# *Freedom . . .*
# *Publications*

*

1. "*Towards Welsh Freedom*", Dr. D. J. Davies's Memorial Volume. 27 articles and Biography. Edited by Dr. Ceinwen Thomas, 12/6.
2. "*Towards an Economic Democracy*" by D. J. Davies (1949), 2/- (Postage, 2d.).
3. "*Can Wales Afford Self-Government?*" by D. J. and Noelle Davies (1939), 2/- (Postage, 4.)
4. "*Our Three Nations: Wales: Scotland: England*" (1956) 2/6 (Postage, 4d.).
5. "*Policy for Welsh Agriculture*" (In Welsh, "*Polisi Amaethyddol Plaid Cymru*") (1954) 6d. (Postage 2d.).
6. "*The Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism*" (In Welsh, "*Seiliau Hanesyddol Cenedlaetholdeb Cyrmru*") 7/6 (Postage8d.)
7. "*Electricity Board for Wales*" (1956) 1/- (Postage, 2d.).
8. "*T.V. in Wales*" (1958), Gwynfor Evans and J. E. Jones 6d. (Postage, 2d.).
9. "*Which Way to Freedom?*" by Gene Sharp 1/- (Postage, 2d.).
10. "*The Lessons of Tryweryn*" by Gwynfor Evans 1/- (Postage 2d.).

---

("*Y Ddraig Goch*", 3d. monthly, and "*The Welsh Nation*", 3d. monthly, carry economic and social articles and notes).

From booksellers or direct from:

**PLAID CYMRU, 8, QUEEN ST., CARDIFF**

VOL I. No. 3. SPRING, 1958.

# TRIBAN

ROY LEWIS
J. PARRY LEWIS
Dr. D. J. DAVIES

2/6

ESSAYS ON WELSH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

# Our Contributors

**Mr. Roy Lewis** is the only newcomer to *Triban* in this number. He was born in Cheshire, England and discovered Wales through the writings of Mr. Saunders Lewis and the late Dr. D. J. Davies: he came here for the first time in 1945 and took root. After learning Welsh as assistant in Cardiff's short-lived Siop-y-Castell he was appointed S. E. Wales organiser of Plaid Cymru. Then he studied, belatedly, at Bangor University College and in Paris, and now lectures in French at University College, Swansea.

**Mr. J. Parry Lewis** and the late **Dr. D. J. Davies** were both contributors to our first number. All interested in Welsh matters will welcome the publication of a collection of Dr. Davies's essays. The volume *Towards Welsh Freedom* contains a biography by the Editor, Dr. Ceinwen Thomas and 27 of "D. J's" articles on political, philosophical, economic and miscellaneous subjects. The price is 12/6.

**Price per issue, 2/6; 5/- per annum, post free**


# TRIBAN

A BI-ANNUAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 1 SPRING, 1958 NO. 3


## EDITORIAL

### A WELSH ECONOMIC MILESTONE

IT would indeed be strange were this number of *Triban* to pass by uncommented and uncommended the work of Dr. Edward Nevin and his Economic Research Group on *The Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy*. The publication of their two studies on the years 1948-1956 provides us with one of the most important works on the Welsh Economy ever published.

In November 1950 the Executive Committee of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research decided to initiate a project called 'An Examination of British Economic Statistics.' Its main object was

> '*the investigation of the statistical information* (*a*) *required for, or* (*b*) *actually used or available for, the formulation of economic policy in the United Kingdom.*'

As a result of this decision Carter and Roy published their *British Economic Statistics* in 1954.

One of the difficulties encountered at that juncture was the scarcity of material on certain areas or regions, their incomes, values of their product, and patterns of expenditure. Thus, detailed policy and the soundness of treating certain areas as special development areas was handicapped. Carter and Roy referred to two attempts to overcome these difficulties:

> 'There are grave difficulties in assigning income to particular areas, because the usual primary source of information is from tax collection, and taxes are often collected in places different from those in which income first arises. Two inquiries in progress at the Department of Applied Economics, Cambridge, are likely to give significant help. One is an attempt to construct, so far as possible, regional social accounts (by standard regions of the United Kingdom); the other is an experiment designed to find, by sampling, the main elements of the social accounts of a single county. But it will clearly be some time before the methodology so established can be successfully applied to a number of other areas.'

