'LANGUAGES do not die natural deaths', as Daniel Corkery, the distinguished Irish scholar has observed, 'they are murdered, and their murderers are those who would destroy the soul of the nation'. The truth of this observation becomes plain if we glance at those communities troubled by a 'Language Problem'. Language problems are in fact a disease, of which imperialism is the carrier, and they trouble communities which are, or until relatively recently were, subject to the political domination of an imperialist state.

This is certainly true of the Welsh language, whose survival is in question for the second time in five centuries. In the nineteenth century, over 90% of the population of Wales was Welsh speaking, many of them monoglot; by the recent Census the number had dropped to under 30%,\(^1\) while the monoglot speakers had all but disappeared. It is true that the rate of decrease has slowed down, so we seem to be reaching a turn of the tide, but the danger is so great that Welsh patriots are rousing themselves to a determined effort to save the language and to recover lost ground.

HISTORICAL SURVEY

Throughout the period of independence, Welsh was the language of the royal courts and the aristocracy as well as of the common people. Not merely was it the vernacular of everyday life, but the instrument of the highest culture of which the Welsh nation was capable. Consequently, even

Since this article was written, the Northern Section of the Union of Parents' Associations of Welsh Schools has made an important move in the matter of the place of Welsh in the re-arrangement of higher-grade schools now in progress. It regards an official announcement on the subject as a matter of urgency. It has, therefore, asked the Secretary of the Welsh Department of the Ministry to receive a deputation forthwith. It has also called upon the General Secretary of the Union to summon a National Conference of the Union immediately to discuss the matter and to press for a system of bilingual higher-grade education, so that the language be not merely a medium of instruction — this it no longer regards as enough — but also a medium of official communication and of social intercourse in the system of education.

\(^1\)This does not include the large number of Welsh speakers in England. The Census forms allow no means of assessing their number.
the Laws² reveal a language of ample resources and as much alive with the exuberance and exultation of the artist as the poetry and prose tales of the period.

This ascendancy of the language survived the loss of independence and the disappearance of the royal court in 1282. It remained the language of the aristocracy who took pride in patronising Welsh literature until the sixteenth century was under way. Indeed, Wales participated to the full in the intellectual life of Western Europe right up to the establishment of the Tudor order in Wales, whose effect was even more catastrophic than the loss of independence in 1282.

The Tudors had some Welsh blood in their veins and received the allegiance of the Welsh because it was believed that their aim was to restore the rights and liberties of Wales. But Tudor monarchs aimed at achieving a strong, united kingdom, which was deemed to require complete uniformity of all its parts in religion, language, habits and law. Wales must be absorbed entirely into the realm of England and in pursuance of this policy, two acts were passed by the English Parliament in 1536 and 1542.

The first of these acts of incorporation, which goes by the name of the Act of Union, brought the Welsh language under official disapproval for the first time in its long history. Its use was officially and definitely discouraged in the following provision:

‘No Person or Persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language shall have or enjoy any Manner Office or Fees within this Realm of England, Wales, or other the King’s Dominion, upon pain of forfeiting the same Offices or Fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English Speech or Language’.

This clause has never been revoked. The Welsh language is still denied official recognition, more than four centuries later and advancement to Welsh people has been possible only if they use the English language.

The cumulative effect of this clause and of Tudor policy generally has been very serious. A rift appeared between the aristocracy and the common people. The latter remained Welsh while the former were encouraged to seek preferment at the English court, and to educate their sons at the new Tudor Grammar Schools, centres of anglicising influence. Hence they gradually lost their Welsh speech and outlook and ceased to patronise Welsh literature. English culture came to be regarded as the only kind of culture, and the Welsh language, abandoned to the common people, was in danger of degenerating into a mere patois and there were fears that it would disappear altogether.

²Traditionally believed to have been first codified circa A.D. 942-950 by scholars called together by the prince Hywel Dda (Hywel the Good).
THE WELSH LANGUAGE

Happily, this fate was averted, mainly owing to religious influences. As a result of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century which brought about the translation of the Prayer Book (1567), and the Bible (1588), combined with the work of seventeenth century Puritans and especially the Methodist Revival of the eighteenth century with its emphasis on the sermon, the Welsh became a people who read the Bible extensively, and the language not only survived among the commonalty but was enriched and revitalized.

In the nineteenth century it flourished over the greater part of Wales, and nowhere more than in the newly industrialised areas of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, now extensively anglicised. For the first time since Tudor days Welsh became recognised as fit for all the intercourse of social life and all solemn occasions; the dignity it had acquired in the pulpit giving it right of entry to every circle controlled by the common people.

EDUCATION

But the language of a people lacking its own Government is never safe. The nineteenth century saw the forging of the instrument which has ravaged the Welsh language so extensively in the present century — compulsory State education. Those concerned with shaping education in Wales stood for outright suppression of Welsh in favour of English and the schools were dominated by the vicious assumption that one language must be exterminated before another can be taught.

The State began giving aid to education in 1833 when Parliament voted money for erecting schools for the children of the poor. The two societies that disbursed this money failed utterly to appreciate that in Wales the use of Welsh as a medium of education was a fundamental principle of education, and no directive in the matter was given to them from the appropriate Government quarters.

The English attitude towards the Welsh language is reflected in the 1848 Government Blue Books, known to the Welsh as 'The Betrayal of the Blue Books'. These consisted of a report of an inquiry by three monoglot English Commissioners into the state of the schools in Wales. They contained not only severe strictures on the schools (probably justified) but an indictment of the language, religion and personal morality of the whole Welsh nation. 'The Welsh language' it declares '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 underestimate its evil effects!'

The indignation aroused in Wales by this Report was intensified by the comments of the Times and other London newspapers which revealed the strong antipathy felt in England for Wales and its language. This antipa-
thy has not diminished in a hundred years. In October, 1962, the Times devoted a leading article to a vigorous attack on the efforts now being made to foster the Welsh language in Welsh life and education. Letters by eminent Welsh scholars replying to the attack were thrown into the waste-paper basket while letters supporting it were published.

Despite all efforts by Welshmen to secure a place for the language in the developing system of education, it was not even mentioned in the 1861 Revised Code of Education, which introduced the pernicious 'payment by results' by which the pay of teachers depended on their pupils' success in examinations. Henceforth, for more than a generation, since Welsh was not acknowledged as an examination subject, boycotting it was financially rewarding to every schoolmaster and, to help in the struggle to eradicate it, many resorted to a system of fines or to the infamous device the 'Welsh Not', by which a child, caught speaking Welsh in the school precincts, was compelled to wear a board inscribed W.N., and, if he could not get rid of it by catching another child in the same offence, was whipped by the teacher before being relieved of it.

The psychological effect of such devices upon children was most damaging, and did not pass uncondemned. 'Is it calculated to conduce to the formation of habits of self-confidence and self-respect in the children of Wales', observed one eminent Welshmen, 'that the first lesson impressed upon them when they enter school should be this: that their own native language is a thing to be straightway forgotten and despised? Is there no danger that the lesson should be transferred in the child's mind from the language itself to its associations and become a lesson of contempt and distrust for his parentage, his home, his religion, his nationality and himself?'. Anyone acquainted with Wales today knows how prophetic these words were.

The influence of the State upon the schools became a stranglehold with the passing of the 1870 Education Act, which made attendance at school compulsory upon all children, and to which the serious decline of the Welsh language can be traced.

