'A Species of Heathen?' A Social History of English Migrants in Wales, c.1850-1914

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Abstract

Over the course of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Wales experienced its most sustained and prononounced phase of demographic growth. Migration was a critical catalyst in this process, of which the most substantial contributors in terms of absolute volume were English migrants. By 1900, approximately 16% to 25% of the Welsh population was either English-born or the first-generation relations of English migrants. However, the significance of their presence in Welsh society during this period is inversely proportional to their presence in the historiography: there exists no major study devoted solely to the issue of English migration to Wales, while tangential academic discussion of the topic generally tends to focus on its negative aspects (primarily in the context of the decline of the Welsh language). This thesis will thus seek to address the aforementioned historiographical shortcomings, while endeavouring to present a more rounded analysis of the socio-cultural traits of English migrants in Wales as well as their role in shaping the complexion of contemporary public discourse. It will deploy both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to achive these objectives, making use of relevant data from both the 1891 and 1901 censuses, the abundance of material derived from contemporary newspapers, journals and other publications, and a limited range of personal accounts from English migrants themselves. The overarching aim is to contextualise the particular experiences of English migrants within the broader development of Wales' modern national identity.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Migrant communities in Wales: A historiographical overview

Over the course of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, Wales experienced a population boom unprecedented in its demographic, social and cultural magnitude. From the year of the inaugural nationwide census in 1801 to the eve of the First World War, a predominantly agrarian society of a little over 500,000 inhabitants had been transformed into an advanced industrial nation of almost 2.5 million,[1] with several major Welsh urban centres such as Cardiff and Swansea having been elevated to positions of truly global prominence. From a linguistic perspective, the changes were no less dramatic: whereas an estimated 90% of the population of Wales were Welsh speakers in 1801 (of which a substantial proportion were also Welsh monoglots), the census of 1901 revealed that the native language had been reduced to a state of minority for the first time in its history.[2] Perhaps inevitably, sweeping social, political and institutional developments also accompanied this extraordinary period of growth. To paraphrase an infamous Metternichian quip, Wales in 1801 effectively resembled little more than a geographical expression from a legislative perspective, having been subsumed into England since the Acts of Union in the mid-sixteenth century.

By 1914, however, the promulgation of a succession of 'Welsh-specific' parliamentary laws (starting with the 1881 Sunday Closing Act), as well as the establishment of several 'national' organisations (including the University of Wales in 1893 and the National Library of Wales in 1907), had facilitated the creation of a recognisable and formal institutional profile for Wales. Coupled with the emergence of particular trends in the Welsh political landscape, namely the ascendancy of the Liberal Party after 1868, the rise of Cymru Fydd during the 1890s and the enduring resonance of the issue of disestablishment, it is unsurprising that the second half of the nineteenth century has generally been regarded as a truly pivotal phase in the evolution of Wales' modern national identity.[3] In many ways

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[1] Davies, J., *Hanes Cymru: A History of Wales in Welsh* (London, 2007), p. 384.

[2] 49.9% of the population were recorded as being Welsh speakers in that year. This proportion would decline to 43.5% by the following census in 1911. Jones, R.T., *Faith and Crisis of a Nation*: *Wales 1890-1914* (Cardiff, 2004), p. 13.

[3] See Morgan, K., *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980* (Cardiff, 1981) & Jones, B., 'Banqueting at a moveable feast, Wales 1870-1914' in Jones, G.E. & Smith, D. (Eds.), *The People of Wales: A Millenium History* (Llandysul, 2000), pp. 145-78.

therefore, the rapid expansion of the Welsh population during the 'long nineteenth century' laid the foundations for the contours, fissures and idiosyncrasies of the nation's present-day socio-cultural character.

To a large extent, the pace of this population growth was sustained by significant levels of inward migration, particularly towards the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, with the notable exception of the United States, no other region of the western hemisphere would be exposed to such intensive levels of migration during this period than Wales.[4] As was befitting for an increasingly industrialised and urbanised society, the diversity of the migrants themselves was striking. For example, the prominence of the Welsh copper trade during the middle of the century, especially around the Swansea area, attracted a considerable number of specialised metalworkers from Spain, who formed a small but nevertheless distinct community in Wales. Meanwhile, the development of the great dockyards around the south-eastern coastline was responsible for both Chinese and Afro-Caribbean immigration towards the turn of the century.

The magnetic lure of its industrial base was not the only factor in cementing Wales' status as a national, cultural and ethnic melting-pot. Socio-political persecution throughout the nineteenth century, particularly in the form of the Russian pogroms, precipitated the substantial enlargement of Wales' Jewish population, while the devastating economic impact of the famine in Ireland resulted in extensive levels of migration across the Irish Sea.[5] The attitudes of the indigenous Welsh population to the emergence of these migrant communities periodically fluctuated between sober toleration and vehement antipathy, which naturally varied according to the particularities of local conditions. Due to their perceived complicity in suppressing wages, as well as their Catholic identity, the Irish population of Wales were persistent victims of native bigotry, which manifested itself most seriously during a series of riots between 1826 and 1882.[6] Similarly, anti-Semitic agitation was the underlying cause of the Tredegar riot of 1911,[7] while Chinese businesses in Cardiff were occasionally targeted in racially-motivated disturbances during the same period.[8]

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[4] Jones, G.E., *Wales 1880-1914* (Cardiff, 1988), p.1.
[5] See O'Leary, P., *Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales 1789-1922* (Cardiff, 2000) & Parry-Jones, C., *The Jews of Wales: A History* (Cardiff, 2017).
[6] Miskell, L., 'Reassessing the Anti-Irish Riot: Popular Protest and the Irish in South Wales, c. 1826–1882' in O'Leary, P. (ed.), *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales*, (Liverpool University Press, 2004), pp. 101-118.
[7] Holmes, C., 'The Tredegar Riots of 1911: Anti-Jewish Disturbances in South Wales' in *The Welsh History Review*, vol. 11, no. 2, (1983), pp.214-225.
[8] May, J.P., 'The British working class and the Chinese, 1870-1911, with particular reference to the seaman's strike of 1911' (Unpub. University of Warwick MA thesis, 1973).

In recent years, scholarly attention has become increasingly drawn towards the subject of these migrant communities, as the traditional image of Wales as an ethnically homogeneous nation has been quite rightly challenged and revised. Paul O'Leary, in particular, has been at the forefront of research into the Irish diaspora in Wales,[9] while his collaborative work with Charlotte Williams and Neil Evans[10] has done much to broaden academic debate surrounding the issue of ethnic diversity in Wales over the past two centuries. Additionally, the application of post-colonialist approaches by Welsh historians has produced an intriguing array of studies into the hitherto neglected Afro-Caribbean and Asian populations of Wales[11] while the likes of Stephen Murray, Oscar Alvarez Gila,[12] James Yeoman,[13] Bruna Chezzi[14] and Colin Hughes[15] have compellingly explored the histories of continental European minorities such as the Welsh-Italians and Welsh-Spaniards. These developments in the historiography have thus greatly enhanced our understanding of the veritable vibrancy of the interactions between the native and migrant populations of Wales during a period of acute social change. They also serve to reinforce the folly of merely relegating the Welsh experience to the standardised domain of the 'Celtic fringe', which inevitably overlooks the extent to which the society of Wales became a nexus for a multitudinous array of interconnecting and competing cultural currents.

