travelled to Spain from countries around the world to fight. Despite policies of non-intervention, around 30,000 volunteers from various European Countries travelled to Spain to join international divisions.⁸⁷ The most prominent was the International Brigades set up by the Communist International on the side of the Republicans. An estimated 200 people from Wales served in the International Brigades.⁸⁸ The Welsh LNU opposed the intervention of foreign governments, as they felt it brought a new danger to international peace.⁸⁹ However, it remained silent on the use of international brigades and the decision of Welsh people to serve in them. Their silence on the issue suggested they wanted to avoid alienating other Welsh causes.

⁸⁴ Arthur Ponsonby, *The Covenant of the League of Nations* (London: Union of Democratic Control, 1920), p. 10.

⁸⁵ *Wales and World Peace, 1936-37*, p. 55.

⁸⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/10, Pamphlet entitled 'Onward! Ymlaen! No 9. Bulletin of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union', May 1936.

⁸⁷ Kershaw, p. 307.

⁸⁸ For examples see: Hywel Francis, *Miners Against Fascism: Wales and the Spanish Civil War*, 3rd edn (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2012); Robert Stradling, *Wales and the Spanish Civil War: the Dragon's Dearest Cause?* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004); Graham Davies, *You are Legend: the Welsh Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War* (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2018).

⁸⁹ *Wales and World Peace 1936-37*, p. 13.

Instead, the Welsh LNU was critical of the British government's decision not to act on the intervention of foreign militaries, namely from Germany and Italy.⁹⁰ The Welsh LNU appealed for the British government to refer the situation to the League under Article 11, noting that any war or threat of war concerns all members of the League.⁹¹ David Davies felt the British government was out to destroy the League and its Covenant.⁹² The League's lack of authority and inability to deal with the Spanish Civil War caused unease in Wales.

The international situation caused tension between peace organisations in Wales, namely through proposals that created a Welsh Committee of the International Peace Campaign (IPC). In September 1935, the IPC was founded by Robert Cecil and Pierre Cot, a French politician and leading figure in France's left-wing Popular Front government; it aimed to gain international support from governments and shape public opinion in favour of peace, disarmament and the League.⁹³ Robert Cecil balanced his responsibilities as president of the British LNU with his role as founder of the new venture. Cecil was excited by the opportunity as he felt it was a way to inject spirit into the League.⁹⁴ There were similarities between the LNU and IPC. The two movements were linked by the personal participation of Robert Cecil, as president of both organisations and Philip Noel-Baker, who acted for the LNU and the British National Committee.⁹⁵ The creation of the IPC led to mixed responses in Britain. Gilbert Murray, Chair of the British LNU, noted how the British LNU were already in financial difficulties and could not afford to subsidise the new movement.⁹⁶

The creation of the IPC in Britain resulted in plans to create a Welsh branch of the organisation. Some members of the Welsh LNU supported Cecil in his ambition to create the new organisation. In January 1937, Mabel Shaxby, secretary of the district committee in Cardiff, Miss F. P. Dollimore, Mr J. L. Haddock, Mr Glyn

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 13; Ponsonby, p. 10.

⁹² Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace*, p. 147.

⁹³ Gaynor Johnson, *Lord Robert Cecil: Politician and Internationalist* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 235.

⁹⁴ Overy; Johnson, p. 235.

⁹⁵ Overy, p. 258.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 258.

Jones and Mr W. E. Lloyd held a meeting in Cardiff. They were united in their decision that a Welsh Council of the IPC should be formed on the model of the British National Committee and to work in direct contact with it.⁹⁷ J. L. Haddock stressed that forming an IPC Committee in Wales was not to rival the Welsh LNU.⁹⁸ Moreover, Haddock was optimistic that a Welsh branch of the IPC would regenerate support for the League and help to build the Welsh LNU's membership numbers.⁹⁹ Mabel Shaxby perceived the IPC to have more in common with the 'ordinary man in the street, agricultural labourers and working men' compared to the LNU.¹⁰⁰ Shaxby urged the Welsh LNU not to oppose or 'give a lukewarm reception to the IPC' but to support it with 'real determination'.¹⁰¹ This suggested that the Welsh LNU had lost touch with some of the Welsh population. It also implied that the Welsh LNU had never appealed to some members of society, especially the working class. The IPC attempted to promote internationalism to a slightly different audience, hoping to encourage a wider acceptance of the League.

However, prominent members of the Welsh LNU were completely inflexible and wanted internationalist support to continue to be directed through the Welsh LNU. Gwilym Davies disapproved of efforts to form an IPC organisation in Wales. He was sceptical over the controversy surrounding the organisation in England, namely the debates surrounding its 'Communist Party and left-wing origins'.¹⁰² This was largely due to the influence of Pierre Cot as a prominent left-wing politician in the Popular Front French government of 1936-1938. Gwilym Davies respected Robert Cecil's work and dedication to the IPC but was concerned it would cause difficulties in enhancing the cause of peace in Wales as it would appeal to a similar audience.¹⁰³ However, it was also hoped it would appeal to different groups, such as socialist groups, who had not typically supported the Welsh LNU. The IPC used similar promotional messages to the Welsh LNU. In 1936, the origins of the IPC were noted as being rooted in Joseph Tregelles Price's work of establishing the Peace Society in

⁹⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 23 January 1937.

⁹⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B2/9, Letter to David Samways from J. L. Haddock, 26 January 1936.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B2/10, Letter to Gwilym Davies from Mable Shaxby, 26 February 1937.

¹⁰¹ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B2/10, Letter to David Samways from Mabel Shaxby, 21 January 1937.

¹⁰² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 2 February 1937.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

1816 and Henry Richard's work with the Peace movement, namely his role as secretary of the Peace Society.¹⁰⁴ The Welsh LNU questioned if the IPC could do anymore or anything different to the LNU in Wales.¹⁰⁵ Gwilym Davies felt the organisation's main objectives were 'not obvious' and that if any initiative was taken, it should be to strengthen the position of the LNU, not to promote the IPC.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, David Samways argued that the Welsh LNU should not be used to collect funds for the IPC.¹⁰⁷ David Davies was open to the IPC, remarking that the Welsh LNU should 'co-ordinate efforts with all types of peace society'.¹⁰⁸ By June 1938, it was reported that, apart from one or two places, there was no demand in Wales for the IPC.¹⁰⁹ In response, the Welsh LNU reiterated its disapproval of creating a separate peace movement in Wales.¹¹⁰ The creation of the IPC indicated that, despite attempts to refresh support for internationalism, the traditional approach of supporting the League through the Welsh LNU remained strongest. It also showed that the Welsh LNU felt threatened by an organisation with similar objectives. It represented Welsh interests and, as its creation showed in the first chapter, had broader visualisations of Wales at its heart.

The divisions at the Welsh LNU's organisation level were reflected at the grassroots level. There was increased scepticism of the League emerging in Welsh LNU branches and wider society. In 1936, a meeting took place in Rhos (Denbighshire) on the subject of 'Is the League a failure?' involving the Tabernacle, Rhostyllen and Hill Street Welsh LNU branches. Following discussions, the meeting voted, by a small majority, that the League was a failure.¹¹¹ A similar debate was held by the Young People's Guild of the Penuel Welsh Methodist Chapel. While no vote was taken, it involved 'very heated discussions'.¹¹² In 1937, J. B. Stewart, branch secretary of the Newport (Monmouthshire) branch, noted that membership had declined in the area due to older members being 'dissatisfied with the state of

¹⁰⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/21, Letter distributed by R.T. Evans and Mabel Shaxby, 1936.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B2/10, Letter to David Samways from Gwilym Davies, 21 January 1937.

¹⁰⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B2/10, Letter to Gwilym Davies from David Samways, 25 January 1937.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, June 1938.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ *Rhos Herald*, 12 December 1936, p. 8.

¹¹² *Pontypridd Observer*, 11 December 1937, p. 3.

things internationally that they do not think it is of any use continuing membership'.¹¹³ Questions were also raised about the Welsh LNU's appeal to churches for financial donations. S Phillips, from Crymych, a village in Pembrokeshire, felt churches could not do much more to raise donations because several members had already contributed to the Welsh LNU.¹¹⁴ Therefore, the international situation appeared to be dividing opinion in the Welsh LNU's support networks.

In 1938, the increased aggression of Nazi Germany caused more pressure on the status of the League. In March 1938, Germany and Austria were reunified, an event known as the *Anschluss*.¹¹⁵ It was another clear breach of the Treaty of Versailles. The League largely remained silent on the issue. Mexico was the only country to voice disapproval of the League's silence on the matter.¹¹⁶ The Welsh LNU continued to support the League and voice disapproval of the British government's failure to use it effectively to halt Germany. In April 1938, it publicly voiced that Britain, as the backbone of the 'world order', needed to lead by example and use the Covenant to bring about a solution.¹¹⁷

In 1938, Nazi Germany became increasingly aggressive towards Czechoslovakia. In the aftermath of the First World War, several independent states, such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary, were created under the Treaty of Versailles.¹¹⁸ In September 1938, Hitler focused on reoccupying the Sudetenland, a part of Czechoslovakia where three million German speakers lived. Neville Chamberlain, British Prime Minister, pursued a peaceful resolution to the crisis.

¹¹³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/5, Letter to David Samways from J. B. Stewart, 27 December 1937.

¹¹⁴ *The Western Telegraph and Cymric Times & Telegraph*, 11 June 1937.

¹¹⁵ Paxton, pp. 392- 393.

¹¹⁶ Amelia M. Kiddle, 'Separating the Political from the Technical: The 1938 League of Nations Mission to Latin American', in *Beyond Geopolitics: New Histories of Latin America at the League of Nations*, ed. by Alan L McPherson and Yannick Wehrli (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015), pp. 239-258 (p. 241).