In the old Grammar and Endowed Schools, some of them dating from Tudor times, Welsh of course, had no place. Welsh has a very subsidiary place also in the new Grammar Schools built after the passing of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889, being named, simply as an optional subject, in the schemes of two counties only. These schools remain the blackest spots in our school system: — strong centres of anglicising and often anti-Welsh influence. In none of them is Welsh obligatory for the external examinations taken at the school, what is called the 'O' level of the General Certificate of Education. It could be obligatory, as is English,
if the headteacher chose, for within certain limits, headteachers have a very free hand in choosing their range of options. But the headteachers are the products of the system and generally, Welsh is pitted against a foreign language or Latin, or some popular school subject and strong pressure is brought to bear on bright pupils, attracted to Welsh, to change their minds. In my own experience, I have known the headmaster send determined pupils back five times to their parents to induce them not to choose Welsh. Among the staffs overt— or at best a veiled— contempt for the language is general, as indeed for anything connected with Wales, and there is much readiness to stress to pupils and their parents the great value of the foreign languages for a career, and the uselessness of Welsh— quite regardless of the true facts.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Welsh patriots advocated a bilingual policy for the schools; they still do. Nothing compulsory was contemplated, however, until recent years, everyone concerned with the place of Welsh in education has recoiled in horror from the idea of compulsory Welsh, on the pretext that compulsion would alienate the pupils! The fact that most school subjects are compulsory and the evidence before their eyes of the triumph of compulsory English in Wales have been conveniently ignored.

There have been gains in the present century. In 1907, e.g., a separate Welsh Department of the Board (now Ministry) of Education was established. Its inspectorate, a high percentage of which consists of Welsh people, in the main has been sympathetic to the language, which now gained a foothold, very precarious at first, in the school curriculum, and by means of its publications and the organisation of teachers' courses has sought to improve the status of the language in the schools, the effectiveness of the teaching, and to press for its use as a medium of instruction wherever practicable.

An important landmark in this aspect of the Ministry's work was the publication, in 1928, of the Report 'Welsh in Education and Life', a survey of the place of the language in the schools of Wales to that date. It urged much greater use of the language as a medium in addition to improvements in methods of teaching it as a second language.

This Report aroused much enthusiasm in educational circles at the time and among the general public, many of whom were in despair at the way their children refused to speak Welsh as soon as they started school, so that only very determined parents could keep their children Welsh-speaking. Most parents were unequal to the struggle, having themselves suffered the debilitating effects of the 'murder machine' as Patrick Pearse called the so similar English State Schools of Ireland.
Unfortunately, the Report’s appearance coincided with the beginning of the severe economic depression of the 30’s in Wales. Men’s minds were diverted to the bare struggle for a living and the vast Government-directed exodus to England of over half a million people in a decade, many of them Welsh speakers, struck a heavy blow at the language.

**Welsh as a Medium in Education**

However, the idea that children in the Infants Departments (between 5-7 years of age) should be taught through the medium of the home language now began to influence the minds of educators in Wales. This gradually led to a policy of teaching through the medium of Welsh, first in infants’ departments in the Welsh-speaking districts and then in primary departments as well. By today, many schools in Welsh areas now make some use of Welsh as a medium. Many, however, do not. Even where Welsh has a place as a medium, the position is far from satisfactory, and parents who attach importance to pure and dignified Welsh are concerned at the way their children’s Welsh degenerates during their school life into an undignified hotch potch of English and Welsh.

There are a number of reasons for this:

1. The primary schools are dominated by the fact that they must prepare their pupils for the English-medium Grammar Schools. Hence, English must oust Welsh as a medium quite early, so that by the time the child is 9 years old his instruction may be almost entirely through English.

2. The teachers, though native speakers, may not necessarily be educated speakers of Welsh. They may never have been instructed in Welsh beyond the primary school and so have not the same sense of the importance of educated Welsh as they have of educated English. That is, as Welsh people, they are badly educated.

3. The Training Colleges have steadily improved the courses they offer students studying Welsh, and their practical method courses. But they have nothing to offer Welsh speakers who have not studied Welsh at school, but may yet find themselves using Welsh as a teaching medium in a Welsh district. Such students commonly speak the debased form of Welsh they subsequently pass on to their pupils. Such ‘Welsh Schools’ plus the Grammar Schools are creating a serious problem which is at last attracting attention however and at least one training college, Barry Training College, is now arranging courses of one term’s duration for teachers who use Welsh as a medium.

The existence of these Welsh schools can be very precarious. The arrival of a couple of English families in a Welsh district may change the language policy of the school; the English parents often arrogantly demand
that their children be instructed through English only and the headteacher may not always be able to stand his ground. A change of headteacher may also affect the language policy of the school.

**The New Welsh Medium Schools**

The outbreak of the war in 1939 on the heels of the depression came as another pressing danger to the Welsh language. It occasioned the transfer of thousands of children from England into all corners of Wales. This constituted an invasion of the securest fastnesses of the language, and many feared that, in their psychologically debilitated state, the Welsh people would be unable to hold on to their language against such a flood of English, especially since they gave way so readily with their own children.

Happily no wholesale abandonment of Welsh occurred. Instead, many evacuated children speedily became fluent Welsh speakers. Indeed, many came to know Welsh better than English and were so Cymricised that, when evacuation ended, they returned of their own accord to their Welsh foster parents.

This result caused heart-searching in Wales. Why didWelsh children lose the language then? It was obviously possible to save the language if the right things were done. A re-appraisal of the situation was called for.

This feeling was reinforced by the record of a new type of school started at Lluest, Aberystwyth, in 1939 by a group of parents belonging to the professional classes. Lluest was a private Welsh-medium school run entirely according to the wishes of the parents, who formed themselves into a parents’ association and bore the entire cost. It was so successful that it attracted widespread attention. Here was a new way of dealing with the language problem. The school did a number of things:

1. It safeguarded the Welsh of its pupils. None of these children showed any tendency to slough off Welsh in favour of English and the full richness of their Welsh speech satisfied the most meticulous parent.

2. Being a private, fee-paying school it gave the language snob value in a town not insusceptible to snobbery. Whatever one may think of snobbery, the acquisition of snob value is a very valuable asset to a language fighting for survival. Indeed an aura of snobbishness, of being the fashionable thing, has clung to the Welsh language in English speaking areas ever since! So much so that, about a year ago, the Western Mail, the organ of the English Establishment in Wales, thought it worth while to publish an article attempting to explode the concept of Welsh as a fashionable language.
3. The school created by parents belonging to the professional classes, the nearest thing in Wales to a middle class, attracted the attention of 'middle class' Welsh people everywhere. They were fired by the example here offered, and they have ever since been the force behind the new Welsh School movement which now began and has gathered impetus ever since.

As a private school, Lluest did not offer hope of widespread imitation and it was itself finally taken over by the Local Education Authority, but it fired Welsh parents at a time when the State inadvertently put into their hands the powers to create a new school movement on similar lines. In 1944, an Education Act gave parents reasonable rights in deciding their children's education within the State system. The newly-formed teachers' Union: 'The Association of the Teachers of Wales' which regarded the defence of the Welsh language in the education system as one of its duties, took up the cause. Its first General Secretary was personally responsible for bringing together groups of parents to work for the establishment of Welsh schools in anglicised areas. Individual groups of parents, calling themselves Welsh Schools' Parents' Associations, having achieved their own objective found their help needed in guiding other groups of parents elsewhere. Hence they formed themselves soon into a national association calling itself the Union of Welsh Schools' Parents' Associations. This Union is today the guiding spirit of the movement for the establishment and extension of the new Welsh Schools, co-ordinating the work of local parents' associations and formulating policy for the future on a national scale and acting as a pressure group upon Local Education Authorities and Members of Parliament. To give financial aid to the movement, a Trust calling itself the Glyn Dwr Trust, launched with a gift of £10,000, is in course of formation.