Despite these promising advances in the study of migrant communities in Wales therefore, it is apparent that a rather notable group, indeed the largest in terms of absolute numbers, has often been somewhat side-lined in the relevant historiography. This is, of course, the English migrant population of Wales, which continues to maintain a substantial demographic presence in Welsh society. In some ways, the reasons for the relative paucity of academic works that position the English population of Wales at the foreground of their analysis are readily apparent. Firstly, the notion of the English in Wales as a 'migrant' community is in itself somewhat problematic, due to the fact that they originated from the

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[9] O'Leary, P., *Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales, 1798-1922*, (Cardiff, 2000) & O'Leary, P., *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales* (Liverpool, 2004).

[10] O'Leary, P.; Williams, C. & Evans, N., *A Tolerant Nation? Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Wales* (Cardiff, 2003).

[11] Llwyd, A., *Cymru Ddu: Hanes Pobl Duon Cymru /Black Wales: A History of Black Welsh People* (Cardiff, 2005) & Evans, N., 'Immigrants and Minorities in Wales, 1840-1990: A Comparative Perspective' in Williams, Charlotte, Evans, Neil & O'Leary, Paul (Ed.), *A Tolerant Nation? Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Wales* (Cardiff, 2003), pp.14-34.

[12] Alvarez Gila, O. & Murray, S., 'From Bilbao to Merthyr: Basque Industrial Migration to Wales in the Late 19th, Early 20th Centuries', *Vasconia,* Vol.39, No.1, (2013), pp. 5–26.

[13] Yeoman, J.M., 'Salud y Anarquía desde Dowlais: The translocal experience of Spanish anarchists in South Wales, 1900-15', *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, Vol.29, No.3, (2016), pp. 273-289.

[14] Chezzi, B., *Italians in Wales and their Cultural Representations, 1920s – 2010s* (Cambridge, 2015).

[15] Hughes, C., *Lime, Lemon and Sarsaparilla: The Italian Community in South Wales, 1881-1945* (Bridgend, 1992).

pre-eminent social, political and economic entity in Britain, to which Wales had been bound in a formally subordinate relationship for at least three centuries. In most studies of immigration, there is an implied power imbalance between the 'dominant' indigenous host society and the 'marginalised' migrants, which could arise either through the dynamics of race (as was the case with the Chinese and Afro-Caribbean populations of Wales), religion (in the case of the Irish and Jewish populations), geographic and political detachment from the 'homeland' (in the case of the Italian-Welsh and Spanish-Welsh) or a combination of all three.

In the case of the English population of Wales, however, these conditions were not immediately in evidence, which naturally complicates any attempt to examine their particular 'migratory identity' according to the methods deployed by prior studies of migration. Furthermore, the aforementioned reality that English migrants originated from a country which exerted a hegemonic socio-political influence over Wales naturally undermines the viability of post-colonialist methodologies within this context. Indeed, the difficulty of extracting the English migratory experience from broader colonialist narratives is a noticeable and recurring feature in much of the secondary literature.

The other key element that has served to obfuscate the historiographical profile of English migrants in Welsh society during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is more ideological in its dimension, and very much relates to the peripheral identity of Wales within the broader British 'fellowship of nations'. As Welsh history has evolved into a separate academic discipline in its own right (a process that is traditionally traced to the publication of J.E. Lloyd's 1911 work *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*), its status has primarily been contingent on the underlying assumption of the inherent particularities of Wales as a nation, which in turn naturally implies its fundamental sense of 'separateness' from that of English history.[16] To concede a central role to the English population of Wales within the context of a Welsh historical account would thus run the risk of being perceived as an exercise in anglocentricism, and, in turn, undermine the notion of Welsh history's quintessential 'independence'. Understandably, this reflexive aversion would not be applicable in the case of other migrant communities, since the nature of the historic links between Wales and their various 'nations of origin' can never compare to the uniquely intimate, multifaceted and longstanding dynamics of oppression, resistance and

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[16] Evans, N. & Pryce, H. (eds.), *Writing a Small Nation's Past: Wales in Comparative Perspective, 1850-1950* (Aldershot, 2013); Pryce, H., *J. E. Lloyd and the Creation of Welsh History* (Cardiff, 2011); Johnes, M., 'For class and nation: dominant trends in the historiography of twentieth-century Wales', *History Compass*, Vol.8, No.11 (2010), pp.1257–74.

subordination which have invariably characterised the Anglo-Welsh relationship throughout the ages.

Several historians of the nineteenth century Wales, including Geraint H. Jenkins[17] and Mari A. Williams[18] have sought to underline the significance of English migration within the broader context of the social changes of the period, particularly those relating to the decline of the Welsh language. With only a few exceptions,[19] however, the majority of these works have a propensity of treating the English migrants of Wales as mere adjuncts of wider processes of anglicisation, rather than historical actors in their own right. Furthermore, those select case studies that devote considerable attention to the English migrant communities of Wales, such as Philip N. Jones' work on the Ogmore and Garw Valleys[20] or W.T.R. Pryce's similar work on north-east Wales,[21] tend to adopt specifically quantitative-based approaches from the analytical vantage-points of narrowly localised perspectives, while generally eschewing the opportunity to engage with more qualitative and macrohistorical methods of enquiry. In short therefore, an explicitly social history of English migration to Wales during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which is both geographically and chronologically comprehensive in its scope, remains a largely unfulfilled ambition.[22] It is to this end that this thesis will strive.

Owing to the aforementioned paucity of academic works on English migrants in Wales, constructing an appropriate methodology for this study represents a particularly delicate exercise. While the limitations of a rigidly quantitative approach have already been outlined,

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[17] Jenkins, G.H., *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains, 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000).

[18] Parry, G. & Williams, M.A., *The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census* (Cardiff, 1999).

[19] Primarily studies related to the early development of sport in Wales, which have emphasised the strong English migrant presence in Welsh international and club teams. Williams, G.,'Y Maes Chwarae a Chenedligrwydd yng Nghymru, 1880-1914' in Williams, G. (ed.), *1905 and All That: Essays on Rugby Football, Sport and Welsh Society* (Llandysul, 1991), p. 106; Smith, D. & Williams, G., *Fields of Praise: the Official History of the Welsh Rugby Union, 1881-1981* (Cardiff, 1980), p.61 & Johnes, M., *Soccer and society: South Wales, 1900-39* (Cardiff, 2002), p.20.

[20] Jones, P.N., *Mines, Migrants and Residence in the South Wales Steamcoal Valleys: the Ogmore and Garw Valleys in 1881* (Hull, 1987).

[21] Pryce, W.T.R., 'Migration and the evolution of culture areas: cultural and linguistic frontiers in north-east Wales, 1750-1851', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol.65 (1975), pp.79-107.