¹¹⁷ *Wales and World Peace, 1937-38*, pp. 60-61.

¹¹⁸ New states were formed of people from different groups. In the case of Czechoslovakia see: Melissa Feinberg, *Elusive Equality: Gender, Citizenship, and the Limits of Democracy in Czechoslovakia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), p. 2; Carol Skalnik Leff, *National Conflict in Czechoslovakia: The Making and Remaking of State, 1918-1987* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 11. Historians have noted that Hitler sought expansion in Eastern Europe as he felt other countries would not do anything to oppose him, especially in areas where there were large numbers of German speaking populations because of the peace settlement of the Great War. See: Robert Paxton, pp. 393- 400.

Unlike the Hoare-Laval pact, these debates were conducted in the public eye. However, it was another example of international affairs being conducted away from the League. The Welsh LNU's Executive Committee disliked the omission of the League. In June 1938, the Welsh LNU appealed to the British government to refer the matter to the League's Assembly.¹¹⁹ It also wanted Germany to be included in discussions and for an impartial council to be used to reach a decision.¹²⁰

In September 1938, the Welsh LNU held an emergency meeting of its Executive Committee over the situation in Czechoslovakia. It sent a telegram to Eduard Beneš, President of Czechoslovakia, that noted, 'the Welsh LNU'S Executive Committee are proud of the self-discipline, courage and dignity shown by the president and people of Czechoslovakia in their terrible ordeal'.¹²¹ It was an act of performative internationalism and suggested that, during a time of crisis, the Welsh LNU hoped to gain international influence on the world stage. The Welsh LNU still endorsed the League and felt that peace was not possible unless a resolution was reached using the principles of the League's Covenant and upheld by its members.¹²² In addition, they felt that there should be a plebiscite for the people of the Sudetenland to decide for themselves. However, such a plebiscite needed to be conducted under the auspices of the League and supported by an International Police Force to ensure there could be no intimidation of the inhabitants taking part in the plebiscites.¹²³

In September 1938, Britain, France, Italy and Germany reached a decision away from the League that permitted the annexation of the Sudetenland on the grounds that the rest of Czechoslovakia was left alone. Neville Chamberlain returned to Britain and declared 'peace in our time'. However, many viewed it as 'peace in our time' at the expense of Czechoslovakia.¹²⁴ President Beneš was forced to accept the territorial concession when the British and French governments

¹¹⁹ *Wales and World Peace, 1938-39*, p. 14.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of an 'Emergency Meeting' of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 24 September 1938.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Bennett, p. 164.

threatened to abandon Czechoslovakia completely.¹²⁵ The Welsh LNU was sympathetic to Beneš. In November 1938, David Davies, acting on behalf of the Welsh LNU, sent a letter to the Secretary of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament that recommended Beneš should receive the Nobel Peace Prize.¹²⁶ However, the prize was awarded to the Nansen International Office for Refugees. Nevertheless, the action provided further substance for Wales acting on the world stage during an international crisis.

In the aftermath of the Munich agreement, the bleakness of the international situation was reflected in divisions in the Welsh LNU's branches. In 1938, the Welsh LNU noted that, despite difficulties, its branches had 'kept the flag flying bravely'.¹²⁷ The Welsh LNU hoped that the international situation would prompt some dormant branches to 'immediately return to activities and share with the active branches the burden of great responsibility which the movement bears at present'.¹²⁸ In some instances, these desires were achieved. Discussions of the Munich Agreement featured at the branch level in Wales. In October 1938, the Caersws and the Llandinam branches held a joint public meeting in Montgomeryshire that discussed the agreement's implications.¹²⁹ Branches still discussed international affairs and attempted to remain positive. One passionate supporter of a branch in mid-Wales pledged his allegiance to the Welsh LNU. He wrote that he was no pacifist 'at any price', but world peace was another matter'.¹³⁰

Despite this muted optimism, there was no ignoring the decline of grassroots support of the Welsh LNU's branches and the bleakness of the situation. In 1938, adult branch membership declined to 13,018.¹³¹ Branches reported that the international situation was creating difficulties with their activities. In Newport (Monmouthshire), J. B. Stewart, a branch secretary, claimed that the lack of support for the League and engagement with the LNU's activities in the area, such as

¹²⁵ Paxton, p. 398.

¹²⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 22 November 1938.

¹²⁷ *Wales and World Peace 1937-38*, p. 5.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/13, Letter to David Samways from A. Glyn Pryce, 27 October 1938.

¹³⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, J1/2, Letter to Gwilym Davies from D. Howard Rowlands, 3 January 1937.

¹³¹ *Wales and World Peace 1938-39*, pp. 21-23.

attendance at branch meetings, was 'very disgusting'.¹³² Some members became disgruntled with the League and Welsh LNU. One member wrote to the LNU headquarters to withdraw his membership. While they recognised the League and its constitution, they felt that the League was 'too wedded to so-called collective 'security'', therefore, could no longer support the League due to being a pacifist.¹³³ Similarly, L. T. Skelton, a Welsh LNU member from Llanelli (Carmarthenshire), suspended their membership because they were disappointed by the League being 'powerless in dealing with aggressors unless it resorted to armed force'.¹³⁴ Skelton expressed how they had placed their hopes on the League's policy of collective negotiations and placing sanctions on nations that broke the League's rules.¹³⁵ Ultimately, Skelton still respected the League's aims, but 'as a Christian Pacifist, could not support using force as a last resort'.¹³⁶ At first glance, this writer's view seemed confusing because the League had always stood for the policy of using force as a last resort. The significant element was that when the League appeared unable to provide answers to international events, community support wavered as people did not want to be associated with an organisation that was faltering.

A new dawn? The opening of the Temple of Peace and Health

In November 1938, the Temple of Peace and Health was opened in Cathays Park, Cardiff (Figure 6.2). As the first building of its kind anywhere in the world outside of Geneva, the Temple provided a headquarters with international recognition for the Welsh LNU. Its opening bucked the wider trend of declining support for the Welsh LNU, its branches and the perilous position of the League as an institution. Its promoters hoped the Temple would symbolise the efforts of Welsh people in the cause of international peace and justice.¹³⁷

The Temple was the project of David Davies, who had been planning its creation since the late 1920s. He has also been involved in previous attempts at a

¹³² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/5, Letter to David Samways from J. B. Stewart, 8 October 1938.

¹³³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/9, Letter to David Samways from J G Harris, 20 April 1938.

¹³⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/9, Letter to David Samways from LT Skelton, 29 April 1938.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ *Liverpool Echo*, 16 November 1938, p. 5.

Figure 6.2: Photograph of the Temple of Peace and Health in Cathays Park, Cardiff.¹³⁸



British level. In 1919, he was involved in attempts to build a ‘Temple of Peace’ on the site of Devonshire House in London, but nothing materialised.¹³⁹ David Davies, therefore, looked to reinvest such energies and money into creating such buildings in Wales. The Temple’s construction would not have been possible without the financial support provided by David Davies. In total, he provided £60,000 of the £72,000 required to build the Temple.¹⁴⁰ Further financial donations included an extra £580 2s 6s for an electric organ and £391 12s 6d for the Council Chamber’s

¹³⁸ *Wales and World Peace 1938-39*.

¹³⁹ Craig Owen, *David Davies 75: Internationalist ‘Father’ of the Temple of Peace* (2019), <<https://www.wcia.org.uk/wcia-news/wcia-history/david-davies-75-father-of-the-temple-of-peace/>> [accessed 2 November 2021].

¹⁴⁰ The Temple of Peace, *The Opening of the Temple of Peace*, <<http://www.templeofpeace.wales/top/venuehistory.html>> [accessed 19 May 2019].

furniture.¹⁴¹ In 1934, David Davies persuaded Cardiff Council to gift land for the Temple to be built on.¹⁴² The Temple's construction was initially meant to begin in 1941.¹⁴³ However, amidst the international uncertainty and anxieties caused by the situation in Europe, the Temple's trustees, Charles Hayward Bird, Dudley Howe, Frederick John (F. J. Alban) and Garbett Edwards, and Welsh LNU, decided to accelerate the construction of the Temple.¹⁴⁴ In April 1937, Lord Halifax, a conservative politician who was appointed Foreign Secretary in February 1938, laid the foundation stone.¹⁴⁵ Lord Halifax noted there had been a long struggle with the construction of the Temple, namely because successive governments had refused to provide assistance to the project.¹⁴⁶ David Davies's influence, therefore, was integral to the construction of the Temple as it indicated his passion for continuing to build Wales as a nation of peace.

At the opening ceremony, Robert Cecil remarked that it took great courage to open the Temple at a time 'wars were raging in the east and west'.¹⁴⁷ David Davies acknowledged that dark clouds overshadowed Europe, but it was not the time to 'put down the shutters and draw the blinds'.¹⁴⁸ However, David Davies remarked that the international situation, especially the aftermath of Czechoslovakia and the Munich Agreement, meant an 'ironic misnomer' existed behind the opening of a Temple of Peace building.¹⁴⁹ In the context of international uncertainty, David Davies was looking to provide a lasting legacy of the LNU's work in Wales.

The Temple of Peace held many purposes. In the first instance, it provided the Welsh LNU with a headquarters. In addition, it housed a headquarters for the King Edward VII Welsh National Memorial Association, an organisation founded by

¹⁴¹ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, 1/3/32, Booklet entitled 'The Welsh National Temple of Peace and Health, Cathays Park, Cardiff', n.d.

¹⁴² *Western Mail*, 8 April 1937.

¹⁴³ *Western Mail*, 9 April 1936, p. 13.

¹⁴⁴ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, 1/3/32, Booklet entitled 'The Welsh National Temple of Peace and Health, Cathays Park, Cardiff', n.d.

