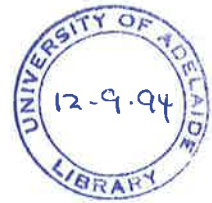# WELSH MIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA: LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

BY

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Awarded 1994

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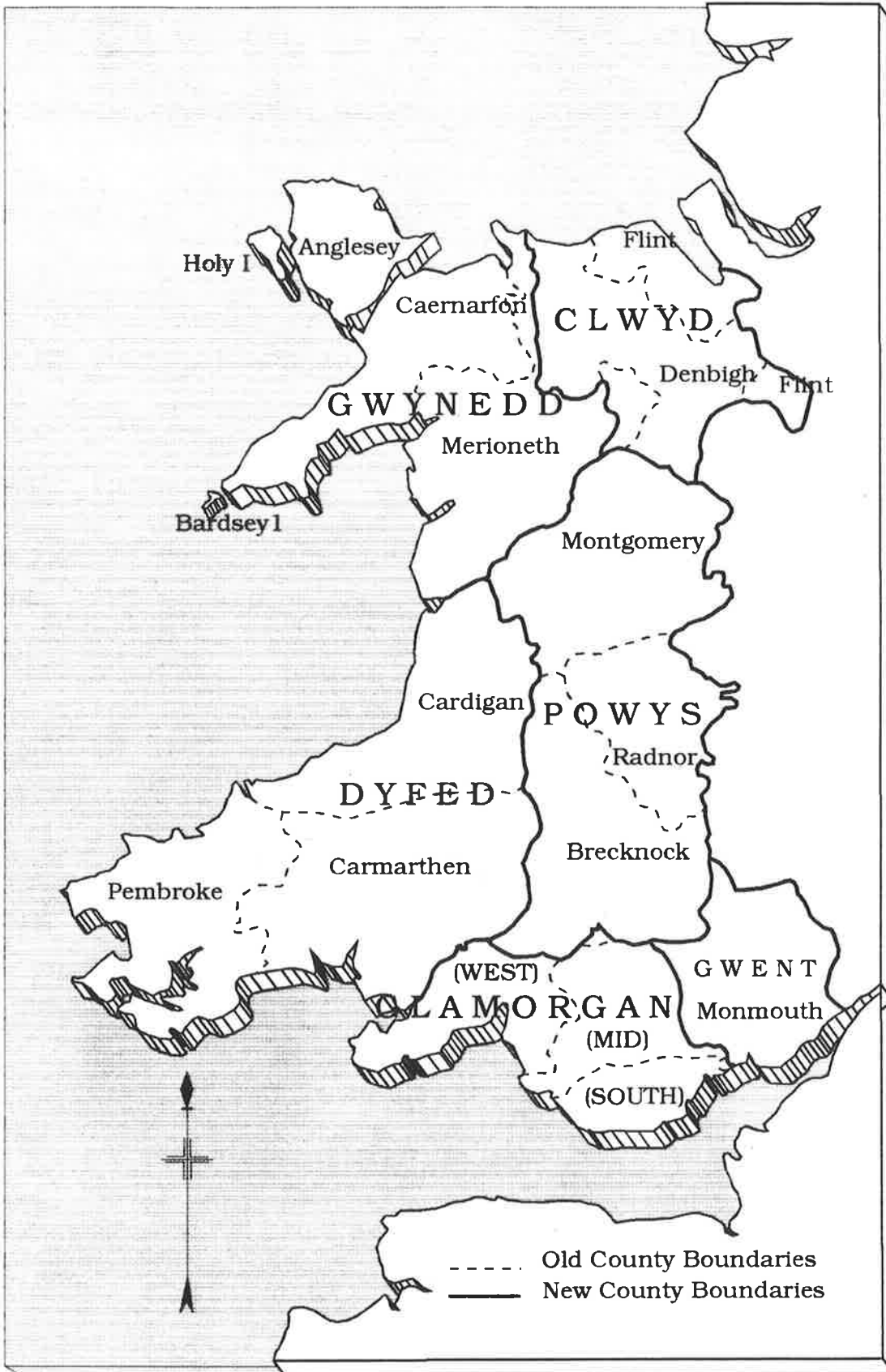
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ABSTRACT

This is a study of Welsh cultural experiences in Australia in the context of home, school, and the wider community. It is characterised as historico-sociological, in that an analysis of the maintenance and transmission of the Welsh language and other Welsh cultural values by a group of post-war migrants, is presented against a historical background of nineteenth and early twentieth century patterns of Welsh settlement.

The thesis begins with a review of the heterogeneous cultural background of British migrants to Australia and argues for the particular cultural distinction of the Welsh, based on their success, relative to the Scots and the Irish, in the maintenance of their ethnic tongue. The greater part of the opening chapter is devoted to an outline of the theoretical framework in which the major, sociological component of the study is grounded. The theory has as its cornerstone a model of culture and cultural interaction in a plural society developed within humanistic sociological guidelines formulated by the sociologist and philosopher, Florian Znaniecki. Culture, according to this view, consists of systems of shared values, insight into the meaning of which is gained through analysis of how individuals themselves view their cultural experiences. Some values however — here called *core values* — are so definitive of a group's cultural identity that they are fundamental to its continued existence as a distinct cultural entity. This study is in large part an investigation of the claim that the Welsh language has been, and still is, the primary core value of Welsh culture.

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 comprise the historical component. The aim here was two fold: (i) to describe the origins and character of the cultural forms which the Welsh brought to Australia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century; and (ii) to trace their evolution as transplanted values in an Australian environment. It is

shown that the survival of the Welsh language and the culture it supported was closely linked to the continued vitality of the Calvinistic chapel traditions which Welsh migrants brought to the mining towns of South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales in the 1850s and 1860s. It was to be short-lived. With the rapid Anglicisation of the young and the growing secular outlook of Australian society as a whole, the fledgling Welsh communities quickly collapsed. Although some Welsh ethnic institutions were to survive in some of the capital cities, and to find new life temporarily in the coal mining district of Blackstone, Queensland, in the 1880s, and the Hunter Valley coal fields of NSW as late as the 1930s, the cultural foundations established in the 19th century were not to survive in any significant form into the period of post-war migration.

The historical section concludes with a brief outline of the immediate cultural and political background to this recent migration. The arrivals of the later 1950s and 60s came from a Wales where increased awareness of the rapidly declining numbers of Welsh-speakers — and with it the emasculation of traditional cultural forms — had given rise to a vigorous revival of cultural, and to some extent, political nationalism. This revival, though it has stalled in recent years, is still in progress. At the same time, they arrived in an Australia that was on the threshold of abandoning the assimilationist policies of the immediate post-war years in favour of the multicultural stance now endorsed by both political parties.

Chapter 5 introduces the sociological component of the study by describing the demographic characteristics of the informants and the methods of research. The main aim of the chapters which follow is to analyse the processes and extent of the maintenance and transmission of the Welsh language and culture in Australia by a group of first and second-generation post-war migrants. In view of the centrality of the Welsh language to Welsh culture, two chapters are devoted to the respondents' linguistic system of values: Chapter 6 presents a linguistic profile of the two generations based on measures of their language proficiency and attitude levels; Chapter 7 then focuses on the circumstances and problems of transmission

at the level of individuals within the family. It is shown, for instance, that for Welsh-speaking children, entry to school in Australia coincides with an essentially irreversible termination of the bilingual stage of their linguistic development. This discussion of the respondents' linguistic values concludes with a typology of Welsh language evaluation and activation, the aim being to investigate the extent to which Welsh language maintenance is related to its recognition as a core value of Welsh culture.

Chapter 8 examines the organisational and social context of maintenance: Welsh ethnic institutions, the Welsh chapels and informal friendship networks. All are shown to be ineffective as agencies for Welsh language maintenance and cultural transmission. In the light, and within the limits, of these results Chapter 9 seeks to define what constitutes a Welsh cultural identity in Australia. It is concluded that, given their weakening hold on the Welsh language, and their substantial cultural overlap with the Anglo-Australian majority, the participants in this study, though they cling to the residues of their culture, are swiftly disappearing into the mainstream. This is even more true of the children of these post-war migrants who, in most respects, are by now indistinguishable from their age-group in the general population.

The final chapter presents a summary of the findings and considers, within the limits of the evidence obtained, some of the implications of the study for the future cultural presence of the Welsh in Australia. The major conclusion is that, although the Welsh language retains its position for speakers and non-speakers as a core value of Welsh culture and an important marker of Welsh identity, it is a rapidly declining force in Welsh cultural life. It is suggested that, based on such predictive criteria for language and cultural maintenance as group size, marriage patterns, immigration trends and the availability of educational and structural support, the survival of the Welsh language and an 'authentic' Welsh culture beyond the first generation subjects of this study is unlikely. Clearly this has some bearing on the survival prospects of other small language groups in Australia.

DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of the author's knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text.

Signed .

I consent to this thesis being made available for photocopying and loan if accepted for the award of the degree.

Signed .

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Quid brevi fortes iaculamur aevo multa?
Quid terras alio calentis sole mutamus?
Patriae quis exsul se quoque fugit?

(Why, with such short lives do we contend for large possessions?
Why do we seek for countries warmed by other suns?
Has an exile ever escaped from himself?)

<div align="right">Horace</div>

So said Horace, and he was surely right, for whatever else the migrant manages to leave behind, he must bring with him his memories and the formative influences of his childhood and youth. I should know, since, although I do not appear in the pages which follow, I have shared most of the experiences of the subjects of this study. That, of course, works against a desirable scholarly objectivity, but I believe the disadvantage if any, is counterbalanced by the insight which shared experience usually brings. One does not need to be a migrant to study migration but, on balance, I think it helps.

I am indebted to a range of institutions and individuals for their generous assistance in the preparation of this thesis. To the staff of the following libraries and archives I offer a special vote of thanks: the National Library of Australia, Canberra; the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the Newcastle Public Library, New South Wales; the Mortlock Library, South Australia; the Barr-Smith Library of the University of Adelaide; the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth; the Library of the University College of North Wales, Bangor; the Gwynedd Archives, Caernarfon; the Public Record Office, Kew Gardens, London. Individuals on the staffs of these institutions are too numerous to name but I would particularly like to express my gratitude to Mr Ceris Owen of the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth, who made known to me a treasure trove of historical sources which he uncovered during his visit to Australia in 1984. I would also like to thank Mr Philip Leppard from the Statistics Department of the University of Adelaide, who with infinite patience converted

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NLW:	National Library of Wales
UCNW:	University College of North Wales, Bangor
NESB:	Non-English-Speaking-Background
H language:	A high prestige language
L language:	A low prestige language
L1:	First language
L2:	Second or acquired language
LM:	Language maintenance
LS:	Language shift
RP:	Received pronunciation
MQ:	Main Questionnaire (Appendix xxviii)
SQ:	Supplementary Questionnaire (Appendix xxix)
OM:	Oral Memoir
W/S:	Welsh-speaking
N/WS:	Non-Welsh-speaking
AGPS:	Australian Government Printing Office
NLW:	National Library of Wales
UCNW:	University College of North Wales (Bangor)

A GLOSSARY OF WELSH TERMS WHICH APPEAR IN THE TEXT

CAPEL: lit. 'chapel'. Welsh nonconformist churches are referred to as chapels.

YR ACHOS CYMRAEG: The Welsh Cause; originally used with reference to Welsh Nonconformity, it now refers more generally to the 'cause' of the Welsh language and culture.

CYMANFA BREGETHU: A festival of sermons, i.e. sermons in succession over one or more days.

CYMANFA GANU: A hymn-singing festival.

CYMRAEG: Welsh, i.e. the language or pertaining to the language.

CYMREIG: Welsh, i.e. in the general sense and not necessarily inclusive of the language.

CYMRU: Wales.

CYMRY: The Welsh people.

CYMRY CYMRAEG: The Welsh-speaking Welsh.

CYMRY DI-GYMRAEG: The non-Welsh-speaking Welsh.

CYMRY GWYL DDEWI: Literally 'the St David's Day Welsh' i.e. those who display their Welshness only on St David's Day (March 1st).

CYMRY SEISNIG: The Anglicised Welsh (not to be confused with the Anglo-Welsh).

EISTEDDFOD: A festival of the arts in which groups and individuals compete for honours or prizes.

GWYL DDEWI: St David's Day (March 1st).

HIRAETH: Literally 'longing' (for home, country, family).

HWYL: Passion or enthusiasm associated with singing or preaching.

NOSON LAWEN: Literally 'merry evening'; a popular (amateur) concert of singing, recitation, drama etc.

A NOTE ON WELSH SURNAMES AND ORTHOGRAPHY

As a result of the breakdown, from the late mediaeval period, of the traditional Welsh patronymic system, and its replacement by fixed anglicised surnames* (e.g. John became Jones by the addition of the possessive 's) the Welsh, as is well known, are characterised by a surfeit of Joneses, Hugheses, Evanses etc. This restricted range of surnames introduces a difficulty into the identification of Welsh authors, especially in repeated footnote references. An attempt has been made in this study to overcome this problem by the use, wherever confusion was thought likely, of abbreviated forms of titles.

Similarly, the mutation of initial consonants, a distinctive phonetic feature of the Celtic languages, can also cause some confusion, e.g. *calon* (heart) may appear under certain syntactic conditions as *chalon, galon* or *nghalon*. It is habit rather than pedantry which makes it difficult for active Welsh-speakers not to mutate a Welsh word even when it is used in English speech or writing. In this study the temptation has for the most part been resisted, though *cymanfa* (a hymn-singing festival) — a word used frequently in Chapter 3 — may appear occasionally as *gymanfa*. Other examples have been duly footnoted as they occur.

*For a full discussion of the history and some of the intricacies of Welsh surnames see: T.J. Morgan and P. Morgan, <u>Welsh Surnames</u> (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1985)

i fy nain

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"The questions we may ask about such a language as Welsh is whether it is of any value to the world at large .... But this is really as much as to ask whether the Welsh *qua* Welsh are of any use?"[1]

<div align="right">T.S. ELIOT</div>

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[1] T.S. Eliot, Notes towards the Definition of Culture (London : Faber and Faber, 1962) p.56

1.1 The Anglo - Celts[2] as 'Ethnics'

Australia has been in the forefront of recent scholarly activity on the maintenance and development of minority ethnic cultures. Perhaps, inevitably, in a nation composed since 1945 of diverse ethnic strands, there has been a growing awareness of the culturally pluralistic nature of its society. Multiculturalism, as an ideal courted by educational authorities and supported by both major political parties, is now an entrenched, but not unchallenged *shibboleth* in political and educational debate. Cultural homogeneity as the stated aim of post-war immigration programmes has been all but abandoned and, notably, since the publication of the Galbally Report in 1978, official versions of multicultural[3] policies have been implemented in a number of key areas. In the last decade the semantic boundaries of the key term 'ethnic' have, at least in official policy documents[4], been extended to include not only Aboriginals, Asians and Africans but the Anglo-Celtic mainstream population, at one time immune to its exclusivist European 'folk-culture' connotations. Consistent with an etymology traceable to the Greek *ethnos* ('people' or 'nation') 'ethnic' now describes all Australians.

The inclusion of the Anglo-Celts paves the way for greater recognition of the cultural plurality of migrants who trace their origins to Britain and Ireland, and who still form not only the greatest — though diminishing — proportion of the ethnic composition of the Australian population[5] but "the largest overseas-born

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[2]   The term, now widely used to describe Australians born in the British Isles, or those of British (or Irish) descent, is not an entirely recent creation. It was first used in 1902 by E.W.O'Sullivan, a NSW Government Minister, in reference to his own background. See P.O'Farrell, "Australia is an open, tolerant society, praise be to the Irish," The Age, (special feature), 31 March, 1985.
         In this thesis it is for the most part also synonymous with "Anglo-Australian', the latter being effectively generic for those who are derived from the British cultural tradition.
[3]   Review of Post-Arrival Programmes and Services to Migrants (The Galbally Report), (Canberra: AGPS, 1978)
[4]   The first document to argue this point was released in 1982: Multiculturalism for all Australians: Our Developing Nationhood, Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs (Canberra: AGPS, 1982)
[5]   In answer to the ancestry question asked for the first time in the 1986 Census, 8.2 million persons stated an ancestry related to the U.K. and Ireland of whom 82.9% were Australian born; Community Profiles: U.K. and Ireland Born (Canberra :AGPS, 1990), p.32. Some 73,330 persons gave "Welsh" as their sole or first ancestry (see Table 1.4(b)).

grouping in every state and territory and in every major city[6]". Of their demographic dominance there is, and has been, no doubt; what has been less acknowledged during the two hundred year history of their settlement in Australia is their ethnic and cultural diversity. Subsumed under "British", "English" and more recently "Anglo-Celtic", in official documentation and popular parlance, the separate traditions, language, histories and religious denominations of the Scots, English, Welsh and Irish have, until recently, been largely overlooked. Price amongst others reminds us of the irony of a situation in which Irish, Scottish, and Welsh migrants to Australia "find a system of so-called multicultural equality which denies their historical ethnicity and lumps them in with the dominant English group under the category of 'non-ethnic[7]'.

Language, arguably the prime marker of cultural difference, will serve to illustrate the point. Throughout the nineteenth century a substantial proportion of migrants from the so-called 'Celtic fringe' arrived in Australia with a limited, and in many cases, no knowledge of English. Though the decline of the Celtic tongues — with the possible exception of Welsh[8] — was well under way even by 1800, a substantial proportion of Australia's Celtic immigrants in the Victorian era would have claimed Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic or Manx, as their first language.

Estimating the number and location of Australia's Celtic-speaking population before 1976, the year of the first linguistic census, is a difficult task.[9] For any period in the nineteenth century it is made doubly difficult by the absence also of any U.K. statistics. Census data on Irish-speakers is available from 1851, but comparable material on Wales and Scotland exists only after 1891, when the period of major migration had passed (see Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3). Estimates of

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[6] Ibid., p.2.

[7] C.A.Price, "Ethnic Composition of the Australian Population" in C.A.Price (ed.), Australian Immigration: a Bibliography and Digest, No.4, 1979 (Canberra: Department of Demography, Australian National University, 1979), A68.

[8] There was no linguistic census in Wales until 1891. (see Note 1, Table 1.2).

[9] A task which the Celtic Studies unit at the University of Sydney (see Chapter 10) is hoping to undertake in the near future. See "Celtic Languages Battle the Odds", Sydney Morning Herald, Jan.7, 1993.

earlier figures can be arrived at however by extrapolation from other sources. Given, for example, that in the 1850s, the period of major Welsh migration, the Welsh-speaking population of Wales was at least 65% of the total, and that the first census of 1891 gives a figure of 54.5%, we must agree with Jupp's observation that it "is reasonable to suppose that, throughout the nineteenth century, at least half the Welsh-born in Australia spoke Welsh[10] ". O'Farrell makes a similar point with reference to Irish Gaelic:

> "The matter of survival of Gaelic culture among the convict Irish and among the free immigrants, who followed them, is a complex and obscure question. Certainly, a basic assumption must be that, as many Irish in Australia came from Gaelic-speaking areas in Ireland, they must have brought that language and culture with them."[11]

Account must also be taken of available non-statistical evidence. It points directly to the existence of vigorous Celtic speech-communities in several parts of Australia at different periods of the nineteenth century. There were substantial numbers of Scots, for example, from the Gaelic-speaking areas of Skye, Mull and the Western mainland of Argyll, Inverness and Ross.[12] Jupp estimates that if 10% of Scottish-born Australians spoke Gaelic in mid-century, there would have been some 6,000 in Victoria and 2,000 in New South Wales by 1861.[13] Richards, in an account of the arrival aboard the 'Hercules' of 192 Highlanders in Adelaide on the 20th of July, 1853, tells us that most of the married people could speak no English at all, and that the Immigration Agent had to employ an interpreter to assist them to find employment.[14] In Victoria in 1852, another immigration officer complained that most of the 700 arrivals from Skye were monoglot Gaelic-

[10]   J.Jupp, "The Making of the Anglo-Australian", in J.Jupp (ed.), The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation. Its People and Their Origins (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1988), p.61
[11]   P.O'Farrell, The Irish in Australia (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1987), p.25.
[12]   Jupp, op. cit., p.61.
[13]   Ibid.
[14]   E.Richards, "The Highland Scots of South Australia", Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia, No.4 (1978), p.50.

Table 1.1

Irish-Speaking Population of Ireland 1799 - 1981

YEAR	1799	1835	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1926	1936	1946	1961	1971	1981
Nos. of Irish-Speakers	2,400,000	1,500,000	1,524,286	1,105,536	817,875	949,932	680,174	641,142	540,802	666,601	588,725	716,420	789,429	**1,018,413**
Total Population of Ireland	5,400,000	7,000,000[1]	6,552,365	5,798,564	5,412,377	5,174,836	4,704,750	4,458,775	2,802,452	2,806,925	2,771,657	2,635,818	2,787,448	**3,226,467**
Irish-Speakers as % of Total Population	44.4	21.4	23.3	19.1	15.1	18.2	14.5	14.4	19.3	23.7	21.2	27.2	28.3	31.6
Irish Monoglots as % of total Population	14.8	7.1	4.9	2.8	1.9	1.2	0.8	0.5	—	—	—	—	—	—

Notes:

(i)   After 1911 figures shown are for the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland, (monoglot figures not available after this date).

(ii)   The 1981 figure is grossly distorted by the school-age bulge ie., the school learners (present estimates of habitual native speakers vary from 10,000 to 30,000. Most are residents of the Gaeltacht.

Source:

R. Hindley, The Death of the Irish Language (London : Routledge, 1990), Table 1. p.15, Table 2. p19, Table 3. p.23.

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[1] Approximate Figure

Table 1.2
Welsh-Speaking Population of Wales 1801 - 1981

YEAR	1801	1841	1871	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Nos of Welsh-speakers	470,000	700,000	1,006,100	898,914 (494,000)	929,824	977,366	929,183	909,300	no census	714,686	656,002	542,425	503,549
Total Population of Wales	587,245	1,046,073	1,412,583	1,669,705	2,012,876	2,420,921	2,656,474	2,593,332		2,598,675	2,644,800	2,724,275	2,645,114
Welsh speakers as % of total population	80.0	67.0	66.2	54.4	49.9	43.5	37.1	36.8		28.9	26.0	20.8	18.9
Welsh Monoglots as % of total population				29.6			6.3	4.0		1.7	1.0	1.3	0.8

Notes:

(i)   The first linguistic census in Wales was taken in 1891. Pre-1891 figures are estimates cited in the listed sources.

(ii)   Since 1921 monoglot Welsh-speakers have been mainly small children.

(iii)   Bracketed figures show total of Welsh monoglots in 1891.

Sources:

1.   1801, 1841 and 1871 figures are estimates cited in Bud B. Khleif, Language, Ethnicity and Education in Wales (The Hague : Mouton Publishers, 1980), p.56.

2.   K.O. Morgan, Wales in British Politics, 1868 - 1922 (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1963), Appendix A, p.312 [1891-1921 figures].

3.   M. Stephens, Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe (Llandysul : Gomer Press, 1978), p.146 [1931-51 figures].

4.   J. Aitchison and H. Carter, The Welsh Language 1961-1981, An Interpretative Atlas (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1985).

5.   Census 1981, Welsh Language in Wales (London : HMSO, 1983), tables 1, 4 and 5.

Table 1.3:

Gaelic - Speaking Population of Scotland 1769 - 1981

YEAR	1796C	1806	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981
No. of Gaelic speakers	289,798	297,823	231,594	210,677	202,700	183,998	148,950	129,419	93,269	80,004	88,415	**82,620**
Total Population of Scotland	1,265,380	1,608,420	3,735,573	4,025,647	4,472,103	4,760,904	4,573,471	4,588,909	5,096,415	5,179,344	5,228,965	**5,035,315**
Gaelic speakers as % of total population	—	—	—	**5.2**	**4.5**	**3.9**	**3.3**	**2.8**	**1.8**	**1.5**	**1.7**	**1.6**
Gaelic Monoglots as % of total population	22.9	18.5	6.2	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.04	0.01	0.009	—

Notes:
(i)   'No. of Gaelic-speakers' for 1769, 1806 and 1881 refer to Gaelic-only speakers.
(ii)   The curious and unexpected increase in the 1961-71 decade is attributed largely to a rise in the numbers of those learning Gaelic as a second language, especially in the secondary schools (see R. Bell and N. Grant, Patterns of Education in the British Isles (London : George Allen & Unwin, 1977), p.151.

Source:
Adapted from D.S. Thomson (ed.), The Companion to Gaelic Scotland (Oxford : Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1983), p.111

speakers.[15]   The Welsh present a similar picture.   Several public meetings were held in Ballarat, Victoria in February 1856 to discuss the matter of Welsh immigration, the aim being to increase the proportion of Welsh-speakers amongst arrivals from Wales.[16]   .This, it was eventually decided could only be done by designating Wales.as a separate district for immigration purposes. At the meeting of February 25th the chairman recommended that as "seven-tenths" of the Welsh (in Wales) could "do nothing with any other language"[17] than Welsh, the following petition be adopted and presented to the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Victoria:

> "That amongst the working classes in Wales a prejudice exists against availing themselves of Government aid for emigrating to these colonies under false impressions as regards their position on arriving here. The prevailing opinion being, more especially in the rural districts, that emigrants who obtain free passages, are bound to the Government here for a certain period. Your petitioners therefore pray, that in order that every facility may be given them to emigrate to this country, that the Principality of Wales be made a separate district and the sub-agent be a Welshman *well acquainted with the language and customs of that country.*"[18] (own italics)

Two weeks later at a meeting of the Sebastopol Hill Welsh Literary Society one of the members expressed concern about the number of Welsh residents in the town who had no knowledge of English and proposed that a class be established "to teach the English language and writing".[19]

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[15]   Jupp, op. cit., p.61.

[16] .   These meetings are reported in the Ballarat Star, February 1857.

[17]   The Ballarat Star, February 26th, 1857

[18]   Ibid.   The petition was presented by John Basson Humffray. A native of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, Wales, who had been elected to the Assembly as a Member for North Grant, Ballarat the previous year (1856). A former Chartist organiser in Wales and later the Secretary of the Ballarat Reform League, he was closely associated with the events leading to the Eureka stockade incident. He was also one of the leaders of the Welsh community in Victoria, being the first President of the Cambrian Society of Victoria and one of the organisers of the Ballarat Eisteddfod in the 1880s. T. Williams (Ballarat), "An Australian Welshman" Wales, No. 30, Vol. III, (October, 18, 1896), pp.461-462; "Ballarat Eisteddfod. Report of the Meetings held in Ballarat in 1885-6, with Introductory and Historical Notes" (Pamphlet, edited by T. Williams and J.B. Humffray, Ballarat, 1886).

[19]   Ibid., March 13th, 1857

These examples could be multiplied. Though language has been used to illustrate the ethnic diversity concealed by the catch-all term 'British', it is but the most manifest form of cultural difference. The whole argument is underlined by O'Farrell, whose observations on Irish distinctiveness would apply in substance to the non-English speaking Welsh and Scots:

> "The existence of this separate language (Irish-Gaelic), with a long and rich oral — and distinct from written — tradition, points to key elements of Irish difference in Australia. It was no ancient folk survival, but the bearer of a distinctive cultural tradition, world-view, historical experience and sense of values".[20]

What clearly emerges from the bulk of available sources is that the Celtic groups in Australia in the nineteenth century were separated from each other, and from the remainder of the population, by well-marked, deeply-felt ethnic boundaries, the *de facto* and symbolic maintenance of which hinged largely on language. Language, it could be argued, was more likely to take on this role for immigrants of Celtic background whose cultural divergence from the Anglo-Australian mainstream was not in other ways immediately visible. Moreover the Celtic languages at this stage were not, as they are today, at the outermost perimeters of Australian social and cultural life. *Along with Chinese and German, the Celtic languages - Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Welsh - were the most widespread of Australia's community languages*[21] *in the nineteenth century.*[22]

Twentieth century, and especially post-war arrivals, have admittedly carried fewer marks of ethnic difference. They have come from a Britain and Ireland where the Celtic languages, with the exception of Welsh, have retreated almost to the point of extinction and where cultural traditions, many of which were still

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[20]   O'Farrell, op. cit., p.25.

[21]   Following Clyne 'community languages' are defined here as "languages in the Australian community." See M.Clyne, "Language Policy and Community Languages" in Jupp (ed.), op. cit., p.893.

[22]   Ibid. Clyne also points out that "both Geelong and Ballarat had Gaelic/English bilingual schools run by the Free Church in the 1850s." See M. Clyne, "Monolingualism, Multilingualism and the Australian Nation" in C.A. Price (ed.), Australian National Identity (Canberra: Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1991), P.86.

intact at the end of the nineteenth century, have fallen victim to the homogenising effects of modern mass culture. These developments are, of course, reflected in the diminishing cultural impact of the Celtic groups in Australia today. Yet, consciousness of separate cultural identities, blurred by the umbrella term 'British', persists to a degree that is seldom acknowledged in scholarly writing.

Of Australia's near quarter-million population born in Western Europe's so-called Celtic fringe, the Welsh are, arguably, the most culturally and linguistically distinct. More vigorous in the home country than other Celtic groups in the defence of their native tongue, they are also for that reason more aware of the relevance of language to cultural identity. Although nationalist movements are stronger in Ireland and, more recently, Scotland, they are also more political in their aims in these two countries. Modern Welsh nationalism, on the other hand, as will be shown in Chapter 4, is still primarily motivated by concern with matters of language and culture. It is these issues which have thrown Wales into turmoil since the 1960s. Along with Brittany, the Basque Provinces, Catalonia and Quebec, Wales is one of several regions in the world today where a struggle for language and cultural preservation has deeply divided the population.[23] In Wales it is essentially a protest against the relentless process of Anglicisation, which is now seen as threatening to engulf the few surviving communities of natural Welsh speakers. Spurred by predictions of the imminent demise of the language in Saunders Lewis' 1962 radio broadcast *'Tynged Yr Iaith'* (The Fate of the Language)[24] , and its subsequent confirmation in the 1971 Census figures,[25] concerned individuals from a broad section of Welsh society launched a campaign on several fronts — political and educational especially — to save the language and the culture which it supported from certain extinction. The broadcast led directly

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[23]   Though not necessarily along language lines.

[24]   Saunders Lewis (1893-1985), a leading playwright and academic was one of the founders of Plaid Cymru (The Welsh Nationalist Party) in 1925. Unusual amongst Welsh national leaders, he was, since his conversion in 1922, a Catholic.

[25]   The decline between 1961 and 1971 of almost 6% was particularly steep even by post-war standards. See Table 1-2. For further discussion see Chapter 4.

to the formation of *'Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg'* (The Welsh Language Society) whose programme of non-violent civil disobedience has, since its formation in August 1962, consumed Wales in protest and argument over the question of the language.

This background scenario will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Important here, however, is to point out that a large proportion of the Welsh now living in Australia — from whose ranks the central subjects of this study were drawn — have arrived since 1962. They have come therefore from a country in which language and cultural identity have, for the past 30 years, been, in most areas of political and social life, the paramount issues.

1.2   The Aims and Character of this Study

The broad aim of this study is to interpret and define the distinctive characteristics of the culture which a group of post-war Welsh migrants have brought to Australia, to examine the degree of its maintenance by the first generation and to measure the extent of its transmission to the second.   The approach may be characterised as historico-sociological in that a sociological analysis of contemporary Welsh-Australian cultural and educational experiences is presented against a historical background of nineteenth and early twentieth century patterns of settlement and evolving cultural forms.   This culturally biased historical component is included in the belief that a meaningful sociology of human culture calls for a temporal dimension.   "Men produce society" Giddens reminds us, "but they do so as historically located actors".[26]   The inter-relationship of history — itself arguably a theoretical discipline[27] — and an interpretative sociology has been well established.   It is at the heart of C. Wright Mills' defence of the sociological imagination:

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[26]   A.Giddens, New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociology (London: Hutchinson, 1976), p.160.
[27]   See G.Stedman-Jones "From Historical Sociology to Theoretical History", British Journal of Sociology, XXVII (1976), pp.295-305.

"The productions of historians may be thought of as a great file indispensable to all social science — I believe this a true and fruitful view. History as a discipline is also sometimes considered to contain all social science. More fundamental than either view is the idea that every social science — or better every well-considered social study — requires a historical scope of conception and a full use of historical materials. This simple notion is the major idea for which I am arguing."[28]

In relation to the present investigation, the argument presented is that the cultural forms developed by earlier arrivals bear directly, either by their survival or demise, on current issues of Welsh language and cultural maintenance. Although the focus on past cultural forms was a means towards an assessment of the degree of continuity in Welsh cultural life in Australia, there was no intention in the process to understand 'Welshness' as an unchanging, static phenomena definable only — as is the tendency in much current writing — within a nineteenth century frame of cultural reference. An effective corrective to this inclination resides in the definition of culture adopted here which, as will be further explained later in this chapter, views culture not as a fixed behaviour pattern or a museum collection of artefacts but as evolving systems of shared values. On the other hand, it is also argued that certain key features of group cultural life — referred to here as core values — must be retained as permanent identity markers or cultural 'pivots', if the group is to survive as a separate cultural entity. Indeed, the central hypothesis which links the historical and sociological components of this study is that the Welsh language has been and is the main carrier, symbol and definer of Welsh cultural identity in Australia.

The historical background is presented in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. The remaining and major component of the thesis is an analysis of the lived cultural experiences of a group of 142 Welsh-born Australians and their children. This group — referred to hereon as 'Q' (Questionnaire) group[29] — is the focus of the

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[28] C.Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1970) pp.161-162.

[29] The members of this group completed a questionnaire. Details on the participants in the study are provided in Chapter 5.

Table 1.4 (a)

UK and Ireland - Born Population of Australia (1986)

BIRTHPLACE	ACT	NT	TAS	SA	WA	QLD	VIC	NSW	TOTAL
England (including U.K. undefined)	15,167	7,235	18,712	119,445	157,252	125,199	188,217	249,663	**880,890**
Scotland	2,725	1,062	2,904	17,161	21,746	20,416	37,912	45,209	**149,135**
Wales	**438**	**262**	**651**	**3,390**	**4,728**	**3,858**	**5,350**	**8,532**	**27,209**
Northern Ireland	435	177	393	2,847	3,440	3,720	7,416	7,398	**25,826**
Ireland, Republic of	672	394	566	3,560	6,808	5,756	11,652	14,728	**44,136**
Total U.K. and Ireland	**19,437**	**9,130**	**23,226**	**146,403**	**193,974**	**158,949**	**250,547**	**325,530**	**1,127,196**

It should be noted that of the 27,209 total born in Wales, nearly one third were of English, Irish or Scottish ancestry. Similarly, nearly 30% of UK-born immigrants giving 'Welsh' as their sole or first ancestry (Table 1.4(b)) had been born in England, Scotland or Ireland i.e. to obtain an accurate picture of the total 'Welsh' population of Australia it is necessary to peruse birth and ancestry statistics as shown in Table 1.4(a) and Table 1.4(b).

Sources:

(i) Census of Population and Housing (1986), by courtesy of the Australian Bureau of Statistics cited in J. Jupp (ed.), The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation; Its People and Their Origins (Sydney : Angus and Robertson, 1988), pp. 969.

(ii) 1986 Ancestry Statistics, Census of Population and Housing 1986 : Various Tables (Summary by Charles A. Price).

Table 1.4(b)

Persons of Welsh Ancestry in Australia (1986) by Birthplace and State

BIRTHPLACE	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT	TOTAL	%
Australia	16,606	11,290	9,080	4,510	4,336	1,129	453	896	48,300	66.3
Wales	4,909	3,052	2,264	2,067	2,873	368	161	210	15,904	64.8
England	1,878	1,176	896	891	1,311	165	71	155	6,543	26.6
Scotland	34	26	15	20	21	6	2	4	128	0.5
Ireland	18	11	3	1	9	4	1	-	47	0.2
India	24	27	8	12	27	3	1	2	104	0.4
Latin America	17	2	4	-	4	2	1	-	30	0.1
Canada	36	11	21	12	16	4	1	2	103	0.4
USA	46	34	23	11	30	1	3	17	165	0.7
South Africa	32	23	18	10	26	3	1	7	120	0.5
New Zealand	284	127	214	32	109	9	10	11	796	3.3
Other	197	108	120	46	100	10	13	26	620	2.5
Total Foreign-born	7,475	4,597	3,586	3,102	4,526	575	265	434	24,560	100
Total Stated	24,091	15,887	12,666	7,612	8,862	1,704	718	1,330	72,860	100
Total Not Stated	133	85	86	55	89	9	6	7	470	
TOTAL	24,214	15,972	12,752	7,667	8.951	1,713	724	1,337	73,330	

Notes:
Figures quoted show persons who gave "Welsh" as their sole or first ancestry.

Source:
1986 Census Microfiche VF035 (Summary by Charles A. Price)

study. Consistent with the assumptions of the theoretical framework, the data was collected by the use[30] of varied methods of investigation over a period of six years (1984-90) in Australia and the United Kingdom. The analysis is supplemented by cultural data provided by a smaller group of 25 respondents referred to as the 'NQ' (non-questionnaire) group, the majority of whom were former Welsh migrants who had returned to Wales, or short-term Welsh residents in Australia. Although not the main participants, they were able, because of their background and/or specialist knowledge, to bring a pertinent but detached perspective to the investigation.

In keeping with the proposition that the survival and transmission of an "authentic"[31] Welsh culture is conditional on the survival and transmission of the Welsh language, the investigation was directed in large part towards an analysis of the respondents' language behaviour. To this end it includes:

(i) a linguistic profile of the respondents ('Q' group) which focuses on their proficiency in, their use of, and their attitudes towards the Welsh language

(ii) an analysis of the process and problems of Welsh language transmission to the second generation

(iii) an inquiry into the desirability, availability and potential or actual use by the respondents for purposes of Welsh language and actual maintenance and transmission, of supportive educational and survival structures with particular reference to educational institutions and Welsh ethnic organisations

(iv) an examination and a ranking of the respondents' core cultural values[32] in Australia.

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[30]   Again, details on selection and composition are provided in Chapter 5.

[31]   Fishman distinguishes between 'authentic' or 'primordial' and 'non-authentic' or 'transmuted' ethnicity. In language-centred cultures the latter refers to the residual values that are left behind after the evaporation of the language. See J.A.Fishman and V.C.Nahirny, "Organisational Leadership Interest in Language Maintenance" in J.A.Fishman (ed.), Language Loyalty in the United States. (The Hague : Mouton & Co., 1966), p.161.

[32]   The theory of core values is discussed under 'The Theoretical Framework' which follows.

The results were used to define their cultural identity in Australia and in the process to arrive at an assessment of the degree of their cultural integration. The later line of inquiry takes on a special significance in the case of the Welsh-speaking Welsh who, though, on linguistic grounds, are arguably the most culturally distinctive of British ethnic groups, still share a considerable overlap with Anglo-Australian social and cultural values. (see Footnote 2 above) Most Welsh migrants, it should be noted, claim English as their first language and all Welsh-speakers are at least functionally bilingual. The overall aim of the study therefore was, within the limits of the researched evidence, to present a profile of the Welsh linguistic and cultural presence in Australia. Given present and predicted trends in Australian immigration policy and the recently accelerated pace of the Anglicisation of Wales, it may well be the last opportunity to do so.

1.3   The Theoretical Framework

This thesis is grounded in a theoretical frame of reference developed by Smolicz for the study of minority ethnic cultures in a plural society. Its sociological orientation, influenced by the writings of a number of Polish sociologists, principally the Polish-American Florian Znaniecki, is humanistic and qualitative. It is humanistic in the sense that, for the study of human action, it directs attention first and foremost to the consciousness of human beings as social actors, and qualitative in that it accepts statistical tabulation as one rather than the preferred method of sociological inquiry. Full versions of the theory, now well established as a basis for research into cultural maintenance in plural societies, may be found in a number of Smolicz's writings.[33] The intention here is to outline those aspects that have directed the present investigation. The theory rests on the following two inter-related assumptions:

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[33]   For the most comprehensive version of the theory see J.J.Smolicz, Culture and Education in a Plural Society (Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre, 1979).

— **That meaning is the essence of culture.**

Unlike the natural scientist the social scientist is concerned not with natural objects which only have 'content' but with cultural objects or values which also have 'meaning', that is, the meaning which is attributed to them by human beings. The cultural value of the Parthenon or Ayers Rock, for instance, does not reside in those structures *per se* but in the significance — religious, mythological, aesthetic — bestowed on them in the past and present by conscious human agents. Again, a mountain in Antarctica, for example, has no cultural value since, hitherto at least, it has had no place in what Geertz refers to as the "webs of significance"[34] spun by man. The point being made is that the concern of the sociologist is not the reality that is external to the individual but his perception of it. It is this *perception* that, according to the principles of humanistic sociology, the social scientist must capture. Of added sociological import is that cultural values are *shared values*, experienced not only by each individual but by the same individual in active association with others. The complex of shared meanings, thoughts and actions which constitute the totality of cultural life may therefore be understood in terms of *systems of cultural values*. In Smolicz's words "human actions and their material and ideational products have become patterned and organised over generations into group systems (of values) covering all the various domains of cultures".[35] These are, therefore, the objective data of the group's social and cultural life and, as such, lend themselves to sociological scrutiny.

— **That all cultural data must be taken with the humanistic coefficient.**

The corollary to the first assumption is that cultural systems of values are products of the consciousness of individuals as active agents within society.

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[34] C.Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1973), p.5.
[35] Smolicz, op. cit., p.26.

Their actions, feelings, attitudes, and viewpoints become meaningful as sociological data, however, only when they are taken with what Znaniecki refers to as "the humanistic coefficient". Along with the notion of cultural systems it is his chief contribution to humanistic sociology. He explains the concept as follows:

> "Generally speaking, every cultural system is found by the investigator to exist for certain conscious and active historical subjects. Consequently for the (social) scientist this cultural system is really and objectively as it was (or is) given to these historical subjects themselves when they were (or are) experiencing it and actively dealing with it. In a word the data of the cultural student are always 'somebody's', never 'nobody's' data. This essential character of cultural data, as objects of the student's theoretic reflection, already belong to somebody else's active experience and are such as this active experience makes them".[36]

Since cultural systems do not exist independently of human experience, it follows that the student of cultural life must not only utilise his own conscious experience but be cognisant and prepared to make use of the conscious experiences of the participants in the situation he is studying. It is therefore one of the fundamental axioms of humanistic sociology, which perhaps more than any other distinguishes it from behavioural theory, that the individual's own perception and revelation of external reality — that is of his experiences as a social and cultural being — must be accepted as sociological data.

Humanistic sociological inquiry, therefore, takes its direction from an assumption of inter-dependence between the individual on the one hand and social organisation and cultural activity on the other. These basic assumptions lead to a broad view of culture which stresses the primacy of the meanings attached to cultural objects or experience by individuals as members of a social group. This notion of the inseparability of culture and meaning is not, of course, exclusive to

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[36]   F.Znaniecki, On Humanistic Sociology, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), p.137.

the humanistic sociological perspective. It is a recurrent theme in modern philosophical and literary discourse. In everything that matters in human life Wittgenstein tells us, questions of meaning come first. The central task of philosophy, he insists, is to illuminate the human world of meaning.[37] The same argument surfaces constantly in other scholarly writing. Here is Bantock for instance on meaning as the concern of the social scientist:

> "The basic problem of the social sciences, then, is that of understanding what cannot be investigated by observation, what goes on in the minds of other people. Thus 'meaning' is at the core of the social scientist's problems and the nature of interpretative understanding at the centre of his methodological puzzlement".[38]

Though comments of this nature would not be out of place in any of Znaniecki's writings it must be emphasised that it is the *sociological* perspective on meaning and culture which he articulates and which is of relevance here. An analysis of culture which, by relying on observed behaviour, fails to take into account the written and orally recorded experiences of human actors and to interpret them from their standpoint is, in the humanistic sociological view, at best a form of sterile empiricism, at worst a distortion of social reality.

1.3.1 Systems of Cultural Values

Humanistic sociology rejects the notion of culture as an independent, external reality which can be preserved like a historic building or passed on like an heirloom. Culture in Smolicz's view is a "highly malleable rather than a static phenomenon".[39] This view of culture as a dynamic process is derived from the definition of its essence as interactive personal and group systems of value. *The*

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[37] C.McGinn, Wittgenstein on Meaning: An Interpretation and Evaluation (New York : Basil Blackwell, 1984).

[38] G.M.Bantock, The Parochialism of the Present: Contemporary Issues in Education (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p.33; Cupitt similarly puts meaning at the centre of religious belief "Cultural objects," he writes, "cannot be divorced from the meanings they have for individuals in the same way that a belief is made religious not so much by its contents but by the way it is held." D.Cupitt, The Sea of Faith (London: BBC, 1984), p.18.

[39] Smolicz, op. cit., p.35.

fundamental proposition is that from the stock of values which are generationally transmitted by the group, individuals construct their own personal systems. Smolicz's introduction of the concept of personal systems as a mediator between the culture of the group and the private world of the individual is crucial to the interpretation of social and cultural life from the humanistic standpoint. It provides both theoretical expression to, and practical recognition of, the conscious activity of the individual in "selecting values from the group stock and organising them into a system which suits his own particular purposes and interests".[40]

A humanistic, sociological analysis of culture, therefore takes into account:

(i)   group cultural value systems (ie. the group stock or repository of cultural values)

(ii)   personal systems of cultural values (ie those constructed by individuals from the group stock).

The relevant point here is that in a plural society such as Australia, individuals are theoretically able to draw from a variety of cultural stocks. The nature of personal systems constructed by each individual is, in practice, however, dependent upon both the quality and the accessibility of group cultural systems, a theoretical guideline of particular relevance to the analysis of cultural maintenance by small groups such as the Welsh, whose stock of values at group level is likely to be limited. The more precise theoretical nuances of the personal — group dynamic will be pursued further in the discussion which follows of the constituent value systems of group culture.

The Linguistic System

From the humanistic sociological perspective, the words of a language are cultural objects or values distinguishable from natural objects by the fact that they not only have content in the form of phonetic sounds or written signs, but also meaning. The words of a given language have connotations for, and a significance

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[40]   Ibid, p.48.

to, its native-speakers that reach beyond the primary role of communication. As shared cultural objects they may be regarded as a group's stock of linguistic values that can be generationally transmitted. Thus, from childhood, the individual constructs his own personal linguistic system by drawing from his group's repository of linguistic values, whose meaning he has learned through participation in his group's life.

A further distinction within personal systems between attitude or evaluation on the conceptual level and its activation as a concrete act or *tendency* bears very directly on the present study. Essentially the distinction made is between the individual's incorporation of group values into a personal system as *attitudes* — a process of evaluation — and their implementation — a process of activation. This distinction applies to all areas of culture but in this study, which focuses primarily on linguistic values, it takes on a particular importance as applied to the linguistic system. It is a distinction in effect between two aspects of language behaviour: attitude and usage. The former may vary along a range from positive to negative. Thus an individual with a positive attitude towards the linguistic values of his group may be said to have at least a conscious intention to activate them. The personal system of another individual may reveal an attitude best defined as neutral. An individual in this attitudinal category is indifferent to his group's linguistic system. In a plural society where there are several systems of linguistic values, with that of the majority usually enjoying the most prestige, a preponderance of individuals with neutral or indifferent attitudes to their group linguistic systems, is likely to be inimical to their maintenance. Such is also obviously the case when large numbers of group members have negative attitudes, ie where individuals consciously reject their own group's linguistic values. Reasons for rejection may vary from the low prestige of the language concerned — the result, for instance, as in the Welsh case of its historical stigmatisation (see Chapter 2) — to an individual's view that the language of the majority is the key to

social and economic advancement. In this situation the linguistic system of his group may be seen as a hindrance to his material or social improvement.

At the level of tendency or activation there is also a range of possible 'types'.[41] Thus whether an individual activates his group's system of linguistic values at the personal level is governed by a number of factors, not the least important of which, again, for a member of a small language group, is opportunity.

A meaningful study of linguistic values must therefore take into account attitudes towards language and the extent to which they are acted upon. In present-day Wales, for instance, studies have shown that a substantial portion of both the Welsh-speaking and non-Welsh speaking population regret the decline of the Welsh language. Their attitudes, in the terminology employed here could therefore be described as 'positive'. Yet many of the same people, including non-speakers, are loath to use (or learn) the language themselves and are careful not to encourage their children to learn it at school or use it at home (on the grounds that it is a declining force in Welsh life!). The point being made is that a full understanding of the contemporary Welsh language situation must take into account both the enthusiasm for the language at the attitudinal level and the inertia at the level of actual language behaviour. Similarly, in a plural society such as Australia, activation of positive attitudes towards the Welsh language may be obstructed by circumstances beyond the individual's control. The Welsh or Australian-born child of Welsh parentage may, despite his positive attitude, have no opportunity to maintain or learn Welsh simply because it is nowhere offered as a school subject; or, on the other hand, the adult Welsh migrant may lose fluency because there are few or no domains outside the home where Welsh is spoken. Both in Wales and Australia this discrepancy between attitude and behaviour, writ large, spells the decline and ultimate death of the Welsh language.

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[41] The range of types at the levels of attitude and activation is investigated in the typology presented in Chapter 7.

The Social System

In the humanistic frame of reference an individual is recognised as a cultural value. As such he not only has 'content' in the form of his physical and psychological make-up, but 'meaning' in the form of the significance conferred on him by other individuals and groups. This contact with others means he also has a social value and exists within a social system. Thus, as Znaniecki points out, "a social person is a centre of relationships with a number of other persons or groups, in which capacity he appears as objects of their activities and they appear as objects of his activities".[42] In this way each individual is the hub of a circle of relationships which forms his personal social system. The relevant point is that an individual, as a social person, both acts and is acted upon. Applying the fundamental humanistic axiom that cultural facts can only be understood in the form in which they are presented by conscious human agents, the sociologist must accept as data both the individual's view of his own actions and the way they are viewed by others. A person may not, for instance, intend offence by a particular form of cultural behaviour, but the fact that such behaviour is considered offensive by others is in itself sociological data. In Znaniecki's words:

> "The sociologist must take the human individual not as he 'really is' organically and psychologically, but as he is made, by others and by himself, to appear in their experience and his own in the course of his social relationship .... the essential point about a 'person' is the idea he and others have of his social role".[43]

As with other systems of cultural values, social systems are classified into 'group' and 'personal'. The former comprise the institutions, organisations and network of relationships with which individuals associated with each other constitute social values. As such, group systems are stocks or repositories of social values which are employed by individuals in the construction of personal social systems. For the purpose of analysis, the relations of individuals within

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42   Znaniecki, op. cit. p.205.
43   Ibid, p.195.

group and personal systems may be separated by the well-established sociological distinction between *primary* and *secondary*. Following writers such as Cooley and Gordon,[44] 'primary' refers to relations that are close and informal, while 'secondary' denotes those that are more distant and impersonal. The nature of personal and group social systems is presented in Table 1.5 below. What follows is a brief discussion of their applicability to this study.

(a)   **Personal Social Systems**

As shown in Table 1.5, each individual in society is likely to move in two fairly distinct social circles: a primary one of family and close friends and a secondary system consisting, for example, of fellow workers or business colleagues. The distinction is made evident amongst Welsh-speakers by the use of the more familiar second person singular pronoun 'Ti' as a form of address in the former case, and of the formal 'Chi' in the latter.[45] What is important, in the context of this study, which relies largely on evidence provided by individual participants, is that the concept of personal systems puts the individual at the centre of his network of relationships both at primary and secondary level. As such he is both the initiator and the object of social action. An analysis of the personal social systems constructed by individuals[46] is an important means therefore of discovering the extent to which they have maintained their own language and culture and of assessing the degree to which they have adapted to that of mainstream society. Again, as with the linguistic system, the opportunities for the Welsh individual to construct a personal system which would include members of his own group is likely to be limited by a number of factors.

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[44]   C.H.Cooley, Social Organisation (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909); M.M.Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).
[45]   In some instances, of course, the same person can be both a close friend and business associate.
[46]   Revealed mainly in this study in the oral memoirs. See discussion of methods of data collection under 'Methodological Implications' below and in Chapter 5.

Table 1.5

Personal and Group Social Systems

TYPE	PRIMARY	SECONDARY
Group	Composed of individuals who share some distinctive cultural activities. Individual members are seen to be actually or potentially, linked to the other members by primary relationships.	Composed of individuals who are involved in come specific cultural activity or organisation. Individual members are seen to be actually, or potentially, linked to other members by secondary relationships.
Personal	Composed of all persons linked to a given individual by primary relationships. May originate from either primary group system, or secondary group system via secondary personal system.	Composed of all persons linked to a given individual by secondary relationships. Originate from secondary group system.

Source:
J.J Smolicz and M.J. Secombe, The Australian School Through Children's Eyes (Carlton : Melbourne University Press, 1981), p.33.

These would include:

(i) the limited number of other Welsh-born individuals, especially of Welsh-speakers, that he is likely to encounter within his circle of primary and/or secondary relationships. Secondary relations in the Welsh case are likely to be a poor source for the construction of a primary social system which would include Welsh-speakers.[47] It is very unlikely for instance that a second-generation Welsh-speaker would encounter (or even know of) another Welsh-speaker at his school, let alone amongst his classroom colleagues; it is also unlikely that a second-generation speaker would meet another at his work place.

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[47] See Chapter 8.

(ii) the overlap between the British cultural background of the Welsh and that of Anglo-Australians. This commonality of cultural experience militates against the cohesion of the Welsh as an ethnic group and makes difficult for the individual the construction of a personal system inclusive of people of his own ethnic background. Even Welsh-speakers, who are all bilingual, are drawn by their facility in English and their familiarity with Anglo-Australian culture mores, into the broader social circles of Australian society (or into British service clubs etc).

(iii) the absence of the extended family situation. The Welsh, unlike some southern European groups, are for this reason unable to compensate for the absence of a primary social system based on friendship by the construction of one based on kin.

What must be said therefore is that unless the Welsh — especially the Welsh-speakers who are a much smaller number - actively seek out each other, in a plural society such as Australia, their personal social systems are likely to be composed mainly, if not exclusively, of members of ethnic groups other than their own.

(b)   Group Social Systems

Of importance also to a study of cultural maintenance and transmission is the concept of group systems of social values, the relevant point here being that language and culture are social phenomena. An analysis of Welsh language and cultural retention must focus, therefore, not only on the individual's personal linguistic and social systems but also on the total social milieu in which he moves.

Research findings[48] support the general observation that, relative to Eastern and Southern European ethnic communities, primary social groups — extended families, informal social circles, etc. — are less in evidence amongst the Anglo-

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[48]   See for example Smolicz, op. cit., p.157.

Celtic mainstream population of Australia. Moreover at primary group level Anglo-Celtic society tends to cultivate an individualist ethos. Private schools for instance, place great value on their students developing independence of thought and action.[49] Some European ethnic groups on the other hand place much greater emphasis on primary group relationships which foster strong collectivist values. Thus, although their linguistic systems — particularly those of the second generation — might rapidly erode, it has been shown that their social systems are likely to remain relatively intact.[50] In most respects the Welsh in Australia on the other hand conform closely to mainstream social patterns of behaviour at primary level. There were certainly no extended families for instance amongst the participants in this study. Among Welsh-speakers, however, informal groups bound together principally by knowledge of the language, were, surprisingly in evidence (see Chapter 8).

Secondary social systems emphasising collectivist values are again, on the whole, more characteristic of the Anglo-Celtic mainstream. These include service clubs, sporting organisations, church groups, professional bodies, etc. Again, the Welsh must be included here. Even the Welsh ethnic organisations — apart from family circles the only potential breeding ground of primary relationships — were found to be *de facto* social systems of the mainstream secondary type.

One of the arguments upheld by the theory of social systems therefore is that, within the general framework of an Anglo-Celtic dominated society such as we find in Australia, primary group systems and the values they espouse, provide some ethnic minorities with anchors of security and intimacy that are at the same time supportive of their languages and cultures. In their absence there would be

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[49]   J.J.Smolicz and J.M.Moody, "Independent Schools as Cultural Systems", in S.Murray-Smith (ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education, 1978, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1978), pp.1-66.
[50]   See J.J.Smolicz and M.J.Secombe, "Types of Language Activation and Evaluation in an Ethnically Plural Society" in U.Ammon (ed.), Status and Function of Languages and Language Varieties (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1989).

little structural support outside the family domain. This, it will be argued, is largely the case with the Welsh.

The Ideological System

The most vital component of the theory of culture adopted here is the ideological system which has the crucially important function of co-ordinating and evaluating the totality of the group's stock of social and cultural values. All aspects of the group's life, it is contended, are touched in one way or another by ideology. Consistent with the broad view of culture that has been outlined 'ideology' here takes on a meaning more comprehensive than it usually connotes. It comes nearer to what could be called the group's cultural and social W*eltanschauung*, its total binding ethos, that which Znaniecki refers to as its "standards of values and norms of conduct".[51] As such it defines the group as a social and cultural unit and in the final analysis determines the lineaments of individual cultural identity.

In the process of transmitting cultural values from one generation to the next it is the ideological system which not only acts as a sifting and evaluating agent, but also helps to shape the individual's and the group's social system. Accordingly, it is the degree of efficiency with which the ideological system functions which determines the vitality of a cultural group. At the same time constant ideological re-evaluation militates against cultural atrophy. In this capacity the ideological system has two main purposes: first, to assess those cultural values which are received from previous generations as heritage; secondly, to examine and select those values which are acquired by each generation as a new stock to be added to, integrated with, or even replace the old.

This evaluative role of the ideological system throws a different light therefore on such familiar aspects of cultural life as heritage and tradition. Thus,

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[51]   F.Znaniecki, Cultural Sciences: Their Origins and Development (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1980), p.267.

according to Szacki[52] tradition as an aspect of heritage which is subject to active re-evaluation by successive generations, is not an inert link between past and present but a vital, living and — potentially at least — constantly changing force. This is a concept of tradition sufficiently generous to admit new or invented traditions into a group's total repertoire without damaging its established historical consciousness. What matters, Smolicz points out, is "whether the newly propagated or emergent tradition meets the right psychological climate, whether it is in tune with the sentiments and aspirations of a given human group".[53] One thinks for example of Virgil's re-creation of a Roman past in the Aeneid. There is no historical basis to Rome's foundation by Trojans, but in the first century Augustan climate of national reconstruction a heroic interpretation was acceptable as a version of Rome's past. A more apt example in this context perhaps is the annual Welsh National Eisteddfod[54] with its flummery of neo-Druidic ceremonies. In this, its current form, it is the complete invention of one Iolo Morgannwg,[55] the bardic pseudonym of Edward Williams, an eighteenth century Glamorgan stonemason. Introduced during the late eighteenth century Welsh national Romantic revival (see Chapter 2) it has become Wales' most hallowed cultural institution and the most important annual gathering point for Welsh-speakers. What is of relevance here is that the humanistic sociological perspective makes room for such group identificatory cultural innovations. Once vetted by the ideological system of values, they are accepted in due course as authentic group

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[52] One of the foremost contributors to the humanistic sociological interpretation of tradition; see J.Szacki, "Three Concepts of Tradition", The Polish Sociological Bulletin, No.2, (1969), pp.144-150.
[53] J.J.Smolicz, "The Concept of Tradition: A Humanistic Interpretation" The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol.10, No.2 (1974), p.76.
[54] The National Eisteddfod remains the chief public expression of Welsh culture (see Chapter 2).
[55] As, inter alia, an avid collector of Welsh manuscripts, he acquired a reputation as an authority on all things Welsh. He is best known for his revival of what he claimed was the original governing body of the Druidic Bards, the Gorsedd. The Gorsedd ceremony is still the central event of the annual Welsh National Eisteddfod. See P. Morgan, "From a Death to a View : The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period" in E. Hobsbawn and T. Ranger (eds.), The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp.62-66.

cultural markers and incorporated into the group 'tradition'. In this study it is this aspect of the theoretical framework which makes provision for the Welsh-Australian — especially the second-generation Welsh-Australian — construction on Welsh cultural identity, ie. on what it means in the cultural sense to be 'Welsh' in Australia.

It is also in the context of the ideological system that the applicability to this investigation of Smolicz's notion of personal cultural systems is most readily apparent. The ideological system at the personal level may be regarded, in Smolicz's words, as "a set of attitudes with ideological values constituting their group counterpart".[56] To a large extent therefore the dynamism of cultures derives from the interplay between attitudes at the level of individuals, and values at the level of the group.

Although each individual constructs, by a process of conscious choice, his own personal system of cultural values, derived from that of the group, the outcome is governed by a number of variables which may include the degree of accessibility of the group system, its prevailing ideological emphasis, and the individual's own psychological make-up and experiences. As previously mentioned in relation to linguistic values, in a plural society perhaps the key issue for smaller groups such as the Welsh is that of the accessibility of the group stock of values. Small numbers and physical dispersion often result in the individual being unable to construct (or re-invigorate) a personal system, however much he is so inclined, simply because of the inaccessibility or inadequacy of his group stock.

Individuals activate the cultural values of their own group in different ways and at different levels of intensity. Collectively, however, they are recognisable as the values of a particular group for the reason that most individuals construct systems from within accepted limits. Cultures vary of course in their definition of limits and, therefore, in their acceptance, or otherwise, of non-conforming

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[56]   Smolicz, Culture and Education .... op. cit., p.46.

behaviour. Yet all cultures retain a cluster of central or core values. As the theoretical centrepiece of this study, Smolicz's notion of core values, must be further explicated.

Core Values and Cultural Identity

Within the ideological system certain cultural values referred to here as 'core', constitute "the heartland of a group's culture and act as identifying values that are symbolic of the group and its membership".[57] Core values are therefore so inseparable from the group's definitive cultural profile, that their repeated rejection by an individual may result in his ultimate exclusion or voluntary withdrawal from group membership. As such, within the framework of humanistic sociology, core values serve as a crucial link between a group's cultural and social system, and in this respect are virtually the *sine qua non* of its existence as a separate cultural entity. In this function they define group identity by specifying the criteria for membership. Similarly, identity at the level of the individual may be defined in terms of the attitudes he holds towards the core values of his group. Consequently, individual attitudes must always be interpreted in the context of the group cultural values with which they have a dynamic inter-relationship. Within the humanistic sociological framework, therefore, ethnic cultural identity is a phenomenon which is experienced by both groups and individuals.

Cultural groups, then, are distinguishable by the core values which they collectively uphold. From this it follows that a threat to the core values of a culture is a threat to its very existence. A considerable body of research shows that in plural societies such as Australia, where pressure to conform to mainstream culture is still relatively pronounced, minority groups are induced to an increased awareness of the cores of their cultures.[58] Whether such awareness is translated

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[57] Smolicz and Secombe, op. cit., p.17.
[58] See for example J.J.Smolicz and R.McL.Harris, "Ethnic Languages and Immigrant Youth", in M.Clyne (ed.), <u>Australia Talks: Essays on the Sociology of Australian Immigrant and Aboriginal Languages</u>. Pacific Linguistics, Series D, No.23 (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1976), pp.131-175.

into active, defensive strategies, in the form, for example, of an intensified cultural life, may be said to depend on the group's "ethnic tenacity"[59] on the degree of its predisposition, that is, to preserve its linguistic and cultural distinctiveness. Ethnic tenacity may therefore be measured in terms of individual and group adherence to the core values which form the heartland of a culture.

These central, enduring values of an ethnic group may vary from religion, as in the case of the Irish or the Jews, to family for the Italians or racial cohesion for the Chinese.[60] In the study of ethnic cultures it should be borne in mind that groups may of course adhere to more than one core value, and that in this situation, a hierarchy may be constructed. Although there is evidence to suggest that cultural groups differ in the extent to which they emphasise their native tongues as core values[61] , language is, for most cultures, the epicentre of their total value constellation. As the repository of collective historical experience, as the symbol and carrier of culture, and, not least, as a distinctive means of communication, it is not surprising that language features in much scholarly analysis as the principal cohesive force in group life and the most salient marker of group difference. Znaniecki[62] and Geertz,[63] among others, have argued for language as the main bond of cultural communities, whilst Weinreich, echoing Barth, sees it as the most potent force at the friction edge of culture:

> "It is in the situation of language contact that people most easily
> become aware of the peculiarities of their language as against others,
> and it is there that the purity of the most standardised language most

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[59]   Smolicz's term. See Smolicz and Secombe, "Types of Language Activation..." op. cit., p.480.

[60]   J.J.Smolicz, "Language as a Core Value of Culture", RELC Journal of Applied Linguistics (Singapore), Vol.11, No.1, (1980), pp.1-13.

[61]   J.J.Smolicz "Language, Core Values and Cultural Identity in Australia: Some Polish, Welsh and Indian Minority Experiences", Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society 19 (1991), pp.107-134.

[62]   F.Znaniecki, Modern Nationalities (Urbana: University of Illinios Press, 1952).

[63]   C.Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution", in C.Geertz (ed.), Old Societies and New States (New York: Free Press, 1963)

easily becomes the symbol of group integrity. Language loyalty breeds in contact just as nationalism breeds on ethnic borders".[64]

Similarly Khleif, a contemporary American sociologist who has commented extensively on current Welsh cultural issues, posits language as the most vital symbol of group cultural integrity:

> "Language denotes status — it is an index of social rank, of the capacity to command deference. An inferior language means an inferior person, a psychologically handicapped one, perhaps an economically circumscribed one also. An attack on one's language is but an attack on one's personal integrity and on one's group integrity, for the person is essentially a reflection of his group affiliation. Destruction of culture starts with destruction of language".[65]

The relationship between language and identity is one of the most explored areas of recent sociolinguistic research, the bulk of the evidence pointing to their inseparability in most cultures. At the other pole and perhaps more pertinent to the study of minority cultures in plural societies, is the hypothesis that group identity can, and often does, survive the collapse of language as a core value, even in cultures that are pre-eminently language-centred. The suggestion is that, in this situation, group solidarity may shift to those remnants or residues of heritage when the 'core' has gone. Such cultural residues may well include language in a reduced role as emblem or symbol - revered but not spoken, and no longer a living force in group life. This concept of a 'transmuted' or 'residual', as against an 'authentic'[66] ethnicity is of particular relevance to this thesis, since Welsh culture, in Wales as much as in Australia, is presently in the throes of being defined or re-defined in the absence of the Welsh language.

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[64]   Cited in H.Giles, R.Y.Bourhis and D.M.Taylor, "Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations", in H.Giles (ed.), Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations (London: Academic Press, 1977), p.328

[65]   B.Khleif, "Ethnic Awakening in the First World: The Case of Wales", in G.Williams (ed.), Social and Cultural Change in Contemporary Wales (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p.109.

[66]   See footnote 31, above.

1.3.2 Minority Cultures in Plural Societies

Theoretically, in a plural society such as Australia, each individual has access to at least two sets of group cultural values: that of his own ethnic group, and that of mainstream Anglo-Australian society. In practice this is far from being the case. His choice may be influenced (or encouraged) in the first instance by the ideological orientation of his own group towards the maintenance of its language and culture. Groups vary in this respect, according to what was previously referred to as their "ethnic tenacity", that is, the measure of their determination to preserve linguistic and cultural distinctiveness. In practice too, as has also been shown, if he is a member of one of the smaller groups, he may be constrained by its limited cultural capital, its geographically dispersed membership, and its lack of supportive social and educational structures, A second generation Welsh-Australian, for instance, may, against all odds, have learnt Welsh but be unable to find any public domain where it is normally spoken, even though there may be a relatively substantial number of Welsh speakers within reasonable travelling distance of his own home. Alternatively, he may wish to learn Welsh but find this difficult, not because of lack of learning resources or tuition but because of opposition from his own parents who may see the learning of Welsh as *ipso facto* detrimental to proficiency in English, the language in their opinion of social and material advancement.

The other variable in the construction and implementation of personal cultural systems in a plural society is the ideological orientation of mainstream society towards minority ethnic cultures. Following Smolicz[67] four possible ideological orientations are postulated:

i. **Dominant Anglo-Monism** refers to a policy aiming at a culturally homogeneous society. Individuals, in this situation would be encouraged to construct personal cultural systems based on the values

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[67]   Smolicz, Culture and Education...op. cit., pp.201-207 passim.

of the dominant group. Other ethnic cultures would evaporate within one or two generations.

ii. **Hybrid Monism** leads to a synthesis or 'melting pot' situation whereby the dominant culture absorbs minority values so as to produce a new hybrid stock.

iii. **External Pluralism** implies the co-existence of separate cultures but with little in the way of interaction. An individual in this situation would draw extensively from his own group's stock of values but society overall would be pluralistic.

iv. **Internal Cultural Pluralism** proposes a pluralism of values internalised by the individual. In this situation cultural interaction enables individuals to construct dual or several[68] systems of cultural values and to draw from either with relative ease according to circumstances and needs. In practice this would mean that, in Australia for instance, a member of an ethnic group would be able on the one hand (if he so chooses) to use his own language in his own cultural milieu, and, on the other, through his knowledge of English, to move easily and confidently in mainstream Anglo-Australian society. Similarly an Anglo-Australian, by virtue of his knowledge of a language other than English, would have access to a cultural system other than his own.

In his advocacy of the internal pluralistic model as the most conducive to the preservation of cultural diversity and social cohesion — and therefore the most desirable outcome for a plural society such as Australia — Smolicz emphasises the

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[68] The construction of several systems is unlikely in Australia except in the case of children of mixed ethnic cultural parentage in which neither parent is Anglo-Australian. The children in this situation would have access to three sets of cultural values. An internal pluralistic outcome is more common in a society such as Singapore. In a 1969/70 survey of Singapore's electorate aged 21 years and above, 35% were cross-ethnic bilinguals of whom 13% were multilinguals. See C. Seen-Kong, "Bilingualism and National Identity" in E.A.Afendras and E.C.Y.Kuo (eds), Language and Society in Singapore (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1980), p237.

important corollary of the sharing of certain overarching values by the whole population. By this is meant that, although the internal pluralistic framework recognises and promotes cultural diversity it makes provision for a body of values which, transcending individual systems and shared by all, maintains the essential unity and cohesion of the body-politic. Thus in Australia, for instance, such well established ideological values as parliamentary democracy, the rule of law, the concept of individual rights, and above all, the English language, are in effect supra-ethnic.

Clearly these orientations have educational implications vital to language and cultural maintenance. They are particularly important in the case of the numerically smaller groups, whose potential domains of language and cultural activation are likely to be very limited. The monistic models, by definition, call for little comment in this context, the results of their implementation being cultural and linguistic uniformity. Educational policy would thereby be determined less by the concerns of the ethnic communities than by the interests of the dominant majority.

Both pluralist frameworks, by contrast, envisage the maintenance of ethnic languages and cultures, implying the need therefore for supportive educational structures. It is the internal pluralistic model however which calls for the most comprehensive educational programme to this end — one which would lead to the creation of opportunities for all students from primary to tertiary levels to benefit from a broad language and cultural curriculum. Over the last decade this principle has been increasingly incorporated in educational policy guidelines at state and federal level. Two examples are adduced:

i. "The policy of dynamic but lasting multiculturalism requires the introduction of minority languages and cultures into schools attended by all Australians. In this way mainstream schools are made responsible for students acquiring both the values which constitute the overarching framework of Australian society and the core values of ethnic

minorities. Furthermore, both these sets of cultural knowledge are available to all students.

In a context that encourages cultural interaction, minorities are given an equal opportunity to participate in the social, institutional and occupational structures of society, while the majority group is exposed to the advantages of knowing another language and culture. In this sense multiculturalism in education means creating opportunities for choice from a wide cultural range and translating the concept of cultural democracy into educational practice."

Education for a Cultural Democracy, 1984
(South Australia)[69]

ii.   "This policy seeks to direct the multilingualism of Australia towards a coherence with national aims, stressing national unity by rejecting imposed uniformity. It does this by asserting the primacy of English for all and by advocating widespread learning of languages other than English, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal by the Australian community....

[and]

....the needs of small minority language groups and of the geographically dispersed ones should not be neglected."

National Policy on Languages, 1987[70]

One of the aims of the present enquiry is to discover the extent to which the Welsh have benefited from these policy recommendations.

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[69]   Education for a Cultural Democracy; Report to the Minister of Education (South Australia) of the Task Force to Investigate Multiculturalism and Education, 1984. (Adelaide: South Australian Government Printers, 1984), pp.20-21.

[70]   J. Lo Bianco, National Policy on Languages (Canberra : Australian Government Publishing Service, 1987), p.71 and p.180 respectively.

1.3.3 Methodological Implications

The historico - sociological character of this study required the adoption of historical research procedures combined with sociological methods of analysis that were consistent with the humanistic theoretical framework that has been outlined.

For the historical background (Chapters 2, 3 and 4), sources were consulted in Wales and Australia. In Wales the currently most accessible[71] material is at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth, the bulk of which, as expected, is in the Welsh language, Emigrant letters, private papers and the transactions of the several Welsh nonconformist denominations constitutes the bulk of relevant sources on Welsh cultural life in Australia in the nineteenth century.[72]

At the Australian end the major historical sources are at the National Library of Australia in Canberra and at the State Library of Victoria in Melbourne. Archival material of more local relevance was also researched at the Mitchell Library in Sydney, the Newcastle Public Library, and the Mortlock Library in South Australia.[73] Again, as in Wales most of the documentary evidence relating to cultural life was generated by the nonconformist chapels.

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[71] The collection was recently very much expanded by material brought from Australia by Mr. Ceris Owen, one of the officers of the Library.

[72] There is a more limited collection of similar material at the library of the University College of North Wales, Bangor. More localized sources are deposited at the various Welsh County Archives.

[73] A substantial history of the Welsh in Australia using Welsh and Australian sources is still to be written. Those of direct relevance are listed in the Bibliography. Particular reference must be made to the Welsh language monthly periodical *Yr Australydd* (The Australian) published between July 1866 and September 1872. It contains the most comprehensive record available of Welsh cultural and religious activities not only in Victoria but in all the states of Australia and New Zealand during these peak years of the Welsh cultural presence in Australia. The dates of publication for this journal given in all secondary sources, consulted in Wales and Australia were found to be incorrect eg. in M.Gilson and J.Zubrzycki, The Foreign Language Press in Australia, 1848-1964 (Canberra: ANU Press, 1967), p.217 it is given as 1871-2. The Dictionary of Welsh Biography is also in error with July 1867 to February 1871 as the dates of publication. The Dictionary of Welsh Biography (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1959), p.259. The confusion arises from the fact that there is no complete collection in any one location. The earliest available copy (August 1866) is at the University College of North Wales, Bangor and the latest, and last, (September 1872) at the National Library of Australia, Canberra.

For the analysis of the cultural experiences of post-war Welsh migrants which constitutes the major, and sociological, component of the study, a methodology was adopted that was consistent with the following two fundamental assumptions of humanistic sociology:

i. that social and cultural phenomena can only be fully understood when they are studied from the viewpoints of those who experience them or are directly involved. Thus, following Znaniecki, the application of the humanistic coefficient requires a study of the intentions, experiences and activities of conscious human agents within the context of their cultural situation and social roles (as members of their families, ethnic groups, suburbs etc.) as they themselves perceive these external realities.

ii. that the expression by individuals of their social and cultural experiences, of the meaning which they attach to them, and of their attitudes and feelings towards them, is best understood by means of 'imaginative reconstruction'[74] or empathy. By reconstruction is not meant some process of mystical transformation but an attempt at reconstituting an individual's reported experiences by an imaginative scrutiny of all available concrete and cultural data.[75] This methodological procedure aims at understanding an individual's social and cultural experiences not merely through observation of his or her behaviour — which may well be the starting point of enquiry — but

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[74] The process, similarly labelled 'imaginative reconstruction' by Robert MacIvor and 'empathy' by S.Ossowski, is reminiscent of Weber's *verstehen*. The key point is that the sociological analysis of human cultural values demands a methodology different from that used for the study of natural objects. What is aimed at is not measurement of natural objects or phenomena in quantitative terms but insight into human consciousness. Thus Ossowski writes "No social institution, no social group, and no social process, can be fully developed without reference to human consciousness." S.Ossowski, Dziela (Collected Works) IV. (Warsaw, 1967), p.343 cited in Smolicz, Culture and Education.... op. cit., p.22.

[75] 'Concrete data' refers to personal details on family background, education etc. of respondents. Cultural data on the other hand refers to their assessments of and attitudes towards their own and others social and cultural experiences. (See Chapter 5 for a full discussion of data classification and analysis).

through *insight* gained from as full a knowledge as possible of the individual concerned's actual life experience as he or she reports it in oral or written forms. Insight depends therefore on the availability of comprehensive data. It depends also on the ability of the researcher to reflect empathetically on another's experience by bringing to bear his own knowledge, understanding and, possibly, experience of the situations or attitudes being described. A sharing of another's culture, language or social situation may be an important aid to the process but is by no means a pre-condition for its success.

The theoretical positions described called for a methodology therefore which best encouraged the participants to reveal their social and cultural experiences as comprehensively as possible and through the direct expression of their thoughts attitudes, feelings and judgements. To fulfil this requirement it was necessary to adopt *varied* research methods. These were:

i.   self-administered questionnaires.

ii. oral memoirs(transcribed interviews)

iii. written memoirs

iv. participant observation

v.   documentary evidence

The strengths and weaknesses of these several methods and their actual application to the gathering of data are discussed in Chapter 5.

1.4 A Review of Previous Research

"Research findings on the degree of ethnic cultural maintenance and development are rather scattered and taking Australia as a whole, still unsystematic. There is, however, a growing body of evidence about the cultural situation of minority ethnic groups, and of the degrees to which such cultures are being maintained and transmitted to the next generation"[76]

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[76]   M.Clyne, "Language Ecology in Australia: Some Insights from the 1976 Census." Paper presented to the Sociology Section of the 50th ANZAAS Conference, Adelaide, 1980.

Since 1976 when Clyne made the above comments, the body of evidence of which he speaks has grown considerably, but, to date, there has been no substantial study of Welsh language and cultural maintenance in Australia. Until very recently there has been little mention of the Welsh presence in any of the major migration studies and, of their language and culture barely a word. This is not entirely surprising. Whilst individuals of Welsh origins have made significant contributions to Australian political and cultural life, the overall cultural impact of the Welsh as an ethnic group has been minimal. Though Protestant and British they were too small in numbers and, to some extent, too separated by language and culture, to have been in any important sense members of the Australian "charter group".[77] Even in the 1870s when the Welsh communities of the Victorian gold fields were at their most vigorous, the Welsh language periodicals of the day complained bitterly about the lack of knowledge of, and indifference to, the Welsh amongst the general population. The blame was placed squarely with the Welsh themselves. Exhortations to a more prominent public profile were frequently the leitmotif of editorials in "*Yr Australydd*", the monthly journal that was the public voice of the Welsh communities in Victoria in the late 1860's and early 1870's[78]. The eventual agreement of the Victorian Government, after a campaign of persuasion, to advertise (in Welsh) in its pages, was hailed as a step towards greater recognition of the Welsh community:

"When the time is ripe we will not be reticent in exposing those who have been friends of the Welsh in this struggle — the difficulties arose undoubtedly from the novelty of the idea and from the general belief that the Welsh and their language have long disappeared from the world"[79]

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[77] Term used by the Canadian sociologist John Porter to describe the founding elite of immigrant societies; cited in J.Jupp, Ethnic Politics in Australia, (Sydney : George Allen and Unwin, 1984), p.179.

[78] Along with its successor *Yr Ymwelydd* published from October 1874 to December, 1876, it proved to be the most fruitful documentary source on Welsh cultural life in Australia in the nineteenth century. (See Chapter 3).

[79] Yr Australydd, December 1871, Vol.1, No.9.

(Translated from the Welsh)

That the Welsh as an ethnic group, always small in numbers relative to other British-born migrants, geographically dispersed, and with a cultural identity that was, and is, only dimly apprehended — should not have attracted much scholarly interest is not surprising. Even less surprising, therefore, is the neglect of the *Cymry Cymraeg*, the Welsh-speaking Welsh who, as the *Australydd* complained, have been concealed to the point of invisibility not only by small numbers but by their subsumption under other national labels: Anglo-Celtic, British, English and even Welsh.

With this in mind the review which follows has been broadened to include some comment on recent writing on the Welsh language and cultural identity in Wales, and on current developments in Welsh historiography. It focuses also on recent research activities on the Welsh cultural presence in other immigrant societies. This was considered important both for its comparative value and for its relevance to a balanced perspective on the cultural experiences of Welsh migrants in Australia. Finally the last two sections of this review focus on (i) selected previous studies of language and cultural maintenance in Australia on, that is, the broad context in which the present investigation is located, and (ii) two recent histories of the Welsh in Australia, both published in Wales. Of the present condition of the Welsh language and culture in Australia there has been, to the best knowledge of the present author, no previous study.

1.4.1 Some Recent Studies of the Welsh Language and Welsh Cultural Identity

Since the 1960s Wales — its history, language and culture — has been the focus of an enormous corpus of scholarly work. The growth of Welsh political nationalism and the militancy of *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith* (the Welsh Language Society)[80] have produced a heightened awareness of the distinctiveness of the

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[80]   See Chapter 4.

Welsh in scholarly circles, not only in Wales but also overseas, especially in the United States. Undoubtedly much of this interest has taken the form of scholarly last rites over a language which is seen by many as being on its death-bed. There is certainly an undercurrent of mournful retrospection in much of the material produced. Constructive strategy for future Welsh language maintenance is, on the whole, secondary to a historical analysis of what went wrong, of why Welsh is following Irish towards extinction.

Relevant also to this study has been the recent upsurge of interest in assessing the relevance of the language to a definition of Welshness. Not surprisingly this has proceeded apace with the Anglicisation of Wales. At times, it verges on an attempt to remove the Welsh from their history as Welsh-speakers, and to re-define Welsh ethnicity by all value criteria except that which, it is argued in this thesis, is its essential core, namely the Welsh language. Foremost amongst those who take this view is Smith, a social historian and critic. In his "Wales! Wales!"[81] he relegates the language well into the background of the modern Welsh historical experience. His concern is to re-integrate Welsh into British history and in the process to place the language firmly on the sidelines:

> "The Welsh - language world.... is a world made available only in Welsh - language literature and history. That is a past which the Welsh as a whole do not fully share"[82]

and

> "The Welsh are different from each other because of their history. The paradox they face is that they look to that history for the traditions, the continuity and the assurance that a society uncertain of itself requires. They seek unity where none exists, past or present"[83]

Comments of this nature are, of course, a useful corrective to the traditional approach, one which has tended to overlook the fact that since the turn of this

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[81]   D.Smith, "Wales! Wales!?" (London : George Allen and Unwin, 1984)
[82]   ibid., p.163.
[83]   ibid., p.166.

century English has been the language of the majority of the Welsh. What they neglect however — or perhaps deny — is the central role of the language in Welsh, as opposed to English or British, historical and cultural experience. It is only the language which elevates Welsh history above the level of provincial British history — of the history of Lancashire or East Anglia. An analysis of the Welsh past — even of the recent past of the nineteenth century — is, as will be argued in Chapter 2, at best deficient, if this is not acknowledged.

Smith is an adherent of the revisionist school of Welsh historians associated with the Society of Welsh Labour History[84] . Class conflict, the role of ideology, trade unionism and other previously neglected aspects of modern Welsh history, have been brought to the surface of scholarship by its members. The complex processes of the industrialisation of South Wales have been impressively illuminated by much of these long-needed incursions into recent Welsh social history. In the process, however, language and culture have tended to be cast into the historical shadows.

A contemporary historian who has successfully employed social and economic research material to illuminate nineteenth century cultural developments in Wales is Brinley Thomas. In "Wales and the Atlantic Economy"[85] and in a number of subsequent writings in which he develops his theme, he has added enormously to the understanding of the cultural repercussions of the industrialisation of the South Wales valleys. Though not without its critics,[86] Thomas' thesis has been very influential, his central argument being that the Welsh economy did not follow the fluctuations of the larger British economic cycle in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thomas argues instead for the existence of what he calls 'an Atlantic economy' within which the Welsh and the North

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[84]   See G.H.Jenkins "Modern Wales" in History Today, Vol.37, February 1987, p.49.

[85]   B. Thomas, "Wales and the Atlantic Economy" in B.Thomas (ed.), The Welsh Economy : Studies in Expansion (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1962), pp.9-29. For Thomas' other works see Bibliography.

[86]   Notably D. Baines Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Inernal Migration in England and Wales 1861-1900 (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Americans were closely related. Thus the South Wales coalfield prospered in the very decades (1881-90 and 1901-10) when the British economy was experiencing a downturn. As a result, Welsh migration in these years was largely internal - from the Welsh-speaking rural north and west to the valleys of the south. In turn the life of the Welsh language and of the culture which it supported was considerably prolonged[87] - with vital consequences for Welsh cultural identity into the twentieth century. There is a second consequence of equal importance and relevance here: the prosperity of the coalfields negated the need for the Welsh to emigrate in the very period of heavy migration from the rest of Britain and of Europe. Hence, the relatively low numbers of Welsh migrants to North America and Australia.

One other work of history must be mentioned, namely Morgan's seminal *Rebirth of a Nation : Wales 1880-1980.*[88] In this and a number of other works[89] Morgan argues for the growth of Welsh national consciousness in the two decades after 1880. These are years crucial therefore to an understanding of modern Wales and of modern Welsh cultural identity. It is in this period that Wales awakens to its status as a 'nation' and aspires, for the most part successfully, to the symbolic trappings of the modern nation-state. Morgan's thesis of a Welsh national consciousness grounded in a historical sense of cultural cohesion culminates in a view of post-war Wales as a period in which one of the dominant concerns of Welsh and non-Welsh-speakers has been the definition and preservation of Welsh identity, and this at a time when the language and the traditional culture it supported have been in rapid retreat. It was a period also — and the connection is clear — of a revived nationalism which sought political solutions to the problems of language and identity maintenance. Not surprisingly, given the emphasis in much recent Welsh historical analysis on labour relations and economic trends,

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[87]   Until, that is, the large scale immigration of English-speakers into the area in the years before World War I. These developments are discussed at greater length in Chapter 2.
[88]   K.O.Morgan Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980 (New York : Oxford University Press, 1981.
[89]   See bibliography.

Morgan has not been without his critics. He has been taken to task, for instance, for his overriding concern for Wales as a cultural entity and his preoccupation with the 'Welshness' of phenomena to the neglect of non-cultural issues. It is a criticism which both neglects the different historical and cultural traditions of the groups comprising the British population[90] and too readily divorces cultural from social and economic experience. Identification with Wales (as the present study shows) is by no means the prerogative of Welsh-speakers, nor is 'Welshness' to be understood as a purely cultural phenomenon removed from the totality of the life experiences of Welsh men and women. Irrespective of his alleged concern with 'Welshness', Morgan leaves no doubt that issues of language and identity have loomed large in the life of post-war Wales. This is the dimension of his argument which is clearly relevant to the present study.

Turning to sociological studies of Welsh life, the post-war period has been equally productive. Wales was the focus of much of the community study trends in vogue in Britain in the 1940s and 1950s[91] . The growth of sociology as an academic discipline in the University of Wales in the 60s[92] and the publicising by Welsh scholars of the plight of the language coincided with the world-wide upsurge of interest in ethnicity and minority languages that was characteristic of that decade. As a result Wales and the Welsh language moved to the centre stage of international scholarship on language and cultural maintenance. Amongst the several, mainly American, scholars who focussed on Welsh ethnicity in this period, Hechter is possibly the best known. In his controversial cultural colonial model of ethnic relations he sought to explain Celtic ethnic salience in general, and Welsh in particular, in terms of uneven economic development.[93] A core-

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[90] A diversity clearly recognised by Kearney for instance. See H. Kearney, The British Isles: a History of Four Nations (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[91] eg. A.D.Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1950) and R.Frankenberg, Village on the Border (London : Cohen and West, 1957)

[92] For a discussion of the direction of Welsh sociology in the period see G.Williams, "Towards a Sociology of Wales", Planet: The Welsh Internationalist, November 1977, pp.30-37.

[93] M.Hechter, Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966, (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1975).

periphery dichotomy, he argued, works to the disadvantage of the latter which consequently becomes a breeding ground of political and cultural nationalism. Hechter's work did much to bring Wales into the mainstream of sociological analysis but was heavily criticised on a number of counts, not the least his over-reliance on an economic deprivation model as an explanation of ethnic resurgence in the Celtic fringe[94] .

Amongst those who took issue with Hechter was Khleif, another American social scientist who has written extensively on the Welsh language and Welsh cultural identity. Although not entirely dismissive of the internal colonial model, for Khleif ethnic salience is the product of *interrelated* cultural and socio-economic factors. In a 1980 study of the Welsh language and ethnicity in an educational context, he examined the role of educational structures in the fostering (or hindering) of a Welsh ethnic identity, one of his main concerns being that the so-called Welsh-medium schools[95] have been the main agencies of linguistic and cultural regeneration in modern Wales:

> "Currently a sense of Welshness through language, a sense of self-confidence anchored in language, a sense of identity through consciousness of language and history is imparted in Welsh-medium primary and secondary schools, not in English-medium schools located in areas where Welsh is spoken but not used as an instrument for socialisation, for enculturation under school auspices"[96] .

Khleif's contribution to an understanding of Welsh ethnic issues derives much of its value from his locating of Welsh experience in a broader context of ethnic struggle in other areas of Europe and North America (Quebec). He makes

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[94] Hechter himself conceded the inadequacy of the theory in a later work: "The mere existence of common material interests is not a sufficient condition for the establishment of group solidarity.... although it is a *necessary* one.... if I were writing the book today, it would raise many of the same answers, ·*but it would have more micro sociological analysis*" (own italics). See M.Hechter, "Internal Colonialism Revisited" in E.A.Tityakian and R.Rogowski (eds), New Nationalisms of the Developed West, (London : Allen and Unwin, 1985), p.25.
[95] Schools in which the main medium on instruction is Welsh. See Chapter 4.
[96] B.B.Khleif, Language, Ethnicity and Education in Wales, (The Hague : Mouton Publishers, 1980), p.217.

useful comparisons for instance between the Frisian opposition to Dutch cultural hegemony and the Welsh attempt to stem the tide of Anglicisation. In both situations he finds that the key to an understanding of the sociocultural processes involved is the subordinate status of Frisian and Welsh in relation to Dutch and English respectively. What is important here is that the historical stigmatisation of a language has important consequences for its evaluation — for the way in which it is perceived by group and non-group members[97] . Khleif, it should also be mentioned, arrives at his conclusions by the use of qualitative research methods, especially participant observation and transcribed interview[98] techniques of investigation. In particular his skilful integration of field notes into the body of his text is a useful guide to the profitable use of direct speech in sociological analysis.

Undoubtedly one of the important consequences of the work of Hechter, Khleif and others, is that they have introduced the problems of Welsh language and cultural maintenance to the international academic arena. The same may be said of Howard Giles and his colleagues, who, since the early 1970's have consistently shown from a social psychology of language perspective that for Welsh and non-Welsh speakers the Welsh language is the most important dimension of Welsh identity — that to be fully 'Welsh' "one needs at least to be involved in learning the language."[99] Of particular relevance to this study also has been Giles' theory of 'ethno linguistic vitality.'[100] By this is meant that certain indicators of group vitality — economic status, size, socio-historical factors etc. — can be used to

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[97] The historical stigmatisation of the Welsh language is explored in Chapter 2.

[98] . Comparable to what are referred to as oral memoirs in the present study.

[99] R.Y.Bourhis, H.Giles and H.Tajfel, "Language as a determinant of Welsh identity", European Journal of Social Psychology, 3(4), 1973,p.447. This is one of several studies, in which Giles has used the so-called 'matched-guise' technique, a method whereby subjects listen to apparently different speakers reading a passage of prose and then being asked to evaluate them on bipolar adjective rating scales. In fact 'the speakers' are one and the same person using realistic guises of particular languages, dialects or accents. In the study referred to here the method was intended to reveal how different groups of adult Welsh subjects perceived members of their own group using different linguistic codes. On almost every trait tested the subjects preferred bilingual Welsh-English speakers to those with an RP English accent. (For other works by Giles see Bibliography).

[100] See H.Giles, R.Y.Bourhis and D.M.Taylor, "Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations" in H.Giles (ed.) op., cit.

measure the chances of the survival of the group as a cultural entity eg. in plural societies. Important here is that Giles includes among these indicators, the evaluation by group members of such markers of their own cultural identity as language and religion. It is consistent therefore with the theoretical emphasis on *attitude* in this study.

1.4.2 Studies of Welsh Cultural Experiences in Other Immigrant Societies

The two main directions of Welsh immigration in the nineteenth century were the United States and Patagonia in Southern Argentina. Studies of the cultural survival and assimilation of the Welsh in these other immigrant countries provide a number of instructive points of comparison and contrast with their experience in Australia.

Welsh settlement in the United States, dating from the 1680's, has been well documented by some of Wales' most eminent historians. In America, unlike the pattern in Australia, the Welsh clustered in several vigorous, culturally distinctive communities: the coal mining and slate quarrying districts of Pennsylvania; Paddy's Run in Ohio; Arvonia in Kansas; Utica in New York State and Racine, Wisconsin, amongst several others. Of particular interest also were the several attempts make by the Welsh in North America — led usually by nonconformist ministers — to establish self-sufficient, culturally autonomous communities. Without exception these efforts at Welsh language and cultural preservation were unsuccessful beyond the first or, at best, the second generation. Yet, though conditions in the United States were clearly different from those in Australia, analyses of the circumstances of failure by historians of the period such as Dodd[101] and Williams[102] were, as shown in Chapter 2, of some relevance to the present investigation.

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[101] A.H. Dodd, The Character of Early Welsh Emigration to the United States (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1957).
[102] G.A. Williams, The Search for Beulah Land : The Welsh and the Atlantic Revolution (London : Croom Helm, 1980).

There have also been a number of specialist studies of the assimilation of Welsh communities in American cities, focusing mainly on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the last period of a distinctive Welsh presence in the United States. The approach is usually historical — most relying on documentary evidence — and the conclusions fairly uniform namely that the survival of the Welsh as a group was everywhere bound up with the survival of the Welsh language. As the language fell into disuse, usually within one generation, the Welsh communities rapidly disintegrated. Ellis' conclusion to his study of the Welsh in Utica, possibly the longest surviving Welsh community in the United States, is fairly typical:

> "In one sense the Welsh chapter in Oneida county is coming to a close. Within five years no church will offer a Welsh service except on special occasions. It is unlikely that more than a handful of [Welsh] immigrants will [again] settle in the Utica area."[103]

The least known but most successful example of Welsh language and cultural maintenance outside Wales is the *gwladfa* (colony) established by a group of Welsh migrants in the Chubut Valley of Patagonia, Southern Argentina in the 1860's[104]. The Welsh language is still spoken in some homes in this region and a number of Welsh cultural and religious institutions are still sporadically active. Surprisingly, there has been little scholarly interest in this unique example of cultural colonisation in a non-English-speaking migrant country.

Williams' 1972 doctoral dissertation is one of the few major studies of the Patagonian Welsh[105]. Though socio-economic rather than culturalist in emphasis, it is a reminder that culture as a subject of study is inseparable from the political and economic environment in which it survives. Williams' main focus is the adaptive behaviour of successive groups of Welsh migrants to the physical, cultural

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[103]   D.M.Ellis, "The Assimilation of the Welsh in Central New York", The Welsh History Review, Vol.6, No.4, December, 1973, p.123.
[104]   Discussed in Chapter 3.
[105]   G.Williams, "Aspects of Modernisation and Socio-Cultural Change within the Welsh Colony in Patagonia". (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wales, 1972)

and economic environment of two districts of Southern Argentina where they settled. In the process he also investigates, in his own words, "the nature and incidence of the acculturisation process upon the Welsh community."[106]   It is a study, in effect, of culture contact ie. of the contact of a small Welsh-speaking Protestant community with a much larger, more economically powerful, Spanish-speaking Catholic population. The methodological approach is multi-dimensional. Williams makes use of what he calls "customary anthropological methods of interview and questionnaire sessions, participant observation and the collection of documentary and statistical evidence."[107]

Williams' study shows that up to at least the First World War the colony was run as a closed corporate community. During this time it remained almost entirely Welsh in language and cultural orientation.   Group cohesion was maintained and the language preserved as a result of continued immigration from Wales and minimal contact with mainstream Argentinian society.   When immigration ceased after 1914, inter-cultural contact increased leading to a fatal weakening of Welsh ethnic solidarity. Williams' findings are investigated further in Chapter 3. Although Patagonia is obviously a special case, it is of particular interest here if only because it brings to light some of the minimal conditions for language and cultural maintenance in plural societies.

1.4.3 Studies of Language and Cultural Maintenance in Australia

In recent years Australia has witnessed extensive research activity on language maintenance and ethnic identity.   The corpus of published and unpublished works is far too extensive for comment here.   Reference is made therefore only to those which have helped to give this investigation of the Welsh a broader theoretical and methodological context based on the post war experiences of other migrant populations.

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106   Ibid., p.(ii).
107   Ibid., p.(vi).

Martin's work was amongst the earliest contributions to an understanding of the imigration experience — and to a perception of the *need* for such understanding. She was also one of the first Australian exponents of the use of qualitative research methods in the area of migrant studies, In her 1965 study[108] of refugee settlers, for instance, she made use of participant observation, in-depth interviews, and a supplementary attitude questionnaire. By means of loosely structured interviews she hoped to obtain what she referred to as "life histories"[109] as well as "general information on attitudes, beliefs and hopes."[110] Martin was a pioneer therefore of the use of multiple qualitative research methods in Australia.

Two scholars whose works are indispensable working tools for the researcher of language use and maintenance in Australia are Price and Clyne. The former, a demographer at the Australian National University, has over the last four decades provided much of the statistical framework for analysis of ethnicity in Australia by transforming raw census statistics into a comprehensive data bank on the composition of the Australian population by ethnic origin, birth-place and race[111] . Clyne has published widely on community languages[112] - how they are maintained and by whom, their structure, evolution, and why they should be taught in Australian schools. In addition he has edited a number of research papers on language usage and policy. His 'Multilingual Australia,'[113] for example, an

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[108] J.I.Martin, <u>Refugee Settlers: A Study of Displaced Persons in Australia</u> (Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 1972.

[109] Zubrzycki, one of the architects of Australian multiculturalism also made use of life histories in his study of migrants in the LaTrobe Valley. See J.Zubrzycki, <u>Settlers of the La Trobe Valley: A Sociological Study of Immigrants in the Brown Coal Industry in Australia</u> (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1964).

[110] Martin, op. cit., p.3.

[111] See Bibliography for full listing. The two works of Price most frequently consulted were: (i) C.A. Price and J.I. Martin (eds), <u>Australian Immigration : A Bibliography and Digest, No. 3, 1975</u> (Canberra : Department of Demography, Australian National University, 1979), (ii) C.A.Price (ed.), <u>Australian Immigration: A Bibliography and Digest, No.4</u> (Canberra: Department of Demography, Australian National University, 1979); (iii) C.A.Price et al., <u>Birthplaces of the Australian Population 1861-1981, Working papers in Demography No.13</u>, (Canberra: Department of Demography, Australian National University 1984).

[112] M.G.Clyne, <u>Community Languages: The Australian Experience</u> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[113] M.G.Clyne, <u>Multilingual Australia</u> (Melbourne: River Seine Publications, 1982).

analysis of the 1976 census, includes a valuable cross-tabulation (by state) of first generation Welsh language and birth place data[114].

Over the past two decades there have been a number of studies of language and cultural maintenance by individual ethnic groups in Australia. Two call for comment here since they both have some points of relevance to the present inquiry in relation to subject matter and methodology:

i. The first is Harris' 1977 study of the assimilation and ethnicity dimensions of (mainly) second-generation tertiary students of Polish origin in South Australia. Harris also describes his investigation as "historico-sociological."[115] In his case this involves an analysis of empirical data provided by informants against a background of post-war Polish history and emigration to Australia. His methodology is consistent with his adoption of a humanistic framework in that he relies mainly on interviews and observational data. Harris' study, however, differs from the present one in several important respects:

a. His main focus is on the second generation, on the receiving end, as it were, of the transmission process. The present study is more attentive to the first, based on the view that the initiative for cultural transmission, the means by which it is effected, and the substance of what is transmitted, are, in the final resort, the responsibilities of the migrant parents.

b. Most of his informants were tertiary students living in Adelaide. The present study drew its subjects from the Welsh community at large and, as far as possible, from all states of Australia.

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[114] A more recent statistical analysis of the Welsh population in Australia can be found in Lucas' 1987 monograph. See D.Lucas, The Welsh, Irish, Scots and English in Australia: a Demographic Profile with Statistical Appendix, (Canberra: Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, 1987).

[115] R.McL.Harris, "Poles Apart? An Intergenerational Study of Selected Samples of Post-War Polish Immigrants in South Australia" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1977).

c. His main concern was to measure the cultural adaptation of his informants by the use of scales of ethnicity and assimilation. Given the greater reliance on oral memoirs in this study, measurements by the use of indices were not sought.

Harris' main contribution to the study of immigrant cultures in Australia has been to show that the two socialisation processes of ethnicisation and assimilation are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Although the cultural value systems of ethnic minority groups are inevitably modified in a plural society (as is mainstream culture with which they come in contact), it does not follow that in order to be "Australian" an individual must cease to be Polish. Amongst his subjects he found those (whom he called Polish-Australians) whose personal cultural systems allowed them to be both:

> "Their assimilation to Australian culture has not destroyed their ethnicity, nor has their adherence to certain Polish cultural forms prevented them from succeeding within the Australian system and fully participating in the life of their Australian peers."[116]

This was Harris' most important finding.

ii. Another study that provided useful points of comparison and contrast was Bottomley's 1979 investigation of the ethnic identity configurations of a small number (23) of second-generation Greeks living in Sydney[117]. It is analagous to the present study both in its method of recruiting informants and in some of the techniques employed for eliciting data. On the former Bottomley has this to say:

> "My usual method was to interview one person who would then refer me to others in his or her social network. The twenty three [informants] actually emanated from a small number of contacts"[118]

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[116] Ibid., p.509.
[117] G.Bottomley, After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek-Australians (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1979).
[118] Ibid., p.36.

As will be explained in Chapter 5 this "snowball"[119] procedure was also one of the methods used to find informants in the present study. Secondly, Bottomley's data was also derived from in-depth interviews, participant observation and autobiographical evidence. One of her main interests is the effects on the individual's sense of ethnic identity of his/her social relationships with other persons and organisations within and outside of his/her group. To this end she introduces the concept of "network" which she defines as: "The pattern created by ties that connect individuals with the social units with whom he/she comes in contact and those units with one another."[120] She concludes that formal and informal community type networks are vital to the maintenance of a Greek identity. The institutions of the Greek community serve therefore to legitimise the traditions of the group and to give them meaning in an Australian context. That these community type organisations were important to the maintenance of Greek ethnic boundaries was a useful theoretical guideline to the examination of similar structures in the Welsh community.

1.4.4 Studies of the Welsh in Australia

"The Welsh contribution to Australian life has not yet been the subject of any substantial published study."[121]

Until 1983 the above entry under *'Welsh in Australia'* in the "Guide to the Collections" at the National Library of Australia was largely accurate. Two historical surveys of Welsh settlement have appeared in the meantime, both published in Wales and based on Welsh sources.

The first is Williams' Welsh-language publication *Cymry Awstralia* (The Welsh of Australia).[122] Originally an entry in the essay competition at the 1961

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[119] The term used by Sung to describe this method of recruiting informants. See B.L.Sung, Chinese-American Intermarriages, (New York: Centre for Migration Studies, 1990), p.4.
[120] Bottomley, op. cit., p.31.
[121] Guide to the Collections, Vol.2, (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1977).

National Eisteddfod of Wales, it was published in revised and extended form some 20 years later. Ethnic histories often veer towards a listing of ethnic cultural and religious institutions supplemented by biographies of key office-bearers. Williams' work tends to fall into this category. It is largely an account of the establishment by the several Welsh nonconformist denominations of their religious bridgeheads in Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century. It centres also on the ubiquitous Welsh Societies, chronicles their activities in detail, and items the documented contributions of their members to the life of the Welsh community. Yet though it lacks thematic coherence, this study is indispensable preliminary reading on nineteenth century Welsh settlement in Australia. It sets out an easily accessible and largely accurate[123] chronological framework for further analysis and in this sense is a useful work of reference. Nor is it entirely lacking in critical content. Williams reserves her harshest judgements for what she regards as the linguistic and cultural apostasies of most Welsh migrants to Australia, including post-war arrivals. If there is any thread running through the history of Welsh settlement in Australia it would be, in Williams' opinion, the "shameless" subordination of cultural to material interests:

> "It seems that economic considerations above all motivate the Welshman to emigrate, not those to do with the traditions of his nation or his language or his religion. 'Bread and cheese' come first, and that is what decides whether he makes his home in his own country or in an alien land."[124]
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> (Translated from the Welsh)

A more comprehensive study of Welsh settlement in Australia is Lloyd's "Australians from Wales."[125] Commissioned and published by the Gwynedd (North Wales) County Council Archives Services on the occasion of the

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[122] M.Williams, Cymry Awstralia (Llandybie: Gwasg Christopher Davies, 1983).
[123] There are some factual errors in Williams' work which could have been avoided if she had access to sources in Australia.
[124] Ibid., p.167.
[125] L.Lloyd, Australians From Wales (Caernarfon: Gwynedd Archives, 1988).

Bicentennial, this is also a historical survey. Though limited, like Williams' work, by the author's lack of access to primary sources in Australia, and biased, as he admits, towards the Gwynedd — Australian connection, Lloyd's study is a substantial contribution to what hitherto has been a meagre bibliography of the Welsh in Australia. One of the strengths of this work is its tracing of the development during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of the maritime links between Wales and Australia. This provided the Welsh with the network of personal contacts that has been instrumental in the maintenance of Welsh group cohesion in most migrant countries. On the role of the language in this respect however, Lloyd has less to say. Like Williams he finds the Welsh of Australia to have been more than ready to assimilate to the ways of mainstream society - a tendency motivated, he suggests, by their wish "to escape from the deferential attitudes which they associated with their former homelands."[126] Though Lloyd's study is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the Welsh experience in Australia, it is a historical survey of settlement not a sociological analysis of their recent cultural experiences.

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[126]   Ibid., p.280.

CHAPTER 2

WELSH CORE CULTURAL VALUES : A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

"It would be quite unthinkable that anyone could ever set out to explore the nature of the Welsh, their society and cultural identity, without resort to events in the past".[1]

I. HUME AND W.T.R. PRYCE

"There is no way of adjusting to the new except through the old".[2]

J.A. FISHMAN

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[1]   I. Hume and W.T.R. Pryce, The Welsh and their Country : Selected Readings in the Social Sciences (Llandysul, Dyfed : Gomer Press in Association with the Open University, 1986), p. xiv.
[2]   J.A. Fishman, "The Historical and Social Contexts of an Inquiry into Language Maintenance Efforts" in Fishman, (ed.), op.cit., p.26.

2.1   Introduction

The roots of cultural identity lie ultimately in history.[3]   An analysis of Welsh cultural values in Australia must begin therefore with a review of their historical evolution in Wales.   That is the aim of the present chapter.   The survey will be limited to the main stages of Welsh cultural development, the prime focus being the origins of the nineteenth and twentieth century cultural forms which Welsh migrants brought to Australia.   The organising theme throughout, and the main link to the sociological component of this study, is that there are historical foundations to the claim that the Welsh language is the principal core value of Welsh culture.

Welsh or *Cymraeg*, is derived from the so-called Common Celtic[4] branch of the Indo-European language family.   As one of the Brythonic or 'p' group of Celtic introduced into Britain around 500 BC, Welsh is more closely affiliated with Cornish and Breton than with Irish, Scottish-Gaelic and Manx, which form the Goidelic or 'q' group.

Celtic Britain came under Roman rule in the first century AD, and the three and a half centuries of occupation which followed left a firm imprint on the landscape and language of what was to be Wales.   With the exodus of the Romans at the beginning of the fifth century, the Anglo-Saxon newcomers who replaced them as conquerors referred to the now largely Romanised and Christianised inhabitants of Wales as *Weleas* ('Welsh' or 'foreigners').   The Welsh, however, called themselves *Cymry* ('fellow-countrymen'), their country *Cymru* (Wales) and their language *Cymraeg* (Welsh).[5]   In the centuries which followed, Wales, though

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[3]   This is not to deny that identity is also the product of contemporary structural and political contexts.

[4]   "Common Celtic" is often accompanied in modern linguistic analysis by an asterisk which denotes the controversy which surrounds its historical status as a separate language within the Indo-European group.   For a commentary on this and other aspects of Celtic philology see M. McDonald, "Celtic Ethnic Kinship and the Problem of Being English", Current Anthropology, Vol. 27, No. 4, August-October 1986, pp.333-347.

[5]   Bede commented on this sense of difference amongst the Welsh at the time of Augustine's arrival in 597 AD.   K.O. Morgan, "Welsh Nationalism : The Historical Background", Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 6, No. 1, (1971), p.154.

divided into a mosaic of petty 'kingdoms' was coerced, largely by repeated Saxon incursions, into a consciousness of its own territorial and cultural separateness.[6]

A major contributing factor to this sense of cultural autonomy was undoubtedly the Welsh language. Though Wales was to remain politically fragmented for most of the Middle Ages, it derived a potent sense of 'nationhood' from the unifying effects of the language and the literary tradition established by bards such as *Aneurin* and *Taliesin* in the sixth century. Under the patronage of the Welsh princes, court poets and professional declaimers *(datgeiniaid)* fostered and perpetuated a distinctive Welsh 'national' consciousness through the medium of the Welsh language. In a highly stylised and strictly disciplined prosody the Welsh bards sang the praises of their patrons and, like their counterparts in Ireland, perpetuated the memory of a Celtic Heroic Age.[7]

Throughout this so-called Age of the Princes, Welsh was also the language of government, administration and legal process. The laws codified by the Welsh 'King' *Hywel Dda* (Hywel the Good) in the tenth century were written in Welsh and Latin.[8] Thus, in these centuries of relative independence, Welsh enjoyed a prestige at least equal to most other European languages. The *Mabinogion* especially, the prose masterpiece of the eleventh century, by its contribution to Arthurian legend, placed Welsh, briefly, in the mainstream of European culture.

After 1066 Norman lords established their authority in the Welsh Marches, and by 1100 had overrun most of eastern and southern Wales. Yet the Welsh princely courts survived, and in the twelfth century the Princes of Gwynedd harnessed Norman administrative and military skills towards the unification of Wales. *Llywelyn II, ein Llyw Olaf* (Llywelyn our Last Leader), was recognised as

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[6] By mid 7th Century, the Welsh had been separated from their 'fellow countrymen' in Cornwall, Cumbria and Southern Scotland. In the 8th century the Saxon King, Offa, built the dyke which established the geographic frontiers of England and Wales in approximately final form. *Clawdd Offa* (Offa's Dyke) played an important part in developing a Welsh sense of identity as a separate territorial and cultural unit in the medieval centuries. R.R. Davies, Conquest, Coexistence and Change : Wales, 1063-1415 (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1987), p.3.
[7] G. Williams, "Language, Literacy and Nationality in Wales", History, 56 (1971), p.1.
[8] M. Stephens, op.cit., p.149.

Prince of all Wales by Henry III in 1267, his territory to stretch from the headquarters of the Taff in the south to the most northerly tip of Anglesey.[9] His plea to Henry that the Welsh should have their own law and customs "as the other nations [Nationes] in the King's Empire have - and in our language", is cited by Fishman as an early example of "seemingly natural identity of separate peoplehood with separate language".[10] This is confirmed in the Welsh instance by the fact that throughout the Middle Ages, the Welsh word *iaith* was synonymous with *cenedl* (nation).[11]

Henry's tolerance of Llywelyn was not extended by Edward I, his successor. The efforts of the Welsh princes to remain independent of Plantagenet England were finally crushed by the military campaigns of Edward in the 1280s.

With the death of Llywelyn in 1282, the Age of the Princes came to an end[12] and Wales, according to *Brenhinoedd y Saeson* (The Kings of the English), the Welsh Chronicle, "was cast to the ground".[13] The Statute of Rhuddlan of 1284 declared all Welshmen to be subjects of the English Crown. English-style shires were introduced in the north and the Marcher lordships controlled the rest of the country. Criminal law was to be English but civil law remained basically Welsh. At the same time the Welsh church was brought more firmly under the aegis of Canterbury. These measures were accompanied by a range of restrictive decrees which effectively reduced Wales to neo-colonial status. Edward's investiture of his own heir, the future Edward II, as Prince of Wales in 1301 did little to allay a Welsh sense of injustice which simmered for the next two centuries.[14]

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[9]   G.A. Williams, When was Wales? A History of the Welsh (Harmondsworth : Penguin Books, 1985), p.83.

[10]   J.A. Fishman, op.cit., p.323.

[11]   Stephens, op.cit., p.149.

[12]   Williams, When was Wales?.... op.cit., p.85.

[13]   Cited in Prys Morgan, "The Clouds of Witnesses : The Welsh Historical Tradition", in R.B. Jones (ed.) Anatomy of Wales (Peterston-super-Ely, Glamorgan : Gwerin Publications, 1972), p.24.

[14]   D. Williams, A History of Modern Wales (London : John Murray, 1965), p.17.

Political subjection was not followed, however, by cultural assimilation, the Welsh language continuing to be the main reminder of ethnic difference and the major barrier to total absorption. Although the bards now crafted panegryrics to a Welsh gentry that was increasingly in the service of the English Crown rather than of independent princes of Gwynedd, the volume and vigour of Welsh literary activity showed no signs of abatement for most of the fourteenth century, culminating in the lyrical genius of Dafydd ap Gwilym (1320-80), arguably Wales' greatest poet.[15]

Yet despite this poetic renaissance and, with it, a heightened awareness of cultural identity, Wales' orientation after the Edwardian Conquest was to be increasingly towards England. The abortive rebellion of Owain Glyndwr (Shakespeare's 'Glendower') in the early fifteenth century did little to delay the inexorable process of social and economic assimilation which prepared the way for eventual Tudor political annexation.[16]

2.2   The Cultural Effects of the Acts of Union (1536 and 1542)

After the collapse of Glendower's rebellion in 1410, penal laws were introduced which remained in force for the duration of the fifteenth century.[17] The accession of the partly Welsh Harri Tudur (Henry Tudor) to the throne of England as Henry VII in 1485 was hailed therefore by the Welsh bards as the fulfilment of their prophecies of liberation. The victory at Bosworth, where Henry's armies had fought under the Red Dragon of Cadwaladr, was seen as the vindication of a millennium of resistance to English rule.[18] The installation of a 'Welsh' dynasty at

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[15]   T. Parry (ed.), Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym (The Works of Dafydd ap Gwilym) (Caerdydd : Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1963).
[16]   W. Vaughan-Thomas, Wales : A History (London : Michael Joseph, 1985), pp.123-9.
[17]   Ibid., p.130.
[18]   Ibid., p.140.

the centre of power in London would, the bards predicted, assuredly be a turning point in Welsh history.[19]

The Tudor accession however was less a turning point than the political completion of the process of Wales' social and economic integration with England that had been in progress for most of the Middle Ages. By the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542[20] in the reign of Henry VIII, Wales ceased to exist as a separate body-politic and was effectively incorporated into the English State. Of interest here is the language clause:

> "..........; yet notwithstanding, because that in the same Country, Principality and Dominion, divers Rights, Usages, Laws and Customs of this Realm, and also because that the People of the same Dominion have and do daily use a Speech nothing like, nor consonant to the natural Mother Tongue used within the Realm, some rude and ignorant People have made Distinction and Diversity between the King's Subjects of this Realm, and his Subjects of the said Dominion and Principality of Wales, whereby great Discord, Variance, Debate, Division, Murmur and Sedition hath grown between his said subjects; His Highness therefore, of a singular Zeal, Love and Favour that he beareth towards his Subjects of his said Dominion of Wales, minding and intending to reduce them to the perfect Order, Notice and Knowledge of Laws of this his realm, and utterly to extirp all and singular the Similar Usages and Customs differing from the same ....."

> "From henceforth no person or persons that use the Welsh speech or language shall have or enjoy any manner of office within the realm of England, Wales, or other of the King's dominions upon pain of forfeiting the same offices or fees, unless he or they use and exercise the speech of English".[21]

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[19]   G.E. Jones, Modern Wales : A Concise History c. 1485-1979 (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.56.

[20]   The two most important of a series of Acts relating to Wales passed in the English Parliament between 1536 and 1543. Williams, A History ....., op.cit., Chapter III, passim.

[21]   27 Henry 8, c.26 AD 1536 cited in Jones, op.cit., pp.312-3. The preamble of the Act of 1536 contained the first mention of the Welsh language in any statue of the English parliament. Stevens, op.cit., p.152.

The same period witnessed a number of Royal proclamations discouraging the use of Irish eg. the following was directed to the people of Galway in 1536: "Every inhabitaunt within the saide towne indevor theym selfe to speke Englyshe, and to use theym selffe after the Englyshe facion; and specyally that you and every of you, do put forth your child to scole, to lerne to speke Englyshe". Cited in J. Edwards, Language, Society and Identity (Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1985), p. 53. cf. also the attempt of James I (of England) to eradicate Scottish Gaelic. An Act of Privy Council of

The Marcher lordships were abolished and the shire system of local administration that was previously introduced to some areas of Wales, was now extended to the whole country. On this new electoral basis Wales was granted parliamentary representation. Similarly, it was given its own system of higher courts but English was to be the language of the law, and knowledge of English the first requirement for public office.

Recent writing argues that these Acts were not as they were once described a strike at 'Welshness' as it was understood in the sixteenth century[22] but simply an aspect of Thomas Cromwell's revolution in government, which insisted on a 'natural' equation of political with religious uniformity. Thus, the argument continues, there was no protest from the Welsh bards, whilst the gentry and the newly created professional classes welcomed the opportunities for social and economic advancement which union brought in its train. Theirs was not, as traditional views maintain, a Gadarene rush to London, and an abandonment of the language and the responsibilities of cultural leadership. "On the contrary", Williams, for example, argues "the old patronage continued, but in an antechamber style".[23] By this he presumably means that the Welsh gentry now had a changed perception of the very role and functions of the Welsh language in Welsh life. Whilst they recognised its antiquity and literary value, and accepted that it would

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1616 declared that: *"The vulgar Inglishe toung sall be universallie plantit, and the Irishe (sic) language which the one of the principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilite in the Heylandis and Ilandis, be abolisheit and removeit".* N. Grant, "Education for a Multicultural Society", in T. Corner, (ed.) Education in Multicultural Societies (London : Croom Helm, 1984), p.9.

[22] Much controversy has surrounded these Acts. Nationalist writers such as Saunders Lewis have put forward a view of this legislation as an example of Tudor apostasy, a calculated plan to exterminate the Welsh language and all traces of Welsh distinctiveness in the name of political expediency. S. Lewis, Egwyddorion Cenedlaetholdeb (The Principles of Nationalism) (Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru, 1926).

[23] Williams, When was Wales ..... op.cit., p.130.

remain the language of the *'Gwerin'* (the common folk)[24], it had ceased to be the language of business and the law. Henceforth English was the language of 'getting on'.

Although these views are a corrective to the undisguised nationalist leanings of earlier interpretations, they tend to underplay the long-term effects of the Acts of Union - the effects, in the context of this study, being of more consequence than the motives. Thus, although Welsh had already given way to English in some geographic areas of Wales, and was already surrendering its position as the language of local officialdom, there is little doubt that it was the Henrician political annexation which created the linguistic fault-line that has run through Welsh society since the sixteenth century. The picture of an absconding gentry lured by the Tudor court to a "blind and greedy anglicisation"[25] of manners and culture may well be exaggerated, but it is reasonable to assume that the process of anglicisation long under way, now gathered pace. Increasingly, for example, the gentry sent their sons to the newly founded English grammar schools and to the recently founded "Welsh" college at Oxford (Jesus). Similar schools offering education on the English model would also soon be established in Wales. Even by 1585 Gruffudd Robert, a Welsh humanist scholar, could remark in his *"Y Drych Cristionogawl"* (The Christian Mirror) that "the nobility and others neglect and despise the Welsh tongue".[26] The dichotomy of an English-speaking, landowning, Tory and Anglican gentry on the one hand, and a Welsh-speaking, Nonconformist, tenant-farmer class on the other, an ensconced characteristic of Welsh society by the nineteenth century, was already in the making.

A further effect of these Acts — whether by design or default is irrelevant here — was the relegation of Welsh to inferior status. Henceforth, it was

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24   'Gwerin' has quite different connotations to 'working class' in English. It refers to 'the people' as a whole and implies communal camaraderie and loyalty.
25   Ibid.
26   Quoted in Stephens, op.cit., p.15.

effectively to be an L[27] language, proscribed from the prestige domains of law and administration. The long history of its stigmatisation, the effects of which, as will be seen in later chapters, have helped to shape some modern attitudes, has its beginnings in the sixteenth century demarcation of English-Welsh domains of official use. In turn the debasement of the language and the loss of the organic leadership of the gentry, gave Welsh culture much of the 'folk' or populist tag with which, since the sixteenth century, it has been largely associated.

2.3   The Reformation and the Welsh Language

The Acts of Union and the religious changes of the Reformation are closely related in Welsh cultural history. Hard on the heels of political union came the critically important decision of the Elizabethan administration that in order to fully convert the Welsh to the new Anglican Settlement, Cranmer's Bible and Prayer Book should be translated into Welsh — the language it should be noted that had recently been proscribed from the courts and other domains of official use. According to the terms of the Act of 1563, the four Welsh Bishops were to have the Bible and Prayer book translated into Welsh and ensure that copies be placed in every church in Wales "where that tongue is commonly spoken."[28] The Act remained inoperative for a number of years but Welsh scholars, steeped in the New Learning of the Renaissance, proceeded with the task of translation.

The first result was the translation of the New Testament into Welsh by the Oxford scholar William Salesbury and his collaborator, Bishop Richard Davies of St. Asaph.   The translation of the whole Bible however was undertaken by William Morgan, Vicar of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant, and a former pupil of Archbishop Whitgift[29] at Cambridge.   Though he drew on Salesbury's work, Morgan's translation, published in 1588 was immeasurably superior.   His was

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[27]   i.e. low status (see List of Abbreviations)
[28]   Statues of Wales 5 Elizabeth C.28, cited in R. Coupland, Welsh and Scottish Nationalism : A Study (London : Collins, 1954), p.58.
[29]   Williams, A History ...., op.cit., p.76.

undoubtedly the crowning achievement of Renaissance humanism in Wales. *Arguably, it was also the single most important contribution to the preservation of the Welsh language.* Written in sonorous, majestic prose and allied in spirit to the Welsh poetic tradition, it became the standard work of literary reference and the foundation of modern Welsh. "If ever one single book saved a language", wrote one Welsh historian recently, "that book is the Bible in Welsh".[30]

Two other points must be made to convey the lasting influence of William Morgan's Bible on subsequent Welsh cultural development. The first is that the spoken language was at this stage still sufficiently virile to avoid a potential gap between the vernacular and the literary tradition which the Bible inspired. For this reason it was not to become a fossilised literary masterpiece but an integral and immensely influential part of the lived cultural and religious experience of the Welsh well into the twentieth century. Of all Protestants the Welsh were quintessentially the People of the Book. Secondly, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, in Wales as elsewhere in Europe, contributed significantly to the spread of literacy.[31] What is important here however is that by literacy is meant the ability to read and (to a lesser extent) write *Welsh.* Whilst this undoubtedly contributed to the preservation of the Welsh language it also placed on it the permanent stamp of the 'language of heaven' *(Iaith y Nefoedd)* — the millstone it still carries in a vastly more secular age.

Although the newly translated Bible ensured the continuity of the Welsh literary tradition, its immediate impact on scholarly life is difficult to gauge. Not only was the output of the Welsh humanists relatively modest but on the broader cultural front the sixteenth century was a period of relative stagnation.[32] A number of explanations could be offered — the demise of the bardic schools, the Quisling behaviour of the Welsh gentry, the Anglicising policies of the English State — but

30   Vaughan-Thomas, op.cit., p.156.
31   G. Williams, Religion. Language and Nationality in Wales (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1979), p.134.
32   Ibid., p.135.

what must take precedence is the massive combined effects of political annexation and religious upheaval.[33] The old cultural order, closely bound up with medieval Catholicism had, during the course of the sixteenth century largely passed away. Nor was it replaced at this stage by any Welsh Protestant culture. The Calvinist and Zwinglian Puritanism which had gathered strength in England in the aftermath of the Elizabeth Settlement, made little headway in Wales, its largely English proselytisers being unable to reach the Welsh across the barrier of the Welsh language.[34] Wales as a result fought largely on the King's side during the Civil War.

Even at this stage Welsh was beginning to acquire the attributes which were to be its undoing in the modern world. With the passing of the bardic orders and the accelerated Anglicisation of the Welsh landowning aristocracy, it became increasingly the language of *Y Werin* (the common people). There is no evidence of any serious decrease in the number of its speakers but its status was already on the decline. Welsh, according to the seventeenth century poet Edward Morris was "an old battered language that was once top".[35] It was "regardless" said Thomas Jones in his preface to his Welsh-English dictionary of 1688.[36] 'The language of heaven' (*iaith y nefoedd*) and 'the old language' (*yr hen iaith*) the descriptions which presently disassociate Welsh from secular culture and modernity were, it seems, already in use by the end of the seventeenth century.

2.4 The Eighteenth Century Foundations of Modern Welsh Cultural Values

"Welshness today owes more to the legacy of the eighteenth than to that of any other century".[37]

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[33]   Ibid.
[34]   As late as the 1670s dissenters still formed less than 5% of the Welsh population. Williams, A History ......, op.cit., p.121.
[35]   Cited in P. Morgan, "From a Death to a View : The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period", in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), op.cit., p.48.

[36]   P. Morgan, "Keeping the Legends Alive", in T. Curtis (ed.), Wales : The Imagined Nation (Bridgend : Poetry Wales Press, 1986), p.26.
[37]   P. Morgan, The Eighteenth Century Renaissance (Llandybie : Christopher Davies, 1981), (book description on back cover)

The forms of Welsh cultural and social life that were brought to Australia were crystallised in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Though by then new forces and conditions were at work, they were still firmly rooted in and expressed through the medium of the Welsh language.

The post-Reformation Welsh cultural scene has, until recently, suffered from the twin disadvantage of unfavourable contrast with the more literary oriented eighteenth century, and analysis by predominantly nonconformist historians who have tended to be dismissive of Welsh cultural life prior to the Methodist Revival. The language was certainly under mounting threat. Banished from all domains of official use except the Anglican liturgy, and shunned by a gentry with its sights set on London, it was, by the end of the seventeenth century fast acquiring the character of a peasant *patois*. Certainly, too, the old Welsh high culture associated with the bardic orders had largely passed. Left out of this picture of cultural disintegration, however, is the survival of the popular culture of an overwhelmingly Welsh monoglot peasantry. In Wales, where Puritanism up to this point had not taken firm hold, the older Catholic folkloric culture of the people had by no means been swept away by the excesses of Calvinism.[38] The traditional skills of the bards, albeit in much diluted form, were still exercised by the 'back-country poets' (*beirdd cefn gwlad*);[39] muscular games and sports, story-telling, contrapuntal harp-songs (*penillion*) and earlier versions of the modern Eisteddfod all survived well into the eighteenth century.[40] What must be emphasised is that this unbroken continuity of cultural tradition was effected through the Welsh language as the living tongue of the mass of the population. Welshness and the language remained synonymous.

[38] Morgan, "From a Death ....", op.cit., p.50.
[39] i.e. amateur poets. They are still known as such in Wales.
[40] G.W. Williams, "Druids and Democrats : Organic Intellectuals and the First Welsh Radicalism", in R. Samuel and G. Stedman Jones, Culture, Ideology and Politics (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), p.253.

