

The Ball is (Not?) Round: Sport in Welsh Culture

- Which (if any) sports do you follow?
- What are your feelings about sport?
- Why might sport be important to the study of history and heritage?

Imagined Communities, Invented Traditions

- What role might sport play in national identities and nationalism?
- How might sport involve *invented traditions* and the *imagining* of *community*?

Imagined Communities, Invented Traditions

How do you interpret these quotations:

“the imagined community of millions seems more real as **a team of eleven** named people.” (Eric Hobsbawm)

“Scotland has too many **ninety-minute patriots.**”
(Jim Sillars, Scottish National Party)

Imagined Communities, Invented Traditions

How applicable are these ideas to Wales:

“the imagined community of millions seems more real as **a team of eleven fifteen** named people.”

“~~Scotland~~ **Wales** has too many **ninety eighty-minute patriots**.”

How does Welsh rugby help imagine Wales's national identity and culture?

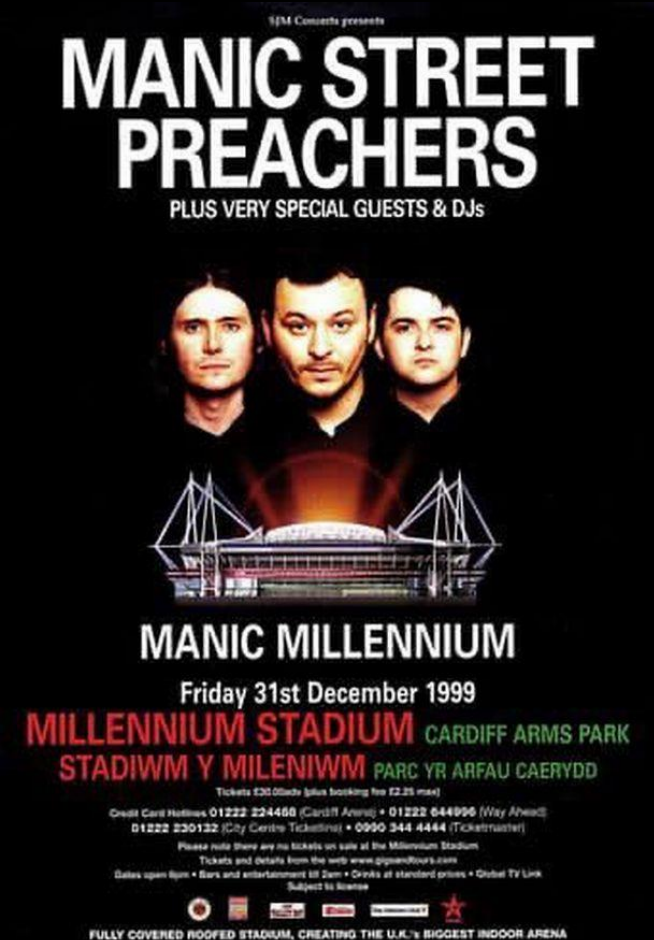
What type of Imagined Community is enacted at the Principality Stadium on matchday?





Cerys Matthews, lead singer of Catatonia, on stage during the Opening Ceremony of the Rugby World Cup, 1 October 1999

Welsh Devolution and Cool Cymru



Non-Wales Born Members of 2021 Wales 6 Nations Squad

1. WillGriff John (Plymouth, England)
2. Tomas Francis, (York, England)
3. Will Rowlands (London, England)
4. Jake Ball (Ascot, England)
5. Dan Lydiate (Salford, England)
6. Josh Macleod (Monte Carlo, Monaco)
7. Taulupe Faletau (Tofoa, Tonga)
8. Nick Tompkins (Sidcup, England)
9. Jonathan Davies (Solihull, England)
10. Johnny Williams (Western-Super-Mare, England)
11. Hallam Amos (Stockport, England)
12. George North (Kings Lynn, England)

Does the high volume of players born outside of Wales who represent the national team effect your understanding of rugby's status as a marker of Welsh identity?

Hallam Amos on Welsh Rugby

On 'exile' players 'I guess it's a sensitive issue for some people but it is part of the modern game now. If you are eligible, then you should have as much claim as anybody else'

highlighted the 'cultural diversity of the Welsh team' by alluding to Toby Faletau

- Gabriel Carroll and Alan Bairner, 'In from the Side: Exile International Rugby Union Players in Britain, Blood Ties and National Identities,' *National Identities* 21:4 (2019): 417–433.



Hallam Amos on Welsh Rugby

On early childhood in England: 'living in Manchester was never something I was familiar with'

Moved to South Wales and enjoyed 'proud identity within Welsh rugby' that existed at his school, which 'bred Welsh pride for all the rugby lads'

Explained that the wider symbolic attachments associated with Welsh rugby are 'suited' to his character and have moulded him into a 'fully-fledged Welshman'.