At first, parents found Local Education Authorities indifferent or even hostile. They had, therefore, to find accommodation themselves — usually chapel vestries — and finance and staff the school and buy all necessary equipment. They also paid for the transport of the children to the school; many still do. In those early days, it might take two or three years to persuade the Education Authority to adopt the school and proof had always to be given that the school was free of debt. The financial sacrifice of the parents has, therefore, been considerable. When the Authority finally took the school over, it would be accommodated in an old empty school building or in empty classrooms in an existing school. The arrangements were far from ideal but the parents made no complaints, however unprepossessing the accommodation. The vital thing was to get the school established and accepted.

The work of the local Parents' Association is not finished when the
Education Authority takes over their school. They work in close harmony with the teachers to provide equipment that the Authority does not provide and they are responsible for recruiting new pupils for the nursery schools and for financing it, so that the Welsh primary school may grow to a size comparable with the local English schools.

The first Authority to found a Welsh School was Carmarthenshire, a predominantly Welsh-speaking county. This school was established in 1947 at Llanelli, in response to the wishes of a small group of parents. At the time, only 27% of the town children spoke Welsh. It has prospered so much that a second Welsh School was soon set up in the area, and by today surrounding districts are beginning to press for Welsh Schools and there is a growing demand for a Welsh higher-grade school in the area.

These early schools proved themselves so efficient that the hostility of the Education Authorities has gradually evaporated although one still sees complaints in the Welsh Press of the unco-operative attitude of some of them. The go-ahead Director of Education for Flintshire, a much anglicised northern border county, became interested and pioneered several schools in the county in a short time. His expressed aim was the provision of a Welsh School within reach of every child in the county.

As the movement has grown, it has assumed a definite pattern. A handful of children between the ages 2½-5 years is collected to form a nursery school in some convenient building and taught voluntarily by a retired woman teacher, often for nothing. The school may meet two or even five mornings a week. As the children reach five years of age they enter a Welsh class in some local primary school under the auspices of the Education Authority on the understanding that this is the nucleus of a Welsh School. When this Welsh stream has grown large enough it is housed in its own building as a separate Welsh school.

In the very early days only Welsh-speaking children were accepted into the nursery school or children from families in which one parent spoke Welsh and gave a pledge to speak Welsh to the children henceforth. Such a system was a defensive system, ensuring simply that Welsh-speaking children would retain their language. This was important, but if adhered to, would leave Welsh speakers in a permanent minority in the country, an idea that satisfied few Welsh patriots. Moreover, English speaking parents began pressing the organisers to accept their children, and it went very much against the grain to refuse. The General Secretary of the National Association of the Teachers of Wales was anxious for a more adventurous policy from the start and he asked the writer of this article to publish a pamphlet describing a visit made in 1953 to the Danish Schools of South Slesvig where they were successfully tackling the problem of teaching...
Danish to children whose parents or even grand-parents had lost it.

This was a policy of attack and one which everybody realised must be followed ultimately in Wales if the language was to become once again the speech of the whole nation. Practical considerations, however, soon forced this policy upon the Welsh School Movement. When a Welsh School was founded at Barry, a sea-port near the capital, Cardiff, it had no prospect of growth, since all the Welsh speaking children of the town—a mere handful—had already been gathered in. There was nothing for it, therefore, but to create Welsh children. A Welsh nursery school opening its door to English-speaking children was started and, its success had been such that, today, Barry Welsh School has close on 200 pupils, some 80% of them from monoglot English homes. This is now the policy of the movement: the nursery schools, still the property of the parents, gladly accept English-and-Welsh-speaking children from 2½ years of age upwards.

The schools have grown space; there are now between 40 and 50 of them in anglicised areas and their number is still growing. Last year, it was resolved at the Annual Meeting of the Parents' Union that a recruiting campaign should be undertaken among English-speaking parents on behalf of the schools.

The schools have won a reputation, not only as superior schools, since the 'best' people send their children to them, but also as very good schools academically. Their success in the 11+ examinations to Grammar Schools has been phenomenal and their pupils have more than held their own in the (English) Grammar Schools, having usually a better command even of English than children educated at the English Schools!

The Parents' Union is now pressing the Welsh M.P.s and the Council for Wales concerning the establishment of Welsh schools on a large scale, an essential development if the language is to be saved. Besides, a Welsh school should be within the reach of every child.

In June of this year they presented a memorandum to the Welsh Joint Education Committee dealing with the re-organisation of schools that is now in process. They oppose the merging of Welsh and English streams in one school, and demand central Welsh Schools for areas in which separate Welsh streams would be weak. They feel that the time has come for Local Education Authorities to accept full responsibility for giving special education to Welsh children rather than that parents must spend years in pressing for the establishment of Welsh Schools. They claim that an effective bilingual education is being given in these schools and assert that it is the responsibility of Welsh Education Authorities to give them a central place in their education policy, not only in anglicised areas but in Welsh speaking districts as well. Here every school should be a Welsh school.
They point out that hitherto it is the parents who have fought for and partially maintained many of the Welsh Schools in their early days, and that it is neither fair nor just to expect them to continue to bear the burden and the responsibility. Specialists in the field of education have a duty to lead worthily in this field. It is time the responsibility for maintaining the Welsh language should be assumed by the Education Authorities.

Such a policy as the parents demand requires a higher quota of teachers, exactly as is the case in England in schools where the number of overseas children in the school is high.

The parents are not satisfied with Welsh primary education only. They now press for adequate higher-grade Welsh schools so that the good work of the primary schools be not undone at the higher schools and they demand a more liberal supply of Welsh books. For the first time too, they demand better buildings to house Welsh schools and ask why they must pay to transport their children to school. 'The nearest school to the home of a Welsh child' they declare 'is the nearest Welsh school'.

The parents have earlier taken up the subject of Welsh nursery schools. It is an unfair burden on parents to have to support such schools and the Local Education Authorities should have the right to establish them. Many of the latter would readily co-operate in this matter if allowed to do so. But they are hindered by a Ministry of Education regulation and can only establish a new nursery school if they do not thereby exceed the number of such schools in their area in 1956. Swansea has recently established a Welsh Nursery School, but though this is an important precedent, they could do so only because they were not violating the regulation. This then will certainly be the next object of attack of the Parents' Union.

One interesting development during the present year is that the Welsh Branch of the National Union of Teachers, a teachers' union bases on England and drawing its members mainly, but not exclusively, from the Primary Schools, has produced a memorandum on the language question. This Union has in the past been noted for its unsympathetic attitude towards things Welsh, but a significant change in the attitude of the Union towards the language is observable in this Memorandum, sent during the past summer to the Welsh Joint Education Committee expressing the views of the Welsh Committee of the Union on the language question. The Union here comes out wholeheartedly on the side of bilingual education and of the principle that individual parents should not be allowed to decide whether their children should learn Welsh or not. The Memorandum was based on a questionnaire sent out to the 108 branches of the Union in Wales, representing 18,000 members. The replies to this questionnaire show
that the teachers came down strongly on the side of Welsh, for the Memorandum states 'the clearest impression we have in reading the whole evidence is that the teachers support wholeheartedly those authorities who announce a definite policy of developing a Welsh sentiment on the basis of a bilingual policy...in general there is strong support for every policy directed at defending and developing our character and our existence as a nation'.