What *had* been lost during the seventeenth century was cultural unity, that 'natural' alliance of gentry and common people that had sustained the notion of Welsh 'nationhood' throughout the Middle Ages. As a result Welsh society by 1700 was divided into two fairly distinct layers : (i) an upper strata of great landowners and lesser gentry allied to an Anglican Church Establishment. This group still looked to England for its standards of behaviour, for the education of its heirs and, to a large extent, for its speech (ii) the mass of the people, the overwhelming majority of whom were monoglot Welsh, who, though still officially Anglican by religion, turning increasingly for spiritual sustenance to Old Dissent and the more evangelical strains of Anglicanism. The main weakness of this lower social stratum and the greatest threat to the perpetuation of a Welsh cultural identity of which it was now custodian, was its lack of leadership and direction at a time when, before any other contemporary traditional society, Wales would need to brace itself against the shocks of industrialisation. That the Welsh language and what remained of a Welsh cultural distinctiveness, should have survived its homogenising cultural effects and the massive onslaught of English which it brought in its wake was due largely to the radical transformation of Welsh society during the course of the eighteenth century. This revolution — for it was surely revolution — and the consolidation of its results in the nineteenth century, shaped many of the values which the Welsh were to bring to Australia.

2.4.1 The Cultural Impact of Methodism

Methodism, especially Calvinistic Methodism as its Welsh form was to be called, gave modern Wales much of its cultural character. As the main denomination within Welsh nonconformity it provided much of the institutional framework of Welsh cultural life for most of the nineteenth century and formed the principal strand of Welsh cultural identity well into the twentieth. It also made permanent the link between the Welsh language and religion which had been established by the translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588. The nonconformist

chapels[41] — slate-roofed, grey stoned, rectangular structures, bearing Biblical names such as Salem, Bethel or Zion — were to be the most characteristic feature of the Welsh architectural landscape even into the second half of the twentieth century.

Although early Welsh Methodism closely resembled the English version from which it sprang, it was to take on a uniquely Welsh character, not the least important aspect of which was that it was to be expressed entirely through the Welsh language. Moreover, whereas in England it was to be no more than one of several eighteenth century movements for reform, in Wales it effectively transformed the fabric of society. Essentially the child of Old Dissent[42] and evangelical Anglicanism, it recreated the basic aim of organisations such as the Welsh Trust,[43] the SPCK (the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge)[44] and other philanthropic movements of the late seventeenth century: to save souls, and, in the process, to advance literacy. Already under the auspices of the Baptists, Independents and other denominations of Old Dissent, academies had been founded for these purposes in several parts of Wales.[45]

Much the most influential educational and cultural development on the eve of the Methodist Revival however — and contributing substantially to its success — was the founding in the 1730s of a system of "circulating schools" (*ysgolion cylchynnol*) by Griffiith Jones, the vicar of Llanddowror in Carmarthenshire. To David Williams, one of the fathers of modern Welsh historiography, this venture

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[41] Welsh nonconformist places of worship are usually called 'chapels' rather than churches, and will be referred to as such in this study.

[42] 'Dissenters' refers to those who did not conform with the Anglican Book of Common Prayer and liturgy as required by the Act of Uniformity of 1662. Jones, Modern Wales ...... op.cit., p.123.

[43] A philanthropic organisation which had the twin aims of founding schools and providing devotional literature in the Welsh language. Ibid., p.140.

[44] The SPCK, founded in 1699, had fairly similar aims to those of the Welsh Trust. It established 96 schools in Wales between 1700 and 1740, some of which taught through the medium of Welsh. R.B. Jones, "The Education of Welshmen", in Jones (ed.), Anatomy ...... op.cit., pp.155-6.

[45] Accompanied also by a remarkable outpouring of books in the Welsh language, a total of 545 between 1660 and 1750. Williams, When was Wales? ...., op.cit., p.152.

was "the most important experiment in religious education in the eighteenth century not only in Wales but in Britain and all the British dominions".[46]

Although the 'circulating schools' were an important milestone in the history of the Welsh language and in the cultural development of Wales, they were founded for religious rather than cultural reasons. Griffith Jones' aim was to promote the spiritual well-being of the Welsh people, adults as well as children, by making them sufficiently literate to read the Bible, the Catechism and other religious literature in their own language, the principle behind the experiment being to make maximum use of meagre available resources. Thus locally recruited teachers trained at Griffith Jones' College at Llanddowror would circulate from parish to parish, staying for no more than two or three months at any one place. Two reasons are suggested for the enduring impact of these schools on Welsh cultural history:

(i) the scale; by 1761 when Griffith Jones died some 3,325 'schools' had been held in 1,600 different locations, and 158,835 children, taught to read.[47] As they were not registered, it is more difficult to know the number of adults who attended, but it has been recently suggested that "at least 200,000 of the estimated 400,000 to 500,000 Welsh population were taught to read".[48]

(ii) the fact that the language of instruction was Welsh. Although the promotion of literacy in Wales was incidental to the main purpose of the schools, it does not diminish the impact on the Welsh of the teaching of reading skills in their own language - and this to nearly one half the total population.

Nor was Griffith Jones totally indifferent to this secondary effect of his schools:

"Thus ..... appears the loving kindness of God, in his Confounding the languages and dispersing the people by giving them different tongues; and if the goodness and wisdom of God must be

46   Williams, A History ...., op.cit., p.147.
47   Jones, "The Education.......", op.cit., p.157.
48   Jones, Modern Wales .... , op.cit., p.144.

acknowledged to run through the whole in general, how can it be denied to any particular branch thereof? .... when we attempt to establish a language [do we not] ..... fight against the decrees of heaven and seek to undermine the disposals of divine Providence?.... There are some advantages peculiar to the Welsh tongue favourable to religion, as being perhaps the chastest in all Europe. Its books and writings are free from the infection and deadly venom of Atheism, Deism, Infidelity, Arianism, Popery, lewd plays ..... which prison the minds, captivate all the senses and prejudice so many ..... against their duty to God".[49]

The circulating schools and early Methodism were united therefore in their general aims: the religious salvation and moral improvement of the Welsh. The rapid spread of Welsh Methodism need not be discussed in detail here.[50] Organised along Presbyterian lines, with its powerful appeal to the emotions as well as the intellect, Welsh Methodism in the Calvinist mode which it eventually adopted, attained the proportions of a national evangelical movement by the close of the eighteenth century. Yet throughout this period it was contained within the Anglican Church. Increased persecution after the outbreak of the French Revolution and a demand for independent control over the ordination of ministers, were the main factors leading to the final break in 1811.[51] In 1823 the new church drew up its Confession of Faith. Thus, to the older dissenting denominations which now constitute Welsh nonconformity was added the new and powerful force of Calvinistic Methodism.[52] It was this rejuvenated nonconformity that was to be the mainspring of Welsh cultural life for most of the nineteenth century and the major influence on the character of modern Wales.

Yet there is considerable disagreement in current historiography about its more immediate effects. One view, close to being the received, is of Methodism

[49] Cited in R. Tudur Jones, "The Welsh Language and Religion", in M. Stephens (ed.), The Welsh Language Today (Llandysul, Dyfed : Gomer Press, 1973), pp.68-9.
[50] Methodism in Wales was largely shaped by three individuals, the itinerant preachers Howell Harris (1714-73); Daniel Rowland (1713-90); and the great hymn writer William Williams (Pantycelyn) (d.1791). As such they are amongst the founders of what until recently could be described as "the Welsh way of life".
[51] Jones, Modern Wales .... op.cit., p.277.
[52] Nineteenth century Welsh nonconformity refers therefore both to the older two dissenting sects - the Independents and Baptists - and the more recent Calvinistic Methodists and Wesleyans.

as one of the most culturally disruptive phenomenon in Welsh history. According to this interpretation Welsh Calvinistic Methodism with its grim eschatology, rigid Sabbattarianism and unrelenting moral strictures was an alien imposition which destroyed an organic pre-Reformation society. The grass roots culture of the Welsh Catholic past, with its musical traditions, revelries, saints' days and festivals, all fell victim in due course to the moral strictures of Methodism. Thus Methodism, it is argued, destroyed a natural, spontaneous culture expressed in the rites and rituals of the countryside, and replaced it with the sober and earnest intellectualism that was to be nineteenth century nonconformity.[53]

The opposite, and perhaps less commonly held, thesis is that Methodism, far from being an imposed creed, was enthusiastically embraced by a spiritually and culturally impoverished peasantry:

> "........ it is absurd to speak as though all this religious activity with its gloom and blackness had been imposed upon a happy, beer-swilling, clog-dancing peasantry by some alien power. .... [They embraced it] because it gave meaning to their lives in the most profound way and because, as a result, they enjoyed their religion no end. After all this was the one field where they could be Welsh without waiting for anybody's commendation......"[54]

Certainly the immediate impact of Methodism has been somewhat exaggerated, and is brought into clearer perspective when placed in the larger context of late eighteenth century industrial and cultural change. Methodism was only one of the sources of 'Welsh' cultural discontinuity at the end of the eighteenth century. Its impact cannot be entirely isolated from that of other radical developments which were changing the cultural character of the whole of Europe at this time — nationalism, the Enlightenment and most of all the beginnings of

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[53] Prys Morgan, for example, would be representative of this view. He writes: "Methodism was certainly a movement of self-conscious individuals concerned to save souls but it inherited many of the concerns of the older moralistic movement to advance literacy .... and to transform the old ways of life. .... Methodist culture was extremely lively and vigorous .... but in destroying the old culture the Methodists and other dissenters devised a new Welsh way of life which cut the people away from the past ..... Rituals and customs gradually died away". Morgan, op.cit., pp.53-4.
[54] Jones, "The Welsh Language.......", pp.70-71.

industrialisation. Wales, it must be remembered, was amongst the first areas of Europe to be industrialised. Moreover it could be argued that many of the vestiges of medieval Welsh popular culture had disappeared long before the eighteenth century. It is well to remember also that even in 1811, the year of the final Methodist schism with the Anglican church, nonconformists, old and new, accounted for only 15 to 20% of the Welsh population.[55]

Yet there is little doubt that the long-term effects of Methodism on Welsh social and cultural life were enormous. Its Sunday Schools nurtured a passion for education that is still characteristic of modern Wales;[56] it emphasised and perhaps created the social cleavage between an Anglican (and Anglicised) landowning class and a nonconformist, Welsh-speaking *gwerin* (peasantry) which survived; it raised the political consciousness of the latter to the extent that nonconformity and radicalism were natural allies by the end of the nineteenth century; above all, it made Old Testament theology the dominating interest of Welsh intellectual life for more than a century.

Yet even this 'new' culture of the chapels, the culture that was brought to Australia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was linked to the past by the still unbroken tie of the Welsh language.

2.4.2 The Literary and Antiquarian Revival

The late eighteenth century also witnessed a remarkable growth in Welsh national consciousness, based on a renewed interest in Welsh literature, the Welsh language and Welsh antiquities. Unlike the Methodist phenomenon, this was not a populist movement but the creation of a small band of scholars and literati, influenced no doubt by the broader European Romantic revival. Throughout the

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55   Williams, When was Wales? ...., op.cit., p.158.
56   The heyday of the Sunday School movement in Wales was the first half of the nineteenth century. As a unique system of education for both adults and children its contribution to the maintenance of the Welsh language was enormous. It provided a continuous supply of Bibles and religious literature in Welsh and was also responsible for the huge appetite for denominational periodicals which characterised nineteenth century Wales.

eighteenth century there had been successive surges of scholarly activity directed to the resurrection of the Welsh past. Welsh antiquarian studies had been stimulated by the publication as early as 1703 of Abbé Pezron's *"L'Antiquite' de la nation et la langue des Celtes"*,[57] in which was made the bold assertion that the common origin of all European languages was Celtic. The founding father of the whole movement however was Edward Lhuyd, the Welsh polymath and scholar who was appointed keeper of the Oxford Ashmolean in 1690.[58]

The centre of antiquarian activities was the community of Welsh emigrés in London.[59] In 1751 they founded the Society of the *Cymmrodorion* devoted to the study of Welsh literature and history.[60] The *Gwyneddigion*, established later in the 1770s,[61] was more radical and populist, but dedicated to much the same purpose. So was the *Cymreigyddion* founded in 1794. These London-based societies, despite the dubious quality of some of the scholarship they produced and sponsored, are important for the attention they drew to the uniqueness of Welsh culture and the Welsh language, not only in Wales but in the English literary and scholarly world.[62]

Amongst the cultural products of this eighteenth century movement was the Eisteddfod, the most characteristic modern Welsh cultural institution.[63] Originally

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[57] Cited in Williams, When was Wales? .... op.cit., p.162.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Reflecting perhaps the lack of cultural leadership in Wales itself. The London-Welsh had been a growing and flourishing community since the initial exodus of the Tudor gentry in the 16th century. E. Jones, "The Welsh in London in the Nineteenth Century", Cambria, Vol. 12(1), (1985), pp.149-169.

[60] Williams, A History ...., op.cit., p.271.

[61] Williams, When was Wales? ...., op.cit., p.163. Amongst them was *Dafydd Ddu Feddyg* (David Samwell), surgeon to Captain Cook on the *Resolution* and *Discovery*. A. Eames, Awstralia, Y Cyfandir Pell (Australia, The Distant Continent) (Caernarfon : Gwasanaeth Archifau Ac Amgueddfeydd Gwynedd A Chymdeithas Celfyddydau Criccieth, 1988), p.4.

[62] For a history of these London Welsh societies see R.T. Jenkins and H.T. Ramage, A History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and of the Gwyneddigion and Cymreigyddion Societies (London : Cymmrodorion, 1951).

[63] Hundreds of Eisteddfodau (pl.) are held in Wales every year but the best known form of the festival today is the annual Eisteddfod Genedlaethol (the National Eisteddfod). Held alternatively in North and South Wales it is one of Europe's great folk festivals. All events are conducted in the Welsh language. (See Chapter 3 for the introduction of the Eisteddfod as a cultural form to Australia).

meaning "an assembly of bards" (from the Welsh '*eistedd*', to sit),[64] in its modern form it refers to a festival of the arts organised mainly along competitive lines. For most of the eighteenth century it had been customary for the amateur poets of Wales to gather in private houses or taverns to engage in *ex-tempore* versifying and hone their skills in the medieval art of *cynghanedd*.[65] The first organised eisteddfod however was that held in Llangollen in 1789 under the auspices of the *Gwyneddigion*. With the introduction of the Gorsedd[66] ceremony in 1819 it reached much of its modern form.

Although the primary focus of the Welsh eighteenth century national-romantic movement was literary and antiquarian, it was, like the Methodist Revival with which it was concurrent, a seminal and timely contribution to a flagging Welsh sense of national consciousness. Since the sixteenth century Acts of Union, Wales had increasingly come under the English — and after 1707, British — administrative and political mantle. Whilst Welsh was still the first language of the vast majority of the population at the beginning of the eighteenth century[67] it had already borne the stigma of having had no official status for over 150 years. English was well established as the language of social and economic improvement,

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[64]   The Welsh eisteddfod tradition can be traced (with some uncertainty) to a cognate event held under the patronage of Lord Rhys Ap Gruffydd (one of the past princes of South Wales) in 1176. The first Eisteddfod of which there is documented record however is that held at Carmarthen in 1451. M. Stephens (ed.) The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1986), p.172.

[65]   A feature of classical Welsh poetry which defines complex rules of metre, rhyme and alliteration. There are a number of variations, eg. Cynghanedd Croes Cadwyngyrch which calls for (i) complete consonantal alliteration within a line (ii) consonantal harmony of the initial letters of each line and (iii) consonantal alliteration of the final word of one line with the first of the next. Presently the coveted honour of the Chair at the annual National Eisteddfod is awarded to the composer of the best Awdl, a verse form of some 500 lines containing cynghanedd. D.E. Jones, Odl A Chynghanedd (London : Cwmni Cymraeg. Foyle, 1938).

[66]   The symbolic ritual which accompanies the chairing of the bard. The whole gorsedd ceremony with its robes, torques and other Celtic/Druidic regalia was another of the inventions of Iolo Morgannwg, the bardic pseudonym of Edward Williams (1747-1826). (See previous references in Chapter 1). A gifted litterateur but incorrigible inventor of romantic mythology, Iolo sought to prove that Welsh literary traditions had continued unbroken since druidical times. Yet the Gorsedd ceremony, despite its functional origins, has become, as Iolo intended, a national cultural institution supportive of the history, language and culture of Wales.

[67]   As late as the middle of the eighteenth century Welsh was still the language used in most parish churches. P. Morgan and D. Thomas, Wales, The Shaping of a Nation (North Pomfret, Vermont : David & Charles, 1984), p.46.

and the sense of a separate Welsh identity, always closely tied to the language, was no longer secure. Yet during the course of the eighteenth century, Wales, as has been shown, experienced nothing less than a religious and cultural revolution. The romantic and literary revival, though admittedly an elitist and somewhat esoteric affair, served to bring to the attention of Welsh (and to a far lesser extent, English) scholarly circles, the claim of the Welsh language to age-old literary respectability, and more importantly in the context of this study, to its unchallengeable position as the primary mark of Welsh cultural separateness. Methodism, more populist in its appeal, made of it the language of what was to be a Welsh religious establishment. This was a position it was to enjoy until the general retreat of religion as a force in Welsh national life during the early decades of the twentieth century.

2.5   Industrialisation and the Welsh Language in the Nineteenth Century

The advance of the Industrial Revolution in Wales was made possible by its plentiful possession of coal, limestone and iron ore in close proximity, and the application of English capital, mainly from London and Bristol, to their extraction. Slate and copper mining had become well established industries in North Wales by the end of the eighteenth century but most large scale industrial development was to take place in the south. Two areas in particular heralded the spectacular nineteenth century industrial growth: the Swansea-Neath district noted for its copper-smelting works;[68] and an 18 mile band along the northern outcrop of the South Wales coalfield from Blaenavon to Hirwaun where by 1815 there were eight large ironworks owned by dynasties of English ironmasters such as the Crawshays of Cyfarthfa and the Hills of Blaenavon.[69] By 1827 the South Wales iron industry was furnishing half of Britain's iron exports. Steelworks were later built along the coast between Llanelli and Aberavon and the use of steel in the production of tin plate made South Wales the largest producer of the latter by the end of the century.

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[68]   It was from here that the Welsh smelters who pioneered the copper industry in the Burra and Wallaroo areas of South Australia were recruited (see Chapter 3).
[69]   Williams, A History ...., op.cit., p.188.

The growth of the coal industry was equally spectacular. After a fairly slow start in the first half of the century, from the 1860s a massive world-wide demand for coal stimulated the production of South Wales' excellent steam coal to the stage where by 1913 Cardiff was the world's largest exporter.[70]

These developments have, of course, been well documented. Their scale and rapidity need to be emphasised however in order to understand their cultural repercussions.

In general, industrialisation and the growth of radical nonconformity were the forces that created modern Wales. That, however, is the limit of agreement amongst historians of the period. Since the appearance of the Society of Welsh Labour History in the 1970s (and its journal *'Llafur'* in 1972) revisionist interpretations of the impact of industrialisation on Welsh social and cultural life have gathered pace.[71] The more traditionalist view is represented by the following comments:

> "In the course of the nineteenth century the industrialisation of Wales ..... brought in a large non-Welsh population which has never been assimilated ..... The building of roads and railways, and the enormous growth of Welsh industry as part of the economic development of Britain profoundly affected Welsh life; so much so that there is a marked tendency to regard Welsh culture as being in essence the culture of rural Wales and not of the industrial areas".[72]

This view of the Industrial Revolution as a cultural holocaust with disastrous results for language and culture is consistent in some respects with Hechter's thesis of the internal colonisation of Wales and the Celtic fringe;[73] in both views Wales was the victim of exploitation by English merchant capitalism. It is a perspective which has come under powerful attack in recent years. Representative and to some extent the initiator of the new orthodoxy is Brinley

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[70]   B. Howells, "Modern History" in D. Thomas (ed.), Wales. A New Study (North Pomfret, Vermont : David and Charles Inc., 1977) pp. 108-9.

[71]   For a review of some of this literature see Jenkins, op.cit., pp.49-53.

[72]   Williams, op.cit., p.269.

[73]   Hechter, op.cit.

Thomas[74] who has argued that industrialisation, far from being the villain of the piece, was in fact the saviour of the Welsh language and the culture it sustained. The basis of his argument is that as a result of the massive home demand for labour created by industrial expansion, Wales, unlike Ireland and Scotland, was not a major exporter of her people in the second half of the nineteenth century. Most Welsh migration was internal, that is from the rural counties of the north and west to the industrialised valleys of South Wales. This, in turn, brought a substantial influx of Welsh-speakers into the new industrial towns. Moreover it was the new wealth created by industry which financed the construction of nonconformist chapels along the length and breadth of Wales, the publishing of unprecedented numbers of Welsh books and newspapers, the annual National Eisteddfod and a host of other developments which were to sustain Welsh culture well into the twentieth century.[75]

Much of the case made by Thomas and others for a more charitable view of the effects of industrialisation is based on statistical analysis of migration trends. Thus of the 910,289 people (59% of the Welsh total) who were classified as Welsh-speakers in the 1891 census,[76] some 70% were living in the five counties affected most by industrialisation.[77] Moreover the growth of the Welsh-speaking population was due not only to in-migration from rural Wales but also to natural increase in the new industrial areas. Thus in the forty years 1861-1901 "the population of Glamorgan [the heartland of nineteenth century industrial development] went up by more than half a million, of which less than a third

[74]   B. Thomas, Migration and Economic Growth. A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy (Second Edition) (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1973).
[75]   See Chapter 3 for a further discussion of Thomas' thesis.
[76]   See Table 1.2 and Map B.
[77]   As late as 1951 54% of Welsh-speakers were still living in the industrial South-East. Williams, When was Wales? .... op.cit., p.245.

MAP B

Southall's Census Map of Wales showing the distribution of the Welsh Language as given in the census of 1891 (by registration districts)

1. PONTARDAWE
2. CRICKHOWELL
3. ABERGAVENNY
4. PONTYPOOL
5. BEDWELLTY
6. CHEPSTOW
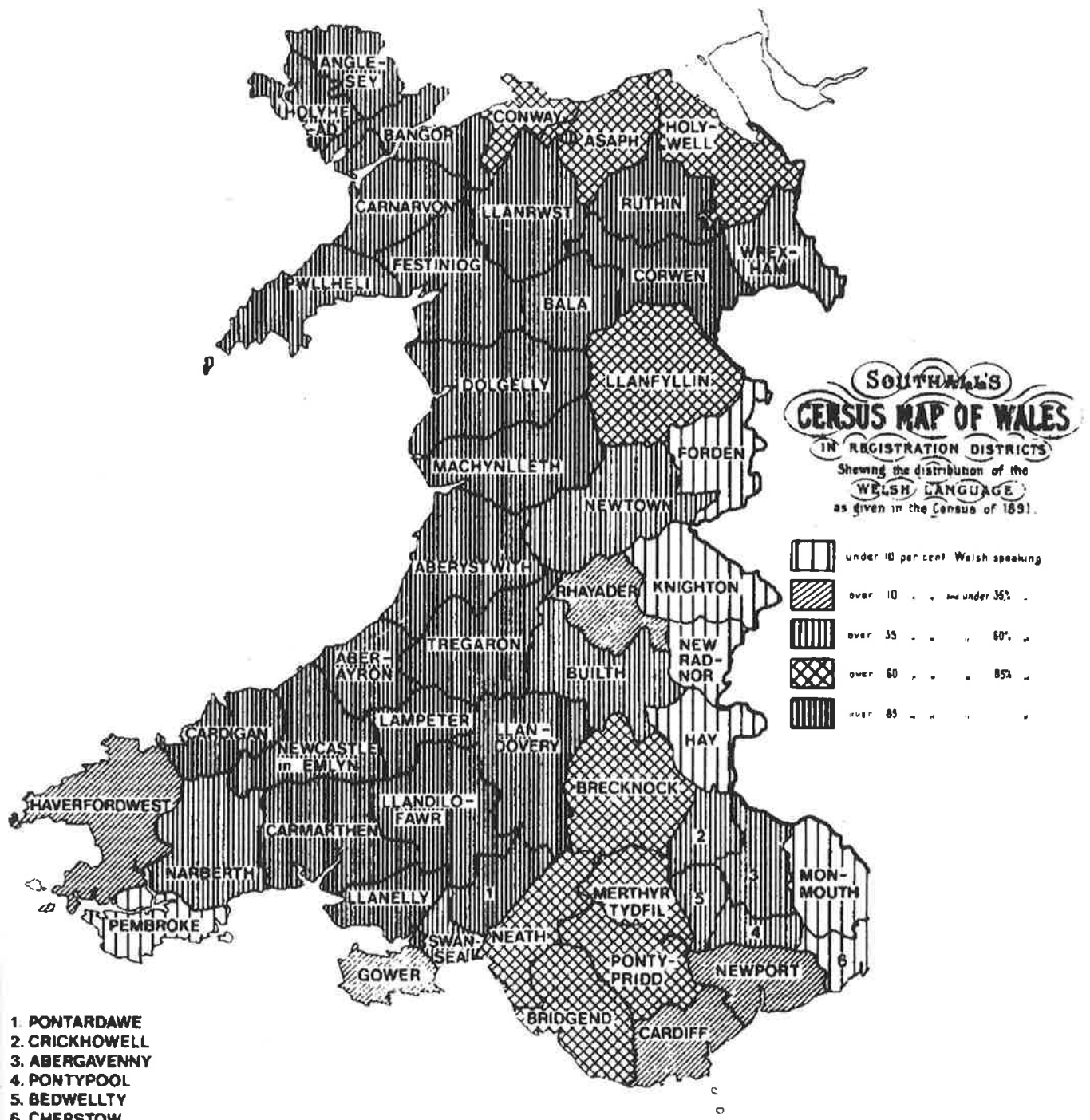
Names of Registration Districts thus TREGARON
*The per centages of Welsh include those speaking Welsh only
and Welsh and English (exclusive of infants)
The per centages of English include those speaking English only
(exclusive of infants)*

Note: J.E. Southall, the English Quaker, published two books on the Welsh language census of 1891 and 1901.
Source: Gwynfor Evans, "Lessons for the Language", Radical Wales, No. 9, Winter, 1985, p13.

(167,000) was due to net inward migration and over two thirds (367,000) .... to excess of births over deaths".[78]

Over and beyond all controversy however is the undeniable fact that throughout the nineteenth century the language was in gradual retreat. Even in the industrial south, whatever the effects of earlier internal migration, decline was rapid after the 1890s, certainly in terms of proportion. In the period up to 1914 some 100,000 migrants *from outside Wales* flooded into the Rhondda and neighbouring valleys of South Wales.[79] Thus between 1901 and 1911 the proportion of Welsh-speakers in the general Welsh population fell from 49.9% to 43.5%.[80]

It was therefore in the years leading up to the First World War that the Anglicisation of Wales gathered the momentum that made it a seemingly irreversible process. Although the immediate impact of industrialisation on Welsh cultural values has certainly been over-emphasised there is little doubt about the long-term effects. Perhaps the most enduring has been what is still regarded as the underlying dichotomy of Welsh cultural life, namely the north-south cultural divide. Following the industrialising and Anglicising of the south, the rural Welsh-speaking north was to lay exclusive claim to the custody of Welsh cultural identity, based on the claims of its poets and writers that the language represented the only vital thread of historical continuity in Welsh life. The south on the other hand was to suffer something of the *angst* of the culturally and linguistically dispossessed. Increasingly convinced of the irrelevance of the Welsh language and "Welsh" cultural institutions to their pressing economic needs, the Welsh of the south turned to a Marxist cross-cultural ideology that was to make South Wales the

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[78] B. Thomas, "A Cauldron of Re-birth : Population and the Welsh Language in the Nineteenth Century", Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru (The Welsh History Review), Vol.13, No. 4, December 1987, p.430.
[79] The highest proportion came from western counties of England and from Ireland and Scotland, but there were also migrants from other countries of Europe, notably Spain and Italy; small numbers also arrived from the West Indies, Asia and Africa. Williams, op.cit., p.245.
[80] Ibid.

heartland of British socialism in the 1920s and 30s. This ambivalence about identity, one of the legacies of industrialisation, is still characteristic of Welsh society and, as will be shown in later chapters, has been one of the enduring factors of Welsh cultural life in Australia.

2.6 Nonconformity and Welsh Cultural Identity

The nineteenth century industrialisation of Wales was accompanied by the remarkable growth of nonconformity. Welsh culture, whether in the broad sense of 'a way of life', or in the narrower meaning of intellectual and artistic activity, has been defined for the past century and a half by the nonconformist outlook. Welsh cultural and educational institutions, political, and certainly, moral standpoints, literature and the arts, all bear the mark of the ethos that was proclaimed from the pulpits of Dissent. Equally important to the present argument is that the sole vehicle of its oral and literary dissemination was the Welsh language. This nexus of language and religion which began with the translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588, reached completion with the spread of nonconformist culture in the nineteenth century.

Welsh nonconformity describes the alliance of the Baptist and Independent denominations of Old Dissent with the new Calvinistic Methodist Church that emerged in the wake of the secession in 1811 of the Welsh Methodist movement from Anglicanism. Sharing a common theology of moderate Calvinism, a commitment to the Victorian ideal of moral improvement, and a democratic basis of church government, the nonconformist sects led by the Calvinistic Methodists rapidly advanced to the position of an official Welsh religious establishment. The triumph of nonconformity in Wales is registered in the 1851 Census of Religious Worship. It shows that by that year 2769 chapels had been built throughout Wales accommodating some 611,000 people or 70% of all church accommodation.[81]

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[81] Thomas, op.cit., p.426. On the evening of Census Sunday (March 31st, 1851) 369,000 people had attended a nonconformist chapel compared to 40,000 who had gone to an Anglican church, i.e. almost ten times the number.

The progress of nonconformity during the remainder of the century is shown in Table 2.1 below. Although some doubt surrounds the total accuracy of these figures,[82] there is no disputing a steady growth over more than half a century with several periods of dramatic increase, notably between 1904 and 1906, the years of the Great Revival *(Y Diwygiad Mawr)*, arguably the high point of Welsh nonconformity.[83]

Table 2.1

The Growth of Nonconformity in Wales, 1861-1913

Year	DENOMINATIONS				
	Baptists	Methodists	Independents	Wesleyans	Totals
1861	50,903	90,560	97,647	24,395	263,505
1882	81,378	122,107	116,618	32,146	352,249
1893	98,122	141,964	125,758	31,406	397,250
1895	100,534	147,297	135,198	33,741,	416,680
1899	101,057	153,712	143,423	36,664	434,856
1903	116,310	165,218	148,780	35,486	465,794
1904	140,443	173,310	162,270	36,000	512,023
1905	143,385	189,164	175,313	40,811	549,123
1910	130,319	184,558	169,314	43,940	528,131
1913	127,226	183,647	168,814	43,590	523,277

Source:
K.O. Morgan, Wales in British Politics, 1868-1922.
(Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1963), Appendix C, p.314.

What is important about the nonconformist phenomena to this study is that, more than any other development in modern Welsh history, it has defined much of the essence of *'Y Ffordd Gymreig'* (the Welsh way), that tone of sombre religiosity, common to Welsh life, which has only recently lost its hold. Its total embrace, apparent even on the goldfields of Victoria in the 1860s, must therefore be

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[82]   Some of the sources quoted by Morgan (source of Table 2.1) being, on his own admission, at variance with one another. Morgan, Wales in British Politics .... op.cit., p.316.
[83]   The last of the religious revivals which swept Wales during the nineteenth century. Membership of the nonconformist chapels which stood at 434,000 before the 1904 revival rose to over half a million in the following two years. Jones, op.cit., p.281. For a Welsh Australian perspective on The Great Revival see G.C. Morgan, This is That : Lessons of the Welsh Revival. (Melbourne : Marshall, Morgan and Scott Ltd., 1944).

emphasised. At its heart was the physical reality of the 'chapel'. From at least the 1830s these unprepossessing edifices were to be (and in many areas of Wales still are) the most characteristic form of Welsh public architecture. By 1900 it would have been unusual for any sizeable Welsh village not to have at least three chapels, one for each of the three main denominations.[84] (Baptists, Independents and Calvinistic Methodists). Frequently the latter, as the largest, would have two chapels in a single village.[85] Whatever, as Protestants, the denominations shared in matters of doctrine, it did not extend to common places of worship. The chapels were far more than this however. Sunday services were part of a weekly regimen of prayer meetings, Bible study classes, and a host of other activities all of which took place in the chapel. Table 2.2 overleaf shows for instance the weekly agenda of one chapel (Calvinistic Methodist) in the slate quarrying town of Bethesda in North Wales in 1900. Not included in this timetable however is a range of other activities, linked directly to the chapel:[86]

> Y Seiat (The Society of Experience): a meeting for public confession and self-criticism established in the early days of the Methodist Revival.
>
> Cymanfa Pregethu (Preaching Festival): a festival of sermons (originally held outdoors) often lasting two or three days.

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[84] In the village of Tal-y-Sarn in Caernarfonshire (North Wales) for example, with a population of 2000 or so, there were 4 chapels by 1900:

Capel Hyfrydle	:	Calvinistic Methodist
Capel Mawr	:	Calvinistic Methodist
Capel Seion (Zion)	:	Independent
Capel Wesla	:	Wesleyan Methodist

A Baptist-chapel was situated in the neighbouring village of Pen-y-Groes (which also had at least 4 other chapels). On the whole the Baptists were more numerous in South Wales. All chapels in Tal-y-Sarn and Pen-y-Groes were still active in the late 1950s. (Personal knowledge).

[85] According to Calvinist doctrine the 'chapel' exists from the moment there exists a community assembled to hear the word of God. Chapels could therefore originate as makeshift structures or as gatherings in private homes. This was frequently how Welsh chapels originated in Australia in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 3). It also accounts for the multiplicity of chapels in Wales and Australia.

[86] All of which were in evidence in the several Welsh communities in Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Cymanfa Ganu (Singing Festival): a hymn-singing festival organised on denominational lines. The Cymanfa Ganu, like the Eisteddfod has become a Welsh national cultural institution.[87]

Table 2.2

Weekly Agenda of a Welsh (C.M.) Chapel in Bethesda, North Wales, 1900.

Sunday	9 a.m.	Prayer meeting for the young.
	10 a.m.	Sermon.
	2 p.m.	Sunday School.
	5 p.m.	Singing Meeting.
	6 p.m.	Sermon.
Monday	Prayer Meeting	
Tuesday	Organisational Meeting	
Wednesday	5 Study Meetings. Literary Society.	
Thursday	4 Study Classes	
Friday	Band of Hope	

Source:
"Adroddiad Eglwys A Chynulleidfa, Jerusalem (M.C.), Bethesda, 1900", cited in R. Merfyn Jones, The North Wales Quarrymen 1874-1922 (University of Wales Press : Cardiff, 1982), p.44.

Cyfarfod Darllen (Reading Session): a meeting devoted to the reading of the Bible and devotional literature.

Cyfarfod Llenyddol (Literary Meeting): devoted to the meeting of non-devotional literature and to Canu Penillion the studying of poems in a descant to a harp melody.

Noson Lawen (Merry Evening): originally a form of informal entertainment (singing, recitation, short plays etc) around the hearth,

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[87] The Cymanfa Ganu in its modern form dates from 1859 when John Roberts (with the bardic pseudonym of Ieuan Gwyllt) introduced the use of tonic sol-fa at Aberdare. R. Griffiths, "Wales' most important contribution : origins of the Cymanfa Ganu", Yr Enfys, No. 40, October, 1988.

corresponding to the Ceilidh of Ireland : presently it takes the form of a concert.

To these could be added the Ysgolion Cân (Schools of Song) conducted also in the chapels, and originally in the Anglican Churches. Along with the Cymanfa Ganu, they laid the foundation of the choral singing tradition, which became an integral component of modern Welsh culture.

That culture, whose basic forms, as the above listing shows, were music and declamation, was essentially a populist culture moulded by puritan standards of respectability that were defined and defended by the nonconformist chapels. Its watchwords were *ymwareddiad glan* (unblemished conduct) and *buchedd rinweddol* (the virtuous life). All public behaviour and all cultural activity were subjected to the censorious scrutiny of presiding chapel officialdom enthroned in *Y Set Fawr* (literally the Big Seat).[88] Mildly reminiscent of Calvinist Geneva, it was a culture inseparable from puritan notions of the sovereignty of the moral order and the supremacy of social conscience. As such, it was not only repressive of artistic and creative experiment but ill suited to meet the challenges of a more secular age.

Yet throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, nonconformity sustained a vigorous, if narrow, cultural life. Its only means of expression was the Welsh language. For the whole period of its expansion Welsh was the normal means of communication in most parts of Wales. It was also the language of worship. Welsh nonconformity was Welsh not merely because as Gladstone maintained "the Nonconformists of Wales are the people of Wales"[89] but because it articulated its beliefs and values through the medium of the Welsh language. In turn, the language derived its strength from the chapels and the culture which they supported.

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[88]   In some of its basic aims not unlike the Genevan Consistory of the sixteenth century (a body for the supervision of public morals).
[89]   Williams, When Was Wales? .... op.cit., p.206.

2.7 Education and the Welsh Language in the Nineteenth Century

For most of the first half of the nineteenth century, the principal providers of education in Wales were the nonconformist Sunday Schools. Here, basic instruction in the Bible and the elements of reading and writing were taught to both adults and children through the medium of the Welsh language. Within the limits of their brief as religious institutions, the Sunday Schools were immensely successful, not only as educational institutions but as centres of a public cultural life. It was also the Sunday Schools which generated much of the demand for denominational literature in Welsh. *Seren Gomer,* for instance, established by the Baptists in Swansea in 1814, was the first Welsh language newspaper. It was followed by the *Dysgedydd* (1821) and the *Diwygiwr* (1855) of the Independents, and the *Drysorfa* (1831) of the Methodists.[90] The middle years of the century was a period of enormous expansion of a Welsh popular press, so that by 1866 Wales could boast five quarterlies, twenty-five monthlies and eight weeklies, all in the Welsh language and almost all serving the cause of nonconformity.[91]

During the first half of the century the readership was tutored almost exclusively by the Sunday Schools. As in England educational provision was largely the responsibility of church organisations. The Church of England through its National Society, had established some 375 schools throughout Wales by mid-century.[92] At the same time the non-denominational British Society, more reluctant to accept the Government grants that had become available after 1833,[93] had established fewer than 50 schools in the same period. Both organisations gave scant attention to the Welsh language though most of their clientele was monoglot Welsh. This, basically, was the situation in 1845 when the National Society reported on the inadequacy of educational provision in Wales. A better education it was argued, would be a cheap and effective preventive to the social unrest which

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[90]   Morgan, Wales in British Politics .... op.cit., p.8.
[91]   Ibid.
[92]   Jones, Modern Wales .... op.cit., p.285.
[93]   Jones, Anatomy of Wales, ... op.cit., p.161.

characterised the period.[94] The motion put to the House of Commons was worded as follows:

> "It should be borne in mind that an ill-educated and undisciplined population like that existing among the miners in South Wales is the one that may be found most dangerous to the neighbourhood in which it dwells, and that a band of efficient schoolmasters is kept up at a much less expense than a body of police and soldiers".[95]

The Commission of Enquiry which followed was to have an enormous impact on the fortunes of the Welsh language for the remainder of the nineteenth century. Three commissioners were appointed,[96] all English, Anglican and non-Welsh-speaking, to "ascertain the existing number of schools .... for the education of the children of the labouring classes and of adults, the amount of attendance, the age of the scholars, the character of the institution given".[97] In 1847 their 3 volume report appeared under the title of *"Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales"*. It condemned for the most part justifiably, what it judged to be the deplorable state of education in Wales[98] but went a fateful step further by identifying nonconformity and the Welsh language as the twin 'evils' responsible. The general tone may be deduced from the following extract:

> *"The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to overestimate its evil effects. It dissevers the people from intercourse which would greatly advance their civilisation and bars the access of improving knowledge to their*

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[94] See for example D.J.V. Jones, <u>Before Rebecca : Popular Protest in Wales, 1793-1835</u> (London : Allen Lane, 1973).

[95] Motion of William Williams M.P. for Coventry (a self-made Welsh-speaking businessman) to the House of Commons for an enquiry into the state of education in Wales. Cited in Thomas, op.cit., p.428.

[96] These were J.C. Symons, R.R.W. Lingen and H. Vaughan Johnson. Seven of their 10 assitants were also Anglican. Jones, Anatomy of Wales .... op.cit., p.162.

[97] Ibid.

[98] See for example Stevens, op.cit., p.97.

minds. As proof of this, there is no Welsh literature worthy of the name .....[99]

Their [the Welsh people] intelligence is not very high ..... and this is owing ..... to the circumstance of the adult population not having had the advantage of education in the English language. The prevalence of the Welsh language is a great obstacle to the moral and intellectual improvement of the people".[100]

and

"The evil of the Welsh language ...... is obviously and fearfully great in courts of justice .... it distorts the truth, favours fraud and abets perjury.[101]

Even allowing for Victorian insensitivity to the relationship between language and national self-respect, this was a grossly unrestrained indictment of the mother-tongue of some 80% of the Welsh population. This was certainly how it was seen by all shades of political and religious opinion in the Wales of the day. Dubbed *Brad Y Llyfrau Gleision* (The Treachery of the Blue books), the Report was consigned to the Welsh national memory as a document of infamy overshadowing even the worst proscriptive clauses of the Acts of Union. More than any other event since those Acts were introduced in the sixteenth century, the appearance of the Blue Books in 1847 galvanised the Welsh into a rare display of national unity. It was, as Morgan points out, "the most effective starting point for a revival of Welsh national self-consciousness".[102] Even the nonconformists, temporarily overcame their sectarian differences, to loudly condemn this 'Anglican' assault on the religion and language of Wales. Thus the Report again accentuated the longstanding cleavage between an Anglicised and Anglican

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[99]   "Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales, 1847 : J.C. Symon's Report on Brecknock, Cardigan, Radnor and Monmouth," Part II, p.66 cited in R.D. Grillo, Dominant Languages (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.87.
[100]   Idem. "R.W. Lingen's Report for Carmarthen, Glamorgan and Pembrokeshire" Part I, p.482.
[101]   "J.C. Symon's Report ......", op.cit., pp.309-10, cited in J.S. Maclure, Educational Documents : England and Wales, 1816-1967 (London : Chapman and Hall Ltd, 1968) p.62.
[102]   Morgan, op.cit., p.16.

English-speaking gentry[103] and the nonconformist largely monoglot Welsh *gwerin* (peasantry). It was also a stimulus to the political radicalisation of Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century and an important step towards the eventual disestablishment of the Anglican church.

Of more relevance here however is the language issue. In this respect the reaction, though fierce, was curiously contradictory. On the one hand there were predictably loud cries of protest by an outraged nonconformist leadership, on the other a headlong rush by the same leadership to meet the criticisms of Shuttleworth's [104] commissioners. This would be done by placing a much greater stress henceforth in the schools of Wales on the value, especially the commercial value, of English. An investigation into the Rebecca Riots[105] earlier in the decade had already drawn attention to the worth of English as the language of "promotion". Similarly, the Blue Books had condemned Welsh as "a language of old-fashioned agriculture, of theology and of simple rustic life".[106] The Welsh-speaker, it maintained, was condemned as a result "to live in an underworld of his own ..... [while] all the world about him is English .... [and] the march of society goes ...... completely over his head".[107] Thus, it was in the aftermath of the 1847 report that the 'Welsh Not'[108] was enthusiastically adopted by educational

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103   Some 80% of the 334 witnesses summoned by the Commissioners were also Anglican. Jones, op.cit., p.162.

104   Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, Secretary to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, who drew up the instructions for the guidance of the Commissioners. Williams, "A History ....", op.cit., p.254.

105   A Welsh rural revolt of the late 1830s directed primarily against toll-gates. The rioters called themselves "daughters of Rebecca" (after the biblical character of the same name). Vaughan-Thomas, op.cit., pp.212-3.

106   "Report of the Commissioners ....", op.ci., pp.2,3,4.

107   Ibid.

108   A piece of flat wood upon which were carved the woods "Welsh Not". Each day the first child heard speaking Welsh at school by a teacher or class mate was handed the Welsh Not to wear around his neck; it was his duty, in turn, to hand it on to another who infringed the 'English only' rule. Offenders thus caught were punished further at the end of the school day. Yr Enfys, July, 1987, p.3. A similar system, that of the *sabots*, was used by school authorities in Brittany to prevent the use of Breton. L.A. Timm, "Bilingualism, Diglossia and Language Shift in Brittany," International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 25 (1980), p.30. Punishment of minority children for speaking their native tongue on school grounds is still not uncommon. See for example J.M. Christian and C.C. Christian Jr., "Spanish Language and Culture in the Southwest" in Fishman (ed), Language Loyalty .... op.cit., p.298.

authorities as a deterrent to the speaking of Welsh on school premises — and this, with at least the tacit approval of parents and nonconformist leaders. Henceforth — until the establishment of the Welsh-medium schools a century later — the guiding principle of educational policy in Wales was to be that English should be regarded as the sole language of social, political and commercial advancement.

It was certainly in evidence following the implementation of Robert Lowe's Revised Code of 1862.[109] The 'payment by results' method introduced by this legislation was another blow to the Welsh language since by 'results' was meant the ability to read and write English. Forster's Education Act of 1870, which saw the introduction of compulsory elementary education exclusively through the medium of English was an even greater blow for it virtually excluded Welsh from the state school system in Wales.

Even Mathew Arnold, Forster's brother-in-law and the unabashed admirer of Celtic literature,[110] was as hostile as most of his colleagues in the educational hierarchy to the *teaching* of Welsh and its perpetuation as a living language:[111]

> "....... if an [Welsh] author has anything to say ..... he had much better say it in English .... the moment he has anything of real importance to say, anything the world will the least care to hear, he must speak English. ..... For all *serious* (own italics) purposes in modern literature the language of the Welsh must be English .....

> The fusion of all the inhabitants of these islands into one homogeneous English-speaking whole ...... the swallowing up of

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109   A revised version of the Code of Regulations made by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education for the administration of grants to schools. Introduced by Robert Lowe in 1862 it incorporated the principle of payment by result into the distribution of the grants. Maclure, op.cit., p.79.
110   Arnold favoured the increased use of English in Welsh schools. He favoured the preservation of Welsh only "on grounds of philological or antiquarian interest". Cited in F.J.N. Harding "Matthew Arnold and Wales", Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, Session 1963, Part II, (1963), pp.254-5.
111   E. Humphreys, "Arnold in Wonderland", Miscellany Two (Glamorgan : Poetry Wales Press, 1981).

separate provincial nationalities is a consummation towards which the natural course of things irresistibly tends".[112]

These comments were included in Arnold's 1865/6 lectures on "The Study of Celtic Literature" in which he also spoke glowingly of the Celtic "gift for style" and "natural magic", [113] comments which helped to establish a Celtic Chair at Oxford in 1877 and another at Edinburgh in 1882.[114] They also led to an extraordinary diatribe against the Welsh language and Welsh cultural institution, particularly the Eisteddfod, in two leaders in the *Times* in September, 1866. They echo almost exactly the sentiments expressed in the Blue Books in 1847. An extract from the first reads:

> "The Welsh language is the curse of Wales. Its prevalence and the ignorance of English, have excluded and even now exclude the Welsh people from the civilisation, the improvement and the material prosperity of their English neighbours. It is, perhaps, little known to what extent this unknown tongue still keeps its hold upon the Welsh population ...... The result has been that the Welsh have remained in Wales, unable to mix with their English fellow-subjects, shut out from all literature except what is translated into their own language, and incapable of progress".[115]

Six days later, as a result of the controversy stirred by these comments,[116] the attack continued:

> "We can only observe as a matter of fact that Welsh music and poetry have not had the slightest effect in civilising the Welsh people. So far from being more refined or polished than the English

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112   R.H. Super, The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold: Vol. (iii), Lectures and Essays in Criticism (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1962), pp.296-7. Arnold was not the first to take this stand. Lord Mostyn at the Rhuddlan Eisteddfod of 1850 had called on Welsh people to remember that "the highest object of ambition" was to master the English language. Rees, op.cit., p.89.
113   R. Bromwich, Matthew Arnold and Celtic Literature : A Retrospect, 1865-1965. The O'Donnell Lecture delivered in the University of Oxford on 7 May, 1964 (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1965), p.11.
114   Ibid (Foreword by I.Ll. Foster)
115   The Times, September 8,m 1866. The occasion of this article was the Chester Eisteddfod of the same year.
116   The Welsh poet John Jones ('Talhaiarn') had countered these attacks by his own letter to the Times in which he reiterated Arnold's claim that the cultural purposes of the Welsh Eisteddfod held no threat to the position of English in Wales. Bromwich, op.cit., p.37.

or Scotch, they are far behind them in the most elementary conditions of refinement and morality. There are practices tolerated and even cherished among the Welsh which are not known and would be put down at once in most parts of England .... A Welsh harp is a curiosity and no more, and if any of the 'bards' still exist, the best thing they can do is to go and study in England or Germany".[117]

The combined effects of articles of this nature in the English press, of the Blue Books Report of some years earlier, of Forster's Education Act, of the 'Welsh Not', and of the repeated humiliation of the Welsh language and culture by official agency for most of the nineteenth century, was to reinforce the abiding sense of inferiority about their native tongue which had long been characteristic of the Welsh (its effects will be in evidence throughout this study). Arnold's well-meaning rhetorical flourishes such as "the Celtic readiness to react against the despotism of fact",[118] or Gladstone's emotional tributes to "the ancient language of Wales"[119] were no less damaging. Welsh became to the minds of many of its speakers, including those who came to Australia during the course of the century, the language of yesteryear, precious but essentially useless; the language of spiritual concerns and moral reprobation from the pulpit, but an anachronism in the age of steam and railways. After all, there were no Welsh words for either.

Yet, these attitudes notwithstanding, the overwhelming evidence of the journals, popular press and literature of nineteenth century Wales, is of a near universal recognition that whatever the merits of English as the language of social advancement and material progress, Welshness (Cymreictod) was grounded in the

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[117] The Times, September 14, 1866. The Times articles were by no means isolated. The *London Morning Chronicle* had also decided, on the basis of the Blue Books Report of 1847 that the Welsh "were fast settling down into the most savage barbarism". Similarly the *Examiner* was of the opinion that "the habits were those of animals and would not bear description". Williams, op.cit., p.274. Over a century later (1969) in response to Mr Edward Short's (The Secretary of State for Education) circular to Welsh Education Authorities to the effect that where Welsh was not taught, a review of policy was necessary, the *Economist* condemned his support of "a useless subject" and of "minority provincialism". Whilst this was "understandable from a Welsh education authority" it was "ridiculous from the Secretary of State for Education. "Bringing Back Babel", The Economist, 29th March, 1969.

[118] Bromwich, op.cit., p.14.

[119] Morgan, Re-birth .... op.cit., p.4.

Welsh language. This was seen as axiomatic and seldom challenged. 'Anglo-Welshness' — the Welshness divested of the language, of a Dylan Thomas[120] or a Wilfrid Owen[121] — was still a contradiction in terms to the majority of the Welsh population. Concern for the survival of the language was, as will be shown in the chapter to follow, the chief motive for mid-century attempts to establish Welsh colonies outside of Wales. It is present also in the refrain of the national anthem adopted in 1856; *"O Bydded I'r Hen Iaith Barhau"* (Oh, may the old language survive). The search for an anthem in fact prefigured what was to be the major development in Welsh life in the second half of the nineteenth century : the growth of a sense of nationality which sought expression in modern symbolic and institutional forms. It was this growth of national sentiment which helped to carry both language and culture across the threshold of the twentieth century.

2.8 The Growth of National Consciousness

What Marx has termed an "unhistoric nationalism",[122] a shared sense of history and an awareness of a homogeneity of language, culture and tradition, had, as has been shown, long been a feature of Welsh life. Expressed before the Acts of Union as opposition to the incursions of English armies, in the centuries which followed it turned inwards into a resignation to the power of the English state and the monopoly of English as the language of law, education, and commerce. Whilst nonconformity had provided a new sense of unity based on common forms of worship in the Welsh language, Welsh national consciousness still lacked direction and cohesion during most of the nineteenth century. Above all it lacked political focus.

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120   Dylan Thomas' parents were both Welsh-speaking but Dylan himself (born in 1914) had no knowledge of the language. J. Ackerman, Welsh Dylan, (St. Albans : Granada Publishing Ltd, 1980), pp.13-17.
121   J. Barnie, 'The Anglo'Welsh Tradition' Poetry Wales, Vol. 20, No.2 (1984). (Poetry Wales Press, 1984).
122   Marx referred to the Celtic peoples of Britain and France and the non-Castilian peoples of Spain as "the unhistoric nationalities" of Europe. Stephens, op.cit., p.xxii.

That situation changed dramatically from the late 1860s. The three decades which followed witnessed the re-casting of Welshness in a more political mould and the emergence in the process of a modern Welsh sense of nationhood. The prime catalyst for this development was the alliance of a now dominant nonconformity with Gladstone's Liberal Party to provide a new radicalism in Welsh political life. Concerned initially with specific grievances such as land reform, it evolved in the 1880s into a distinctive Welsh form of political nationalism, a nationalism, that is, that was still never far removed in its aims and policies from matters of language and culture.

The latter remains the main concern here but as the distinctive political and cultural life of Wales came to be increasingly played out against the larger British canvas in the second half of the century, it becomes more difficult to disentangle culture from politics. The turning point, undoubtedly, was the general election of 1868. The broadened franchise created by the Reform Bill of the previous year resulted in the first serious challenge in Wales to the power of Anglican landlordism and conservative politics. Out of a total of 33 Welsh seats, 23 Liberals were returned, three of whom were nonconformist.[123] The evictions of Welsh-speaking tenant farmers which followed finally politicised nonconformity and cemented its alliance with a radical Welsh Liberalism. In the years which followed, this alliance concerned itself with land reform, the abolition of titles and a range of other issues which had particular relevance to Wales. By 1880, 29 of the 33 Welsh seats were held by the Liberal Party and in the landslide Liberal victory of 1906 all members of Parliament returned from Wales were Liberal.[124] This provision by Wales of a solid electoral base for British Liberalism gave Welsh members at Westminster a powerful bargaining tool for greater recognition of the 'special' needs of Wales within the British body-politic, needs which in the first

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[123]   Morgan, Wales in British Politics ...., op.cit., pp.22-7.
[124]   Morgan, Re-birth of a Nation .... op.cit., p.12.

instance were social and economic, but which stemmed ultimately from Wales' cultural particularity.

It was these needs that a group of the Welsh Liberal MPs at Westminster sought to address in the 1890s. *Cymru Fydd* or 'Young Wales'[125] as the movement was called, led by Tom Ellis[126] and Lloyd George,[127] was in effect an attempt to set up a Welsh arm of British Liberalism. It was also the first political expression of Welsh nationalism. Its dual aims — to rectify Welsh economic and social grievances on the one hand and to foster the language and culture of Wales on the other — were not in the climate of the day, seen as irreconcilable. Though inspired by Kossuth, Mazzini, and other continental nationalists, the nationalism of *Cymru Fydd* was much milder and resigned to come under the mantle of Gladstonian Liberalism. Lloyd George was never the 'Parnell' of Wales. *Cymru Fydd* and its demands for limited Home Rule foundered eventually on the rock of a growing division between the rural Welsh-speaking north and an industrial south which towards the end of the century was being rapidly Anglicised by large scale migration from England. Lloyd George, ever the political realist, turned his back on *Cymru Fydd* and its Home Rule platform as lost causes, and sought his place in the sun within the broader ranks of British Liberalism.

The collapse of *Cymru Fydd* is by no means reflective of the general condition of Welsh cultural life during these years. Despite the numerical decline of its speakers (Table 1-2) the language retained its position as the pre-eminent mark of Welsh identity. The heightened sense of nationality which characterised this period[128] cannot be understood apart from the parallel vigour of the language.

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125   Literally, 'Wales to be'.
126   Member of Parliament for Merioneth since 1886, and later Chief Whip of the Liberal Party. Williams, History .... op.cit., p.264.
127   Member of Parliament for Carnarfon Borough since 1890, later, Prime Minister. J. Grigg : Lloyd George, the People's Champion (1902-11) (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1978).
128   Even in areas of South Wales receiving large numbers of monoglot English-speakers, a Commission of Inquiry reported that up to the 1890s "the native inhabitants, in many respects, showed a marked capacity for stamping their own impress on all newcomers and communicating to

It was still widely spoken — far more the language of everyday life than Irish or Scottish Gaelic, for instance. It also remained the exclusive voice of a still strident Welsh nonconformity[129] and almost the *raison d'etre* of the National Eisteddfod, which in the second half of the nineteenth century had become a Welsh national cultural institution. More important perhaps, it was the language of local eisteddfodau by the score, and as already seen, of an amazingly vigorous press. It is not surprising therefore that it was in this period that poets such as R. Williams Parry, T. Gwyn Jones, Silyn Roberts, T.H. Parry-Williams and[130] W.J. Gruffudd set standards that were to be the yardstick for the composition of Welsh lyrical poetry into the second half of the twentieth century.

The growth of a Welsh national consciousness is associated with a number of key individuals. Three are important in the present context in that their work and writings went a long way towards establishing the close alliance of modern Welsh nationality with the Welsh language. Michael D. Jones (1822-98) an Independent minister and head of a theological college, was perhaps the most radical of the three. He was certainly the first nineteenth century figure to politicise the cause of the language and to argue its centrality to the survival of the Welsh as a distinctive culture group. Michael Jones wanted nothing less than a free, democratic, self-supporting, Welsh-speaking, Wales.[131] Despairing of his

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them a large measure of their own characteristics". Commission of Inquiry into Industrial Unrest. Report for Wales and Monmouthshire, XV, (1917-18), pp.12-13.

[129]   Of the 434,000 members of the four major denominations in 1900, well over 300,000 attended Welsh-language chapels. Morgan, Re-build of a Nation ..... op.cit., p.96.

[130]   R. Williams Parry (1884-1956), T. Gwynn Jones (1871-1949), R. Silyn Roberts (1871-1930), Sir T.H. Parry-Williams (1887-1975), W.J. Gruffudd (1881-1954) are amongst the most influential of the Welsh poets of the first half of the twentieth century. They are named here because as popular poets in the Welsh tradition they have contributed enormously to the modern Welsh sense of national identity. See introduction to Twentieth Century Welsh Poems, translated by J.P. Clancy (Llandysul : Gomer Press, 1982).

[131]   D. Glyn Jones, "The Welsh Language Movement" in Stevens (ed.), The Welsh Language .... op.cit., p.271.

countrymen's lack of support he sought to realise his vision in Patagonia where he helped to establish a Welsh colony in 1865.[132]

One of his disciples was Robert Ambrose Jones (Emrys ap Iwan) (1857-1906) a Calvinistic Methodist minister and another key figure in the struggle for the survival of Welsh. Closely attuned to European culture and well versed in the nationalist literature of the age, he like Michael Jones, argued for national survival through self-government. Scornful of the preoccupations of nonconformity with economic issues such as tithes and land reform, Ap Iwan passionately sought to convince his countrymen that the survival of the Welsh language was the only political issue worth fighting over:[133]

> "As God has made you a nation, remain a nation. As He has ....
> given you your own language .... retain the language".[134]

The survival of the language, he argued, was the only factor which would decide whether the Welsh as a people would survive.

The last of the three (Sir) Owen M. Edwards (1858-1920),[135] though not as radical in his political orientation, was more influential in the long term in imprinting on the minds of his countrymen the vital importance of maintaining their language.[136] An Oxford don, who subordinated an academic career to the improvement of the Welsh *gwerin* (peasantry), O.M. Edwards as author, editor and Chief Inspector of Schools devoted his life to that cause. His journals, particularly *Cymru'r Plant* (The Children's Wales),[137] the first Welsh magazine for

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[132]   See Chapter III. Michael D. Jones never visited Patagonia himself. His son, who did, was killed by the two American outlaws, 'Butch' Cassidy and the Sundance Kid. J. Morris, The Matter of Wales : Epic Views of a Small Country (Oxford : Oxford University Press), p343.

[133]   Jones, "The Welsh Language Movement ....", op.cit., p.275.

[134]   Bywyd I'r Iaith, (Aberystwyth : Cymdeithas Yr Iaith (The Welsh Language Society), Pamphlet, n.d., p.8.

[135]   Rees, op.cit., p.68.

[136]Referring to the Welsh Not (see above) Edwards wrote: "Every day the 'Not' ..... would find its way from every corner of the school to my neck. This is a comfort to me even today", Morris, op.cit., p.240.

[137]   Rees, op.cit., p.69.

schoolchildren, helped to create a popular Welsh national literature, one of the key factors in the survival of the language in the twentieth century. This, as Vaughan-Thomas points out, was "one-man mass education on the grand scale."[138]

A sense of national identity was to find tangible expression in due course in the creation of a number of Welsh national institutions. Amongst the most important of these was the University of Wales. Although a University College, financed in large part by the donations of the Welsh public,[139] had been established at Aberystwyth in 1872, the idea of a 'national' university was first raised in the 1881 recommendations of the Aberdare Committee appointed a year earlier to investigate intermediate and higher education. Wales, it categorically stated, was a nation and as such deserved its own system of intermediate and higher education:

> "The first thing to be noted is that Wales has a distinct nationality of its own ...... The sentiment of nationality cannot be ignored and should not, in our opinion, be discouraged ..... The existence, therefore, of a distinct Welsh nationality is ..... a reason for securing within the limits of Wales itself a system of intermediate and higher education in harmony with the distinctive peculiarities of the country".[140]

These were comments reflective of late nineteenth century Welsh political consciousness, far removed in tone and sentiment from those expressed in the Blue Books Report only 40 years earlier. The Aberdare recommendations were duly

138   Vaughan-Thomas, op.cit., p.229.
139   There were over 100,000 contributions of under half-a-crown. The nonconformist chapels even set aside a "University Sunday" (*Sul Y Brifysgol*) to collect funds. Morgan, Re-birth of a Nation .... op.cit., p.108. More than any other institution, The University College at Aberystwyth, *Y Coleg Ger Y Lli* (the College by the Sea) as it was to be known, came to symbolise the populist nationalism of late nineteenth century Wales. It is still the academic stronghold of the Welsh language. There is a full report of the effort to establish Aberystwyth in *Yr Australydd*, the Victorian Welsh-language periodical (see Chapter 3). Yr Australydd, Vol.II, No. 2, March 1872.
140   "Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the Condition of Higher Education in Wales". Parlt. Papers 1881, cited in Coupland, op.cit., pp.200-202. As with the Welsh Sunday Closing Act of 1881, which shut public houses in Wales and Monmouthshire on Sundays (the first official recognition of the political existence of Wales since the Acts of Union) the "distinctive peculiarities" of Wales were recognised in the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 which gave Wales its own network of county schools, the first state-supported secondary school system in Britain. Jones, Modern Wales ...... op.cit., p.246.

followed. Cardiff University College was established in 1883 followed by a similar institution at Bangor in North Wales a year later. The three colleges were united in a federal union as the University of Wales in 1893.[141]

After the Liberal landslide of 1906 the concessions to a Welsh 'nationality' multiplied. Between 1906 and 1915 Wales gained a Welsh Department of the Board of Education, a National Library at Aberystwyth, a National Museum at Cardiff and a National Council for Wales for Agriculture.[142] In 1914 the Anglican Church was disestablished, ending a struggle which had dominated Welsh nonconformist policies for almost three generations.[143] Its successful conclusion was in effect the final chapter of the nineteenth century alliance of nonconformity and radical Liberalism.

2.9   Concluding Comments

It has been the principal concern of this chapter to trace the historical foundations of some of the cultural values which Welsh migrants brought to Australia during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their cultivation within the several Welsh communities established in the Australian colonies is the subject of the chapter to follow. Given the evolutionary nature of culture and the massively disruptive effects of two world wars these earlier values are not of course selfsame versions of those brought here by the post-war migrants who are the subjects of this study. Yet the shadows of nineteenth century Welsh culture have been surprisingly long. Welsh cultural life today for instance, though many

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[141]   Williams, A History ...., op.cit., pp.275-7.

[142]   Ibid., p.267. The new Board of Education expressed the wish "that every Welsh teacher should realise the educational value of the Welsh language". In 1927 it went further by accepting that "the administration of education in the Principality should be sympathetic towards the utilisation of the Welsh language to the full extent demanded by educational considerations". The implementation of this directive was left however to individual teachers and was therefore largely ineffective. G. Price, The Languages of Britain (London : Edward Arnold, 1984), p.104.

[143]   The final passage into law of the Welsh Church Bill was greeted by the triumphant singing of the Welsh National Anthem by Welsh MPs in the lobby of the House of Commons. Owing to the outbreak of World War I the Act was not put into effect until 1920. Morgan, Rebirth ...., op.cit., p.142.

of the chapels have closed, still bears the unmistakable marks of Calvinistic nonconformity.[144]

Above all there is the continuity of the Welsh language. It has been the pervasive constant of Welsh culture for almost two millennia and the sole vehicle for its literary expression for at least half that time. The main focus of the preceding survey has in fact been the undisputed historical centrality of the Welsh language to the definition of a Welsh ethnic identity. So entrenched, from a historical viewpoint is this pivotal role of the language, that to speak of *Cymreictod* (Welshmen) separate from the language with reference to any time before World War I is to speak a literal nonsense. *Cymry Di-Gymraeg* (the non-Welsh-speaking Welsh) is now a term of convenience to describe the Anglicised Welsh. In most parts of Victorian Wales it would have been as meaningless as 'the non-English-speaking English' or the 'non-French-speaking French'.

The survival of Welsh as the closest neighbour of English is at least surprising, and at times more the result of default than design. Even what was arguably the most vital legislative contribution to its survival, the Act of 1563 which made provision for the translation into Welsh of the Anglican Prayer Book and Bible, was far less intended to protect what the Elizabethan administration regarded as a cultural and political nuisance, than to protect the Tudor Reformation. Yet the consequent translations and the humanistic scholarly activity which they generated not only gave Welsh the hue of modernity but ensured its survival as a dynamic medium for intellectual discourse.

Similarly when once again it reached a low ebb towards the end of the seventeenth century, it found new life in the circulating schools of Gruffydd Jones

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144   For example, not only in Wales itself, but in Australia, Canada and the United States in particular, apart from the eisteddfod, the archetypal Welsh cultural form is still the *Cymanfa Ganu*, the hymn-singing festival e.g. the largest event on the Welsh North American calendar is the National Gymanfa. The 57th National Gymanfa at Baltimore, Maryland, in September 1988, for instance, was a 3 day event which drew thousands of participants from all parts of North America, Patagonia, Australia and Wales. *Ninnau, Papur Bro Cymry Gogledd* America (The North American Welsh Newspaper), Vol.13, No.11, October 1, 1988.

and the Methodist network of secondary schools. As the sole communicative medium of nonconformity it also became in the second half of the nineteenth century the language of a nascent Welsh radicalism, the language therefore not only of the pulpit but of popular protest in a wide range of journals, books and newspapers. At the same time it not only survived but benefited from the effects of industrialisation, for, as has been pointed out, the new industrial towns of South Wales were populated in the first instance largely by Welsh-speakers from the rural north and west. It is well to remember that in spite of declining proportions of Welsh-speakers throughout the nineteenth century, they were more than twice as numerous in absolute terms in 1901 than in 1801. (See Table 1.2).

Two further points must be made. Both are vital to an understanding of the ambivalence which still surrounds the language issue today:

(i) Counterbalancing the historical role of the language as the core of Welshness has been a pervasive sense of its worthlessness vis à vis English on the functional level. Present since at least the Acts of Union of the seventeenth century, it was reinforced by the subsequent defection of the Welsh gentry to England and to English. Apart from the disastrous loss of natural leadership, this was also a signal that henceforth English was to be the language of social and political advancement. The Blue Books Report of 1847 had similar results. The initial angry reaction was quickly replaced by the unseemly rush of nonconformist leaders and many of their followers to banish the language from school grounds. Welsh was the language of heaven but not of the counting house, and the children of Wales should be prepared accordingly. Thus there was little opposition to the Education Act of 1870 which introduced a state system of education through English. Even the notorious 'Welsh

Not' was always less condemned by contemporaries than by modern nationalists.[145]

This ambivalence towards the language is well illustrated by the fact that not only was English the sole language of instruction in the newly opened University Colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor and Cardiff, but when the first lecturer in the Welsh language appointed to a higher education institution — John Morris Jones to Bangor in 1889 — lectured to his Welsh students on their native tongue, *he did so in English*.[146]   Similarly the society established in 1885 to campaign for the introduction of Welsh into the school curriculum was titled "The Society for the Utilisation of the Welsh language in Education *for the Purpose of Serving a Better and More Intelligent Knowledge of English*".[147] [own italics]   Again, a survey conducted by the Cymmrodorion in 1884 into the use of the Welsh language in elementary schools in the Welsh-speaking areas of Glamorgan found that of the 123 schools questioned, 48 were against the introduction of Welsh.   Significantly, the 77 in favour gave as one of the principal reasons: "that it would help to eradicate the sense of shame felt by many Welsh children".[148]

The point being made is that education and knowledge of English were viewed as synonymous. The purpose of schooling was to teach English. Welsh would take care of itself in the home, the chapel and the street. It is an attitude which is still widely

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[145]   Professor W.J. Gruffydd claimed that bitterness against the 'Welsh Not' was something *post hoc*. Nor was it unique to Wales. A similar system was applied to promote the learning of Latin at Winchester and Eton. Similarly at Ruthin Grammar School in North Wales where Latin was also the favoured language, pupils who resorted to their mother tongue during school hours were obliged to wear a piece of wood bearing the word 'English'. Transactions of the Caernarfonshire Historical Society, Vol.24, (1963), p.268.

[146]   Morgan, Rebirth ...., op.cit., p.20.

[147]   J.L. Williams, "The Welsh Language in Education" in Stevens (ed.), op.cit., p.97. (Further discussed in Chapter 4).

[148]   Thomas, A Cauldron ...., op.cit., p.433.

prevalent. Amongst the subjects of this study it emerged as declared enthusiasm for the language on the one hand and very low usage and/or willingness to take active measures in favour of its maintenance on the other[149].

(ii)   Secondly, the internal conflict at the level of the individual created by the unequal historical relationship of Welsh and English is paralleled on the national level by the emergence in Wales since the end of the nineteenth century of dual and largely conflicting notions of identity. This is, of course, the legacy of Anglicisation — particularly of South Wales — a process which, continuous since at least the Acts of Union, gathered pace in the second half of the nineteenth century and accelerated rapidly in the first two decades of the twentieth. Thus, at the very moment in their history when the Welsh, were adding a political dimension to their national identity, the massive inflow of monoglot English speakers was making of the most vital component of that identity, the Welsh language, the attribute of less than half the population (Table 1.2). This called for a re-definition of Welshness sufficiently broad to include a majority of non-Welsh-speakers, a problem at the heart of what Raymond Williams has termed "the ambiguity and contradiction"[150] inherent in modern Welsh national consciousness. To these quandaries of linguistically and culturally determined identity must also be added the further complexity of 'British' nationality. The net result is that by today cultural identity in Wales is a multi-layered phenomenon, with the Welsh defining themselves *inter-alia* on dimensions of language ability, cultural, identification, ancestry, birth and given

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[149]   See Chapter 7
[150]   T. Eagleton, "The Practice of Possibility", (Interview with R. Williams) New Statesman, August 7th 1987.

nationality. Yet the main divide since the late nineteenth century has undoubtedly been linguistic. The dilemma of a dual identity based on language has been a persistent theme of Welsh literature and scholarly writing for more than fifty years. Much of the body of literature, unhappily styled 'Anglo-Welsh'[151], is by those who bemoan their cultural disinheritance from the Welsh past through ignorance of the language — the result, as many point out, of the failure of their parents or grandparents to pass it on, and of their own English-medium education:

> "I lost my native language
> For the one the Saxon spake
> By going to school by order
> For education's sake".[152]

Thus wrote the Monmouthshire poet Idris Davies. The prevalent feeling in the inter-war years however, especially in South Wales, was that the Welsh language, and its associated traditions were no answer to the pressing problems of unemployment and economic dislocation. As the coal mines closed down and as the old alliance of nonconformity and the Liberal Party dissolved in the wake of Disestablishment — always its main goal — a disillusioned populace turned increasingly to the new Labour movement that was eventually to claim South Wales as its main stronghold. Yet this was a movement less committed to Wales as a cultural entity than as a unit within the international working class order. In this political climate and as a result of what by the 1920s and 30s seemed to be the unstoppable Anglicisation of Wales the language plunged into steep decline. Its relative resurgence in the post-war era will be examined in Chapter 4.

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[151]   One does not speak of 'Anglo-Scottish' literature.

[152]   Williams, "The Welsh Language ......," op.cit., p.96.

CHAPTER 3

WELSH SETTLEMENT AND CULTURAL VALUES IN
AUSTRALIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

"Ceisia rhai perswadio eu hunain fod pob teimlad cenedlaethol — yn Gymreig, Ysgotaidd, Gwyddelig etc — yn waeth na difudd mewn gwlad gymysg fel hon. ...... Y mae yma elfnau ereill sef y Ffrengig a'r Ellmynig ..... Mae yma nifer mawr hefyd o Chineaid, Indiaid o'r dwyrain a'r gorllewin ac Iddewon o bob gwlad : yn fyr y mae yma bobl o bob iaith, lliw, cenedl a chred ..... Y cwestiwn gan hyny yw beth am fodolaeth wahanol a chenedlaethol pob cenedl yn unigol yng nghanol y fath dryblith o genhedloedd?

YR AUSTRALYDD (THE AUSTRALIAN), APRIL, 1871[1]

("Some try to persuade themselves that every national feeling — Welsh, Scottish, Irish etc — is worse than useless in a plural society such as this one. ..... There are other [ethnic] elements here such as the French and the Germans. ..... There are also large numbers of Chinese, Indians from East and West, and others from every country : in short there are people here of every language, colour, nationality and creed. .... The question is therefore, what are the survival chances of each national group independently amongst such a motley group of nationalities?").

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[1]   The monthly Welsh-language journal published in Melbourne, July 1866-September 1872. (Plate 5).

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter traced the historical development of some of the defining values of Welsh culture. What follows is an outline of their passage to Australia in the nineteenth century and their evolution as transplanted values in an Australian environment. Again the vital contribution of the language to the preservation of a Welsh cultural identity will be demonstrated. Culture, however, cannot be separated from the social and economic circumstances in which it develops. In particular, issues of language and cultural maintenance in a migrant society are at all times related to the migration process, to the socio-economic background of the migrants, and, not least, to their patterns of settlement after arrival. Nor, it must be added, is it possible to consider the Welsh and their culture in isolation from the broader developments which shaped Australian society in the nineteenth century.

To date, there has been no specialist study of nineteenth century Welsh movement to the Australian colonies, with the result that even the basic statistical framework of immigration and settlement is not in evidence in any published work. This is undoubtedly due in large part to the notorious inadequacy of British emigration records, to which, in the Welsh case, must be added the further difficulty presented by the pairing of Welsh and English statistics under 'England and Wales' by officialdom at both ends of the migrant passage. Until 1853 no distinction was made at the ports of departure between the constituent groups of the British Isles.[2] After that year passengers on departing vessels were classified as English, 'Scotch' (sic) or Irish. The Welsh, however, were not given a separate classification until 1908 when the Board of Trade began to distinguish between Welsh and English 'travellers'. It was not until 1912 that any attempt was made in

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[2] M. Jones, "The Background to Emigration from Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century", Perspectives in American History, Vol. VII, (1973), p.24.

the published statistics to distinguish between passengers and migrants.[3] By then, of course, the era of mass emigration was over.

For these reasons, although the primary aim of this chapter is to present a historical perspective on Welsh cultural values in Australia, some attention is also given to relevant demographic aspects of Welsh settlement. The chapter begins, however, with a brief review of the broader issues of nineteenth century emigration from Wales, with particular reference to Welsh cultural life in the two destinations most favoured by Welsh migrants for the greater part of the century, namely the United States, and, to a lesser extent, Patagonia in Southern Argentina.

3.2   Emigration from Wales in the Nineteenth Century

Overall figures on the volume of nineteenth century emigration from Wales are impossible to arrive at given the difficulties mentioned above. Generalisations — usually to the effect that Wales has lost large numbers of her people through emigration[4] — are frequently encountered in the literature of the topic, but they cannot be substantiated statistically. Census records in receiving countries, the United States and Australia particularly, show that, by any objective measurement the Welsh contribution to the migrant outflow from Britain in the nineteenth century was small. Certainly from the late 1870s, as Thomas has shown,[5] even relative to population, the Welsh left in fewer numbers than any other group from the British Isles. This trend continued into the era of mass migration before the

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[3]   N.H. Carrier and J.R. Jeffery, External Migration : A Study of the Available Statistics, 1815-1950 (London : HMSO, 1953) P.18. This is possibly the most direct source of statistics on nineteenth century British emigration. For a discussion of the problems of analysis see W.A. Carrothers, Emigration from the British Isles (London : King, 1965). On some of the particular problems relating to Welsh emigration statistics there is a useful discussion in D. Williams "Some Figures relating to Emigration from Wales", Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, VII, (May, 1935).

[4]   The following is typical: "This vast [own italics] emigration of rural people continued down to the year 1896, which can be considered the year when Welsh emigration reached its peak". R. Roberts "The Effect of Emigration on Wales", Yr Enfys, No. 72, (August 1966), p.20.

[5]   B. Thomas, Migration and Economic Growth .... op.cit., pp.290-345 passim. Thomas arrives at his estimates by "taking the increase in the enumerated population from one [UK] census to the next and subtracting from it the excess of births over deaths during the inter-censual period" ibid. p.290.

First World War. In those years English emigrants to the United States for example were four times as numerous as the Welsh, the Scots seven, and the Irish a massive twenty-six.[6]

Yet, undoubtedly, the Welsh have historically perceived themselves as an emigrant nation.[7] It is possible that with a population which throughout the nineteenth century remaining well under two million (see Table 1.2), the periodic departures of known families and individuals from small towns and villages - often to England as much as to America or Australia - created, over time, a popular impression of mass exodus. This impression is reinforced by the existence of a substantial body of Welsh language emigrant literature the bulk of which depicts the act of migration as at best a necessary evil and at worst, a Faustian betrayal of land and language :

"Ein gwlad annwyl gyda'i heniaith,
A bys dilys bwyswyd eilwaith.
Ond er iaith, a ffaith a phethau
Trymach yw yr aur-ororau.

Antur well yw torri allan
Na mawr feichid lle mor fychan.
Hendre gul yw rhandir Gwalia,
Ystyr helaeth fyd Australia"(sic).[8]

[Our dear land and its ancient language
Was yet again carefully weighed on the balance
But of greater weight [IT SEEMS] than language or other values,
Is the gold of other lands

It's a greater adventure to leave
Than to endure such a small place

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6   Williams, Wales was Wales ...., op.cit., p.180.
7   Reflected for instance in the special day set aside during the annual National Eisteddfod to honour the "Welsh in Exile".
8   An extract from "Can Yr Ymfudwr" (The Emigrant's Song) by Eban Fardd cited in D. Ap G. Ap Huw Feddyg, Gwlad Yr Aur. Neu Gydymaith Yr Ymfudwr Cymreig I Australia (The Land of Gold or the Welsh Emigrant's Companion to Australia), (Caernarfon : H. Humphreys, 1852). This is a 51 page booklet which includes a description of the flora and fauna of Australia and of the Aboriginal population, which it estimates at 530,000. It also contains a selection of letters from the goldfields. There is a copy of this work in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, NSW. The front cover is shown in Plate 1.

So confined is this tract of land called Wales
Compared to the broad horizons of Australia].

Until the 1880s Welsh emigration followed the general British pattern whereby the outward flow was closely related to the fluctuations of the internal economy and to the demands of the labour market in receiving countries. Thus in the first half of the century most emigration from Wales was the result of agricultural unrest caused by land enclosures, insecurity of tenure and the effects of the Corn Laws. Local newspapers of the period — of the 1830s and 40s in particular — are replete with reports of farm labourers and others affected by the high food prices leaving for America.[9] The first, and only, statistical evidence of this movement is the Census of 1841. The British Census of that year gave the number of emigrants from each county during the five months from January 1st to June 7th, 1841 so that the figures for Wales and Monmouthshire can be extracted (Table 3.1).

Most, as can be seen, came from agricultural counties such as Cardigan, Carmarthen and Merioneth. It is probable in fact that agricultural labourers comprised the majority of Welsh emigrants well into the 1860s.

By then, however, the direction of Welsh, as of British, emigration was beginning to change. The discovery of gold in the Australian colonies in the 1850s, and the later outbreak of Civil War in America, diverted British migration from the trans-Atlantic route to the extent that by 1862 departures for Australasia exceeded the combined totals for the United States and British North America. Although the United States re-assumed its position as the most favoured destination of Welsh (and British) migrants in the last three decades of the nineteenth century,

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[9]   The departure of slate quarrymen from the district of Llanllechid in 1846, for example, was reported as follows: "During the last few weeks [July and August 1846] many scores of quarrymen from the parishes of Llanllechid and Llandegai and Llanddeiniolen have emigrated to America. It was a mournful sight to witness groups of industrious, well-conducted, skillful, hard-working men winding their way seaward and bidding farewell to their native land. It is worthy of serious consideration whether the legislature is not called upon to afford protection to those who are employed in our slate quarries. They are badly housed, underfed and capriciously paid. Their complaints have long been made and made in vain". Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald, August 15th, 1846.

PLATE 1
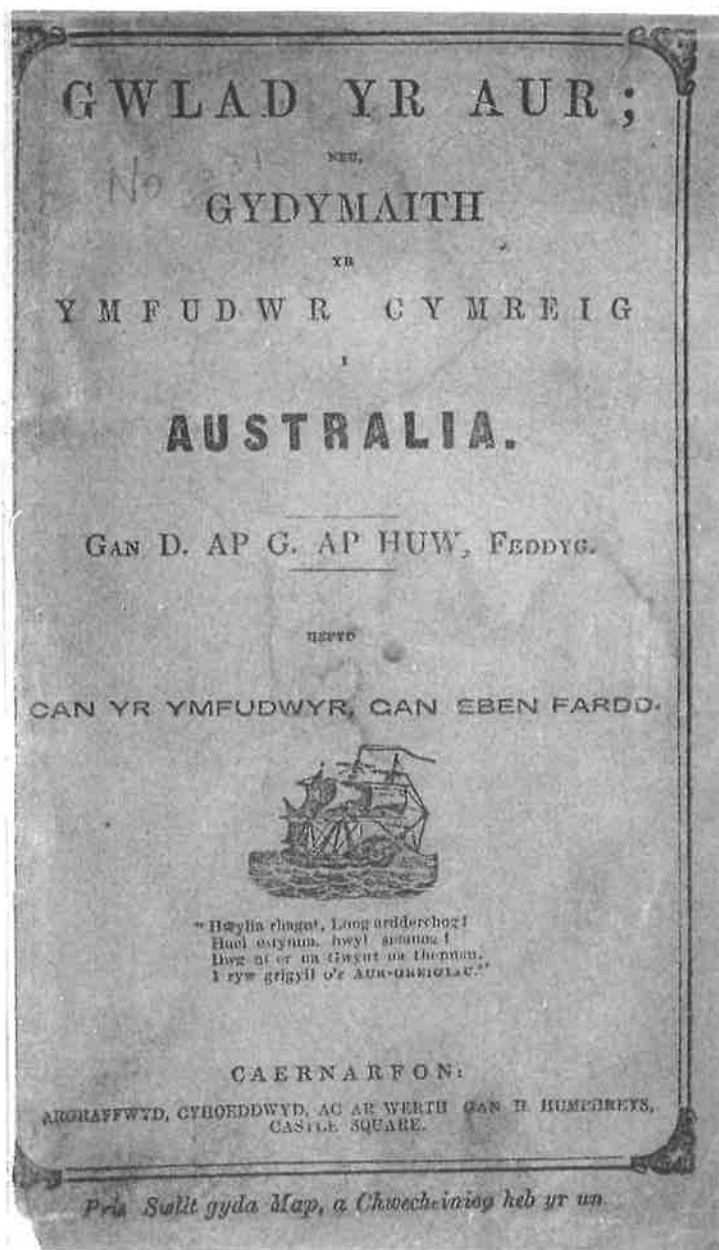
Front cover of *Gwlad yr Aur* (Land of Gold)
A Welsh language emigrant guide published in
Caernarfon, North Wales, in 1852.

Table 3.1

Emigration from Wales by County : January 1 1841 to June 7 1841

COUNTY	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Anglesey	3	3	6
Brecknock	20	8	28
Cardigan	145	128	273
Carmarthen	63	49	112
Caernarfon	17	21	38
Denbigh	32	7	39
Flint	13	7	20
Glamorgan	41	30	71
Merioneth	74	54	128
Monmouth	133	80	213
Montgomery	85	77	162
Pembroke	30	20	52
Radnor	3	4	7
Total Wales and Monmouthshire	**661**	**488**	**1149**

Source:
D. Williams, "Some Figures Relating to Emigration from Wales", Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, VII, (May 1935), Table 1, p.401.

Australia, with its generous assisted passage schemes, had, from the 1860s, become an increasingly attractive alternative.

By this period too Welsh migrants both to North America and Australia came from a more diverse occupational background. Although agricultural labourers and small tenant-farmers still formed a substantial proportion of the total outflow, industrial workers — slate quarrymen from North Wales, coalminers, tin plate and steel workers from the south — left in increasing numbers from the 1870s.[10] It is at this point that Thomas' thesis of divergent Welsh emigration trends in the last two decades of the nineteenth century again comes into the general picture. To briefly re-state his argument: Wales in this period, as a result of a buoyant economy geared largely to an expanding coal industry, contrary to the general British trend, lost little of her population as a result of overseas migration.

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[10]   Mainly to the United States. Thus the 3,755 underground workers of the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company of Pennsylvania in 1888 were 29% Welsh, 12% English and less than 1% Scots. R.T. Berthoff, British Immigrants in Industrial America 1790-1950 (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1953), Table 3, p.50.

In fact, by 1911, as a result of natural growth and an influx of foreign labour, Wales had effectively become an immigrant nation. (Table 3.2) Moreover the Welsh rural exodus, the result of agricultural depression throughout Britain from the 1820s, was absorbed internally (Table 3.3)[11] with, as was shown in Chapter II, important consequences for Welsh language and cultural maintenance.

Thomas' thesis is convincing as an explanation of long-term swings in the migration cycle but it fails to take into account, or at least gives little attention to, the effects of short-term fluctuations in small industries at local level. Thus, much Welsh overseas migration in the last decade or so of the nineteenth century was the result of a series of prolonged industrial disputes such as the Penrhyn slate quarry lock-outs of 1896-97 and 1900-1903[12], the coalminers' strike in Flintshire in 1893,

Table 3.2

Annual Rates of Net Migration (per 10,000 mean population) from England, Wales, and Scotland each Inter-Censal Period 1851-1966

PERIOD	ENGLAND	WALES	SCOTLAND
1851-61	- 16	- 28	- 101
1861-71	- 7	- 47	- 44
1871-81	- 5	- 35	- 28
1881-91	- 23	- 11	- 58
1891-1901	- 2	- 5	- 13
1901-11	- 19	+ 45	- 57
1911-21	- 16	- 21	- 50
1921-31	+ 3	- 102	- 80
1931-39	+ 24	- 72	- 8
1939-46		+ 1	- 3
1946-51	+ 6	- 18	- 92
1951-61*	+ 20	- 11	- 55
1961-66*	+ 18	+ 8	- 75

[11] Conway in a slight modification of Thomas' thesis suggests that for some north-south migrants South Wales was not the end point of their journey but a springboard for the longer trek to overseas destinations. Thus rural workers from the north were only able to afford the cost of passages after some months of working in the mines and foundries of South Wales. A. Conway "Welsh Emigration to the United States", Perspectives in American History, Vol. VII (1973), pp.265-271 passim.

[12] Jones, The North Wales Quarrymen, ... op.cit. Some of the Penrhyn strikers emigrated to Australia. Ibid.

A similar strike at Blaenau Ffestiniog, Merionethshire in the same period resulted in a marked increase in the number of emigrants to the Welsh colony of Patagonia. G. Williams, "The Structure and Process of Welsh Emigration to Patagonia", The Welsh History Review, Vol. 8, No.1 (June 1976), p.71.

Table 3.3

Wales : Net Population Loss and Gain through Internal Migration, 1851-1901

AREA	1851-61	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91	1891-1901
Welsh Rural Areas	-63,322	-58,967	-64,646	-106,087	-57,413
Glamorgan-Monmouth Coalfield	+39,627	+11,033	+12,213	+84,255	+40,326
Wrexham Colliery Area	+ 2,661	- 1,984	- 1,907	- 1,122	- 618
Llandudno Rhyl Area	+ 1,259	- 2,268	+ 2,339	+ 2,190	+ 8,289
Wales	-36,271	-63,005	-52,139	-17,794	- 9,350

Note:

Net loss (-), Net gain (+)

and the bitter disputes of the South Wales coalfields in 1898. In all these instances solutions were sought in overseas migration, mainly to the United States and Australia — in some cases as a result of Trade Union intervention. Thus the North Wales Quarrymen's Union, formed in 1874 had devised a scheme to assist its members to emigrate as early as 1879. Similarly, William Abraham (known throughout Wales by his bardic name of Mabon), the leader of the powerful South Wales Miners' Federation, helped to establish six branches of the Workmen's Emigration Society in South Wales in the 1890s.

The point should also be made that the boom of which Thomas speaks was by no means continuous. Throughout the 1890s and into the 1900s substantial numbers left Wales as a result of industrial unemployment — in the Welsh tin plate industry for example as a result of the McKinley tariff. Similarly a slump in the slate

industry in 1907 sent quarrymen from the districts of Blaenau Ffestiniog, Bethesda and Nantlle in North Wales to the United States and Australia.[13]

Finally, of course, it should be borne in mind that studies of business cycle fluctuations valuable as they are to an understanding of migration trends, never tell the whole story. The emigration process as O'Farrell points out, is not subject to "immutable laws".[14] Certainly, there is little doubt that the main impulse to Welsh as to other European migration in the nineteenth century was economic. This at least was the dominant assumption of most of the Welsh language emigrant guides. *"Ni wella amgylchiadau y dosbarth gweithiol byth heb ymfudo"* (the circumstances of the working class will never improve except through migration) was the unqualified opinion of Ellis O'r Nant in his handbook of 1883.[15]

Even here, however, some qualification is called for. It should not, for example, be assumed that those who left for economic reasons were necessarily poor or destitute. Peasants in the poorest areas of Ireland, for example, were often the most reluctant to leave — the non-economic value of holding on to the family land being a more important consideration than economic advancement. Similarly, Richards quotes evidence which shows that emigration from Scotland often accelerated when living standards improved.[16] The relevant point here is that the emigrants were not necessarily those who were impoverished, but those who sought to avoid the future possibility of impoverishment or simply to improve their

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[13]   Although there is no direct evidence it is possible that some found employment at the Bangor Slate Quarry near Launceston, Tasmania.

[14]   O'Farrell, The Irish ...., op.cit., p.9.

[15]   Ellis Pierce, Yr Ymfudwr Cymreig (The Welsh Emigrant) (Blaenau Ffestiniog : Jones and Roberts, 1883), p.4. *AWI/DAK* Rare Books Department, Library of the University of North Wales, Bangor. Ellis O'r Nant was his poetic pseudonym.
Roger Edwards, author of one the many Welsh language emigrant songs of the period expresses the other dominant motive for emigration, namely the welfare of children:
> *"Am fyd gwych fy hunan nid oes ynof chwant,*
> *Ond ceisio yr ydwyf ddaioni fy mhlant".*
> (I have no desire for a prosperous world on my own account,
> But I do seek my children's welfare).
R. Edwards, "Can Yr Ymfudwr" (The Song of the Emigrant) cited in G. Williams A Prospect of Paradise, BBC Wales, Radio 4, Broadcast, November 15th 1976 (BBC Publications, 1976).

[16]   E. Richards "Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century", Historical Studies, Vol. 21, No. 85 (October, 1985), p.480.

current economic situation. Who the migrants were or why they left is another area of nineteenth century Welsh emigration that has not been investigated. It is not to suggest, of course, that the poor were not represented in the Welsh migrant outflow. Parish-aided emigration was not uncommon in Wales even before the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 gave parishes legal authority to mortgage the rates in order to subsidise emigration.[17] What is being suggested is that in terms of socio-economic background Welsh migrants were more varied than is sometimes assumed.

3.2.1 Welsh Settlement and Cultural Life in the United States

The destination most favoured by Welsh emigrants for the greater part of the nineteenth century was the United States. As early as the seventeenth century Welsh religious groups, mainly Baptists and Quakers, had established small Welsh settlements along the Eastern seaboard. John Myles[18] led a group of Welsh Baptists to Reheboth, Plymouth Colony in 1663 and from there to Swanzey, Rhode Island. Later in the century, in 1682, a larger group of Welsh Quakers purchased 40,000 acres of land from William Penn in order to set up a separate, self-governing Welsh colony in Pennsylvania where, as they put it:

> "...... we might live together as a Civil society to endeavour to deride all controversies and debates amongst ourselves, in a Gospel order, *and not to entangle ourselves with Laws in an Unknown tongue*".[19]

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[17]   As the following two entries in Vestry Record Book, attest:
(i)   "March 14, 1832. Sending a family to America - 24 pounds, 14 shillings." Parish of Llanllyfni (Caernarfonshire) Vestry Book
(ii)   "At a select vestry held in St Beund's Chapel .... first ....May, 1832 - allowed One Pound passage money to America to Catherine Owen, Llandwrog Parish in addition to the sum granted her before".   Parish of Clynnog (Caernarfonshire) Vestry Book.
Cited in "Yr Ymfudo O Sir Gaernarfon I'r Unol Daleithiau", (Emigration from Carnarfonshire to the United States) Trafodion Cymdeithias Hanes Sir Gaernarfon (Transactions of the Caernarfonshire Historical Society) Vol.14, (1953), p.40 (author not specified).
[18]   Credited with establishing the first Baptist Church in Wales at Ilston in Gower in 1649. Vaughan-Thomas, ... op.cit., p.174.
[19]   Pennsylvania Archives I (i) 108-10 VII, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Penn Papers cited in Dodd, ... op.cit., p.15. Most of the settlers were from the lower ranks of the gentry.

Although the Welsh Tract, as the colony was called, failed to maintain its independence after Penn refused to sustain the legality of its position as a self-governing community, Welsh remained the predominant language of this region of the United States for more than a century.[20] Nor was this the last attempt to set up a Welsh colony in the state of Pennsylvania. At the end of the eighteenth century, Morgan John Rhys, a Baptist minister, formed the Cambrian Company to buy land in Western Pennsylvania. His aim was to create a "Kingdom of Wales" where he and his followers could live a fully 'Welsh' existence in their own cultural milieu and through the medium of their own language. 'Beulah' (Land of Freedom) as Rhys' visionary Welsh Utopia was called was destined, like its predecessors, and for much the same reasons, to eventually disintegrate. In the face of increased immigration into the area after 1801 the colony's cultural autonomy could not be maintained, and many of the original settlers left to found or join existing Welsh communities elsewhere in the United States.

Nineteenth century Welsh emigration to America was less ideologically or religiously motivated and more overtly economic. During the course of the century, some 200 Welsh communities were founded with the main concentrations in Pennsylvania, Ohio and New York State.[21] By 1890, when Welsh immigration was near its peak, the US Census recorded 100,079 Welsh-born in the United States.[22] Most went in search of employment and improved living conditions. There was only one colonising venture in the nineteenth century that was motivated largely by cultural considerations. This was the mid-century attempt to set up a

Dodd suggests that they were therefore not fleeing poverty. Freedom to worship in the Welsh language and to maintain their cultural institutions were the prime motives for setting up the colony.

[20] E.G. Hartmann, Americans from Wales (Boston : The Christopher Publishing House, 1967), p.46. From 1682 to 1700, the Welsh were the most numerous body of immigrants to arrive in Pennsylvania. The Welsh Society of Philadelphia, founded in 1729, is the oldest society in the city. Ibid.

[21] R.T. Berthoff, British Immigrants in Industrial America 1790-1950 (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1953), p.111.

[22] Cited in Williams, A Prospect of Paradise? .... op.cit., p.4.

Welsh colony in Tennessee, a proposal aimed at relieving the economic plight of Welsh upland farmers and at the same time be a haven for the Welsh language and nonconformist valves. It was the inspiration of the Reverend Samuel Roberts of Llanbrynmair, North Wales, an independent minister of religion known in Welsh literary history as 'S.R.' Two separate groups left Wales for the new settlement in 1856 and 1856. For a host of familiar reasons — poor choice of land, legal disputes and, in this instance, the outbreak of the American Civil War — the venture never really got off the ground and a dispirited Samuel Roberts returned to Wales shortly afterwards.[23]

Despite the failures of these several attempts to establish Welsh colonies in the United States, a vigorous cultural life was maintained in many of the 200 or so Welsh communities that grew up there during the course of the nineteenth century. From the earliest days of settlement in the seventeenth century the ,prime indicator of the Welsh cultural presence in America was undoubtedly the Welsh language. Welsh books were published continuously from the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth "there were almost as many Welsh language publications in the United States as in Wales itself".[24] This included some 21 Welsh language newspapers and 44 journals.[25] The general pattern of cultural organisation established by the nineteenth century immigrants was almost exactly what they had left behind in Wales. In America as much as in the homeland, Eisteddfodau, Cymanfaoedd Canu, Nosweithia Llawen, and the whole cultural repertoire spawned by nineteenth century Welsh nonconformity constituted the framework of Welsh life. The life-blood of these institutions was the Welsh language, and, in turn, the language was sustained by the extraordinary vigour of the cultural and social life which they supported. This, as will be shown, was also the case in Australia. Yet the main

[23]   W.S. Shepperson, Samuel Roberts. A Welsh Coloniser In Civil War Tennessee. (Knoxville : University of Tennessee Press, 1961)

[24]   Williams, When Was Wales?, ... op.cit., p.180.
[25]   Hartmann, ... op.cit., p.127.

citadels of the language outside the homes were the nonconformist chapels where the Welsh gathered to worship. By the end of the nineteenth century an astounding 606 of these structures had been founded in the United States. Of this total the three main denominations accounted for 582 (Calvinistic Methodist revivalist 236, Congregationalist 229 and Baptist 117).[26] Their rise and decline was almost exactly paralleled in Australia and, to some extent in Wales itself, during the same period. The peak years of activity were from the 1860s to 1900. For almost four decades denominational nonconformity represented in the chapels and expressed through the medium of the Welsh language, was the font of all Welsh cultural and intellectual life in Wales, and wherever the Welsh were settled. The chapels during these years defined the Welsh in their own eyes and in those of their neighbours. To be Welsh was to be loyal to your chapel — which also meant, as seen in the previous chapter, to your denomination. Inter-denominational rivalry was a marked feature of the religious life of the Welsh wherever they settled in the nineteenth century.

In the United States, as elsewhere, the vitality of the chapels was reflected in that of the Welsh language and the culture which it sustained. As late as 1898 a visitor to the small Welsh community of Cambria, Wisconsin could make the following observation on the life of the town:

> "There was no Welsh language problem, for there was no other
> language current among the Welsh, except at odd times. Welsh
> literature was not boosted for it supplied a genuine need, and did not
> require propaganda to keep it going".[27]

In the same period, in the Scranton—Wilkes-Barre area of Pennsylvania, the Welsh population (first and second-generation) of more than 40,000 supported

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[26] Ibid, p.124.

[27] J. Glyn Davies, "Cambria, Wisconsin in 1898" The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, (Session 1957), p.151.

some 30 Welsh churches and produced one of the most successful of the Welsh-American newspapers of the day, *Baner America* (The Banner of America).[28]

Yet, in retrospect, it is possible to see that the heyday of Welsh cultural activity in the United States had already passed. As early as the 1880s signs of decline, particularly of the language, were visible. This can be attributed to two principal factors: (i) the assimilation of the young to American ways and (ii) the declining numbers of new migrant arrivals from Wales. The decline was nowhere more clearly reflected than in the progressive Anglicisation of church services. The following comment by the pastor of the Welsh Baptist Church in Utica, New York, as early as 1877, shows that the process was well advanced before the end of the century:

> "The children of the old citizens are growing up in the English [language] and when they profess religion they join one of the English churches. They feel above doing anything with the Welsh. In order to keep our young people we are holding an English service every second Sunday night".[29]

This was happening right across the United States. After the turn of the century, when Welsh immigration slowed to a trickle, it was irreversible.[30] Hereon the decline was even more rapid. The Welsh — Protestant, largely bilingual, and with the status of a founding group — were rapidly assimilated into the American mainstream. By 1940 there were no communities in the United States that were recognisably 'Welsh'.

Undoubtedly from the earliest years of settlement in the seventeenth century, the most powerful cementing force in Welsh-American life had been the Welsh language. Much of the remarkable degree of clustering which characterised

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[28] Hartmann, ... op.cit., p.84.
[29] D.M. Ellis, "The Welsh in Oneida County in New York State", The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion. (Session, 1961) p.121.
[30] A 1913 study of the Welsh Community of Columbus, Ohio, for example, found that of the 1,273 Welsh people in the city in that year, 359 or 28.2% spoke Welsh. A full 269 of these however were first generation. D.J. Williams, "The Welsh of Columbus, Ohio: A study in Adaptation and Assimilation" Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1914, p.113.

Welsh settlement in America[31] — far more so than in Australia as will be seen — was brought about in large part by the drawing power of familiar cultural institutions and most of all by the comforting bond of language. When the language eventually fell victim to the indifference of the native-born and the homogenising effects of the *e pluribus unum* policies of successive American governments, the Welsh communities, deprived of its cohesive influence, quickly fell apart.

3.2.2 *Gwladfa Patagonia* (The Welsh Colony of Patagonia)

It was the rapid assimilation of the Welsh in the United States which triggered the most successful experiment in Welsh cultural maintenance overseas in the nineteenth century. On May 28th, 1865, 162 Welsh emigrants, mainly from South Wales and Merseyside, sailed from Liverpool aboard the *"Mimosa"* bound for what would eventually be called Puerto Madryn, the port of access to the Lower Chubut Valley of Patagonia in Southern Argentina.[32] Their express intention was to establish a self-governing Welsh colony (*gwladfa*) in which the Welsh language would be the normal language of daily use and the instrumental language of law, education and administration. Here the Welsh would establish their own cultural institutions and practise their own religion without interference. This was in effect, as Williams points out, nothing less than "an exercise in applied anthropology aimed at cultural conservation".[33] The idea of an autonomous Welsh settlement was first mooted amongst Welsh migrants in the United States, who were alarmed by the rapid acculturation of the young to American ways. In Wales the driving force behind the scheme was Michael D. Jones, an Independent minister and one of the most radical of nineteenth century Welsh cultural nationalists (see Chapter 2). Under his leadership a Society (*Cymdeithas Wladfaol*)

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[31]   A recent analysis of the distribution of individuals of Welsh ancestry in the United States based on the 1980 US Census concluded that 19th century immigrants from Wales had clustered together more than any other British group. J.P. Allen and E.J. Turner, We the People. An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity (New York : Macmillan Publishing Company, 1988) p.45.

[32]   Williams, "The Structure and Process", ... op.cit., p.46.

[33]   ibid., p.43.

was set up to plan the whole venture. Although several possible geographic locations were considered, promises of generous land grants and non-interference in the colony's internal affairs by the Argentine government of the day, made Patagonia the Society's first choice.[34] Between 1865, the year of the foundation of the settlement, and 1914 when emigration from Wales effectively ceased, some 3000 Welsh people migrated to Patagonia.[35]

Relative to previous experiments at Welsh cultural preservation overseas, the Chubut settlement was undoubtedly the most successful. Despite initial setbacks the colony thrived commercially and met many of the cultural expectations of its founders.[36] It maintained a remarkable degree of cohesion until at least the beginning of the Second World War. Although since then the language has been in rapid retreat, as late as 1980 some 5000 descendants of the original inhabitants were believed to be bilingual Welsh/Spanish speakers.[37]

Eisteddfodau (pl.) with some Welsh content are regularly held, and Welsh services are still conducted in several of the 13 surviving Welsh chapels.[38] A Welsh-language newspaper, *Y Drafod*, a daily until the late 1940s still makes periodic appearances.

Although the colony is now in its final phase as a Welsh cultural enclave, the conditions which account for its survival for almost four generations are surely

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[34] The general plan was that the colony should be culturally autonomous under the suzerainty of the Argentine Government. Other alternatives considered were Brazil, Oregon, Vancouver Island and Australia. There had already been one attempt to establish a New Wales (Nova Cambria) in South America. In 1850 a group of Welsh migrants had unsuccessfully attempted to establish a colony at Rio Grande Do Sul in Brazil. Rees, op.cit., p.40.

[35] Williams, op.cit., p.42.

[36] The settlement eventually expanded to include the Upper Chubut and what was to be called Cwm Hyfryd in the Andes.

[37] A. Lemon and N. Pollock, Studies in Overseas Settlement and Population (New York : Longman Inc., 1980) p.222. Of this number very few are likely to be second-generation. A Patagonian Welshman made the following comment as long ago as 1944:
"Many of the younger generation now start their lives with Spanish as the home-language ..... The idea is prevalent amongst them that Welsh is of little use and that only Spanish has any value". Y Faner, August 20th, 1944.

[38] U.R. Lewis, "O'r Wladfa Patagonia", Yr Enfys, No. 28, October 1985, p.7. Cultural events in the colony are regularly reported in this journal, the official publication of *Undeb Y Cymry Ar Wasgar* (The Union of the Overseas Welsh).

of considerable heuristic value to the study of Welsh or other minority cultural maintenance in immigrant societies. Briefly they would seem to be the following:

(i) Cultural conservation was the principal motivation for its foundation. Michael D. Jones intended *Gwladfa Patagonia* to be nothing less than a haven for Welsh culture and religion. An administratively autonomous, economically self-sufficient unit of settlement, spatially separated from the majority Spanish-speaking population was, in his opinion, the minimal pre-requisite for preserving a Welsh cultural identity at a distance of 8000 miles from Wales.

(ii) From the start the colony functioned as a close corporate community. Until at least 1874 land grants by the Argentinian Government enabled the colony to survive as a largely independent economic unit with minimal cultural contact with the majority population.[39] This made possible some degree of cultural stabilisation in the early years by the founding of structures supportive of the language and of cultural life.

(iii) These structures — chapels, schools, eisteddfodau, literary societies — exact replicas of what the settlers had left behind in Wales, touched the lives of almost the entire population of the colony on a daily basis well into the twentieth century. More important, they did so through the medium of the Welsh language.

(iv) The preponderance of Welsh-speaking married partners amongst the original settlers,[40] coupled with a strong sense of family solidarity, ensured that Welsh would be the natural language of discourse in the

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[39] Prior to 1885, one hundred hectares of land were made available to anyone willing to emigrate. Moreover, a sum of 300,000 pesos was set aside by the Argentine Government to pay transportation costs and for the granting of three year loans of 100 pounds to 500 new settlers, *all of whom, according to agreements made with the Welsh Emigration Society, had to be Welsh*. Williams, op.cit., p.55.

[40] Ibid., p.46.

majority of the homes and facilitated its transmission to the second generation.[41]

(v)   The children's home upbringing through the medium of Welsh was reinforced by an education system that was also conducted through the Welsh language. Welsh-language textbooks were produced and published locally to this end. Attempts by the Argentinian Government to induce the Welsh to attend state schools and be instructed through the medium of Spanish were fiercely resisted by the settlers. "The intention of the Argentine Government", they complained, "is to entice the Welsh to Patagonia and to rid them of their language, their religion and their customs".[42] In 1878 only 5 of the colony's children attended government state schools.[43]

(vi)   Group solidarity was maintained through deliberate policy. Stringent control was maintained over all aspects of local administration and the law. Unused land, for instance, was not sold to "outsiders", and all meetings and official business were conducted through the Welsh language.

(vii)   The rate of out-group marriage was reduced by community pressure and religious differences. The Welsh were a pocket of Calvinistic Protestantism within an overwhelmingly Catholic majority population. Thus, of the 218 marriages registered at Gaiman between 1900 and 1915 — half a century after the colony's founding — 158 involved Welsh partners.[44]

(viii) To the above must be added the maintenance by the settlers of close contact with Wales. At least up to 1914, for instance, Welsh

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[41]   It was unofficial policy in the settlement that Spanish not be spoken within the confines of the households. G. Williams, The Desert and the Dream : A Study of Welsh Colonisation in Chubut, 1865-1915 (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1975), p.186.
[42]   Williams, Aspects of Modernisation ... op.cit., p.95.
[43]   Ibid.
[44]   Williams, The Desert and The Dream ..... op.cit., p.186.

language books and periodicals published in Wales were available to, and avidly read by the Chubut community.

(ix)   The emigration of Welsh-speakers to Patagonia was encouraged in the flourishing Welsh language press of the second half of the nineteenth century, not only in Wales but in the United States and Australia.   Not infrequently attention was drawn in newspaper articles to the contrast between the rapid loss of the language by second-generation Welsh-Americans and Australians and its successful retention by their Argentinian counterparts.   The following extract from a letter to the editor of *Yr Ymwelydd*, one of the two Welsh-language periodicals published in Victoria in the 1870s,[45] exemplifies the tone:

> "Here [in Patagonia] is the only place in the world where the Welsh govern themselves.[46] Welsh is the language of the government and it is also taught on a daily basis in the schools. Here alone it seems will there be *'Oes y byd i'r iaith Gymraeg'* (the age-span of the world for the Welsh language). According to all reports from Australia the children [there] are brought up through the medium of English; similarly in the Welsh communities in America, and indeed in some parts of Wales itself. But in *Y Wladfa* (The Colony) it blooms like a rose; here it has the quality of eternal youth ....
> And so with no thoughts of personal gain but only love for our religion, our nation and for you, our brothers in Australia of the same blood *and speaking the same language* (own italics), we warmly invite you to join us in the possession of this land of paradise".[47]

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[45]   See further comments later in this chapter.

[46]   The colony was the first example of a practising democracy and of female suffrage in South America (until its absorption by Argentina).

[47]   "The Welsh Colony in Patagonia : a message to the Welsh of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand". Letter of Edwyn Roberts to the editor of Yr Ymwelydd, Series I, No. 13, October 16, 1875. This appeal for Welsh settlers from Australia seems to have been supported by the editor, who, in response, referred to Patagonia as "a land where a pure Welsh is spoken and where children understand the language of their parents". Ibid.

(Translated from the Welsh)

The historical evidence suggests that the above were the principal factors which worked towards the maintenance of the Welsh language, and the cohesion of the Welsh as a group in Patagonia, for almost four generations. As general criteria for language maintenance they correspond closely to those stipulated by Kloss[48] for instance : early immigration, *Sprachinseln* (linguistic enclaves), membership of a denomination with parochial schools, linguistic and cultural difference from the dominant group. They are also supportive of some of Giles' conditions for ethnolinguistic vitality, including a degree of control by a group of its own economic destiny, group self-esteem, institutional support, and a low out-group marriage rate.[49]

The Patagonian experiment, from its original conception to at least the turn of the century, is also indicative of the interdependence of the Welsh language and Welsh cultural identity. The core value of Welsh to the settlement's survival is particularly in evidence after 1890 when its political and economic independence came under increasing threat from the government in Buenos Aires; and even more so as pressures for cultural assimilation grew in the wake of increased contact with the Spanish-speaking population that by then constituted the majority in the Chubut district.[50] The Government's insistence that Spanish should play a more important role in the school curriculum, and that Spanish-speaking schoolmasters

Similar letters and appeals had appeared in Yr Australydd (an earlier Welsh-language journal published in Victoria) in the 1860s including on one occasion a direct appeal by Michael D. Jones himself, the prime-mover of the Patagonian venture. Yr Australydd, Series I, No. 7, January 1867. Judging by the letters from former Welsh-Australians living in Patagonia which appeared periodically in these two journals in the years to follow, it would appear that these several appeals had been at least partly successful.

[48] H. Kloss, "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts" in Fishman (ed), Language Loyalty .... op.cit., pp.206-252 passim.

[49] Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, "Towards a Theory ....", op.cit., pp.307-347 passim.

[50] Of the 3,000 people resident in the Lower Chubut Valley in 1891, all but 200 were of Welsh descent. By 1915 however only 4,000 of the valley's 10,000 population were Welsh. Williams, "Aspects of Modernisation ....." op.cit., p.99.

should be appointed to the Welsh schools was bitterly opposed by the Welsh.[51] Similarly the introduction of military training, which included musters on Sundays, was seen by the settlers as a deliberate affront to their strict nonconformist sabbatarianism. These measures, and others relating to taxation and land titles, seemed to the Welsh to be directly opposed to the whole ethos that had brought them to Patagonia, one which stressed religious freedom, a degree of economic self-regulation and, above all, linguistic and cultural autonomy. To these difficulties were added crop failures and falling market prices for agricultural products in the late 1890s. The beleaguered Welsh community reacted in two ways: an even further closing of the ethnic ranks and, in some individual cases, the making of plans for re-settlement. High on the list of congenial alternatives[52] was Australia,[53] to where, as it was commonly known in the Chubut, a small but steady flow of Welsh migrants had gone during the course of the nineteenth century.

3.3 Welsh Settlement in Australia in the Nineteenth Century : Some Demographic Considerations

Emigration to Australia is the poor cousin of Welsh emigration studies. To date there has been no systematic study of nineteenth century Welsh migration to the Australian colonies, certainly nothing comparable to the sizeable volume of material on the trans-Atlantic movement that has been referred to in this chapter.

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[51]   Welsh was not entirely removed from the curriculum of the schools in the Chubut area until the 1930s ibid., p.103.

[52]   Cecil Rhodes offered large tracts of land in Rhodesia and in 1899 a special government committee, which included David Lloyd George, the future Prime Minister, went to Canada to survey possible settlement sites for migrants from Wales and Patagonia. More than 300 Welsh-Patagonians were eventually re-settled in Saskatchewan. There is a full account of their fortunes in C. Bennett, In Search of the Red Dragon : The Welsh in Canada (Ontario : Juniper Books Ltd., 1985), pp.83-93.

[53]   A small group did come to Australia. The details are rather hazy but there is a newspaper report of the arrival of an Owen C. Jones in Albany, W.A. in 1911, on his way to Victoria, "to spy out the land on behalf of a Welsh colony in Patagonia". The eventual aim, it seems, was to re-settle the whole Welsh colony in some suitable area of Australia. Sydney Morning Herald, November 9, 1911. Only a few families eventually made the move, settling in the Colando district (near Leeton) of central NSW. According to the correspondence of one of the descendants of these families, they were monoglot Welsh-speakers or Welsh-Spanish bilinguals who needed interpreters to negotiate land purchase. It is also recorded that the Welsh "settlement" at Leeton had disbanded by 1928. NLW Ex 502. Letter of G. Amey to C. Owen, 24th October, 1982.

Apart from thumbnail biographies of a handful of eminent individuals, mainly in politics and the arts, there is little available on the mass of Welsh settlers, of why they came, in what numbers, or of their fate after arrival. Yet clearly the demography of the migration process is crucially related to issues of cultural maintenance and group cohesion,[54] arguably well beyond the first generation. Of possible considerations, the following were thought to be the most relevant in the present context:

♦ **the size of the Welsh-born population.** Not the least of the difficulties standing in the way of analysis of the patterns of Welsh cultural maintenance is the scanty knowledge of even the numerical strength of the Welsh communities which survived briefly in several areas of Australia during the course of the nineteenth century. "The Irish in Australia", says O'Farrell, "were a group big enough to encourage assertion and self-confidence, and to compel serious attention".[55] This was not the case with the Welsh, especially with Welsh-speakers. Although numerical strength is by no means the sole determinant of group ethnolinguistic vitality, it has long been recognised as one of the critical variables in studies of assimilation.[56] Simpson, for instance, has argued that with the exception of groups characterised by colour or marked cultural difficulties, the rate of assimilation tends to correlate, inversely with group size, i.e., the rate of out-marriage is greater for numerically small than for larger groups.[57] It could be argued also that if the

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[54] For a useful discussion of the relationship between demographic factors and language and cultural maintenance see N. Glazer, "The Process and Problems of Language Maintenance : An Integrative Review" in Fishman (ed.), op.cit., pp.358-368.

[55] O'Farrell, op.cit., p.9.

[56] Fishman, for instance, has suggested that such factors as settlement patterns and numerical size may be more crucial to ethnic language survival in plural societies than post-immigrational maintenance efforts. J.A. Fishman, "Language Maintenance in a Supra Ethnic Age : Summary and Conclusions", in Fishman (ed), op.cit., p.397.

[57] G.E. Simpson, "Assimilation", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York : Macmillan, 1968) I, pp.439-441.

number of arrivals is too low it becomes difficult for a group to establish, and then sustain the ethnic institutions — schools, societies, churches — that are crucial to language and cultural maintenance. Again — and more important perhaps in the nineteenth century than under modern conditions[58] — low numbers worked against geographic clustering and the establishment of a territorial base which for most groups is the physical expression of 'community'.[59]

Size as a variable for cultural maintenance also assumes a steady flow of arrivals from the home country as the primary means of replenishing and re-invigorating a group's stock of cultural values.[60] If the flow of 'new blood' ceases and the permanent pool of cultural resources dries up — as a result of out-group marriage for instance, there is the danger — ever present, for small groups such as the Welsh — of the failure of what may be called the collective will. "What's the use?" (of the struggle to maintain language, culture, customs) then becomes a familiar cry of despair. Heard often enough, it leads to that exponential growth of hopelessness which has long been the bane of small cultures.

Although in proportion to its population Wales was not significantly under-represented in the British migrant flow to Australia[61] in the nineteenth century it was not, relative to other

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[58] Modern communication makes possible a degree of cohesion which in the nineteenth century could only be achieved through physical proximity (see Chapter 8 for further discussion of the point).

[59] 'Community' in this sense translates into a residential concentration of sufficient strength to maintain social and cultural markers of ethnic difference.

[60] Stagnation in pre-migration ways by settlers in the new country whilst their compatriots in the old are accepting or initiating change is a recurring theme in emigrant literature.

[61] Crowley for instance writes: "The exact proportions of the national elements which went to form the Australian communities cannot now be known .... But it appears from both the census figures and the records of government immigration that the numbers of English, Welsh, Scotch and Irish immigrants were usually in proportion to their numbers in the United Kingdom". F.K.

British 'national' regions, a major source of new settler arrivals.[62]

For most of the century, as has been shown, the Welsh were drawn

mainly to the United States. For those not primarily economically

motivated — and they were few — Patagonia was the favoured

destination from the 1860s. Australia was too far, the journey too

perilous and for those not qualified for assisted passages, the fares

too high.[63] Nor had Australia been mythologised in the Welsh

language press and popular literature as the 'land of promise' and

'the home of the free' to the same extent as the United States.[64]

To this must be added the point made in the previous chapter,

namely that Wales for the greater part of the nineteenth century,

experienced few of the economic or social problems conducive to

mass migration — certainly nothing on the scale of the Great

Famine or the Highland Clearances that sent so many Irish and

Scots to America and Australia. On the whole, as was argued,

Welsh reaction to the social and economic ills of the century was

channelled more typically into various forms of political and

religious radicalism than into overseas migration. Moreover, the

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Crowley, "The British Contribution to the Australian Population : 1860-1919", University Studies in History and Economics, July 1954, pp.82-3.

[62]   Wales' contribution to the eventual composition of the Australian population should not, however, be underestimated. Thus in 1987 some 616,000 persons in Australia could claim some Welsh ancestry (i.e. mixed or unmixed). See C.A. Price, "Environment, Aborigines, Nationalism, Ethnic Origins and Intermixture" in Price (ed.) Australian National Identity, op. cit., pp.1-11.

[63]   Before World War I, the unassisted fare to Australia was 12-16 pounds compared with 6-8 pounds to Canada and the United States. Baines, Migration .... op.cit., p.86.

[64]   It is possible however that there was greater knowledge of Australia's geography and history amongst Welsh school children. Bob Owen (Croesor) (1865-1962), Wales' best-known antiquarian, book-collector, genealogist, raconteur (he is difficult to characterise) wrote: "As Australia was part of the British Empire, naturally we were taught something of that country in school at Llanfrothen (in Merioneth, North Wales). According to the education system of the day, it was considered much more necessary that we should know more about Australia than about Wales or Merionethshire. It was also thought more important that we should be informed about Australia than about the United States, even though every single one of the 104 pupils at the school at that time [in the 1870s] had relatives in America. *Very, very few of us had relatives in Australia* (own italics). D. Evans, Bywyd Bob Owen (The Life of Bob Owen) (Caernarfon : Gwasg Gwynedd, 1978), p.159 (Translated from the Welsh). This is an edited version of Bob Owen's autobiography.

point must again be made that employment opportunities on the South Wales coalfield and in the cities of England, obviated the need for departure on a scale common to other areas of Britain.

Finally, it needs also to be emphasised that placing the volume of Welsh migration and settlement in the general context of British movement to Australia is beset with the problems that were discussed earlier in the chapter. Ship passenger lists are marginally useful in the study, for example, of small sample groups leaving from specific locations. They are of minimal value however for the analysis of overall movements over an extended period. In this situation the most reliable sources on the Welsh numerical presence in Australia at given periods of the nineteenth century are the birthplace statistics from colonial and state census returns. Although, on the whole, these are remarkably comprehensive and well documented, the use of the combined category *England and Wales* by some colonies still presents the historian of Welsh emigration with the familiar problem of separating the Welsh-born. As a result however of the isolating of the Welsh element for most colonial census by Price *et al*,[65] it is now possible to construct a far more complete picture of the distribution of Welsh migrants in the Australian colonies for most of the nineteenth century.[66]

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[65] See review section of Chapter 1. For a further discussion of the problem of the combined England-Wales category see C.A. Price et al <u>Working Papers in Demography 13, 1984</u> (Canberra : Department of Demography, Research School of Social Sciences, ANU, 1984).

[66] A detailed analysis of Welsh settlement is not within the province of this study. The birthplace statistics presented in the discussion which follows are intended mainly as a framework for analysis of cultural activity.

Crowley's 1951 study of British emigration based on the reports of the Colonial Emigration Commissioners provides valuable statistics on British assisted migration to NSW, Queensland and South Australia for the period 1860-92 by countries of origin. Of the total 3,684 assisted migrants from Wales in this period, 45.4% came from Glamorgan, 28.6% from Merionithshire, 5.7% from Brecknock, 4.2% from Carmarthen and 2.6% from Caernarvon. The other Welsh counties recorded less than 2.5% each. Clearly the bulk of the total migrant intake from Wales in the second

Yet this still leaves the problem — insoluble to some extent — of separating Welsh and non-Welsh-speakers. Here, with groups such as the Welsh, birthplace statistics are of little value. Language details (like those on religious affiliation) exist only in census returns and only then since 1976. In this situation the only recourse is to non-statistical documentary evidence, which must of course be used with considerable caution.

- ◆ **The motives and socio-economic background of the migrants.**

It is also reasonable to assume a relationship between motives for emigration and cultural behaviour at the place of arrival. Arguably, for instance, an individual who migrates mainly for economic reasons, especially in circumstances which fall short of privation, is almost by virtue of his decision to migrate more willing than his compatriots to distance himself, physically and metaphorically, from his own cultural milieu. It may therefore be an important consideration to an analysis of Welsh cultural life in Australia in the nineteenth century that the majority of those who left Wales did so to better themselves economically. This is certainly the burden of available evidence. Few, as will be seen, were fleeing destitution, national disaster or religious persecution. Put simply, they came because they wanted to.

Whether the occupational status and general socio-economic background of migrants is directly related to rates of cultural maintenance is a moot point. It could be argued, for example, that the presence of a substantial proportion of an educated middle class within a migrant population, constitutes a pool of potential leadership for establishing and maintaining social and cultural

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half of the nineteenth century came from the industrialised (but as previously outlined not yet totally Anglicised) south of the country. F.K. Crowley, "British Emigration to Australia, 1860-1919". D.Phil. Dissertation, Oxford University, 1951. Table 39,pp. 364-5.

ethnic structures. Yet, as Fishman and Nahirny have pointed out,[67] one of the most striking aspects of the immigrant story in the United States in the nineteenth century, is the success of groups *without* educated leadership in establishing newspapers, organisations, and schools which were crucial to the maintenance of their languages and cultures.

Jones' conclusion that "irrespective of destination the largest proportion of male emigrants from the United Kingdom in the late nineteenth century was drawn from the ranks of general labourers"[68] applies broadly to Welsh emigration for most of the century. Yet some caution is called for, in that generalisations of this nature, while broadly accurate, also divert attention from those within the migrant body who were not 'general labourers'. In the Welsh case, they surface intermittently throughout the century mainly as doctors, lawyers and businessmen. It could, of course, be argued that their contribution to Welsh life was nevertheless, minimal. This, however, was not the case with the nonconformist ministers of religion who for the whole history of Welsh settlement in Australia (as in the United States) have been the main custodians of the Welsh language and the chapel culture which it supported.

Finally, it will also be shown in the discussion which follows that throughout the nineteenth century the majority of migrants from Wales were consistently males. The preponderance of males was an enduring feature of all British migration to Australia but it

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[67]   J.A. Fishman and V.C. Nahirny, "Organisational and Leadership Interest in Language Maintenance", in Fishman (ed), Language Loyalty ....op.cit., p.178. It is useful to note Fishman and Nahirny's point however that ethnic organisational leaders are not *ipso facto* cultural leaders. By this is meant that organisational affiliation does not necessarily lead to creative involvement in cultural life. This point will be raised again in Chapter 8 in relation to present day Welsh organisational leadership.
[68]   M. Jones, "The Background to Emigration from Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century", Perspectives in American History, Vol. VII, (1973), p.57.

was more markedly the case with the Welsh than with any other British group. The relevant point here is that an imbalance of the sexes, by encouraging out-group marriage, tends to diminish ethnic distinctiveness. It may also be directly detrimental to language maintenance and transmission since a number of studies[69] have shown that females are on the whole more likely to maintain ethnic languages, and, as the principal child rearers, to transmit them to the second generation.

♦ **Patterns of settlement.**

'Patterns of settlement' as used in migration studies is a broad term which often embraces both the character of the migration process and the geography of residence adopted by migrants in the receiving country. As with numerical strength and socio-economic background, the patterns of Welsh settlement in Australia during the nineteenth century is considered here to have been one of the key determinants of their ethnolinguistic vitality. Amongst the questions which could be asked are:

(i) Did they come in discrete groups and at particular periods? (e.g. as imported workers for key industries): or as individuals and intermittently over the whole century?

(ii) Is there any evidence of chain migration?, (i.e. of a process whereby individuals followed friends and relatives to pre-determined destinations).

(iii) Did they settle in enclaves?

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[69]   See for example: J.J. Smolicz and R. McL. Harris, "Ethnic Languages and Immigrant Youth" in Clyne (ed.) Australia Talks .... op.cit., pp.131-157. and R. Johnston, Future Australians (Canberra : Australian National University Press, 1972) p.62.

(iv) Was Welsh settlement — in keeping with the general character of nineteenth century settlement in Australia — primarily urban?

Although answers to some of these and related questions are important to an understanding of the character and survival of Welsh culture in Australia in the nineteenth century they are not, for reasons discussed earlier, readily available. Nor is a detailed investigation of other aspects of Welsh migration and settlement possible within the parameters of the present study. What is therefore attempted in the discussion which follows is to analyse Welsh cultural values in Australia in the nineteenth century with some reference to those broad demographic aspects of migration — size, socio-economic background and patterns of settlement — which, it has been argued, were likely to affect their maintenance and transmission.

3.4   Before the Gold Rush

There were two forms of Welsh, as of other British settlement in Australia before the Gold Rush era : convict and free. The British convict population, in general, is a well-researched, area but the prevalent attitude amongst historians seems to be that their Welsh component was, for the whole period of transportation, statistically too insignificant to warrant separate treatment.[70] This is, of course, not entirely untrue, the result being that convicts from Wales are usually ignored in general histories. Nowhere, for instance, is it mentioned that in their case, as in that of many from Scotland and Ireland, to the punishment of exile was added that of linguistic isolation.[71]

Yet indents and other government records make possible a reasonably accurate assessment of the number of convicts tried in Wales[72] between 1787 and

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[70]   Ward for example writes: "There were so few Welsh convicts and immigrants that for the purpose of a broad survey ..... they can be disregarded". R. Ward, The Australian Legend (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1981), p.47.

