

**From the Rebecca Riots to the Manic Street Preachers: Welsh cross-dressing as an act
of political defiance.**

Jessica McIntyre

Bachelor of Arts/Graduate Diploma of Education

Macquarie University

Arts Faculty/Department of English

October 9, 2015

Table of Contents

3.....	Abstract
4.....	Acknowledgements
5.....	Introduction
14.....	Chapter One: Welsh National Identity
27.....	Chapter Two: Cross-dressing and the Construction of Gender
40.....	Chapter Three: Class Constructions, Violence and Youth
53.....	Chapter Four: The Romance of Youthful Rebellion
67.....	Conclusion
72.....	Appendix: Song Lyrics
78.....	Bibliography

Abstract

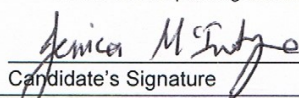
This thesis aims to explore representations of political cross-dressing in Welsh literature, with a focus on the Rebecca Riots of the 1830s. This research draws mainly upon primary texts by Amy Dillwyn, Dylan Thomas and Manic Street Preachers to explore themes of nationality, class, rebellion and gender in Welsh culture. These diverse texts and the thematic connections between them are, thus far, largely unexplored areas of literary studies. The goal is to show that there is evidence to support a complex critical reading of these textual constructions which goes beyond regarding them simply as literary curiosities.

In particular, this thesis will demonstrate that literary representations of the male cross-dressing Rebecca Rioters provide insight into a unique, and largely unacknowledged, aspect of Welsh culture that questions, destabilizes and subverts gender identity. I intend to show that these themes continue to be represented and explored in Welsh literature, and that this is indicative of a different cultural attitude to gender and political protest than is found throughout the rest of Britain. By demonstrating that the influence of the Riots is ongoing in Welsh literature, this research highlights the importance of the Rebeccaites in shaping modern Welsh culture.

6. DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

I hereby submit my thesis for examination in accordance with the regulations¹ and declare that:

1. The thesis is my own composition, all sources have been acknowledged and my contribution is clearly identified in the thesis. Permission has been granted from all co-authors for any work in the thesis that has been co-published, and is specified in the thesis acknowledgments and/or relevant footnotes/endnotes;
2. The thesis is within the set word limit for my degree program;
3. The electronic version of the thesis is in a PDF format with the appropriate naming convention i.e. "StudentID – Lastname, Given Name – MRES 2015" and is submitted by email to my Faculty. Unless requested by the examiner for a hard copy or where there are creative components which cannot be sent electronically, electronic version of the thesis in PDF version is expected.
4. I am under no obligation, nor am I aware of the University being under any obligation, to keep all or any part of my thesis confidential for any period of time OR
I have notified the Higher Degree Research Office in writing of my obligations and/or any confidentiality issues;
5. If the thesis is submitted as a thesis by publication, the combined papers form a coherent and integrated body of work which includes a comprehensive and critical introduction and an integrative conclusion, and focuses on a single project or set of related questions or propositions.
6. I understand and agree that examiners are not required to return their copy of my thesis. (Note: In special circumstances a candidate may require the thesis to be returned. If you wish to request the return of your thesis, please attach a letter to this form explaining the reasons).


Candidate's Signature

JESSICA MCINTYRE
Print Name

7/10/2015
Date

Acknowledgements

To Victoria Flanagan for her advice, support and supervision of my work.

To the staff at Macquarie University who supported me throughout this degree.

To Corey Connolly who very kindly read my work and discussed the topics at length.

To my mother Jan McIntyre for her grammar checks and loving support.

To my beloved father John McIntyre who helped me to get this far and who is missed greatly.

Introduction:

This thesis aims to explore representations of cross-dressing as symbols of political and social rebellion in Welsh literature. I will argue that there is evidence to support a complex critical reading of these textual constructions which goes beyond regarding them simply as literary curiosities. This thesis will demonstrate that literary representations of the Rebecca Riots in nineteenth-century Wales provide insight into a unique, and largely unacknowledged, aspect of Welsh culture that questions, destabilizes and subverts gender identity. Furthermore, I intend to show that these themes continue to be represented and explored in Welsh literature, in a markedly different manner than representations of cross-dressing tend to be explored in non-Welsh British literature. I will argue that this is indicative of a different cultural attitude to gender and political protest in Wales that has been heretofore overlooked in the assimilation of “Welshness” into “Britishness.”

The time period between 1838 and 1843 in rural south-western Wales was marked by a seemingly curious set of incidences known as The Rebecca Riots: men dressed in female attire roamed the countryside at night, destroying tollgates and terrorizing landowners who charged exorbitant rent (Davies, 1994:379; Black, 2000:155). The folk figure of Rebecca was adopted as a biblical reference to the verse from Genesis that exhorts Rebecca to “Let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them,” (Dillwyn, 1880:74). These events inspired Amy Dillwyn to write the novel *The Rebecca Rioter* in 1880 and Dylan Thomas to write the screenplay *Rebecca's Daughters* in 1948. Then, more than one hundred and fifty years after the Rebecca Riots, Manic Street Preachers, a rock band from South Wales, took to the stage in drag and eyeliner, to attempt an infiltration of the London pub music circuit and, subsequently, the world. Whilst some mention has been made of the band's deliberate echoes of the Rebecca Riots in their on and offstage aesthetic, which blends cross-dressing with political sloganeering (Price, 1999:21), relatively little has been said about this transgressive

use of gendered clothing as a means to engage in political protest. Nor has much been written regarding the ongoing appeal, in Wales at least, of this method of protest. This thesis will attempt to close this gap by exploring what it is about politically-motivated cross-dressing that continues to appeal to the literary imagination more than a century after the Riots took place.

Amy Dillwyn's novel *The Rebecca Rioter* is a fictionalized account of the events surrounding the riot that occurred at the Pontardulais Turnpike two years prior to the author's birth. The incident was originally recorded by Dillwyn's father, who was "both an eyewitness and a participant in the struggle [against] the rioters," (Gramich, 2001:v). However, Dillwyn writes her novel from the point of view of a young rioter. Thomas's screenplay, written almost a century later, is a deeply Romantic tale, casting a young land-owning aristocrat as the hero when he takes up the plight of the working classes and dons the disguise of "Rebecca" to help destroy his peers' tollgates. In the lyrics of Manic Street Preachers, the influence of the Riots is not explicit but implicit and is demonstrated more generally by the Welsh creators of the texts and their performance image, as well as the themes contained in the texts themselves, namely constructions of gender, class and "Welshness." Despite the lack of explicit mentions of Rebecca, the ideology of the rioters is acknowledged in many aspects of the band's own ideology.

As this study will examine these texts in a historical context, it will primarily use the theoretical framework of what Delahoyde has referred to as "New Historicism." As Delahoyde asserts, New Historicism "seeks to find meaning in a text by considering the work within the framework of the prevailing ideas and assumptions of its historical era" (2011). By focusing on the "ideological products or cultural constructs...of the eras" (Delahoyde, 2011) in which these texts are both set and created, we can reach an understanding of the broader social and political implications that inform them. As a further consequence, an understanding

of how these texts have helped to reciprocally shape the social and political milieus in which they were themselves created, is also useful to this thesis. Consequently, the focus here will be particularly on the constructions of gender and class in Welsh literary representations of history.

The Rebecca Riots were not isolated incidents, as can be demonstrated from reports of neighbouring rural riots in eighteenth century England and France (Rude, 1964) and the fact that riots had “become an endemic feature” of late eighteenth century Wales (Evans, 1989:129). Furthermore, there are reports of at least one successful poacher in Victorian England using cross-dressing to disguise his illegal habit (Jones, 1979:835), as well as numerous reports of English women cross-dressing to “pass” as men (Dekker & van de Pol, 1989:1). Thus the use of cross-dressing as a disguise to avoid detection by authorities is not, alone, particularly notable. Rather it is the combination of cross-dressing disguise with visible public political protest which remains distinctive about the Rebeccaites and provides these Welsh authors with opportunities to explore themes such as gender, class identity and political protest in their texts.

The specific historical context for *The Rebecca Rioter* and *Rebecca's Daughters* is the Rebecca Riots themselves and the political and cultural implications surrounding them. Whilst there were perceived connections between the primarily urban Chartist movement in Wales and the rurally-based Rebecca Riots, such as class leanings, political protest and mutual attempts between the groups to recruit supporters (Evans, 1989), the two movements were separate in interests and affiliation (Howell, 1988). The specific context here is thus of importance to the central argument of this project, as it is the spectacle of the Rebecca Riots in particular, rather than their near cousins the Chartist Riots, that was apparently of appeal to authors who were representing the Rebeccaites in texts up to a century later. The attempts of

Manic Street Preachers to emulate the cross-dressing of the Rioters at an even later date argues further for the attraction of the Rebecca Riots to modern authors of Welsh texts.

Whilst there has been speculation as to the reasons for the choice of the Rebecca Rioters to cross-dress, such as simple disguise or “the carnival right of criticism and mocking” (Howell, 1988:122-3), there is relative silence, or at least lack of agreement, on why these rioters at this time chose this particular form of protest over any other. Thus it is the uniqueness of their approach which is posited as a reason for the ongoing literary and cultural resonance of the men representing Rebecca and her Daughters. If the Riots did not have such cultural appeal in Wales, it is unlikely Manic Street Preachers would have felt that referencing them would be of any significance to a Welsh audience in the late twentieth century. It is therefore likely that the literary appeal of the Rebecca Riots stems in part from the Romance of the folk hero/heroine figure in a rural setting as well as the visual incongruity of the protestors’ attire.

Further to these allusions to the Rebecca Riots by the band, the more specific context for the lyric texts is the political and cultural milieu of Thatcher’s Britain and how that particularly affected the lives of working-class Welsh men more than a century after the Riots. As Jones has pointed out, “despite the suppression of class in political and cultural discourse [discourses which are highly visible in the first two texts], socioeconomic background remains a stubborn and strengthening line of division,” (2013:2-3). Manic Street Preachers are writing lyrics in this atmosphere of ostensible enlightenment and are highly aware of this hidden deprecation of their class status, which sits alongside the tacit racism toward their Welsh nationality (Price, 1999:23). Here lies an echo of the tolls levied upon the working-class Welsh by the English aristocracy against which the Rebeccaites were protesting back in the 1830s. This context has a continued relevance today as the prominence of the term “chav” has led to a shame associated with being labelled, or labelling oneself,

“working class,” (Jones, 2012:ix), though, unlike the cross-dressing, this prejudice crosses national lines.

In exploring the theme of politically-inspired cross-dressing through a historical lens, this thesis will consider interpretive frameworks such as Bakhtin’s literary concept of the carnivalesque, alongside cultural frameworks such as gender and class. Although the carnivalesque provides a chaotic alternative representation of the world, the concept itself is not simply an upheaval of the existing social order, as initially conjectured by theorists (Bakhtin, 1965). Instead, as a subversion, rather than a validation of the status quo, the carnivalesque demonstrates that “madness makes men look at the world with different eyes, not dimmed by...commonplace ideas and judgments,” (Bakhtin, 1965:39). Rabelais sought to “destroy the official picture of events,” by looking at them from the perspective of the “laughing chorus of the marketplace,” (1965, 439). Reflecting this, Marcus argues that punk bands echo the Situationists who sought to create a “subversive restatement of the obvious,” (1989:50) in exposing modern culture as similarly ridiculous.

It is this motivation, to alter perceptions of the alleged “natural order” more permanently, that the Rebecca Rioters and the authors of their fictional counterparts could be argued to possess. Rhiannon in *Rebecca’s Daughters* and Evan in *The Rebecca Rioter* both address the class inequalities that they believe require alteration and how Rebecca is instrumental in making these social changes. Displaying the literary power of the carnivalesque, Evan describes himself and his fellow rioters as looking “more like fiends than men” as they destroy a tollgate in their women’s attire (Dillwyn, 1880:85). On the other hand, Rhiannon describes Anthony, disguised as Rebecca, as “good and brave” when she is held up by the Rioters in Thomas’s text, which notably adheres more closely to the carnivalesque than Dillwyn’s novel in its deliberate, albeit temporary, upheaval of the social order (1965:85). Compare these representations to the portrayal of Shakespeare’s Falstaff as a figure of

ridicule when forced into women's attire to effect a cowardly escape from other men in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

It is clear, then, that any review on the carnivalesque in literature must take into account Bakhtin's account of Rabelais's Carnival. Bakhtin's assessment that medieval literature sought "to find forms that would make possible and...justify the most extreme freedom and frankness of thought and speech," (1965:271) and Rabelais's success in this aim, with the framework of the seemingly mocking and playful carnivalesque, is relevant here. However, I have also considered the cultural manifestations of carnival tradition, from which Rabelais drew his imagery and themes, as relevant to this particular thesis. For example, carnival as a cultural mode, has been used historically to enforce social mores, such as with the Ceffyl pren, or wooden horse, used in Wales at the time of the Riots, to humiliate and punish social transgressors (Rees, 2006:87-90). This gives the representations of the Rebeccaites in Welsh literature further political status, as a reclamation of gender subversion as a positive and deliberate action, rather than a negative enforced punishment.

However, it is unclear whether cultural carnival was as successfully subversive as the literary mode of the carnivalesque, when it has been argued that cultural carnival was deliberately utilized by the rule-makers to demonstrate the importance of social rules. The temporary indulgence in disorder for an appointed time, such as All Fools' Day (Cosman, 1981:50), implied that social order would be reinstated after this brief period of inversion and chaos. Bakhtin suggests (1965) that Rabelais uses the carnivalesque in literature to critique, rather than reinforce, these rules. I argue that these texts achieve a similar result, beyond mere historical accounts of the riots, and that this may add to their ongoing appeal.

Additionally, as this thesis looks specifically at the rebellious aspect of carnival tradition, I have included literature on spectacle (Debord, 1995), crowds (Rude, 1964) and

risk (Ponton, 1997). Taking into account this Romantic aspect of rebellion and risk-taking, is an important consideration when discussing the ongoing appeal of the rioters' actions for modern adolescent audiences of the primary texts. This is particularly true for the fans of Manic Street Preachers, being a late twentieth-century rock band. It is also perhaps, to some degree, true for the intended audience of Thomas's screenplay, though the concept of adolescence was, at most, formative in the 1940s when he wrote the text. The literary representations of the riots could be argued to appeal to these audiences because, as Ponton notes, "When you're young, danger can seem exciting, and because excitement feels grown-up, it's very seductive," (1997:34).

The literature on gender and cross-dressing, particularly as acts of performance, must necessarily take into account the work of Butler (1997; 2004). I have also considered other texts on literary acts of cross-dressing, such as Flanagan's work on cross-dressing in children's literature (2008), and fictional representations that explore gender politics, such as Gautier's *Mdlle de Maupin* (1911). Literature that addresses the politics of cross-dressing has tended to focus on equality of either gender or sexuality (Bridges, 2014), rather than addressing disguise, carnival and other performative acts of drag. However, Stevenson has noted that "Wales has an honourable tradition of cross-dressing and riotous assembly," (2014:45). Stevenson demonstrates that this tradition is, furthermore, not confined to declarations about gender, nor is it merely comedic, as is often the case in English pantomime. Instead, these cross-dressing Welsh protestors are making "a statement of intent" which could conceivably result in jail or death (ibid).

The first chapter of this thesis will examine how Welsh national identity is portrayed and dealt with in these texts, and how the various permutations of this identity expressed by the characters and speakers tie in to the acts of political cross-dressing represented. My argument here is that Welsh national identity is problematic and conflicted due to confluences

of aristocratic Welshness with Anglicized, or even English, identity and the tendency to present rural working-class Welshness as the only valid Welsh identity. Notably, each of these authors both utilise and challenge this stereotype in their texts. I will further argue that these representations of cross-dressing men as heroic literary figures give validity to distinctly Welsh expressions of political autonomy, combating anti-Welsh racism or, worse, the view that the Welsh are culturally invisible. These considerations are particularly relevant when analysing the use of the carnivalesque in these texts and the deliberate destabilisation of gender in Welsh narratives.

The second chapter deals with the crux of the thesis, arguing that representations of cross-dressing in these Welsh texts imply a more fluid construction of gender in Welsh culture than is generally evident in other British, or even Western, cultures. Additionally, the issues of gender jealousy and appropriation are addressed here to demonstrate that the appeal of cross-dressing and the Rebecca Riots in Welsh literature goes beyond the expression of alternative sexual identities. At the same time, these texts challenge, and thus demonstrate the limitations of, representing male cross-dressing as merely a comedic device. This is particularly relevant when such literary portrayals are used to portray effeminate men and, by extension female autonomy, as ridiculous. To further highlight these important considerations, I will compare Thomas's screenplay with the 1992 film adaptation of *Rebecca's Daughters*, which presented some pertinent contrasts with regards to the portrayal of male cross-dressing in the narrative.

The third chapter turns to the relevance of class constructions and political protest in representations of the Riots, and how this may have stimulated the appeal of representations in Welsh literature. The literature thus far has tended to argue that the Rebecca Riots were instigated due to poverty (Howell, 1988:121) and agrarian crisis (Morgan, 1984:203) rather than political discontent. This is endorsed by Williams, who calls the Rebeccaites pre-

political, because they lack a Marxist “working-class consciousness.” (1982:5). Despite these claims, there are implications that political discontent may have been the deeper cause of the Riots (Morgan, 1984:203) and by the time the texts were created, I would argue that political implications are implied and explored by the various authors in their fictional representations of these events. The discussion here will reference authors such as Owen Jones, who addresses the demonization of “Chav” culture in Britain, and Rhian Jones, who addresses class constructions in British music.

The final chapter of this study deals with the connection between Romance and rebellion, which each of these texts addresses to some degree. My argument here focuses on the continuing appeal of the Rebecca Riots in Welsh literature stemming, to some degree, from the figure of the folk hero and the youthful desire to fight or rebel and thus to make changes in the status quo. This chapter also takes into account the power of disguise and costume in the figure of the rebel, touching on the figure of the masked avenger in both folk and modern narratives. Whilst the distinctiveness of the Rebecca Riots as a particularly Welsh phenomenon is dealt with throughout this study, it is also important to account for universal themes as contributing factors.