Gabriel Carroll and Alan Bairner, 'In from the Side: Exile International Rugby Union Players in Britain, Blood Ties and National Identities,' *National Identities* 21:4 (2019): 417–433.

Hallam Amos on Welsh Rugby

Amos claimed that, for Welsh players, team talks were often about the 'Welsh teams of old and the classic matches against England'

.... 'here seems to be something extra there, maybe a little bit more animosity or hostility when you're playing against the English. That makes me proud to be Welsh ... every Welsh rugby player wants to beat England'

Amos made it clear that he refers to himself as British rather than English thus capturing the ongoing 'Welsh rivalry' with England.



Gabriel Carroll and Alan Bairner, 'In from the Side: Exile International Rugby Union Players in Britain, Blood Ties and National Identities,' *National Identities* 21:4 (2019): 417–433.

How might association football (soccer) complicate understandings of Welsh national identity and heritage?

What did you make of the assigned listening for this week?

BBC Radio 4, 'In Wales the Ball is Round,' *Seriously* ... 9 June 2016



Case Study I:

Rugby in Late Victorian and Edwardian Wales

David L. Andrews, 'Welsh Indigenous and British Imperial? Welsh Rugby, Culture, and Society 1890—1914,' *Journal of Sport History*, 18:3 (Winter 1991): 335—349.

Gareth Morgan, 'Rugby and Revivalism: Sport and Religion in Edwardian Wales,' *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 22:3 (2005): 434—456.

Rugby in Late Victorian and Edwardian Wales

- Andrews and Morgan focus on the period (roughly) from 1880 to the First World War. What made this period a particularly significant era of Welsh history?
- In what ways did other social, political and cultural issues impact upon Welsh rugby during this era?

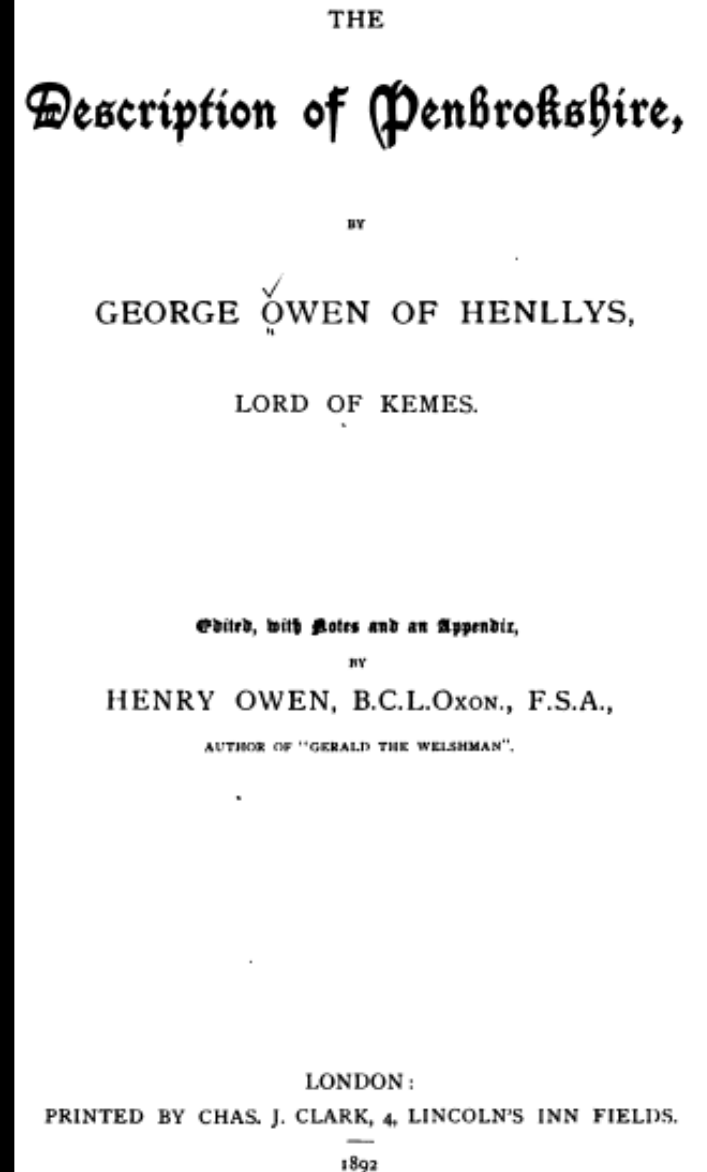
Rugby in Late Victorian and Edwardian Wales

David L. Andrews, 'Welsh Indigenous and British Imperial? Welsh Rugby, Culture, and Society 1890—1914,' *Journal of Sport History*, 18:3 (Winter 1991): 335—349.

