

Plaid Cymru, Welsh nationalism and Christianity – a historical perspective

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Wales was once known as the 'land of revival' but now Wales is as secular as any other country in Western Europe. Many people today, including many Welsh people, know nothing of the role Christian leaders and thinkers had in the shaping and forming of modern Wales. The history of Welsh nationalism and, specifically, the role of Christianity in it, is a hidden mystery to the world as the vast majority of source material is only available in the Welsh language. This article offers a brief overview of the historical link between Welsh identity and Christianity up until the present day, with the aim of explaining the Christian roots and values of Plaid Cymru.

Introduction

Anthony D. Smith, one of the foremost authorities on nationalism, notes that the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder and the French anti-revolutionary cleric Abbé Augustin de Barruel were the first to use the term 'nationalism' in a socio-political context, towards the end of the eighteenth century. The term had entered the English vocabulary by 1836. Interestingly, this took place in a theological context during a discussion of the idea that some nations had been chosen by divine order.¹ The term started to be used in Welsh by 1858.² This reminds us that nationalism, if not itself a modern phenomenon, certainly is a discourse belonging to very recent history. But history teaches us that one must search for the existence of a phenomenon before it comes to fruition and before accepted terminology and coherent paradigms are devised to guide discussion about it.

Historical Background

In the article I will work with the definition of a 'nation' as a people with a common history, culture, and in most cases, language and a feeling of ownership of a particular place or land. In the modern world, the existence of and role played by national institutions as guardians, developers and advocates of these different national characteristics is also important. Such institutions can be legal, educational, cultural and – of particular relevance for our discussion – religious. Of all these institutions the most powerful and influential is the state. Any definition of what constitutes a nation must, however, be kept flexible since not all characteristics noted here are true in every context; they are only *possible* characteristics. For example, there are many nations in the world that have no state of their own and some states, like the United Kingdom, include several nations. Wales is an example of a stateless nation. Not only that, but also almost all of its national institutions are fairly young. The University of Wales was established in 1893, the National Library and National Museum only received their royal charter in 1907 and only in 1997 did Wales receive a degree of autonomy when it voted by the smallest of margins to establish a devolved Welsh Assembly. The only Welsh institutions that have a long history are the churches. Because of the absence of any other kind of national institutions, it is the churches that, until fairly recently, have played a pivotal role as guardians and advocates of Welsh national sentiment, as the following discussion will show.

Most Welsh historians agree that the seeds of the Welsh nation are rooted far back in history. In response to theorists who argued that the Welsh nation was only the imaginings of modern Welsh nationalists, R. Tudur Jones (whose work and influence we will discuss at some length in this paper) argued in his book *The Desire of Nations*:

'The Welsh nation emerges from the mist of antiquity and for love of it and out of concern about it, its sons and daughters embrace Nationalism. There is then a story of development. Those manifold elements that contribute towards the being of the nation can be traced as they grow and gather strength. The complexity of nationhood unfolds as the generations pass by.'³

According to J. E. Caerwyn Williams, Welsh identity can be traced back to the origins of the Welsh language in the sixth century.⁴ Geraint H. Jenkins, a chief Welsh historian, believes that in the period between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Normans, Wales saw important developments that cemented Wales as a distinct people and nation. During this period political principalities were formed and Hywel Dda famously codified a common law in Wales:

'At a time when political and administrative unity was at a premium, the Welsh laws symbolised the otherness of Wales and provided a robust, Welsh-language jurisprudential substructure of government. By any reckoning, the codification of the Welsh laws was a defining moment in the history of Wales.'⁵

This was the period that saw the Welsh language firmly establishing itself and the 'Welsh Saints' actively establishing cells throughout Wales. These two important Welsh characteristics – the Welsh language and the Christian faith – thus initially developed side by side.