My analysis of the texts in this study leads to the conclusion that political cross-dressing has an ongoing literary and cultural appeal for the Welsh, which is strongly referenced and represented in Welsh literature. Whilst it is impossible to ascertain individual authorial intention with any degree of certainty, it is evident that there is a gap in the literature regarding these particular texts, as well as their connecting themes and their influence on and by Welsh history and Welsh culture. As an added incentive to bridging this gap in the literature, it is important to highlight the pernicious suppression and incorporation of Welsh culture into English culture, under the umbrella term “British.” For a pertinent example, the Encyclopedia Britannica formerly included the entry “For Wales – see England”, (Morgan,

1995:197). This cultural belittlement is something the regeneration of Welsh language and culture seeks to amend, and it is hoped that an exploration of the unique representations of political cross-dressing in Welsh literature will assist this amendment.

Chapter One: Welsh National Identity

As this study focuses particularly on Welsh cross-dressing in literature, it is imperative to discuss how Welsh nationality is expressed in these texts with regards to the Rebeccaite characters and their antagonists. Lawson defines a national group as “bound together by an

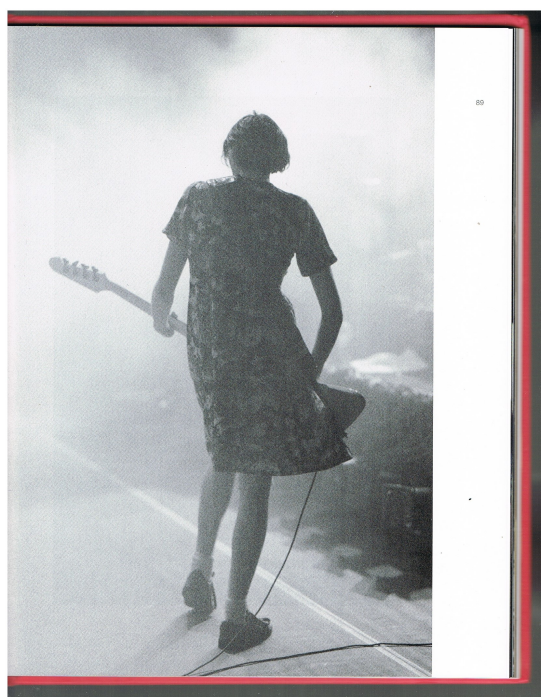


Figure 1 (Cummins, 2014:89)

unbroken chain of tradition...manifest in shared language, poetry, songs and dance,” (Lawson, 2012:34), which may partially account for the ongoing appeal of the stories of the Rebeccaites in Welsh literature. This discussion of Welshness also invites discussion of the carnivalesque in literature. Whilst these themes may at first appear unrelated, the prevalence of carnival in Welsh culture, or at least activities that can be translated through Bakhtin’s concept of the carnivalesque, are of distinct importance to the

Rebecca Riots and to Manic Street Preachers at a later date. As Stevenson affirms, “Wales has an honourable tradition of cross-dressing and riotous assembly,” (2014:45) both notable hallmarks of the carnivalesque.

Whilst the representations of characters in *Rebecca’s Daughters* by Dylan Thomas, provide variants on depictions of “Welshness,” it is the deliberate choice of certain characters to express their national identity through cross-dressing that is of interest to this study. Specifically, it is the sympathetically-portrayed or “heroic” figures who choose cross-dressing

to express their Welshness, whereas the negatively-portrayed Anglicized gentry cling to conventional “English” dress. Alternatively, Manic Street Preachers’ lyrics “This Sullen Welsh Heart” and “Prologue to History,” explore the changing attitudes of the lyricist to his own Welsh identity: an identity which he has often chosen to express through public acts of cross-dressing (Figure 1; Figure 2). This association between Welsh identity and carnivalesque cross-

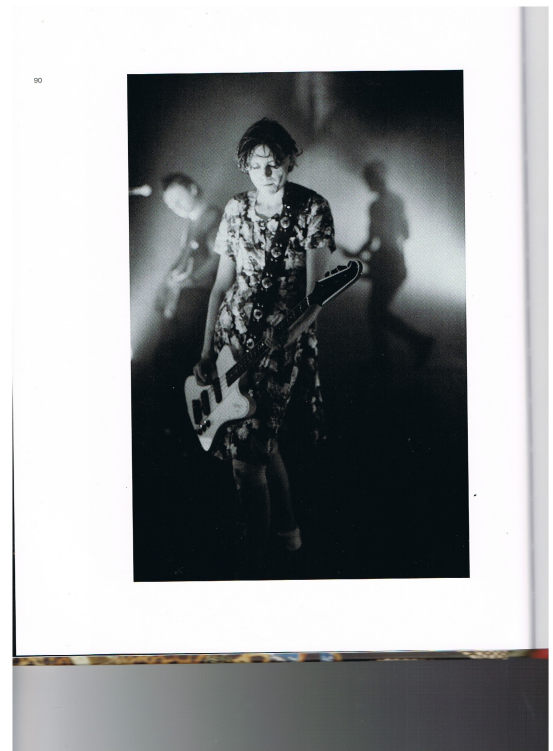


Figure 2 (Cummins, 2014:90)

dressing is one which this chapter intends to explore. However, in tracing this ongoing appeal of the Rebecca Riots in Welsh literature, it is important to consider why this influence appears not to have extended beyond Wales itself.

This consideration is particularly curious, considering that Dylan Thomas and Manic Street Preachers, the creators of these texts, are themselves internationally recognised artists whose texts are easily accessible. Part of the bizarreness of this oversight is that the nationality of these artists, while acknowledged by themselves to be problematic and ambivalent, is indisputably Welsh. In writing of Thomas, Jones asserts “That [his] Welsh inheritance was an important factor in the development of his writing was early recognised,” (1963:2). Moynihan agrees, noting furthermore that “Thomas’s Welshness is amorphous and indefinable; it is also inescapable,” (1966:11). Furthermore, despite the official censure of expressions of overt racism since the mid-twentieth century, Price comments that anti-Welsh racism has continued to be a reality, and quotes Nicky Wire, one of the Manic Street Preachers’ two lyricists, acknowledging that “We took a lot of racism early on...and it’s not too strong to call it racism,” (qtd in Price, 1999:24).

This English racism against Welsh culture and Welsh individuals could arguably be a factor in the conflicted Welsh identity represented in each of these texts. Although racism is neither explicitly addressed in these texts, nor a stated focus of the Rebecca Riots, I would argue that the celebration of the cross-dressing Rebeccaites as heroic figures in Welsh literature is, at least in part, an attempt to reclaim and reverse the English racial ridicule of the Welsh. Whilst the English used male cross-dressing, as “a symbol of [theatrical] comical anarchy” (Stevenson, 2014:50), the Welsh created a forerunner to the Rebecca Riots in Y Ceffyl Pren. This practice used cross-dressing men as the dispensers of “Welsh vigilante folk law designed to disgrace offenders in the community...it became a symbol of protest. Yet in protest, they were not acting. There was no comedy [but] danger in their riotous assembly,” (ibid).

Thus, “This Sullen Welsh Heart” directly addresses the weight of being Welsh, rather than allowing English racism to define Welshness as “other”. The speaker opens the song with “I don't want my children to grow up like me; It's just soul destroying, it's a mocking disease,” (Manic Street Preachers, 2013:1-2). The sound of the song matches the sadness of the lyric and keeps the tone serious, not comedic. Furthermore, this tragic lilt cleverly keeps the listener aware of the distinctive “Welshness” of the lyric itself. As Price observes, “[John] Robb [*Sounds* journalist] sees ‘the sadness in Welsh culture’ reflected in the Manics’ music, ‘the melancholy lilt, the minor key’. This wallowing in sadness is a profoundly Welsh trait,” (1999:23). Part of this sadness may arise from the fragmentation and loss of a distinctive Welsh national identity, an identity which these texts possibly seek to define and represent in a more constructive, recognisable way.

The least complicated Welsh identity in these texts is that of characters such as Rhodri Huws in *Rebecca's Daughters*. A straightforward, rough farm-labourer, Rhodri initially approaches Anthony Raine to “see what a young *bloodsucker* look[s] like,” (Thomas,

1965:32). Rhodri is uncomplicated, honest and stereotypically masculine, yet he willingly puts on a dress to display his affiliation with Rebecca. Oppression, for Rhodri and his fellow farm-labourers, forges an uncomplicated sense of national identity, which happens to involve cross-dressing. Rhodri Huws and his ilk, perhaps more than the speaker of “This Sullen Welsh Heart,” display sullen Welsh hearts and it is Rhodri whom Anthony first approaches as trustworthy to take place in the riots and Rhodri who becomes one of his sturdiest supporters. Similar representations of uncomplicated working-class Welshness appear in *The Rebecca Rioter*, in characters such as Jenkin and Jim, who eagerly purchase dresses in anticipation of joining the riots (Dillwyn, 1880:77).

Thomas’s construction of Anglicized aristocratic Welshness, on the other hand, is deeply satirical and mocking. Each scene involving the board of trustees of the tollgates depicts the landowners as alcoholics, lechers or spectacularly out of touch with reality, and thus with the Welsh countryside surrounding them, and their own problematic Welsh identities. The final tableau of one meeting is described as “leaving Lord Sarn in another world, Marsden glowering, the trustees quite content, and Mr Pugh winking,” (Thomas, 1965:51). Whilst Thomas may be displaying class loyalty here, it is notable that, as Jenkins comments, “Wales never had a real local squirearchy on the English model...until the late eighteenth century...The portrait of the wealthy landowner as an alien [English] innovation would be a common weapon in the [Welsh] liberal and nonconformist polemics of the nineteenth century,” (1992:40). Thomas certainly uses the disconnected faux-English Welsh aristocrats as a strong contrast against the solidly Welsh Rebeccaites.

Anthony Raine’s national identity is even more complex, because although he identifies with the working-class villagers with whom he grew up, he is of aristocratic land-owning stock himself, and thus benefits from the tollgates which he violently removes as Rebecca. Furthermore, unlike Lord Sarn’s cohort, Anthony and Rhiannon have a stronger

national than class identity. This conflicted or fragmented Welsh identity is actually shared by Dillwyn, herself a half-English aristocrat, who represents the rioters as sympathetic narrators and heroes. Manic Street Preachers address and oppose the conflicted Welsh anglophile identity by stating their desire “never to be remotely like [Welsh bands] who wrote about “the bright lights of Mersey and Liverpool [in England]” (Edwards (1993), qtd in Heatley, 1998:75). Perhaps it is this desire to find a positive, Welsh representation of national identity that causes the repeated reoccurrences of the Rebecca Riots throughout Welsh literature. These literary representations are not merely “not-English” but rather pro-actively Welsh.

“This Sullen Welsh Heart” depicts this formation of a Welsh national identity that the lyricist has taken over two decades. As Price acknowledges, despite the deliberate cross-dressing references to Rebecca, “one had to search very hard to detect a single trace of Welsh culture in the Manics’ music, lyrics or statements,” (1999:22). Later into the band’s career however, Wire became more vocal about the band’s national identity, and this is reflected in the lyrics. “This Sullen Welsh Heart,” released in 2013, presents the lyricist’s Welshness, or at least Welsh patriotic feeling, as conflicted and ambiguous, much as Anthony Raine’s Welshness is represented. For example, whilst the lyric admits defeat “Time to surrender, time to move on,” (Manic Street Preachers, 2013:11), in almost the next breath, the speaker admits “This sullen Welsh heart; It won't leave, it won't give up; The hating half of me; Has won the battle easily,” (ibid:16-19).

Welsh pride and the desire to “fight” for it has become a recurring theme in Manic Street Preachers’ lyrics, as the band have become more comfortable with their national identity. This is displayed in the chorus of “This Sullen Welsh Heart”. The political element however, as a more class-based and universal theme, has always been part of the band’s rhetoric. As Price argues, “There is arguably a closer comparison to be made between the Manics and the slightly earlier Chartists: members of the Gwent-based, manifesto-waving

movement, which demanded a voice for the disenfranchised (although, as far as anyone knows, the Chartists weren't so keen on wearing their mums' frocks)," (1999:21). Although the latter part of Price's comment seems to be a throwaway addition, I would argue that it is actually this penchant for performance and disruption that continues to have enduring appeal for Welsh textual representations of the Rebeccaites, beyond political rhetoric.

It is of particular relevance that although "'Mother Rebecca,' symbolic leader of the tollgate protests, can be compared with Monmouthshire figures like the 'Scotch Bull', the patron of labour terrorism; or to earlier figures like Ned Ludd," (Jenkins, 1992:270), there is something culturally "Welsh" about Rebecca and her cross-dressing daughters. Furthermore, for the Welsh, "The Rebeccas enjoyed the position of gallant resisters or Robin Hoods, above all to the Welsh historians who denounced the criminal brutality and drunken savagery of the Scotch Cattle and the Newport rebels," (Jenkins, 1992:273) which may explain the ongoing literary appeal of the Rebeccaites as Romantic literary figures. The national feeling represented in "This Sullen Welsh Heart," is more conflicted here, as is evident in the mix of repeated references to war and surrender contrasted with lines such as, "The act of creation saves us from despair," (Manic Street Preachers, 2013:25), drawing on the idea of Wales as poetic and creative.

Regarding these literary representations of Welsh national identity as fragmented and conflicted, Black argues, "loss of identity...is far from static: Welsh culture gets remade all the time," (2000:217). This is contested by Jones who claims that "The Welsh identity has not, historically, appeared to be much in doubt either to the Welsh themselves or to observers of Wales," (1992:331). There is also an argument that "Welshness" is, in reality, far more complex. As Jenkins asserts, "Welsh culture has often been outward looking and European, rather than merely imitating English models," (1992:378). "Prologue to History" plays on this cosmopolitan complexity with the lines "So I water my plants with Evian; A brand new

Dyson, that is decadent,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:13-14). The lack of reciprocity in the simple and uncomplicated parochial English view of Welsh identity is also harshly referenced in the later lines “Remember ethnic cleansing in the Highlands; No one says a thing in the middle of England; I’m bruised fruit but still taste so nice,” (ibid:25-27).

“Prologue to History” evokes history and the place of Wales and the Welsh as a “prologue” or outside the main narrative, which one is to assume is British. This is highlighted in the deliberate trailing off of the line “I don’t wanna be a prologue to history; A prologue to histo..” (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:11-12). It is important then to note a couple of things about Welsh custom and tradition. On one hand, Welsh folklore texts, such as *The Mabinogion* have been generally acknowledged as the origin of Britain’s King Arthur and Mordred. On the other hand, this fascination with folklore, custom and tradition are recent innovations even within Wales. Jenkins elucidates, “[The eighteenth century] was a fertile time of creativity in the invention of traditions and allegedly ethnic rituals and practices,” (1992:58). Manic Street Preachers’ “transvestite sedition,” (Price: 1999:21), thus continues to represent and propagate this myth of a traditional Welsh ethnic identity.

These texts explore the complex side of Welsh identity and Welsh culture, something rarely, if ever, acknowledged by simplistic English constructions of “Welshness.” As Evans asserts, “[in Wales] Identity is not seen as an unproblematic thing but as something constantly reshaped by an active process as the Welsh suffer the multiple traumas and disruptions of their history,” (1992:484). The nationalism represented in these texts is not explicit but appears to be a form of ethnic nationalism, defined by Breuilly as “commitment to a group of (imagined) common descent,” (388). Welsh identity is further complicated by melancholy and the sense of being an outsider. Manic Street Preachers have noted, “Where we come from, there’s a natural melancholy...Everybody, ever since you could comprehend it, felt pretty much defeated,” (Edwards (1994), qtd in Heatley, 1998:8). Furthermore, as with any culture,

“The constructed, even invented nature of ethnicity leaves us with a representational dilemma,” (Breidenbach and Nyiri, 2009:130).

This conflict is presented in the disjointed construction of “Prologue to History,” as well as lines displaying this fragmented national identity cobbled together from English stereotypes of the Welsh, such as music, poetry and rugby, thus: “Today a poet who can't play guitar; Tomorrow Phil Bennet's playing outside half,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:31-32). The speaker of the lyric both laments and defends his Welsh identity in his desire not to be a “Prologue to History.” Whilst desiring not to be outside history and irrelevant, the choice to use “prologue,” rather than, for example, “footnote”, privileges the Welsh as inhabitants of the land before the British arrived. The English viewed the indigenous Celtic cultures with either hostility or pity. “Both attitudes...cast [the Celts] as human inferiors,” (McVeagh, 1994:149). These cultural representations of Welsh culture as one to be ridiculed or repressed, dates back to medieval Britain.

As Kennedy and Meecham Jones assert, “The relationship of Wales, England and Britain is still set in forms shaped by the presumptions created to justify the priorities and circumstances of a medieval war of colonization,” (2008:27). Price further confirms that “early Manic Street Preachers reviews were littered with anti-Welsh racism: it was the only form of racism that was still tolerated,” (1999:23). He emphasizes that this racism is doubly offensive: “why should it be any more politically correct to laugh at a nation which has been economically raped by its English masters and whose people have been quietly tossed on to the human scrapheap of unemployment, than it is to poke fun at those who have a noisier and more direct grievance against English colonialism?” (ibid:23). The representations of Welshness in these texts challenge perceptions of the Welsh as irrelevant and ineffectual, but how do the cross-dressing Rebeccaites factor into the creation of these positive Welsh national identities?

Cohen argues that the carnivalesque “overcome[es] power inequalities and hierarchies...through the playful mockery of hierarchical order by individuals oppressed by it,” (2011:178). Howell argues that additionally “[By wearing] female garb and acting the ‘pantomime’ of resistance, respectable farmers... transformed into the community’s conscience and [carried] out acts of protest totally out of character with their respectable selves,” (1988:123). This carnivalesque interpretative framework reads these textual representations of the riots as something more political than disguise or playful disruption. Furthermore, Jenkins emphasises that “Welsh poetry...was not ‘literature’ in the sense that it needed to be written or read: it was a social phenomenon, to be declaimed in a public setting,” (1992:62). It is significant that the texts explored in this chapter are all designed ultimately for performance.