The work done at Aberystwyth is another attempt in the same direction, and even the harshest critics would readily admit the value and reliability of the detail tables, and that the Summary Table and Introductory Notes allow us to define more readily those fields where more precise information is unavoidably essential.

The subject of the Quality of Economic Statistics has received a great deal of investigation in recent years, and we can take it that Dr. Nevin's team are well-versed in this problem of accuracy: indeed, if their work had done nothing else, we must welcome its contribution towards "descriptions of method and discussions of reliability." Were this task merely a bold experiment in organising Welsh material on a general basis of Central Statistical Office definitions, we would be deeply in their debt.

But while recognising some of the admitted imperfections (and a most able reviewer has underlined these in this number of *Triban*), one cannot but recognise their measure of success in assembling the inadequate statistical material within tolerable margins of error. For all those genuinely interested in the levels and performance of the Welsh economy, these Accounts will take their place honourably besides HMSO *Digest of Welsh Statistics* and the valuable if ignored *Memoranda* of The Council for Wales. They are the basis of the future Welsh Budget, and even at the present day can make an invaluable "contribution to the formulation and evaluation of economic policy in Wales."

In the second number of the Accounts a number of significant improvements have been made. For instance, the reliance on U.K. averages for the calculation of the value of Welsh output—a frequent handicap in the first number—has been reduced to less than 10% in calculating the total gross national product. A great deal of new data has been acquired, and one can foresee the foundation of a Central Statistical Office for Wales and the incorporation of these Accounts with the Digest of Welsh Statistics: at least, priceless experience has been gained, and many problems settled without recourse to precedent.

## HIDDEN UNEMPLOYMENT

Both Dr. Nevin in the *Bulletin of the Oxford Univ. Inst. of Statistics*, February 1956, and Miss Elizabeth Alexander and Mr. Gareth Richards in their very interesting series of articles in the *Welsh Nation* 1957 (March, April, May) draw our attention to the smaller proportion of the female population in Wales engaged in economic activity than in the rest of the United Kingdom: in 1952, Wales 19 per cent, U.K. 28 per cent. This is a case of hidden unemployment in Wales, and with other more important factors





will, perhaps, account for wages per head being higher in Wales than in England. (The main reason of course is the higher proportion of wage-earners in Wales, and the fact that Wales depends more than England on primary production, like mining and agriculture; and such production is not financially lucrative.)

There can be two reasons for the relative under-employment of Welsh women. The main reason is undoubtedly the greater lack of opportunities for female work: there are thousands of Welsh *married* women who are to all intents and purposes unemployed if compared with English conditions, and these we often forget when considering our high level of unemployment. This deficiency is roundly to be condemned. On the other hand, another reason for the under-employment may be the social habits of Welsh society. But I have great doubts whether this particular factor plays more than a very slight part in the problem.

Whether such social prejudice is to be praised is another matter and a subject for sociological research. An entertaining little social study was carried out by a teacher on a small scale some time ago and the results recorded in *The Times Educational Supplement* Nov. 23, 1956. The survey was made for mathematical reasons, but the results were socially edifying: to the ambitious question 'What is your dearest wish?' the answers came:

> 'Among them were, "for my mother not to go out to work," "to live in the country," "to move into a better house." Forty-nine mothers out of 100 had full-time jobs, and one might wonder why this was necessary when families were small, fathers at work, and rents low. The explanation, perhaps, lay in the purchase of television sets, the amount of pocket money spent, and the number of cinema visits. I inferred that the children wanted their mother more than they wanted these things . . . Two years later, when I repeated the survey, two facts emerged. First, there had been a rise in general prosperity. Forty now had television (instead of 21), pocket money had risen to 4s. 3d. (from 4s.), and 246 comics were bought every week (instead of 60). Secondly, 52 mothers were now going out to work. These facts, it appeared to me, were connected. Eighteen of the girls were watching television regularly, and the numbers of borrowers from the public library, therefore, had dropped from 40 to 29.'

The solution of the enforced under-employment of Welsh women is socially a debatable matter. But social habits would certainly permit much to be done to provide opportunities for young married women without children who are at present prejudiced in their attempt to find employment (e.g. some authorities

will not consider employing married women because of the glut of unemployed unmarried). We are indebted to the Aberystwyth team for drawing our attention to this potential of Welsh human resources.