[71]   See for example the convict record of Evan Jones, transported to Tasmania in 1841, which shows that he could "write and read Welsh" but only "a little English" (Appendix I).

[72]   A distinction is made in statistical records between place of trial and place of birth. The difference in the Welsh case is small.

1868, the final year of transportation. Thus it is known that five came with the First Fleet in 1788,[73] 35 with the Second in 1790,[74] and 42 with the Third in 1791.[75] The total number of convict arrivals from Wales to land in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land between 1787 and 1852 has been quoted as 1,800[76], of whom 283 were women.[77] This represents 1.2% of the estimated 148,000 total from the United Kingdom.[78] The majority were from the industrialised, densely populated counties of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire. Amongst those who came in the 1830s were the Chartist leaders, John Frost, Zephaniah Williams and William Jones, transported to Van Diemen's Land for their part in the assault on Newport in 1839[79]. Frost was eventually pardoned and returned to Wales where he related his experiences in a number of public lectures.[80] Of the fate of the majority of Welsh convicts however little is known. One can only assume that after they had served their sentences they were absorbed into the mainstream population of the fledgling colonies.[81]

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[73]   Namely: Mary Watkins, tried at Glamorgan; Frances Williams, tried at Mold; William Davis tried at Brecon; William Edmunds tried at Monmouth; and Daniel Williams tried in Radnorshire. J. Cobley, The Crimes of the First Fleet Convicts (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1970).

[74]   R.J. Ryan, The Second Fleet Convicts (Sydney: Australian Documents Library, 1982).

[75]   R.J. Ryan, The Third Fleet Convicts (Melbourne: Horwitz Graham, Castle Books, 1983).

[76]   Based on Robson's sampling of 1 in 20 convicts. L.L. Robson, The Convict Settlers of Australia : An Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Convicts Transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1787-1852 (Melbourne : Melbourne University Press, 1965) p.178 and p.186.

[77]   D. Beddoe, Welsh Convict Women : A Study of Women Transported from Wales to Australia (Barry, South Wales : Stewart Williams, 1979), p.13. Robson's figure is slightly lower at 260. Robson, op. cit. p186.

[78]   The exact figures quoted by Robson being 122,620 males and 24,960 females. Robson, op. cit., p.4.

[79]   A.F. Hughes, "Welsh", in Jupp (ed.), The Australian People ..., op. cit., p.842.

[80]   Some were later published. See J. Frost, The Horrors of Convict Life (Hobart : Sullivan's Cove, 1973).

[81]   Except for the isolated glimpse as in the case of:
(i)   Mary Lewis of Merioneth, one of several women convicted of sheep stealing at the Bala Great Sessions of 6th April, 1793. Her death sentence was commuted to transportation for life to New South Wales where she arrived in December of 1801. Some years later she appears under the column "How disposed of?" in the Nominal Alphabetical Return of female convicts 1788-1819 as "settler's wife". In 1816 she re-emerges as "widow of Sydney" in the Muster List of that year, and again in 1828 as "a lodger" at Cumberland Street aged 83 with her religion by then, seemingly 'Catholic'. She is not mentioned again. Mary Lewis was probably Merioneth's first emigrant to Australia. E. Vaughan Jones, "Sheep Stealing at Llangelynin, 1792", Journal of the Merionethshire Historical and Record Society, Vol. VII, pp.384-403.

By the 1830s Australia's image as a penal settlement was giving way to that of several prosperous colonies with wealth based on wool, wheat, and later, copper and gold. The introduction of government assisted passages in 1831 and a general bounty scheme later in the same decade witnessed a substantial increase in the number of free immigrants in the 1830s and 1840s.[82] With the establishment also of the Colonial Lands and Emigration Commission in 1832, Australia's migration programme was henceforth closely regulated.

Wales' contribution to the intake both of assisted and fare-paying migrants in the first half of the nineteenth century is difficult to gauge with any accuracy. For this early period figures on the Welsh-born derived from colonial census counts, valuable as they are, are incomplete. Table 3.4, showing the numbers of Welsh-born in several colonies from 1832 to 1851, is a composite, therefore, of available data.

Allowing for missing quantities, it is still clear that there were very few Welsh-born individuals in Australia before the start of the Victorian Gold Rush in 1851.[83] The totals for 1846 and 1851 (excluding the Swan River Colony and Tasmania) were only 965 and 1,814 respectively.[84]

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[82]   T. Jeremiah, "Immigrants and Society" in T. Gurry (ed.), The European Occupation Revised Edition (Richmond : Heinemann Educational Australia 1981) pp.124-129.

[83]   There is some scattered evidence of early migration in the Welsh sources. There is a reference, for instance, in one of the many church histories of the period *(Hanes yr Eglwysi)* to the departure of 14 young members of the congregation of the Independent Church of Bethlehem in Blaenavon, Monmouthshire "sometime between 1828 and 1836" though nothing further is known of their fate. Cited in E. Gwynne Jones, "Annibynwyr Cymraeg Awstralia." (The Welsh Independents of Australia). Y Cofiadur : Cylchgrawn Cymdeithas Hanes Annibynwyr Cymraeg, No. 26, March 1956, 3-40.
More is known, of course, of individual arrivals who later became prominent in various areas of Australian life. Amongst them were David Jones the founder of the department store chain, who arrived in 1835, David Thomas, reputedly Melbourne's first medical practitioner and founder of the Melbourne Hospital (arrived 1839), and Robert Thomas publisher of the first South Australian newspaper, the South Australia Gazette and Colonial Register (arrived in Holdfast Bay, 1836). This list could be extended but the total was still, in relative terms, small.

[84]   Compared with 69,141 and 114,335 English-born for the same two census years.

The only significant (in relative terms) increase shown for this period was in South Australia. This was due mainly to the arrival of smelter-men from the Swansea[85] area of South Wales following the discovery of copper at Kapunda in 1842,[86] and at Burra Burra in 1845.[87] From 1848 a direct link was established between Swansea and Port Adelaide as men contracted by the Patent Copper Company to work in its newly built smelters continued to arrive.[88] No statistics are available on the exact numbers involved, nor on periods of residence. As workers under contract, a proportion had come without their families and returned to Wales in due course;[89] others moved to the Victorian goldfields after 1851. It is known, however, that in its heyday in the late 1850s the Burra copper works employed some 1,200 miners and smelter men.[90] How many of these were Welsh is not known but one source refers to 'hundreds' living in Burra as early as 1849.[91] It is also known that the first religious service in the Welsh language in Australia was

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[85]   Some three quarters of the world's copper ore was smelted in the Swansea area of South Wales during the 1840s. Prior to the opening of the first smelter works at Kooringa in 1848, copper ore from South Australia was also shipped to Swansea. I. Auhl, The Story of the "Monster Mine": The Burra Burra Mine and its Townships. 1845-1877 (Hawthorndene, South Australia : Investigator Press Pty Limited, 1986) p.163.

[86]   M. Clark, A Short History of South Australia (Sydney : Mead & Beckett, 1983), p.74.

[87]   Ibid.

[88]   The first vessel to sail directly from Swansea to Port Adelaide was the AI Barque "Richardson", Lloyd, Australians ....op.cit., p.81. She arrived in Port Adelaide on 3rd October, 1848 carrying both the material to build the Burra smelting works and the prospective superintendent, Thomas M. Williams who, with his knowledge of English, was also to act as interpreter for his fellow smeltermen, many of whom were monoglot Welsh-speakers. Auhl, The Story .....op.cit., p.169.

[89]   The ledgers of their employer, the Patent Copper Company, show that payments were made to the men's families in Swansea. J. Newman, "Emigration from Nineteenth Century Wales with Particular Reference to South Australia", Unpublished B.A. Honours Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1981, p.44.

[90]   G. Blainey, The Rush that Never Ended : A History of Australian Mining (Carlton, Victoria : Melbourne University Press, 1969), p.126.

[91]   Evans, Bob Owen , op.cit., p.61. Bob Owen's source (see footnote, 64 above) in this instance was a manuscript biography of William Meirion Evans, a North Wales slate quarryman, who migrated to South Australia in 1849 (Plate 2). He worked temporarily in the slate quarries of Willunga south of Adelaide, but eventually made his way to the Burra copper mines. There he also served the Welsh community as a lay preacher and later, after a period in the United States (where he was ordained as a member), was to play a seminal role in the life of the Welsh communities of the Victorian goldfields, not least as the founder and editor of Yr Australydd (The Australian) and Yr Ymwelydd (The Visitor) the two Welsh language journals of the 1860s and 70s that have been previously mentioned (there was only one issue (1865) of Evans' first publication Yr Ymgeisydd. According to Bob Owen this was intended as a journal for the Welsh Eisteddfod at Castlemaine in that year).

Table 3.4

Welsh-Born in the Australian Colonies (Excluding Tasmania) 1832-51

NO OF WELSH BORN	SOUTH AUSTRALIA	REST OF THE COLONY OF NSW	EVENTUAL QUEENSLAND	PORT PHILIP DISTRICT	SWAN RIVER COLONY	TOTALS
Year					1832	
Male					12	
Female					2	
Total					14	
Year	1846	1846	1846	1846		1846
Male	Not known	358	6	83		
Female	Not known	178	1	38		
Total	303	534	7	(2)		965
Year	1851	1851	1851	1851 (Victoria)		1851
Male	Not known	345	31	246		
Female	Not known	175	7	131		
Total	879	520	38	377		1814

Notes:
'Eventual Queensland' = County of Stanley and the squatting districts that later made up the colony of Queensland.

Sources:
(i)   C.A. Price et al., Working Papers in Demography 13, 1984 (Canberra : Department of Demography, Australian National University, 1984) Table 15b, p.40; Table 15c, p.41; Table 15d, p.42; Table 15e, p.43.
(ii)   Statistician's Report, 1911 Commonwealth Census, Chapter IV, Vol. I.

PLATE 2

The Reverend William Meirion Evans (1826-83) who conducted the first Welsh
language religious service in Australia at Burra in 1849 and was later the
founder and editor of *Yr Australydd* and *Yr Ymwelydd*
(National Library of Wales PE 3284)

held in Burra in that year.[92] By 1859 there were two Welsh chapels in the town (one Baptist and one Congregationalist) and another at Kapunda (Congregationalist). By this period most of the Welsh residents of Burra were living in the township of Llwchwr, a section of the hundred of Kooringa acquired by the English and Australian Copper Company and sold as allotments to the smelter men (Appendix II)[93] Though short-lived — the Burra mines closed in 1877 and the Kapunda mines and smelters in 1878 — the small Welsh concentrations in these two towns to the north of Adelaide were arguably the first Welsh 'communities' in Australia. They were also characteristic of most nineteenth century Welsh settlements in that their survival hinged on exhaustible mineral resources or on the economic viability of an extractive industry. When the mineral resource concerned ran out or the industry fell on hard times, the Welsh community which it supported disappeared into the mainstream. This was the case at Burra and Kadina in the 1870s[94] and, as will be seen in the discussion which follows, it had also already been the case on the Victorian goldfields a few years earlier. The pattern was to be repeated in the renewed phase of copper mining in the Yorke Peninsula of South Australia from the 1860s to the 1880s, and on the coalfields of New South Wales and Central Queensland shortly after.

Other evidence of a Welsh presence in Australia before the Gold Rush era was found in the Welsh language journal *Y Beirniad* (The Critic) of October

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[92]   By William Meirion Evans (see footnote 91 above) The Welsh in Burra had no chapel at this stage but held their services in the Meeting House of the English Independents. B. Owen (Croesor) "Bedyddwyr Cymreig Awstralia, 1851-80" (The Welsh Independents in Australia, 1851-80) Trafodion Cymdeithas Hanes Y Bedyddwyr (Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society), 1960, pp.42-50.

[93]   Named after a Welsh village on the River Llwchwr five miles north-west of Swansea. The street names (see Appendix II) are also derived from the names of Welsh townships in the Swansea area.

[94]   There is no evidence of any significant Welsh presence in Burra after this date (only one headstone in the Welsh language was found in the Burra Cemetery (see Appendix III); nor were the Welsh numerically prominent in South Australia for the remainder of the century, e.g. in 1881 there were only 95 Welsh-born males and 103 females resident in the City of Adelaide. Census of South Australia,1881, Table II.

1872.[95] An article on the first Welsh sermon in Victoria held at the English Baptist Church in Collins Street, Melbourne, on December 12th, 1852,[96] contains the following observation:

> "Amongst the congregation were those who had lived in Melbourne for several years before the discovery of gold; their joy and delight on that occasion was indescribable".[97]
>
> Translated from the Welsh

It would seem therefore that a small contingent of Welsh migrants were living in Melbourne in the 1840s. They had not, however, until this occasion in 1852, publicly signalled their arrival in that most Welsh manner — by the establishment of a Welsh 'cause' (achos).[98]

3.5   The Goldfield Communities

It was the discovery of gold at Bathurst, New South Wales in June of 1851, at Clunes, Victoria, in July and the major strike at Ballarat (Victoria) in August of the same year, which first brought the Welsh to Australia in significant numbers. Up to this point there had been little inducement for the generally non-business minded Welsh to emigrate to the Australian colonies.[99] The prospect of sudden wealth and of easily available employment which the vicinity of gold generated, dramatically changed the picture. Welsh-language emigrant handbooks such as "*Gwlad yr Aur*" (The Land of Gold)[100] (Plate 1) urged the Welsh to improve their lot by emigration. This was also the theme of emigrant letters which, from the 1850s, were regularly published in the Welsh press. The following example, from a Mr William Jones of 74, Collins Street West, Melbourne, appeared in *Y Drysorfa*

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[95]   "Achosion Crefyddol Cymreig Yn Australia" (Welsh Religious Causes in Australia) (no author), Y Beirniad (The Critic), Volume XIV, October 1872, p.147.

[96]   A Welsh language notice of the service under the heading "Oes y Byd i'r Iaith Gymraeg" (The World's Lifetime for the Welsh Language) appeared in the Melbourne daily The Argus, December 11th, 1852.

[97]   "Achosion Crefyddol" ....loc.cit.

[98]   The term "achos" (cause) is used in Welsh as a synonym for 'the chapel way of life'.

[99]   Wales, especially Welsh-speaking Wales was not, on the whole, seen as promising recruiting grounds by Australian emigration agents in Britian. In 1852 there was still only one selection agent for the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in Wales (at Carmarthen), compared to 38 in England, 11 in Scotland and 4 in Ireland. Jupp, ... op.cit., p.72.

[100]   D. Ap G. ap Huw, Feddyg, op.cit.

(The Treasury) of 1856, the monthly periodical of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist
Church:

> "Sir,
> No doubt your readers would welcome some impressions of that rich
> and extensive territory which is called the Colony of Victoria in
> Australia. I have been here for a number of years .... and am able
> to say that it is an excellent place for those who wish to improve
> their circumstances, especially those who can work with pick and
> shovel. It is a healthy environment. There are few diseases here
> except for those which men bring on themselves by imbibing
> intoxicating liquor. There is land to be had for a pound an acre.
> There are thousands of Welshmen on the 'diggings'; they have their
> own chapel and a Mr LL. Llewelyn, of the Calvinistic Methodist
> denomination to minister to them. Many of them have recovered
> pounds of gold. The country is stable and has an excellent
> government. Elections are by ballot and if a man is ambitious he
> can easily become a senator. Clothing is as cheap as it is back
> home; bread is plentiful and it is a good country for planting fruit
> trees".[101]

<div align="right">(Translated from the Welsh)</div>

Two substantial Welsh-language accounts of life and conditions in the
Australian colonies also appeared in the 1850s. The first, *"Awstralia a'r
Cloddfeydd Aur"* (Australia and the Gold Diggings) was published in 1852[102]. In
the introduction the author, a schoolmaster, expressed the hope that, though his
work could claim no particular literary merit, every "unprejudiced reader would
have to admit that a more comprehensive history of New South Wales and Port
Philip" had not yet been written in Welsh or English. The second, 'Robinson
Crusoe Cymreig' (The Welsh Robinson Crusoe), published in 1857 was, in every

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[101]   "Gwasanaeth Gwladol, Cartrefol, A Thramor" Y Drysorfa, No. (CXVII), September 1856,
Book 10, 322-3. The letter continues with a detailed list of salaries and prices of commodities in the
colony. The editor however cautions his readers against too ready an acceptance of this rosy
version of colonial life by adding the following note: 'It should be remembered that only the
optimistic version is presented by this correspondent; other Welsh people in Australia might have a
different perspective.
[102]   J. Williams (Glanmor), Awstralia A'r Cloddfeydd Aur (Australia and the Gold Diggings)
(Denbigh : Thomas Gee, 1852). The author, it should be added, had not visited Australia.

sense, a more modest work — an account by "a young seaman of Carnarfon" of his sea voyage to Australia and of conditions on the goldfields.[103]

By 1860 there were small communities of Welshmen (and to a lesser extent of Welsh women) in almost all of the goldfield towns of Western Victoria. The absolute numbers were consistently small but the increase over the previous decade was dramatic. (Table 3.5) Between 1851 and 1854, for example, the Welsh-born population of Victoria rose from 377 to 2,326, an increase of 516% — in percentage terms by far the highest for all the British national groups. Thereon it continued to rise steadily reaching 6,055 in 1861 and 6,614 in 1871, when the Welsh population of Victoria reached its peak.[104] Yet even in that decade the proportion of Welsh-born in Victoria had fallen from 1.12% in 1861 to .90% in 1871.[105]

The majority were concentrated in the goldfield settlements in the Western areas of the state (see Map C). In 1861 the Welsh-born population of the township of Sebastopol in Ballarat South was a remarkable 12.5% of the total,[106] and ten years later in 1871 was still 8.9% (Table 3.6). Not surprisingly the Ballarat-Sebastopol area was the geographic hub of most Welsh cultural activity in Victoria during the 1860s and 1870s, supported largely by the 6 chapels that were established there between 1859 and 1866 (Table 3.7).

Elsewhere, as Table 3.6 shows, the numbers were very small with only 6 towns (Stawell, Castlemaine, Sandhurst, Clunes, Maldon and Eaglehawk) with over 100 Welsh-born inhabitants in 1871. Yet these towns were household names

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[103]   H. Williams, Robinson Crusoe Cymreig, sef hanes mordaith i Australia, Preswyliad yn y Coedwigoedd, Anturiaethau yn y Cloddfeydd aur, Ynghyd a Dychweliad Crefyddol yr Awdur (The Welsh Robinson Crusoe, or an Account of a Sea Voyage to Australia. Time spent in the forests, Adventures on the Goldfields as well as the Author's Religious Conversion) (Caernarfon : J Williams, 1856).
[104]   Census of Victoria, 1871 Table VII, p.8. This seems to have been the highest figure for the Welsh-born in Victoria up to and including the present day. The 1986 Census for example, showed 5350 Welsh-born individuals in that state. Australian Census 1986 ABS Microfiche Table CX001..
[105]   Census of Victoria 1871, Table IV, p.6.
[106]   W. Bate, Lucky City, The First Generation at Ballarat : 1851-1901 (Carlton : Melbourne University Press, 1978), p.149.

MAP C

THE VICTORIAN GOLD FIELDS
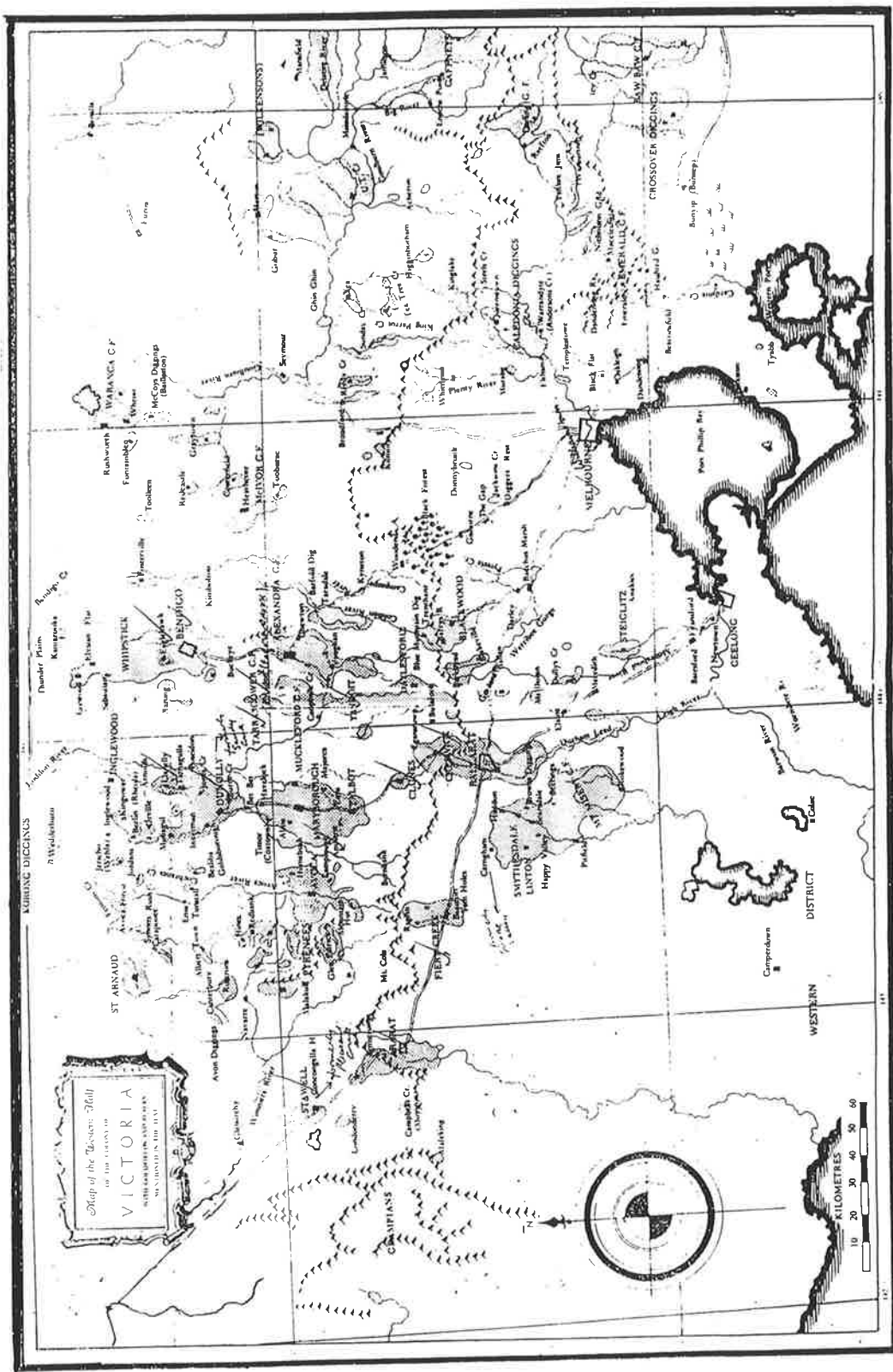
Source: J. Fleet, A Pictorial History of the Victorian Goldfields (Adelaide: Rigby, 1977)

in many areas of Wales in the 1860's and 70's. In each and even in those with Welsh populations of under 50, one, and sometimes two or three chapels were erected. By 1865 there were no less than 29 Welsh chapels in Victoria (one in Melbourne and the remainder on the goldfields) with a combined membership of 641. Twelve of these were inter-denominational, 6 Independent, 7 Calvinistic Methodist, and the remaining 4 Baptist.[107] That these Victorian towns loomed so large in the Welsh imagination was due less to their fame as gold mining centres than to the assiduous reporting of their chapel-centred activities by the Welsh language denominational journals of the day.

As Table 3.6, shows one of the features of Welsh settlement in the goldfield towns was the imbalance of the sexes. A preponderance of males is, of course, a well-known demographic aspect of British migration to Australia, particularly in the gold rush era,[108] but it was more markedly the case with the Welsh than with any other British group, and for a much longer period.[109] As late as 1871, by which time some wives might have followed their husbands, males still outnumbered females in all the goldfield towns (Table 3.6). Certainly it was frequently commented on by contemporaries. "The majority of those who have come here", it was reported in Yr Australydd of May, 1867, "are young, single males".[110] This was the complaint, also, of some of its readers as the following letter suggests:

> "Why is it, Mr Editor, that more of the young women of Wales are not coming out to this country? ...... Please take some action to initiate an immigration policy to assist the women of Wales to take advantage of the incomparable opportunities that this State [Victoria] offers".[111]
>
> (Translated from Welsh)

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[107]   Y Beirniad, April 1873, p.347.
[108]   See for example W. Bate, Victorian Gold Rushes (Fitzroy, Victoria : McPhee Gribble/Penguin Books, 1988) p.29.
[109]   See Table 3.9.
[110]   Yr Australydd, Vol.I, No. 1 May 1867.
[111]   Ibid, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1871.

Table 3.5

Increase or Diminution of the Various Nationalities Living in Victoria, 1846-1861

Where Born	Persons 1846	Increase, 1846 to 1851		Persons 1851	Increase 1851 to 1854		Persons 1854	Increase 1854 to 1857		Persons 1857	Increase or Diminution 1857 to 1861		Persons 1861
		Numerical	Rate %		Numerical	Rate %		Numerical	Rate %		Numerical	Rate %	
In Australian Colonies	7,583	12,887	169.95	20,470	20,763	101.43	41,233	43,648	105.85	84,881	73,030	86.03	157,911
England	10,100	18,808	186.22	28,908	69,035	238.8	97,943	49,239	50.27	147,182	22,404	15.25	169,586
Wales	121	256	211.57	377	1,949	516.97	2,326	2,196	94.41	4,522	1,533	33.9	6,035
Scotland	4,225	3,828	90.6	8,053	27,991	347.58	35,044	17,155	47.59	53,199	7,502	14.1	60,701
Ireland	9,126	5,492	60.18	14,618	25,110	171.77	39,728	24,864	62.59	64,592	22,568	34.93	87,160
Other British Dominio	1,403	2,022	144.12	3,425	1,298	37.89	4,723	3,304	69.95	8,027	3	0.03	8,030
Foreign Countries	321	1,173	365.42	1,494	11,308	762.91	12,892	30,056	233.15	42,948	3,390	7.89	46,338
Unspecified	...	...	...	...	1,909	...	1,909	3,506	183.65	5,415	-874	-16.14	4,551
Total	32,879	44,456	135.25	77,345	159,453	206.16	236,798	173,968	73.47	410,765	129,536	31.54	540,322

Note: Diminution shown by minus (-) sign.

Source: Census of Victoria 1861, Table II, p.4.

Table 3.6

Welsh-Born Population of the Victorian Gold Towns, 1871

TOWN	WELSH-BORN MALES	WELSH-BORN FEMALES	TOTAL WELSH-BORN	TOTAL POPULATION	WELSH-BORN AS % OF TOTAL
Sebastopol	350	234	584	6496	8.9
Ballarat	166	146	312	24,308	1.3
Ballarat East	138	93	231	16397	1.4
Stawell (Pleasant Creek)	103	60	163	5166	3.1
Castlemaine	79	74	153	6935	2.2
Sandhurst (Bendigo)	99	48	147	21987	0.6
Clunes	89	57	146	6068	2.4
Maldon (Tarrangower)	73	54	127	3817	3.3
Eaglehawk	83	43	126	6590	1.9
Chewton (Forest Creek)	30	22	52	2387	2.2
Daylesford	26	20	46	4698	0.9
Creswick	19	18	37	3969	0.09
Maryborough	21	11	32	3935	1
Ararat	10	11	21	2370	0.8
Dunolly (Sandy Creek)	8	5	13	1553	0.8
TOTALS	**1294**	**896**	**2190**	**115676**	**1.8**

Notes: Former names of towns are bracketed.
Locations are shown in Map C.

Source: <u>Census of Victoria 1871</u>, Table XIV

Table 3.7

Chapels Established by the Welsh Denominations in the Ballarat-Sebastopol Area of Victoria 1859-66

DENOMINATION	LOCATION	YEAR ESTABLISHED
United Welsh Protestant (1) (Inter-denominational)	Armstrong Street, Ballarat	1859
Calvinistic Methodist	Armstrong Street, Ballarat ('Bethel') (2)	1861
"	Albert Street, Sebastopol ('Carmel')	1866
Independent (Congregational)	Albert Street, Sebastopol ('Zion')	1861
"	Doveton Street, Ballarat	1865
Baptist	Mechanics Institute, Sebastopol	1864

Notes:

1. Not an official denomination but the name under which the founders of the Church applied for permanent land for its construction.
2. Formerly the Chapel of the United Welsh Protestants. Following a denominational split in 1861 the Baptists and Independents left to form their own churches. The Calvinistic Methodist remained in 'Bethel' as it was named until its closure in 1941.

Sources:

(i)   Y Berniad, October 1872, pp.157-8/
(ii)   E. Gwynne Jones, "Annibynwyr Cymraeg Awstralia", (The Welsh Independents of Australia) Y Cofiadur, No. 26 (March 1956), pp.14-23.
(iii) B. Owen, "Bedyddwyr Cymreig Awstralia (The Welsh Baptists in Australia) 1851-80, Trafodion Cymdeithas Hanes Y Bedyddwyr (Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society) (1960), pp.42-50.

At stake, as an editorial of April of the following year (1872) pointed out was the survival of the Welsh language and cultural identity in Victoria:

"We the Welsh have to marry English, Scottish or Irish women as there is little choice from amongst our own kind ...... *it is likely that much of the reason for the present state of the Welsh in Victoria is due to the imbalance of men and women. This badly affects our situation in the religious, social and national sense, the result being that we are falling into some sort of void that words cannot describe and which the people of Wales are totally unaware of"*.[112] (own italics) (translated from Welsh).

Observations of this nature, and calls for a greater balance of the sexes appeared regularly in other documentary sources for the remainder of the century, but apparently with little effect.

Recent scholarship has been much concerned with the fate of the goldfield miners in the wake of the rushes which, according to Blainey, had reached their peak even by the early 1860s.[113] A more pertinent question, he suggests, is why the Victorian goldfields declined. Part of his answer is that it was because miners left for new finds in other areas of Australia or to "more permanent jobs in Victoria and took their capital with them".[114] It is difficult, of course, to trace the movements of anonymous populations but the evidence in the case of the Welsh comes out strongly in support of Blainey's thesis. A number of the Ballarat pioneers seem to have joined the exodus to the new fields at Gympie in Queensland in the late 1860s. "Some two thousand have left Ballarat [for Gympie] in the last month", it was reported in Yr Australydd of August, 1868, "many of whom were

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[112]   Ibid, Vol. II, No. 3, April 1872. The subject of the editorial was the 1871 census. Yet despite the imbalance Welsh-Welsh marriages were not uncommon. An analysis by the present author of the marriage notices in the *Australydd* from January 1870 to December 1871 revealed that of the total number (47) of marriages reported, 29 or 62% were between partners of Welsh ethnic ancestry, and almost certainly Welsh-speaking. Although these figures are estimates based on the uncertain evidence of Welsh surnames they are thought to be reasonably accurate given that a high proportion of the individuals involved were first-generation from Welsh-speaking areas of Wales. A typical Welsh-Welsh notice read as follows:

"*February 26th, 1870 in the bride's father's house, Sandy Creek, by the Reverend R.T. Roberts: Mr. Evan Jones, formerly of Beddgeolert, Caernarfonshire, North Wales and Miss Jane Griffiths, formerly of Clwt-y-Bont, Llandinorwig, Caernarfonshire, North Wales, both presently of Pleasant Creek* (Victoria)". (translated from the Welsh). Yr Australydd, April 1870.

[113]   Blainey, op.cit., p.60.
[114]   Ibid., p.61.

Welsh".[115] True to form, a chapel was opened "on the road between Gympie and One Mile" on Sunday, 4th October, 1868, the first in Queensland.

Others went further afield, some to the New Zealand goldfields in the early 1860s.[116] As with other nationalities on the goldfields, many of the Welsh were itinerant workers and adventurers who had little intention of putting down roots, their chief aim being to amass sufficient resources to return to Wales to buy a plot of land or retire. Joseph Jenkins, made famous by the publication of his diaries, is only the best known of the army of those, with many Welsh amongst them, who drifted from town to town and from one occupation to another throughout Australia in the 1860s and 1870s.[117]

There is evidence that a good proportion stayed on in the goldfield towns, often as tradesmen and shopkeepers,[118] but, increasingly after 1870, they did so as English-speaking residents of Welsh ancestry. By then, they, and certainly their children, were well on the way to assimilation into the mainstream.

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[115] Yr Australydd, Vol. II, No. 14, August 1968.

[116] Ashton makes the point that it was more or less the pattern for many Welsh miners to go first to Australia, and then to New Zealand. E.T. ASHTON, The Welsh in New Zealand (Published by the author, 1986) p.26 (Victoria State Library).

[117] Jenkins, a farmer of Tregaron, Wales, emigrated to Australia in 1869 at the age of 51. On arrival he began a series of diaries which offer unique insight into the life of Victorian country towns and of their Welsh inhabitants in the second half of the nineteenth century. He returned to Wales in 1895 and died on his farm near Tregaron three years later at the age of 80. His first entry (March, 1869) underlines the point that many of the Welsh in Victoria were itinerant. It reads "I slept last night at the Caenarfonshire boarding house in Queen Street [Melbourne] which is kept by Mrs Eleis Thomas. Two Welshmen, sleeping in the same room, had come from the Bendigo gold mines, and were on their way to the coal mines of New South Wales". J. JENKINS, The Diary of a Welsh Swagman, 1869-1894 (abridged and annotated by William Evans) (Melbourne : Sun Books, 1977), p.1.

[118] Some had been engaged in occupations other than mining from the beginning. Two examples of the more successful in this category were:
(i) David Jones, formerly of Barmouth, Wales, owner of the Criterion (Drapery) Store in Ballarat. This is one of the buildings reconstructed at Sovereign Hill. Lloyd, op.cit., Australians.....,p.226 (not to be confused with David Jones, founder of the department store chain which bears his name.
(ii) Robert Lewis, formerly of Trefaes, Cardigan, Wales, the 'soft drink King', also of Ballarat. It was Lewis who as Mayor of Ballarat conducted Trollope on a tour of the city during his visit in 1871. Lewis' correspondence with a friend, Philip Williams in Wales over the thirty year period 1854-1884, is a valuable primary source on the life of the Welsh community in the Ballarat-Sebastopol area during these years. Correspondence of Robert Lewis of Ballarat and Philip Williams of Wales, MS 2452, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

This was the case also in the city of Melbourne to which many had moved from the goldfields in search of investment opportunities or permanent employment. It should be added that many of the Welsh who came to Victoria in the 1850s and 60s had, in fact, got no further than the capital where they worked in a variety of trades and occupations. By 1871 there were 317 Welsh-born persons living in Melbourne; by Welsh standards they were fairly evenly divided into 187 males and 130 females.[119] It was on the 30th of December of that year that the Welsh chapel which now stands at 320, La Trobe Street was opened.[120] The inaugural sermon was in Welsh, but, significantly, only a week later at a social gathering held at the new chapel "addresses were delivered by a number of gentlemen in Welsh and English".[121] As will be shown later in this chapter, the heyday of the Welsh communities on the goldfields was already past.

3.6   Other Welsh Settlements

The Welsh-born population of the several Australian colonies in the decennial census counts after 1861 is presented in Table 3.8. Although birthplace statistics were more regularly recorded after the acquisition of responsible government in the 1830s, not all colonies requested birthplace details in the second half of the century nor did they all distinguish between England and Wales.[122]

The figures reveal that, as in the first half of the nineteenth century, the number and proportion of the Welsh-born in Australia remained relatively small.

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[119]   Census of Victoria, 1871, Table XIV.

[120]   G.D. Evans, "1871-1971, One Hundred Years of Fellowship : The History of the First Century of the Melbourne Welsh Church" (unpublished typescript). State Library of Victoria. The first Welsh chapel in La Trobe Street was established in February, 1857. It seems that this "small low, pallid-looking structure" was inadequate to house the increased number of Welsh residents in the city by the late 1860s. The Cambrian : Official Journal of the Cambrian Society of Victoria, Vol. 1, No. 6 (July, 1939) p.12.

[121]   Ibid.

[122]   This was the case in Queensland in 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901 and in Western and South Australia until 1881. A note on census material in the South Australian Archives Department reads: "So far as the South Australian censuses are concerned, it will be found that until 1881 statistics of persons born in Wales and who became resident in South Australia are, unfortunately, merged under the heading England and Wales". Notes on Statistical Sources for Emigration to South Australia, 16/3/1954. Research Notes No. 482, Public Record Office of South Australia. See also Price et al., op.cit., p.5.

For the most part they were fairly evenly distributed amongst the six major colonies except for Victoria in the 1860s, where, as has been shown, there were modest concentrations of Welsh individuals in the goldfield towns for at least that decade.

The majority, it is reasonable to assume were, like most migrants from Britain in the second half of the century, drawn from the ranks of the working classes,[123] most of whom had taken advantage of the several assisted passage and/or free land schemes that had become increasingly available.[124] Again too, most would seem to have been males. As in earlier decades the call for increased emigration of Welsh women was often voiced in Welsh language publications[125] but, as Table 3.9 reveals, with little effect. The imbalance of the sexes remained a distinctive feature of Welsh immigration to Australia well into the post-war period and is still marginally the case.

Unlike the Welsh pattern of settlement in the United States outlined earlier in this chapter, the Welsh in Australia were far less inclined to cluster in specific areas. Instead they followed the normal pattern of Australia's settlement in the nineteenth century by gravitating towards the urban conglomerations of the eastern seaboard where, as a result of their small numbers and geographic dispersion, they were rapidly absorbed into the mainstream population. Other than the goldfield communities of Victoria which, with the exception of Ballarat and Sebastopol,

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123   Crowley, ...", op.cit., p.76.
124   See J. Jupp, "Waves of Migration to Australia" in J. Hardy (ed.), Stories of Australian Migration (Kensington, NSW : New South Wales University Press, 1988), pp.9-32.
125   As in J.C. Davies' descriptive account of Western Australia at the turn of the century for example: "I should mention", he wrote, "that Western Australia is an excellent place for young [Welsh] women ..... It is a much better place for young women than for young men as they are so few here. Apart from a good salary, there are excellent prospects for finding a husband. Females are so respected here that the wife as well as the husband has the right to vote". (Translated from the Welsh). J. Ceredig Davies, Awstralia Orllewinol : Hanes A Chynydd Y Wlad A'i Thrigolion, Amaethyddiaeth, Y Cloddfeydd Aur, A'r Brodorion Duon A'u Harferion. (Western Australia : The History and Progress of the Country and its Inhabitants, Agriculture, The Gold Mines and the Black Aboriginals and their Customs). (Treorchy : T.J. Davies, 1903) p.75.

were very short-lived, there were only three Welsh concentrations in Australia in the second half of the century which are recognisable as 'communities'.[126]

These were:

(i) the copper-smelting community of the Wallaroo-Moonta-Kadina area of South Australia in the 1860s.

(ii) the coal-mining communities of the Newcastle area of New South Wales also in the 1860s, and

(iii) the coal-mining community of the Blackstone area of Queensland in the 1880s.

All, it will be noticed, were creations of the mining industry.

3.6.1 The South Australian Copper Towns

The Welsh, as has been seen, were involved on a small scale, mainly as smeltermen in the South Australian copper industry in the 1840s. Although many of those who came to Burra and Kapunda were contract workers who eventually returned to Wales, there is evidence that the Welsh community in the Burra area survived at least into the following decade.[127] Thus, the new influx[128] of Welsh miners and smeltermen into the recently established copper towns of Wallaroo, Moonta and Kadina after 1861 created a

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126   Lloyd defines 'Welsh community' as "a Welsh-speaking community which survived for a number of years and which spanned, to some extent, at least the first generation to be born in Australia". Lloyd, op.cit., p.211. This definition is somewhat narrow and tends to exclude several small Welsh concentrations in Australia, particularly those in the Ballarat-Sebastopol region in the 1850s and 60s. There is in fact little evidence of any significant numbers of second-generation speakers in any area settled by the Welsh in the nineteenth century. The Welsh-speaking criterion is also rather restrictive, in that it excludes those amongst the Welsh who supported the language for its symbolic value. As the typology in Chapter 7 reveals, their contributions to the survival of the language is crucial today, and may well have been so in the nineteenth century. Ultimately perhaps the measure of a 'community' is the extent to which the individuals who belong to it, view it as such. It is this consciousness amongst its members of shared cultural bonds which is taken to be the basis of 'community' in this study.

127   A letter from the Reverend John Jones, a Baptist minister who preached in both of the Burra chapels, to his brother in Wales dated 21st March, 1859, reads in part: "Our congregation on a Sunday evening *now varies from 120 to 150 Welsh people*. (Own italics). There are many more Welsh in this area than that, but it's been difficult up to now to get some of them to come to chapel". (Translated from the Welsh). Letter of the Reverend John Jones, Burra, South Australia to (his brother) the Reverend Hugh Jones of Rhuthyn, North Wales published in *Seren Cymru*. Cited in Jones, "Annibynwyr Cymraeg .....", op.cit., p.33.

128   Some of whom came directly from Burra, Y Dysgedydd, 1877, p.66.

Table 3.8

Welsh-born Population of Australia by Colonies/States 1861-1986

CENSUS YEAR	NSW	VIC	QLD	TAS	SA	WA	NT	ACT	TOTAL AUSTRALIA (ADJUSTED)
1861	1,378	6,055	155	565	1,100	91	-	-	9,467
1891	4,997	5,094	3,000*	316	1,098	178	-	-	14,922
1911	4,429	2.729	2,646	261	895	1,342	-	-	12,341
1947	5,303	2,251	1,887	130	788	1,545	15	45	11,880
1961	6,332	3,548	1,980	390	1,656	1,848	-	-	15,905
1971	8,197	5,113	2,604	554	2,933	3,295	-	-	23,103
1981	7,951	4,713	3,099	544	3,161	4,107	147	391	24,868
1986	8,532	5,350	3,858	651	3,390	4,728	262	438	27,209

Notes: (i) State figures do not add up to total Australia figures quoted as the latter, except for 1986, are colonial and Commonwealth census figures adjusted by Charles Price (see Source (iii) below).
 *Estimate by D. Lucas

Sources: (i) For census years 1861-1981 : D. Lucas, The Welsh, Irish, Scots and English in Australia (Canberra : Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, 1987), pp.100-101.
(ii) For census year 1986 : Census of Population and Housing (1986).
(iii) Total Australia figures (1861-1981) : C.A. Price et al., Working Papers in Demography, 13. 1984 : Birthplaces of the Australian Population, 1861-1981 (Canberra : Department of Demography, ANU, 1984), Table 1, p.2.

Table 3.9

Sex Ratios (Males per 100 Females) for Persons in Australia Born in Britain and Ireland 1861-1981

CENSUS YEAR	ENGLAND	WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND			TOTAL BRITAIN AND IRELAND
				NORTHERN		REPUBLIC	
1861	169	231	153		109		147
1881	153		136		100		132
1891	151		144		104		135
1901	141	154	137		100		128
1911	145	153	144		101		133
1921	123	139	125		103		120
1933	123	142	125		112		123
1947	117	137	118		115		117
1954	116	136	118	139		131	118
1961	111	125	113	132		130	113
1966	108	120	108	125		124	109
1971	106	114	106	120		117	107
1976	104	110	101	111		113	104
1981	103	110	101	111		112	103

Source:
D. Lucas, The Welsh, Irish, Scots and English in Australia (Canberra : Institute of Multicultural Affairs, 1987) Table 9.1, p.102.

continuous tradition of Welsh participation in South Australia's copper industry from the 1840s to the end of the century.

Given the coupling of Welsh and English birthplace statistics until the 1881 census count,[129] it is difficult to arrive at exact numbers of the Welsh-born in the 'copper triangle' of South Australia in the 1860s and 70s. Other sources, however, refer to the population of Wallaroo as being "predominantly Welsh"[130] in this period. The following report on a Welsh Sunday School Convention in Wallaroo in 1875 in *Yr Ymwelydd* is indicative of at least a substantial Welsh presence in the area:

"The meetings were held in the spacious and convenient chapel of our friends, the Wesleyans on January the 28th and 29th [1875] here in Wallaroo; we had one of the best meetings we've ever had in

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[129]   Price et. al., op.cit., p.5.
[130]   R. Wiltshire, Copper to Gold : A History of Wallaroo (Wallaroo : Corporation of the Town of Wallaroo, 1985) p.7.

relation to the Sunday School movement - large and attentive audiences at every session and excellent preaching, especially in the morning and at the 2.00 o'clock service in the afternoon. ..... There were some 130 [Welsh] children on the stage, all looking cheerful and handsome, and thrilling the audience with their beautiful singing."[131]

(Translated from the Welsh)

As usual, reports of chapel activities are a useful barometer of the 'Welshness' of an area. Surprisingly, there was only one Welsh chapel at Wallaroo, *Eglwys y Tabernacl* (The Chapel of the Tabernacle), which opened on December 30th, 1866[132]. Officially an institution of the Welsh Independents, it was frequented by the Welsh of all denominations, and was therefore known in the area as the 'Welsh Church'. Its second minister, the Reverend John Lloyd, served in that capacity from 1868 till his death in 1904. As an assiduous promoter of Welsh cultural life, and active on behalf of the language[133] for almost 40 years, he must be counted amongst the key figures in the history of the Welsh in Australia. It would seem that he was also acknowledged as such by his contemporaries:

"For many years Mr Lloyd conducted a morning service in Welsh and the church was well attended, but as years went on the greater part of his congregation came to be those who did not understand the language, and so an English service was substituted in the morning. But up to the last Mr Lloyd conducted a week-night service in his native tongue. The Church was always well attended and for many years the building was taxed to its utmost .... Mr Lloyd was famous throughout the state and his services were in great demand".[134]

The Welsh chapel at Wallaroo was at the centre of a range of cultural activities which served to cohere the Welsh population of the area into a self-conscious ethnic community. These activities were conducted almost exclusively

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[131]   Yr Ymwelydd (The Visitor), Vol. I, No. 11, August 16th, 1875. The report quoted was written by the Reverend John Lloyd (see below).
[132]   Wiltshire, Copper to Gold ......, op.cit., p.99.
[133]   Like most Welsh nonconformist ministers of the day, he was also an amateur poet. See his "Lines of Salutation" to the manager of the copper works at Wallaroo (a fellow Welshman) in Appendix IV.
[134]   Letter of the Reverend J.R. Digance, Archivist, Congregational Union of South Australia to E. Gwynne Jones, Librarian, University College of North Wales, Bangor, 25/1/55. University College of North Wales, Bangor, MSS.11915-11925.

through the medium of the Welsh language. Throughout the 1860s and 70s Wallaroo was the hub of Welsh life in South Australia. The Wallaroo Welsh choir for instance, gave performances in neighbouring towns.[135] John Lloyd, played an important role in this respect by offering his services to other chapels throughout South Australia, preaching in Welsh wherever possible.[136] Similarly a society to promote Welsh cultural life in the area was established in 1871 — *Cymdeithias Cymreigyddion Wallaroo*. (The Society of the Welsh of Wallaroo).[137] Its commitment to the fostering of a sense of ethnic identity amongst the Welsh is illustrated by the following report of its fifth meeting, in January 1872, in *Yr Australydd*:

> "It is felt here [in Wallaroo] as everywhere else where the Welsh are gathered that there is a need for a Welsh patriotic song that would be known to everyone - a song that would stir Welsh hearts on hearing it being sung. I've heard much mention of this from time to time, but I believe that one hasn't appeared to date. We would like to hear that the Committee of the next Eisteddfod in Victoria (to which we refer as the vantage point for the distribution of news in the Australian States) offers a prize for the best 'Patriotic Song' in Welsh. [After all] the proud English revel in their 'Britannia Rules the Waves' and the Scots veritably glow when they hear 'Scots wha ha'e wi' Wallace Bled'."[138] (Translated from the Welsh)

The social and cultural activities of the Welsh were regularly reported in the 'Wallaroo Times', *including an occasional item in the Welsh language* — an

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[135]   e.g. in Moonta in March 1869 to a gathering of the Welsh in that town in the chapel of the primitive Methodists *Yr Australydd*, Vol. III, No. 5, May 1869.

[136]   On December 27th, 1874 for instance he delivered a sermon in Welsh "to a gathering of 70 to 80" in the Presbyterian Church in Flinders Street, Adelaide. "It is very unusual", the report in Yr Ymwleydd reads, "to witness an audience of Welsh people listening to a sermon in Welsh in this town. We believe that the main reason for this is that there are few of the old nation (sic) living here". *Yr Ymwelydd*, Vol. I, No. 5, February 16th, 1875. The following May he was at Kapunda where he gave a sermon "in Welsh and English". Ibid, June 16th, 1875.

[137]   'Cymreigyddion' has a slightly different connotation to 'Cymraeg' (Welsh) and is more inclusive of the non-Welsh-speaking Welsh, a necessity it would seem by 1871. Hence 'Cymdeithas Cymreigyddion Wallaroo' translates into the Society of the Welsh of Wallaroo rather than 'The Welsh Society of Wallaroo'.

[138]   Yr Australydd, Vol. II, No. 1, February 1872. The present Welsh national anthem 'Hen Wlad fy Nhadau' (The Land of My Fathers) had been adopted 16 years previously in 1856. Presumably what the author of this report (one Ap Gwyn) had in mind was an alternative popular song, one that would be immediately recognisable as the unofficial Welsh anthem.

unusual practice in English language newspapers outside of Wales. The following example is of particular interest in the context of this study:

"Wales, The Welshman and the Welsh Language

My dear compatriots, on the request of the owners and editor of the Wallaroo Times, I have agreed to write an article for them in the Welsh language ..... on the above topic. .....What I intend to do is to convince other nationalities around us that Wales, the Welshman and the Welsh language, can stand up and be counted in the company of any other country nationality and language ....To this end I hope someone can be found to translate the articles I intend to contribute. If no one is willing there seems little point in writing for the Welsh alone....... By writing these articles I hope to provide the Welshman [in Wallaroo] with the means to fight for his country, his language and his nation. It is with the hope that the Welsh will strive to bring up their children in the beloved old Welsh language, that I end this time ....."(Translated from the Welsh)

I.G.A."[139]

His call to the Welsh parents of Wallaroo seems to have gone unheeded. By the time of John Lloyd's death in 1904 the Welsh language had long been in retreat in the copper towns of South Australia. Twenty years later, in 1924 the 'Blwyddiadur' reported that every Welsh 'cause' had been 'totally extinguished' throughout the state and that only two Welsh societies remained, one in Adelaide and the other in Wallaroo.[140]

3.6.2 Newcastle and the Hunter Valley

"The Newcastle-Sydney coalfield has better claims than any other part of the state in which it is located to the title of New South Wales".[141]

As in South Australia and Victoria it was the mining industry which brought the Welsh to New South Wales though not in comparable numbers. As

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[139] *Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal*, July 19th, 1865. The author is unknown.

[140] *Y Blwyddiadur*, 1924, p.96 'Cause' ('Achos' in Welsh) usually refers to a religious cause, but in this context it includes cultural. The reference to the Welsh Society in Adelaide is to one of the three attempts to establish a Welsh society there before the founding of the present 'Cambrian Society of South Australia in 1927' "History of the Cambrian Society of South Australia" (Unpublished manuscript SRG 290, Public Record Office of South Australia. (see also Chapter 8).

[141] E.G. Bowen, "Welsh Emigration Overseas", *The Advancement of Science*, Vol. XVII, No. 67 (September 1960), p.261.

late as 1851 there were only 520 Welsh-born residents in the colony (Table 3.4).
Ten years later, in 1861, when the population of New South Wales had reached
350,860[142] the Welsh-born component had climbed to only 1,378, a meagre 0.3%
of the total.[143] Of this number almost half were to be found in Sydney and the
coalfield districts around Newcastle to the north. The remainder were spread very
thinly throughout the country areas of the colony. One of the first references to
the Welsh in New South Wales is the following notice in the Sydney Morning
Herald of late February 1859:

> "SAINT DAVID'S DAY OR THE PATRIOTIC DAY OF THE
> ANCIENT BRITONS WHO CALL THEMSELVES CYMRY. The
> Welsh Protestant Congregation propose to hold a TEA MEETING in
> their chapel, JAMISON STREET, on Tuesday next, being the 1st
> day of March commonly called St. David's Day. ...... Several
> ministers will address the meeting in English and Welsh.
>
> The Welsh Choir will sing Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs in
> their own ancient language.
>
> The proceeds of this Service will go towards the support of the
> Sydney Welsh Christian Mission, the Object of which is the
> preaching of the gospel to the Welsh-speaking natives of the
> principality who are located in Sydney, *most of whom belong to the
> working class.* (Own italics)
> The meeting will commence about six o'clock.
>
> WILLIAM DAVIES, Secretary Dry Dock Sydney, 25th
> February.
> *AT Y CYMRY : EI IAITH A GADWANT, EI NER A FOLIANT*
> [To the Welsh : their language they shall keep, their Lord
> they shall worship]".[144]

Although there has been a tendency in Welsh emigration studies to ignore
the social spread of nineteenth century migrant background, the reference to the
working class status of the Sydney Welsh is probably correct. The likes of David

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142   Census of the Colony of New South Wales, 1861, p.14.
143   Table 3.8.
144   Sydney Morning Herald, February 26th, 1859.

MAP D

MUNICIPALITIES OF NEWCASTLE, NSW, 1891
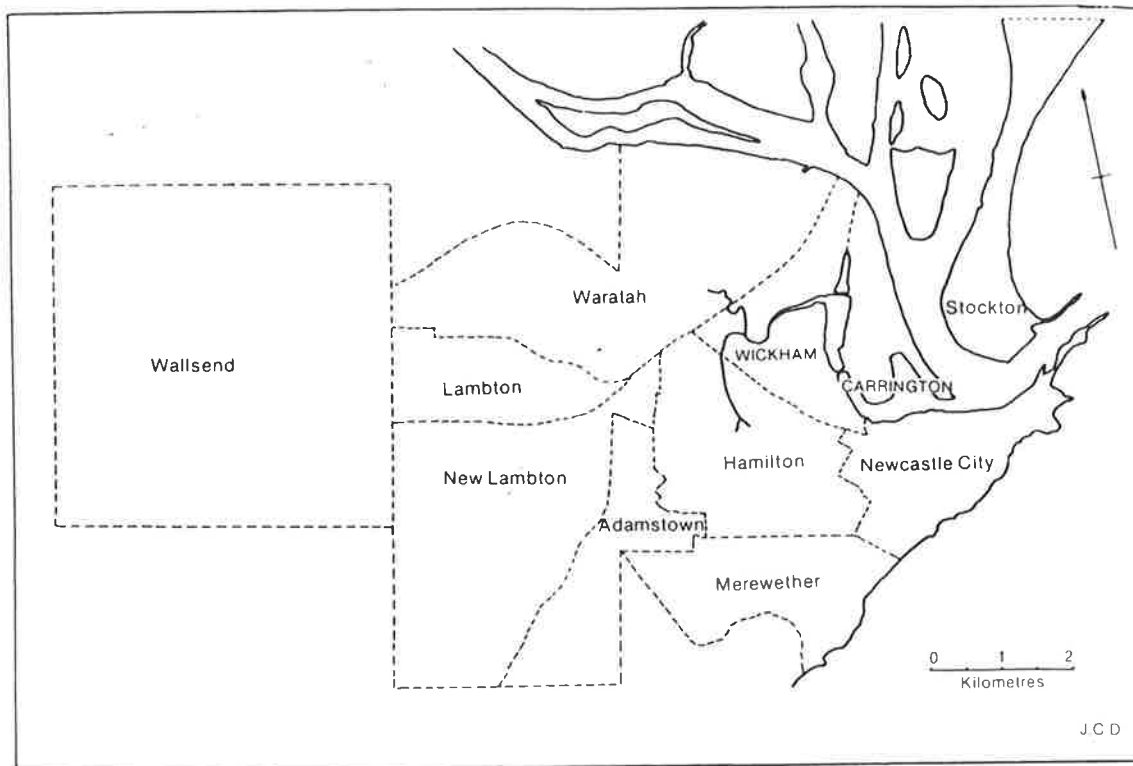
Note: Map boundaries shown are those of 1916 - 1924 which incorporate two slight changes since 1891:
(i) Extension of western boundary of Newcastle city into Hamilton and
(ii) Incorporation of Municipality of Plattsburg in Wallsend.

Source: J. C. Docherty, Newcastle: The Making of an Australian City (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1983), p10.

Jones, the founder of the eponymous department store chain,[145] were almost certainly a rarity in the late 1850s. The advertisement also marked the beginning of a search by the Sydney Welsh for a permanent place of worship that did not end until after the Second World War.[146] Yet as the editor of *Yr Ymwelydd* commented when the names of 30 new subscribers to his journal were sent to him, there was manifestly "a Welsh feeling" there. "We hope", he continued, ":that that feeling will be refined on that which characterises the Welsh in every country *namely their clinging to the Welsh language as the language of worship"*.[147] (own italics) Clearly, in New as in Old South Wales it was the general opinion that the Welsh language and nonconformity were mutually dependent for survival.

Apart from a small concentration of miners in the coalfield town of Greta in the 1870s,[148] the major destination, other than Sydney, of Welsh migrants to New South Wales, however, was Newcastle and the Hunter Valley coalfields to the north. The pattern of settlement was now familiar, in that when the Welsh — like the Cornish — came in substantial numbers to a particular area, it was usually in response to a call for specialist skills in the mining industry. In Newcastle the demand was for coal miners. There is evidence of a small number of Welsh (and Cornish) miners in the area as early as 1840,[149] but it was not until the late 1850s,

[145]   By 1860 David Jones was said to have accummulated "a fortune of $150,000" Williams, Cymry Awstralia ...... op.cit., p.106.

[146]   The chapel in Jamison Street was evidently rented. When J. Herbert Roberts visited the city on his world tour of 1884-5 he was surprised "not to find a regular Welsh cause and chapel at Sydney". J.H. Roberts, A World Tour Being a Year's Diary, Written 1884-85. (Printed for private circulation, n.d.)
Although a number of Welsh ethnic organisations were founded in the years to follow, including the Cymmrodorion Society of Sydney in 1888, the Sydney Welsh worshipped in a number of hired premises until the acquisition of the present Welsh church in Chalmers Street in 1947. See "The Origin of the Welsh Church in Sydney, New South Wales" MS. 3007, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

[147]   Yr Ymwelydd, Vol. I, No. 7, April 16th, 1875.

[148]   Here too it seems the attempt to establish a chapel was unsuccessful. ibid May 16th, 1875. Little is known of the small Welsh community of Greta but as late as 1891 there were 52 Welsh-born residents living in the town - a sizeable number by Welsh standards. Census of New South Wales, 1891, Table IX.

[149]   At this stage it seems that the Welsh in Newcastle were known mainly for their insubordination!: "The Welsh ..... struck work soon after arrival and were castigated again and again. Captain King [the mine owner] ..... commented that he had never met a more impertinent set of rogues and that most of them had been concerned with the Chartist factions [see Chapter 2], and

when the coal trade experienced boom conditions, that the Welsh presence in Newcastle was noteworthy. In the years which followed, especially after 1876 when mining became an approved occupation for assisted passage, successive migrant arrivals from Wales, South Wales in particular, created in this corner of New South Wales, what turned out to be the most enduring of the Welsh communities in Australia. Regular services in the Welsh language were still being held at the Merewether chapel as late as 1935,[150] and the last 'Welsh funeral' is reported to have taken place in Newcastle two years earlier.[151]

Successive census counts after 1861 show that the Welsh settled in varying proportions, in each of the eleven municipalities constituting greater Newcastle, almost all of which were creations of the coalmining industry. (see Map D). Their numbers increased from a modest 286 in 1861 to 582 in 1871, reaching 1,181 twenty years later in 1891.[152]

Again, as in the gold towns of Victoria, the imbalance of the sexes is evident. Their proportion to the general population and total numbers were highest in Stockton, Merewether, Lambton and Wallsend, and it is these four townships that are mentioned most frequently in the Welsh literary sources. The reason is predictable: it was in these areas, especially Merewether that they built all of their chapels. According to the *Australydd* they numbered seven at one stage, the doors of four of which were still open in 1872.

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have brought with them a spirit of insubordination that will be difficult to subdue. He was convinced that their turbulent behaviour on the voyage and in the colony signified a similar record before immigration and contended that their emigration was no doubt a great benefit to the neighbourhood where they worked and lived" J.W. Turner, Coal Mining in Newcastle 1801-1900, Newcastle History Monograph No. 9, (Newcastle : The Council of the City of Newcastle, New South Wales, 1982), p.41.

[150]   J.C. Docherty, "The Second City : Social and Urban Change in Newcastle, New South Wales, 1900-1929", Ph.D. Dissertation, Australian National University, Canberra, 1977, p.23.

[151]   A newspaper article on the closure of the Merewether Welsh church in 1979, includes a claim that the last "Welsh funeral" was held in the town in 1953. Newcastle Morning Herald, May 26th, 1979.

[152]   Census of New South Wales, 1861,1871 and 1891 respectively. In each census count the proportion of Welsh-born in Newcastle was far higher than for NSW as a whole, e.g., in 1891 it was 2.5% in the Newcastle area (Table 3.10) compared with 0.4% in the colony as a whole.

These were located as follows:[153]

- Lambton (Bethel), est. 1868 (Independent)

- Glebe, est. 1862 (Independent)

- Wallsend, est. 1864 (Independent)

- Merewether, est. 1865 (Baptist)

Table 3.10

Welsh-Born Population of the Eleven Municipalities of Newcastle, New South Wales in 1891

MUNICIPALITY	WELSH-BORN MALES	WELSH-BORN FEMALES	TOTAL WELSH-BORN	TOTAL POPULATION	WELSH-BORN AS % OF TOTAL POPULATION
Stockton	117	79	196	2417	8.1
Merewether	114	96	210	4339	4.8
Lambton	84	69	153	3436	4.4
Wallsend	74	63	137	3644	3.7
New Lambton	25	18	43	1548	2.7
Carrington	28	9	37	2137	1.7
Hamilton	47	36	83	4844	1.7
Waratah	30	17	47	2718	1.7
Wickham	63	55	118	6582	1.7
Adamstown	20	10	30	2030	1.4
Newcastle City	79	48	127	12914	0.9
TOTAL	681	500	1181	46609	2.5

Source: Census of NSW, 1891 (Table IX)

As in the other Welsh communities in Australia, the chapels served as the custodians of the language and the focal points of all Welsh cultural activity: *Eisteddfodau, cymanfaoedd canu, nosweithiau Llawen, Cyfarfodydd pregethu* — the full panoply of Welsh nonconformist culture previously discussed in Chapter II was on almost continuous display in the Newcastle District from the 1860s to at least the end of the century. Something of the extraordinary vigour of this 'chapel culture' in its reproduced form on the Hunter Valley coalfields of New South

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[153] Yr Australydd, Vol. I, No. 6, September 1871. The combined membership of the three Independent churches is given as 55.

PLATE 3
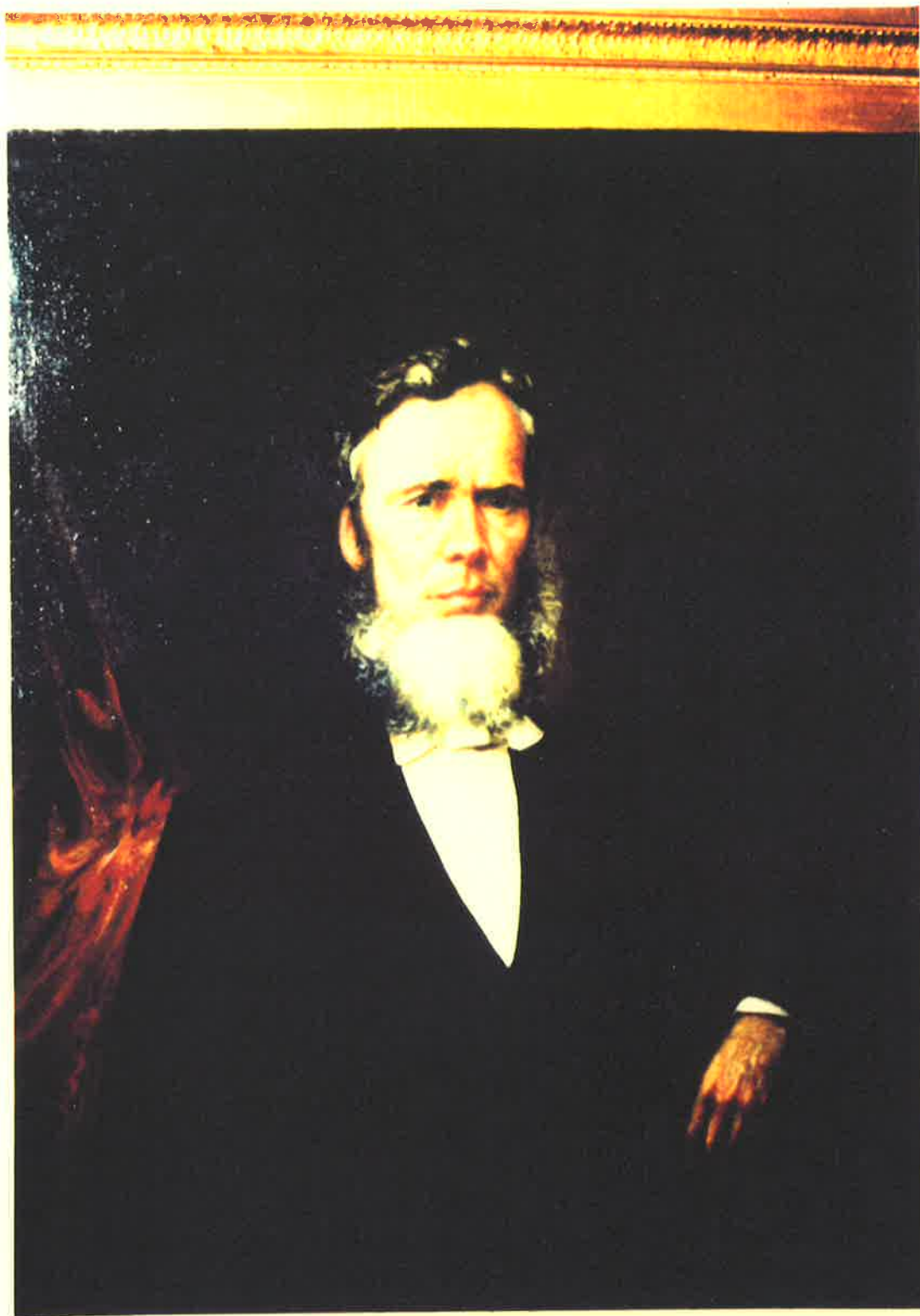
The Reverend Evan Lewis (1821 - 1902), Minister of Bethel (Welsh) Congregational Church, Lambton, Newcastle, New South Wales.

(National Library of Wales, PE 3320)

Wales is conveyed by the following letter to the editor of one of the Welsh language journals of the day:

> "I'm afraid that because of the weather, today's Welsh *Cymanfa* at Wallsend was a little bit of a disappointment ...... On Monday, however, I shall be going to a meeting of the Welsh Literary Society in *Lambton* — I hope it will be lively and constructive. We shall be taking a choir along and 'if justice be done' as the bards say, there is no argument or doubt that we will win the first prize.....You can see that I'm enclosing the programme for our Eisteddfod Gadeiriol[154]..... Tell Wil that we would appreciate him coming over here to assist us with chairing the successful bard!
> We would be pleased if some of the musicians of Wales could establish a sort of musical agency in this country. It's so difficult to obtain appropriate pieces in the tonic SOL-FA system of notation[155] over here".
>
> ....
>
> <div align="right">
>
> *Namorydd*
> Glebeland [Newcastle, NSW]
> Christmas Day, 1886"[156]
> (Translated from Welsh)
>
> </div>

In the 1860s and 70s most chapel services were conducted in Welsh; it seems they were also well attended:

> "Families came from lengthy distances, some walking, some in buggies and sulkies, and it was an inspiring sight to see the Stockton families trudging along ..... leaving home at 9 a.m. to return at 9.30 p.m."[157]

The undoubted vitality of Welsh religious life — and with it, of the Welsh language — in the Newcastle area, was due in no small part to the efforts of Evan Lewis, yet again a nonconformist minister. (Plate 3). A native of Llanwrthwl, Breconshire, Lewis arrived in Newcastle in 1864 to take charge of the three

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[154] An Eisteddfod in which the winning bard is chaired.

[155] Sol-Fa classes were an integral part of Welsh Sunday School activities from the 1860s and helped to lay the foundation for the Welsh Choral tradition. Rees, Wales, op.cit., p.72.

[156] Cyfaill Yr Aelwyd: Cylchgrawn Misol At Wasanaeth Oriau Hamddenol Y Cymry (Friend of the Hearth : Monthly Journal for the Service of the Welsh in their Leisure Hours) Vol. 7, No. 6 (March, 1887), p.152. A number of letters by this individual (under the bardic pseudonym of 'Namorydd') outlining Welsh cultural activities in Newcastle, were published in this journal in the 1887-8 period. In a subsequent letter he tells, for example, of the foundation of a Cambrian Society in the city.

[157] "A Brief History of the Merewether Church (As Far as Memory Serves)" (manuscript), AB 4303-8, Newcastle Public Library, Newcastle.

Independent Welsh churches in the area: at Glebe, Minmi and Wallsend. Following the flooding of the Wallsend Mines at some time in 1866, he and his congregation moved to Lambton, Newcastle (see Map D), where they set about constructing what was to be the Bethel Congregational Church.[158]   From its opening in 1868 to shortly before his death in 1902, Lewis, as minister of Bethel, devoted all of his energies to the Welsh 'cause' in the Newcastle district.   In the forefront of his concerns was the preservation of the Welsh language as the language of religious service.   In the early years there were few problems.   The chapels were full and the language held its own, not only on Sundays but in the endless array of weekday activities which the chapels supported.   From the beginning however the incursions of English were in evidence, not only in Bethel, but in the other Welsh churches.   At the traditional *'Cyfarfod Te'* (Tea Meeting)[159] to open the new Baptist Church in 1868, the Chairman, it was said would have

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[158]   The stages in the establishment of the 'Welsh cause' at Lambton are fairly typical of those followed by the Welsh elsewhere in Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century namely:

Stage (i):   services held in private houses in the Newcastle area (or occasionally in the open air as on the goldfields.

Stage (ii):   the construction of a temporary slab building "facing De Vitre Street" (elsewhere the temporary church might be wooden or, on the goldfields, calico)

Stage (iii):   the construction of Bethel (i.e. of a permanent stone building). Something of the earnestness of Welsh Nonconformity in its early stages in Australia is conveyed by the following extracts from a contemporary account of its construction by one of the individuals involved:

> *"One day about seven of us were fencing this ground; it was a warm day and we were taking a spell in the shade of a little building. One of the party said 'To see whether we are in earnest or not [about building a permanent chapel] let us prove it. I am prepared to give 5 pounds towards it, and one pound each for my three sons. At once each of the party promised 5 pounds .... We decided that in order to save expense we would bind ourselves one to another and that we would quarry the stones and bring them to the place free of charge. We worked hard and remained true to each other, without a hitch. I nned not mention it but it was a big contract for about seven or eight men".*

Those concerned, it should be remembered, were miners who normally went into the mines at two o'clock in the morning. Cited in The Newcastle and Hunter District Historical Society. Bulletin 43 (September 1976) pp.49-54.

[159]   Something of a ritual social gathering (usually in the chapels) amongst the Welsh in Australia. All important occasions were traditionally celebrated by 'tea meetings'.

liked to address those present in Welsh but "seeing so many English friends present [he decided] to forego himself that pleasure" [and spoke in English].[160]

The problem surfaced more seriously at Wallsend Chapel in 1874 as the following letter to the Editor of the local Miner's Advocate shows:

> "Now, Mr. Editor, we wish to state that the Reverend Evan Lewis never was our lawfully recognised minister. We told him from the very first that preaching in Welsh would not take in Wallsend and refused to give a pledge to support him. The call given to Mr. Lewis was from Lambton not from us. We did however promise him if he would preach in English; and he complied for a few weeks. We also told him he could preach as well in English as in Welsh for he read his sermons. Just about this time, a few Welshmen came over from Victoria and wished a service in their own language when a meeting was convened to consider the subject. We gave consent to Mr. Lewis to preach in Welsh at times. but mark the spirit of Mr. Lewis. At this very meeting he proposed that all the services should be in Welsh and got it carried by those who did not belong to our church, but strangers ......
>
> It was said by some of those strangers in Lambton, 'Crush the English out of the place'. Thus, you see, Mr. Editor, the oppression on the other side. Mr. Lewis and a few strangers wish to change the order of our church from English to Welsh .... However, we will not let any set of men dictate to us the mode of worship we are to render to God, for the Bible is our guide in these things.
>
> FAIR PLAY"[161]

These comments are illustrative of the linguistic divide present in most of the Welsh communities in Australia by the 1870s. Lewis however persevered and continued to offer services in Welsh at Wallsend and Lambton but, to a declining proportion of Welsh speakers in his congregation. For this reason, and "realising that the growing generation would become English-speaking Australians" he took an active role in founding an English Congregational Church in the Lambton area. When it was opened on April 21st 1875 "some Welsh

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[160] Newspaper article, March 14th, 1868 'Newspaper Articles relating to the Welsh in Newcastle' Box 499, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth (Newspaper title not reported but is presumably the Newcastle Chronicle).

[161] The Miner's Advocate, January 10th, 1874.

families whose children were English-orientated left Bethel in order to worship with their children in the English church, *which must have been a big sacrifice on the part of those parents"*.[162] (own italics)

These episodes from Evan Lewis' life raise the question of how 'Welsh' were the Welsh of Newcastle by the time of his death in 1902? McEwen in a social and economic study of the Newcastle coalmining districts in the late nineteenth century quotes the Welsh in this area as an example of an ethnic group with a high exogamous marriage rate who nevertheless retained their identity. "In 1901", she maintains, "Welsh sailors in port were entertained with a concert at the Merewether Welsh Baptist Church which ended with everyone singing the Welsh national anthem. Like the Irish, they were united in politics and religion".[163] To this may be added that in 1902 the Merewether Church still offered two Welsh language services each Sunday. More than 30 years later, in 1933, some Welsh services were still being conducted at this church. Even two years after the end of the war, on September 21st, 1947, Newcastle was host to a National *Gymanfa Ganu*, billed as "the greatest Welsh festival ever organised outside Wales".[164]

The overall impression of this and other evidence is of a dogged retention of a substantial degree of ethnic distinctiveness by the Welsh of Newcastle well into the 1930s and perhaps into the post-war period — certainly more so than anywhere else in Australia. Unlike the rough and tumble of the Victorian gold towns with their ever moving work force — profoundly distasteful to the Nonconformist conscience — the New South Wales coalfields promised a more respectable and certainly a less transitory existence. Here, like the Welsh themselves, the general population was overwhelmingly Protestant. Here, too, the

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[162] The Newcastle and Hunter District Historical Society Bulletin 43, op.cit., p.52. Bethel itself was to unite with the English Congregational Church in 1904 (see below).

[163] E. McEwen, "Family History in Australia : some observations on a new field", in P. Grimshaw, C. McConville and E. McEwen (eds), Families in Colonial Australia (Sydney : George Allen & Unwin, 1985, pp.187-8.

[164] Newspaper clipping (presumably the Newcastle Herald, n.d.) included in Minutes of the Newcastle and Hunter Valley District Cambrian Society, AB 4304, Newcastle Public Library.

Welsh were founding members of the Newcastle community with specialist skills in the industry which was its lifeblood; skills which, in 1900 at least, looked like being indefinitely in demand. Even the coaldust-polluted air and the bleak vistas were sufficiently reminiscent of the Rhondda for surrounding towns to be named Neath, Cardiff and Swansea. With five chapels, at least two choirs and an annual Eisteddfod, did it not all add up to another Wales?

Certainly, in the sociological sense, the Welsh concentration in the Newcastle region comes nearer to the definition of "community"[165] than any similar clustering of the Welsh in Australia. Here, though admittedly small in numbers, Welsh families lived in reasonably close proximity and kept in touch through the chapels and the cultural activities of which they were the centre. Unlike the goldfield settlements or even the Blackstone community of Queensland in the 1880s and 90s it was also reasonably stable — continuous over at least half a century or more. That it was a community based on the retention of the Welsh language across several generational lines is more doubtful. Obviously statistical confirmation is unobtainable, but the documentary evidence suggests that in Newcastle as elsewhere in Australia, Welsh, with few exceptions, had little more than a one-generation lifespan. Evan Lewis, as already seen, was fully aware of this possibility. Better, he thought, that the rising generation of non-speakers (and their parents) find salvation in an English Church than not at all. The signs of attrition were there almost from the beginning. A report on the Sunday School at Bethel (Lewis' own chapel) in the *Australydd* of September 1871 found that "*Os oes rhyw fai yn bod dichon mai gormod o'r Saesonaeg yw hyny*" (if there is any fault, it is the excess of English).[166] Whilst the Newcastle and District Cambrian Society, established in 1888, was sufficiently concerned to write to the

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[165]   Price calls for caution in interpreting evidence of "community" or group settlement, as against a mere collection of individuals of the same ethnic origin living in a particular area. The key factor would seem to be the presence of some elements of a 'communal' life. See C.A. Price, "An Historical Approach to Migration and Assimilation" in C.A. Price (ed.) The Study of Immigrants in Australia (Canberra : The Department of Demography, ANU, 1960), p.94.

[166]   Yr Australydd, Vol. 6, No. 1, September 1871.

schoolmaster at Cardiff [NSW] to enquire "why the Welsh flag is not unfurled at Cardiff School on Empire Day"[167] of [1914], it also, from the day of its foundation, maintained the minutes of its meetings in English.

The main problem however was the indifference of the young to tradition, language and religion. It was the perennial concern of the Cambrian Society and the chapels. The chapels themselves, with the exception of the Merewether Church, had capitulated to what after 1900 was seen as inevitable. Thus in 1904, two years after the death of Evan Lewis, Bethel Congregational Church, for four decades the fortress of Welshness in Newcastle, united with its English counterpart. By the terms of union, it was agreed that services be held in English but that as long as not less than twelve persons desired it, a service in Welsh should be conducted once a month".[168] (see Appendix X). The Welsh Congregational Church at Glebe was also a victim of Anglicisation and the indifference of the young. When Mrs. Griffith Griffiths of Glamorgan, Wales, one of the pioneers of the Welsh community in Newcastle, died in 1929, aged 91, she was said to be "the last remaining member".[169] Apart from its ritual use on festive occasions and, alternatively with English, as the language of service at the Merewether Church, Welsh in Newcastle died with the likes of Mrs. Griffith Griffiths.

3.6.3 Blackstone, Queensland

By the turn of the century Queensland had "the greatest ethnolinguistic diversity of any Australian colony",[170] including a sizeable Welsh-born population. Until the late 1860s however there were fewer Welsh settlers there than in any other colony except Western Australia (Table 3.8). The first trickle came largely from the gold diggings of Victoria and New Zealand, attracted by the recent finds

[167] Minute books of the Newcastle and Hunter Valley District Cambrian Society, 1908-1964. (Meeting of 5/12/14) (see Appendix XI).
[168] The Newcastle and Hunter District Historical Society, Bulletin 43, op.cit., p.52.
[169] Maldwyn Rees Collection, (Series 6), MS 6781, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
[170] Clyne, Community Languages .... op.cit., p.9.

in Gympie and Charters Towers. It was at Gympie that the first Welsh chapel in Queensland was established in 1868, a step attributed to the religious zeal of a small number of Welsh women in the district.[171] Predictably, a choir and an Eisteddfod — the first in Queensland — were not far behind.

Charters Towers also attracted a number of Welsh miners in the early 1870s. A letter to *Yr Ymwelydd* in July 1875 requested several copies of that journal for distribution amongst the "15 to 20" Welsh settlers that the respondent estimated were living there at the time.[172] Even they, he complained, were a very unsettled lot, likely "to be there one day and gone the next". Worse still, there was no Welsh 'cause', nor indeed "any place of worship belonging to any denomination in any language anywhere in the vicinity".[173] True, he pointed out there was an Anglican church not too far away, but no real means of increasing in grace. In the next decade things improved considerably. When one Edward Roberts of Panthafodlas, Caernarfonshire, arrived in Charters Towers in July 1886, he found the railway station full of Welsh people waiting to greet him. Amongst them was his brother's wife and two daughters both of whom he was sorry to discover could understand but not speak Welsh.[174] Two years later in September 1888 a Welsh chapel was opened in the town.[175]

The focal point of Welsh activity in Queensland, however, was the Blackstone settlement on the Ipswich Coalfields to the south-west of Brisbane. Again, movement of Welsh settlers to the area was occasioned mainly by mining, and, more specifically, by the express recruitment of his fellow countrymen by Lewis Thomas, the Queensland 'Coal King'.[176] (Plate 4) Thomas, like David Jones, the drapery store magnate, is one of the prime, but generally few, examples

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[171]   Williams, Cymry Awstralia ...... op.cit., p.114.
[172]   Yr Ymwelydd, Vol. I, No.10, July 16th, 1875.
[173]   Ibid.
[174]   "Journal of Emigrant Voyage to Australia by Edward Roberts of Panthafodlas, Caernarfonshire", XM/262/24 Gwasanaeth Archfau Gwynedd (Gwynedd Archives), Caernarfon..
[175]   E.V. Springer, Glimpses of Glory, Charters Towers Centenary, 1872-1972, p.72.
[176]   C. Myers, "The Miner who Lived in a Castle". The Sunday Mail [Brisbane] Color Magazine, August 24th 1969.

of nineteenth century migrants from Wales who prospered in business. Unlike Jones, however, Lewis Thomas channelled his munificence directly to the maintenance of the Welsh language and the forms of cultural life which it supported. Born in 1832 at Talybont, Cardiganshire, Thomas started his working life in a woollen mill at the age of 8. After a period in the South Wales coalmines, he emigrated to Australia in 1859, the year Queensland became a separate colony, to try his luck on the Victorian goldfields. By 1862 he was a coal prospector in the Ipswich area of Queensland. There he located the 'Aberdare Seam' which was to become the Blackstone Aberdare Colliery.[177]

The history of the Blackstone Welsh community began effectively at this point. Lewis, through his relatives in South Wales, directly contracted Welsh miners to work for him in his newly opened mine. In this sense Lewis Thomas 'created' the Welsh community of Blackstone, which like that of the Newcastle area retained a degree of cohesion well into the twentieth century. Although its numerical strength is difficult to estimate[178] the Blackstone community seems to have been extraordinarily close knit.

Miners who worked for Lewis Thomas even attempted to exclude non-Welshmen as fellow-workers. It was reported that they "pleaded with him to send bread and cheese down the mine so that they could work a double shift rather than allow outsiders to come in".[179] Even the divisive influence of Welsh denominationalism was apparently overcome at Blackstone by "a clasping to the Welsh language (*ymlyniad wrth yr iaith Gymraeg).*"[180] When Alfred Nicholas

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[177] Australian Dictionary of Biography (Melbourne : Melbourne University Press, 1966-76), Vol. VI, pp.260-261.

[178] The pairing of 'England and Wales' in the 1881, 1891 and 1901 Queensland census records makes it difficult to assess what proportion of the increase from the 1861 figure of 155 Welsh-born to the (estimated) 3,000 in 1901, shown in Table 3.8 was due to the opening of the Ipswich mines.

[179] Myers, op.cit.

[180] J. Oliver Stephens, "Cymry Queensland" (The Welsh of Queensland), Y Tyst, Vol. LXXII, No. 1895, March 7th, 1946, p.5. Based on the author's earlier account of his visit to Australia in 1928-9. "Ymysg Cymry Awstralia" (Amongst the Welsh of Australia), MS. 20591, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

PLATE 4
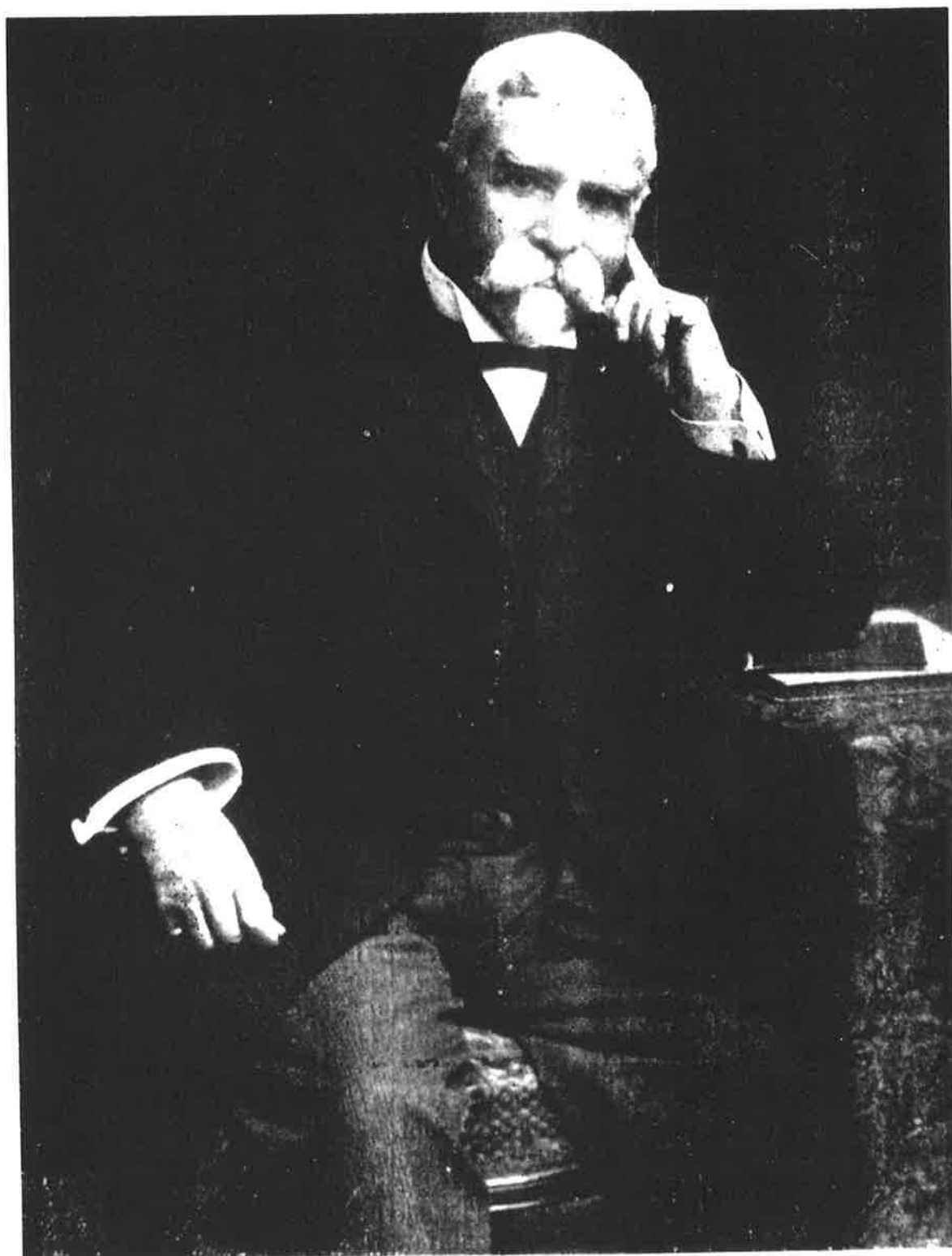
The Hon. Lewis Thomas, M.L.C. (1832 - 1913), the Queensland 'Coal King"

(Reproduction from Souvenir of Ipswich, Jubilee Year 1910, 10th Blackstone and Ipswich Eisteddfod, March 1910, page 1)

first arrived in Blackstone in 1910 to work in the coalmine he was delighted to come across "a group of boys playing marbles all speaking Welsh".[181]

The maintenance of the language and the overcoming of the problem of denominationalism were due in no small part to the founding of a non-denominational chapel in 1883.[182] Following the pattern of establishing a Welsh 'cause' in other parts of Australia, services were held in temporary premises for the next three years. By October, 1886, however, the miners, their wives and children were able to move to the Blackstone United Welsh Church, newly constructed on land donated by Lewis Thomas for the use of the Welsh people of the area ("for as long as water flows") (*tra rhed dwr*).[183] As already seen a number of the chapels in the goldfield towns were also non-denominational, but as was the case in Ballarat the several denominations eventually went their own way. the Blackstone Church was unusual in that it was not only founded on non-denominational lines but has remained so.

Under the patronage of Lewis Thomas and his wife Mary this church became the focal point of all Welsh cultural life in the Blackstone-Ipswich area. The first Eisteddfod that was held there in 1887 was the precursor of annual Welsh Eisteddfods in several towns of the area into the 1890s and eventually of the English-language Queensland Eisteddfod Movement.[184] Undoubtedly the Blackstone Church, and the activities which it spawned, preserved the language and the cultural identity of the people it served for a number of years. For how long it is difficult to know. The anniversary history published in 1933 describes the Sunday School there as having been "a nursery of the Welsh language" but also points out that at the time of writing it was "unfortunately, dying out".[185]

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[181]   Letter from Alfred Nicholas (c.1910), Maldwyn Rees Collection(Series 3), MS. 6781, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
[182]   L.D. Lewis, Jubilee Celebrations, 1883-1933 : History of the United Welsh Church of Blackstone (Brisbane : William Brooks & Co., 1933), pp.6-19 passim.
[183]   Ibid., p.6.
[184]   "Souvenir Eisteddfod Programme of the Queensland Eisteddfod, 1939", The Evan Thomas Collection, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
[185]   Lewis, op.cit., p.17.

3.7   Welsh Core Cultural Values in Australia in the Nineteenth Century

"The prospect of studying Welsh *'Over There'* does not depress me
— no, it cheers me. I have been trying to contrive ways to avoid
that end of the Hereafter because all its described aspects and
conditions are so unthinkably stupid and uninviting, but I feel
encouraged about it now, and am going to reform and make a try for
it".

MARK TWAIN[186]

The preceding outline of Welsh settlement in Australia in the nineteenth
century suggests that the Welsh were distinguished by their adherence to two
fundamental core cultural values. These were the Welsh language and the Welsh
version of nonconformity.   Such was their total interdependence that, in the
nineteenth century at least, neither could survive without the other. In this respect
the Welsh language was a more vital component of identity to the Welsh than
Gaelic for instance was to the Irish. In the absence of Gaelic the Irish could after
all fall back on Catholicism as "a defiant profession of separate identity".[187]   The
Welsh had no such refuge.   Theirs was a cultural cul-de-sac.   The death of the
language invited the death of their religion and vice versa.   The death of both
everywhere heralded the collapse of Welsh cultural identity.   The language linked
to religion was undoubtedly the main cohesive force within the Welsh
communities. They drew much of their strength as active, self-conscious and self-
defining cultural entities from the fairly high proportion within them of those who
spoke it as their natural language, and, even more so perhaps, from those who
spoke no other.[188] Even when, as has been shown-as early as the 1870s in some

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[186]   Letter of Mark Twain to Father David Morgan Jones, an Anglican Priest in the Esk Parish
in the Diocese of Brisbane, December 27th, 1906. A Letter from Mark Twain (Brisbane : Shapcott
Press, 1964).

[187]   O'Farell, The Irish ....., op.cit., p.111.

[188]   It could be argued that since bilingualism is the main pre-condition for language shift, the
survival within a language group of a pool of monoglot speakers is conducive to maintenance.
Although monoglot speakers of Welsh in Australia were probably few in the second half of the
nineteenth century, there is some evidence of their presence, e.g. (i) a number of Welsh settlers in
Ballarat in the 1850s attended English classes. The Ballarat Star, March 13th, 1857. (ii) in Yr
Australydd of August, 1871 there is a report on a settlement of 15 Welsh families in the area of
Smeaton, Victoria, *"none of whom"*, it was said, *"spoke English"*. Yr Australydd, Vol. I, No. 5,
August, 1871.

localities-it ceased to exist as a living force, its memory and its symbolic status continued to serve as the principal badge of Welshness.

Proposals for its maintenance and transmission were varied and frequent.[189] From the late 1860s, these were mainly expressed in *Yr Australydd* and its successor the *Ymwelydd*,[190] the two Welsh-language Victorian monthly journals that have been the sources of much of the evidence presented in this chapter. Their editor, William Meirion Evans,[191] took up the cudgels for the cause of the language in Australia from the day that *the Australydd* went to press in July of 1866 to that of its closure in September of 1872. His general position is outlined in the editorial of December, 1871. It follows a decision by the Victorian Government to place public notices (in Welsh) in the pages of the Australydd:

> "We have received a number of letters [from readers] welcoming the recognition of our nation and our language by the Government of Victoria. .... It seems that in these colonies there is barely a trace of that old haughtiness towards the weaker nations. ...... The idea is now gaining ground that it is not the conversion of the Welsh into Englishmen that will assure their success but our education and improvement through the medium of our own language ..... *It is our*

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[189]   One proposal was for the establishment of a National Association of the Welsh communities in Australia. This, it was felt, would give the Welsh a higher profile within the general population: "If our language should die out and our identity be extinguished ...... let us at least do something to promote ourselves". Yr Australydd, Vol. I, No. 1, April 1871.
The idea was eventually realised in 1931 with the founding of the "Australian Association of Welsh Societies" (Undeb Y Cymdeithasau Cymreig). Llythyr Newyddion (Newsletter of the Association) Vol. I, No. 3, June, 1935.

[190]   See previous references. See also Plate 5 Appendix VI.

[191]   As mentioned earlier, it was Meirion Evans who as a lay preacher amongst the Welsh community in Burra, delivered the first sermon in the Welsh language in Australia, in 1849. From there he moved to the goldfields of Victoria and subsequently back to Wales. By 1861 he and his family had settled in the United States where he was ordained as a Calvinistic Methodist minister. After his return to Australia in 1863 he served in this capacity in the Sebastopol-Ballarat area and was the prime mover in establishing the Calvinistic Methodist Connection in Victoria. He was also the editor of 3 Welsh language journals (i) *Yr Ymgeisydd* (1865), only one copy of which appeared (ii) *Yr Australydd* (July 1866-September 1872) and (iii) *Yr Ymwelydd* (October 1874 - December 1876). All collapsed, Evans maintained, because of lack of support from the Australian Welsh communities. Meirion Evans was also largely responsible for establishing the 'national' Eisteddfod in Victoria (see below) and later for the founding of the Cambrian Society in Melbourne (1872). It was his initiative that eventually led to the erection of the present Welsh Church in La Trobe Street, Melbourne. **On an individual level, his is arguably the most seminal contribution to Welsh cultural maintenance in Australia in the nineteenth century**. E. Williams, *"Pregethwr Cymraeg Cyntaf Awstralia"* (The First Welsh Preacher in Australia) Cymru, Vol. XIX, No. 3, October 15th, 1900; The Dictionary of Welsh Biography (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1959) p.259.

duty to insist on our rights as a nation; not only to the maintenance of our language but to have the authorities [ie. the Government] use it also when they have anything to put before us as British subjects".[192] (own italics)

(Translated from the Welsh.)

This is the voice of the stridently confident Welsh Nonconformity of the 1870s that was discussed in the previous chapter. Nor was William Meirion Evans alone in his almost aggressive championing of the language cause and of the 'rights' of the Welsh as a 'nation'. His readers responded with equal enthusiasm throughout the 1860s and 1870s. The preservation of the language and, with it, of Welsh cultural identity was an almost continuous subject of debate carried on the pages of the *Australydd* during these decades. The following extract from a letter to the editor of September 1871 is an example:

"I have thought deeply and earnestly about the means we should adopt to elevate her[193] [the Welsh language] to her rightful standing, to argue her worthiness, to multiply her friends and to permanently silence her enemies ..... namely:

1. That no religious denomination anywhere in this colony conducts Sunday School in any language other than Welsh
....

2. That every minister ceases the habit of announcing hymn numbers and the pages in the hymn books in English .....

3. That all the Welsh get used to the idea of conversing with each other on matters of business or during social encounters, in Welsh, and not mimic the Englishman by their use of a foreign tongue.

4. That every Welshman encourages the spread of the language by purchasing Welsh books.

5. That those of the Welsh who are educated write treatises in English on the excellence of the Welsh language, and publish them in English-language journals.

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[192] Yr Awstralydd, Vol. I, No.9, December, 1871.
[193] Language is feminine in Welsh.

PLATE 5
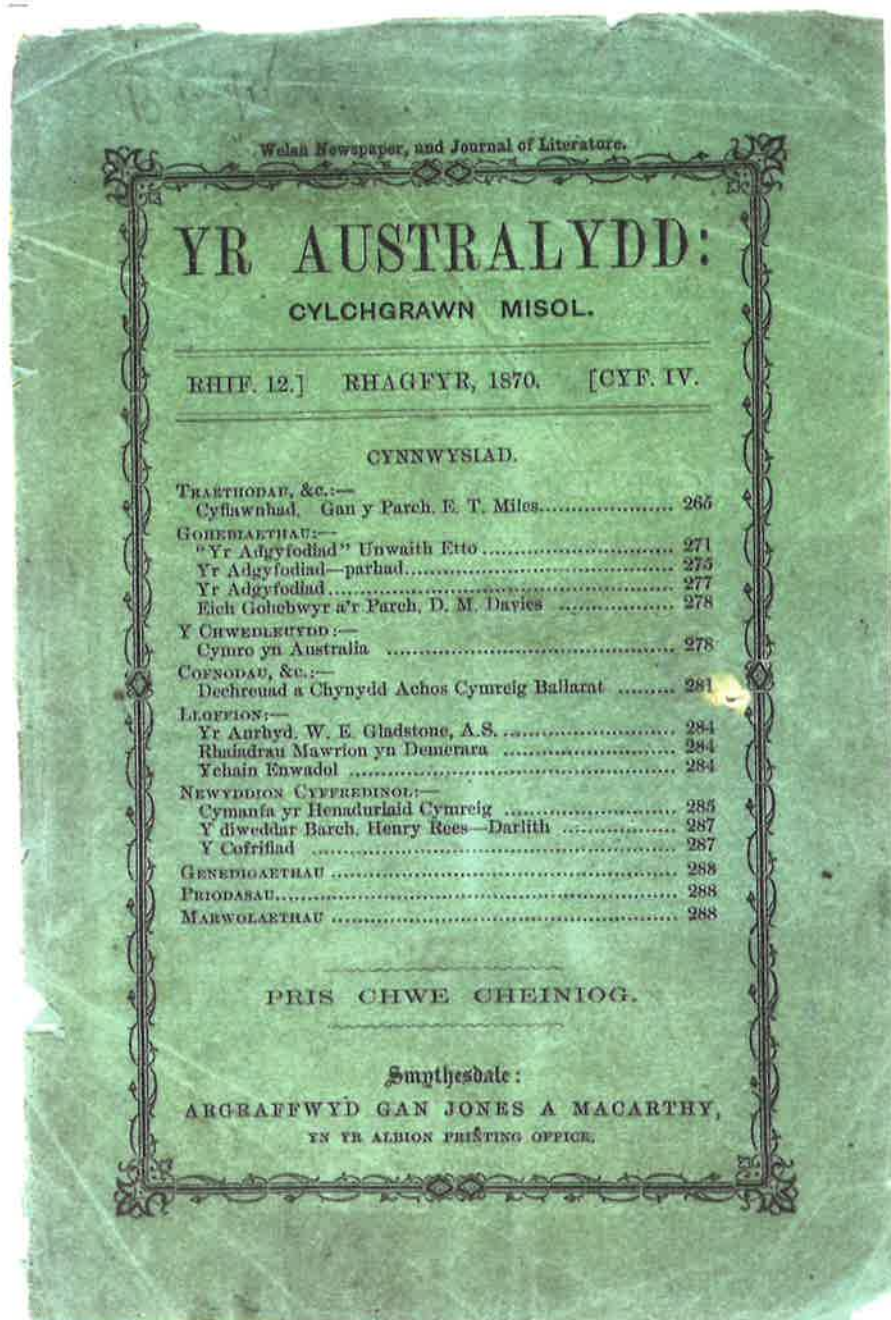
Front cover of Yr Australydd, No. 12, Vol. IV, December, 1870, The Welsh Language Monthly Journal published in Victoria from July, 1866 to September, 1872.

(National Library of Wales Reproduction)

6.   That all Welsh ministers, of every religious denomination ....
      exhort every Welsh family within the territorial boundaries
      of their ministries, to converse with their children in Welsh
      and to establish a Welsh Sunday School in every chapel
      where there isn't one at present.

7.   That Welsh families fight on behalf of their language and
      take active steps towards its maintenance by educating their
      children by means of it, and making them aware of its
      eminence.

                                        Gwladgarwr (Patriot)[194]

"Gwladgarwr's" letter is not untypical of much of the material in the
columns of the *Australydd* during these years; it is also a pointer to some of the
problems that were being experienced.   What is clearly in evidence however is
that, though the difficulties were acknowledged, *the possibility of maintenance and
transmission was being very seriously entertained.*   Failure to do so, the readers of
the Australydd were constantly told, meant the end of any Welsh cultural presence
in Australia.[195]

The reference to the Sunday Schools is significant for they were virtually
the only educational agencies of transmission.   Their importance in this respect is
better appreciated when it is remembered that, in the Welsh tradition, they were
attended by both adults and children.   Certainly their contributions were widely
acknowledged within the Welsh communities.   Thus the account in the *Australydd*
of a public meeting at Ballarat in March, 1869 "on the occasion of the opening of a
new library for the service of the Sunday School" at the Armstrong Street

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[194]   Yr Awstralydd, Vol. 6, No. 1, September, 1871.
[195]   This eventually led to a call for the establishment of a Welsh colony on the Patagonian
model.   The notion was first mooted in the early 1860s when concerned individuals began to
despair of ever maintaining the Welsh language in Victoria.   It took the form initially of a planned
Welsh exodus to the colony (Y Wladfa) in Patagonia.   This was abandoned, however, when **news of
an alternative plan to establish a Welsh colony in Australia** came through.   Nothing, it seems,
was done for at least four years.   In the *Australydd* of September 1871 however a broad outline of
the proposal appears along with appeals for support.   By this time an approach had already been
made to the Victorian Government and possible sites for a "Welsh Agricultural Settlement"
(*Sefydliad Amaethyddol Cymreig*) discussed "Don't let this idea die, whatever you do", pleaded a
concerned respondent.   Die it did, presumably from insufficient support.   There was little mention
of a Welsh colony after 1871.   Yr Australydd, Vol. I, No. 12, June 1867, and Vol. I, No. 6,
September 1871.   See also Jones, Annibynwyr Cymreig ....op.cit., p.26.

Independent Chapel,[196] included the proud reminder that, with one exception, the Welsh Sunday School *was the first educational institution in the town*.[197] Similarly, the Sunday School at the Blackstone Church in Queensland was, as previously noted, credited with being "the nursery of the Welsh language" in that area in the 1880s.

Maintenance of the language was in fact seen to be a vital function of all Welsh cultural institutions, especially the Eisteddfod. "Its object", said a report of the 1889 Eisteddfod in Brisbane, "is to encourage vocal and instrumental music and the general literature of the Welsh *and to maintain the Welsh language*".[198] The Eisteddfodau (pl.) are therefore a useful barometer of the Welshness of a given area at any period in the second half of the nineteenth century. The 'Victorian Eisteddfod' as the principal Welsh gathering point in the goldfield towns from 1863 to 1869 serves as an example. Alternating mainly between Ballarat and Melbourne (Table 3.11) it acquired during these years the status of a Welsh national cultural event and was referred to as such — *Yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol* (the National Eisteddfod) — by contemporaries.

The first two were described as 'thoroughly' Welsh and very successful. Yet even by the time of the third 'National' in Ballarat in 1865, the Anglicising process is in evidence - not yet in the programme of events[199] or in the attendance figures[200] but in the president's[201] address:

> "The Eisteddfod is our only national institution where we forget all
> our distinctive peculiarities and disagreements in the great fact that
> we are Welsh ... A great error has prevailed, and still prevails .....
> that the primary object of this institution is the prevention of the

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[196]   See Table 3.7.

[197]   Yr Australydd. Vol. 3, No. 4, April 1869.

[198]   "Souvenir Eisteddfod Programme ....", op.cit.

[199]   The Mechanics Hall in Ballarat where the second day's events were held was reported to be "crowded to excess" The Ballarat Star, December 17th, 1865.

[200]   The programme for the 1869 Eisteddfod (the last of the 'national' series) as can be seen (Appendix VII) was still totally Welsh. By 1887 it was almost totally English (Appendix IX).

[201]   The Reverend J. Farr, Minister of the Independent (Welsh) Church in Sebastopol. Y Beirniad. XIV, October 1872.

English language spreading and the retaining, therefore, of the Welsh language as our only tongue ..... And some of our fellow colonists have fallen into the same error by supposing that our only aim is to prevent our children being acquainted with the English language and from coming out of their national circle. If the assertion be true, what is the meaning of sending our children to the best educational establishments in the city of Melbourne?... I fully endorse the sentiments of Sir Thomas Lloyd the President of one of our national Eisteddfods in Wales, when he urged his countrymen to cling to the Welsh language on Sabbath days, because it was the language of the pulpit [and] Sabbath schools, the language in which they were taught to whisper the first prayer, in short the language of religion; but when Monday morning came he counselled them to learn and to speak the English ..... the language of commerce and of the most enterprising nation on the face of the earth".[202]

TABLE 3.11

Locations of the Victorian 'National' Eisteddfod 1863-69

YEAR	LOCATION
1863	Ballarat
1864	Castlemaine
1865	Ballarat
1866	Melbourne
1867	Ballarat
1868	Ballarat
1869	Ballarat

By 1868 predictions of the death of the 'National' were appearing in the columns of the *Australydd*. They proved to be accurate. Poor attendance, departures from the goldfields and perhaps the endemic indifference of the Welsh community which the Australydd constantly and bitterly complained of, took its

[202]   The Ballarat Star, December 27th, 1865.

toll. The Ballarat Eisteddfod of 1869 was the last of these national events. When Joseph Jenkins visited a far more local gathering in Ballarat in 1877, though it was called an Eisteddfod, he condemned it as no more than a "concert". *"I do not consider that singing alone is of any advantage to keep up the language of the Ancient Britons "*[203] was his disgusted reaction.[204]

The same process was at work within the chapels. That the language and the culture it sustained survived as long as they did, not only in Victoria but wherever the Welsh settled in Australia, was largely due, as has been shown, to the astounding vitality of religious life, especially in the early years. This in turn is directly attributable to the energies of the individual ministers who gaveit shape and direction. In so far as Welsh language and cultural maintenance in Australia in the nineteenth century is related to the life of the chapels, the credit must rest with the likes of John Lloyd in Wallaroo, Evan Lewis in Newcastle and, above all, William Meirion Evans in Ballarat. These are only the most prominent amongst, in relative terms, the substantial assemblage[205] of nonconformist ministers of religion who, directly or indirectly, served the cause of the Welsh language in Australia in the nineteenth century. Few seem to have been permanently appointed to a particular chapel with the result that there were constant movements of these key individuals within the Welsh communities; as such they were important

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[203]   Jenkins, op.cit., p.65.

[204]   Yet the more local Ballarat Welsh Eisteddfod continued into the 1890s. When Josiah Hughes, a former Welsh migrant who had attended the first Eisteddfod in Ballarat in 1863, paid a return visit to the town in 1890 he attended the "Welsh Eisteddfod" there on Christmas Day, and found that there were still a number of Welsh (language) items on the programme. The first day's events (it was held over 2 days) ended with a concert at the Alfred Hall which was "crowded with an appreciative Welsh and English audience". Although he found the second day's programme to be no more than a "caricature" of a Welsh Eisteddfod, his judgement on the 1890 Eisteddfod as a whole was favourable. His closing comment is as follows: "Before leaving the subject of the Welsh Eisteddfod, it is right that I should express my opinion as to its effects and influence on the Welsh community in Victoria. In a few words, it is this, that the literary competitions keep the Welsh-born colonists interested in Welsh and other literature, the musical competitions incite the colonial-born children to the study and practice of music .... and I find, generally, that the children of parents of very humble origin have been well brought up, are proficient in music, and can more than hold their own with the same class of other nationalities." J. Hughes, Australia Revisted in 1890 (Bangor : Nixon and Jarvis, 1891), pp.155-160 passim.

[205]   Williams lists 83 in her Index. Williams, Cymry Awstralia op.cit.

instruments in the development of a sense of ethnic cohesion. Similarly, there seems to have been a remarkable degree of journeying between chapels in Wales and denominationally related chapels in Australia.[206] Thus, sustained by this involvement of the ministers and the assiduous reporting of the most minute item of news in the denominational journals, there existed a network of chapel activity which, in the 1850s for example, embraced both remote Welsh villages and the tent-towns of the Victorian goldfields. News of a 'Cyfarfod Te' (Tea meeting) at one of the Zions or Ebenezers of Yandoit or Snake Valley, was avidly read twelve thousand miles away by the congregations of their counterparts in Nantlle or Llanbadarn.

Yet the role of the chapels as custodians of Welshness is not entirely straightforward and calls for some qualifying comment. A starting point would surely be their number and ubiquity. For instance, there were, as previously noted, no fewer than 29 chapels in Victoria in 1865. Yet their combined membership amounted to only 641, an average of 22 per chapel. Even allowing for the necessary distinction between official membership and actual attendance this is still very small. To take a specific example, Forest Creek (Chewton) with a Welsh-born population of 52 (see Table 3.6) had no less than three Welsh chapels, one for each of the three major denominations.[207]

Why did the Welsh build so many chapels in Australia? Apart from the religious zeal unleashed by the mid-century revival in Wales (see Chapter 2) there were two basic reasons. The first is the denominational rivalry which, though less apparent in the Australian colonies, was still present within all the Welsh communities, with the exception perhaps of Blackstone. The second, and more relevant here, is that since Welsh was regarded as inherently the 'proper' language of religious worship there could be no question of the Welsh-speaking first generation arrivals in an area attaching themselves to the local denominationally

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[206] William Meirion Evans is a case in point. See footnote, 69 p.134
[207] Y Beirniad XIV, (April, 1873), P.347.

affiliated English-language churches. For the Calvinistic Methodists, traditionally the most assertively 'Welsh' denomination, there simply was no available English counterpart. There are even isolated examples of Welsh Anglicans in Australia attending nonconformist services simply because they were held in Welsh.[208]

That the chapels provided the framework for almost all social and cultural as well as religious activity is indisputable. For how long is more of a problem. Undoubtedly, for the first generation, the chapels played the classic role of immigrant churches : havens of the well-known, and the familiar, dispensers of secular as much as of spiritual comfort, and most important of all, for the Welsh, custodians of their language. Yet one must ask whether, even at the most fundamental level of language and religion, wholesale cultural transfer across 12,000 miles is ever possible. It is not merely a matter of distance. Differences of climate and landscape bring subtle changes in their wake. Above all, of course, there is the sudden transition to minority status. In a Welsh village the chapels not only dominated the whole life of the population but were also, usually, the largest physical structures. This was never the case in Australia. Not only were they, in most instances, architecturally undistinguished but overshadowed in every other respect by the vastly more imposing churches of the majority population.

It is difficult, of course, to guage the effects of changed location and circumstances on Welsh religious values for the simple reason that, as with language they were seldom successfully transferred to the younger generation. The evidence is strong that with very few exceptions the young abandoned both. In the case of the language the problem loomed as early as the 1870s in most of the Welsh communities. *"Yr Hen Gymraeg yn marw yn Victoria"* (The Old Language is Dying in Victoria) is the title of a leading article in the *Australydd* of October,

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[208]   Y. Beirniad, XIV, October, 1872. The contributions of Welsh Anglicans to Welsh cultural life in Australia are difficult to trace as they are generally overlooked in the (largely nonconformist) sources. At the turn of the century services in Welsh were held at the Anglican Cathedral in Perth, Western Australia, drawing Welsh-speakers from Kalgoorlie and other distant parts of the State. Davies, Awstralia Orllewinol (Western Australia) ..... op.cit., pp.102/3.

1870. The following extract shows that this was attributed for the most part to failure of transmission. It also makes clear that the death of the language was seen as synonymous with the death of 'Welshness'.

> "Our beloved old language! - the language of our ancestors, of our mothers, of our happy youth, the language of our emotions and our hearts, that which is essential to our very being is dying. ...... Does this terrible reality not stir within us feelings of shame, of grief, of guilt and of self-condemnation?.........
>
> *Our language is the most vital element of our nationality; to the extent that we lose it, to that extent is our nationality extinguished. What reason will there possibly be for calling ourselves Welsh ..... when we will have lost the language of the Welsh ......* [own italics]
>
> Is it by accident that we are losing our Welshness? Nothing of the sort. It would not have taken a prophet, even several years ago to predict this present calamity. Seven years back, we were teaching English to our children in the Sunday schools when there was no reason at all for it. ..... Teaching them English at that stage is what now makes it necessary to teach them [everything] through the medium of that language; yes it is the fruit of that folly which now threatens to eliminate our cultural identity, and which will succeed unless we promptly adopt measures to prevent it".[209]

(Translated from the Welsh)

What "measures" should be adopted no one was quite sure. Some of the ministers justified inaction on the basis of a moral dilemma. How should they advise their congregations: to continue to send their non-Welsh-speaking children to the Welsh chapels where they would sit mute and incomprehending, or encourage them to go to the English churches, which would at least ensure their spiritual welfare?. This, it will be remembered, is how John Lloyd had seen the problem in Wallaroo in the 1880s and solved it by the latter means. The alternative, of course, was to Anglicise the Welsh chapels, which, for the most part, is what happened.

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[209]   Yr Australydd, Vol. IV, No. 10, October 1870.

3.8   Conclusion

This chapter has been an attempt to trace the broad outlines of Welsh settlement in Australia in the nineteenth century and to describe the character of the cultural forms which distinguished them as a separate ethnic group within the larger population of British and Irish settlers. Although individual Welsh migrants were to be found in most parts of Australia, and small enclaves in all the capital cities, the main focus here has been on those few locations where for short periods of time they were concentrated in sufficient numbers to form what were arguably, 'Welsh communities'. Here, briefly, their shared cultural values, as they evolved under Australian conditions, were most in evidence.

In general, the overall pattern of the peopling of Australia, dictated largely by climate and geography, combined with the very modest scale of Welsh migration, worked against any repetition of the clustering which characterised Welsh settlement in the United States. Nor were there, despite some proposals to that effect in the pages of the Australydd, any practical efforts to set up a 'closed' Welsh community on the Patagonian model. Thus recognisably Welsh settlements in Australia were few, short-lived, and sustained for the most part by the enthusiasm of the first generation to surround themselves with familiar forms of cultural life.

Given their low numbers, their high rate of intermarriage (the result *inter alia* of a consistently low male-female ratio) and, not least, their British background, it is difficult to envisage how, under nineteenth century conditions, the Welsh communities could have survived much longer than they did. Demographic factors alone were inimical to any long-term maintenance of the Welsh language and culture in Australia.

That the Welsh *were* distinguishable as a group was due almost entirely to their possession of a language other than English which, unlike Scottish Gaelic and Irish, was the language of the majority of the Welsh population throughout the nineteenth century. That language sustained a culture and forms of religious

worship which were impenetrable to those who did not speak it, including those who were otherwise 'Welsh'. Moreover, as shown in Chapter II, Wales itself in the second half of the nineteenth century provided a vibrant territorial base for both the Welsh language and Welsh nonconformity in Australia. The former was supported by a tremendously vital and productive press and publishing industry, the latter by an intensity of religious fervour unequalled in Wales since the Methodist Revival of the late eighteenth century. In Australia it was undoubtedly the partnership of language and religion which marked the Welsh as a group apart. Of this they were repeatedly reminded in the *Australydd* and the *Ymwelydd*, and from the pulpits of the chapels they seem to have built 'wherever one or two gathered together'.

Finally, the point must be made that although the cultural experiences of the nineteenth century settlers are of considerable comparative value to the study of their post-war descendants, direct comparisons should only be made in the knowledge that the circumstances of immigration have drastically changed. Similarly, the Welsh communities that have been discussed were, in no tangible sense, foundations for later arrivals to build on. Their disintegration, as has been noted, was well under way before the turn of the century. Those that survived beyond this point did so for the most part in the absence of the Welsh language as a bonding element, except perhaps on the symbolic level for the second and third generation. They did so, also, with chapels that were eponymously *"Welsh"* but from which the language had disappeared except for its occasional use in token services for a dwindling first generation.

Continuity of some sort could only have been maintained by a steady flow of migrants from Wales after 1918. This was not to be. It is not that Welsh migration stopped — though it slowed to a trickle in the early 1930s[210] — but that

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[210] During the Depression years migration from Wales was directed mainly to the newer industries of Southern England. Between 1921 and 1933 the percentage of Welsh-born in Australia rose by only 7% compared with 9% for the English-born and 22% for the Scots. LUCAS, op.cit., p.19.

those who came in the inter-war years were no longer drawn to a particular area by prospects in the mining industry, knew little of the older Welsh communities, and settled for the most part in the capital cities. This of course was even more the case with post-World War II arrivals. Moreover, they came from a Wales that bore little resemblance to that which their predecessors had left in the nineteenth century. How it had changed is the subject of the chapter which follows.

CHAPTER 4

THE POST-WAR CULTURAL BACKGROUND IN WALES AND AUSTRALIA

"Dywedir am un profiad ei fod yn un o'r rhai mwyaf ingol sy'n bod ... sef gorfod gadael daear eich gwlad am byth, troi cefn ar eich treftadaeth, cael eich rhwygo allan gerfydd y gwraidd o dir eich cynefin. 'Chefais i mo'r profiad hwn a diau nas cawsoch chwithau. Ond mi wn i am brofiad arall sydd yr un mor ingol, ac yn fwy angesgor (oblegid mi fedrech ddychwelyd i'ch cynefin), a hwnnw yw'r profiad o wybod, nid eich bod chwi yn gadael eich gwlad, ond fod eich gwlad yn eich gadael chwi, yn darfod allan o fod o dan eich traed chwi, yn cael ei sugno i ffwrdd oddiwrthych, megis gan lyncwynt gwancus, i ddwylo ac i feddiant gwlad a gwareiddiad arall."

<div align="right">J.R. JONES[1]</div>

(It is said of one experience that it is one of the most agonising possible ... namely having to leave the soil of your country for ever, turning your back on your heritage and being torn away by the roots from your familiar habitat. I have not had this experience and neither have you probably. But I know of another experience equally agonising, and more irreversible (since you can return to your own home), and that is the experience of knowing, not that you are leaving your country, but that your country is leaving you, is ceasing to exist under your very feet, being sucked away from you as if by some voracious, swallowing wind, and into the hands and possession of another country and another civilisation).

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[1]   J.R. Jones, *Gwaedd Yng Nghymru* (A Cry in Wales) (Cyhoeddiadau Moderm, 1970) cited by P. Rosser, "Growing Through Political Change" in J. Osmond (ed.), The National Question Again : Political Identity in the 1980s (Llandysul : Gomer Press, 1985), p.184.

4.1 Introduction

The cultural environment from which nineteenth and early twentieth century Welsh immigrants came to Australia, and the attempts at its replication in the Australian colonies, have been the subjects of the last two chapters. The present chapter seeks to complete this historical background, by outlining some of the drastically changed political, social, and cultural conditions which prevailed in Wales after World War II, the Wales, that is, from which most of the participants in this study and their children departed between 1945 and 1980. At the same time, it seeks to provide a glimpse of the changed Australia to which they came, one which was becoming markedly less oriented towards Britain, and on the threshold of abandoning the assimilationist cultural stance of the immediate post-war era in favour of the multicultural orientation which has marked its immigration and settlement programmes since the early 1970s. Whilst the emphasis is primarily on cultural change, cognizance is also taken of the continuities which are always present in cultural life. Again, consistent with the theoretical standpoint outlined in Chapter 1, the organising principle of discussion throughout, is the centrality of the Welsh language to the preservation of Welsh cultural identity both in Wales and Australia — or wherever the Welsh are found. Particular attention is therefore given to the effects of educational policy decisions on Welsh language maintenance in both countries.

4.2 The Cultural Legacy of the Inter-War Years

Welsh society was transformed in the first half of the twentieth century to an extent that one of the most eminent of contemporary Welsh historians has described as "little less than a social revolution".[2] In many respects, of course, this transformation was consistent with a broader pattern of change experienced elsewhere in Britain and in most western societies. Uneven economic development, rural depopulation, the growth of conurbations, the decline of

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[2]   Morgan, Re-birth of a Nation ...., op.cit., p.340.

organised religion, and the spread of a uniform secular culture; these are only some of the familiar consequences of twentieth century modernisation and two world wars, which left few societies in the developed world untouched. What distinguishes the Welsh case is that these developments amounted to more than a disruption of the lifestyle of a traditional community. By 1900 South Wales especially had in any case long lost resemblance to any *Gemeinschaft*-type society. Given the fragility of Welsh cultural values even by the turn of the century, they were changes which in effect threatened the very existence of Wales as a cultural entity. Unlike Scotland, for example, it had little in the way of real or symbolic nationhood to fall back on, no separate legal or administrative system and little standing as a 'historic' nation.[3] Its survival was invested *in toto* in the Welsh language and the culture it supported.

By 1900, as has been shown, the language was already in perilous decline. Though more people spoke Welsh in 1901 than in 1801 (see Table 1.2) the proportion had fallen from some 80%[4] to less than half. Noncomformity, which was its lifeblood, was also unknowingly entering the long period of its decline. About to register its greatest triumph, the disestablishment of the Anglican church,[5] it had also passed the zenith of its influence in Welsh political and social life. Moreover, with the ignominious collapse of *Cymru Fydd*[6] in the late 1890s, nineteenth century Welsh nationalism had lost much of its momentum. Yet, as indicators of thwarted Welsh ambitions, even these developments paled alongside the demise of Welsh Liberalism, for it was under its mantle that hitherto most gains had been made. Nurtured in the 1890s by the Welsh contingent in the Commons, and passed on after the turn of the century to the leadership of Lloyd

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3   For a discussion of the concept of the 'historic' nation see T. Nairn, "Culture and Politics in Wales" in Hume and Pryce (eds.), op.cit., pp.196-215 passim.
4   Estimated figure (see Table 1.1).
5   In 1920.
6   The movement, between 1894 and 1896, led by the Welsh Liberal MPs — Tom Ellis and Lloyd George especially — which aimed at Home Rule for Wales. It foundered on Lloyd George's failure to gain the support of the South Wales Liberal Federation (see Chapter 2).

George, the ambitious young member for Caernarfon Boroughs,[7] the Welsh Liberal Party virtually became the 'natural party' of Wales. By contrast, after 1914, Wales veered sharply to the political left (and has remained on that course ever since).[8] Henceforth its interests were locked with those of a party which almost by definition placed the course of international working class solidarity ahead of what it saw as 'narrow' ethnic and cultural concerns.

This neglect was reflected to some extent in the accelerated pace of language decline in the inter-war years. Although the proportion of speakers had fallen throughout the nineteenth century the absolute number continued to rise until 1911 when it reached a maximum of 977,366 or 43.5 of the total population (see Table 1.2).[9] Thereafter the fall was absolute as well as proportional; ten years later, in 1921, the figures were 929,183 and 37.1% respectively, setting a trend which is still continuing. At the same time the Welsh monoglot, a key contributor to maintenance, became a rarity in all but remote country areas.[10] In many areas of industrial South Wales, Welsh-speakers became minorities as the language retreated to the western and rural north which henceforth was to be its heartland.

The shrinking popular base of the language was due in no small part to the socially catastrophic effects, on South Wales particularly, of the Depression. Its dependence on a relatively narrow industrial base of coal, steel, and tinplate had made it especially vulnerable to competition and falling demands in these products. On a lesser scale the rural industries of north and west Wales were similarly affected so that by 1933 unemployment in Wales as a whole had reached nearly a

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[7]   From 1890 to 1945.

[8]   In the May 1945 election Labour captured 25 of the total 35 Welsh seats. Morgan, op.cit., p.301. In 1966 the Labour ascendancy reached its peak with 32 out of a total, by then, of 36. See K.O. Morgan, "The Welsh in English Politics, 1868-1982" in R.R. Davies et al. (eds.), Welsh Society and Nationhood : Historical Essays presented to Glanmor Williams (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1984), p.246.

[9]   The only exception being 1871 but the figure for that year is an estimate (see note 1, Table 1.2).

[10]   The monoglot figures shown in Table 1.2 are deceptively high since they include small children.

quarter of a million out of a total population of a million and a half.[11] South Wales as a result was designated a Special Area. The human effects were enormous. Between 1921 and 1940, for example, net migration from Wales reached a staggering 430,000,[12] the greatest number finding their way to London and South England and the remainder to various parts of the then British Empire.

Though it is impossible to gauge the proportion of Welsh-speakers in this exodus there is little doubt that the massive displacement of human population contributed significantly to the declining fortunes of the language during these years and with it to the erosion of traditional forms of Welsh culture. In the process, however, some of the elements which are more readily associated with Welsh cultural identity in the twentieth century now came to the fore. To the nineteenth century version of Welshness, heavily bound up with the Welsh language and nonconformity, was now grafted — awkwardly for the most part — that which comes under the mantle of 'Anglo-Welsh'. Associated mainly with the valleys of South Wales, it embraces a range of attributes from working class solidarity and socialist values to rugby, male voice choirs and, according to much of the body of Anglo-Welsh literature, the moral virtues which allegedly derive from suffering and physical deprivation. Vague as they are, these qualities have been harnessed to the construction of a modern Welshness. More virile and secular in tone, more internationalist in outlook, and most of all, expressed, by necessity, through English, it sits ill with its nineteenth century counterpart. Here in the 1930s therefore was created the 'Anglo-Welsh' outlook and with it the dichotomy of identity which characterises modern Wales. It found literary expression in the works of a host of writers and poets such as Dylan Thomas, Richard Llewellyn, Caradoc Evans and others. Thus was expanded the boundaries of Welshness to limits that would have been totally unacceptable to Emrys ap Iwan and Michael D. Jones, who half a century earlier had centred it firmly and

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[11]   Morgan, Re-birth ...., op.cit., p.229.
[12]   Lucas, op.cit., p.19.

exclusively in the language. Within these new boundaries too, was to fall that stereotype Welshman of the popular imagination — he of the comic accent and a macaronic speech style much punctuated by 'look yous' and 'boyos' — that is now the standard stage version.

It is against this background that the increased politicisation of the language issue in the inter-war years must be placed. To concerned individuals — teachers, writers, and nonconformist ministers especially — the increased pace of anglicisation and secularisation (which they thought inseparable) after 1918, the depopulation of the Welsh countryside and massive emigration in the 1920s and 1930s, augured nothing less than the final destruction of Welsh Wales *(Cymru Cymraeg)*. Successive census returns, especially after 1921, which showed that the proportion of Welsh speakers had fallen well below 40% (see Table 1.2) confirmed their worst fears. For the first time, a note of urgency, almost of desperation, enters the language debate. The following, for example, is an extract from the preface to a collection of Welsh poetry published in 1929:

> "These days the *cognoscenti* of our nation are gathered to discuss the means to maintain the Welsh language, and great is their effort.
>
> [However] it is you, the young men and women of Wales who have the power, not only to maintain but to nourish her,[13] to a splendid and dignified growth. Insist that she be taught in every school in the land, make her your own and in turn, when the day comes, pass her on as a priceless treasure to your own sons and daughters. That way, you and they both, will be privileged to hear the footsteps of [King] Arthur's knights on the march once again".[14]
>
> (Translated from the Welsh)

Through the *Cymru Fydd* (Young Wales) movement of the 1880s had as one of its primary aims the preservation of the language, its policies to this end were

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[13]   Language (iaith) is feminine in Welsh.
[14]   Preface by A. Ffoulkes to A. Ffoulkes (ed.), Telyn y Dydd: Sef Detholiad o Delynegion a Sonedau o Waith Rhai o Feridd Cymraeg y Chwarter Canrif Diweddaf (The Day's Harp : An Anthology of Lyrics and Sonnets by Some of the Welsh Poets of the Last Quarter Century) (Cardiff : William Lewis, 1929), p.xiv.

formulated in a climate of confidence and high optimism. By the 1920s, against the background of World War I and the collapse of Welsh liberalism, the assumption that the survival of Welsh was somehow a tenet of natural law, had given way to despondency and pessimism about its long-term survival. Had not Manx and Cornish gone the way of all living things? Were not Irish and Scottish Gaelic in steep decline and was not the European mainland littered with the corpses of dead languages? Why should Welsh, the closest neighbour of the official language of Britain and its still mighty Empire, somehow survive?