- How do you interpret Andrews' title?
- What arguments can be made for the '*indigeneity*' of Welsh rugby? In what ways did rugby complement other elements of Welsh culture and national identity?
- Conversely, in what senses was Welsh rugby *imperial* in ethos?

Cnappan

The widespread rereading of George Owen's *Description of Pembrokeshire* [1603], published in standard form in 1892, also had a conspicuous influence upon the historical signification of rugby. Owen's account of south west Wales detailed a version of Tudor folk-football known as cnappan. The inherent similarities between rugby and cnappan, and indeed any other of the localized versions of folk football, provided many commentators with a direct line of historic Welsh descent for rugby.



Cnappan

Knappan.

But beinge drawne to speake of the exercife of the bodie, I cannott overpasse a game vsed in on parte³ of this sheere amonge the Welshmen both rare to heare, troblesome to discribe, and painefull to practife, yett for the rarietie thereof, I crave pardon to troble yow, and thoughe somewhat longe, yett as breife as I maye, This game is called *Knappan*⁴ and not vnfitlye as shalbe shewed, the game is thought to be of greate antiquitie, and is as followeth/

The ancient *Brittaines* beinge naturallie a warlicke nation did (noe doubt) for the exercife of their youth in tyme of peace, and to avoid Idlenes, devise games of activitie where eche man might shewe his naturall prowes and agillitie, as some for strengthe of the bodie, by wrastring, liftinge of heauey burthens, others for the arme as in castinge the barre, sledge, stone, or hurlinge the Bowle, or Ball, others that excelled in swiftnes of foote, to wyne the praife therein by runinge, and fuerlye for the exercife of the partes aforefaid this *Knappan* was prudentlye ^{invented}, had the same contynued without abuse thereof: for in it, beside the exercife of the bodielye strength it is not without resemblance of warlicke providence,⁵ as shalbe hereafter declared, and first before I describe you the playe, I will lett you knowe that this *Knappan* happeneth and falleth out to be by two meanes, the on is a fettled

FO 106b,
anc. 103b.

or standinge *Knappan*, the daie and place beinge knowne and ^syeerelye haunted¹ and observed, of these *Knappan* daies in *Penbrok-shere* there were wont to be fyve in nomber, the first at the *Burye*-²*sandes*, betweene the parishes of *Neuarne* and *Newport* upon shroft tewesdaie³ yeerely, The second at *Pontaynon*,⁴ on *Ester mondaie*, betweene the parishes of *Melyney* and *Eglosserow*, the thirde on Lowe *Esterdaye*⁵ at *Pwll dy* in *Penbedow*⁶ betweene the parishes of *Penrith* and *Penbedow*, the fourthe and fift was wonte to be at *S^t Meygans in Kemes*,⁷ betweene *Kemes* men of the on partie,

and *Emlyn* men, and the men of *Cardigan-shere* wth them of the other partie, the first vpon *Ascention daie* the other vpon *Corpus Christi* daie, and these ij last were the greate and mayne places,

Rugby, Anglicism and Elitism



150 LLAMBED
MAN GENI RYGBI YNG NGHYMURU
LAMPETER
THE BIRTHPLACE OF WELSH RUGBY

23/03/16

Diwrnod i ddathlu 150
mlwyddiant rygbi yng Nghymru

A day to celebrate the 150th
anniversary of rugby in Wales

 Prifysgol Cymru
Y Drenewdd Deall Sain
University of Wales
Trinity Saint David

www.uwtsd.ac.uk/rugby



Rugby in Late Victorian and Edwardian Wales

Gareth Morgan, 'Rugby and Revivalism: Sport and Religion in Edwardian Wales,' *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 22:3 (2005): 434—456.

- What was the 'revival' referred to in the title of Morgan's article?
- How did the revival interact with the culture of Welsh rugby (and vice versa)?

Welsh Christian Revival, 1904—1905



Evan Roberts
(1878–1951)

Welsh Christian Revival, 1904—1905



“ ... the movement held an appeal and excitement that was, ironically, comparable to the fervour of a carnival or sporting occasion.”
- Morgan, ‘Rugby and Revivalism,’ p. 437.



Welsh Christian Revival, 1904—1905

Revd W.D. Rowlands's description of Wales at the end of 19th century:

“Abounding worldliness, the idolatrous worship of Mammon, self indulgence, love of sport, were well nigh destroying the best and highest life of the church.”

- Rev W.D. Rowlands, 'The Revival at Llanelly – Minister's Impressions,' Llanelli Mercury, 22 December 1904. cited by Morgan 'Rugby and Revivalism,' p. 436.

Welsh Christian Revival, 1904—1905

Rugby football was badly affected [by the revival], with several village teams disbanded because their members had all been converted. Other teams found their choice of players, number of opponents and gate receipts severely limited as more and more rugby enthusiasts became embroiled in prayer. Supporters now ostentatiously tore up season tickets, burned jerseys and footballs, and preached against the game's sinful associations. Newspapers announced that this was a common occurrence across the country.