The difference between Wales and England in this field naturally leads us to consider the consistently high general unemployment rate in Wales as compared with England and the lower average productivity of the labour force in Wales. In studying these figures one inevitably concludes that the only remedy for many of these difficulties is a national policy for Wales, whereby the emphasis of production may be moved to the manufacturing sectors of industry and primary industries more efficiently integrated with dependent industries. One is struck here—as when considering so many things, like depopulation, traditional political bias, relief, the industrial structure, land quality, language, standard of living, health, education, religion and so on—that Wales once again is a definite clearly-cut *unit*, a social and economic unit, a unit entirely different from Gloucestershire, Shropshire and Cheshire, her border counties. It is a historical unit that demands inherently to be considered administratively *as a unit*. By incompetently ignoring this need, successive Governments are closing their eyes to a grave and formidable reality.

## TURKEYS FOR HIGH TABLES

Some reviewers spent their time shooting down supposed or possible omissions from these Social Accounts. Amongst the hunted were persons or companies that generated their incomes in Wales but whose incomes were assessed in England, income from banking, insurance, even the currency income from the tourist industry and the value of dollar exchange and hard currencies from the exports of Welsh products.

One economic export, however, that has necessarily been ignored in these tables and yet has escaped unscathed is the substantial export of fat, well-dressed, well-educated Welsh people.

This particular product is accounted for under expenditure but not included under the national income, as these people usually do not become productive until they leave Wales. But Wales has performed the essential social service of producing them for England. If we use the analogy of a machine, made in Wales, unproductive there, but moved to England where it starts its work, we can realise that they are a necessary economic product and export that possibly would not exist were the pattern of the Welsh economy re-orientated. These tables are used to contrast Welsh and English Gross National Products, to measure Welsh wealth and so on; and in that case, this omission is rather misleading, if unavoidable.



# IMMIGRATION AND THE WELSH LANGUAGE

J. PARRY LEWIS

THE proposals to import English labour to assist the economic development of Anglesey have lately aroused considerable controversy. The purpose of this article is not to discuss these proposals, either in detail or even more broadly, but rather to point to a lesson which is to be learned from another period when we imported labour, and to consider the impact of such labour movements on the Welsh language.

We have heard a great deal about the mass exodus of the twenties and thirties, when depression resulted in an unprecedented emigration from Wales: but the people who talk of this rarely relate it to the phenomenal increase of population which took place in the earlier years. The rapid growth of population which was a feature of the nineteenth century reached its peak rate in England and Scotland during the seventies: but in Wales the rate of population growth accelerated for three more decades until, in the first decade of this century, the population went up by twenty per cent —twice as fast as in England and three times as fast as in Scotland. Between 1911 and 1921 Wales, with an increase of ten per cent, again grew at double the English rate and treble the Scottish.

This increase of population, from 1,163,000 in 1851 to 1,771,000 in 1891, and then to 2,656,000 in 1921, was due almost entirely to the vast immigration to the coal and iron industries, which drew not only the Welshman from the land but also the Englishman, the Irishman and others from a variety of occupations. They came to industries which had long existed in Wales, but which were now expanding at a furious rate to meet the demands for coal, iron and steel which arose from the construction and operation of railways, the development of the steamship, and the use of steam-power more generally. It is probably no exaggeration to say that the course of Welsh economic development for a period of at least sixty years was set by the application of steam to locomotion on land and sea.

In the inter-war years, a change which had begun even earlier soon developed at an alarming pace. Oil was replacing coal. Foreign competition was hitting the iron and steel industry, largely through the tin-plate industry. Quite apart from these specific blows to the Welsh economy, which was so tied to these two industries, there were signs of a more general depression. Such, however, was the impact on the main industries of Wales that between 1921 and 1931, when the population of England increased

by six per cent, the Welsh population actually fell by two per cent. As collieries and metal-works closed, and high unemployment forced people to seek work in England and abroad, the population fell further. Considerable attention has rightly been paid to this large scale emigration, but it should not be divorced from a study of the rapid immigration of the previous decades. It was precisely because so many people had come to Wales, to work in industries whose development had been so rapid and precarious, that so many had later to leave. The growth of Welsh population had so far exceeded its natural rate that, in 1931, when emigration was already well under way, the Welsh population was still two-thirds larger than it had been in 1881, while the English population was only one-half larger and the Scottish only one-third. By 1939, when emigration had slackened so that it barely equalled natural increase, the Welsh population was still 57 per cent larger than in 1881, compared with 60 per cent for England and 34 per cent for Scotland.