Certainly in educated circles the feeling afoot was that the future of the language was now seriously in doubt. At stake, therefore, it was maintained, was the survival of Wales as a cultural entity, for Wales and the Welsh language, as Sir Owen M. Edwards (OM) had insisted for almost half a century, were synonymous:

> "Wales has her own language and without it her soul will not survive. The language is not a collection of words, such as you would find in any other tongue. In her ... the hopes of a thousand years are invested. Let Wales succeed in every endeavour. Freedom and equality will come and many a dream will be realised. But let us not lose sight of that which is the nation's soul; for if that is not fostered the Welsh nation will be second rate ..."[15]

(Translated from Welsh)

Something had to be done and quickly. Out of the soul-searching that ensued, two main strategies for Welsh language maintenance were to emerge. Though they were first put into effect in the inter-war years they are still in the vanguard of the Welsh language movement:

4.2.1 Urdd Gobaith Cymru (The Welsh League of Youth)

The 'League of Hope for Wales' (literally), popularly known as *Yr Urdd*, was founded in 1922 by Ifan ab Owen Edwards, the son of 'OM' quoted above. Non-political and non-sectarian, its basic aim was to mobilise the youth,

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[15] Cited in J. Jenkins (ed.) Fy Nghymru I (My Wales) (Swansea : Gwasg Christopher Davies, 1978), pp.15-16.

particularly the Welsh-speaking youth of Wales, on behalf of their language and culture.[16] Strongly associated with Christian morality, it also upheld some of the aesthetic ideals of ancient Greece. Its activities included local group meetings (called *Yr Aelwyd*), regional and national eisteddfodau,[17] and — characteristic of European youth movements in the inter-war years — athletic games (*mabolgampau*) modelled on the Olympics. It also promoted Welsh language books and magazines, especially for the young, and taught the language wherever the need was recognised.

Its branches were often attached to schools and chapels. By 1927 Yr Urdd had 5000 members and by 1934 more than 50,000.[18] Its interests however were not merely local. Close contact was maintained through cruises, visits, summer camps etc with youth movements in other European countries, especially in those such as Norway and Brittany which by virtue of their size or status were akin to Wales. It should also be mentioned that it served as a pressure group for the exclusive use of Welsh in areas such as broadcasting especially to the schools. At the same time it pressed for nursery and elementary schooling to be conducted through the medium of Welsh. Though only modestly successful in this respect, it nevertheless effectively launched the Welsh Schools Movement by the founding under its aegis of the first (private) Welsh-language school in Aberystwyth in 1939.[19]

Undoubtedly the *Urdd* must be accounted amongst the most significant steps in the direction of Welsh language maintenance in the twentieth century.[20] In the

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[16] Its motto being *Gwasanaeth i Gymru, i gyd-ddyn ac i Grist* (Service to Wales, to fellow man and to Christ). Argyfwng Yr Urdd, Urdd newsletter, 1986.
[17] Like the National the annual Urdd Eisteddfod is held alternately in North and South Wales.
[18] G. Davies The Story of the Urdd (The Welsh League of Youth) 1922-1972 (Aberystwyth : Cwmni Urdd Gobaith Cymru, 1973).
[19] By Ifan ab Owen Edwards. His son (the grandson of 'OM' was among the first seven pupils). C. Betts, Culture in Crisis (Wirral, Lancs. : The Ffynnon Press, 1976), pp.34-5.
[20] In 1986 Urdd membership stood at 52,000 distributed amongst 1,200 branches and aelwydydd (literally 'hearths'). As with most Welsh-language institutions however it is facing severe financial difficulties. Argyfwng yr Urdd (The Crisis of the Urdd) Newsletter, 1986.

1920s, however, when it was founded, its potential was uncertain and its future by no means assured. Clearly the Urdd was not enough.

4.2.2 Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru (The National Party of Wales)[21]

It was also the possibility of linguistic and cultural assimilation which was the immediate stimulus to the founding in 1925 of *Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru*, the National Party of Wales. Until the advent of *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith* (The Welsh Language Society) in the early 1960s, it was to be the only, and by far the most insistent, voice on behalf of the language and culture of Wales. In this respect the new party was clearly heir to the nationalism of the nineteenth century which had culminated in the advocacy of Welsh home rule by *Cymru Fydd*.[22] In significant ways, however, it represented a new departure in the history of Welsh nationalism. Its nineteenth century precursor had been inseparable in many respects from the campaign for land reform and disestablishment, issues which had preoccupied Welsh political and religious leadership for almost half a century. It had in effect been driven by much the same forces that had united Welsh radicalism and nonconformity in common cause since the 1860s. What's more, though it had spawned *Cymru Fydd*, with its aim of qualified self-government, it was always contained within the political and ideological boundaries of Welsh liberalism. Most of its leaders, including Tom Ellis and the young Lloyd George, were Liberal MPs in Westminster, whose agenda was ultimately British, and, in the latter's case, imperial. It aimed more therefore at recognition of Wales as a nation within the British Union than at any form of political and economic separatism. Certainly after the inglorious demise of *Cymru Fydd*, separation in any form, was removed from the Welsh political vocabulary.

Moreover, as shown earlier, by the turn of the century some of the more limited aims of the nineteenth century movement had been achieved. Wales had

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[21]   Later known as Plaid Cymru.
[22]   See Chapter 2.

been granted many of the symbols of titular nationhood: A Welsh University, a Welsh National Library and in the Sunday Closing Act of 1881[23] and the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889,[24] a measure of recognition as a separate administrative unit within Britain as a whole. In due course these measures were followed by the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, always the *ultima Thule* of Welsh political ambition in the second half of the nineteenth century. By 1914, therefore, the energies of this earlier version of Welsh nationalism had been well and truly spent and any unfulfilled hopes were, of course, to be dashed by the onset of war.

Curiously the language had not been a major issue before 1914 and certainly there had been no talk of 'crisis'. Concerns about the Anglicisations of South Wales had been periodically expressed but the general consensus seems to have been that the language would somehow take care of itself. This was not entirely unjustified. After all, the census of 1891 — and being the first there was no previous basis for comparison — showed that more than half the population spoke Welsh, more than a quarter of whom were monoglot Welsh-speakers (see Table 1.2). The Welsh language press was still vigorous and the chapels, for all their complaining, reasonably well attended.[25] All this and the acquisition of the symbols of nationhood was reflected in the heightened consciousness of Welsh national identity which marked the pre-war years.

When Saunders Lewis and his five companions met at the Temperance Hotel in Pwllheli in August 1925 to launch a new political party, Wales and the European world had changed greatly. The Edwardian euphoria was far behind, Welsh manhood had been drained by the war, and, as the 1921 census figures graphically showed, the Welsh language was in serious trouble. Yet the Great War

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[23]   See Chapter 2.
[24]   Ibid.
[25]   K.O. Morgan, for instance, argues that the decline of the chapels in the inter-war period should not be exaggerated. Throughout the twenties their membership numbered well over 400,000. Morgan, op.cit., p.199.

had been fought for the rights, as Lloyd George had argued, of 'five-foot-five nations' like Wales. The founding principle at Versailles, where Britain had been represented by its Welsh Primte Minister, a former member of *Cymru Fydd* and still in the opinion of many a small 'n' nationalist, was the paramount relevance of nationality to the task of European reconstruction. Overriding all other considerations, however, was the imperilled state of the language, and it was this, more than anything, which motivated the launching of *Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru*. Welsh nationalism for much of its history took the form therefore of cultural, and more specifically, of linguistic nationalism. To survive, the language needed the protection of some form of self-government. This was pre-eminently the rationale for the founding of the Welsh National Party in 1925.

It was most definitely the reasoning of Saunders Lewis, the man who laid much of its ideological foundations and who served as its second president from 1926 to 1939.[26] In this role, and as playwright, critic and lifelong gadfly on behalf of the language, Lewis must be considered a seminal figure in the history of modern Wales. Yet, in his conversion to Catholicism[27] and his intellectual indebtedness to the neo-Thomistic philosophies of Maurice Barres and other stalwarts of contemporary French conservatism, he was, in a Protestant and increasingly socialist Wales, an unlikely champion of the language cause. Influenced also, by his own admission, by other European nationalists as diverse as Emrys ap Iwan, Yeats, Synge, and Masaryk.[28] Lewis' own philosophical position was a curious blend of theocentric Catholic humanism and a militant populism which surfaced several times during his career. The end result was a nationalism

[26] The first president of the Welsh National Party was the Reverend Lewis Valentine, a Baptist Minister. For a comprehensive account of the origins of the Party see D. Hywel Davies, The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945 : A Call to Nationhood (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1983), Chapter 3.
[27] Two of its leaders being Catholic (Saunders Lewis and Ambrose Bebb) Plaid Cymru was popularly known as 'the Pope's Party' in the 1930s. D.G. Jones, "His Politics", in A.R. Jones and G. Thomas (eds), Presenting Saunders Lewis (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1973), p.63.
[28] A.T. Davies, "Saunders Lewis, A Television Interview" (a television interview first transmitted by the BBC on May 19, 1960) Planet. The Welsh Internationlist, 53, (October-November 1985), pp.3-12.

which had as its social ideal something of the cultured Christian gentility of the early Middle Ages, one which totally rejected what Lewis saw as the shallow, tawdry modernism that had already turned South Wales into an industrial, and worse, a moral wasteland. His basic ideas are spelled out in the political pamphlet titled *Egwyddorion Cenedlaetholdeb* (Principles of Nationalism) issued during the first summer school held by the party at Machynlleth in 1926. In important ways, and not only for reasons of historical interest, it remains a key document in Welsh Nationalist lore. Only in recent years has the party moved away from the deep social conservatism which it expounded. At the same time, in the stumbling towards Europe which characterises the current nostrums of British mainline parties, it takes comfort from Lewis' spirited defence of the 'European' content of what he consistently referred to as 'Welsh civilisation'. The following are brief extracts:

> "In mediaeval Europe no one country was free or independent or claimed that its government within its own boundaries was the supreme and only authority ...
> The Christian Church was sovereign in Europe and Church Law was the only final law ... For one of the profoundest ideas of the Middle Ages, an idea Christianity inherited from the Greeks, was the ideal that unity contains variety ... Hence it was Christianity and the church that protected Welsh civilisation.
>
> What, then, is our nationalism? This: a return to the mediaeval principle; a denial of the benefits of political uniformity, and a demonstration of its ill-effects ... Not a fight for Wales' independence but for Wales' civilisation. A claim for freedom for Wales, not independence. A claim that she should have a seat in the Society of Nations[29] and European society by virtue of the value of her own civilisation ... So let us insist on having not independence but freedom.
>
> Three weeks ago many of us were at the Swansea Eisteddfod. For a whole week, about twenty thousand Welsh people spent day after day following a feast of song and instrumental music, of poetry and criticism, and talk of criticism and of the arts. The remaining Welsh people in all parts of the country, who could not be there, followed

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[29] i.e. in the League of Nations.

the accounts of the sessions and argued about them with amazine unanimity. This is Wales' annual festival. Here is where Wales shows the things she especially values. That is to say, the eisteddfod is a fair sumbol of the concept of Welsh civilisation ...

I will go further and say that the success and furtherance of this Welsh concept depends on the Welsh language [own italics] ... Where Welsh is alive and vigorous, there you will find flourishing local eisteddfodau, literary meetings, reading classes, singing schools and an admirable interest in literature and music. And wherever Welsh declines and the English way of life and language replace it, there these things degenerate, and one finds football matches, raches, billiards clubs and the cinema, and if there is any class at all held under the aegis of the colleges, it will more than likely be a class in economics ...

And Welsh political life must be arranged so as to protect these things from the doom that threatens them today. That is the main reason why we formed our National Party".[30]

Under Lewis' presidency from 1926 to 1939 the Party called for, *inter alia*, dominion status for Wales with a government based on a form of co-operative democracy. Above, all it sought to make the Welsh language the sole language of government, administration, the law and all other official areas of Welsh life. This is made clear in one of its pamphlets published in the late 1930s:

"The cornerstone of the Welsh National Party's language policy is that the Welsh language should, within its own territory have the advantage over all other languages. Just as it is a disadvantage to be unable to speak English in England, in the same way exactly it ought to be a disadvantage to be unable to speak Welsh in Wales. Just as, also, the ordinary man in England has no need of any language except English in order to meet all the requirements of a full life, in the fields of religion, education, government and industry, likewise we look forward to the day when the ordinary Welshman will, from the cradle to the grave, have no need of any language except Welsh. In our view *boasting* that Wales is a bilingual country has no other effect than to satisfy a servile nation's craving to extol herself in the eyes of her mistress by suggesting that a bilingual nation is twice as talented as a monoglot nation. *One* language is the natural thing for the majority of human kind and it is *one* language that the majority speaks. A second language is forced on them by exceptional

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[30]   S. Lewis, Egwyddorion Cenedlaetholdeb (Principles of Nationalism) (Cardiff : Plaid Cymru, 1975), pp.1-13 passim (originally published in 1926).

circumstances only. The exceptional circumstance which imposes English as a second language in Wales is the fact that we are subjected by England".[31]

Neither the Urdd nor the Welsh National Party managed to halt the seemingly inexorable decline of the language in the inter-war period. The latter failed also to make any impact at the polling booths in any election between 1929 and 1945, thus leaving most of its aims unrealised. Not until the 'Bombing School' incident of 1936 was its pressure felt on the national level.[32] This refers to the setting on fire by three of its most prominent members — Saunders Lewis, the then President, the Reverend Lewis Valentine and D.J. Williams, author and school teacher — to part of an RAF bombing school at Pen-y-Berth in the Llyn Peninsula. The three promptly gave themselves up to the police describing their act as both a pacifist gesture and a protest against the desecration of a Welsh-speaking area with important historical and literary associations. When the jury at Caernarfon failed to find a verdict the case was transferred to the Old Bailey in London, where the defendants were sentenced to nine months imprisonment. On both occasions they had refused to plead their case in English and translation had to be provided. At the end of their prison sentence they returned to Wales amidst scenes of unprecedented jubilation amongst a Welsh-speaking population which had interpreted the whole episode as another humilation of Wales and its language, reminiscent in many ways of the Blue Books 'betrayal' of 1847.

Here then, on the eve of the Second World War, was the first foreshadowing of the more militant stance on behalf of the language that was to characterise the post-war years.

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[31] Pamphlet (anonymous) published by Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru (late 1930s?) cited in D.G. Jones, "The Welsh Language Movement", in M. Stevens (ed.), The Welsh Language Today (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 1973), pp.298-9.

[32] For a comprehensive treatment of the "Bombing School incident", as it is usually referred to, see E. Humphreys, "The Night of the Fire", Planet. The Welsh Internationlist, Number 49/50, (January 1980), pp.74-94.

MAPS E(i), E(ii) and E(iii): PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION OF WALES ABLE TO SPEAK WELSH, 1961, 1971 AND 1981.

Percentage of Population
Able to Speak Welsh
1961

80
65
50
35
20
5

(Base 1961)

Percentage of Population
Able to Speak Welsh
1971

80
65
50
35
20
5

(Base 1961)

Percentage of Population
Able to Speak Welsh
1981

80
65
50
35
20
5

(Base 1961)
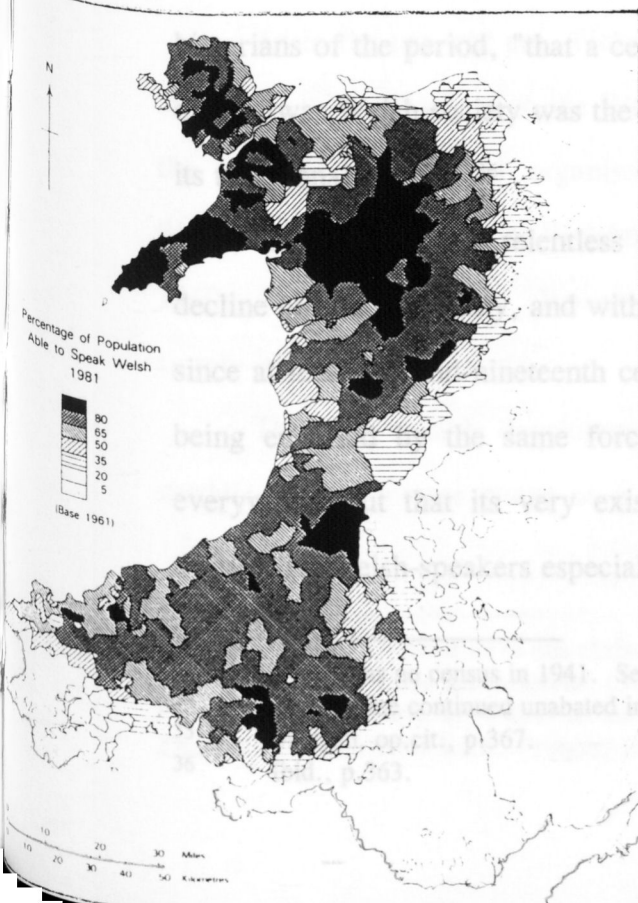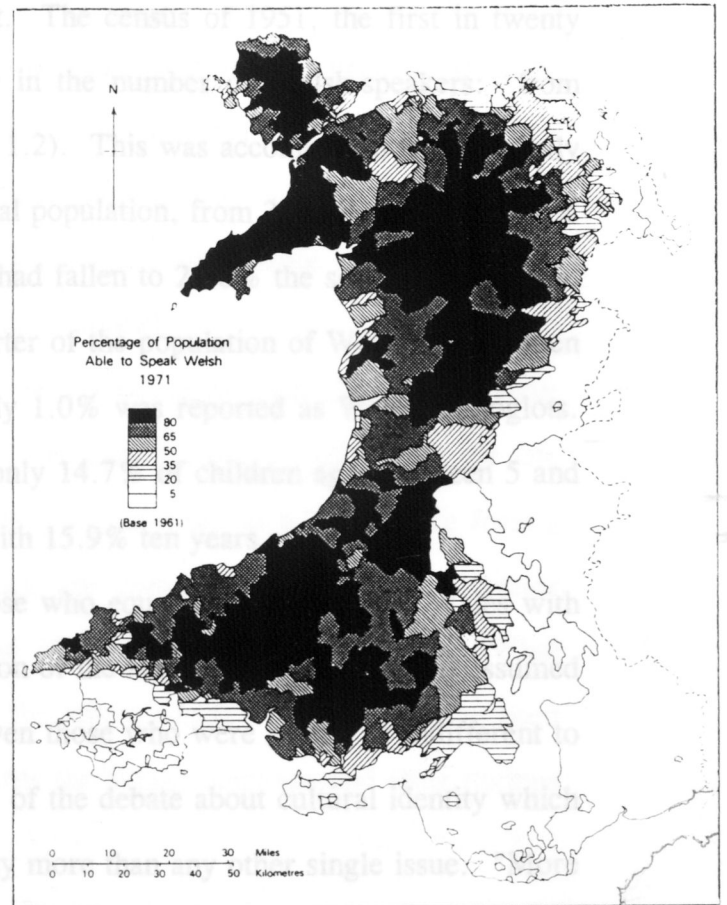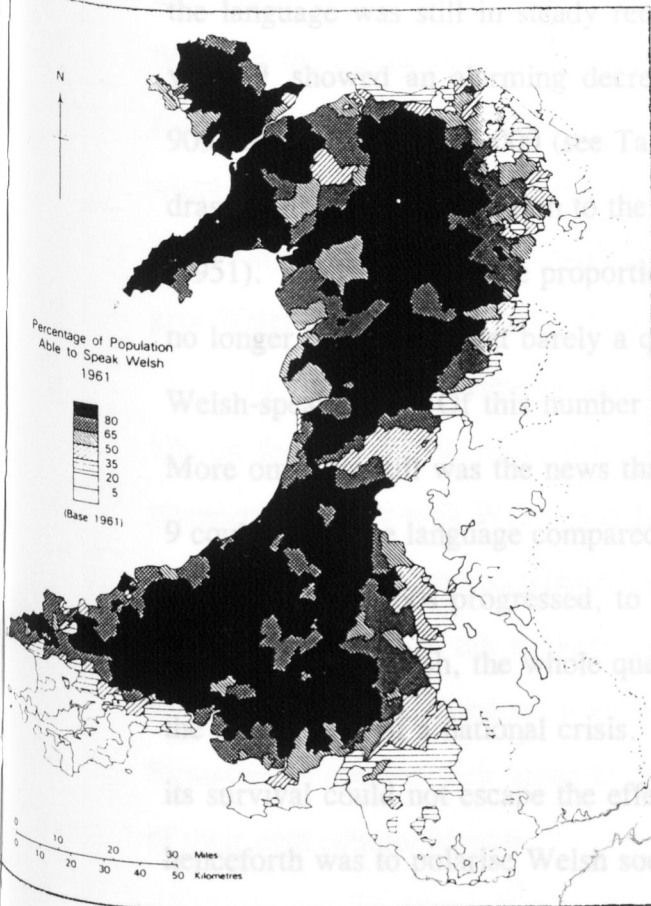
Source: J. Aitchison and H. Carter, The Welsh Language 1961 - 1981 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1985), pp 15-17.

Note: See also map B which shows the language situation in 1891.

4.3   Issues of Language and Cultural Identity Since 1945

As Wales settled into the post-war era, it became increasingly apparent that the language was still in steady retreat. The census of 1951, the first in twenty years,[33] showed an alarming decrease in the number of Welsh-speakers: from 909,000 in 1931 to 715,000 (see Table 1.2). This was accompanied by an equally drastic fall in their proportion to the total population, from 36.8% (1931) to 28.9% (1951). By 1961 when the proportion had fallen to 26.0% the sobering fact could no longer be avoided that barely a quarter of the population of Wales was by then Welsh-speaking.[34] Of this number only 1.0% was reported as Welsh monoglots. More ominous still was the news that only 14.7% of children aged between 5 and 9 could speak the language compared with 15.9% ten years earlier.[35]

As the 1960s progressed, to those who equated the survival of Wales with the survival of Welsh, the whole question of the language (*achos yr iaith*) assumed the proportions of a national crisis. Even those who were hostile or indifferent to its survival could not escape the effects of the debate about cultural identity which henceforth was to polarise Welsh society more than any other single issue. "More and more it became clear", says K.O. Morgan, one of the most authoritative historians of the period, "that a central theme, perhaps the ultimate abiding theme of post-war Welsh society was the preservation and definition of its Welshness and its traditional culture".[36]

As always, the relentless decline of the language ran parallel with the decline of nonconformity, and with it, of the old certainties that had defined Wales since at least the mid-nineteenth century. It would seem that not only was Wales being engulfed by the same forces that were transforming traditional societies everywhere but that its very existence as a separate cultural entity was under threat. To Welsh-speakers especially, the Welsh-language world in which they had

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[33]   There was no census in 1941. See Table 1.2.
[34]   The decline continued unabated in the years which followed. See Maps E(i), (ii) and (iii).
[35]   Morgan, op.cit., p.367.
[36]   Ibid., p.363.

been brought up was disintegrating before their very eyes.[37] Almost daily the reach of their language was being shortened. The flow of English-speaking immigrants and tourists, which had started in earnest in the 1950s, had become a flood by the early 70s. Secularisation and Anglicisation were proceeding apace and were seemingly unstoppable. Even the drive towards institutional autonomy which had given Wales a fair measure of corporate identity in the pre-war era had apparently slowed. The post-war Atlee Government for instance saw no reason to give Wales a Secretary of State on the Scottish model.

In view of these developments the resurgence in the mid-1960s of the most vibrant form of Welsh nationalism since the *Cymru Fydd* movement of the late nineteenth century took Wales (and London) by surprise. It was therefore from a Wales caught up in unprecendented political and cultural turmoil that the migrants to Australia who are the subjects of the remainder of this study came. What follows is a brief discussion of some of the issues which are likely to have been formative in shaping their attitudes towards the Welsh language and their notions of their own cultural identity.

4.3.1 Post-War Welsh Nationalism

As in the pre-war era, Welsh nationalism after 1945 was by no means co-terminous with adherence to the Welsh Nationalist Party (*Plaid Cymru*).[38] Yet of the multiple groups and organisations which in this period were to pledge themselves to the defence of Welshmen, it was Plaid Cymru, which, until the early 1960s, held centre stage. It was, as its newly adopted name suggested, quite simply 'the party of Wales'.

The most notable development in Plaid's post-war history was the gradual shedding of its former image as a poorly organised, cultural-nationalist pressure

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[37] See opening quotation to this chapter.

[38] Originally *Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru* (the Welsh Nationalist Party) it took the name of Plaid Cymru (the party of Wales) in the mid-1940s. C.A. Davies, Welsh Nationalism in the Twentieth Century (New York : Praeger, 1989), p.57.

group on behalf of the language, in favour of that of a mainstream political party with a set of carefully prepared and clearly articulated policies on a range of matters from the Welsh economy to international disarmament. At the same time, recognising that the centre of political power in Wales lay in the populous, anglicised and economically retarded south-east, it sought to address local concerns such as unemployment and housing more directly, and to do so through the medium of English. From the late 1950s the pre-war aim of a Welsh-speaking Wales with Welsh as its first language began to give way to that of a bilingual Wales in which Welsh and English would have equal standing.[39]

By the late 1960s Plaid leaders were claiming that the majority of their supporters were non-Welsh-speaking. Yet this transformation was slow and in the case of many in the party's leadership reluctantly undertaken. "The basic appeal of Plaid Cymru", said Gwynfor Evans, its most influential post-war President, in 1947, "is not material but moral, to the Welshman's sense of what is right".[40] At this stage, both in its policies and its loose organisational structure it retained much of the image of a creed, its leaders a select priesthood, and the Welsh people its potential but still reluctant converts. "The National Party" Lewis Valentine had claimed in its early days, "is more than a party — it is a faith".[41] The religious analogy was not in fact too far removed from reality in that at least up to the late 1950s party leaders still insisted on the link between Welsh nationalism and Welsh nonconformity.

Limited self-government as defined by Saunders Lewis remained however its central aim. In this respect, even in the 1950s, it was not entirely a voice in the wilderness. A 'Parliament for Wales' campaign, devoted to home rule on the

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[39]   It was not until 1959 that moves were made in this direction and not until the party conference ten years later in 1969, when three quarters of the Welsh population were not Welsh-speaking, that bilingualism was mentioned as official policy. A.B. Philip, The Welsh Question (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975), p.117.

[40]   Ibid., p.201.

[41]   J. Davies, "Plaid Cymru in transition" in J. Osmond (ed.), The National Question Again : Welsh Political Identity in the 1980s (Landysul : Gomer Press, 1985), p.134.

model of the Scottish Covenant, was launched in July 1950 with support from all political parties in Wales including Plaid Cymru. A Bill to that effect was introduced in the Commons in March 1955 but defeated by 48 votes to 14. A petition containing 250,000 signatures also made little headway and by 1956 the campaign was virtually over.[42] On the whole, neither the Labour nor the Conservative governments of the immediate post-war era made any concessions to Welsh demands for greater autonomy.

For most of this period Plaid Cymru made little impact at the polling booths. Dominated for the most part by a Welsh-speaking[43] intelligentsia, it drew its support almost exclusively from a rural constituency of nonconformist Welsh-speakers in the northern counties and had little appeal to the anglicised proletariat of the South Wales valleys. In the 1950 election all of its seven candidates lost their deposits and collectively polled only a meagre 17,000 votes. By 1955 some improvement was shown when it fielded 11 candidates and obtained a total of 45,119 votes.[44] Actual party membership revealed similar modest gains, increasing from 10,500 in 1955 to 15,000 in 1961.[45] (See Table 4.1).

Never far removed from the Party's platform was the question of the language. Its defence had been the *raison d'être* of the Plaid from the beginning. Nor had it been entirely inactive in this respect. In the early 1930s, for example, it had fought with some success, for more Welsh radio programmes and a greater recognition of Wales as a separate area in broadcast planning.[46] Though most Nationalists[47] viewed it as a hollow victory, if not a betrayal, the Welsh Courts Act of 1942 had also been a small step forward.

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[42]   Philip, op.cit., p.257.
[43]   All the Plaid leaders from 1945-70 were Welsh-speaking. Ibid., p.154.
[44]   Morgan op.cit., p.381.
[45]   It is likely that these figures are exaggerated. See note in Table 4.1.
[46]   *S4C, Pwy Dalodd Amdani? Hanes Ymgyrch Ddarlledu Cymdeithas Yr Iaith* (S4C, Who Paid For It? The History of the Broadcasting Campaign of the Welsh Language Society) (Aberystwyth : Cymdeithas Yr Iaith, n.d.), p.8. (Pamphlet).
[47]   Including Saunders Lewis. He refers to it disparagingly in his 1962 radio broadcast *"Tynged Yr Iaith"* (The Fate of the Language). See discussion later in this chapter.

Table 4.1

Plaid Cymru Membership 1939-69

YEAR	NO OF MEMBERS
1945	2,500
1939	2,000
1948	25,000
1950	6,000
1955	10,500
1958	14,000
1961	15,000
1966	16,000
1967	27,000
1968	40,000
1969	42,000

Note:
Figures quoted are based on official Plaid Cymru claims as to total membership, and are very much higher than those based on paid-up membership.

Source:
A.B. Philip, The Welsh Question (Cardiff : University of Wales Press (1975), p.171.

A response to a 1938 petition of some 394,000 signatures calling for Welsh to have the same right as the English in all aspects of the administration of the law and public service in Wales, the Act only allowed for the use of Welsh "in any court in Wales by any party or witness who considers by reason of his natural language of communication being Welsh". (sic)[48]   It also provided for the administration of oaths in Welsh and for the employment of interpreters but in its assertion that "all proceedings of courts in Wales shall continue to be kept in the English language,"[49] it fell short of being a complete reversal of the legal clauses of the 1536 Acts of Union.

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[48]   The Welsh Courts Act, 1942 (SI) cited by C.H. Williams, "Language Planning and Minority Group Rights" in Hume and Pryce (eds.), op.cit., p.258.
[49]   Idem.

These were very small gains, however, which did little to offset the fast decreasing members of Welsh-speakers. Increasingly it became apparent in the 1950s that for all the symbolic concessions to Welsh nationhood since the late nineteenth century, including the establishment of a Council of Wales in 1948,[50] and a Ministry of Welsh Affairs in 1951,[51] only the language and the culture it supported gave Wales its claim to separate identity. To many within and outside the ranks of Plaid Cymru it was therefore a source of immense anguish and frustration that the language was apparently in headlong retreat[52] and, worse, that nothing could apparently be done.

The powerlessness of the Plaid and indeed of all Welsh local authorities to halt the process of anglicisation was highlighted by the Tryweryn episode of the late 1950s. This was the plan by Liverpool Corporation to build a reservoir in the Tryweryn Valley in northern Merioneth with a view to supplying Liverpool with water. The proposal, which would involve the drowning of a Welsh-speaking community with considerable cultural and historical significance, raised an outcry in Wales. The Plaid organised protests and all Welsh Labour MPs in the Commons opposed the scheme. To no avail. The plan went ahead and the valley was drowned.

Undoubtedly the Nationalist party gained a measure of popular support as a result of its stand, but it also lost face for not having gone far enough amongst its own militant younger members.[53] It is against this background, of a language and culture that was clearly dying, and of the intense anger of elements, within and outside of the party, with what they saw as the paralysis of Welsh Wales, that the

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[50] An advisory body on cultural and economic matters with few real powers. Morgan, op.cit., p.378.
[51] Set up by the Churchill Government. Ibid., p.379.
[52] Between 1951 and 1971 the proportion of Welsh speakers dropped from 26.0% to 20.8% (see Table 1.2).
[53] Including some non-Welsh-speaking recruits from the south-east where the Plaid was particularly active in the late 50s and early 60s. A resolution at the annual conference of the party in Llangollen in August 1961 urging that it "meet acts of aggression in future with direct action" was narrowly defeated but set the tone and mood for a positive response to Saunders Lewis' broadcast the following year (see discussion to follow). Butt-Philip, op.cit., p.88.

February, 1962, radio broadcast of Saunders Lewis, on the Welsh Home Service must be set. Called "Tynged Yr Iaith" (The Fate of the Language) this annual radio lecture of the BBC Welsh Region by the most revered veteran of Plaid's political battles and the chain of events which followed, effectively made of the language the single most important, and potentially the most divisive issue in Welsh life for the remainder of the twentieth century. Though couched in the terminology of historical example, Lewis' lecture was nothing less than a metaphorical call to arms in defence of the Welsh language. It was certainly an appeal for an end to the "mealy-mouthed gradualism" which, in his opinion, had characterised much of Welsh political nationalism since the early 1940s.

True to form its message was clear and uncompromising. The language was dying, and so therefore was Wales. Saving the language should be the only matter of political concern to Welsh men and women in the second half of the twentieth century. This could only be done by the adoption of militant methods aimed at making Welsh not only equal but superior to English in all areas of government, business and administration. Self government was important *but should take second place to the cause of maintaining the language.* The lecture ends on the following note:

> "Welsh can be saved. Welsh Wales is still a substantial part of the territory of Wales and the minority is still not entirely unimportant. The example of Mr and Mrs Beasley[54] shows how it should be done ... Let us earnestly and with determination make it impossible to conduct government business at local or central level without the use of Welsh. Let us demand that rate notices be in Welsh or in Welsh and English. Let the Postmaster-General be warned that annual licences will not be paid unless they can be obtained in Welsh.

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[54]   A coalminer and his wife who from 1952 to 1960 fought a legal battle with the Rural District Council of Llanelli over the latter's refusal to issue their rates notice in Welsh. The area in which the Beasleys lived was overwhelmingly Welsh-speaking and so were all the councillors involved. Eventually, after prolonged litigation and the confiscation three times of the couple's furniture by bailiffs, the Council relented. In 1960 Mr and Mrs Beasley received their rates notice in Welsh and English form, this time, *Cyngor Dosbarth Gwledig Llanelli* (The Rural District Council of Llanelli). The case, which received enormous publicity, is outlined in full by Saunders Lewis earlier in his lecture.

..... Perhaps you will say that this cannot be done, that one will never find enough Welshmen to agree and to organise it as a campaign of consequence and strength. Perhaps you're right. All I maintain is that this is the only political matter that a Welshman should concern himself with today. I know the difficulties. There would be storms from all directions ... The fines in the courts of law would be heavy and refusing to pay them would be costly. ..... I don't deny that there would be a period of hatred, persecution and strife rather than the fraternal love which is so evident in Welsh political life today. To restore the Welsh language in Wales would be nothing less than a revolution. Only by revolutionary means is success possible. Perhaps the language would bring self-government in its wake; I don't know. **The language is more important than self-government.** In my opinion if we were to obtain some form of self-government for Wales before acknowledging and employing the Welsh language as the official language of local and state administration in the Welsh-speaking areas of our country, it would never become an official language and its demise would be faster than it will be under English government".[55]

(Translated from the Welsh)

The broadcast had an electrifying impact and in the longer-term was more far-reaching in its consequences than Lewis could have envisaged.[56] At the Summer School and conference of Plaid Cymru at Pontardulais in August of the same year (1962), a small group of younger members, mostly students, already disillusioned with the party's image of staid respectability and its poor showing at the polls throughout the 50s, took up Lewis' challenge by launching a new movement in defence of the language. Called *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith* (The Welsh Language Society), in the next twenty years it responded with a vengeance to his call for revolutionary methods on its behalf. Initially, in keeping with Lewis' direction, its aim was to gain recognition for Welsh as an official language on par with English in all aspects of business and administration. This, it was argued, would involve raising the consciousness of the Welsh public — speakers and non-speakers — to a new awareness of the centrality of the language not only to their

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[55]   Saunders Lewis, Tynged yr Iaith (The Fate of the Language) (Tal-y-Bont: Y Lolfa, 1985) 3rd edition, pp.31-2. Original BBC Broadcast, 13 February 1962.

[56]   It was aimed, Lewis explained later, at the branches of Plaid Cymru in the Welsh-speaking areas and was not intended to give rise to a new movement. Jones, "Aspects ....", op.cit., p.71.

cultural identity but to their dignity as human beings.[57] For all of its history the Society was never to lose sight of what it saw as this moral, almost spiritual, dimension of its mission, one which transcended more immediate political ends. In this respect its ideology was clearly a reflection of the philosophies of the likes of Saunders Lewis[58] and J.R. Jones.[59] The latter's notion of *'cydymdreiddiad'*, for example,[60] that is, of an almost mystical "inter-penetration of land and language" was to appear frequently in the Society's literature. In due course, the aims of the Society broadened to include the promotion of Welsh generally through education and other means, and in the process spawned a variety of other organisations aimed at its maintenance.

More revolutionary than the Society's aims were its methods. Despite some dissenting voices within its ranks the Society opted for direct action in the form of marches, sit-ins, demonstrations etc as the principal means not only of gaining concessions from official agencies but of bringing the language issue to the attention of what had hitherto been an apathetic Welsh public. In both intentions it was, in the long run, eminently successful. Though for a number of years public reaction was hostile, by the late 60s the Society through its courage and persistence in the face — as Lewis had predicted — of fines, imprisonment and ridicule by the media, had won the admiration if not the acceptance of large and, increasingly, of influential sections of the Welsh population. This stemmed in part from its

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[57]   It is repeated in the 1982 manifesto of the Society. Maniffesto (Manifesto of the Welsh Language Society, 1982). (Pamphlet).
[58]   Lewis agreed to be the Society's first Chairman.
[59]   Author, scholar and one of the most influential intellectual voices on behalf of the language. He is the author of the opening quotation to this chapter.
[60]   In an article explaining this notion he writes: "The truth is, that if the territory of a People is taken out of its interpenetration with their proper language by allowing that language to die then the territory will be sucked into the main territory of the State to which they are subject. And sooner or later the consequence of that will be the blotting out of the ethnic or national difference of the inhabitants of the assimilated territory. As Sorokin says 'the total loss of a language by a group means the loss of identity and nationality'. I say this in an attempt to press home my message — that the interpenetration of the territory of the Welsh *with the proper language of that territory* [Jones' italics] the Welsh language, plays a vital part, not only in the formation of our Welsh identity, but also in its continuance". J.R. Jones, "Need the Language Divide Us", Planet : The Welsh Internationalist No. 49/50, (January 1980), p.27 (publication of a lecture delivered in 1967).

perceived success. During the first twenty years of the Society's life public authorities were to make more concessions to the Welsh language than during the four hundred that had passed since its proscription by the Acts of Union in 1536. The 1981 census figures, which showed the first significant slowing down of the rate of decline in the post-war period[61] were thought to confirm the effectiveness of the Society's methods. These methods, and the results they obtained are shown in Table 4.2.

From 1963 to 1967 the main drive was towards persuading local authorities and public bodies to issue bilingual forms and documents. A three year campaign of marches, sit-ins, demonstrations, and pressure from the Welsh Parliamentary Party led to the establishment in 1963 of a committee chaired by Sir David Hughes-Parry[62] to examine the status of the Welsh language in law and government. The committee reported in 1965 and two years later in 1967 the Welsh Language Act was passed. The Hughes-Parry report had recommended "equal validity" for Welsh with English and this rather than bilingualism was the guiding principle of the Act.

It authorised the use of Welsh in courts of law "by any party, witness, or other person who desires to use it subject .... to such prior notice as may be required by rules of court; and any necessary provision for interpretation shall be made accordingly".[63] It also made possible the introduction of bilingual forms and documentation[64] according to the same principle ie the level of demand. In all cases however the English version was deemed to be the official one. In sum, the

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[61]   The rate of decline in the proportion of Welsh-speakers fell from 6.8% between 1961 and 1971 to 1.9% between 1971 and 1981 (see Table 1.2).

[62]   An eminent lawyer.

[63]   The Welsh Language Act, 1967. Paragraph 11(i). The Act is quoted in full in R. Lewis, Second-Class Citizen : A selection of highly personal opinions mainly concerning the two languages of Wales (Llandysul : Gwasg Gomer, 1969), Appendix II.

[64]   Not a revolutionary step. As Glyn Williams points out in a recent letter to the Editor of 'The Weekly Telegraph' driving licences were issued in Welsh in Argentina in the 1860s. The Weekly Telegraph, Issue No. 83, February 10th-16th, 1993, p.18.

1967 Act allowed for the recognition of Welsh as an official language in legal and administrative contexts.

Moreover the principle of equal validity legitimised further claims in the public sector. The 1972 Bowen Report, for example, cited this principle as the primary reason for recommending bilingual road signs (see Table 4.2). Thus, although the Welsh Language Act of 1967 was an important gain, not least on point of status, it nevertheless fell far short of being a stimulus to the greater use of Welsh and took little account of the cultural context in which that might happen. This, and the voluntary principle which governed the implementation of the Act, were quickly seen to be serious weaknesses. As was pointed out later in a publication of the Working Party for the New Welsh Language Act: "The 1967 Act gives a Minister of the Crown power to prepare a Welsh bilingual version of any official document but it imposes no obligation on him to do so".[65]

Nevertheless the Act was lauded as a victory and after 1967 the Welsh Language Society turned its attention to other concerns. The bilingual road signs campaign which involved the painting over, and later the removal, of English-only signs ended in 1972 with the Bowen Report, which recommended that local authorities replace all existing signs with bilingual ones in which Welsh was given priority.

Over the following decade attention shifted to the matter of Welsh language content in broadcasting. By this time the Society had won over influential sections of the Welsh middle classes with the result that its forms of protest — the occupation of television studios, interruption of live broadcasts, climbing of television transmission masts etc. — were more widely supported; so much so, that it was probably the refusal by prominent individuals, many of whom were not members of the Society, to pay their television licences that was the deciding factor

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[65] A New Welsh Language Act : Recommendations (A Publication of the Working Party for a New Welsh Language Act. n.d.) A new Act (which still falls short of Nationalist demands) will be legislated in the Autumn (northern) of 1993.

in the commitment to a Welsh channel by all political parties. When the decision was reversed by the newly elected Conservative Government in September 1979, Gwynfor Evans, the President of Plaid Cymru threatened to fast to death unless it honoured its pledge. In the face of enormous public protest in support of his action the government relented. On November 1st, 1982, Sianel Pedwar Cymru (Channel 4 Wales) began transmission with 22 hours of Welsh language programmes (out of a total of 70) per week.[66]

By its actions, and more so by the tangible results which it had clearly helped bring about the Welsh Language Society by the early 70s had come to be seen as the most strident if not the most authoritative voice of Welsh political nationalism. From the days of *Cymru Fydd* in the 1880s that nationalism had been best known for its laodicean quality, for its tendency, that is, to seek solutions to Wales' problems through compromise and moderation. Those days it seemed had gone. True, to large sections of the Welsh public the Society and its methods were still anathema. Even into the 1980s, it retained something of a reputation for wayward delinquency associated with the world-wide student movements of twenty years earlier. Yet, even by its polarising of attitudes it had undoubtedly made of the language a serious issue, one which could, and would, no longer be ignored. It also reinforced the alliance of the language with the whole idea of being Welsh, thus driving many non-speakers to seek refuge in an adopted Englishness or in a Welshness to which the language was considered irrelevant.

It should, of course, be pointed out that the victories gained were by no means entirely attributable to the non-violent, if illegal, activism of the Society. Plaid Cymru's role must also be considered. For a number of years the relationship of the latter with the Language Society was marked by mutual mistrust. To the Society, the party had a role as the constitutional arm of Welsh

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[66]   C.J. Dodson and R.G. Jones, "A Welsh-medium TV Channel for Wales : development, controversies, problems, implications" International Journal of the Sociology of Language, no. 48 (1984), p.22.

Table 4.2

Examples of Demands, Forms of Protest/Action and Results Obtained by Cymdeithas Yr Iaith (The Welsh Language Society) 1963-82

DEMAND	FORM OF PROTEST/ACTION	RESULT (EVENTUAL
A. Official Documentation Use of Welsh by the Post Office (on signs, official forms (etc) Bilingual income-tax forms Bilingual bank cheques Bilingual birth registration forms Car registration discs	Non-violent demonstration (Aberystwyth, 1963) Sit-in (Trefechan Bridge, Aberystwyth, 1963) Occupation of post offices at Dolgellau, Machynlleth etc (1965) Publication of own forms by Society Threat by Society members to withdraw accounts from banks not favourable to their requests Some members and/or sympathisers refuse to register their children's birth Publication of the names of 600 individuals intending to drive unregistered cars until bilingual discs became available (June, 1969)	Some post office signs in Welsh but business still conducted mainly in English. Forms available in Welsh and English Bilingual bank cheques now available Bilingual Welsh/English birth registration forms available on request July 1969, Government announces its intention to issue bilingual discs
B. The Law Bilingual court summonses Court cases to be conducted in Welsh	Refusal to recent English-only summonses Sit-down demonstrations	Welsh Language Act of 1967
C. Road Signs Bilingual road signs throughout Wales	Letters to county councils (1964-6) Defacing or painting over of English-only signs Deputations to the Secretary of State for Welsh Affairs (1969) Imprisonment of some 200 members including the Chairman of the Society (1970) Disruption of High Court in London (February 1970 Removal of English-only signs (except those involving public safety (October 1970)	

DEMAND	FORM OF PROTEST/ACTION	RESULT (EVENTUAL)
C. Road Signs (cont) Bilingual road signs throughout Wales		March 1971. Government appoints the Bowen Committee to investigate the matter of bilingual road signs.
	Fifty members and/or sympathisers imprisoned for contempt of court in Carmarthen (April 1971) Three members imprisoned for six months in Swansea for destruction of road signs. **Society ends the road sign campaign.**	December 1972. Publication of the Bowen Report. Proposes that all road signs throughout Wales be bilingual with Welsh words first.
D. Broadcasting Substantial increase in Welsh Language content of TV broadcasting	March through Cardiff (petition of 10,000 signatures) (May 1968) Occupation of TV studios in Bangor & Cardiff. (October 1968) Society members arrested in London (December 1970) Appeal of Society to Welsh people to refuse paying television licences (1971-73) (Some members imprisoned: magistrates in some cases ordering their release without conditions) Ten members climb TV transmission towers throughout Wales to register their protest (July 1971) Occupation of TV studios in Manchester. Destruction of equipment. (July 1971) Protest March from Bangor to Cardiff. (August 1971) Occupation of five transmitting stations throughout Wales. (January 1972) 'Invasion' of studios and interruption of live programmes throughout England and Wales. (1973)	February 1972. Government publishes figures on likely cost of separate TV service for Wales.

DEMAND	FORM OF PROTEST/ACTION	RESULT (EVENTUAL)
D. Broadcasting (cont)	**Continuation** **of** **Similar Activities** Spring 1980. Gwynfor Evans, President of Plaid Cymru announces his intention to fast to death unless Government honours its pledge. Campaign of civil disobedience: 2000 individuals refuse to pay television licences.	July 1973. Conference of main Welsh cultural and educational organisation calls for the Government to give Wales special consideration when deciding on future of proposed fourth television channel. 1973. Crawford Report (in favour of Welsh TV channel). 1973. Annan Report (favours increase in Welsh language programming but not a separate channel) 1979. All political parties in favour of Welsh TV channel. September 1979. New Conservative Government reverses its position. September 1980. Government agrees to Welsh TV channel. November 1982. Transmission begins on Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C) (Total of 70 hours per week, 22 hours in Welsh).

Sources:

1. Bywyd i'r Iaith (Life to the Language) Welsh Language Society information pamphlet (n.d.)
2. Maniffesto (Manifesto of the Welsh Language Society, 1982)
3. C.H. Williams "Non-Violence and the Development of the Welsh Language Society, 1962-c. 1974", The Welsh Literary Review, Vol. 8, No. 5 (December 1977), pp.426-455.
4. S4C Pwy Dalodd Amdani : Hanes Ymgyrch Ddarlledu Cymdeithas Yr Iaith (S4C Who paid for it? History of the Broadcast Campaign of the Welsh Language Society) (Aberystwyth : Cymdeithas yr Iaith (n.d.)
5. C.J. Dodson and R. Gerallt Jones, "A Welsh-medium TV Channel for Wales : development, controversies, problems, implications", International Journal of the Sociology of Language 48 (1984), pp.11-32.

nationalism, but was too conservative to serve the language cause effectively. To Plaid Cymru, the Society by its disdain for unfavourable public opinion was an electoral liability. Yet there was a considerable overlapping of membership.[67] This, and what was recognised as ultimately their common cause, brought a measure of reconciliation and an attempt at a *modus vivendi* by the late 60s.

By that time too Plaid Cymru was beginning to make an impact at the polls. To what extent this was due to a heightened consciousness of Welsh identity brought about by the activities of the Language Society it is difficult to measure. Starting however with the victory of its president, Gwynfor Evans, in the Carmarthenshire by-election of 1966 — the first Welsh Nationalist returned to Westminster[68] — the party, after a lifetime in the wilderness, emerged as a force to be reckoned with in Welsh political life. More remarkably it began to make inroads on the traditional Labour strongholds in the anglicised south and south-east. In a by-election in Rhondda West in March, 1967, Plaid Cymru, in a constituency where twelve months earlier Labour had polled nearly 80% of the vote, cut the latter's majority from 17,000 to 2,306, a swing of nearly 30%. A year later at Caerphilly in July 1968 a non-Welsh speaking Plaid Cymru candidate reduced Labour's majority from 21,000 (in 1966) to 1,874. In the general election of 1970, for the first time, the party contested every seat in Wales, winning a total of 175,000 votes, its best performance to date.[69] This, together with significant advances in local government, was clear indication that Plaid Cymru had come of age and was now in the league of mainstream politics.

This had been achieved at the cost of considerable re-adjustment of traditional policies. There was far greater emphasis on economic issues and, in

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[67] The membership of Cymdeithas Yr Iaith in the 1960s and 70s was consistently small, rising from 300 in 1963 to a peak of 2,700 in the autumn of 1974. C.H. Williams, "Non-violence and the development of the Welsh Language Society, 1962-c.1974" The Welsh History Review, Vol. 8 (December 1977), No.4, p.450.
[68] He insisted on taking his oath of office in the House of Commons in Welsh. Morgan, op.cit., p.386.
[69] Ibid., p.381.

order to win the allegiance of non-Welsh-speakers, on the adoption of official bilingualism; of the notion, that is, of a Wales in which Welsh and English would have equal standing in government, law, education and administration. This was by no means an abandonment of the party's cherished goal of a Welsh-Wales but a pragmatic response to a status quo in which less than a quarter of the Welsh population was Welsh-speaking. It was a decision reluctantly taken, and the maintenance of the language was still the primary goal of many within the party leadership. "Without the language", said one prospective parliamentary candidate in 1977, "the mainspring would go out of my motivation. Welsh freedom would still be worth fighting for but I would not be as passionate about it."[70] Increasingly, however, language policy was becoming the domain of the Welsh Language Society. Its own position, as its 1972 manifesto made clear, had not shifted:

"We have repeatedly stated that when we speak of the crisis of the Welsh language what we have in mind is the danger that it will cease to be the first spoken language of any part of Wales, that the bond between land and language will be broken. But let no one be misled into believing that because of the emphasis we place on this point *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith* is concerned only with the Welsh-speaking areas. Welsh is the language of all Wales and its retreat from the areas which are today labelled 'non-Welsh-speaking' is very recent. It is significant too that many of the most hopeful signs of activity are to be found in these very areas — the pioneering of secondary education through the medium of Welsh is an obvious example. Indeed, many of us believe that it is no longer possible to retain the language in the Welsh-speaking areas unless at the same time it enjoys a revival in the non-Welsh-speaking areas. Most certainly we aim to see it restored to those areas as a living language. Nevertheless it is quite obvious that the maintenance of the language in the Welsh-speaking areas is a matter of fundamental importance .... In a word we can do no less and no other than base our efforts to re-establish Welsh as the language of all Wales and its continuance as a living language in the Welsh-speaking areas".[71]

[70]   Davies, Welsh Nationalism .... op.cit., p.44.
[71]   Stephens, Linguistic Minorities .... op.cit., pp.174-5.

Plaid Cymru and Cymdeithas Yr Iaith have not been the exclusive guardians of the language in the post-war era. Since the 1960s especially, a host of other bodies and organisations, official and non-official, have also sprung to its defence. Most were created for that purpose; others saw it as an important by-product of their primary function. They are too varied and too numerous to be discussed at any length here but those whose contributions have been direct are listed in Table 4.3.[72]

Their existence in such numbers is, of course, in itself, testimony to the resurgence of interest in the Welsh language which has paralleled its post-war decline. There is no doubt that, collectively, they have contributed to the slowing of that decline in recent years. If respect for a language is important to its maintenance then the contributions of these organisations have been enormous. Welsh today is a far more *respected* language than it was in 1950 and more so, possibly, than at any time since its proscription from official use in the 16th century. It is also a more publicly audible and visible language; it can be heard on radio and television for more hours than ever before; it can also be seen on street and road signs all over Wales, on post-office and police vans, in the windows of government offices, and on official forms and documents. Yet the point remains that if it is not heard on the lips of children, it has no future. The ultimate battle for the survival of Welsh is taking place in the schools of Wales.

4.3.2 Education and the Welsh Schools Movement

As shown in Chapter 2, many of the decisive landmarks in the modern history of the Welsh language have been in the area of education. Until recently most have had the effect — not always inadvertently — of hastening the process of anglicisation. Nor, in the nineteenth century, was this entirely unwelcome to a

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[72] This list excludes organisations established earlier such as the *Urdd* and the *Eisteddfod* which still play a crucial role in the public life of the language. It also does not include bodies such as the Welsh Joint Education Committee, the University of Wales, and the Welsh Education Department, whose contributions have been vital, but more indirect.

Table 4.3

Institutions and Organisations Supportive of the Welsh Language Established Since 1945

INSTITUTION/ORGANISATION	YEAR ESTABLISHED	DESCRIPTION AND/OR PURPOSE
Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru (National Association of the Teachers of Wales)	*1940	To further the use of the Welsh language in educational contexts.
Undeb Rhieni Ysgolion Cymraeg (The Welsh Schools Parents Association)	1952	To promote Welsh education in Anglicised areas of Wales.
Yr Academi Cymreig (The Welsh Academy)	1959	Has a Welsh and English Section. The Welsh Section seeks to foster scolarships and maintain standards in Welsh literary endeavours.
Y Cyngor Llyfrau Cymraeg (The Welsh Books Council)	1962	To promote the publishing of reading material in the Welsh Language.
Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh Language Society)	1962	To raise the status and further the use of the Welsh language.
Cwmni Theatr Cymru (Welsh National Theatre Company	1965	To promote live, professional theatre in the Welsh language.
Undeb Y Gymraeg Fyw (The Union of Living Welsh)	1965	To promote the use of Welsh in public life and to assist learners of the language.
Merched Y Wawr (Daughters of the Dawn)	1966	A secular Welsh language women's organisation. It started as a breakaway group from the English language Women's Institute.
Cyngor Celfyddydau Cymraeg (Welsh Arts Council)	1967	Formed from the Welsh Committee of the Arts Council of Great Britain. Its Literature Committee supports Welsh-language writers and publishers.
Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin Cymraeg (The Welsh Nursery Schools Movement)	1971	A voluntary organisation which fosters nursery schools and playgroups in the Welsh language.
Cymdeithas Tai Gwynedd (Gwynedd Building Society)	1971	To buy property in the Welsh speaking area of Wales (*Y Fro Gymraeg*) for the use of Welsh-speakers.

Table 4.3 - Continued

INSTITUTION/ORGANISATION	YEAR ESTABLISHED	DESCRIPTION AND/OR PURPOSE
Y Gymdeithas Wyddonol Genedlaethol (The National Scientific Association)	1971	To discuss and propagate knowledge of scientific subjects through the medium of Welsh.
Adfer (Reconstruction)	1971	To establish a *Bro Gymraeg* (a Welsh monoglot heartland area).
Cymdeithas Gymraeg Y Celfyddydau Gweledol (Welsh Society of the Visual Arts)	1985	To promote the discussion and expansion of the visual arts through the medium of Welsh.
Pwyllgor Datblygu Addysg Gymraeg (Welsh Language Education Development Committee)	1986	Established under the Welsh Joint Education Committee to co-ordinate developments in Welsh-medium education.
Cymdeithas Y Dysgwyr (Society of Learners)	1989	To promote the learning of Welsh and to help integrate learners into the Welsh-speaking community.

Note:
Included here as its impact has been felt mainly in the post-war period.

Sources:
Bywyd I'r Iaith (Life to the Language). Publication of the Welsh Language Society, n.d.
D.G. Jones, "The Welsh Language Movement" in M. Stephens (ed.), The Welsh Language Today (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 1973), pp.280-319.
Prys Morgan and D. Thomas, Wales, The Shaping of a Nation (North Pomfret, Vermont: David and Charles, 1984), pp.225-229.
Y Faner, March 1st 1985; November 1st, 1986; December 12th, 1986.

Welsh public generally more concerned about social and economic advancement through English than about the welfare of the Welsh language. Thus, whilst the Blue Books Report of 1847 galvanised the leaders of Welsh nonconformity to a unified defence of Welsh culture and religion, it also spurred them to greater effort to impart knowledge of English to Welsh children. The 1870 Act which introduced compulsory primary education through English was on the whole welcomed because it served this end. Nothing is more indicative of prevalent attitudes than the Welsh Language Society (*Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg*) established in 1885.[73] Its distance in intention and philosophy from its post-war namesake is reflected in its full title: *"The Society for the Utilisation of the Welsh Language in Education for the Purpose of Serving a Better and More Intelligent Knowledge of English"*.

Yet some gains were made.[74] The question of a separate Welsh Department within the newly created Board of Education in 1908 signalled the acknowledgement by the Liberal government of the day, of the cultural autonomy of Wales. Urged by Owen M. Edwards,[75] its first chief inspector of schools, the Department worked throughout the 1920s towards the introduction of a bilingual educational policy. Some progress was made at the primary level but in the county, (later grammar) schools created by the 1889 Act,[76] Welsh, throughout the inter-war years, was a minor consideration to curriculum planners and educational authorities. Even in schools where it was taught as a subject it was usually set against French as a second language choice.[77]

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[73]   Khleif, Language. Ethnicity .... op.cit., p.115.

[74]   The Society won its first victory in 1888 when on the recommendation of the Cross Commission some teaching of Welsh was introduced at primary level. L.E.D. Crawford, "Political and Social Implications of Recent Language Policy in Welsh Education" Unpublished M.Ed. dissertation, University of Western Australia, 1982.

[75]   See Chapter 2.

[76]   The Welsh Intermediate Education Act. See Chapter 2.

[77]   The following biographical comment by a Plaid Cymru candidate in the 1960s illustrates the point: "My main reason for joining Plaid Cymru stems from my views concerning the Welsh Language .... [At] the Grammar School I was introduced to Latin .... and to French which I seemed to absorb without difficulty. My CWB [Central Welsh Board] course in the 1940s imposed a choice between Welsh and French. I chose French" .... op.cit., p.11. A similar situation obtained in

It was not until the post-war era that the teaching of Welsh was given serious attention. Although, as a result of the 1944 Education Act, Welsh primary and secondary schools were brought more completely into the ambit of the English educational system, in the years which followed Welsh gained a stronger foothold in the curriculum, especially at primary level. The Welsh Joint Education Committee, established in 1949, initiated research into its teaching, commissioned text books for that purpose and acted as an examining body.[78] Two reports which followed quickly on its foundation contributed significantly to the development of a genuine bilingual policy. *The Future of Secondary Education in Wales"*, which appeared in 1949, recommended that Welsh be taught in a context of Welsh history and culture which would include reference to "the crises through which it had passed, the numbers and distribution of those who now speak it, the main landmarks of its literary history with reference to and emphasis on some modern men of letters and the milestones of its chequered history."[79] This was followed by the 1953 report, *"The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales"* which recommended, inter alia, that:

— "In primary schools both in Welsh-speaking and in English-speaking areas the children should be thoroughly taught their home language or mother tongue.

Scotland in the early 1970s. In Skye (within the Gaidhealtachd), for example, pupils were asked to choose between French and Gaelic. Although in 1974, for the first time, most chose Gaelic, many of those who did not were Gaelic-speakers who welcomed the opportunity to learn a third language. R. Bell and N. Grant, Patterns of Education in the British Isles (London : George Allen and Unwin, 1977), p.151.

In some Welsh schools where there was a choice between Welsh and French, native-speakers of Welsh who chose the latter, but were also eager to gain formal qualifications in their own language, ended up taking "Welsh for second language learners" as a GCE 'O' level subject (personal experience).

[78] As an examining body it replaced the Central Welsh Board, "So, says K.O. Morgan, "vanished the last vestige of institutional distinctiveness in Welsh state-maintained education, and the last major link with the glorious educational upsurge of the late-nineteenth century". Morgan, op.cit., p.357.

[79] The Future of Secondary Education in Wales, Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales) (HMSO, 1949), pp.45-6.

— They should also be given a practical, working knowledge of the second language, English or Welsh as the case may be.

— As far and as long as possible the language of instruction should be the mother tongue.

— Secondary schools should continue the policy of the primary schools which feed them: the children should be similarly divided in accordance with their mother tongue unless their parents desire otherwise or unless they have by some means become more proficient in the other language".[80]

By the time of the appearance of the siminal Gittins Report[81] in 1967 the effects of these post-war policies were well in evidence. The preamble to the Report noted that "only three local education authorities have no bilingual policy and these are in anglicised areas where the decline of Welsh has been most marked .... About half the education authorities have introduced, or are beginning to introduce, the teaching of Wales as a second language at the age of 5".[82] The Gittins Report is one of the key documents in the history of post-war Welsh education. Its unequivocal advocacy of the maintenance and transmission of Welsh as the core of Welshness through the primary school system, must be seen as the culmination of much of the effort on behalf of the language since the end of the nineteenth century. In spirit and direction it is clearly reflective of the Welsh cultural re-awakening of the 1960s. Published in the same year as the Plowden Report on English primary schooling, it is noticeable that whereas the latter focused for the most part on teaching methods, the Gittins document dwelt almost exclusively on matters of culture, its main thrust being the centrality of the Welsh language to the maintenance of Welsh cultural identity, and the indispensable role of primary education as a means to that end:

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[80]   The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales (HMSO, 1953), cited in Crawford, op.cit., p.30.
[81]   Names after the Chairman Charles Gittins, a non-Welsh-speaking Professor of Education.
[82]   Primary Education in Wales, A report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales) (HMSO 1967), p.214.

"The Welsh language is still a vital element in the particular identity of Wales, in spite of its retreat in the fact of mass communications and vast economic and social changes ..... *The Welsh language gives Wales its unique status, without which it would be but another province of the British Isles.*

Since it is the Welsh language which in large measure gives Wales its own peculiar identity and carries an important part of its historical tradition, it has a claim on the loyalty of those who claim to be Welsh. We have the right to be what we are and have the responsibility of ensuring that we hand down what has been given to us".[83] [own italics]

The Report endorsed a bilingual primary education for every Welsh child. Not only should Welsh be introduced at the earliest possible age but, within the limits of available resources, be used as a medium of instruction. Every effort should be made to teach Welsh to non-Welsh-speaking children on the grounds that *"a Welshman is a fuller Welshman if he possessed his ancestral tongue".*[84] (own italics) It also dealt with a range of other issues: continuity between primary and secondary education; recruitment and training of Welsh-medium teachers; provision of Welsh language teaching material etc. Above all, the Gittins Report must be seen as an unqualified endorsement of the view that in education as in other areas of Welsh life, the Welsh language is at the very heart of Welshness.

Two years after its publication the Secretary of State for Education requested that, in the light of its recommendation (which, overall, he supported), all local Welsh educational authorities should review and publish their language policies and ensure that they were "clearly stated and sufficiently flexible to meet the varying linguistic needs within their areas and were well understood in the schools".[85] The transfer of control of primary and secondary education in Wales to the Secretary of State for Wales in 1970 made possible the implementation of the Gittins proposals under local supervisors. Although there was considerable

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[83]   Ibid., pp.212-3.
[84]   Ibid., p.121.
[85]   Circular 2/69 of the Department of Education and Science, 1969, cited in P.M. Rawkins, "The Politics of benign neglect: education, public policy and the mediation of linguistic conflict in Wales", International Journal of the Sociology of Language 66 (1987), p.32.

variation both in the methods of implementing a bilingual policy[86] and in the enthusiasm with which it was received by parents, by the late 1970s a comprehensive programme of bilingual education at primary level had been introduced by most Welsh educational authorities — a remarkable and, surely, an unprecented development in the history of language teaching in Britain.[87] Moreover, progress was closely monitored. A questionnaire issued by the Welsh Office in 1977 found that: "Welsh is now used as a medium in a number of schools over most areas of the curriculum, including mathematics and science".[88]

Coming as it did on the heels of the Welsh Language Act (also of 1967) the Gittins Report had considerable impact. It was an impact less measurable in terms of immediate educational benefits than in changed attitudes towards the Welsh language as a school subject in the longer term. Though its improved status was by no means universally acclaimed, Welsh henceforth was to be less marginal to the concerns of educational administrators and better able to hold its own as a 'legitimate' component of the school curriculum. More important, it was to be more frequently used as a medium of instruction. As the Gittins Committee intended this provided a foundation for further language development at secondary level.

It was at the secondary level however that some of the aspirations for education as a tool for regeneration came unstuck. Continuity is of course vital to

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[86]   On the whole, language policy reflected the degree of the 'Welshness' of the county concerned. There were variations also within a county especially after the redistribution of local government boundaries in 1974. In the larger counties thus formed (see map) some areas were more Welsh than others and this made the adoption of a uniform policy particularly difficult. (See Appendix XXIV and XXV on the language policies of Clwyd, a county with pockets of Welsh-speakers, and South Glamorgan where the overall density is very low).

[87]   Not, it must be added, without considerable opposition. In Cardiganshire, for example, a group of parents formed themselves into the "Cardiganshire Education Campaign" to oppose the compulsory introduction of Welsh. R. Pill, "Social Implications of a bilingual policy, with particular reference to Wales", British Journal of Sociology, 25 (March, 1974), p.99.

      Realising that the introduction of a bilingual policy to the schools was potentially devisive the Secretary of State urged local education authorities to approach the whole matter "in a spirit of tolerance and understanding". Welsh in the School Curriculum. Proposals for Consultation by the Secretary of State for Wales, Welsh Office, February 1980, p.4, cited in Crawford, op.cit., p.32.

[88]   Ibid; p. 35. Circular 185 (1977).

the language learning process, disruption at any level being detrimental to the total effort. That bilingualism at secondary level would be difficult to bring about was apparent to the Gittins enquiry from the start. The majority in its sample of primary school parents were opposed to the use of Welsh as a medium of instruction in secondary schools.[89] Thus, as with Clwyd, for example, most Welsh counties in the 1970s settled for a policy at secondary level whereby education would be "provided for all children mainly through the medium of English or through the medium of Welsh *according to the wishes of the parents*"[90] (own italics). This was to seriously undermine the effectiveness of the post-Gittins reforms at primary level and be a real impediment to a greater emphasis on Welsh even in secondary schools where staff and headmasters were favourable to the idea. Thus, in the great majority of the secondary schools of Wales, Welsh is still taught as a second language along with French, German or another West European language.[91] It is this long-standing relegation of Welsh to second language status in most of the mainstream schools of Wales that was the main stimulus to what the Gittins Report described as "one of the most significant developments of the last thirty years in Welsh education"[92] namely the Welsh Schools movement. *Ysgolion Cymraeg* (Welsh Schools) refers to schools at primary and secondary level, mainly in the anglicised areas of Wales, in which the main medium of instruction is Welsh. Although the idea of a Welsh language school was mooted in the 1927 Report "Welsh in Education and Life", it was not put into effect until September, 1939 when *Lluest*, an independent, Welsh-language primary school was opened at

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[89] Ninety per cent of English-speakers and 66% of Welsh-speakers in the Gittins sample did not want Welsh as a medium of instruction at secondary level. Pill, op.cit., p.99.
[90] See Clause (c), Appendix XXIV.
[91] By 1980, for example, in only 36 of the 244 secondary schools in Wales was Welsh not included in the curriculum. Yet it was taught as a second language in 118 of these schools and as a first and second language in a further 84. In the 11 designated bilingual or Welsh Schools *(Ysgolion Cymraeg)* on the other hand it occupied a special place as the language of instruction (see discussion to follow). Welsh in the Secondary Schools of Wales. *Y Gymraeg Yn Ysgolion Uwchradd Cymru*. HMSO. Gwasg Ei Mawrhydi, Welsh Office. Y Swyddfa Gymreig 1980, p.3. Note: This bilingual document is itself an example of the results of the Welsh Language Act of 1967.
[92] Primary Education in Wales, op.cit., pp.220-1.

Aberystwyth under the auspices of *Urdd Gobaith Cymru*.[93]   The school, which opened with seven pupils, was the brainchild of Ifan ab Owen Edwards and a group of friends who were alarmed at the prospect of their children being taught through the medium of English as a result of the arrival in the town of a large number of English evacuees. It was not until after the war, however, that the first *Ysgol Gymraeg* maintained by a Local Education Authority was opened at Llanelli in 1947. This was made possible by the 1944 Education Act which gave parents in England and Wales a voice in the planning of their children's education within the state system. By 1950 seven such primary schools had been established and in 1956 the first secondary Welsh School, *Ysgol Glan Clwyd*, was opened in Flintshire (see Table 4.4).

Henceforth, especially in the heady, nationalistic climate of the 60s and early 70s, their growth was very rapid. By 1980 there were 53 primary and 11 secondary Welsh schools throughout Wales with a total student population of 17,410.[94]

They were situated at this stage mainly in the anglicised north-east and south, the direct outcome of the concern of Welsh-speaking parents in these areas for the maintenance by their children of their mother tongue. More remarkably, however, by the late 70s, they increasingly drew their clientele from English-speaking homes, the parents being attracted not only by their bilingual emphasis but by their proven high academic standards, low staff-pupil ratio, and dedicated

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[93]   Crawford, op.cit., p.28.

[94]   In some anglicised areas the number of children from Welsh speaking homes fell short of the number required to maintain a primary *Ysgol Gymraeg*. As a result Welsh-speaking parents established Welsh-medium nursery schools or playgroups known as *Ysgolion Meithrin* in which children from English-speaking homes were immersed in the Welsh language through play activities. It was discovered that English-speaking children who had attended an *Ysgol Feithrin* for a year or so were then able to enter a primary *Ysgol Gymraeg* and from there proceed to a Welsh language secondary school if required. Thus in East Glamorgan, for example, the primary *Ysgolion Cymraeg* "have in the main drawn a majority of their pupils from English-speaking homes from their first day of operating". L. Williams, "The Welsh Language in Education" in Stevens, The Welsh Language .... op.cit., p.101.

By 1970 there were more than 70 *Ysgolion Meithrin* throughout Wales and in 1971 an organisation was formed to foster their future growth: *Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin Cymraeg* (The Welsh Nursery Schools Movement) see Table 4.3.

Table 4.4

The Growth of Ysgolion Cymraeg (Welsh Schools) in Wales 1939-88

YEAR	PRIMARY		SECONDARY	
	NO OF SCHOOLS	TOTAL NO OF PUPILS	NO OF SCHOOLS	TOTAL NO OF PUPILS
1939	1	7	0	0
1950	7	-	0	0
1960	28	-	1	-
1970	46	6,253	4	2,017
1980	53	9,550	11	7,860
1988	67	11,472	16	10,472

Note:
(i) To put the above figures in perspective it is useful to note that in 1968 for example the total number of children attending Ysgolion Cymraeg (Welsh Schools) was 6,478 out of a total school population in Wales of 250,000 (ie. 2.6%).
(ii) Blank spaces denote figures not quoted in sources used.

Sources:
(i)   Statistics of Education in Wales (HMSO 1980) Table 5.06, p.5.
(ii)   R.B. Philip, The Welsh Question (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1975), p.60.
(iii)   P. Trudgill, Language in the British Isles (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.463.
(iv)   Ninnau, Vol.13, No.6 (April 1988).

teachers. A school which opened in the Rhondda in 1980 for example had not a single child from a Welsh-speaking home.[95] In recent years too, the *Ysgolion Cymraeg* have lost something of their reputation of being populated largely by the children of the educated, urban Welsh middle class, and are attracting increasing numbers from working class homes.

These schools, it must be emphasised, are in the fullest sense bilingual. Their aim, in general, is to turn English or Welsh monoglot children, regardless of their age at time of entry, into fluent bilinguals by the end of their school careers. Something of their success in this respect and of the general ethos of the Ysgolion

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[95]   Aull-Davies, op.cit., pp.52-3.

Gymraeg is conveyed by the following comments made by one of the participants

in this study:

> "I went to *Ysgol Dewi Sant* in Rhyl, a primary Welsh School.
> Welsh was the only language used in the school. Occasionally you'd
> hear a child speaking English but not very often. After that I went
> to *Ysgol Glan Clwyd*, again a Welsh-medium school, at secondary
> level. The reason I was sent to these schools by my parents is quite
> simply that they wanted me to be educated through the medium of
> Welsh and thereby maintain the language. They are Welsh-speakers
> themselves and they wanted me to grow up the same way. I'm also
> convinced that the standard (of education) is higher in the Welsh
> Schools than in the ordinary ones. Non-Welsh-speaking parents
> send their children there for just that reason. Not only that, they
> want to contribute something to the life of Wales through their
> children by bringing them up as bilinguals .... During my time at
> the school [the 1970s] every subject except Chemistry was being
> taught through the medium of Welsh up to GCE 'O' Level. By now
> Chemistry is also being taught in Welsh. There are plans also to
> teach Maths and Science subjects in Welsh to 'A' Level. This won't
> be very difficult. Some of the terminology will have to be borrowed
> directly from English but will be 'Welshified'[96] in the process. By
> the time the children get to the Sixth Form they are thoroughly at
> home in both languages and go on to do Maths through English at
> the University if they wish."[97]
>
> <div align="right">Translated from Welsh</div>

Two important points are raised by these comments. The first is that the

Welsh Schools are more than bilingual education centres. They are as concerned

with ethnicity as with language. Their curriculum is therefore as much bicultural

as it is bilingual. In this sense they are attempting to reverse by means of a Welsh

medium curriculum[98] the effects of more than a century of English medium

education we discussed in Chapter 2.

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[96]   A clumsy term but it is the nearest English equivalent to the Welsh *'Cymreigeiddio'*
(literally 'to make Welsh').

[97]   Non-Questionnaire (NQ) respondent 21 (see explanation of respondent categories in
Chapter 5 to follow). This particular respondent was a visitor to Australia from Wales. His
comments have been extracted from his Oral Memoir (again see Chapter 5 for further explanations).

[98]   Among the aims of *Ysgol Gyfun Rhydfelen* (Rhydfelen Comprehensive School) in
Glamorgan for example, the first of the Welsh-medium secondary schools (est. 1962), is:

> **"Trosglwyddo i bob disgybl falchder o fod yn Gymro a phenderfyniad i ddirgelu
> parhad y genedl".**
>
> *To transmit to every pupil a pride in being Welsh and a determination to safeguard the
> perpetuation of the [Welsh] nation).*

The second point raised is the problem of continuing a 'Welsh' education at tertiary level. Since the 1960s the University of Wales has effectively become a University *in* Wales no different in most respects from any other British University. Anglicising influences have been felt at every level. In 1950, for instance, of the 5,284 students in the University of Wales as a whole, 83.9% came from homes in Wales, 2.4% from overseas and 13.7% from other areas of Britain. By 1970 only 39.5% came from Wales, 4.8% from overseas countries and 55.7% from the remainder of the United Kingdom.[99] More relevant here perhaps is that the proportion of Welsh-speakers within the Welsh-born student body has fallen in all the constituent campuses of the University of Wales. Of the 654 students from Wales at the University College of North Wales, Bangor (with Aberystwyth, the most 'Welsh' of the colleges) only 351 were Welsh-speakers. Thus the Welsh-speaking student population of Bangor formed 12% of the total, where once it had been the majority.[100] The trend has been paralleled in the reduced popularity of Welsh as a subject of study despite increased provision for Welsh-medium institutions in recent years.[101] A 1987 survey of the higher education choices of 400 Welsh-speaking sixth-formers, for example, found that only 78 (19%) of this total wanted to undertake their university or college courses entirely through the medium of Welsh.[102] Although this does not augur well for the future of the language in tertiary institutions, it is to be expected given the poor employment prospects for graduates in Wales.

Quoted in B. Khleif, Language Ethnicity and Education in Wales (The Hague : Mouton Publishers, 1980), p.187, see also Rhydefelen, y Deng Mlynedd Cyntaf *(Rhydfelen, the first ten years)* (Llandysul : Gomer Press, 1973).

[99] S. Gwenllian, "Thinking of Bangor? Letter to an English Sixth Former" Planet, The Welsh Internationalist, No. 49/50 (January 1980), p.6.

[100] A situation which led to demands for separate institutions within the University of Wales for Welsh-speaking students. As a result Neuadd Pantycelyn at Aberystwyth became a hall of residence for Welsh-speakers only in 1974 as did Neuadd John Morris Jones in Bangor the following year. J. Davies, A History of Wales (London : The Penguin Press, 1993), p.649.

[101] Ibid., by the 1980s more than twenty lectures had been appointed at Bangor and Aberystwyth with responsibility to teach through the medium of Welsh (mainly in the Arts).

[102] The Times Higher Education Supplement, October 16th, 1987.

Perhaps the most significant development in the fortunes of the Welsh language in recent years has been the substantial increase in the number of adult learners, drawn largely from the ranks of English settlers and their children who have settled in Wales in the last two or three decades. Courses are run by local education authorities, by the University of Wales and by a range of voluntary organisations. Amongst the most successful have been the intensive programmes run on the model of the *Ulpan* scheme for teaching Hebrew to new arrivals in Israel. Motives obviously vary but many of the learners are motivated in the first instance by a wish to share in their children's 'Welsh' education in local schools or simply by the conviction on the part of non-speakers of Welsh extraction that their 'Welshness' is somehow incomplete without possession of the Welsh language.

4.4   The Post-War Cultural Inheritance

The aim of the preceding discussion has been to outline some of the developments which have formed the cultural values of the participants in this study, and which have therefore shaped their views on Welsh language maintenance and cultural identity in Australia. In the process, the argument put forward in Chapter 2, that, historically, the Welsh language has been at the core of Welshness, is extended to include the claim that even in recent decades, arguably the period of its greatest enfeeblement, it has retained much of its defining value. More than any other issue the language has dominated the life of Wales since 1945 — an extraordinary state of affairs given that for the twentieth century English has been the mother tongue of most of its inhabitants. The very convulsion which the question of the survival of the Welsh language has introduced into the lives of all Welshmen and women, irrespective of their levels of proficiency, is in itself testimony to its lasting relevance to the definition of Welshness.

That the period surveyed has witnessed its greates decline is indisputable. This is manifest in the first instance in the statistical evidence that has inspired so much of its recent study by social scientists. It is evident also in the expressed

attitudes of those to whom it is still a mother tongue. Despite the gains of recent years — and, as shown, they have been considerable — there is a prevalent widespread despondency about the chances of its survival as a living language much beyond the present generation, a feeling that the Old Man of Pencader[103] got it wrong after all. 'As a living language' is the qualification that must be emphasised. Thanks to Cymdeithas Yr Iaith and other organisations that have been active in its defence since the 1960s, Welsh is now not only a much more visible language but enjoys a measure of official status. Yet the motorways and rail links that are now marked with bilingual signs, are also conduits of a mass of anglicising influences that are reaching every corner of what was once the Welsh heartland. This includes a flood of settlers from the conurbations of Merseyside and the Midlands. As a result of this massive inflow *('mewnlifiad')*,[104] local education authorities, even in the remotest corners of Gwynedd and Dyfed, are facing a Sisyphean task in turning out bilingual students from their schools. The *Ysgolion Cymraeg* (Welsh Schools) are in the vanguard of this effort but they too are feeling the pressure. They are in danger of becoming — some already are — embattled islands of Welshness cut off from much of the life of the anglicised communities around them. The point here surely is that made by Deutsch: that 'culture' and 'community' are in most respects interchangeable: "When we say culture", he argued, "we stress the configuration of preferences and values; when we say community we stress the aspects of communication .... it is the channels of culture which give to the values of culture their meaning".[105]

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[103] The Welsh sage who, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, on being asked by Henry II, during his campaign of 1163 in Wales, whether Welsh opposition was likely to last, replied as follows: "This nation, O King, may now as in former times be harassed, and in a great measure weakened and destroyed by you and other Powers .... but it can never be total subdued through the wrath of men, unless the wrath of God shall concur. Nor do I think that any other nation than this of Wales, or any other language, whatever may hereafter come to pass, shall, on the day of severe examination before the Supreme Judge, answer for this corner of the earth.:, cited in Morris, op.cit., p.72.

[104] A term coined by the Welsh media to describe the recent occurrence.

[105] K.W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication (Cambridge, Massachussetts : MIT Press, 1966), p.89.

Culture cannot thrive apart from the community of which it is a product. Unless there is a community in which it can take root and live it will atrophy as a museum exhibit. It is this disintegration of what remains of a living Welsh-speaking community which is now the greatest threat to the idea of Wales as anything more than a geographic expression.

The danger of disintegration has increased considerably in the wake of the 1979 referendum which saw the rejection in Wales of proposed devolution by a massive majority (245,045 for and 956,330 against).[106] To some Welsh historians and political analysts these results spelt nothing less than the end of Welshness, a coming to nought of all that had been achieved since the days of *Cymru Fydd*. To Gwyn Williams for example, the Welsh electorate had written "*finis*" to nearly two hundred years of Welsh history."[107] In the colder light of a later day the devolution vote has been re-assessed by some historians as a rejection neither of a separate Welsh identity nor of self-government but of the particular terms of the 1979 proposals.[108] In any case, it was seen by many in *Plaid Cymru* and *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith* as irrelevant to the fight for the survival of the language. Had not Saunders Lewis himself argued that that was more important that self-government? Had not the new Welsh language television channel, S4C, come *after* the rejection of devolution and were there not two more Welsh Nationalists in Westminster in 1991, than in 1979?[109]

There is some validity to these arguments. The consciousness of a Welsh cultural identity remains undiminished. Moreover Wales has more of a corporate identity today than at any time in its history. It could be argued that the Welsh

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[106]   Davies, op.cit., p.677.

[107]   Williams, When Was Wales?, op.cit., p.295.

[108]   Davies, op.cit., p.677. For others however the result has suggested that the acculturation (ie anglicisation) of Wales in the broad sense, including the acquisition of English politico-culture characteristics, implies a permanent weakening of a Welsh political perspective and perhaps of a Welsh cultural identity. See, for example, J.B. Jones and R.A. Wilford, "Implications : Two Salient Issues" in D. Foulkes, J.B. Jones and R.A. Wilford (eds), The Welsh Veto : The Welsh Act 1978 and the Referendum (Cardiff : The University of Wales Press, 1983), pp.216-230.

[109]   In 1992 Plaid Cymru added two more seats (Ceredigion and Pembroke North) to the three which it already held. Davies, op.cit., p.xiv.

language despite the gloomy census figures is better positioned to meet the challenges of the modern world than any other minority language in Western Europe. Yet the keynote of Welsh life since the mid-1960s has been discord — a discord that has centred to a large extent on the matter of language and identity. It would be difficult for migrants from Wales to Australia in the post-war era not to have brought with them attitudes towards their maintenance by themselves and their children that had not been shaped to some extent by this climate of dissension.

4.5   Welsh Settlement in Australia Since 1945

In the decade after World War I almost a third of a million British migrants arrived in Australia mainly as assisted passengers under the Empire Settlement Act. The Welsh contribution to this inflow was very modest. Between 1921 and 1933, for example, the percentage of Welsh-born in Australia rose by only 7% compared with 9% of English-born and a very substantial 22% of those born in Scotland.[110] The suspension of assisted migration after 1929 further stemmed the inflow with the result that between 1931-5 Australia experienced a net loss through departures. This was also the Welsh experience during the Depression years. Between 1921 and 1940, some 430,000 left Wales, mainly for the cities of southern England.[111]

It is difficult to characterise the inter-war years in the life of Welsh Australia. Apart from some remnants in the Newcastle area the older nineteenth century communities had long disappeared. Certainly the language was a spent force. At the same time, the burgeoning Australian nationalism of the 1890s, strengthened by Federation and the First World War, had taken its toll on whatever remained of a latent Welshness and, as would be expected, had made Australians of the second and third generation. Links with the Welsh past in Australia, or with

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[110]   Lucas, op.cit., p.19.
[111]   Morgan, Re-birth of a Nation ...., op.cit., pp.210-31.

contemporary Wales were tenuous amongst most except the Welsh-born, and by the 1930s the numbers of the latter had declined.[112]

In this situation those amongst the Welsh who strove to maintain a cultural presence were forced to turn increasingly to their own resources within Australia. If there is a keynote to their efforts, it is the search for strength in unity, in attempts, that, is to draw together the scattered pockets of Welsh activities into the semblance of an Australia-wide definitive Welsh community. This was clearly the motive behind the founding of the Australian Association of Welsh Societies in 1931 (Appendix XIX). Symbolic of the whole venture was the ABC radio link-up between all Welsh Societies in Australia on St David's Day 1936 — one of the earliest and most successful experiments of its kind in Australian broadcasting to date.[113]

Unity was the reasoning also behind the founding of 'The Welsh Australian' in 1935[114] by the Welsh Societies of Sydney. Its aim was outlined in the first issue of the 17th of August of that year:

> *"Our Church, our National Society and our Choral Society will each find reports of their functions in these columns and we hope that the broadcasting of the doings of the societies will result in knitting the members of the Welsh Community (sic) closer together by the bonds of mutual interest in Welsh national affairs".* [own italics][115]

Again in 1939, the Cambrian Society of Victoria (est 1972) united with the Cymmrodorion Society of that state. These several moves were obviously brought about to some extent by diminishing resources, and the general austerity resulting from the looming crisis in Europe. Moreover, they did little to rescue the language from what now seemed to be permanent doldrums. The editors of the

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[112] In Victoria for example there was a general decline from 6,055 in 1861, to 2,729 in 1911, and 2,251 in 1947 (see Table 3.8).

[113] Y Llythyr Newyddion, The Newsletter of the Association of Welsh Societies, Vol 1, No 3, (June 1935), p.1, (the front page of this issue, including the reference to the planned broadcast in the Editorial is shown in Appendix XIX).

[114] Appendix XX.

[115] The Welsh Australian, August 17, 1935, p.1 (first issue).

journal of the Cambrian Society of Victoria, launched in February 1938,[116] felt no need to devote more than one page (out of 16) to Welsh language items. Its general condition in the late 1930s is conveyed by the following comment on "The Welsh Page" *(Y Dudalen Gymraeg)*, as it was called, of the first issue by the then Minister of the La Trobe Street Welsh Church, Melbourne:

> "It is surprising how many of us there are dispersed throughout this city and its environs and in the country areas of the state; yet how infrequently it is that we hear the sweet rhythms of our tongue and how seldom we see it in print ...... We Welsh, in this country and wherever we live in the world, if we are to maintain our self respect, we must remember that it is in unity that there is strength ..... Show that you are alive, and that you are living as Welsh people

> (Translated from Welsh)

> *'Er mwyn y tadau hynny*
> *Eu hiaith, eu gwlad A'i Duw*
> *Mae Gymru am i ninnau*
> *Eu meibion, drosti i fyw'* "[117]
> (It is for our forefathers, their language,
> their country, and their God that Wales
> wishes its sons to live)

It is difficult to know how many Welsh speakers there were in Australia at the end of the Second World War since no figures are available until 1976. It is likely however that the majority of the 1077 reported as Welsh-speaking in the census of that year (see Table 4.5) were post-war or recent arrivals and not representative in any sense therefore of a tradition of continuous Welsh-language use.

The Welsh who settled in Australia between 1947 and 1980 were a small component of the 1,063,603 total who came from the United Kingdom and Eire,[118]

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[116]   The Cambrian. Official Journal of the Cambrian Society of Victoria. There was only one copy of its predecessor titled 'Cambrian'. That issue, Vol. No.1 of November 1938, is in the Evan Thomas Collection at the National Library of Victoria. Its successor launched in 1939 survived until October 1945. Throughout that time it contained reports from what remained of the Welsh 'communities' in Ballarat and Blackstone, Queensland.
[117]   The Cambrian, Vol 1., No 1, (February 1939), p.5.
[118]   P. Pyne and C.A. Price, "Australian Migration Statistics — Select" in C.A. Price (ed), Australian Immigration : a bibliography and digest, No. 4, Supplement 1981 (Canberra :

Table 4.5

Welsh-speakers in Australia in the Two Census Years, 1976 and 1986 (Totals and by State

STATE	1976 WELSH SPEAKERS	1986 WELSH SPEAKERS
NSW	357	551
VIC	227	350
QLD	141	213
SA	133	174
WA	160	303
TAS	33	55
ACT	17	31
NT	10	31
TOTAL AUSTRALIA	1077	1708

Note:
For comparison of 1986 figures with Welsh-born population see Table 3.8.

Sources:
(i)   1976 figures: M.G. Clyne, Multilingual Australia (Melbourne : River Seine Publications, 1982), Table 9A, p.154.
(ii)   1986 figures: J. Jupp (ed.), The Australian People Appendix 1, p.972.

their proportions being fairly constant at around 2%.[119] In terms of figures on Welsh-born residents for the same period this translates into an increase from 11,880 in 1947, to 24,868 in 1981 (see Table 3.8). Amongst them Welsh-speakers formed a considerably smaller proportion than they did in Wales: 1,077 of the 26,593 Welsh-born in 1976[120] (4.04%) and 1,708 out of 27,209 (6.2%) in 1986 (see Tables 4.5 and 3.8). By comparison Welsh-speakers formed 20.8% and 8.9% of the total population of Wales in 1971 and 1981 respectively (see Table 1.2).

Department of Demography, Australian National University, 1981) Table 2.1. It should be noted, however, that the figure quoted takes into account a loss rate of 24% of British migrants by 1980.
[119]   Lucas, op.cit., p.26. this was by far the lowest for the United Kingdom. The Welsh proportion of the British-born has in fact been steady at around 2% since 1901. Rising slightly to an average of around 2.5% since 1945. C. Price "Migration to and from Australia", in T.E. Smith (ed.), Commonwealth Migration - Flows and Policies (London : The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981), p.19 and p.43.
[120]   Ibid., Table 2.2. The Welsh-born figure quoted is for 1977.

Though there could obviously be other reasons for the low proportion of Welsh-speakers amongst emigrants to Australia, it is not unreasonable to assume that they were deterred to some extent by the heightened sense of cultural identity, and the greater awareness of a language crisis which, as has been shown in this chapter, have characterised much of Welsh national life since 1945.[121] Comments such as the following were not uncommon in the Welsh press in this period:

> "The statisticians' figures conceal a qualitative change which is tending to make large parts of Wales a quiet backwater for holidaymakers and the retired. The areas most affected are the country areas which have long been strongholds of the Welsh language. *One can therefore sympathise with people who try to persuade would-be migrants from leaving Wales* [own italics]. I read one newspaper item which attempted to do this by making out that Australia would prove to be a disappointment. It would not be difficult to demonstrate that, materially, migrants to Australia are better off, but they would be the first to admit that man does not live by bread alone. There is for many a great loss in personal relationships and cultural satisfactions. If anyone wants to persuade migrants to stay home they should emphasise this aspect ...... Overseas Welsh have as much responsibility for creating a better Wales as those who are able to remain at home. They owe a debt to their homeland (the unenforceable debt of loyalty) which could well be discharged by supporting any cultural or political movements which they consider will improve conditions in Wales. By taking an interest in the welfare of their native land they need not be any the less sympathetic to their country of adoption. In fact, the migrants more deeply concerned with Wales' welfare are those most active in serving their new country".[122]

A 1966 article in the same journal dwells on the same general theme. Again the author is concerned about the deleterious effect of emigration on the Welsh language and culture. He is doubtful whether this will be compensated for

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[121]   Williams and colleagues in a study of attitudes towards the Welsh language in the Rhondda Valley of South Wales found that 45% of Welsh-speaking parents as against 27% of non-speakers expressed unhappiness about the possibility of their children leaving Wales. They should, they felt stay in Wales to further the language cause or in their terms "to help the language". G. Williams, E. Roberts and R. Isaac, "Language and Aspirations for Upward Social Mobility" in G. Williams (ed.), Social and Cultural Change in Contemporary Wales (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), pp.203-4.

[122]   P.H. Edwards, "Australian Commentary", Yr Enfys, No. 88, July/August 1970, pp.6-7.

by their maintenance and transmission by those who leave in their country of destination:

> "A native-born Welshman does not easily lose his Welsh sense of values and outlook on life, and, no doubt, the Welsh language plays a very important part in this. Whether he is capable of transmitting this Welshness to his progeny and later generations in a foreign land is very much in doubt ..... hence the problem of the 'second-generation'".[123]

Studies of British migration in the post-war era[124] have shown that the overriding motive was the desire to improve economic circumstances, and there is no evidence to suggest that the Welsh were in any sense an exception. Certainly, as will be shown in the chapter to follow, this was the case with the great majority of the participants in this study. It should also be added, that as a motive for emigration, the search for improved living conditions must be distinguished from the need to escape from poverty or destitution, the important difference being that in the former case, departure from the homeland is almost always a conscious, planned decision. This, as against involuntary migration, it is suggested, may have some bearing on attitudes towards language and cultural maintenance in the country of destination, and will be investigated further in the chapters which follow.

Again, in common with other British migrants, the post-war Welsh seem to have settled for the most part in urban areas. A study based on the 1971 census, for example, found that the British were relatively more urbanised than the Australian-born, with particular concentrations in satellite and commuter-zone towns such as Elizabeth, Salisbury, Tea Tree Gully and Noarlunga in the vicinity

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[123]   R.G. Roberts, The Effects of Emigration from Wales", _Yr Enfys, No. 60, October/November 1963,_ pp.20-21.

[124]   The great majority of the subjects in Appleyard and Richardson's separate studies of British post-war migration to Australia, cited improvement of their economic conditions as the prime motive for their decision to emigrate. R.T. Appleyard, British Emigration to Australia (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1964); A. Richardson, British Immigrants and Australia. A Psycho-Social Inquiry (Canberra : Australian National University Press, 1974).

of Adelaide or Wollongong in New South Wales.[125]   Similarly, statistics based on the 1981 census comparing the Welsh with the Australian-born, show that 8.3% of the former were rural dwellers compared with 13.4% of the latter.[126]   The point must be made however that owing to the well-known sprawl of Australian cities a tendency towards urban settlement does not, in the case of a group as small as the Welsh — who for the most part migrate as individuals or as individual families — imply any significant degree of clustering, even in the satellite towns mentioned above.   Non-statistical evidence also points to the wide dispersion of the Welsh amongst Australia's predominantly metropolitan population.   The experiences of the Reverend Ifor Rowlands in Sydney in 1959 were probably not untypical.   "He was tireless", it was reported, "in his efforts to trace the Welsh in the city.   His parish is of course enormous, since the Welsh are so widely dispersed".[127]   This, too, as will be pointed out later, has potential repercussions for efforts at language and cultural maintenance.

Until the mid-1970s, as Price has shown, migrants from Britain were predominantly skilled and semi-skilled workers.[128]   Since then, however, reflective of Australia's more selective immigration policies in the 1980s, the proportion of the skilled and semi-skilled has fallen dramatically in favour of the professional and administrative categories of employment.   Thus an analysis of the 1981 occupational groupings in Australia by birthplace shows Welsh-born males and females to be in both cases the second highest in the list of British and Australia-born in the professional/technical areas.[129]   This is again of some relevance to

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[125]   I.H. Burnley, "British Immigration and Settlement in Australian Cities 1947-71", International Migration Review, Vol.12, Fall 1978, p.356.

[126]   "Social Features of the Welsh-born in Australia (adults over 16), 1981" (based on 1% sample user tape) (unpublished research material prepared by the Research School of Social Sciences, Canberra).

[127]   Y Blewyddiadur, 1959 (Annual Journal of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists) (extract translated from the Welsh).

[128]   C.A. Price, "International migration : contribution to growth and distribution of Australian population" in Population of Australia (ESCAP Country Monograph Series No. 9), United Nations, New York, Vol.1, pp.46-70, cited in Lucas, op.cit., p.64.

[129]   Lucas op.cit., Table 11.3, p.108.

issues of cultural maintenance, the argument being that individuals with professional backgrounds and qualifications represent a pool of leadership potential from which, for example, ethnic organisations would be able to draw — the important proviso being, of course, that the individuals concerned are willing to lend their services.

Perhaps the final point to be made here is that the arrival of the Welsh since 1945 must be placed in the broader context of Australia's post-war immigration programme. This is less a matter of scale — though scale, as argued in Chapter 3, is by no means irrelevant to cultural identity — than of the greatly increased diversity of the migrant population. This was due to the conscious decision of successive Australian governments after 1947 to turn to non-British European countries to meet the proposed target of an increase in the total population of 1% a year.[130] Post-war British governments had given only lukewarm support to the Assisted Passage Scheme entered into with Australia in March, 1946, and despite the expressed aim of Arthur Calwell, the first Minister for Immigration, that for every one foreign migrant, there be ten from the United Kingdom, it became clear that the British supply would not meet the demand. It was partly for this, and partly for humanitarian reasons, that, between 1947 and 1953, Australia received some 170,000 displaced persons, largely of Baltic and Eastern European origins, from the refugee camps of Europe.[131] At the same time separate migration agreements, including the granting of assisted passages, were made with several European countries which resulted in a large influx of non-British migrants of European origins in the late 1940s and 1950s. Thus of the 1.47 million arrivals in Australia between mid-1947 and mid-1961[132] the British ethnic component was

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[130]   C.A. Price, "Australian Immigration : The Whitlam Government, 1972-75", in C.A. Price and J.I. Martin (eds.) Australian Immigration : A Bibliography and Digest, No. 3, 1975, Part 1 (Canberra : Department of Demography, the Australian National University, 1967), p.A2.
[131]   E.F. Kunz, "Post-war Non-British Immigration" in Jupp (ed.), op.cit., p.103.
[132]   Price, "Migration to .... ", op.cit., p.24. The 1961 census showed that for the first time in Australia's history immigrants from the UK and Ireland no longer formed the majority. Lucas, op.cit., p.25.

only 37.7%, a radical departure from the pre-war years when, as throughout the nineteenth century, the overwhelming majority of Australia's immigrants had been British-born.

With the whittling away in the 1960s of many of the restrictions which constituted the White Australia policy, Australia in the 1970s began to open its doors to non-European settlers including substantial numbers of refugees from South-East Asia in the post-Vietnam war years. This diversification of the migrant intake continued throughout the 1980s[133] with the result that by 1988 birthplace statistics on Australia's population could be converted into more than seventy major ethnic components.[134]

4.6 Cultural and Educational Policies In The Australia They Came To

4.6.1 From Assimilation to Multiculturalism

One of the consequences of a post-war immigration policy that has added some five million new settlers to the Australian population since 1947[135] — more than half of whom were of non-English-speaking background — is that ethnicity has become a salient feature of Australian life in the second half of the twentieth century. In the immediate post-war years the emphasis of official policy was on the rapid assimilation of new arrivals. A range of methods, from language tests as a pre-requisite for citizenship, to the establishment of the Good Neighbour Council to encourage social interaction, were used to induce immigrants to conform to the cultural ways and values of the native-born. A resolution adopted at the 1950 Australian Citizenship Convention[136] gives some indication of prevalent thinking:

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[133] By 1987, 25.8% (or some 3.14 million) of the Australian population had been born overseas. B. Graetz and I. McAllister, Dimensions of Australian Society (Melbourne : The Macmillan Company of Australia Pty Ltd., 1988), p.82.

[134] C.A. Price, "The Ethnic Character of the Australian Population" in Jupp (ed.), op.cit., Table 2, p.124.

[135] S.S. Castles, "Australian Multiculturalism: Social Policy and Identity in a Changing Society" in G.P. Freeman and J. Jupp (eds.), Nations of Immigrants: Australia, the United States and International Migration (Melbourne: Oxford University Press 1992), p.184.

[136] Held annually, with representatives from most bodies concerned with immigrants and/or assimilation these conventions "may be viewed as a microcosm of Australian opinion on immigration". Harris, op.cit., p.121.

"The people of Australia should strive through their governments, their associations, and as individuals to remove all obstacles — physical, social, national and racial — that prevent the prompt and complete assimilation of all immigrants".[137]

It was a policy which equated political stability with cultural uniformity and one that was not far removed philosophically from the 'melting pot' ideal long prevalent in the United States. Nor, it must be remembered, was it entirely unwelcome to sectors of the migrant population, not least the Welsh. Historically, as shown in Chapter 3, they had been, in Australia as in the United States, amongst the most readily assimilable of all migrant groups. This could be explained said one regular columnist in *Yr Enfys* (the journal of the overseas Welsh) in 1960, referring to his contemporaries, by the fact that having come from a country "where their native culture is being relegated to a position of obscurity, they notice no great difference sociologically between Wales and their new country — if it is an English-speaking one."[138] This was not meant to be a harsh judgement of assimilationist policy as such, which, he went on to argue, was "reasonable" because in most of the new countries "..... the indigenous culture has scarcely had time to develop thoroughly".[139] He was by no means alone in these sentiments. Certainly amongst the Welsh in Australia, there was little opposition expressed to the assimilationist stance of early post-war governments. "All those who migrate to foreign lands", wrote one Welsh academic of the period, "must perforce accept something less than a fully organic life".[140] *The point being made is that, contrary to much current thinking, a degree of assimilation was seen by many post-war migrants, the Welsh amongst them, as a reasonable pre-condition for permanent residence in Australia, an unwritten contract, as it were, that they had freely entered into prior to departure from their home countries.*

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[137]   Australian Citizenship Convention Digest 1950 (Canberra: Department of Immigration, 1950), p.19.
[138]   *Currawong* (pseudonym) "Southern Comment", Yr Enfys, No. 48, July/August 1960, p.20.
[139]   Ibid.
[140]   Ibid., Dr. D.J. Davies, cited by *Currawong*.

By the late 1950s however some of the unforeseen cultural and social consequences of this contract were being debated by Australian academics. Links, not always proven, were made between the policy of assimilation and a relatively high rate of migrant loss.[141] This, and arguments that the assimilationist stance had not only failed to fulfil the promise of its promulgators but had discouraged migrant contribution to Australian life,[142] witnessed the increased adoption of 'integration' — a term which implied a measure of adjustment by both host and settler — as the preferred theoretical framework for the discussion of migrant issues by the early 1960s. "Integration", said a Welsh contributor to Yr Enfys in 1961, "is the catchword these days in Australia and Canada".[143] Certainly by the end of the decade 'integration' in the sense of mutual accommodation and a degree of interaction between migrant arrivals and the native-born, had become the preferred ideal in certain sectors of government and academe.

By that time, however, the virtues of a more culturally plural society were also being aired,[144] though there was little agreement either on its desirability, or what the government's role should be in bringing it about. After the election of the Whitlam government in 1972, a number of government commissioned reports argued for an official imprimatur for what was termed 'cultural pluralism'. The Final Report of the Committee on Community Relations, for example, argued that

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[141]   An estimated 16% of settler arrivals between 1959 and 1965 returned to their home countries. Graetz and McAllister, op.cit., p.80. A government committee appointed in 1966 to investigate settler loss, concluded that there was no cause for alarm but suggested that immigrants' adjustment to Australian society would be aided by "a role of more positive assistance and encouragement to migrants to integrate fully into the community by the Australian public". The Departure of Settlers from Australia. Final Report of the Committee on Social Patterns of the Immigration Advisory Council, October 1967, p.16.

[142]   They were poorly represented in the professions for example.

[143]   E.M. Thomas "Ai Gorau Cymro, Cymro Oddi Cartref"? (Is it [true that] the best Welshman is the Welshman who is away from his home country?), Yr Enfys (No. 50), January/February 1961, p.8.

[144]   Amongst the earliest being Martin whose work was cited earlier. Her studies of refugee settlers and other migrant groups was a stimulus to much of the pioneering work in Australia on migrant education. See for example J.I. Martin, Community and Identity: Refugee Groups in Adelaide (Canberra : Australian National University Press, 1972).

"cultural pluralism should be accepted as a basic fact of Australian life.[145] At the same time, in 1973, Al Grassby, the then Minister for Immigration, spoke openly for the first time of the virtues of a *multicultural* society, one in which minorities would be encouraged to retain and foster their own languages and cultures[146]

The generally acknowledged turning point in the history of multiculturalism in Australia, however, was the publication of the 'Report of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants' (the Galbally Report) in May, 1978, under the Fraser Coalition Government that had come into office three years earlier.[147] Though its brief had been "to examine and report on the effectiveness of the Commonwealth's programs and services for those who have migrated to Australia"[148] its conclusions in effect amounted to unqualified support for the development of a multicultural society. "We are convinced", it stated, "that migrants have the right to maintain their cultural and racial identity and that it is clearly in the best interests of our nation that they should be encouraged and assisted to do so if they wish".[149] From its recommendations, which were fully accepted by the government, was to emerge much of the institutional framework for Australia as a multicultural nation in the 1980s : ethnic radio and television,[150] community based Migrant Resource Centres, Ethnic Affairs Commissions in four

[145] Committee on Community Relations, Final Report (Canberra : Australian Government Publishing Service, 1975).
[146] Castles, op.cit., p.186.
[147] By this stage therefore both major political parties supported multiculturalism. The rapidity with which official attitudes changed was greater than this synopsis suggests. As late as 1969, for example, Billy Snedden, the then Minister for Immigration in the Coalition Government, had categorically stated: "We must have a single culture, we do not want pluralism". M. Clyne, Community Languages. The Australian Experience (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.19.
[148] Migrant Services and Programs. Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants, May 1978. (Canberra : Australian Government Publishing Service, 1978), p.1.
[149] Ibid., p.104.
[150] Welsh language programmes are broadcast regularly on the ethnic radio stations in several of the state capitals. There is a cassette recording of the first Welsh programme on Radio 2EA, Sydney (12 April, 1982) in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. Similarly, sub-titled Welsh language programmes are broadcast on Australia's 'ethnic' television channel (SBS) e.g., 0.04% of total programme time in 1985-6. Lo Bianco, op.cit., p.40.

states and, in 1979, the Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs — a research, advisory and dissemination body on multicultural issues.

Although multiculturalism continued to enjoy bipartisan political support, by the mid-1980s a climate of increased economic stringency had occasioned a questioning both of the level of public expenditure on the maintenance of ethnic structures and of the benefits of immigration. "A total of about $9 million dollars (annually)" it was said in one fairly typical contemporary article in the popular press, was being spent "on giving people a vested interest in retaining a separate national identity".[151] Symptomatic of this mildly revisionist mood was the abolition in 1986 of the seven year old Institute for Multicultural Affairs[152] and a cut in funding for the teaching of English as a second language. Though unexpectedly strong protest by ethnic organisations led to a reversal of some of these measures as early as 1987, a shift of emphasis is clearly discernible in subsequent policy decisions. In the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia launched in 1989, for example, multiculturalism was defined less in terms of cultural pluralism or minority rights than "in terms of the cultural, social, and economic rights of all citizens in a democratic state".[153] This broadening or 'mainstreaming'[154] of government-provided multicultural services was undoubtedly the result in part of budget considerations, but it is also suggestive of an attempt to meet some of the mounting criticisms of what was, and still is, seen by many as an imposed and divisive ideology.[155]

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[151]   D. Barnett, "How the bloated ethnic industry is dividing Australia", The Bulletin, February 18, 1986, pp.58-62.
[152]   Replaced in 1987 by the Office of Multicultural Affairs.
[153]   Cited in Castles, op.cit., p.190.
[154]   The slogan introduced by the New South Wales Government in the mid-1980s.
[155]   Including a number of prominent Australian academics. Much of the concern has been about policies based on a culturalist model of ethnicity which neglect the economic needs of migrant group members. See for example D.L. Jayasuriya, "Multiculturalism, Ethnicity and Equality", Education News, 18, 1984, pp.42-3.

4.6.2 Multicultural Education

One of the areas most affected by the political endorsement of multiculturalism, was education. Even by the late 1950s concerns were being expressed by some teachers and educational policy makers about the special English language needs of the children of post-war refugee settlers. Not until the mid-1960s, however, as Martin points out, was there "evidence of a quickening of interest in the schooling of migrant children".[156] Even then the main concern in official circles was that their deficiencies in English was likely to be a serious hindrance to their successful integration into the Australian social and cultural mainstream. It was not until the 1970s that a combination of factors worked towards a serious commitment by government and educational authorities to the advantages of a multicultural diversion into teaching and curriculum planning in the schools. These included: an increased awareness of the much greater ethnic diversity of the Australian school population brought about by post-war immigration policies; a more focused scholarly interest in multicultural education — itself part of the broader thrust for educational reform supported by the Australian academic community in the 1970s — and last, but not least, the embrace by both major political parties of multiculturalism as the guiding ideology for the future development of Australian society. The result was a number of reports on the relevance and advantages of multicultural education. These included the 1975 Schools Commission Report and the document entitled "Australia as a Multicultural Society" prepared by the Ethnic Affairs Council in 1977. The latter, for example, argued that "policies and programmes concerned with education for a multicultural society apply to all children, not just children of non-English-speaking background."[157] It was also one of the conclusions of the 1978 Galbally Report referred to earlier that Australian schools and school system should be

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[156] J.I. Martin, "The Education of Migrant Children in Australia" in Price and Martin (eds.) op.cit., (Part 2), p.11.
[157] Cited by J. Lynch "Community Relations and Multicultural Education in Australia" in Corner, op.cit., p.141.

encouraged to "develop more rapidly various initiatives, aimed at improving the understanding of the different histories, cultures, languages and attitudes of those who make up our society".[158] Two years later (1980) the newly established Institute for Multicultural Affairs published its "Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education"[159] a document which defined the essential ingredients of multicultural education in Australia as: (i) the teaching of English to migrant children and adults of non-English-speaking background (NESB); (ii) the teaching of community languages and (iii) the study of ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia. Collectively they have been the main guidelines for policy initiatives on multicultural education since the early 1980s. These have included the adoption of a National Policy on Languages in 1987 which, along with a steady stream of supportive scholarly argument, has stimulated a remarkable growth in language teaching at primary and secondary level in recent years,[160] though admittedly with some bias towards languages with regional geo-political significance. Whilst economic constraints and, not infrequently, a lack of enthusiasm at school level to implement federal and state policy decisions, have been seriously limiting factors, there is little doubt that Australia has equalled, if not surpassed, most other western immigrant nations in its attempt to introduce a multicultural perspective into education.

4.7   Conclusion

This chapter concludes the historical perspective on Welsh cultural values and their passage in Australia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century presented in Chapters 2 and 3. It has also been a necessary preliminary to the empirical investigation of the cultural experiences of post-war Welsh migrants

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[158]   Migrant Services and Programs, op.cit., p.106.
[159]   Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education, Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, Melbourne, 1980. The Review contained the following statement: "The ethnic communities regard retention of their languages as a right, and a necessity of their cultures are to be preserved and made available to the rest of society": Ibid., 3.4.12.
[160]   These are reviewed briefly in Chapter 10.

which takes up the remainder of this study. Predictably, perhaps, in the case of a group as small as the Welsh there is, as will be shown in the chapters to follow, very little evidence of continuity of settlement or language. Those who came in the post-war era saw no reason to seek out earlier settlers nor the descendants of nineteenth century migrants. The majority had no knowledge of former communities such as those of Blackstone, Queensland, or the Hunter Valley of New South Wales. On the whole, the post-war settlers either gravitated towards the new satellite towns outside the main capital cities — where they established their own Welsh ethnic organisations — or disappeared into the general population. Certainly, some were attracted to the older societies or to the Welsh chapels in Melbourne and Sydney but in general there has been little opportunity to build on earlier cultural foundations.

Yet it would be misleading to deny any continuity. Nineteenth century Welsh cultural forms, as previously mentioned, have been remarkably durable. Though, like their countrymen in Wales, post-war settlers had little of the zeal of their nineteenth century predecessors for pulpit oratory, many have clung, as will be shown, to some of the cultural values and traditions which the chapels supported. The *Cymanfa Ganu* (a hymn-singing festival), for example, is still, by far, the most popular cultural gathering amongst the Welsh in Australia.[161] The continuity lies therefore not in direct contact between post-war settlers and the Welsh-Australian past but in some of the cultural and religious attitudes which, for all the drastic changes of the last four decades — not least the retreat of the language — still hold considerable sway.[162]

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[161]   The following item from a recent newsletter issued by the Cambrian Welsh Society of South Australia serves as an example: "Since the last newsletter we have enjoyed a number of successful events, including a well-attended St David's Day dinner and 'the full-to-bursting' Cymanfa Ganu in Tynte Street Baptist Church ..... We also look forward to seeing those of you who have been successful in getting tickets for the joint Cymanfa (The Metropolitan Male Voice Choir, the Cambrian Welsh Society and the Llanelli Male Voice Choir) which is being held at Concordia College Chapel at 2.00 pm on Sunday, 27 June, 1993. Newsletter of the Cambrian Welsh Society of South Australia, June 11, 1993 (unpublished).

[162]   It is also a point made by Price with reference to post-war Irish settlers, numerically much larger than the Welsh: "There has apparently been little direct communication between them (late

This chapter has focused largely on the major cultural developments in the Wales from which the post-war arrivals have come. This was done in the belief that their attitudes towards the maintenance of the Welsh language and culture, by themselves and their children in Australia, were shaped in large part by the cultural and political climate in which they were brought up. At the same time any investigation of language and cultural maintenance by migrants must take into account the prevalent attitudes and positions of governments and educational authorities in the receiving countries. To this end a brief account of the radical changes which have transformed Australia's immigration intake and the culture and educational policies of its state and federal governments since 1945, was also included.

It is a point of some interest that, whereas in this period, Australia, as a result of a liberal immigration policy, and planned government intervention, has developed into a multicultural society, Wales, as a result of the inflow of large numbers of English settlers and assimilationist pressures on the young, has moved closer to being a monocultural English-speaking nation. In both countries, however, what clearly stands out is that in the post-war era ethnicity has emerged as a force to be reckoned with. Commenting on a report in *Yr Enfys* that the post-war Welsh have contributed to the heightened sense of ethnic consciousness by their greater enthusiasm for maintaining their language and culture,[163] one Welsh historian has suggested that "perhaps the cultural re-awakening witnessed in Wales in the last twenty years or so may have even reached the shores of Australia".[164] The analysis which follows is largely devoted to an investigation of the accuracy of this comment.

19th century and pre-war migrants) and post-war Irish arrivals, nor little move by the newcomers into the old Irish urban and rural areas. Nevertheless Irish newcomers sometimes have much the same religious and cultural attitudes and values as earlier Irish settlers ..... C.A. Price, "Some Measures of Population Growth and Replacement" in Price and Martin, op.cit., p.A62.

[163]   Yr Enfys, No. 38, Jan/February 1958.
[164]   Williams, Cymry .... op.cit., p.166.

CHAPTER 5

THE PARTICIPANTS

AND

THE METHODS OF RESEARCH

"The questionnaire technique is one way of saving time and effort though it has a disadvantage; it prevents the investigator from discovering attitudes which he did not anticipate when formulating his questions."[1]

F. ZNANIECKI

"Investigators of contemporary cultures.... if they use similar criteria as historians, also find it possible to discover in descriptive statements, oral or written, reliable sources of information."[2]

F. ZNANIECKI.

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[1]   F Znaniecki, Cultural Sciences: Their Origin and Development (New Brunswick : Transaction Inc., 1980) p.254.

[2]   Ibid., p.249.

The theoretical framework for the humanistic, sociological analysis, which takes up the remainder of this study, and some of the methodological implications of its adoption, were outlined in Chapter 1. The main point emphasised was the appropriateness, to an investigation which has, as its primary source of data, the participants own oral and written accounts of their experiences, of the use of *varied* research methods. The aim of the present chapter is to describe how the participants were selected, who they were, and the methods that were employed to elicit and record the data.

5.1 Selection Procedures

The subjects were not chosen by the use of any mathematical random sampling procedure and results should be interpreted accordingly. No claim is made, therefore, that the group of 142 Welsh migrants who are the main subjects of the investigation ('Q' or questionnaire groups)[3] is, in any sense, representative of the broad mass of Welsh settlers in Australia. Conclusions reached, based as they are on the reconstructed cultural experiences of the participants, are exploratory rather than predictive, indicative rather than representative. This said, it must be pointed out that in a non-scientifically defined sense the respondents were "randomly" recruited rather than selectively chosen. Most of the participants were chance contacts within diffuse kinship and friendship networks. This 'web' or 'snowball'[4] technique of recruitment is well-established methodologically for the study of groups with a low incidence or low level of concentration in the general population[5]. This is the case with the Welsh, especially Welsh-speakers. Not only are they geographically dispersed but, by virtue of their "Britishness", are

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[3]   The several questionnaires used in this study are discussed later in this chapter.

[4]   Term used by B.L. Sung in a study of intermarriage patterns amongst Chinese-Americans. He defines it as "using one respondent or interviewee to lead to others" and found it to be "quite effective in locating respondents and interviewees". See B.L. Sung, Chinese American Intermarriage (New York: Centre for Migratory Studies, 1990), p.4.

[5]   It was the method also used by Bottomley in her study of Greek Australians. See Bottomley, op.cit., pp.36 and 107.

integrated into the general population almost to the point of invisibility. One of the difficulties encountered therefore at the pilot stage of the investigation, was that of locating the Welsh and, amongst them, the hidden minority of Welsh-speakers. For this reason, and in keeping with an introductory historical background which traced Australia-wide Welsh settlement, it was decided that, although for reasons of accessibility most respondents would be drawn from South Australia, an effort also be made to include informants from other states, especially from those locations where there had been significant concentrations of Welsh settlers in the nineteenth century. These were, as has been shown in previous chapters: Ballarat, Sebastopol and Melbourne in Victoria; Newcastle and Sydney in New South Wales; and the Ipswich-Blackstone area of Queensland. Over the six year period of field research (1984-90) several visits were made to these locations both to uncover the primary historical sources used in Chapter 3 and 4, and to find participants for the main area of the study[6].

The specific recruitment methods employed included:

(i) The use of personal kinship and friendship networks within the generally amorphous Welsh communities, the 'snowball' method mentioned earlier. These informal networks[7], bonded together usually by the Welsh language or Welsh ancestry, and, less frequently, by looser ties of association with Wales through birth, upbringing or merely interest in Welsh culture, operate with varying degrees of cohesion and vitality in most of the capital cities of Australia. Once 'tapped' into, they were at the same time valuable respondent pools, and a more reliable means for feeling the pulse of Welsh Australia than the more formal and often near-moribund Welsh ethnic societies.

(ii) Approaches, personal or by letter, to the variously named Welsh societies. Eleven of these organisations, under titles such as 'Welsh',

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6   The final residential distribution of 'Q' group respondents is shown in Table 5.1.
7   These groupings are discussed in Chapter 8.

'Cambrian', 'St. David's' or 'Cymmrodorion'[8] societies were listed in the 1984 Directory of Ethnic Organisations[9]. Covering letters[10] and batches of the main and supplementary questionnaires[11] were sent to the secretaries of nine[12] of these organisations in 1986/7. Later in 1989, another survey document, the Questionnaire Survey of Welsh Societies[13], devised to evaluate their cultural and linguistic vitality, was forwarded to each society. Along with the informal networks previously mentioned, the Welsh ethnic societies, especially the two South Australian examples, provided the majority of informants.

(iii) Contacts made in classes given by the researcher between 1984 and 1990. These included Welsh language classes held in private homes in Adelaide and WEA classes in Celtic Mythology and Literature — also in Adelaide. By virtue of their enrolment, the students obviously had a special interest in the Welsh language and culture, and consquently contributed some of the most valuable of the oral and written memoirs received.

(iv) Publicly announced appeals during a number of social and cultural gatherings. These included two visits to Australia by Welsh choirs in 1984 and 1986[14] and a *Cymanfa Ganu*[15] held in Adelaide in March,

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[8] The original Society of Cymmrodorion was founded in 1751 by a group of London Welshmen to foster all things Welsh, and in particular, Welsh literature. (See Chapter 2). Its journal, *"The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion"* is an important source of topical commentary on Welsh literary activity.

[9] *Ethnic Communities in Australia: A Directory of Organisations, 1984* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1984).

[10] The covering letters shown in Appendix XXVII(a) and (b) were attached to each main questionnaire for distribution to individuals. Letters to the secretaries of the societies are not shown.

[11] Appendix XXVIII and XXIX respectively.

[12] An attempt was made to contact at least one society in each state.

[13] See Appendix XXX.

[14] *Côr Godre'r Aran* (The Aran Choir) in October 1984 and the Treorchy Male Voice Choir in October 1986.

[15] A traditional Welsh-hymn-singing festival (See Chapter 2).

1986. These events drew large crowds of normally 'concealed' members of the Welsh communities in all the capital cities.

(v) Eight separate radio interviews given by the researcher in Wales and Australia over the 6 year research period (1984-1990) (See Appendix XXVI). A television interview on the Welsh-language channel, S4C[16], was also given in Adelaide in October, 1984. Appeals for participants were made in the course of most of these interviews. The intention of the interviews given in Wales was to contact returned Welsh migrants.[17]

5.2 The Participants

The 167 participants in this study fell into two groups:

(i) The primary or the main group of respondents referred to as the 'Q' (questionnaire) group (N=142). All members of this group completed the main questionnaire (See Appendix XXVIII).

(ii) The secondary or supplementary group referred as in the "NQ" (non-questionnaire) group (N=25) Members of this group were interviewed in Wales or Australia but did not complete a questionnaire.

The total number of participants in the study was therefore 167:

'Q' Group (Main Subjects)	142
'NQ' Group (Supplementary Group)	25
Total participants	167

A fuller discussion of both groups follows.

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[16] See Chapter 4.
[17] A lecture to the same end was given to Cymdeithas Lenyddol Porthmadoc (The Porthmadoc Literary Society), Wales, on October 8th, 1985.

5.2.1 The 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group

The 142 members of this group, all of whom completed the main questionnaire, formed the central subjects of research. They are defined as *"presently resident first and second generation Welsh migrants to Australia."* Two key terms in this definition call for further comment:

(a) 'Generation'. Following Price, generation is understood as more than a birth place category, since the latter omits the sociological or cultural aspects of generational division[18]. The categories of generation used in this study were, therefore, as follows:

FIRST GENERATION Gen. I	Adult Welsh migrants who arrived in Australia after the age of 12
SECOND GENERATION[19] Gen IIa	Foreign-born children of I's who arrived in Australia before the age of 12
Gen IIb	Australian-born children of I's

Note:
 the third generation (gen III) was not within the target group but when used in the text it refers to Australian-born children of IIa's and IIb's

b) 'Welsh', the main criterion for inclusion as respondent presents a number of difficulties for it raises the vexed question (much debated in

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[18]   C.A. Price, The Methods and Statistics of 'Southern Europeans in Australia' (Canberra: Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, 1963), p.32.
[19]   The second generation divisions of IIa and IIb are derived from Pyne and Price. Their argument, accepted here, is that "IIa's and IIb's are reared in the same immigrant homes, are surrounded by the same language and cultural influences, and experience Australian society in much the same way; *both, therefore are properly part of the second generation."* (own italics) P. Pyne and Charles A. Price "Selected tables on Australian Immigration: 1947-74", in Price and Martin (eds), op.cit., Part I, p. A17.

Wales today) of "Who are the Welsh?"[20] The range of possible replies includes:

— those who claim Welsh ancestry and/or birth. (ancestry is a difficult category in a plural society where ancestries are likely to be mixed[21]; birth also raises some problems, Wales itself being a plural or multicultural society)

— those who activate Welsh cultural values eg. speak Welsh (using the ability to speak Welsh as a criterion for inclusion would exclude 82% of the population of Wales and 94% of the Welsh-born in Australia[22]).

— those who say they are 'Welsh' and identify with Wales and its culture (these could include, for example, persons of English birth and/or ancestry who were brought up or have lived for an extended period in Wales)

What emerges is that individually these defining categories are unacceptably exclusive and attended by a number of problems. Collectively however they coincide with Smolicz's range of criteria for ethnic identification: by ancestry, by activation and by identification[23].

In the event, individuals who satisfied one or more or the listed criteria, and who also fell within the defined first and second generational divisions, were accepted as respondents. A profile of 'Q' group by state of residence, generation, sex, and self-reported Welsh-language proficiency is presented in Table 5.1.

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[20]   Reflected to some extent in the titles of recent publications eg. Williams, When Was Wales? op. cit., and Smith, Wales! Wales? op. cit.

[21]   On the mixed ancestries of modern Australians for instance see J.J. Smolicz, Australian Diversity (Adelaide: Centre for Intercultural Studies and Multicultural Education, University of Adelaide, 1991)

[22]   Based on current percentages of Welsh-speakers in Wales and Australia. For numbers of Welsh speakers in Wales see Table 1.2; for Welsh-speakers in Australia see Jupp, (ed.), op. cit., p.972.

[23]   See Education for Cultural Democracy (The Smolicz Report) op. cit., pp.4-7.

Table 5.1

State of Residence, Generation, Sex and Self-Reported Welsh Language Proficiency of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group

SA	VIC	NSW	TAS	QLD	WA	ACT
99	13	5	5	7	1	12

FIRST GENERATION	
WELSH SPEAKERS 44	NON-WELSH SPEAKERS 60
104	
MALES 55	FEMALES 49

ALL RESPONDENTS	
WELSH SPEAKERS 47	NON-WELSH SPEAKERS 95
142	
MALES 69	FEMALES 73

SECOND GENERATION	
WELSH SPEAKERS 3	NON-WELSH SPEAKERS 35
38	
MALES 14	FEMALES 24
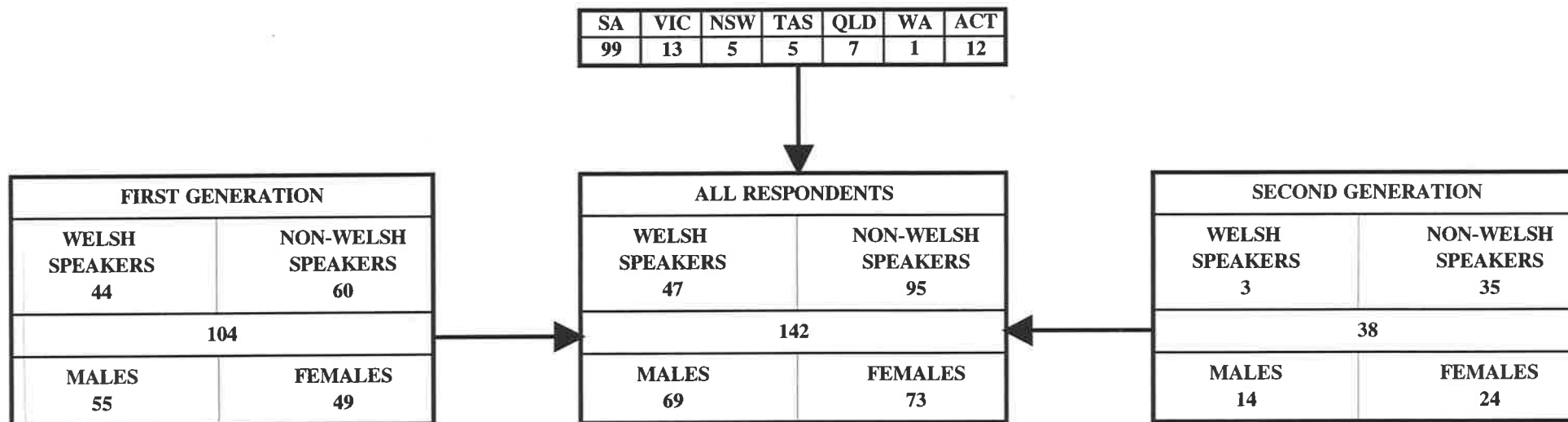
The total of 142 respondents comprised 104 first, and 38 second generation Welsh immigrants to Australia, most of whom (99) were resident in South Australia. The gender distribution was fairly even at 69 males and 73 females. Welsh-speakers (47) were far in excess of the proportion in the current Welsh-born population of Australia (33% as against 6.2%[24]), but, as has been emphasised, the concern in this study was to obtain information on cultural and linguistic experience rather than to analyse a representative sample of Welsh immigrants. In the second generation however the proportion, at 7% (3 out of 38) was much nearer to that within the general population whereas in the first it was higher again at 42% (44 out of 104). All 'Q' group members completed the main, self-administered questionnaire[25]. In recognition of the crucial role of the family domain in language and cultural maintenance, and to gain insight into generation-related language shift at family level, an attempt was made during the process of data collection to focus on, and retain, family relationships[26]. In the event, 75 of the 'Q' group respondents formed 24 separate family units, ranging in size from the smallest of 2 to the largest of 6. The 67 other respondents were not, therefore, within the context of 'Q' group, family members.