The now iconic story from the Norman period is that of 'The Old Man of Pencader' who, according to Geraldus Cambrensis, sent a defiant message to Henry II, King of England:

'My Lord king, this nation may now be harassed, weakened and decimated by your soldiery, as it has so often been by others in former times; but it will never be totally destroyed by the wrath of man, unless at the same time it is punished by the wrath of God. Whatever else may come to pass, I do not think that on the Day of Direst Judgement any race other than the Welsh, or any other language, will give answer to the Supreme Judge of all for this small corner of the earth.'⁶

What is striking about this document is that the 'Old Man of Pencader' saw a clear connection between the preservation of the Welsh language and identity, on one hand, and that of the Welsh's responsibility before God, on the other. Here we see Welsh identity and the Christian faith getting even more closely intertwined. During the following centuries this relationship became so close that people believed that there was something essentially religious about the character of the Welsh. Tudur Jones noted in his magnum opus, *Faith and the Crisis of a Nation*, that 'Christianity and Welsh-language culture were joined so closely that not even a wizard could discern the seam.'⁷ This point is reiterated by Glanmor Williams who said: 'Of all the associations between religion and social value in Wales, the most intriguing and longest lasting has been that between religion and nationality. From the outset, the Christian religion seemed to be part of the essence of Welshness.'⁸

By the time of the Protestant Reformation this narrative was further upheld through the influence of Bishop Richard Davies and his 'Epistol at y Cembrau' (Epistle to the Welsh) which was included as an introduction to the first Welsh translation of the New Testament in 1567. In his Epistle, Bishop Davies taught that the Christian faith had reached the Welsh directly through the hand of Joseph of Arimathea. Further, he argued that the Gospel was preserved in its purity by the Old Britons and thus escaped the influence of Rome. Bishop Davies's objective in his Epistle was to convince the Welsh that the new reformed faith that arrived in Wales on the crest of the Protestant Reformation was not a new foreign idea, but rather a reconnection to their Celtic Augustinian past. Tudur Jones said of Bishop Davies's contribution: 'The history is hardly convincing but the legend commended Anglicanism to the Welsh people and gave them a dramatic historical role.'⁹

The following century saw Welsh Puritan leaders, such as Morgan Llwyd and Vavasor Powell, playing an influential role in the overthrow of Charles I and then Cromwell's Republic. One of the outcomes of these developments was the passing of the *Act for the better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales* in 1650.¹⁰

This Act, according to Puritan historian Thomas Richards, turned Wales into '[a] venue of a great theocratic experiment as a preparation for the rule of the Saints.'¹¹ What is significant about this Act is that it treated Wales as a separate unit – the Act entrusted Wales to practice its own religious policy – a sort of autonomy in religious matters.¹²

By the eighteenth century some of the Methodist Fathers, such as Gruffydd Jones of Llanddwror and Hywel Harris, started to see the pending dilemma of having to choose to conduct daily life in Welsh or English as a question of faith. Hywel Harris said in his diaries following a visit to Pembrokeshire, a more anglicised part of Wales: 'I pleaded with the Welsh not to forget their own language and swallow the English pride and language. I told them that God was a Welshman, and he could speak Welsh, and had told many Welshmen [in Welsh] in the past that their "Sin was forgiven".'¹³ According to R. Geraint Gruffydd, what Harris was trying to say here was that the Welsh should not attempt, out of pride, to be someone different to what God created them to be. Tudur Jones held a similar interpretation of the relationship of faith and national identity:

'... his [Gruffydd Jones] nationalism is grounded in the Bible, giving his work and writing solidity and vitality. This becomes very clear in his understanding of Providence. Providence has not lost its dynamic and creative meaning. For him it would be blasphemy to proclaim that everything that is was right. It would be un-Biblical foolishness to pronounce that circumstances render us helpless and that the only thing we should do is sit down on our hands and whisper that 'It's better this way!' For Gruffydd Jones Providence is not static. Neither was it to John Calvin, John Penry, Walter Cradoc nor Vavasor Powell. Providence is what God wills. Men, on the other hand, out of their pride try and follow a path that moves in opposite ways to God's will. What is the duty of God's soldiers in face of this reality? The answer is simple and clear – to fight.'¹⁴