Dylan Thomas problematises the carnivalesque in *Rebecca’s Daughters*. Whilst Anthony and his Rebeccaites use carnivalesque methods to disrupt social hierarchy, Lord Sarn utilizes disguise in a mocking and frivolous manner that highlights his social privilege and undermines the reversals in social hierarchy attempted by Rebecca’s Carnival. This contrast appears deliberate, as Rhiannon invites Rebecca to the costume party, forcing the reader/audience to compare and contrast Sarn’s Henry the Eighth costume, significant in its representation of English aristocratic power, with Rebecca’s female garb. Two issues are of particular note here. The footman is described as “terrified” by Anthony’s Rebecca garb (Thomas, 1965:93), whereas Sarn’s costume is presented as infantile, predictable and ridiculous. Secondly, the film adaptation of the play exacerbates the farcical nature of Sarn’s pantomime by having him dress instead as Queen Elizabeth, which further highlights the dignity and reversal of social power represented in Anthony’s female disguise.

Rebecca's Daughters thus employs elements of the carnivalesque both to mock the frivolous vanities of the aristocracy and to invert the social order in eighteenth century Wales. Using only sartorial choices, Thomas manages to expose Lord Sarn and his guests as hypocrites and dilettantes and to present Rebecca and her daughters as serious agents of social change. Furthermore, Anthony's transformation from a mollycoddled aristocrat who wears numerous coats to leave the house and will not participate in social life due to his "fear of the cold," into the stalwart figure of Rebecca, can itself be seen as carnivalesque subversion. As Puetz maintains, "the shifts of power and the 'death' of [here Anthony as 'aristocrat'] are depicted as part of a process of regeneration and as a stage of re-birth, as is typical in carnivalesque writing," (2010:46). Anthony as Rebecca thus transforms himself into someone Rhiannon can respect and eventually marry.

The actions of the Rebeccaites in *Rebecca's Daughters* are presented as ordered or structured inversion, rather than chaotic disorder. In other words, they utilize "the upsetting of hierarchy so intrinsic to carnival" (Holland-Toll, 1999:132). Anthony's crew of disenfranchised Welsh farm labourers, coupled with measured acts of rebellion, present Rebecca as an agent of change, rather than a criminal. Thomas's protagonist acts carefully, utilizing carnivalesque tactics only so far as they are useful to his cause. However, despite the restoration of order at the end of the text, the use of carnivalesque in *Rebecca's Daughters* does not merely "showcase...the Dionysian in order to foreground and privilege the Apollonian," (Holland-Toll, 1999:131) as is so often the case in literature. Rather, these performative acts of reversal actually bring about the desired change in the social order at the end of the screenplay, when the tollgates are destroyed by police under the authority of parliament (Thomas:1965:144).

The carnivalesque is also instrumental in understanding Manic Street Preachers' performative image, which is referenced and defended in their texts. Wire ties rebellion with costume or disguise whilst explaining his own motivation. "Dressing up is just the ultimate

escape...Outrage and boredom...go hand in hand,” (Wire (1993), qtd in Heatley, 1998:62). This conflation of costume with protest is acknowledged by Kinser, who states that “literary versions of the Carnival-Lent allegory generally include five segments,” and lists the first two as “presentation of characters and preparation for combat.” He further notes that, “In Rabelais’s episode nearly all the narrative is concerned with [these] first two phases,” (1990:63). It is significant then, that Manic Street Preachers’ two most recognisable images are female attire and military garb, often in combination. The texts acknowledge this juxtaposition with constant allusions to glamour in songs such as “Stay Beautiful,” and military themes in “This Sullen Welsh Heart.”

The carnival themes of renewal and regeneration are relevant to these literary representations. Bakhtin describes the carnival spirit as “ambivalent: destruction and recrowning are related to birth and renewal. The death of the old is linked with regeneration,” (1965:217). These themes are represented in *Rebecca’s Daughters*, both through the actions of the Rebeccaites, and through Anthony’s personal journey. “This Sullen Welsh Heart” also uses this imagery of cyclical regeneration. The lyric refers to the need for continual creation as a saving grace. Here poetry and the creation of an onstage carnival space protect the lyricist from destruction: “The act of creation saves us from despair; A phrase that keeps repeating in my head,” (Manic Street Preachers, 2013:25-26). However, the lyric feels claustrophobic and melancholy, rather than joyous, due to the sense of enforced repetitive regeneration.

Whilst “This Sullen Welsh Heart” does not explicitly reference the Rebecca Riots, the carnivalesque elements of social inversion and cyclical regeneration are present. There is an assumed knowledge of the band’s former political antagonism in the constancy of the speaker’s heart that won’t give up, and his eyes that won’t close. The body of the speaker rebels against the mind and insists on continuing the battle to change the balance of social power in Wales. As Bakhtin has argued, the body is a vital aspect of the carnivalesque and

furthermore “exaggeration, hyperbolism, excessiveness are generally considered fundamental,” (1965:303). The body of the speaker in “This Sullen Welsh Heart” has control over his mind, with the speaker hyperbolic in his representation of this control. The speaker wants to stop fighting, become wilfully ignorant of the issues and go home, but the body will not allow this and insists on continuing the subversive battle.

Adding to this carnivalesque subversion, Wales has not traditionally given a voice to the feminine in its historical narrative. The majority of Welsh history is told from the male experience by male voices. Evans asserts that “Women's history achieved little prominence until the 1980s and was a belated discovery for most Welsh historians,” (1992:483). Manic Street Preachers have received critical distaste for “the significantly teenage and female nature of their fanbase,” (Jones, 2014:40), and this attitude is reflected in academic circles with Evans further noting that “Welsh writing reflected a radical tradition that was unaware of, or unconcerned about, its masculinity,” (1992:483). “This Sullen Welsh Heart” includes the female voice quite literally, being a duet, and Rhiannon’s role in *Rebecca’s Daughters* is pivotal to the story as both catalyst and saviour. Both of these texts thus give the female voice prominence in the male narrative of Welsh history.

It is debatable whether carnivalesque inversion is meant to provide a safety valve for rebellion or a permanent change in social and political realities. It is clear from all three texts discussed in this chapter, that the authors are desirous of the latter, but it is less clear whether this is what is ultimately achieved. Holland-Toll examines the claim that horror literature, which she examines through the lens of carnivalesque inversion, affirms societal values. She claims that, “This argument is extremely problematic as it implies that there are both monolithic social values and a monolithic voice which can affirm them,” (1999:131). This does not appear to be the case in these texts as the conflicted, problematic Welsh identity negates the concept of a monolithic voice that can affirm Welsh social values. Alternatively,

in the case of monolithic British social values, I would argue that these texts challenge, rather than affirm this voice, by offering alternative Welsh perspectives.

Thus it can be seen that this issue of general instability is instrumental to the carnivalesque framework. As Puetz asserts, representations of carnivals and carnivalesque elements in literature “are marked by temporary changes in hierarchies and the idea of a world turned upside-down,” (2010:42). It is this transience of social and national hierarchies that the speaker of “Prologue to History” appears to be confronting and challenging with his desire not to be a mere prologue to the canon history of his country. He thus highlights the problematic and ambivalent Welsh national identity that poses the danger of being overlooked. Like “This Sullen Welsh Heart,” “Prologue to History” focuses on the aftermath of carnivalesque disguise and inversion and, unlike *Rebecca’s Daughters*, appears to imply that carnival reversal does not actually cause any lasting social upheaval. This is exemplified in the depiction of a failure to change the world with their actions. When the speaker laments the loss of determination of “my former friend who's now undercover; He's gone, I'm no deserter,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:4-5), he invokes military imagery with the words “undercover” and “deserter” representing the band as unable to escape the second phase of carnival, the preparation for combat.

This focus on history and the fragmentation of Welsh identity is, perhaps, what appealed to the band in adopting the identity of the Rebeccaites. As they have explained, “We came to feel we were part of a culture that didn’t exist anymore...We wanted to attach some new-found intelligence or theory to the place and the class we came from,” (Bradfield (1996) qtd in Heatley, 1998:79). In adopting the symbolism of the Rebecca rioters, the band attempted to create a distinctive Welsh identity. “Prologue to History” addresses the limitations of the carnivalesque in rewriting this Welsh identity. Despite these limitations, it is evident from the tone of the lyric, that these attempts to be involved in history are superior to

the complacency that comes with disconnection. The lyric highlights activities that remove the speaker from the national and global “stage” he formerly inhabited and recasts him as observer or ineffectual actor, concerned only with his immediate surroundings: “Read the papers and the business section; Call my friends and they’re all right; So I pray for the safety of the night,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:15-18). The text memorialises and privileges attempts to change the world through disruptive, carnivalesque methods.

In conclusion, the concept of the carnivalesque, provides a useful interpretive tool through which to view these texts. Added to this, the role of history in these texts highlights the role of history in the creation of Welsh identity. Furthermore, as Sethi argues, these texts not only represent and reflect political realities but are, themselves, arguably part of history. “Widely interpreted, history can also include poetry, mythology, or cosmology, as traced from the early narrative traditions,” (1999:111). Here Sethi refers to the puranas of Indian history. However, I would also argue that this applies to Welsh history, with its long traditions of music and verse. In the next chapter I will move onto the central theme of this study, with an exploration of the role of cross-dressing and gender in literary representations of the Rebecca Riots.

Chapter Two: Cross-dressing and the construction of gender.

Arguably the most notable aspect of the Rebecca Riots, at least from a literary viewpoint, is the cross-dressing of the male rioters. This cross-dressing, glossed over or completely ignored by many historical accounts of the riots¹, allows writers such as Dillwyn, Thomas and Manic Street Preachers to explore constructions of gender in the social and political milieu of Welsh culture. Cross-dressing is by no means exclusive to Welsh culture,

¹ See, particularly, Jenkins’ entry on the Rebecca Riots in *A History of Modern Wales 1536-1990*, which notes Mother Rebecca as the leader, but says nothing about the cross-dressing of participants.

but it is their use of cross-dressing as protest that is of interest. The Rebeccaites in these literary representations do not use drag for personal pleasure, nor to create an awareness of gender inequity. Dillwyn's gender construction is complicated by her narrating in the character of a cross-dressing man. Thomas, meanwhile, gives himself the challenge of representing a Romantic hero who adopts female dress. Manic Street Preachers explore the gender construction of identifying as heterosexual men whilst representing themselves textually as literal or potential women.

Gramich asserts that Dillwyn's choice to narrate the novel from Evan's point of view and Evan's status as a "hybrid" male/female, English/Welsh character allow Dillwyn to speak for groups of which she is not, herself, a member (2008:xv). The text thus draws parallels between underprivileged groups, such as women, the Welsh and the working classes. For example, Evan comments of himself and his fellow rioters, "We did not much like the dresses, and felt extremely thankful that we were not always obliged to wear such uncomfortable costumes," (Dillwyn, 1880:81). Earlier in the text, Wales itself is referred to as female when Beynon prompts the would-be rioters, "We belong to Wales, to that wild Wales. Which, in days gone by would be ruled by none but her own native princes, and long flung back every attempt of the English tyrant to grind her under his heel," (ibid:65).

One of the ways in which Dillwyn represents gender in the text is in the marked difference between the characters of Gwenllian and her aunt Elizabeth. As Davies notes, for feminism, "It is vital to gain access to the male symbolic order...both to use and subvert it, and it is equally vital to elaborate what it means to be female independent of patriarchal narratives," (1989:71). Aunt Elizabeth's femininity is thus located firmly within the patriarchal narrative. She reacts hysterically to the carriage incident, and is shocked at Evan's lack of learning and rough manners. Gwenllian, conversely, is placed outside the patriarchal narrative in her independence and her responses to Evan and her aunt. However, in contrast to

Rhiannon, whose donning of the role and costume of Rebecca is a melodramatic and anachronistic subversion of nineteenth-century femininity, Gwenllian subverts the dominant narrative of femininity in a subtle and more believable manner.

Gender is not the only constructed identity in these texts. Anthony Raine gains a complex and problematised class identity when he takes on the role of Rebecca. However, he never entirely appropriates a working-class identity, nor entirely rejects his original aristocratic identity. Of more particular note is the character of Bill in *The Rebecca Rioter*. The language Dillwyn uses to describe him is notable. Evan comments that Bill is “one of these quiet, gentle fellows, that seem like so many lumps of ice when one expects them to care about things,” (1880:55). Thus traits such as “natural” refinement or incongruous gentility in characters with working-class upbringings can be, as here, literary clues to a hidden or secret upper-class origin. These aristocratic traits often correspond with “feminine” traits, such as gentleness in literary representations of class, which seems to suggest that aristocracy, and thus, in Welsh literature, “Englishness” are, themselves, effeminate.

As appropriators of gender, the representations of the men in these texts are significant in light of Butler’s claims about gender identity being a performed series of actions. Butler asserts that, “If the ground of (gender) identity is the stylized repetition of acts through time, and not a seemingly seamless identity, then the possibilities of (gender) transformation are to be found in the arbitrary relation between such acts, in the possibility of a different sort of repeating, in the breaking or subversive repetition of that style,” (1988:520). Both Anthony’s and Evan’s performances of gender identity whilst in female garb, are active, violent and stereotypically masculine. By Butler’s standards, the series of actions performed by the two characters make them male, and yet the series of smaller repeated actions necessary for wearing female clothing, such as riding a horse or arranging a headscarf correctly, makes them female.

To complicate these problematic performances of gender further, Rhiannon performs the same masculine actions, in the same female costume, at the climax of *Rebecca's Daughters* and yet she is biologically a woman. Likewise, the male speaker of "Born A Girl" attempts to identify as female by both dress and performance, despite being male. Conversely in "Little Baby Nothing," as with *The Rebecca Rioter*, the gender of the writer and the speaker are entirely mismatched. "Little Baby Nothing" is the most problematic of these texts, because, as I will discuss further later in this chapter, the male writer constructs gender for the female speaker through a series of performative actions, effectively removing her voice. There is an argument that, like Dillwyn, Manic Street Preachers are attempting to give a voice to a disenfranchised group. However, by the 1980s women had plenty of opportunities to speak for and represent themselves.

It is this confusion of gender roles, between author and narrator, that is of interest to this project. Although Dillwyn, unlike the male speaker of "Born A Girl," is not performing the opposite gender in the literal sense, like the speaker of "Little Baby Nothing," she is performing it in a literary sense, by projecting herself into Evan's mind and body. Reynolds and Humble make the observation that masculine characters in nineteenth-century literature, when intended as author proxies, tend to "cast a shadow" over the narrative due to the representation of the "autonomous, independent, masculine self," whereas the feminine self-proxy tends toward "less solid and coherent selves...fragmented, camouflaged, fleeting" and thus, not casting a shadow across the narrative (1993:140). Evan's character literally camouflages himself as a woman during the riots and his identity is fractured as he constantly contemplates correct courses of action and where he fits into his community.

Gwenllian, in attempting to educate Evan into a position where he might potentially escape his background, is an example of the peculiarly Victorian view of social reform that

Oscar Wilde lampoons in *The Importance of Being Ernest*. “I am not in favour of this modern mania for turning bad people into good people at a moment's notice,” (1895:565). Guy analyses the Victorian social-problem novel, noting that such novels highlight the attempts in literature to “educate” rather than merely entertain, (1996:4). She further asserts that “Fundamental to [the Victorian intellectual climate] was an emphasis on the individual as the basic unit of enquiry...large-scale issues were addressed by recommending changes in *individual behaviours* rather than changes to social structures, (1996:10). I would argue that Dillwyn’s representation of Evan, who ultimately chooses to attempt a change of social structures by joining the Rebeccaites, is more interesting than social-problem novels partially for this reason.

Dillwyn challenges the dominant discourses of femininity and masculinity with her representation of cross-dressing rioters. Male cross-dressing is a problematic concept in literature as representations of men in female clothing tend to primarily be simplistic and humorous. As Flanagan argues, they are “often presented...as part of a comedy routine – the humour of which is based upon the male subject’s inherent inability to give a convincing feminine performance,” (2008:134). The acts that Evan performs with the Rebeccaites challenge this stereotype by being serious, violent and important. Dillwyn highlights this with Evan’s description of Jenkin looking “as if you was never meant to be no better nor a woman in all your life,” (Dillwyn, 1880:82) contrasting with the seriousness of the acts to be performed by the companions. The narrative accordingly adopts a darker tone, as Evan describes the resultant scene as “wild and strange...figures with negro faces and women’s clothes, the fierce eyes glistening in the firelight...the savage delight with which the broken pieces of wood were tossed onto the fire,” (ibid:85).

Dylan Thomas does not adopt a gender disguise in *Rebecca’s Daughters*. Furthermore, the structure of the text relies heavily on dialogue and visual cues, rather than

allowing readers access to the characters' inner thoughts and motivations to observe the possible fragmentation of gender identities. Anthony deliberately presents himself as stereotypically effeminate, earning the scorn of Rhiannon and of the other gentlemen, who refer to him as "a pampered pet. A mollycoddling hypochondriac," (Thomas, 1965:41). Yet it is in the guise of a woman that Anthony gains Rhiannon's respect, causing her to further challenge and confuse gender roles by referring to Rebecca as "a *real* man," (ibid:64). As Ramet argues, "Gender identity and social identity may or may not converge in the individual's life or in a particular interaction," (1996:24). For Anthony/Rebecca positive social status depends on Rebecca's "masculine" female identity and negative social status derives from Anthony's "feminine" male identity.