The importance, within the theoretical framework adopted, of what has been referred to as 'concrete facts' to the interpretation of cultural and linguistic experience, was mentioned in Chapter 1[27]. By 'concrete' facts is meant personal details on such matters as the age, length of residence, citizenship, education levels and occupations of individuals. This information on 'Q' group members (and their immediate family) was sought in Section I of the Main Questionnaire. Further

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[24] The 1986 Census showed 1708 Welsh-speakers amongst a Welsh-born population of 27,209 (or 6.2%). See Jupp, (ed.) op. cit., p.972 and p.969.

[25] Referred to hereon as "the main questionnaire" (Appendix XXVIII).

[26] The family association was retained in the respondent identification system adopted eg. in "respondent 001/1", 001 identifies the family and the final 1 the position of the individual within this family. Thus:

 • in 001/1, 1 designates father (or male)
   in 001/2, 2 designates mother (or female)
   in 001/3, 3 designates first child etc.

[27] Discussed further under 5.3 (Classification of data) below.

questions of a similar nature on their decision to emigrate, were asked in Section II. The demographic characteristics of 'Q' group obtained in this way are summarised in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 and 5.4.

Age, Place of Birth and Marital Status

The age groups shown are those at the time of questionnaire completion (between 1985 and 1987). Some 70% (100) of all respondents were over 40, half (74 or 52) over 50 and 4 (3%) over 80. Those in the over 70 bracket included a number of parents who had emigrated at an advanced age to join their children. Since all respondents except 5 were over 20, it follows that most of the second generation respondents in the study were adults at the time they completed the questionnaire. All 38 however had experience of primary and/or secondary schooling in Australia (see Chapter 6).

The majority of respondents (121 or 85%) as expected, were born in Wales, 13 in England, 1 in Scotland and 7 in Australia (Gen IIb). Those born in England or Scotland were either brought up in Wales or in some other respect met the criteria for inclusion discussed earlier.[28] Again it is emphasised that these figures should not be generalised to the whole 'Welsh' population of Australia. Some notion of the relationship between the proportions within 'Q' group and those within the total population may be obtained however by placing these figures against the totals shown in Tables 1.4(a) and 1.4(b) e.g. against the 7 respondents born in Australia the ancestry statistics show 48,300 (Table 1.4(b)).

One hundred and twenty four 'Q' group respondents were married (36 to another group member forming 18 couples within the group), 12 were single and 6 divorcees'.

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[28]   Respondent 038/1 for example was born in England of Dutch ancestry, was married to a Welsh-born, Welsh-speaker, and had lived all of his married life before departure to Australia in Wales. He also understood Welsh very well and had limited speaking proficiency.

TABLE 5.2: Concrete Fact Profile of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group

Age at Time of	0 - 20	21 - 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	51 - 60	61 - 70	71 - 80	81 - 90	TOTALS
Questionnaire Completion	5	17	20	26	29	23	18	4	142
Place of Birth	Wales	England	Scotland	Australia					
	121	13	1	7					142
Marital Status	Married	Single	Divorced						
	124	12	6						142
Citizenship (As Reported)	Welsh	British	Australian	Welsh and Australian	British and Australian				
	22	52	35	4	29				142
Highest Level of Education Reached	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary						
	6	96	40						142
Decade of Arrival in Australia	Before 1930	1930 - 39	1940 - 49	1950 - 59	1960 - 1969	1970 - 79	After 1980		
	8	0	8	17	56	43	3		135(1)
Age on Arrival in Australia	0 - 10	11 - 20	21 - 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	51 - 60	61 - 70	71 - 80	
	20	25	23	38	16	7	4	2	135
Passage	Assisted	Non Assisted	Accompanied Parents (Gen IIa)						
	81	23	31						135
Main Reason for Emigrating	Economic Benefit	To Join Relatives	Opportunities for Children	Better Climate	Other (3)				
	28	27	22	8	19				104(2)

Notes:
(1) 7 second generation respondents (gen IIb) were born in Australia
(2) First generation (Gen I) only
(3) Too varied for ranking

Citizenship

Citizenship is not necessarily an index of assimilation nor a measure of the transfer of loyalty from one country to another. The adoption of citizenship may be no more than a pragmatic means towards improved employment prospects, and/or the acquisition of certain benefits such as old age pension. On the whole, however, results have shown that migrants who take the step have a higher degree of commitment to their host country than those who do not (expressed for instance in terms of the intention to stay permanently)[29].

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[29] A 1981 survey of 4 national groups in Australia (British, Italian, Maltese and Yugoslav) showed that in all groups citizens were more committed to staying in Australia than non-citizens. Citizenship and Cultural Identity: A Survey of Attitudes, Beliefs and Behaviour in Four National Groups. A Report prepared under a contract from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs to La Trobe University: September 1981), Table 16, p.18.

Citizenship results shown in Table 5.2 are presented as reported by the respondents (in answer to Question 1.8, M.Q.[30]; see Appendix XXVIII). Thirty five described themselves as 'Australian citizens', 29 as 'British and Australian', and 4 as 'Welsh and Australian'. In other words 68 (48%) of 'Q' group were Australian citizens. This is lower, but not greatly lower, than the 54.5% figure for the adoption of citizenship by Welsh-born residents who had lived in Australia for more than 20 years, quoted in the 1990 Australian Government Report on Citizenship[31]. It is amongst the lowest for all national groups, but is in keeping with the generally low rate of citizenship acquisition by groups from the United Kingdom.

Twenty two (or 18%) of the respondents used the self-referent 'Welsh' in relation to citizenship[32]. In most cases this was not, as the interviews confirmed, the result of mis-interpreting the question or of confusing citizenship with ethnic origins, but, more typically, the rejection of 'British' as a citizenship category.

Educational Level

One of the theoretical assumptions of this study is that the maintenance and transmission of language and culture is dependent in part on the quality and accessibility of the group's linguistic stock (see Chapter 1). Thus the educational attainment's of parents *may be* an important factor in successful maintenance and transmission.[33]

Reported educational levels within 'Q' group were relatively high; 96 (68%) of all respondents had reached secondary level and 40 (28%) tertiary. It should be noted however that the wording of the question (question 1.10 MQ) was

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[30]   Main Questionnaire (see List of Abbreviations). Hereon question numbers from the main questionnaire are indicated as shown. Similarly OM and SQ are used as abbreviations for Oral Memoir and Supplementary Questionnaire.

[31]   Australian Citizenship: Statistical Report No. 1 Bureau of Immigration Research. (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1990) Table A3.

[32]   Fishlock makes the point that the Welsh increasingly enter 'Welsh' in the nationality column of hotel registers in Britain. T. Fishlock, Talking of Wales (London: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1976), p.17.

[33]   On the relationship see, for example J.J. Smolicz and M.J. Secombe, "The Australian School through Polish Eyes : a sociological study of student attitudes from their own members," in I.H. Burnley, S. Engel and G. McCall (eds), Immigration and Ethnicity in the 1980s (Melbourne : Longman Cheshire, 1985), pp 119-142.

such that respondents could not indicate whether they had *completed* their education at the highest level reached.[34]

The 40 (28%) who had reached tertiary level is still high relative to the educational standards of post-war British migrants to Australia.[35] It is consistent in this case with the claim by 40 (38%) of the first generation respondents to a professional or managerial occupational status before leaving the U.K. (See Table 5.4).

Length of residence and age on arrival in Australia

Age at the time of arrival is a well-recognised variable in the maintenance by migrants of their ethnic languages and cultures. "For [the study of] migrants from another nation", says Lieberson, "it is clearly important to determine how long they have lived in the new nation as well as their length of residence in the specific community".[36] The latter point has little bearing on the Welsh in post-war Australia since it is no longer possible to speak of a Welsh 'community' in any geographic sense. It should be noted, however, that the majority (110 or 77%) of 'Q' group stated that they had lived at the same address for the previous 5 years at least (Question 1.6 MQ).

A more important consideration here was the length of residence of the respondents in Australia. Clyne and Jaehrling's analysis of language shift in Australia based on the 1986 Census data, showed that shift tends to increase with a longer period of residence.[37] Similarly, length of residence is an important influence on the nature of friendship patterns established by migrants in a plural society. Grimes, for instance in an analysis of Irish settlers in Sydney in the late 1970s found that of those who had been in Australia for less than 10 years, 76% of

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[34]   Thus a person who left secondary school at 14 and another who had completed 'A' levels would both give 'secondary' as the highest level reached.

[35]   Appleyard, op.cit., p.140.

[36]   S. Lieberson, "Procedures for Improving Sociolinguistic Surveys of Language Maintenance and Language Shift," International Journal Of The Sociology Of Language, 25 (1980), p. 21.

[37]   M. Clyne and S. Jaehrling, "Trends and Factors in Language Shift in Australia," Vox (The Journal of the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education), Issue No. 3, 1989, p.66.

their friends were Irish.[38]   It is also the general consensus that the longer migrants have resided in their country of destination the less likely are their children to acquire a non-English mother tongue.[39]

Table 5.2 shows that 89 (or 66%) of 'Q' group had arrived in Australia before 1969.[40]   In other words a significant majority had lived in Australia for between 25 and 30 years, the greatest number of arrivals (56) being in the 1960-69 period.   In the Welsh case this may have some significance beyond length of residence.   Although it is difficult to measure, the period of departure, in this instance, may have some bearing on the attitudes of the respondents towards the Welsh language,[41] the point being that it coincides with a heightened awareness of the language issue in Wales.   As has been shown in the historical survey, it was a period also which witnessed increasingly strident debate about its relevance to Welsh cultural identity, and the launching of militant campaigns on behalf of the language by the newly established (1962) *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* (The Welsh Language Society).   As Table 5.3 shows, the largest number of Welsh-speaking arrivals, (20 or 43% of the total of Welsh speakers), also came in this decade (followed by 16 or 34% in the 1970s).   To what extent, the question may be asked, were their attitudes to the language shaped by the events of the 60s and to a lesser extent the 70s?   Antagonism towards the methods of the Language Society as shown in Chapter 4, was still rife in most parts of Wales well into the 1970s and beyond.   Were those supportive of its aims, or even generally sympathetic to the language, likely to migrate in a period of increased public pressures to stay in Wales and, at the very least, be counted?[42]   These issues are

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[38]   S. Grimes, "Irish Immigration after 1945" in Jupp (ed.), op. cit., p.595.

[39]   See for example G. Stevens "Nativity, Intermarriage and Mother'Tongue Shift", American Sociological Review, Vol. 50, No. 1, Feb. 1985, pp 74-83.

[40]   51.0% of all British-born migrants in Australia arrived before 1967. Community Profiles, U.K. and Ireland Born, op. cit., p.10.

[41]   Attitudes are explored in Chapter 7.

[42]   O'Brien in a discussion of the future of minority languages suggested that the maintenance of those under threat depends in part on the willingness of its speakers to forego income and occupational opportunities "by staying at home rather than migrating to economically more attractive locations outside the language area". T. O'Brien, "Economic Support for Minority Languages" in A.E. Alcock, B.K. Taylor and J.M. Welton (eds), The Future of Cultural Minorities (London : The

Table 5.3: **Decade of Arrival of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group by Welsh Language (Speaking) Proficiency**

Decade of Arrival in Australia	Welsh-Language (Speaking) Proficiency				TOTALS
	Speakers		Non-Speakers		
	Very Well	Well	Little	None	
Before 1930	0	1	0	7	8
1930 - 39	0	0	0	0	0
1940 - 49	0	1	4	3	8
1950 - 59	6	1	5	5	17
1960 - 69	15	5	11	25	56
1970 - 79	12	4	12	15	43
After 1980	2	0	1	0	3
TOTAL	35	12	33	55	135

raised in the discussion of the attitude of 'Q' group respondents in Chapters 6 and 7. What can be said here is that those who left Wales in these years (and they are the majority of 'Q' group), whatever their attitudes, were more likely to be aware of the language as an issue than those who came before or since.

On the latter point it is of some interest that there were only 3 arrivals after 1980[43] (2 of whom were Welsh-speaking) compared to 43 in the 1970-79 decade (16 of whom were Welsh-speaking). Yet it should be pointed out that within the general Welsh-born population of Australia, the proportion of Welsh-speakers has increased in the period between the two Censuses of 1976 and 1986 (when

Macmillan press, 1979), p.83. On the same point Williams, Roberts and Isaac in a survey of two groups of working class parents in the Rhondda Valley of South Wales in 1977 found that 45% of Welsh-speaking parents as against 27.5% of the non-speakers, felt that their children should not seek employment outside Wales, but should remain "either to take full advantage of the educational facilities which they had been given or to *further the language cause, or, in their terms, 'to help the language'"* (own italics). G. Williams, E. Roberts and R. Isaac, "Language and Aspirations for Social Mobility" in G. Williams (ed.), Social and Cultural Change in Contemporary Wales (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 203-4.

[43] This may reflect the general downturn of immigration to Australia from the United Kingdom. Net migration from the U.K. and Ireland has fallen from 44.6% of the total in the 1961-76 period to 26.6% in the 1976-83 period — and the proportion is continuing to fall. See W.D. Borrie, "Changes in Immigration Patterns since 1972" in Jupp (ed.), op. cit., Table 3, p.116.

language questions were asked). In 1976, out of a total Welsh-born population of 24,300, the number of Welsh-speakers was 1077 (or 4.4%). Ten years later, in 1986, the figures were 27,209 and 1708 (6.2%) respectively.[44]

Passage and Reasons for Emigrating

In keeping with the character of British post-war migration,[45] the majority of the respondents (81 or 78% of the first generation) received assisted passages. Only 23 paid their own way. (Table 5.2)

It has been suggested elsewhere (Chapter 3) that motives for emigration are related to the degree of cultural maintenance by migrants in their countries of destination. For this reason the respondents were asked to rank their motives for coming to Australia (Question 2.3 MQ). Economic benefits were ranked first by 28 members of Q group, followed closely by 'to join relatives' (27) and 'opportunities for children' (22). It would seem, therefore, in the light of earlier comments on nineteenth century migration, that perceived economic advantages have been the major impetus to the Welsh movement to Australia from the beginning. The implications of this for Welsh language and cultural maintenance are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Occupations

It was suggested earlier in this chapter that there is some evidence of a positive correlation between educational levels and successful language maintenance and transmission. There is similar evidence on the influence of occupational status. Thus, one of the main findings of a 1978 survey commissioned by *Cyngor Yr Iaith Gymraeg*[46] (Council for the Welsh Language) was that socioeconomic status was far more important than geographic location as

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[44] See Table 4.5. The 1976 Welsh-born figure is derived from: Australian Immigrants, Consolidated Statistics, No. 13, 1982 (Canberra : Australian Government Publishing Service, 1984), Table 5, p.12..
[45] In the 1966-71 period for example 92.5% of British immigrants to Australia came by assisted passage. Price and Martin (eds.), op. cit., p.A22.
[46] See Table 4.3.

a variable in the readiness of bilingual mothers to transmit the Welsh language to their children.[47] Admittedly on this, as on other aspects of language maintenance, findings vary enormously.[48] Yet the question of the relationship between occupational status or socioeconomic stratification and attitudes towards language is clearly relevant to educational policies and related strategies for maintenance.

The occupational levels of 'Q' group respondents by sex and generation are shown in Table 5.4

The most noticeable characteristics of the group were:

(i) the predominance of first generation respondents in the professional category in both the U.K. and Australia (36 prior to migration and 43 after arrival in Australia). In both cases the number of females in professional groupings was not very far below the males. The highest number of respondents of the second generation was also in the professional group[49]. (13)

(ii) The relatively high number of first-generation, semi-skilled workers (the second highest with 14 in the U.K. and 15 in Australia)

(iii) low numbers in the managerial (4 in the U.K. and 3 in Australia) and service (3 and 5 respectively) groups within the first generation.

Table 5.5 presents a further break-down of the figures for the first generation by gender and Welsh language (speakers) proficiency.

The most striking result here is the relatively high number of Welsh-speakers in the professional group both prior to migration and after arrival in Australia (21 and 20 respectively). Of the professionals who migrated (36) the majority (21) were Welsh-speakers, 11 males and 10 females. The number is small in absolute terms but relative to the declining number of Welsh-language

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[47]   Cited in W. Bellin, "Welsh and English in Wales", in Trudgill (ed.), op.cit., p.468.

[48]   Bellin (above) for instance, cautions against any over simplification of the relationship between occupational status and attitudes towards language maintenance and transmission, ibid, p. 468.

[49]   The figures are inflated however by the inclusion of those in the lower professional categories.

Table 5.4: Occupations of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group in U.K. and Australia by Gender and Generation

OCCUPATION	FIRST GENERATION						SECOND GENERATION						TOTAL	
	In U.K			In Australia			In U.K			In Australia				
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	U.K.	Australia
Professional	19	17	36	25	18	43	0	0	0	3	10	13	36	56
Managerial	3	1	4	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3
Clerical	6	6	12	3	5	8	0	0	0	0	7	7	12	15
Skilled	6	1	7	3	1	4	0	0	0	2	0	2	7	6
Semi-Skilled	7	7	14	8	7	15	0	0	0	3	1	4	14	19
Service	0	3	3	1	4	5	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	6
Unskilled	10	0	10	6	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	2	10	8
Student	3	4	7	0	1	1	11	19	30	3	2	5	37	6
Home Duties	0	7	7	0	8	8	0	0	0	0	3	3	7	11
Retired	0	0	0	6	3	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
No reply or Not Applicable	1	3	4	0	2	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	5	3
TOTALS	55	49	104	55	49	104	12	19	31	14	24	38	135*	142

Notes:

* 7 second generation respondents (Gen IIb) were born in Australia.

1. Professional includes lower professional (nurses, schoolteachers).

2. More respondents (number not known) were retired than is shown here (9), as some of those already retired, gave their occupations prior to retirement.

3. The occupational categories used were derived from the prestige scale of sixteen occupational groups (ANU Group and Code), cited in L. Broom and F.L. Jones, "Career Mobility in Three Societies, Australia, Italy and the United States", American Sociological Review, Vol.34, October 1969, pp.657-8.

Table 5.5: Occupations of First Generation of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group in U.K. and Australia by gender and Welsh Language(Speaking) Proficiency.

OCCUPATIONS	IN UNITED KINGDOM							IN AUSTRALIA						
	Males		Females		Total Speakers	Total Non-Speakers	Total U.K.	Males		Females		Total Speakers	Total Non-Speakers	Total Australia
	Welsh Speakers	Non-Welsh Speakers	Welsh Speakers	Non-Welsh Speakers				Welsh Speakers	Non-Welsh Speakers	Welsh Speakers	Non-Welsh Speakers			
Professional	11	8	10	7	21	15	36	12	13	8	10	20	23	43
Managerial	1	2	1	0	2	2	4	1	2	0	0	1	2	3
Clerical	3	3	2	4	5	7	12	1	2	1	4	2	6	8
Skilled	3	3	0	1	3	4	7	1	2	0	1	1	3	4
Semi-Skilled	2	5	3	4	5	9	14	2	6	3	4	5	10	15
Service	0	0	0	3	0	3	3	1	0	1	3	2	3	5
Unskilled	5	5	0	0	5	5	10	3	3	0	0	3	3	6
Student	1	2	1	3	2	5	7	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Home Duties	0	0	1	6	1	6	7	0	0	2	6	2	6	8
Retired	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	1	2	4	5	9
No reply or Not Applicable	0	1	0	3	0	3	4	0	0	1	1	1	1	2
TOTALS	26	29	18	31	44	60	104	24	31	17	32	41	63	104

speakers in Wales, the departure of 21 Welsh-speakers in the professional grouping, even over an extended period, must be counted as damaging to the cause of language maintenance in their home country. Whether it is a corresponding gain for the language in Australia is one of the concerns of this study.

5.2.2 The 'NQ' (Non- Questionnaire) Group

In the modern world of vastly increased mobility and rapid communication, it is becoming increasingly difficult to define what constitutes 'immigration' in the traditional sense. The traffic of workers and their families within economically inter-dependent, geo-political units, or within multi-national companies and organisations for example, tends to blur distinctions between "migrants" and "transients" or "visitors". Is the one or two-year contracted worker, or the student granted a working visa for the period of his studies, in any sense less qualified to report on his or her own group's cultural life than the person who comes with the intention of settling permanently? (but who often, as in the case of many assisted British migrants in the 50s and 60s left, after the compulsory two-year residence period).

For these reasons, and in order to place 'Q' group[50] data contributions in broader context, the views of those who fell outside the main subject category of permanent Welsh residents, but who had direct experience or knowledge of Welsh cultural life in Australia, were sought. As non-permanent residents they were not asked to fill either of the two questionnaires (Main and Supplementary) but were informally interviewed or invited to contribute written or oral memoirs. This supplementary or secondary group of 25 non-questionnaire (NQ) respondents

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[50]   'Q' and 'NQ' group will be used hereon as abbreviations for 'Questionnaire' and 'Non-Questionnaire' Group respectively.

drawn from Wales and Australia, comprised the following sub-groups (see Table 5.6):

The sub-groups are defined as follows:

In Wales (N=12)

(i) **relatives of 'Q' group or of other Welsh migrants to Australia (4)**

Four informants fell into this category (NQ1, NQ4, NQ5 and NQ6)[51]. They provided direct information on the cultural, social and family environments which their migrant relatives within 'Q' group had left behind in Wales.

(ii) **returned Welsh migrants (3)**

The 3 informants in this group (NQ2, NQ3 and NQ9) had all lived in Australia for relatively lengthy periods before returning to Wales[52]. Whilst theirs was the perspective of former migrants at the two removes of time and distance from their actual experiences, their observations were, for that reason, free of some of the distorting effects of immediate involvement.

(iii) **key informants (5)**

These informants (NQ7, NQ8, NQ10, NQ11 and NQ12) were qualified to contribute by virtue of their unique knowledge of the Welsh-Australian connection or of the issues bearing directly on this study.

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[51] NQ (Non-Questionnaire respondents are identified in the text as NQ1 - NQ25). Although in some cases informants belonged to the same family there was no effort to maintain family grouping in data collection and analysis.

[52] The experiences of one of these informants (NQ3), who lived in Australia for 12 years in the 1920's, were also recorded in a published Welsh language autobiography.

In Australia (N=13)

    (i) **transients (9)**

        Transients are defined here as visitors or temporary residents.

Table 5.6:   **Profile of 'NQ' (Non Questionnaire) Group**

INTERVIEWED IN WALES		
Relatives of 'Q' group (or other Welsh migrants to Australia)		4
Returned Welsh Migrants		3
Key informants		5
Welsh-Speakers	11	
Non-Welsh Speakers	1	
TOTAL	**12**	**12**

INTERVIEWED IN AUSTRALIA		
Transients (visitors from Wales		9
Australians of Welsh descent		2
Key informants		2
Welsh-Speakers	10	
Non-Welsh Speakers	3	
TOTAL	**13**	**13**

Total Welsh-Speakers	21	
Total Non-Welsh Speakers	4	
TOTAL 'NQ' GROUP	**25**	**25**

        The majority of the NQ respondents contacted in Australia were in this category (NQ16, NQ17, NQ18, NQ19, NQ20, NQ21, NQ22, NQ24 and NQ25). All were young, (in the 20-30 age group) and all Welsh-speaking. Eight were members of *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* (The Welsh Language Society)[53]. Their observations, mainly in the

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[53]   See Chapter 4

form of oral memoirs, on the Welsh in Australia were valuable in that they were made by 'outsiders' who were at the same time deeply involved in the current struggle for Welsh language maintenance[54].

(ii) **Australians of Welsh descent** (2) (NQ23 AND NQ14)

These were third and fourth generation individuals who were not eligible therefore for inclusion in 'Q' group. Though only two were interviewed for the purpose of this study their comments were illustrative of the persistence of certain forms of Welsh group consciousness beyond the second generation.

(iii) **key informants** (2)

Two Anglo-Australians (NQ13 and NQ15) with no Welsh associations other than an interest in Celtic language and mythology, were included in the group. They helped to bring Australian mainstream views on Welsh ethnicity to the researcher's attention.

5.3 Classifications of Data

Reference was made in Chapter 1 to the distinction in this study between what were referred to as "concrete" and "cultural" data. Prior to presenting the research methods that were employed, an elaboration on this dual distinction is called for.

Concrete data or facts refers to "objective" information concerning an individual and his immediate family's birth place, socio-economic background, educational attainment, occupation, language proficiency level etc. Thus, the concrete data gathered for the purpose of this study was derived mainly from the three questionnaires (described below) but was accessible also in the form of non-

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[54] Two had been prosecuted for their participation in the Society's campaign of civil disobedience.

evaluative information (ie. given with little or no accompanying comments) contained in the oral and written memoirs. It was information of this nature that was used, for example, to construct the profile of 'Q' group presented earlier in this chapter. The main application of the concrete data, however, was towards a fuller understanding of cultural information. In short, the concrete data provided the 'factual' framework for the interpretation and analysis of comments on cultural experience.

It is on the latter, the cultural facts, that the investigation centres. 'Cultural facts' in this context refers to the respondents' assessment of their own and other people's actions, and to the attitudes they expressed in their memoirs and interview commentaries. It is the cultural facts provided by the respondents which reveal, for example, their attitudes towards the Welsh language, its maintenance in Australia, and its transmission to the second generation. They throw light also on their attitudes towards the Welsh community and its institutions, towards the larger mainstream society and, last but not least, towards the schools which they attended or to which they sent their children. It is the cultural facts, therefore, which illuminate the whole evaluative aspect of Welsh language and cultural maintenance in this study.

It is not always possible (or necessary) in the actual process of data analysis to distinguish sharply between concrete and cultural facts, although awareness of the theoretical distinction may assist the researcher in the understanding of cultural phenomena. The main point is that comprehensive knowledge of the subjects — of their backgrounds, educational levels, occupations etc. as well as of their attitudes and feelings — is necessary to an understanding of their cultural experiences. This, in effect, is what Znaniecki meant when he argued that the sociological process of imaginatively reconstructing another person's experience from his

writings or comments, *involves taking into account everything that is known about him*. The significance of cultural facts about the participants in this study could not therefore be fully appreciated without access also to concrete information about their own and their families backgrounds. How both sets of data, concrete and cultural, were gathered, is the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

5.4 The Methods of Research

Multiple research methods were used in this study. These for the most part were *qualitative* (oral and written memoirs, participant observation, informal interviews and documentary evidence), but self-administered questionnaires were designed in order to construct concrete fact profiles of the respondents and to obtain identifiable data on their evaluation and activation of Welsh cultural values. Again it must be stressed that all methods used were complementary rather than competing means of data gathering.

The sources of data are presented in Table 5.7.

5.4.1 The Questionnaires

The questionnaire is perhaps the most well-established method of sociological research. Its advantages and limitations are too well-known to be discussed at any length here. Certainly the vagaries inherent in self-reporting on linguistic competence have been noted by a number of writers[55] and in general are difficult to counter. Other pitfalls can at least be partly avoided. Thus in the construction of the main questionnaire for this study some attempt was made at the design stage to avoid the hazard of "channelling" responses by recourse to a limited 'scattering' of questions where appropriate. Similarly, to counter internal inconsistencies and

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[55] See for example C.H. Williams, "Location and Context in Welsh Language Reproduction: A Geographic Interpretation", International Journal of the Sociology of Language 66, (1987), pp.61-83.

make possible a degree of cross-checking, some questions appeared more than once

in slightly amended form in separate areas of the questionnaire. Question 3.10 in

Section 3 for instance ("How important is it in your opinion for a Welsh person to

Table 5.7:   **Sources of Data: Q (Questionnaire) and NQ (Non-Questionnaire) Groups**

Source Of Data	'Q' Group (N=142)	'NQ' Group (N=25)	Totals (Q and NQ Group) (N=167)
Main Questionnaire	142	–	142
Supplementary Questionnaire	38*	–	38
Oral Memoir	53	12	65
Written Memoir	18	5	23
Informal Interview	23	13	36

*   Second Generation (Gen II) only.

Note: (i)   A more detailed version of this table showing combined contributions is shown in Appendix XXXIV.

(ii) A Questionnaire Survey of Welsh societies (Appendix XXX) and documentary material were also usec as sources of data (see text).

be able to speak Welsh") re-appears in Section 5 as question 5.5(ii) ("How

important in your opinion are the following indicators of Welshness ie. what makes

a Welsh person 'Welsh'?"), and again, more obliquely in 5.8 as a *true/untrue*

response to the well-known Welsh proverb *"Cenedl heb iaith, cenedl heb galon"* (a nation without a language is a nation without a heart).

From a practical viewpoint the survey method was the sole means of reaching a very geographically dispersed population such as the Welsh in Australia. It is simply beyond the physical resources of the individual researcher to collect data from a scattered and relatively large group (142) by any other means. From a practical viewpoint also, in a study which included two groups of participants, one of which was in a subsidiary role, (the NQ group), the questionnaires were a ready means of separating the two. Thus the 142 "permanently resident Welsh migrants of the first and second generation" who were the main focus, were also, within the context of the total group (N=167), defined by their completion of the main questionnaire.

Although the study relied for the most part on qualitative methods, the questionnaire served not only to elicit essential (concrete) data but to provide a broadly-based quantitative frame of reference for the analysis of memoir and participant observation data.[56] Three questionnaires were designed for the purpose of this investigation:

— the main questionnaire (Appendix XXVIII)

— the supplementary questionnaire (Appendix XXIX)

— the questionnaire survey of Welsh Societies (Appendix XXX)

(i)   The Main Questionnaire

This 28 page (236 item), bilingual, self-administered questionnaire was aimed at first and second-generation Welsh migrants to Australia. A total of 148

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[56]   Relevant here perhaps is Mills' point that in the study of human behaviour, the distinction between qualitative and quantitative methodologies is at once too sharp and too arbitrarily drawn. Mills, op.cit., p.82.

were distributed, of which 113 were posted to the secretaries of 9[57] Welsh Societies throughout Australia for general distribution amongst their members[58]. The remainder were handed out at the various social and cultural gatherings described earlier in this chapter[59]. A letter (in Welsh and English) explaining the purpose of the research accompanied each questionnaire, reminder notices were sent out 6 weeks after distribution[60]. In the event, of the total 248 that were originally dispatched or handed out, 142 (57%) were returned[61].

Most of the questions were of the fixed response type, and replies were computer analysed. Section 1 was designed to elicit concrete or demographic data and in Section 2 the respondents were asked about their decision to emigrate. Remaining sections were focused more on cultural and linguistic experience: evaluation and activation of linguistic values in Section 3; social and cultural activities in Section 4; and identity and socio-cultural adaptation in Section 5. They were also asked in section 5 to evaluate a range (16) of traditional Welsh identity markers, the aim being to arrive at the respondents own ranking of these values[62].

There is some research evidence that respondents' choice of language in answering questionnaires is in itself a function of their ethnic identity[63]. This was

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[57]   Including at least one in each state.

[58]   An attempt was made to contact at least on Society in each state.

[59]   Under 5.1 'Selection Procedures'.

[60]   The period of distribution was from 1985 to 1987.

[61]   The first questionnaire returned was dated 28/7/85 and the last 11/9/89. Three partially completed returns were discredited. The relatively low response rate may be accounted for in two ways: (i) low attendance at the Welsh Societies (ii) the length of the questionnaire document.

[62]   The oral memoirs schedule with its more open-ended approach gave the respondents an opportunity to expand this list and to define Welshness in their own terms.

[63]   See for example D. Punetha, H. Giles and L. Young, "Ethnicity and Immigrant Values: Religion and Language Choice" Journal of Language and Social Psychology, Vol.6, Nos. 3 & 4, (1987), pp.229-241. In the prologue to this issue Gudykunst and Schmidt comment: "Most studies of language and ethnic identity.... do not allow respondents to choose the language in which they want to be interviewed or answer questionnaires". W.B. Gudykunst and K.L. Schmidt, "Language and Ethnic Identity: Overview and Prologue", ibid p.167.

one, but not the only, reason [64]   why the main questionnaire (and most other material used in this study[65]) was bilingual.   Of the 47 Welsh-speakers in 'Q' group 18 (38%) chose to answer in Welsh, 25 in English and 4 in both languages.

(ii) The Supplementary Questionnaire on Language Use and Maintenance

Consistent with the view that Welsh culture is language-centred the main focus of the study was on the linguistic experiences of the respondents.   For this reason, and with a view to measuring generational language transmission, a ten page (95 item) supplementary questionnaire on language use and maintenance was constructed.   This was aimed more specifically at the second generation within 'Q' group.   The supplementary questionnaire was also the principal means, apart from the oral and written memoirs, of assessing the effects of schooling on the linguistic development of the second-generation.   As with the main questionnaire most questions were of the fixed-response variety.   Again replies were computer processed.

The distribution methods were as with the main questionnaire.   All 38 second generation respondents within 'Q' groups completed both the main and the supplementary questionaries[66].   Most were adult sons and daughters of the first generation parents within the 24 family units[67] included in 'Q' group.

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[64]   It was also thought that individuals being questioned on attitudes towards their own language should at least be given the opportunity to reply in that language.

[65]   Except for the Supplementary Questionnaire on language use and maintenance directed at second generation respondents, almost all of whom, as expected, were non-Welsh-speakers.

[66]   Again the reminder notices were forwarded when necessary. The recovery task was made easier by the fact that all second generation respondents had completed the main questionnaire and could therefore be readily contacted.

[67]   See Chapter 8.

(iii) The Questionnaire Survey of Welsh Societies

A brief, four-part (14 questions) bilingual questionnaire was forwarded in November, 1989 to the presidents of 9 Welsh Societies in all states of Australia. Eight were returned[68]. These included two from South Australia and one from each of the other six states[69].

The societies, being in effect the sole potential agencies of Welsh cultural transmission outside the home, were considered to be important sources of data on the vitality of Welsh group cultural life in Australia. As with the NQ (non-questionnaire) group the information obtained provided a broader context for the analysis of the replies of the main group of respondents. The results, interpreted in the light of the researcher's own observation of the two South Australian societies over a period of 6 years (1984-90), are presented in Chapter 8.

5.4.2 The Oral Memoirs

The Oral memoirs or transcribed, in-depth interviews were the main source of the cultural data gathered for this study. By oral memoir is meant an abridged, related, cultural life-history constructed around a schedule of open-ended questions and stimulus statements (Appendix XXXI). These were designed to elicit data relevant to the research design without restricting the free-flow of the respondent's narration. Three directives were found to be fundamental to the success of the technique:

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[68]   A good response rate considering that 9 of the 11 societies contacted had been requested to distribute the main questionnaire some two years previous.

[69]   There is no Welsh Society in the Northern Territory at present. A contact in Batchelor (NT), however, provided information on the activities of a former short-lived society (1986/7) in Darwin.

(i) establishing a good rapport with the respondent. An important step in this direction is the sharing by interviewer and interviewee of a common linguistic and cultural background.

(ii) being willing to adjust the sequence of guide questions or comments to the flow of the respondent's delivery.

(iii) being prepared to allow the respondent's commentary to stray beyond any pre-determined discussion limits without losing sight of the main objectives of the interview.

Under these conditions it was found that respondents will spontaneously and naturally provide valuable observations on those aspects of their cultural experiences which loom large in their memories. These are often the very experiences which ultimately define cultural systems at the personal level, but which are frequently beyond the reach of the survey technique. In this study, for instance, it was found that, unlike the questionnaires, which, by virtue of their format, tended towards an imposed, identikit version of 'Welshness'[70] (shaped by the researcher's own experiences), the oral memoir approach offered the respondents an opportunity to present their own constructions on Welsh cultural identity, based on their individual experiences and perceptions as Welsh-Australians. The oral memoir method was consistent therefore with the humanistic position that the viewpoints of participants should be the working basis of analysis.

All 'Q' group respondents who were within geographic reach were invited to contribute oral memoirs. Accessibility and availability were therefore the only criteria used for the selection of oral memoir contributions[71]. Confidentiality was

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[70]   This term, used frequently in this study, is an infelicitous translation of the Welsh 'Cymreictod'.

[71]   This did not exclude Welsh migrants in Melbourne, Ballarat, Sydney and Newcastle as several planned visits were made to these locations between 1984 and 1990. It did exclude those resident in Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania however.

assured and the choice of time, location and language of interview was left to the subjects. A total of 53 'Q' group members were eventually interviewed (see Table 5.7) in several locations in South Australia; in Melbourne, Ballarat and Sebastopol in Victoria; and in Canberra in the Australian Capital Territory. One family of parents and two children, all Welsh speakers,[72] were interviewed both in Adelaide in 1984, and a year later in Wales after their permanent return. Some form of personal contact was maintained, however, with most of the South Australian interviewees (who were the great majority of 'Q' group) throughout the 6 year period of research.

In order to understand the process, and assess the extent, of Welsh language and cultural transmission, an attempt was made to interview as many first and second generation members of the same family unit as possible. Given, however, that most of the first generation arrived in the 1950's and 1960's (see Table 5.3), the children were usually adults living away from home, often interstate or overseas and, for that reason, difficult to contact.

As mentioned previously the choice of language of interview was left to the respondents. Only one of the 20 interviewees classified as fluent Welsh-speakers[73], chose to be interviewed in English, though several chose to switch, sometimes in mid-sentence, from Welsh to English and vice-versa several times during the course of a 2 hour interview. A number of the less fluent speakers[74], and even some non-speakers with good understanding of the language, requested that part of the interview be conducted in Welsh. In this respect the interviews were a useful means of verifying the respondents' claimed proficiency levels as

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[72]   This family (040) was of particular interest since they had returned to Wales with the single purpose of ensuring that the children be brought up Welsh speaking.
[73]   Referred to as W/S1 speakers in the study. See Chapter 6 to follow.
[74]   Referred to as W/S2

reported in the questionnaire replies. As it turned out the discrepancies between their self-reported abilities and the researcher's own opinion based on the interviews were very small. More surprisingly, in view of contrary trends in census returns[75], all except one were under-estimates.

Each interview took between 1.5 to 2 hours. With the interviewees' permission, a small and unobtrusive office micro-recorder was used not only to record what they said, but *how* they said it. In this way the whole descant of meaning suggested by the pauses, intonations and voice inflections was preserved. The entirety of each interview was later transcribed verbatim and the nuances of speech and gestures noted[76].

The interview method was also the most suitable method for obtaining data from the 25 NQ (non-questionnaire) group. Given that these respondents were not the central subjects of the investigation and, as transients, often unavailable for lengthy interviews, their comments were less frequently recorded. Those that were, were usually of substantial length and are referred to, as in the case of 'Q' group, as oral memoirs. The schedule of guide questions however was usually less strictly followed (and occasionally abandoned) as these respondents were being asked for their personal observations on the Welsh-Australian cultural scene and not for biographical accounts of their experiences as migrants. In the event, 12 of the interviews with NQ respondents were recorded and transcribed. Conversations with the other 13 are referred to in Table 5.7 as 'informal' interviews.

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[75]   C. Baker, Aspects of Bilingualism in Wales (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1985), p.3.
[76]   One of the obvious drawbacks of the method is that it is very time consuming but this is outweighed by the availability of verbatim transcripts.

5.4.3 The Written Memoirs

Most of the comments made on oral memoirs as a sociological research method apply in equal measure to their written counterparts. The written life-history[77] is also one of the procedural mainstays of humanistic sociological enquiry. Whereas it lacks the spontaneity of oral commentary, it has the advantage of being the result of deliberation and reflection. Its value as a research tool has been long recognised. Mills, among others, has argued strongly for a joint study of biography, social structure and history as a way of making social research more meaningful[78]. More recently, its methodological applicability to the study of language and cultural maintenance has also been pointed out. Komenaka, for instance, has this to say:

> "Immigrant *belles-lettres*, in particular autobiographies, are a vast, but largely untapped, source of information on sociological phenomena.... It is time to recognise the value of such works in the study of language maintenance and language shift. The bilingual, bicultural autobiographer can be an informant of the highest quality: observant of even the most minute cultural differences; articulate about relationships, emotion and thought, sensitive to nuances of language use."[79]

Moreover, the temporal dimension introduced to social inquiry by memoirs renders the method particularly useful to the study of the time-governed processes of cultural transmission and change, Why did one first-generation respondent in this study retain fluency in the Welsh language after 40 years in Australia and another lose all knowledge (or claim to) after 5? Why did one child of Welsh-speaking parents manage, with no support from outside the home, to retain some

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[77] A 5 or 6 page written memoir is not of course a 'life-history'. The memoirs received were biographical however in the sense that the comments made on language and cultural experience were contained within a biographical framework.

[78] C.W. Mills, op. cit.

[79] A.R. Komenaka, " Autobiography as a Sociolinguistic Resource", International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 69 (1988), p.105.

speaking knowledge and a full understanding of Welsh into adulthood, and another not only lose all proficiency but be disdainful of what was once his or her first language? Why is it, as Clyne has shown to be the case, that for some groups in Australia — Poles, Dutch and Lebanese for instance — "language shift rises substantially with time"[80], whilst for others — Greeks especially — the shift is significantly less marked? Some progress towards answering questions of this nature must surely depend in part on insight into the diachronic processes of language and cultural transmission within family groupings. What is argued here is that memoirs, written (or orally delivered) by first and second generation members of a family unit or group, go some way towards providing this insight. This is also Dollard's argument:

> ".... the life-history is an account of how a new person is added to the group and becomes an adult capable of meeting the traditional expectations of his society for a person of his sex and age. Students of culture have been blind to this aspect of life-history; *it may well be argued that without the life-history the transmission of cultural forms from one generation to the next cannot be adequately defined*"[81] (own italics)

In this study the written memoirs were not easily procured. Some of the participants who were willing (and often eager) to narrate their cultural life-histories, were those who had earlier declined an invitation to contribute written versions. Requests and guidelines for writing (Appendix XXXIII) were sent to the secretaries of the Welsh Societies for distribution or posted to individuals who had completed the main questionnaire. The general policy was to request written memoirs from questionnaire respondents who, for a variety of reasons, were unavailable for interview. Nevertheless, of the 18 written memoirs that were

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[80]   Clyne, "Trends and Factors..." op. cit. p.68.

[81]   J. Dollard, Criteria for a Life History (New York: Peter Smith, 1949), p.3.

eventually received from 'Q' group respondents, 4 were from individuals who had also been interviewed (see Table 5.7).

A small number (5) of memoirs were also received from the NQ informants. Two of these were in the form of published autobiographies, one by a migrant who had returned to Wales after 12 years in Australia in the 1920's (Respondent NQ3), the other by an Australian-born resident of Welsh ancestry (NQ 23). Reflective perhaps of the long history of English-medium instruction in Welsh schools, only 5 of the total 23 written memoirs were in Welsh.

5.4.4 Participant Observation (Informal Interviews)

"....the data gathered by participant observation is significantly different from that gathered by other methods. The researcher links together the information he gathers by various methods in a way that is nearly impossible with other approaches, and he has access to some unique kinds of information. For instance he compares the following: a) what a subject says in response to a question; b) what he says to other people; c) what he says in various situations; d) what he says at various times; e) what he actually does; f) various non-verbal signals about the matter; and g) what those who are significant to the person feel, say and do about the matter"[82]

Observation of the subjects of study is arguably the most direct means of data gathering in social research. It offers a number of advantages, the most obvious being, as the above quotation suggests, the opportunity to corroborate evidence from other sources. Wilson's point is, quite simply, that as a method it enables the researcher to verify whether subjects in defined situations do what they say they do in questionnaire replies, or in oral and written memoirs. Dorian, in her well-known study of the decline of Scottish Gaelic in East Sutherland found,

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[82]   S. Wilson "The Use of Ethnographic Techniques in Educational Research", Review of Educational Research, 47, (1977), pp256-7

through direct observation of her subjects, that their previous questionnaire replies were, in a number of ways, inaccurate and even misleading. She writes:

"There were enough cases of inaccuracy and enough problems with questions and the questionnaire format to persuade me that the questionnaire data belonged in an appendix rather than in the body of the book, and that some discussion of the use of questionnaires in linguistic investigation would be worthwhile."[83]

Arguably, in a study of cultural values and behaviour, a measure of participant observation is a necessary preliminary to questionnaire construction. The questions posed should, in part at least, be generated and shaped by the observed behaviour and heard conversations of those to whom they will be eventually directed. Thus, observation in this study began some time before the period of actual research. It took the form of regular attendance at the monthly meetings of the two Welsh (ethnic) Societies in Adelaide, and at various Welsh cultural and social gatherings, again mainly in South Australia. Participation in the meetings of these societies began in July 1983 and continued until 1990[84].

Although the two South Australian societies directly of indirectly, were the recruiting grounds for most of the participants in the study — and were an important means of gauging the general tone of organised Welsh cultural life — theirs was the institutionalised voice of Welsh-Australia. To diversify the sources of data, an effort was therefore made to observe, and participate, in other social and cultural activities during the six-year research period. These included informal gatherings in private homes, Welsh-language classes, visits by Welsh choral groups *Cymanfaoedd Canu* (hymn - singing festivals), and a number of meetings

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[83] N.C. Dorian, Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), p. 158.
[84] Attendance at one of the Societies was less regular as most meetings were very poorly attended.

occasioned by the 1988 bicentennial celebrations. Similar events were attended in Wales as a means of contacting returned migrants.

The 36 'informal interviews' which appear in Table 5.7 refer therefore to conversations held with individuals during meetings of the Welsh Societies, and on the other occasions mentioned. Schedules were not used and the content neither tape recorded nor noted at the time of interview. Detailed notes were written up immediately afterwards however. The majority lasted less than an hour. Twenty three of these 36 informal interviews were with 'Q' group respondents who were either unwilling, or unable, to contribute memoirs.

5.4.5 Documentary Evidence

Most of the documentary evidence used in this study was relevant mainly to the historical component, and has been reviewed in Chapter 1. Documentary research on the sociological content which follows, was, as is to be expected, more limited. Considerable use was made, however, of material such as the newsletters and programmes of activities published by the societies and churches attended by the respondents.[85] Mention must also be made of the use of statistical material. As argued in previous chapters, basic demographic data was indispensable to an understanding of the historical aspects of Welsh life in Australia. Similarly, in the analysis of the more recent cultural experiences of 'Q' group members, a statistical frame of reference based on the larger body of the Welsh-born in Australia, was invaluable for comparative purposes. Again, therefore, use was made here, as in earlier chapters, of demographic data assembled by the Department of Demography at the Australian National University and of the two census returns of

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[85]   e.g. Appendix XXII, *Y Wawr*, the Newsletter of the Welsh Church, Melbourne.

1976 and 1986, both of which, unlike previous census counts in Australia, contained questions on the use of languages other than English in the home.

CHAPTER 6

A LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF 'Q' GROUP

"Although a Welshman is what he is without the [Welsh] language, since he takes part in the ways of life and traditions of Wales and vicariously lives in the language, he would, we feel, be a fuller Welshman if he possessed his ancestral tongue".

THE GITTINS REPORT, 1968[1]

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1   The Gittins Report into Primary Education in Wales (Committee of the Central Advisory Council on Education), Department of Education and Science, 1968, Section 11.3.

6.1   Introductory Comments

As explained in Chapter 1 this study is grounded in a theoretical framework which views the culture of a group in terms of systems of cultural values. It has been the main argument of the preceding historical review that, in Wales as much as in Australia, the principal or core cultural value of Welsh culture has consistently been the Welsh language. For this reason, the analysis which follows of the cultural values of the 142 subjects described in the previous chapter, starts with an investigation of their linguistic systems at group and personal level. Two chapters are devoted to this end. The present chapter seeks to construct a linguistic profile of all respondents based on an analysis of their patterns of Welsh language proficiency, use and attitudes, as revealed in the questionnaire results and supported by the evidence of the oral and written memoirs. This is followed (Chapter 7) by an examination of the process and rate of inter-generational transmission and of the problems encountered in the absence of educational and structural support. The investigation· over two chapters of the respondents linguistic values concludes with a typology of Welsh language education and activation, the aim here being to analyse the extent to which the recognition of Welsh as a core value was related to the level of its maintenance by speakers, and to its active support or promotion by non-speakers.

6.2   A Review of the Pertinent Aspects of Theory

Two aspects of the overall theory outlined in Chapter I are particularly relevant at this point:

6.2.1 Group and Personal Systems of Linguistic Values

The language of a group forms its system of linguistic values. As such, the words of a given language have a meaning to those who use them (and regard them as their own) which transcends their purely instrumental value as a means of communication. The words of a language are therefore, in themselves, cultural

objects. Language, in this sense, is a vitally important component of a group's cultural property, or of its total stock of cultural values.

At this point Smolicz's concept of personal linguistic systems[2] becomes relevant. From the language stock of his group, it is postulated, an individual constructs his own personal system of linguistic values. This is not to suggest a privatisation of language but the inter-dependence of the individual and the group in the construction of a personal system. Personal systems may be said to exist at two levels (i) at that, of attitude or ideology and: (ii) at that of activation or use. The attitudes of individuals towards their native tongue may vary from total devotion to outright hostility. Similarly, levels of activation may range from near-exclusive use to none. In practice, however, most individuals evaluate and activate their native languages at levels that fall well within these extreme boundaries. It is also postulated that in culturally plural societies individuals are theoretically able to draw from more than one linguistic stock. In practice, however, they are usually limited by a number of encumbrances, some of which may be ideological. These could include the attitudes of the majority towards the promotion of bilingualism (eg in schools), or, a progressive weakening of what was referred to earlier as the 'ethnic tenacity' of the group concerned, that is, of the measure of its will to survive as a discrete cultural entity. In the case of language-centred groups this refers primarily to attitudes at group and individual level towards the use of the native tongue, and the degree of resolution, again at both levels, to translate attitudes into 'tendency' or use.

6.2.2 The Theory of the Core Values of Culture

The essence of the theory, it may be recalled, is that a culture is sustained by a core of central, enduring values, a threat to the integrity of which is a threat to the very survival of the culture concerned. The maintenance of the core values of a culture is crucial therefore to its perpetuation in 'authentic' form. Their

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2   Smolicz, Culture and Education ...., op.cit., pp.112-115.

erosion or reduction to symbolic level leaves behind an *ersatz* culture, that which Fishman and Nahirny have termed 'residual' or 'non-authentic'.[3] This refers to a culture which, deprived of its essence, is reduced to a range of symbolic accoutrements: flags, national costumes, folk songs (in translation) or cuisine. Although different groups stress different hierarchies of values, language is the most universal core cultural value. Whilst some cultures are more language-centred than others, there are few groups which do not view their ethnic tongue as the pre-eminent mark of their cultural uniqueness. It follows, however, that cultures that are language-centred, are particularly vulnerable in plural societies — especially in those where there is a press for linguistic uniformity. The problem is intensified when the group concerned is small and/or shares a cultural overlap with the majority population. In these circumstances disintegration of the group as a cultural entity within one or two generations becomes a distinct possibility.

6.3 Patterns of Language Proficiency, Use, and Attitudes Amongst 'Q' Group Respondents

Maintenance of an ethnic tongue may be said to be contingent on at least three aspects of language behaviour:

(i) **Proficiency** (or command) eg the ability to speak it.

(ii) **Usage**, eg the act of speaking it (which involves opportunity)

(iii) **Attitude** (which governs the inclination to speak it).

All of the methods discussed in the previous chapter were used to gather data on the patterns of proficiency, usage and attitudes amongst the central group of respondents ('Q' group). Quantitative data derived from responses to a range of questions on linguistic values in the self-administered, main questionnaire was interpreted in the light of evidence from the oral and written memoirs, and from

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3   J.A. Fishman and V.C. Nahirny, "Organisational and Leadership Interest in Language Maintenance", in Fishman (ed.), op.cit., p.161

observation of the language behaviour of the respondents in a variety of social settings.[4]

6.3.1 Proficiency

What Fishman refers to as the "media variance" of 'Q' group,[5] that is their four macro proficiency levels (understanding, speaking reading and writing) in Welsh and English was measured by Question 3.1 of the main questionnaire. The results for the group as a whole are presented in Table 6.1.[6]

In an attempt to introduce a longitudinal dimension to the analysis, they were asked to rate their ability levels at four age groups ranging from early childhood (under 5) to the time of questionnaire completion. The results thus obtained provided a framework for the construction of: (i) a current (synchronic) linguistic profile of the group as a whole and (ii) a biographical (diachronic) linguistic profile of each individual. The former was used primarily as a frame of reference for the discussion of the language experiences of all 'Q' group respondents in the remainder of the study. The latter, when interpreted in the light of the memoir evidence, provided full language histories of 53 of the respondents. Finally, these results were also a means of assessing levels of Welsh language maintenance by each individual before and after arrival in Australia.

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[4] One of the advantages of a multiple approach was that it helped to counter the well-known 'halo' effect in questionnaire surveys of language behaviour, ie the predisposition of respondents towards the socially desirable reply. This applies particularly to questions on proficiency levels. Thus in the 1971 Irish census, for example, 28.3% (816,000) reported Gaelic-speaking ability almost three times the figure arrived at (9.3% or 277,000) by the Committee on Language Attitudes Research shortly afterwards. See D. Greene, "The Atlantic Group: neo-Celtic and Faroese" in E. Haugen, J.D. McClure and D. Thompson (eds), Minority Languages Today (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), p.6.

[5] J.A. Fishman, "Language Maintenance and Language Shift: The American Immigrant Case within a General Theoretical Perspective", Sociologist, Vol 16, No 1, (1966), p.20.

[6] A further breakdown of their Welsh Language proficiency by generation is also presented in Table 6.3.

Table 6.1

Linguistic Profile (self-assessed) of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group (N = 142) by Age (from childhood to time of questionnaire completion) in the four English/Welsh Proficiency Skills

AGE GROUP	LANGUAGE SKILLS		PROFICIENCY LEVEL									
			VERY WELL		WELL		LITTLE		NONE		TOTALS	
			No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
0-5	Understanding	WELSH	44	31	16	11	16	11	66	46	142	100
		ENGLISH	74	52	26	18	23	16	19	13	142	100
	Speaking	WELSH	44	31	14	10	14	10	70	49	142	100
		ENGLISH	71	50	29	20	19	13	23	16	142	100
	Reading	WELSH	28	20	11	8	27	19	76	54	142	100
		ENGLISH	56	39	22	15	32	23	32	23	142	100
	Writing	WELSH	23	16	14	10	22	15	83	58	142	100
		ENGLISH	54	38	17	12	36	25	35	25	142	100
5-12	Understanding	WELSH	52	37	9	6	27	19	54	38	142	100
		ENGLISH	107	75	24	17	9	6	2	1	142	100
	Speaking	WELSH	47	33	8	6	28	20	59	42	142	100
		ENGLISH	105	74	23	16	11	8	3	2	142	100
	Reading	WELSH	43	30	7	5	30	21	62	44	142	100
		ENGLISH	101	71	28	20	12	8	1	1	142	100
	Writing	WELSH	36	25	11	8	25	18	70	49	142	100
		ENGLISH	100	70	24	17	16	11	2	1	142	100
12-20	Understanding	WELSH	47	33	11	8	28	20	55	39	141	100
		ENGLISH	130	92	9	6	2	1	0	0	141	100
	Speaking	WELSH	40	28	12	9	29	21	60	43	141	100
		ENGLISH	127	90	10	7	4	3	0	0	141	100
	Reading	WELSH	40	28	10	7	27	19	64	45	141	100
		ENGLISH	126	89	13	9	2	1	0	0	141	100
	Writing	WELSH	32	23	11	8	25	18	73	52	141	100
		ENGLISH	123	87	16	11	2	1	0	0	141	100
AT PRESENT See 1	Understanding	WELSH	43	30	10	7	32	23	57	40	142	100
		ENGLISH	141	99	1	1	0	0	0	0	142	100
	Speaking	WELSH	35	25	12	8	35	25	60	42	142	100
		ENGLISH	141	99	1	1	0	0	0	0	142	100
	Reading	WELSH	37	26	11	8	24	17	70	49	142	100
		ENGLISH	138	97	4	3	0	0	0	0	142	100
	Writing	WELSH	25	18	14	10	19	13	84	59	142	100
		ENGLISH	134	94	8	6	0	0	0	0	142	100

Note: 1. i.e. at time of Questionnaire completion.
2. One 'no reply' in 12-20 age group.
3. Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

The main concern was to obtain data on past and present proficiency levels in the Welsh language but all respondents were also asked to report on their ability levels in English. Although the questionnaire results showed most of the respondents to be adept in all four English proficiency skills, several Welsh-speakers, as will be shown in the analysis which follows, admitted to varying levels of unease with spoken and/or written English in their memoir contributions. This, they claimed, had been a hindrance to promotion prospects at work, and a barrier to fuller integration into mainstream Australian society. This point is made as a reminder that some post-war migrants from Wales, first and second generation, are, *de facto*, in the NESB (non-English-speaking background) category, a fact seldom revealed in statistical surveys.[7]

♦ **Understanding**

Claimed levels of ability to understand Welsh 'very well' or 'well' at the time of questionnaire completion (Table 6.1) were, predictably, higher than for speaking ability (37% as against 33%). A total of 60% of 'Q' group reported some listening comprehension proficiency. The memoirs confirmed, however, that in the case of those respondents who claimed to understand a 'little' Welsh, by 'little' was meant an ability to distinguish certain phonic and syntactic patterns, but not those interrelationships between elements of speech that could be defined as full understanding.

Not surprisingly, all 142 respondents reported being able to understand English 'very well' (141) or (well) (1). Yet 42 or 30% claimed they had little or no understanding of English up to the age of 5. Two individuals reported having been able to understand only a 'little' English even up to the age of 20. One of these provided the following explanation in her oral memoir:

> "I was born in a very isolated area of North Wales. No one I knew
> spoke any English — most of them couldn't, I'm sure. I went to

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[7]   Nor did it surface too clearly in the questionnaire results under discussion. It was only in the oral memoirs that the English language problems of some Welsh-speakers were revealed.

school in .... [a North Wales town] but again there was no English spoken. The first time I even heard English was when I went to work in a nearby factory. The supervisor there was English, so I had to learn it in order to do my work".

Respondent 091/2 (OM)[8]
[Translated from the Welsh]

Perhaps the most significant result on levels of understanding was that a number of second-generation respondents, who had quickly lost speaking ability after arrival in Australia, reported in their memoirs that they had retained high levels of understanding for a number of years and, in several instances, into adulthood. This phenomenon, usually described by the first-generation parents as a 'refusal'[9] to speak Welsh on the part of their children, will be discussed in Chapter 7 as an important aspect of the whole process of transmission. Two points can be made here however:

(i) The retention by children of a full understanding ability into adulthood points to the enduring 'hold' of the mother-tongue despite the loss of speaking ability. This, as will be seen, was more especially the case in those homes where parents were supportive of bilingualism.

(ii) Following from the above, it is not unreasonable to assume that a measure of support from outside the home domain might have prevented, or at least delayed, total loss of speaking ability in early childhood. This, in turn, would surely have facilitated the re-acquisition of the language by those former Welsh-speakers who were painstakingly learning it through correspondence at the time of interview.

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[8]   The abbreviation 'OM' for Oral Memoir will be used hereon (see List of Abbreviations).
[9]   Encountered also by Clyne in a study of Yugoslav children in Australia. See I. Donohue Clyne, "The Retention of Ethnicity Among the Children of Yugoslav Migrants", Unpublished. M.Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1980, p.110.

♦ **Speaking**

Using the results shown in Table 6.1 'Q' group respondents were placed in four speech proficiency categories.

The categories were based on self-reported competence levels in the main questionnaire replies (Question 3.1). As such they were arbitrarily arrived at.[10] They were confirmed however by participant observation, informal interviews, oral and written memoirs, and a number of unprompted comments on their linguistic development included by several respondents with their questionnaire replies.

W/S1 : FLUENT WELSH-SPEAKERS (N = 35).

All 35 respondents in this category reported being able to speak Welsh 'very well'. Significantly, there was only one second-generation (Gen IIa) representative amongst them. This, in effect, was the extent of the information derived from the questionnaire survey. Although all W/S1 speakers are described as 'fluent' (most being native Welsh-speakers) non-questionnaire evidence showed the need for considerable latitude in the application of descriptive terminology in the area of language proficiency. Thus, even amongst the Welsh-speakers categorised here, the following sub-groups were clearly distinguishable:

— Those who spoke *Cymraeg Llafar*[11] (vernacular or 'street' Welsh), with varying degrees of English interference. Relatively removed syntactically, lexically, and even phonologically from standard (RP) Welsh, or *Cymraeg Llenyddol* (literary Welsh), this variant is

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[10] Although it is obviously subjective, the oral interview is a well established method of testing language-speaking proficiency. Carroll, for instance, has described an interview assessment scale which places speakers into nine categories, ranging through "Expert speakers", "Very good non-native speakers", "Good speakers" etc. to "Non-speaker". B.J. Carroll, Testing Communicative Competence: An Interim Study. (Pergamon, 1980), p.135.

[11] In Wales it is currently taught and promoted as *Cymraeg Byw* (Living Welsh).

the natural[12] speech of most native-speakers of the language. The majority of respondents placed in the W/S1 category spoke this variety of Welsh.

— Those whose vocabulary and grammatical structuring manifested such extreme forms of English interference that their speech bordered on what Kloss has termed *Halbsprache*[13] (half-speech). Nevertheless these respondents were native-speakers who would probably revert to a 'purer' form in a Welsh-speaking environment. They were therefore placed in the W/S1 category.

— Those who <u>affected</u> an English idiom and accent in the presence of other Welsh-speakers. Encountered as the *Dic Sion Dafydd*[14] type in Chapter 2, they are also known as *Cymry Seisnig* (the Anglicised Welsh)[15]. Being generally reluctant to speak Welsh in public or in some cases, to admit a Welsh identity, this type was unlikely to be well-represented within the survey group.[16]

What clearly emerged from the analysis of the language histories of the memoir contributors is the need for caution in interpreting raw survey data on proficiency. 'Welsh-speaker', as a descriptive term, is a linguistic coat of many colours. Similarly 'bilingual' presents a number of difficulties. One could readily assume, for instance, that those who reported being able to speak Welsh and English 'very well' (as did all the respondents in the W/S1 category) were effectively balanced bilinguals.[17]

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[12]   Spoken with studied precision and careful observance of the rules of grammar and mutation. This 'BBC Welsh' is increasingly taught in the Welsh-medium schools (see Chapter 4). There were no speakers of this variant of Welsh in 'Q' group.

[13]   H. Kloss, *Die Entwicklung Neuer Germainischer Kultursprachen Von 1800 B15 1950*, p.122 ff. cited in Haugen, op.cit, p.91.

[14]   ie. those who hide or deny their Welsh origin.

[15]   Not to be confused with the Anglo-Welsh (ie the non-Welsh-speaking Welsh).

[16]   Only one respondent fitted this description.

[17]   Some linguists doubt whether a complete bilingualism is possible. Skutnabb-Kangas for instance admits that he cannot decide. Bilingual individuals (such as himself), he claims, "are not reliable witnesses when it comes to deciding whether complete bilingualism is possible". T. Skutnabb-Kangas, <u>Bilingualism or Not: The Education of Minorities.</u> (Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual

This, however, was not the case. Respondent 038/2, for example, made this claim in her questionnaire reply, but in her written memoir she wrote:

> "I think in Welsh. I can't express myself as well in English
> at all. I'm still not fluent after all these years".[18]

The comment is more qualification than contradiction. The interviews revealed that she in fact spoke English proficiently. From her own perspective, however, it did not match up to her abilities in Welsh, her first and 'natural' language. By contrast, speaking English to this respondent involved concentration and effort.[19]

Similarly, as will be shown later in this chapter, bilingualism does not imply biliteracy. There was in fact no clear relationship between speech proficiency and literacy. Some of the respondents in the W/S1 category for instance (such as 038/2 above), though more fluent in Welsh than English, were, as a result of an English-medium education, more literate in English.[20]

W/S2:	WELSH-SPEAKERS WITH LIMITED COMPETENCE (N = 12)

These were respondents who reported that they spoke Welsh 'well'. With two exceptions (one Gen IIa and one Gen IIb), they were first generation. Memoir analysis and observation were again used to confirm

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Matters, Ltd, 1981), p.38. George Steiner on the other hand, as is well known, claims equal proficiency in three languages. "I have no recollection whatever", he writes, "of a first language. So far as I am aware, I possess equal currency in English, French and German .... I experience my first three tongues as perfectly equivalent centres of myself. I speak and write them with undistinguishable ease". G. Steiner, After Babel : Aspects of Language and Translation (London : Oxford University Press, 1975), p.115.

[18]   A W/S1 married to a non-Welsh speaker. She had lived in Australia for 20 years.

[19]   Welsh-speakers regardless of proficiency levels are often diffident and hesitant when speaking English. This was the case with many of the respondents in 'Q' group, even after lengthy residence in Australia.

[20]   See discussions of literacy levels to follow.

the accuracy of the questionnaire replies. This group was distinguishable from the W/S1 category by their slightly attenuated vocabulary (through disuse) and a tendency to a macaronic speech-style. They also switched more frequently to English in normal conversation. Different from the voluntary and frequently unconscious switching of W/S1 respondents[21], this was more the unavoidable recourse of the semi-proficient. They included both Dorian's 'semi-speakers' — those who "persist in speaking a language which has low prestige and limited currency despite the fact that they speak it imperfectly and in some cases haltingly"[22] — and Hansegard's[23] semi-bilinguals' — those who, after abandoning their native tongue in favour of a more prestigious language, end up with less than total proficiency in both.

It should also be added that all respondents in this group reported a high or very high level of understanding. In sum, the W/S2 category described those respondents who had a working knowledge of Welsh and who could, with effort, carry on conversation in routine social situations.

Note: On the speaking proficiency continuum the dividing line between speakers and non-speakers was placed here. The two groups discussed below fell into the category of non-speakers. See Table 6.2.

N/WS1:	NON-WELSH-SPEAKERS WITH KNOWLEDGE OF INDIVIDUAL WORDS AND PHRASES (N = 35).

These were the questionnaire respondents who reported an ability to speak 'a little' Welsh. Their knowledge of the language was confined to individual words and expressions, learnt lines of poetry, proverbs, familiar greetings etc. They were incapable however of constructing whole

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[21] The practice is not always unconscious even amongst native-speakers. When done deliberately, mid-sentence switching (from Welsh to English and vice-versa) is usually frowned on as a 'snobbish' practice by most Welsh-speakers.

[22] N.C. Dorian, "Language shift in Community and Individual", International Journal of The Sociology of Language, 25, (1980), p.87.

[23] The term was first used by E. Hansegard in a 1962 radio talk on Scandinavian bilingualism. Cited in Skutnabb-Kangas, op.cit., p.250.

Table 6.2

Welsh-Speaking Proficiency Categories Within 'Q' Group (N = 142)

Proficiency Category				Explanation
WELSH - SPEAKERS	W/S1 (Fluent Welsh Speakers)	No. 35	% 25	Respondents who reported that they spoke Welsh "very well"
	W/S2 (Welsh Speakers with Limited Competence)	12	8	Respondents who reported that they spoke Welsh "well"
TOTAL SPEAKERS		47	33	
NON WELSH - SPEAKERS	N/WS1 (Non-Welsh Speakers with Knowledge of Individual Words and Phrases	35	25	Respondents who reported that they spoke "a little " Welsh
	N/WS2 (Monoglot English-Speakers	60	42	Respondents who reported "none" (i.e. that they did not speak Welsh)
TOTAL NON-SPEAKERS		95	42	
TOTAL RESPONDENTS		142	100	

sentences or of conducting any form of fluent conversation. Although these individuals were, for the most part, first-generation, self-taught learners, they also included a number of second-generation respondents who had lost proficiency shortly after arriving in Australia as children. Levels of understanding in this group varied from 'little' to 'total', suggesting,

perhaps, the possibility of further sub-categorisation,[24] taking understanding ability into account.

N/WS2:	MONOGLOT ENGLISH-SPEAKERS (N = 60)

This was by far the largest component of 'Q' group. These are the *Cymry Di-Gymraeg* (the non-Welsh-speaking Welsh). Not unexpectedly, the great majority of the second-generation (29 or 76%) were amongst them. Again, as in the N/WS1 category, levels of understanding within this group varied considerably. Some second-generation respondents, for instance, who had lost all speaking knowledge, had retained high levels of understanding. They were distinguishable from the N/WS1 group mainly by their professed total ignorance of Welsh. Unlike the latter these had no knowledge of individual words or phrases.

At 33% of the total (or 47 out of 142) the proportion of Welsh-speakers to non-speakers within 'Q' group was, as previously mentioned, far in excess of that within the general Welsh-born population of Australia (6.2%) — and almost double the proportion in Wales (18.9%). Although there are no statistics available, the evidence from the Questionnaire Survey of Welsh Societies suggested a decline in recent years in the proportion of speakers amongst migrant arrivals from Wales. This could be accounted for both by declining numbers in Wales itself, and possibly the conscience-driven reluctance of speakers to leave Wales when the language is more than ever under siege.[25] That the latter might be the case was suggested by the following comment by a Welsh-speaking visitor from Wales:

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[24]   This however was not attempted, the main concern being broad, speaking-proficiency levels.

[25]   Appeals to Welsh-speakers to return to Wales appear regularly in *Yr Enfys*, a journal aimed at Welsh expatriates eg. in the October 1988 issue the following message appeared under the heading *"Dewch Adref"* (Come Home): "A noticeable feature of Welsh life today is the number of strangers who are coming to Wales to live, many of them retired. But why strangers? Isn't it possible for some of you overseas-Welsh to do the same thing — to come home to work or to retire?

"If they [the Welsh-speaking Welsh] are determined to live here, they are duty-bound to transmit the language to their children. Better still, however, they should return home [to Wales] where they are desperately needed".

<div align="right">NQ24 (OM)
(Translated from the Welsh)</div>

As previously mentioned, one parental couple within 'Q' group did indeed take the somewhat drastic step suggested by this NQ (non-questionnaire) respondent. Concerned about their children's loss of proficiency in Welsh, they decided to return to Wales.[26] This case, it must be stressed, was exceptional. Although other Welsh-speakers expressed similar feelings of concern about their children's loss of knowledge of the language, none were prepared to go this far. Of the 35 respondents who indicated they had considered returning to Wales (Question 2.10 MQ) for a variety of reasons, the majority (21 or 60%) were non-speakers. Of the speakers who replied positively (13 or 40%) none quoted the language as a possible motive.

The final observation on speaking proficiency levels concerns the result for the second generation (Table 6.3).

Clearly, the Welsh language was not being generationally transmitted within 'Q' group.[27] Of the 38 second-generation respondents, only three are classified as speakers, and only one of these as a W/S1. Moreover, all three were IIa's (Welsh-born). There was no Australian-born second generation (IIb) Welsh speaker in 'Q' group. This tends to support

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You are much needed to strengthen the society of Welsh-speakers. Come." Yr Enfys, No. 40, October 1988, p.2.

[26]   Family 040. This, it must be stressed, was the principal motive for the move — not dissatisfaction with other aspects of life in Australia. The experiences of this family are explored fully in Chapter 7 to follow.

[27]   See Chapter 7 for an analysis of the problems of transmission to the second generation.

Table 6.3

Self-Reported Welsh Language Proficiency of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group in the Four Macro Skills (by generation)

LANGUAGE SKILLS		PROFICIENCY LEVEL									
		VERY WELL		WELL		LITTLE		NONE		TOTALS	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Understanding	First Generation	38	(37)	9	(8)	28	(27)	29	(28)	104	100
	Second Generation	5	(13)	1	(3)	4	(10)	28	(74)	38	100
Speaking	First Generation	34	(33)	10	(9)	29	(28)	31	(30)	104	100
	Second Generation	1	(3)	2	(5)	6	(16)	29	(76)	38	100
Reading	First Generation	35	(34)	10	(10)	21	(20)	38	(36)	104	100
	Second Generation	2	(5)	1	(3)	3	(8)	32	(84)	38	100
Writing	First Generation	24	(23)	13	(13)	17	(16)	50	(48)	104	100
	Second Generation	1	(3)	1	(3)	2	(5)	34	(89)	38	100

Note: Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

Clynes' observation based on the 1976 census that it was "unlikely that the number of Australian-born Welsh-speakers would be very high".[28]

♦ **Reading and Writing**

Minority language maintenance, Fishman reminds us, "requires literacy because it is only via literacy that most modern and encompassing reward systems become operative".[29]

As shown in Chapter 2, one of the effects of the translation of the Bible into Welsh at the end of the sixteenth century was to raise the national level of literacy in the Welsh language. The circulating schools of Gruffudd Jones in the eighteenth century, and the remarkable flowering of the popular Welsh language press in the nineteenth, had similar results. With the introduction by the 1870 Act of English-medium education, these trends were reversed, with Welsh relegated in the process

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[28] Clyne, "Multilingual ....", op.cit, p.154.
[29] J.A. Fishman, The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival : Perspectives on Language and Ethnicity, (New York : Mouton, 1985), p.372.

to the status of a language of mainly oral communication. As a result most Welsh people educated at any period up to the late 1950s, though they are native-speakers, will choose to express themselves in writing in English rather than Welsh. They are also, frequently, more fluent readers in English. It is somewhat ironic, therefore, that with the establishment of the Welsh language schools in the 1960s, a situation now prevails in Wales whereby the younger generation of Welsh-speakers are often more proficient than their parents in reading and writing skills.[30] This background is a necessary preliminary to an interpretation of the literacy results for 'Q' group (Table 6.1).

Reading being a more passive language skill, claimed reading ability levels were slightly higher than for speech competence 37 or 26% as against 35 or 25%. The overall literacy rate however (reading and writing) was considerably lower. Though all respondents claimed to be able to read and write English 'very well' 138 (97%) and 134 (94%) or 'well' 4 (3%) and 8 (6%), only 25 or 71% of the Welsh-speakers (ie W/S1s and W/S2s) claimed proficiency in both skills in Welsh. This low rate is almost certainly explained by the comments made earlier. Thus, it is likely that Welsh-speakers in the older age-group (45 of total respondents were between 60 and 90) were educated through the medium of English. This was confirmed by one respondent (aged 84) in his written memoir:

> "I attended a secondary school in Caernarfon[31] where all subjects were taught in English. I still spoke only Welsh outside school and at home. We were not taught any Welsh at all at the school..........
> I'm convinced my teachers were as eager as I was to keep up the language but the 'higher ups' somewhere thought it should be otherwise. I honestly believe that at that time official policy was aimed at eradicating the language".
>
> Respondent O11/1 (WM)
> (Translated from the Welsh)

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[30] The 1981 census figures showed that only 66.2% of those over 55 could read and write Welsh, compared with 81.7% in the 10-24 age group. H. Carter and J. Aitchison, "Language areas and Language Change in Wales: 1961-1981", in Hume and Pryce (eds), op.cit., p.3.

[31] An overwhelmingly Welsh-speaking town in North Wales.

The same tendency was clearly visible in the replies to Questions 3.5 and 3.6 of the main questionnaire:

Table 6.4(a)

Replies to Question 3.5 (Main Questionnaire) : *What language do you use when writing to your friends or relatives in Wales?*

LANGUAGE	NO.	%
Welsh	14	10
English	113	80
Both	14	10
Total	141	100

Table 6.4(b)

Replies to Question 3.6 (Main Questionnaire): *What language would you use when speaking to the same friends or relatives?*

LANGUAGE	NO.	%
Welsh	36	26
English	92	65
Both	13	9
Total	141	100

Note: One 'no reply'.

Although 36 (26%) would speak to their friends or relatives in Welsh, only 14 (10%) would also choose to write to them in the same language. The point can be simply made: it cannot be assumed that oral bilinguals prefer, or are even able, to write in the language which they call their first or that which they normally speak. This adds a frequently overlooked dimension to the notion of "a first language".

6.3.2 Use

> *"One's ethnic language is much more likely to survive emigration from the mother-country if it continues to be used across most situations, with most interlocutors, within most role relationships".*[32]

Although language competence is patently a pre-requisite for language use the latter is not an inevitable consequence of the former. Thus, a fluent bilingual may only use one of his/her linguistic value systems either from choice, or from lack of opportunity to use both. A useful distinction in this context is the Saussurean one between *langue* or language as a <u>potential</u> tool of communication and *parole* as the <u>actuality</u> of speech, the point being that the frequency with which Welsh is spoken in Australia is a more critical aspect of maintenance than (potentially) dormant knowledge.

Again, the value of the multi-dimensional approach was underlined, for whereas the questionnaire survey provided a measurement of the rate and occasion of the usage of Welsh by the respondents, the circumstances governing its choice, or rejection as a language of communication, were brought to light only by the memoirs and observation evidence.

6.3.2.1 Active Linguistic Experience

The active linguistic experience of 'Q' group respondents is shown in Table 6.5.

The most revealing finding, in terms of Welsh language maintenance, was the very low incidence (9 or 7%) of first generation parents who reported speaking to their children 'always in Welsh'. This represented 21% of the total number (44) of Welsh-speaking parents within 'Q' group. Against this figure, however, must be considered the 49 who claimed to have 'encouraged their children to learn (or speak) Welsh' in reply to Question 3.9 of the main questionnaire. Yet only 5

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[32]   E.B. Ryan and H. Giles, <u>Attitudes Towards Language Variation</u>, (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), p.4.

Table 6.5

Self-Reported Active Linguistic Experience of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group (All respondents and by generation)

WHEN SPEAKING TO		LANGUAGE USED											
		Always in Welsh		Always in English		Both Equally		Mainly in Welsh		Mainly in English		TOTALS	
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
SPOUSE	First	18	18	76	75	0	0	2	2	6	6	102	100
	Second	0	0	31	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	100
	All Resp.	18	14	107	80	0	0	2	2	6	5	133	100
CHILDREN	First	9	9	81	79	3	3	2	2	7	7	102	100
	Second	0	0	28	97	0	0	0	0	1	3	29	100
	All Resp.	9	7	109	83	3	2	2	2	8	6	131	100
SIBLINGS	First	29	29	63	64	3	3	1	1	3	3	99	100
	Second	1	3	34	92	1	3	0	0	1	3	37	100
	All Resp.	30	22	97	71	4	3	1	1	4	3	136	100
MOTHER	First	37	36	57	56	6	6	0	0	2	2	102	100
	Second	2	5	33	87	1	3	0	0	2	5	38	100
	All Resp.	39	28	90	64	7	5	0	0	4	3	140	100
FATHER	First	38	37	58	56	6	6	0	0	1	1	103	100
	Second	2	5	33	87	1	3	0	0	2	5	38	100
	All Resp.	40	28	91	65	7	5	0	0	3	2	141	100
GRAND-PARENTS SEE 1.	First	40	40	54	54	4	4	0	0	2	2	100	100
	Second	2	5	33	89	1	3	0	0	1	3	37	100
	All Resp.	42	31	87	64	5	4	0	0	3	2	137	100
OTHER RELATIVES	First	31	31	59	59	6	6	3	3	1	1	100	100
	Second	2	5	34	89	1	3	0	0	1	3	38	100
	All Resp.	33	24	93	67	7	5	3	2	2	1	138	100
WELSH-SPEAKING FRIENDS	First	43	43	42	42	11	11	1	1	4	4	101	100
	Second	2	6	33	92	0	0	0	0	1	3	36	100
	All Resp.	45	33	75	55	11	8	1	1	5	4	137	100

reported being 'very successful' and 22 'moderately' so.[33] *These figures point to the failure rather than the absence of an attempt at transmission.* The failure is confirmed by the virtual absence of the language in the experiences of the second generation. Only two reported speaking 'always in Welsh' to their parents and

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[33]   It is difficult, of course, to know what 'very successful' and 'moderately successful' means in practice. The low proficiency areas of the second generation however suggest that the claimed success rate is an example of parental tendencies to exaggerate their children's (and their own) language abilities in questionnaire surveys (see footnote 4 above).

grandparents and only one to siblings. None spoke Welsh to their own children. Taken along with the second generation proficiency rates shown in Table 6.3, these results loudly proclaim the one generation life-span of the Welsh language amongst 'Q' group respondents. It should be added that many of the 49 parents who reported having made an effort to teach or to help their children maintain Welsh, explained in their memoirs that they (and the children) gave up within weeks of the children entering school at primary or secondary level. Exposure to English for most of the day, and peer pressure to conform linguistically and socially, in their opinion, made any effort on the home front virtually futile. A second-generation respondent explained the difficulties as follows:[34]

> "Up to the age of 12 we only spoke Welsh - at home, in school, in chapel and everywhere in the town (in Wales). After that we began to learn English at school but shortly after we left for Australia. After we came here we still spoke Welsh at home but gradually we began to answer mum and dad in English. *Being with our friends at school and away from home all day were the main reasons why our Welsh deteriorated to the stage where we now only understand it.* Mum and dad still spoke Welsh to us at home till we were in our late teens. *Had we heard some Welsh outside the home and had some opportunity to speak it with friends of our own age, or, better still, had it been taught at school, it would have made all the difference. It's very difficult to keep up a language when you only hear it at home in the evening, and you've been speaking English all day".*

Respondent 009/3 (male) (OM)

The problems of Welsh language transmission will be discussed in Chapter 7 to follow. What needs to be said here is that the pattern of language use in Welsh-speaking homes which emerged most frequently, was that Welsh was the natural language of communication between parents, and between parents and children, *up to the point where the children entered school.* Thereon, regardless of

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34 This respondent was one of three children of Welsh-speaking parents. A virtual monoglot Welsh-speaker on arrival in Australia (aged 12) in 1970, he had no speaking knowledge at the time of interview but retained some understanding.

the age of entry, language loss by the children was extremely rapid. In all, there were three examples within 'Q' group of parents continuing to speak Welsh to the children (and to each other) for some time after the children began to respond in English. Two of these parents eventually switched to English, fearing, they explained, that to continue to speak Welsh to the children would interfere with their schooling. The third parental couple were still continuing the practice at the time of interview.

A surprisingly frequent use of Welsh when speaking to parents and grandparents was reported. Of the 47 Welsh-speakers, 39 spoke to their mothers 'always in Welsh', 40 to their fathers and 42 to their grandparents. As indices of maintenance however these figures have little meaning since almost all of these replies came from first generation adults whose parents lived in Wales or interstate in Australia. Of the 42 respondents within 'Q' group who reported having living paternal or maternal grandparents, only in four cases were they resident in Australia. Amongst Welsh-speakers there was none. The generally acknowledged important contribution of grandparents to language maintenance was therefore entirely lacking.

Almost all of the Welsh-speakers in 'Q' group (45 out of 47) spoke to their Welsh-speaking friends 'always in Welsh' (Table 6.5). Surprisingly, this included most of the W/S2 speakers, ie. those with limited speaking competence. Participant observation evidence confirmed the accuracy of their claims. The majority of those in this category, it should be remembered, were fluent (native) speakers, who had lost competence through prolonged linguistic isolation and lack of opportunity to practise their Welsh language speaking skills. In some cases this had been the situation since they left school, usually in the Anglicised areas of South Wales. It was observed at the Welsh Societies and at other gatherings that they often explicitly requested fluent (W/S1) speakers not to speak to them in English, since it was the tendency of the latter, out of politeness, to switch to English soon after the start of conversation.

6.3.2.2 Passive Linguistic Experience

Respondents were also asked to answer questions on their passive linguistic experience. The aim here was to discover the extent to which they were exposed to the Welsh language in their daily lives. Although it is now recognised that all L1 or L2 learning begins with listening comprehension,[35] it has been a generally neglected area of language maintenance study. Listening is not, of course, an entirely passive aspect of language behaviour. The listener, it could be argued, is at all times actively involved in the process of communication by, for example, interpreting the meaning of what is being said, or in relating it to the content of previous exchanges. In terms of maintenance, frequent exposure to the rhythm, distinctive sounds, intonation and word-grouping of a language facilitates the retention of understanding ability, even when speech competence has been lost.

Two questions on this area were asked in the main questionnaire. The first (Question 3.4(a)) enquired in what language the respondents were usually spoken to by family and Welsh-speaking friends, and the second (Question 3.4(b)) what language they usually heard spoken by the same family members and friends when speaking to each other. The results are shown in Tables 6.6(a) and 6.6(b) respectively. *Again, the single most important finding was the almost total irrelevance of the language in terms of usage to the lives of the second generation.* Only five first-generation parents spoke to their children in Welsh (Table 6.6(a)), and even fewer (3) heard them speaking Welsh to others (Table 6.6(b)). No second-generation respondent was spoken to by spouse or children in Welsh and only one by a sibling. Two were spoken to by their mothers in Welsh, and three in both Welsh and English. For fathers the figures were three and three respectively (Table 6.6(a)). It was not surprising, therefore, that no second-generation respondent heard the language spoken to others by their spouses or

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[35] W. Rivers, "Listening Comprehension" in K. Croft (ed), Readings on ESL, (Cambridge : Winthrop Publishers, 1980), pp.265-277.

Table 6.6(a)

Self-Reported PASSIVE Linguistic Experience (Language usually heard spoken by others) of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group (All respondents and by generation)

WHEN SPOKEN TO BY:		Language Usually Heard by Respondents							
		Welsh		English		Both		TOTALS	
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
SPOUSE	First	19	19	80	80	1	1	100	100
	Second	0	0	30	100	0	0	30	100
	All Resp.	19	15	110	85	1	1	130	100
CHILDREN	First	5	5	92	94	1	1	98	100
	Second	0	0	28	100	0	0	28	100
	All Resp.	5	4	120	95	1	1	126	100
SIBLINGS	First	32	32	63	64	4	4	99	100
	Second	1	3	34	97	0	0	35	100
	All Resp.	33	25	97	72	4	3	134	100
MOTHER	First	41	40	58	56	4	4	103	100
	Second	2	6	31	86	3	8	36	100
	All Resp.	43	31	89	64	7	5	139	100
FATHER	First	40	1333	59	1967	58	1933	3	100
	Second	3	8	30	83	3	8	36	100
	All Resp.	43	31	89	64	6	4	138	100
GRAND-PARENTS SEE 1.	First	42	42	56	57	1	1	99	100
	Second	3	9	30	88	1	3	34	100
	All Resp.	45	34	86	65	2	2	133	100
OTHER RELATIVES	First	30	29	58	57	14	14	102	100
	Second	3	8	31	86	2	6	36	100
	All Resp.	33	24	89	64	16	12	138	100
WELSH-SPEAKING FRIENDS	First	41	41	45	45	15	15	101	100
	Second	4	13	23	72	5	16	32	100
	All Resp.	45	34	68	51	20	15	133	100

1.   Paternal grandparents only

Note: 'No replies' not included
        Percentages rounded to nearest whole number

Table 6.6(b)

Self-Reported PASSIVE Linguistic Experience (Language usually heard spoken to others) of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group (All respondents and by generation)

WHEN SPOKEN TO OTHERS BY:		Welsh NO	Welsh %	English NO	English %	Both NO	Both %	TOTALS NO	TOTALS %
SPOUSE	First	10	10	81	83	7	7	98	100
	Second	0	0	31	100	0	0	31	100
	All Resp.	10	8	112	87	7	5	129	100
CHILDREN	First	3	3	97	96	1	1	101	100
	Second	0	0	29	100	0	0	29	100
	All Resp.	3	2	126	97	1	1	130	100
SIBLINGS	First	31	31	63	64	5	5	99	100
	Second	1	3	34	94	1	3	36	100
	All Resp.	32	24	97	72	6	4	135	100
MOTHER	First	36	35	58	57	8	8	102	100
	Second	5	14	27	73	5	14	37	100
	All Resp.	41	29	85	61	13	9	139	100
FATHER	First	40	38	58	56	6	6	104	100
	Second	9	26	19	56	6	18	34	100
	All Resp.	49	36	77	56	12	9	138	100
GRAND-PARENTS SEE 1.	First	43	43	52	52	5	5	100	100
	Second	6	18	26	76	2	6	34	100
	All Resp.	49	37	78	58	7	5	134	100
OTHER RELATIVES	First	33	33	55	54	13	13	101	100
	Second	4	11	26	74	5	14	35	100
	All Resp.	37	27	81	60	18	13	136	100
WELSH-SPEAKING FRIENDS	First	44	44	35	35	22	22	101	100
	Second	9	28	11	34	12	38	32	100
	All Resp.	53	40	46	35	34	26	133	100

1. Paternal grandparents only

Note: 'No replies' not included
Percentages rounded to nearest whole number

children.[36] (Table 6.6(b)). Nine, however, heard it spoken by Welsh-speaking friends and twelve reported hearing both Welsh and English. On the whole, however, the exposure of the second-generation to the language was minimal.

First-generation speakers were, of course, better placed in this respect. Forty-one out of a total of 44 heard Welsh from Welsh-speaking friends, 19 from spouses and 32 from siblings (Table 6.6(a)). As previously mentioned, however, the figures for siblings, parents and grandparents must be considered misleading, as, in many cases, they were resident in Wales or in other parts of Australia. Table 6.6(b) shows similar relatively high levels of exposure by the first generation. Thus, 44 heard Welsh being spoken by their Welsh-speaking friends and 22 both Welsh and English. Ten claimed they usually heard their spouses speaking Welsh to others, and 36 and 40 their mothers and fathers respectively. What these figures do not reveal, of course, is the *frequency* of exposure. The memoir evidence, however, as will be shown in the two chapters to follow, was that it is very low.

Undoubtedly it was again the second-generation that was affected most by lack of exposure to the language. For the first generation native speakers, as the following comment suggests, it mattered less.

> "The only opportunity I get to speak my own language is when I go home [to Wales] every few years. Even so I haven't forgotten my Welsh at all. *Maen anodd anghofio eich iaith eich hyn yn fy meddwl i*" (It's difficult to forget your own language in my opinion).
> Respondent 191/2 (OM)[37]

The above remarks notwithstanding, the regular use of, and exposure to, a language is a vital precondition for its general maintenance. Language studies in recent years have tended to focus more on 'interference' than on 'forgetting'. The

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[36] Welsh in this respect is what Timm in reference to Breton has described as u*ne langue cachee*. Breton, she argues, is spoken so infrequently by its native-speakers that it is almost inaccessible to the *non-bretonnant* desirous of learning the language. Timm, op.cit., p.39.

[37] This respondent, herself a native-speaker, was married to a non-speaker who objected to her joining the local Welsh society. Although she claimed not to have forgotten her Welsh, she was more at ease in English and only occasionally switched to Welsh during the course of the interview.

conclusion of the present study however is that there is little distinction. Interference, it was found, is a *form* of forgetting. Respondents — such as 091/2 above — who claimed not to have 'forgotten' their Welsh showed signs of severe English interference and other consequences of limited use in their Welsh speech patterns: e.g. substitution of English words; a resorting to inexact lexical items; use of inappropriate expressions and synonyms; and substitution of English for Welsh idiom with incongruous effects. In sum, to use the Welsh word for these deficiencies, their speech could be described as *'crapiog'* (for which the nearest English translation would be 'patchy').[38] Levels of language use, it should be added, are determined in large part by need and opportunity. Since all 'Q' group respondents were bilingual — knowledge of English being an aspect of their cultural overlap with the majority population — they had no intrinsic need on the instrumental level to use Welsh in their daily lives. Communication with all persons with whom they came in contact, including immediate family, could, potentially, take place in English. **Speaking Welsh, inside and outside the home, on formal and informal occasions was therefore a matter of choice not of necessity.** This point, that there is no domain in which the speaking of Welsh is necessary, is emphasised as it is surely crucial to maintenance. Simply put, as there are no Welsh monoglots, and no circumstances in which Welsh has an instrumental value, there is no *need* to speak Welsh in Australia (and increasingly in Wales).[39]

The opportunity for the Welsh-speaking respondents to use Welsh was therefore extremely limited, especially since, as will be shown in the chapter to follow, many were married to non-speakers. Nor was there much contact with other speakers outside the home domain. Although most speakers within 'Q'

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[38]   Clyne found many of these same indices of interference amongst German migrants to Australia who spoke little or no German at home. See M. Clyne, <u>Perspectives on Language Contact</u>. (Melbourne: The Hawthorn Press, 1972), pp.96-7.

[39]   In Wales, the instrumental function of Welsh, ie its use arising from *need* is for many within the shrinking pool of Welsh-speakers, now a secondary consideration. Speaking Welsh for these concerned individuals, is no longer a social, or even a political, act, *but a moral duty.*

group knew each other,[40] they were too geographically dispersed to have permanent contact. This was one of the more frequently expressed complaints of the oral memoir contributors:

> "I never get the opportunity to speak Welsh. I've been here in Adelaide now for over six months and you [the interviewer] are the first person with whom I've had occasion to speak my own language. I haven't met one Welsh-speaking person since I've been here. I went to the Welsh Society the other night but I didn't hear one word of Welsh there".
>
> Respondent 088/2[41] (OM)
> (Translated from the Welsh)

Even in the Welsh ethnic organisations, as the above respondent points out, the language is infrequently heard. Participation in the monthly meetings confirmed that this was due in part to the reluctance of speakers to speak Welsh in the presence of non-speakers. The approach of a non-speaker towards two, or even a group of individuals, conversing in Welsh was, almost without exception, the catalyst for an immediate switch to English. In the final analysis this form of language behaviour is a product of attitude, and it is an analysis of the attitudes of the respondents towards Welsh (and to some extent towards English) which now follows.

6.3.3 Attitudes

> *"Insights from social psychology, especially relating to the role of language in intergroup and ethnic relations .... have stimulated interdisciplinary research on attitudes towards ethnic languages, and have led to language attitudes being viewed as a crucial component in the study of LM (Language Maintenance) and LS (Language Shift) processes".*[42]

One of the basic theoretical positions of this study is that group cultural values are subject to a continuous process of evaluation by group members. This

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40   There was some evidence of an Australia-wide network of speakers who were known to each other (see Chapter 8).

41   The respondent, an elderly widow, was a native speaker who had come from Sydney to live with her son (a non-speaker) in Adelaide.

42   A Pauwels, "Introduction : The future of ethnic languages in Australia", International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 72 (1988) p.8.

is the principal function of what was referred to earlier as the ideological system. For a language-centred culture the evaluation by group members of the position of the language on the scale of group cultural values is tantamount to a decision on the future of the group as a distinctive cultural entity.

At the personal level this process of evaluation is encountered as a set of attitudes along a continuum from negative to positive, ie from the total rejection of a language as a group cultural value, to its acceptance as the *sine qua non* of group survival. An individual's attitude towards the language of his group is determined in part by his personality and life experiences. Given, however, that individuals construct their personal system from the group stock, it is also determined in large measure by the current status of the language in his group's hierarchy of cultural values. If the language is so highly valued that its survival is considered to be a pre-condition of the group's continued existence (ie if it is a core value), it is likely that this will be reflected as positive attitudes within the personal systems of most group members. The fundamental question being asked at this point therefore is to what extent the respondents who formed the central subjects of the study ('Q' group) recognised the Welsh language as a core value of Welsh culture in Australia?

Again, the broad perspective on the range of attitudes within the group as a whole was derived from the questionnaire survey, but an understanding of some of the complexities of ideological attitude at the personal level was gained from an analysis of the oral and written memoirs, and from observation of the language behaviour of the respondents over a period of six years. Nowhere is the need for a multiple research approach more necessary than in the potential quagmire of attitude investigation. Edwards, for instance, a scholar who has written extensively on Welsh cultural identity, distinguishes between attitude and belief in language attitude assessment, and insists that the former can only be gauged by the adoption of varied methods of investigation:

"................. there is sometimes confusion between belief and attitude; this is particularly so in the domain of language attitude. Attitudes include belief as one of its components. Thus a subject's response to 'Is knowledge of French important for your children, "yes" or "no"?' indicates a belief: *To gauge attitude one would require further enquiry into the respondent's feeling about his expressed belief.* [own italics] For example, he might believe that French is important for his children's career success; yet he may loathe the language. Many 'attitude' questionnaires are, in fact, 'belief' questionnaires, at least in part .... it is apparent that the most useful assessment of language attitudes would be one based upon some eclectic approach".[43]

The survey questions were designed to measure not only the respondents' attitudes towards the Welsh language *per se*, but also towards its use, maintenance, and above all its status, on the actual and symbolic level, as a dimension of Welsh cultural identity in Australia. In other words the respondents, speakers and non-speakers, were being asked to assess the Welsh language as a core value of Welsh culture in Australia. Attitude questions in the main questionnaire were distributed as follows:[44]

- **Attitudes towards Welsh language use:**

<u>Question 3.7</u>

Would you speak in Welsh to another Welsh-speaking person in the presence of non-Welsh speakers?

- **Attitudes towards Welsh language maintenance:**

<u>Question 3.11</u>

In your opinion, should the Welsh have the same opportunities as other ethnic groups to maintain and/or learn their language here in Australia?

<u>Question 3.12</u>

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[43] J.R. Edwards, "Language attitudes and their implication among English speakers", in Ryan and Giles, op. cit., p.20.

[44] Questions on the attitudes of the second generation to the actual and/or preferred place of Welsh in their education were included in the Supplementary Questionnaire (Appendix XXIX). Second-generation attitudes are examined in more detail in Chapter 7 to follow.

How important is it to you personally that the Welsh language should survive?

- **Attitudes towards Welsh as a dimension of Welsh cultural identity (and/or towards the Welsh language per se):**

Question 3.10

How important is it, in your opinion, for a Welsh person to be able to speak Welsh?

Question 5.2

How interested are you at present in .... the condition of the Welsh language?

Question 5.5

How important in your opinion are the following indications of 'Welshness'? (ie what makes a person Welsh?):

(i) Ability to speak Welsh.

(ii) Ability to read and write Welsh.

(iii) Having a knowledge of Welsh literature.

Results

6.3.3.1 Attitudes towards the use of Welsh in the presence of non-Welsh speakers.

The importance of this question is derived from its linking of attitude and usage as two issues which bear directly on maintenance. When, as is the case with balanced bilinguals, the use of either of two languages is possible in given situations, the attitudes held towards each of the languages concerned can be an important factor governing choice. The attitudinal aspect becomes more complex however when:

— the two languages are unequal in terms of numbers of speakers, prestige etc. (as is the case with Welsh and English).

— the choice involves the exclusion of non-speakers, though they may be of the same ethnic background (again as is the case for Welsh-speakers).

The results presented in Table 6.7 must therefore be interpreted in the light of the following considerations:

(i)   The historical stigmatisation of Welsh which was discussed in Chapter 2. This gave rise to the long-standing, and essentially still prevalent, diglossic relationship of Welsh and English, whereby Welsh was relegated to the L (low) language status of a private and domestic *patois*, whilst English acquired H (high) standing as the language of business, law and administration. Though Welsh has by now attained a certain social *cachet* even — perhaps especially — amongst non-Welsh-speakers, the status differential was firmly in place in the two decades (the 1940s and 1950s) in which most of the first generation 'Q' group respondents grew up. This historical devaluation of Welsh[45] must therefore be considered as at least a partial explanation for the reluctance of respondents to speak it in the presence of non-speakers, a reluctance which went beyond customary considerations of social etiquette.

(ii) The fact that all Welsh-speakers within 'Q' group were bilingual and that, in ordinary circumstances, bilinguals are free to make a language choice. Choosing or not choosing to speak Welsh in the presence of non-speakers would, therefore, for each of these Welsh-speaking respondents, be a conscious act.

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[45]   Dr Abraham Solomonik, chief supervisor of the highly successful Ulpan Hebrew teaching programme in Israel, pointed out during his visit to Wales in 1985, that the first requirement for the survival of the Welsh language was *to convince Welsh-speakers of its value*. Y Cymro. June 26th, 1985.

(iii) Giles' theory of accommodation in linguistic behaviour.[46]   By accommodation is meant speech convergence or the act whereby an individual chooses to speak the language (usually high) and/or imitate the accent of his interlocutor. This is more likely when one language enjoys higher prestige than the other. In this instance observation of the respondents' language behaviour confirmed a frequent convergence towards English amongst the Welsh-speakers.   More important, perhaps, once the switch to English had been made, it was seldom reversed (ie it was uni-directional).

(iv) The frequency of the dilemma implied by the question.   This, of course, is proportional to the number of Welsh-speakers which, in Australia, is small.   Thus, whenever Welsh-speakers meet in public, the situation is very likely to occur.   In this sense the question is by no means academic.   It was observed that even at Welsh social and cultural gatherings conversations between Welsh-speakers could be conducted for only short periods without excluding a non-speaker. This was seldom, if ever, done — the approach of a non-speaker was, invariably, the signal for an immediate switch to English.

In the light of the above comments, it is not surprising that 31 or 66% of Welsh-speakers (N = 47) indicated that they would not speak Welsh in the presence of a non-speaker (Table 6.7).

For non-speakers, of course, the question was hypothetical, but the replies were still indicative of their general attitudes. In this context it could be argued that the attitudes of non-speakers are, in fact, of crucial relevance, since in the past it has been their disapproval which has been largely responsible for the reticence of speakers to converse in Welsh in their presence. It is of interest, therefore, that

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[46]   See H. Giles and P.M. Smith, "Accommodation Theory: Optimal Levels of Competence", in H. Giles and R.N. St. Clair (eds) Language and Social Psychology (Baltimore: University Park Press, 1979), pp. 45-65.

while 85 or 90% of non-speakers favoured the maintenance of Welsh in Australia (Table 6.8(a)), 69 or 73% would not speak it in the presence of non-speakers. (Table 6.7). As expected there was a singularly high disapproval rate amongst the second generation (84%).

Table 6.7

Self-Reported Attitudes of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group towards the use of Welsh in the presence of non-Welsh-speakers (all respondents and by generation and Welsh Language Speaking Proficiency)

QUESTION 3.7 Main Questionnaire	RESPONDENT CATEGORY	Yes		No		No Reply		TOTALS	
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Would you speak in Welsh to another Welsh-speaking person in the presence of non-Welsh speakers	All respondents	29	(20)	100	(70)	13	(9)	142	(99)
	First generation	26	(25)	68	(65)	10	(10)	104	(100)
	Second generation	3	(8)	32	(84)	3	(8)	38	(100)
	Welsh-speakers	16	(34)	31	(66)	0	(0)	47	(100)
	Non-Welsh speakers	13	(14)	69	(73)	13	(13)	95	(100)

Notes:
(i)   Second generation includes generation IIa and IIb.
(ii)   Figures expressed as percentage rounded to nearest whole number.

What needs to be added here is that the results take on an added significance when it is remembered that the opportunities for Welsh-speakers in Australia to speak Welsh outside the home domain are very few. Attitudes towards the public use of Welsh are therefore important variables for maintenance. These results match previous research findings. Williams, in a 1984 study of the attitudes of 101 respondents in the township of Caersws in Wales, found that 54.0% of his total sample and 61.5% of the Welsh-speaking component "agreed strongly that Welsh people should not speak Welsh in the company of English people".[47]

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[47]   S.W. Williams, "Language Maintenance, Erosion and Ethnic Identity", Discussion Papers in Geolinguistics No. 6, (1985). North Staffordshire Polytechnic, p.19.

For Fasold, "the goal of the study of language choice is to explain it".[48] That language choice — especially when the languages concerned are unequal — can be an unexpectedly complex issue, clearly emerged from the memoirs. The extract which follows is a case in point. The contributor was a first-generation minister of religion and a prominent, long-standing leader of the Welsh community in Victoria. A fluent, articulate Welsh-speaker, and a stout advocate of its maintenance, he nevertheless denounced in virulent terms his colleague's[49] practice of speaking Welsh in the company of non-speakers. This, he claimed, had polarised church membership along linguistic lines:

> "I had every respect for the chap who followed me, but I found it intolerable that he spoke Welsh with me or with other Welsh-speaking members of our church within the hearing of non-speakers. For example, we would often be walking out of the church together on a Sunday to mingle with some of the congregation gathered outside, and, to my great annoyance, he would always insist on speaking Welsh regardless of the company. It didn't seem to bother him in the least, but it embarrassed me terribly, I assure you. All I could do was to keep answering him in English, but he never seemed to get the hint".
>
> Respondent 067/1 (OM)
> (Translated from the Welsh)

This same individual spoke passionately in favour of maintaining the Welsh character of his church. His greatest concern was in fact the poor attendance of Welsh-speakers. Politeness however in his case overrode all other considerations. What was of primary interest here was the contrasting attitude of his successor.[50] Considerably younger, and recently arrived from Wales, he had few inhibitions about speaking Welsh in the presence of non-speakers. His attitude was, in this respect, reflective of the more defiant stance of the younger generation of Welsh-speakers in Wales today.

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[48] R. Fasold, The Sociolinguistics of Society (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), p.200.
[49] He explained that this successor had arrived some time before his own retirement.
[50] He was unavailable for formal interview.

It was also the attitude of 29 (or 20%) of 'Q' group respondents. Several in this group made the point that speaking English to a Welsh-speaker was for them 'unnatural'. The following comment is representative:

> "I could not speak English to my husband under any circumstances. Even when I ring him from work, and others are listening, I've got to speak to him in Welsh. It would seem ludicrous to me to speak in English with my own husband. We would never speak English to each other, regardless of who was present. The whole idea is absurd".
>
> <div align="right">Respondent 040/2 (OM)
(Translated from the Welsh)</div>

A final point to be made is that, although the majority of 'Q' group replied negatively to Question 3.7, there was no correspondence between their replies and their attitudes to the Welsh language in general — towards which, as will be seen, attitudes were almost uniformly favourable. The reluctance of the respondents to speak Welsh in the company of non-speakers, it could be argued, was ultimately a matter of speech etiquette — an acceptance of the view prevalent in Anglo-Saxon societies,[51] that to speak a language other than English in the presence of non-speakers is not only rude but bordering on conspiratorial. Whether this is the explanation for the respondents' attitudes, or whether it is also, in part, the result of historical conditioning, is, in a sense, irrelevant. It is the effects of the attitudes concerned that are important here. Clearly, they are inimical to Welsh language maintenance in a plural society such as Australia. With a small number of speakers, and very limited potential domains of use, it is critical that it be spoken, and that *it is heard being spoken* in as broad a range of social situations as possible. "It is the courtesy that kills" was the heading for the following letter to the editor of a Welsh language journal *by a non-Welsh speaker* (of Welsh descent) who had recently returned to Wales:

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[51] It is an attitude that is, of course, by no means confined to English-speaking countries. See, for example, Neville's discussion of attitudes in contemporary France towards minority language speakers. G. Neville, "Minority Languages in Contemporary France", Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Vol. 8, Nos. 1 & 2, (1987), pp.147-157.

"After coming to Wales to live I've noticed many times how the Welsh switch immediately to English as soon as even one non-speaker enters a room where, say, twenty people are speaking Welsh. This happened in my case very frequently when I was learning the language. Many of us with our roots in England have noticed that it is courtesy on the part of the Welsh-speaking Welsh that tends to kill the language. In fact they will turn on any of themselves who do otherwise".[52]

The evidence of the main questionnaire and memoirs was that the language attitudes and behaviour which the writer of this letter condemns were those of the majority of Welsh and non-Welsh-speakers in 'Q' group.

6.3.3.2 Attitudes Towards the Maintenance (and/or learning) of Welsh a) in Australia b) in General.

The main questionnaire contained two direct questions on attitudes towards Welsh language maintenance. Question 3.11 was intended to assess attitudes towards the maintenance of Welsh in Australia, and Question 3.12 towards its survival in general. Memoir contributors were also invited to express their thoughts on these two aspects of maintenance. That there are in fact two issues involved here will be shown in the discussion which follows.

The great majority of 'Q' group respondents, (130 or 92%) as shown in Table 6.8(a), were of the opinion that Welsh should be maintained in Australia, and that non-speakers should have the same opportunity as other ethnic groups to learn it. Not surprisingly, the highest figures was for Welsh-speakers at 96%. Significantly, however, the level of support from non-speakers was also very high at 90%.

It is a reflection perhaps of the endangered condition of a language that a question on attitudes towards its general survival should need to be asked. Such a question would probably not be included in a questionnaire survey of most of the community languages spoken in Australia today.[53] The majority, whatever their

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52   Letter to Y. Faner, June 3rd, 1988, p.17.
53   According to the 1981 Census there were 54 languages in Australia spoken by less than 1% of its population. Of these, however, only Welsh, Scottish, Irish Gaelic, and a substantial number

Table 6.8(a)

Self-Reported Attitudes of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group Towards the Maintenance of Welsh in Australia (All respondents and by general and Welsh language speaking proficiency)

QUESTION 3.11 Main Questionnaire	RESPONDENT CATEGORY	YES		NO		TOTALS	
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
In your opinion should the Welsh have the same opportunities as other ethnic groups to maintain and/or learn Welsh in Australia?	All respondents	130	(92)	12	(8)	142	(100)
	First generation	97	(93)	7	(7)	104	(100)
	Second generation	33	(87)	5	(13)	38	(100)
	Welsh - speakers	45	(96)	2	(4)	47	(100)
	Non - Welsh speakers	85	(90)	10	(10)	95	(100)

Notes:
(i)   Second generation IIa and IIb
(ii)   Figures expressed as percentage rounded to nearest whole number.

status within Australia, have a secure territorial base elsewhere. This, as has been shown in preceding chapters, is not the case with Welsh.

This point adds weight to the results shown in Table 6.8(b) below.

There was overwhelming support for Welsh language maintenance in general across all categories. Only 12 (8%) of the respondents considered it not important that it should survive. Ninety four per cent of Welsh-speakers thought it 'very important' and 6% 'fairly important'. *Thus, all Welsh-speakers favoured the survival, or the Welsh language.* Of those who considered it not important, the highest percentage was from the second generation (18%).

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of Aboriginal languages would be considered 'endangered' in their own territories. See Lo Bianco, op.cit., p.10 and p.17.

Table 6.8(b)

Self-Reported Attitudes of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group Towards the Maintenance of Welsh in General (All respondents and by generation and Welsh language speaking proficiency)

RESPONDENT	Very Important		Fairly Important		Not Important		No Reply		TOTALS	
CATEGORY	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
All respondents	108	76.1	21	14.8	12	8.45	1	0.7	142	99
First generation	85	81.7	13	12.5	5	4.81	1	0.96	104	100
Second generation	23	60.5	8	21.1	7	18.4	0	0	38	100
Welsh - speakers	44	93.6	3	6.38	0	0	0	0	47	100
Non - Welsh speakers	64	67.4	18	18.9	12	12.6	1	1.05	95	100

Notes:
(i)   Second generation includes generation IIa and IIb.
(ii)   Figures expressed as percentage rounded to nearest whole number.

The full range of attitudes towards the maintenance of Welsh both in Australia and in general was reflected in the following memoir extracts:

	EXTRACT 1
First-generation Welsh speaker (W/S1) in favour of maintenance in Australia and in Wales.	*"I grieve for those Welsh people who have no wish to remain Welsh over here, and who have no interest in passing on the language to their children on the grounds that it would impede their assimilation into Australian society* *I remember travelling on the train not long ago and chatting to a lady from Yugoslavia who was teaching her two young children to read by using an illustrated Serbo-Croat reading manual. When I asked her why she said that the Australian state taught them English but that it was her own business to teach them their mother tongue.*

	It's also the business of every Welsh person to make sure his or her children are brought up Welsh speaking". Respondent 062/1 (OM) (Translated from the Welsh)
	EXTRACT 2
Second-generation (IIB) non-Welsh-speaker (N/WS1) in favour of maintenance in Wales and Australia	*"I've always wanted to learn Welsh; it's a feeling I've always had. It was partly my father's influence but also my grandparents who have been here since I was a child.* *They felt very strongly Welsh even though they didn't speak the language. But it's also something that I have felt personally .... that my heritage is Welsh and that therefore I should learn the language."*[54] Respondent 086/3 (OM)
	EXTRACT 3
Second-generation (II(a)) non-Welsh-speaker in favour of maintenance in Wales but not in Australia.	*"Yes, I fully support the efforts on behalf of the language in Wales. I think it would be wonderful to be able to say 'I'm Welsh and I speak the language'. Every Welsh person living in Wales should aim at that. It's different in Australia however. It is of no use to anyone here as far as making a living is concerned".* Respondent 024/4 (OM)

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[54] This respondent, Australian-born, second generation (IIb) was learning Welsh by correspondence.

	EXTRACT 4
Second-generation (IIa) non-Welsh-speaker (N/WS2) not in favour of maintenance in Australia or in Wales.	*"At the time [of arrival in Australia] I could only speak a few words of English. Later I wasn't bothered about Welsh at all. I was living in Australia and I believe that if you live in a country, you should only speak that country's language and try to fit in. When migrants try to maintain their own languages and cultures it's bound to cause tension".* Respondent 990/3 (OM).

Attitudes such as those expressed in the last extract were in a minority. Most favoured the maintenance of Welsh in general and in Australia. This, as previously mentioned, included 90% of non-speakers, several of whom expressed concern in their memoirs that neither they nor their children had any knowledge of the language. Some, like the author of Extract 2, were learning it by correspondence. Others were attending Welsh classes conducted by individuals in private homes in several capital cities.[55]

These findings on attitudes towards the maintenance of Welsh are consistent with those reported in a substantial body of research writing on language attitudes over the last two decades.[56] Minority languages within immigrant societies, and those like Welsh, Gaelic and Breton that are under threat in their own territories, enjoy high levels of support.[57] The evidence of this study however is that, in the

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[55]   Classes were being held at Adelaide, Melbourne and Canberra at the time of questionnaire completion.

[56]   In Australia, Smolicz, in a number of extensive studies since the early 1970s has shown that a range of ethnic groups, eastern and southern European in particular, have been consistently in favour of teaching and maintaining their own languages. As early as 1976 for example, Smolicz and Secombe in an analysis of 126 submissions received by the government appointed Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Australian Schools, found that all but 5 contained favourable attitudes towards the teaching of migrant languages and cultures in Australia. See Report of the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1976), Appendix B, pp. 125-156.

[57]   Mackinnon, for example, comments as follows on attitudes towards Scottish Gaelic: "Although there is little overt language consciousness there is evidence .... of a warm affective

case of Welsh, positive attitudes are rarely translated into active measures on its behalf. This discrepancy between attitude and behaviour amongst 'Q' group respondents will be taken up in the typology of evaluation and activation in Chapter 7 to follow.

6.3.3.3 Attitudes Towards Welsh as a Dimension of Welsh Cultural Identity.

It has been the main argument of this study that historically, in Wales as in Australia, Welshness *(Cymreictod)* has been consistently defined by the Welsh language. As in several other languages even the word for foreigner *(anghyfiaith)* means simply 'not of the same language'. In a situation, however, where, as is the case today, only 18.9% of the population of Wales are Welsh-speaking, the bond of Welshness and the language is immeasurably more complex. Similarly, in Australia, where Welsh-speakers constitute only 6.2% of the Welsh-born,[58] the relationship is beset with a number of difficulties, some of which are peculiar to the particular situation of Welsh in Australia. These include:

◆ **Its lack of public profile.** In Australia Welsh is virtually a private language, spoken only in the home domain. In what respect, it could be asked, can a language be a badge of identity, when it is virtually a *langue cachée*, a private code amongst a small, scarcely recognised minority.

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tone associated with the language amongst the young people of Harris. By themselves the internally-generated attitudes and supports for the community language in the home and in some measure also in the school, would assure its continuance into the next generation..... But .... there are now families who are in fact not transmitting Gaelic to their children". K. Mackinnon, Language Education and Social Processes in A Gaelic Community (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), p.126. Support for Breton has been traditionally muted by the near ferocious attempt of succeeding French governments, even up to the late 1960s, to eradicate the language. A 1982 study, however, found that 60% of families with children in public primary schools in Brittany were favourable towards teaching them Breton. R. Quiniou-Tempereau, La Langue Bretonne Dans L'Enseignement Primaire Dans Bretagne, France (Leewarden: Fryske Akademy/Emu Project, 1988), p.38.

[58]   See Table 4.5.

♦ **Its reduced need as a marker of ethnic difference.** In Wales, Welsh derives much of its support from its role as a definer (in Barth's sense)[59] of cultural boundaries. In Australia, cultural boundaries between Welsh and English are less visible, and, in most respects, less necessary. The position of English in almost all domains where it is likely to compete with Welsh is unassailable.

♦ **Its less 'victimised' image.** In Wales, as shown in previous chapters, Welsh, paradoxically, derives much of its resilience and vitality from the fact of its historical stigmatisation as an inferior tongue.[60] In Australia where the attitudes of the majority population are for the most part neutral, and official policy largely supportive, it suffers no similar indignity. It simply stands alongside other small minority languages whose survival must ultimately depend on the efforts of their own speakers.

♦ **Its 'isolation' as an identity marker.** In Australia, despite its reduced need as a marker of ethnic difference, it nevertheless carries much of the burden. In Wales this is shared with other possible markers of identity: geographic locality ie identification with Wales as a territory; cultural events which are recognisably Welsh despite the absence of the language; a flourishing Anglo-Welsh literary life; sporting activities, especially rugby, which serve as constant ethnic rallying points. These alternative markers of identity are, of course, less readily accessible in Australia.

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[59] F. Barth Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (Boston: Little Brown Co., 1969). Barth has argued that cultural differences (and hence boundaries) are likely to persist despite inter-group contact and inter-dependence. Language, in this sense, is one of the factors which maintain cultural boundaries.

[60] Saunders Lewis, the most eminent of modern Welsh playwrights and one of the founders of the Welsh Nationalist Party was well aware of this. In his seminal 1962 radio broadcast that led to the formation of the Welsh Language Society (see Chapter 4), he argued that to gain Welsh political independence before the language was secure, was to ensure that it would *never* be secure. Ireland and the fate of Gaelic after 1922 is a case in point. Lewis, Tynged ....., op.cit., p.32.

Two direct questions were asked on attitudes towards the Welsh language as a component of Welsh identity in the Main Questionnaire[61](Questions 3.10 and 5.2) The replies are presented in Tables 6.9(a) and 6.9(b) below:

Table 6.9(a)

Self-Reported Attitudes of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group Towards the Welsh Language as a Dimension of Welsh Cultural Identity (All respondendents and by generation and Welsh language speaking proficiency)

QUESTION (Main Questionnaire)	RESPONDENT CATEGORY	Very		Some		None		No Reply		TOTALS	
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
How important is it in your opinion for a Welsh person to be able to speak Welsh?	All respondents	62	(44)	68	(48)	12	(8)	0	(0)	142	(100)
	First generation	52	(50)	44	(42)	8	(8)	0	(0)	104	(100)
	Second generation	10	(26)	24	(63)	4	(11)	0	(0)	38	(100)
	Welsh - speakers	29	(62)	17	(37)	1	(2)	0	(0)	47	(100)
	Non - Welsh speakers	33	(35)	51	(54)	11	(11)	0	(0)	95	(100)

Notes:
(i)   Second generation includes generation IIa and IIb.
(ii)   Figures expressed as percentage rounded to nearest whole number.

Table 6.9(b)

Self-Reported Attitudes of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group towards the Condition of the Welsh Language (All respondents and by generation and Welsh language speaking proficiency)

QUESTION (Main Questionnaire)	RESPONDENT CATEGORY	Very		Some		None		No Reply		TOTALS	
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
How interested are you (at present in) the condition of the Welsh language?	All respondents	72	(51)	51	(36)	17	(12)	2	(1)	142	(100)
	First generation	60	(58)	34	(33)	8	(8)	2	(1)	104	(100)
	Second generation	12	(31)	17	(45)	9	(24)	0	(0)	38	(100)
	Welsh - speakers	37	(79)	9	(19)	0	(0)	1	(2)	47	(100)
	Non - Welsh speakers	35	(37)	42	(44)	17	(18)	1	(1)	95	(100)

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[61]   See Appendix (XXVIII).

Note:
(i)   Second generation includes generation IIa and IIb.
(ii)   Figures expressed as percentage rounded to nearest whole number.

Discussion

"While there has been a great deal written about the language-identity relationship much of it is based upon *assumptions* .... Very little, in fact, has been done to tap the opinions of ordinary individuals".[62]

The most significant finding was that only 12 (8%) of all respondents thought it of no importance that a Welsh person be able to speak Welsh (Table 6.9(a). This included all except one of the Welsh speakers, 62% of whom thought it 'very important'. Although only 11% of the non-speakers replied 'none', a considerably lower proportion (35%) replied 'very'. Similarly, the overall figures show that the second-generation respondents thought Welsh speaking ability to be a less important attribute of Welshness than did the first (28% replied 'very' as against 50% of the first generation). Again, however, only 4 (11%) second-generation respondents thought it of no importance.

This pattern was repeated in the replies to Question 5.2 (Table 6.9(b)). Within all of the divisions very few of the 'Q' group respondents were categorically not interested in the present 'condition'[63] of the language. *Significantly, no Welsh-speaker replied 'none'.* Seventy-nine per cent were 'very interested' and 19% had some interest. Again non-speakers and the second-generation were generally less committed. Only thirty-seven per cent of the former and 31% of the latter were 'very interested'.

Although the questionnaire results point clearly to the centrality of the Welsh language to the respondents' definition of a Welsh cultural identity, a

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62   J. Edwards and J. Chisholm, "Language, Multiculturalism and Identity; a Canadian study". Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Vol. 8, No. 5, (1987), pp.393-4.
63   That the question was so worded is in itself, of course, a comment on the fragile state of the Welsh language. In Wales it is spoken of currently as of a patient with a terminal disease. By 'condition', as all the respondents knew, is meant not its lexical purity but its demographic well-being.

considerably more refined version of their views emerged from the memoir and participation evidence. The observations which follow are based on the total accumulated data from all sources.

The Welsh-speakers

Given the very positive attitudes to maintenance discussed earlier, it was to be expected that the great majority of the Welsh-speakers should have thought knowledge of the Welsh language to be a defining characteristic of the Welsh person. This tends to confirm the conclusion of a 1985 survey into language maintenance in Australia that "mother-tongue maintenance is considered important for reasons of personal identity when it is already a critical part of one's personal identity."[64] An important point to be made however is that when the speakers referred to yr *iaith Gymraeg* (the Welsh language) in informal conversation, or in the oral memoirs, it was evident that by it they meant something qualitatively different from what non-speakers referred to as 'Welsh'. What is involved here is not merely a dislocation of meaning which, as Steiner has argued,[65] is inherent in all translation, or even a difference of association carried by the two words 'Cymraeg' and 'Welsh'. On a more pragmatic plane it is simply that for the two groups the language had clearly differentiated functions. For the native-speakers *Cymraeg* was primarily a medium of communication which was used (or should be) at the everyday functional level. For them, Welsh was less a revered symbol than the preferred means of conveying meaning or of expressing emotion. This, of course, is the prime function of any language to its native-speakers, but in the climate of the current debate about the 'value' of Welsh and the 'point' in maintaining it, its function on the purely practical level to those who speak it is overlooked. Conversation between two speakers at the Welsh Society was more

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[64] The Language Question, (a study of Language Maintenance in Australia Commissioned by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs)....... op.cit., p.399.
[65] G. Steiner, After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation (London: Oxford University Press 1975).

likely to be about supermarket prices, the previous evening's television programmes or the current value of the Australian dollar, than about the metrical intricacies of medieval Welsh poetry or the Calvinist view of the Eucharist. Seldom, if ever, was it about the 'worth' of Welsh. This point is made because attitudes towards a language are formed more by the nature of an individual's engagement with it, than by a detached, intellectual evaluation of its 'worth'. Thus, paradoxically, Welsh had more 'value' in the latter sense to non-speakers whose actual contact with or knowledge of the language was small. When asked why it should be maintained, they usually had readier answers than those to whom it was a first language. The latter tended to be dismissive of (or bewildered by) the question:

> "Why maintain the language? Rather a silly question if you ask me. Who wouldn't want to maintain his own language? To me it's as important to maintain it here in Australia as anywhere. It's the language I use when speaking to my family, and to friends when possible. That's not very often, I admit, but I'm always glad of the opportunity when it's there".
>
> Respondent 011/1 (OM)
> (Translated from the Welsh)

Speakers tended to take their Welshness for granted, as something which by definition accompanied their ability to speak Welsh. Paradoxically there was some evidence that their more cavalier attitudes — although they would normally be classified as positive — worked unwittingly against maintenance. The very ease with which the native speakers wore the language as a mantle of identity seemed to weaken their resolve to, for example, teach it to their own children. The 'pointlessness' of trying to maintain Welsh in Australia was heard at least as often from speakers as from non-speakers. Similarly, the marked enthusiasm of some of the latter for the unspoken language as a bond and as a unifying symbol of identity was not shared to the same extent by those who spoke it fluently and naturally. To the latter the prime value of Welsh was as the living language of a Welsh-speaking community. Where this was absent, as is the case in Australia, it must inevitably

fall into desuetude — as something held in reserve until it can be put to 'proper' use (eg during periodic return visits to Wales). Speakers, for this reason, were, on the whole, less sympathetic to the notion of Welsh as a 'symbol' of identity. More prevalent amongst them was the view that when the language is lost — lost, that is, as a living tongue — a full Welsh identity is also lost. In the absence of the language you may as a *Cymro di Gymraeg* (a non-Welsh-speaking Welsh person) fall back on blood or birth, but *Cymreictod* (Welshness) based on any claim that excludes the language is deficient. You are in a number of ways not English but neither are you fully Welsh.

For acceptance into the fold of authentic Welshness, it was demanded of the non-speakers that they at least take steps to learn the language:

— "I think that anyone who claims to be Welsh should make an effort to learn the language".

> Respondent 002/1 (OM)
> (Translated from the Welsh)

— "If a person was born in Wales or is of Welsh ancestry I consider him or her to be Welsh. ...... Of course the language is a vital consideration but there are others. However, non-speakers should learn Welsh".

> Respondent 011/1 (OM)
> (Translated from the Welsh)

— "The language is important but those who do not speak it are also Welsh. It is important that we fight for the survival of the language together".

> Respondent NQ25
> (Translated from the Welsh)

Perhaps the most conclusive confirmation of the speakers' view of the language as the primary constituent of a Welsh cultural identity was the response to one of the oral memoir stimulus questions. Asked with whom they would feel most 'at home' with, an Englishman (or other national) who spoke Welsh or a non-Welsh speaking Welsh person (see Appendix XXXI, Part III), fully 85% of

speakers nominated the former.[66]   Interestingly, too, 89% of non-speakers indicated they would feel more at home with a non-Welsh-speaking Welsh person.

The non-Welsh-speakers

The non-speakers are more difficult to characterise *en bloc* but the questionnaire results suggested that in general they were less supportive of the language-identity link. Sixty-two per cent of speakers thought it 'very important' that a Welsh person be able to speak Welsh compared with 35% of non-speakers. The memoirs suggested, however, that a distinction must be made between attitudes towards the Welsh language *per se* and those towards the ability to speak it (as asked for in Question 3.10). The distinction is important. To many of the non-speakers Welsh was more of a treasured, museum piece than a living tongue, less a 'language' than a collection of learnt words and phrases which could be summoned at will to reinforce an otherwise fragile claim to a Welsh identity. The difference is between language as working tool and language as ornament.