¹⁴⁵ A history of the temple can be found in: W. R. Davies, *The Temple of Peace & Health 1938-1998: Its Impact on Wales and the World* (Cardiff: Welsh Centre for International Affairs, 1998).

¹⁴⁶ *Western Mail*, 9 April 1937, p. 7.

¹⁴⁷ *Wales and World Peace 1938-39.*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace*, pp. 151-155 and W. R. Davies.

¹⁴⁹ *Western Mail*, 27 October 1938, p. 8.

David Davies in 1912 that aimed to improve health in Wales, namely by eliminating tuberculosis.¹⁵⁰ The Temple included a 'Crypt of Remembrance', which became a permanent home and resting place for the Book of Remembrance, a Welsh national book which contained the names of the servicemen and women and members of Welsh regiments who lost their lives in the First World War.¹⁵¹ David Davies hoped this would act as a 'reminder to future generations of our fellow countrymen of the debt they owe to those who fought for them in the war to end war'.¹⁵²

Incorporating these organisations under one roof gave the impression that Wales was a country actively working to maintain national and international peace.

The Temple intended to mirror the League's new headquarters that opened in Geneva in 1937. David Davies, speaking at a public event following the opening ceremony of the Temple, declared that:

It is fitting that the first building in Britain to be dedicated to the cause of peace should be erected on Welsh soil. It is an example which other countries may well follow, because the Temple recalls to our minds the existence of another building, erected in another small country, on the shores of the Lake of Geneva - the Headquarters of a confederation of Nations who have joined together in a solemn League and Covenant to resist aggression and to settle their disputes by an appeal to reason instead to force. Let Temples of Peace arise throughout the world. They will be a constant reminder to nations of its duties, loyalties and allegiance to the cause of justice of peace.¹⁵³

The opening of the Temple indicated that David Davies was trying to cast Cardiff as a type of mini-Geneva. By housing organisations related to peace, health, and

¹⁵⁰ W. R. Davies, p. 9.

¹⁵¹ For an electronic copy of the book, see: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/modern-period/the-welsh-national-book-of-remembrance/#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-1413%2C-1%2C7656%2C7179>> [accessed 27 September 2021].

¹⁵² *Western Mail*, 8 April 1937.

¹⁵³ *Wales and World Peace 1938-39*, pp. 6-7.

justice, the Temple reflected the League's international headquarters in Geneva.¹⁵⁴ There were other agencies of the League located near the Geneva headquarters, such as the International Labour Organisation, and other organisations with headquarters in Geneva that worked on a range of international causes, such as the International Red Cross. The environment encapsulating Geneva was famously known as the 'spirit of Geneva'.¹⁵⁵ Similarities can be drawn with Cardiff. The Temple in Cathays Park was near other national institutions, such as the University College, National Museum and the National War Memorial, unveiled in June 1928.¹⁵⁶ In March 1937, an article in the *Western Mail* noted the growing influence of the Cathays Park area. Using the pseudonym of 'Veritas', the Roman Goddess of Truth, the writer noted that the Temple of Peace was located amidst a range of 'remarkable group of buildings', which converted it into a microcosm where several buildings represent different national institutions.¹⁵⁷ The Temple was the only example anywhere in the world that attempted to bring the 'spirit of Geneva' into a country. Wales was a world leader in attempts to fuse ideas of internationalism in a national context.

The Temple embraced its internationalist ideal as the materials were deliberately included to represent different countries from around the world. The most evident was the 'Hall of Nations', a room at the centre of the Temple that was used as a room for functions and public events (Figure 6.3). For example, wood was sourced from Canada and Sweden, glass from Austria and marble from Ireland and Australia. However, not everyone approved of the inclusion of international material. B. Price Davies expressed concern that during 'these times of national stress, it is necessary to use home materials as far as is practicable'.¹⁵⁸ He reminded readers how Wales's 'mountains and valleys produce two lines of materials which

¹⁵⁴ Genève Internationale, *Architectural Competitions: Imagining the City of Peace*, <<https://www.geneve-int.ch/node/4154>> [accessed 28 September 2021]; Jean-Claude Pallas, *Histoire et Architecture du Palais des Nations (1924-2001)* (United Nations, Geneva, 2000).

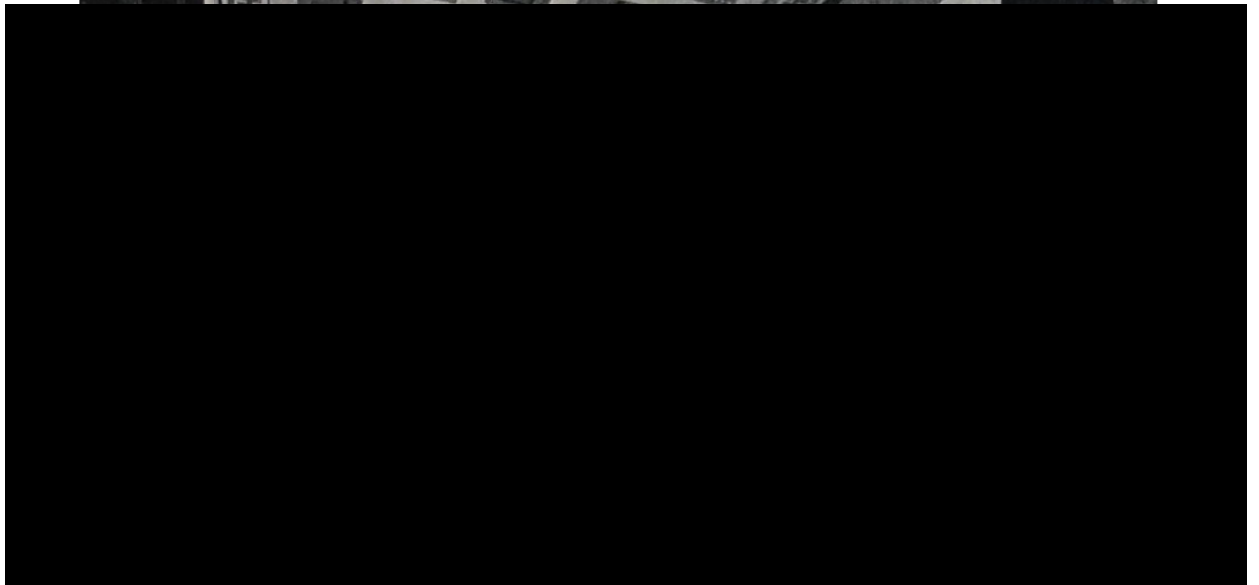
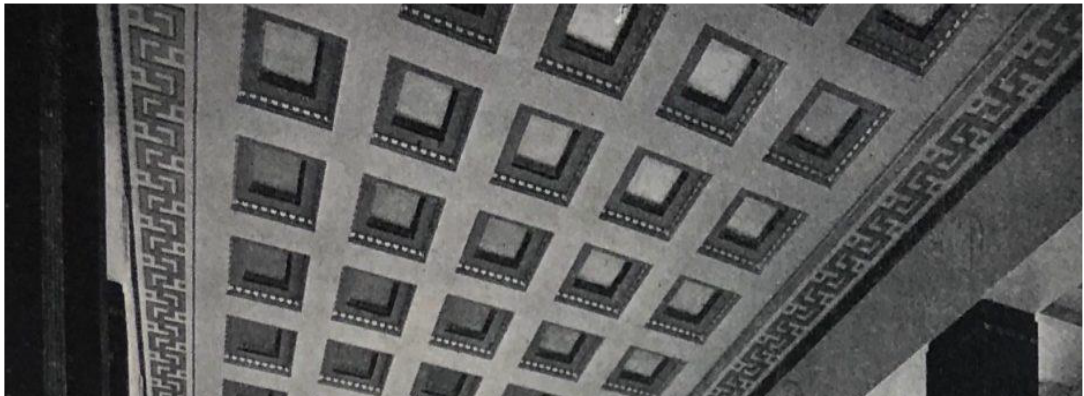
¹⁵⁵ Robert De Traz, *The Spirit of Geneva* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935).

¹⁵⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B2/12, Letter to David Davies from Ifan ab Owen Edwards, 5 September 1938.

¹⁵⁷ *Western Mail*, 29 March 1937, p. 11.

¹⁵⁸ *Western Mail*, 24 January 1933, p. 9.

Figure 6.3: Photo inside the Hall of Nations at the Temple of Peace & Health, 1938.¹⁵⁹



are acknowledged to be the best the world over – Welsh coal and Welsh slate’.¹⁶⁰ Further criticism was placed on Temple’s design when a writer in the *Western Mail* felt it was ‘completely wrong’ that the Temple had a red tiled roof instead of

¹⁵⁹ *Wales and World Peace 1938-39*, p. ii.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

matching other buildings in Cathays Park that had a roof in a 'classic style grey'.¹⁶¹ David Davies considered criticism of the lack of Welsh materials to be a nationalist view. David Davies, in a letter to Percy Thomas, the Temple's architect, stated that 'even nationalists must give way to artistic conceptions!'.¹⁶²

However, most of the criticism voiced by the public was on the design and cosmetic elements rather than the ideas about opening the temple. It opened when people in Wales started to have second thoughts about the Munich Agreement.¹⁶³ Welsh MPs had voted 20 to 13 against the Munich Agreement.¹⁶⁴ Yet there was little public criticism about the opening of the Temple. It received positive coverage in various national and international newspapers, such as *The Glasgow Herald*, *The Sheffield Telegraph* and *The New York Times*.¹⁶⁵

The types of visitors to the Temple embodied the audience that the Welsh LNU hoped it would target. Visitors to the Temple after the opening ceremony included a range of groups, such as Welsh school children (Figure 6.4), German refugees from the Sudetenland, members of the International Brigade Convoy who had returned from Spain and Veterans from the Great War.¹⁶⁶ The Temple also welcomed thousands of members of the public to visit and partake in a tour of the building.¹⁶⁷ It was hoped that Church denominations would use the Temple as a venue to hold conferences and religious services.¹⁶⁸ In June 1939, 110 members from the Jerusalem Welsh Presbyterian Church in Ton Pentre Rhondda (Glamorgan) attended the Temple for a religious service and a tour of the building.¹⁶⁹ The Temple also welcomed the public who were not affiliated with any of these groups. In February 1939, a feature in the *Western Mail* included the Temple as a place to visit for rugby fans travelling to Cardiff for an international rugby game between

¹⁶¹ *Western Mail*, 9 February 1938, p. 9.