Unlike Gwenllian, who seems to function as merely a catalyst for Evan's conscience, Rhiannon plays a more active role in the narrative of *Rebecca's Daughters*. Gwenllian disappears from the novel early and only reappears in the closing scenes. Her final act is to help mitigate Evan's sentence from hanging to transportation. Thus she can be represented as an ideation of feminine mercy, rather than as a woman. Conversely, Rhiannon continuously challenges Anthony and his rival suitor as inadequate models of masculinity. Additionally, her eventual adoption of the Rebecca role further complicates the gender roles in the text because she must dress as a woman, in order to appropriate Rebecca's (male) gender and the traditionally male-gendered role of hero and protector. Like Flanagan's textual examples, Rhiannon "is so successful in her role-playing that she is able to outperform the males which she originally set out to emulate," (2008:103). Notably, she does this whilst wearing female clothes.

Like Bill in *The Rebecca Rioter*, Anthony is described in strikingly "feminine" terms. However, whilst Bill's identity remains stable notwithstanding his change in social status, Anthony's identity is fragmented and mercurial, adapting to different circumstances and

social roles. Despite this, it is Anthony who completes the traditional male Bildungsroman narrative arc and marries Rhiannon, simultaneously ceasing his days as Rebecca and thus consigning his unstable gender identity to the past. This is alluded to in the final scene when Anthony and Rhiannon share a secret smile at the burning of a tollgate by police and troops, restoring the job of social change from chaotic cross-dressers to stable lawmen. Conversely, Bill discovers that he is landed gentry and is restored to his family. However, unlike the other male characters, his ambiguous sexuality and essentially feminine identity is never resolved with either a wedding or a courtship.

The figure of Rebecca him/herself is the most significant figure in these texts. In Dillwyn's novel, Rebecca is represented not as one charismatic individual, but as "an emblem of roused nationhood and, as in so many cases, the nation is gendered as feminine," (Gramich, 2001:xviii). Thomas's screenplay, instead represents Rebecca as a major central character. However, even here Rebecca remains androgynous and this androgyny is not, as androgyny is so often represented in literature, sexually provocative and malleable but rather, akin to angels in Biblical literature, imposing and asexual. In fact it is only when Anthony removes his women's clothing, and thus his adopted gender identity, in Rhiannon's room, that he adopts the effeminate role of Anthony and then, ultimately, the masculine role of lover. Manic Street Preachers' texts engage with the figure of Rebecca less directly, by privileging the speaker's desired female identity over his socially prescribed male identity.

The destabilizing of gender identities is arguably as confronting for cultures that benefit from the privileging of stable gender identities as is revolution for those who benefit from the prevailing social structure. The Rebeccaites challenge both of these structures. The film adaptation of *Rebecca's Daughters* departs significantly from Thomas's text here. In the text Lord Sarn is represented as the epitome of disconnected land-owning aristocracy, borderline senile, cantankerous and spoiled, but not overtly malicious. He dresses for his masquerade, after some grumbling, because as Rhiannon tells him, "You know you always go

as Henry the Eighth. People expect it of you,” (Thomas, 1965:91). There is an implication that Lord Sarn, like Lear, is tiring of his position as an authority figure. In the film adaptation, however, Lord Sarn is represented as an obnoxious, sly alcoholic. Rather than Henry the Eighth, he drunkenly insists on dressing as Queen Elizabeth the First, symbolically mocking the idea of female power and authority, represented by Rebecca.

Another significant way in which the film adaptation of *Rebecca's Daughters* differs from Thomas's screenplay is in the representation of Rebecca/Anthony. The film focuses disproportionately on Rebecca's sinister blackened face and shies away from the explicitly feminine dress described by Thomas. Anthony's mollycoddled invalid clothing is also avoided, thus downplaying his effeminate identity. Instead, the focus on cross-dressing privileges Lord Sarn's Elizabeth costume, falling in line with the preferred representation of male cross-dressing as comedic. The film appears uneasy with the depiction of a male hero who spends a great deal of the text either representing himself as weakly and negatively feminine or dressed as a symbolic woman. In both versions, Anthony eventually gains what Flanagan calls “reassertion of [his] hegemonic masculinity,” (2008:135). Tellingly, however, unlike Flanagan's cross-dressing heroes, Anthony does not lose social status and agency from his adopting of Rebecca's clothes but, rather, gains them.

Song lyrics, like screenplays, are not readily accepted as legitimate texts. This is, arguably, due to the tendency of modern society to arbitrarily deem certain literary forms as “high” culture whilst relegating others to low or “pop” culture category. These classifications are often based on assumptions about the social class or education levels of the audience. Or, as Bourdieu argues “Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier,” (Bourdieu, 1979:1669). Therefore, it is relevant that Manic Street Preachers' “appropriation of tabloid techniques was a classic example of detournement: seizing the products of Capitalism and using them as weapons against it,” (Price, 1999:78). Wire gives credence to this observation when he asserts

that the band's later image is intended "to get in a position where....it might be easier to subvert," (Wire [1996] qtd in Heatley, 1998:42). Price adds that, "The band's flexible grasp of syntax, rhyme-free verse and multiple-message songs had more respectable literary precedents in...Kerouac's unpunctuated stream-of-consciousness and...Burrough's cut-up method," (1999:78).

The lyric "Born A Girl" catalogues the lyricist's desire to inhabit the female gender. It is a subversive text, because it reverses the notion that being male allows one more freedom than being female, a motivation often cited as the reason for female cross-dressing in literature. Flanagan asserts that female cross-dressing is often performed "in order to escape societies which seek to repress and limit femininity," (2008:100). Conversely, the speaker in "Born A Girl" is attempting to escape modern Western society which, it could be argued, seeks to repress and limit masculinity, at least in its traditional formats. Moreover, Garber notes that interpreting such a text, dealing with the longing to switch genders in order to gain power and freedom from social constraints on one's gender as only fantasy or wish-fulfilment, "write[s] out [and] erase[s], the transvestite and his/her power to destabilize and disturb," (1992:168). "Born A Girl" avoids this issue because the speaker is also attempting to inhabit the female space in reality.

If, as Van Lenning, Maas and Leeks argue, "woman is a social construct...[and] Lived understanding of the woman and by the woman is a product of representations," (2001:93), then the speaker of "Born A Girl" is a woman by virtue of performance. Yet Nicky Wire, who wrote the lyric, lives other aspects of his life as a gendered traditional male. He is married to a woman, identifies as heterosexual and has a child. Yet his performance of the female gender is not reserved for the stage. Thus it must be for himself, and indeed he is quite vocal about having enjoyed women's clothing and make-up from a young age. In this sense the speaker of "Born A Girl," is, much more than Rhiannon, or even Anthony/Rebecca, a desexualised and

ambiguous woman, hiding behind what he terms “layers of disguise; and the mirrors of my own happiness,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:3-4).

Whereas the speaker of “Born A Girl” expresses jealousy of the female gender identity, the other texts deal with the opposite problem. The speaker of “Born A Girl” laments the lack of belonging he feels as a man performing female gender: “The censorship of my skin; Is screaming inside and from within; There's no room in this world for a girl like me,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:15-17). Rhiannon and the speaker of “Little Baby Nothing,” conversely, express jealousy of the male gender identity. The female speaker of “Little Baby Nothing” expresses her gender jealousy in a sarcastic diatribe on her idealised male-constructed femininity. In response to the lines “No one likes looking at you; Your lack of ego offends male mentality,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1992:1-2), she retorts, “My mind is dead, everybody loves me; Wants a slice of me; Hopelessly passive and compatible,” (ibid:6-8). Rhiannon’s stated desire to be one of Rebecca’s daughters expresses a similar feeling of helplessness in being gendered female.

None of this gender identity confusion or jealousy is distinctly Welsh, so we need to examine what makes cross-dressing in Welsh literature different. I would argue that the difference is in the intent of the cross-dressers. Howell has noted that the combination of blackened faces and dresses is only in part a matter of disguise (1988:123). Stevenson cites the “honourable tradition of cross-dressing and riotous assembly” (2014:45) in Wales. Sheen notes of the Manics that they “had a gender-confrontational thing going on...at the same time as having a political consciousness,” (2014:vii), and it is here that we find a clue to the distinctiveness of representations of cross-dressing in Welsh literature. Unlike the comedic intent of English pantomime cross-dressing or the liberating intent of female cross-dressers in adventure literature, the Rebeccaites and those attempting to emulate them, may use cross-dressing to destabilize and disrupt established power structures.

Gender and sexuality deserve consideration in any discussion of cross-dressing in literature. However, as Flanagan argues, the cross-dressing acts of boys in children's literature "are rarely perceived as sinister or sexually deviant," (2008:99). Compare this to Japanese "Young Men's Kabuki", which was ultimately banned because the boys were seen as "too attractive to some of the samurai in the audience," (Garber, 1992:245), or the implication that young male actors were essentially prostitutes in the English middle-ages, as alluded to by Tom Stoppard in his depiction of Alfred in *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*. Anthony as Rebecca is attractive to Rhiannon despite, not because of, his disguise. She knows he is a man, yet she addresses him as a woman whilst relating to him as a man. Her attraction to Rebecca stems from his/her actions of protest, not from a sexualised representation of either his biological male or performed female gender.

The lack of sexual titillation is notable in the representations of cross-dressing in these texts. This is remarkably significant with "Little Baby Nothing," as the lyric deals with female exploitation, yet focuses not on sexuality, but self-construction. The female speaker deliberately exploits herself, yet the lyric problematises female agency. No matter how self-accusatory the lyrics of the male speaker, the words of the female speaker nevertheless remain a male interpretation of a woman's personal experience of exploitation by men. This is highlighted in the ending refrain "You are pure, you are snow; We are the useless sluts that they mould," (Manic Street Preachers, 1992:34-35). By idealising the female speaker as "pure" and "snow," incidentally recurring motifs that the lyricist aspires to attribute to himself in other lyrics, the male speaker risks constructing the female speaker as an ideal, rather than a human being.

The female speaker in "Little Baby Nothing" destabilises the notion that women are allowed to construct their own gender. She exposes the idea that, as Butler asserts,

“Performing one's gender wrong[sic] initiates a set of punishments both obvious and indirect, and performing it well provides the reassurance that there is an essentialism of gender identity,” (2014:528). The male-constructed image of female gender is highlighted in the lines “if I'm starving, you can feed me lollipops; Your diet will crush me; My life just an old man's memory,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1992:22-24). In a similar sense, the English have constructed the Welsh identity², thus it makes sense that, in *Rebecca*, these Welsh representations of “female” and “Welsh” challenge and complicate the comfortable constructions of the powerful “other”. The appeal of a Welsh female character who challenges English male power is thus evident as a literary figure.

The figure of Rebecca challenges representations of femaleness as weak and helpless. In *Rebecca's Daughters*, Rebecca is almost a male proxy for Rhiannon, similar to the way Peter Pan can be construed as such for Wendy. Garber argues that, “Peter is a kind of Wendy Unbound, a regendered, not quite degendered alternative persona who can have adventures,” (1992:168). The same could arguably hold true for Rebecca/Rhiannon. Nor is it merely Rebecca's “maleness” which appeals to Rhiannon. Just prior to meeting Rebecca, Rhiannon rebukes her maid for liking men, stating, “they're all stuffy, cautious, conceited creatures. Or nearly all of them,” (Thomas, 1965:79). “Little Baby Nothing” similarly disparages weak constructions of women as inadequate, “Need to belong, oh the roads are scary; So hold me in your arms; I wanna be your only possession,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1992:9-11). In pursuing and later assisting Rebecca, Rhiannon challenges these stereotypes.

These texts distort the male gaze by complicating it through the female gaze. Rhiannon's gaze when she continually urges Rebecca to remove his/her mask at the Masquerade is an example of the reversed male/female gaze. The speaker of “Born A Girl” deliberately places himself in the position of subject to be gazed at, reversing the male gaze

² See, for example, R. Merfyn Jones's article on English constructions of “Welshness” as wild and poetic or comfortably rustic.

from the opening lines, “Do I look good for you tonight; Will you accuse me as I hide; Behind these layers of disguise,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:1-3). Conversely, the male speaker in “Little Baby Nothing,” attacks the subject/female because his male gaze is inadequate to possess her. He complains, “Your pretty face offends; Because it's something real that I can't touch; Eyes, skin, bone, contour, language as a flower,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1992:16-18). Rebecca, as a representation in literature, turns the possessive male gaze against the gazer by confusing and distorting the female image.

One of the problematic aspects of two of these texts is the appropriated gendered voice. Dillwyn's appropriation of the male identity can be justified as Owen argues, because “The novel's sympathetic treatment of the working-class rioter is at odds with other literature dealing with the Rebecca Riots, fictional or otherwise,” (2008:52) thus giving an otherwise under-represented voice literary representation. Furthermore, “Dillwyn herself...like the rioters of her novel, complicates gender distinctions in order to gain expression,” (ibid: 53). “Little Baby Nothing” is more problematic, as there are multiple female voices that could, and indeed have, spoken about female exploitation in texts. Manic Street Preachers could also be argued to be attempting to complicate gender distinctions with their lyric, particularly as the male band members, aside from the vocalist, are replaced with female mimics in the accompanying video. However, this appropriation of the internal exploited female voice by male writers requires further exploration.

The figure of Rebecca in literary contexts, could be accused of posing the same problem. Whilst Rebecca has been theorised, at least to some extent, to represent the land of Wales (Gramich, 2001:xviii), s/he is nonetheless a female-gendered person. Manic Street Preachers appropriate the image of Rebecca in their cross-dressing political performances, and cross-dressing can “make[s] us not only question what is real and what “must” be, but...also show us how the norms that govern contemporary notions of reality can be

questioned and how new modes of reality can become instituted,” (Butler, 2004:29). Thus it could be argued that “Little Baby Nothing” merely continues this destabilisation of norms. It has been noted earlier that Manic Street Preachers were disparaged for their disproportionately large female fanbase, which argues that this female fanbase, at least, accepted the appropriation as suitable. However, the area is a controversial one and certainly not resolved by these speculations.

Thus, male cross-dressing in general and the figure of Rebecca in particular, affect the constructions of gender that appear in these Welsh texts. The distinctly Welsh character of the female-gendered Rebecca is interesting when compared to folk heroes of England, most of whom are notably male. That modern Welsh literature continues to include both representations and imitations of the Rebeccaites, indicates that these subversive constructions are of interest to Welsh writers and readers, and function to explain Welsh culture to Welsh people. Clearly, the representations have differed in emphasis and focus throughout the century and a half following the original riots. However, it is evident that Welsh literature still sees a place for Rebecca and her daughters in Welsh culture. This is important, as it signifies a certain openness and transgression as inherent to Welsh national identity, in addition to revealing the distinctiveness and fluidity of Welsh male identity.

Chapter Three: Class constructions, violence and youth.

A friend of mine once retorted, in response to my questioning the lack of a working-class perspective on a cultural debate, “Being poor and uneducated, we’ll just resort to violence.” Whilst he was being sarcastic, he successfully encapsulated the ideas expressed and challenged in these textual representations of Welsh culture and the Rebecca Riots. The texts in this chapter interrogate and challenge the ideological stereotype that the working classes have a propensity for violence, and are thus unsympathetic as literary characters, as

reductive and unhelpful. These literary representations of the riots arguably reframe working-class violence as positive, when directed at injustice. The novel, *The Rebecca Rioter*, was written by a middle-class Victorian woman, whilst the song lyrics were penned in the aftermath of Thatcherite Wales by working-class men. However, beyond these structural differences and contrasting perspectives, the arguments in the texts reach similar conclusions. Social and literary prejudices against the working classes thus do not appear to have changed overmuch in over a century.

As such, literary representations of the British working-class have often been condescending and moralistic, rather than empowering³. A useful comparison comes with Australian literature, particularly considering our own cultural connection with Britain. As Bellanta asserts, “Telling the story...is important because of how little has been said about [the] poor...about their everyday life and sensibilities, in spite of the influence they have since had on...notions of [Australian] national identity,” (2012:xvii). This thesis argues that in Wales, these representations do exist. The story of the Rebecca Rioters is told in Welsh literature, both explicitly and implicitly, in addition to having a profound influence on notions of Welsh national identity.

One major factor in social class difference is the vague but ideologically powerful construct of “respectability.” This stems from the assumption that, as Jones asserts, “Everything is to be judged by middle-class standards because, after all, that is what we are expected to aspire to,” (2012:137). This is arguably why the “social problem novel” was prevalent in Victorian Britain. In these novels, as Guy argues, “all the features of fiction, such as plot structure and characterisation, will always be subservient to the fable’s moral imperative,” (1996:14). This is not the case in Dillwyn’s novel, where the structure focuses more on Evan’s growth as a character than on his crime and punishment, complicating the

³ Whilst an exhaustive list would be untenable in a study of this length, there is no shortage of such texts. Charles Dickens’ *Oliver Twist* and *Bleak House* provide pertinent examples.

representation of working-class protagonists in literature. Conversely, “A Design For Life” deliberately invokes caricatures of the working classes in order to mock them. Lines such as “We don’t talk about love; We only want to get drunk,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1996:7,17,24) mock middle-class representations of working-class “hooliganism”.

The representations of working-class characters in these texts are varied and nuanced. As Jones argues, “There has never been an age when the working class was properly respected...From the Victorian era to World War II, working class people were barely mentioned in books. When they appeared at all, they were caricatures,” (2012:109). In contrast to this trend, Dillwyn writes her novel from the perspective of Evan, the working-class rioter. Evan is presented as an intelligent and resourceful young man who accidentally kills a man during the confusion of a riot, and Dillwyn presents his inner thoughts as a serious moral dilemma (1880:149-153). Compare this to Evan’s earlier internal monologue where he admits his initial heroic action is merely the result of his superficial attraction to Gwenllian (Gramich, 2001:xiv). This character arc and allowance of reader access to a character’s inner thoughts are literary techniques usually reserved for “higher status” protagonists.