Although perhaps a minority view at the time, Tudur Jones believed that Gruffydd Jones was saying that letting the Welsh language and Welsh identity wither away in the name of a superficial internationalism was a similar sin to the transgression of the people of Babel in Genesis 11. Unity in diversity was God's plan for creation but the men of Babel and as the Methodist Fathers feared, also the Welsh, were forgetting this and moving towards a bland uniformity. Because Christianity was so dominant in Welsh culture and because the Welsh language was the medium used to communicate the Gospel, it became commonplace to see the safeguarding of Christian witness in Wales and the safeguarding of the Welsh language as inseparable. This led some Christian leaders by the end of the nineteenth century, such as Michael D. Jones and Emrys ap Iwan, to see the battle to save the Welsh language as a battle to maintain Christian witness in Wales. Nonconformist Radicals such as Gwilym Hiraethog went as far as saying that 'nothing would be more pleasing to Satan than to find you sleeping He would love to see our old language die hastily, in the hope that the Evangelical religion would die with it; that indeed has already happened in parts of our country'.¹⁵

But Rees Griffiths noted that, until the nineteenth century, the prevailing thought amongst Welsh Congregationalism, like most other Christian traditions in Wales, was that 'it would be wiser if the churches limited their activities to those of the altar and not to meddle at all with the state and social questions'.¹⁶ This was partly because of the nonconformist traditional belief in the separation of church and state but it also came from a somewhat limited theological understanding of the breadth of Christ's lordship over creation. But Michael D. Jones's generation began to see their political efforts and activities as a part of the fullness of Gospel witness. For example, Hiraethog argued that the Bible provided more than enough guidance for Christians to engage with political matters:

'... our Bible is overflowing with political scenarios; if we must take politics out of our places of Worship, then we must take the Bible out also – the politics of this world is in this book. You would be surprised what is said in it about the poor, the destitute and the needy – the Bible is the Bible of the poor in a very particular way.'¹⁷

Michael D. Jones argued in 1887 that, 'It's time we put to side the idea that religion is only interested in the next world The Lord's prayer reads, "Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven." We need to strive towards a small heaven on earth, as an earnest of the superior heaven that's beyond the stars....'¹⁸

In his famous sermon, *Y Ddwy Alwedigaeth (The Two Vocations)*, Emrys ap Iwan challenges passive pietism: 'We must not think, like the old Methodists, Puritans and some Catholics, that we can only seek Godliness outside our earthly vocation.'¹⁹ He condemns some Christians for restricting godliness to directly religious matters such as Sabbath observance and personal devotion. He argues that all earthly things, including language and culture, have some kind of divine origin. 'If we trace the arts to its origin we find that the Creator is their father'. For ap Iwan, God is not only the God of Salvation, he is also Lord of civilisation. 'If God is the source of the arts then he is also their purpose ... every vocation is practiced to bring glory to him.'²⁰ The tone and world-view set by this generation of proto-Nationalists, who were also Christian thinkers, set the scene for future developments. This rhetoric and narrative, created by Christian leaders in the nineteenth century, set the scene for modern-day Nationalism in Wales. The tone of the narrative also ensured that Christian leaders would be in a position of influence as the movement grew and developed in the twentieth century.

Theology of nationalism

Before proceeding further, let me make this important assertion: nationalism cannot be endorsed uncritically from a Christian point of view. Depending on its nature it can be condemned or redeemed. It is obvious to all that it can become an idol, especially when associated with other ideologies like fascism and imperialism. This kind of nationalism, of which the extreme version was Nazi Germany and a lesser version Colonial expansionism, brings to view the worst kind of structural sin. But if it is redeemed and practised in light of, and held subordinate to, Christ's Lordship, it may not only be tolerated by Christians but also be embraced as a means to safeguard and nurture the kind of humanity and creation God had intended from the beginning – the beauty of a humanity showing unity in diversity.