- Morgan 'Rugby and Revivalism,' p. 439.

Welsh Christian Revival, 1904—1905

At Moriah, in Loughor, a convert told how he 'used to be known by the devil as Ben Davies, the Aberavon fullback', which was echoed by Jenkin Thomas of Kenfig Hill: 'I used to play full back for the Devil but now I am forward for God.' Prize-fighters, footballers, amateur actors, card players and shopkeepers who had held beer licences all renounced their past ways.

- Morgan 'Rugby and Revivalism,' p. 439.

1905 and All That



Wales - Triple Crown winners - 1905

‘At two o’clock there was plenty of room in the Stand. People began talking about the revival, but they were quite wrong for in a few minutes later people poured in, in an irresistible stream.’

- *South Wales Daily Post*,
14 Jan 1905, cited by
Morgan, p. 450

TRIPLE CROWN

WALES WINS THE CHAMPIONSHIP.

RECORD: WALES, 12, IRELAND 7, DRAWN 1

Wales and Ireland met at Swansea to-day to decide the national championship. It was a great game, and the Welshmen gained a sensational triumph by—

WALES	G.	T.	Pos.
IRELAND	2	0	10
	0	1	3

Excluding to-day's match, Ireland has met Wales 20 times, and the record is—

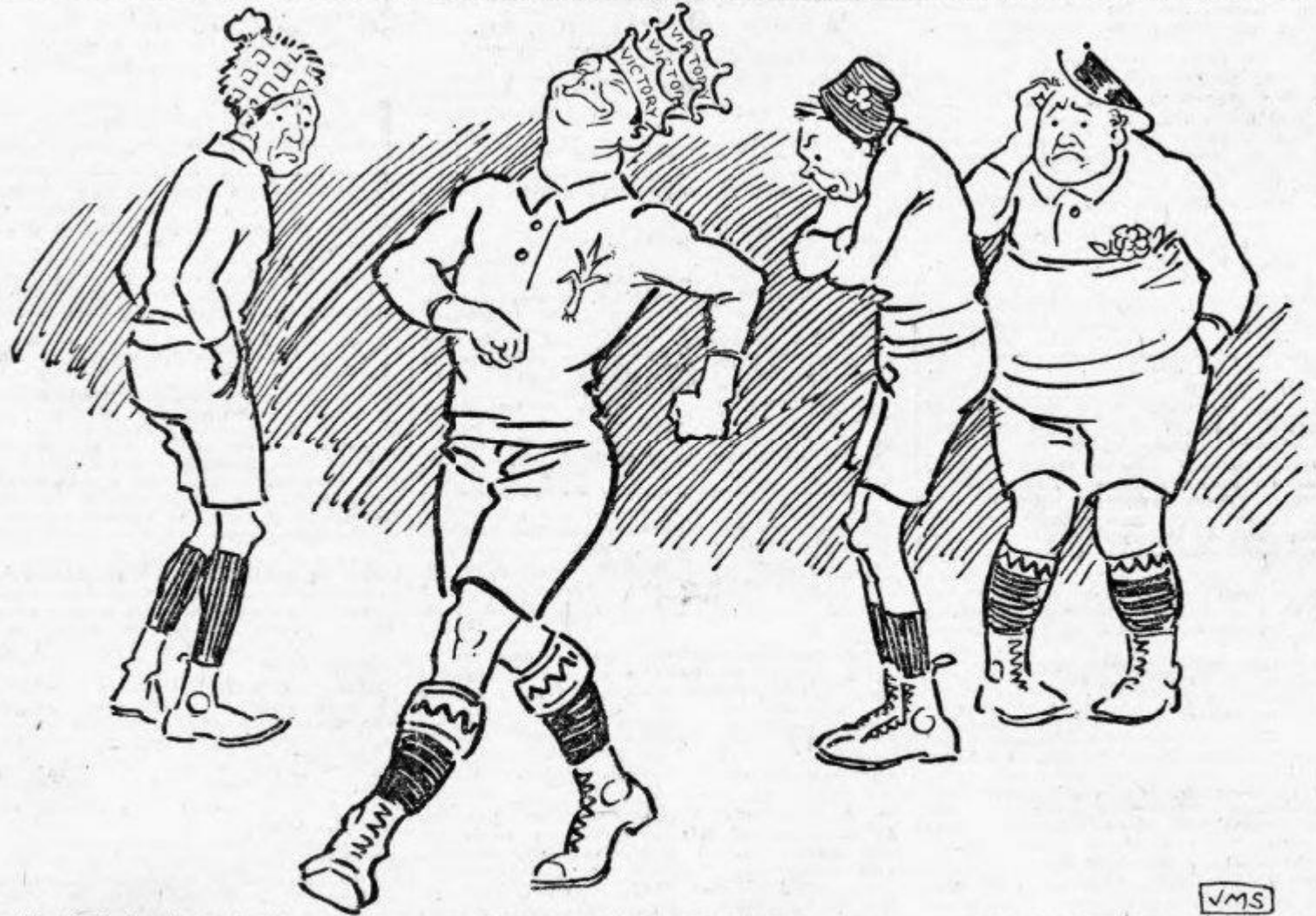
WALES	12
IRELAND	7
DRAWN	1

Two scoring in the decided games shows this total:—

WALES	0	T
IRELAND	12	10
	19	19

*Two dropped. *One dropped.