[22] According to Pooley and Whyte, this is an aspect that requires addressing within the field of migration studies as a whole: 'The historical study of migration could, however, benefit from the use of social theory to inform the speculative interpretation of scanty migration evidence.' Whyte, I.D. & Pooley, C.G., *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration* (London, 1991), p. 13. Meanwhile, from a Welsh perspective, Gareth and Teresa Rees have similarly bemoaned the supposed analytical limitations of prior migration histories in their 1983 essay: 'It is our view that this research (into migration to Wales) has yielded only a very partial understanding of the migration process and, more particularly, of the latter's functions within the wider context of regional development.' Thankfully, as mentioned earlier, this message has been heeded to with great aplomb over the past thirty years, though the specific field of English migration to Wales remains relatively underdeveloped. Rees, G. & Rees, T., 'Migration, Industrial Restructuring and Class Relations: An analysis of South Wales' in Williams, G. (ed.), *Crisis of Economy and Ideology: Essays on Welsh Society, 1840-1980* (Bangor, 1983), p.103.

it would be imprudent to deny the intrinsic analytical value of the data that can be harvested from contemporary statistical sources. The period under observation coincided with the growing sophistication of the decennial census in Britain, which has been effectively utilised by various historians as a means of ensuring that the coherence of their analysis is not unduly compromised by the inherently disparate nature of migrant communities. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of a viable study of migration in the nineteenth century that would not make at least some use of relevant census-based data. Consequently, this thesis will not spurn the considerable wealth of contemporary quantitative evidence related to the profound demographic changes that affected Wales throughout the period in question, but rather seek to contextualise and supplement the qualitative evaluation of the sources with appropriate statistical analysis where necessary. The overriding methodological priority will therefore be to ensure that the quantitative data is not solely responsible for sustaining the narrative, as has often been the case in prior works on the topic of English migration to Wales.

In this respect, a vital element of this syncretic approach is the necessity of scrutinising a multitude of case studies to reinforce the Welsh-wide scope of the thesis, as well as to adequately reflect the acute regional variations in Wales' demographic development during this period. Naturally, this overarching ambition must be tempered by considerations of relevant practical constraints, as well as the inherent pitfalls which emerge from interpreting census data (which will be elaborated at a later stage). To this end therefore, the selection process was also influenced by a desire to further contribute to pre-existing findings on Welsh census returns from the historiography. The most pertinent work in this respect is undoubtedly Mari A. Williams and Gwenfair Parry's *The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census*,[23] which represents perhaps the most comprehensive academic study of nineteenth century Welsh census data hitherto commited to page. Indeed, as the abstract outlines, the scope of the study encompasses '20 communities, chosen for their geographical, economic and linguistic characteristics which in 1891, accounted for about 5 per cent of the total population of Wales'.[24]

The suitability of selecting the industrial communities of Dowlais and Blaina, located in the two Welsh counties (Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire) which were most affected by the onset of inward migration and which both feature as case studies in Williams and Parry's work, is thus self-evident. As will be revealed in the chapter on social class, the ironworks of Dowlais have also frequently featured in studies of the other migrant groups of

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[23] Parry & Williams, *The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census*.
[24] Parry & Williams, *The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census*.

Wales during this period, which will facilitate appropriate comparative approaches. Aberystwyth, which despite its westerly location became increasingly anglicised in character towards the latter half of the nineteenth century, also features as a case study in *The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census*, as does Ffestiniog, which provides an intriguing opportunity to observe the particular experiences of English migrants who settled in a region that would ultimately become a heartland of the Welsh language as it entered its state of minority. By comparing Williams and Parry's 1891 census data for these communities with newly compiled quantitative research from the 1901 census, it will thus become possible to gauge the social, economic and cultural role played by English migrants at a pivotal stage in Wales' broader national development.[25]

The accumulation of a source base with which to construct a credible and comprehensive qualitative evaluation of the social impact of English migration in Wales is a no less challenging process. As is presumably pertinent to any academic study of migration, the identification of relevant sources is particularly complicated by the inherently decentralised nature of their distribution, which are rarely fully accommodated within a distinct archive or collection. This issue is further exacerbated in the case of English migration to Wales by the fact that it does not possess an identifiable 'diaspora narrative' that has a firm profile in the historiography, in stark contrast to most of the other migrant groups (such as the Irish populations of Britain). Nevertheless, with a suitably forensic and creative examination of contemporary materials, it becomes possible to select a vibrant range of sources which illuminate the story of English migration to Wales beyond the beyond the confines of the census data.

The fact that the period under observation coincided with the increasing sophistication and diversity of the burgeoning Welsh press[26] naturally means that a considerable wealth of relevant information may be derived from newspaper sources. A study of migration is considerably aided in this respect by the extensive digitalisation of Welsh newspapers by the National Library of Wales over recent years. Tracing the invariably amorphous profile of English migrants in the pages of the contemporary Welsh press is thus rendered a far more precise process than would have otherwise been previously possible. Complementing the rise of the Welsh press during this period was the emergence of distinct

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[25] This is especially apparent from a linguistic perspective, as the period between the census years of 1891 and 1901 witnessed Welsh's decisive shift from being a majority language to its present position as a minority language.

[26] For a comprehensivestudy of the development of journalism in Wales during this period, see Jones, A., *Press, Politics and Society: A History of Journalism in Wales*, (Cardiff, 1993).

tradition of religious-based publications (primarily associated with specific nonconformist denominations, though Anglican journals also grew in prominence at this time), which became particularly preoccupied by the relationship between the English migrant population of Wales and the religious character of the nation as the century progressed (as the chapter on the nonconformist English Causes will demonstrate). There also exist an intriguing array of secular periodicals and other publications that focused on the interactions between Welsh (or, more broadly speaking, Celtic) culture with that of the neighbouring English

Naturally, an immediately apparent pitfall of this source base is its particular reliance on Cambro-centric perspectives of English migrants, at the expense of those originating from the migrant communities themselves. Owing to the general relative scarcity of migrant-authored historical sources, this is perhaps an unavoidable obstacle for an academic study of migration, and one for which there is no simple remedy. Nevertheless, there exists a slender body of work deriving from English migrants of this period with which it is possible to at least partially address the aforementioned imbalance in the source base. Foremost among these works is the autobiography of B.L. Coombes, a Wolverhampton-born and Herefordshire-raised migrant whose intimate account of his life in the Resolven coalfield is justifiably regarded as an opus of the genre of coalmining autobiographies.[27] Less renowned, but no less valuable for the purposes of this study, are the accounts from the likes of John Brunton,[28] which occasionally provide intriguing thematic counterpoints to Coombes' experiences.