Plaid Cymru was established in 1925 and one of its earliest members was J. E. Daniel. Daniel was the theologian credited for bringing neo-orthodoxy to Wales. He rose to be a prominent leader of Plaid Cymru, serving as Vice-President by 1930 and as President from 1939 to 1943. Daniel argued that God did not create man as an isolated individual but as a *social* being and that one of the social circles God ordained for man was the nation. To Daniel, the nation, like the family, belonged to the order of creation.²¹ The ideas of Daniel were developed and carried forward by the most prominent of the second generation of Christian leaders who gave Plaid Cymru ideological direction – notably the already mentioned R. Tudur Jones. Tudur Jones, a prominent church leader, was the Principal of Bala-Bangor Theological Seminary and in his later years he served as President of the Union of Welsh Independents, Moderator of the Free Churches Council of England and Wales, and the Honorary President of the Evangelical Alliance in Wales. He served Plaid Cymru as Vice-President between 1957 and 1962 and was editor of the party's English newspaper, *The Welsh Nation*, between 1952 and 1964 and of its Welsh newspaper *Y Ddraig Goch* between 1964 and 1973. As an unapologetic Calvinist, Tudur Jones insisted on grounding his nationalism on solid Christian theology.

According to Tudur Jones culture was man-made, but man-made in obedience to God's call for man to be a cultural being. In his 1979 paper *Christian Nationalism*, he made it perfectly clear that he believed that man rather than God created nations: 'God did not create nations', he said, 'God created man and man formed nations.'²² We might pose the question whether, as a Calvinist, we might have expected him to have held the view that God through his divine sovereignty and providence gave birth to the nations. But Tudur Jones held that nation-building was a divinely-given cultural task: man created nations but this source of cultural ingenuity can be traced back to God himself. Cultural endeavour is a gift given to man from God. Thus nations come to be as a result of this creative and dynamic relationship between God and man:

'Man has work to do as a responsible being. And yet, in his covenant, God commits himself to man. In this sense, a Christian nation is both the work of man and the work of God. Nations did not appear at the time of creation – they have emerged during the course of history. But still, like all other communities, they cannot defy the orderly structures of God's creation. They too are subject to God's beneficent law. In that sense, nations have a relationship of a fundamental kind with God's work as creator. It is a simplification to talk as though nations were created by God quite apart from human effort.'²³

Man created the Welsh nation under the providence of God. It was this understanding that led Tudur Jones and other Welsh Christians to believe that the Welsh language, culture and the nation itself were things worth fighting to preserve. By the 1950s the Welsh language seemed to be in terminal decline and cases like Tryweryn, where a Welsh village was flooded in the 1960s to provide water for Liverpool despite all Welsh MPs voting against the plan, portrayed the British establishment as one that treated Wales with complete contempt. This socio-political backdrop led many Christians in Wales to see the need to politicise their already held cultural and theological conclusions.

Tudur Jones argued that the 'state should be a servant, to preserve order and to allow men to live the good life'. He goes on to explain that 'when the nation's life is in decline the state's responsibility is to defend and strengthen it'. But he then posed the question in relation to the British state: 'but what nation is the state to serve?' He believed that it was difficult if not impossible for one state to sponsor and defend more than one nation because he believed history teaches that 'one state can't serve two nations'.²⁴ He refused the assertion that the state was a neutral entity, for the state was formed with the 'presumptions and prejudice of those who formed it weighing heavily upon it'. Because the British state was formed mainly by the English, it is their presumptions and prejudice that dominated it also.

Tudur Jones therefore argued that 'without a sovereign state of its own a nation is bereft of the only body that can officially and formally act and speak in the name of the whole nation'.²⁵ 'The answer', he argued, 'was to establish a state where the sponsorship of the Welsh nation was her primary duty; the English and the Welsh's mistake over the generations has been their failure to identify this answer sooner'.²⁶ This would result in putting Wales, rather than England, at the heart of decision making in Wales. Politicians would be directly accountable to Wales in a way that was impossible as things stood. This new level of accountability and democracy would be a healthy development and would force the Welsh to take responsibility over their own fate. No longer could they throw the blame elsewhere; the Welsh nation would come of age. This mantra was Plaid Cymru's constitutional *raison d'être* – the call, if not for all-out independence, then certainly for a significant degree of self-government.