In the drawn game at Dublin in 1890 there was a score of one goal on each side.



See the Leek in glory strut!
Proud the figure he doth cut!
Sandy, Pat, and Mr. Bull
Each with gloom and envy full!
Twang the harp! penillion sing!

Let each bard a poem spring!
Let the goats their gambols throw!
Be each Welshman's cheek aglow!
Let the ancient language tell
To the world that all is well!

Is it peace? Why, yes, of course,
After all this tour-de-force!
Up with Jones of old renown!
Wales has won the Triple Crown!

VMS

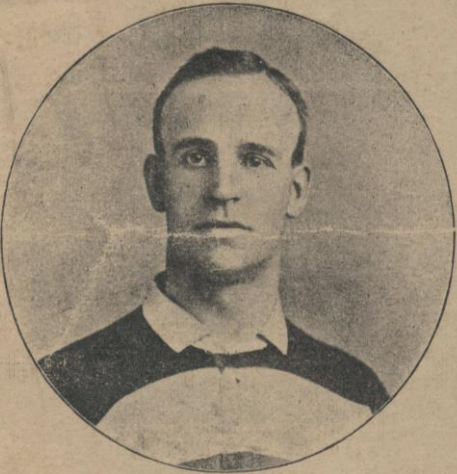
IDRIS

Evening Express
and Mail
(Cardiff), 11
March 1905, p. 2

A letter in the *South Wales Press* following the Scotland game told the remarkable story of one young convert who had not missed an international for 15 years, making the gruelling journey from South Wales while soberly keeping his spirits high via the pleasures of singing and cold tea. The correspondent initially met the fellow as he searched for a café – although ‘on previous visits to Scotland he had satisfied himself with such provender as public houses might afford, he now looked on “pubs” as nets spread by Satan’. However, meeting the righteous young man again in the ground, our correspondent recalls a marked change in countenance when Scotland took the lead. ‘The Welshmen forgot all about their revivals, and their language savoured of this world. . . . Then Wales scored the equalizing try, and when I looked down on my revivalist friend he was gripping a huge black bottle labelled somebody’s “Special”.’ The last this Scotsman saw of the man, he was slurring: ‘You’re all right in Scotland, if you only had the spirit of religion. . . . But your three- quarter play isn’t worth a damn.’”

- Morgan, p. 450—451.

International Football Match.



**NEW ZEALAND
v. WALES,**
AT CARDIFF, DEC. 16, 1905,
Kick-off at 2.30.

NAMES AND POSITIONS.

MR. GWYN NICHOLLS.

RESULTS OF
NEW ZEALAND v. WALES.
MR. FOLLICK
WILL RECEIVE
Special Telegrams from the
FOOTBALL FIELD
AT HALF-TIME, THREE-QUARTER TIME,
AND FULL TIME,
and will Exhibit same in his Window at
44, Holton Rd., Barry Docks.

‘On Saturday, all roads led to Cardiff. The tinsplater from “Sosban Fach”; the collier from the Rhondda; the “something at the docks” from Cardiff; the labourer from the country; the commercial man from the office. All sorts and conditions of men.’

- *Llanelly and County Guardian*, 21 Dec. 1905. Cited by Morgan, p. 542.



The Welsh team chose to sing ... *Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau* ("Land Of My Fathers") ... in response to the Haka ... Importantly, the first notable public airing of what was to become the Welsh anthem was in a rugby context; emphasizing the process whereby two strands of a burgeoning nationality were fused, positively affecting the common acceptance of both. Wales was rapidly acquiring a national anthem, national institutions, national emblems, national symbols, and a national game, all of which aided the consummation of the new nation.

- Andrews, 'Welsh Indigenous and British Imperial,' p. 343.

THE INTERNATIONAL Holds the World To-day

All the world around the Metropolis of Wales is at pause to-day. Ordinary affairs are thrust into the background. Even football of clubs and leagues and associations is ignored, and this with a unanimity in both codes which is never seen even on an International day. To-day is an International day, it is true, but one of superlative importance. So we have given ourselves up to the event. We are obsessed by it: it dominates all our conversation, all our thoughts, all our ideas, and will continue to dominate us until the day has passed into the ewigkeit. We are footballers, partisans—the great majority partisans of Wales, a few partisans of New Zealand—to-day, and we have not yet reached the stage when we are glad of some mental matter to bring diversity and relief to the tension. It is a national characteristic to go the whole hog in a thing of this kind, and, with about 50,000 visitors in the city all pulsating with the same throbs, it is not surprising that the Metropolis should be given up to the one

VICTORY!