While it is debatable whether J.E. Southall's extensive oeuvre, which represents a significant component of nineteenth century academic work on the Welsh language in its own right, can be truly considered an example of 'migrant literature', it is undeniable that Southall, by his own admission, initially came into contact with the national culture of Wales as a non-native. Furthermore, considerable portions of his work are devoted to the issue of the absorption of migrant groups within the socio-cultural domain of Welsh nationhood (primarily through the acquisition of the native language; though as will be revealed later, Southall's perception of nationhood could be rather flexible on occasions), which must have been at least partially influenced by his own personal experiences. Finally, isolated voices deriving from self-identified English migrants are dispersed throughout a variety of contemporary Welsh publications (the example of Stott's interview on the issue of English

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[27] Coombes, B.L., *These Poor Hands: The Autobiography of a Miner Working in South Wales* (London, 1939).
[28] Brunton, J. & Clapham, J.H., *John Brunton's book: being the memories of John Brunton, engineer, from a manuscript in his own hand written for his grandchildren and now first printed* (Cambridge, 1939).

Causes is particularly prominent in this respect), thus providing tantalising insights into the socio-cultural attitudes of the 'typical' migrant.While these kind of migrant-derived sources remain rare therefore, with an appropriately coordinated analytical approach it is possible to lend a degree of clarity to these fractured echoes in the ether of Welsh historiography.

This is a worthwhile endeavour on a number of levels. Firstly, as was alluded to earlier, the sheer volume of English migration to Wales, in absolute numerical terms as well as proportional terms, demands particular recognition. Contemporary observers were well aware of this phenomenon, and thus often remarked regarding the rapid expansion of the English 'element' in Wales (and, by extension, its implications for the traditional facets of Welsh society). For example, in an 1866 report addressed to the Annual General Meeting of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Bangor by the rector of Llantristant, the English population of Wales was calculated to be 'no less than 350 or 360,000' at that time, which was deemed to hold profound repercussions for Welsh religious practices (the nature of which will be covered in greater detail during a later chapter).[29] According to a piece featured in the *Cheshire Observer* on 31 May 1890, it was estimated that as many as '600,000 English people' were resident in Wales at this stage, less than a quarter of a century after the report to the Bangor clergymen.[30] As (somewhat crude) points of reference, the total population of the country during the 1871 census numbered 1,412,583,[31] while it had increased to 1,788,639 exactly two decades later.[32] The introduction of the decennial national census of course, which increased in its sophistication throughout the course of the nineteenth century, allowed for more precise examinations of this issue.

One such example appeared in a 1915 issue of *The Welsh Outlook* journal, entitled 'Migration to and from Wales and Monmouthshire'. In spite of the aforementioned frequency with which the 'English element' of Wales was evoked in a variety of cultural contexts, the article nevertheless claimed that it would have 'come as a surprise to most readers of *The Welsh Outlook* to learn that approximately one-sixth of the population of Wales…is English born'.[33] This was calculated more accurately to show that '160 per thousand' of the Welsh

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[29] Pugh, E., *The Religious Statistics of Wales: A Paper read at the Annual General Meeting of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Bangor, held at* Bangor, (9 August, 1866).
[30] 'Flint', *Cheshire Observer*, 31 May 1890.
[31] Office for National Statistics. 2001. 200 years of the Census in...WALES. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/1991-and-earlier-censuses/census-bicentenary/area-monitors/regions/wales/wales-area-monitor.pdf. [Accessed 29 August 2018].
[32] Office for National Statistics. 2001. 200 years of the Census in...WALES.
[33] J.E.T., 'Migration to and from Wales and Monmouthshire', Vol.2, No.3, (March 1915), p.105.

population were English born,[34] which in turn produced an exact English migrant population of 388,238.[35] The discrepancy between this figure and the rather higher estimate provided in *The Cheshire Observer* can presumably be accounted for on the basis that the former was comprised of English-born individuals only, whereas the latter probably encompassed migrant households as a whole (which naturally often contained relatives who had been born in Wales, but were nevertheless of English migrant 'stock'). Either way, it is reasonable to assume that the total English migrant presence in Wales around the end of the nineteenth century and start of the twentieth century ranged between 16% and 25% of the population. The regional distribution of the migrants was also determined, which showed that 69,656 of the total English-born population resided in North Wales, while 'no less than 318,582 have migrated from England to South Wales'.[36]

These developments were particularly pronounced in the heavily industrialised counties of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, whose gravitational pull on both neighbouring English counties and the rest of Wales itself led to the unequal spread in the distribution of the nation's overall population. The census of 1881 revealed that both counties had a combined population of 722,700, which represented just over 45% of the total Welsh population in that year. By the census of 1911, this 'share' had increased even further, with almost 63% of the entire Welsh population (which corresponded to 1,516,629 people) registered as being inhabitants of either south-easterly county. The extent of this acute demographic concentration is very much conveyed by Gareth Elwyn Jones in his study of Wales during this period, as he highlights how Glamorganshire's population alone in 1911 exceeded the total national population as it had stood in 1851.[37] The nature of this growth also attracted the attention of contemporary academics, which is highlighted by the example of A.E. Trueman's 1919 study of 'Population Changes in the Eastern Part of the South Wales Coalfield'.[38]

Whereas internal migration from Welsh rural areas undoubtedly initiated this process during the first half of the nineteenth century therefore (which gave rise to Brinley Thomas'

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[34] Meanwhile, 807 per thousand of the population were classified as Welsh-born, nine per thousand were Irish born, seven per thousand were 'foreign born', four per thousand were Scottish born, three per thousand had been born in the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands or other British Colonies and Dependencies, with a remainder of ten per thousand whose birthplace had not been stated. J.E.T., 'Migration to and from Wales and Monmouthshire', p.105.
[35] J.E.T., 'Migration to and from Wales and Monmouthshire', p.105.
[36] A breakdown for each county is also provided, however, other than Breconshire, Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire (whose English migrant populations are recorded as being 7,910, 194,041 and 88,605 respectively), it refers to migrant populations as a whole.
[37] Jones, G.E., *Wales 1880-1914* (Cardiff, 1988), p.1.
[38] Trueman, A.E., 'Population Changes in the Eastern Part of the South Wales Coalfield' in *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 53, no. 6, (June 1919), pp.410-419.

famous, and much contested, thesis regarding the supposed role of industrialisation in sustaining the vitality of the Welsh language),[39] it is undeniable that from the 1850s onwards this region was becoming increasingly subjected to the influence of external migration, particularly from England. According to the relevant census figures for the Glamorganshire coalfields, the thirty year period between 1881 and 1911 witnessed a net increase of 32,453 in the English migrant population during the first decade (i.e. 1881 to 1891), 25,709 during the second decade (1891 to 1901) and 65,012 during the final decade (1901 to 1911).[40] The pace of English migration to the coastal areas of the county, which tended to attract a more skilled workforce of which English migrants were represented disproportionately, was even greater, at least before 1901.[41]