A lesson to be learned from these facts is that an attempt to expand an economy through the use of immigrant labour may not only bring a greater immediate prosperity but may also accentuate any subsequent depression. Whether, when the rough is taken with the smooth, the economy benefits in the long run is a problem which depends on far too many factors for it to be answered here. It is, however, clear that while immigration may bring considerable benefits it may also have serious consequences later on unless it is carefully planned. If there is an area of great unemployment, and the people are reluctant to move to a different area, then there is something to be said for providing alternative employment in that area for those who are already unemployed, or who are likely to be unemployed before long. This is just what was done in the Development Areas, where some of the new industries have by now secured their foundations, and are able to expand quite naturally, often attracting labour from elsewhere. On the other hand, when a deliberate attempts is made to attract labour from elsewhere in order, not simply to provide work for the local, *but* generally to develop the economic prosperity of the area, there is an obligation to ensure (as far as possible) that the industries being developed are not of the kind that are likely to be closed at the first whisper of bad times, or to be so dependent upon a small number of large consumers that one or two inventions might radically reduce the demand for their product. If this obligation is met, then the economy may well benefit from quite a large immigration.

## LANGUAGE STATISTICS

Sometimes, however, there is a tendency to forget that the economic prosperity of a country may be at the expense of some





other national asset which it is difficult (or even impossible) to measure in economic terms. One of the consequences of the immigration into Wales in the nineteenth century, and the first decade of the twentieth, was the decline of the Welsh language. I am not attempting to say that there were no other factors contributing to this decline, or that any future immigration must have the same effect, but one need only consider the development of Glamorgan around the turn of the century to see the truth of this remark. More recently we have the case of Anglesey. In 1931 roughly eight per cent of the people enumerated in this county were English-born: by 1951 the percentage had almost doubled. Here is a county which had a population in 1911 of 51,000, of whom 89 per cent spoke Welsh.* Ten years later, with a population of 52,000, the percentage speaking Welsh was only 85 per cent. In 1931 the population had fallen by 3,000 and the percentage speaking Welsh rose to 87. But in 1951, when the population was once again 51,000 (as it was in 1911) the percentage speaking Welsh was down to under 80 (compared with 89 in 1911), and if the past experience of other counties is to apply, there is little doubt that the children of the eight thousand English-born inhabitants enumerated in 1951 will tend to reduce this percentage still further.

The table below shows the proportion of persons in various age-groups recorded as speaking Welsh in recent Census years. It is clear that there has been a marked decline in the use of the language, with an increasing tendency for Welsh to be a language of old men. Possibly because of the war, the proportion of people born between 1897 and 1906 able to speak Welsh in 1921 (i.e. when they were aged between 15 and 24) was lower than it was in 1911 (when the same people were aged 5 to 14). *But of people born between* 1907 *and* 1916, *a higher percentage was able to speak Welsh in* 1931 *than in* 1921, *probably because the emigration which was then taking place was chiefly from the more Anglicised areas.* Other changes involving comparable age-groups are shown by printing devices.

**Wales: Percentage of each Age Group recorded as Speaking Welsh, 1911-51**

| Age | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 | 1951 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3— 4 ... ... ... | 30.4 | 26.7 | 22.1 | 14.5 |
| 5— 9 ... ... ... | (36.2) | 29.4 | **26.6** | 20.1 |
| 10—14 ... ... ... | (39.7) | 32.2 | **30.4** | 22.2 |
| 15—24 ... ... ... | (40.6) | (34.5) | **33.5** | 22.8 |
| 25—44 ... ... ... | [44.0] | 36.9 | (37.4) | **27.4** |
| 45—64 ... ... ... | 52.9 | 44.9 | [44.2] | (35.4) |
| 65 and over ... ... | 60.2 | 51.9 | 49.9 | 40.7 |
| Total aged 3 or over ... | 43.5 | 37.1 | 36.8 | 28.9 |

* i.e. 89% of those aged 3 or over.