One problematic aspect of working-class representations in literature is class appropriation. This appropriation occurs in *The Rebecca Rioter* both within the text, as Bill, Evan’s close friend, is revealed as an adopted middle-class squire, and, more significantly, at the authorial level. Dillwyn’s decision to use first-person narration, rather than the more detached third-person narration, results in a reading of the novel that implies the author is privy to the inner character of her protagonist. By using Evan’s internal voice and presenting his personal opinion on the unfolding events of the riots, Dillwyn presents him as an accurate representation of a working-class Welsh man, who chooses to use cross-dressing as a form of protest against Anglicized aristocratic oppression. As the daughter of a wealthy English landowner and an aristocratic Welsh heiress, Dillwyn’s imaginative leap into Evan’s mind

can be construed as class appropriation.

However, by using these literary techniques, Dillwyn's text partially avoids the negative stereotypes disseminated by other Victorian authors, who depict the working class through an omniscient or external lens. As Jones has observed, this risks "negative reimagining of the worse off by the better off," (2013:4). "A Design For Life," in contrast to Dillwyn's novel, portrays the working-class speaker's guilt at adopting middle-class signifiers. "I wish I had a bottle; Right here in my dirty face to wear the scars; To show from where I came," (Manic Street Preachers, 1996:4-6), the singer laments. This destabilised identity is further complicated by the trend for reverse cultural appropriation of working-class signifiers by middle-class "hipsters". As Perry points out, this largely has to do with the fact that, unlike the self-aware lyricist, these middle-class appropriators "are for the most part unaware of the fact that they are engaged in status-seeking and that their status-seeking has something to do with class," (2013:165).

The title of Manic Street Preachers' lyric "If You Tolerate This Your Children Will Be Next" is a deliberate reference to a poster appealing "to the conscience of the world to save Spain from fascism," (Stradling, 2008:16) during the Spanish Civil War sixty years earlier. In the text, the working-class Welshman makes his political position clear in stating, "So if I can shoot rabbits; Then I can shoot fascists," (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:3-4). This analogy equates fascists with animals acknowledged as farm pests, with the implication that they are a nuisance that complicates everyday working-class life for selfish individual needs. This antagonism of wealthy individualistic values towards working-class community values is summed up by Jones: "The demonization of the working class cannot be understood without looking back at the Thatcherite experiment of the 1980s that forged the society we live in today. At its core was an offensive against working-class communities, industries, values and institutions," (Jones, 2012:40). Thus this post-Thatcherite lyric offers a perspective on the

continuing class war that was arguably instigated, in Wales, by the Rebeccaites. It implies that the adoption of middle-class values and the suppression of working-class values should not be the goal of the working-class protagonist.

Another issue here is that, whilst Evan's "redemption" gives his character a maturation arc worthy of a classic bildungsroman, it problematically involves the adoption of the "other" into his persona, in order to achieve adulthood. I would argue that this rescue narrative is not entirely helpful. This is primarily because rescue narratives are generally simplistic and naïve regarding the wider repercussions of systemic oppression, instead focusing on the redemption of an individual or small, interrelated group (Rohr, 2014). Furthermore, this reading risks implying that the political rebellion demonstrated by the Rebeccaites, of which cross-dressing is an integral aspect, is part of Evan's immaturity, rather than a valid expression of Welsh working-class identity. A similar implication is made in *Rebecca's Daughters*, when Rebecca's clothes are burned in a gesture that signals Anthony's entry into adulthood (Thomas, 1965:144), and the simultaneous burning of the dismantled tollgates gives the event wider repercussions.

Working-class group violence is represented as an agent of change in *The Rebecca Rioter*, although this violence is more problematic than the heroic nostalgia of Thomas's text. "If You Tolerate This..." also presents working-class violence in a positive light, as an aid to social change. Although the Welsh men involved in the Spanish Civil War did not use cross-dressing, they were a distinctive and disproportionately large group amongst the volunteers. As Stradling asserts, "in Wales, in a somehow unique way - at least the mythology of my nation teaches - that call [to fight Fascism] was heard," (2008:16). The mythology to which Stradling refers is one that positions the Welsh as defenders of oppressed working-class national groups against imperial power, and he argues that the Manics advance this national mythology with their lyric (ibid). Britpop representations of the working classes, conversely,

tend to be created and disseminated by the middle-class English “other,” in a hegemonic discourse. As Jones argues, “[this] discourse regards the working class with a peculiar blend of contempt and sentimentality,” (Jones, 2013:15).

Whilst this criticism could apply to Dillwyn’s representation of Evan, Manic Street Preachers’ representation of the working classes in “A Design For Life,” though critical, gains from being self-representative. As Power stresses, the lyric is “Part celebration of the working classes, part elegy to their weaknesses,” (2010:194). It is notable that both Dillwyn and Manic Street Preachers blame unruly behaviour on lack of education. Evan explains his lack of intervention in witnessing a robbery thus, “though I had been taught not to steal myself, yet I had not been taught that I was bound to interfere with another man’s stealing,” (Dillwyn, 1880:38). Ostensibly narrated by a working-class man, Dillwyn’s own ethical perspective is clear in this encounter. Manic Street Preachers, conversely, speak as the working classes they are critiquing. Both texts use first-person narration. However “A Design For Life” utilises the inclusive “we” and “us” to indicate group membership.

Physical violence is generally characterised in middle-class morality as destructive, arbitrary and inferior to negotiation. These assumptions and prejudices have carried into mainstream art-forms, ensuring violent protest is universally slated in modern society and tends to be characterised as “acting out.” The problem with these representations is twofold. Firstly, they exhibit a bias that wealthier young men act out only as an inappropriate or immature response to status threats or anger, whereas less privileged young men tend to be portrayed as more consistently and overtly aggressive. There are multiple examples of this in mainstream media. Secondly, categorising violence as merely an inappropriate response ignores the symbolic elements of group violence characteristic of the Rebecca Riots. Charlesworth argues that “the choice of the tollgate as the object of protest has been regarded as symbolic. The major grievances of the farmers were much deeper,” (1994:2). Both

Anthony and Evan express these grievances as motivations for their violent acts (Thomas, 1965:54-55; Dillwyn, 1880:64-65).

Additionally, from a gendered perspective of group membership, the representation of the Rebecca Riots in Welsh literature could be argued, as a concept, to hold a great deal of appeal to young disenfranchised men looking for a more physically active form of belonging. When these young men are Welsh, national pride could add to this appeal. A more controversial group loyalty can be seen in gangs. As Jones asserts, “Gangs can provide a form of the solidarity that has leaked out of increasingly fragmented working-class communities. To soaring numbers of young people with bleak prospects, gangs can give life meaning, structure, and reward,” (2012:213). Dillwyn gives an idea of this sense of group belonging when Evan attends his first meeting with the Rebeccaites, “The only wonder was how we had all managed to stay quiet so long while we were being treated so badly!” (Dillwyn, 1880:64). Manic Street Preachers portray the same sense of group belonging, with the use of “we” signaling this to the audience.

The use of first-person narration in Dillwyn’s novel also creates an intense and immediate alignment between the reader and the character of Evan. As the reader is able to enter Evan’s thoughts, rather than merely viewing, and possibly judging, from the perspective of an omniscient narrator, Evan’s perspective becomes the perspective through which the reader understands his world. This is significant, because Dillwyn’s novel dramatises the events her father recorded regarding the riots at the Pontardulais turnpike gate. Gramich notes that the original document is rather dry and that “a legalistic attention to detail robs the story of its drama and pace,” (2001:xiii). In contrast, *The Rebecca Rioter* is written in narration which Gramich describes as “racy, lively, colloquial [characterising] Evan as an opinionated and forceful young man who is keen on questioning established ‘truths’,” (ibid:xiv).

Furthermore, Dillwyn humanizes Evan, creating a romantic attraction to Gwenllian, to give his plight added pathos.

One example of this technique is the portrayal of Evan's distress upon discovering that he has shot Gwenllian's father, particularly as it is only his internal dialogue that reveals his mindset. This allows the reader to assess Evan's actions as, if not innocent, at least repented and atoned for in his insistence that Tom escape whilst he returns to take responsibility for his actions (Dillwyn, 1880:152-3). Another appeal to the reader's sympathy is Evan's internal dialogue upon retiring to bed after his first experience as a Rebeccaite, where he states, "What happiness it gave me...to think that the first blow in Glamorganshire had been struck against the wicked people who oppressed us, and that I had helped to strike it!" (ibid:85). By casting the enemy as oppressors and the Rebeccaites as saviours, Dillwyn forges a sympathetic link between reader and protagonist by exposing Evan's motivation as positive rather than merely destructively violent.

The distinctly Welsh flavour of the Rebecca Riots could be partially attributed to the symbolic nature of the violence instigated by the Rioters. Williams (1955:55), Stevenson (2014:50) and Rees (2011:42) note that the relationship between the Rebecca Riots and the *ceffyl pren* punishment is quite strong both geographically and culturally. The importance of the role of violence in a limited, organised and symbolic capacity is relevant here. The texts in this chapter explore the difference between chaotic arbitrary violence and organised violence for a stated constructive purpose, to prevent a perceived wrong. Dillwyn's novel does this within the text, whereas Manic Street Preachers' lyrics contrast them between the texts. Furthermore Owen affirms that "instances...of externally imposed oppression or exploitation and the communal response to it have attracted the attention of several scholars, who in recent years have begun to think about Welsh writing in English from a postcolonial perspective," (2008:51).

In recalling a notable act of working-class heroism, “If You Tolerate This...” encourages emulation, in aid of an ethical cause. This is subversive for a few important and interrelated reasons. First, there is the idea that violent protest against injustice does have a place beyond government-sanctioned war, and that working-class communal values are as valid as middle-class individualistic values. This concept is subversive because Thatcherite Britain and its inheritors have done their best to sideline and ridicule these working-class values as negative or distasteful, precisely because internal competition prevents a united front against oppression. As Jones asserts, “Pride in being working class has been ground down over the past three decades. Being working class has become increasingly regarded as an identity to leave behind,” (2012:233). The representation of historical events where working-class Welsh men utilised their class values to perform heroic acts against injustice, could be appealing to Welsh writers.

“If You Tolerate This...” contrasts with both “A Design For Life” and *The Rebecca Rioter* in portraying class violence. Whilst the latter texts deal with acts of violence organised for a cause, the former deals with unfocused, seemingly purposeless violence as an integral part of working-class Welsh culture. What joins the three texts is the sense that violence stems, ultimately, from frustration and powerlessness and the choices made by the protagonists. These conflicts are clear in each of the texts, though portrayed quite differently. The reader experiences Evan’s ethical dilemmas with him as Dillwyn renders his internal landscape, but he is at the mercy of external events. Conversely, the speaker of “If You Tolerate This...” wrestles with history, describing himself as “a pacifist” who, nonetheless, realises inaction could lead to oppression. Finally, the speaker of “A Design For Life” uses petty violence and drunkenness to make his situation tolerable.

It is this last type of violence that has typecast the Welsh who reside in the areas in which the Rebecca Riots took place, particularly in post-Thatcher Britain, as the coal mines have largely closed down, causing large-scale unemployment problems and Welsh identity crises (Jones, 1992:332). This stereotype is challenged by these textual representations of the Rebecca Riots and allusions to their political agenda. “A Design For Life” is a problematic text in this light, as it risks becoming an anthem for what it is criticizing. As Power comments, “It...opened up a whole new audience for the group – in all probability, the very people that Nicky [Wire] had been addressing with his lyrics,” (2010:196). Significantly, this stereotype of the hard-drinking working-class freeloader was far from accurate. Jones maintains instead that, “a study by the National Centre for Social Research found that children from affluent backgrounds were the biggest drinkers,” (2012:115).

This tension between working-class caricatures and working-class pride informs Manic Street Preachers’ lyrics and provides a possible motivation for their Rebeccaite cross-dressing and sloganeering. The sense of working-class Welsh pride is privileged in “A Design For Life” over the stereotype. The lyric begins with an assertion of dignity, “Libraries gave us power; Then work came and made us free; What price now for a shallow piece of dignity” (Manic Street Preachers, 1996:1-2). The stereotypes that inform the remainder of the lyric are contrasted in the accompanying promotional clip with Orwell’s “Hope lies in the proles” and the more ambiguous “Violence for equality.” Whilst the clip is a separate piece of media from the lyric, the band consistently marry the visual with the literary and the auditory in their message, so I would argue that this supplementary material is relevant, particularly considering the band’s attempts to visually replicate their Rebeccaite forebears.

The protagonists and implied speakers of these texts are young men who have not established themselves socially and are seeking meaningful paths to adulthood. This necessitates further consideration regarding the appeal of the Riots to young, working-class

Welsh men. The association of protest, rebellion and violence with youth may, in part, be ascribed to disenfranchisement. The chance for a unique form of rebellious expression, with roots in historic national folklore, may explain the appeal of the cross-dressing Rebeccaites, particularly for young men who are suffering from boredom and lack of novelty. Oliver Sykes, a lyricist from Sheffield, an English town with a similar class background to the Manics' hometown, Blackwood, simplifies this ennui into an anthemic call-and-response lyric: "Can you tell from the look in our eyes; We're going nowhere; We live our lives and we're ready to die; We're going nowhere," (Bring Me The Horizon, 2013:1-2). The same sentiment is expressed by each of the young male protagonists of these texts, when considering whether to participate in acts of protest.

All three texts make explicit reference to the youth and naivety of their protagonists. Evan states that he is fifteen or sixteen, and another rioter scolds him in regards to his costume, "'was you never look at a woman, you donkey, that you know not how to put on a wittle better than that?'" (Dillwyn, 1880:82). "If You Tolerate This..." contains the aforementioned self-criticism that the speaker feels shame at "being so young and being so vain," (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:18). "A Design For Life" is more subtle, but references wishing to have a bottle "right here in my pretty face," (Manic Street Preachers, 1996:15) where pretty is generally considered an attribute of youth, rather than age. Thus the association of violence with both youth and class is addressed in these texts but with a somewhat positive or, at least, non-judgmental tone.

The somewhat contentious claim that "boys will be boys" hinges on this idea that youthful violence is less meaningful or destructive than adult violence. Dillwyn problematises this idea when Evan reflexively kills a rabbit as he arrives for his first lesson with Gwenllian. He describes his action as inevitable, giving in to temptation: "I did the thing that came natural to me without any consideration, and that was to throw my stick at [the rabbit]," (Dillwyn, 1880:20). Whilst Evan's youthful actions are portrayed as relatively harmless, it is

conceivable that Dillwyn intended the reader to think back to this scene when Evan later, with the same lack of forethought, shoots the owner of that rabbit, the Squire of Penfawr. It is unclear, however, whether the rabbit incident is intended to mitigate the guilt of Evan's act of murder as youthful thoughtlessness, or whether the incident is intended to show that Evan is naturally inclined to thoughtless violence.

Gwenllian's offer to teach Evan in return for saving her life, seems a fair exchange of middle-class education for working-class physical prowess. However, this reading of Evan as sympathetic only because he leaves his uneducated background to learn how to read, write and, implicitly adopt middle-class values, is problematic. Indeed, Evan references his struggle between his working-class "instincts" and his newly learned middle-class values, when he later witnesses a mugging and chooses not to act either to help or hinder the mugger, due to this conflict. This representation of the working class as naturally less "moral" than the middle class is only partially challenged in "If You Tolerate This..." as the speaker struggles with his own apathy in the face of injustice. Although the texts were written a century apart, Jones argues convincingly that these "Victorian and Edwardian ideas of the undeserving poor have been reanimated," (2013:12) in modern Britain.

The Rebecca Riots resulted in the reassessment of the tolls and a board "to render the working of the Poor Law more humane," (Evans, 1989:144). The attacks upon toll-gates were undoubtedly symbolic of a greater sense of injustice and Howell argues that "they were doubtless...singled out for attack because they were tangible objects for farmers to lay their hands on," (1988:114). These concrete objects on which to vent fury are absent from "If You Tolerate This...". However, I would argue that they are referenced in the "monuments put from pen to paper" that "turns me into a gutless wonder," (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:7-8). The lyric continues this theme of the futility of literary representations of history when it refers to the old man playing with "newspaper cuttings of his glory days," (ibid:32). This is,

perhaps, why Manic Street Preachers reference Rebecca in their costumed sloganeering in addition to their lyrics.

“If You Tolerate This...” combines the struggle for youthful moral identity with nostalgia for the days when such choices were still ahead. Power points out that, with the release of the song, there was a widening of the band’s audience. The popularity of the lyric “was compelling evidence of the Manic Street Preachers newfound commercial power to please without compromising on their integrity... “To have a song like that, with those sentiments, seep into popular consciousness...” James later confirmed, ‘That was always part of the original plan...the manifesto,’” (2010:223). By the time the song was released, Nicky Wire was the only member of the band still using Rebeccaite cross-dressing slogans onstage, despite the move further towards Welsh political history in the lyrics. Perhaps the image of Welsh miners volunteering to fight fascism in Spain was more palatable to a universal audience than the image of farmers burning tollgates in frocks.

Validation is a powerful thing at any age, but particularly when people are young and disenfranchised. The working classes, defined in name by their ability and willingness to work, are scared of having that identity and autonomy taken away from them. Power notes that Manic Street Preachers are aware of this need for validation. “James is quite adamant that we’re creating something new...The Valleys’ ‘Welshness’ is very new: it’s like we’re creating our own language. But I still do think we’re a uniquely fucked-up race of people,’” (Wire qtd in Power, 2010:212). It is notable that Blackwood, the band’s hometown, has a history tied inextricably to the Chartists, “The statue of a Chartist...guards the bridge [outside Blackwood], pike in hand...[It] remains a...memento of the town’s involvement with that cause,” (Power, 2010:3). Manic Street Preachers, in celebrating Rebecca, keep the town linked with another iconic Welsh movement in the literary imagination.

One of the problems with representation is that what is signified may be interpreted in any number of ways. As mentioned earlier, “A Design For Life,” by the band’s claim, is intended as a critique, not necessarily criticism, of social violence and drunkenness. However, the lyric can be read as a straightforward statement of intent and approval. This lack of alignment can be traced back to the stereotypes prevalent in modern British rock music. As Jones has argued, “Working class bands seem to be few and far between. Instead there’s an abundance of middle-class impersonations of working-class caricatures,” (2012:134). Added to this confusion is the postcolonial attitude towards the Welsh by the English. These representations are dangerous for those who encounter the texts, whatever their own social or national background, for as Jones asserts, “The demonization of the working class is the ridiculing of the conquered by the conqueror,” (2012:247).