On the subject of the new Welsh Schools, these teachers consider them to be justifiable only in districts where Welsh is losing ground and that where they are set up, care should be taken that their pupils should not become a separate cultural island. To meet this danger, it is suggested that learners of the language should visit Welsh schools and that the children should be enabled to work and play together, go together on educational trips, or stay together in residential schools. The Union is impressing on its members the need to encourage in every possible way the plan of inter-change visits between the children of English- and Welsh-speaking areas. Where Welsh Schools are founded, it urges that care should be taken not to arouse the hostility of parents of pupils in other types of schools by special treatment of Welsh Schools in the ratio of teachers, in apparatus or building facilities.

On the question of Welsh books for schools it urges greater support by all authorities for the 'Seven Counties' Books Committee. This is a Committee formed a couple of years ago by the authority of seven of the thirteen counties of Wales for the provision of Welsh text books for schools.

Other suggestions made by the Memorandum is that in country districts, schools should have a minimum of three teachers if a bilingual policy is to be undertaken (many country schools are now one-teacher schools) and that research be made into techniques of language learning in a bilingual back-ground, into the question of vocabulary in courses in the second language, and into the psychological effect of speaking two languages upon the child.

The N.U.T., is not the only body to have sent a memorandum recently to the Welsh Joint Education Committee, which is gathering material on the whole question of a language policy for the schools. The Union of the Associations of Welsh Schools Parents has also sent a memorandum putting its own point of view.

Where the N.U.T. asks for larger centralised schools the parents state that they will support a centralising policy only when a policy of education is formulated which caters for the just demands of the nation. They will resist any centralising by which Welsh-speaking children are transferred to schools where Welsh has a secondary place. They claim that the
attempt to keep Welsh children Welsh-speaking is doomed to failure in schools where a high percentage of the children do not speak the language, especially if special provision is not made for the two streams. This will only bring the battle of the language into the playground, and the social activities of the school. These parents are concerned because education in many of the new Welsh Schools is conditioned by the fact that their pupils must go to all-English higher-grade schools after 11 years of age, where all the good work of the Welsh primary school is undone.

As for the Welsh-speaking districts, they urge that the new Welsh School be made the pattern for all schools here.

They express disappointment because the Labour Government has not implemented its election promise to put education in Wales under the authority of the newly-created Secretary of State for Wales and urge that the Prime Minister be pressed to do this as soon as possible.

The members of this Union are convinced that the key to the problem of the language in Wales is more Welsh nursery schools and they are pressing for the establishment of such schools all over the country. After every meeting of this Union we see press reports of the establishment of voluntary Welsh nursery schools in various parts of the country, and of proposals to establish others, and of the steady increase in the number of pupils attending the Welsh Primary schools.

One interesting feature of this movement in Wales to give the Welsh language its rightful place in the country's system of education and to make provision for teaching it effectively to non-Welsh speakers is that support for it or hostility to it do not follow rigidly the line of language or of nationality. As we have noted already, although the moving spirits in the establishment of a Welsh school in anglicised districts are almost invariably Welsh speaking people belonging to the professions, the school once founded usually draws most of its pupils from ordinary anglicised Welsh and even English families. Cases can be quoted of Welsh-speaking parents in these areas sending their children to English medium schools and of cultured immigrant English parents sending their children to the Welsh school. One of these cultured English people who have consistently given support to the Welsh schools movement since its inception a quarter of a century ago is Mr. R.M. Presswood, Director of Education for Cardiff, who was reported in the Welsh paper 'Y Cymro' in April of this year as stating that as an Englishman he understood the desire of Cardiff Welsh people to secure an education for their children which linked them to their language, history and culture. He could not understand the attitude of some English people and non-Welsh speakers who showed a spirit of hatred to the language. They came to Wales to good jobs he said, and
became hostile to the Welsh language. They should be proud to be allowed to be in the capital of Wales and to support the language and to show tolerance to those who desire to speak it and secure its future. When the figures showed that the time had come to establish a Welsh higher-grade school in Cardiff he would be ready to consider this or alternatively to establish Welsh streams in existing schools where a number of subjects could be taught through the medium of Welsh. In the meantime, Cardiff Education Authority would continue to send the city's Welsh children to Glamorgan's higher-grade school at Rhydfelen.

All this shows how completely out of touch with the Welsh educational scene Government Ministerial circles can be. In the early part of the summer this year, Miss Jennie Lee, Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Department of Education, met the Welsh Joint Education Committee and in reply to the Committee's plea for more Government help to publish Welsh books, Miss Lee took upon herself to stress that the W.J.E.C. in making themselves custodians of the language 'should not put themselves in the position of having parents knocking on the doors of the education departments saying "They are trying to put my child in a Welsh school and we don't want it" '. Her comments brought murmurs of surprise from the august assembly and caused much indignation in Wales. There were many letters in the correspondence columns of the Press in Wales protesting at what was felt to be a gross insult to Welsh nationhood, advising Miss Lee to open her ears to the knocking of Welsh parents and their cries of 'You are putting our children in anglicised schools and we don't want it', and suggesting she visit the Welsh medium schools to acquaint herself with the high proportion of pupils who came from monoglot English homes.

The Welsh Higher-Grade Schools

When Cardiff Welsh Primary School was founded in 1950, Mr. Presswood the Director of Education, asked the parents what they envisaged at the end of their children's primary education. Was not the obvious next step a Welsh medium secondary school? At the time such a step was impracticable owing to the small number of pupils involved in the area. But the movement has grown so rapidly that Welsh higher-grades schools have become essential. They are usually comprehensive, schools grammar and modern streams; their pupils may be drawn from quite a wide area, not all of it administered by the same Education Authority. Cardiff for instance, at present sends its Welsh School pupils to Rhydfelen, a Welsh higher-grade school belonging to Glamorgan situated some 8-9 miles outside the city boundary.

Flintshire first led the way with the establishment of two such schools.
There are now four such schools in the anglicised north east, and more are being called for. Three years ago, Glamorgan, the most populous county in Wales, established the first higher-grade school in the South, at Rhysfelen, with Cardiff joining in the venture. It was founded with some trepidation for its success was in some doubt. It opened in September, 1962, with 85 pupils; it now has 345 pupils and has completely outgrown its buildings, which are to be extended before the 1966 session in order that the school may continue to grow. Yet there are still schools in its area which have not yet been established long enough to begin sending pupils to it. Its success is typical and has emboldened Glamorgan Education Authority to agree to the request of the Union of Welsh Schools Parents' Association for a second higher grade school in the near future in the west of the county. The Union is now campaigning energetically for more such schools in many other parts of Wales.

Welsh is the language of all social intercourse in these schools, and most subjects are taught through Welsh. Lack of textbooks hinders the use of Welsh in some subjects, a difficulty which is gradually being overcome. The sciences are, to date, taught through the medium of English, and the reasons given are, first, a difficulty of terminology in Welsh, and, second, the fact that Sixth Formers and University students will need to use reference books in English since we should never be able in Wales to afford to translate all the necessary reference books into our language.