Unconstitutional, but nonviolent, politics

During the second half of the twentieth century, however, the Welsh Nationalist movement also developed an unconstitutional stream, in which Christians were also active and influential. Saunders Lewis was Plaid Cymru's first President. In the years following the second world war he was somewhat marginalised within the party because it was feared that his eccentricity deterred would-be supporters. In 1962 Lewis delivered an influential radio lecture *Tynged yr Iaith (The Fate of the Language)* which was interpreted as a scathing attack on the unsuccessful constitutional endeavours of Plaid Cymru and a call for the radicalisation of the party. As it transpired Plaid Cymru, by then under the leadership of Gwynfor Evans, held to its constitutional path and won its first Westminster seat in 1966. Despite Lewis's call falling on deaf ears within Plaid Cymru, some of his vision became reality with the establishment of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh Language Society).

The Welsh Language Society was established in 1962 and held its first protest in 1963. The society's main campaigns in the 1960s concentrated on equality for Welsh speakers in public life. By the 1970s they moved their attention to fields such as education and broadcasting, famously forcing the Thatcher government to do a U-turn over the establishment of a Welsh television channel in 1980. The Welsh Language Society's tactics involved nonviolent direct action and their members were routinely arrested and jailed. The protests varied from the simple refusal to pay taxes issued on English-only forms, removal of English-only road signs, and the breaking in to television studios and turning off of television transmitters in the 1970s.

Of special interest from a Christian perspective, and echoing the parameters set by Martin Luther King's civil rights movement, is how the Society maintained a nonviolent stance and resisted calling on Welsh people to engage in violent methods. I believe that the reason for this can be traced to the fact that the Society was heavily influenced by its Christian members. This Christian influence played a major part in securing a

nonviolent approach to campaigning and making this a defining doctrine of the movement. Nonviolent direct action means acting in a way which respects life without hurting or abusing anyone. This means accepting full responsibility for all actions and being ready to face the consequences, including punishment if necessary. The ideal is no fist violence, no verbal violence, and no heart violence. It is emphasised to all members that they should not act out of reactionary feelings and should avoid contempt towards individuals within the authorities. Instead, the nonviolence principle urges members to act out of a desire for justice in a reasoned and calculated manner. Christians within The Welsh Language Society point to the New Testament example of Jesus Christ clearing the temple. Here there is no suggestion of violence against people; rather the tables are turned as a symbolic act. The life and teaching of Jesus Christ were seen as the foundations of nonviolent direct action for some Welsh nationalists: loving their enemies on the one hand, but not compromising on what they saw as an issue of moral rightness.

Plaid Cymru and the Welsh nationalist movement today

18 September 1997 was an important milestone for modern Welsh Nationalism. In the referendum held on that day Wales voted by the slimmest of majorities (Yes 50.3% / No 49.7%) in favour of a degree of self-government, realised in the Welsh National Assembly. In the Assembly's first election in 1999, Plaid Cymru exceeded all expectations and became the main opposition party. Not only did they poll well, but through winning in traditional Labour strongholds such as Islwyn and Rhondda, they prevented Labour from winning an overall majority. The age of coalition politics in Wales had arrived. Between 1999 and 2007 Wales saw a combination of minority Labour governments and Labour/Lib-Dem coalitions. But in 2007 Plaid Cymru entered coalition with Labour and became a governing party for the first time in its history. This was a major psychological change for Plaid Cymru. No longer could it see itself, or be seen, as a 'protest party', but was now a mainstream party and a serious player on the Welsh political landscape.