WALES THE TOP DOG.

Colonials' All-Conquering Career Ended.

Hurrah! and also hooray!

The Empire is saved!

Wales is still top dog!

To England, Ireland, and Scotland is added New Zealand.

In their 28th bout the Fernlanders have gone down. Now we know why they left Wales till the last.

Dick Seddon, who has waited up all his night to hear the news, is in tears. Lloyd Meyrick has won his bet.

Macaulay's New Zealander has kicked his portmanteau through the window, and flung his steamer ticket on the fire.

TRY TO NIL

Wales Wins.

FURIOUS GAME.

gate-street, where ingress will be had to the shilling side of the ground, and by a quarter past ten o'clock long queues were formed from the ticket boxes down Westgate-street and along Castle-street. Making their way towards the ground were hundreds of colliers, many of them wearing huge leeks, which to-day seemed a most aggressive national emblem. Everywhere the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and general confidence was expressed in the ability of the Welsh team to win.

State of the Ground.

The turf at the Cardiff Arms Park this morning was in magnificent condition for a

*Evening Express
and Mail
(Cardiff), 16
December 1905,
p. 2*



“Mr. Seddon's last words to the New Zealand team were :—“ Beat Wales ; never mind the rest ; beat Wales.”

Figure 1. The Welsh goat ramming New Zealand Prime Minister Seddon.
From the *Daily News*, (London) December 18th 1905.



Evening Express and Mail
(Cardiff), 16 December 1905,
p. 2



Figure 2. Last ditch Welsh defence against the all-conquering New Zealanders.
From the *Western Mail*, (Cardiff) December 16th 1905.

The men that represented Wales embodied the best manhood of the race ... We all know the racial qualities that made Wales supreme on Saturday: but how have they been obtained? Wales has a more restricted choice of champions than the other nations . She has had fewer opportunities in the exercise of some of the mental and physical powers than the nations with ancient universities and wider fields of training. It is amazing that in the greatest of all popular pastimes she should be equally distinguished. . . . [T]he great quality of defence and attack in the Welsh race is to be traced to the training of the early period when powerful enemies drove them to their mountain fortresses. There was developed then those traits of character that find fruition today. "Gallant little Wales" has produced sons strong of determination, invincible stamina, resolute, mentally keen, physically sound.

- *South Wales Daily News* (Cardiff), 18 December 1905, cited by Andrews, p. 339.

Case Study II:

Rugby in the Depression

Gareth Williams, 'Grand Slam to Great Slump: Economy, Society and Rugby Football in Wales during the Depression,' *Welsh History Review* 11:3 (1982): 338—357.

- What were some of the key factors which shaped Welsh rugby during the interwar period?
- In what ways did rugby reflect broader socioeconomic phenomena in this period?

Case Study II: Rugby in the Depression

In rugby terms, the contrast between the pre-war and post-war periods is striking. Between 1900 and 1911 Wales won thirty-five out of forty-three games, dominating the international championship in the process. In the immediate post-war period, when miners returned to the pits and steelworkers to the plants, there was a brief economic boom which was paralleled by short-lived and misleading rugby success, as Wales shared the championship in 1920 and won it outright in 1922.¹⁰ But between 1923 and 1930 only nine games were won out of thirty-two. Whereas in a sequence of twenty-five games between 1901 and 1912 the only side to win in Wales were the 1906 Springboks, from 1923 to 1930 England won every game against Wales except for a draw at Cardiff in 1926, and in 1924 won at Swansea for the first time since 1895. Scotland won every game

they were only symptoms of a deeper malaise that was undermining the old confidence and, with it, the infrastructure of Welsh rugby at grass-roots club and spectator level.

In economic terms the basic data are familiar enough.¹² The slump disembowelled whole areas of south Wales. Nearly half a million moved out, a fifth of the entire population. Only in 1961 did the population of Wales return to the level of 1921. The coal industry was undermined by the loss of foreign markets, competition from other fuels, and the lessening demand for coal. South Wales was the loser as her customers adopted protectionist policies and war reparations were made in coal. Thus, the Italian market for the two and half million tons of coal exported from south Wales to Italy in 1913 was immediately lost to Germany. The British Admiralty changed to oil firing just after the war and other navies and merchant services followed suit. In 1914 90 per cent of the world's mercantile marine was powered by coal; by 1939, less than 50 per cent.¹³ At home, the decision to return to the pre-war gold standard crippled exports, while greater industrial efficiency meant, ironically, that the amount of electricity produced by a ton of coal doubled between the wars, while the amount of coal required to produce a ton of steel was reduced by a half in the same period. The output of coal from south Wales fell from its 1913 peak of nearly 57 million tons to 35 millions by 1939; exports plummeted from 35 million to 19½ million. Mechanization coming on top of lessening demand reduced the labour force even further.¹⁴