The first of these difficulties is being resolved by Welsh scientists at the University, who began in March, 1963, to publish a quarterly science magazine in the language; an adequate scientific vocabulary is therefore already taking shape. The second 'difficulty' is not a material difficulty at all, but is simply a manifestation of the psychological outlook of a long-subjected people. English has never been the only European language in which important scholarly works in all branches of human knowledge have appeared and in our generation we have seen Russian come to the fore in the sciences. Setting aside the situation among speakers of the big languages, no small nation can afford to be insular or parochial in its reading of scholarly works. Wales is no different in this respect from, say, Denmark. The fact that it is not practicable to make available in Danish all the important reference books a University student must need has not prevented the Danes from using Danish as the only medium of education in their whole education system. Yet at University level, the student is expected to be capable of reading widely in several languages.

Many feel that there is here a lesson for Wales. At present, most of those interested in the Welsh schools movement regard them as 'bilingual' schools and by 'bilingual' schools they mean schools in which both Welsh
and English are used as media of instruction, but with Welsh as the language of social intercourse among the pupils and between staff and pupils. They contrast such schools with the old style monolingual English school, designed as a tool to eradicate Welsh entirely from the country. But there is a minority which regards the 'bilingual' concept as too narrow and insular for the needs of Wales. By all means, they say, let English be well taught and it is well-taught in the Welsh schools, so well that English people sometimes contrast the 'elegant' English spoken by products of the Welsh schools with the very inelegant English spoken by the anglicised products of the English schools of Wales. But the language policy of the Welsh schools system must be broadly based so that their pupils may have access to the culture and learning of many nations and come to regard the act of acquiring yet another language if the need arises as neither an abnormal nor a stupendous task. This point of view will probably remain a minority view for some time, especially in the Welsh speaking areas where for many reasons the concept of a bilingual education in which the Welsh language is given a just place is only slowly making headway. Indeed, the Welsh school is so misunderstood in some Welsh speaking areas in Wales that a recent proposal put before the Education Committee of Caernarvonshire in the North West to turn four of its Grammar schools into Welsh schools aroused such a furore that the matter is still under consideration and there was much writing in the Press by persons involved in the Welsh schools movement in anglicised areas seeking to enlighten Caernarvonshire people on the aims and beneficial results of the Welsh schools.

THE TRAINING COLLEGES AND THE UNIVERSITY

The rise of the Welsh schools has inevitably affected the Colleges and the University. The Training Colleges have already been obliged to offer courses to students wishing to teach Welsh either as first or as second language. They must now train teachers who will use Welsh as a medium in all primary school subjects. Two Colleges now make provision for students to be taught through the medium of Welsh for their entire College course and two others are moving in that direction. Indeed, they have shown a commendable readiness to yield to pressure on behalf of the language. In 1955, two training colleges: Bangor Normal College and Trinity College, Carmarthen, were invited to offer courses using Welsh as a medium. Even before this Bangor Normal College had courses in Religious Instruction, History and Bilingual Education through the medium of Welsh. These courses were quickly added to, and by 1957-58 Welsh was used as a medium in Geography, Drawing, History, Physical Training, Religious
Instruction, Mathematical Methods, Bilingual Education, Art and Craft for Infants’ Teachers, Biology, Physiology and Education.

Once established, the courses attracted more and more students. In Bangor e.g., 28 students left the College after following these courses when first established; by 1965 they number about 70 annually.

Welsh Local Authorities have helped the scheme commendably, and most of these students find appointments in Wales.

When the courses were established there were the usual terminological difficulties, and a Panel was established by the Faculty of Education in Bangor and Aberystwyth Colleges to prepare lists of terms for many subjects and more on are the way.

It is now the turn of the University to face pressure from the Welsh higher-grade schools and the Union of Parents’ Associations. A stiff fight can be anticipated here, for although the University was founded on the pennies of Welsh peasants and although its charter in 1893 declares that it was founded ‘in Wales and for Wales’, the concept of the University as a truly National University has always been lacking. In the administration of its constituent colleges nothing was done to make truly Welsh institutions of them, and for a long time the Welsh language was not used as a medium of instruction even in the Departments of Welsh. There has been some slight improvement, but the University of Wales, despite its name, remains to all intents and purposes an English institution.

It was not until 1950 that a committee to consider the possibility of establishing a College using Welsh as its medium was set up. After deliberating for some years the Committee produced a report in which it recommended, not a Welsh College, but the appointment of special lecturers in each of the four colleges who might lecture in certain courses in Welsh. The recommendation has been adopted and some dozen lecturers (out of more than a 1,000 teachers at the University) appointed to lecture on such subjects as education, the history of Wales, and philosophy.

The University, then, is a highly anglicised body; the staffs and student body are drawn mainly from England and the Welsh are an insignificant minority. The new Welsh higher-grade schools are beginning to cause a flutter in the dovecotes of this English citadel by asking what provision is being made to enable their pupils to continue their studies through Welsh at the University. This is an important issue; it is essential to Wales to have a University that gives its rightful place to the national language and culture and the language must be allowed to penetrate every aspect of the life of the nation if it is to survive. The Parents Union is as interested as the headteachers in the response of the University, which cannot ignore this issue for ever. Small wonder that the Welsh schools
have been described as 'a pocket of renaissance firmly embedded in the structure of State education'.

A significant sidelight on the English atmosphere of the University is the struggle the Welsh students of Bangor University College – once the most Welsh now the most English of the University Colleges – have been waging for several years for official recognition of the language in the administration of the College. Their demands, rejected by the College Senate (an internal body) and agreed to by the College Court (an external body), have had no practical results. The situation led to a most remarkable scene at the 1964 Degree Ceremony of the College. A Welsh student, about to be initiated into his degree, turned suddenly to the assembled congregation and said in a loud voice in Welsh 'I refuse to accept the Degree of the University of Wales because the University has disowned the Welsh language, the language of the nation whose University it is. For almost two years, we students have asked repeatedly that the Welsh language be given an honourable place in the College; the authorities have substantially refused all requests. The fight will continue; but for me this is the final opportunity. I refuse the Degree and shall continue to so so while the University is so hostile to the Welsh language'.

The congregation applauded. But it is a sad reflection on the state of the nation and of the University that a young student feels it his patriotic duty to reject the degree he has won.

The English medium Schools. It is difficult to give a clear picture of the state of the Welsh language in these schools. The Education Authorities have no co-ordinated policy; indeed, many have no policy at all. In two border counties, the language is not even taught. In most cases, the subject depends on the whim of individuals – headteachers or even teachers. That the subject – and in these schools it is only a subject – figures on the school timetable is no guarantee that it will be taught. An enthusiastic headteacher may work out his own syllabus, prepare individual cards and wall charts and train his teachers so thoroughly that even those with a limited knowledge of Welsh learn to perform their part adequately, if mechanically; under an indifferent head, the language may not be taught at all.

A high proportion of primary teachers are ignorant of Welsh; some Authorities employ peripatetic teachers of Welsh, therefore, while others put one specialised teacher in each school. But the time given to the language – usually three half hours per class per week – is so inadequate that no results are possible. To add to the general futility, its study is dropped altogether in the class studying for the 11+ examination to the Grammar school. It only figures in this examination, incidentally, in Welsh districts.
Glamorgan Education Authority has for many years been concerned at the decline of the language within its borders, and has tried to do something about it. About twenty years ago, it appointed an Inspector for Welsh, who drew up a definite language policy for its schools requiring for example, that at least six lessons a week be devoted to Welsh per class and that 50% of the staff of each school be Welsh speakers. Stress was laid upon cultivating an ability to speak the language (something quite new!) and the policy was interpreted as a bilingual policy. It was impossible for one man to make the policy work in such a large, populous county, and the Authority itself did not help by filling many of the 'Welsh' posts with temporary English-speaking teachers, the post to be made permanent when the teachers learnt Welsh. No time limit was imposed in the contract, and most of these teachers did not fulfil their obligation. After a time they developed a chip on their shoulder and regarded themselves as hard done by.