However, this recognition of the human scale of the movement from England to Wales was not merely expressed through raw figures either. As an entry to *The University College of Wales* magazine in 1892 noted with a particularly evocative flourish, several areas of Wales during that period, especially 'already densely populated coal districts of South Wales' such as the Rhondda valley, had begun to contain 'the crush of creation, a medley mass of humanity'.[42] Similarly, T.E. Ellis, in an address to the Welsh National Society, drew attention to the 'vast change in Wales and its population' that had been initiated by the 'strength of what one might call the foreign wave' into the country, while the historian Arthur Morris observed in 1908 how an 'unheard of wealth of industry and a great population' had 'simultaneously sprung up together' in the industrial districts of Wales during the preceding six decades.[43] In contemporary accounts therefore, there is a consistent and explicit acknowledgement of the profoundly transformative impact of English migration upon the fundamental complexion of Welsh society. By far the most heavily discussed aspect of English migration in this respect, both at the time and throughout subsequent academic studies, was its apparently inimical influence upon the Welsh language. To varying degrees, scholarly and public opinion has contrived to identify English migration as a critical catalyst in the delineation of the linguistic and cultural boundaries that separate the majority English-speaking areas of Wales (encompassing areas where the migrant presence was at its strongest, such as the south-east and north-east) from the majority Welsh-speaking regions (primarily

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[39] Thomas, B., 'A Cauldron of Rebirth: Population and the Welsh Language in the Nineteenth Century' in Jenkins, G. (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000).
[40] Jones, P.N., 'Some aspects of immigration into the Glamorgan coalfield between 1881 and 1911' in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1969, p.90.
[41].Jones, 'Some aspects of immigration into the Glamorgan coalfield between 1881 and 1911, p.87.
[42] *The University College of Wales magazine*, Vol.14, No.8, (May 1892), p.262.
[43] Egan, D., *Coal Society: A History of the South Wales Mining Valleys, 1840-1980* (Llandysul, 1987), p.4.

located around the western counties of Gwynedd, Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire). This legacy, of course, has remained pertinent to Welsh society up to the present day.

However, it would be erroneous to suggest that the effect of English migration was only conceived in terms of its role in diluting the native language's potency. An examination of the debates surrounding some of the most pressing issues in Wales during this period, often waged with particular vigour throughout the pages of the Welsh press, reveals a habitual tendency of referring to the exponential expansion of the English migrant population, and, in turn, the necessity of reacting appropriately to the newly emerging socio-cultural climate for which they were deemed responsible. A typical example in this respect was the English Cause movement, which may be viewed as a Nonconformist response to the growing migrant presence within Welsh urban areas (which will be discussed in chapter 6). Similarly, contemporary public discourse displayed a noticeable propensity towards conceptualising the future trajectory of Welsh society according to its relative accessibility (or otherwise) to English migrants. Significant sections of an increasingly self-confident Welsh middle-class, which frequently exhibited strong anglophile sympathies, came to regard the attraction of Wales for English labour and commercial investment as conclusive affirmation of the nation's modernisation and enhanced status within the British Empire. Consequently, efforts to improve conditions for the 'English element' of Wales were considered essential as a means of consolidating this perceived progress. Indeed, evaluations of the societal 'role' of the English migrant population became inexorably intertwined within wider discussions on Wales' fundamental relationship with 'capitalist modernity'.

It is apparent that a thematic approach best serves the goal of constructing a social history of English migration to Wales. This thesis will thus focus on four primary themes, namely gender and family structures, social class, linguistic attitudes and religion. Firstly, a gender-based analysis will facilitate a rigorous insight into the dynamics of migrant social assimilation, as well as an evaluation of the extent to which the act of migrating affected the parameters of contemporary gender attitudes. The suitability of this methodology is also highlighted by the manner in which the male-to-female gender ratios of English migrant communities in the industrial districts of the south-east were acutely skewed in favour of the former (which, in turn, would have significant consequences for the demographic complexion of the region as a whole). Secondly, the intimate relationship between English migration and the capitalistic development of Wales' economic base throughout the nineteenth century, both

in the material and cultural domains, illustrates the usefulness of class perspectives.[44] The notion that English migrants constituted a privileged stratum of the workforce in Wales, disproportionately employed in managerial positions in particular, became a recurring trope in contemporary public discourse, which often served to engender considerable social tensions within 'mixed' workspaces. This sense of discord was not only sustained by the physical presence of the migrants, but also the perception that newly emerging practises of industrial production, which stressed the primacy of market forces and the imposition of rigid hierarchies of labour, were fundamentally 'alien' imports themselves. The class composition of English migrant populations in Wales will therefore be forensically dissected, as well as notable cases of unrest between indigenous and migrant labour such as the Mold riot of 1869.

As indicated previously, the importance of the issue of language is self-evident, however while the broader association between migration and the decline of Welsh will be considered, it is also the intention of this thesis to explore the attitudes of the English migrants themselves towards the native language, and the ways in which they managed to adjust to the unfamiliar linguistic environments of their host communities (which, in several cases, resulted in migrants acquiring fluency in Welsh). Additionally, the thesis will argue that debates surrounding the issue of bilingualism, including its application and long-term viability in Welsh society, were frequently conditioned by an awareness of the burgeoning English migrant population. Finally, the relationship between English migration and Welsh religion will be analysed through reference to the Nonconformist English Causes, and the manner in which they represented the most tangible and systematic expression of efforts to acclimatise migrants to the particular temperament of Welsh society. In this respect, the significance of the causes is further underlined by the 'non-state' character of the Welsh nation throughout much of the period, which naturally implies the virtual absence of formal institutional and bureaucratic influence over patterns of socio-cultural behaviour between migrants and the indigenous population.

Of course, any historical study of migration must also contend with the particular challenges of establishing a definite temporal and spatial analytical framework for a

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[44] Some localised studies that have scrutinised the dynamics of Anglo-Welsh class conflict include Rogers, E., 'Labour Struggles in Flintshire 1830-1850' in *Flintshire Historical Society*, Vol.15, (1954-55), pp.47-71; Williams, C. J., 'The Lead Miners of Flintshire and Denbighshire' in *Llafur*, Vol.3, No.1, (1980), pp. 87–96 & Hilling, J.B., 'The Migration of People into Tredegar during the Nineteenth Century', *Gwent Local History*, No.100, (Spring, 2006), pp.19-40.

sociological process that is typically amorphous in terms of its dimensions. Defining distinct 'start' or 'end' points for migratory patterns is usually an exercise in futility, while the characteristically disparate nature of migrant populations impart daunting implications for the coherence of potential research projects. As mentioned previously, a number of historians have sought to overcome this obstacle by confining their analysis to localised cases and specific time frames (usually corresponding to census years). This thesis will attempt to pursue a more syncretic course of action by deploying case studies where appropriate, while stressing the importance of a fundamentally holistic and macrohistorical interpretation of the English migratory experience in Wales. In this spirit, the case studies in question have been selected to provide an accurate reflection of Wales' diverse social landscape. Consequently, while the regions which were most consistently and profoundly affected by English migration (namely the industrialised counties Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire and, to a lesser extent, Flintshire and East Denbighshire) will naturally feature prominently within the context of the analysis, it is also the intention of this thesis to scrutinise its impact in areas such as the coastal resort town of Aberystwyth and the slate mining districts in the Welsh-speaking heartlands of the north-west.