The almost reverential attitudes of the non-speakers towards the language came near to what Chapman in his study of attitudes towards Scottish Gaelic has aptly termed 'symbolic appropriation'.[67] In the process of appropriating Welsh, some non-speakers had also sanctified it, and endowed it with qualities that speakers would find puzzling. This had the effect of removing it even further from everyday experience, and, as such, must again be considered inimical to its maintenance. A language, it could be argued, can be loved to death.

Almost invariably those who saw the language in this light — as a precious symbol of *Cymreictod* (Welshness) — expressed regret for not having had the opportunity to learn it as children, for having been 'cheated' as one respondent remarked, of their heritage. Present across the generations, it seemed to intensify

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[66]   This question was asked of all the oral memoir contributors and the results were quantifiable.

[67]   M. Chapman, The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture (London: Croom Helm, 1978), p.131.

in the second and the third, a faint hint perhaps in the latter case of Hansen's third-generation 'return'.[68]

These views were liberally present in both the oral and written memoirs. The following examples, all by non-speakers, convey something of their flavour:

> "I was unaware of my Welsh heritage until I was about 8 or 9, when I became more conscious of it through correspondence with relatives in Wales........ After that I came to realise that Welsh was a spoken language like German or Latvian. I was not taught the language as a child. Did my grandparents leave that part of their heritage behind? Did people of that generation not realise that their grandchildren would one day seek their roots?"
>
> Respondent 015/13 (female) (WM)
> Second generation, Australian born(IIB) N/WS2

> "Apart from the language there is nothing very concrete or tangible about being Welsh. Without the language, being Welsh is something psychological, I suppose, a feeling or a state of mind. It's a feeling of belonging, I think. Everyone, as they say, wants to belong somewhere. It's the language and the feeling of being Welsh which makes a person Welsh. Nothing else distinguishes him from the British.
>
> Respondent 024/4 (OM)
> Second generation, Welsh-born (IIA) N/WS2

> "All my life I have regretted not having had the opportunity to learn Welsh. Welsh was not permitted to be spoken at school when I was a child in the 1920s (in Wales). *I have always considered myself to be Welsh in every respect but I have felt very conscious of my inability to speak my native tongue". [own italics]*
>
> Respondent 006/2 (WM)
> First generation, N/WS1

As shown in Table 6.9(a) not all the non-speakers displayed this degree of enthusiasm. Some (11%), totally rejected the proposition that Welsh-speaking ability is an essential ingredient of a Welsh identity. Pressed on this point in the interviews however, they found it difficult (as did the speakers) to define Welshness by any other criteria. For some, as for respondent 024/4 above,

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[68]   M.L. Hausen " The Third Generation in America", <u>Commentary</u> (14), (1952), pp.492-500 passem.

Welshness without the language was no more than a 'feeling' or a state of mind. Surprisingly, of 7 oral memoir contributors who rejected the language-identity relationship, 5 had grown up in households where at least one parent was Welsh speaking. This is one of the anomalies of the transmission process which will be investigated in Chapter 7 to follow.

6.4   Concluding Comments

This chapter has been an attempt to reveal the patterns of Welsh language proficiency, use and attitudes amongst the 142 questionnaire respondents who were the main subjects of this study. These aspects of language experience are, it is believed, the fundamental measures of the processes of maintenance and shift.

Proficiency is surely the starting point. A language, quite simply, cannot be maintained or transmitted unless there are those who can understand and speak it, and — less important perhaps — read it and write it. The results from all the methods of research that were used revealed that, within the limits of the group studied, the Welsh language had a one-generation life span in Australia. It was effectively the language of adult Welsh-born, native speakers who arrived in Australia after the age of 12, ie. according to the criteria used in this study, the language of the first-generation. Of the 38 second-generation respondents, only 3 reported Welsh speaking ability, none of whom were Australian-born. Clearly, for reasons which will be investigated in Chapter 7 to follow, the Welsh language was not being inter-generationally transmitted within 'Q' group. If this is indicative of trends in the Welsh community at large, given the falling proportion[69] of migrants from Britain, and, as a result of the deteriorating language situation in Wales, a

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[69]   Overall that is. In 1947 British persons comprised 72.7% of the total foreign-born population of Australia. By 1977 this had fallen to 40.4%. See C. Price "Migration to and From Australia" in Smith, op.cit., Table 2.2, p.16. In recent years there has been some fluctuation with some increase in the 1980s. Lucas op.cit., p.24. It is difficult to offer any confident prediction about the numbers or proportions of future Welsh-speaking arrivals but given a) the pressure on speakers of the language not to migrate (see Chapter 4) and b) their falling proportion in the total Welsh population it is reasonable to assume a progressive reduction in the number of Welsh-speaking residents in Australia in the future.

shrinking pool of potential Welsh-speakers amongst them, it is unlikely that even the present fragile hold of the language in Australia will last. Yet, it should be added, the majority of the first-generation migrants who did speak the language were found to have maintained very high levels of proficiency after lengthy residence in Australia and often with little contact with fellow-speakers. Although most displayed a considerable degree of English interference in their speech patterns this in itself, is not indicative of loss. As several respondents pointed out, a return visit to Wales and/or prolonged exposure to the language would remedy what were essentially superficial deficiencies. All these respondents, however, were first generation. Small languages such as Welsh, die, it would seem, on the lips of children not of parents. The usage patterns revealed point clearly to the primarily domestic status of Welsh for 'Q' group respondents. It was rarely spoken outside the home and even then it was the language of the parents, not of their children. Those parents who did speak Welsh to their children were invariably answered in English. Similarly, the children, without exception, spoke to each other, and to friends outside the family, in English. A fundamental consideration here is that all the Welsh-speaking respondents were bilingual. Unlike many speakers of other ethnic languages in Australia, they are free to choose between their own and English when speaking to each other or to their children. Speaking Welsh in Australia — and increasingly in Wales — becomes therefore an act of will not of necessity. The latter point is crucial: there is, quite simply, no *need* to speak Welsh on any occasion or in any domain, in Australia. In this situation, it is not surprising that with the exception of those with Welsh-speaking parents, the second generation are seldom exposed even to the sounds of the Welsh language.[70]

The proficiency and usage patterns revealed were clearly not correlated to the reported attitudes of the respondents. Goodwill towards the Welsh language

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[70]   This includes the Welsh Societies as will be shown in Chapter 7.

was near universal along the whole proficiency range, from N/WS2 (non-speakers) to W/S1 (native-speaker), and across the generational divide. The majority favoured the maintenance of Welsh both in general and in Australia, though, in both instances, the speakers were generally more supportive. There was evidence, however, that most non-speakers allotted the language a symbolic role as a marker of Welsh identity. Surprisingly, this was less obviously the case with those to whom it was a first language. The latter valued the language less as a symbol than as a natural medium of communication, in which function, they admitted, it could not be used in Australia. For them Welsh in Australia is a language which must be put on ice.

Yet it clearly has a bonding role. Although Welsh-speakers were puzzled by the notion that a language may have a symbolic value to those who do not speak it, they nominated an attempt to learn Welsh by the non-speakers as the pre-eminent condition for their admission into the club of *'Cymreictod'* (Welshness). To be Welsh, both for the native-speakers and for a substantial number of non-speakers, was to have some knowledge of the Welsh language. Why then, it must be asked, is it not being transmitted? This is the main focus of the chapter which follows.

CHAPTER 7

WELSH LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND TRANSMISSION AT HOME AND AT SCHOOL

"Research shows that there are substantial levels of movement away from the use of languages other than English by the second generation in immigrant families, although strong attachments remain to the language their families use and with which they identify".[1]

J. LO BIANCO

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[1]   J. Lo Bianco, <u>National Policy on Languages</u> (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1987), p.190.

7.1 Introductory Comments

The previous chapter was an attempt to construct a broad linguistic profile of "Q" group. The aim of the present chapter is to narrow the focus by investigating some of the circumstances and problems of Welsh language maintenance and transmission at the level of the individual within the family. This is done by close analysis of the linguistic personal value systems of the respondents as revealed in the memoirs, and by the use of the statistical based data presented in the last chapter as a wider frame of reference. Attention is drawn to the application in this chapter of the theoretical distinction referred to earlier between the two levels at which personal systems are to exist:

(i)   that of <u>attitude</u> which describes linguistic values (in this instance) at the attitudinal, and therefore passive, stage and

(ii)   that of <u>tendency</u> which describes the activation of attitudes as overt language behaviour. Thus an individual may be favourably disposed towards his ethnic tongue but owing to the actual circumstances of his life — physical isolation from other members of his group perhaps — be unable to translate attitudinal positiveness into regular use or supportive action.

This chapter begins with an assessment of the linguistic reserves of the first generation and of the particular conditions of maintenance and transmission which obtain within their homes and family environment. As the physical meeting place of the generations the home domain is arguably the most critical site of language skill transference. Given the very favourable attitudes of parents and children towards the Welsh language that were reported in the previous chapter, the question arose of why the proficiency data (Table 6.3) showed only three examples of Welsh-born second-generation (IIa) maintenance and not one of successful transmission to the Australian-born (IIb). These were surprising results even allowing for the small size of the group. They were suggestive of the near-

impossibility of successful Welsh-language transmission in the absence of educational or other institutional support from outside the home.

A full understanding of the problems of transmission also called for a closer investigation of the linguistic values of the second generation, i.e. of those at the receiving end of the process. Some explanation of the apparent one-generational lifespan of the Welsh language in Australia was thought to lie in the school experiences of the children of the first generation arrivals, the school being, along with the home, the main socialising agency in the life of the growing child, and a major formative influence on his linguistic and cultural development. Although, as children of parents of whom 80% arrived in the 1960s and 1970s, most of the 38 second-generation participants in this study were adults at the time of interview (or questionnaire completion), the majority had relatively recent experience of school life in Wales or Australia[2]. In addition to the main questionnaire, all 38 completed the supplementary questionnaire on educational experience (Appendix XXIX), the main focus of which was their linguistic development at primary and secondary level. The results, presented in this chapter, are discussed in the light of the comments on their school-related language experiences contained in the 19 memoirs contributed by the second-generation respondents.

The analysis of the two-generational perspectives on maintenance and transmission, and the supportive data on proficiency, usage and attitudes presented in Chapter 6, were suggestive of a discrepancy between attitudes towards the Welsh language and the levels of its use. To investigate this apparent discontinuity further, data from the memoirs was used to construct a typology linking evaluation with activation (and proficiency). The spectrum of types arrived at was then used to determine whether the maintenance of Welsh by the respondents was related to their estimate of it as a Welsh cultural value.

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[2]   19 (50%) had some school experiences in both countries.

The chapter concludes with a discussion, in the light of the overall findings, of some of the factors which are thought to bear on Welsh language maintenance and shift in Australia.

7.2   The Linguistic Reserves of the First Generation

"Language maintenance", Clyne remarks, "relies largely on the older generation for its impetus".[3]   The intergenerational transmission of a minority language in a plural society is dependent on a range of factors, none more important than the linguistic reserves of the first generation and the strength of its commitment to make them available to the second.   The most experientially proven and the most readily understood reason for the death of a language is the failure of parents to transmit it to their children.   Why, even within groups that are language centred, are some parents more inclined to make the effort at transmission than others?   Why do some succeed and others fail?   On the whole less attention has been given to these intra-familial and inter-personal aspects of language maintenance than to more macro-sociological considerations such as group size or geographic distribution.   This is explained in part by the relative inaccessibility of the knowledge sought, for it lies ultimately in the intimate recesses of family life. For this reason the discussion which follows leans largely on the memoir accounts, for, even allowing for errors of recollection, they provided the most direct insight into the essentially private problems of maintenance and transmission at the level of the family within the home.

7.2.1 Retention Levels After Arrival in Australia

Census based estimates of retention rates after arrival in Australia are, in the Welsh instance, of only limited value, since no distinction is made in official documentation between speakers and non-speakers at the moment of entry.   The difficulty lies in extracting the role of shift *after* arrival.   Thus, Price's calculation

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3   M. Clyne, "Community Languages and Language Policy : A Demographic Perspective" in M. Garner (ed.) Community Languages : Their Role in Education (Melbourne : River Seine Publications, 1981), p.32.

of language retention by ancestry and generation based on the 1986 census, showed a retention rate of only 5% by 20,475 first-generation persons of Welsh ancestry, very low even by comparison with 48.9% for the Dutch, who are usually ranked highest in language shift rates.[4] His observation that the low retention by all the Celtic groups "is not because Celtic immigrants drop their ethnic language very rapidly in Australia, but because English has very largely displaced the ethnic language in their homelands",[5] is of course accurate. It is certainly the case that the overwhelmingly greater proportion of post-war Welsh migrants to Australia have been non-Welsh-speaking. What is currently lacking, however, is empirical evidence of the rate of shift amongst those who *were* Welsh-speaking on arrival. Nor is there any knowledge of the success or otherwise of efforts at transmission. The present study will not, of course, fill this gap with reference to the general Welsh-born population but it may throw some light on these processes at the level of the individual in the home.

Where maintenance refers to retention or proficiency[6] there was strong evidence from questionnaire and memoir sources that the first generation Welsh speakers within "Q" group retained remarkably high levels in all the major skills — this, despite lengthy periods of residence and, in many cases, little or no contact with other speakers. Eight of the 44 first-generation speakers, for example, had arrived before 1960 (the earliest in 1926) and another 19 before 1970 (Table 5.3). Some 18% of the first generation speakers had therefore lived in Australia for at least 25 years and 61% for 15 years or more.

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4   C.A. Price "Language Retention by Ancestry and Generation", <u>Vox : The Journal of the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education</u>, Issue No. 4, 1990, Table 5, pp.61-3.
5   Ibid., p.64.
6   'Language maintenance' and 'shift', as Clyne poinsts out, are ambiguous terms. 'Shift' in particular can refer to a change in the language behaviour of a whole group, a sub-group or an individual. In the discussion which follows it refers mainly to a shift in the Welsh (speaking) proficiency levels of individuals. See also Clyne, Community Languages, op.cit., p.54.

Yet of the 49 first-generation speakers who reported Welsh-speaking proficiency up to the age of five, only 8 had shifted to the non-Welsh-speaking categories (N/WS1 or N/WS2) by the time of questionnaire completion. (Table 7.1(a))

Table 7.1(a)

Self-reported Welsh-language Shift Rates Amongst First Generation of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group

SHIFT RATE	PROFICIENCY (SPEAKING)			
		UNDER 5	PRESENT	NO
NO SHIFT	(a)	W/S1 ⟶	W/S1	33
		W/S2 ⟶	W/S2	3
SLIGHT SHIFT	(b)	W/S1 ⟶	W/S2	5
SHIFT TO WELSH	(c)	N/WS2 ⟶	W/S2	1
		N/WS1 ⟶	W/S1	1
		N/WS1 ⟶	W/S2	1
SUB-TOTAL	**WELSH-SPEAKERS (PRESENT)**			**44**
SHIFT TO ENGLISH	(d)	W/S1 ⟶	N/WS1	3
		W/S2 ⟶	N/WS1	4
		W/S2 ⟶	N/WS2	1
SLIGHT SHIFT	(e)	N/WS2 ⟶	N/WS1	17
		N/WS1 ⟶	N/WS2	3
NO SHIFT	(f)	N/WS1 ⟶	N/WS1	4
		N/WS2 ⟶	N/WS2	28
SUB-TOTAL	**NON-WELSH SPEAKERS (PRESENT)**			**60**
TOTAL	**SPEAKERS AND NON-SPEAKERS (PRESENT)**			**104**

Notes: Total number of Welsh-speakers under 5 = 49 ((a) + (b) + (d))
Total shift to English = 8 (d)
Total shift to Welsh = 3 (c)
Proficiency levels shown are those presented in Table 6.1. For an explanation of the categories see Table 6.2.

Surprisingly, and certainly against the main direction of language shift amongst the Welsh, three respondents had *acquired* Welsh-speaking proficiency — the result of positive attitudes on their part and, perhaps, of increased emphasis on Welsh-language teaching in Welsh schools. As shown in Table 7.1(b) 4 had lost

proficiency before the age of 12 and all but 2 (007/1 and 084/2) before the age of 20, well before arrival in Australia. Although the former (007/1) reported his speaking ability as N/WS1 (a non-speaker with limited knowledge) his oral memoir revealed that he was in fact still reasonably fluent. Of the 8, therefore, only respondent 084/2 had lost knowledge of the language after arrival in Australia (at the relatively young age of 17).[7]

Table 7.1(b)

Age-related Shift to English (Self-reported) Amongst Former Welsh-speakers in 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group

Respondent's ID No	Proficiency Level by Age Group				Year of Arrival in Australia	Age on Arrival in Australia
	Under 5	5-12	12-20	Present		
007/1	W/S2	W/S2	W/S2	N/WS1	1958	36
078/1	W/S2	N/WS1	N/WS2	N/WS1	1959	31
020/2	W/S1	N/WS1	N/WS1	N/WS1	1974	41
045/2	W/S2	N/WS2	N/WS2	N/WS2	1969	31
059/2	W/S1	N/WS2	N/WS2	N/WS2	1979	45
068/2	W/S1	W/S1	N/WS2	N/WS2	1965	30
084/2	W/S2	W/S2	W/S2	N/WS1	1949	17
058/3	W/S2	W/S2	N/WS2	N/W51	1946	15

Note: Proficiency levels used are those shown in Table 6.1.

Almost all the speakers, on the other hand, claimed that the quality of their spoken Welsh had deteriorated since arrival in Australia. Asked to account for this, (Question 3.2 MQ) 39% (N = 72) ranked "lack of practice" and 37% (N = 67) "change of residence" as first and second reasons. Since deterioration most commonly took the form of English interference the majority thought that it could be easily reversed by a return trip to Wales, and/or increased exposure to the spoken language. This, for example, was the opinion of a Canberra resident of 25

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[7]   Supportive therefore of Price's comment quoted earlier.

years who had had very little opportunity to speak Welsh since arrival (his wife being a non-speaker).

> "My Welsh is very uneven I'm afraid, but I know that if I went back to Penrhyndeudraeth I would be totally at ease again within a matter of days. I did go home a few years ago and was very heistant to speak Welsh at first but I soon found that my own Welsh was better than that of my old friends from the village. I was using words and idioms that were common twenty years ago but have been replaced by English words and phrases in the meantime. What I really need in order to maintain my Welsh over here (in Australia) is the opportunity to speak it with someone. I would go to the Welsh Society more often but I don't bother because we don't hear much Welsh there at all".
>
> <div align="right">Respondent 075/1, (W/S1)
First Generation, (ACT)
Oral Memoir (translated from the Welsh)</div>

Although he graded his speaking knowledge as "fair", he was in fact remarkably fluent.[8] He had received very little formal education but during the twenty-four years he had lived in Canberra — almost totally isolated from other Welsh speakers — he had maintained his vocabulary by reading Welsh books and newspapers and, more recently, by watching videotapes of Welsh programmes on the new Welsh television channel, Sianel S4C.[9]

Another example of unaided effort to maintain language skills was that of an elderly respondent who lived alone in a northern suburb of Adelaide. A former coalminer, he had left Wales in 1926. Married to a non-Welsh speaker, he had spoken very little Welsh in over half a century. Yet he chose to be interviewed in Welsh, and spoke the language with idiomatic ease. It was his opinion that he had retained his mother tongue by daily readings of his Welsh Bible:

> "I bought this Bible in Rhosllanerchgrugog in 1919 just after I came out of the Army at the end of the First World War. You see, although my parents could not speak English, and Welsh was always the language of the home, my own knowledge of Welsh deteriorated badly in my younger years - in fact after I started going to school.

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8   The 2-hour interview was conducted in Welsh.

9   See Chapter 4.

In those days you were not allowed to speak Welsh inside the school gates,[10] But then as I grew up, I felt ashamed that I could speak English better than I could my own language, so I started reading as many Welsh books as I could lay my hands on, especially this old Welsh Bible.[11] I know my accent isn't too good but I can certainly make myself understood and I can read Welsh very well.

I'm glad I kept it up though. I think anyone who calls himself Welsh should make an effort to learn his own language".

<div align="right">
Respondent 046/1, (W/51)
Resident in South Australia (OM)
Translated from the Welsh
</div>

The cases quoted were fairly typical. Despite examples of lexical and grammatical interference, and some code switching during conversation, there were no instances of outright language loss.

Yet mere retention of proficiency is not in itself, of course, a measurement of maintenance. A language known, but unheard and unspoken, is not, in an important sense, being maintained, and certainly is not being transmitted. Maintenance as a prerequisite for transmission must also embrace usage. As shown in the last chapter the only domain in which Welsh was used with any degree of regularity by the respondents was the home, and here one of the main factors governing language choice was the linguistic matching of the parents.

7.2.2 Linguistic Marriage Patterns

There is ample evidence that inter-marriage between linguistically disparate partners is a crucial factor in language shift. Lewis, for instance, reports a 1971 study in Wales which shows that whereas 81% of the children born to Welsh-speaking parents claimed it as their first language on entry to school, the percentage of children from linguistically mixed (English-Welsh) families fell to 19%.[12]

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[10]   He is referring to the "Welsh Not" policy mentioned in Chapter II.
[11]   He, (like a number of other respondents), brought out his Welsh family Bible during the course of the interview.
[12]   E.G. Lewis, "Attitude to Language Among Bilingual Children and in Adults in Wales", International Journal of the Sociology of Language 4 ('Singles' Issue), 1975, p.105.

The overall linguistic matching of the married members of "Q" group is shown in Table 7.2

Table 7.2

Linguistic Marriage Patterns of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group Respondents by Generation

Generation	Welsh-Welsh	Welsh-English	English-English	Total
First	24	19	55	98
Second	0	2	24	26
Total	24	21	79	124

Note: The table includes marriages with partners who were not 'Q' group respondents.

Of the 98 first generation marriages, 55 were between English monolinguals and 19 were linguistically mixed. The remaining 24 involved Welsh-speaking (W/S1 or W/S2) partners. For some ethnic groups this might be a low figure, but given present marriage trends in Wales it was, in the Welsh context, exceptionally high. In almost a quarter of the households in which at least one first generation member of "Q" group was a resident both partners were Welsh-speaking. Other factors promoting shift notwithstanding, this, at least, must be interpreted as favourable to the retention and transmission of Welsh.

The second-generation pattern is not under consideration at this point but the figures are not surprising. They are as ominous for Welsh language maintenance beyond the present first-generation migrant population as those for speaking proficiency quoted in the previous chapter. Amongst the children of the first generation of "Q" group there were no Welsh-Welsh marriages and only two that were linguistically mixed. The remaining 24 were between non-Welsh-speaking partners.

From the two perspectives that have been considered, the linguistic reserves of the first generation, at least in quantifiable terms, were, by general Welsh standards, substantial. Most speakers, despite long periods of residence in Australia, and varying degrees of linguistic isolation, retained high levels of proficiency in their first language. Regardless of other variables, proficiency is surely the starting point for all maintenance efforts. Similarly, a relatively high proportion of the respondents were partners in Welsh-Welsh marriages, again a recognised pre-requisite for retention and transmission. Yet the figures on second-generation proficiency quoted in Chapter 6 show clearly that this is not taking place. Given the singular dominance of the home in any consideration of Welsh language maintenance, some of the explanation for this failure was sought at the level of family relationships within the home domain.

7.3 Maintenance and Transmission Within the Home Domain : Some Family Case Studies

The principal site of generational contact and, therefore, of the transmission of cultural and linguistic values, is the family within the home. Of the five major domains Fishman and colleagues have identified as those in which some form of bilingualism may be found — the home (or family), friendship networks, ethnic organisations, church and place of employment — for the purpose of this study, the home was overwhelmingly the most crucial. In Australia, and increasingly so in Wales, it is effectively the last bastion of the Welsh language.

An individual is born into a family not into an ethnic group. His access to the cultural values of his group will largely depend on the formative years of his childhood and youth, on the extent, that is, to which they are maintained and activated by his parents and other family members within the home domain.

It was the family units within "Q" group which therefore promised the most fruitful data on some of the problems attending the transmission of Welsh cultural values. To this end a family was defined as a unit in which at least two parents or

alternatively, one parent and child, were respondents. By this definition there were 24 family units within "Q" group, in which 9 parents were Welsh-Welsh, 7 Welsh-English and the remaining 8 English-English.[13] All parents were first-generation. In all but three cases both partners were "Q" group respondents and in 18 of the 24, so was at least one child. Information was also obtained, however, on the linguistic abilities and transmission problems of family members who were non-respondents. Apart from the questionnaires returned by all respondents (including supplementary questionnaires by the children), oral memoirs were received from at least one member of each of the 18 units — in 6 cases from both parents and at least one child, and in another 6, from both parents. It is therefore claimed that reasonably complete information was obtained on the language situation within all 24 family units. The results are presented in Table 7.3.

7.3.1 The Welsh-Welsh Families [14](N = 9)

Except in one instance (family 003) all parents in this group were "Q" group respondents, and in all 9 units they had reported speaking to each other "mainly" or "always" in Welsh (Table 6.5). It was not surprising, therefore, that the only examples of successful intergenerational transmission of the Welsh language should have been within this group.[15] Two second-generation children within "Q" group (003/3 and 003/4), and two that were not (two children in family 066), were reported as Welsh speakers (Table 7.3). None were born in Australia. In family 003 both children were Welsh-born and had attended Welsh-medium schools before arriving. In family 006 both Welsh-speaking children had been born in India[16] and had attended schools in Welsh-speaking areas of Wales before coming to Australia. It should be stressed that in both families the parents were

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13   There were children in all 24 units but not all were respondents.
14   In all cases "Welsh" and "English" refers to speaking proficiency.
15   That Welsh-speaking parents bring up Welsh-speaking children is by no means the rule. Studies conducted in Wales have shown that even in families with two bilingual parents the children are often brought up English monolinguals. See Lewis, "Attitudes to Language.......", op.cit., p107.
16   The parents were missionaries.

deeply committed to the maintenance of the Welsh language. In both they spoke to the children and to all other family members 'always in Welsh'. Significantly, the father in family 003 would advise young people in Wales not to emigrate (Question 2.7, MQ) giving as a reason that:

> "Their place is in Wales, their own country. One Welsh person less in the home country makes room for an alien".[17]

Table 7.3

Linguistic Marriage Patterns of Parents and Welsh Language Speaking Proficiency of their Children (Self-reported and/or as reported by parents) within the 24 Family Units in 'Q' Group

Parents / Welsh-Welsh	Child 1	Proficiency Level	Child 2	Proficiency Level	Child 3	Proficiency Level	Child 4	Proficiency Level
001/1	001/2	001/3	N/WS2					
003/1	N/R	005/3	W/S2	003/4	W/S1			
009/1	009/2	009/3	N/WS2	009/4	N/WS1	009/5	N/WS1	
040/1	040/2	040/3	N/WS1					
049/1	049/2	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS	
052/1	052/2	052/3	N/WS1					
058/1	058/2	058/3	N/WS1	058/4	N/WS1	058/5	N/WS2	
066/1	066/2	N/R	W/S	N/R	N/WS	N/R	W/S	
067/1	067/2	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS
WELSH-ENGLISH								
002/1	002/2	002/3	N/WS2	002/4	N/WS2			
011/1	011/2	N/R	W/S					
007/1	007/2	007/3	N/WS2	007/4	N/WS1	007/5	N/WS2	
024/1	024/2	924/3	N/WS2	024/4	N/WS2			
038/2	038/1	038/3	N/WS2	038/4	N/WS2			
075/1	075/2	075/3	N/WS2					
088/2	N/R	088/3	N/WS1					
ENGLISH-ENGLISH								
015/2	N/R	015/3	N/WS2					
020/2	N/R	020/3	N/WS2	020/4	N/WS2			
021/1	021/2	021/3	N/WS2					
022/1	022/2	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS
036/1	036/2	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS			
048/1	048/2	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS	N/R	N/WS
051/1	051/2	051/3	N/WS2	051/4	N/WS2	051/5	N/WS2	051/6	N/WS2
086/1	N/R	086/3	N/WS2					

Notes:
1. N/R = Non Respondent.
2. Proficiency levels of children who were respondents are indicated by 4 abbreviations described in Chapter 6 (W/S1, W/S2 = Speakers, N/WS1, N/WS2 = Non-speakers.

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[17] This and the two comments which follow were included in the questionnaire replies as additional notes.

3.   Proficiency levels of children who were non-respondents are indicated by 2 abbreviations only (W/S = Welsh speaker, N/WS = non-Welsh-speaker).

4.   Shaded sections show that children were Australian-born (GenIIb).
5.   All parents were first generation.

The second family (066) presented a similar picture. The mother pointed out that "Welsh is the language of our home". (Question 3.2, MQ). The eldest child was a fluent Welsh-speaker at the time of questionnaire completion, although she was married to an English monolingual. The second had lost fluency but retained "excellent understanding ability". The third was able "to speak and write Welsh remarkably well". (Question 3.3, MQ).

The language situation was markedly different within the remaining seven family units. Though in all instances the parents "always" spoke Welsh to each other, with one exception[18] they spoke English to their children. Similarly all the children, spoke English to each other, though all were Welsh-born and had been bilingual or Welsh monolingual prior to coming to Australia. As will be shown later in this chapter (7.4), in several cases loss of proficiency in the language coincided with entry to school after arrival. By the time of questionnaire completion there was no example amongst any of these seven families of second-generation of Welsh-speaking proficiency though several claimed good understanding ability.

Though obviously the circumstances and problems of transmission varied within each family, the following was selected as a case study in intergenerational language experience where both parents were Welsh-speaking.

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18   See Case Study 1.

Case Study 1 (Welsh-Welsh), Family 052.
(Arrived 1971, presently resident in South Australia)

Concrete Fact Profile of Family Unit

FATHER (052/1)	
Place of birth	WALES
Age (present)	48
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level on arrival in Australia	W/S1[19] (native speaker)
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level at present	W/S1
Occupation	Electronics Technician
Education (highest level reached)	Secondary

MOTHER (O52/2)	
Place of birth	WALES
Age (present)	46
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level on arrival in Australia	W/S1 (native speaker)
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level at present	W/S1
Occupation	Technician
Education (highest level reached)	Secondary

DAUGHTER (O52/3)	
Place of birth	WALES
Age (on arrival in Australia)	4
Age (at present)	20
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level on arrival in Australia	W/S1 (Native speaker)
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level at present	N/W/S1
Education	Primary (Wales and Australia) Secondary (Australia)

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[19] See Table 6.2 for explanation of proficiency level codes used. All levels quoted were self-assessed.

Discussion

This family came from a Welsh-speaking area of Wales in 1971. The parents, whose English was still defective at the time of interview (1987), were native Welsh-speakers. They had always spoken Welsh to each other and to their daughter in Wales, and continued this practice after coming to Australia. They chose to be interviewed (jointly) in Welsh. On arrival the daughter, then aged 5, was virtually monoglot Welsh. It should also be pointed out that the family maintained close contact with other Welsh-speaking migrants in their neighbourhood, including the wife's sister, husband and child, all Welsh-speakers, who had followed them to Australia.

Yet, despite these seemingly ideal conditions for successful transmission — including the supportive attitudes of both parents — the daughter lost speaking proficiency in Welsh within twelve months of arrival. The process of loss was described by the parents as follows:[20]

"After arriving here ...... (the daughter) learnt to speak English almost immediately and although she only heard Welsh in the house she was soon speaking nothing but English. She continued to understand Welsh but refused to speak it .... We tried our best to get her to speak Welsh at home. We spoke to her only in Welsh but she always answered in English".

<div align="right">Father (052/1) OM
(Translated from the Welsh)</div>

"It's very difficult to know what the reason was for this; whether she just lost the ability or was simply too shy. We didn't push the issue too much, as it seemed to make her very nervous and we thought that that would affect her progress at school. That's why we didn't put any more pressure on her.

I do wish, however, that she had held on to her Welsh. If there had been some kind of school to send her to, we would have, but not against her will. Had there been other children her age going as well, I'm sure she would have wanted to go".

<div align="right">Mother (052/2) OM
(Translated from the Welsh)</div>

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[20]   The comments were made in sequence at the time of interview.

[Should Welsh-speaking parents make the effort to transmit Welsh to their children?]

"Yes. Obviously you could say Welsh has no use as such in Australia, but since we are Welsh we should surely hold on to our language. *That's the only thing that distinguishes us as a people by now* (own italics). Every group should have the right to maintain its language. I'm all in favour of the Australian Government's policy of keeping language and cultures alive".

<div align="right">Father (052/1) OM
(Translated from the Welsh)</div>

Although the parents thought their daughter's "refusal to speak" unique, the phenomenon has been long familiar to linguists as "receptive bilingualism",[21] a variant of bilingualism which describes the ability to understand a language and even to read it, but be unable and/or unwilling to use it in speech. Haugen, for instance, sees it as a phase of language shift which often triggers the final move from minority to majority language use by a whole family, the parents succumbing in effect to the pressures exerted by the children and their friends.[22] In the family under discussion this total shift did not take place as the parents continued to speak Welsh to each other and to their daughter even after she began to answer them in English.

The daughter, interviewed separately, recalled her experiences this way:

"I was five when I came here (to Australia). I could only speak Welsh at the time. Not until I started school did I begin to learn English. After that I continued to speak some Welsh at home with my parents but only English at school and with my friends in the street. It is difficult to remember by now but within a year or so I stopped speaking Welsh altogether, certainly by the time I was 6. After that I did not speak Welsh to anyone including my parents. ..... It's difficult to explain but I just didn't want to speak Welsh anymore. My parents continued to address me in Welsh and I would answer them in English every time. Apart from occasions when my friends came round that's how its been ever since ...... it's normal practice in our house by now; so much so, that it would seem

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[21]   See for example : E. Harding and P. Riley, The Bilingual Family (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1986), p35.

[22]   E. Haugen, The Norweigian Language in America : A Study of Bilingual Behaviour 2nd ed. (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1969).

strange if they spoke to me in English. None of my friends are aware of this and I've had no reason to tell them.

It doesn't bother me. Welsh is my parents' language and I understand every word they say. I can also read a little Welsh, though I can't find much at my reading ability level over here".

Daughter (O52/3) OM

Observations

(i)   the home domain as the sole agency of transmission was clearly inadequate.

(ii)   language loss by the daughter coincided with entry to school in Australia and day-to-day exposure to English.

(iii)   the supportive attitudes of the parents even when translated into a policy of speaking to each other and to the daughter exclusively in Welsh,[23] did not prevent her losing speaking proficiency in her native language within 12 months of arrival in Australia.

(iv)   the parents were seeking some form of institutional or educational support but found none available.[24]

(v)   the parents profoundly regretted what they saw as a missed opportunity to pass on the language to their daughter. She is presently attempting to re-learn her mother tongue.

7.3.2 The Welsh-English Families (N = 7)

Again, the discussion which follows is predicated on the view that the language behaviour of children is largely determined by the attitudes and language competencies of their parents. Moreover, in the case of linguistically mixed families previous research offers two useful guidelines for analysis of the transmission process, namely:

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[23]   One is led to speculate whether a more bilingual policy stance on the parents' part would have struck a more responsive chord in the daughter.
[24]   They found no assistance from either of the two Welsh societies in their State of residence. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of the contributions of the Welsh Societies in Australia to Welsh language and cultural maintenance.

- that the children in these families are more likely to be English monolinguals than in families where both parents are Welsh-speaking.[25]

- that the influence of the father usually overrides that of the mother in this situation. Where the mother is bilingual, with Welsh as a first language (and supportive of maintenance), there is a greater likelihood that the children will be bilingual than when the father is bilingual.[26]

As expected, the trend observed even amongst the Welsh-Welsh family grouping towards the near exclusion of Welsh in parent-child communication, was even more in evidence within these 7 Welsh-English units. Welsh was heard on a regular basis in only one of these homes (family 011).[27] In family 038 however — in which the mother was Welsh-speaking and highly supportive of the language — the two children were bilingual on arrival in Australia in 1966, but lost fluency soon afterwards. In all the other family units within this group English was the exclusive language of parents and children.

Again, a case study is presented.

Case Study 2 (Welsh-English) Family 024
(Arrived 1971, presently resident in South Australia)

Concrete Fact Profile of Family Unit

FATHER (024/1)		MOTHER (not a "Q" group respondent)	
Place of birth	WALES	Place of birth	WALES

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25 Again, this is not entirely self-evident. See footnote 15 above.
26 Language Survey, 1961, Report of the Welsh Joint Education Committee.
27 Between father and son. The family situation in this instance was exceptional however. The marriage was recent and the son (from a previous marriage) had been brought up by his virtually monolingual Welsh grandmother in a Welsh-speaking area of North Wales.

Age (present)	59
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level on arrival in Australia	W/S1 (native speaker)
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level at present	W/S2
Occupation	Machine Operator
Education (highest level reached)	Secondary

Age (present)	Not known
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level on arrival in Australia	N/WS[1] (nonspeaker)
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level at present	N/WS (nonspeaker)
Occupation	Dressmaker
Education (highest level reached)	Not known

SON (024/3) GEN IIa	
Place of birth	WALES
Age on arrival in Australia	10
Age (present)	35
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level on arrival in Australia	N/WS2
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level at present	N/WS2
Education (highest level reached)	Primary (Wales and Australia) Secondary (Aust) Tertiary (Aust)

DAUGHTER (024/4) GEN IIa	
Place of birth	WALES
Age on arrival in Australia	9
Age (present)	36
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level on arrival in Australia	N/WS1
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level at present	N/WS2
Education (highest level reached)	Primary (Wales and Australia) Secondary (Aust)

1.   As reported by her husband.

Note: For an explanation of the proficiency categories see Table 6.2.

Discussion

This family arrived in Australia in 1971. The father was born and brought up in a predominantly Welsh-speaking area of Wales and was a fluent (native) speaker on arrival. The mother (not a respondent) was born in a heavily

Anglicised area and spoke no Welsh. The children had attended Welsh language classes at school in Wales, but were effectively non-speakers. Although the father reported his speaking ability as W/S2 (limited proficiency) in his questionnaire replies, the interview showed that he had retained considerable fluency.[28] He was also a founding member of one of the Welsh Societies in Adelaide and as the recognised leader of a small group of Welsh-speakers, was still heavily involved in its cultural activities. On the several occasions that he was informally interviewed he spoke of *hiraeth* (longing)[29] for the home country and the possibility of returning.

He would have liked his children to be able to speak Welsh but as the sole Welsh-speaking parent he thought it futile to try to teach them. He had not done so in Wales and saw even less reason to make the effort in Australia. It was, he explained, their economic welfare which came first, that having been the reason they had emigrated.

The two children were interviewed separately. Surprisingly, their attitudes to the language were very far apart, the daughter being very positive but her slightly older brother expressing some of the most negative views encountered during the course of the investigation.

The following extracts from their oral memoirs illustrate their contrasting attitudes. The daughter's (024/4) comments are presented first:

"My father would have liked us to have learnt Welsh but being the only Welsh-speaker in the family, he always felt that he was up against a brick wall. .... Yet he was very conscious of being Welsh and was very proud of it, as was my mother, even though she couldn't speak the language. My father, especially, is very involved in Welsh ethnic activities over here.

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[28]   He spoke Welsh with an accent and an English interference characteristic of his home town in North Wales. Although the total Welsh-speaking population of Wales is small there are a number of regional accents. The received version of Welsh, the counterpart of BBC English, tends to be that of South Wales.

[29]   i.e. during the monthly meetings of the Welsh Society (Participant Observation notes 1985/6).

As for myself, my identity is now more Australian than Welsh but I would never deny that I was born in Wales and that my parents were Welsh ....

By my late teens I was already beginning to feel more Australian. It coincided with gaining my identity as a person.

I wanted to learn Welsh when I was younger but there was no way that I could. It angered me, and still does to some extent, that Italians and Greeks can say that, though they were very young when they came out here, they can still speak their own languages. ..... There's not much chance of the Welsh ever being able to say that - certainly not second-generation people like myself. I'm afraid that as the older generation pass away, the links with Wales will disappear with them. Although I don't speak Welsh, I will never deny that I was born in Wales. I'm proud of it and will try to pass it on to my children. I've taught them to say "*Nos da*" (good night), "*Bore da*" (good morning), and so on to their "*Taid*" (grandfather). A few words like that will survive. ...... My husband is Australian but he respects my background."

<div align="right">Daughter (024/4) OM</div>

In sharp contrast, her brother, one year older and tertiary educated, had no interest in, and no wish to preserve, anything of his heritage:

"I don't feel that I have any ties with Wales or any other part of the U.K. anymore. .... I"m not interested in any Eisteddfod or Noson Lawen or anything like that. I believe that when you come to a new country to live you should conform to the standards of its people and their way of life. You should try to settle in and not try to develop your own little sub-culture. Otherwise you'll end up down the track with dozens of small cultures squabbling and fighting with other. ......There are signs of it happening already.

I don't think there is any benefit in teaching all these languages. People who come here should learn English. Some foreign languages should be taught as subjects at school perhaps, but certainly not Welsh. There's no point whatsoever in maintaining Welsh over here .....

I'm much better off here than I would have been back in Wales. I'm thinking of things like better employment opportunities, sport and so on."

<div align="right">Son (024/3) OM</div>

Observations

(i)   The father wanted his children to learn Welsh but had taken no steps in that direction — an example of the discrepancy between evaluation and activation that will be investigated later in this Chapter. It was further emphasised by his active promotion of the Welsh language and culture on the public level — helping for instance to establish a new Welsh Society "because the older one had become too Anglicised" — and his resignation to its virtual banishment from his own home. Welsh, he regretfully accepted, was of "no use" to his children. English was the language of "getting on", and getting on was the whole point of coming to Australia. This discarding of the language based on its lack of instrumental value was frequently encountered in the course of research. In Wales as in Australia it is one of the major causes of its decline.

(ii)   The daughter, herself deprived of an opportunity to learn her father's mother tongue, was trying to pass on her limited knowledge of it to her own children. Transmission was being attempted at the stage when the language, in all but symbolic form, had been lost.

(iii)   To attempt to explain the contrast between the attitudes of the two children would be to veer towards a form of psychological analysis. The example may serve however as a pointer to some of the difficulties of understanding the processes of cultural reproduction. Uniform conditions, in this case within the home, do not always produce uniform results, at least not at the attitudinal level.

(iv)   The example is supportive of Clyne's claim that "children of mixed (linguistic) marriages are characterised by almost complete

monolingualism".[30] This is even more likely when the opportunity for learning, hearing or using a language outside the home domain is virtually non-existent. This, as will be shown in Chapter 8, is the predicament of Welsh-speakers, and certainly of Welsh learners, in Australia.

7.3.3 The English-English Families (N = 8)

Predictably, there were no Welsh-speakers amongst the children in this group, though it was not discounted as a possibility. For example, in a 1971 survey of 200 families in three representative bilingual communities in the Swansea Valley in Wales, it was found that even where both parents were monolingual English, a surprisingly high number of children were bilingual.[31] Presumably these children had attended Welsh-medium schools and/or had other Welsh-speaking children as friends. A NQ (non-questionnaire) respondent cited the following example:

> "I have a cousin in South Wales. She and her husband are both Welsh. She knows a few words of the language but he is totally non-Welsh-speaking. Yet they have sent their two children to a Welsh-medium school and both are equally at home with Welsh and English. This situation is very common in South Wales".
>
> Respondent NQ24
> (Translated from the Welsh)

Equally, of course, it is safe to assume that it would be very unlikely amongst English-English families in Australia.[32] Yet as the typology which follows later in this chapter makes clear, attitudes towards the language amongst non-Welsh-speaking parents were generally very positive. The call for the

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30   Clyne, op.cit., p58.

31   The actual figures quoted were 7 out of 23 children in the 4-7 age group and 10 out of 28 in the 11-14 age group. In all cases the parents were monolingual English. See Lewis, "Attitude to Language......", op.cit., p106.

32   Though an example was found towards the end of the research period within one of the Welsh Societies in South Australia (but too late for inclusion as respondents). In the case of this recently arrived (1991), family the parents were non-Welsh-speakers but their two children, having attended Welsh-medium schools in Wales, were fluent bilinguals and were encouraged by the parents to speak Welsh to each other at home. Both parents were also learning the language as their children's students.

teaching of Welsh in an ethnic school situation, for example, came largely from these non-speakers.

Discussion

At issue in this family situation was not, of course, the transmission of Welsh as a language of communication, but its place on the symbolic level in the family members' personal systems of cultural values. The father, a non-Welsh speaker born in Wales, emigrated with his parents in 1947 when he was fourteen. His parents, also Welsh-born, were of English ancestry, but had always thought of themselves as Welsh and had tried (unsuccessfully) to learn the language. The mother was Australian-born of non-Welsh ancestry with no knowledge of the language.[33]

Case Study 3 (English-English) Family 086
(Arrived 1947, presently resident in South Australia)

Concrete Fact Profile of Family Unit

FATHER (086/1)		MOTHER (not in Q group)	
Place of birth	WALES	Place of birth	WALES
Age (present)	55	Age (present)	Not known
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level on arrival in Australia	N/WS2	Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level on arrival in Australia	N/A
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level at present	N/WS1	Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level at present	N/WS (non-Welsh-speaker)
Occupation	Retired	Occupation	Housewife
Education (highest level reached)	Primary	Education (highest level reached)	Not known

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[33]   Information provided by her husband. She was not a "Q" group respondent.

SON (086/3) GEN IIb	
Place of birth	Australia
Age (on arrival in Australia)	N/A
Age (at present)	33
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level on arrival in Australia	N/A
Welsh language (speaking) proficiency level at present	N/WS1
Education	Secondary

Note: For an explanation of the proficiency levels see Table 6.2.

Asked in the Main Questionnaire (Question 2.6) to list 3 disadvantages of living in Australia, the father gave as the first reason "nowhere to learn to read, write and speak Welsh". Through his own efforts he had acquired a little knowledge of the language and had assessed himself as a N/WS1 (a non-speaker with some knowledge of isolated words and phrases). He had four children but only the oldest son (086/3) was a "Q" group respondent. The latter's oral memoir was the main source of information on the family's linguistic history.

Like his father he placed great value on the Welsh language as a symbol of Welsh ethnic identity, and had, with little success, struggled to acquire some speaking knowledge. Asked whether he had received any formal instruction he replied:

"No, I didn't learn Welsh in any school situation. I used books, records and that sort of thing. I've always wanted to learn Welsh. Its a feeling I've always had; it was partly my father's influence but also my grandparents who have been here since I was a child. They felt very strongly Welsh even though they didn't speak the language; but its also something which I have felt personally — that my heritage is Welsh and that therefore I should learn the language. I've tried to find some help, somewhere I could get some formal instruction, but I haven't been successful. That's the reason I've had to rely on my own resources.

The other problem, of course, is that I have no opportunity to practise what I've learnt with a Welsh-speaker. My only reason for wanting to learn the language is personal satisfaction .... *I really do feel that being able to speak Welsh is part of being Welsh. By*

that I don't mean that a person is necessarily not Welsh if he doesn't speak the language, but that he is more Welsh if he does".

<div align="right">Son (086/3) (OM)</div>

As an absolute beginner he had experienced particular difficulties with pronunciation and mutation.[34]   He had joined the local Welsh Society in the hope of assistance but discovered that there was little Welsh spoken at the monthly meetings, and that there was no member available or willing to conduct Welsh language classes. Similarly, he found that Welsh was not offered in any ethnic school type facilitiy to which he could turn. He explained his dilemma as follows:

> "The Greeks and Italians have every opportunity for keeping up their language but there's nothing available for the Welsh. The answer you get wherever you turn is that the demand isn't there *but who really knows whether the demand is there or not?* [own italics]. I'm second, almost third generation Welsh, with non-Welsh-speaking parents. I'm sure that if I'm very keen on learning the language[35] there must be others in the Welsh community with similar feelings .... It seems that if you want to learn Welsh in Australia, or at least in Adelaide, it's virtually impossible. Even the larger libraries have no Welsh books, although they seem to have plenty of material in other languages — even the smaller ones."

<div align="right">Son (086/3) (OM)</div>

Observations

(i)   What is of primary interest here is the attachment to the language of an Australian-born, second-generation individual whose parents were not only non-Welsh-speaking but of English ancestry (though born in Wales). Father and son serve as good examples of those who claim ethnic identity based on birth (the father) and cultural identification (the son) rather than ancestry. The search for a Welsh identity had in fact led grandparents, parents and son directly to the Welsh language. Welshness in this family was equated, without qualification, with the ability to speak Welsh, or at least with having a strong motivation to learn it.

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[34]   A grammatical feature of Celtic languages which most learners find perplexing (see 'A Note on Welsh Surnames and Orthography).
[35]   An indication of this was that he had gone to considerable expense to obtain books, records and other teaching material from Wales.

Anyone with a claim to Welshness should in their, and especially in the son's opinion, have some knowledge of the language.

(ii)   The lack of any support mechanism for Welsh language learning expressed by the son was heard from a number of second generation respondents. The fact of its total absence, and the lethargy of the Welsh community in this respect, only reinforces the notion, never far below the surface of general opinion amongst the Welsh, of the language as "useless" or "ancient", or in some other way totally irrelevant to the concerns of twentieth century society. The availability of some form of structural support, however limited, may be of more importance to maintenance efforts, than its practical value. There is no evidence, as Fishman points out,[36] that ethnic schools have contributed significantly to a reversal of language shift in Australia — even amongst the larger language communities — but the fact of their accessibility lends to the languages which they teach, a respect and a dignity which languages such as Welsh, with no public "visibility", are lacking.

(iii)   The influence of the grandparents through their physical presence in Australia had filtered through the father to the grandson — an indication of the importance of the role of grandparents in the perpetuation of ethnic consciousness even when, as in this instance, language has been reduced to emblematic status.

What emerges most strongly from these case studies is the inadequacy of the home to the task of Welsh language maintenance and transmission nor is there any external substitute. That there was no opportunity to use, hear, or learn Welsh outside the home domain was the most frequently heard complaint, not only from these particular family members, but from the broad spectrum of 'Q' group:

> "I would like to learn Welsh. But is it practical? Where could I do
> so and where would I practise speaking it other than in *Cyfeillion*

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[36]   J.A. Fishman, "Prospects for Reversing Language Shift (RLS) in Australia : Evidence From its Aboriginal and Immigrant Languages", VOX : The Journal of the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education, Issue No. 6, 1992, pp. 48-62.

Cymru[37] once a month, and who, there, would be patient enough to listen to me?"

<div align="right">

Respondent 015/3 (N/WS2)
Generation IIb (South Australia)

</div>

"I've been in Adelaide now for 6 months and you're *[the interviewer]* the first person I've spoken Welsh to. I've been to the Welsh Societies here but I heard no Welsh there at all".

<div align="right">

Respondent 088/2 (WS1)
(South Australia) Translated from the Welsh

</div>

"The only opportunity I ever get to speak my own language is when I go home [to Wales] every few years".

<div align="right">

Respondent 091/2 (W/S1)
(South Australia) Translated from the Welsh[38]

</div>

One of the basic problems of Welsh language maintenance and intergenerational transmission in Australia, therefore, is its very limited domain use. This is, of course, directly related to the size of the Welsh speech community, but it is also, as will be shown in the chapter which follows, the result of the virtual disappearance of the "traditional" domains of Welsh language usage outside the home, namely the Welsh societies and the chapels. Even in the nineteenth century, as was seen in Chapter 3, the Welsh lacked, what Fishman terms, "inviolate space",[39], nor did they have easy access to population concentrations where the language was used naturally on a daily basis. As Fishman points out, language maintenance is unlikely to be successful when it is dependent on "relatively infrequent visits ..... to ethnic stores, schools, clubs, churches, family and friends".[40] In the case of the Welsh, however, and probably of other small language groups, even this possibility no longer exists.

In these circumstances the burden of maintenance and transmission falls, as these case studies have demonstrated, on the shoulders of individual family

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37   One of the two Welsh Societies in Adelaide, South Australia (see Chapter 8).
38   This and the previous respondent (088/2) were married to non-Welsh speakers.
39   Fishman, op.cit., p.52.
40   ibid.

members.   Given the paucity of numbers and the conditions described, even moderate success was unlikely.   What made it more unlikely was that, from the moment of their arrival in Australia, the second generation were exposed to the assimilatory pressures of the schools.   The school language experiences of the second generation within 'Q' group was therefore a critical component of the investigation.

7.4   The School Language Experience of the Second Generation

The term 'second-generation' has been used in this thesis to describe both the children of the first generation who arrived in Australia before the age of 12 (Gen IIa), and those born in Australia of immigrant parentage (Gen IIb).[41]   The proficiency results presented in the last Chapter (Table 6.3) showed that the Welsh language was not being transmitted to either of these second generation categories within 'Q' group.   Surprisingly, linguistic parentage (see Table 7.4 below) seemed to have little bearing on the rate of maintenance.

Table 7.4	
Linguistic Parentage of the Second Generation ('Q' Group)	
Welsh - Welsh	12 (31%)
Welsh - English	9 (24%)
English - English	17 (45%)
Total	38 (100%)

Twelve (31%) had both parents who were Welsh-speaking and nine (24%) one.   Twenty-one (55%) second generation respondents therefore had at least one Welsh-speaking parent.   Yet, although 63% of the Welsh-speaking parents claimed to have encouraged their children to learn to speak Welsh (Question 3.9 MQ) only three   second-generation   respondents   reported   being   Welsh-speakers   in   the

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[41]   For a profile of the second generation see Chapter 5.

questionnaire survey (Table 6.3). All of these were Welsh-born (Gen IIa). **There was no Australian-born second generation (Gen IIb) Welsh-speaker in 'Q' group.**

The rate of shift was measured by Question 3.8 (MQ). Parents were asked whether their children spoke Welsh on arrival in Australia[42] and whether they still spoke Welsh at the time of questionnaire completion. The results presented in Table 7.5 show the rate (but not the pace) of language shift.

Even in the case of the first child (Child 1) with a fairly high average age on arrival (10.7), of the 17 who spoke Welsh when they left Wales, only 4 were still speakers. With reference to the second (Child 2) and third child (Child 3), the figures were 1 out of 9 and 7 respectively. In all, of the 33 children who were Welsh-speaking when they left Wales, 5 were reported to be Welsh-speaking at the time of questionnaire completion, a shift of 85%.

Data derived from the Supplementary Questionnaire on School Language Use and Experience (Appendix XXIX), supported by the 19 oral and written memoirs contributed by second-generation respondents, suggested that this rapid and near-total shift to English was in many cases triggered and accelerated by entry into the Australian school system. Although most of the second generation respondents were adults at the time of interview and/or questionnaire completion, all 38 had attended school in Australia, their specific levels of entry being as follows:

Kindergarten: 2; Primary : 30; Secondary : 6 (Total : 38)

Nineteen also had experiences of primary and 6 of secondary schooling in Wales. Of the former, 6 considered Welsh to have been their first language on entry and departure (Question B3/SQ)[42a] . All 6 had been exposed to between 1 and 9 Welsh or Welsh medium lessons per week (Question B8/SQ).

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[42]   i.e. all children, including those not in 'Q' group.
[42a]   SQ = Supplementary Questionnaire

Similarly the 2 who were Welsh-speakers when they entered at secondary level were also speakers when they left (Question C3/SQ). Again both had received up to five hours of Welsh tuition per week at this stage of their education (C9/SQ). Most (32 out of 38) of the second generation respondents however had their first experience of school in Australia and, as mentioned previously, all 38 had attended school in Australia at some stage. Table 7.6(a) shows that 12 were Welsh-speakers, (10 "very well" and 2 "well") and 5 had "some knowledge" when they first entered.

Two had a speaking knowledge and 5 a little knowledge when they left. Ten out of 12 (83%) had therefore lost all speaking proficiency in Welsh during their school careers. A similar deterioration can be seen in literacy levels. Only 2 could read or speak Welsh when they left school. Maintenance of understanding ability was a little higher. Six of the 13 who reported being able to understand Welsh "very well" or "well" at the start of their schooling, maintained these levels until they left. By contrast, and not surprisingly, all 38 (including 3 who spoke little or no English at the point of entry) were fully proficient in all English language skills at the end of their school years. (Table 7.6(b)).[43] As already mentioned a number of the second-generation respondents spoke very little English when they first arrived. Several in the 4-6 age cohort were monolingual Welsh and remained so until they entered school. In most cases — though not all — both parents were Welsh-speaking, and Welsh was the 'natural' language of the home. The daughter in family 052, one of the family case studies already discussed (Family A), is an example. In one instance however, though the Dutch-born father (038/1) spoke very little Welsh (a N/WS1), the two children (038/3 and 038/4) spoke no English on arrival at the age of 4 and 3 respectively. Despite the father's limited speaking knowledge (though he had good understanding) Welsh had been

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43   The memoirs were the main source of information on the pace of this near total loss.

maintained as the main language of the home in Wales. This perseverance, and the

upbringing of the children in a Welsh-speaking area is how the mother explained

Table 7.5   Welsh Language Retention in Australia by Welsh-Born children of 'Q' Questionnaire Group

CHILD 1 (N = 33) AVERAGE AGE ON ARRIVAL : 10.7						CHILD 2 (N = 22) AVERAGE AGE ON ARRIVAL : 8.6						CHILD 3 (N = 12) AVERAGE AGE ON ARRIVAL : 7.8					
Spoke Welsh on Arrival			Speaks Welsh Now			Spoke Welsh on Arrival			Speaks Welsh Now			Spoke Welsh on Arrival			Speaks Welsh Now		
	No	%		No	%		No	%		No	%		No	%		No	%
Yes	17	(52)	Yes	4	(12)	Yes	9	(41)	Yes	1	(4)	Yes	7	(58)	Yes	1	(8)
Some	2	(6)	Some	2	(6)	Some	2	(9)	Some	0	(0)	Some	1	(8)	Some	0	(0)
No	14	(42)	No	27	(82)	No	11	(50)	No	21	(96)	No	4	(34)	No	11	(92)
Total	33	(100)	Total	(33)	(100)	Total	22	(100)	Total	22	(100)	Total	12	(100)	Total	12	(100)

Notes:

1.   'Child 1, 2 and 3', refer to the order of birth, Child 1 being the eldest.
2.   The average age on arrival of Child 2 was based on N = 21 as the age of one child was not known.

Table 7.6(a)   Welsh Proficiency Levels of Second Generation of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group at Start and End of First School Entered in Australia (N = 38)

LANGUAGE SKILL	PROFICIENCY LEVEL (WELSH)															
	VERY WELL				WELL				LITTLE				NONE			
	Start		End		Start		End		Start		End		Start		End	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Understanding	10	(26)	5	(13)	3	(8)	1	(3)	5	(13)	4	(11)	20	(53)	28	(73)
Speaking	10	(26)	2	(5)	2	(5)	0	(0)	5	(13)	7	(19)	21	(56)	29	(76)
Reading	6	(16)	2	(5)	3	(8)	0	(0)	6	(16)	5	(13)	23	(60)	31	(82)
Writing	6	(16)	2	(5)	4	(10)	0	(0)	4	(10)	5	(13)	24	(64)	31	(82)

LANGUAGE SKILL	TOTALS			
	Start		End	
	No	%	No	%
Understanding	38	100	38	100
Speaking	38	100	38	100
Reading	38	100	38	100
Writing	38	100	38	100

Note: Figures shown are based on replies to Question 3 in Section D of the Supplementary Questionnaire (Appendix XXIX)

Table 7.6(b)   English Proficiency Levels of Second Generation of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group at Start and End of First School Entered in Australia (N = 38)

LANGUAGE SKILL	PROFICIENCY LEVEL (ENGLISH)															
	VERY WELL				WELL				LITTLE				NONE			
	Start		End		Start		End		Start		End		Start		End	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Understanding	25	(66)	38	(100)	10	(26)	0	(0)	2	(3)	0	(0)	1	(5)	0	(0)
Speaking	29	(76)	38	(100)	6	(16)	0	(0)	1	(5)	0	(0)	2	(5)	0	(0)
Reading	27	(71)	38	(100)	7	(19)	0	(0)	2	(5)	0	(0)	2	(5)	0	(0)
Writing	27	(71)	38	(100)	8	(21)	0	(0)	1	(3)	0	(0)	2	(5)	0	(0)

LANGUAGE SKILL	TOTALS			
	Start		End	
	No	%	No	%
Understanding	38	100	38	100
Speaking	38	100	38	100
Reading	38	100	38	100
Writing	38	100	38	100

Note: Figures shown are based on replies to Question 3 in Section D of the Supplementary Questionnaire (Appendix XXIX)

their Welsh monolingualism up to the point of entry to school in Australia.

Within a few months, however, they had lost all knowledge of Welsh, so that at

the time of interview, as the mother pointed out, no Welsh was spoken in the home:

> "We speak English at home ..... No, the children don't speak any Welsh now. Yet they were unable to speak English when they first came out".
>
> > Respondent 038/2 (OM). Resident in South Australia
> > (Translated from the Welsh).

Several of the parents, including those whose children were not 'Q' group respondents, provided similar information. Their memoir comments are revealing not only of the influence of the school on the children's linguistic development but on the crucial interdependence of home and school in language maintenance and transmission. The following extracts raised a number of the issues involved:

> "The children spoke Welsh when we first came [to Australia]. In fact we were very worried about their English as they would be going to an English language school for the first time. For that reason we started to speak English with them at home — in order to help them that is. Also of course — especially in my occupation — [44] we came across a lot of Australians, so, little by little, English slipped in as the language of the home — and for the children it was therefore the language of home and school. In fact, in no time at all English became the sole language of the family. It was very difficult to stop the process.
>
> Our daughter was 6 when we arrived and was a fluent Welsh-speaker, but she lost all knowledge within two years. After that she spoke nothing but English, though she retained an understanding ability for several years afterwards. In fact she understands it quite well even now as she's just been back to Wales on holiday ..... My wife and I were certainly in favour of the children maintaining their Welsh but obviously that wasn't enough. On reflection I feel we should have insisted that they speak Welsh at home."
>
> > Respondent 050/1 (OM) Resident in South Australia
> > Translated from the Welsh[45]

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[44]   A public relations officer.

[45]   This family arrived in Australia in 1962 with two children aged 6 and 10.

"I was very successful *[in helping his son to maintain knowledge of Welsh]* until he started school. *Then he lost everything within three weeks*".

<div align="center">
Respondent 074/1 (comment included in Main Questionnaire)
Resident in Canberra, ACT.[46]
</div>

A number of other memoirs contained comments to the same effect, namely that Welsh language loss had rapidly followed school entry in Australia. This had occurred almost irrespective of age at the time of admission. The first extract (050/1), however, brings to attention another aspect of school-related second generation shift, namely, the child's role in migrant families as the Trojan Horse of linguistic assimilation. In this particular family not only did the two children rapidly lose their knowledge of Welsh but were instrumental in bringing about a general shift to English within the home domain — an ironic turn of events given the parents' initial concerns about their children's English skills. Later, children and parents regretted the move to English which, for the former, was irreversible. In this, as in other instances, the children, in their passage towards English monolingualism, had moved — however briefly — through a bilingual stage of linguistic development. For these children, therefore, bilingualism had been transitional rather than stable — a fleeting experience prior to total Welsh language loss. An important point to be made here, of course, is that, unlike most ethnic groups in Australia, parents of Welsh children, being bilingual, are in a position to make the choice between Welsh and English as the language of the home. In the case under discussion, therefore, the adoption of English was the direct result of the parents having this option — it was their bilingual ability which facilitated what was probably an irreversible shift to English on the part of the children. The point to be made here then, is that, where language contact is unequal — where, that is, one language has high prestige and is used in most domains (an H language) and the other is little valued and/or little used beyond the confines of the home (an L

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[46]   The family arrived in 1976 when the child was 2 years old. The father, Welsh-speaking had taught him Welsh at home. He had entered school at the age of 5.

language) — the difficulties of transmission are near insurmountable. Some of these difficulties are raised in the case-study which follows.

7.4.1 A Case Study of Second-Generation Language Development

To gain further insight into the process of shift during the school age years,[47] available concrete and cultural data on one second-generation (Gen IIa) respondent (040/3) was garnered to the construction of a simple continuum of his language development. The results are shown in Table 7.7, below.

The stages of shift shown are, of course, arbitrary but the general accuracy of the framework was confirmed by the researcher's close and continuous contact with this family throughout their period of residence in Australia (1976-84). Though originally intending to settle permanently, they returned to Wales in 1984. As native Welsh-speakers to whom English came only with difficulty, they had, by then, started to feel alienated from their two children, both of whom had in the meantime lost their knowledge of Welsh. *This was the prime reason for their return to Wales,* the decision to do so having been triggered by the children's inability to communicate with their non-English speaking grandparents during a holiday visit in 1983. The mother explained:

> "What upsets me more than anything is that these children have lost their Welsh. I was thoroughly ashamed when we went home. Everyone in the family and the neighbourhood expected them to be able to speak Welsh without having any idea how difficult it is to maintain it here in Australia.
>
> The trouble is, of course, that as Welsh-speakers we're almost completely isolated. Its when ****[the eldest child]* couldn't speak to his own grandmother that the tragedy of the loss of his Welsh really came home to me. The school in *** *[their home town]* is thoroughly Welsh by now and I almost sent him there just for the time we were on holiday, but in the end I decided not to. It didn't seem fair at the time".

<div align="right">Respondent 040/1 (OM)
Translated from the Welsh</div>

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[47] This, rather than any claim to the typicality of his case, being the point of the exercise.

Table 7.7

Longtitudinal Case-Study of the Process of Second Generation Welsh-English and English-Welsh Language Shift (Respondent 040/3)

AGE	SPEAKING PROFICIENCY	EXPLANATION	BIOGRAPHICAL DATA
4	Monoglot Welsh	Native-speaker of Welsh. No knowledge of English. Both parents are native speakers.	Arrives in Australia (1976)
5½	Welsh-dominant bilingual	Speaks some English but Welsh is his principal and natural language of use. Hears only Welsh at home, speaks Welsh only to his parents.	Exposed to English via TV and visits by English-speaking cousin and friends. (1976-1978) His brother is born (1977).
6½	Balanced bilingual.	Near equal facility in English and Welsh. His speech marked by frequent code-switching.	Starts primary school (1978).
8	English dominant bilingual.	Speaks Welsh with difficulty and reluctance. Feels more comfortable in English. Parents continue to speak Welsh to each other but increasingly in English to him and to his younger brother.	Has attended primary school for 2½ years. Plays in English with his younger brother and friends. (1980).
10	Monoglot English (Speech) Receptive bilingual (understanding ability).	No longer speaks Welsh but retains good understanding ability. Parents speak Welsh to each other but exclusively in English to their two children.	(1982).
12	Monoglot English.	Has very little understanding of Welsh. His brother is also monolingual English.	Enters secondary school in Australia (1984).
FAMILY RETURNS TO WALES (1984)			
13	English-dominant bilingual.	Speaks Welsh with difficulty to grandparents and friends of family.	Enters secondary school in Wales in which Welsh is the medium of instruction in several subjects (1985).
16	Balanced bilingual.	Speaks both languages with ease and is fully literate in both. Younger brother also speaks Welsh. Welsh is the language of the home.	Completes secondary education to GCE 'O' level (including Welsh and English). Wins school prize for excellence in Welsh (1988).

The rapidity of their eldest son's shift to English once he had entered school in 1978 is very apparent (Table 7.7). Monoglot Welsh at 4, he had acquired fluency in English by the age of 6. At this stage he had near-equal facility in both languages — arguably the optimum moment for intervention from outside the home to maintain his Welsh language proficiency. In its absence his parents 'capitulated' to his rapid drift towards English monolingualism and began to speak to him increasingly in English. Convinced of the futility of unaided effort for the maintenance of their first child's bilingualism — and unaware of some of the parental strategies required — they made no attempt with the second, born in 1977. Though they continued to speak to each other in Welsh, they now communicated with their two children entirely in English. Similarly, the children spoke English only to each other. In 1984, when both were effectively monolingual English — though the first retained some understanding of Welsh — the family returned to their home town in North Wales. The two children were enrolled in local schools (primary and secondary respectively) where the medium of instruction was largely Welsh.[48] At the time of the second interview in Wales one year later (1985), the first child was again bilingual though English was still his dominant language. Correspondence confirmed that three years later (1983) both children were bilingual, though the second son was still more at ease in English.

7.4.2 Welsh Children at School in Australia : the Evidence of the Oral Memoirs

Although the above case study presents a bird's eye view of one case of language development, it reveals little of the Welsh child's actual school experience in Australia. The subject's bilingualism, at the age of 6, was

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[48]   These were not, what was referred to in Chapter IV as 'Welsh-medium schools'. Situated in a Welsh-speaking area of Wales, however, the language of instruction in several subjects is Welsh.

essentially what has been termed "child bilingualism".[49] By the age of 10 he had already passed through a number of stages in language development between the two polarities of Welsh and English monolingualism. In effect his experiences were at an age too young for later accurate recollection and reflection.

The lacuna was filled by the memoir evidence of second-generation respondents who were older at the school entry stage, in particular the three children in family 009. Again both parents were Welsh-speaking and again the children knew very little English when they first entered school in Australia in 1970. They were, however, aged 8, 10 and 11 on arrival, old enough to have been aware of some of the traumas of the adjustment process and to store them in their memories for future recollection. They were interviewed in 1989 when they were young adults. In the case of the two youngest, the mother was present at the time of interview. By this stage all three were English monolinguals. The following three extracts, pertaining directly to their school experience, were taken from much lengthier oral memoirs. It should be pointed out that they attended separate schools.

Extract 1.
Respondent 009/5 (female) Generation IIa. Resident in South Australia. Entered first school in Australia at primary level in 1970 aged 8.

"I just hated it *[her first school in Australia]*. It was like being put into a little cage, that's how I felt. I couldn't understand much of what the teachers were saying, but they didn't know it as I came from Britain. They recognised that one or two Italians in the class had language difficulties but mine were overlooked. As a result I was always a year behind .... I needed to be taught English as a second language — like French or German — and have the Welsh there for support. As it was, one minute I was writing, speaking and thinking in Welsh in my school back in Wales, and the next I was expected to be able to do the same in English. Of course the Welsh eventually lost out, but my English wasn't that good either by the end of my school career. In a way both languages suffered".

Oral Memoir.

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49   Defined as "the *successive* acquisition of two languages", the most common cause of which being "moving to another country". Harding and Riley, op.cit., p.41.

Extract 2

Respondent 009/4 (male) Generation IIa. Resident in South Australia. Entered first school in Australia at primary level in 1970, aged 10.

"It annoys me that people don't know that English was for me a second language. They didn't even know at school. I found English very difficult all the way through school. It was just assumed that it was my first language and no-one would have believed otherwise even if I had explained. All the way through school I had poor grades in English and, to some extent, in other subjects where I needed English."

<div align="right">Oral Memoir</div>

Extract 3.

Respondent 009/3 (male) Generation IIa. Resident in South Australia. Entered first school in Australia at primary level in 1970, aged 11.

"The only problem I had in settling in after arrival in Australia was the language problem ... When I first arrived I could only speak a few words of English. It took me about two years to settle down. I was what you might call a good student in Wales but I was considered to be something of a slow learner here because my English was so poor. The teachers somehow didn't understand that Welsh was a different language and that it was my first and only language. There were so many other nationalities in the class that I don't think they could keep up with our different backgrounds. In my case coming from Britain, it was just assumed that English was my natural language."

<div align="right">Oral Memoir</div>

An immediate response to these extracts might be to question whether primary school teachers in the early 1970s could have been unaware of the possibility of British-born migrant children — physically no different from other children from the UK and with familiar English Christian names and surnames — having as their first language, a language other than English. Could they, in other words, have contemplated the possibility of British-born children of European descent[50] being in the NESB[51] category? In reply, one can only quote a very prominent and very public intellectual writing in the late 1980s:

"I know very little about the Welsh — just rare bits of information about coalmining and choral singing .... and a few verses of a song about a man on Ilkley Moor without his hat.[52]

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50 British-born children of Asian, African, or West Indian descent were also arriving in Australia in the 1970s.
51 Non-English-speaking background.
52 A well-know Yorkshire ditty.

I also dimly comprehend that there are vestigial traces of a Welsh language".[53]

Similarly, the first Welsh-language series on SBS Television was publicised as coming "from England"[54]. The point being made is that outside of Wales, and even in other parts of Britain, there is very little awareness of Welsh as a separate language. It is not unlikely therefore that these Welsh-speaking children progressed through the first year or so[55] of primary school with their teachers knowing little about their language background. One could also of course question the effectiveness of a Welsh education system that had seemingly failed to teach these children English by the end of primary school.[56]

Perhaps the most relevant issue raised by these extracts is the isolation of Welsh-speaking parents in their efforts to maintain and transmit Welsh to their children in Australia.[57] The mother's recognition of the need for assistance was at the same time accompanied by a summary dismissal of the very possibility of it being available to assist in the maintenance of a language so little spoken and so little recognised:

"It would have been very much easier for my children if Welsh had been offered at the school or in some other institution. We were from a Welsh-speaking area of Wales and English was to us a foreign language. We didn't expect Welsh to be offered anywhere of course — *the idea is ridiculous.* [own italics] All I'm saying is that, looking back on things now, it would have made a lot of difference to their confidence, if nothing else".

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53   P. Adams, "Flaring of Welsh Passion", The Weekend Australian, March 14/15 1987.

54   Cited in Lucas, op.cit., p.P41.

55   After a year or so the children would have acquired sufficient English for the 'problem' to disappear from view (but to remain, as the extracts point out, as a linguistic handicap throughout their school career and beyond).

56   There is a question mark also, of course, over the role of the parents. The mother explained that she preferred not to 'interfere' in her children's education. Moreover her own and her husband's limited English, she pointed out, was an impediment to either of them approaching the school authorities. This diffidence about approaching an English-speaking bureaucracy on the part of Welsh-speakers is not unusual.

57   This however was frequently the case in Welsh-speaking areas of Wales until fairly recently, ie. although children were taught English as an academic school subject, they often had great difficulty in speaking it, since they would rarely use it outside the classroom. The advent of the electronic media has, of course, entirely changed the situation, hence the campaign of the Welsh Language Society for a Welsh language television channel in the 1960s (see Chapter 4).

Respondent 009/2 (OM)

The suggestion of the totally unrealistic nature of efforts at Welsh language maintenance outside of Wales was repeatedly encountered in the interviews. To many of the parents Welsh was a private language and their knowledge of it a quirk of fate. That their children should inherit that knowledge was desirable, but not possible. Most (81%), including a substantial number of non-speakers, indicated, however, they would have encouraged their children to learn Welsh if support had been available (Question 3.9 MQ). Asked to rank 5 specified means of support, the response was as follows:

First: Welsh as a day-school subject. (47%)

Second: A centrally located language centre open to all age groups. (26%)

Third: Saturday/Ethnic schools. (14%)

Fourth: Welsh programmes on ethnic TV/radio. (11%)

Fifth: Reading material in Welsh in the libraries. (2%)

Although Welsh programmes on ethnic TV and radio was ranked fourth, several 1st generation Welsh-speakers claimed they listened regularly to the fortnightly Welsh-language programmes on Radio Sydney (19.5 hrs a year) and the occasional (7.5 hrs a year) English-subtitled Welsh language films on Australia's ethnic TV channel (SBS).

That Saturday/Ethnic schools was ranked so low was surprising given that the ethnic school system would seem to be the most readily accessible support structure for a small language group such as the Welsh. The result was repeated, however, in the second-generation responses to Questions D5 and D6 in the Supplementary Questionnaire. Sixteen (N=36) or 44% were interested in continuing or commencing the study of Welsh when they first entered school in Australia. Asked to rank in order of preference three ways in which they would have wanted it to be taught, 11 of the 16 indicated "as a school subject", 4 "at a centrally located language centre" and only 1 "at a Saturday (or ethnic) school". These results were reinforced in the memoirs:

"As I've got older I've come to value the language a lot more. If it had been offered as a school subject I know I would have taken it and I'm sure my parents would have supported me ..... I would have taken Welsh more seriously if I could have gone to classes somewhere.

Most of my friends at school also come from non-English language backgrounds and their attitudes were fairly similar to mine. I had several Polish friends for instance. I remember explaining to them that I was Welsh and not English and that my parents spoke a different language. They were a little surprised but accepted it".

<div align="right">
Respondent 052/3 (female) Resident in South Australia.
(N/WS1 - formerly a native speaker)[58]
</div>

Clearly, despite the positive attitudes of parents and children, only the most minimal transmission of the Welsh language had taken place within 'Q' Group. In the absence of assistance from educational bodies or from any institutionalised structure — including as will be shown in the chapter to follow, the Welsh ethnic organisations — the parents usually resigned themselves not only to their children's loss of proficiency in Welsh but to English becoming the normal language of communication in the home. The overall impression gained from the memoir evidence was, on the one hand, of parents who had been, and remained, curiously inert despite their professed positive attitudes and, on the other of a school system which, through a combination of benign neglect and ignorance, failed to appreciate the particular problems of these British-born children from a non-English speaking background.

Numerous studies have reported near-universal mother-tongue attrition and shift to English amongst second-generation ethnic groups in Australia. Smolicz, for example, in a number of individual and joint studies since the early 1970s has shown a clear and consistent shift to English amongst children of various ethnic backgrounds in South Australia.[59] Similarly, Clyne, in a succession of census-data based analyses has shown that language shift is, without exception, greater in the

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[58]   The daughter in Case Study 1 (Family Units) discussed earlier in this chapter.
[59]   See Bibliography.

second-generation than in the first in all groups for which figures are available.[60] Again, Bettoni has undermined received impressions of high levels of maintenance amongst Australians of Italian origin by showing that they "are losing their mother tongue much more rapidly than their specific demographic situation would suggest within the context of Australia's language ecology".[61] Given by comparison, the statistically insignificant number of Welsh-speakers in Australia, their geographic dispersion to the point of invisibility as a distict speech community, and their cultural overlap derived from the British background, the drift of the second generation 'Q' Group respondents to English is hardly surprising. What *was* surprising however was the rapidity and totality of the process which, ironically, was facilitated by the bilingualism of the first generation who, unlike their counterparts in other ethnic groups, could switch to English at will. In this situation the home, far from being an oasis of the Welsh language in Australia, is, in effect, no more than its final resting place. The switch to English was, in most families, irreversible. At the time of interview, whatever the situation had been previously, English with few exceptions, was the normal language of communication between Welsh-speaking parents and their children. In at least one instance (family 001/1), it had also replaced Welsh as the language of the parents to each other, even in their children's absence.

7.5   A Typology of Welsh Language Activation and Evaluation

Adumbrated in much of the data collected was a discrepancy between the respondents' estimation of Welsh as a core value of Welsh culture and their apparent failure or disinclination to translate this attitudinal positiveness into actual language behaviour. Even within the limitations of group size, geographic dispersion and other factors which obviously militate against Welsh language maintenance in Australia, the gap between declared enthusiasm and practical

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[60]   Clyne and Jaehrling, op.cit.
[61]   C. Bettoni, "Maintaining and Developing Italian in Australia," VOX, Issue No. 3, (1989), p.48.

inaction was apparent and somewhat puzzling. It emerges on the statistical level in a cursory comparison of the replies to Questions 3.12 and 3.9 of the Main Questionnaire. Thus, 76% of all respondents and 94% of Welsh-speakers thought it very important that the Welsh language should survive (Question 3.12 MQ)[62] Yet only 35% and 57% respectively claimed to have encouraged their children to speak it. The figures on active language experience (Table 6.5) present a similar picture.

A number of scholars have drawn attention to this gap between evaluation and activation in language behaviour and to its possible negative implications for the survival of authentic cultures in a plural society. Clyne, in a discussion of factors promoting shift, stresses the relevance of a "possible discontinuity between language use and language attitudes".[63] Hayden also, in a study of ethnic minority language groups in the United States (French, Spanish and Ukrainian) found "large discrepancies between favourable attitudes and supportive actions with attitudes generally being far more positive than actions"[64] in all three. Even more relevant in this context perhaps is Lewis' study, previously referred to, of the attitudes of 80 bilingual parents in Wales between 1969 and 1972. He summarises his findings in this way:

> "It can be concluded that there is a marked discrepancy between entertaining the idea of approving the Welsh-language or supporting it in principle on the one hand, and actually engaging in the use of Welsh or encouraging it within the family".[65]

7.5.1 The Overall Aim

In the light of these comments, and of the findings that have been outlined in this and the previous chapter, it seemed appropriate to conclude this investigation of the linguistic values of the subjects with an analysis of the

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62   See also Table 6.
63   Clyne, Community Languages ....., op.cit., p.92.
64   R.G. Hayden, "Some community dynamics of Language Maintenance" in J.A. Fishman (ed), Language Loyalty .... op.cit., p.193.
65   Lewis, "Attitude to Language ...." op.cit., p.121.

relationship between their verbal approval of the Welsh language and their overt linguistic behaviour. Although the evidence pointed strongly to support for Welsh maintenance, its survival beyond the first generation is clearly contingent on the translation of these positive attitudes into language use by those who speak it, and its active promotion and acquisition as a learnt language by those who do not. Given, as has been argued throughout, the centrality of the Welsh language to a definition of a Welsh cultural identity, a failure to bridge the gap between evaluation and activation is surely a large step towards the final disintegration of any form of authentic Welsh culture in Australia (or, for that matter in Wales). This is Smolicz's point:

> "Indeed, if ethnic affiliation of individuals remained at no more than attitudinal level for every aspect of culture, there could be no transmission of ethnic values to the next generation".[66]

It is also, curiously, a still somewhat neglected area of empirical study.[67]

The theoretical distinction previously outlined[68] between *attitude*, which describes the construction at the ideological level of a personal linguistic system, and *tendency*, which refers to its activation or implementation as language use, was adopted as the conceptual framework for a **memoir-based**[69] typology, linking the respondents' range of attitudes towards the Welsh language with their activation and/or promotion (consistent with their levels of proficiency) of these attitudes in their daily lives.

A typology linking Welsh language maintenance or current activation with ideological attitude or evaluation was seen therefore as a useful heuristic device not only towards an understanding of the discrepancy between attitude and use but as a means of revealing the range of responses amongst the respondents to life in a

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[66]   J.J. Smolicz, "Ethnic Identity in Australia : Cohesive or Divisive" in Sherwood (ed), op.cit., p.144.
[67]   Fishman for instance writes "The manifold possible relationship between language attitude and language use remains largely unstudied". J.A. Fishman, Language Maintenance and Language Shift as a Field of Inquiry", in Fishman (ed), Language Loyalty ..... op.cit., p.449.
[68]   See Chapter 1.
[69]   The oral memoirs were the main source of data but where necessary the written memoirs and questionnaire results were used to supplement and confirm oral memoir evidence.

culturally plural society where, nevertheless, English is the dominant tongue. In sum, it was conceived as a means of investigating the extent to which maintenance of Welsh by the respondents was related to their recognition of it as a core cultural value.

7.5.2 An Explanation of the Categories

The typology was constructed around two sets of categories:

(i)   Proficiency/Activation

Proficiency, being a prerequisite of speech, was linked to activation. This link was, obviously, particularly necessary in the Welsh instance, given the minority status of speakers even within the larger Welsh ethnic group. Four categories of proficiency were suggested by the memoir data. They are listed and explained in Table 7.8(a) below. Although they correspond closely with the questionnaire-based proficiency categories that have been used throughout this study (W/S1 etc) a nomenclature was substituted here for the readier identification of types.[70]

Biliterate refers to those who were competent in all Welsh and — though not, of necessity, at exactly equal levels — English language skills (understanding, speaking, reading and writing). For the most part the biliterates were native speakers. **Oral Bilingual** identifies those who understood and spoke Welsh at lower levels of proficiency than the Biliterates. Some respondents in this group had literacy skills which were superior to their oral. Oral bilinguals were for the most part 'lapsed' native-speakers, i.e., those who had lost former competence through prolonged absence from Wales or who spoke Welsh as children but had been subsequently Anglicised — a common experience for many individuals from the industrial areas of South Wales. **Receptive Bilingual**

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[70]   The terms used are derived from J.J. Smolicz and M. Secombe, "Types of Language Activation and Evaluation in an Ethnically Plural Society", in U. Ammon (ed.), op.cit., pp.478-511.

describes those who were able to understand the general flow of Welsh conversation. Although it embraces several levels of understanding (from 'full' to 'a little') it includes those who only understood isolated words or phrases. Second-generation immigrants who have lost their speaking knowledge of an ethnic language frequently fall into this category. **English Monolingual** is self-explanatory. They were, for the most part, first generation Welsh migrants from the Anglicised areas of Wales and their children. It also included all the Australian-born second generation (Gen IIb).

Based on the memoir evidence, three levels of current activation were defined and ascribed to the two categories of speakers. The same levels were also used to define possible supportive action by the two non-speaking categories. Thus, regular use of Welsh by speakers, or active support and promotion by non-speakers, was classified as **Active.** **Latent** was used to describe irregular or no use of Welsh by speakers and no supportive action on its behalf by non-speakers. In both cases this was due largely to lack of opportunity. By contrast **Passive** referred to non-activation or non-supportive action *as a matter of choice.*

(ii) Evaluation

Evaluation was taken to mean 'attitude towards the Welsh language'. Four major divisions[71] were revealed in the memoirs (Table 7.8 (b)).

Negative describes opposition to the maintenance of Welsh. This was coupled in most, but not all cases, with a denial of its status as a core value of Welsh culture. **Indifferent** was used to define non-committal attitudes towards Welsh per se, combined with a lack of interest in using, learning, promoting or understanding it. **General Positive** defines generally supportive attitudes which stopped short of personal commitment to its use (by speakers) or its learning (by non-speakers). Finally, **Personal Positive** refers to the recognition of Welsh as the single most important core value of Welsh culture, and a deep commitment on the

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[71] It is acknowledged that there could be as many categories as there were respondents. The aim however was a classification of types.

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Table 7.8(a)

Categories of Welsh Language Proficiency and Current Activation (Speakers) and/or Support (Non-Speakers) Among the Oral Memoir Contributors in 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group

	PROFICIENCY CATEGORY	EXPLANATION	ACTIVATION CATEGORY	EXPLANATION
WELSH-SPEAKERS	Biliterate	Fluent Welsh speakers with varying degrees of literacy in Welsh and English. Mainly native-speakers.	Active	Use Welsh regularly.
			Latent	Use Welsh infrequently or not all owing to lack of opportunity
			Passive	Use Welsh infrequently or not at all by choice.
	Oral Bilingual	Oral Welsh proficiency ranging from near-fluency to working knowledge. Have full understanding of and may have some reading and writing skills in Welsh. Claim English as first language.	Active	Use Welsh regularly
			Latent	Use Welsh infrequently or not all owing to lack of opportunity
			Passive	Use Welsh infrequently or not al all by choice.
NON-WELSH-SPEAKERS	Receptive Bilingual	English-speakers with Welsh under-standing skills varying from 'full' to 'some'.	Active	Promote Welsh through supportive action and/or efforts to learn.
			Latent	Do not promote Welsh through supportive action and/or effort to learn owing to lack of opportunity.
			Passive	Do not promote Welsh through supportive action and/or effort to learn from choice.
	English Monolingual	No knowledge of Welsh.	Active	Promote Welsh through supportive action and/or efforts to learn.
			Latent	Do not promote Welsh through supportive action and/or effort to learn owing to lack of opportunity.
			Passive	Do not promote Welsh through supportive action and/or effort to learn from choice.

Note: Activation levels refer to speech activation (reading and writing skills may be activated at different levels).

Table 7.8 (b)

**Categories Of Welsh Language Evaluation Among The Oral Memoir
Contributors In 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group**

CATEGORY	EXPLANATION
Negative	− Do not see the Welsh language as a Welsh cultural value. − Are opposed to the maintenance and transmission of Welsh. − Refuse to use or learn Welsh or support Welsh maintenance efforts.
Indifferent	− Non-committal attitude towards Welsh language maintenance and transmission. − See no purpose in using or learning Welsh and/or in supporting Welsh maintenance efforts.
General Positive	− Generally sympathetic to Welsh maintenance and transmission. − Recognise the general importance of Welsh as a cultural value. − Feel no commitment on the personal level to using or learning Welsh and/or to supporting Welsh maintenance efforts.
Personal Positive	− Regard Welsh as a core value of Welsh culture. − Strongly favour Welsh language maintenance and transmission. − Feel a commitment on the personal level to using or learning Welsh and/or to supporting Welsh maintenance efforts.

attitudinal level to its preservation and transmission.

7.5.3. Some General Observations on the Results

Using the categories that have been described the distribution of the subjects

was as shown in Table 7.9.

Although the categories produced a multiplicity of cells (20), the results

show an immediately discernible pattern of distribution based on the two main

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Table 7.9

A Typology of Welsh Language Proficiency/Activation and Evaluation Among the Oral Memoir Contributors in 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group (N = 53)

	Proficiency	Current Activation Level	Negative	Indifferent	General Positive	Personal Positive	Total	
SPEAKERS	Biliterate	Active			009/2	011/1 055/1 039/2 052/2 058/1 040/2 052/1 040/1 067/1 058/2	11	
		Latent			002/1 075/1	038/2 046/1 091/2 050/1 088/2	7	20
		Passive			001/1 001/2		2	
	Oral Bilingual	Active					0	
		Latent			042/1	007/1	2	2
		Passive					0	
	Proficiency	**Current Support Level**						
NON-SPEAKERS	Receptive Bilingual	Active			002/2	038/1	2	
		Latent		007/4 040/3	009/4	009/5 052/3 043/2 047/2	7	9
		Passive					0	
	English Monolingual	Active			053/1	015/3 086/3 054/2 092/1	5	
		Latent		007/5	024/4 037/2	041/2 044/2 098/1 051/3 045/2 051/5 048/2 051/2	11	22
		Passive	024/3 009/3 075/2	007/2 007/3	075/3		6	
		TOTAL	3	5	12	33	53	

categories of proficiency and evaluation. Prior therefore to a consideration of suggested types the following observations are offered:

(i)   A preponderance of respondents with General or Personal Positive attitudes (45 or 85% of the total) is apparent. Consistent, therefore, with the overall questionnaire results, there is little doubt that the Welsh language was held in high esteem by the great majority of the oral memoir contributions.

(ii)   Most striking is the total absence of any 'negative' or indifferent evaluation by the Welsh-speakers. It is a point worth emphasising: *not one respondent falling into the biliterate or Oral Bilingual categories expressed 'negative' or 'indifferent' attitudes towards the Welsh language.* Further, 16 (or 73%) of the 22 speakers were classified as Personal Positive. The point must also be made that this was not, as it seems, a foregone conclusion. The native-speaker with negative attitudes (*Dic Sion Dafydd*)[72] has been a familiar phenomenon in Wales at least since the Acts Union in 1536 — and, as shown in Chapter 3, was equally familiar in Australia in the nineteenth century.

(iii)   Generally, absent also was *Dic Sion Dafydd's* first cousin, the *closet bilingual* (as he could be described)[73] or the Bilingual (Passive) in the terminology used here. This is also a familiar type — the native-speaker who chooses not to be revealed as such, and who refrains, therefore, from using Welsh, especially in public. Amongst the speakers the nearest version of the closet bilingual were the two respondents (001/1 and 001/2) classified as 'Passive' on the 'Activation' scale. Yet, they fall short of the closet bilingual tag by their General Positive placement on the attitudinal level.

(iv)   The majority of non-speakers (23 out of 31 or 74%) seem to be clustered at the positive end of the attitude scale. At first glance this is indicative

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[72]   The Welshman who tries to be more English than the English. (see Chapter 2).
[73]   Frequently encountered in the Welsh Societies however, but, by definition, was unlikely to volunteer as a respondent.

of support for the language from this group; it is counter-balanced however by the fact that only 7 of the total 23 were classified as 'active'.

(v)   The final observation is that a substantial number of respondents with positive attitudes (24 or 53%) were placed under 'Latent' on the Activation scale, i.e. they lacked the opportunity to translate favourable attitudes into language use or, in the case of non-speakers, into some form of active support. This may well be the most significant result in terms of predictive theory — namely that positive attitudes are rendered irrelevant to maintenance by circumstances which limit actual language use.

7.5.4 Suggested Types

Typologies, it need not be stressed, have only heuristic value. There is certainly no suggestion here that the 20 cells into which the 53 oral memoir contributors were placed represent 20 distinct 'types'. From the 20 shown in Table 7.9 therefore, 8 were selected for detailed discussion, partly on the basis of their numerical distribution, but also with a view to include all the categories of evaluation that were used. It could also be added that all 8 are recognisable types within the general Welsh-born population. Several, as will be pointed out, fall readily under long established *sobriquets* (in Welsh) for those who are characterised by similar attitudes and forms of language behaviour. Five of the 8 selected are from the General Positive and Personal Positive categories of evaluation since the majority (45 out of the total 53) fell into these two related attitudinal classifications. The discussion of the 8 'types' is followed by a more general review of the typology as a whole.

Type 1 : Personal Positive/Biliterate (Active)

Ten of the 53 oral memoir respondents were distinguishable as this type. Individually and collectively they bear the major burden of Welsh language maintenance.   This assertion derives from (a) their Personal Positive attitudinal stance (b) their proficiency in the language (a necessary

concomitant for maintenance and/or transmission) and (c) their activation classification of 'Active', which implies that their competence in, and positive attitudes towards, the Welsh language were accompanied by its regular use.

The following concrete fact profile and oral memoir extract exemplifies some of the defining characteristics of **Type 1.**

Example of Type 1

Concrete Fact Profile - Respondent 011/1
First generation male, born in Wales, aged 84. Resident in South Australia. Native-speaker of Welsh, married to a non-speaker. A retired seaman, he and his wife came to Australia in 1977 to join his son (from a previous marriage). Speaks Welsh regularly to his son, who is also a native-speaker. Receives Welsh language newspapers from Wales and keeps regular contact with friends and relatives by correspondence (in Welsh). Attends meetings of one of the Welsh Societies in South Australia.

Oral Memoir Comments

"My Welsh has deteriorated slightly over the years and that troubles me greatly. Sometimes, I have to look for the right Welsh word in order to avoid the English equivalent and I'm never happy till I've found it ... The reason that my Welsh is a little rusty at times is that I've been away at sea for almost 50 years, and often out of contact for long periods with other Welsh-speakers ......

I definitely support *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith*[74]. They're doing something to defend the old language and I think all Welsh-speakers should support them ..... Yes, preserving the language is important here in Australia as well. I take every opportunity to speak it but regretfully that's not very often".

Translated from the Welsh

His Welsh had not deteriorated as much as he feared, and during the interview he studiously avoided the Anglicised corruptions which are now common in the speech of many native-speakers. Despite his advanced age and the extra effort involved, he regularly attended meetings of the local

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[74] The Welsh Language Society. See Chapter 4.

Welsh Society but complained that there was little Welsh to be heard there. He was also very aware of recent developments in Wales on behalf of the language and strongly supported the Welsh Language Society.

This, and other respondents in the same category, are the quintessential *Cymry-Cymraeg* (the Welsh-Welsh) who in Wales, are presently the standard-bearers of the language — in other words, those who make a conscious effort to live their lives as much as possible through the medium of the Welsh language and encourage others to do the same.

Type 2 : Personal Positive/Biliterate (Latent)

There were 5 respondents in this category (Table 7.9). Observation evidence however points to their being a substantial, if not the largest, proportion of Welsh-speakers in Australia. This type is characterised by its ability in and enthusiasm for the language, and, at the same time, by its lack of opportunity to use or promote it in everyday life. The two main reasons for this were geographic isolation from other Welsh-speakers and/or marriage to a non-Welsh speaker. The latter situation had consequences beyond the inevitable adoption of English as the language of the home, since the Welsh-speaker in the marriage was almost always drawn into an English-speaking social circle. The non-Welsh-speaking partner was frequently unable, and in some cases unwilling, to participate in any Welsh-speaking social environment. *This effectively condemned the speaker to silence in his or her native language in all domains.* The following extract illustrates the predicament:

Example Of Type 2

Concrete Fact Profile - Respondent 091/2
First generation female aged 63, born in Wales, resident in South Australia. Native-speaker of Welsh. Arrived in Australia in 1970 with her first husband, a non-speaker. She was discouraged by her husband from participating in Welsh social activities. She had no Welsh friends and was not a member of any Welsh Society.

Oral Memoir Comments

"I didn't want to come to Australia at all. My [*first*] husband arranged everything. My heart is still very much in Wales. I'd go home tomorrow if I could.

My first husband used to discourage me from speaking Welsh. There was no point therefore in trying to teach the children Welsh, much as I wanted to. It was really quite hopeless.....

My own Welsh has deteriorated somewhat but it wouldn't take long for me to be fluent again — only a day or so back in Wales, I'm sure. When I go there I feel as if I've never left. Here, there's no opportunity for someone like myself to speak the language.

I'm afraid there's no future for the Welsh language in Australia nor for the Welsh as a separate cultural group. There's just no awareness of us in the community and the Welsh themselves make little effort to make themselves known. It could be different if there was a different attitude amongst the Welsh — if they came together more and did something for their language and culture, but there's just no sign of it. If you haven't got the young people involved there's just no chance in my opinion. As it is, the only young Welsh-speakers I've met after leaving Wales was on the boat coming out here".

<div align="right">Translated from the Welsh</div>

Type 3 : General Positive/Biliterate (Passive)

The small number (2) of respondents in this group belies its generally negative influence on Welsh language maintenance efforts. This type embodies something of the malaise that has characterised much of Welsh cultural life in Australia since the 1870s — namely the inertia and pervasive sense of pointlessness alluded to frequently in the study. The operative word in the description of this type therefore is 'passive'. By passive is meant an unwillingness to work towards the realisation of an expressed goal — in this case the preservation of the language. As such the line between latent and passive is finely drawn, i.e. in certain circumstances lack of opportunity translates into lack of initiative and defeatism. As shown in previous chapters one of the themes running through the whole body of the documentary evidence on the Welsh experience in Australia has been their

reluctance to *act* on behalf of their language and culture. Some of the complaints about the lethargy of nineteenth century migrants that were frequently voiced in the editorials of *Yr Australydd* are echoed in much contemporary commentary. Here for instance is part of the November 1978 editorial of Llais (The Voice), the current newsletter of the Sydney Welsh Society. The comments would seem to be inspired by the prevalence of Type 3:

"Walking around the city we see Greeks, Italians, Germans, Lebanese and indeed people from every part of the world using their own language .... and attending their own churches and social organisations. ....Other groups come together and make an effort to maintain a social and cultural presence. Yet where are the Welsh who have settled in this city? Thousands have come here but how many come to the Welsh societies or the Welsh chapel? True they come to see a Rugby match or to hear Max Boyce[75] but that's not all being Welsh means. .....

It shows one of the worst aspects of our national character, namely the feeling that being Welsh is something shameful. It is obvious that many of our countrymen feel its better to forget our nation and, of course, our language. ....
By doing this we do not seem to realise we are losing something very precious. The Welsh language is so much older than English and its poetry without equal".[76]

This passage conveys much of the problem which lies at the failure of the Welsh to sustain an authentic culture even for the life span of the first generation. It is essentially a failure of will, the legacy perhaps of the history outlined in earlier chapters.

Its expression is conveyed in the type-description adopted here. "General Positive" refers to the vaguely defined expression of support and "Passive" to the inactivity by which it is accompanied. The two respondents in this category (001/1 and 001/2), a married couple, are

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[75] A popular (mainly) English language entertainer from Wales.
[76] Llais : Cylchgrawn Y Gymdeithas Gymreig, Sydney (The Voice : Newsletter of the Welsh Society, Sydney), Vol. 10, No. 6, Nov. 4th, 1978.

representative of the type in several ways. Native-speakers, generally favourable towards the language, they chose to (i) speak English to each other at home (ii) not to actively seek contact with other Welsh-speakers and (iii) not to attend meetings of the local Welsh Society or other Welsh cultural or social gatherings. It must be stressed however that their actions in this respect were informed more by apathy than by overt repudiation of cultural identity. Yet, it remains that these two native-speakers, whose daughter was monoglot Welsh on arrival, had, despite their generally favourable attitudes, made no effort to help her maintain her ethnic tongue. They had, in fact, themselves switched to English as their normal language of communication. They were interviewed together (*mainly in English* — their choice).

Example Of Type 3

Concrete Fact Profiles - Respondents 001/1 and 001/2
First generation native Welsh-speakers, both born in Wales, aged 56 and 54 respectively. Arrived in Australia in 1957 with their daughter then aged 3, who then and for some time afterwards spoke no English. Presently she speaks no Welsh. Formerly resident in Perth, W.A, they now live in South Australia.

Oral Memoir Comments

"Our daughter was three years old when we came out here. She spoke Welsh *only* at the time but lost it very quickly. ... When we first came out we didn't meet other Welsh speakers for years. You could say that our daughter became Australian almost straight away.

(001/2)
...... Welsh was my first language but I was able to speak English by the age of 6 or so, mainly because of the influences of English evacuees who came to our town during the war. Mind you, many of them learnt Welsh too, so in those days the influence worked both ways.

(001/1)
.... At home now we tend to speak English to each other most of the time, because we got used to speaking it to our daughter. The

only time we speak Welsh at home is when my parents come to visit us [*from Wales*] ...... We have very few Welsh friends here in Australia. I have a cousin here who is Welsh-speaking but we speak English to her as well.

(002/1)

.... By the time we came here to South Australia [*from Perth*] we were completely integrated into the Australian way of life, so we made no effort to find other Welsh people ..... Our daughter is not interested in Welsh. She's very Australian ...... I do regret that my own command of Welsh has declined. We'll be going back to Wales on holiday shortly so I expect it will improve. We're going to take our grandaughter with us. Now, she's very keen on learning Welsh. We've been teaching her a few words".

Type 4 : Personal Positive/Receptive Bilingual (Latent)

This type, referred to previously in this study, is common throughout the second-generation of most ethnic groups. It refers largely, but not exclusively, to those of the second generation who, having lost speaking and literary proficiency in their native tongue, retain only understanding ability. This, of course, may vary considerably but for many individuals remains surprisingly high well into adulthood. Moreover, the childhood 'refusal' to speak commented on earlier in this chapter, often evolves in later years into regret for not having retained the mother tongue, or into a condemnation of parents for lack of encouragement and support.

Table 7.9 shows 4 respondents in this category. Since second-generation examples have already been encountered, the comments of one of the two first generation respondents will serve to illustrate the type:

Example Of Type 4

Concrete Fact Profile - Respondent 047/2
First generation female aged 61, born in Wales. Arrived in Australia in 1964. Married to a non-Welsh-speaker. Has three children, all non-Welsh-speaking. Spoke Welsh 'well' at one stage but is now a non-speaker (N/WS1) who still understands Welsh 'very well'. Presently resident in South Australia.

Oral Memoir Comment

"You can call yourself Welsh but if you don't speak the language, there's something very much lacking. I think the language is crucial to the idea of being Welsh. I take every opportunity I can to read Welsh. I'd love to get some people together to practise speaking it, but its very difficult as you realise. The influence to read came largely from my father who always read Welsh texts to us and always talked about the *Mabinogion,*[77] or some other set of stories or poems.

I'd love to be able to attend a Welsh class somewhere. There's no way I could re-learn the language without some formal teaching. It's certainly not impossible to maintain the language outside of Wales. I had a friend in London who was London-born and lived there all his life, but who spoke Welsh like a native ...... I would also have taken my children with me to Welsh classes had they been offered anywhere".

Receptive bilingualism is an important variant of the bilingual experience, not only because it is a common occurrence but because it is only one stage removed from recovery of bilingual facility at the oral level. In many instances, as in the above example, the receptive bilingual may retain not only a good understanding of his/her ethnic tongue but have a good reading knowledge also. These retained abilities may be regarded as bridges to potential recovery of full oral competence.

Type 5 : Personal Positive/English Monolingual (Active)

This type is recognisable as the *Cymry Di-Gymraeg* — the 'non-Welsh-speaking Welsh' who, because of their attitudes, especially towards the language, are accepted into the fold of 'Welshness' by native-speakers. Although the term is suggestive of the Welsh person *manqué,* (the language being the missing qualification), the good will of this 'type' — being the majority in Wales as in Australia — is now recognised as crucial to the future of the language.

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77   A collection of mediaeval folk-tales.

Four memoir contributors were classified as such, two of whom were second-generation Australian-born (Gen IIb). (Respondent 015/3 and 086/3). They were mainly distinguishable by their *active* support of the language (and of Welsh cultural activities) though they themselves were non-speakers. In Wales their counterparts are those who in the heavily Anglicised areas of Wales are attempting to learn the language and/or are sending their children to the Welsh-medium schools. In Australia, they usually express their support by active promotion of Welsh cultural events and the Welsh language. Not infrequently, it was found that it was individuals in this category, rather than their counterparts amongst the speakers (the Biliterate General and Personal Positive types), who called on the Welsh Societies to establish Welsh classes and to include a greater proportion of Welsh language content in their programmes.

Example Of Type 5

Concrete Fact Profile - Respondent 092/1
Second-generation (Gen IIa), male aged 31, born in Wales, non-Welsh-speaking. Arrived in Australia in 1965. Wife and children are Australian-born and non-speakers. Presently resident in South Australia.

Oral Memoir Comments

"I think it's very important that anyone who is Welsh should be able to speak the Welsh language. It's what really makes him Welsh in my opinion. That's why its important that the language should survive here and in Wales. ......

I want to learn Welsh because not knowing my own language is something I feel is lacking in me as a person. It's difficult to be really Welsh if you don't speak the language.

...... I've kept my accent as you can see even though I came here when I was young. Some people make a deliberate effort to shed their accent as quickly as possible in order to be accepted. I didn't because it was a part of my make-up that I wanted to hold on to.

"....... On the whole the Welsh are not very gregarious here in Australia. I think that's because they are all able to speak English and are therefore easily drawn into the wider community".

Type 6 : Personal Positive/English Monolingual (Latent)

Individuals of this 'type' also fall under the general description of *Cymry-Di-Gymraeg* (the non-Welsh-speaking Welsh). Like Type 5, the eight respondents placed in this category showed very positive attitudes towards the Welsh language. They are distinguishable from the former, however, by their less active support for its general maintenance — and were placed therefore in the 'Latent' category of activation. It should be made clear however that their relative inactivity derived more from lack of opportunity — or lack of knowledge — than from indifference or outright hostility. Participant observation evidence suggested that this type, like its Welsh-speaking counterpart (Type 2), is widespread among the Welsh-born in Australia. Persons of this type were found to be very supportive of the language but, for a variety of reasons — close involvement in the life of the general Australian community, no contact with Welsh-speakers, no acquaintance with the Welsh Societies (including some apprehension about being accepted as Welsh) — were not active on its behalf.

Example of Type 6

Concrete Fact Profile - Respondent 051/2
First generation female born in Wales, aged 56. Resident in South Australia. Married to a non-Welsh-speaker also Welsh-born. Arrived in Australia in 1965. Four children, all non-Welsh-speaking. Does not attend meetings of either of the two Welsh Societies in South Australia and has no contact with any Welsh-speakers.

Oral Memoir Comments

"We're from the English-speaking part of Wales. We know a few words but that's all. We heard very little Welsh spoken in our part of Wales when I was growing up. When we went back on holiday not long ago, however, I heard that they were trying to re-introduce the Welsh language back into the schools in my area .... I'm very sorry that Welsh was not taught in my day. I see this advertisement

in the paper quite frequently headed 'What language would you like to learn?' They list a number of languages, including Welsh. I would love to learn Welsh but I know I wouldn't be able to do it that way. I need a teacher ....

I've met a number of Welsh people around here — we recognise each other first by our accents .... Yes I often feel homesick but Australia offers more to the children. That's why we came here. The weather is better and the society is more open. People are not as narrow-minded here as they are in Wales"

Two of the respondent's four children (051/3 and 051/5), all Welsh-born, were also interviewed and, as shown in Table 7.9, held very similar attitudes to their mother. They too were supportive of the language but as in the mother's case, were placed in the 'Latent' Activation category. Though they knew some Welsh individuals in their area, they had no contact with any Welsh ethnic organisations. It is probable that this type — those who are non-Welsh-speaking, "feel" Welsh, but lack the opportunity or are unable to express their feelings culturally, are favourable towards the language but have taken no steps towards learning it — describes the majority of the Welsh-born in Australia at present.

Type 7 : Indifferent/English Monolingual (Passive)

The 'indifferent' type is difficult to characterise precisely because it holds the middle ground of the attitude continuum. Without being expressly opposed to language and culture maintenance, this type is mainly distinguishable by its non-committal stance. Again, the small number of respondents in this category tends to belie its prevalence in the general Welsh community. Whilst this type is monolingual English, language competence is to some extent irrelevant as a defining characteristic. It is the indifferent attitude which is the critical marker here. The following extract was chosen to illustrate Type 7.

Example Of Type 7

Concrete Fact Profile - Respondent 007/3
Second-generation female, born in Wales. Father Welsh-speaking, mother an English monolingual. Arrived in Australia with her parents in 1958, aged 5. Non-Welsh-speaking. Her husband and children are Australian-born. Presently resident in New South Wales.

Oral Memoir Comments

"I was born in Wales unlike my sisters who were born here, but I would never go back there to live. ...... My children are Australian and this is where they belong, so I don't see any point in them learning any Welsh. I encourage them to take an interest in Wales as a country, but not in the language. What for? ..... If the Welsh want to maintain their language and culture over here, they should do it themselves. Opportunities for that sort of thing should be made available by the Welsh Societies, for example. The Australian Government should not fund activities like that ... Anyway I don't see that the language is so important. You can be as Welsh as you want to be without the language ....
Being Welsh has more to do with ancestry and with any personal ties you may have with Wales, than with the language as such".

The attitude expressed here contrasts sharply with that of respondent 092/1, the example of Type 5. Yet both were second-generation Welsh-born (Gen IIa) and arrived in Australia at around the same age. Both were also encouraged by their parents to take an interest in the language and Welsh culture. Unlike the former, however, this respondent felt no commitment to the preservation of the language (although her father was Welsh-speaking) and generally lacked interest in its welfare. At the same time, her attitude stopped short of outright antagonism (unlike that of the second-generation example of Type 8 which follows). Explanations for these widely varying attitudes amongst the second-generation were not easily arrived at but lie probably in family history and personal experience. Attitudes are more easily described than accounted for.

Type 8 : Negative/English Monolingual (Passive)

The memoirs revealed three individuals classified as Negative Evaluation and English Monolingual (Passive) Activation. Two were second-generation (Gen IIa) of Welsh-speaking parentage, one of whom (009/3) was himself a Welsh-speaker on arrival in Australia as a child. They were distinguishable from the Indifferent type by their outright opposition (rather than apathy) to Welsh language maintenance in Australia. Although only one memoir extract is presented here, the comments of both second-generation respondents in this category were notable for their almost virulent tone of rejection of all things Welsh.

Example Of Type 8

Concrete Fact Profile - Respondent 024/3
Second generation (Gen IIa) male, aged 30, born in Wales. Arrived in Australia with his parents in 1970, aged 11. Non-Welsh-speaking on arrival and at present. Father a Welsh-speaker, mother an English monolingual. Presently resident in South Australia.

Oral Memoir Comments

"I think everyone should learn English ..... I wouldn't encourage my son to speak Welsh for the simple reason that he's living over here. He's an Australian. That's what I used to say to my father when he used to tell me I was Welsh. I would say I was an Australian and he'd argue that I had Welsh blood and was Welsh like him.

It was different for him. He had spent the first 37 years of his life in Wales. He had all his friends and connections there. I had a new life here in Australia. ..... No, I've never been to any Welsh Society and I've never wanted to. I have no interest in anything to do with Wales other than sport, and I have no interest in the Welsh language. English should come first. We all live on one planet and if everyone spoke the same language we wouldn't face the problems we've got now".

7.5.5 An Overview of the Types

The multiplicity of types revealed in the oral memoirs is reflective perhaps of some of the complexities which attend bilingualism in general and Welsh-

English bilingualism in particular. Perhaps that is the chief value of the intersection of attitude positions with activation levels — that it demonstrates something of the range of language behaviour that is possible even amongst members of one of the smallest language groups in Australia. It highlights also the near insurmountable problems of maintenance and transmission which such a group faces when it is dependent only on its own resources.

Clearly the single, if slim, best hope for a modicum of Welsh cultural maintenance in Australia would seem to be with the existence and continued presence of Type 1 (Personal Positive Evaluation/Biliterate (Active) Activation, reinforced by Type 5 (Personal Positive Evaluation/English Monolingual (Active) Activation). They are the only types which combined positive attitudes with use and active support. Yet all 11 respondents in this category were first-generation. Given present immigration trends (towards a decreased European influx), the decline of the Welsh-speaking population in Wales and the reluctance of Welsh speakers to emigrate in this situation, it is unlikely that Type 1 will proliferate. More important, however, for language and cultural maintenance as Harris has pointed out is not "continuing additions of raw first generation material .... but the presence of an ethnic linguistic tradition in Australia."[78] On this count also, given the failure of even Type 1 to transmit Welsh to their children, the prospects of its survival are not encouraging.

It is also apparent that speakers in the 'Latent' 'Activation' category (Type 2) regardless of their proficiency levels or attitudes, are unlikely to become 'active' at any future stage. Most were 'latent' as a result of geographic isolation or of being married to non-speakers. For this reason, their contribution to maintenance will remain minimal. This is also largely true of Type 3 (General Positive Evlauation/Biliterate (Positive) Activation) despite their proficiency in the

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[78]   Harris, op.cit., p.499.

language. In the case of the two respondents representing this type, the switch to English to accommodate their daughter had become permanent.

Although Type 5 respondents, (Personal Positive Evaluation/English Monolingual (Active) Activation), vigorously supported maintenance efforts within the Welsh societies, their attachment to the language was more to its value as a symbol of Welsh cultural identity than as a living tongue.

7.6   Concluding Comment

The results that have been presented in this and the preceding chapter point conclusively to the very high evaluation of the Welsh language by the majority of the subjects of this study.   Speakers and non-speakers saw it as an important component of Welsh cultural identity and necessary to its continued presence in Australia.   That said, it must also be added that for the great majority it was peripheral to their lives. It was a medium of natural, daily communication in very few households.   It was seldom, if ever, the language of inter-generational exchange.   Positive attitudes, in other words, were infrequently translated into language behaviour. For reasons which will be further explored in the chapter to follow, Welsh was little used or heard outside the home. In a number of families it had lost ground — in most cases irretrievably — even there. When the children of the Welsh-speakers started school they became English monolinguals almost overnight. This was the universal experience in all the Welsh-speaking families, irrespective of parental attitudes or the age at which the children entered school. Moreover, parents, anxious not to impede their children's progress, accomodated by switching to English as the sole language of communication with their children and, in some cases with each other. As bilinguals, they were able to make this choice but in so doing banished Welsh, usually permanently, from their own households. Although there were bilingual parents within 'Q' group, there were no bilingual families.   This 'capitulation' of parents (understandable in the

circumstances) was only one of a range of factors which seemed to work against the maintenance and transmission of Welsh.

Failure in individual cases was also often the result of adverse circumstances — of physical isolation from other speakers, of mixed linguistic marriages, of the rapid assimilation of the young, and, last but not least, of the tyranny of low numbers. These of course were all circumstances beyond the control of the individuals concerned, but contributed significantly nevertheless to the coupling of high evaluation with low activation in the attempted typology. Conversely, low evaluation — of which there were few examples — was invariably accompanied by low activation.

Yet it must also be said that permeating the ranks of all 'types' — including Type 1 (Personal Positive Evaluation/Biliterate (Active) Activation) — was a general pessimism about the future of the Welsh language in Wales as much as in Australia. It was often expressed less as overt comment to that effect in the memoirs, than as a general unwillingness on the part of many individuals to invest personal energies on behalf of the language. There seemed to be an unspoken assumption, amongst speakers especially, that in Australia it was a lost cause, that any attempt at maintenance, and certainly at transmission, was totally futile. *This general view was confirmed and fatally reinforced by knowledge that it was also losing ground in Wales.* What hope of maintaining Welsh in Australia when it is a diminishing force even in the Welsh heartland?

This was in effect a failure of will. Amongst non-speakers also, frequent references to the lack of opportunity to learn Welsh translated in many instances into a failure to *create* opportunity or to take advantage of the opportunity which, as was outlined in Chapter 4, official policy now makes available to ethnic groups in Australia. Whilst the smaller groups undoubtedly still suffer disadvantages it is nevertheless indisputable that Australia's language policy is remarkably generous by international standards. It is also the case that among the smaller language groups are those who, by dint of what has been referred to in this study as their

'ethnic tenacity', have, through the ethnic school system and their own ethnic organisations, taken up the struggle to maintain their languages and cultures. The chapter which follows adds to the evidence already presented that, with few exceptions, the Welsh are not amongst them.

CHAPTER 8

THE ORGANISATIONAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF WELSH LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

"Very few of the people who emigrate from Wales patronise the meetings organised by the Welsh organisations. It is a staggering thought that there are thousands of Welsh people who never attend anything pertaining to Wales. What happens to those (even the Welsh-speaking people) who emigrate to New South Wales and then vanish into the great void, never to be seen or heard of at any Welsh Church or Welsh Society meeting? Quite a number of them took an active part in the Church to which they belonged to at home. Yet, in the transition which takes place in their lives by moving to Australia, we never see or hear any more of them".

LLAIS[1]

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1   Llais (Voice), Journal of the Welsh Society of Sydney (Cymdeithas Gymreig Sydney), Vol.10, November 4th, 1978.

8.1 Introduction

The linguistic reserves of 'Q' group, and the difficulties attendant on the maintenance and transmission of the Welsh language within the family in the absence of support from the schools, were outlined in the previous two chapters. The focus of the present chapter is on those group systems, other than the home and the school, which may be regarded as repositories of Welsh social and cultural values, namely:

(i)   the Welsh ethnic organisations

(ii)   the Welsh chapels[2]

(iii)   friendship networks and informal groups

The enquiry was directed to two broad ends: an assessment of the adequacy and quality of these systems as repositories of Welsh linguistic and cultural values, and an investigation of the extent of their use by 'Q' group respondents for the construction of personal social and cultural systems. The historical experience of the Welsh in Australia, as shown earlier in this study, points to the importance of primary bonds for the maintenance of ethnic cohesion. Given their presently much increased cultural overlap with the Anglo-Australian majority, it is reasonable to assume that failure to maintain a degree of ethnic cohesion at primary level is potentially a prelude to social assimilation and, in turn, cultural absorption.

This chapter takes its theoretical guidelines from the model of group and personal social systems that was presented in Chapter 1. Of the three systems of cultural values — the linguistic, the social and the ideological — which, according to the conceptual framework for this study, constitutes the culture of a group — it is the social system which determines group membership and thereby defines group boundaries. The network of groups, institutions and relationships in which individuals become involved may therefore be viewed, in Smolicz's words, "in

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[2]   Again, as in previous chapters, given the Welsh custom of referring to nonconformist places of worship as 'chapels', this term will be used interchangeably with 'churches'.

terms of social systems in which rules constitute social values for one another".[3] Group systems thus represent "social stocks or reservoirs which are employed by individuals in the construction of personal social systems".[4]

Particularly relevant to the concerns of this chapter is the distinction made within personal social systems between primary and secondary relationships, the former being informal and close, the latter more formal and impersonal. Thus, at the personal level, an individual constructs two social systems, one consisting of those with whom he has primary relationships (eg family members and close personal friends), the other of those with whom he only has secondary contact (work colleagues, fellow members of professional organisations etc). The relevant argument here is that ethnicity in the sense of group consciousness is preserved by the former, that is, by primary ethnic bonds. This is largely the case even when language as a cultural value has been virtually lost.

Again, varied methods of investigation were used. Section IV of the main questionnaire (Appendix XXVIII) was the primary source of quantative data. This was supplemented by the results of the questionnaire survey of Welsh Societies throughout Australia (Appendix XXX). The 53 oral and 18 written memoirs were, on the other hand, the principal means to an understanding of the personal systems constructed by the respondents. Particularly important however to an investigation of group social systems was the direct participation of the author in the monthly meetings of two Welsh Societies in South Australia for the six year duration of research (1984-90). In addition interviews were given to officials and members of corresponding organisations in Victoria, the ACT and New South Wales, during several visits made to these locations over the same period. Interviews were also held with the ministers and officials of the Welsh chapels, and written memoirs were received from others. Mention must also be made of the use of documentary evidence in the form of monthly newsletters published by most of the Welsh

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3   Smolicz, Culture and Education ...., op.cit., p.146.
4   Ibid.

Societies and of the reports of their activities in *Yr Enfys* (The Rainbow), the quarterly publication of *Undeb y Cymry ar Wasgar* (The Union of the Welsh in Dispersion).

Finally, data was also provided by a number of NQ (non-questionnaire) respondents who, as temporary visitors from Wales, were seen as impartial but informed observers of the Welsh social scene in Australia. In the course of their travels some had attended functions of Welsh Societies and other ethnic organisations in several states, and others had direct contact with Welsh families, and, in particular, with networks of Welsh-speakers across the country.[5] Their first-hand, global impressions, recorded in oral and/or written memoirs, were used, along with those of 'Q' group members, to provide a reasonably broad perspective on Welsh group and personal social systems in Australia in the 1980s.

8.2   The Welsh Societies

The Welsh Societies as group social systems take on an importance for this study, not from any claim to their being representative of the general Welsh community, or to being focal points of Welsh cultural life, but from their role as the only institutionalised expression of a Welsh cultural identity in Australia at present. As such, they provide the only means outside of private homes for the regular gathering of Welsh migrants and their children. Since there are no Welsh Saturday or ethnic schools, and since Welsh is nowhere a school subject, the societies are also the only formal structures potentially supportive of the Welsh language and culture.

The nineteenth century foundations of the societies were examined in Chapter 3. Historically linked to the chapels, until at least the 1950s it was from the latter that they derived most of their membership, leaders, and, in large measure, their agendas. In effect they were parallel, and never sharply

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5   A number of Welsh-speaking 'NQ' respondents brought with them from Wales the names and addresses of Welsh-speakers throughout Australia. These had usually been provided by friends and/or relatives.

differentiated, secular structures, linking Welsh men and women across regional, social, denominational, linguistic and, to a lesser extent, generational lines. The culture of which they and the chapels were the main driving force was the traditional culture of Welsh nonconformity — *the Eisteddfod, the Noson Lawen, the Gymanfa Ganu etc.* The demise of the chapels, and, with them, of this culture, already well under way by 1900, left the societies as the only Welsh public forums in Australia in the post-war era.

Thus by the time most of the participants in this study arrived in the 1950s and 60s, the traditional role of the societies as havens of Welshness and secular partners of the chapels, had undergone radical change. What, then, is the character of the Welsh Societies today, and what is the measure of their contribution to the maintenance of the Welsh language and culture? These are the main concerns of the present analysis. Although the investigation centred in large part on two societies in South Australia — the home state of 70% of 'Q' group — it acquired broader context from three directions:

(i)   43 (30%) of the 142 'Q' group respondents were non-South Australian residents (see Table 5.1) who were able to report on Welsh Societies throughout Australia.

(ii) Several of the NQ (non-questionnaire respondents) had attended meetings of Welsh Societies in other states.

(iii) A questionnaire survey of all known Welsh societies in Australia (Appendix XXX). The questionnaires were mailed to the Presidents of 9 Welsh Societies in 1989. Data was sought on four principal areas:

♦   Aims and/or constitutions

♦   Leadership

♦   Membership

♦   Activities

Eight were returned and the results are presented in Table 8.1 which provides the main framework for the discussion which follows.

8.2.1 Aims and/or Constitutions

Six of the 8 societies surveyed — three of which were pre-World War II foundations — had written constitutions (Table 8.1). Three of these were bilingual documents, including that of the most recently founded, the Blackstone-Ipswich St David's Society in Queensland (1986). Allowing for some amendments to the older constitutions their stated aims were very similar. All referred to the need to foster the music, literature and culture of Wales, and to promote a general awareness in the larger community of a separate Welsh identity. In only one instance, however, was there a direct reference to the Welsh language. The original constitution of *Cymdeithas Gymreig Sydney* (The Welsh Society of Sydney), founded in 1937, stated that:

> "The Welsh language shall not be the sole means of expression of the society but subject matters shall be exclusively Welsh in spirit and outlook."[6]

Maintenance of Welsh was quoted as a stated aim by three other societies, two of which were recent foundations.[7] Yet, in general, practices were usually inconsistent with aims. In all of the organisations surveyed, Welsh was no longer even a junior partner of English in any business or procedural matters. Committee meetings were held exclusively in English[8] and the minutes recorded in the same

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[6]   Extract from "Synopsis of Constitution and Rules, Cymdeithas Gymreig Sydney" (The Welsh Society of Sydney), included in the St David's Day Programme of the Society, March 1st, 1939. Maldwyn Rees Collection, MS 6781, Manuscript Section, National Library of Australia, Canberra. (see Appendix XIII)

[7]   This was consistent with Nahirny and Fishman's findings in their investigations of ethnic organisations in the United States. Based on a very much larger sample, their results suggested that the later the date of the foundation of an ethnic society, the greater the likelihood of its interest in language maintenance. Fishman and Nahirny, "Organisational and Leadership Interest in Language Maintenance", in Fishman (ed), Language Loyalty .... op.cit., Table 7.2, p.161.

[8]   The only exception being the Welsh Society of the ACT where some Welsh may be heard at Committee meetings (information supplied by a member of the Society).

Table 8.1

Profile of Eight Welsh Societies Based on Replies to the Questionnaire Survey of Welsh Societies in Australia[9] (1988/9)

NAME AND YEAR OF FOUNDATION OF SOCIETY	CONSTITUTION				LEADERSHIP				MEMBERSHIP										ACTIVITIES		Welsh Classes	
					President				Nos.		Age Range (%)			% of Welsh-Speakers								
	Written Constitution	English/Welsh/Both	Members to be Welsh Born or have Welsh Ancestry	Welsh Maintenance as Stated Aim	Welsh Born	Australian Born of Welsh Descent	Australian/British /Other	Speaks Welsh	Registered	Actual	Under 30	30 - 50	Over 50	0 - 10	11 - 20	21 - 40	41 - 50	Over 50	Typical Evening's Main Activity	Regular Welsh Item	In the Past	Today
Cambrian (Welsh) Society of South Australia (1927)	Yes	Eng	No	No	●	-	-	No	60	15	10	30	60	●	-	-	-	-	Travel slides/Welsh Music	Reading of News Reports From Wales	Yes	No
Cyfeillion Cymru (SA) (1978)	Yes	Eng	No	No	●	-	-	Yes	15	8	0	50	50	●					Games/Slides	Communal Singing	Yes	No
Cambrian Society of Victoria Inc. (1872)	Yes	Both	No	Yes	●	-	-	yes	40	20	1	9	90	-	-	●	-	-	Talks by invited guests	Cymanfa Ganu	Yes	No
Cymdeithas Gymreig Sydney (1937)	Yes	Both	No	Yes	●	-	-	Yes	50	20	3	3	94	-	●	-	-	-	Discussion of Welsh Matters	Noson Lawen	Yes	No
Launceston Welsh Society (Tasmania) (1980)	No	-	-	-	●	-	-	Yes	30	30	0	40	60	-	●	-	-	-	Welsh Film	Welsh Lang Class	Yes	Yes
Blackstone Ipswich St. David's Society (Qld.) (1986)	Yes	Both	No	Yes	-	●	-	Yes	50	34	5	30	65	●	-	-	-	-	Welsh Film	Cymanfa Ganu	Yes	No
Welsh Southern Districts Association (W.A.) (1978)	No	-	-	-	●	-	-	No	30	15	0	0	100	-	-	●	-	-	Games	Welsh Cookery Class	No	No
Welsh Cambrian Society of the Act (1977)	Yes	Eng	No	Yes	●	-	-	Yes	115	30	0	50	50	-	-	●	-	-	Welsh Music/Poetry	Noson Lawen	Yes	Yes

Note: Actual membership figures refer to average attendance at meetings.