The schools in general came to regard the policy as just so much bluff. In 1957, therefore, two organisers were appointed to assist the Inspector in making the policy work. It was obvious now that the Authority meant business and most of the teachers proved co-operative when it was explained to them that a bilingual policy did not mean 'to teach Welsh better than we are doing now' as most of them naively defined it, but to teach Welsh to the English-speaking children of Glamorgan as effectively as English is taught in Welsh districts, so that in a short space of time, Glamorgan schools could use both languages as media of instruction.

Faced with this interpretation, teachers began asking for classes to learn Welsh instead of refusing to attend such classes as formerly and for guidance in teaching the language effectively. Since then, the organisers, with the co-operation of specialist Welsh teachers have prepared a scheme of work for primary schools, which the Authority readily published and distributed to the schools. They have also run many courses to train the teachers to handle the scheme. The scheme is not perfect, and many of the teachers using it are not language teachers. But it does ensure a serious attempt to teach the language in the English schools.

One important development is that the Authority has now extended its language policy to include the Infants' Departments and schemes designed for children of 5-7 years of age are now being worked out.

It has at last been recognised that languages can be successfully taught only if they are used in communication. In the case of Welsh in the English schools, this must mean ultimately its use as a medium in them also. In Glamorgan and elsewhere, a few schools have been chosen for pilot schemes for using Welsh as a medium in the few months between the 11+ examination and moving up to the next school.
The advent of the language laboratory on the Welsh scene also underlines the fact that a language is something to be *spoken*. There is little audio-visual or audio-lingual material yet available for Welsh, but the problem of producing it is being actively faced. The Department of Education of Aberystwyth University College is active in the matter, certain Teachers' Training Colleges are also experimenting in this field and Welsh teachers within reach of language laboratories are busily preparing their own material. Last year, the Welsh Department of the Ministry of Education called a conference to discuss the same problem.

In May, 1964 a three-team working party was set up by the Central Advisory Council for Wales to enquire into the Welsh language in the primary schools. One is to investigate the present situation, the second to investigate the supply, training, and deployment of teachers and other educational staff in primary education in Wales, and the third to look into the curriculum and organisation of primary schools.

There is, therefore much activity going on, which may revolutionise the teaching of Welsh in the English schools in the near future. One thing is certain: Welsh cannot remain much longer the Cinderella of the English-medium schools nor will the temper of the nation continue to tolerate the sending out of their pupils inadequately equipped or not equipped at all with the historic language.

*Bilingualism in Wales.* The word 'bilingualism' has been bandied about Wales for a very long time. If one presses for a definition one commonly hears reference to the example of Switzerland whose 'bilingualism' is misunderstood in Wales, for it is taken to mean that every normal individual leaves school equally fluent in at least two languages. In terms of Wales, it is taken to mean that everybody should have equal grasp of Welsh and English.

This concept is a dangerous one, and if pressed too rigorously could cause the final annihilation of Welsh. For many educators are led to assume that English must be introduced into schools in Welsh districts at the same time as Welsh in anglicised areas. But the two languages are not in a position of parity in the life of the country; if they were, something might be said for such a scheme. But even in the remoter Welsh districts, the children come early into contact with English, through radio, television etc., and soon pick it up, whereas Welsh may not be heard at all in the English districts. Parity for the two languages in the education system, therefore, makes it imperative that Welsh should be introduced to the English speaking child early – in the nursery school, if possible, – while English should be delayed in schools in Welsh areas until the child's 10th or 11th year, so that he is well grounded in Welsh first.
Welsh parents are also beginning to ask with whom will the two languages be used if everybody can speak both equally well. It is a commonplace that no one habitually used two languages with the same persons. They choose, and a bilingual system that will not ensure that all who speak Welsh will have a preference for it will be as unsatisfactory and as dangerous to its survival as the monolingual English system we have suffered so long. That is, confronted with someone who speaks both Welsh and English, natives of Wales must naturally choose Welsh as their medium of communication.

Welsh people have not yet realised the difference between bilingualism in individuals and in the community. It is not true that we are heirs of two cultures as we have been told for so long. If we were, we would be schizophrenic. We are heirs of the historic culture of Wales of which the Welsh language is the creator and the repository. The English language gives us a window on to English culture, nothing more. Wales is historically a monolingual, Welsh speaking community; it must become so again.

This is not to say that individual Welsh people should not be bi- or even multi-lingual. Denmark has already been mentioned in this article. Any visitor to Denmark cannot but be impressed by the fact that individual Danes often speak several languages fluently; yet, confronted with other Danes, and removed even momentarily from the need to speak another language with a foreign guest, they slide instinctively into Danish. Individual Danes are frequently multi-lingual. Denmark is a monolingual nation. Nothing less can justly resolve the language problem of Wales. We are willing, as individuals to learn English as a second language, and to learn it well, but the first language of everybody born within the borders of Wales must be Welsh. It is a goal that will not be quickly achieved, and its permanent success requires political action, but it is a goal towards which Welsh patriots must press unswervingly if the future of the language is to be secured. Success depends, not only upon giving the language its rightful place in our system of education, but also its rightful status in the life of the country.

*Welsh in the Life of Wales.* After the 1536 Act of Incorporation, Welsh simply did not exist in the official life of the country. It is significant that it is not until the nineteenth century that Welsh inscriptions began to appear on gravestones and not until the latter part of the same century that the Nonconformist chapels, pillars of the Welsh language though they were, ceased to announce themselves in English. Inscriptions such as 'Bethlehem, Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Chapel, Built 1860' are common above their doors. Common also are later, significant additions such as 'Ail-adeiladwyd 1895' i.e. Rebuilt, 1895.

In 1925 the Welsh Nationalist Party, now called Plaid Cymru, was found-
This is a political party pledged to secure Dominion Status for Wales within the Commonwealth. That is its official policy. Many individual members, however, want complete independance from England. The Nationalist movement has not yet been very successful at the polls, mainly because the two major English Parties, the Conservatives and Socialists have combined to refuse it access to those powerful instruments of propaganda radio and television at election time, despite constant pressure from all shades of political opinion in Wales. They only yielded last year granting *five minutes* only and even then they refused to allow the concession to come into force during the last election. It came into force on September 29th of this year.

The Nationalist Party attaches great importance to the Welsh language and is determined that in a free Wales it shall be acceeded its rightful place. Large numbers of its members are English-speaking, but they support its language policy warmly, learn the language themselves and send their children to Welsh schools.

The Nationalists have always realised that the problem of the language is political, deriving from the fact that it is banned by English Law, and they have called for many years for equal status for it with English in Wales. They have always supported movements on its behalf whether initiated by themselves or by others.

The agitation on behalf of the language has suddenly 'hotted up' in recent years, led mainly by Nationalist members of the student bodies and young lecturers at the University. It is one of the most obvious features of the Welsh scene at the present time.