It was in the 1930s too that Oxford received its biggest influx of Welshmen since the foundation of Jesus College, only this time they arrived not to become students but college servants, or car workers. Where choirs disappeared in Wales they reappeared in England; the Oxford Gleemen were a familiar aspect of the south midlands musical landscape.³² The personnel manager at the Bournville chocolate factory in Birmingham was known, in Blaina anyway, as 'the Prince of Wales'.³³ The midlands received an injection of rugby activism from the thousands of immigrant Welshmen, as the inter-war rise of the Coventry and Moseley clubs testify; politics and trade unionism were similarly affected. The emigration haemorrhage—characterised by Gwyn Thomas as 'a Black Death on wheels'³⁴—reached its *reductio ad absurdum* in January 1933 when a Welsh-speaking Welshman from Pontarddulais found himself in the backrow of the pack at Twickenham, playing for England! This was 'Gwalia Deserta' with a vengeance. By 1934 even Evan Roberts the revivalist, a hero of 1905 in a different sense, had gone to live in Derby.

If the fact that sixteen of the thirty players on view in the final Welsh rugby trial of 1934 were playing their rugby in England tells the same story from one angle, then the fact that half the players on the field in the 1939 Rugby League Cup Final were Welshmen tells it from another. The professional rugby ranks were bursting with Welshmen lured north in the 'twenties and 'thirties. The process had begun as soon as the Northern Union (as the Rugby League was officially known until 1922) broke away in 1893, but it was in the inter-war period that the road to Tonypandy was widened, extended and signposted 'Wigan Pier'. About 150 Welsh internationals, capped in the amateur game, went north in the first hundred years of the W.R.U.'s existence. Nearly fifty of them went up in the two inter-war decades: the equivalent, in other words, of more than three full international XVs. But we can never know the whole story: how many hundreds of ordinary, unemployed club players were lured north by a persuasive agent offering anything from £300 to £500 down, £4 for a win, £3 draw or lose, *and* the promise of a job.



SECOND EDITION
RUGBY'S GREAT SPLIT
 Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football

TONY COLLINS

The **Rugby** Codebreakers

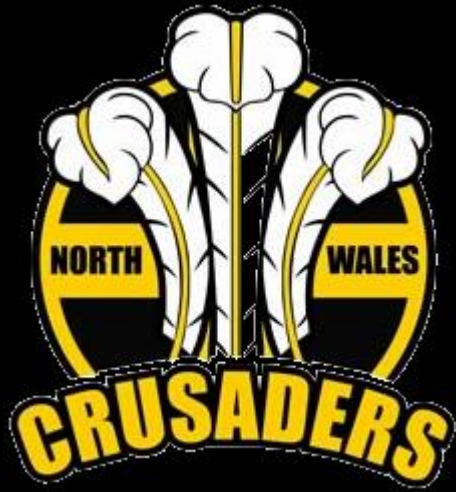


On Sporting Heritage Day we honour Cardiff Bay's Rugby Codebreakers. To find out how you can help their stories live forever – visit www.rugbycodebreakers.co.uk

VOTE NOW!



Rugby League in Wales



SeeL Karl Spracklen and Chris Spracklen, 'Breaking the Mould? Whiteness, Masculinity, Welshness, Working-Classness and Rugby League in Wales,' in *Sport and Leisure: Ethics, Rights and Social Relationships*, ed. by Andrew Adams and Karl Spracklen (Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association, 2012): 63–77.



Case Study III: Welsh Rugby in the 1970s

Table 1—Five Nations Tournament, 1969–79

	Winners	Runners-Up	Notes
1969	Wales	Ireland	Triple crown
1970	France	Wales	Shared title—level on points
1971	Wales	France	Grand slam
1972	Wales	Ireland	Fixtures not completed due to Irish troubles
1973	Wales	Ireland	Shared title—all teams level on points
1974	Ireland	Scotland	
1975	Wales	France	
1976	Wales	France	Grand slam
1977	France	Wales	Triple crown
1978	Wales	France	Grand slam
1979	Wales	France	Triple crown

See: Martin Johnes, 'A Prince, a King and a Referendum: Rugby, Politics and Nationhood in Wales, 1969-1979', *Journal of British Studies*, 47 (2008): 129-148.