Devolution also brought new challenges to the unconstitutional arm of the Welsh nationalist movement. Wales was no longer governed entirely by a distant London government but rather also by the Welsh themselves. It had been relatively easy to gather sympathy and support for Welsh language campaigns that portrayed London governments as showing utter contempt for Welsh language and culture. But suddenly the game had changed and the decisions regarding Welsh language education and other matters were now being taken in Wales by Welshmen. Comrades had turned into compromisers overnight, especially after Plaid Cymru entered government in 2007.

Christians and Plaid Cymru

Plaid Cymru is known today as a party advocating progressive, green and left-leaning policies. Their vision is for a localised economy with an emphasis on having small to medium sized business as the backbone of the Welsh economy. Plaid Cymru's argument is that the large, one-size-fits-all approach, whether from the state or from big business, has never worked for the good of the Welsh economy and Welsh communities. Current leader Leanne Wood sets her challenge in her influential consultation paper *A Greenprint for the Valleys*: 'Together, can we build the foundations for the creation of a radically different economic infrastructure based on the values of co-operation, self-sufficiency and living within our means, both individually and ecologically?'²⁷

Although Wood is known as a self-confessed atheist, many Christians still feel that Plaid Cymru's vision harks back to those distinctive Christian values of community and helping the disadvantaged. In fact, many Plaid Cymru members today only see the aim of Welsh self-government as a means to an end. Many members' priority would be to see a fairer more progressive society in Wales and they turned to Plaid Cymru because they believed that Welsh self-government was the best way to achieve their economic and social goal for Wales. No longer is Welsh self-government seen as primarily a cultural and patriotic preference; rather it is seen as a pragmatic option to best deliver social justice in Wales. This echoes the view advocated by many 'Yes' supporters in the recent Scottish Referendum vote, in that it was primarily a difference of opinion of the best way to deliver social justice rather than only a sentiment of patriotism.

In other policy areas Plaid Cymru is known for its advocacy of secular liberal principles, as seen, for example, in its full support for same-sex marriage. Again, many Christians in Wales who uphold traditional teaching on marriage, citing the long-held nonconformist principle of the separation of church and state, do not see this as a problem. Many Christians in Wales supported the recent same-sex legislation bill on the grounds that it delivered marriage equality in the eyes of the state while still allowing churches to follow their own conscience. This position might be unfamiliar to some English readers but can be understood if you take into account Wales's relationship with the state and the established church. The Anglican Church in Wales gained independence from the Church of England and became a disestablished church in 1920. Even prior to this development the established Anglican Church in Wales was very much a minority in the land, holding little influence over Welsh speaking Wales. The church of the Werin Gymreig (Welsh Folk) was very much a nonconformist church, forged by a history of being Christian dissenters. It is in light of this background that one can begin to understand Christian attitude in Wales towards state and church separation. In Wales, otherwise than in England, many of our churches have never had a formal relationship with the state, so many Christians have no theological objection to the state following one path with regards to redefining marriage as long as the church is given freedom to go down its own path.

Finally, Plaid Cymru is a party which has long seen itself in the Christian pacifist tradition. Historically this has been problematic, since they held to a 'neutral' position in the second world war making themselves open to the accusation of having fascist sympathies. The accusation has no substance to it, as Richard Wyn Jones's recent book masterfully points out.²⁸ Today this pacifist emphasis is seen in Plaid Cymru's call to abandon plans to renew Trident. Again, this stand is supported by many Christians.

Conclusion

To close this article, I return to R. Tudur Jones who said that the brand of Christian nationalism he and Plaid Cymru advocate has a 'vision of community which holds out real promise for the future', and a vision that 'asks nothing for itself that it does not wish for others. It is surely along such path that the desire of the nations will be fulfilled'.²⁹

For further reading:

- R. Tudur Jones, *The Desire of Nations* (Christopher Davies, 1974).
- R. Tudur Jones, *Faith and Crisis of a Nation: Wales 1890-1914* (University of Wales Press, 2004).
- Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh and Their Religion* (University of Wales Press, 1991).