These issues of class construction and class ideology consequently provide a useful lens for understanding what might continue to appeal to creators and consumers of these texts long after the events depicted. The Rebecca Riots can thus be used by authors as signifiers of constructive violence targeted against oppression, as opposed to destructive, unfocused violence. Additionally, there is the issue of education, specifically how it can be used as both a tool by the middle-class to impose values on the working classes, and a tool to make educated working-class protagonists more universally sympathetic to readers. Manic Street Preachers embraced this notion of the “educated poor”, and Power notes that “Nicky [Wire] may have harboured the odd notion that the British public still thought of his band as ‘failed university lecturers in punk pantomime clothing,’” (2010:211).

Chapter Four: The Romance of Youthful Rebellion

This final chapter will explore Romantic rebellion as another possible facet of the ongoing appeal of the Rebecca Riots in Welsh literature. In representing the Rebecca Riots or,

in the case of Manic Street Preachers, playing the Rebeccaite role of cross-dressing rebels, the authors of these texts appeal to the Welsh penchant for cross-dressing and rebellion (Stevenson, 2014:43). I will briefly outline the Romantic aspects of rebellion in history, fiction and myth before applying these more general forms of protest to the specific cross-dressing protest used in these texts. In order to explore why this form of rebellion might remain so culturally significant for Welsh literature, I will focus on the representation of heroic protagonist Anthony Raine, who takes on the mantle of Rebecca and contrast two Manic Street Preachers texts that deal more personally with the urge for rebellion, particularly, as here, cross-dressing political rebellion by Welsh men.

The Romanticised literary representation of rebellion against British imperialism tends to be popularly thought of as a primarily Irish trait. It is notable then that “it was not until the 1820s [significantly close to the outbreak of the Rebecca Riots] that the Irish novel engaged directly and substantially with the theme of...Irish rebellion,” (Haywood, 2006:120). It could be argued that these Romantic ‘novels of insurgency,’ as Haywood terms them, have appropriate echoes in Dillwyn’s novel and Thomas’s screenplay. Romantic sensibility aims to “explain the world of appearances, and accounts not merely for the existence of visible things but for the effect which they have on us,” (Bowra, 1957:22). For example, “It is clear [in Dillwyn’s text] that Rebecca is an emblem of roused nationhood.” (Gramich, 2001:xviii). This Romantic sensibility is also demonstrated in *Rebecca’s Daughters* where Thomas portrays an aristocratic heir to landed gentry fighting alongside Welsh farmers.

An aspect of the Rebecca rioters that may hold continuing literary appeal is the wearing of masks and disguises, which actually concurs with the carnivalesque mode. The figure of the masked avenger is as popular today as in times past. Popular culture is replete with masked dispensers of vigilante justice, such as folk hero Joaquin Murieta. Immortalised as Zorro, Murieta is a morally disputed figure in Mexican history. However “that perception

of him [as Zorro] is the basis for heroic myths,” (Alexander, 48). This image “creates a specific emotional response: a sharp mixture of projection, longing, admiration and aspiration,” (Postrel, 2006:140). Furthermore, the titular V in “V for Vendetta” aspires to be a symbol or inspiration for “the future hero [who] will be collective not individual,” (Williams, 22) and uses his mask to achieve anonymity. Notably, Manic Street Preachers wear masks in the video clips accompanying both of the texts explored in this chapter.

Disguise has been utilised in popular protest throughout history and across cultures. British culture has “from at least the early modern period [incorporated] strong ritual elements,” according to Howkins and Merricks, who include “different clothing” (including cross-dressing) in this list and posit that these rituals and/or symbols are “designed to present for public display some form of meaning and/or legitimation to an activity,” (1993:41). Rude references protestors who “appear frequently in itinerant bands, “captained” or “generaled” [sic] by men whose personality, style of dress or speech...mark them out as leaders,” (1964:5-6). Whilst an English folk hero, such as Robin Hood, in female disguise was generally portrayed as comedic, in Wales male-to-female cross-dressing was a serious affair. Rude describes, “300 mounted farmers, among them one dressed in women’s clothes and wearing long ringlets of horsehair, who symbolized Rebecca.” (1964:160). This image is both symbolic and visually striking from a literary perspective.

This consideration is particularly relevant when Price points out that “there is arguably a closer comparison to be made between the Manics and the slightly earlier Chartists...movement which demanded a voice for the disenfranchised,” (Price, 1999:21). However, the band chose to align themselves, instead, with the cross-dressing Rebeccaites. To argue further for this literary appeal of costume combined with rebellion, the Australian bushranger Ned Kelly’s helmet and armour are argued by Tranter and Donoghue to be “perhaps more recognisable than photographic images of the man himself,” (2008:386). Kelly’s costume has continued to inspire fictional representations and has become

inextricably linked with the Australian national identity. It is somewhat surprising, however, that whilst Kelly is a highly recognisable figure outside Australian culture, Rebecca does not seem to have translated in the same way outside Welsh culture. Thus clearly, costume is not the sole appeal for literary representations of rebellious national figures.

On the other side of this Romantic picture of rebellion is the equally Romantic “call to arms”. Thomas was writing *Rebecca’s Daughters* in the aftermath of two World Wars. The propaganda for enlistment in WW1 relied heavily on the romanticising of the medieval Crusades. Indeed, “the Crusades were an exalted precedent for World War I, a series of holy wars that supplied a mythical rather than a historical template for modern soldiers and their causes,” (Frantzen, 2004:75). Tellingly, Thomas’s “few war poems were obstinately and magnificently civilian” and focused on loss and death rather than heroics (Jones, 1963:59). Instead, he romanticises the call to arms of the Rebeccaites in his screenplay. Historically the Rebecca Rioters erected beacons in hill forts to raise the country to join them (Rees, 2006:18). Thomas has Anthony Raine recruit his countrymen personally. This gives Thomas’s text the added appeal of group membership and belonging.

The Romantic appeal of rebellion to young men may be, partly, the chance to impress young women with transgressively “heroic” acts. Rhiannon in *Rebecca’s Daughters* is certainly subject to this Romantic notion of heroism and rebellion, as she disparages Anthony as a coward until she realises his role as Rebecca. Certainly, in the young female-oriented Gothic genre, fear and excitement are interconnected and “marked by an anxious encounter with otherness, with the dark and mysterious unknown.” (Anolik, 2004:1). Yet Romantic representations of violence do not often align with the reality. Indeed, Coleridge wrote a poem depicting “a people in thrall to the tokens of war yet averse to coming into direct contact with its reality,” (Shaw, 2002:121). Similarly in the pre-Revolutionary United States, Americans

“had to be convinced that the decrees of both reason and religion [rather than mere Romantic rhetoric] dictated this drastic step [War with Britain],” (Buchanan, 1977:101).

The appeal of Romantic imagery could account for continued literary representations of the riots. Smiles affirms that “the [nineteenth century] artistic record helped to establish the image of the...past in the public's mind,” (1994:21) and I would argue that this still holds true today. The Rebecca Riots have the hallmarks of a good literary story, being “something akin to the iconic presentation of a heroic myth.... A brave and dauntless people fight for their liberty against a cruel and merciless invader, helped in their attempts by...[an] inspired patriot leader,” (Smiles, 1994:45). There are also elements of the “hero monomyth” in *Rebecca's Daughters*. As Saxena attests, this monomyth “outlines a movement away from Oedipal attachments, perverse sexualities and peer group attachments to heterosexual marriage,” (2012:168). Anthony Raine's narrative fits here, with his movement away from an overbearing, mothering maid, cross-dressing and attachment to his peer group of rioters, to marriage.

Thomas's representation of Rebecca also draws on contemporary rumours, rather than established facts about those arrested for the riots: “[Rebecca] was variously described...as of “gentlemanly address and voice”...speaking “excellent English like an Englishman”...having a hand “as soft as a female's,” (Rude, 1964:162). Thomas's representation makes sense because it appeals to the public's love of Romantic origin stories. However, *Rebecca's Daughters* also subverts social codes. The screenplay challenges the notion of “texts in which Gothic fear is relocated onto the figure of the...social Other, the Other who replaces the supernatural ghost...as the code for mystery and danger,” (Anolik, 2004:2). Instead he casts an aristocratic youth, secretly united with his traditional class enemies to fight state injustice. Rather than being scared of Rebecca, whom she incorrectly assumes to be the social Other,

Rhiannon is strongly drawn to Rebecca and tells him so. Simultaneously, she overtly rejects her social peers as unworthy suitors.

This representation of the Rebecca Riots as a Romantic rebellion thus centres on the character of Anthony Raine. Anthony comes back from serving as a soldier abroad to discover that his birthplace in rural Wales has become overrun by tollgates, and that the death of his father makes him one of the beneficiaries of these tolls (Thomas, 1965:37-38), which rouses him to action against the gates. This narrative, involving disparate classes banding together to fight injustice, and the redemption of a young aristocrat from ignorance towards social justice, is highly appealing to Romantic sensibilities. Hazlitt asserts that “the poetic imagination cannot help but be attracted to aristocracy,” (Budge, 2014:229). Furthermore, as Budge affirms, the attraction/repulsion of the Other lends complexity to the Romantic narrative. “The figure [of the literary aristocratic Other]...projects the aristocrat as an externalized threat, but the [character’s] very attractiveness...hints at its status as an ‘enemy within’,” (2004:214).

Rhiannon’s response to Rebecca, whom she erroneously believes to be her social Other, also makes sense from this perspective. She rapturously expresses her belief in his cause: “I want to tell you that I believe in you...If I were a man I’d be one of your Daughters,” (Thomas, 1965:85). Whilst there is an element of satirical humour in this statement of gender and identity confusion, this irony is not acknowledged by either character. Thomas arguably represents Rhiannon as the self-appointed heroine of her own Romance, despite the interchange being portrayed as comedic. Any notion that Rhiannon’s interest in Rebecca might be purely revolutionary is removed when she invites Rebecca to her father’s ball, creating a breathless and dramatic narrative that he has risked terrible danger in order to see her (ibid:97). Anthony facilitates this Romance by silently allowing her to create her own Romantic image and project it onto him.

Regarding Thomas's literary work, Moynihan argues that, "There are two contesting impulses in [his] rebellion. One is destructive, antisocial, adolescent. The other is constructive," (1966:160). I would argue that this tension between destructive and constructive rebellion is present in Thomas's representations of Anthony and Rhiannon. Whilst the characters engage in antisocial adolescent verbal sparring and literal destruction throughout the text, the ultimate achievement of constructive social justice complicates these actions beyond adolescent stereotypes. However, whilst Dillwyn uses Evan's internal monologue to portray his motivations and moral dilemmas, Thomas, in writing a screenplay, does not have this luxury. Instead, insights into the characters' personalities and motivations are dependent on dialogue and the comments and responses of other characters. Thomas's characters also condemn themselves by their own actions. Lord Henry's behaviour in the opening scene betrays his entitled aristocratic sensibilities in his responses to his pet cat and to Anthony (Thomas, 1965:7-11).

Another aspect of the Romantic appeal of Thomas's representation of the Rebecca Riots is the inclusion of clear and appropriate antagonists in the form of English soldiers and an anglophile aristocracy. The screenplay lampoons the aristocrats in a literary example of the "bourgeois criticisms of the insincerity of aristocratic manners," (Budge, 2004:220). Thomas's satirical representations of aristocrats as hypocritical alcoholics who allow their pets more indulgences than they allow the working class, heighten both the "rightness" and the Romance of Rebecca's cause. Thus Anthony, as Rebecca, represents the Romantic ideal of a brave, eloquent young man as a national redeemer for Wales. Other, minor characters, such as Rhodri Hughes, the rough but loyal Welsh farmer and Mordecai Thomas, the fiery minister who preaches in defence of Rebecca, are admittedly "types," but Thomas employs them to good purpose, to display the tenacity of the Welsh working class against English empiricism.

Smiles notes that, “These tactics [celebrating and clarifying national identity] were ...especially employed by those cultures which found themselves to be marginalised within a wider polity,” (1994:26). Manic Street Preachers similarly possessed and inspired strong Romantic sensibilities in their young Welsh fans. Price claims, “At every gig, you could see it in the eyes of the audience, mouthing each line as if it were stolen from their own soul,” (1999:58). Whilst this claim seems hyperbolic and romanticised, it argues convincingly for the band’s attempt to disseminate a Romantic image. As Debord clarifies, “Media stars are spectacular representations of living human beings, distilling the essence of the spectacle’s banality into images of possible roles.” (1995:38). This Romantic nationalism is equally evident in *Rebecca’s Daughters*, when Rhodri Hughes responds to the threat of policemen being called on the rioters: “London peelers! We’ll make a batch of Welshcakes out of them,” (Thomas, 1965:66). “Stay Beautiful” is a paean to rebellion of the “destructive, antisocial, adolescent” variety, mentioned by Moynihan. The band, however, appear to embrace the positive aspects of this form of rebellion. As Rettig argues, rebels “want to reshape society to conform to their own ideological notions,” (1979:5). The lyric attempts this, urging its audience to “Deny your culture of consumption; This is a culture of destruction,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1992:7-8). Notably the band represent themselves as “a mess of eyeliner and spraypaint; DIY destruction on channel chic” (ibid: 5-6) marrying this fledgling attempt at adolescent rebellion to Rebeccaite Welsh cross-dressing. Due to the complicated relationship of England with the “Celtic peripheries” [including Wales], “in Great Britain no...simple rallying point existed for the orchestration of national sentiment, (Smiles, 1994:39).

This is reflected in the band's publicity, the lipstick slogan "culture slut," representing this lack of a secure national identity (Figure 3).

Rude claims that "The name[s] of Rebecca...would, like Robin Hood, live on and become magnified in folklore; but their exploits would not be repeated and would have no more future than the classes whose protests they briefly voiced," (1964:162-3). However it



Figure 3 (Cummins, 2014:12)

appears that the Manics are attempting to continue these protests, even using the same cross-dressing tactics. Furthermore, the presence of their continuing fanbase would argue for Rude being somewhat preemptive in this assumption. However, what is even more notable, regarding Rude's claims, is that although, unlike Robin Hood, Rebecca as a folkloric figure is almost unknown outside Wales, both the class the Rebecca Rioters represented and their cross-dressing exploits continued well into the next century. "Stay Beautiful," as a pertinent example of this phenomenon, does not reference Rebecca or the original riots, but instead casts the band members as spiritual heirs to the rioters with their cross-dressing political protests.

Another way the lyric draws upon the image of Romantic rebellion, is the gang-of-outsiders mentality. The "distinctive Welsh self-image, an identity rooted in a specific combination of social and economic conditions," (Jones, 1992:332) had not fared well in the 1980s as the Manics were growing up. Indeed, "the 1980s had served to undermine these apparently secure images and supplant them with uncertainties," (ibid). This theme of besiegement is demonstrated in the texts in the repetition of "we" against "your." Lines such

as “All we love is lonely wreckage,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1992:18) contrast with “Your school, your dole and your checkbook dreams,” (ibid:19). By using these shared points of reference for externally-controlled markers of success or failure, the lyricists draw their similarly placed adolescent fans into the picture with them. As Rettig asserts, “delinquency and rebellion are considered to be alternative, at times interdependent, responses to failure in achieving valued social goals, or a low perceived opportunity for reaching those goals,” (1979:1).

Ponton also observes that “males who have been victimized may be even more prone to feelings of intense shame [than females] because our culture places such a premium on male strength and self-sufficiency,” (1997:253) and the Manics’ portrayal of Welsh masculinity as a challenged identity ties into this. The effect which the riots had on the band are an echo of the effect that the French Revolution had on the Romantic imaginations of the nineteenth-century rural poor. Rude agrees with radical commentator Gibbons Wakefield, that they identified with the “heroes of the barricades” and wished to emulate the revolutionary crowds in their resistance against their oppressors (1964:150). Whilst the comparison seems mostly academic, Manic Street Preachers’ rhetoric does address, and attempt to rectify, similar concerns regarding the suppression of Welsh rural communities. Furthermore, the band’s choice to destabilize traditional British masculinity by harking back to cross-dressing Welsh historical rebellion is suggestive.

The Welsh have a complicated relationship with the English because they both claim ownership of the Isle of Britain. Compare this to the Irish who, although subjugated to England, inhabit a separate country, and thus have different protest dynamics. This problematic relationship with the English, who have claimed ownership of Welsh land, highlights the tollgate issues at the heart of the Rebecca Riots. This same tension is represented in “Stay Beautiful,” where the reiteration of the suggestive “Why don’t you

just...” can be read as a statement of defiance against enforced cohabitation with those who hold political power. As Saxena asserts, such narratives “deal with the experiments of a borderland individual, an adolescent’s negotiations with power and autonomy within the political structures,” (2012:179). Politically, Wales can be seen as inhabiting a borderland space in regards to the English who rule their country and own their land whilst discounting them politically.

The exhortation in “Stay Beautiful” to “jam your brain with broken heroes” (Manic Street Preachers, 1992:3) displays a cynicism towards the Romantic which gives the lyric more complexity than a standard statement of rebellion. The Manics show awareness in their text that modern youth culture’s “appetite for the ironic appropriation of previous cultural signifiers [has] neutered its potential for radicalism and innovation,” (Jones, 2013:88). The reference “all broken up at seventeen,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1992:2) places the intended audience in that very specific bracket on the cusp of adulthood but still within childhood that pop music has so idolized with multiple references. Although adolescence is a modern concept, there seems to be “an enormous cultural preoccupation” with young adults even in the “classical canon”. These narratives imply “a perception of the...adolescent as individuals different from the adult self,” (Saxena, 2012:20). Thus “Stay Beautiful” problematises Romanticism by insisting on adolescent self-awareness.