Many of the changes can be related to war and population movements, as is evident from a study of similar tales for separate counties: but it would be wrong to imply that the cessation of migration, by itself, would ensure the survival of the Welsh language. We might well ask,

> "*What would happen to the Welsh language if there were no more emigration or immigration, and if all the people speaking Welsh in* 1951 *continued to speak it, but nobody, other than the young, was actually taught the language?*"

A rough answer to this question may be obtained as follows. We can estimate how many persons aged 5-24 in 1951 will be alive in 1971 to form the age-group 25-44, and how many of these will be speaking Welsh, on the assumption that no-one born between 1927 and 1946 either starts to learn Welsh or forgets it between 1951 and 1971. A calculation on these lines suggests that in 1971 about 22 per cent of the people aged 25 to 44 will be speaking Welsh, compared with 27.4 per cent in 1951 and 37.4 per cent in 1931. Children in Wales tend to start school rather younger than in England, and to stay until a later age . . . . and this has been so for many years . . . . but a country which has so long placed such stress on education has not yet solved the problem of the survival of its own language.

As the aged bilinguals die, the proportion of Welsh-speakers is almost bound to fall. Immigration of English people and emigration of Welsh-speakers will contribute to the decline. Welsh-speaking people who marry English people often make no attempt to teach their children Welsh, and sometimes children with two Welsh-speaking parents have little knowledge of the language. Welsh lessons and other programmes on the radio do something to stimulate interest and to slow down the decline. The attitude in the schools varies. In the grammar school examinations do not allow much time to be devoted to the subject, which tends to be taught as a foreign language and is quickly forgotten. In the absence of adequate instruction at home, the best place to lay the foundation of the language is probably in the first few years of school, before the pressure of entrance-examinations cramps the curriculum. Given a determined policy, there is no real reason why children should not be able to speak Welsh almost as well as they speak English by the time that they enter upon their secondary education. The number of bilingual children with a good all-round educational performance is an adequate guarantee that their education need not suffer. Although each country has its own peculiar circumstances, and parallels must not be interpreted too exactly, experience in Eire and Israel illustrates that with a determined effort on the part of the Education Authorities it is possible





not only to arrest the decline of a language, but even to stimulate its growth. If economic development requires extensive immigration, then this inevitably becomes more difficult, but it is still possible to prevent the death of the language.

In this article I have touched upon a number of points, and it may be as well to sum up the matter rather briefly. In the past, economic development has sometimes been based on shaky foundations and later led to more serious distress than would otherwise have been the case; but a planned immigration may be useful. Often, however, development is at a price, and sometimes that price has been the language. There is no doubt that at the moment Welsh is dying, and the continued influx of English labour will tend to accelerate this death. If this is to be prevented there must be not only a radical change in the *effective* policy of Education Authorities but also a more welcoming attitude towards those who do not speak the language, but are not necessarily therefore hostile to things Welsh. The Welsh economy and culture can prosper hand in hand if proper measures are taken in the primary schools, and if a more subtle attitude is displayed by those who are most concerned with the preservation of the language. I feel, for example, that if the National Eisteddfod had a limited number of literary competitions involving English contributions on Welsh subjects then, in the long run, more good would be done than by excluding English altogether. Some of these remarks may well be questioned, but I hope that the views I have expressed in the later paragraphs of this article will not obscure the validity of the facts I have presented in the earlier paragraphs. We must face the fact that Welsh is dying, and that although labour movements may contribute to this death they alone do not cause it. An iron curtain along Offa's Dyke is not enough to prevent the death of Welsh, although it could conceivably cause the death of the Welsh economy. The death of the language is to be prevented by a more effective educational policy. It is in the primary school, more than anywhere else, that the cultural wealth of the country may be preserved. It is here that action is necessary and urgent. Only the actions of today can insulate the mistakes of yesterday from the hopes for tomorrow.

## THE LANGUAGE CRISIS

The perils that threaten it are one with the perils that threaten the cultural values and the most important relics of civilization in every part of Europe in these days. (Saunders Lewis, July 2, 1947.)