The timescale of 1850 to 1914 provides adequate scope for a relatively long-term assessment of the impact of English migration (which also acknowledges its periodic fluctuations over consecutive decades) while simultaneously ensuring that the analysis retains a disciplined outlook. As is demonstrated by a number of works within the historiography, the date range is also convenient due to the fact that it is practically sandwiched between two highly significant events in Welsh history, namely the Blue Books affair of 1847, which induced a considerable level of soul-searching within Welsh society regarding its fundamental relationship with the indigenous national culture, and the outbreak of the First World War, which in the case of Wales was instrumental in the inexorable decline of the Nonconformist hegemony.[45] Further confirmation of the profound significance of this 64 year period in Welsh history is provided by the fact that, amongst other major events, it witnessed the ascendancy of the Liberal Party in Wales (and the concurrent decline of Welsh Toryism) beginning with the *annus mirabilis* of 1868, two major religious revivals in 1859 and 1904-5, the emergence of Cymru Fydd as the first coherent articulation of Welsh political nationalism

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[45] See Jones, R., Pope, S., & Pope, R., *Faith and the Crisis of a Nation: Wales 1890-1914* (Cardiff 2004) & Pope, R., *Building Jerusalem: Nonconformity, Labour and the Social Question in Wales, 1906-1939* (Cardiff, 2014).

during the 1890s, the protracted campaign for disestablishment (which was eventually achieved in 1920), the outbreak of the Tithe Wars of the 1880s between tenant farmers and their landlords, and a number of industrial disputes that would have a lasting impact on the nature of labour relations in Wales (amongst the most prominent examples were the Tonypandy Riots of 1910-1911 and the Penrhyn Strike of 1900-1903). While not wholly self-contained therefore, the period 1850 to 1914 may nevertheless be viewed as a distinct and transformative 'stage' in the development and maturation of 'modern' Wales.

English migration to Wales in historical context

Before embarking on this study however, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the course of English migration to Wales before the period in question. As mentioned previously, it is mistaken to regard a certain episode of migration as existing in a state of complete isolation from prior population movements, and therefore by casting analysing trends in English migration from a long-term perspective our understanding of the particularities of the migratory 'flows' between 1850 and 1914 is naturally enhanced. Having shared a 160 mile national border for the best part of 1300 years, the longest and most enduring of its kind on the island of Britain (the English-Scottish border, by contrast, is far shorter and has been subject to a greater degree of variation), the movement of people between England and Wales had unsurprisingly been a persistent feature of the histories of both nations for a long time prior to the nineteenth century, which in turn induced significant currents of cultural cross-pollination. If we accept that the emergence of a distinct Welsh national identity as an offshoot of a broader pan-Brythonic identity became a practical reality between the eighth and ninth centuries,[46] it is apparent that, in spite of the best efforts of successive Mercian kings, the porous nature of the borders between the Welsh and Saxon kingdoms were consistently demonstrated.

However, it is not until around half a century after the Norman invasion that English (or, at least, Anglo-Norman) migration to Wales acquired a degree of permanence and lasting substance within a socio-political context. As Carter explains, this process gradually supplemented 'earlier Saxon encroachments beyond the dyke',[47] thus proliferating the intrusion of a hybridised Anglo-Norman culture through certain areas of Wales from the end of the eleventh century to the termination of the Welsh March in the 16th century. With the gradual demise of the southern Welsh kingdoms, definitively confirmed by the death of the Lord Rhys in 1197, the resultant power vacuum was primarily filled by the Marcher lordships, whose ascendancy was supplemented by the introduction of English settlers into

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[46] Such is the reasoning of John Davies in *Hanes Cymru*, which other than the obvious case of the construction of Offa's Dyke during the mid to late 8th century, is based on the fact that there is no evidence of substantive interaction between the inhabitants of Wales and their compatriots in *Yr Hen Ogledd* ('The Old North' or the assortment of Brythonic kingdoms located around Cumbria, West Yorkshire and the Scottish Lowlands) after 642, and likewise between Wales and Brittany after 720. It is important at this stage, however, to acknowledge that the formation of a formal Welsh political identity was a rather later development, as it is likely that the various rulers of Wales continued to regularly define themselves as 'Britons' up until the reign of Owen Gwynedd. (Davies, J., *Hanes Cymru: A History of Wales in Welsh*, (London, 2007), p. 77).

[47] Carter, H., 'Population movements into Wales: An Historical Review' in Harper, Peter & Sunderland, Eric (ed.), *Genetic and Population Studies in Wales* (Cardiff, 1986), p. 31.

their areas of influence. Consequently, the emergence of 'Englishries' within the perimeters of newly erected townships (prominent examples include Brecon, Chepstow and Pembroke) became a characteristic aspect of the consolidation of Marcher authority throughout the Middle Ages. The 'colonisation' of these regions did not merely entail the settlement of English or Anglo-Norman overlords (whose intermarriage with native rulers for the purposes of strategic alliances engendered a distinct Anglo-Welsh ruling class over ensuing centuries), but also the migration of English commoners for the purpose of trade and agriculture. As John Davies emphasises in *Hanes Cymru*, the 'deep settlement of foreign peasants' came to be viewed as a more effective method of control than 'a thin layer of noblemen'.[48]

In some cases, these developments bequeathed profound sociological imprints on Welsh society.[49] Perhaps the most prominent example in this respect was the emergence of the region located in southern Pembrokeshire and the Gower peninsula that would later become known as 'Little England Beyond Wales'. Exposed to an influx English, Flemish and, to a lesser extent, Viking migration from the late eleventh century onwards, this area would become thoroughly anglicised in both speech and culture (testified by the nature of local place names) over subsequent centuries. Such was the degree of separation between the migrant population and the bordering indigenous communities[50] that it gave rise to the so-called Landsker Line, which strictly demarcated the limits of the English-speaking domain to the south and the Welsh-speaking domain to the north. To a certain extent, this boundary has retained a measure of relevance in linguistic and cultural terms up to the present day.

However, 'Little England Beyond Wales' represented something of an anomaly in the context of English migration to Wales before the nineteenth century. In the other Welsh regions that had been most affected by the Marcher-directed English settlement (namely the former kingdoms of Brycheiniog, Morgannwg and Gwent), the divisions between the anglicised and indigenous portions of the population were relatively less stark, as English migrants gradually became subsumed within their 'host' communities. Of course, as Carter observes, the palimpsest of the urban 'Englishries' were detectable for some time after the

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[48] 'Mae'n amlwg felly fod gwerinwyr gwledig o Saeson yn ogystal a marchogion Normanaidd wedi'u denu i Gymru, a hynny nid yn unig i Fro Morgannwg ond hefyd i Fro Gwyr, Penfro a Gwent Is Coed; wrth gadarnhau concwest, mae setliad trwchus o werin estron yn fwy effeithiol na haen denau o bendefigion, fel y tystia hanes Iwerddon'. Davies, J., *Hanes Cymru: A History of Wales in Welsh* (London, 2007), p. 110.

[49] According to R.R. Davies, the geographical boundaries of the March almost precisely coincided with a 'racial frontier' that segregated the 'settler and native' populations of Wales for much of the medieval age. Davies, R.R., *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978), p. 303.