¹⁶² NLW, GB 0210 LDDNAM, B2/12, Letter to Percy Thomas from David Davies, 1 March 1938.

¹⁶³ Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace*, p. 155.

¹⁶⁴ John Davies, *A History of Wales*, 3rd edn (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 579.

¹⁶⁵ For examples see: NLW, D14/8, Newspaper Cuttings regarding the Temple of Peace 1938. Newspapers include: *The New York Times*, 23 April 1939.

¹⁶⁶ *Wales and World Peace 1938-1939*, pp. 8-10.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁶⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 27 February 1939.

¹⁶⁹ *Western Mail*, 16 June 1939, p. 5.

Scotland and Wales.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, the Temple attempted to appeal to different groups and gain interest in the causes of peace, health and justice.

Figure 6.4: Pupils from Allensbank Girls School, Cardiff, visiting the Temple of Peace and Health, 1939.¹⁷¹



The Temple also acted as a place where public-facing diplomacy occurred. In July 1939, Ivan Maisky, a Soviet diplomat and Soviet Ambassador to Britain, visited the Temple during a visit to south Wales.¹⁷² The visit included visiting various institutions, such as the University College Wales Cardiff, the National Museum of Wales and a colliery in Cwmfelinfach (Monmouthshire), which was owned by David Davies' Ocean Coal Company.¹⁷³ At the Temple, Maisky delivered a speech that noted the importance of maintaining peace. He said that the Soviet Union were:

Ready to co-operate in the cause of peace with all peace-loving nations, but underlying our peace policy, I would like to point out, the Soviet Union has never stood for peace at any price. We always believe that the principle of peace must, if necessary, be defended against aggression.¹⁷⁴

Maisky also stressed the importance of organising peace on the principles of the Covenant of the League.¹⁷⁵ This symbolised that, by acting as a place for public-facing diplomacy, the building assisted in Welsh attempts to gain recognition on the world stage and generate discussion of international affairs. However, the following

¹⁷⁰ *Western Mail*, 1 February 1939, p. 5.

¹⁷¹ *Western Mail*, 11 July 1939, p. 12.

¹⁷² *Western Mail*, 27 July 1939, p. 8.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

month the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, also known as the Nazi-Soviet Pact, was signed as a non-aggression pact between Germany and Russia.¹⁷⁶ The Pact guaranteed that neither country would fight each other or aid allies of the other against them. David Davies remarked that the Pact threw Europe into a state of disarray.¹⁷⁷ The Pact symbolised that despite the best efforts of the Welsh LNU to gain recognition for its work on the international stage, it struggled to prevent factors outside of its control.

The opening of the Temple gave inspiration to Welsh LNU. At the Executive Committee's first meeting in its new headquarters, it reaffirmed its belief that no durable peace could be created outside of the principles of the League and the Covenant.¹⁷⁸ However, David Davies's vision of other buildings in other nations was not achieved due to the continued decline of the international situation. The encouragement felt by the Welsh LNU appeared short-lived amidst the international situation. In March 1939, Nazi Germany occupied Czechoslovakia, a move that violated the Munich Agreement.¹⁷⁹ The Welsh LNU stood by the League, reaffirming its belief that peace could be secured by using the League and its Covenant to solve international problems.¹⁸⁰ David Samways argued that the League was the only way to solve the international situation.¹⁸¹ The Welsh LNU also continued their attempts to engage in international events. In June 1939, the Executive Committee sent another message to Eduard Beneš in which it expressed 'deep concern at the loss of its national independence by Czechoslovakia, a victim of oppression and violence'.¹⁸² The Welsh LNU assured Beneš that the Welsh National Council was determined to obtain a fairer deal for Czechoslovakia in any future general settlement.¹⁸³ Prominent members of the Welsh LNU remained optimistic. In June 1939, David Davies remained determined that war could be

¹⁷⁶ Steiner, *The Triumph of the Dark*, pp. 890-908.

¹⁷⁷ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A3/6, Letter from David Davies to friends and Colleagues, 15 September 1939.

¹⁷⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 22 November 1938.

¹⁷⁹ Ruth Henig, *The Origins of the Second World War 1933-1939*, pp. 33-35; Robert Paxton, pp. 399-400.

¹⁸⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 2 June 1939.

¹⁸¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/69, Letter to Dilys M. Jones from David Samways, 3 February 1939.

¹⁸² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 2 June 1939.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

averted but felt people needed to ‘anticipate the worst and hope for the best, but unless their fellow countrymen woke up and found a new leadership, they would gradually drift into the inevitable abyss’.¹⁸⁴

The Welsh LNU renewed calls for the Welsh population to obtain membership in the LNU in the aftermath of the opening of the Temple.¹⁸⁵ Yet, in contrast, membership figures declined further. In mid-1939, the Welsh LNU’s membership figure stood at 8,442.¹⁸⁶ Branch secretaries continued to voice difficulty with conducting their work in local communities. In February 1939, Dilys Jones, the branch secretary for Amlwch District Committee, wrote to David Samways to express how the international situation ‘depressed her’ as there was no support behind the idea of holding a branch meeting.¹⁸⁷ While the opening of the Temple provided some potential for avoiding war, it was evident that it could not avoid the international situation, so it was instead attempting to leave a legacy in the Welsh LNU’s work.

The wartime experience of the Welsh LNU

War broke out in Europe in September 1939. The League had failed to prevent conflict between nations. Yet it continued to operate during wartime, albeit in a limited capacity. The Secretary-General at the outbreak of war, French diplomat Joseph Avenol, reduced the League’s staff and considered moving the organisation to France.¹⁸⁸ However, by August 1940, the Economic Section had relocated to its wartime home at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, and a new Secretary General had been appointed in Irish diplomat Seán Lester.¹⁸⁹ He remained in Geneva throughout the war and oversaw the League’s continuation in a limited capacity, namely its technical and humanitarian programmes. Several neutral countries, such as Portugal, Mexico and Switzerland, remained members.

¹⁸⁴ *Western Mail*, 5 June 1939, p. 12.

¹⁸⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 2 June 1939.

¹⁸⁶ *Wales and the World 1939-40* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1940), p. 6.

¹⁸⁷ LNU, B2/69, Letter to David Samways from Dilys M. Jones, 2 February 1939.

¹⁸⁸ Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 396.

¹⁸⁹ Pernet mentioned that different areas of the League remained active during the war, such as the ILO and the Economic and Financial Organisations: Pernet, p. 343.

Britain largely propped up its funding, contributing around sixty percent of its budget.¹⁹⁰

At the outbreak of war, the Welsh LNU called an emergency meeting of its Executive Committee. Despite the League's failure, it retained its support for the Covenant and the principles of the League. It issued a resolution that called for the League to bring about a peaceful end to the crisis.¹⁹¹ However, the Welsh LNU did not completely oppose the war. They justified it on the grounds that it would remove the threat of Nazi Germany and ensure future disputes could be settled by peace, therefore adhering to the League's principles.¹⁹² They further felt that the British government, by defending the independence of Poland as a fellow member of the League, was vindicating Articles Ten and Nineteen.¹⁹³ Therefore, the Welsh LNU understood the importance of removing the threat of Nazism as long as it resulted in peace and a stronger international organisation.

The outbreak of war did not cause Welsh LNU advocates to abandon the League. Key figures defended their wholehearted support for the League and maintained it was the correct this to do throughout the interwar period. On 15 September 1939, David Davies circulated a six-page letter to Welsh LNU branch leaders. For Davies, the Covenant was still an important set of principles, as it was 'written in the blood of our comrades who fell in the Great War'.¹⁹⁴ Coming from Davies, this view carried extra weight, given that he had served in the Great War. In his opinion, the League had only failed because there was a lack of willpower and determination from member states.¹⁹⁵ David Davies continued to stand behind his idea of creating an International Police Force made up of League member states to act against aggressors where attempts to negotiate failed. He remarked that no nation would have dared to attack another if a 'police body of 30,000 had been

¹⁹⁰ Stephen C. Schlesinger, *Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations, A Story of Superpowers, Secret Agents, Wartime Alliances and Enemies, and Their Quest for a Peaceful World* (Cambridge MA: West View Press, 2003).

¹⁹¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 8 September 1939.

¹⁹² NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A3/6, Letter from David Davies to friends and Colleagues, 15 September 1939.

¹⁹³ *Wales and the World 1939-40*, p. 2.

¹⁹⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A3/6, Letter from David Davies to friends and Colleagues, 15 September 1939.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

organised to go to the assistance of any nation which was the victims of aggression'.¹⁹⁶ David Davies continued to receive criticism for these ideas. In December 1939, someone from Cardiff wrote to the *Western Mail* using the pseudonym of 'Common Sense' to criticise David Davies' view on using an International Police Force. They felt the proposals were 'disingenuous, misleading and impractical'.¹⁹⁷ 'Common Sense' further felt that the LNU was 'largely responsible for the reduction of our armed forces below the limit further felt that of safety'.¹⁹⁸ While it is difficult to know how this view represented wider public sentiment, the criticism of David Davies was reflected in attitudes towards the Welsh LNU.