The first agitation to secure official recognition for Welsh began just before the second World War. A petition was organised for the purpose. A representative cross-section of the nation in English and Welsh districts, was canvassed and a large number of signatures collected. Few refused to sign, and even some English settlers in Wales lent their support. The Petition was presented to the Government, but the only result, after the usual delay, was the Welsh Courts Act of 1942. This gave to Welshmen who elected to plead in Welsh in a court of law the right to an interpreter paid by the State. This Act was introduced in the English manner by a fanfare as an important and generous concession. Actually, it simply gave to Welsh parity in Wales with, such foreign languages as Chinese, Russian Arabic etc. For, whereas formerly foreign nationals could claim as of right to use their language in the courts with the aid of an interpreter paid by the State, a Welshman could use Welsh in Wales by favour of the judge only and had to pay his interpreter himself. Even now the judge can, and frequently does, refuse a Welsh man the right to use Welsh in court, if in
the judge's opinion his English is good enough, for the Act gives only a Welshman the right to plead in Welsh if his English is not equal to it.

The farcical nature of the situation was brought to light in 1936 when three prominent Welsh Nationalists burnt an English R.A.F. Bombing School in Wales. The men were: an eminent Baptist minister, a University lecturer in Welsh, and a Grammar School teacher, a Welsh writer of renown. All three sought to plead in Welsh, but only the teacher was allowed to do so, on the grounds that he was the only one who had not been heard to speak English. Yet the court authorities could not but have known that this man was the specialist teacher of English at his school!

For many years, Welsh patriots have done the small things on behalf of the language, like addressing letters in Welsh or addressing telephone operators in Welsh. These efforts usually met with considerable rudeness from operators and refusals to put the calls through; letters were prone to be 'lost in the Post' or else reached their destination days or even weeks late and covered with pencilled injunctions to 'try' here and there. The peregrinations of some of these letters were unbelievable and the most improbable places 'tried'. Protests to the Postmaster General elicited apologies, undertakings to 'look into' the matter, declarations that postal staffs had orders to accept letters directed in Welsh and that lists of Welsh place names were available to them all. But the delays and the futile 'trying' went on. Welsh agitation has secured some concessions, however. Census forms are obtainable in Welsh; the Welsh Department of the Ministry of Education has published its Reports in both languages almost from the beginning; Government reports on other aspects of Welsh life may be published in both languages; the Highway Code and certain agricultural forms are obtainable in Welsh; National Savings posters are issued in Welsh.

But much play is made of the fact that the Welsh versions are rarely called for. There are reasons for this:

1. No publicity is given to the existence of these Welsh versions; many people, therefore do not know of their existence. Census form distributors commonly bring only the English version with them. The Welsh version has to be specially asked for, often in the midst of a great fuss and efforts to persuade the Welsh speaker not to cause inconvenience.

2. The Welsh of most official forms is often execrable and even more difficult to understand than the English ones. There is no reason for this, Welsh can be written with a clarity easily understood by the least intelligent, whatever the subject.

3. For over 90 years the Welshman's education has conditioned him to think of everything official in terms of the English language, and brain
washed him to the point where he is reluctant to use Welsh, and regards an admission that he would prefer Welsh as an admission of his own ignorance. Part of the task before Welsh patriots is to re-educate the Welsh people in the use of their language in official communications and to restore their pride and self-respect with regard to it. An interesting development was apparent at the last Census. An appreciable number of people in the anglicised areas admitted to a knowledge of Welsh only. This is certainly a movement among the educated, professional classes. It will be interesting to watch the development of this trend and its effect upon the common people of the Welsh districts where an inferiority complex regarding the language is strongest.

For the 1964 General Election, Welsh versions of Nomination Forms were made available. This is the outcome of a legal battle in 1962 when a Nationalist at a local election in Carmarthenshire filled his Nomination Form in Welsh. The Returning Officer pronounced the Form illegal and declared the other candidate elected. The rejected candidate, a local farmer, carried the case to the High court. It was heard before judges, one of whom was of Irish extraction, who treated the Welshman's case with surprising sympathy. 'It is a little late to treat the Welsh as tribesmen', he remarked the latter in the course of the hearing. The Welsh nomination form was declared legal and the judge's pronouncement on the right to use Welsh was couched in such general terms that it left the door ajar to a wide use of the language for official purposes. It will be our duty to push the door open.

It is still rather a pleasant surprise when anyone connected with the English legal and administrative system in Wales shows respect for the Welsh language. It was considered news by a Welsh weekly paper in August, 1964, that a magistrates' court at Rhyl had adopted what the paper called 'a reasonable and fair attitude towards the language'. The defendant had asked that his case be heard in Welsh and all concerned had co-operated readily, even translating the evidence of three non-Welsh speaking witnesses. At the end, the magistrate had expressed his pleasure at this co-operation in holding the court in Welsh and said that his court possessed all the necessary means for using Welsh to the full. 'What a splendid statement' comments the paper, 'and what a pity that the same readiness to hear a case in Welsh is not forthcoming all over our country'.

Some people have suffered much inconvenience in their struggle for the right to use Welsh officially. Some years ago, a Carmarthenshire coal-miner and his wife refused to pay their rates unless the demand note was bilingual. The Labour local council refused their request — this in a Welsh speaking district — and sent the bailiffs repeatedly to the house to con-
fiscate articles of furniture in lieu of the rates. The affair dragged on for years, and attracted much attention. While the struggle was going on, other local councils received similar requests and began issuing bilingual Rates Demands. In the Carmarthenshire case, the Council gave way only when the local M.P. (Mr. James Griffiths, now Secretary of State for Wales) at last intervened, concerned, it would seem, not at the injustice to the language, but at the ill repute the affair was giving the Labour Party.

About four years ago, a group of young adults formed a society called Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh language Society), to press by every means for official recognition of Welsh. Its first act was to organise a minor act of lawbreaking to provoke summonses, which it was intended to disobey until they were issued in Welsh. The members stuck bills voicing their demands on the Post Office and other places in Aberystwyth, where to do so was illegal. The police held aloof, so the group proceeded to block traffic on a busy road by a sit-down strike. By this time the town roughs were out and began provoking the sitters, even throwing some of the young women bodily against walls. Some motorists in their irritation tried to drive over the sitters. The affair gradually developed into a mêlée which, when shown on the television screen, looked remarkably like a small version of the Belgian language riots. The police merely looked on and their behaviour caused much criticism in the country. Ultimately, some of the members succeeded in provoking summonses and duly demanded Welsh versions. The town magistrates timidly requested the Home Secretary's ruling in the matter and there was a long delay.

Meanwhile, one of the Secretaries of the Movement, a young Oxford student, left his car without lights on a Cardiff road. A summons duly arrived and was returned with a polite request for a Welsh version. Cardiff magistrates consulted a member of the city's legal staff who declared a Welsh version legal and undertook to provide a translation. This was indeed a historic occasion. The Cardiff magistrates forced the hand of the Home Secretary, who now perforce advised Aberystwyth magistrates that they were free to do as they liked in the matter!

Those in official position are slow to accede victory to the Welsh language, however. In the spring of this year, a young member of the Welsh Language Society had a long struggle with the clerk to the magistrates of Neath, a town in Glamorgan, over a summons concerning a motoring offence. The young man refused an English summons and the clerk refused to send a Welsh one. The upshot was that the young man was fined, but refused to pay. At this point the Society appealed to the Secretary of State for Wales after having earlier announced its intention of supporting its
member by militant means if he was imprisoned for his refusal to pay. Mr. James Griffiths' private secretary replied to the Society that the present legal position is that magistrates have a legal right to issue a summons in Welsh but they have no obligation to do so. With regard to the possibility of changing the law, the reply refers to the committee set up to consider the legal status of the Welsh language, and whether the law should be changed in any way. When the Report of the Committee is received, the letter goes on to say 'this will be an opportunity to review the whole legal position of the Welsh language'.