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9   See Appendix XXX.

language.[10] Programmes of events, still bilingual in the 1950s, are now written in English.

The constitutions varied also in their specifications for membership. Earlier foundations insisted on Welsh birth and/or descent.

- "The Society is instituted for the association of and is limited to:

    1. Welsh people

    2. Husbands and wives of Welsh people

    3. People of Welsh descent"
    (Constitution of The Welsh Society of Sydney, est. 1937)[11]

- "Every candidate for election as a member shall be a native of Wales or of Welsh extraction"
    (Constitution of the Cambrian Society of Victoria, est. 1872)[12]

- "Ordinary or life members may be persons of over 14 years of age (male or female), of Welsh lineage or those connected with persons of Welsh lineage by marriage, that is, in a direct way as in the case of husband or wife and their children. Those over 18 years of age or those who have made Wales the land of their adoption, only to have voting power".
    (Constitution of the Cambrian Society of South Australia, est 1927).[13]

In practice these qualifications for membership had long been abandoned. Affiliation with, or an interest in Wales was the minimum requirement of all 8 societies surveyed.

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[10]   e.g. the minutes of the Cambrian (Welsh) Society of South Australia "Records of the Cambrian Welsh Society Comprising Minutes, Ledgers, Register of Members of the Welsh Church and Annual Reports, 1927-84" SRG 290, Public Record Office Of South Australia.

[11]   Extract from : Synopsis of Constitution and Rules, *Cymdeithas Gymreig Sydney* (The Welsh Society of Sydney), included in the St David's Day Programme of March 1st, 1939. Maldwyn Rees Collection, MS 6781, National Library of Australia, Canberra (see Appendix XXIII)

[12]   *Rheolau Cymdeithas Gymreigyddol Victoria A Sefydlwyd Yn 1872* (Rules of the Cambrian Society of Victoria, established 1872). The Evan Thomas Collection, National Library of Australia, Canberra (see Appendix XXII).

[13]   Constitution and Rules of the Cambrian Society of South Australia, (see Appendix XV)

8.2.2 Leadership

Previous research has emphasised the crucial role of effective leadership as a factor in promoting ethnic organisational cohesion and stability. Martin, in her study of Eastern European refugee groups in Adelaide in the post-war period, found that, although the recruitment of educated, professionally trained leaders was in itself no guarantee of the continuity of their organisations, "the rate of demise of associations was higher where professional leadership was lacking than where it was available".[14] It has also been shown that the leadership factor has a direct bearing on the contributions of ethnic societies to the promotion and preservation of ethnic languages and cultures. Thus Fishman and Nahirny found that the nativity of chief officers "is an important determinant of the extent to which the mother tongue is employed in ethnic group organisations".[15]

Historically, as has been shown in earlier chapters, the Welsh communities in Australia were led and represented for the most part by ministers of the three main Welsh nonconformist denominations. Given that most Welsh migrants in the nineteenth century were from a working class background, ministers of religion, with their claim to education and facility in English, easily assumed the role of natural leaders and public spokesmen. The rapid decline of the chapels in this century deprived the Welsh, therefore, not only of their traditional gathering points, but of effective leadership on the organisational level. By the end of the Second World War the Welsh Societies were effectively the only 'Welsh' institutions in Australia. As by-products of the chapels, however, and with an almost identical membership, they too were left high and dry by the emptying of the chapel pews. As a result the history of the Welsh Societies since 1945 has been one of sharply diminishing numbers and, on the whole, of inadequate

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[14]   Martin, Community and Identity, op.cit., p.39.
[15]   J.A. Fishman and V.C. Nahirny, "Organisational and Leadership Interest in Language Maintenance" in Fishman, Language Loyalty .... op.cit., p.167.

leadership, thus creating a vicious circle of general decline, and disassociation from the needs and concerns of the Welsh communities.

The failure of the societies to attract the middle class element within the Welsh migrant population — present in substantial numbers in all the state capitals in the 1960s and 1970s — was a recurrent theme in much of the documentary evidence consulted. The following, an extract from the 1982 Annual Report of the St David's Welsh Society of Brisbane, is typical:

> "It is felt that the year under review has again highlighted several weaknesses, [especially] our inability to attract Welsh people e.g. at Queensland University there are also, to our knowledge, 3 Welsh lecturers or professors; at the Colleges of Advanced Education [in Brisbane] there are 2 senior lecturers; there are 3 high school teachers [in this area] and, in addition to our President, there are 6 other ministers of religion.
>
> *In all cases their interest [in the Welsh Society] is minimal, yet they could provide strength and leadership. There are also numbers of others who are Welsh-born and bred, most of whom are Welsh-speakers, who take no interest in our Society"*.[16] *(own italics)*

The questionnaire survey revealed (Table 8.1) that in 1989 all except one of the Presidents of the 8 societies were Welsh-born, and all except two Welsh-speaking. On the other hand the Presidents of the two South Australian Societies for four of the six year period of participant observation (1984-90) were non-Welsh-speakers. One was Australian-born of non-Welsh ancestry[17] and the other a Welsh-born non-speaker. In general, the former was more supportive of Welsh-language maintenance (e.g. by initiating classes in private homes). The latter saw the language as largely irrelevant to the function of the society. Brought up in an English-speaking area of South Wales where, in his opinion "Welsh-speakers are

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[16]   "Sixty Third Annual Report of the St David's Welsh Society of Brisbane, Saturday, 24th April 1982" (unpublished document sent to the researcher by the President of the St David's Society of Brisbane in 1984).
[17]   Her husband was Welsh-born.

regarded as being of low social standing",[18] he expressed very little interest in learning Welsh and had no intention of encouraging his Welsh-born children in that direction.

In direct contrast is the following assessment of the contributions of one of the leading figures of the Sydney Welsh Society in the post-war period:

> "After the war when large-scale migration to Australia started, she found yet another avenue for service - to help Welsh migrants to settle. ..... She obtained lists of Welsh arrivals from the Immigration Department and set about in a practical way to help whoever she could. She met them on the ships and at the airport, sought them out at the migrant hostels, taking them to the Welsh Societies and the Welsh church and introducing them to Welsh people already settled here who came from the same district, in an effort to make them feel at home".[19]

Although the memoirs revealed a number of recent examples of similar efforts by key individuals to involve the Societies more directly in the Welsh communities, the overall data suggested that inadequate direction explains much of their failure to contribute significantly to Welsh language and cultural maintenance.

At the heart of the problem is the inability of most of the societies[20] to attract educated, professional men and women into their ranks. They are seen by the latter as low-brow social clubs, indistinguishable in most respects from any other British working men's or ex-servicemen's clubs in Australia. Most of all, they were criticised for their non-Welsh character. The two following memoir extracts convey something of the attitude. The first is by a music teacher who had recently resigned from one of the Welsh Societies in her home town:

> "I can't honestly say that I've enjoyed belonging to a Welsh Society in Australia. I've tried both of them [in her home town] on several occasions but I've got little out of it. I would rather meet and mix with Australians. I really couldn't be bothered with the Welsh Societies. The people who frequent them are just not the sort of

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[18]   Participant observation evidence (informal interview). He declined the invitation to complete a questionnaire or to contribute an oral memoir.

[19]   G. Pryce-Jones, "Born Organiser : Sydney Loss", Yr Enfys, February-March 1970.

[20]   The Welsh Society of the ACT was an exception.

Welsh people I would have mixed with in Wales. My husband and I tried to help them to organise [a number of events] ... but they would have none of it, even though we were both professionals in these matters. .... *I think the Welsh Societies in Australia lack quality leadership more than anything"*. (own italics)

Respondent 054/2 (N/WS2)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

The second extract is from the oral memoir of a retired secondary school teacher, who also stayed away from the Welsh Societies. He explained why:

"We [he and his Welsh friends] came together quite frequently but not in some formal organisation like a Welsh Society. There are a number of people like myself — the educated Anglo-Welsh if you like — who go to them when they first arrive, get very patriotic on St David's Day and that sort of thing, but then come to realise that they're in a new country and don't want to be caught up in the once-a-month nostalgic evening routine. After that they stop going".

Respondent 053/1 (N/WS2)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

Those best qualified to provide leadership for the Welsh organisations are therefore the most likely to avoid them. At the same time they are also, by virtue of their educational background, professional status and proficiency in English, the most ready and able to assimilate culturally and structurally into the mainstream population. In the process a vicious circle again ensues, whereby the professional, middle-class Welsh shun the Welsh ethnic organisations on the grounds that they are non-Welsh social clubs for the elderly, but themselves help to perpetuate that image by not providing the necessary leadership.

8.2.3 Membership

The (actual)[21] attendance figures shown in Table 8.1 do not augur well for the future of Welsh Societies in Australia. Only one of the eight, the most recently

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[21] A distinction was made in the questionnaire schedule between actual and registered membership (Appendix XXX, Questions 6 and 9)

founded,[22] claimed an average attendance of more than 30 at its monthly meetings. Five show average attendances of 20 or less. More significant perhaps is the clear evidence of a lack of interest by the second-generation. Four reported having no members under the age of 30, the great majority in all 8 societies being over 50.

These trends were confirmed by the responses to Question 4.2 of the main questionnaire (see Table 8.2 below).

Table 8.2

Membership of Welsh Societies by Generation ('Q' Group)

Generation		First	Second	Total
Membership	Yes	48	7	55
	No	56	31	87
	Total	104	38	**142**

Of the 142 'Q' group respondents, 55 reported being members of a Welsh Society, of whom only 7 were second generation. The same trends were confirmed by observation of the two South Australian Societies. Attendance on a given evening was seldom more than 20 and very few of those present were under 40.

Measured in terms of Welsh-language proficiency, the Welshness (*Cymreictod*) of the Societies must also be rated as low. Table 8.1 shows that in 3 of the 8 societies surveyed less than 10% of members who 'usually' attended had a knowledge of Welsh. In 5 it was below 20%.

Similarly 24 of the 47 Welsh-speakers in 'Q' group reported not being members of any Welsh Society (see Table 8.3 below).

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22   The Blackstone-Ipswich St David's Society, founded in 1986.

Table 8.3

Membership of Welsh Societies by Linguistic Proficiency ('Q' Group)

Language Proficiency		Welsh Speakers	Non-Welsh Speakers	Total
Membership	Yes	23	32	55
	No	24	63	87
	Total	47	95	**142**

Again a vicious circle situation arises. The majority gave as their primary reason the infrequency with which Welsh was spoken at any of the regular meetings! The following are typical of the comments made:

"As far as going there [to the Welsh Society in his area] is concerned, it's a waste of time. There is only one person there who is Welsh-speaking, a woman from Pwllheli [a town in the Welsh-speaking area of North Wales], but even she speaks to me in English most of the time".

<div style="text-align:right">

Respondent 075/1 (W/S1)
Resident in ACT (OM)

</div>

"No, we [he and his wife] never go to the Welsh Societies ..... we only went once but were disappointed that we heard no-one speak Welsh there. We never went again".

<div style="text-align:right">

Respondent 040/1 (W/S1)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

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"I've met very few Welsh-speakers since I've been here — only a couple in the Welsh Society. I only went there once, I must say, but as far as Wales and its language and culture are concerned, that was one of the saddest experiences of my life. There was nothing Welsh about it at all. If what I saw there is representative of Welsh cultural life in Australia, then I'm afraid it is a lost cause".

<div style="text-align:right">

Respondent NQ 25 (visitor from Wales)
W/S1 (OM) Translated from the Welsh

</div>

What the quantitative data failed to disclose was that some of the societies surveyed were also failing in their primary function, namely the promotion of Welsh group solidarity. In several respects they had the opposite effects since their membership was rent by disagreement over a range of issues — [23] a secular version of the capel-split[24] which has long characterised Welsh nonconformity. These issues ranged from trivial organisational matters to the use of the Welsh language during regular meetings. Dissension was by no means a new feature in the life of the Welsh Societies. Thus the founding of *Cymdeithas Gymreig Sydney* (the Welsh Society of Sydney) in 1937 was directly the result of a dispute with the older Cymmrodorion Society (est 1889) over the matter of language. The secretary of the former, speaking in 1975 to a newspaper reporter explained as follows:

> "We started in 1937 because the other society [The Cymmrodorion] always gave preference to the English language. Some of the members started to speak Welsh among themselves and it snowballed, so they started their own society. We are more Welsh — we hold Welsh classes twice a week. The other lot even sing the Welsh National Anthem in English now".[25]

A more recent example of division over the language issue was that within the Cambrian Society of South Australia (see Table 8.1) in 1978, when a number of its members seceded to form their own society, now called *Cyfeillion Cymru* (Friends of Wales).[26] One of the founding members of this rival organisation, a 'Q' group respondent, explained:

> "The main reason for setting up another society in Adelaide was that the Cambrian Society was pretty dead. What's more there was no Welsh spoken there at all .... so we decided to set up another

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[23]   This was the case in 3 of the 8 societies surveyed (observation and memoir evidence).

[24]   Literally "chapel-split", a term used to describe the disputes over matters of doctrine within the chapels. In the nineteenth century it usually led to the establishment of a rival chapel or denomination (see Chapter 3).

[25]   "Cross Celts", The Sydney Morning Herald, August 13th, 1975.

[26]   There were 33 at the inaugural meeting on October 24th, 1978. The author attended the meetings of both these societies (intermittently in the case of the older foundation) from 1984 to 1990.

organisation, one that we hoped would be more lively, and more Welsh".

<div align="right">
Respondent 015/3 (N/WS2) (female)
Resident in South Australia (OM)
</div>

These were not the only examples of dissension on the question of Welsh language use nor, as was shown in Chapter 3, was the problem new. Yet the establishment of splinter groups has done little to boost the fortunes of the language or to increase membership. On the contrary, the setting up of competing societies in several state capitals[27] has only served to weaken the organisational voice of the Welsh communities.[28]

8.2.4 Activities

The programmes of the societies were seldom reflective of their constitutional mandates.[29] Three of the 8 surveyed, for example, gave Welsh language maintenance as one of their stated aims (see Table 8.1), but the evidence was clear that this was not being achieved even when attempted in the form of Welsh language classes; the paucity of speakers and the unavailability of instructors made the task extremely difficult.

The survey results revealed a fairly uniform pattern of regular activity. Games, quizzes, slide shows and communal singing were the staple agenda of 6 of the societies. The general leaning was towards light entertainment with a consciously 'Welsh' flavour. In the two South Australian Societies the 'Welsh'

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[27]   Some members of the Welsh Society of Western Australia also set up a rival organisation in 1991. Whether language differences was again the cause is not clear. Yr Enfys, February 1991, p.5.

[28]   It has also caused some confusion in the larger Australian community. Organisations such as the ABC constantly enquire as to which group represents the 'Welsh' (report from the secretaries of the two Societies).

[29]   A point taken up by the author of the following report in *Yr Enfys* of February 1991 on a recent meeting of the Sydney Welsh Society: "It was good to welcome some new young arrivals [from Wales] to Australia to our midst .... some obviously rejoicing in the fact that they had an opportunity for the first time since they arrived in this country to speak their own language.

That surely was to witness the original aims of the constitution of our Society being realised". (own italics) (Translated from the Welsh). Yr Enfys, No. 9, February, 1991.

content might include: the singing of Welsh songs in phonetic English translation; quiz games about Wales; listening to Welsh musical items; watching Welsh films (in English or with English sub-titles) etc. Welsh was not used however during any part of the evening's programmed activities or during the formal committee meetings of either society. Though for two of the six year period of observation one of these two societies had a Welsh-speaking president, and though two other presiding committee members were also Welsh-speaking, the language of business owing to the presence of two non-speakers, was invariably English, i.e. though the majority of the committee membership was Welsh-speaking, the Welsh language was totally excluded. As a result the monopoly of English carried over into other less formal occasions. Thus, even when, during informal gatherings, Welsh-speakers conversed in Welsh, they did so almost surreptitiously, the approach of a non-speaker being invariably the signal for an immediate, apologetic switch to English. This, as has been pointed out earlier, is one of the major barriers to Welsh language maintenance in Australia. A switch to English for those who speak 'secure' languages, i.e. those with an unchallenged territorial base outside of Australia, amounts to no more than polite behaviour. For Welsh-speakers, who have no such base, it must be regarded as inimical to overall maintenance. Given also that this aspect of language behaviour is normal in almost all social contexts, it must be interpreted as part of a general pattern of retreat or loss.

Each of the 8 societies reported having a regular 'Welsh item' on its typical programme of activities.[30] (Table 8.1). Four named a *Noson Lawen* (Merry Evening) or *Cymanfa Ganu* (hymn-singing festival). Both however would be no more than annual events. Several were witnessed during the research period, but on each occasion the dominant platform-language was English interspersed with brief Welsh translations of some announcements. At best Welsh had little more

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[30]   That Welsh ethnic organisations should be asked what they "do on a regular basis that is specifically 'Welsh' in character" (Question 11) is in itself, of course, a reflection both on the Societies and on the general condition of Welsh cultural life.

than a symbolic role. Yet these events, both in form and content, are so traditionally bound up with the Welsh language that their rendition in English invariably eliminates much of their Welsh character.[31] This was the opinion of several of the speakers who were present, for whom an English-language *Cymanfa Ganu* was a contradiction in terms. Yet, those observed attracted large numbers of speakers and non-speakers,[32] many of whom were not members of any Welsh Society. As annual or biennial events, with minimal Welsh language content, they are obviously almost immaterial to language maintenance but, like the periodic visits of Welsh choirs, they serve as symbols of group cohesion. Their very success, as the newsletters of the Welsh Societies constantly bemoan, is, in fact, indicative of the apathy of most of the Welsh-born population during the greater part of the year.

An activity more directly related to maintenance was the holding of Welsh language classes by several of the Societies. Although only two indicated that they were teaching Welsh at the time of the survey (Table 8.1), all but one had done so in the recent past. For example, classes had been conducted under the auspices of *Cyfeillion Cymru*, one of the two Adelaide organisations, in 1984. These were conducted in private homes on an informal basis and with no financial or other support from any external body. Most of the students (the average attendance was 12) were members of *Cyfeillion Cymru* though some were from the general Welsh community.[33] They included absolute beginners and former speakers who had lost proficiency through lack of practice (the W/S2 category in this study).[34] After 6 months, however, the instructor (a visitor from Wales) departed and the classes were discontinued.

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[31] Attempts to introduce an English content into the annual National Eisteddfod in Wales have been fiercely resisted. It remains a totally Welsh-language event.

[32] Approximately 500 attended the Cymanfa Ganu held at the Flinders Street Pilgrim Church in Adelaide on June 17th 1984 for example (observation evidence).

[33] News of the classes led to a surprisingly widespread expression of interest by Welsh people in Adelaide with calls for more formal arrangements through the WEA or the Ethnic Schools Commission. They were not followed up however.

[34] See Table 6.2.

The Adelaide example was not an isolated case. The Sydney Welsh Society also reported that it had conducted Welsh language classes over a period of 12 years,[35] and a growing demand for places was also reported by the Welsh Society of the ACT.[36]

Finally, some mention must be made of the main annual event celebrated by the Welsh Societies in Australia, namely *Gwyl Ddewi* (St David's Day), on March 1st. It has been suggested elsewhere that the *"main purpose"* of the 80 or so Welsh Societies in the United States and Canada is "to celebrate St. David's Day",[37] the day set aside by the Welsh to honour their patron saint. Judging by their historical record this has been true also of their Australian counterparts. Observation evidence and the survey results suggested that it is still the high point of the annual calendar of the Welsh Societies throughout Australia. Never of great significance in Wales since the Reformation,[38] St David's Day has become for the Welsh in exile on the other hand, the culmination of their cultural year and the most favoured occasion for the public display of their cultural identity. Several of these celebrations were witnessed during the research period. As a result it is difficult to escape the conclusion that these rituals as presently observed, conform closely to Fishman's notion of "sidestream ethnicity"[39], i.e. one in which most aspects of culture have been reduced to symbolic form. The following memoir extract conveys the impression made by one of these occasions on a visiting Welsh-speaker from Wales.

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[35]   In a note under 'Any other comment?' in the Questionnaire survey the instructor, a minister of religion in the Sydney Welsh Chapel wrote "The Welsh classes we have held here have been very successful. One man used to travel 120 miles (sic) each way to get to the class on a Thursday evening.

[36]   Welsh classes had been conducted by the Welsh Society of the ACT since the mid 1970s.

[37]   D. Greenslade, Welsh Fever : Welsh Activities in the United States and Canada Today (Cowbridge : D. Brown and Sons, 1986), p.231.

[38]   *'Cymry Gwyl Ddewi'*, the 'St. David's Day Welsh' is a derogatory term used to describe the Welsh who 'come out of the woodwork' on March 1st.

[39]   J.A. Fishman, Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective (Clevedon : Multilingual Matters, 1989), p.670.

"Welshness here, in my opinion, is a version of show business. Everyone seems to be carried away by what to me are the most shallow and artificial forms of Welsh culture. I went to a St David's Day celebration organised by the Welsh Society of **** and out of the 150 people that were there I doubt if more than one or two could speak the language. Those that could wouldn't do so. There was nothing Welsh about the whole occasion. The conversation at the dinner table was in English, the announcements were in English, and even the singing was in English".

<div align="right">Respondent NQ21 (visitor from Wales) (Male)
Translated from the Welsh (OM)</div>

Apart from the obvious rejoinder that the ability to speak a language is for most individuals no more than a chance inheritance, views such as the above must also be counterbalanced by the evidence of widespread interest in learning Welsh that has just been presented. Consideration must also be given to Smolicz's argument that structures (such as the Welsh Societies) which encourage the cultivation and activation of "folkloric residues"[40] may also be regarded as anchorages for 'authentic' culture. They may, he argues, "keep the embers of ethnicity alive long enough to enable subsequent generations .... to return to the more intellectual and literary as well as folkloric parts of their heritage".[41] This, however, is more likely to be the case with groups such as Polish-Australians (to whom Smolicz is referring) who may confidently expect some infusion of new blood through immigration. In the Welsh case this, as has been previously argued, certainly with reference to Welsh speakers, is very unlikely.

8.2.5 Some Observations on the Welsh Societies

1.   Although the migrant viewpoint most often heard in Australian public life is the institutionalised one,[42] it by no means

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[40]   See Chapter 9 to follow for an extended discussion of 'residual ethnicity'.

[41]   J.J. Smolicz and M.J. Secombe, "Polish Culture and Education in Australia : A Review of some recent research and Educational Developments" in R. Sussex and J. Zubrzycki (eds), Polish People and Culture in Australia (Canberra : Department of Demography, The Australian National University, 1985), p.130.

[42]   The 1988 Fitzgerald Report for instance stated that "the immigrant voice the Committee heard most was an institutionalised voice". See Immigration : A Commitment to Australia. The Report of the Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies (AGPS : Canberra, 1988), p.33.

follows that the ethnic organisations, either in their public pronouncements or cultural activities, are representative of the ethnic communities. Certainly the Welsh Societies do not mirror the interests and concerns of the general Welsh community, nor does the very limited cultural content of their programmes represent the stock of Welsh cultural values present in Australia. This is confirmed even by membership figures alone. Thus the total registered (as against actual) membership of all 8 societies surveyed was only 390, and this out of a total Welsh-born population of 27,209. (1986, see Table 1.4). Yet, it must be reiterated, that the Societies are effectively the only surviving avenues of Welsh cultural life in Australia. The shared, public expression of Welsh culture is limited therefore to these organisations and the few remaining chapels, and it is only there that its pulse can be felt.

2.   Largely contributory to the near-moribund state of most of the Welsh Societies in Australia at present is their failure to attract the young. This is a long-standing problem and one common to most ethnic groups in Australia. Various schemes to educate Australian-Welsh youth in the language and culture of their ethnic background have been put forward from the earliest days of Welsh settlement. In 1870, for example, the *Australydd* proposed the establishment of an Australia-wide St David's Society for the promotion of Welsh culture, a scheme which would have included the founding of a scholarship to send 'young people of Welsh background' to Melbourne University.[43] Similarly, the stated chief aim of the Cambrian Society established in

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43   Yr Australydd, No. 6, June 1970.

the Ballarat-Sebastopol region in 1910 was "the uplifting of the younger generation".[44]

Most of these plans foundered on the disinterestedness of the young. Today's societies have neither the will nor the means to even attempt to draw the youth into their ranks. They provide no incentives in the way of sporting facilities, dancing, or any other activity targeted at the younger age-groups. There was in fact no evidence of even the temporary appeal which some forms of organisational ethnicity had for de-ethnicised younger members of ethnic groups in the United States.[45]

3. Without the patronage of the young, and deprived of educated leadership, the Welsh Societies in their present form are little more than monthly gathering points for an aging first-generation of Welsh migrants, indistinguishable in most respects from other recreational facilities for the UK-born. At best they are havens of a marginal Welsh ethnicity[46] to which the Welsh language is irrelevant, except in symbolic form. The evidence points unequivocally to the failure of most of the Welsh Societies in Australia to provide an alternative to the home as a domain for Welsh language maintenance and use.

4. The ineffectiveness of the Societies as agencies for Welsh group cohesion has encouraged individuals — especially of the second-generation — to integrate at every level into the mainstream population. Likewise, many of the educated middle-class professionals, who now form a substantial proportion of the Welsh

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[44] "Cambrian Society, The Inaugural Concert, 1910", (Typescript), Box 499, Manuscript Department, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

[45] For a discussion of the problems of ethnic organisations in the United States in attracting younger members see V.C. Nahirny and J.C. Fishman, "American Immigrant Groups : Ethnic Identification and the Problem of Generations", The Sociological Review, Vol. 13, No. 3, November er 1965, pp.311-26.

[46] See Chapter 9 for further discussion.

migrant intake, have shunned the Welsh Societies as low-brow working men's clubs. They too, as will be shown later in this chapter, seek compatible friendships either within informal circles of their countrymen from the same social class as themselves, or in professional organisations within the mainstream population. In this situation the Societies are powerless to prevent the total disintegration of the Welsh in Australia as a distinctive cultural group — a process which according to the evidence of this study is well under way.

8.3 The Welsh Chapels

Earlier chapters have established the historical record of the chapels[47] as the most important agencies of Welsh language and cultural maintenance in the nineteenth century. Although they retained this status at least into the 1930s, since then their numbers and contributions to *Yr Achos Cymraeg* (the Welsh cause) have drastically decreased. A retreat from religion has of course characterised the history of most Protestant groups in Australia during the 20th century, but in the Welsh case, given the mutual dependence of chapels and culture, it takes on added significance as the dissolution of modes of thinking and a whole way of life.

The analysis which follows is based on memoir and documentary evidence.[48] Two main lines of enquiry are followed:

(i) What are the contributions of the chapels to the stock of Welsh group cultural values in Australia today? (i.e. to what extent are they Welsh?).

(ii) How relevant were they (in the cultural sense) to the lives of the participants in this study? (i.e. were they important to the construction of their personal cultural systems?).

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[47] Here, as in previous chapters, church and chapel is used interchangeably.

[48] Questionnaire data linking the cultural and linguistic experiences of the whole body of 'Q' group to the chapels was unavailable, since there is no Welsh chapel in South Australia, the home state of 70% of the respondents.

8.3.1 Their Current Contributions to Welsh Group Cultural Values

There are five chapels that call themselves 'Welsh' in Australia at present. They are:

(i) The Welsh Church,
     La Trobe Street,
     Melbourne, Victoria
     (Calvinistic Methodist)
     (See Plate 6)

(ii) Eglwys Bresbyteraidd Gymraeg
      (Welsh Presbyterian Church),
      Chalmers Street,
      Sydney, New South Wales
      (Presbyterian)
      (See Plate 7)

(iii) Carmel Welsh Presbyterian Church,
       Sebastopol, Victoria
       (Presbyterian)
       (See Plate 8)

(iv) Free Welsh Church,
      Perth, Western Australia
      (non-denominational)[49]
       (See Appendix XXI)

(v) United Welsh Church,
     Blackstone, Queensland
     (non-denominational)
     (See Plate 9)

Only one of these, the Welsh Presbyterian Church in Melbourne, being Calvinistic Methodist, is now Welsh in the denominational sense.[50] The others are non-denominational or affiliated with kindred mainstream denominations. As with

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[49] Situated on the premises of the Trinity Congregational Church, St. George's Terrace, Perth.

[50] Historically, as explained in Chapters 2 and 3, the Calvinistic Methodists, for reasons of language and doctrine, have been the least likely to affiliate with mainline denominations. This was also the case in the United States. See Hartmann, op.cit., p.123. In Wales, where it still retains something of the status of a religious establishment, the Calvinistic Methodist Church is now known as the Presbyterian Church of Wales.

PLATE 6 The Welsh Church (Calvinistic Methodist), La Trobe Street, Melbourne, Victoria (Photograph taken by Author)
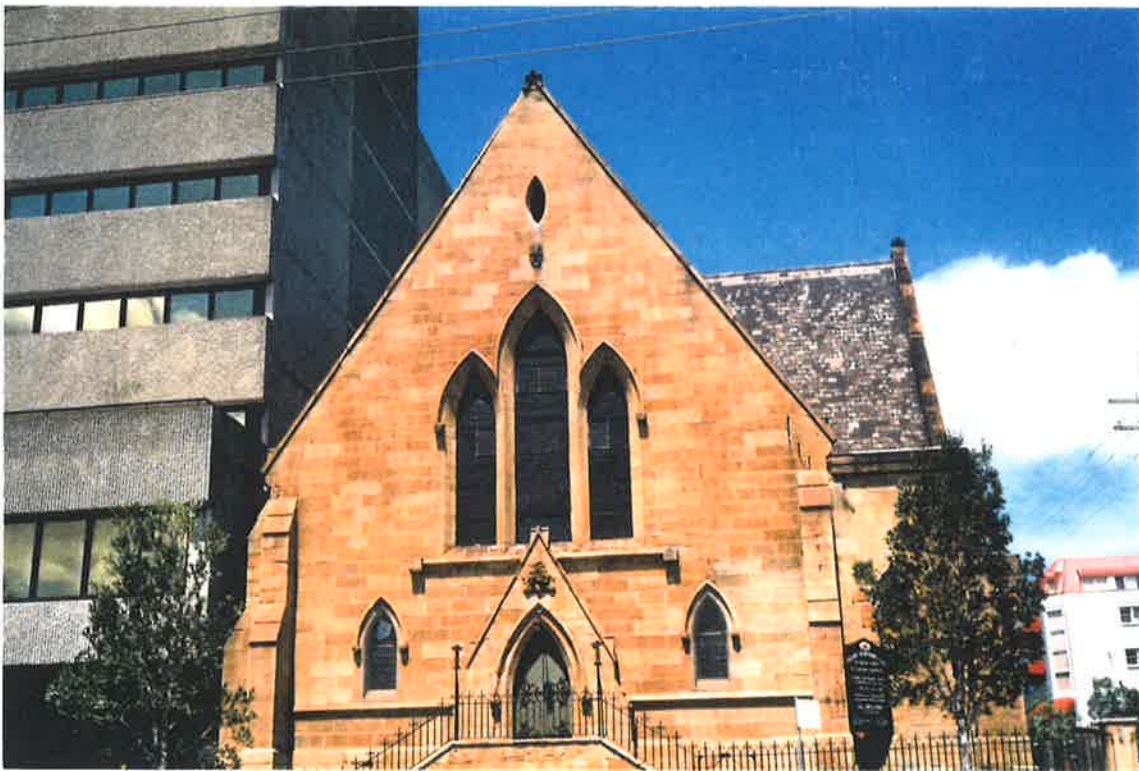
Plate 7 The Welsh Church (Presbyterian), Chalmers Street, Sydney, New South Wales (Photograph by the Author).

PLATE 8 Carmel Welsh Presbyterian Church, Sebastopol, Victoria (Photograph taken by Author)

Plate 9 United Welsh Church (non-denominational), Blackstone, Queensland.

PE 3302 Photograph Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

the Welsh Societies two trends were clearly observed:

- the declining role of the Welsh language in religious services[51] and associated cultural activities.

- the declining number of members, especially in the younger age-groups.

Welsh language services on a regular basis are now held only in the Melbourne and Sydney chapels.[52] In the Melbourne chapel which, as shown in Chapter 3, was one of the fortresses of the Welsh 'cause' in Victoria in the nineteenth century, the language has been in rapid decline since the end of the Second World War. Well before 1955 regular Welsh language services had been reduced to once a month. That they are presently conducted on a twice monthly basis is a misleading index of maintenance, since the proportion of Welsh-speakers in the total membership has actually decreased. In his oral memoir ,the minister in 1985, a Welsh-speaker, traced in detail the almost total displacement of the language within the church in the post-war period and with it, as he was at pains to point out, of Welsh cultural life in Melbourne. Although only a brief extract can be presented here, his account provided valuable insight into the processes of Welsh cultural erosion in Australia in recent years:

> "Welsh was the sole language used in this chapel at one time. The Deacons' minutes used to be in Welsh as were the records of the *Gymanfa*. For years now though, hardly anything has been recorded in Welsh, and the greater part of the congregation have no knowledge of the language. When I came here in 1967 we had 70 or so *Cymry Cymraeg* (Welsh-speaking Welsh people) in the

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[51] Ethnic churches, as Clyne points out, "promote L1 (the ethnic or the first language) if services and social functions are held in that language". Clyne, Multilingual Australia ..... op.cit., p.33.

[52] The heart of the service in Welsh nonconformist chapels is still the sermon. No longer the marathon two to three hour performance that it once was (the nineteenth century *Cyfarfod Pregethu* 'sermon session' often included three sermons in succession), it is still a disproportionally longer component of religious service than in most other churches. In this context Hofman makes the important point that "the use of the mother tongue in church sermons seems to be ...... [a] meaningful index of language maintenance, because the sermon is probably more sensitive to the linguistic needs and preferences of the congregation as a whole". J.E. Hofman, "Mother Tongue Retentiveness in Ethnic Parishes", in Fishman (ed.), Language Loyalty .... op.cit., p.133.

congregation on a normal Sunday evening but by today [1985] we'd be lucky to get 25 to come.

It is the older generation who are keeping the language alive but, of course, many of them are gone and won't be replaced I'm sure .....

It's been a very disappointing time for us at this church for these past 12 months. We haven't been able to add as much as one Welsh person to the congregation, nor have the Cambrian Society next door[53] done any better. It's not a *Welsh* Society people want any more but a social club. Yet when Max Boyce[54] comes out here, the Welsh of Melbourne flock to his concerts in their thousands ....

There are no Welsh-speakers coming out from Wales nowadays .... and with things as they are, I see no hope of maintaining the language in this country. ..... Yet I admire those people who can't speak the language who come here faithfully each Sunday, some from very far away. I'm about to retire as you know, and we're even having great difficulty in finding a Welsh-speaking replacement. That's what things have come to. Some members are talking about getting an Anglo-Welshman and — would you believe it — its the non-speakers in the congregation who won't have a bar of that. When the subject first came up I really thought it was the end of the line for the Welsh language in the La Trobe Street church after more than a hundred years as a Welsh chapel. But, irony of ironies, it was the non-speakers amongst us who saved the day".[55]

Respondent 067/1 (W/S1)
Resident in Victoria (OM) (Translated from the Welsh)

A similar situation obtained at the Welsh Presbyterian Church in Sydney, arguably the most 'Welsh' of the Welsh chapels in Australia in the post-war era. As late as 1960 all the deacons were Welsh-speaking, as were some of their Australian-born children — a great exception in recent times. The decade of the 60s, however, was a turning point. In Sydney, as elsewhere, the language fell victim to dwindling members of first-generation speakers through death and/or increased indifference to matters of religion. Though figures are unavailable it is not unreasonable to assume a correlation between the steep decline of the language

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[53]   The Cambrian Society of Victoria (see Chapter 3) hold their meetings at St David's Hall, adjacent to the chapel.
[54]   A popular Welsh (but English-medium) entertainer. See Part 4 of Oral Memoir Schedule (Appendix XXXI)
[55]   The current (1993) minister is Welsh-speaking.

in Wales in that decade[56] and a reduced proportion of speakers in the emigrant stream.[57]

By 1965 the Sydney Church was "for the first time for over a 100 years ....
without a Welsh-speaking minister of religion".[58]   That is also the case today
(1992).   The monthly Welsh-language Service which the church now offers is led
by one of the deacons[59] and "after much deliberation",[60] it has been decided to
share the regular ministry with a neighbouring English (speaking) Presbyterian
Church, a contingency measure brought about by reduced attendance and falling
income levels.   This was not, it seems, what the congregation wanted.   As one
member commented:

> "We would much prefer a Welsh-speaking minister of course but as
> it is we are unable to support one; in the circumstances we should
> be grateful that the immediate future of the Welsh church is
> secure".[61]

Though it remains the most 'Welsh' of the chapels in Australia, its future
after the passing of the present generation, is in doubt.   This was the opinion of
one of its former members now resident in South Australia and a participant in this
study:

> "The Welsh of Sydney are more conscious of their cultural identity
> than those of Adelaide in my opinion.   For one thing they have a
> Welsh chapel to go, to though I must say that the Sydney chapel is

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[56]   See Table 1.2.

[57]   Pressures on Welsh-speakers not to emigrate and/or on those already settled in Australia to return to Wales have intensified since the mid-1960s. Appeals to Welsh-speaking migrants to return to Wales now appear regularly in Yr Enfys (the publication of the Union of Welsh in Dispersion). The feeling prevalent amongst many Welsh-speakers in Wales was articulated by a NQ respondent who made the following comment: "If the Welsh-speakers here [in Australia] want to call themselves 'Welsh' they should at least make an effort to transmit the language to their children. Failing that, they should come back to Wales. It's their duty, given the language situation ..... Speaking personally I could live here for a short time but not for long. *I could not live anywhere where my own language isn't spoken*" (own italics) NQ 24 (W/S1) visitor from Wales (translated from the Welsh).

[58]   Y Ddolen (The Link) Newsletter of the Welsh Presbyterian Church of Sydney, August, 1965.

[59]   Respondent 062/1 in this study.

[60]   Report in Yr Enfys, No. 26, April 1985. The same report mentions that the Sydney Welsh Church is now one of the constituent churches of the Presbyterian Church of Australia.

[61]   Ibid.

also losing ground. They haven't even got a Welsh minister there any more.

On the whole though, the Welsh in Sydney are a more closely-knit group — but only those that go to the Welsh Societies or the Welsh chapel in Chalmers Street. The vast majority keep to themselves. When I lived in Sydney I used to go to the chapel every Sunday evening. It's still important to me, but not it seems to the Welsh generally these days. It was part of the Welsh way of life once but not any more, not even in Wales from what I understand ..... At least the Sydney chapel is still a fragile anchor of Welshness in this country"

Respondent 088/2 (W/S1)
Resident in South Australia (formerly of NSW) (OM)
(Translated from the Welsh)

A 'fragile anchor of Welshness" well describes the present condition of both the Melbourne and Sydney churches. Elsewhere the Welsh 'cause' is little in evidence. Though monthly bilingual services are still held at the Welsh church in Perth, its future is in doubt. Periodic reports of its activities in Yr Enfys[62] in the 1980s spoke of low attendance and the possibility of closure.[63]

The Carmel Welsh Presbyterian Church in Sebastopol is also a reminder in name only of the vigorous Welsh community of that area in the 1860s.[64] Symbolic perhaps of the general condition of the language throughout Australia is that there should be only one[65] (known) Welsh-speaker in the Ballarat-Sebastopol region today.

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[62] This periodical contains detailed reports on the activities of Welsh churches world-wide.

[63] A 1986 report for instance read: "There were not many members at the last meeting [December 3, 1985]. The comment that day by many members was that if attendance was going to be like that in future there would be no further Welsh services at Trinity" Yr Enfys, No. 30, April 1986, p.14. (Trinity refers to the mainstream Congregational Church in which the Welsh Chapel is accommodated). (see Appendix XXI) The current (1992) situation is not known but a 1991 report of a carol service in 'Yr Enfys' spoke of "Enthusiastic members singing with gusto .... interspersed with .... readings in Welsh". J.I. Roberts, "A Letter from Western Australia", Yr Enfys, No. 9, February 1991.

[64] See Chapter 3.

[65] Information supplied by respondent 058/1, who claimed to be the sole remaining Welsh-speaker in the Ballarat area.

Similarly, Welsh has disappeared completely from the services at the Blackstone Welsh Church in Queensland.[66] A report of a service held in 1975 in honour of the pioneers of the church gives some indication of its now very tenuous Welsh ethnic association:

> "Very few are able to speak the Cymri (sic), the language of Heaven .... With dwindling congregations the future of this church is of great concern to the trustees. Surely it warrants National Trust classification".[67]

Its doors are still open, but apart from an annual *Gymanfa Ganu* held "as a reminder of earlier days",[68] there is little that is reminiscent of its Welsh past.

8.3.2 Their Relevance to the Lives of the Respondents

Consistent with the views of a number of scholars, this study has suggested a strong historical relationship between organised religion and the maintenance of Welsh language and Welsh culture.[69] The significance of the 1588 translation of the Bible, for instance, was emphasised in Chapter 2. Similarly, it has been shown (Chapter 3) that in Australia the chapels were the lifelines of the fledgling Welsh communities of the nineteenth century. Even as their numbers and influence declined, they maintained their roles as the physical rallying points of Welsh-speakers, the only institutions outside the home, other than the Welsh Societies, (to which they were closely linked), where Welsh could be heard.

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[66] It seems that Welsh was still used at the church "for special occasions such as a Gymanfa Ganu" as late as 1955. Letter of H. Evans, Sydney, Australia to E. Gwynne Jones, Bangor, North Wales, 30/3/55 MSS 11915-11925, Library of the University College of North Wales, Bangor. The writer, a Deacon at the Sydney Welsh Church, gives a detailed account in the same letter of the services and the state of the Welsh language in several of the Welsh churches of Australia in the mid-1950s. The letter is one of several in a collection sent by Welsh-Australians to E. Gwynne Jones, a librarian at the University College of North Wales, Bangor, in the 1950s. The latter, it seems, was researching Welsh religious life in Australia.

[67] M.B. Mills, "United Welsh Church nearly 93, to thank its pioneers", Queensland Times, November 26th, 1975.

[68] Yr Enfys, No. 34, April 1987, p.4.

[69] Philip for example writes: "The second factor [the first being education] which has helped to preserve the position of the Welsh language in Wales is organised religion", Philip, op.cit., p.52.

The second line of enquiry, therefore, in relation to the contributions of the chapels to language and cultural maintenance, was their relevance to the lives of the participants in the present study. Most claimed some form of religious affiliation. Table 8.4(a) shows their denominational loyalties prior to migration.

Table 8.4(a)

Denominational Affiliation of 'Q' Group Before Migration to Australia (All Respondents and by Welsh Language Proficiency)

Religious Denomination	Welsh Speakers (W/S)	Non-Welsh Speakers (N/WS)	All Respondents
Calvinistic Methodist	23 (49)	8 (9)	31 (23)
Baptist	6 (13)	10 (11)	16 (12)
Independent (Congregational)	3 (6)	2 (2)	5 (3)
Anglican	8 (17)	21 (23)	29 (21)
Wesleyan Methodist	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Roman Catholic	0 (0)	5 (6)	5 (3)
Presbyterian	1 (2)	1 (1)	2 (2)
None	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Other	1 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)
No reply	5 (11)	38 (43)	43 (32)
Total	47 (100)	88 (100)	135 (100)

Notes:
(i)   Totals exclude 7 Australian-born respondents (Generation IIb)
(ii)   Other includes inadequately described.
(iii) Bracketed figures show percentages rounded to nearest whole number

Nearly the full range of nineteenth century Welsh nonconformity is represented. As expected, Calvinistic Methodism as the unofficial 'established' church of Wales heads the list[70] with 31 adherents, 23 of whom were Welsh-speakers. More surprising is the relatively high number of Anglicans (29), of whom 8 were Welsh-speakers.[71] That the Baptists came third at 16 was reflective

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[70]   With the exception, that is, of the high number (43) of 'no replies'.

[71]   'Q' Group is not of course representative of the general Welsh population in Australia but Lucas in his statistical analysis of the religious affiliation of the Celtic groups in Australia based on census returns, has also expressed surprise at the apparent disparity between the relative strength of nonconformity and Anglicansim in Wales and that in Australia. Thus he found that whereas in

perhaps of the prevalence of respondents from South Wales. They were followed by a relatively small number of Independents and Catholics (5 of each) with no Welsh-speakers amongst the latter.

Given the general retreat of 'the sea of faith' throughout the Western world in this century, and particularly in the post-war era, expressed levels of interest in religion as an aspect of Welsh culture and national life before and after migration,[72] were relatively high. (Tables 8.4(b) and 8.4(c)).

Table 8.4(b)

Level of Interest in Religion as an Aspect of Welsh National and Cultural Life Before Migration to Australia ('Q' Group) (All Respondents and by Welsh Language Proficiency)

Level of Interest	Welsh Speakers (W/S)	Non-Welsh Speakers (N/WS)	All Respondents
Very	23 (49)	16 (18)	39 (29
Some	18 (38)	40 (45)	58 (43)
None	2 (4)	13 (15)	15 (11)
No Reply/Not Applicable	4 (9)	19 (22)	23 (17)
Total	47 (100)	88 (100)	135 (100)

Note:
(i)   Totals exclude 7 Australian-born respondents (Generation IIb).
(ii)   Bracketed figures show percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

1962/3 the nonconformists outnumbered Anglicans by more than two to one in Wales, the 1976 census showed the reverse to be true in Australia (where Anglicans constituted 41.6% of the Welsh-born and the Protestant denominations 19.3%). As an explanation he suggests that Anglicans may be more likely to emigrate and/or that some Welsh immigrants "may have foresaken the chapel for the church". He does not elaborate but both possibilities would be difficult to substantiate. Lucas, op.cit., p.49 and Table 8.1, p.102. This result was repeated in the 1986 Census which showed Welsh-born Anglicans to be 45.1% of the total first generation Welsh-born. 1986 Census Microfiche C86.501 CX003 (Summary by Charles A. Price).

The general point should be made, however, that in the wake of the 1920 Disestablishment Act, some of the long-standing differences between nonconformity and Anglicanism gave way to a more favourable view of the latter as a 'Welsh' church, with some of its former image as *Yr Hen Fam* (the Old Mother) restored.

[72]   In response to Questions 5.1 and 5.3. The interest of the respondents in religion relative to other aspects of Welsh national and cultural life is discussed in Chapter 9.

Table 8.4(c)

Level of Interest in Religion in Australia ('Q' Group) (All Respondents and by Welsh Language Proficiency)

Level of Interest	Welsh Speakers (W/S)	Non-Welsh Speakers (N/WS)	All Respondents
Very	21 (46)	20 (21)	41 (29)
Some	15 (32)	32 (34)	47 (33)
None	10 (21)	29 (31)	39 (27)
No Reply/Not Applicable	1 (2)	14 (15)	15 (11)
Total	47 (100)	95 (100)	142 (100)

Note:
Bracketed figures show percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

Eighty-seven per cent (41) of the Welsh-speakers and 72% (97) of all respondents reported having been 'very interested' or having had 'some interest' in religion before migration to Australia. These positive attitudes seemed to have survived the migration experience reasonably well, the respective figures being 78% (36) and 62% (88). As with the high evaluation of the Welsh language discussed in the previous two chapters, there was little evidence, however, of these favourable attitudes towards religion being expressed as overt behaviour. Asked what church they 'usually attended' in Australia (Table 8.5), 26 or 18% of all respondents answered 'none' and 51 or 36% failed to reply.[73] This included 8 (17%) of Welsh-speakers. Of the 23 respondents who were Calvinistic Methodists

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[73] The 'no reply' response is difficult to interpret but it can at least be understood as indifference.

before they left Wales (Table 8.4(a)) only 7 (5%) were attending a church of their denomination in Australia.[74]

Table 8.5

Denominations of Churches Usually Attended by 'Q' Group Respondents in Australia by Welsh Language Proficiency

Denomination of Church usually attended	Welsh Speakers (W/S)	Non-Welsh Speakers (N/WS)	All Respondents
Calvinistic Methodist	5 (11)	2 (2)	7 (5)
Baptist	5 (11)	5 (5)	10 (7)
Congregational	0 (0)	1 (1)	1 (1)
Anglican	7 (15)	11 (12)	18 (13)
Church of Christ	0 (0)	2 (2)	2 (1)
Presbyterian	2 (4)	1 (1)	3 (2)
Roman Catholic	1 (2)	6 (6)	7 (5)
Uniting Church	9 (19)	8 (8)	17 (12)
None	10 (21)	16 (17)	26 (18)
No Reply	8 (17)	43 (45)	51 (36)
Total	**47 (100)**	**95 (100)**	**142 (100)**

Note:
Bracketed figures show percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

Memoir evidence confirms these survey results. All (47) Welsh-born memoir contributors claimed to have gone to church or chapel regularly in Wales but only 23 were continuing to do so in Australia.[75] Yet the majority (32)

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[74]   This, of course, is largely explained by the fact that there is now only one Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church in Australia, the La Trobe Street Welsh Church, Melbourne, Victoria. Since 70% of the respondents claimed South Australia as their home state it could be argued that church attendance had fallen off because the opportunity to attend a *Welsh* church was lacking. Several respondents made this point in their memoir.
[75]   As explained in Chapter 5 it was possible to quantify answers to direct questions of this nature in the memoir schedule (See Part IV of Oral Memoir Schedule, Appendix XXXI).

attributed this to the fact that there was no Welsh chapel in their state or within reasonable travelling distance of their homes. Thirty-five claimed that they would have sent their children to a Welsh chapel if there had been one in their neighbourhood. The following are two examples of the comments to this effect that were made:

(i)   "There was nothing but Welsh in the chapel I went to at home ... English was never heard inside its walls.

I don't go to church very often over here [in South Australia] but that's because there's no Welsh one to go to. If there was, I'd go regularly".

<div align="right">

Respondent 007/1 (W/S2)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

</div>

(ii)   "I used to go to a Baptist church here [in South Australia] but it was very different from anything I've been used to. I missed the 'hwyl'[76] of the Welsh chapel and stopped going after a while".

<div align="right">

Respondent 054/2 (N/WS2)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

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8.3.3 Some Observations on the Welsh Chapels

The strength of the relationship between ethnicity, language and religion has been well documented in sociological enquiry. Smolicz, for instance, has shown in a number of studies, that in plural societies, minority ethnic groups that can claim to be structured around a religious base have a better chance for survival than those centred on other values. The unusual ethnic tenacity of the Greeks buttressed by their loyalty to Greek Orthodoxy is an obvious case in point.[77]

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[76]   A word which translates simply as 'enthusiasm' but is used in the more general sense to describe the full-flowing oratory of the Welsh nonconformist preacher.

[77]   J.J. Smolicz, "Greek Australians " A Question of Survival in Multicultural Australia" (Paper delivered at the Annual Conference of the National Union of Greek-Australian Students, Adelaide, January 1983). Multicultural Australia Paper No. 38 (Richmond, Victoria : The Clearing House on Migration Issues, 1983).

On the contributions of the Greek Orthodox Church to the maintenance of Greek cultural values, see also C.A. Price (ed), Greeks in Australia (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1975).

For some groups however the ethnicity — religious nexus has been more fragile, language and cultural maintenance being for their religious organisations largely incidental to the primary task of saving souls. Reluctantly perhaps, and mainly in the interest of retaining a de-ethnicised second generation, their churches have been prepared to divest themselves of all but the accoutrements of ethnic association. In the process language has often been the first victim. For these groups, religious structures, once the havens of their languages and cultures, pose the threat of becoming, however unwittingly, partners of other institutionalised agencies of assimilation.

To some extent the relationship of Welsh nonconformity to Welsh ethnic identity has been reflective of this pattern in immigrant societies such as the United States and Australia as much as in Wales. The vigour of nineteenth century Welsh cultural life in Australia sprang directly from the robustness of a triumphant nonconformity in the homeland. The chapels were not only a physical means of contact for Welsh-speakers but the nerve centres of all cultural activity that was recognisably Welsh. Nonconformity and Welshness, it has been argued in earlier chapters, were interlocked to the extent of being near-synonymous. Since its appropriation by Methodism in the late eighteenth century, Welsh, more than any other in the Celtic family, was destined (or doomed?) to become the 'natural' language of religious expression. This point is critical to a study of its maintenance even into the second half of the twentieth century. Certainly in Australia the link has been both the life and death of Welsh cultural identity. Whilst the chapels survived, the Welsh language and the cultural forms it supported had at least some anchorage outside the home. Their accelerated decline since the turn of the century, however, has witnessed the progressive disintegration of all traditional forms of Welsh cultural life, particularly the language itself. It has not been the only cause but it has, arguably, been the major one. By its elevation to the status of the language of heaven *(iaith y nefoedd)* Welsh lost its earthly value. It sits ill with modern secular culture not because it is an 'ancient'

tongue (what language isn't?) but because for so long it has been the language of spiritual concerns.

The evidence was clear that the chapels were largely irrelevant to the lives of the participants in this study, and even more so to their children. Given that their decline is part of the general enfeeblement of organised religion in the western world, it is unlikely that they will again serve as structures supportive of Welsh language and cultural maintenance. The point must therefore be strongly made that there is effectively no available institutional support for any effort on the part of individuals in this direction. The Welsh Societies and the chapels have been relegated to the margins of Welsh life in Australia and, as shown in the preceding chapter, the state school system, understandably unable to cater for a sprinkling of Welsh-speaking children, hastened the process of cultural assimilation. In terms of the theory of social systems outlined in Chapter 1, it may therefore be said that the group social systems represented by the Welsh ethnic organisations and the chapels were inadequate as repositories of Welsh cultural values for the construction by the respondents of personal social systems. It is to an investigation of the adequacy of less institutionalised group social systems that the remainder of this chapter is devoted.

8.4   Family Relations and Kinship Networks

8.4.1 The Family as a Primary Group System

The family, as a primary group system in which relationships are usually close and enduring, is generally recognised as the most critical site of language and cultural maintenance. In the Welsh case, the importance of the family in this respect is enhanced by what has been shown to be the total absence or inadequacy of institutional structures outside the home and family. Yet the effectiveness of the family as an agency of cultural maintenance and transmission is governed by a number of factors. Some of these, including linguistic marriage patterns, parental attitudes, and educational levels, were discussed in Chapter 7. The intention here is

to focus more on the influence of ideological values, i.e., on the broader cultural characteristics which may bear on the effectiveness of the family as an instrument of maintenance.

The theoretical basis for discussion is Smolicz' distinction between "individualist" and "collectivist" ideological values (see Table 8.6 below). The relative influences of these two orientations on social systems in general were discussed in Chapter 1. Applied to the family structure the suggestion is that the collectivist ethos of certain non-Anglo ethnic groups — southern and eastern European in particular — encourages a far greater degree of cohesion than that which is found amongst Anglo-Celtic societies,[78] and, at the same time, is conducive to the construction of in-group kin and friendship networks. (with endogamous marriage trends as an important consequence). Although it is recognised that in plural societies collectivist ideological values are vulnerable to attrition and compromise, they are nevertheless more likely to promote group cohesion than the individualist ethos prevalent at primary level in Anglo-Celtic society.

Table 8.6

Ideological Orientations and Social Systems in Different Societies

Social System	Anglo Societies	Ethnic (South and East European Societies)
Primary	Individualist	Collectivist
Secondary	Collectivist	Individualist

Source:
J.J. Smolicz Culture and Education in a Plural Society (Canberra : Curriculum Development Centre, 1979), p.157.

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[78] J.J. Smolicz and M.J. Secombe, "Cultural Interaction in a Plural Society" in P.R. De Lacey and M.E. Poole, Mosaic or Melting Pot : Cultural Evolution in Australia (Sydney : Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Group, 1979), pp.14-15.

8.4.2 Family Cohesion Within 'Q' Group

Where do the Welsh fit in? It should be emphasised at the outset that the Welsh word for family, *teulu*, in the past encompassed the whole network of kin relationships. The extended family in this sense was always at the foundation of traditional Welsh society. Customary Welsh law, for instance, recognised family obligations to the 9th degree of relationships.[79] Similarly, the cohesion of the traditional Welsh family was reflected in the patronymic tradition that was abandoned only in the seventeenth century. Even well into the present century *'teulu'*, especially in rural Wales, actually referred to a close clustering of kin in a limited locality. Rosser and Harris point out that as late as the 1950s households in Welsh villages were linked together through kinship ties in a complete network of blood relationships.[80] Inevitably, however, modern developments have brought about the disintegration of this as of many other features of traditional Welsh society. Little remains of the notion of *'teulu'* as a close network of kin.

Certainly the evidence of this study is that the cohesion of the Welsh *'teulu'*, even in the limited sense of immediate family, is one of the first casualties of the act of emigration. Within the 24 family units of 'Q' group, only 3 of the parents had a mother or father resident in Australia. None were Welsh-speaking. Of the total first generation respondents only 7 had a parent resident in Australia. Again none were Welsh-speaking. Thus, no second-generation member of 'Q' group had a Welsh-speaking grandparent in Australia. This it will be recalled was one of the reasons for their return to Wales given by the parents in family 040 discussed in Chapter 7. The mother's comments are pertinent here:

> "The other problem is that the children's grandparents are not here.
> I think that having grandparents somewhere near or, better still, being
> with you, is very important if you want to hold on to your language.
> In our case the children would have had to keep up their Welsh in

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79   I.C. Peate, "Society in Wales" in Jones (ed.), Anatomy of Wales, op.cit., p.52.
80   C. Rosser and C. Harris, The family and social change : a study of family and kinship in a South Wales Town. (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), pp.226-227.

order to speak to them as my parents' English isn't very good. I don't think we were unique in leaving our parents behind [the husband's parents were also in Wales]. It's very unusual to have a whole family come out here together - certainly no one we know".

Respondent 040/1 (W/S1)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

Predictably perhaps, all 53 oral memoir contributors regarded their families as 'close' but their interpretation of closeness was far removed from the European, particularly the southern European, notion.[81]

"Yes, we're a very close family. We see each other very regularly, at least once a fortnight:.

Respondent 051/3 (Gen IIa, female) (N/WS2)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

"No, I don't receive any news of anything that goes on back there [in Wales] apart from what I hear about my grandparents from my sister when she comes over".

Respondent 024/3 (Gen IIa male) (N/WS2)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

"We're very close I suppose, but nowhere near as close as some Greek or Italian families I know".

Respondent 075/1 (W/S1)
Resident in the ACT (OM)

On the whole the memoirs confirmed the relative lack of family cohesion within 'Q' Group. Certainly there was no trace of any traditional collectivist values and no example of an extended family situation. In this respect there was no difference between the Welsh and non-Welsh speakers, nor between the first and second generation.

8.4.3 Choice of Marriage Partner

The other aspect of family relations as a primary social system which is of relevance here is the choice of marriage partner. The linguistic marriage patterns

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[81] For a discussion of the 'closeness' of Polish and Italian families in Australia see Smolicz and Secombe, "Polish Culture and Education .... op.cit., pp.118-120.

within 'Q' Group families, and its bearing on Welsh language maintenance was discussed in Chapter 7. However, since the parents in all the 24 families considered were first generation most of the marriages had taken place before emigration. More relevant therefore was the indication of future trends, i.e. what were the emerging patterns amongst the second-generation and what were the general attitudes of the group overall towards in and out-group marriage. Given the general acceptance of out-group marriage as a critical variable in language shift,[82] present and future marriage trends amongst the second generation will clearly be a determinant of the continued existence of the Welsh in Australia as a separate cultural group.

Direct questions on ethnic intermarriage in Questionnaire surveys have been known to provoke hostile reaction from respondents.[83] In this study informal interviews in the Welsh Societies prior to questionnaire design revealed that the most likely reaction would be puzzlement. The question was simply not understood. Given also that most of the second-generation respondents were adults who were already married, it was decided that an analysis of existing patterns would be more appropriate.[84]

Twenty two of the 38 second-generation respondents were married.[85] Eighteen of the 22 spouses were of non-Welsh ancestry (that of the remaining 4 was not known).[86] (See Table 8.7). None were Welsh-speaking. Based on the criteria of ancestry and language there were no Welsh-Welsh marriages therefore amongst the second-generation of 'Q' Group.

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[82]   See for example Clyne and Jaehrling, op.cit.
[83]   S. Encel and B. Buckley, The New South Wales Jewish Community (Kensington : New South Wales University Press), p.47.
[84]   Coupled with a question on attitudes to the theoretical notion in the Oral Memoir Schedule. Here however the question could be explained and integrated into a general discussion of ethnic group intermarriage.
[85]   None to other respondents within 'Q' group.
[86]   They or their parents not being oral memoir contributors.

Table 8.7

Married Status and Citizenship of Spouses of Second Generation Respondents ('Q' Group)

Citizenship of Spouse	No
Australian[87]	12
British	4
Irish	1
English	1
No Reply	4
Total Married	22
Total Not Married	16
Total Respondents	38

Notes:
(i)   Citizenship quoted as given in questionnaire replies.
(ii)   None of the 24 spouses were 'Q' group respondents.

     The attitudes of both generations towards in-group marriage expressed in the oral and written memoirs were predictably very wide-ranging and heavy with qualification.[88] A substantial number of respondents were surprised by the question and simply stated that they had never given it any thought. Several either evaded or peremptorily dismissed the issue as undeserving of comment. "As for intermarriage amongst the Welsh", wrote one respondent, "is there a truly 'Welsh' person by now, considering the turmoil of our history?"[89] Overall most Welsh-speakers were well-disposed towards the *theory* of in-group marriage, with Welsh

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[87]   'Australian' here refers to citizenship not to ethnic origin, which was, presumably, diverse.
[88]   Most were to the effect that "it would depend on the individual" and that ethnic origin was "of little importance".
[89]   Respondent 094/1 (W/S1) Resident in South Australia (written memoir).

language maintenance as the stated main advantage. Seventeen of the 36 oral or written comments received on the topic were favourable and of these 12 were by Welsh-speakers. The drift of opinion was that in the interest of cultural and especially language maintenance the choice of a Welsh and preferably Welsh-speaking partner, was desirable but given the geographic spread of the Welsh population and the paucity of speakers, in practice it was out of the question. The two following oral memoir extracts were selected as being generally representative of the views expressed:

(i)   "No, it's not important [marrying a Welsh person] but of course it would be preferable. Certainly when a Welsh-speaker marries a non-speaker you can bet your bottom dollar on the children being brought up monolingual English. Every time a *Cymro Cymraeg* (Welsh-speaking Welsh person) marries a non-speaker, of Welsh ancestry or otherwise, there's one less Welshman for you, and the same goes for the children".

Respondent 052/1 (W/S1)
Resident in South Australia (OM)
Translated from the Welsh

(ii)   "It wouldn't even occur to a Welsh person here in Australia to try to marry 'within the group' as you put it. It certainly didn't occur to me. I suppose that's a comment on how strong other cultures are out here compared to ours. For the Greeks, or Italians, or Yugoslavs that would be a reasonable question I know, but for the Welsh it borders on being silly though I know it shouldn't be. The fact is, I would have found it difficult to come across an unmarried Welsh-born male here even if I wanted to — let alone a Welsh-speaking one".

Respondent 024/4 (N/WS2) (female)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

To summarise: the present marriage patterns within 'Q' group and the expressed attitudes of the memoir contributors leave little ground for optimism about the preservation of Welsh cultural identity in Australia. The results that have been presented here are in keeping with past trends amongst the immigrant

Welsh-born both in Australia[90] and the United States.[91] Historically, as Jupp has pointed out, and as has been shown in earlier chapters of this study, a consistent feature of Welsh migration to Australia has been that it contained a much higher male proportion than was usual from Britain. This is still marginally the case today.[92] For this reason, and in view of their small numbers and geographic dispersion, it is not surprising to find that the proportion of ethnic in-group marriage amongst Welsh migrants to Australia has, since the 1950s, been the lowest for any U.K. group and one of the three lowest amongst all principal migrant ethnic categories.[93] When to this is added the virtual drying up of the Welsh immigrant strain, it becomes difficult to avoid the conclusion that the revealed trends and attitudes towards exogenous marriage within 'Q' group, is yet another convincing pointer to the inevitable cultural assimilation of the Welsh in Australia in the foreseeable future.

8.5   Friendship Circles

At the level of primary relations, in-group friendship networks play an important part in the maintenance of group cohesion.[94] Conversely it has been argued that primary social systems which include substantial numbers of out-group members, militate against cultural maintenance and promote rapid assimilation.[95] A number of studies have shown that within specific ethnic groups in Australia friendship patterns are predominantly of the in-group variety. The previously cited 1981 La Trobe University survey, for example, found that within the four national

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[90]   Between 1947 and 1978 less than one-fifth of grooms born in England and Wales married brides from the same countries, Lucas, op.cit., p.52.

[91]   In a 1980 survey only 18% of people in the United States listing Welsh ancestry wrote it as the single ancestry. Next to the Scots this was the lowest percentage of single ancestry responses of any group in the United States. Allen and Turner, op.cit., p.47.

[92]   J. Jupp, "The Making of the Anglo-Australian" in Jupp (ed.), op.cit., p.61.

[93]   C.A. Price, "The Ethnic Character of the Australian Population" in Jupp (ed.), op.cit., Table 7, p.128. In-marriage was highest in the immediate post-war years (5.8%) after which it fell dramatically. For the second-generation in the period 1965-72 ,it was as low as 0.9% (second-generation here referring to those born in Australia of Welsh-born parents).

[94]   See for example A.H. Richmond, Immigration and Ethnic Conflict (New York : St Martin's Press, 1988), pp. 59-60.

[95]   Clyne, "The Retention of Ethnicity ......", op.cit., p.151.

groups studied (British, Maltese, Italian and Yugoslav) "most friends come from the respondents' country of birth".[96] Similarly, Johnston in a 1972 study of Polish migrant children in Western Australia, found that their fathers had "few social contacts outside the Polish ethnic group,"[97] and their wives even less. Only one of the 25 mothers in the sample had an Australian friend.

Again, as with family relations, friendship patterns amongst the respondents deviated considerably from the examples quoted, and conformed much more closely with the broader British tendency towards choosing friends who were Australians or of non-British origins.[98] The questionnaire results are presented in Table 8.8. They show the responses to Question 4.6 of the Main Questionnaire in which the respondents were asked to provide four items of information on their three closest friends : place of birth; first language; occupation; and where they met.

Table 8.8

Selected Demographic Details on Closest Friends (3) (All respondents and by language proficiency and generation)

All Respondents		By Language Proficiency		By Generation	
Friends' Place of Birth		W/S	N/WS	First	Second
Wales	24%	34%	19%	32%	2%
Other UK	26%	21%	28%	28%	22%
Australia	44%	41%	46%	35%	69%
Other	6%	4%	7%	5%	7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Friends' First Language		W/S	N/WS	First	Second
Welsh	11%	26%	4%	14%	2%
English	86%	72%	93%	84%	94%
Other	3%	2%	3%	2%	4%

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[96]   Citizenship and Cultural Identity, op.cit., p.47.
[97]   R. Johnston, Future Australians : Immigrant Children in Perth, Western Australia (Canberra : Australian National University, 1972), p.108.
[98]   Of the four groups in the La Trobe survey quoted above, the British had by far the greatest proportion of Australian friends. Citizenship and Cultural Identity, loc.cit.

Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Friends' Occupation		W/S	N/WS	First	Second
Professional/Managerial	35%	42%	31%	39%	23%
Other	65%	58%	69%	61%	77%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Place Met		W/S	N/WS	First	Second
Wales	9%	17%	6%	14%	1%
UK	2%	2%	2%	3%	0%
Australia	87%	81%	90%	83%	99%
Other	2%	0%	2%	2%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note:
Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

The results were analysed by language proficiency and generation:

(i)   Place of Birth

Seventy-six per cent of the three closest friends of 'Q' group respondents overall were non-Welsh-born. For Welsh-speakers it was only slightly lower at 66%. As expected, for the second generation it soared to 98%.

(ii)   First Language

Only 26% of the friends of the Welsh-speakers were also Welsh-speaking.   Non-speakers counted only 4% of their friends as Welsh-speaking. Again, given the negligible number of Welsh-speakers among the second-generation, it was not surprising that only 2% claimed to have friends who could speak Welsh.

(iii)   Occupation

The occupational profile of the friends becomes relevant in view of the general argument that migrants at the professional/managerial level are more likely to form out-group friendships within their own circles, e.g. in professional associations. In the process, it is argued, they are lost to their

own ethnic group, thus depriving the group of leadership potential.[99] No attempt was made in this instance to correlate occupational levels but the figures shown indicate that a fairly high proportion of the friends made by 'Q' group respondents overall (35%) were from a professional or managerial background. Significantly perhaps, it was highest for Welsh-speakers at 42%.

(iv)   Place Met

The main concern here was to establish the extent to which the respondents had maintained some contact with friends from the home country. Again, the evidence suggested otherwise. Only 9% of the total close friends of 'Q' group, and 17% of those of the Welsh-speakers, were those that they had met in Wales.

Although several of the memoir contributors claimed that they had "deliberately sought out Welsh people as friends",[100] they also dwelt on the difficulties arising from their small numbers and geographic dispersion:

> "It is very hard to be Welsh in Australia. We have very few Welsh friends here and as I work in the evenings I don't get much chance to go to the Welsh clubs".

> Respondent 038/2 (W/S1)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

> "On the whole I prefer to mix with my own kind .... [but] you just can't find any here in Adelaide. In Sydney it was a little bit easier and those that we did come across were usually more Welsh - not just in the sense that they spoke the language more often but also that they were more involved in the Welsh community".

> Respondent 088/3 (W/S1)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

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[99]   See J.J. Smolicz, "Polish Culture and Language", in Jupp (ed.), op.cit., p.746.
[100]   Oral Memoir Guide Questions, Appendix XXXI, Part II.

"Our friends are almost exclusively Australian. We have no Welsh friends at all over here. I've met a few over the years but not too many".

Respondent 075/1 (W/S1)
Resident in the ACT (OM)

Running through many of the memoir comments, however, was a note of indifference, of a lack of interest in seeking out or maintaining Welsh contacts. This was particularly the case with the second generation:

"Most of my friends are Australian or from different parts of Europe. I have no Welsh friends my own age. It's not that I wanted it that way — it just happened".

Respondent 052/3 (N/WS1) (female)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

Second-generation respondents were generally perplexed by the notion of ethnically homogenous friendship circles and saw no need to seek out Welsh individuals as friends. There were no examples of any efforts in this direction by second-generation members of 'Q' group.

8.6   Informal Networks

Some ethnic communities are less dependent than others for their cohesion and survival on networks of formal organisations.[101] In a study of Irish friendship patterns conducted in Sydney in the late 1970s, for example, it was found that Irish social gatherings were far more loosely organised than those of other groups. Though their dispersion suggested that they were assimilated, the results proved otherwise. After more than 10 years' residence many had few or no Australian friends but maintained cohesion through informal groupings.[102] It would seem that

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[101]   In a study of Ukrainian and Spanish groups in the United States, Hayden found that the former "rest basically on a network of organisations". By contrast, Spanish-speakers "are far less dependent on formal organisations' approaches for the maintenance of their ethnicity". R.G. Hayden, "Some Community Dynamics of Language Maintenance", in Fishman (ed.), Language Loyalty .... op.cit., p.193.
[102]   J.J. Grimes, "Spatial Aspects of Irish Immigrant Friendship Patterns in Sydney" (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of New South Wales, 1979).

the prime purpose of social occasions for recent Irish migrants was less the public promotion, or self-conscious maintenance of their identity, than a desire to participate in familiar social activities. For such groups, ethnic societies and churches are usually the public and less intimate face of ethnic life, and are often only secondary sites of cultural activity; for these groups more intimate (i.e., primary) relationships could well be established and maintained in the less formal environment of the home, the pub or the cafe.[103]

The evidence of a number of community studies conducted in Wales in the immediate post-war period has been that, in remaining traditional Welsh communities, social and cultural cohesion was still largely rooted in the family, religion and *in informal ties and contacts*. Frankenburg, one of the pioneers of Welsh community studies, in his 1957 analysis of the social structures of the village of Pentrediwaith,[104] concludes that the largely Welsh-speaking inhabitants "were united by complex informal ties which cut across and complicated their relationships on formal occasions".[105] Certainly too, the evidence of history is that much traditional Welsh cultural activity centred around the hearth, in informal gatherings of neighbours to sing impromptu verses, recite poetry and tell stories.[106] On the whole, formal secondary groups have not been very prevalent in Welsh social life. Evidence of the Welsh as reluctant joiners also comes from studies of Welsh communities in the United States. Thus Crocker, in a 1952 study of the Welsh in Radnor, Pennsylvania, writes:

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[103]   Greek and Scandinavian communities in Australia provide instructive contrast here. Tsounis for example argues that the former are unusually given to the setting up of formal institutions. See M. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1971), p.39. Koivukangas on the other hand notes the almost total lack of formal structures amongst groups from Scandinavia. O. Koivokangas, "Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, 1972), p.268.
[104]   The pseudonym he gave to the village community he studied.
[105]   Frankenberg, op.cit., p.40.
[106]   Such gatherings were the origins of the present day *Noson Lawen* (Merry Evening) (See Chapters 2 and 3).

"Traditionally the Welsh are not 'joiners' .... Most [Welsh] social needs *are fulfilled within the primary group*".[107]

The point is reinforced by Berthoff who, in his study of British migrants in the United States, also notes that the Welsh were "unique" amongst British groups in having no formal organisations.[108]

There have been few recent studies of the importance of informal networks to cultural maintenance and group cohesion in plural societies. There is some evidence, however, that under modern conditions, small numbers and residential dispersion are not necessarily barriers to the maintenance of ethnic links, even in the absence of formal institutions. In the highly mobile societies of the late twentieth century, ethnic 'communities' are increasingly less defined by geographic boundaries or institutional structures, than by loose social networks in which individuals are linked by the car, the telephone and the other bonding agents of modern suburbia.[109]

Results

The questionnaire respondents were asked to provide details of their membership of an informal group in Question 4.1 of the Main Questionnaire. The results are shown in Table 8.9.

The majority (66%) claimed to belong to some informal association which met "fairly regularly in each other's home or in the pub etc" (Question 4.1) with the lowest figure being for Welsh-speakers. On the whole there was scant evidence of 'national clustering' at the informal level. Thirty seven per cent of the Welsh-speakers claimed that the majority of members in the group to which they belonged were 'Welsh', but an equal proportion (37%) also noted that most

[107]   B. Crocker, "A Study of the Cultural Integration of a Welsh Community with its American Environment" (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Columbia University, 1953), p.94.

[108]   Berthoff, op.cit., p.175.

[109]   See for example Richmond, op.cit., p.60. Sandberg makes a similar point in his 1974 study of a Polish-American community in Los Angeles. He found that ethnic communal life was maintained by the use of informal networks sustained by modern means of communication. N.C. Sandberg, Ethnic Identity and Assimilation : The Polish-American Community: case study of Metropolitan Los Angeles (New York : Praeger Publishers, 1974), pp.69-73.

members of their group were Australian. Another 26% specified 'British'. Non-speakers, at 51%, however, associated more with Australians at an informal level. As expected this figure climbed to 79% for the second-generation.

Clearly, also, there was little in the way of language-matching. Only 4 speakers (15%) reported that more than half in their group were Welsh-speaking, whilst the greatest proportion of non-speakers (33 or 49%) had 'none' in theirs. Again the figure was much higher for the second-generation at 83%.

For all categories the main purpose of these meetings were 'social', followed by 'cultural' and 'sport'.[110] The latter was, predictably, the main interest of the second-generation groups. Four speakers and 3 non-speakers specified 'Wales' as the main interest of their group.[111]

As they stand, these questionnaire figures are rather stark. The memoir evidence showed, for example, that these informal gatherings were infrequent and very irregular. Some of the motives for membership are also hidden in Table 8.9. Thus, for the Welsh-speakers, it seems that the main impulse to the maintenance of these informal ties was the opportunity — denied for the most part, as shown earlier, in the Welsh Societies — to hear and use the Welsh language. The gatherings were usually social and involved small numbers, since a deliberate effort was made to confine these occasions, as far as possible, to Welsh-speakers. The individuals involved were known to each other but were not necessarily close friends[112] since they often lived far apart. In fact, most speakers in the Adelaide metropolitan area,[113] though they might meet infrequently, or perhaps not at all,

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[110]   The question was open-ended.

[111]   Clearly also the question was misunderstood by several respondents who included membership of the Welsh chapels or the Welsh societies here rather than in reply to Question 4.2. Adjustments were made accordingly in the compilation of results.

[112]   This does not contradict the results on friendship patterns presented earlier. Welsh speaking respondents who merely maintained some contact with each other (or with others not in 'Q' group) would not necessarily list the same individuals amongst their 'three closest friends' (Question 4.6).

[113]   The 1986 census listed 119 'persons speaking Welsh' in the Adelaide area. Census of Population and Housing, 1986. Microfiche Table CX0010.

Table 8.9

Membership, Composition (nationality and percentage of Welsh-speakers), and Main Interest of Informal Social Group (Replies to Q.4.1 of Main Questionnaire) (All Respondents and by Generation and Language Proficiency).

All Respondents		By Language Proficiency		By Generation	
Membership		**W/S**	**N/WS**	**First**	**Second**
Yes	94 (66%)	27 (57%)	67 (71%)	70 (67%)	24 (63%)
No	48 (34%)	20 (43%)	28 (29%)	34 (33%)	14 (37%)
Total	142 (100%)	47 (100%)	95 (100%)	104 (100%)	38 (100%)
Composition (Main Nationality)		**W/S**	**N/WS**	**First**	**Second**
Welsh	27 (29%)	10 (37%)	17 (25%)	24 (34%)	3 (13%)
British	23 (24%)	7 (26%)	16 (24%)	21 (30%)	2 (8%)
Australian	44 (47%)	10 (37%)	34 (51%)	25 (36%)	19 (79%)
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	94 (100%)	27 (100%)	67 (100%)	70 (100%)	24 (100%)
Composition (% of Welsh speakers)		**W/S**	**N/WS**	**First**	**Second**
None	43 (46%)	10 (37%)	33 (49%)	23 (33%)	20 (83%)
Under 10%	30 (32%)	8 (30%)	22 (32%)	28 (40%)	2 (8%)
10-19%	10 (11%)	4 (15%)	6 (9%)	10 (14%)	0 (0%)
20-29%	3 (3%)	0 (0%)	3 (5%)	3 (4%)	0 (0%)
30 - 39%	4 (4%)	1 (3%)	3 (5%)	3 (4%)	0 (0%)
40 - 49%	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Over 50%	4 (4%)	4 (15%)	0 (0%)	3 (4%)	1 (4%)
Total	94 (100%)	27 (100%)	67 (100%)	70 (100%)	24 (100%)
Main Interest		**W/S**	**N/WS**	**First**	**Second**
Social	27 (30%)	6 (22%)	21 (33%)	21 (32%)	6 (25%)
Cultural	22 (25%)	6 (22%)	16 (26%)	17 (26%)	5 (21%)
Work	11 (12%)	5 (18%)	6 (10%)	8 (12%)	3 (12%)
Sport	18 (20%)	3 (11%)	15 (24%)	9 (14%)	9 (37%)
Religion	3 (3%)	3 (11%)	15 (24%)	9 (14%)	9 (37%)
Politics	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)
Wales	7 (8%)	4 (14%)	3 (5%)	6 (9%)	1 (4%)
Total	89 (100%)	27 (100%)	62 (100%)	65 (100%)	24 (100%)

Notes:
1.   Percentage figures rounded to nearest whole number.
2.   'No replies' not included.

knew of each other's existence.[114] In some cases contact was maintained with known speakers in other states. That these informal networks also existed in the other state capitals was confirmed by the memoirs:

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[114]   Observation and personal evidence. Attention is again drawn to the comment made earlier that Welsh-speaking visitors from Wales (including several NQ respondents in this study) often

"I noticed that both in Melbourne and Geelong, Welsh-speakers maintain contact with each other and come together from time to time quite informally; that is, not within the Welsh Societies".

Respondent NQ 26 (W/S1)
Visitor from Wales (OM)

More surprising than this evidence of Welsh-language based networks was that of an informal group of non-speakers (within 'Q' Group) who met on a semi-regular basis in each other's homes. Again it must be emphasised that they were drawn together principally *by their Welsh ethnic origins* and an interest, in this case, in Anglo-Welsh literature. One of the members explained the group's existence as follows:

"A group of us — all Welsh — get together occasionally on a quite informal basis. We just don't like being *owned* by some official society which meets once a month. ..... I'm not Welsh-speaking but I think of myself as Welsh and am interested in all aspects of Welsh culture ..... Some of us are more 'Welsh' in outlook out here than ever we were at home. .... Some of us got together only last week here at my place. We sat around the table for three hours, believe me or not, reading 'Under Milk Wood' out loud! Other times my daughter plays the harp. So I think there's an effort being made by some Welsh migrants at least to maintain some elements of our culture".

Respondent 053/1 (N/WS1)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

The 'elements of our culture' referred to by this non-Welsh-speaking respondent did not include the Welsh language. Yet existence of this group was another reminder of the strongly claimed 'Welshness' of many of the Anglo-Welsh in Australia. It was also another indication that Welsh cultural identity is being re-defined along non-linguistic lines. The consequences of this for a culture which is historically language-based will be investigated in the chapter which follows.

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arrived with lists of Welsh-speakers and their addresses, many of whom they had not met previously.

8.7   Cohesion or Absorption? Some Concluding Comments

1.   The weight of the evidence obtained suggested that there was little in the way of cohesion amongst 'Q' Group members. The family was the only anchorage of Welsh cultural identification, but it too was limited in its effectiveness by its almost invariably 'nuclear' form The extended family situation, which serves to perpetuate the ethnicity of some ethnic groups, is virtually unknown amongst the Welsh in Australia.

2.   Excluding the two small informal groups discussed above, efforts by the respondents to establish contact and form friendships with their own countrymen, were, on the whole, desultory and half-hearted. The questionnaire evidence to this effect was supported in the oral and written memoirs.   Several respondents also commented directly on what they considered to be the failure of their compatriots to maintain group solidarity:

> "I think one of the main problems of the Welsh in Australia has been that they are not a close-knit group. They don't stick together".
>
> Respondent 051/2 (N/WS2)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

> "Take me, for example, living in this part of Adelaide. Where's the next Welsh person, I ask you? I just don't know. That's the trouble. The Welsh are too scattered and make no effort to come to the Welsh Societies. In that situation we've no hope of keeping our language and culture alive in this country".
>
> Respondent 091/2 (W/S1)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

These were typical observations on the question of group cohesion. Asked directly whether they thought the Welsh community

in Australia was close-knit,[115] 49 or 92% of the oral memoir contributors replied 'No'. As with the results on linguistic experience, the disparity between attitude and activation was again very apparent, since 80% also expressed regret that this was so.[116] Yet, by their own reluctance to attend meetings of the Welsh Societies they themselves were contributing directly to the status quo. As with the language question cohesion was more of an ideal which they approved of than an end towards which they were prepared to work. The Welsh Societies held no attraction for most respondents; for most too, religion was a spent force and the chapels irrelevant to their lives; friendships were formed for the most part in sporting clubs, at work, or within professional bodies.

3. The above points made, some qualification is called for. Again, as with all matters pertaining to Welsh ethnicity, the language issue cannot be ignored. Although the picture presented of a fragmented community is essentially accurate, it would be incomplete without some reference to the power, though admittedly much weakened in recent years, of the language as a bonding agent. Within the Welsh Societies, the chapels, and in the Welsh community at large, the language is still revered, and its speakers easily distinguishable as a sub-group — their mark of distinction being more their *ability* to speak Welsh than their actual use of it. Ability rather than practice is stressed here, since, even where the opportunity to speak Welsh was lacking — as in several of the Welsh Societies surveyed — their potential to communicate in a language other than English tended to set the speakers as a group apart. In this sense, paradoxically, Welsh-speakers, by virtue of their bilingualism, were regarded by some

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[115] Oral Memoir Guide Questions, Appendix XXXI, Part II.
[116] Ibid.

English monolinguals as a threat to the unity of the group, their attitude being that, were it not for the language, all would be 'Welsh' on an equal footing.[117] It must be emphasised that these attitudes, when in evidence, were directed more towards the speakers of the language than towards the language *per se*. A view of the language as having a symbolic, ornamental function, was not, for some non-speakers inconsistent with a view of its use by native-speakers as intrusive and schismatic.

The bonding role of the language amongst its speakers was not diminished by these attitudes. It is only slightly hyperbolic to speak of a linguistic masonry crossing state boundaries and extending to Wales itself. This is not to suggest that Welsh-speakers were united together as close friends, but simply that they were *known to each other* as a result of having Welsh as a mother-tongue. Welsh-speaking visitors from Wales, for example, were introduced into their circle on arrival and/or had been informed of the names and addresses of a number of Welsh-speakers in Australia before leaving Wales.[118] Yet, very infrequently was knowledge of the native tongue in itself a sufficient foundation for strong, permanent, primary relationships, as for instance, amongst individuals of Greek origin. One can only suggest that, contrary to the Welsh situation, the Greek language as a cohesive force amongst Greek migrants in Australia, has, amongst other advantages, that of having a strong organisational base outside the home.

4. The conclusive evidence from all the methods of research employed was that the Welsh ethnic organisations patronised by the subjects of

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[117] These were not views likely to be expressed in the memoirs. The observations made are based on participation in the activities of the two South Australian Welsh Societies.

[118] See also Footnote 111, p. 466 A comprehensive list of speakers in several states of Australia given to one of these visitors was used by the researcher to enlist subjects for this study.

this study, are effectively *secondary* systems which, with their written constitutions, officials, and planned schedules of activities, differ little from Anglo-Australian social clubs. Shunned for the most part by the professional middle class — the most likely source of potential leadership — they are far removed in composition, character and purpose from their nineteenth century precursors. Boycotted by many Welsh-speakers for not being sufficiently 'Welsh' they are, for that very reason, able to do little more than pay lip service to the promotion of Welshness promised in their constitutions. Certainly in the two South Australian examples, the Welsh language as its historical core, played a very small part, surfacing only as a symbolic component of the annual St David's Day celebrations. Deprived, as they are, of the patronage of the second generation, the Welsh Societies are unlikely to survive into the 21st century.

5. The Welsh chapels are also, by now, mere shadows of what they were, in the pre-World War II era, or of their forerunners in the nineteenth century. In the two surviving examples, in Melbourne and Sydney, Welsh-language services are offered only once a month. Again, Welsh-speakers seem to have turned away from what traditionally were the most vital group social systems of Welsh cultural values in Australia. Like the societies, the chapels have largely lost the first generation and are of no interest to the second.

6. The only alternatives to the rapidly declining Welsh ethnic institutions were the informal friendship circles to which some 'Q' Group members belonged. The numbers involved were too small, however, to have any bearing on cultural maintenance or group cohesion.

For most ethnic groups in Australia the burden of language and cultural maintenance is shared by a number of group social systems at primary and secondary level. Where, as in the case of the Poles for example, participation in

ethnic organisations alone may not be sufficient to ensure maintenance of culture, the family tradition with its emphasis on strong primary relationships and collectivist values is a compensatory supportive system.[119] By this means at least some of the core elements of Polish culture may be maintained and generationally transmitted.

This was not so with the Welsh participants in this study. Neither the family units nor the traditional group social systems of the chapels and the Welsh Societies were effective carriers of the primary core value of Welsh culture, namely the Welsh language. In the absence also of supportive educational structures, it is difficult to visualise the survival of any form of traditional 'Welshness' in Australia. The best that can be hoped for is its perpetuation in transmuted form, the main features of which are explored in the chapter which follows.

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[119]   Smolicz, "Polish Culture ....", op.cit., p.65.

CHAPTER 9

WELSH CULTURAL IDENTITY IN AUSTRALIA

"We clearly need much more information about perceptions of identity from ordinary group members. Particularly important here, both intrinsically and with regard to multi-cultural and pluralistic policy-making, is the study of symbolic and non-symbolic markers and their perceived role in identity continuation".

J. EDWARDS[1]

"....... immigrants are not just things of various sexes and ages, who arrive as part of a recruitment target and, having been distributed as units through an economic system, are subjected to this or that abstract analysis of assimilation or hypothesis of discrimination. They are human beings, grappling with the anxieties and pleasures of life in a new world, and the best clue to their life and future lies in their own thoughts and words".

C. PRICE[2]

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[1]   J. Edwards, Language, Society and Identity (Oxford: Basic Blackwell Ltd, 1985), p.170.
[2]   C. Price, "The Study of Assimilation", in J.A. Jackson (ed) Migration (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p.237.

9.1   Introduction

The broad aim of this penultimate chapter is to explore the respondents' sense of cultural identity in Australia. Consistent with the theoretical positions adopted throughout this study, the emphasis will again be on their own perceptions of the constituent elements of their identity. Although it is recognised that identity is an infinitely complex and multi-layered phenomenon, which may involve psychological, structural[3] or even political[4] elements, the focus here will be on its cultural aspects. Cultural values, it is maintained, are the key components of ethnic identity.

The analysis takes into account the fundamentally important consideration that the Welsh as an ethnic group, are no longer linguistically homogeneous. At the same time it is recognised that although there may be elements of Welsh ethnic identity which now transcend language, it is likely, given the historical language-centredness of Welsh culture, that the possession or non-possession of the Welsh language, bears directly on the respondents' views of their own identity and on Welshness *(Cymreictod)* as they perceive it in the Australian context. Account is also taken of the generational divide, the assumption here being that although they may have evolved in the meantime, the cultural identities of the first generations were shaped in the years of their childhood and youth in Wales. The second, on the other hand, straddled two cultural worlds in their formative years: that of their country of birth and Australia in the case of generation IIa; and that of their home environment and mainstream Australian society in the case of generation IIb. It is the second generation, therefore, which had the readier access to more than one

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[3]   Gellner, for example, has argued that whereas formerly individuals found their identity in the social structure, reinforced and symbolised in culture, in transitional (ie. most present) societies, culture has replaced structure as the main element in the definition of identity. E. Gellner, Thought and Change (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964), p

[4]   Morgan argues that modern Welsh identity has been conditioned by recent political history. K.O. Morgan, "The Welsh in English Politics 1868-1982", in R.R. Davies, R.A. Griffiths, I.G. Jones and K.O. Morgan (eds), Welsh Society and Nationhood: Historical Essays Presented to Glanmor Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1984), pp.233-4.

cultural stock for the construction of the personal systems of values which formed their cultural identities.

With these considerations in mind the present chapter is organised as follows:

(i)   An analysis of the respondents' perception of Welshness (Cymreictod) ie of their notion of what makes a person 'Welsh'.

(ii)   An investigation of their present sense of national identification.

(iii)   An assessment of the degree of their cultural integration into Australian society using as criteria the extent to which their cultural values have changed.

It has been the main theoretical assumption of this study that cultural groups are identifiable by the core values which they collectively uphold. From this it follows that a threat to the core cultural values of a group is a threat to its continued existence. At group level these central, enduring values are rooted in collective historical experience, and passed forward by successive generations.[5] Yet, as has been stressed, culture is never a fixed, unchanging entity. Thus, each generation is likely to re-interpret the values of the group, especially those that impinge directly on its own particular set of social, ideological, or even material circumstances. The process involved, however, is one of continuous assessment in which values are more likely to be subject to modification and re-appraisal than to total rejection. The notion of a marketplace of values from which each generation selects or rejects at will is considered misleading.

When, however, as occasionally occurs, the core cultural value of a group is lost or assumes a symbolic function only, the integrity of the group as a distinct cultural entity is put at risk. This is especially the case when group identity is sustained by only one value, (or two that are totally inter-dependent). Thus, when the identity of a group centres exclusively on language, for example, the loss of the

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[5]   Thus the origins and function of the core values of a group are found in large part by direct reference to its past. To show this, was largely the intention of Chapter 2 of this study.

language or its reduction to symbolic level threatens its existence in authentic form. Equally, when language and religion are bound together as the main constituents of cultural identity the loss of either is likely to lead to the group's disintegration.

Alternatively, in these circumstances, group identity will increasingly devolve on secondary or residual cultural forms, these frequently being the most publicly demonstrable expressions of cultural uniqueness: flags, folk-songs, cuisines etc. If this is accompanied by a subjective consciousness amongst group members of their cultural heritage, it is likely to prolong group existence at least until such time as inter-marriage, indifference or preferred identification with the values of the majority population, take their toll.

Collective group identity is the result, therefore, of the sharing of core values by individual members. This is the link between core values and the social system that was explained in Chapter 1. It is this sharing of values which effectively maintains group boundaries and differentiates between members and non-members. Similarly, at the level of the individual, cultural identity is a reflection of the group's value system. Thus, in the case of identity at the personal level, what is essentially under consideration is "an individual's attention to the core values of his group or ...... the components of his personal ideological system".[6] Ethnic cultural identity is therefore a phenomenon which is experienced by both groups and individuals. Finally, the point must again be stressed that in a plural society an individual is in theory able to draw on at least two sets of cultural values for the construction of a personal system, that of his own group and that of the host society. Whether he does so is dependent on a range of factors which may include his own ideological attitudes, the ethnolinguistic vitality of his group, and the attitudes of the majority population.

The same methods of research were used here as in other areas of the study. The basic methodological premise was that ethnic identification defies exact

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[6]   Smolicz and Secombe, op.cit., p.17.

measurement. Individuals are usually aware of their identity as ill-defined feelings of 'belonging' not as a coherent, quantifiable package of attributes. Certainly scales of ethnicity based on correlations, averages and scored points are of dubious value[7] unless they are interpreted in the context of the subjects' lives. Similarly, it should not be assumed that migrants transfer their loyalties from their own group to that of the host society in some precisely measurable, unidimensional process, ie in this instance, to assume that as the respondents become more 'Australian', they become proportionally less Welsh.

For these reasons the questionnaire results were again interpreted throughout in the light of comments made in the oral and written memoirs. Use was also made of observation evidence of the participants' behaviour in settings where identity was a relevant issue.

9.2 Perceptions of Welshness *(Cymreictod)*

Respondents were asked to evaluate 19 nominated aspects of Welsh culture as markers of Welsh identity (what makes a person Welsh?) on a three point scale of 'vitally important', 'important' and 'not important'. (Question 5.5 MQ). Essentially they were being asked to define Welshness as an abstract quality within prescribed boundaries of selected criteria — this, it is acknowledged, being one of the weaknesses of the questionnaire method when used as the sole means of investigation. The nominated items, grouped into 7 thematic blocs were then rank-ordered on the basis of percentage support for the 'vitally important' classification. The results, by language proficiency and generation, are presented in Table 9.1.

More open-ended questions of the same type were included in the Oral Memoir Schedule (Appendix XXXI) and directions for commenting on identity were also included in the Written Memoir guidelines (Appendix XXXIII).

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[7]   Nahirny and Fishman for example have called into doubt any attempt at constructing scales of ethnicity, on the grounds that ethnic identification does not "lend itself to analysis along an undimensional attitudinal continuum." Nahirny and Fishman, op.cit., p.312.

Thus the respondents also had the opportunity to present their own views of Welshness based on personal experience and in the general context of their social lives. The results from both sources of evidence are discussed below.

9.2.1 Identification

"Consciousness ..... is the dominant domain of the ethnic conscience. Ethnicity is quintessentially a way of being".[8]

The two items in this category, 'Consciousness of being Welsh' and 'Love of the Old Country' were amongst the highest in the rank ordering of attributes shown in Table 9.1. The former was ranked first by the respondents as a whole, by the non-Welsh-speakers, and by the second-generation. Although it was given fourth place by the Welsh-speakers, none amongst them judged it to be of no importance. Similarly 78% of Welsh-speakers considered 'Love of the Old Country' to be a 'vitally important' attribute of Welshness, giving it the highest ranking amongst the 19 items.

The importance attached to identification in a general, subjective sense emerged also in the memoirs, expressed in most cases as a strong 'feeling' of being Welsh, or as an acute longing *(hiraeth)* for the homeland both as territory and as idea. The following is a sampling of the comments made:

"It is difficult to exist physically in one country when you've left your soul behind in another. If I had the chance again, I would never come. You can't emigrate without bringing your memories with you, and very often they are memories of the best time in your life. That's the trouble".

> Respondent 075/1, Generation I, W/S1
> Resident in the ACT, (OM), translated from the Welsh

"I was very surprised by how conscious my relatives in Wales were of being Welsh. They were very aware, for example, of the geographic border between England and Wales. Here you are in Wales, and over there a few yards distant you are in England. That was definitely how they felt, and I must say they felt it strongly ......
I was born over here but my grandfather made me very conscious of

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[8]   O. Patterson, "Implications of Ethnic Identifications" in C. Fried (ed), Minorities: Community and Identity (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1983), p.32.

Table 9.1

Evaluation of Aspects of Welsh Culture as Markers of Welsh Cultural Identity by 'Q' Group Members (Questionnaire) (All Respondents and by Welsh Language Proficiency (speaking) and Generation)

ASPECT OF CULTURE	ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE	Q' GROUP RESPONDENTS (N = 142)									
		All Respondents		Welsh Speakers		Non-Welsh Speakers		First Generation		Second Generation	
		Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%
The Welsh Language											
Ability to Speak Welsh	Vitally Important	12	32	10	49	14	23	13	34	11	26
	Important		46		38		50		45		50
	Not Important		22		13		26		21		24
Ability to Read and Write Welsh	Vitally Important	14	26	17	36	13	21	14	29	14	19
	Important		44		49		42		44		43
	Not Important		30		15		37		27		38
Knowledge of Welsh Literature	Vitally Important	9	43	9	51	9	39	8	48	10	29
	Important		36		45		32		35		39
	Not Important		21		4		29		17		32
Having a Welsh Accent	Vitally Important	19	16	19	21	16	13	19	18	16	8
	Important		24		15		29		23		16
	Not Important		60		64		58		59		76
Religion											
Being a Chapel/ Church Goer	Vitally Important	17	19	18	35	17	12	18	23	16	8
	Important		22		30		18		24		16
	Not Important		59		35		70		53		76
Having a Knowledge of the Bible	Vitally Important	16	21	13	44	18	10	16	25	16	8
	Important		33		30		34		38		22
	Not Important		46		26		56		37		70
Having a Knowledge of Welsh Hymns	Vitally Import	18	18	15	41	19	7	17	24	19	3
	Important		44		35		49		48		32
	Not Important		38		24		44		29		65
Having a Knowledge\ Appreciation of											
- the history of Wales	Vitally Important	8	48	6	64	9	39	7	50	7	41
	Important		43		32		49		44		40
	Not Important		9		4		12		6		19
- the geography of Wales	Vitally Important	11	34	12	45	11	28	11	37	12	24
	Important		53		42		59		51		60
	Not Important		13		13		13		12		16
- Welsh customs and traditions	Vitally Important	9	43	8	58	8	36	9	47	9	32
	Important		48		40		52		48		47
	Not Important		9		2		12		5		21
- The songs and music of Wales	Vitally Important	5	54	5	68	6	46	5	59	8	40
	Important		42		32		48		40		47
	Not Important		4		0		6		1		13

ASPECT OF CULTURE	ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE	Q' GROUP RESPONDENTS (N = 142)									
		All Respondents		Welsh Speakers		Non-Welsh Speakers		First Generation		Second Generation	
Social Relations		Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%
Having a respect for elderly people	Vitally Important	**2**	64	**2**	76	**2**	60	**1**	70	**5**	50
	Important		21		13		24		18		28
	Not Important		15		1		16		12		22
Having close friends who are Welsh	Vitally Important	**15**	25	**15**	41	**15**	17	**14**	29	**15**	13
	Important		32		33		31		34		27
	Not Important		43		6		52		37		60
Having close family ties	Vitally Important	**4**	59	**2**	76	**4**	50	**4**	61	**3**	51
	Important		32		20		38		31		35
	Not Important		9		4		12		8		14
Ancestry Having Welsh parents	Vitally Important	**6**	50	**6**	64	**7**	43	**6**	52	**6**	44
	Important		38		23		45		37		42
	Not Important		12		13		12		11		14
Birth Having been born in Wales	Vitally Important	**7**	49	**10**	49	**5**	48	**9**	47	**2**	53
	Important		38		36		39		39		37
	Not Important		13		15		13		14		10
Identification Consciousness of being Welsh	Vitally Important	**1**	65	**4**	75	**1**	61	**2**	67	**1**	60
	Important		28		25		28		29		24
	Not Important		7		0		11		4		16
Affiliation -cultural	Vitally Import	**12**	32	**14**	42	**11**	28	**12**	36	**13**	23
	Important		52		54		50		53		49
	Not Important		16		4		22		11		28
-Love of the Old Country	Vitally Important	**3**	63	**1**	78	**3**	55	**3**	66	**3**	51
	Important		31		20		37		32		30
	Not important		6		2		8		2		19

being Welsh. I don't speak the language but I'm as Welsh as the next person. Its the love of the country itself that matters".

> Respondent 015/3, Generation IIb, female, N/WS2
> Resident in South Australia, (OM)

"Being Welsh is a feeling more than anything else, a feeling of 'belonging'. Everyone, as the old saying goes, wants to belong somewhere. It's the language and the feeling of being Welsh which makes a person Welsh. There's nothing else to distinguish him from the rest of the British".

> Respondent 024/4, Generation IIa, female, N/WS2
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

The stress on 'consciousness' is not surprising in view of the intense self-questioning on identity which has been characteristic of Welsh society in the post-war years. "It is simply the case", Emmett writes "that consciousness of national identity saturates life in the area of Wales I know something of, and colours and shapes very much of observable behaviour".[9] Ethnicity, of course, draws much of its saliency from a 'consciousness' of belonging. This is a form of primordial ethnicity, or ethnicity as a 'given', that which calls myth, symbol, and history to its service. Its strength should not be underestimated, but the question should surely be asked whether consciousness in a purely subjective sense, as simply a 'feeling' of belonging to a group, is sufficient to maintain group cohesion in the long term. Can the Welsh in Australia survive on latent sentiments of 'groupness', when, as has been shown in earlier chapters, they are seldom translated into activation of other cultural values? Is it perhaps the case that ethnic self-consciousness grows in proportion to loss of more 'tangible' cultural values such as language? "A healthy nation" says Shaw, "is as unconscious of its nationality as a healthy man of his bones".[10] This is not to devalue the importance of consciousness as a component of ethnicity — it is clearly vital to group survival —

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[9] I. Emmett, "*Fe Godwn Ni Eto*: Stasis and change in a Welsh Industrial Town" in A.P. Cohen, (ed.) Belonging: Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), p.167.

[10] Cited in Chapman, op.cit., p.213.

but to suggest that, in certain situations, latent or expressed feelings of belonging to a culture may well replace the culture itself.

'Love of the Old Country', was also ranked highly, especially by Welsh-speakers. Attachment to birthplace as territory is, of course, a very common form of ethnic identification.[11] In the Welsh instance, literature, music, history and, most of all, language, are all clearly bound up with Wales as ancestral territory. As was mentioned in Chapter 4, J.R. Jones, one of the founders of modern Welsh nationalism, traces the Welsh 'community' to the land itself. He defines 'a people' as the product of an almost mystical process which he terms *"cydymdreiddiad tir ac iaith"*[12] (the interpenetration of land and language). Similarly the Welsh word *'hiraeth'* (usually translated as longing) implies much more than mere 'homesickness'. It has connotations of a deep mourning for all that was left behind.[13] "From the moment that I left", said one respondent, "I missed everything: the views, the green fields, the mountains, the chapels, everything". It is this bond, both topographical and cultural between Wales and its people which accounts in large part for the traditional unpopularity of emigration and its portrayal in song and literature as an act of treachery.

For these reasons it was not surprising that Welsh-speakers in particular should have ranked 'Love of the Old Country' as the most vitally important mark of Welshness. Again, however, it is suggested that an ethnicity which leans on subjective identification with little cultural 'content' is unlikely to survive beyond the first generation in what Fishman has termed 'authentic' form.

[11] For a discussion of the relationship of nationalism and territory see J. Anderson, "Nationalist Ideology and Territory", in R.J. Johnston, D.B. Knight and E. Kofman, (eds), Nationalism, Self-Determination and Political Geography (Beckenham: Croom Helm Ltd., 1988) pp. 18-39.

[12] Jones, "Need the Language Divide Us", op.cit., pp.23-33.

[13] Compare the Irish *'duchas'* which describes the unusually intimate attachment between Irish-speakers and their native surroundings. See K.A. Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.105.

9.2.2 Social Relations

'Having a respect for elderly people' and 'Having close family ties' were given high priority in all respondent categories. The former was ranked second by speakers and non-speakers, and first by the first generation (Table 9.1). This was somewhat unexpected given the relative lack of emphasis on social relations in modern Welsh society. It is surely part of the explanation however that 'respect for the elderly' is not particularly culture-specific. Given also its almost total disregard by the memoir contributors it is suggested that 'Having a respect for the elderly' was interpreted more as a socially desirable attribute than as a specifically Welsh cultural trait, in the questionnaire replies.

Again, the relatively high ranking of 'Having close family ties' may probably be explained in the same way. As was seen in Chapter 8, family cohesion was valued by most respondents. Yet is is doubtful whether the Welsh differ significantly from any other British group in this respect. Certainly the extended family situation was virtually non-existent among 'Q' group. As shown earlier there were very few examples of three generation households, and parents who had followed their children to Australia almost invariably lived separately. Any wide kinship grouping which may have existed before leaving Wales, seemed to have been dispersed both by the experience of emigration and by modern currents of social change which have left few ethnic groups untouched.

It could also be added that family cohesion within 'Q' group was not related to language or the cultural homogeneity of the household. As shown in earlier chapters, in the few situations where Welsh-speaking parents, themselves less than fluent in English, found it difficult to communicate with their monoglot English children, language was a factor which actually worked against family cohesion. The main point to be made therefore is that little difference was found between Welsh and non-Welsh speaking families in this respect, ie there was no evidence that Welsh-speaking families were in any sense 'closer'. Speakers and non-

speakers, for example, placed 'family cohesion' as a mark of Welshness equally in fourth place.

Finally, consistent with the results presented in Chapter 8, speakers and non-speakers of both generations placed very little emphasis on 'Having close friends who are Welsh'. Again this was not a surprising result given that the Welsh have relatively easy access to mainstream secondary social circles in Australia.

9.2.3 The Welsh Language

The attitudes of the respondents towards the Welsh language as an identity marker were examined in Chapter 7. The main interest at this point however is less the attitudes towards the language *per se* as towards its place alongside other posited cultural attributes of Welshness. It is its position within the hierarchy of Welsh cultural values which is the focus of enquiry here.

Table 9.1 shows the responses to each of the four language items in Question 5.5 of the questionnaire survey:

(i) *Ability to speak Welsh*

As a 'vitally important' component of Welshness 'ability to speak Welsh' was ranked 12th by the respondents overall, 10th by Welsh-speakers and a lowly 14th by the non-speakers. Its ranking by the first and second generation was 13th and 11th respectively. Although its 10th place position by Welsh-speakers was a little surprising it should be noted that 87% thought it to be a 'vitally important' or 'important' aspect of Welshness. Only 13% (6 of the total 47 speakers) evaluated it as 'not important'. For non-speakers and the second-generation the 'not important' figures were 26% (25 out of 95) and 24% (9 out of 38) respectively.

(ii) *Ability to read and write Welsh*

Literacy in Welsh was clearly not thought to be a 'vitally important' component of Welshness in the questionnaire survey. Interestingly it was

ranked lowest (17) by the Welsh-speakers. Again however the majority of respondents in all categories thought it to be a 'vitally important' or 'important' aspect of 'being Welsh'.

(iii)   *Knowledge of Welsh literature*

Overall, being acquainted with Welsh literature (in the original Welsh or in translation) was thought to be a more important aspect of Welshness than being able to speak the language. This aspect of culture was placed 9th by speakers and non-speakers and 10th by the second generation.

(iv)   *Having a Welsh accent*

Clearly accent as an identity marker was rejected by the majority within 'Q' group. It was ranked last (19th) by the respondents overall, by Welsh-speakers, and by the first generation, and 16th by the remaining two categories.

These results become more meaningful when they are considered in the light of memoir and observation evidence. The first point to be made is that there was strong support for the language as a core value of Welshness in the broad cross-section of memoirs, irrespective of language ability levels:

◆   Second Generation (IIa), non-speaker

"You may have been born in Wales, of Welsh parentage, but if you don't speak the language you're not really Welsh".

Respondent 009/5 (female)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

◆   First-Generation Speaker

"If you take the language away I'm not quite sure what's left".

Respondent 042/1
Resident in South Australia (OM)

◆   Second-Generation (IIa), non-speaker

"The language *is* Wales as far as I'm concerned. A Greek or an Italian can go to a Welsh chapel, play rugby, work in coal mines or like music, but none of that makes him Welsh.

Respondent 009/4
Resident in South Australia (OM)

♦   First-Generation, non-speaker

"You can call yourself Welsh but if you don't speak the language there's something very much lacking. I think the language is crucial to the idea of being Welsh."

Respondent 047/2
Resident in South Australia (OM)

In almost equal balance however were comments of the following nature:

♦   First-Generation, Welsh-speaker

"What makes a person Welsh? Speaking the language to start off with but if he doesn't it would have to be the fact that he comes from Wales and is proud of it. ..... He must not be afraid to say that he doesn't speak Welsh but that some of his countrymen do and that he's as Welsh as they are".

Respondent 075/1
Resident in the ACT (OM)

♦   First-Generation, non-speaker

"I think you can keep up your traditions without retaining the language. When you meet another Welsh person you know you have certain things in common. There's a rapport which comes from having the same cultural background.

Respondent 053/1
Resident in South Australia (OM)

♦   Second-Generation, non-speaker

"We're only Newport, Gwent, people, not as Welsh as the Welsh really are, but its still there, the feeling of Welshness. It's nothing tangible, nothing you can put into words, just a feeling"

Respondent 051/3 (female)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

When these comments are considered alongside the questionnaire results, the general conclusion must be that, although for most respondents the language is still at the heart of Welshness, Welsh identity and being able to speak Welsh are no longer exactly the same thing. *There has clearly been a broadening of the basis of Welshness to an extent which makes it inclusive of the non-speakers who are now the vast majority of those who call themselves Welsh.* It must be emphasised that this is not inconsistent with the very positive attitudes towards the language that were revealed in Chapter VII. In other words the majority of respondents seem to have adopted a position which encompasses both of the following propositions:

(i)   it is very important for a Welsh person to be able to speak Welsh;

(ii)   being able to speak Welsh is not an essential attribute of Welshness.

They are not contradictory. What is clearly in evidence is that speakers and non-speakers are recasting Welshness in the mould created by current conditions. For the speaker of Welsh to insist on the *sine qua non* position of the language as the defining mark of Welshness is to reject 90% of his countrymen and lose their support in the process. For the non-speaker to do the same is to relinquish his own and his children's claim to be 'Welsh'. On the other hand to reject the language would be to reject the main carrier of Welsh culture and the only link to the past. At best it would be an admission of two levels of Welshness, one which includes the language and is 'authentic', and one which does not and is seen as second-best or deficient. The compromise seems to be a notion of cultural identity which on the one hand retains the language on the symbolic level — by the singing of the anthem at public gatherings, by the learning of words of greeting and departure, by including a 'Welsh' item in the monthly gatherings of the Welsh Societies (see Chapter 8) etc. — and on the other extends the boundaries of Welshness by greater emphasis on the residual components of Welsh culture.

The final word here must be on the rejection of a Welsh accent as a mark of identity. Accent is, of course, an important, if generally underestimated, marker of ethnic difference. It is arguably the most readily recognisable sign of the ethnic origins of all British groups in Australia, the Scots and Irish in particular. Research conducted by Giles and colleagues in Wales has consistently found favourable attitudes amongst Welsh subjects towards Welsh-accented English speech.[14] How, then, to explain the very low support for accent as a marker of Welsh identity by the respondents in the present study? Two reasons are suggested, though neither is based on empirical findings. The first is that, historically, Welsh accented speech — characterised by a lilting, sing-song intonation — has been the butt of English parody since at least Shakespeare's Fluellen.[15] This, of course, is also the case with Scottish and Irish English, but the Welsh accent has never been accorded the more respected status of the former[16] or allowed the bemused tolerance of the latter. Secondly, and perhaps more relevant in this context, the Welsh accent, unlike the Irish or the Scottish, is generally not well known in Australia. This was also the opinion of one of the respondents:

> "The Australians don't know much about the Welsh. The English recognise me by my accent straight away, but the Australians don't. Even when I explain where I'm from, its difficult for them to appreciate the differences".

> Respondent 048/1 (N/WS2)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

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[14] In a 1973 study for example it was found that on traits such as trustworthiness, friendliness and sociability, the possession of a Welsh accent was as effective in eliciting a positive reaction from Welsh subjects as speaking the language. Bourhis and Giles, op.cit., p.457. In another study it was found that the Welsh take a favourable view of Welshmen exaggerating their accent (in English) in a public radio interview with an RP-accented interviewer. R.Y. Bourhis, H. Giles and W.E. Lambert, "Social Consequences of accommodating one's style of speech" International Journal of the Sociology of Language, No. 6, (1975), pp.55-72.

[15] 'Fluellen' is in itself a parodying of the Welsh 'Llewelyn'.

[16] Bain, for example, writes: "For those familiar with the Scottish accent, it is the most easily distinguished characteristic of the Scot in Australia, often being heavy and difficult to lose but generally being well-accepted amont non-Scots". I. Bain, "Post-War Scottish Immigration" in J. Jupp (ed.), op.cit., p.788.

That accent as a 'vitally important' aspect of Welsh identity was supported by only 8% of the second-generation was perhaps the least surprising result. There is research evidence that the second generation of most ethnic groups, including the British,[17] see accent as a barrier to assimilation, and generally try to acquire the speech style of their peers in the mainstream population as quickly as possible.

9.2.4 Ancestry

'Having Welsh parents' was ranked sixth by all categories of respondents except the non-Welsh speakers who placed it one lower in seventh position (Table 9.1). A number of memoir contributors also, especially the second-generation, referred to ancestry or 'blood' as an important mark of Welshness, some being of the opinion that it overrode all other considerations.

Some emphasis on ancestry was to be expected since it is one of the main defining criteria of ethnicity. Price, for instance, in his statistical studies of the composition of the Australian population has consistently taken account of ethnic origin.[18] Similarly for Smolicz ancestry is, along with identification[19] and cultural activation, one of the three main indicators of ethnic origin.[20] *Moreover for the participants in this study, ancestry like the territorial bond crosses the language line and gave speakers and non-speakers alike a claim in common to Welsh ethnic identity.*

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[17] Bullivant, for example, found that British schoolchildren wanted to be like their Anglo-Australian counterparts in speech style and accent. B.M. Bullivant, The Ethnic Encounter in the Secondary School : Ethnocultural Reproduction and Resistance. Theory and Case Studies (London: The Falmer Press, 1987), p.111.

[18] See for example C. Price, "Multicultural Australia : Demographic Background", in B. Falk and J. Harris (eds), Unity in Diversity : Multicultural Education in Australia (Carlton, Victoria : The Australian College of Education, 1983), pp.6-25.

[19] As used in 9.2.1 above, ie "as the feelings and attitudes (which people have) ..... concerning what group/ majority or minority they belong to", Education for a Cultural Democracy, op.cit., p.6.

[20] Ibid.

9.2.5 Birth

'Having been born in Wales' was ranked tenth by Welsh-speakers, fifth by non-speakers and surprisingly, second — one below 'consciousness of being Welsh' — by the second generation. (Table 9.1). References to birthplace as a criterion of Welshness by the memoir writers were usually very brief:

"I don't speak Welsh but I am certainly Welsh: I was born there".

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Respondent 007/2 (N/WS2)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

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"If a person was born in Wales, of Welsh blood, then I consider him to be Welsh".

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Respondent 0/11 (W/S1)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

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In this context a distinction was usually made between 'Welshness' in general and the specific Welshness of the person being interviewed. Thus to the question "What makes you Welsh?" the typical reply was "Because I was born there". The more general question "What makes a person Welsh?", however, usually elicited a more considered response, birthplace seldom being mentioned first. In both cases the inference drawn was that birthplace was a very obvious criterion of Welshness, one that called for little discussion. It is also, of course, a readily available reply[21] to what after all is a very difficult question, ie defining identity. It was particularly difficult for those to whom birthplace was not available as a starting point of definition, ie the non-Welsh born second generation (Gen IIb):

"That's a difficult question for someone who wasn't born in Wales .... People like my father can always say they're Welsh because they were born there. I have to say I'm Welsh because my parents are

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[21]   In a 1979 Scottish election survey 62% said they were Scottish because they were born in Scotland and 9% because they lived there. A further 15% mentioned an emotional attachment and only 2% the culture of Scotland. J. Brand, "National consciousness and voting in Scotland", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol.10, No. 3, (July 1987) p.337.

Welsh. That's about all I can say. I feel Welsh for that reason. There's no other answer I can give to that question."

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Respondent 086/3 (N/WS2) Gen IIb
Resident in South Australia (OM)
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9.2.6 Knowledge/Appreciation of the History, Geography and Cultural Traditions of Wales

Knowledge and/or appreciation of several items of Welsh cultural tradition was included because of the long historical link between particular cultural forms — literature, songs, music, and folkloric customs generally — and national identity. Songs and epics from Homer to the Niebelungenleid and the Welsh Mabinogion have helped to forge national character and enshrine group collective memory.

Of the items listed under this category it was 'knowledge of the songs and music of Wales' that was ranked highest — fifth overall by speakers and sixth by non-speakers — higher therefore than 'ability to speak Welsh' or 'knowledge of Welsh literature'. This relatively high placing of music was predictable given that, since the end of the eighteenth century, Wales has prided itself as the 'land of song'.[22] For two memoir contributors — significantly perhaps, both of whom were non-Welsh-speaking — knowledge and love of Welsh music had supplanted the Welsh language as the essential core value of Welshness:

> "I'm not a Welsh-speaker but there's not a soul at my school[23] who doesn't know I'm Welsh. They think of me as Welsh and nothing else. Even without the language I can be madly (sic) Welsh. I may be different but with me *its the love of Welsh music and Welsh songs*

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[22] What is meant by 'song' in this context however has undergone radical change. In the eighteenth century it still referred to mediaeval musical traditions, but, as pointed out in Chapter 2, these were largely overthrown by methodism and nonconformity to be replaced in the nineteenth century by choral singing centred in the chapels. Until recently this and *Canu Penillion* (see below) is what largely constituted Welsh music. Today it has come to include a fairly vigorous Welsh language popular music repertoire. Choral singing remains very popular but the content is much more 'secular' and cosmopolitan.

    Note: *Canu Penillion*, an ancient Welsh musical practice is defined as "declaiming odes as a false burden or descant over well-known harp tunes". P. Morgan, "The Clouds of Witnesses", op.cit., p.31.

[23] The person speaking was a schoolteacher.

that is at the heart of being Welsh. [own italics] You could put me in a prison and I'd still manage to play the music and sing the songs and hymns that I was brought up on. They have a quality of their own and could belong to no one else. It's the music — for me at least — that is the heart and soul of Wales. I'm not saying the language is unimportant but, as far as I'm concerned, I can be Welsh without the language as long as I have the music. I can be Welsh *through* the music, if I can put it that way".

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Respondent 054/2 (N/WS2)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

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"I think there's an effort being made amongst some of the Welsh out here to preserve the enjoyable elements in our culture, especially music - wherever you go in Australia you find Welsh people involved in music .... It is one of the common bonds".

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Respondent 053/1 (N/WS2)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

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The other items in this category were generally ranked lower. Sixty four per cent of speakers and 39% of non-speakers considered 'knowledge of the history of Wales' to be a 'vitally important' element of Welsh cultural identity (in 6th and 9th place respectively), whilst Welsh customs and traditions were placed equally in 8th place by both. 'Knowledge of the geography of Wales' was ranked lower, at 12th place by speakers, and 11th by non-speakers.

Two final points should be made. First, observation evidence revealed a considerable discrepancy between knowledge of customs and traditions as a desirable cultural trait and as actual behaviour. Although communal singing and 'quiz evenings' on Welsh geography were popular in the societies,[24] knowledge of even the best known aspects of Welsh history was often scanty amongst the first generation and non-existent amongst the second. This was the case also with Welsh literature. Expression of traditional Welsh culture in any other form was entirely lacking. Second, although as Fishman points out, songs, poetry, and history "serve to inspire linguistic groups with corporate consciousness"[25] they are

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24 See Chapter 8.
25 Fishman, *Language and Ethnicity* .... op.cit., p.281.

much less likely to do so, when, as for the majority of the respondents in this study, they are accessible only in translation.

9.2.7 Religion

As has been shown in earlier chapters,[26] since the mid-nineteenth century Welsh cultural identity has been inseparable from the Welsh version of nonconformity and the Welsh language which was its means of expression. In Australia as much as in Wales, the Welsh defined themselves, and were defined by others, according to their religion. Welsh culture by mid-nineteenth century was, in most respects, a chapel culture and remained so well into the twentieth. For all its limitations, nonconformity was the font of all social and cultural activity which was distinctively Welsh. Despite its emasculation in the twentieth century — by its loss of momentum after the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in 1920, by its failure to strike up a working relationship with socialism after World War I, and most of all by its capitulation to the secular forces which have led to the general disintegration of Protestantism everywhere — it remained, as was argued in Chapter 4, well into the post-war era as a vital core value of Welshness.

It is therefore of some significance that the participants in this study should have decided that religion is now of little importance as a mark of Welshness. The three items under 'Religion' in Table 9.1 were placed near the bottom of the list of 19 suggested indicators of Welsh identity by all categories of respondents. 'Being a chapel or church goer' was thought to be 'vitally important' by only 12% of non-speakers and 8% of the second-generation. Although it was placed 18th by Welsh-speakers it should also be noted that 65% of the total thought it 'vitally important' or 'important' compared to 30% of non-speakers. This suggests that 'going to chapel', despite its low position on the list, correlates more closely with Welsh-speaking than with non-Welsh-speaking ability within 'Q' group. 'Having a knowledge of the Bible' and 'of Welsh hymns' were given a similar very low

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26   Chapters 2 and 3 especially.

ranking, the latter being placed last at 19 by non-speakers and by the second-generation. Again, however, in both instances, speakers scored higher. Seventy four per cent of speakers (compared to 44% of non-speakers) thought knowledge of the Bible to be 'vitally important' or 'important'. The respective figures for knowledge of Welsh hymns were 76% and 56%.

These results were consistent with replies to Question 5.7 of the Main Questionnaire. Asked to name the Welsh natural characteristics that are known in Australia,[27] only one respondent named 'going to chapel', a startling contrast to Welsh notions of their image in Australia in the nineteenth century that were discussed in Chapter 3. The replies were consistent also with the results presented in Chapter 8 which showed that the few Welsh chapels which remain now play a very minor role in the life of the Welsh-born population in Australia.

For several of the first-generation respondents the declining status of religion was to be lamented as something which had occurred in their own lifetimes.

> "Much of our family life in my childhood centred around the chapel..... We had three services on Sunday, Sunday School, Band of Hope, Choir, Bible Study evenings and in any spare time that was left some other activity associated with the Chapel. At the time I thought people outside of Wales lived the same way. I now realise that being Welsh was synonymous with chapel".

> Respondent 006/2 (N/WS1)
> Resident in South Australia (WM)

> "Young people are now brought up the same wherever they live. I was brought up very strictly but it's not like that any more — the chapel was a very important part of my life. I used to love to go to the Band of Hope. I loved singing hymns especially. Music and singing was a very important part of my life. The *Eisteddfod*, the *Noson Lawen* and so on, are what make Wales in my opinion. I've never found it easy to adjust here. There was always a general strangeness about the place. I always wanted to go home and I still do".

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[27]   Results will be discussed later in the Chapter.

Respondent 091/2 (W/S1)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

The final comment in this section is left to a young visitor from Wales who has grasped something of the divided sensibility which has been one of the contributions of nonconformity to contemporary Welsh cultural identity:

> "No, religion is no longer a vital component of Welshness. And yet its influence is still present even amongst young people like myself. The Welsh today seem to me to exist on two levels of conscience: one which is rooted in this world and lets them do what they like, the other derived from their Calvinist past which tells them not to".

Respondent NQ24 (Visitor from Wales)
W/S1, (OM), Translated from the Welsh

9.3   Who do they think they are?   The respondents' sense of national identity.

9.3.1 Problems of Identity Analysis

The respondents' sense of 'national' identity was investigated by Question 5.4 of the Main Questionnaire and a number of key questions and stimulus statements in the oral and written memoir schedules. The questionnaire approach has been the most common in studies of self-identification but it is still fraught with a number of difficulties. These might include:

(i)   a reductionist view of 'national' identity. Informants are essentially being asked to make an unqualified choice between a limited range of imposed national categories.

(ii)   an underlying assumption of an 'either/or' basis of identity, ie respondents are being asked to opt for one identity label to the exclusion of all others.

(iii)   related to (ii) above, an assumption that identity is static, fixed, unidimensional and permanent.

(iv)   the reduction of a very complex set of feelings, attitudes, reservations - and this is surely infinitely more likely to be the case

in an immigrant society with its skein of potentially conflicting loyalties - to a simple choice between arbitrarily chosen categories.

(v)   the difficulty of accounting for possible different interpretations of a 'national' label eg. legalistic (related to citizenship), emotional (related to feeling), cultural (related to main language spoken etc).

These problems are compounded in the Welsh case by the following considerations:

♦   the further 'grading' of Welshness by the possession or non-possession of the Welsh language and the measure of cultural involvement which this determines. 'Welsh' therefore becomes an inadequate description when language proficiency has created a continuum of Welshness from 'not really Welsh' to 'very Welsh'. Individuals as shown elsewhere in this study may be described as *Cymry* (Welsh), *Cymry Cymraeg* (the Welsh-Welsh, ie those who speak the language), *Cymry di-Gymraeg* (the non-Welsh-speaking Welsh), *Cymry Seisnig* (the Anglo-Welsh), the determinant for inclusion in each category being the level of Welsh language proficiency.

♦   what may be called the 'British' factor, which introduces a political dimension. The Welsh are also British subjects ('Wales' in the legalistic sense is no more than an administrative unit within the United Kingdom). For many Welsh individuals, however, 'British' has an autochthonous as well as a legal or political connotation, since they see themselves, along with other Celts, as the aboriginal British — the first inhabitants of the British Isles.[28]   To some

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[28]   An account of the voyage of Pytheas of Massilia (325-323BC) by Strabo contains the first reference to the Pretanic Islands, which servises in the Welsh Prydain (Britain) and of which the Roman 'Brittania' is a possible corrupted form. The original Celtic inhabitants of Britain called themselves Brythoniaid. See A. Ross, Pagan Celtic Britain (London : Sphere Books Ltd., 1974).

extent, therefore, the Welsh consider themselves to be ethnically as well as legally British.[29]

♦   the relative lack of knowledge of Wales and the Welsh in Australia often makes it necessary (for the sake of convenience) for individuals to acquiesce in their description as 'British' or 'English'.

Under these circumstances questionnaire replies become a very limited basis for analysis of identity. Again the problem was at least partially overcome by extensive qualifying commentary in the memoirs. As with all other areas of investigation in this study the discussion which follows is based on both.

9.3.2 Discussion of Results

The questionnaire results are presented in Table 9.2(a). Although the 1986 ancestry statistics presented in Tables 9.2(b) and 9.2(c) are not of course comparable, there are some isolated points of comparison and contrast some of which are raised in the discussion which follows. The distinction should however be made between replies to an open-ended question on ancestry and those presented here, which were responses to a set of optional 'national labels'. (e.g. a person could conceivably describe himself/herself as of Welsh ancestry but choose to be called 'British').

9.3.2.1   'Welsh'

The clear evidence of Table 9.2(a) is that a substantial majority of 'Q' group respondents in all categories except the second generation prefer to be known as 'Welsh'. For the respondents overall the figure was 64% in Wales and 58% in Australia. Welsh-speakers reported the greatest preference at 74% in Wales and 66% in Australia. Although the choice of 'Welsh' by non-speakers was lower - at 58% in Wales and 55% in Australia - it was still the preferred choice by a substantial margin, the next being Australian (Welsh) at 15% and 18% respectively. Predictably, the second-generation were the least inclined to be

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[29]   Though, curiously, as the discussion which follows shows, they are not attached to this national label.

known as Welsh (45% in Wales and 47% in Australia) but for them too it was second choice after Australian (Welsh).