[50] This state of affairs is conveyed by Edward Laws in his 1888 study of Little England Beyond Wales, in which he asserted that the English 'colony' was bordered 'on the north by a Welsh-speaking people with whom it has even to the present but little intercourse' Laws, E., *The History of Little England Beyond Wales and the Non-Kymric colony settled in Pembrokeshire* (1888), ii.

dismantling of the March, irrevocably influencing the social complexion of Norman-built market towns such as Brecon.[51] However, the rural interior of Glamorganshire and the western portion of Monmouthshire in particular were able to retain an overwhelmingly Welsh-speaking character for much of the pre-industrial age, as the monolingual English-speaking element of these communities, which was mostly descended from the initial Marcher settlers, tended to be confined to the landed classes. Radnorshire, by contrast, another Welsh county that lay within the Marcher domain, was somewhat less successful in resisting the anglicising influences of its migrant population.

For example, in his pioneering study of cultural transition in the so-called 'central borderland' of Wales (roughly defined as an area of eastern Powys and Radnorshire stretching from Hay on Wye to Welshpool), G.J. Lewis asserts that Radnorshire was commonly known as the 'little Benjamin of the Welsh counties' from the mid-eighteenth century onwards in reference to its supposedly anglicised social climate. This had emerged, according to Lewis, partially as a consequence of a process described as 'relocation diffusion', which entailed the purchase of substantial areas of agricultural land in the county by wealthy English gentry families, who subsequently encouraged the migration of English farmers and labourers into the area.[52] The development of the regional wool trade also acted as a catalyst for anglicisation, as its related commercial activity became increasingly directed towards exclusively English markets.[53] B.H. Malkin, in his 1845 work *Antiques and the Biography of South Wales*, very much subscribed to this impression of Radnorshire as a thoroughly anglicised county, as he claimed that the inhabitants of the eastern areas in particular were 'not Welshmen' but 'the direct descendants of the English Marchers who with their rapacious followers occupied the limits between England and Wales'.[54]

Despite Malkin's assertions however, it is important not to overstate the extent of the decline of Welsh culture around the 'central borderlands' prior to 1850. As late as 1887, for example, a contemporary commentator noted that the passage of 'twelve centuries' near the Berwyn mountain range had not altered the fact that the 'Dyke is still the boundary line here between the English and the Welsh languages', and that he struggled to find 'scarcely any one who speaks English' when travelling a mere 'two or three miles' in a westerly

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[51] Carter, H., 'Population movements into Wales: an Historical Review' in Harper, P. & Sunderland, E. (Ed.), *Genetic and Population Studies in Wales* (Cardiff, 1986), p.39.
[52] Lewis, G.J., 'The Geography of Cultural Transition: The Welsh Borderland, 1750-1850' in *National Library of Wales Journal*, Vol.21, No.2, (Winter 1979), p.140.
[53] Lewis, 'The Geography of Cultural Transition', p.140.
[54] Malkin, B.H., *Antiquities and the Biography of South Wales*, Vol.1 (1845), p.430.

direction.[55] Indeed, while Offa's Dyke had been relatively permeable over the centuries in relation to Anglo-Welsh population movements, it had nevertheless remained remarkably consistent as a linguistic boundary, and would continue to function as a convenient point of reference in cultural discourses for the outer extremities of the Welsh-speaking domain throughout the majority of the nineteenth century.

Without the aid of census figures, of course, it is difficult to precisely ascertain the volume of English migration to Wales before 1801. Owing to the aforementioned evidence, it is reasonable to assume that migration from England was a recurring feature in Welsh society throughout successive centuries, which left a particular imprint on the landed gentry. However, with the exception of south Pembrokeshire and, to a lesser extent, Radnorshire, this process did not significantly alter the fundamental social, linguistic and demographic complexion of Wales, which, by the end of the eighteenth century, remained an overwhelmingly Welsh-speaking and agrarian nation whose population growth had been relatively modest for most of the past millennium. The exceptionality of the migratory 'waves' of the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries is therefore based not only on its aforementioned scale and intensity, but also its pervasive and comprehensive sociological impact on Wales as a whole.

Additionally, as Carter emphasises in *Genetic and Population Studies in Wales*, whereas pre-industrial migration into Wales was characterised by 'conquest and occupation syndrome', the migratory patterns of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a 'classic case of mass transfers following the investment of capital in industrial enterprises',[56] which naturally ensured a significant degree of diversity amongst the migrant populations both in terms of their social backgrounds and their birthplaces. The class compositions of English migrant communities in Wales will be scrutinised in greater detail in a later chapter, however at this stage it seems apposite to provide an overview of their geographic origins, which very much conveys how the advancement of capitalist-driven modes of production were rapidly altering the spatial dimensions of economic activity.

A sense of the broad attraction of Wales' industrial base amongst English-born workers is underlined by the 1915 *Welsh Outlook* article on migration. For example, according to the 1911 census the English-born population of Monmouthshire was revealed to be 88,605, of which 19,693 had arrived from Gloucestershire, 10,374 from Herefordshire,

[55] Lewis, G.J., 'The Geography of Cultural Transition: The Welsh Borderland, 1750-1850' in *National Library of Wales Journal*, Vol.21, No.2, (Winter 1979), p.141.
[56] Carter, H., 'Population movements into Wales: An Historical Review' in Harper, P. & Sunderland, E. (Ed.), *Genetic and Population Studies in Wales* (Cardiff, 1986), p.31.

10,482 from Somersetshire, 7,075 from Staffordshire, 4,591 from Devonshire, 4,097 from Wiltshire, 3,794 from Worcestershire, 2,481 from Shropshire, 2,314 from Yorkshire and 2,106 from Warwickshire. To a certain extent, of course, this breakdown of the English migrant population in Monmouthshire according to their counties of origin indicates an appreciable weighting in favour of westerly and bordering English counties that roughly corresponds to the migratory trends experienced by the other industrialised areas of Wales throughout this period. This implies a certain degree of continuity with the aforementioned short-distance forms of migration that had periodically affected the Welsh border regions since the Norman Conquest. Nevertheless, the sizeable presence of English migrants from further afield (the arrival of labourers from Yorkshire in particular would have a considerable impact on the social environments of the Welsh coalfields) speaks to the increasingly globalised reach of industrial development in Wales, with population movements becoming increasingly subject to the demands of large scale, interconnected market forces rather than by the impulses of disparate and specifically localised economic ecosystems.

Gender and age imbalances in industrial Wales

In line with their general lack of representation in the historiography of nineteenth to early twentieth century Welsh society, family and gender histories of English migration to Wales are, unsurprisingly, rather scarce. Nevertheless, the adroitness of initiating this thesis with a gender-orientated methodological approach reveals itself in several distinct ways. Firstly, the fact that census data will invariably provide a substantial proportion of the source base for any post-1800 study of migration naturally lends itself favourably to the precision of quantitative analyses regarding questions of sex ratios and family structures. Such data may, in turn, underpin a more theoretical and qualitative examination of the impact of gender roles, which became stringently proscribed and regulated during this period, upon patterns of migration.