It was not only the ideas of the League that came under pressure from the outbreak of war. The Welsh LNU's branches had difficulty continuing their activities. However, the Welsh LNU and its supporters did not abandon branches. The Welsh LNU found it important to maintain its grassroots support. The reason was that, in their view, grassroots support would be crucial to building a new civic society at the end of the war.¹⁹⁹ The Welsh LNU noted that maintaining branches would help produce 'the atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence in which the frail organism of international co-operation may gain strength and thrive'.²⁰⁰ David Samways issued two suggestions to branches to overcome the difficulties the outbreak of war had caused to its work.²⁰¹ The first of these suggestions was to continue to use study circles and branch meetings. It was proposed that branch members who lived near one should meet weekly, fortnightly or monthly to discuss world events or how to be prepared for peace.²⁰² The second method was diversifying branch activity to assist the war effort. Branches were encouraged to collect items, such as food and cigarettes, that could be distributed to those serving

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ *Western Mail*, 1 December 1939, p. 8.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ *Wales and the World 1939-1940*, pp. 5-6.

²⁰⁰ *Wales and the World 1941-1942* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1942), p. 3.

²⁰¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A3/6, Letter circulated to 'Friends and Colleagues' from David Samways, 30 October 1939.

²⁰² Ibid.

in the armed forces.²⁰³ Despite the ambition of branches to continue their work, there were difficulties. Members of branches were often engaged with various war services, such as serving in the Army, Navy or Airforce, or they were attached to the auxiliary movements, such as Air Raid Protection Services, Home Guard or Fire-fighting squads.²⁰⁴ Charles Duckworth, the Buckley LNU branch's secretary, voiced difficulty balancing his responsibilities as branch secretary and Air Raid Protect (ARP) warden.²⁰⁵ Duckworth wanted 'nothing more than a cessation of the war', and once it came, he would 'start again in the fight for a more permanent peace'.²⁰⁶ Despite these difficulties, a small number of branches still existed. In 1941, around thirty study circles were established across Wales.²⁰⁷ Moreover, its adult branches recorded a membership of 4,636 and junior 2,342.²⁰⁸ There were large differences geographically. However, membership remained higher in those areas where support had been strongest during the interwar period, in counties such as Cardiganshire, Glamorgan and Merionethshire (Table 6.3).

The Welsh LNU wanted to maintain its education work despite the outbreak of war. In September 1939, the Executive Committee agreed to continue its work in colleges and schools because it felt planning for the future was 'more important than ever'.²⁰⁹ The Welsh LNU wanted to continue its essay-writing competitions in schools. However, this did not mirror the desires of schools. In 1940, the Welsh LNU received eight papers from six schools with junior branches.²¹⁰ The membership figure of junior branches also continued to diminish, falling from 4803 in 1939 to 1001 in 1941 (Table 6.4). Despite the initial optimism, the Welsh LNU eventually conceded that the war would limit its education initiatives in schools. In 1941, a report on international teaching found that a range of factors, such as damage to school buildings from air raids and an influx of evacuees in rural areas, meant there

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ *Wales and the World 1940-41* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1941), p. 3.

²⁰⁵ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, B2/81, Letter to David Samways from Charles Duckworth, 29 January 1941.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ *Wales and the World 1940-41*, p. 3.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁰⁹ *Wales and the World 1939-40*.

²¹⁰ *Wales and the World 1940-41*, p. 6.

Table 6.3: The Welsh LNU's adult membership between 1939 and 1941.²¹¹

County	1939	1940	1941
Anglesey	190	71	42
Breconshire	104	48	57
Caernarvonshire	181	142	42
Cardiganshire	1615	1006	821
Carmarthenshire	618	301	156
Denbighshire	994	543	343
Flintshire	274	166	28
Glamorgan	2709	1381	703
Merionethshire	575	324	64
Monmouthshire	469	305	205
Montgomeryshire	445	144	85
Pembrokeshire	197	30	4
Radnorshire	71	174	54
Total	8442	4635	2604

were difficulties with organising events in schools.²¹² The difficulties were reflected in the Welsh LNU's junior branch membership. In 1941, seven of the thirteen counties of Wales had no junior branch membership.

The newly built Temple continued to serve its purpose, albeit in a limited capacity. The Welsh LNU felt that the Temple acted as a reminder of their pledge to build a better world, hopes and aspirations.²¹³ However, it came under direct attack when an incendiary bomb landed on the roof on two separate occasions but did not cause any damage.²¹⁴ The Welsh LNU retained a small team at its headquarters.

²¹¹ Figures taken from: *Wales and the World, 1939-40; Wales and the World 1940-41; Wales and the World 1941-42* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1942).

²¹² *Wales and the World 1941-42*, p. 3.

²¹³ *Wales and the World 1939-40*, p. 5.

²¹⁴ *Wales and the World 1940-41*, p. 3.

Table 6.4: The Welsh LNU's junior membership between 1939 and 1941.²¹⁵

County	1939	1940	1941
Anglesey	0	0	0
Breconshire	19	10	0
Caernarvonshire	296	93	0
Cardiganshire	0	0	0
Carmarthenshire	304	50	6
Denbighshire	45	40	9
Flintshire	478	60	0
Glamorgan	2574	1226	183
Merionethshire	396	392	414
Monmouthshire	530	401	339
Montgomeryshire	120	60	50
Pembrokeshire	41	20	0
Radnorshire	0	0	0
Total	4803	2352	1001

David Samways and Miss G. M. Jones, a staff member at headquarters since the organisation began.²¹⁶ It remained open to visitors daily for an hour in the morning; between September 1939 and January 1940, 992 visitors attended.²¹⁷ There was also a continuation of symbolic practices in respect of turning a page of the Book of Remembrance from the Great War at 11 am daily. This continuation of the symbolic practice revealed that the war did not prevent the Temple from its operations,

²¹⁵ Figures taken from: *Wales and the World, 1939-40; Wales and the World 1940-41; Wales and the World 1941-42* (Cardiff: League of Nations Union, Welsh National Council, 1942).

²¹⁶ *Wales and the World 1941-42*, p.2.

²¹⁷ NLW, B2/14, GB 0210 LDDNAM, Memorandum for the Information of members of the Temple Sub-Committee, 31 January 1940.

albeit in a limited capacity.

There was also a continuation of the Temple acting as a venue for hosting public-facing diplomacy. In 1940, Eduard Beneš, former president of Czechoslovakia who was in exile in Britain, visited the Temple and turned a page of the Welsh Book of Remembrance during a visit to Wales.²¹⁸ The visit of Beneš indicated that the Welsh LNU's actions of writing with words of support during his country's time of crisis in 1938 were being reciprocated and honoured by a personal visit. In many aspects, this showed that the Temple aided the representation of Wales on the world stage by acting as a venue for public diplomacy.

In 1942, the Declaration of the UN came into force when twenty-eight countries signed an agreement that pledged themselves to the Atlantic Charter, an international agreement that agreed to form an international organisation at the end of the war.²¹⁹ The main protagonists were Britain, the USA and the USSR. It was the first real indication that allied leaders were committed to creating an international organisation at the end of hostilities, namely by restoring self-determination.²²⁰ The declaration reinvigorated Welsh LNU activities. In May 1942, the Executive Committee met for the first time since 1939. They felt that the international situation meant it was necessary to start devising how a new organisation would function.²²¹ Gwilym Davies stressed that planning needed to be done immediately, and branches should start to carry out activities in a limited capacity.²²² The Welsh LNU also appealed to groups that had supported the LNU during the interwar period, namely Members of Parliament (MPs), religious figures and Councillors.²²³ This signalled that the Welsh LNU drew on its traditional support networks to build support for the new organisation.

The Atlantic Charter reinvigorated the Welsh LNU's education work, albeit with limited success. In 1943, the Welsh LNU used the Atlantic Charter as the topic for its essay writing competition.²²⁴ However, this success remained limited as only

²¹⁸ *Western Mail*, 4 March 1940, p. 8.

²¹⁹ Stephen C. Schlesinger, *Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations*, pp. 37-38.

²²⁰ Mark Mazower, *Governing the World*, p. 188.

²²¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 29 January 1942.

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 30 May 1942.

four schools entered pupils: Holyhead County School, Barry Boys' County School, Pontypridd Boys' School and Treforest Girls' School.²²⁵ These schools had submitted entries for the Geneva Scholarship during the interwar period.

In Wales, a body of educationalists and League supporters continued their interest in international education. In 1941, the Welsh LNU's scholarship subcommittee and some members of the Advisory Education Committee (AEC) met with the representatives of the British LNU's Council for Education in World Citizenship, established in 1941, to explore what contribution Wales could make to its cause.²²⁶ In 1944, it was decided to rename the AEC to the Welsh Committee for Education in World Citizenship.²²⁷ When drawing up the constitution of the Welsh Committee for Education in World Citizenship, it urged Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and other educational institutions, such as teaching bodies, to appoint representatives to the organisation.²²⁸ Therefore, they looked to groups which supported the LNU during the interwar period to continue endorsing conceptions of international education.

Individuals who had played a prominent role in the Welsh LNU's education initiatives assisted in establishing new organisations and bodies. In 1944, Gwilym Davies produced a draft constitution and procedure for a UN body entitled the Permanent International Organisation for Education.²²⁹ This examined the Welsh LNU's education work during the interwar period and suggested future initiatives. It proposed three key points that drew on attempts from the interwar period. First, it proposed the need to function as a 'World Education Centre' and meeting group for educationalists.²³⁰ Second, Davies proposed the creation of a World Education Research Bureau that explored teaching methods and textbooks.²³¹ The final proposal was to create a Permanent Education Assistance Board to continue the

²²⁵ *Wales and the World 1941-42*, p. 6.

²²⁶ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 30 May 1942.

²²⁷ Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace*, p. 94.