However, the Romance of rebellion is multi-faceted. On the one hand, “risk-taking is powerfully attractive, offering a romance that [adolescents’] “boring” lives do not have...risky behaviour is imbued with aspects of heroism, adventure and mystery,” (Ponton, 1997:273). Added to this, the appeal of Romance to the working classes stems from the offer of a respite from the hard realities of everyday life, illustrated in the lyric “All you ever gave me was the boredom I suffocate in,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1991:2-3). The Manics may be wary of unadulterated Romance because of what Jones terms the “frequency of right-wing populist

co-options of a romantic-nostalgic vision of England,” (2013:68). However, similarly to the way English band the Libertines later “looked back to Albion and Arcadia...[as] an ideal to be obtained collectively” (ibid), the Manics encourage this collective ideal in their addressing the “babes on the run with poisoned lips” to “wrap [their] arms round this everlasting kiss,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1992:15-16). Unlike the Libertines whose “romantic nostalgia...tended to sentimentalise more than they mocked,” (Jones, 2013:66) the Manics mock as often as they sentimentalise, with lines such as “But don’t fall in love cos we hate you still,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1992:22).

This dichotomy between Romanticism and cynicism is evident in Manic Street Preachers’ performance, as well as their lyrics. As Sheen asserts, the band possess “The awareness of boundaries between performers and audience...stripping this down into something communal, something that is connected both to the past and traditions but also looking ahead to the future,” (2014:vii-viii). Fittingly, this approach ties the band to the Rebecca Riots without losing the appeal for modern audiences. Manic Street Preachers problematise Debord’s assessment of spectacle, “Of arms and the man the spectacle does not sing, but rather of passions and the commodity,” (1995:43). Whilst the band do use spectacle to disseminate passion, they are more inclined to revolutionary rhetoric and gender than the commodity of pop music. Jones argues that the band “stubbornly retained other narratives of which its era was characterised...[which] vividly expressed the tensions which boiled between these two Britains,” (2013:40-41).

“If You Tolerate This...” challenges and valorizes youthful Romanticism in quite a different way from “Stay Beautiful”. As previously discussed, the title references the Spanish Civil War and the appeal of fighting for a cause is nostalgically and Romantically recalled in the lyric. Stradling asserts that the release of the song led to his own university module on the Spanish Civil War being inundated with new students (2008:16). The speaker berates his own

cowardice against the men who went to fight, lamenting “Gravity keeps my head down; Or is it maybe shame; At being so young and being so vain,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:16-18). Thus, the text instigates the audience to take the fighters, rather than the speakers, as Romantic models.

Notably, Rebecca and her daughters appear to capture the imagination in the same way as the Welsh miners and farmers responding to the Romantic call to arms in Spain. This appeal contrasts strongly with the appeal of the barbarian ancestor “redolent of a past so remote as to be either immune from class, religious or party interests or so ambiguous as to allow many different interests to seek confirmation from one and the same source,” (Smiles, 1994:38). Manic Street Preachers, conversely, are appealing to specifically Welsh events, to prompt rebellion and nationalism. Furthermore, the ideological basis for the text is notable. The working classes understand ideology despite perhaps not being familiar with the specific concept. These Welsh working class men went to fight for something they may not have been able to name but nonetheless understood. The lyric thus casts as heroes those who are not usually represented as heroes.

The primary themes of “If You Tolerate This...” are regret and nostalgia. The speaker describes himself as “young,” but the text implies that the opportunity for action is passing. The admission “I’ve walked [Spanish street] La Ramblas but not with real intent,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:21-22) and the reference “an old man plays; With newspaper cuttings of his glory days,” (ibid:31-32), justify this reading. The effect is similar to that of invoking the Rebecca Riots, as it harkens back to, and romanticises Welsh resistance. Furthermore, as Rude argues, when describing the Rebecca Riots, “In such cases there is an evident bond of sympathy and common interest linking the active few with the inactive many,” (1964:212). However, the speaker here deliberately moves from active to passive. There is, nevertheless, an argument that left-wing politics are irredeemably Romantic and thus impractical to pursue

indefinitely. As Kazin argues, “Time and again, Marxists blinded themselves to the political obstacles and ideological complexities of the society they wanted to transform,” (1995:1489).

A notable aspect of this text is that, unlike “Stay Beautiful,” it appears to be aimed at an older audience. The title and chorus continually remind the listener that “If you tolerate this then your children will be next”. It is notable that popular music has primarily emphasised and exploited generation gaps. As Debord asserts, “There is one spectacular antagonism which is always at the forefront of the range of illusory roles: the antagonism between youth and adulthood,” (1995:40). Added to this, Manic Street Preachers have generally been considered a particularly political band. As Jones asserts, “Much of this music was explicitly politicised and informed by a broader oppositional impulse,” (2013:37). Thus the lyric appears to be in a problematic dialogue with “Stay Beautiful,” as the band negotiate the hurdles of continuing to be politically relevant when the Romance of youthful rebellion appears to have waned in importance to them.

The text does not valorise the choice to stop fighting. The lines “Monuments put from pen to paper; Turn me into a gutless wonder,” (Manic Street Preachers, 1998:7-8) do not exonerate the speaker’s decision to write rather than fight. In referencing and valorising past sacrifices and Welsh history, the Manics are contributing to a “celebration of a Welsh tradition...a means of restoring identity and pride,” (Smiles, 1994:42-43). Furthermore, the recording of Welsh history “displays the past and present of Wales not as a palimpsest, where the present effaces the past, but as a continuum where the past is available as a source of inspiration to the present,” (ibid:55). “If You Tolerate This...” adds to this conversation by referencing the actions of the Welsh working classes against fascism in Spain. Debord argues that, “The practice of the proletariat as a revolutionary class cannot be less than historical consciousness applied to the totality of its world,” (1995:50). The lyricist’s use of the word “monuments” to describe writing, evokes this historical consciousness.

Thus rebellion is a central theme of each of these texts, although they represent and deal with this theme quite differently. Whilst *Rebecca's Daughters* represents Anthony and Rhiannon as heroic and idealistic figures, "Stay Beautiful" portrays a more problematic and less coherent version of the rebellious urge coalesced in modern adolescents. "If You Tolerate This Your Children Will Be Next" conversely presents a nostalgic, melancholy longing for the rebellions of both the country's past and the lyricist's past. The ongoing appeal of Romantic rebellion is therefore both acknowledged and problematised in these texts. The authors also use the appeal of the Rebecca Riots to explore the influence of Welsh political history and, perhaps, to provoke further political action. Thus, with their male-to-female cross-dressing combined with traditionally masculine acts of insurrection, the Rebecca Rioters, alongside their modern chroniclers and imitators, present a uniquely Welsh approach to the Romance of youthful rebellion.

Conclusion:

Whilst it is impossible to determine, with any degree of certainty, what factors cause particular stories to be represented and repeatedly retold in multiple texts, I hope that I have demonstrated some of the possibilities for the continuing appeal of the Rebecca Riots in Welsh literature. I have argued that this appeal could be due to a number of interrelated factors, including the distinctiveness of Welsh culture and Welsh history, gender and class constructions and the Romance of violent youthful rebellion. Whilst the cross-dressing of the male rioters is certainly the most unusual and memorable aspect of the original riots, it is important to note that this cross-dressing was generally accompanied by political acts of protest and made Rebecca into a Welsh folk hero figure.

The complexities of Welsh gender construction are significant because, unlike the English, the Welsh do not restrict male cross-dressing to pantomime and comedic misappropriation of “femaleness” by men. Rather, it is implied and continuously demonstrated in these texts, that the appropriation of the female role in Welsh culture is a serious and transgressive act. Notably, Williams also draws attention to the supplementary role of Rebecca as “guardian of public morals,” taking over the *ceffyl pren*’s job of punishing marital infidelity and restoring public decency (1955:241). However, despite the historical documentation of these other Rebeccaite activities, it is only the Romantic toll-destroying Rebecca who has continued to be represented in Welsh literature. The implication, therefore, is that literary representations of Rebecca are not arbitrary or merely historical, but serve some further purpose.

The conflicted Welsh identity also incorporates elements of Carnival, as well as a problematic relationship with both English and British identities. There is a notable difference in class identities within this national identity, as the Welsh landowners and aristocracy have traditionally been more inclined to adopt a British, or even English identity, whereas the working classes have more traditionally adopted carnivalesque identities, most particularly in cross-dressing. The texts I have examined in this study each deal with this conflicted Welsh national identity through the lens of the carnivalesque, incorporating cross-dressing characters and speakers. The variety of text-structures all dealing with the same subjects is notable when considering the ongoing appeal of the Rebecca Riots in Welsh literature.

The major aspect of this Welsh identity, cross-dressing, is also tied into Welsh constructions of gender in literature. Although cross-dressing in literature has been universally utilised to convey humour, various expressions of gender, and protest, it is in Welsh literature, through the lens of the Rebeccaites, that it has become a recognisable political symbol of class rebellion. Drawing on this symbolism, first Dylan Thomas and later

Manic Street Preachers have attempted to bring Welsh political cross-dressing to wider audiences. This is why the use of different text structures is notable. In using a screenplay and song lyrics, the authors have adapted their texts to modern audiences, just as Dillwyn used the then-popular structure of the novel to construct her Victorian era text from historical documents.

The construction of gender in these texts also challenges the dominant paradigms of masculine as strong and feminine as weak. Whilst this could be merely a side effect of the attempts to disrupt and usurp social power structures through inversion, the effect on gender representation is notable. In perpetrating the type of physical actions of protest usually reserved for men, whilst in women's garb, the Rebeccaites in *Rebecca's Daughters* allow Rhiannon the space to later participate in these actions as a woman. Manic Street Preachers, meanwhile, articulate and reject these still-dominant constructions of femininity as necessarily weak in "Little Baby Nothing." Dillwyn's representations of femininity are less explicit, but still portray the progressive Gwenllian in a favourable light compared to her traditional and conservative aunt.

The representations of the working classes in these texts is another notable aspect, seemingly distinctive, although not exclusive, to Welsh literature. Despite the class appropriation in Dillwyn's novel, the texts overall represent the working classes in a generally positive light. More importantly, the complexity of working class lived experience and identity is explored in these texts, in some depth. The comparison to Australian texts is relevant, as both Welsh and Australian national identities are, to some degree, focused on the working-class experience to a greater extent than that of, for example, English national identity. Within these texts, the authors use a combination of inner dialogue, first-person voice, bildungsroman narrative and sympathetic portrayals to create audience sympathy and, importantly, empathy, for the working-class characters and speakers.

An important part of this construction of the working classes is the depiction of violence. Integral to the Rebecca Riots themselves as part of the force of social change, violence is nonetheless popularly associated with young working class men and generally vilified as merely destructive. Whilst somewhat problematic, as demonstrated in the killing of Gwennllian's father, and the arbitrary, unfocused violence of "A Design For Life," these texts also demonstrate that violence can be utilised to achieve positive outcomes. Two pertinent examples being the achievement of social justice in Wales and the fighting of fascism in Spain. By thus complicating violence, these texts encourage the reader to consider the various nuances of physical protest, particularly when verbal protest may not be achieving the protagonists' desired aims.

In exploring the aspects of rebellion and the hero myth in the Rebecca story, we have seen that Romance plays an integral role in literary representations of the Riots. The appeal of the Romantic rebellion narrative is not confined to Wales, and thus, in representing this particularly Welsh Romantic rebellion, these texts universalize a parochial script and imbue it with further cultural relevance. Welsh literature, like Welsh history, is not often distinguished from British literature, so this effort to represent Rebecca as a recognisable and uniquely Welsh folk hero is important. Such considerations may also contribute to an understanding of how these representations have continued to be used by Welsh authors.

Each of these considerations can assist us in understanding how representations of the Rebecca Riots and manifestations of their agenda may have persisted in Welsh literature. The differences between historical accounts of the Riots and their literary counterparts appear to primarily surround imagery and Romantic narratives. This is not surprising, as literary representations of a country's historical events generally lean towards these choices, which in their very simplicity, encourage national or group pride. However, this does tell us something

about the nature of myth and national narratives in Wales in particular. As Evans has demonstrated, Welsh national narratives distinguish themselves from English national narratives by their emphasis on identity or “Welshness” (1992:484) and a focus on “people’s history” or the experiences of the general public (ibid:486).

This thesis has examined the ongoing appeal of the Rebecca Riots in Welsh literature, and how this appeal has continued for over a century. Whilst Dillwyn’s novel sympathetically portrays Welsh rural culture to a literate middle-class, and explores the nuances of working-class Welsh male identity, Thomas’s screenplay presents the Romantic folk cultural facet of the Riots to the embryonic adolescent culture of the early twentieth century. The Manic Street Preachers’ lyrics, at the close of that century, explore the echoes of Rebecca in constructions of Welsh culture with the added dimension of representing how the Rebeccaites are historically important in literature in retaining this unique Welsh approach to national, cultural and class-based agitation. Though the question of appeal can never be objectively answered, there are implications that the Rebecca Riots provide a useful tool for exploring the distinctive national identity or “Welshness” of both producers and consumers of these texts. Whilst the issues of Welsh “classlessness” and general Celtic Romantic rebellion could apply to other British cultures, the phenomenon of serious political cross-dressing, and the gender implications that arise from this, remain seemingly unique to Wales and Welsh literature.

Appendix

"A Design For Life" (Manic Street Preachers, 1996)

1. Libraries gave us power
2. Then work came and made us free
3. What price now for a shallow piece of dignity
4. I wish I had a bottle
5. Right here in my dirty face; To wear the scars
6. To show from where I came
7. We don't talk about love; We only want to get drunk
8. And we are not allowed to spend
9. As we are told that this is the end
10. A design for life
11. A design for life
12. A design for life
13. A design for life
14. I wish I had a bottle
15. Right here in my pretty face; To wear the scars
16. To show from where I came
17. We don't talk about love; We only want to get drunk
18. And we are not allowed to spend
19. As we are told that this is the end
20. A design for life
21. A design for life
22. A design for life
23. A design for life
24. We don't talk about love we only want to get drunk
25. And we are not allowed to spend
26. As we are told that this is the end
27. A design for life
28. A design for life
29. A design for life
30. A design for...

"Born A Girl" (Manic Street Preachers, 1998)

1. Do I look good for you tonight
2. Will you accuse me as I hide
3. Behind these layers of disguise
4. And the mirrors of my own happiness
5. I've loved the freedom of being inside
6. Need a new start and a different time

7. Something grows in the space between me
8. And it's twisting and changing this fragile body

9. And I wish I had been born a girl
10. Instead of what I am
11. Yes I wish I had been born a girl
12. And not this mess of a man
13. And not this mess of a man
14. And not this mess of a man

15. The censorship of my skin
16. Is screaming inside and from within
17. There's no room in this world for a girl like me
18. No place around there where I fit in

19. And I wish I had been born a girl
20. Instead of what I am
21. Yes I wish I had been born a girl
22. And not this mess of a man
23. And not this mess of a man
24. And not this mess of a man
25. And not this mess of a man
26. And not this mess of a man

"If You Tolerate This Your Children Will Be Next" (Manic Street Preachers, 1998)

1. The future teaches you to be alone
2. The present to be afraid and cold
3. So if I can shoot rabbits
4. Then I can shoot fascists

5. Bullets for your brain today
6. But we'll forget it all again
7. Monuments put from pen to paper
8. Turns me into a gutless wonder

9. And if you tolerate this
10. Then your children will be next
11. And if you tolerate this
12. Then your children will be next
13. Will be next
14. Will be next
15. Will be next

16. Gravity keeps my head down
17. Or is it maybe shame
18. At being so young and being so vain

19. Holes in your head today
20. But I'm a pacifist
21. I've walked La Ramblas
22. But not with real intent

23. And if you tolerate this
24. Then your children will be next
25. And if you tolerate this
26. Then your children will be next
27. Will be next
28. Will be next
29. Will be next
30. Will be next

31. And on the street tonight an old man plays
32. With newspaper cuttings of his glory days

33. And if you tolerate this
34. Then your children will be next
35. And if you tolerate this
36. Then your children will be next
37. Will be next
38. Will be next
39. Will be next

"Little Baby Nothing" [feat. Traci Lords] (Manic Street Preachers, 1992)

1. No one likes looking at you
2. Your lack of ego offends male mentality
3. They need your innocence
4. To steal vacant love and to destroy
5. Your beauty and virginity used like toys

6. My mind is dead, everybody loves me
7. Wants a slice of me
8. Hopelessly passive and compatible
9. Need to belong; Oh the roads are scary
10. So hold me in your arms
11. I wanna be your only possession

12. Used, used, used by men
13. Used, used, used by men

14. All they leave behind is money
15. Paper made out of broken twisted trees
16. Your pretty face offends
17. Because it's something real that I can't touch
18. Eyes, skin, bone, contour, language as a flower

19. No God reached me, faded films and loving books
20. Black and white TV
21. All the world does not exist for me
22. And if I'm starving, you can feed me lollipops
23. Your diet will crush me
24. My life just an old man's memory

25. Little baby nothing
26. Loveless slavery; Lips kissing empty

27. Dress your life in loathing
28. Breaking your mind with Barbie Doll futility
29. Little baby nothing
30. Sexually free; Made up to breakup
31. Assassinated beauty
32. Moths broken up; Quenched at last
33. The vermin allowed a thought to pass them by
34. You are pure; You are snow
35. We are the useless sluts that they mould
36. Rock 'n' roll is our epiphany
37. Culture, alienation, boredom and despair
38. You are pure; You are snow
39. We are the useless sluts that they mould
40. Rock 'n' roll is our epiphany
41. Culture, alienation, boredom and despair

"Prologue To History" (Manic Street Preachers, 2003)