Early in August, 1964, the Welsh language Society once more did a symbolic act, this time to draw attention to the way Welsh place names are mutilated on official signposts. Just prior to the important annual national festival, the National Eisteddfod, society members went secretly to Tre-Fin, the Pembrokeshire birthplace of a recent Archdruid of Wales, and removed the signposts which read 'Trevine', putting correctly spelled ones in their places. The villagers, 90% of them Welsh speaking, were pleased with the exchange, but the police began to 'make enquiries'. When the Eisteddfod opened, the confiscated signs were displayed at the Society's stand on the field, together with copies of its correspondence with the clerk of Pembrokeshire County Council, which showed that he had no intention of acceding to the Society's request for correctly spelled signs. The Society's letters were in Welsh, that of the clerk in English.

The Society has already issued leaflets urging its members to use Welsh in all circumstances: to fill income tax forms, address letters, speak on the telephone, fill cheques and many other things, all in Welsh. It has asked banks to issue Welsh cheque books, and has received the stock English reply: 'Impracticable'. Some banks have, however, since shown signs that they are prepared to make limited concessions, possibly as a result of the Society's announcement that it would issue its own cheque books to members! It has circulated Local Authorities, in Welsh of course, asking how many answer Welsh letters in Welsh. Some have replied in Welsh, others in English, others have not deigned to reply at all.

Such actions are infectious. Before the 1964 National Eisteddfod, the Postmaster-General was approached by the Conservative M.P. for Barry, one of the best of the Welsh Members of Parliament, with a request that a special stamp be issued to mark the National Eisteddfod. Naturally, the request was refused. Nationalists took up the challenge, and overstamped 3d stamps with the word 'Cymru' (Wales) which they sold in great numbers on the Eisteddfod field. Post Officials declared such stamps illegal.

The Archdruid is head of the Gorsedd, an organisation closely linked with the Eisteddfod.
But they were sent all over Britain. One individual claimed that he had actually sent a letter to the Postmaster-General himself bearing one of these stamps, and that it had been accepted without question!

This hardening of the temper of Welsh speakers about the language has already had an effect on Post Office and telephone circles. Letters addressed in Welsh now get to their destination without delay, and telephone operators are mending their manners. A letter in the Welsh Press some months ago described how the writer had asked for his number in Welsh as usual at his Cardiff home and, instead of the usual fuss, he had been civilly answered in the same language. When he expressed pleasure at this unexpected convenience, the operator answered that he had been engaged because of the increased use of Welsh on the telephone in the area.

Yet another way of drawing attention to the inferior status of the Welsh language in Wales has been taken by certain young parents during the present calendar year. Some weeks before the expected birth of their child some young parents have written to the Registrar General asking permission to register their expected child's birth in Welsh. The reply has each time been that the birth must be registered in English. On the child's birth, some of the parents have duly given the local registrar the required details of the child's birth in Welsh, only to have the document disowned as illegal by Somerset House. One young mother was fined 10/- together with £5 15 0d., costs at Aberystwyth on September 8th of this year because she still refused to register the birth of her seven-months old son until permitted to do so in the Welsh language. Last March a neighbour of hers was fined for the same 'offence'. In May, Somerset House made one small concession when they allowed a Bangor couple to include in Welsh the name of the hospital at which their daughter was born! The child's father took the view that in permitting the hospital's name to appear in Welsh, Somerset House had established a precedent for the further use of the Welsh language in registration of births, marriages and deaths, and he commented 'This concession may be a mere crumb but the inferior status of the Welsh language in Wales remains an insult to our nation and should stimulate further efforts to win elementary linguistic rights'.

The gains, of course, have been small and there is a long struggle ahead. Already the overprinted stamps have caused the Western Mail, an English paper published in Cardiff (one of the Thompson group of papers), to indulge in near-obscenity in its attempt to ridicule such action. The Welsh speaker has been a despised second class citizen in his own land so long that it is going to be hard for the English Establishment to realise that he means to be such no longer.

They will not give way easily; for nothing is more annoying to the En-
lish ruling class than to accord rights to languages other than English in territories under their control. A fundamental article of faith to these people is that English is destined to go on increasing for ever, while other languages disappear before its advance. To be compelled to yield political freedom to nations has been bad enough, but the idea that English must recede in favour of a 'small' language hits their very vitals. And when the 'small' language shares the same island as their own, to accord it even its most elementary rights is even more painful.

Perhaps the most dramatic incident in the whole struggle for the Welsh language of recent years was an affair which took place at a small light-engineering works in Blaenau, Ffestiniog, North Wales, in June of this year. In an area where 95% of the population are Welsh-speaking the manager demanded that the workers should sign an undertaking to speak only English inside the factory on pain of dismissal. Welsh was not allowed even during tea break. Two men immediately refused and were instantly dismissed.

The indignation inside the town and throughout Wales was intense and some lively demonstrations were staged outside the factory gates. The M.P. for the locality and the workers' trade union were called in to defend the rights of the workers to use their own language at all times in their own country. Finally the Secretary of State for Wales was asked to intervene. The upshot of the affair was that the tyrannical manager was obliged to reconsider his decision in face of the strength of the opposition.

The affair has been beneficial in its effects upon Welsh people and their opponents. It has roused ordinary Welsh people to vigorous action in defence of their language and helped strengthen their self respect as well as showing opponents of the language the strength of the feeling for it despite all the efforts made to weaken the people's allegiance to it.

The agitation for official recognition has at least procured the setting up, by the Central Advisory Council for Wales, of a Committee of Three, known familiarly in Wales as Sir David Hughes Parry's Committee, to take evidence on the question and to prepare a recommendation on the subject. Sir David Hughes Parry, a Welshman, is a legal expert who has been for many years a Professor of Law in the University of London and was, at his retirement, Vice-Chancellor of that University.

At the time of writing, the recommendation of the Committee has not yet been published, though it is now in the hands of the Minister of State for Welsh affairs. A newspaper report on the 14th of September claims that the Committee has recommended that the Welsh language should be given officially an equal status with the English language in the legal, administrative, and everyday life of Wales.
If this is so, the Committee claims no more than the most elementary inalienable rights for the Welsh language and the Welsh people. But it is difficult to believe that the recommendation will be implemented without a struggle. The Secretary of State for Wales himself is believed in many quarters in Wales to be cool to the idea of equal status for Welsh with English in Wales and a number of Welsh M.P.'s are expected to oppose it. This if true is not surprising, since the Labour Party in Wales has been for most of its history a de-nationalizing factor in the life of the country; moreover, subjection as complete as Wales has suffered for the past four centuries does not leave a people unscarred.

From the English point of view, to accede official status to the Welsh language in Wales will be a revolutionary act, even more revolutionary then was the granting of home-rule to Ireland at the height of their imperial pomp. No sea divides Wales and England; recognition of our rights means, for England, learning to share the island with neighbours, something she has never done with any grace and not done at all for centuries.

The Labour Government if it survives long enough, can of course refuse to give Welsh equality of status with English in Wales, and by so doing will reveal the unreality of its claim to be considered a Socialist Party. But it will merely stave off the inevitable. The Welshman has nothing to lose but his chains. Our gains have been small and undramatic, but they have given us a foothold from which to make further advances and they have strengthened the nation's morale. We claim no more than the elementary, inalienable rights of human beings and human communities. We shall struggle on until those rights are ours.