²²⁸ *Wales and the World 1941-42*, p. 3.

²²⁹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 29 January 1944.

²³⁰ Goronwy J. Jones, 'Gwilym Davies and the Cause of International Peace and Understanding', in *Gwilym Davies 1879-1955: A Tribute*, ed. by Ieuan Gwynedd Jones (Llandysul: Gomerian Press, 1972), pp. 95-98.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

work started by the UN Temporary Bureau for Education Reconstruction.²³² The proposal gained international recognition and assisted in the creation of UNESCO's constitution. It revealed that individuals in the Welsh LNU used their experience and influence to assist in post-war planning.

The death of Welsh LNU key individuals during the war marked a discontinuity with the creation of the UN. Most notable was the death of David Davies when he died in June 1944 following a short illness. Testimonies expressed his importance to the success of the Welsh LNU. The Executive Committee recalled that David Davies had set an example that they were inspired by for their future work.²³³ Robert Cecil viewed him as a visionary and was an individual prepared to invest his life and fortune in the causes he supported.²³⁴ Similarly, Gwilym Davies felt that David Davies would be remembered for three reasons: his work for peace, interest in different causes such as education, industry and rural affairs and as being a 'grand steward of wealth' for his philanthropic work.²³⁵ Gwilym Davies rather subjectively claimed that he would be valued and remembered alongside other Welsh pioneers of peace, such as Richard Price, Henry Richard and Robert Owen.²³⁶ However, such an evaluation was probably a stretch. While his work in establishing and being involved with the Welsh LNU cannot go unrecognised, David Davies often used his money and influence to achieve his objectives, such as the Temple of Peace and the creation of the Welsh LNU. He also had his own agenda in mind with growing Welsh institutions and trying to improve the image of Wales that adhered to a liberal vision.

Similarly, the wartime period also saw the death of other figures who had been instrumental to the Welsh LNU during the war. In February 1945, Rev D. C. Davies died. His obituary described him as a figure who spent twenty-one years as an organiser and lecturer of the Welsh LNU and noted his numerous trips to Geneva.²³⁷ The deaths of other individuals included David Samways and Annie

²³² Ibid.

²³³ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 26 September 1944.

²³⁴ NLW, GB 0210 GWVIES, I/3/34, Notes on the Career of Lord Davies, by Gwilym Davies, 1944.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ *Western Mail*, 26 February 1945, p. 3.

Hughes-Griffiths, the only female president of the Welsh LNU.

The deaths of prominent figures did not lead to the demise of international ideas. At the end of the war, there was a transition from the League to the UN. In July 1945, the Welsh LNU's advisory committee issued a statement that wholeheartedly supported the UN charter.²³⁸ It hoped that the UN would continue the legacy of the League by acting as 'a guardian of international right and the supreme instrument for removing all injustices which may threaten the peace of the world'.²³⁹ In September 1945, a new Executive Committee was elected. It included figures from the LNU; the honorary president was Henrietta Davies, widow of David Davies; the president was Gwilym Davies; and the chair of its Executive Committee was William Rees, a professor at University of Wales, Cardiff.²⁴⁰ In February 1946, the transition was completed when the LNU began the Welsh National Council of the UNA in Wales.²⁴¹ The process showed that the Welsh LNU's work left a lasting legacy and influenced the construction of international organisations that preceded the League.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the LNU in Wales between 1935 and 1945. It has highlighted the difference of opinion between the Welsh LNU and its supporters. On the one hand, its staunchest supporters, such as Gwilym Davies, did not abandon their support for the Welsh LNU. They remained optimistic that gaining support from society could curb the trend of decline and help to grow the authority of the League, thus preventing future conflict. On the other hand, attempts to increase membership in the aftermath of the Peace Ballot tenses desires. Officially, the Welsh LNU's Executive Committee were committed to League and internationalism regardless of the international situation. They felt that the League should have worked to resolve numerous situations, such as the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, the Spanish Civil War and Germany's annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland region

²³⁸ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 24 July 1945.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 28 September 1945.

²⁴¹ NLW, GB 0210 LEANAT, A1/3, Minutes of the Welsh LNU Executive Committee, 1 February 1946.

of Czechoslovakia. The Welsh LNU passed multiple resolutions that strongly supported the League and disapproved by voicing their discontent when issues were settled externally from its organisation. Similarly, the Welsh LNU continued to support the Covenant and noted how the international events breached specific Articles.

On the other hand, there were disapproving voices that challenged the Welsh LNU's authority. Attempts by some League advocates to create an IPC body signalled a growing discontent with the Welsh LNU. Furthermore, the increasing number of messages from branches that noted the difficulty of gaining membership and organising events showed a community-perceived failure of the League, an attitude the Welsh LNU was increasingly encountering during the latter 1930s. These views from supporters suggested that they were not prepared to stick by the League through thick and thin. These were factors that the Welsh LNU could not do anything about but signalled that the international situation affected LNU activities.

The chapter has argued that the Welsh LNU supported the League despite the various events and international situations that impacted its support base and ability to organise activities. The work of the reorganisation committee and attempts to restructure branches symbolised branches needing a sustained level of interest during the interwar period. Branches needed the Peace Ballot, as a national initiative, to revive them, showing that branch support was not as strong as the Welsh LNU hoped. Yet, the Peace Ballot revealed that people, while unwilling to invest a great deal of time and resources in respect of holding membership, highly regarded the idea of the League. The attempts by Welsh LNU advocates to rebuild branch membership after the Peace Ballot were successful in the short term. The resurgence of membership and activities provided the Welsh LNU with an opportunity to gain a stronger foothold in society. When compared to the British LNU, it curbed the wider trend of decline that showed individuality in the Welsh experience. However, once the international situation became more perilous, it was difficult to hang on to its network of supporters. Similarly, as the idea of creating a UN became prevalent, more people became determined to make a Welsh UNA successful. In some respects, this mirrored the Welsh LNU's creation, as discussed in chapter one of this thesis. There was a direct correlation between the status and

prospects of international organisations and the support of Welsh society.

Finally, the chapter has argued that the interwar work of the Welsh LNU left a legacy on Welsh society. The most notable example was symbolic in respect of the Temple of Peace. While David Davies's vision of the Temple being a prelude to the establishment of other temples in other nations was not achieved, it established a core building and institution in Welsh society. The war might have limited its function, but it continued to operate, albeit on a small scale, which signalled its ability to continue to act in the interests of peace, health and justice. Moreover, the legacy of the Welsh LNU was evident with the roots that it planned for the creation of the UNA. League advocates in Wales held on to their internationalist ideologies and renewed their commitment to internationalism. This occurred with the continued support of the LNU during the 1930s and into the war, but also with the creation of the UN.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored Wales and the League of Nations between 1918 and 1945. It has argued that, despite its ultimate failure as an international institution, the League had a profound impact on interwar Welsh society. It was numerically the biggest social activist movement in Wales that had the largest female membership of any women's organisation of the interwar period. The Welsh LNU had branches across Wales that signalled its widespread national membership base. The support for branches illustrated that Welsh people genuinely wanted to support the League and its attempts to preserve peace. In 1929, the Welsh LNU's membership of its adult branches totalled 1.62 percent of the total Welsh adult population. Its work inspired a social activist culture that resulted in local branches playing a prominent part in community activism. However, such interest was not sustained constantly throughout the period. Branch activity was sporadic. While some branches operated all year, the majority of activism was fixated on certain times of the year, such as Armistice Day or Daffodil Day. The work of the reorganisation committee and the Peace Ballot as a national initiative was required to revive those branches where support had declined in the late 1920s and 1930s.

The thesis has also shown the importance of noting the success of the Welsh LNU in the context of the League's activities on an international level. The Welsh LNU's work depended on the League's ability to achieve its objectives. During the 1920s, Welsh communities generally viewed the League positively. However, uncertainty in the League's ability started to creep in during the 1920s. It was exacerbated by the growing international uncertainty of the early 1930s, where the failure to deal with international events resulted in growing differences of opinion that tarnished the reputation of the LNU and caused its membership to decline.¹ As was seen in chapter six, there was a growing number of dissatisfied voices in the Welsh LNU's organisational hierarchy. Ultimately, when the League appeared unable to deal with international events, the Welsh LNU's support networks declined as people did not agree with the League's actions and were disappointed

¹ Zara Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History 1919-1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 750.

in its inability to perform its functions. The correlation, therefore, negatively impacted the Welsh LNU. It demonstrated that the Welsh LNU's activities were indicative of the status of the League as an institution.

This study has unearthed evidence that challenges the historical narrative of Wales being a 'peaceful nation'.² The Welsh LNU's membership base was predominately composed of individuals who looked to the League to promote international cooperation and avoid future wars. Yet, the League's core opinion of supporting war as a final resort appealed to the Welsh population. It gave members a sense of assurance that force could be used as a final resort. In contrast, those pacifist groups who were all out opponents of war were numerically small and remained on the fringes of interwar Welsh society. The Welsh LNU's membership figures vastly outnumbered membership of pacifist organisations, showing that a larger proportion of Welsh society favoured its policies. Ultimately, a study of the Welsh LNU has presented interwar Wales as a pacifist, not pacifist, nation.