1. Were we the Kinnock factor?
2. Am I talking private sector?
3. Do I think I'm Shaun William Ryder?
4. Or my former friend who's now undercover?
5. He's gone, I'm no deserter
6. Perhaps I'm hard all the same
7. Today a poet who can't play guitar
8. Tomorrow Steve Ovett has injured his calf
9. Next year the world's greatest politician
10. Yesterday the boy who once had a mission
11. I don't wanna be a prologue to history
12. A prologue to histo..
13. So I water my plants with Evian
14. A brand new Dyson; That is decadent
15. Read the papers and the business section
16. Check out the tesses and the pensions
17. Call my friends and they're all right
18. So I pray for the safety of the night
19. Today a poet who can't play guitar
20. Tomorrow Steve Ovett has injured his calf
21. Next year the world's greatest politician
22. Yesterday the boy who once had a mission
23. I don't wanna be a prologue to history
24. A prologue to histo..
25. Remember ethnic cleansing in the Highlands
26. No one says a thing in the middle of England
27. I'm bruised fruit but still taste so nice

28. But if you look at me, you better look twice
29. I'm talking rubbish to cover up the cracks
30. An empty vessel who can't make contact

31. Today a poet who can't play guitar
32. Tomorrow Phil Bennet's playing outside half
33. Next year the world's greatest politician
34. Yesterday the boy who once had a mission
35. I don't wanna be a prologue to history
36. A prologue to history
37. A prologue to history
38. A prologue

"Stay Beautiful" (Manic Street Preachers, 1992)

1. Find your faith in your security
2. All broken up at seventeen
3. Jam your brain with broken heroes
4. Love your masks and adore your failure

5. We're a mess of eyeliner and spraypaint
6. D.I.Y. destruction on chan[n]el chic
7. [Deny] your culture of consumption
8. This is a culture of destruction

9. Don't wanna see your face
10. Don't wanna hear your words
11. Why don't you just...

12. Don't wanna see your face
13. Don't wanna hear your words
14. Why don't you just...

15. Babes on the run with [your] poisoned lips
16. Wrap your arms round this everlasting kiss
17. Clinging to your own sense of waste
18. All we love is lonely wreckage

19. Your school your dole and your chequebook dreams
20. Your clothes your suits and your pension schemes
21. Now you say you know how we feel
22. But don't fall in love 'cos we hate you still

23. Don't wanna see your face
24. Don't wanna hear your words
25. Why don't you just...

26. Don't wanna see your face
27. Don't wanna hear your words
28. Why don't you just...

29. Destroyed by madness
30. Destroyed by madness

31. Destroyed by madness
32. Anxiety is freedom

"This Sullen Welsh Heart" [feat. Lucy Rose] (Manic Street Preachers, 2013)

1. I don't want my children to grow up like me
2. It's just soul destroying, it's a mocking disease
3. A wasting disease

4. I don't want my children to grow up like me
5. It's just soul destroying, it's a mocking disease
6. A wasting disease

7. Some days I wake up with love still alive
8. I want to go to sleep, but I cannot close my eyes
9. I cannot close my eyes

10. I can't fight this war any more
11. Time to surrender, time to move on
12. So line up the firing squads, kiss goodbye to what you want
13. Go with the flow, go home
14. You can keep on struggling when you're alone
15. When you're alone
16. This sullen Welsh heart
17. It won't leave, it won't give up
18. The hating half of me
19. Has won the battle easily

20. This sullen Welsh heart
21. It won't leave, it won't give up
22. The hating half of me
23. Has won the battle easily
24. The battle easily

25. The act of creation saves us from despair
26. A phrase that keeps repeating in my head
27. In my head

28. It's not enough to succeed others must fail
29. My unhappy mantra I wish I could escape
30. I wish I could escape

Bibliography

Primary Texts

- Dillwyn, Amy. *The Rebecca Rioter: A Story of Killay Life*. (1880). South Glamorgan: Honno Classics, 2008. Print.
- Manic Street Preachers. "Little Baby Nothing." *Generation Terrorists*. Columbia, 1992. CD.
- . "Stay Beautiful." *Generation Terrorists*. Columbia, 1992. CD.
- . "A Design For Life." *Everything Must Go*. Epic Records, 1996. CD.
- . "Born A Girl." *This is My Truth Tell Me Yours*. Epic Records, 1998. CD.
- . "If You Tolerate This Your Children Will Be Next." *This is My Truth Tell Me Yours*. Epic Records, 1998. CD.
- . "Prologue to History." (1998) *Lipstick Traces (A Secret History of Manic Street Preachers)*. Sony, 2003. CD.
- . "This Sullen Welsh Heart." *Rewind the Film*. Columbia, 2013. CD.
- Thomas, Dylan. *Rebecca's Daughters*. London: Triton Publishing Company Limited, 1965. Print.

Secondary Texts

- Alexander, Marc. "Zorro behind the mask: was he a thief, scoundrel, murderer or savior of his people? New critical interpretations explore the many identities of one of the New World's most swashbuckling icons." *Americas*. 59:1 (Jan-Feb, 2007): 44-49. Web. 20 May 2015.
- Anolik, Ruth, Bienstock., and Douglas L. Howard (Eds). *The Gothic Other: Racial and Social Constructions in the Literary Imagination*. North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2004. Print.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World (1965)*. (Trans. Helene Iswolsky). Indiana University Press, 1984. Print.
- Bayliss, J, Smith, S & Owens, P. *The Globalisation of World Politics*, 6th edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Print.
- Bellanta, Melissa. *Larrikins: A History*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2012. Print.
- Bjorck, Cecilia. "Freedom, Constraint, or Both? Readings on Popular Music and Gender." *Action, Criticism & Theory for Music Education*. (Ed. David J. Elliott). 10:2 (Dec, 2011): 8-31. Web. 4 March 2015.
- Black, Jeremy. *A New History of Wales*. Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 2000. Print.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "From Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste" (1979). *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. 2nd ed. Vincent B. Leitch. 2001. New York: W.W.. Norton & Company, Inc., 2010. 1664-1670. Print.
- Bowra, Maurice. *The Romantic Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957. Print.
- Breidenbach, Joana and Pal Nyiri. *Seeing Culture Everywhere: From Genocide to Consumer Habits*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009. Print.
- Breuilly, John. "Nationalism." in *The Globalisation of World Politics*, (eds. Bayliss, J, Smith, S & Owens, P). 6th edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. 387-400. Print.
- Bridges, Tristan S. 'Men Just Weren't Made To Do This: Performances of Drag at "Walk a Mile in Her Shoes" Marches.' *Gender and Society*. 24:1 (2010): 5-30. Web. 7 August 2014.
- Breidenbach, Joana and Pal Nyiri. *Seeing Culture Everywhere: From Genocide to Consumer Habits*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009. Print.
- Bring Me The Horizon. "Shadow Moses." *Sempiternal*. RCA Records, 2013. CD.
- Brockman, B.A. "Children and the Audiences of Robin Hood." *South Atlantic Review*. 48:2 (May, 1983): 67-83. Web. 21 May 2015.

- Buchanan, John, G. "The Justice of America's Cause: Revolutionary Rhetoric in the Sermons of Samuel Cooper. *The New England Quarterly*. 50:1 (Mar, 1977): 101-124. Web. 26 May 2015.
- Budge, Gavin. "'The Vampire': Romantic Metaphysics and the Aristocratic Other." in *The Gothic Other: Racial and Social Constructions in the Literary Imagination*. (Eds Ruth Bienstock Anolik and Douglas L. Howard), North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2004. 212-235. Print.
- Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York and London: Routledge, 1997. Print.
- . *Undoing Gender*. New York and London: Routledge, 2004. Print.
- . "Performative Acts and Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*. 40:4 (Dec, 1988): 519-531. Web. 7 August 2014.
- Carey, Peter. *True History of the Kelly Gang*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2000. Print.
- Charlesworth, Andrew. 'The Spatial Diffusion of Riots: Popular Disturbances in England and Wales, 1750–1850.' *Rural History*. 5 (1994):1-22. Web. 12 September 2014.
- Cohen, Lynn, E. "Bakhtin's Carnival and Pretend Role Play: A Comparison of Social Contexts." *American Journal of Play*. 4:2 (Fall, 2011): 176-203. Web. 26 February 2015.
- Cordell, Alexander. *Hosts of Rebecca* (1972). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2014. Print.
- Cosman, Madeleine Pelter. *Medieval Holidays and Festivals*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981. Print.
- Cummins, Kevin. *Assassinated Beauty: Photographs of Manic Street Preachers*. London: Faber & Faber, 2014. Print.
- Davies, Bronwyn. *Frogs and Snails and Feminist Tales: Preschool Children and Gender*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989. Print.
- Davies, John. *A History of Wales*. London: Penguin Books, 1994. Print.
- Davies, Russell. *Secret Sins: Sex, Violence & Society in Carmarthenshire 1870-1920*. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1996. Print.
- Davies, Sioned. (Trans). *The Mabinogion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Print.
- Debord, Guy. *The Society of the Spectacle*. New York: Zone Books, 1995. Print.
- Dekker, Rudolf, M., and Lotte C. Van de Pol. (Trans. Judy Macure and Lotte Van de Pol). *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe*. London and New York: MacMillan press Ltd, 1989. Print.
- Delahoyde, Michael. "New Historicism." *Introduction to Literature*. (6 Jan 2011) Web. 8 April 2015. <http://public.wsu.edu/~delahoyd/new.hist.html>
- Evans, D. Gareth. *A History of Wales 1815-1906*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1989. Print.
- Evans, Neil. 'Writing the social history of modern Wales: Approaches, achievements and problems.' *Social History*. 17:3 (1992): 479-492. Web. 10 Oct 2014.
- Flanagan, Victoria. *Into the Closet: Cross-Dressing and the Gendered Body in Children's Literature and Film*. New York and Milton Park: Routledge, 2008. Print.
- Frantzen, Allen, J. *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice and the Great War*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004. Print.
- Garber, Marjorie. *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety*. London: Penguin Books, 1992. Print.
- Gautier, Theophile. *Mdlle. De Maupin*. Adapted. G.F. Monkshood and Ernest Tristan. London: Greening & Co., 1911. Print.
- Gramich, Katie. 'Introduction.' *The Rebecca Rioter: A Story of Killay Life*. (2001). South Glamorgan: Honno Classics, 2008. Print. v-xxi
- Guy, Josephine, M. *the Victorian Social-Problem Novel: The Market, the Individual and Communal Life*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1996. Print.
- Hadfield, Andrew, and John McVeagh (Eds.). *Strangers to That Land: British Perceptions of*

- Ireland from the Reformation to the Famine*. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1994. Print.
- Haywood, Ian. *Bloody Romanticism: Spectacular Violence and the Politics of Representation, 1776-1832*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Print.
- Heatley, Michael. *Manic Street Preachers: In Their Own Words*. Norfolk: Omnibus Press, 1998. Print.
- Holland-Toll, Linda, J. "Bakhtin's Carnival Reversed: King's *The Shining* as Dark Carnival." *Journal of Popular Culture*. 33:2 (1999): 131-146. Web 4 March 2015.
- Howell, David. 'The Rebecca Riots'. (Ed. Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones). *People and Protest: Wales 1815-1880*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988. 113-138. Print.
- Howkins, Alun, and Linda Merricks. "'Wee be black as Hell': Ritual, Disguise and Rebellion." *Rural History*. 4 (1993): 41-53. Web. 21 May 2015.
- Hughes, T. Rowland. *The Open Road: A Play in Three Acts*. Cardiff: Castle Book Company, 1945. Print.
- Jenkins, Philip. *A History of Modern Wales 1536-1990*. London and New York: Longman, 1992. Print.
- Jones, David J.V. 'The Poacher: A Study in Victorian Crime and Protest.' *The Historical Journal*. 22 (1979): 825-860
- Jones, Owen. *Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class (2011)*. 2nd Edn, London: Verso, 2012.
- Jones, R. Merfyn. "Beyond Identity? The Reconstruction of the Welsh." *Journal of British Studies*. 31:4 (Oct, 1992): 330-357. Web. 21 May 2015.
- Jones, Rhian, E. *Clampdown: Pop-Cultural Wars on Class and Gender*. Winchester: Zero Books, 2013. Print.
- . 'A Refusal of Britpop and Blairism.' *Planet: The Welsh Internationalist*, 215 (Autumn 2014): 36-42.
- Jones, T.H. *Dylan Thomas*. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1963. Print.
- Kazin, Michael. 'The Agony and Romance of the American Left.' *The American Historical Review*. 100:5 (Dec, 1995): 1488-1512. Web. 4 March 2015.
- Kennedy, Ruth and Simon Meecham-Jones. *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Print.
- Kinser, Samuel. *Rabelais's Carnival: Text, Context, Metatext*. Oxford: University of California Press, 1990. Print.
- Langert, Christina Bosco. 'Hedgerows and Petticoats: Sartorial Subversion and Anti-enclosure Protest in Seventeenth-century England.' *Early Theatre*. 12:1 (2009): 119-135. Web. 29 September 2014.
- Lawson, S. *International Relations*, 2nd edn, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012. Print.
- Manic Street Preachers. "Motown Junk." Heavenly, 1991. CD.
- Marcus, Greil. *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989. Print.
- Morgan, Kenneth O. *Modern Wales: Politics, Place and People*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995. Print.
- Morgan, Prys. 'From Long Knives to Blue Books.' (eds. R.R. Davies, Ralph A. Griffiths, Ieuan Gwynedd Jones and Kenneth O. Morgan). *Welsh Society and Nationhood: Historical Essays Presented to Glanmor Williams*. Cardiff: University of Wales, 1984. 199-215. Print.
- Moynihan, William T. *The Craft and Art of Dylan Thomas*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966. Print.
- Owen, Tomos. 'Never Again Stop the Way of a Welshman': Rioting and Rebellion in Amy Dillwyn's *The Rebecca Rioter*. (Ed. D. Bell, G. Porter and J. Tiusanen). *Riots in Literature*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2008. Print.

- Perry, Forrest. "The Class Dimension of Hip Rebellion." *Rethinking Marxism: A Journal of Economics, Culture and Society*. 25:2 (2013): 163-183. Web. 3 March 2015.
- Pollen, Annebella. "'The Valentine has fallen upon evil days': Mocking Victorian valentines and the ambivalent laughter of the carnivalesque," *Early Popular Visual Culture*. 12:2 (2014):127-173. Web. 3 March 2015.
- Ponton, Lynn E. M.D. *The Romance of Risk: Why Teenagers Do the Things They Do*. New York: BasicBooks, 1997. Print.
- Postrel, Virginia. "Commerce and Culture: Superhero Worship." *The Atlantic Monthly*. (Oct 2006): 140-144. Web. 20 May 2015.
- Power, Martin. *The Story of Manic Street Preachers: Nailed to History*. London: Omnibus Press, 2010. Print.
- Price, Simon. *Everything: A Book About Manic Street Preachers*. London: Virgin Books, 1999. Print.
- Puetz, Babette. "'Carnival': More than a jolly name: Margaret Mahy's *The Tricksters* and Mikhail Bakhtin's Carnival Theory." *Papers*. 40:2 (2010): 41-52. Web. 4 March 2015.
- Ramet, Sabrina Petra (Ed). *Gender Reversals & Gender Cultures: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 1996. Book.
- Rebecca's Daughters*. Dir. Karl Francis. Perf. Peter O'Toole, Paul Rhys, and Joely Richardson. Curzon Video, 1991. VHS.
- Rees, Dylan. *Carmarthenshire: The Concise History*. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2006. Print.
- Rees, Lowri Ann. 'Paternalism and rural protest: the Rebecca riots and the landed interest of south-west Wales.' *Agricultural History Review*. 59:1 (2011): 36-60. Web. 10 October 2014.
- Rettig, Richard, P. *A Study in Student Development: Rebellion and Delinquency as Alternative Responses to Schooling*. Palo Alto: R & E Research Associates, Inc, 1979. Print.
- Reynolds, Kimberley and Nicola Humble. *Victorian Heroines: Representations of femininity in nineteenth-century literature and art..* New York: New York University Press, 1993. Print.
- Rohr, Susanne. "'Genocide Pop': Avant-garde Transgression and the New Commemorative Holocaust Art." Macquarie University. Balaclava Avenue, North Ryde, NSW. Aug 19 2014. Research Seminar.
- Rude, George. *The Crowd in History: A Study in Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848*. (1964). London: Serif, 1995. Print.
- Saxena, Vandana. *The Subversive Harry Potter: Adolescent Rebellion and Containment in the J.K. Rowling Novels*. North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc., Publishers, 2012. Print.
- Sethi, Rumina. *Myths of the Nation: National Identity and Literary Representation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999. Print.
- Shaw, Philip. *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination*. Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. Print.
- Sheen, Michael. 'Foreword.' *Assassinated Beauty: Photographs of Manic Street Preachers*. London: Faber & Faber, 2014. Print. vii-viii.
- Smiles, Sam. *The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994. Print.
- Stevenson, Peter. "The World Turned Upside Down." *Planet: The Welsh Internationalist*, 215 (Autumn 2014): 43-55.
- Stradling, Robert. *Your Children Will Be Next; Bombing and Propaganda in the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008. Print.
- Tranter, Bruce, and Jed Donoghue. "Bushrangers: Ned Kelly and Australian Identity." *Journal of Sociology*. 44:4 (2008): 373-390. Web. 22 May 2015.

- Van Lenning, Alkeline, Saskia Maas and Wendy Leeks. 'Is Womanliness Nothing But A Masquerade? An Analysis of *The Crying Game*.' (Ed. Efrat Tseelon). *Masquerade and Identities: Essays on Gender, Sexuality and Marginality*. Routledge: London and New York, 2001. 83-100. Print.
- Wilde, Oscar. 'The Importance of Being Earnest'. (1895). *Collected Works of Oscar Wilde*. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1997. 543-596. Print.
- Williams, David. *The Rebecca Riots: A Study in Agrarian Discontent*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1955. Print.
- Williams, Gwyn A. *The Welsh in their history*. London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982. Print.
- Williams, Raymond. (Ed. Daniel Williams). *Who Speaks For Wales? Nation, Culture, Identity*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003. Print.
- Williams, Tony. "Assessing V for Vendetta." *CineAction*. 70 (Summer 2006): 16-23. Web. 20 May 2015.