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- ¹ Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Blackwell, 2003), 5.
 - ² *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (University of Wales Dictionary).
 - ³ R. Tudur Jones, *The Desire of Nations* (Christopher Davies, 1974), 69.
 - ⁴ J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Twf Cenedlaetholdeb yng Nghymru'r Oesoedd Canol', in *Gwinllan a Roddwyd*, edited by Dewi Eurig Davies (Christopher Davies, 1972), 63.
 - ⁵ Geraint H. Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 49.
 - ⁶ Thomas Jones, ed., *Gerallt Gymro* (Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1938), 231-32.
 - ⁷ R. Tudur Jones, *Faith and Crisis of a Nation: Wales 1890-1914* (University of Wales Press, 2004).
 - ⁸ Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh and Their Religion* (University of Wales Press, 1991), 14.
 - ⁹ R. Tudur Jones, *The Great Reformation* (Inter-Varsity Press, 1985), 177.
 - ¹⁰ *An Act for the better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales, and redress of some Grievances*, 22 February 1650 (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=56383> Retrieved on 10 March 2015).
 - ¹¹ Thomas Richards, *The Puritan Movement in Wales, 1639-1653* (The National Eisteddfod Association, 1920), 184.
 - ¹² Gwyn Davies, *Golau Gwlad: Cristnogaeth yng Nghymru 200-2000* (Gwasg Bryntirion, 2002), 62-63.
 - ¹³ Quoted in R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Ein hiaith a'n diwylliant', in *Y Ffordd Gadarn – Ysgrifau ar Lên a Chrefydd gan R. Geraint Gruffydd*, E. Wyn James eds. (Gwasg Bryntirion, 2008), 97.
 - ¹⁴ R. Tudur Jones, 'Cenedlaetholdeb Cristion' in *Y Cylchgrawn Efengylaidd*, Volume 9, Issue 4 (1968), 96.
 - ¹⁵ *Adroddiad Cyfarfodydd Undeb yr Annibynwyr* (Caerfyrddin, 1872), 16. Quoted in R. Tudur Jones, 'Yr Eglwysi a'r Iaith yn Oes Victoria', in *Llên Cymru*, Volume 19 (1996), 165.
 - ¹⁶ *Hanes ac Egyddorion Annibynwyr Cymru* (Undeb yr Annibynwyr Cymraeg, 1939), 157.
 - ¹⁷ Gwilym Hiraethog, *Yr Amserau*, 23 Mehefin 1852.
 - ¹⁸ Michael D. Jones, 'Cymru Fu, a Chymru Fydd, II', *Y Celt*, 28 Hydref 1887.
 - ¹⁹ Emrys ap Iwan, 'Y Ddwy Alwedigaeth', in *Homiliau I*, edited by Ezra Robert (Gwasg Gee, 1907), 237-239.
 - ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 243.
 - ²¹ J. E. Daniel, 'Gwaed y Teulu' in *Torri'r Seiliau Sicr*, edited by D. Densil Morgan (Gomer, 1993), 167.
 - ²² R. Tudur Jones, 'Christian Nationalism', in *This Land and People*, edited by Paul H. Ballard and D. Huw Jones (Collegiate Centre of Theology, University College Cardiff, 1979), 76.
 - ²³ *Ibid.*, 85.
 - ²⁴ R. Tudur Jones, *Yr Annibynwyr a Humanlywodraeth i Gymru* (Jones and Son, Crown Printing Works, 1952), 5.
 - ²⁵ R. Tudur Jones, *The Desire of Nations*, 20.
 - ²⁶ R. Tudur Jones, *Yr Annibynwyr a Humanlywodraeth i Gymru*, 6.
 - ²⁷ Leanne Wood, *A Greenprint for the Valleys* (Plaid Cymru, 2011), 3.
 - ²⁸ Richard Wyn Jones, "Y Blaid Ffasgaidd yng Nghymru" – *Plaid Cymru a'r cyhuddiad o Ffasgaeth* (Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 2013).
 - ²⁹ R. Tudur Jones, *The Desire of Nations*, 207.