This thesis has highlighted that the Welsh LNU had the ability to present internationalism in numerous ways to appeal to different groups of society. Society was generally informed of its responsibility to support the League to prevent another global conflict that would cause unimaginable consequences. The Welsh LNU's promotional messages to Christian groups linked Christian doctrine and language of 'goodwill' and 'brotherhood' to the ideals of the League. It drew a natural link between the two causes. Similarly, women saw the Welsh LNU as providing them with the opportunity to promote the League's cause and a way of continuing their activism that stemmed from the suffrage movement. In such instances, some women saw their involvement through the lens of motherhood. In turn, the Welsh LNU appealed to women to support the League on the grounds of motherhood. However, as the third chapter has argued, while this was the message at a public level, women had similar motivations to men in their interaction with the League. The importance of internationalism is also related to the concept of

² Aled Eirug, *The Opposition to the Great War in Wales 1914-1918* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018); Linden Peach, *Pacifism, Peace and Modern Welsh Writing* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019). For debates between Pacifism and Pacificist see: Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 2-5.

creating 'world citizens'. Education occupied one of the most important areas of the Welsh LNU's work. In this area, the Welsh LNU wanted teachers to enhance children's perception of the world to create 'world citizens'. Therefore, the Welsh LNU adapted its promotional message to different groups of Welsh society to appeal to a range of people in different ways, showing it was effective in building support networks across Wales. This imposed responsibility on these groups to support the League's cause. Failure to do so would result in them bearing the consequences, which would be war.

More widely, this thesis has demonstrated that the Welsh LNU was a means through which national differences could be asserted. The Welsh LNU was driven by the desire for Wales to perform a unique role in the post-war international world. This was with the objective of presenting Wales as a progressive and modern country that was promoting itself as a main proponent of internationalism. The Women's Petition of Wales to the Women of America and the Memorial sent from Leaders of Religious Bodies in Wales to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America highlighted two examples where Welsh-based petitions were sent overseas to strengthen the cause of internationalism. The Goodwill Message of the Children of Wales to the World showcased the ability of Wales to create 'world citizens' by engaging with pupils inside and outside of Wales. These three examples mentioned were evidence of the League being promoted by Wales, not Britain. Using a national symbol to promote the League, in respect of Daffodil Day, signalled that the Welsh LNU was using a national symbol to form a distinctive avenue for promoting internationalism. These examples exhibit the fruitfulness of adopting a national perspective to understand the international element of the League's work. This thesis has shown the multifaceted interactions between national and international factors. The significance of such examples has been lost in wider British narratives.

A study exploring the Welsh LNU has also explained patterns of voluntarism in Welsh society. It has highlighted that the Welsh LNU promoted a voluntarist culture that had national and international characteristics. This was deeply-rooted in branch activity and most prominent with branch members that frequently organised activities. While branch activity might have shown a certain section of the

population engaging in its work, a larger proportion were involved with its broader initiatives, such as Daffodil Days, the Peace Ballot and Women's Petition. The scale of those involved across different areas of running these initiatives, highlighted the willingness of Welsh society to welcome the voluntarist nature of activities that promoted international causes. Therefore, Welsh society embraced the League and were willing to commit to causes that prompted the League.

Moreover, the Welsh LNU had a lasting impact on society, as some of its initiatives still exist today. The most prominent being the continuation of the Goodwill Message of the Children of Wales to the World. Following the end of the Second World War, the message was adopted by Ifan ab Owen Edwards and the Urdd Gobaith Cymru, a Welsh medium youth organisation. Throughout the twentieth century, the message discussed numerous topics of its day, such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and different humanitarianism initiatives.³ In recent years, the message's focus has included the environment, women's rights and ending violence against young people.⁴ Unlike the interwar period, young people in Wales contribute a prominent role in writing the message; therefore, compared to the interwar version, it is more representative of their opinions. While the overall messages might have switched from discussing the League and world peace, the message is still worded towards young people in Wales and around the world. It spreads awareness and accommodates, albeit indirectly, the spirit and objectives of Gwilym Davies and the Welsh LNU by drawing awareness of international affairs and encouraging people to work together for a better future. This reveals that the Welsh LNU's initiatives, while developing to reflect contemporary issues, continue to engage young people about global issues.

A thesis exploring Wales and the League has been produced at a time when Wales, as a country, is considering its role on the international stage. In 1997, devolution in Wales resulted in the Welsh Government taking control of devolved

³ For examples see: People's Collection of Wales/ Casgliad Y Werin Cymru (PCW), *The Message of Peace and Goodwill of the Children of Wales, 1974*, <<https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/521975>> [accessed 20 April 2022]; PCW, *The Message of Goodwill of the Children of Wales, 1982*, <<https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/502999>> [accessed 20 April 2022].

⁴ Urdd Gobaith Cymru, *Peace and Goodwill Message*, <<https://www.urdd.cymru/en/peace-and-goodwill/>> [accessed 20 April 2022].

areas, such as education, health and transport. Since devolution, there has been a growing determination to see Wales on the world stage on its own accord and not part of Britain. In 2018, the Labour government at the Senedd created a Minister for International Relations whose focus was to promote Wales internationally. Looking back at Welsh history, as this project does, shows that Welsh internationalism is not something to have gathered strength since devolution in 1997. Instead, it shows that Wales has a history of embracing internationalist ideals and organisations. Situating the Welsh LNU at the heart of this study has allowed for an opportunity to reflect on the impact of Welsh internationalism. Ultimately, at a time Wales is evaluating its role in the world, this thesis has broadened historical knowledge of Wales on the world stage. The Welsh LNU was the first organisation with a popular support base to promote Wales internationally.

While this is the first comprehensive study of the Welsh LNU, its findings have certain shortcomings. It has exhausted numerous sources to make assertions about the LNU's membership base and branches. However, due to the limited nature of primary sources, it has been difficult to make concrete assertions in some cases. The release of the 1921 census during the latter stages of this project and the growing digitisation of the League of Nations Archives provide opportunities for future research to establish more links between grassroots activism and the upper spheres of the Welsh LNU's organisational hierarchy.⁵ These could also reveal more about perspectives towards the League in areas where support was smallest, such as Radnorshire and Brecknockshire.

This thesis acts as a template for studies that want to research the social and cultural elements of the League. It gives substance to taking an individual country, such as Wales, and assessing how the League was conceptualised and promoted. It is hoped that future work will explore different countries' intersections with the League. The similarities and differences can be compared with the Welsh model. This could be particularly fruitful in other countries that were members of the League, such as France, Italy and Germany, and also in areas of such as South Tyrol, Catalonia or the Basque region, like Wales, which have their regional differences

⁵ The digital archive can be accessed by viewing: United Nations Geneva, *League of Nations Archives*, <<https://archives.ungeneva.org/lontad>> [accessed 16 September 2022].

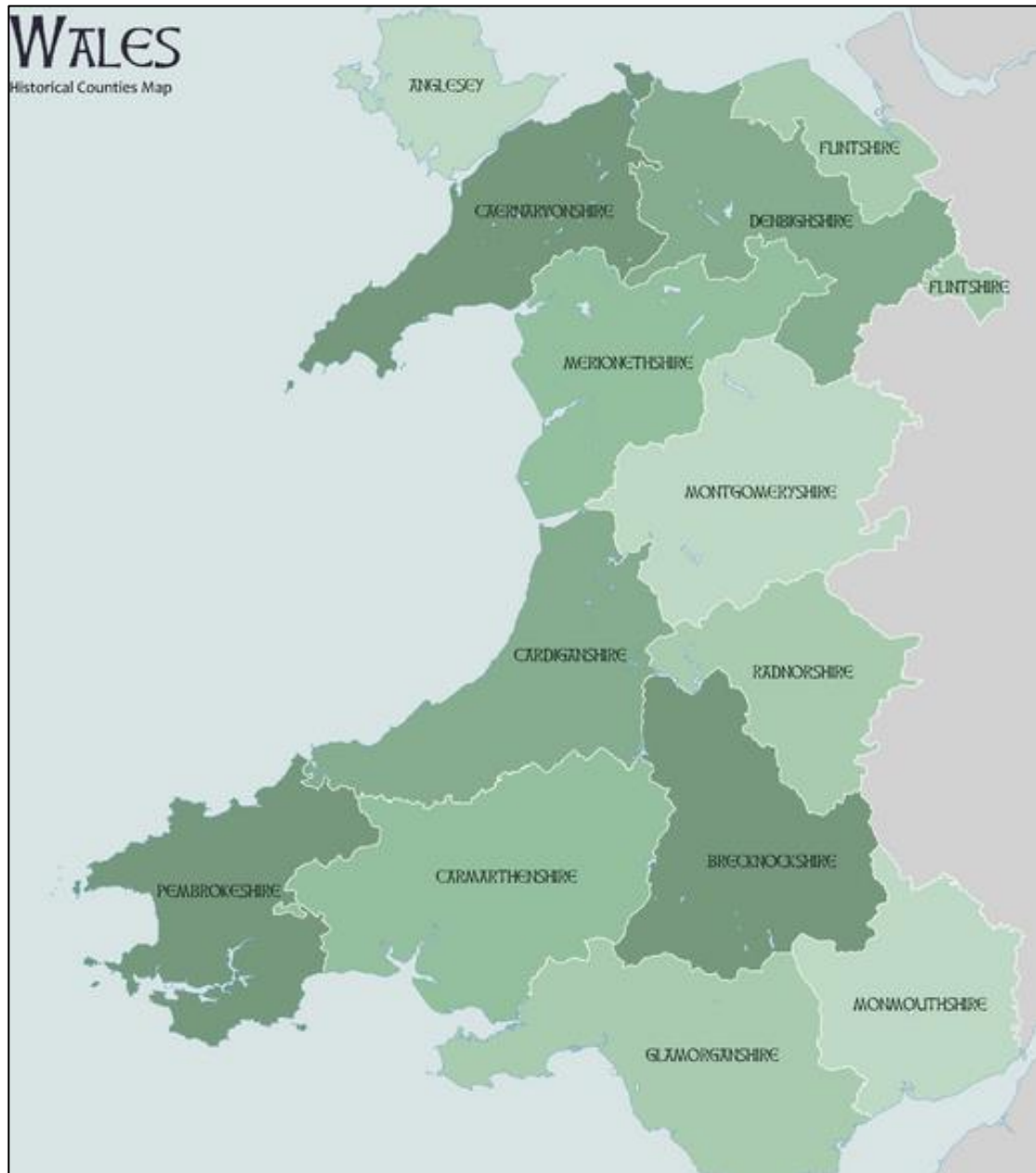
alongside the broader countries of who they are part. Moreover, it is anticipated that the Welsh LNU can be assessed more frequently and included in an increased number of studies that research Wales. As the most prominent social activist organisation in interwar Welsh society, it deserves more coverage in studies exploring Wales during the interwar period.