Case Study III: Welsh Rugby in the 1970s

The players were a mixture of English and Welsh speakers and a combination of manual workers and the products of grammar schools, reflecting the nation they represented. With industrial Wales in terminal decline, the number of teachers, students, doctors, and other public-sector workers who played international rugby was increasing significantly. Those who did start in heavy industry, like Phil Bennett, who began his working life in a steelworks, took advantage of their stardom and often moved on to more comfortable occupations, notably in sales. As Bennett remembered, "A job as a rep was the fashionable choice for a Welsh international rugby player in the seventies. There were loads of us. The money was generally good, the work was not too strenuous, and your employers were usually fairly flexible in accommodating your rugby demands, because your profile as a player was important. Oh, and you had a nice new car. It certainly beat working down a mine, but being a sales rep was never really me."

- Johnes, 'A Prince, a King and a Referendum,' p. 133

Welsh Rugby in the 1970s

"Look what these bastards have done to Wales. These English you're just going out to meet have taken our coal, our water, our steel: they buy our houses and live in them a fortnight a year ... Down the centuries these English have exploited and pillaged us and we're playing them this afternoon boys."

- Phil Bennett, team talk Welsh team before 5 Nations match versus England, 1977. Cited in Johnes, 'A Prince, a King and a Referendum,' pp. 140—141.

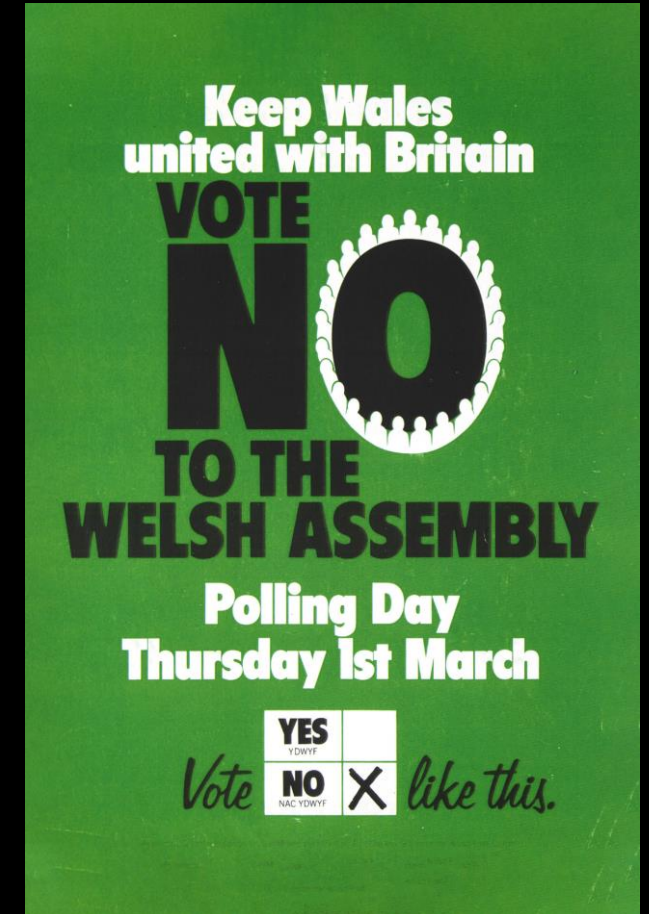


... but 1979 Devolution Referendum led to overwhelming 'no' vote

Table 2—Result of the 1979 Referendum on Welsh Devolution

	% of Electorate Voting “Yes” (% of Turnout in Parentheses)	% of Electorate Voting “No” (% of Turnout in Parentheses)
Clwyd	11.0 (21.6)	40.1 (78.4)
Gwynedd	21.8 (34.4)	41.6 (65.6)
Dyfed	18.1 (28.1)	46.5 (71.9)
Powys	12.2 (18.5)	53.8 (81.5)
West Glamorgan	10.8 (18.7)	46.7 (81.3)
Mid Glamorgan	11.8 (20.2)	46.7 (79.8)
South Glamorgan	7.7 (13.1)	51.0 (86.9)
Gwent	6.7 (12.1)	48.7 (87.9)

Note.—“Yes” votes: 243,048 (11.8% of electorate). “No” votes: 956,330 (46.5% of electorate). Turnout: 58.3%. 40% of electorate required to vote “Yes” for devolution to be implemented.



Questions to Consider ...

- What can we make of the fact that the 1979 'no' vote was decided at a time of nationalistic fervour in Welsh rugby culture?
- Might the importance of rugby (and sport) in national cultures be overstated?
- Are sports fans more 3-dimensional than they are sometimes given credit for?

Questions to Consider ...

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- Might Welsh rugby culture be more complicated, nuanced and interesting than it may appear on 6 Nations Match Days in Cardiff?

Questions to Consider ...

- Are sports fans more 3-dimensional than they are sometimes given credit for?
- Might Welsh rugby culture be more complicated, nuanced and interesting than it may appear on 6 Nations Match Days in Cardiff?
- Should Alex give rugby a chance after all???