Both the preference for a 'Welsh' identity by the respondents overall, and the particular correspondence between Welsh-speaking and Welsh identification were consistent with a number of previous studies conducted in Wales in this general area. A 1968 Opinion Research Survey, for example, found that 68% of the Welsh electorate identified themselves as 'Welsh' rather than 'British'.[30] In a 1979 Gallup Poll study, it was lower at 57%[31] but a 1981 Research and Marketing investigation again showed a 69% preference for 'Welsh'.[32] As with the results shown in Table 9.2 all three studies revealed close correlation between Welsh-speaking ability and Welsh identification. It is also clear from the varying figures obtained within a relatively short time span that identity is not a static phenomenon but subject to the influences of changed social, political and perhaps personal, circumstances.

The memoir comments suggested that the question was interpreted as a measure of allegiance. Choosing to be known as 'Welsh' was governed by sentiment, parentage and cultural attachment. In the final analysis it was a declaration of ethnic loyalty, which for most respondents overrode legalistic considerations such as citizenship:

"I've always called myself Welsh and nothing else. I've even got 'Welsh' on my passport[33] rather than 'British'. My heritage and my nationality are Welsh as far as I'm concerned".

Respondent 002/1 (W/S1)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

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[30] R. Rose, "The United Kingdom as a Multi-National State", University of Strathclyde Occasional Paper, No. 6, 1970, cited in D. Balsom, P. Madgwick and D. Van Mechelen, "The Political Consequences of Welsh Identity", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol.7, No. 1, Jan. 1984, p.161.

[31] A Welsh Election Study involving a sample of 858 conducted by Gallup Poll between May and September 1979 and sponsored by the Social Science Research Council. Ibid., pp.161-162.

[32] "Research and Marketing, Wales and the West, HTV Wales", cited in J Osmond, "Introduction" in Osmond (ed.), op.cit., p.xxvii.

[33] See Table 5.2 which shows that in reply to Question 1.8 of the Main Questionnaire asking respondents to state their citizenship 22 out of 142 or 15% gave 'Welsh'.

Table 9.2(a)

National Labels Preferred by 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group in Wales and Australia (All Respondents and by Generation and Welsh-speaking Proficiency

	WELSH				BRITISH				WELSH-AUSTRALIAN				AUSTRALIAN (WELSH)				OTHER\NO DIFFER				TOTALS			
	Wales		Australia		Wales		Australia		Wales		Australia		Wales		Australia		Wales		Australia		Wales		Australia	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
All Respondents	91	64	81	58	5	3	5	3	17	12	20	14	16	11	17	12	13	9	15	11	142	100	138	100
Welsh-Speakers	35	74	31	66	0	0	1	2	4	8	6	12	1	2	1	2	7	15	8	17	47	100	47	100
Non-Welsh-Speakers	56	58	50	55	5	5	4	4	13	13	14	15	15	15	16	18	6	6	7	7	95	100	91	100
First Generation	74	71	64	62	4	4	5	5	11	11	16	16	5	5	5	5	10	9	12	12	104	100	102	100
Second Generation	17	45	17	47	1	2	0	0	6	16	4	11	11	29	12	33	3	8	3	8	38	100	36	100

Note: Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

Table 9.2(b): Ancestry of Persons Born in Great Britain and Ireland Resident in NSW and Victoria 1986

ANCESTRY		Persons Born In					
		Wales	Scotland	Nth Ireland	Ireland	England	Total
British	No	1,278	8,755	2,836	516	21,113	34,498
	%	9.2	10.5	19.1	2.0	4.8	6.0
Other British	No	7.6	285	99	115	3,867	4,442
	%	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.9	0.8
Celt[2] etc	No	78	235	205	112	574	1,207
	%	0.6	0.3	1.4	0.4	0.1	0.2
English	No	2,468	9,954	2,099	1,573	377,476	393,570
	%	17.8	12.0	14.2	6.0	86.2	68.3
Welsh	No	7,961	60	21	8	3,054	11,104
	%	57.3	0.1	0.1	-	0.7	1.9
Scottish	No	55	60,149	231	138	5,514	66,087
	%	0.4	72.4	1.6	0.5	1.3	11.5
Irish	No	196	1,176	9,013	23,042	7,070	40,497
	%	1.4	1.4	60.8	87.4	1.6	7.0
Other	No	1,770	2,507	307	876	19,212	24,672
	%	12.8	3.0	2.1	3.3	4.4	4.3
Total	No	13,882	83,121	14,814	26,380	437,880	576,077
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes: 1. Cornish, Manx, Breton, Celt
2. UK, Anglo-Saxon etc.

Source: 1986 Ancestry Statistics : Welsh Ancestry etc;
Various Tables Microfiche VF 039
(Summary by Charles A. Price)

Table 9.2(c): Double Response for Persons Giving "Welsh" as Sole or First Ancestry in 1986 Census

ANCESTRY	NOS
Welsh Only	45,536
Welsh-Aboriginal	89
Welsh-Australian	**2,892**
Welsh-British	281
Welsh-Cornish[1]	300
Welsh-English	8,195
Welsh-Irish	5,330
Welsh-Scottish	4,341
Welsh-UK etc	165
Welsh-New Zealand	143
Welsh-Chinese	81
Welsh-Dutch	235
Welsh-French	658
Welsh-German	2,362
Welsh-Italian	366
Welsh-Spanish	240
Welsh-Danish	272
Welsh-Norwegian	150
Welsh-Swedish	178
Welsh-American	103
Welsh-Canadian	103
Welsh-Other	1,299
Not Known	11
Total	73,330

NB: "Australian-Welsh" Double Response : 3308

Notes: 1 = Cornish, Manx, Breton, Celt
2 = UK, Anglo-Saxon etc
Source: 1986 Ancestry Statistics : Welsh Ancestry etc;
Various Tables Microfiche VF 039
(Summary by Charles A. Price)

"It's difficult to be really Welsh if you don't speak the language. There's blood, your ancestry, I suppose and perhaps the way you feel, but it's difficult to put it into words. What I do know is that although I've been in Australia since I was six years old I've always felt Welsh ..... On the other hand I've never felt unsettled since the closest people to me in Wales came out here at the same time as we did".

<div align="right">
Respondent 092/1 (Second Generation IIa)
N/WS2 Resident in South Australia (OM)
</div>

9.3.2.2 'British'

Identification with a 'British' national label was very low. Not one of the Welsh-speakers wished to be known as 'British' in Wales and only one in Australia. Non-Welsh-speakers showed a similar very low preference (5 and 4 respectively) for British identity. This compares with a 9.2% 'British' response by persons born in Wales resident in NSW and Victoria in the 1986 Census (Table 9.2(b)) — higher, but still relatively low (compare the 57.3% 'Welsh'). Of the second generation, 45% of whom chose to be called 'Welsh' in Wales and 47% in Australia, only 2% (one respondent) would identify as British in Wales and none in Australia.

These results were confirmed in the memoirs. The 'British' label was barely mentioned. Only one respondent, a Welsh-speaker, an elderly man who had been in Australia since 1926, gave it much attention. He regretted the passing of a 'British' Australia and had little affinity with its new multicultural image.

"I have a love inside me and that love is for Wales. I also have a loyalty and that's for Britain ...... I feel absolutely British and since I've been here so long I also feel Australian. ..... We've got to stick together, the Welsh, the Irish, the Scots and the English. We've got to be loyal to the British ideal. That goes for Australia too, which is, unfortunately, turning away from Britain. Being British is like having something in the blood which makes you different, and all of us who have ancestors in the British Isles should realise this and stand together".

<div align="right">
Respondent 042/1 (WS2)
Resident in South Australia (OM)
</div>

His attitude was exceptional. More typical was the following terse dismissal of 'British' as or national label other than 'Welsh':

"I'm Welsh, not British. I'm definitely Welsh first wherever I am.
If someone asked me what my nationality was I'd say I was Welsh".

Respondent 046/1 (W/S1)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

Most comments were in this tone and equally brief. The respondents' relative reluctance to expand on the question makes it difficult to know why the British label was so decisively rejected. One can only turn to the historical relationship of Wales to the British State and in this light suggest the following reasons:

(i)   the preference for Welsh identification was an expression of ethnic loyalty. 'British' as a national label is for most Welsh individuals a political, non-historic, indicator of citizenship status, one which simply describes membership of the body-politic which is Britain.

(ii)   *de facto*, Britain (as Hechter has attempted to show)[34] is in terms of political and economic power synonymous with 'England' and non-inclusive therefore of Wales as a separate unit.

(iii)   Wales, unlike Scotland, became a part of Britain on far less than equal terms. Whereas Scotland entered the Union as a historic nation by Act of Parliament in 1707, Wales was annexed to England some 200 years previously as virtually a conquered nation. As shown in previous chapters from that time until the early 20th century, Wales, for administrative purposes, was in most respects an adjunct of England.[35]

It is not suggested that the respondents were directly influenced by any of the above considerations. The main point being made is that the historically unequal relationship of Wales with England within the union has not, on the whole

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34   Hechter, op.cit.
35   The status of Wales is symbolically underlined by its non-representation on the Union Jack.

(as was the case in Scotland)[36] been favourable to the growth of a 'British' consciousness amongst the Welsh. In a very general sense this may be reflected in the results presented here.

9.3.2.3 Welsh-Australian

The Welsh are long accustomed to being placed under hyphenated titles according to their language skills. As has been shown it is difficult in today's world to be simply 'Welsh'. Similarly, Australia's emergence as a multicultural nation in the post-war era has produced a heightened sense of ethnic consciousness to the extent that 'Australian' has come to be regarded by some first generation migrants with cultural origins elsewhere, as more descriptive of their citizenship status than of their cultural identity. Today's hyphenated Australian, it must be added, is also seen by a number of Australian-born commentators[37] as an unfortunate product of the multicultural policies described in Chapter 4, an altogether unwelcome endorsement of Novak's notion of 'unmeltable ethnics'.[38]

The results suggest that the participants in this study neither fully understood nor accepted the 'Welsh-Australian' label. Only 8% of Welsh-speakers chose to be recognised as a 'Welsh-Australian' in Wales and 12% in Australia. Non-speakers scored only a little higher at 13 and 15%. It was considerably less acceptable to the second-generation (16% in Wales and 11% in Australia) than the unqualified 'Welsh' or the Australian (Welsh) description (see below).

Again the comparison with the 1986 Census results is of some interest. The unpopularity of this label is reflected here also. Of those who gave 'Welsh' as

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[36] Many Scottish immigrants to Australia in the 1880-1940 period were, according to Prentis, "anti-English" but pro-British. "The Scots" he writes, "had all the advantages of being British (and Protestant) with none of the advantages of being English". M.D. Prentis, The Scottish in Australia (Melbourne : AE Press, 1987), p.3.

[37] O'Farrell, for instance, regrets this development "because it delays and diminishes the process of becoming Australian". By implication, he continues "it suggests that the claims I have made for becoming Australian, the claims of a new world, of hope, happiness, of innocence, of the open eclectic mind, are less than those of some culture a migrant has elected to leave". P. O'Farrell, "Becoming Australian", The Sydney Morning Herald, November 29th, 1993.

[38] M. Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics (New York : Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1973).

their first ancestry, those who provided the 'Welsh-Australian' double response (to the open-ended ancestry question) numbered only 2,892 (3.9%) (see Table 9.2(c).

Its unpopularity was rather puzzling.[39]   Although it suggests a composite it is nevertheless Welsh-weighted (as against Australian-Welsh) and has the advantage of offering a way of being Australian without losing the ethnic connection — an important consideration one would think for the first-generation. Against this, it could be argued that it may also suggest dual identity and perhaps divided loyalties.   To the respondents in this study — and they seem to have been the majority — who interpreted 'Welsh-Australian' in this sense, the term was unacceptable.   By this is not meant that they rejected their ties to Australia, but simply that they did not see themselves as cultural, and certainly not as ethnic, hybrids.

> "No. I do not feel Australian in any way whatsoever. I feel Welsh and have always felt that way.   I wouldn't call myself Welsh-Australian either. I'm Welsh and that's it. I get on well with the Australians but their ways are different from mine.
> Respondent 091/2 (W/S1)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

[Welsh-Australian?]

> "No, definitely not, just Welsh".
> Respondent 051/2 (N/WS2)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

> "No, Welsh and nothing else that you could name".
> Respondent 051/5 (N/WS2) (second generation female)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

These comments it must be stressed were typically made by speakers and non-speakers of the first-generation. They relate for the most part to how they *felt*.

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[39]   Harris in his study of second-generation Poles in South Australia however obtained a similar result.   He writes: "It was very noticeable that only one or two would have called themselves Polish-Australians ", op.cit., p.392.

They felt Welsh but, at the same time, were strongly attached to Australia — to its people, climate, landscape and, not least, its freedom and opportunities.

> "I feel I have roots in two countries by now. I'll never lose my Welsh heritage because that's what makes me what I am. I feel a hiraeth (homesickness) for Wales but if I went back there I'd feel the same for Australia. I have ties here now too. I love Adelaide and its surrounding hills and Elizabeth where I live".
>
> Respondent 047/2 (N/WS1)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

> "I relish the freedom and scope of this land. However I still treasure my Welsh background ..... I visited Wales in 1984 but did not feel at home there any more though".
>
> Respondent 041/1 (N/WS1)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

What should also be added is that the term 'Welsh-Australian' was unfamiliar to most of the first-generation respondents. It was rarely used in writing[40] and never in any heard conversation. Certainly the Welsh equivalent *Cymro-Awstralaidd*, was seldom encountered.[41] In the memoirs, for instance, it was used only twice and even then only as a term of convenience by the Australian-born second generation:

> "My colleagues at work refer to me as Welsh. I have heard a number of people say ******'s Welsh, well part-Welsh .... I feel Welsh myself - well, Welsh-Australian anyway".
>
> Respondent 015/3 (N/WS2) Second Generation IIb Female
> Resident in South Australia (WM)

> "I regard myself as half-Welsh and half-Australian [Welsh-Australian?] I suppose but I'm not sure whether 'Welsh-Australian' fully expresses the way I feel".
>
> Respondent 086/3 (N/WS2) Second Generation IIb Male
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

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[40] The term 'Cymry Awstralia' (the Welsh in Australia) being the more usual e.g. as the title of Myfi Williams' text (see Bibliography).

[41] Curiously it was used more in the nineteenth century and the pre-war period than at present, e.g., as the title of the journal published by the Welsh Societies of Sydney in the 1930s, i.e. The Welsh-Australian (see Appendix XX and Bibliography).

9.3.2.4 Australian-Welsh

Several approaches were used to give the respondents an opportunity to opt for an Australian or Australian-weighted identity. The unhyphenated 'Australian' was used in the written memoir guidelines; they were asked to talk freely about how they 'felt' in their oral memoirs, and Australian-Welsh was one of the options in the Main Questionnaire. The inclusion of the latter followed the pattern of the Canadian census in which Canadian citizens are required to identify the ethnic group from which they originate.[42] 'Australian-Welsh' as used in the questionnaire survey was intended therefore to be Australian-weighted whilst retaining the Welsh ethnic connection.

Eleven per cent of all respondents chose to be described as Australian-Welsh in Wales and 12% as such in Australia, slightly lower than the percentages for Welsh-Australian. (By contrast fewer persons described themselves as 'Welsh-Australian' than 'Australian-Welsh' in the 1986 ancestry statistics (see Table 9.2(c)). By language proficiency the figures were 15% and 18% for non-speakers, and a very low 2% for speakers (only one respondent chose to be known as Australian-(Welsh) in both Wales and Australia). As expected the strongest endorsement for this national label came from the second-generation - 29% in Wales and 33% in Australia - but again this was a second choice to 'Welsh'.

In the interviews individuals who chose to be described as Australian were also mainly second generation. Again, however, two of these were anxious to stress their Welsh origins and/or parentage:

> "When I was in Wales I said that I was from Australia but that originally I came from Wales. In Australia on the other hand I'd say I was 'Welsh'".

> Respondent 052/3 (N/WS1) Second Generation IIa Female
> Resident in South Australia (OM)[43]

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[42]   J. Smolicz, Culture and Education .... op.cit., p.98.
[43]   A member of case study Family A discussed in Chapter 7.

"My identity is now more Australian than Welsh but I wouldn't deny that I was born in Wales and that my parents are Welsh. But I'm 10 years Welsh and 25 years Australian. By my late teens and as I entered adulthood I began to feel Australian. It coincided with gaining my identity as an individual".

<div align="center">

Respondent 024/4 (N/WS2) Second Generation IIa Female

Resident in South Australia (OM)[44]

</div>

Two respondents, both Welsh-born and of Welsh-speaking parentage, wished to retain nothing of their ethnic background and wished to be described only as Australians:

"I only feel Welsh when I listen to myself on some old tapes speaking my language ..... but I'm an Australian now".

<div align="center">

Respondent 009/3 (N/WS2) Second-Generation IIa Male

Resident in South Australia (OM)

</div>

"I don't feel that I have any ties whatsoever with Wales or any other part of the UK anymore. I took up Australian citizenship a long time ago and I consider myself to be fully Australian".

<div align="center">

Respondent 024/3 (N/WS2) Second Generation IIa Male

Resident in South Australia (OM)[45]

</div>

Thus, although Australian-Welsh was preferrred to Welsh-Australian by the second generation, neither term came readily to the lips of the respondents in this study. Most were of the opinion that they fell short of describing the full dimension of their identity in Australia.[46]

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[44] A member of case study Family B discussed in Chapter 7.

[45] A member of case study Family B, discussed in Chapter 7. This respondent was also strongly opposed to Welsh language maintenance in Australia.

[46] This was also Harris' finding in his study of second-generation Poles. Harris, op.cit., p.394.

9.4   Cultural Integration

It has been one of the theoretical standpoints of this study that the construction by individuals of their own personal cultural systems may result in the revaluation of some aspects of the heritage of the group to which they belong. In a plural society this is in large part a consequence of the contact of individual group members with other cultures especially that of the dominant population. This continuous, active evaluation by each generation constitutes the living tradition of the group, the point being that its very survival is contingent on a certain degree of continuous cultural re-alignment.[47] Survival hinges also on the group's ethnic tenacity, that is on its will to survive as a distinctive cultural entity. For language-centred cultures this translates into resolve to maintain and transmit the ethnic tongue. Thus the two, and, occasionally, three generational life-span of 'Welsh' cultural identity in some parts of Australia in the nineteenth century was, as shown in Chapter 3, the direct result of the preservation of the Welsh language.

Welsh culture in its authentic form is still wedded to the language but as this study has shown the language itself is no longer central to the lives of most Welsh-Australians. It is now spoken by only a fraction of the Welsh-born population and, as has been shown in earlier chapters, the primary bonds and organisational structures which it once sustained and was in turn sustained by, have been irreversibly weakened. The chapels are empty and the Welsh Societies have long ceased to be cultural strongholds. Moreover the Welsh who have made their homes in Australia since 1945, irrespective of language background, have been as exposed as either British migrants, and indeed as the host population, to the whole range of Anglo-American values which now constitute Western culture. To this extent, and to the extent that they also share English as a common language, it

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[47]   A point made strongly by Raymond Williams: "And this is .... what I understand by tradition. It isn't something handed to us, handed down .... Any important tradition is selective .... in the precise sense that we take meanings — and not only the achieved meanings; also if we are serious the difficulties — that we feel and discover we need". R. Williams The English Novel From Dickens to Lawrence, (London : Chatto & Windus, 1971), pp.185-6.

could be argued that Welsh arrivals since 1945 have had to negotiate no significantly greater barriers to assimilation into Australian society than other immigrants from Britain.

Yet a substantial proportion of the participants in this study, 66% of whom had been permanent residents of Australia for more than 25 years,[48] (including some that were Australian-born) were adamant that they were 'Welsh' and wished to be referred to as such in Wales and Australia. This raises the question of the extent of their integration, and at the same time suggests the possibility of a Welsh cultural identity which is, perhaps uniquely, Australian, one which must be defined in the near total absence of the language.

9.4.1 Retention of Ties with Wales

"My father speaks the language but even if he didn't he'd still consider himself to be Welsh. His ties with Wales and his ancestry are what makes him Welsh. He keeps in touch, collects every article on Wales in the newspapers that he can find, has a Welsh badge on his car and so on. All that didn't rub off on me in too many ways".[49]

Maintenance of links with the homeland is obviously an important means of sustaining the ethnolinguistic vitality of a cultural group. Knowledge of political, social, and cultural developments in their country of origin may serve to keep alive group members' awareness of their ethnic origins. At the same time personal contact with family and friends may not only be a source of comfort and psychological stability to individuals, but also give them a sense of continuity with their own and their group's past. This tends to counteract the notion so frequently encountered in emigrant art and literature that the act of emigration is, by definition, an abandonment of the old and a grateful embracing of the new. Much of the assimilationist philosophy adopted by successive Australian governments in

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[48]   See Table 5.3.

[49]   Second generation respondent 024/3 reporting to his father (024/1).

the post-war years tended to reinforce this notion of emigration as a final break with the homeland and with its customs and languages.

This, of course, was seldom the case. Few migrants from Europe aimed at, or were capable of achieving, this *tabula rasa* outlook. For most, contact with family and friends left behind was far less an encumbrance to successful adjustment to unfamiliar ways, than a method of survival. In the nineteenth and for much of the twentieth century, the primary means to this end was the personal letter. Since the early 1960s, however, personal communication across great distances has undergone revolutionary change. The lower costs, better quality, and immeasurably easier access of telephone communication has already, as McLuhan predicted, supplanted the written word as the principal medium of international contact. Moreover, video and audio tapes are now a regular means of keeping in touch within families separated by migration. To this must be added the ease and speed of air travel between Australia and Europe, a development which has made personal visits to the homeland for many migrants a fairly regular event.

The total effect of this technological change on the psychology of 'emigration' may not yet be fully comprehended, but at the very least it has undermined the notion of emigration as a total break with the past, an abandonment of ethnic roots. One could go further — and some of the evidence presented below points in this direction — and suggest that the very ease of contact by migrants with their home countries now makes it less necessary to re-create a declassé version of it in the new. Why attend an English language *Eisteddfod* in Australia when you can so easily attend the 'real' version in Wales? Why make the effort to turn up at a poorly organised *Noson Lawen* by one of the Welsh Societies in Australia when you can stay home and watch a video recording of last Saturday's *Noson Lawen* in Llanbrynmair sent to you by a member of your family? The list could be extended but the examples given were all reported by respondents in this study.

Maintenance of contact on the non-personal level, however, presupposes retention of interest. The extent to which 'Q' group members retained interest and kept abreast of current developments in Wales was measured by Questions 5.1 and 5.2 of the Main Questionnaire and a number of related questions in the oral and written memoir schedules.[50] The questionnaire survey results are presented in Table 9.3.

Respondents were asked to indicate their level of interest, on a three point scale, in 10 aspects of Welsh national and cultural life 'before emigration' and 'at present'. For comparative purposes the responses were ranked on the basis of support for the 'very interested' category. Most of the cultural areas listed were fairly general and intended to be reasonably representative of the main points of contact of a given individual with the broad currents of social and cultural life in Wales today. Obviously they are selective but it is assumed that an individual expressing interest (or lack of) in Welsh national life, would choose to refer to some or all of these areas.

Results

The results were analysed by speaking proficiency, the main concern being the relative interest levels of speakers and non-speakers in the retention of ties with Wales. The observations which follow are based both on the responses presented in Table 9.3 and on the comments made in the oral and written memoirs:

(i)   As expected there was a general falling off of interest in most of the areas listed after settlement in Australia, but markedly by more so in the case of the non-speakers. The latter were in fact less interested in all 10 items after emigration.

(ii)   A high level of interest was maintained by all respondents, regardless of proficiency levels, in "the condition of the Welsh language". It was ranked fourth (26%) by non-speakers 'before

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[50]   See Oral Memoir Guide Questions, Part IV in particular (Appendix XXXI). See also Written Memoir Guidelines (Appendix XXXIII).

emigration', but with that exception, it was the aspect of Welsh life in which speakers and non-speakers registered most interest both before and after emigration. No Welsh speaker for example reported not having any interest in the state of the language before or after leaving Wales. Interest level had in fact increased after emigration (71% reported being 'very interested' before and 80% after). This result has been brought to light in earlier chapters[51] but what must be reiterated here is that the decline of the language in terms of the number of its speakers and of its purely functional value bears little relationship to its evaluation, which remains high on the part of those who speak it and those who do not.

(iii)   In general Welsh-speakers maintained a consistently higher level of interest in all the items listed, particularly those that were language related. The three areas in which they were most interested before emigration - 'the condition of the Welsh language' (71% (1)), 'Welsh folk-music' (59% (2)), 'Welsh literature' (56% (3)), — were also (and in the same order of 80%, 60% and 53% respectively) those in which they were most interested at the time of questionnaire completion. Speakers were in fact *more* interested in items such as the National and International Eisteddfod[52] after arrival in Australia. This was confirmed by the fact that a number of respondents reported having made several return trips to Wales specifically in order to participate in the National Eisteddfod.[53] Non-speakers, as would be expected, were considerably less interested in these areas of Welsh life.

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[51]   See Chapter 6 especially.
[52]   An annual event launched in 1947. It is held at Llangollen in North Wales, the main focus being on international participation in a variety of art forms, particularly folk music and dancing.
[53]   e.g. respondent 058/1.

Table 9.3

Levels of Interest of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group in Aspects of Welsh National and Cultural Life Before Emigration to Australia and at Present (All Respondents and by Language Proficiency

ASPECT OF WELSH NATIONAL AND CULTURAL LIFE	ALL RESPONDENTS								WELSH-SPEAKERS								NON-WELSH-SPEAKERS							
	Rank	Before Emigration			Rank	At Present			Rank	Before Emigration			Rank	At Present			Rank	Before Emigration			Rank	At Present		
		Very	Some	None		Very	Some	None		Very	Some	None		Very	Some	None		Very	Some	None		Very	Some	None
Politics	9	27	47	26	9	17	47	36	9	31	49	20	8	29	53	18	5	25	45	30	9	12	44	44
Education	1	48	46	6	8	24	44	32	4	56	44	0	7	41	50	9	1	44	46	10	7	15	42	43
Religion	5	35	52	13	6	25	40	35	5	54	42	4	5	48	41	11	7	23	53	19	8	13	40	47
National Eisteddfod	6	35	53	12	5	30	46	24	6	51	47	2	3	53	40	7	5	25	57	18	5	18	49	33
International Eisteddfod	8	29	52	19	6	25	43	32	7	39	57	4	6	43	48	9	7	23	49	28	6	16	40	44
Welsh Folk Music	4	40	45	15	2	38	42	20	2	59	39	2	2	60	36	4	3	29	48	23	3	27	45	28
Welsh Pop Music	10	12	34	54	10	10	27	63	10	17	39	44	10	20	32	48	10	8	30	61	10	4	26	70
Welsh Literature	7	31	40	29	4	32	41	27	3	57	34	9	3	53	42	4	9	14	43	43	4	21	40	39
The Condition of the Welsh language	2	43	44	13	1	51	36	12	1	71	30	0	1	80	20	0	4	26	53	21	1	37	45	18
Sport	3	41	34	25	3	34	33	33	8	36	33	31	9	27	40	32	2	42	34	24	1	37	29	33

Note: All figures shown are percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

(iv)   Contrasting levels of interest between speakers and non-speakers were particularly noticeable in some areas. Speakers for instance showed little interest in sport before or after emigration while non-speakers ranked it second (42%) before and first (37%) after arrival in Australia. The relevant point here may be that rugby, generally recognised as the Welsh 'national' sport, is played mainly in the non-Welsh-speaking areas of South Wales.

(v)   Of particular interest was the very low ranking of 'Welsh pop music' by all respondents before and after emigration, irrespective of language proficiency levels (it was ranked 10th or last by both groups). This is a reflection perhaps both of the relatively high average age of the respondents and of the fact that the majority departed Wales before the advent of the Welsh (language) popular music phenomenon. Popular 'rock' music in Welsh, it should be noted, is now a very prominent feature of the Welsh cultural landscape, its considerable relevance to language maintenance amongst the young being well recognised.[54] A NQ respondent, a young visitor from Wales, was well aware of its impact in this respect. Her comments are also supportive of the theoretical standpoint outlined earlier, namely that group cultural values are always subject to the evaluation of successive generations:

> "The world of 'pop' music is a sort of bridge between the two cultures, that is those who speak Welsh and those who don't. In a sense the young people of Wales are now developing their own culture. There is an extremely lively Welsh-language pop scene in Wales now. We have numberless groups, many of them playing in all parts of

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[54]   Dafydd Iwan, past Chairman of *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith* (The Welsh Language Society) is also a composer and singer of popular and folk music. Since the 1960s he has used all the techniques of contemporary popular music to spread his message on the language crisis throughout the length and breadth of Wales. See Morris, op.cit., pp.202-3. There are also a large number of Welsh (language) pop music groups making similar contributions.

Europe. My own group played in Czechoslovakia for example.

There is a danger of course that the new music is not sufficiently 'Welsh' in the traditional way. You see, its Welsh (Cymraeg) in one sense without being Welsh (Cymreig)[55] in the other. It might as it develops draw more from our *eisteddfod* tradition and even from hymn singing. That doesn't mean going on stage and playing hymn music to a rock beat, but making use of the harmony and the emotional aspects of Welshness that you find in the hymns - so that it stands out as something different and yet something that is essentially Welsh. That's what we're trying to do but of course it will take a long time".

<div align="right">Respondent NQ 24 (W/S1) (Female)
Visitor from Wales (Translated from the Welsh)</div>

(vi)   Responses to three of the areas listed call for particular comment since they are amongst the most debated social issues in contemporary Welsh life, namely education, politics and religion:

Education

A reverence for education has been one of the distinctive marks of modern Welshness. As seen in Chapter 2, even before the end of the eighteenth century, the remarkable efforts of the SPCK and the circulating schools of Gruffudd Jones had laid the foundations of popular literacy in Wales. Later, through the Sunday school movement this was considerably extended and, with its system of testing and examinations, introduced Welsh children and adults alike to some of the competitive elements of modern secular education. Yet day schooling remained relatively neglected and when, in the wake of the Blue Books Report nonconformity gave its imprimatur to state-provided elementary and intermediate schooling, it was less in the spirit of a Welsh cultural revival than as an effort to compete with critics on their own terms — and through the medium of the English language. Thus, before the end of the nineteenth century education for the Welsh

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[55]   'Cymraeg' refers to the use of the Welsh language as opposed to 'Cymreig' which means 'pertaining to Wales'.

was not only an accessible escape route from poverty but for many a route also to England and further afield. More recently, as was shown in Chapter 4, with the rise of the Welsh schools movement and the increased provision for the teaching of Welsh by local communities, educational issues are again in the forefront of Welsh life, and now tied closely to the language question.

It is against this background that the ranking of education as the aspect of Welsh life of most interest to the respondents prior to emigration must be placed. A full 94% claimed to have been "very interested" or to have had "some interest" in education before they left Wales. The corresponding figure for Welsh-speakers was 100%. The falling off of interest after some years' residence was relatively steep. Education was ranked eighth as an area of interest by the respondents overall and seventh by Welsh-speakers. This was confirmed by the almost total neglect of Welsh educational issues in the memoir comments, the only references made being unfavourable comparisons between Australian schools and their Welsh counterparts.[56] Otherwise education as an aspect of Welsh life was something most of the respondents had left behind in Wales.[57]

Politics

Political allegiance is probably one of the least transferable of migrant attributes. Though the broad ideological attitudes held by individuals undoubtedly survive migration, loyalties to particular parties or specific nostrums are likely to be left behind. Abandonment of former loyalties and participation in the political life of the receiving nation may in fact be a useful index of migrant assimilation.

Predictably, therefore, the respondents had retained little direct interest in Welsh politics, being ranked eighth by speakers and ninth by non-speakers. More surprising perhaps — in view of the political ferment of the period in which the majority had left Wales[58] — is that it also held little attraction before emigration.

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[56] Unfavourable, that is, to the former. Several complained that their children were taught British history with no reference to Wales.
[57] A number of first-generation respondents had not heard of the Welsh-medium schools.
[58] The 1960s and early 1970s (see Chapter 4).

Again, it was ranked ninth by the speakers and fifth by non-speakers. The breakdown of the particular parties supported by the group prior to departure is shown in Table 9.4 below.

The results are in fact fairly representative of Welsh voting patterns which, until very recently, have consistently reflected distaste for conservative politics. The correlation between Welsh-speaking ability and support for the Welsh Nationalist Party (Plaid Cymru) is also apparent. On the evidence of the memoirs it was in fact the only political party which still claimed the loyalties of its former members:

> "We both [the respondent and her husband[59]] voted Welsh Nationalist back home mainly because it was the only party that was willing to do anything about the language situation. We also support the Welsh Language Society as long as it avoids violent methods".

> Respondent 038/2 (W/S1)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

> "Yes, I fully support the nationalists. As for the Language Society, I think they're doing an excellent job of defending the language. I suppose they have to be fairly militant or the language would already be in its death throes. I think its wonderful that there is now much more printed material and official forms available in Welsh. From what I understand the Welsh Schools are also flourishing. Things have changed, and for the better as far as I'm concerned".

> Respondent 047/2 (N/QS1)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

There were other expressions of support for the Nationalist Party but on the whole few references were made to political life in Wales. To most respondents it was no longer relevant.

Religion

As was shown in Chapter 8 this is also largely true of religion. Though speakers and non-speakers professed some continuing interest (see Table 9.3) this was not reflected in their church attendance record in Australia. The second-

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[59] The husband was Dutch-born but had lived much of his life in Wales and had a good knowledge of the language.

Table 9.4

Political Party Supported by 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group Before Emigration (All Respondents and by Welsh Language Speaking Proficiency)

Political Party	All Respondents		Welsh Speakers		Non-Welsh-Speakers	
Welsh Nationalist	No	%	No	%	No	%
Welsh Nationalist	12	(19)	10	(32)	2	(5)
Labour	33	(48)	15	(48)	18	(49)
Conservative	9	(13)	3	(8)	6	(16)
Liberal	9	(13)	2	(6)	7	(19)
Variable	5	(7)	1	(3)	4	(11)
Total No of Replies*	68	(100)	31	(100)	37	(100)

Notes: Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.
The Question (Question 5.1 of main questionnaire) was open-ended.

generation, especially, had as little interest in the religious as in the political life of Wales. To their parents the chapels were part of a way of life that could not be recalled. Those who had visited Wales in recent years realised that this was also the case there too:

♦ *"Sefyllfa arall sy'n torri fy nghalon i ydyw meddwl am gapeli yr hen wlad yn cau un ar ol y llall ..... Yn y cylch lle'm magwyd maent ym lwcus o gael un bregeth y mis erbyn heddiw"* (Another situation which is breaking my heart is to think of the chapels in the Old Country closing one after the other .... In the area where I was brought up they'd be lucky to have one sermon a month by today).

Respondent 058/1 (W/S1) Resident in South Australia
(Comment added to Questionnaire Reply)

♦ *"Pan oeddwn adref penderfynais fynd i oedfa bore Sul fel arfer. Roeddwn wedi synnu gweld neb yn mynd i fyny'r allt i gyfeiriad yr hen gapel. Dyma fi'n cyrraedd ac yn trio'r drws ac wyddoch chi beth, roedd wedi cau. Dim capel, dim oedfa bore ar Dydd Sul! Roedd y profiad yn sioc mawr i'mi coeliwch fi. Am y rheswm yna yn unig ni fedrwn ddioddef byw yng Nghymry eto"*. (When I was home [in Wales] I decided to go to the Sunday morning service as usual. I was surprised to see no-one making their way up

the hill in the direction of the old chapel. I arrived and tried the door and would you believe it, it was closed. No chapel and no service on a Sunday morning! The experience was a great shock to me, I tell you. For that reason alone I couldn't bear to live in Wales again).

<div align="right">

Respondent 075/1 (W/S1)
Resident in the ACT (OM)

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This, of course, is a well-known aspect of the migrant experience - the expectation on the part of some individuals that, during their absence, life in the homeland has somehow stood still and that on their return they will find everything as they left. That we cannot go home, as Proust reminds us, makes the experiences of these two elderly respondents no loss poignant.

In her study of the Greek community in Australia, Bottomley makes the point that "for customs and values to remain a living link with the homeland they must be nourished at the fountain-head", i.e., by books, correspondence, journals, newspapers, video tapes etc. For most of the participants in this study books were almost irrelevant as sources of information on contemporary Wales. Despite the boom in recent years in Welsh book publishing, books, either in Welsh or about Wales, were in short supply in most of the homes visited and there was no example of mail order purchasing. Welsh newspapers were more in evidence. Several Welsh-speakers received local Welsh-language newspapers *(Papurau Bro)*[60] on a regular basis either by subscription or sent by their families, and these were usually circulated within the Welsh-speaking community. Some non-speakers also received papers such as the 'Western Mail' or the 'Daily Post'.[61] On the other hand no-one reported[62] receiving any Welsh language periodical, though several received Yr Enfys.[63]

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[60] See Chapter 4.
[61] English-language newspapers distributed mainly in Wales.
[62] In the Oral Memoirs.
[63] Which contains some Welsh articles. A 1968 survey found that three-quarters of the Welsh-speaking population in Wales did not read a Welsh-language newspaper or periodical regularly. Western Mail - CRC Survey (September 1968), cited in Philip, op.cit., p.64.

The most popular means of contact was undoubtedly the video-recorder. Welsh-language programmes were regularly taped[64] and sent by family members, whilst there was also a fairly frequent interchange of filmed records of family occasions by this means.[65] Even the exchange of facsimile transmitted messages was beginning to take place by the end of the research period. For some respondents the videotape, the telephone and, increasingly, the facsimile machine were the *sole* means by which they maintained contact with their families and friends in Wales. The era of the 'emigrant letter', a rich primary source on migrant life in the past, seems to be drawing to a close.

Visits to Wales (and by friends and family members from Wales) were, despite prohibitive air fares, surprisingly frequent. Though no statistics were obtained, most of the memoir contributors had made at least one return visit since their arrival.[66] Yet in recent years Wales or Britain even, were seldom the only destinations, being for many only stops on a more comprehensive European package tour. Again this was a marked change in traditional ways of maintaining contact with the homeland.[67] Moreover, several of those who had been to Wales in the last decade complained of the changes that had taken place. Welsh-speakers in particular referred to the Anglicising of their home towns and villages as a consequence of which, they would not, they maintained, go again, but would spend future holidays in the more accessible and cheaper countries of south-east Asia.

Contact with the homeland was therefore sporadic and family directed[68]. This was also made evident by the limited knowledge of the memoir contributors of current developments in Welsh life, particularly of language related issues. A

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[64] ie., on the Welsh-language Channel S4C. (See Chapter 4). Welsh-language programmes are also periodically shown, with sub-titles in English, on the Australian ethnic television Channel SBS.

[65] Films received by individual members were often the main item of the evening's programme at meetings of the Welsh Societies. (See Table 8.1)

[66] Some much more frequently. Respondent 011/1 and his wife returned every two years on average.

[67] ie., of the notion of the visit home as a once in a lifetime occurrence, and spent almost entirely with family members.

[68] Links with former friends were seldom maintained beyond the first year or so after arrival.

direct question to this effect was included in the memoir schedule,[69] and given the nature of the question, it was possible to quantify the responses. The results are shown in Table 9.5.

Though the list was limited to ten items, and was highly selective, the relative lack of familiarity with recent language developments is apparent. There was a clear contrast however between speakers and non-speakers and between the two generations. A few examples will serve to illustrate the point. A high 67% of speakers had not heard of the Welsh Language Act of 1967; 14% were unaware of the Welsh language channel, S4C (established since 1982),[70] and 43% of the Welsh-medium schools. All have been crucially important landmarks in the recent history of the language. As expected, the corresponding figures were substantially higher for non-speakers and higher again for the second generation. Only one second generation respondent, for example, was aware of the referendum on devolution (1979).

The same general picture emerges in relation to the listed individuals, all except two of whom have been closely involved in the language struggle in the post-war period, and afforded considerable publicity in the Welsh media.[71] Saunders Lewis, the playwright, as expected, was little known to non-speakers and not at all to the second generation.[72] Gwynfor Evans and Dafydd Iwan were more familiar, though the latter was still unknown to 60% of the respondents overall. Angharad Tomos, though not as prominent as the others, has gained considerable publicity in the Welsh language press as a result of her continuing campaign of civil disobedience on behalf of the language. Though not known to non-speakers or the second generation, her name was familiar to 24% of speakers. Finally, it was not surprising, given his relatively frequent visits to Australia, that Max Boyce

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[69]   (Appendix XXXI, Part IV).
[70]   See Chapter 4.
[71]   Most were referred to in Chapter 4. See also notes accompanying Table 9.5.
[72]   This, of course, may also well be the case in Wales, in relation not only to Saunders Lewis, but to all the other listed personalities (except perhaps Lloyd George and Max Boyce).

Table 9.5

Knowledge of Recent Welsh Language-Related Developments in Wales (All Oral Memoir Contributors And By Language Proficiency And Generation.

	All Oral Memoir Contributors (N = 53)				Welsh-Speakers (N = 21)				Non-Welsh-Speakers (N = 32)				First Generation (N= 37)				Second Generation (N = 16)			
	No		%		No.		%		No.		%		No.		%		No.		%	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Welsh Language Act of 1967	14	29	**26**	**74**	8	13	**38**	**62**	6	26	**19**	**81**	12	25	**32**	**68**	2	14	**12**	**88**
2. Referendum on Devolution 1/3/79	14	39	**26**	**74**	7	14	**33**	**67**	7	25	**22**	**78**	13	24	**35**	**65**	1	15	**6**	**94**
3. Channel S4C	43	10	**81**	**19**	18	3	**86**	**14**	25	7	**78**	**22**	32	5	**87**	**13**	11	5	**69**	**31**
4. Welsh medium schools	30	23	**57**	**43**	12	9	**57**	**43**	18	14	**56**	**44**	23	14	**62**	**38**	7	9	**44**	**56**
5. David Lloyd George	45	8	**85**	**15**	21	0	**100**	**0**	24	8	**75**	**25**	37	0	**100**	**0**	8	8	**50**	**50**
6. Saunders Lewis	20	33	**38**	**62**	14	7	**67**	**33**	6	26	**19**	**81**	20	17	**54**	**46**	0	16	**0**	**100**
7. Gwynfor Evans	23	30	**43**	**57**	15	3	**86**	**14**	5	27	**16**	**84**	23	14	**62**	**38**	0	16	**0**	**100**
8. Max Boyce	47	6	**89**	**11**	18	3	**86**	**14**	29	3	**91**	**9**	32	5	**87**	**13**	15	1	**94**	**6**
9. Dafydd Iwan	21	32	**40**	**60**	14	7	**67**	**33**	7	25	**22**	**78**	17	20	**46**	**54**	4	12	**25**	**75**
10. Angaharad Tomos	5	48	**9**	**91**	5	16	**24**	**76**	0	32	**0**	**100**	5	32	**13**	**87**	0	16	**0**	**100**

Note:

Items 1-4:	See Chapter 4
Item 5:	Welsh-born British Prime Minister 1916-22.
Item 6:	Eminent playwright and one of the founders of the Welsh Nationalist Party (See Chapter 4).
Item 7:	Past President of the Welsh Nationalist Party and the first nationilist to be returned to Parliament (1966) (See Chapter 4).
Item 8:	Popular Welsh (English medium) entertainer (not directly involved with the language question (see text).
Item 9:	Singer and writer of language related protest songs and past President of *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith* (The Welsh Language Society).
Item 10:	Currently very active member of *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith* (The Welsh Language Society).

was the best known figure — known even to 94% of the second generation.[73] As a mainly English-medium entertainer who is little involved in the language question, the point of contrast is instructive.

These results are not inconsistent with those presented in Chapters 6 and 7 on attitudes towards the language, and are not in any significant measure evidence of lack of interest or support. Nevertheless, they are indicative of the distancing, arguably inevitable, of these Welsh migrants and their children from some of the controversies and concerns over the matter of language which have preoccupied large segments of the population of Wales since the early 1960s.

9.4.2 Adaptation to Australia

The balancing correlative of retention of ties with Wales is adaptation to life in Australia. This is not to suggest that becoming more 'Australian' implies, becoming less Welsh in some linear process. The theoretical model in which the present study is grounded argues[74] that, within a plural society such as Australia, the preferred outcome for individuals of their contact with the host culture is that of internal cultural pluralism, ie, that they be able to construct dual systems of cultural values, their own and that of the host population. According to this model of cultural adaptation two identities need not be mutually exclusive. Thus, it is not necessary for a Welsh migrant or his children, whether Welsh or Australian-born, to choose between being 'Welsh' or 'Australian'. Under certain conditions they can be both. These conditions, outlined in Chapter 1, include both the encouragement of internal pluralism by the host society, particularly by means of government policy, and the 'tendency' of the group (and by implication of the

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[73] Jan Morris, currently one of Wales' most eminent English-language writers, commented as follows on his popularity amongst the Welsh in Australia: "When in the 1980s Max Boyce gave a concert in Sydney, New South Wales, he was disconcerted to discover that after his performance more than a thousand members of his audience showed no sign of leaving the hall. Instead they started singing Welsh songs themselves, moved by the message he had brought and the fun he had transmitted from the valleys so far away; and so they lingered there, singing and laughing and reunited in their deepest instincts, until the lights of the hall were dimmed at last, and they went out into the streets Australians once again". Morris, op.cit., pp.245-6.
[74] See Chapter 1.

individuals within it) to maintain group cohesion and cultural integrity. In the terminology used earlier, it depends therefore on the ethnic tenacity of the group concerned, that is, on its ability and will to maintain its linguistic and other cultural values. The main concern of this study has been an investigation of the latter, namely of the reserves of Welsh linguistic and cultural values that are currently accessible in Australia, and of the extent to which 'Q' group members have been willing and able to draw on them for the construction of their personal systems. It is appropriate at this stage therefore that some attention be given to the corollary of the internal pluralist model, namely the extent to which they have adapted to the majority culture of their adopted country.

It could, of course, be argued that internal cultural pluralism describes the condition of Welsh-speakers, when they arrive in Australia. In addition to their familiarity with the Welsh language and the culture it supports, all speak English and all profess approximately the same range of religious values as the majority population. They play and follow very much the same sports. They have no physical peculiarities, which mark them out as different. They were educated along much the same lines, were governed by the same system, and obeyed a very similar set of laws. To the extent therefore that Australian society is still 'British', the Welsh, from the moment they arrive, are at least as assimilable as any other British group. Even if the argument is put forward that Australia today is more American than British, the thesis still has some force. From television programmes, to slang and fast food outlets, these influences have been felt to almost the same extent in Old as in New South Wales or any other part of Australia.

It could even be argued that the overlap goes further. Insofar as Australia may be described as an egalitarian society whose dominant culture is vaguely working class and whose population, at least in the past, has been supportive of trade unionism and socialist policies, Welsh migrants to its shores, as shown in earlier chapters, should not feel totally estranged. Similarly, the well-known

'cultural cringe' which again until recently was thought to characterise some aspects of Australia's relationship with England, would not be unknown to those whose language and culture have borne the stigma of inferiority for centuries. Even the anti-monarchical, republican sentiments that are presently gaining ground in Australia would strike a sympathetic chord amongst sections of the Welsh population.[75]

The above comments would apply equally, of course, and more so in some respects, to the Scots and the Irish. Moreover, the suggestion of cultural kinship should not be carried too far. It may be that the long voyage to Australia gave migrants from Britain a greater sense of expatriation than did the Atlantic crossing for example,[76] and that this translates into a sense of cultural distance. Nor should Australian-British heritage, as Jupp reminds us,[77] obscure some of the real difficulties experienced by migrants from Britain in adjusting to Australian ways. Yet the general case for an overlapping of values remains.

Even those who would argue for the British presence in Australia as a 'third culture',[78] have done so by focusing on concentrations of the British-born in satellite and commuter zone towns around some of the major cities. This not only tends to distort the larger picture of British settlement by ignoring those individuals who are widely dispersed amongst the majority population, but overlooks the fact that the Australian-born have in recent years outnumbered the British in most of

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[75]   To these arguments one could add that those of Welsh ethnic origin (as opposed to birth) form a significant proportion of the Australian population. Thus, of the 70 or so ethnic ancestries which went to form the total population in 1978, the Welsh at 1.39% were the sixth highest amongst non-British groups. In the 1986 Census some 73,330 persons in Australia gave 'Welsh' as their sole or first ancestry. (see Table 1.4(b)). This situation arises not from recent immigration but from the Welsh having been part of the founding European population of Australia, and having contributed continuously, albeit in small numbers, to Australia's migrant inflow throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For a fuller explanation see Price, "The Ethnic Composition of the Australian Population", op.cit., Table 4.6, p.A96.

[76]   Until the late 1960s most migrants to Australia, including the participants in this study came by ship.

[77]   See J. Jupp, Arrivals and Departures (Melbourne : Lansdowne Press, 1966), p.77.

[78]   e.g. D.E. Bithell, "British Immigrants in Elizabeth, South Australia : A Third Culture", Unpublished B.A. Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1974.

the areas concerned.[79] Though Burnley, for example, writing in 1978, saw some merit in the notion of a British 'third culture', he also noted that "this should not obscure the fact that the majority of British settlers in Australia are ...... being freely absorbed into Australian society".[80]

The relevant question here is whether the Welsh have been any different from the rest of the British. How readily have they adjusted to life in Australia? Theories of assimilation are as bewildering in their variety as the definitions of its meaning, in the discussion which follows it is taken to mean no more than the *process* — and that it is a process was assumed — by which they adjusted to life in Australia,[81] the main interest being the effects of settlement on their cultural identity. Again, although the group as a whole provided an organising framework for discussion, the main focus was on individuals.[82] The memoirs therefore provide most of the illustrative examples, but as elsewhere in the study, multiple research methods were used. The information sought by these several means involved three main lines of enquiry:[83]

(i)   How satisfied were they with their lives in Australia?

(ii)   To what extent did they feel they 'belonged'?

(iii)   To what extent had they adopted Australian ways and values?

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[79]   In the South Australian satellite town of Elizabeth, for example, the UK and Ireland born now form 25% of the population. Census of the Population and Housing, August 6th, 1991.

[80]   Burnley, op.cit., pp.356-7/

[81]   Following Martin, who also points out that it is a process which is not "even or progressive". Martin, op.cit., p.100.

[82]   More specialist studies of assimilation have also proceeded on the assumption that it is best understood as an individual process. See for example Bottomley, op.cit., and Martin, op.cit.

[83]   The broad pattern of discussion follows Richardson who in his studies of the assimilation of British migrants in Australia posited a three stage sequential process involving satisfaction, identification and acculturation. No attempt was made to use his satistical scaling techniques, nor to arrive at a typology but his approach was thought to have the advantage of recognising adjustment to be an uneven process. Thus some individuals, as was found in the present study, may not, for example. progress beyond the first stage. For a full discussion of Richardson's approach see A. Richardson "A Theory and Method for the Psychological Study of Assimilation", International Migration Review, 2 (Fall 1967), pp.3-30.

9.4.2.1   Satisfaction with Life in Australia

It has been argued[84] that a minimum level of satisfaction is a prerequisite for the successful adaptation of migrant individuals to life in Australia — that if important economic and social needs are not met it is unlikely that they will come to feel to belong or that they will progress further along the road to assimilation. This, of course, is a socio-psychological approach to an understanding of the assimilation process, but for that reason is particularly applicable at the level of the individual.   It is difficult to visualise the successful adjustment, culturally or otherwise, of an individual member of an ethnic group to his adopted country, (regardless of cultural overlap or any other advantage from specific group membership), unless a certain level of satisfaction with his material or social circumstances has been reached.   It does not follow that satisfaction at this level will lead to a greater sense of belonging or to cultural assimilation but it is arguably a pre-condition.

Levels of satisfaction within 'Q' group were tested by three questions in the Main Questionnaire and a number of related questions in the Memoir Schedules. The questionnaire results are presented in Table 9.6.

Unquestionably, the participants in this study, speakers and non-speakers, first and second generation, male and female, found life in Australia to be very much to their satisfaction.[85] Ninety-nine per cent of all respondents were "pleased" that they had come to Australia (Q2.5), 95% felt "welcome" (Q2.9) and 75% had not thought of returning to Wales to live (Table 9.7). In view of the argument sometimes advanced that female migrants, especially married women, are often more discontented and therefore more inclined to want to return to their home

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[84]   Ibid.

[85]   In general this has been the finding of most studies of British settlement in Australia. The 1981 La Trobe University Survey of the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour to four national groups (including the British) in relation to citizenship and identity reported that "one of the strongest findings of the study was the general or overall feeling of satisfaction with life in Australia". This was found to be especially the case with UK citizens.   "Citizenship and Cultural Identity....", op.cit., p.10a.

countries than their husbands,[86] the results were also analysed by gender. The differences, in response to all four questions, were found to be insignificant.

The memoir comments revealed that the ease and the relative affordability of modern travel made frequent return visits to Wales possible and eased the initial pain of separation. A number of respondents commented to this effect. They had, they felt, the best of both worlds : a cultural heritage that was Welsh (which the return trips replenished) and a comfortable life in Australia:

> "We took the children home to Wales in 1977 for a three month visit and my husband and I have been back quite a few times since. .... I started the second Welsh Society in — and my home is an open door to anyone from Wales passing through the town. Our coffee shop in the centre of - is renowned for its Welsh atmosphere. We have the Welsh flag flying outside and *Croeso* [Welcome] on the menu. This has brought us in contact with countless Welsh people .... All our children except one were born here and they've all done very well. We have two grandsons and of course to them we are *nain* [grandmother] and *taid* [grandfather] — that's what they call us. Not only are all our children very aware of their Welsh heritage but so are the two grandchildren. Yes, I'm very proud of being Welsh but I also love my Australia. I have the best of both worlds in my opinion".
>
> Respondent 065/2 (W/S1)
> Resident in Tasmania (WM)

There were other comments in the same general tone:

> "I had never attended an *eisteddfod* prior to migrating to Australia but have attended both the National and Royal during my return visits ..... I think I have adjusted well to the Australian way of life. I have travelled everywhere around Australia and take a keen interest in Australian history. But I am still very much Welsh in my outlook and thinking. I am married to a third generation Australian of Scottish origin who is fortunately very pro-Welsh .....
> I have never missed an opportunity to promote my native *Cymru* (Wales) even to the point of ringing the various radio stations reminding them of the approach of St David's Day each year".
>
> Respondent 006/2 (N/WS1)
> Resident in South Australia (WM)

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[86]   See for example R. Taft, From Stranger to Citizen : A Survey of studies of immigrant assimilation in Western Australia (Perth : University of Western Australian Press, 1965), p.66.

Table 9.6

Levels of Satisfaction Amongst 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group with Life in Australia (All Respondents and by Welsh Language (Speaking) Proficiency, Generation And Gender)

Main Questionnaire Questions on Satisfaction	All Respondents				Welsh-Speakers				Non-Welsh-Speakers				First Generation				Second Generation				Male				Female			
	No.		%		No.		%		No.		%		No.		%		No.		%		No.		%		No.		%	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Question 2.5	127	1	99	1	Not Recorded								99	1	94	1	28	0	100	0	64	1	98	2	63	0	100	0
Question 2.7	99	28	78	22	Not Recorded								71	25	74	26	28	3	90	10	52	12	81	19	47	16	75	25
Question 2.9	125	6	95	5	46	1	98	2	79	5	94	6	99	5	95	5	26	1	96	4	60	4	94	6	65	2	97	3

Note:
(i)   Question 2.5:   Are you now pleased that you came to Australia? (Generation IIb replies not included).
(ii) Question 2.7:   Would you advise young people in Wales to emigrate here?
(iii) Question 2.9:   Do you feel welcome here in Australia? (Generation IIb replies not included).
(iv) 'No replies' not included.
(v)   Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

When asked to elaborate on their expressions of satisfaction with their lives in Australia, the majority of the respondents quoted their own and/or their children's economic well-being as the primary reason. A climate which made possible an informal outdoor lifestyle was also frequently cited. In other words their expectations of Australia, as reported in Chapter 5, had been largely fulfilled.[87]

9.4.2.2 Identification with Australia

Despite these high levels of satisfaction there was no clear-cut evidence of any linear progress towards equally high levels of identification with Australia. Identification is clearly a considerably more complex aspect of migrant adaptation than satisfaction. Certainly levels of satisfaction with material circumstances are much easier to measure. One can, for example, simply ask 'Are you satisfied with life in Australia?' Identification on the other hand is multi-dimensional, an unconscious and gradual process which may lead to an individual being unaware of the extent of his identification with his adopted country. One cannot therefore, in the same way, ask 'Do you identify with Australia?' Is it in fact possible to identify, or belong, or even adapt to a whole country? Does an individual not adapt, or fail to adapt, more to his immediate neighbourhood or his school or his workplace?

If by identification is meant self-identification, ie, in this instance choosing to be referred to as 'Australian' then it has already been shown that the participants, the first generation especially, fell short in this respect. The majority chose to be referred to as 'Welsh' both in Australia and in Wales. If, on the other hand, it signifies a more generalised sense of 'belonging', a feeling of being 'at home' in Australia and comfortably familiar with its institutions, then the evidence

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[87] Richardson has argued that levels of socio-economic satisfaction amongst British immigrants to Australia were broadly predictable. See A. Richardson, "Predicting socio-economic satisfaction levels among British immigrants in Australia", Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol. 2, No. 1, (March 1971), pp.51-69.

was strongly that this was the case. It has been suggested, for instance, that this manner of identification might be made manifest by a migrant's declared intention to spend the rest of his life in his adopted country. On this count most of the respondents identified strongly with Australia. (See Table 9.7 below).

Seventy five per cent of all respondents had never considered returning to Wales to live and, contrary to some findings, the proportion for females was higher at 76% than for males at 73%. It was in fact repeatedly made clear by the memoir contributors that though they might often have experienced *hiraeth* (homesickness) they had at no stage considered permanent return.[88] They were not only tied to Australia by family and other commitments but on holiday visits to Wales had felt increasingly estranged from their former neighbourhoods. This was also confirmed by the actual return rates within 'Q' group. During the six year period of research only one family returned to Wales to live.[89]

Table 9.7

Responses to Question 2.10 of Main Questionnaire (*Have you ever considered returning to Wales to live?*). All Respondents and by Welsh Language (Speaking) Proficiency, Generation And Gender

Question 2.10 MQ	No.		%	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
All Respondents	35	103	25	75
Welsh-Speaking	14	32	30	70
Non-Welsh-Speaking	21	71	23	77
First Generation	32	71	31	69
Second Generation	3	32	9	91
Males	18	49	27	73
Females	17	54	24	76

Note:
(i)   'No' replies not included.

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[88]   Taft and Doczy in their study of Hungarian refugees found that this item was the most valuable single measure of assimilation. R. Taft and A.G. Doczy "The Assimilation of Intellectual Refugees in Western Australia with special reference to Hungarians", REMP Bulletin, Vol.10, (1962).
On the generally high identification of British migrants with Australia, see also Taft, op.cit., p.67.
[89]   Family 040 for language maintenance reasons (see Chapter 7).

(ii)   Responses of 5 Generation IIb respondents who chose to answer the questionnaire have been included.

(iii)   Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

Yet — indicative perhaps of the intricacies of the whole identification issue — some of the above findings were not confirmed by the naturalisation rate amongst 'Q' group members. At the time of questionnaire completion only 35 or 24% of the 142 respondents had taken up Australian citizenship. Although this was consistent with the general tardiness of all UK groups[90] (excluding the Irish-born) in this respect, it contrasts with the record of Welsh migrants to the United States who historically were amongst the most inclined of all ethnic groups to become American nationals.[91] The reasons for this are not clear, though there may be an element of the rejection of the 'British' association involved. Certainly the great majority were anxious to distance themselves from the colloquial term 'Poms'.[92]

Identification with Australia was therefore by no means straightforward nor automatically following on satisfaction. Nevertheless, despite the relative reluctance of most respondents to identify themselves as 'Australian', to use the pronoun 'we'[93] in conversation, or to take up Australian citizenship, they were also very satisfied with conditions in Australia and had no wish to return to Wales. Moreover on a *de facto* basis they lived lives that were little different from those of

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[90]   Lucas, op.cit., p.57.

[91]   See for example Williams, A Prospect of Paradise ..... op.cit., p.22. He points out that 75% of the Welsh in the United States became American citizens, "the highest percentage recorded for any nation". (He does not specify over which period).

[92]   Of the 89% who had been called 'Poms' 79% were 'offended' by the term. (See Oral Memoir Guide Questions, Appendix XXXI, Part III).

[93]   Nor the Welsh equivalent 'Ni'. It is possible however that this would have been more the case in conversation with non-Welsh individuals. A certain shyness to use the first-person plural and a fear of accusations of presumption from fellow nationals was undoubtedly a factor in precluding its use in the Welsh Societies etc. In this respect Richardson's point is well-taken. He writes: "One of the main deficiencies of the interview in studying assimilation is that it restricts the information to what the immigrant can say about himself and what he has observed. A more complete understanding of the assimilation process ... requires the systematic use of observation procedures and of interviews with selected *Australian* (own italics) informants. Such procedures would enable a description to be made of important habitats such as offices, factories, hotel bars, social and sporting clubs". Richardson, British Immigrants. op.cit., p.3, footnote 2.

the majority Australian-born population. That is what the discussion to follow seeks to show.

9.4.2.3 Acculturation or the Adoption of Australian Ways and Values

If by acculturation is meant the acquisition by migrants of the linguistic skills of the host population and a general convergence of values, it could be argued that the participants in this study, as English-speakers from a British background, were substantially acculturated to some of the broader currents of Australian culture at the time of arrival. If, on the other hand, it also implies an abandonment in the process of their consciousness of being Welsh, then the evidence was to the contrary. The point here is that, at least in the case of the first generation, the majority, whilst finding little difficulty in adjusting to life in Australia, did so without abandoning their claim to a Welsh cultural identity. Some distinction must be made, however, between the claim to identity and its expression. Given the dispersion of the Welsh-born within the general population and what has been shown to be the poverty of the stock of Welsh cultural values in Australia, their Welshness, especially in the case of the Welsh-speakers, seldom wore a public face, except in what has been termed its 'residual' form. Their Welshness was therefore something that was generally held in reserve, hidden for the most part, behind a lifestyle that was manifestly Australian.

'Lifestyle' may in fact be the key term in this context since the acculturation of 'Q' group members amounted more to the adoption of an Australian style of living and of some of the attitudes which came in its wake, than to the substitution of one set of values by another. Acculturation here therefore refers to the adoption of cultural norms in the broadest sense — of eating habits, of dress conventions, of recreational activities and in general of a style of living made possible by ample space and an amenable climate, one which in other words is distinctly Australian.

No attempt was made to measure the acculturation of 'Q' group by, for example, using a scale of 'Australianism'.[94] The aim was the more modest one of revealing whether, and to what extent, their cultural identity had been affected by their residence in Australia and their interaction with Australians. What follows therefore is a number of broad observations based on questionnaire responses (Table 9.8) and on the respondents' own views of their acculturation as revealed in the memoirs.[95] These sources were supplemented by participant observation of their cultural and recreational activities during the period of research, activities it should be stressed in which Australians of non-Welsh origin were often involved. The focus is largely on individuals but with no claim being advanced as to the typicality of their behaviour beyond the confines of the group studied. The results are discussed under two broad headings:

1.   Food, Dress and Recreational Pursuits

With reference to these seemingly superficial but generally accepted[96] indicators of acculturation, the evidence from all sources was that both generations of 'Q' group respondents were generally indistinguishable from the mainstream population. This, of course, was as much a necessary accommodation to the Australian climate and geographic environment as the result of any 'cultural' influences. The trend in dress and behaviour on all social occasions was towards informality and with a stress on outdoor entertainment. Sunday gatherings for barbecues in gardens, parks and on the beaches were popular forms of entertainment. Wine drinking was common on these occasions and generally nothing was left of the Sabbatarianism associated with the Welsh in the past.[97] "I don't want to condemn my fellow Welshmen" complained the minister of one of

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[94]   As used by Taft for example. See R. Taft, "Opinion convergence in the Assimilation of immigrants", Australian Journal of Psychology, No. 14 (1962).

[95]   On the importance of immigrants' own views of their experience of adjustment see Charles Price's comment in the opening quotation to this chapter.

[96]   Bottomley, op.cit., p.99.

[97]   Some Welsh counties are still 'dry', ie, forbid Sunday drinking (see Chapter 4). Currently in Australia the most well-known wine critic and connosseur is a Welsh-born migrant.

the Welsh Chapels, "but the only way I could get them to come to church or to the Welsh Society would be if I opened a bar in there".[98]

The only observed deviation from the 'Australian' lifestyle was the relative lack of interest in sport or in attending sporting activities. Even allowing for the relatively advanced average age (51) of the group as a whole, the indifference, and in some cases the dislike of sport was noticeable. Amongst the first generation especially, sport was *seldom* the subject of conversation on any social occasion attended, including the meetings of the two South Australian Welsh Societies, nor was there any hint of identification with a particular Australian Rules football team.[99] The love of sport common to Australian males was in fact one of the few aspects of life in Australia that was subject to criticism. It was condemned by some of the memoir contributors as "excessive", and a barrier to their own social intercourse with 'ordinary' Australians:

> "My friends are mainly Australian ..... as there were few Welsh people around here. None of them are really close however as they talk so much about sport and horseracing particularly - subjects in which I have no interest whatsoever".
>
> Respondent 011/1 (W/S1)
> Resident in South Australia (OM)

That this attitude was fairly common is confirmed to some extent by Table 9.8 which shows fairly low levels of interest by the respondents in sport as an aspect of Australian cultural life (for Welsh-speakers only popular music scored lower).

As expected, with respect to these more visible steps to acculturation, the second-generation had travelled even further than their parents. Whatever exceptions that were noted with the latter, as with their attitudes towards sport, *they were entirely inapplicable to the children*. What is of significance here, as Price has pointed out, is that it is over this bridge of similarity between migrant

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[98]   Respondent 067/1 (oral memoir comment). Translated from the Welsh.
[99]   On a number of occasions first-generation individuals mentioned that they had little knowledge of the game.

groups and the host population in such matters as diet, dress and recreational habits, that the younger generation crosses "to become assimilated or lost".[100]

2.   Interest in and Participation in Australian Social and Cultural Life.

The less visible, and perhaps more critical factor in the acculturation process is undoubtedly the degree of participation in the social and cultural life of the host society, particularly at primary level.[101] It has been one of the theoretical standpoints of this study that primary ethnic bonds conserve ethnicity even when linguistic and other cultural values are being relinquished. But the converse also applies: where primary personal systems at the primary level consist of predominantly out-group members the danger of the weakening and perhaps severing of ethnic bonds is greatly increased.

The friendship patterns within 'Q' group were investigated in Chapter 8 and the topic need not be pursued at any length here. The point should be repeated however that 76% of the three closest friends of all the respondents were non-Welsh born, and for the second generation as high as 98% (Table 8.9). Simply put, they were forming their closest associations with individuals from outside the Welsh community. For the second generation this, as shown, culminated in out-group marriage and the total loss of any but the most subjective or symbolic markers of identity. In the case of the Welsh the process of assimilation when it reaches this stage must be considered near complete.

To this must be added the obvious point that personal friendships and involvement in social cliques at primary level accompany increased contact at the secondary, ie, in clubs, sporting organisations, work related groups, professional bodies etc. The process is closely interrelated since primary associations often result from contact at the secondary level and vice versa. In the case of the first generation within 'Q' group, involvement in secondary organisations, especially on

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[100]   C.A. Price, "Immigration and Group Settlement" case study in W.D. Borrie, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants (Paris : UNESCO, 1959), p.286.
[101]   Smolicz, Culture and Education ...... op.cit., p.177.

the part of Welsh-speakers, was limited. In this respect — a point previously made in Chapter 8 — they were not 'joiners'. Yet their maintained levels of interest in education, politics, and other aspects of national and cultural life in Australia (Table 9.8) were at least as high as they had been in equivalent aspects of Welsh life.

Again, however, the second generation had travelled further than their parents along the path of acculturation. For example, a select list of the secondary-type organisations to which the children of families in which at least one parent was Welsh-speaking belonged, included:[102]

The Nunawading Brass Band (003/3)

The Barossa Valley Apex Club (024/4)

The Wakefield Plains Riding Club (024/3)

The Adelaide Plains Basketball Club (024/3)

The Canberra Kindergarten Group (075/3)

Ballarat Sporting Club (unnamed) (058/4)

Mt Clear Tennis Club (058/5)

Amway of Australia (086/3)

Sydney Rugby League Club (088/3)

Perhaps the most potent factor working in favour of the total acculturation of the second-generation was that, almost without exception, including the Welsh-born (Gen IIa), they spoke English with an Australian accent and used Australian idiom and slang with natural ease. This firmly separated them as 'Australians' on social occasions. Though indulgent of their parents' accents, and in the case of some Welsh-speakers, their awkwardness in English, they turned to their own speech-style as if to a different register in which they felt more comfortable. This

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102   Information from the reply to Question 4.2 of the Main Questionnaire.

Table 9.8

Levels of Interest Of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group in Aspects of Australian National and Cultural Life (All Respondents and by Welsh Language Speaking Proficiency And Generation)

	All Respondents			Welsh-Speakers			Non-Welsh-Speakers			First Generation			Second Generation		
	Very	Some	None	Very	Some	None	Very	Some	None	Very	Some	None	Very	Some	None
Politics	38	50	12	50	38	12	33	55	12	43	46	12	26	61	13
Education	54	35	11	56	40	4	53	32	15	55	34	11	50	38	12
Religion	32	37	31	46	33	22	25	39	36	33	40	27	29	29	41
Cultural Festivals	24	52	24	20	63	17	27	47	26	23	54	23	28	46	26
The Theatre	31	48	21	31	45	24	32	49	19	30	59	20	34	43	23
The Cinema	17	60	23	16	54	30	17	64	19	13	62	25	29	54	17
Classical Music	39	42	19	48	41	11	34	43	23	47	37	16	15	59	26
Pop Music	18	37	45	5	38	57	24	36	40	5	39	56	51	31	17
Sport	34	37	30	34	30	36	33	40	27	35	36	30	31	39	30
Welsh Cultural Life in Australia	40	42	18	52	43	5	34	42	25	44	41	15	28	46	26

Note: All figures shown are percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

was of course partly the result of generational difference but undoubtedly the accent factor was also present.[103]

As Richardson has pointed out, accent can still be a barrier to social adjustment when all other barriers have been crossed. This was the (mainly unspoken) opinion of many of the first-generation respondents of this study. Though the tone of much conversation in the Welsh Societies was one of self-congratulation on having escaped the rigours of the natural and economic climate of Britain, there was also an underlying conviction amongst the first generation that such obstacles to total acceptance by the host population as accent and ties of memory to another life — obstacles which their children had clearly overcome - would never in their own case be completely removed.[104] Only one, a Welsh-speaker made the point explicitly:

> "My attitude is that the second-generation should be brought up as Australians, especially if, like my own children, they were born here. I wouldn't force the Welsh language or culture on them in any way whatsoever nor would I set up any sort of ethnic school .....
>
> Our friends are almost exclusively Australian. We have no Welsh friends at all. Yet I'll always feel myself to be an alien over here. I'll always be a stranger, never an Australian, I know that, until the day I die".
>
> Respondent 075/1 (W/S1)
> Resident in the ACT (OM)

Yet this should not obscure the fact that in all other respects they had reached what Martin termed their "optimum" level of adjustment.[105] They had, in other words, commensurate with their educational levels and social backgrounds, achieved their several goals — economic well-being, social acceptance, and

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[103] Though contrary to a number of second-generation studies, in the interviews, none expressed 'embarrassment' concerning their parents' accent. It is unlikely however that this would be admitted in an interview situation.

[104] The missing element here of course is a survey of the attitudes of the mainstream majority towards the Welsh. Eisenstadt for example puts considerable emphasis on the attitudes of the host society. See S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954).

[105] Martin, op.cit., p.90.

involvement in diverse areas of Australian social and cultural life. The majority were, for the most part, content with their lot and had no intention of ever returning to Wales to live.

The above observations have been broad in their scope and have not been couched in terms of any formal theory of assimilation.[106] No attempt was made, at quantitative measurement of convergence of the values and attitudes with those of the host population, nor was any account taken of variables of age, gender, and length of residence. Still less are the comments made applicable to the Welsh community at large. However, what has been presented has been based on the views of the participants themselves on their experiences of adjustment to life in Australia. By this measurement they had met with few problems. Asked directly to give their opinions on the degree of the assimilation of the Welsh in Australia only 1% thought they had "not assimilated at all". (Table 9.9).

Thirty-five per cent of all respondents thought they had "fully assimilated and were no longer recognisable as an ethnic group" but the majority (64%) took the middle view that they had "assimilated to some extent but retained their Welsh ethnic identity". As a generalisation the latter view is probably nearest to the mark. Assimilation is such an uneven process and so defiant of exact measurement, that in relation to a whole group (such as the Welsh) generalisations have to suffice. There is no doubt that the majority of the participants in this study were satisfied with their lives in Australia. They came for the most part, not to escape oppression or destitution but to improve their lives economically, and this, undoubtedly, the great majoirity has successfully managed to do. Not one individual surveyed claimed to have been 'better off' back in Wales in the material sense. Those who came to improve their children's chances were of like opinion. Australia, in this respect, had fully met their expectations. But as Richardson admits, satisfaction, though it is a pre-requisite, does not necessarily lead to

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[106]   Other than broadly following Richardson's framework of satisfaction, identification and acculturation.

identification and this overall was the case here. Most, certainly of the first generation, adamantly wished to be called 'Welsh' in Wales and Australia. Yet they fully intended to spend the rest of their lives in Australia. Their *de facto* identification in other words was with Australia.

Table 9.9

Opinions of 'Q' (Questionnaire) Group on the Degree of Assimilation of the Welsh in Australia (All Respondents and by Welsh Language Speaking Proficiency and Generation)

Degree of Assimilation	All Respondents	Welsh Speakers	Non-Welsh Speakers	First Generation	Second Generation
Are fully assimilated and no longer recognisable as an ethnic group.	35	35%	35	30	50
Have assimilated to some extent but retain their Welsh ethnic identity.	64	65%	64%	69	50
Have not assimilated at all.	1	0	1	1	0

Notes
:
(i) Figures based on responses to Question 5.6 of Main Questionnaire
(ii) 8 'No replies' not included in percentage calculations
(iii) All figures shown are percentages rounded to nearest whole number

They also lived like Australians. In dress, eating habits, and general lifestyle, they were indistinguishable from the majority population. For the most part, they also mixed freely with Australians at primary and secondary social level. To this could be added Richards' useful observation with reference to the Scots, that in general "the individual migrant [past and present] generally accepted the notion that the very act of migration required a relinquishing of the past, a dilution of particular identity".[107] This was the case also with the majority of Welsh

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[107] E. Richards, "Australia and the Scottish Diaspora", in Hardy (ed.), op.cit., p.61.

individuals in this study. To even the most recent arrivals, Australia's multiculturalist policies were surprising, and to some visitors from Wales nothing short of astonishing:

> "This policy was a huge surprise to me. I can fully understand that those who come here to live should be expected to be loyal to Australia, but on the other hand it's very difficult for them to cast aside their own cultures. Quite obviously, the Australian Government is fully aware of this. Yet its really beyond belief[108] that it is so tolerant of these foreign cultures. They make it possible in other words for the Welsh to be Welsh-Australians in the true meaning of that term, if they so wish".

> NQ (Non Questionnaire) Respondent 21, Male (Visitor from Wales)
> (Translated from the Welsh).

However far along the path to assimilation the first generation had travelled, their children had gone much further. By their speech style, attitudes and behaviour — and even by their physical appearance[109] — they were a constant reminder to their parents of the limits of their own Australian-ness. To most of the second-generation participants in this study, Wales was a dim childhood memory. To the parents it was ever present; however much 'at home' they felt in Australia, it was not, in the end, Wales without the rain.

9.5   Conclusion : Welsh Ethnic Identity in Australia

Who, then, are the Welsh in Australia? Is there a variant of Welshness that could be described as Australian? Are the Welsh in Australia re-interpreting Welsh culture and recreating it in their own image? Whatever the answers they will be found only in the context of the lives of the first generation; for in any but the ancestral sense there would seem to be few second-generation Welsh-Australians.

Let it first be said that the Welsh who have stepped on to Australian quaysides or airport tarmacs since the end of World War II have brought with them

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108   He used the Welsh word *'syfrdanol'* (stupefying).
109   A number of parents insisted that their children were 'healthier and taller' than they would have been had they been brought up in Wales.

severely tangled ethnic identities. Some of the reasons for this were outlined in Chapter 4. A number of participants in this study commented that the outlines of their Welshness were in fact clearer in Australia than in Wales. Here, they said, the language was less of an issue and they were all 'Welsh' on an equal footing, "free" as one respondent put it, "to be as Welsh as you want to be".[110] In Australia too, the historical relationship of Wales to England, and of their own with the increasing number of English migrants now living in Wales, was largely irrelevant. Though their cultural distance from the mainstream was less, and though it was their fate to be called 'Poms', were they not, some asked, just 'ethnics' like other arrivals from Greece, or Chile or Cambodia? Moreover did not Australian pluralism allow them, indeed encourage them, in their Welshness?

Yet being Welsh in Australia has its own difficulties. In the first place the Welsh, unlike the Scots and the Irish are not readily recognised. The Welsh language, their single most important mark of distinction, is little known and little used. Those who speak it have few opportunities to do so. Nor is there, anywhere, a need to use it. It is, for the most part, no more than a private code for domestic use and even then only amongst the parents. As such it is no longer at the foundation of any communal cultural life. Without it that life is not possible, apart from the occasional *Cymanfa Ganu*, in which the hymns are now sung in phonetic English translation. The institutions, especially the chapels, which formerly proclaimed a Welsh presence and reminded the Welsh themselves of who they were, are no longer there.

What is left? That, of course, has been the central problem of Welsh identity for much of the twentieth century — defining Welshness without the language, extending its limits to include non-speakers. Arguably that should be easier in Australia than in Wales. In Australia the language intrudes barely at all, and its militant defenders are nowhere in sight. Welshness in this situation lends

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[110] Respondent 007/3 (OM).

itself more readily to definition in non-linguistic terms. Despite their positive attitudes to the language, that, on the whole, was what many of the participants in this study were prepared to do. Though still insisting on its past primacy as a core value, they also recognised that Welsh cultural identity must now be defined in its absence. At best it took on a symbolic role. Otherwise it was simply left out.

Inevitably, deprived of the language as the historical core of Welshness, their only recourse was to what at several points in this study has been referred to as its residues, to what Smolicz has termed "the remnants of culture",[111] that which remains when its heartland has been surrendered. All cultures of course rely on their folkloric frills — dances, music, costumes and the common artefacts of ethnicity — for public recognition. Nor should this be thought irrelevant to issues of maintenance. Visible symbols are critical to ethnic survival, especially in plural societies where there is an element of inter-cultural rivalry; and to be *seen* is to be recognised.

On the whole the Welsh in Australia put a premium on visibility; costumes, dragons, leeks and daffodils were much in evidence on most social occasions. The otherwise rather drab locations in which some of the Welsh Societies met were usually decorated with Welsh flags and other national insignia.[112] 'Welsh cakes' and other samples of Wales' meagre traditional cuisine were frequently on offer to visitors on festive occasions such as St David's Day. Most of all, much cultural capital was made of Wales' reputation as the 'Land of Song'.[113] Though the words were not understood by the majority of those present, hymns and traditional folk songs were the staple of most public gatherings. Asked

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[111] Smolicz, Culture and Education .... op.cit., p.86.
[112] A Welsh television producer who accompanied a Welsh choir on their recent visit to Australia was moved to comment as follows during an evening at one of the Welsh Societies: "I've never seen anything like this back home : flags, leeks, Welsh cakes and daffodils everywhere. There are more Welsh costumes here than at Saint Fagan's [a Welsh folk museum]. It seems so shallow and unreal that it makes me feel rather sorry for these people". (Informal interview).
The flag was on display also in the Welsh Chapel at La Trobe Street, Melbourne, a very rare practice in Wales.
[113] A reputation gained by the end of the eighteenth century. P. Morgan, "Keeping the Legends Alive", op.cit., p.29.

to name three Welsh characteristics known in Australia (Question 5.7 of the Main Questionnaire), 'love of singing' was the most frequently mentioned (30%) (from the total of 9 that were suggested), followed by 'devotion to rugby' at 19%. Moreover a number of respondents expressed the view that their music and singing defined the Welsh.[114]   Rugby has a similar status.   "Tomorrow", said Gerald Davies the Welsh International, describing his team's emotions on the eve of a match at Cardiff Arms Park,[115] "will be a time for all of us .... to reaffirm our common cause, our common identity and our nationhood".[116] Nor is this just team spirit. It extends to the supporters, some 50,000 of whom will usually explode in a seemingly unending repertoire of traditional hymns when the Welsh team enters the Cardiff Arms Park field during an international match. "Despite the decline of the Welsh language" wrote Gwynfor Evans, the past President of the Welsh Nationalist Party," ..... the collective temper is as overwhelmingly Welsh at a rugby international at Cardiff Arms Park as at the chairing of a poet at a National Eisteddfod".   This bonding value of music and rugby amongst the Welsh in Australia was recognised by a number of participants in this study. One non-speaker commented as follows:

> "I think you can keep up your traditions without retaining your language ..... Wherever you go in Australia you find Welsh people involved in music ..... There are common bonds. Rugby is another one. I've met several of my Welsh friends out here on the touchline ..... I missed the rugby internationals enormously when I first came out. We only had the radio and we'd stay up late into the night to hear the Welsh commentators reporting on what was happening at Cardiff Arms Park. Then television came and now you can watch everything in colour. Somehow the distance has been bridged".

Respondent 053/1 (N/WS2)
Resident in South Australia (OM)

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114   See comments of respondent 054/2 earlier in this chapter for example.
115   The Welsh venue in Cardiff for international rugby.
116   G. Davies, An Autobiography (London : George Allen and Unwin, 1979), p.7.

Are these the current core values of Welshness in Australia, music and what Lloyd George, when he wanted to express his contempt for the anglicisation of Wales, referred to as "morbid footballism"?[117]   There is no denying the contributions of symbolic ethnicity and invented tradition to group cohesion and the preservation of ethnic cohesion.   The Welsh in Australia must define themselves, and project that definition to the outside world, within the limits of the cultural values to which they have access.   The Welsh language, except in symbolic form, is rapidly falling outside these limits leaving behind what has been described in this chapter.   Whether this will be sufficient to sustain an ethnic presence is questionable.   It is more likely that with the passing of the present generation, Welshness in Australia will be of interest mainly to genealogists.

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[117]   Cited in Smith, op.cit., p.29. A contemporary Welsh critic voices a fairly similar opinion when he writes: "Wales is the Welshman's unit, whether he is Welsh-speaking or not. And if we except the farcical and sad pseudo-symbol of Rugby Union football, Wales' only surviving mark of identity is the language" R. Gerallt Jones, "Contemporary Writing in the Welsh Language", The Anglo-Welsh Review, No. 77 (1984), p.68.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

"The central continuity is of course the [Welsh] language, and this remains critical to cultural identity not only in those who have retained or are re-acquiring it, but even in many of those to whom it is now lost or marginal".

RAYMOND WILLIAMS[1] (a non-Welsh-speaker)

".......the living core of Welsh Nationality is in that portion where the language is still alive. Welsh ideals, strive as one will to avoid the conclusion, can only survive in the language which has ever been their means of expression".

SIR IFAN AP OWEN EDWARDS[2]
(a Welsh-speaker)

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[1]   R. Williams, "Wales and England", in J. Osmond (ed)., The National Question Again : Welsh Political Identity in the 1980s (Llandysul : Gomer Press, 1985), p.21.
[2]   Founder of the Welsh League of Youth. Cited in Cambrian (Journal of the Cambrian Society of Victoria), Vol. No.1, November, 1938.

This study of Welsh language and cultural maintenance in Australia has been conducted within a theoretical framework which has as its central postulate the notion that the preservation of cultures in their authentic form hinges on the survival of the value or values that are at their core. This theory was outlined in Chapter 1. It has been the underlying assumption throughout that the core value of Welsh culture is the Welsh language; that, in other words, the language is the pre-eminent defining characteristic of Welsh cultural identity. The focus of research has therefore been the significance of Welsh language maintenance to the retention of Welsh cultural identity in Australia. The approach was characterised as historico-sociological in that the sociological analysis of Welsh language and cultural maintenance by a group of post-war Welsh migrants and their children was presented against a historical background of Welsh settlement in Australia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

10.1   The Historical Perspective on Welsh Language and Cultural Maintenance in Australia

A historical dimension, it was argued, is necessary to the full understanding of the migrant experience, and of its cultural aspects in particular. Migrants to Australia bring with them the cultural values of their homelands and on arrival are exposed not only to those brought by any previous settlers of their own ethnic origins — which may differ substantially from their own — but to those of the majority population.

Chapter 2 was devoted therefore to an examination of the historical origins of the cultural values which Welsh migrants have brought to Australia in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Though they are referred to as 'traditional', they were shown to be essentially the products of nineteenth century Welsh non-conformity and the industrial revolution. These are the movements which created much of modern Wales. The former generated the chapel-centred culture which has been the principal marker of Welsh cultural identity in Australia since the

earliest days of Welsh settlement. It has also been the sustaining framework of the Welsh language for the last century and a half. The latter — and it is often overlooked that Wales was at the vanguard of modern industrial change — despite its claimed initial role in the perpetuating of the Welsh language and culture on the South Wales coalfields, ultimately created the duality of identity, the Welsh-Welsh (*y Cymry Cymraeg*) and the Anglo-Welsh (*y Cymry Seisnig*) which has been the cultural condition of twentieth century Wales. It was very largely the massive influx of English-speaking migrants which accompanied industrialisation that made Welsh a minority language in Wales by 1914.

Yet for much of the century it had enjoyed unprecedented growth as the language of Welsh nonconformity and of the astounding output of religious books and periodicals which it spawned. Relative to most of the other minority languages of Europe, Welsh in the second half of the nineteenth century was a significant literary medium. Despite the traumatic effects of the Blue Books Report of 1847, and its exclusion from the schools in the years which followed, it continued to prosper as the language of daily intercourse. Even as, during most of the century, the proportion of its speakers progressively declined, in absolute terms it gathered strength. By 1911 Welsh was spoken by a greater number of people than at any time in its history.[3] Yet it remained the language of the hearth and of the chapel. When, after 1833, state-funded education was made increasingly available to Welsh children, most of whom were monoglot Welsh speakers, the language of provision was English. Nor was this against the wishes of the mass of Welsh parents. It was also fully endorsed by the leaders of Welsh society, whether they were Oxford-educated Anglicans or middle-class nonconformists. This *trahison des clercs* by the bulk of educated Welshmen, and the strength of English as the lingua franca of a triumphant British Empire, served to perpetuate its exclusion from official use legislated in the sixteenth century Acts of Union. Welsh entered

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[3]   See Table 1.2.

the twentieth century still bearing the mark of an inferior language. Its limitations were noted even by as great an admirer of things Celtic as Matthew Arnold:

> "I must say I quite share the opinion of my brother Saxons as to the *practical inconvenience* (own italics) of perpetuating the speaking of Welsh. ..... The sooner the Welsh language disappears .... the better; the better for England, the better for Wales itself".[4]

Here is the thinking which contributed to the remarkably persistent image of Welsh as a language of some antiquarian interest but of little 'practical' use in the modern world.

Chapter 3 was devoted to an outline of Welsh settlement in Australia in the nineteenth century. Though Wales was not a major contributor to the general British migration stream of the nineteenth century there were significant numbers of Welsh settlers in most of the important immigrant receiving nations by 1900, especially in the United States. Yet one of the clear lessons of Welsh settlement in America was the fragility of Welshness beyond the shores of Wales. It was a lesson well learnt by Michael D. Jones and fellow nationalists who in the mid-1860s launched the remarkable Patagonian venture — remarkable in that it was a planned effort at Welsh language and cultural maintenance. Here, on the pampas of South America — by any standards an unlikely location for cultural experiment — a handful of Welsh settlers achieved, albeit for a short time, the cherished goal of twentieth century Welsh political nationalism: a self-governing state in which the language of government, law, education and commerce, as well as of worship and domestic use, was Welsh. The supreme importance of the Patagonian experiment, short-lived as it was, and its relevance to the present study, is that it points clearly to the basic pre-conditions for Welsh language and cultural maintenance, not only in migrant societies but in Wales itself. Amongst these are: group cohesion (the result in this case of group as against individual settlement); minimal out-group marriages; structural support from educational and religious

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4   Super, op.cit., p.297.

institutions; a measure of official status for the language and the recognition of its instrumental value; cultural dissimilarity to the dominant group; and, above all perhaps, an ideological commitment to the preservation of language and cultural identity which goes beyond attitudinal posturing. Most of these conditions were shown to be absent both in the United States and Australia.

Like most British migrants, the Welsh who came to Australia in the nineteenth century came in search of improved material conditions. The replication of Wales in the bush with a view to safeguarding language and culture was not their aim. Though the majority may have been Welsh-speaking, they came, from an environment in which English was the language of education and official use. They came also, it should be remembered, from a Wales in which language maintenance was not self-consciously pursued. The ideals of Michael D. Jones and those who went to Patagonia were by no means representative. Nineteenth century Welsh nationalism was, as K.O. Morgan has argued, primarily channelled towards land reform and the disestablishment of the Anglican church.

The relative indifference of most of the Welsh population to the fate of the language was reflected to some extent amongst the Welsh who settled in the Australian colonies. It was the constant editorial refrain of *Yr Australydd* and *Yr Ymwelydd* in the 1860s and 70s that the Welsh in the goldfield towns of Victoria were neglectful of their heritage and failing in their duty to transmit the Welsh language to their children. Unfavourable comparisons were frequently made with the flourishing community established by their compatriots in Patagonia. This was patently unfair given the contrasting conditions of settlement. Indeed, relative to their numerical strength and dispersion, the Welsh of Victoria, especially in the Ballarat and Sebastopol area, established a remarkably strong cultural presence. This, as was demonstrated, was expressed mainly through the network of chapels founded in all the major goldfield towns by the three Welsh nonconformist denominations. These were not only physical meeting places — crucial to group

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cohesion — but the nerve centres of cultural activity, all of which, it was emphasised, was conducted through the Welsh language.

Yet on the matter of conscious, concerted effort at language maintenance, the criticisms expressed in the *Australydd* were not far off the mark. The general attitude was one of benign neglect. As in Wales, received opinion amongst nineteenth century Welsh migrants to Australia seems to have been that English was the language of 'getting on'. Why should they, therefore, make the enormous effort necessary to transmit it to their children? It is difficult, of course, in the absence of accounts of individual experiences, to gauge attitudes at the level of the family, but more generalised sources (such as *Yr Australydd*), strongly suggest that assimilation into the mainstream by their children was not against the interests of most Welsh parents in nineteenth century Australia. Joseph Jenkins, the travelling Welsh swagman, who observed, to his disgust, that the Welsh of Maldon, Victoria, in 1889 "show great indifference to honouring their national day (St David's Day) and to keeping up their language", [5] was probably near the truth about most of the Welsh in Australia by the late 1880s. Welshness, whether on the goldfields of Victoria, in Newcastle, New South Wales or later in Blackstone, Queensland, was everywhere a one or, at best, a two-generation phenomenon.

It is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise. True, the language maintained its vigour while the chapels flourished but as the congregations dwindled, partly through apathy and partly through the passing away of older members, Welsh services were either reduced in frequency or, more often, replaced by English. The Calvinistic Methodists and the Independents struggled on in this manner at least up to the turn of the century whilst the Baptists on the other hand amalgamated with their English-language mainstream counterparts. In the meantime the young deserted in droves, this being the general pattern everywhere.

5   Evans (ed.), op.cit., p.173.

As a result the Welsh lost their most effective organisational agency for the maintenance of the language and of group cohesion. The Welsh Societies, though they were important outposts of a fetishised Welshness in the general community, were never as vital to the promotion of a language-based *Achos Cymraeg* (Welsh 'Cause') in Australia. They were, of course, secular institutions with none of the emotional charge (*hwyl*) associated with the Welsh nonconformist pulpit. They were also, almost from the start, eager to enhance the broader non-linguistic aspects of Welshness, and, by welcoming non-Welsh-speakers, avoid possible accusations of promoting linguistic apartheid, or worse, of neglecting souls on grounds of language ability. But their very liberalism in this respect was also, in the longer term a cultural Trojan Horse, for as, commensurate with immigration trends, the proportion of non-Welsh-speaking members grew, the influence, if not the status of native speakers decreased. In this way well, before the post-war era the Welsh Societies had become what in Chapter 8 they were shown to be at present, namely the organisational expression of a sidestream Welsh ethnicity.

The outline of Welsh settlement in the nineteenth century was not intended to be an argument for the continuity of the several Welsh 'communities'. The latter were small, short-lived, and lacking in some of the elements which usually define close-knit ethnic clusters in immigrant societies. Certainly no claim is made for any continuity of physical contact between 'old' and 'new' settlers as was clearly the case with Greeks and Italians for example.[6] Long before 1945 nineteenth century Welsh settlers and their progeny had been totally absorbed into, and had thereby become an integral component of, what is now called the Anglo-Celtic majority population. Of the Welsh 'communities', even that of the Hunter Valley, arguably the last, there was barely a trace. Whatever continuity there was lies elsewhere; for, even allowing for the flux of culture — one of the basic

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6   See, for example, C.A. Price, "Some Measures of Population Growth and Replacement" in C.A. Price and J.I. Martin, Australian Immigration : a Bibliography and Digest, No. 3., 1975, Part 1 (Canberra : Department of Demography, the Australian National University, 1976), p.A62.

assumptions of the present study — there was a fundamental overlapping between the cultural and social attitudes of nineteenth century Welsh migrants and their post-war counterparts. It is explained in part in terms of the lingering hold of the nonconformist ethos, producing an attitude of mind, perhaps even a certain narrowness of spirit, which survived the closing of chapel doors. In the past it had guided the Welsh more towards what they shouldn't do than what they should. By the post-war period, reinforced by the massive anglicisation of Wales since 1900, it manifested itself amongst Welsh migrants to Australia — particularly those who arrived before the nationalist revival of the mid-1960s — as resignation to the eventual loss of language and culture. This (Calvinist?) fatalism expressed frequently in the memoirs, was in a sense a continuation of the apathy of which the editorials of the *Australydd* complained bitterly in the mid-nineteenth century. Yet it should not be confused with any lack of respect for the Welsh language — the evidence to the contrary on the part of speakers and non-speakers was overwhelming. It was more a failure to translate love of language into any practical measures on its behalf.[7]

More superficially the claimed continuity is evident also in the survival of particular cultural forms — of the *Gymanfa Ganu* and *Eisteddfod* for instance — which were also closely bound up with nonconformity. Above all it resides for Welsh-speakers and non-speakers, as Raymond Williams points out (himself a non-speaker) in the opening quotation of the present chapter, in the Welsh language.

That the language has been the abiding constant in Welsh life up to the present day was demonstrated in the analysis of political and cultural developments in Wales since 1945. This was also the immediate background of the subjects of this study. The period is characterised above all by the politicisation of the language issue. Not surprisingly this has accompanied and is, of course, largely

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[7]   The link between a Calvinistic fatalism and cultural inertia is of course tenuous and not easily defended. See also Chapman's analysis of the effects of Calvinistic notions of predestination on Scottish Gaelic culture in M. Chapman, The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture (London : Croom Helm Ltd., 1978), pp.169-80.

the result of, its much accelerated decline. Since the mid-1960s in particular the "question of the language" has been transformed into "the crisis of the language". Never has Welsh attracted more scholarly attention but much of this discourse has been couched in the vocabulary of terminal condition and impending death.

It was the fate of the language which was, for long, the central pillar of the Welsh Nationalist platform and the stimulus to the founding of the Welsh Language Society (*Cymdeithas Yr Iaith*). The former has only recently gained the status of a mainstream political party whilst the latter, after more than 20 years of mainly passive protest over language issues, is still relegated by the popular English language press to 'the lunatic fringe' end of the political spectrum. Though they differ considerably on matters of tactics, they are united in defence of the language. Even the veering by Plaid Cymru (the Welsh Nationalist Party) in recent years towards a less cultural nationalism is seen by many within its ranks as a necessary but regrettable sop to the non-Welsh-speaking majority.

Undoubtedly the language has become the *cause celebre* of Welsh life since the mid-1960s. Even if, as some would avow, its passing is now inevitable, substantial gains have been made, particularly in the area of education. As was shown in Chapter 4, Welsh is now a compulsory element within the core curriculum at primary and secondary level. The *Ysgolion Cymraeg* (The Welsh-medium schools) in particular have been instrumental in at least slowing the relentless advance of English by establishing small bridgeheads of Welshness in English-speaking areas of Wales — an ironic reversal of historical trends.

Few Welsh migrants to Australia in the post-war era would have been untouched by these cultural and political developments. Certainly most of the subjects of this study seemed inured to probing on ethnic matters; they acceded uncomplainingly to lengthy interviews and, on the whole did not baulk at a 28 page questionnaire on language use and attitude. What was of some surprise, however, to the first generation especially, was that there should be official backing for multiculturalism in Australia, and that amongst the languages eligible for support

was Welsh. Chapter 4, and with it the historical component of this thesis, concluded with a brief review of how this had come about, of how, since the 1960s, Australia has become more obviously a multicultural society. Arguably, of course, through the internationalisation of institutions and life-styles "we are all multicultural now". In Australia, however, the extension of the limits of tolerance for cultural difference has been the result of deliberate policy supported by both major political parties. In the process there has been a broadening of the definition of Australian, one which does not ask of the migrant that he totally abandons his language and culture on arrival. Whether post-war Welsh migrants to Australia have maintained theirs and passed them on to their children was the main concern of the remainder of the thesis.

10.2   The Cultural Experiences of 'Q' Group : Some Final Observations

The study of language and cultural maintenance lends itself to a variety of research methods. Given the unpredictability and often the irrationality of human behaviour, all have their shortcomings. It is less than likely, in view of the enormous disparity in research findings, based often on similar methods, that the social sciences will ever reach consensus on an approved methodology in these areas.

The methods of research adopted in this study were outlined in Chapter 5. Two main points were stressed. The first was the need for research methods that were consistent with a theoretical framework that placed emphasis on the viewpoints of the subjects of study. The second was that generalisation to the whole Welsh population in Australia was not the primary aim. The interest was not in the general distribution of opinion but in the particular experiences of the group surveyed. As with Bottomley's historico-sociological study of Greek Australians the emphasis was "on detail rather than spread."[8] Varied research methods were therefore employed and quantification of results, where applicable,

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[8]   Bottomley, op.cit., p.37.

was used in conjunction with, and in support of, qualitative material provided by the respondents themselves.

10.2.1 Welsh Language Maintenance and Transmission

In his 1980 article on ways of improving sociolinguistic research surveys, Lieberson suggests "description of the existing language situation" as one of the primary goals in the study of language maintenance.[9] Within the constraints of the uncertainty surrounding what constitutes adequate language description, Chapter 6 sought to provide a linguistic profile of the respondents based on analysis of their proficiency in, their use of, and their attitudes towards the Welsh language.

Chapter 7 focused more directly on problems of intergenerational transmission followed by an attempted typology of Welsh language evaluation and activation. Retrospective questions were included in both the questionnaire survey and the memoir schedules with the aim of introducing a temporal dimension into the analysis and to obtain some knowledge of intergenerational shift. Even allowing for a measure of verification through participant observation in many of the social and cultural activities of the respondents, the difficulties attending language description noted by Lieberson above, are acknowledged.[10] These include: inaccurate recall, uncertainty about placing dates and years, exaggeration of proficiency skills etc. They are the selfsame difficulties encountered in most forms of language surveys, including national census returns, and are, to a large extent, unavoidable. Within these limits, however, the major findings on maintenance patterns within 'Q' group were as follows:

(i)   Welsh was being maintained only by first-generation native-speakers i.e., the adult Welsh-born who arrived in Australia after the age of 12. Although all of these were bilingual Welsh-/English speakers, *most* expressed varying levels of discomfort about

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[9]   Lieberson, op.cit, p.11.
[10]   Ibid., pp. 11-27.

expressing themselves in English. This was in marked contrast with some of the NQ (non-questionnaire) respondents — mainly young, temporary, visitors from Wales — who had attended Welsh-medium schools[11] and were invariably balanced bilinguals. Yet though many within 'Q' group also displayed high levels of English interference in their speech patterns, essential fluency in Welsh was retained often after very lengthy periods of residence in Australia. This was the case even with individuals who, as a result of a linguistically mixed marriage or geographic isolation and lack of contact with other Welsh-speakers, had had little opportunity to use their mother-tongue.

(ii)   Welsh was spoken regularly only in the home and even there only where there were two Welsh-speaking marriage partners. Where one partner was a non-Welsh-speaker, Welsh was not spoken either to the children or to Welsh-speaking friends and visitors — the impediment being the perceived discourtesy of speaking Welsh in the presence of the non-speaking partner. This was also a constraint on the use of Welsh in all other domains. Moreover, even in homes where both partners were native-speakers, the general pattern was for English to be the language of the household (i.e. of the parents to each other and to the children) after the entry of the first child to school regardless of age at the point of entry. It was then often the case that English became for these parents the language of normal communication even in the children's absence and/or after they had left home. There were no examples of what could have been an effective inducement to maintenance by children

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[11]   See Chapter 4.

and grandchildren, namely the presence within the family of Welsh-speaking grandparents.

On the other hand there were two examples of Welsh-speaking parents who continued to speak Welsh to their children and to each other long after the latter had lost speaking proficiency. In this way the children concerned maintained excellent understanding skills into adulthood and, presumably, would have been able to regain speaking knowledge with minimum effort. In one instance, though the child (an only daughter) had left home and was herself a married adult, the parents *always* spoke to her in Welsh and she in turn replied in English.

(iii)   There was no instance of an adult second-generation Welsh-speaker within 'Q' group. Children of native-speakers who spoke Welsh[12] — and in some cases Welsh only — on arrival, invariably lost speaking proficiency within months of school enrolment and/or establishing regular contact with non-Welsh-speaking peers.

Language proficiency aside, there was no example either of Welsh- Welsh (in the ethnic sense) second-generation intermarriage within the group or between any member of the group, and an individual in the general Welsh-born community. Second-generation marriages were either with persons of Anglo-Celtic or non-Anglo-Celtic descent.

(iv)   Attitudes towards Welsh were overwhelmingly favourable irrespective of proficiency level. Non-speakers identified strongly with the language, several of whom were attending Welsh language classes or were enrolled in correspondence courses.

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[12]   Including, as was referred to in Chapter 7, children of 'Q' group members who were not respondents themselves but whose language history was reported by their parents.

(v) There was a wide discrepancy however between attitude or evaluation and activation. Though the typology presented in Chapter 7 showed a preponderance of 'General Positive' or 'Personal Positive' types, many were also in the 'latent' or 'passive' categories of activation. This points clearly to the minimal contribution of positive attitudes to language maintenance when it is combined with lack of opportunity (latent) or lack of inclination (passive) for its implementation as active language behaviour. Minority languages, as the example of Irish in Ireland after independence clearly shows, do not survive on good will.

What clearly emerges is that within the group studied the Welsh language had a one-generation life-span. For any ethnic group in Australia the virtual disappearance of its language with the passing of the first generation would pose a serious threat to its integrity as a separate cultural group. Those cultures, however, which are able to fall back on other core values — religion and the family for example — are usually able to maintain a measure of group cohesion well beyond the first generation. For language-centred groups such as the Welsh on the other hand, the failure to transmit the language to the second generation is more far-reaching in its consequences, since the loss of the ethnic mother tongue leaves behind only the shell of culture. This defines much of what now constitutes Welsh 'cultural life' in Australia.

10.2.2 Cultural Life

Most of the social and cultural activities in which the Welsh participated as a group took place within the Welsh Societies. The survey conducted of these organisations Australia-wide, and participation in their meetings in several states, lent a greater breadth to the observations on their activities (in Chapter 8) than was possible elsewhere in the study.

Emphatically, the Welsh Societies in Australia are not representative of the Welsh community. Low registered membership and poor attendance at their regular (usually monthly) meetings suggest that they are not effective focal points of group life. They are essentially social gatherings in which non-Welsh-speakers are the great majority. Except in a symbolic role the Welsh language plays a very small part in the activities of these organisations. Moreover, since Welsh cultural forms are tied closely to the Welsh language, attempts to replicate them in English have, on the whole, been singularly unsuccessful.

In this situation the Societies have become strongholds of what throughout this study has been referred to as a 'residual ethnicity' which, in this instance, amounts to self-conscious displays of the more symbolic forms of Welshness from cuisine to 'folk costumes', most of which are dubious in their authenticity.[13] This is not to deny the contribution of symbolic ethnicity to 'Welsh' group cohesion but to question its Welsh cultural content in the absence of the legitimising function of the Welsh language. Even, however, as agencies for the transmission of this attenuated Welshness, the Societies are largely ineffective, for they are totally failing to win the allegiance of the young. They are left therefore as little more than social centres for a now aging post-war first generation, indistinguishable in many respects from other British expatriate organisations. The present condition of the Welsh Societies is less a reflection on their leadership role within the Welsh community or on their organisational efficiency — though in both respects they are deficient — than on the relative ease with which the majority of post-war Welsh migrants have been absorbed into the Australian population.

At the heart of the dilemma of the Welsh Societies, and indeed of similar secular ethnic institutions in Wales itself, is that Welsh culture since the late

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[13]   Even the present Welsh 'national costume' was the creation of Lady Llanover, wife of Benjamin Hall the Monmouthshire landowner and industrialist in the mid-nineteenth century. It gained publicity originally as a caricature of Wales. "Meanwhile", wrote Prys Morgan, "the old [authentic] native costumes in all their local varieties died away as Wales became one of the most industrialised countries in the world". For a discussion of national dress and other created symbols of Welsh ethnic life see Morgan "From a Death to a View......., op.cit., pp.43-100.

eighteenth century, as was shown in Chapter 2, has centred around religion, first as Methodism and later as nonconformity. It was the common base of most of the activities of the Welsh Societies and the Welsh chapels in Australia in the nineteenth century and even up to the beginning of the Second World War. But times have changed. The Welsh chapels — of which only two that are in any sense 'Welsh' remain — have become irrelevant to the lives of most Welsh arrivals in Australia since 1945 and certainly to those who have come since the mid-1960s. For the language and the cultural forms which it has supported since at least the mid-nineteenth century, what was once a vital alliance has become an Achilles heel. In sum, with the demise of the chapels and the accompanying decline of the language it has become difficult to define Welsh cultural identity.

10.2.3 Identity

The majority of the subjects of this study, first and second-generation, Welsh-speakers and non-speakers, wished to be identified first and foremost as 'Welsh' both in Wales and Australia. Few wished to be called 'British' though some, particularly the second-generation, preferred 'Australian-Welsh' or the unhyphenated 'Australian'. 'Welsh-Australian', surprisingly, was also not well known or accepted. Although this result is supportive of the view that a sense of ethnic identity survives loss of language, it presents a number of problems, chief amongst them — aside from the inherent difficulty associated with self-identification — being what the self-referential 'Welsh' signifies for non-speakers of the language. Whilst cultural identity obviously embraces more than competence in the ethnic mother tongue, for members of historically language-centred cultures, who are themselves non-speakers, its definition in non-linguistic terms is particularly difficult. This is especially the case when, as with the majority of non-Welsh-speakers, the separation from the language is fairly recent, often no more than one generation. The difficulty derives from there having been insufficient time-lapse for the growth of non-linguistically defined traditions. In Wales the

difficulty is compounded by the fact that Welsh — a small regional language which supported a local culture — was replaced as the language of the majority by English — the language of what has become an international culture. In this situation the boundaries between Welsh cultural values expressed in English, and those that are inherently English (or Anglo-American) are inevitably blurred. Unlike Scotland, for example, Wales is unable to lean on non-linguistic symbols of nationhood that are also historically validated. To be 'Scottish' is to belong to a historic nation, one which until the early eighteenth century was fully sovereign and which even after that retained many of the external symbols of sovereignty. To be 'Welsh' on the other hand is to belong to a nation which lost *de facto* independence with the Edwardian Conquest of the thirteenth century and which, since then, has been defined largely by the Welsh language. As has been repeatedly drawn attention to in this study, Welsh was the language of the majority of the population of Wales until at least 1900. Since then defining 'Welshness' in the absence of the Welsh language has been one of the preoccupations of Welsh scholarly life and the persistent theme of what became known as Anglo-Welsh literature.[14]

Again, the point made illustrates the vital relevance of history to the study of Welsh cultural identity. In the light of the historical background outlined in Chapter 2, it was not surprising that the subjects of this study, particularly the non-Welsh speakers, found it difficult to define their Welshness without reference to the language. The usual recourse was to territory or ancestry, to the fact of having been born in Wales of Welsh parents. Others claimed they 'felt' Welsh and variously defined their identity in terms of love of music and singing, of poetry, or of devotion to rugby football. If the latter have become the defining values of Welshness in Australia, the question that must be asked is how do they differ not only from the cultural values of other British-born migrants but from those of the

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[14]   One does not speak, for example, of 'Anglo-Scottish' literature in the same sense.

majority Australian-born population. Significantly, religion, that lingering mark of Welshness which in some parts of Wales has survived the reality of depleted congregations, was barely mentioned. Thus what was shown in Chapter 3 to have been the most powerful instrument of cohesion within the nineteenth century Welsh communities in Australia, carried no weight with the subjects of this study. Most were neither known nor wished to be known by their adherence to any religious faith, Welsh or otherwise.

Of the values that define Welshness in Australia it was the Welsh language that was most frequently mentioned. Even those who insisted that proficiency in the speaking of it is no longer a condition of being 'Welsh' felt compelled to defend their case. They were, for the most part — though not exclusively — non-speakers. On the whole, speakers of the language saw it as the *sine qua non* of any claim to Welsh cultural identity. Several however were of the opinion that the language is now peripheral to life in Wales and certainly to Welsh life in Australia. Given the paucity of speakers in their own immediate social circle this was partly *ex post facto* rationalising but also acknowledgment that possession of the language in their own case was more an accident of birth than an unquestionable token of unsullied Welshness. This view was often reinforced by its loss or non-possession by their own children, of whose 'Welshness' they were nevertheless invariably protective. Non-speakers, predictably, were less inclined to define Welsh cultural identity strictly in terms of proficiency in Welsh. Many, as was shown in Chapter 9, were adamant that being Welsh and being able to speak Welsh were far from synonymous. Yet, even with non-speakers, the note most frequently struck in memoir references to the language was one of regret at not having inherited or have been taught it as children — the former they ascribed to the anglicisation of Wales, the latter to parental neglect and/or deficiencies in their own schooling. Though they were a minority, some non-speakers went further, seeing themselves as Welshmen or Welshwomen *manque* without possession of their native tongue,

Finally the point must be emphasised that, irrespective of how Welshness was defined it was not seen as incompatible with residence in or loyalty to Australia. The view overwhelmingly held by the subjects of this study was that it was possible to be Welsh and Australian without any clash of loyalties. For most, the question of 'loyalty' in any national direction never arose; hence the relative indifference to the matter of national labels. For the first generation, being 'Welsh' was an authochtonous condition, the natural and irreducible consequence of having been born and brought up in Wales. At the same time, most felt that residence in Australia had added an Australian dimension to their identity, one which was not in conflict with their essential Welshness. It was most often expressed in pragmatic terms, as a unique style of mainly outdoor living within a shared framework of political and cultural values which were comfortingly familiar as being basically British. This very familiarity of much of Australia's legal, educational and political systems may have been one of the unspoken reasons for — in keeping with the general trend amongst migrants of British origins — the relatively low incidence of Australian citizens within the group. It seemed to be the general consensus that a permanent commitment to Australia primarily entailed living in Australia, respecting her laws and perhaps bringing up Australian children. Being Australian did not call for the adoption of Australian citizenship nor self-identification as 'Australian'.

On the whole the Welsh and Australian aspects of their identity were compartmentalised as separate concerns. Certainly several respondents admitted to a modification of their Welshness as a result of lengthy residence in Australia — a broader more tolerant outlook, for example, and an ingenuousness and generosity of spirit which they felt they had not inherited from their Welsh cultural backgrounds.For the most part, however, their Welsh ethnicity was a private matter, consigned by most respondents to home and family. For some Welsh-speakers it was even more narrowly confined to memory and past personal history. Only by a few was Welshness publicly expressed and then only within the Welsh

Societies, themselves largely isolated from the general Australian community. It is difficult therefore on the evidence received to speak of an Australian Welshness in the sense of transplanted Welsh cultural forms that have evolved in particular directions under Australian conditions. Only had there been some tangible continuity of Welsh cultural tradition stretching back to the more virile life of the nineteenth century communities of Ballarat and elsewhere would this have been possible. As it is, the post-war Welsh-born population has been too scattered, the Welsh-speakers amongst them too few, and the cultural foundations altogether too fragile, for the emergence of any characteristic Australian Welshness.

10.3   Educational Policy and the Smaller Minority Languages in Australia :

The Prospects for the Welsh

> "Language policy in Australia will have to come to terms with the
> issue of maintenance of minority languages both for symbolic
> purposes and for the intellectual purpose of giving children the
> opportunity to benefit educationally by achieving good levels of
> bilingualism. In no other educational activity would it be considered
> acceptable that schools ignore the home background of children as a
> factor influencing their learning. How much more true is it of
> language, the tool in which children do their learning well before
> commencing school, and in which their accumulated learning is
> stored?"[15]

Internal cultural pluralism, which for purposes of educational theory and practice has been the guiding theoretical principle of this study, pre-supposes that children be encouraged to maintain a dual system of cultural values. This will only be possible if they have access to group social systems for the construction of the ethnic component of their cultural systems. Their main source will of course be their own primary ethnic group systems, but successful maintenance of group values will also depend on some support from the mainstream school system. This is particularly important in the case of the smaller language groups whose own

[15]   The National Policy on Language, December 1987 - March 1990. Report to The Minister for Employment Education and Training by the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education, (AACLAME) (Canberra : AACLAME Secretariat, May 1990), p.68.

network of group systems — church, youth organisations etc — is almost certainly bound to be inadequate. Yet, and this is the dilemma of all the smaller cultures in plural societies, they are also the most likely to be by-passed in the struggle for funding and support within the educational structures provided by the state.

Australia is currently one of the few plural societies of the Western world which promotes linguistic and cultural diversity as a matter of official policy. As the above extract from the report on the National Language Policy suggests, there is also official recognition at state and federal level that education is the most effective means to group-identity maintenance. Since the endorsement of the policy recommendations by the Federal Government in 1987 several, as was shown in Chapter 4, have already been implemented at school level. Moreover the very existence of a National Policy has transformed the whole debate on language teaching and maintenance in Australia.

Yet even the most enthusiastic and well-meaning proponents of Australian pluralism have given little attention on any but the theoretical level to the very specific problems faced by the smaller language groups in their midst. This is almost certainly due less to lack of good will than to the inherent difficulty — not least the economic — in translating theory into practice in answer to the demands of language groups as diverse as Khmer, Welsh and Norwegian. There is also the obvious problem of sustaining language programmes for small numbers of children from groups that are dispersed over large geographic areas whilst at the same time ensuring that they are also catered for within the broader mainstream curriculum. As a result the general drift of opinion amongst politicians and language planners — and it has, of course, the force of economic logic — is that even the most liberal plural society cannot possibly provide educational support for all the cultures which it embraces. The final criteria for language maintenance backing by official agency is therefore, understandably, size and demand. In this situation, the smaller languages despite a general ideological climate favourable to preservation unavoidably fall victim to cultural Darwinism. Apart from the ethnic school

system and such innovations as the South Australian Secondary School of Languages,[16] it is difficult to see how it could be otherwise.

Yet this does not remove the problem at the level of the individual and it was with the particular problems of individuals within one of Australia's smallest language groups that this study was primarily concerned. Although there is still a relative dearth of research evidence on the relevance of education to the maintenance and transmission of Australia's smaller languages, it is likely that the Welsh experience is not unique,[17] and that the findings of the present study have broader application.

Of these the most important was the absolute necessity of some form of educational support from outside the home even for the most minimal level of Welsh language maintenance — and this by children who were monolingual Welsh-speaking on arrival and whose parents expressed themselves in English only with concentrated effort. It is difficult to assess what might have been the impact of such support, of attendance at an ethnic school or, since 1986, at the South Australian Secondary School of Languages for example. Presumably very little, especially in the case of the former, since extensive research over the last two decades has shown that, though it varies across the language groups, shift to English by the second-generation is one of the sociolinguistic constants of migrant life in Australia. Yet even the psychological value to parents and children of official recognition of Welsh as a 'subject', indeed as a language rather than as a private argot, would, in the opinion of the present writer, be considerable. One of the unspoken revelations of this study is that there is no mirror of Welshness in Australia, no means as it were, whereby the Welsh are reminded of their ethnic particularity. This is especially the case with Welsh-speakers since the Welsh

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[16]   The South Australian Secondary School of Languages (SASSL) was established in 1986, its purpose being to "complement and supplement existing [language] programmes in mainstream or ethnic schools". It currently offers instruction in 10 languages. SASSL Information Bulletin, May 1993.

[17]   Except, of course, for their cultural overlap including their knowledge of English, with the Anglo-Australian mainstream population.

language is seldom heard, seen, recognised or its existence known, outside of their Welsh homes. When, occasionally and fleetingly, it comes to the surface of public life, their reaction is one of unrestrained delight.[18] The argument put forward here therefore is one for the potentially beneficial effects on maintenance of the greater visibility of Welsh in the public sphere, particularly in education.

Perhaps the most important effect of some form of educational standing for Welsh would be as an inducement to greater effort at transmission by parents. One of the significant findings of this study was the wide disparity between language attitudes and behaviour. Affection for the language — its recognition by most Welsh-speakers and many non-speakers as a core value of Welshness — seldom went further and was rarely translated into any educational initiative on its behalf. This should not be too readily dismissed as the inevitable consequence of the small size of the Welsh-speaking population of Australia, let alone the Welsh-born. Welsh, as was mentioned in Chapter 1, in fact takes its place alongside 53 other languages in Australia that are spoken by less that 1% of the population.[19] Yet 9 of these languages were studied as matriculation subjects between 1978 and 1986 and the great majority were taught in various forms of ethnic or Saturday schools. Even on demographic grounds alone the argument for Estonian, for example, as a matriculation subject in Victoria, is not much stronger than that for Welsh.[20] The main point being made here however is not the lack of opportunity for studying Welsh in Australia, since, more than ever, the opportunity is clearly present. The problem, as revealed in this study, is far more the reluctance of Welsh parents or the leaders of Welsh ethnic institutions to seize it. The main obstacle it would seem is the age-old perception of Welsh by speakers and non-speakers as what Fishman refers to as a 'spinning wheel language', and, as he asks, "who needs

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[18]   As, for example, when a Welsh-language film is screened on the SBS television channel. This was always a subject of animated discussion in the Welsh Societies.
[19]   Lo Bianco, op.cit., p.17.
[20]   The Estonian-speaking population of Victoria in 1986 for example was 544 out of an Estonian-born total of 801, compared with 346 Welsh-speakers out of a Welsh-born total of 5,350. Birthplace, Language, Religion, 1971-86, op.cit., pages 225, 89, 309 and 35 respectively.

spinning wheel languages?"[21]   To this evaluation of Welsh as non-functional, must be added a pervasive note of pessimism about the possibility of its survival into the twenty-first century.   In Wales this feeds on widely published statistics of decline. In Australia it is sustained by a virtual halt to the arrival of Welsh-speaking migrants, certainly on the evidence of their absence in the Welsh Societies.

It is for these reasons that some teaching of Welsh, not sporadically in private homes or as a hobby pursuit in the Welsh Societies as happens at present, but with official imprimatur and support, would possibly make a difference.   It would give the language the visible respectability which it now lacks.   Moves in this direction have already been made at the tertiary level.   A Celtic Studies Foundation to promote teaching and research into Celtic Studies with the ultimate aim of creating a chair and a Department of Celtic Studies was founded at the University of Sydney in 1987.[22]   In addition, from 1991, the Language Centre at the same University has been offering courses in Modern Welsh, Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic.   At the same time a Centre for Australian Studies in Wales (*Canolfan Astudiaethau Awstralaidd Yng Nghymru*) was inaugurated at St David's University College, Lampeter, a constituent college of the University of Wales, in September 1986, its express aim being to "further the study of Australia in Wales and establish links between Australia and Wales at the individual, institutional and commercial levels".   Important as they are, these initiatives have nevertheless been at that end of the educational echelon least likely to impact on Welsh language maintenance.   As this study has shown, the prospect for a second-generation of Welsh speakers in Australia is virtually eliminated much lower down at the school level.

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[21]   Fishman, Language and Ethnicity .... op.cit., p.395.
[22]   Celtic Connections, Newsletter of the Celtic Studies Foundation, No. 5., October 1990. A Chair for the study of Celtic Literature at Melbourne University was proposed in 1927 but later abandoned. D. Farrell, op.cit., p. 300.

10.4 Welsh as a Core Value of Welsh Culture in Australia? A final comment.

This has been a historico-sociological study of language and cultural maintenance by Welsh migrants to Australia. It has proceeded on the theoretical assumption that the survival of Welsh cultural identity is conditional on the preservation of the Welsh language. The evidence for this in the nineteenth century is conclusive. Wherever the Welsh settled, they defined themselves and were in turn defined by their possession of a separate language. The cultural life of the small Welsh communities of the 'copper triangle' of South Australia, of the goldfields of Victoria, and of the coalmining districts of Blackstone, Queensland and Newcastle, New South Wales, was, in each case co-extensive with the life of the Welsh language. No one was more aware of this than William Morris Evans, the indefatigable editor of *"Yr Australydd"* and *"Yr Ymwelydd"*, who, in the pages of these two mid-century Welsh language journals, tirelessly cajoled and bullied his countrymen in the Australian colonies and New Zealand to a more vigorous defence of their native tongue. This was also the position of the leaders of the several Welsh nonconformist denominations, who realised full well that the future of their own religious constituencies hinged entirely on the fate of the language. Yet in almost every locality it was more the language of migrant parents than of their children. As the latter abandoned the chapels on reaching adulthood or by their presence as predominantly English-speakers, increased the pressure for a switch to English-language services, the chapel culture which the language supported — the only culture which the Welsh knew or were known by — lost its hold or gave way to a bowdlerised version. Its passing, well before 1914, especially in those areas where closed mines or a falling labour demand virtually stopped the migration flow, left little more to mark a former Welsh presence than a plethora of identical Welsh surnames or at best Welsh Societies which proclaimed their Welshness with an occasional *Cymanfa Ganu* in which the hymns were sung in a language little understood by the majority of the participants. Yet the gesture,

here and on every similar occasion, was plain: Welsh is the language of the Welsh and the prime mark of their cultural identity.

By the post-war era, when the Welsh again arrived in significant numbers, the language situation in Wales itself had drastically changed. Welsh was now the language of a small minority that was yearly getting smaller. In a demographic sense, English had become the language of Wales. Yet in the mid-1960s a re-invigorated Welsh nationalism inspired by the militant campaigns of (mainly) university students under the banner of *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith* (The Welsh Language Society), took up the cause of the language anew, and successfully fought for its greater recognition by government and local officialdom. Similarly, on the education front, the cudgels were taken up in the form of Welsh-medium teaching from nursery to university entrance level, and this mainly in the anglicised areas. By the early 1970s, though the language was still in steady decline, Wales was nominally a bilingual country.

Although some of the subjects of this study had arrived in Australia before the politicisation of the language issue, none were left entirely untouched by the fight for its survival in the post-war era nor by the polarisation of Welsh society which it had brought about. Yet the passing of the years and geographic distance had undoubtedly taken the edge off the debate for many of the longer-term residents. They neither understood nor sympathised with what they considered to be the extreme elements of contemporary Welsh cultural nationalism. Even more emphatically they denied its relevance to their lives in Australia. To this must be added the point made several times in this study, namely that, those most committed to the language cause (*achos yr iaith*) were usually those least likely to emigrate at the time of its greatest crisis. This was forcefully brought home by the contributions of the NQ (non-questionnaire) respondents, in particular by younger-aged visitors from Wales, some of whom were members of the Welsh Language Society and, often, though from English-speaking homes, graduates of the new Welsh-medium schools. Their own ferociously defensive attitude towards the

language — which several spoke in the grammatically purist tones of the learner — was often in sharp contrast to the *laissez-faire* fatalism of their hosts. Frequently the former voiced in their oral memoirs their disapproval of what they condemned as the folkloric shallowness of Welsh cultural life in Australia. The latter, on the other hand, were in turn critical of their visitors' lack of appreciation of the inherent difficulty — and in some cases of the desirability —of maintaining Welsh culture in Australia. Most of all, those that were parents amongst them felt that these Young Turks of the language movement, as they saw them, had little understanding of the real problems of transmitting the Welsh language to the second generation in a situation where Welsh was seldom heard beyond their own front doors.

For some, mainly, but not exclusively, non-Welsh-speakers, the language was no longer an issue. They had come to Australia to seek a better life in the economic sense and not to perpetuate the language debate. What's more they could, as one respondent put it, "be as Welsh as you like without being able to speak the language."[23] Welshness for these individuals was defined variously as a state of mind, as a privilege of birth, or even as no more than a love of music, poetry, or rugby football. They were a minority, but their influence in the Welsh Societies was often considerable.

The answer to the question as to whether Welsh is still a core value in Australia, and whether this has a bearing on its maintenance is not therefore straightforward. The responses to the language in terms of its maintenance are at least as varied as those revealed in the typology of evaluation and activation presented in Chapter 7. Moreover it can only be answered here within the limits of a study of individuals who, as has been repeatedly pointed out, are not claimed to be representative of the Welsh-born in Australia. Within these confines what can be said with some degree of certainty is that though the language is no longer

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[23]   Respondent 007/3 (Oral Memoir)

the public face of Welshness it is still, if only in symbolic form, the glue that holds it together.

Whether Welsh will survive, even in its present emaciated state in Australia will depend in the final analysis on a continued immigration of Welsh-speakers. Given the still declining numbers of the latter in Wales and the present trends of immigration to Australia, this, at the moment, seems improbable. There is a sense therefore in which the history of the Welsh language in Australia is coming to a close.

In a study which has accepted as primary data the views of its subjects, it may be appropriate that the final comment on the state of the Welsh language and Welsh cultural life in Australia be that of one of the respondents. It was chosen both for its encompassing scope, and because, in broad thrust, it is reflective of most of the major conclusions of this thesis:

> "The tendency of the Welsh in Australia is to give up even before they get started when it comes to maintaining the Welsh language. Yet other groups, equally small and even smaller, take a very different attitude to their language and culture .... From what I've seen, many of the Welsh here are fairly well-off individuals scattered throughout the wealthier suburbs of the capital cities. Many, as far as I can tell, are professional people, and associate primarily with Australians of the same social standing. These people are very unlikely to frequent the Welsh Societies. Moreover, the Welsh, of course, are bilingual. Their knowledge of English makes them less dependent on each other than members of other groups. If I'm asked, when I go home, to comment on the condition of Welsh cultural life in Australia, the best I'll be able to say is that there are Welsh people living here. I would find it very difficult to claim that at present there is an authentic (sic) Welsh culture. At least I haven't come across it in my time here. Yet the Welsh in this country *are* eager to maintain their identity but are attempting to do so without the language. That is not possible."

> Respondent NQ 21 (W/S1) (OM)
> Translated from the Welsh

That Welsh cultural identity cannot survive in the absence of the Welsh language has also been the evidence of this study.