Consequently, a thesis researching the history of the League in Wales has offered a nuanced perspective of the Welsh LNU. It has addressed the imbalance of literature by revealing that the Welsh LNU deserves its own stand-alone study. In addition, the thesis has scrutinised the League's place in Wales, showing that it featured in society and had a vigorous network of supporters away from its Geneva headquarters.

Appendices

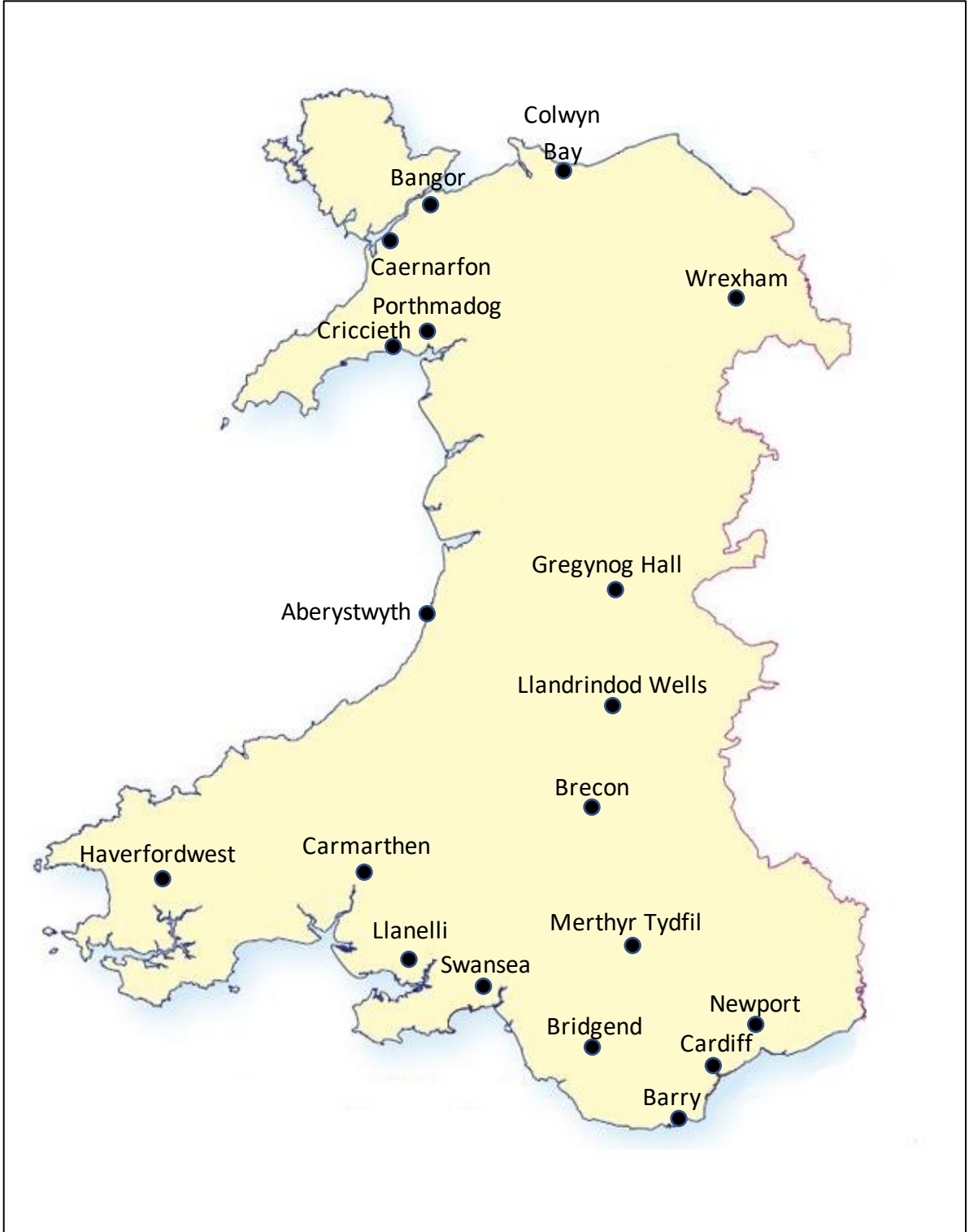
Appendix 1

Map of Wales by county.



Appendix 2

Map of key locations in Wales.



Appendix 3

Map of Welsh LNU branches located across Wales (1918-1945).



Appendix 4

Presidents of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union, 1922-1945.

1922-1923	David Davies M.P. (Chairman).
1923-1924	David Davies M.P. (President).
1924-1925	The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of St. Davids (John Owen).
1925-1926	Annie Hughes-Griffiths.
1926-1927	Henry N. Gladstone (Lord-Lieutenant of Flintshire).
1927-1928	Rev. H. Elvet Lewis M.A.
1928-1929	Sir Harry R. Reichel, M.A., LL.D.
1929-1930	Rev. Principal Maurice Jones, D. D.
1930-1931	David Davies, M. P.
1931-1932	Sir J. Herbert Cory, Bart.
1932-1933	Mr Thos. E. Purdy, J.P., C.C.
1933-1934	Dr. Frederick Llewellyn- Jones, M.P.
1934-1935	Mr. E. H. Jones, M.A.
1935-1936	Rt. Hon. Lord Davies.
1936-1937	Mr Dudley Howe, J.P., C.C.
1937-1938	The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. (William Havard)
1938-1939	The Rt. Hon. Lord Baron David Davies
1939-1945	Dr. Arthur T. Jones

Appendix 5

List of recipients of the Geneva Scholarship Scheme, 1928-1939.

Year	Name	School
1928	J. Alun Emlyn Davies	Ruabon Grammar School
	Ethel E. Havill	Abergavenny Girl's Intermediate School
	Gwyneth M (Mary) Williams	Colwyn Bay Secondary School
	Gwyneth V (Vera) Perkins	Pontypridd Girls' Intermediate School
1929	Rachel M. M. Rees	Pentre Secondary School, Rhondda
	Nesta W. Llewelyn	Llanelly Girls' County School
	Nest Gwili Jenkins	Bangor Girls' County School
	William F. G. Hutchings	Tredegar County School.
1930	Glyn Edmund Daniel	Barry Boys' County School
	Aubrey Vivian Jones Hinds	Jones' West Monmouth School, Pontypool.
	Ellis Wynne Williams	Llangollen County School
	Gwilym Owen Williams	Llanberis County School
	Gwynfor Evans	Barry Boys' County School
1931	John H. Habakkuk	Barry Boys' County School
	William B. Hopkin	Barry Boys' County School
	Trevor Lewis	Ammanford County School
	Robert H. Parry	Mold County School
1932	Barrie N. Davies	Barry Boys' County School
	Harold Davies	Wrexham County School for Boys
	Montague P. (Philip) Solomon	Newport (Monmouthshire) High School for Boys

1933	Audrey E. Jenkins	Pontypridd Intermediate School for Girls, Treforest
	Mary G. Jones	Porth County School for Girls
	Gerald E. S. Nolan	Newport (Monmouthshire) High School for Boys
	Robert W. Edwards	Hawarden County School, Flintshire
1934	Bert P Jones	Newport (Mon) High School for Boys
	Norman J. Lamb	Holywell County School
	Ronald A. Morris	Llangollen County School
1935	Edeila Wynne Jones	Festiniog County School
	Aline Eirlys Kyte	Howell's School, Llandaff
	Philip Gwyn Morris	Alun County School, Mold
	John Hewitt Rowley	Llanfyllin County School
1936	Shirley Patricia Jenkins	Pontypridd Intermediate School for Girls
	Haydn Wally Jones	Tredegar County School
	Dewi Watkin Powell	Penarth County School for Boys
	Joan Stockbridge Thomas	Hawarden County School
1937		
	Peter Stephen Leinthal Laycock	The King Henry VIII Grammar School, Abergavenny.
	Sarah Glenys Morgan	The County School for Girls, Neath
	Raymond Henry Williams	The King Henry VIII Grammar School, Abergavenny
1938	Godfrey E. Hicks	Newport (Monmouthshire) High School for Boys

	David Hugh Evans	The County School, Llandovery
	J. Eryl Hall- Williams	The County School for Boys, Barry.
	Enid E.C. Lewis	The Intermediate School for Girls, Pontypridd
1939		
	James F. B. Bushell	Newport (Monmouthshire) High School for Boys
	Kathleen B. Rees	The County High School for Girls, Abergavenny.

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GB 0210 LDDNAM: Lord Davies of Llandinam Papers

GB 0210 TIELLIS: T. I. Ellis and Mari Ellis Papers

Hawarden, Flintshire Record Office (FRO)

GB 0208 D/L: Sir J (John) Herbert Lewis MSS Collection

London, London School of Economics Library Archive (LSE)

LNU: League of Nations Union Collection

WEBSTER: Webster, Sir, Charles Kingsley (1886-1961); Knight, historian and diplomat

Swansea, West Glamorgan Archive Service (WGAS)

SL WL: Swansea War Library Collection

D/D Z 849/33: Papers relating to Pontarddulais

E/Dyn Sec: Dynevor School, Swansea Records

D/D T: Catalogue of the Tennant Family Papers

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Pioneer

Pontypridd Observer

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Seren Cymru

Sheffield Telegraph

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Vote

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