As will be demonstrated, the particular gender dimensions of the English influx into Wales at the turn of the nineteenth century would not only impart significant demographic consequences, but also profoundly affect the characterisation of migrants within contemporary cultural discourse. Secondly, the recent advancements in the ranges of both Welsh women's history, spearheaded by the likes of Deirdre Beddoe,[57] Jane Aaron[58] and Sandra Betts,[59] as well as localised case studies of population settlement in industrial communities (such as P.N. Jones' work on the Garw and Ogmore Valleys),[60] may serve to contextualise the experiences of English migrant populations from more intimate perspectives. Finally, a gender and family-orientated analysis facilitates a partial insight into the interrelationships between English migrants and their native hosts, as well as the manner in which they affected the complexion of domestic-based social hierarchies.

The chapter will explore these lines of enquiry in two main sections. The first will be devoted to a statistical analysis of census data gathered from a couple of south Walian industrial communities (namely Blaina and Dowlais), with the intention of delineating trends amongst migrant households, and the prevalence of personal relationships (ranging from

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[57] Beddoe, D., *Out of the Shadows: A History of Women in Twentieth-century Wales* (Cardiff, 2008).
[58] Aaron, J., *Nineteenth-century Women's Writing in Wales: Nation, Gender and Identity* (Cardiff, 2010).
[59] Betts, S., *Our Daughters' Land: Past and Present* (Cardiff, 1996).
[60] Jones, P.N., *Mines, Migrants and Residence in the South Wales Steamcoal Valleys: The Ogmore and Garw Valleys in 1881* (Hull, 1987).

formal bonds such as intermarriage to less permanent arrangements of co-habitation) between English migrants and the indigenous population. An impression of the relative communal status of English migrants may also be gleaned from this methodology. This quantitative overview will subsequently provide the basis for the second section of the chapter, which will utilise a gender-based approach to substantiate our understanding of the status of English migrants within the socio-cultural domain of Welsh society. The perceived association between English migrants and 'modern' modes of economic production (as embodied by capitalist-driven industry) is an important subtext in this respect. Despite a predictable paucity of source material, the position of English migrant women during this period will also be scrutinised, with particular attention being devoted to the impact that the process of migration may have had on conceptualisations of domesticity and femininity.

Despite the apparent suitability of this methodological approach, it is perhaps a surprising aspect of the historiography of nineteenth century gender studies, which have increasingly focused on the emergence of proscribed and codified gender roles as well as the formalisation of the boundary between the 'public' and 'private' spheres in Victorian society, that migration has not featured more prominently.[61] The contrast between the increased rigidity and regimentation of Victorian attitudes to gender and the profoundly fluid (and often destabilising) nature of population movements in Britain up to 1914 presents an intriguing line of enquiry, especially from a Welsh perspective. As Erica Burman, Ingrid Palmary, Khatidja Chantler and Peace Kiguwa have stressed in *Gender and Migration: Feminist Interventions*, gender should not merely be viewed as an 'additional variable that qualifies an already existent gender-neutral category of "migrant"' but rather informs our conception of said category from the very beginning, with the 'prototypical (presumed economic) migrant characterised as the single male and the woman positioned as dependent or victims'.[62] Indeed, for a materialist reading of English migration to Wales, which was unambiguously driven by industrialisation in the south east and, to a lesser extent, north east, this is a point that becomes particularly pertinent.

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[61] The relative paucity of gender and family studies that focus specifically on the issue of migration has been noted by Pooley and Turnbull: 'Over the past two decades there has been a large volume of research on the changing nature of the family in the past, but this literature had been only loosely related to the pattern and process of migration'. Pooley, C.G. & Turnbull, J., *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1998), p.193.

[62] Palmary, I., Burman, E., Chantler, K. & Kiguwa, P, *Gender and Migration: Feminist Interventions* (London, 2010), pp.3-4.

Recent studies of the relationship between migration and conceptualisations of gender have tended to challenge this stereotyped image of the migrant as a male figure, usually unattached to a family and driven by economic motives. Ann Rossiter's study of Irish migration to Britain during the post-Famine era emphasises how single women comprised a sizable presence within the broader migrant population,[63] confounding the assumption that female migrants were, as Kate Bartholomew describes, merely the 'passive victims of circumstance'.[64] Colin Pooley and John Doherty's collaboration analysing Welsh migration to a selection of English localities (namely Shrewsbury, Liverpool and Middlesbrough) during the nineteenth century also adopts a similar perspective, as they demonstrate that the majority of Welsh migrants settling in Shrewsbury and Liverpool were in fact female, with only the Welsh community of Middlesbrough demonstrating a slight imbalance in favour of male migrants.[65] Indeed, this conclusion very much corresponds to E.G. Ravenstein's oft-quoted 'Laws' on Migration, which stated that females tended to be more migratory over shorter distances (primarily defined as intra-county migration or movement between adjacent counties), and that it was only over greater distances that male migration assumed numerical superiority.[66]

At first glance, the prominent and glaring gender imbalances that were recorded in census returns for industrial districts in south-east Wales after 1851 suggests that in the case of English migration to Wales, the traditional identification of the typical migrant with young, single men who had been attracted by opportunities of work does hold some validity. According to the census of 1891, for example, there were 120 males resident in Glamorgan for every 100 females within the 15-34 age range, while in the Rhondda the discrepancy for the same age range was even more extreme, with 167 males being documented for every 100 females[67]. This can partially be attributed to the extensive level of rural to urban migration within Wales itself, a phenomenon which has been traced by the likes of L.J. Williams[68] and,

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[63] Rossiter, A., 'In Search of Mary's Past: Placing Nineteenth Century Irish immigrant women in British feminist history' in Grant, J. (Ed.), *Women, Migration and Empire* (London, 1996), p.7.

[64] Bartholomew, K., 'Women migrants in mind: Leaving Wales in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' in Pooley, C.G. & Whyte, I.D. (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A social history of migration* (London, 1991), p.181.

[65] Pooley, C.G. & Doherty, J.C., 'The longitudinal study of migration: Welsh migration to English towns in the nineteenth century' in Pooley, C.G. & Whyte, I.D. (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration* (London, 1991), p.152.

[66] Beddoe, D., *Out of the Shadows: A History of Women in Twentieth-Century Wales* (Cardiff, 2000), p.10.

[67] Egan, D., *Coal Society: A History of the South Wales Mining Valleys 1840-1980* (Cardiff, 1987), p.114.

[68] Williams, L.J., 'The move from the land', in Herbert, T. & Jones, G.E. (eds), *Wales 1880–1914* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1988), pp.11–47.

from a regional perspective, Kathryn Cooper.[69] In contrast to industrial districts, the rural areas of Wales recorded a significant shortage of resident males compared to the female population, with the census of 1901 demonstrating a ratio of 127.2 women for every 100 men in Cardiganshire and 111 women for every 100 men in Pembrokeshire.[70] However, it is clear that the figures for external migrants in industrial districts seem to conform to this general trend.

Before analysing the findings from the data sets chosen for the purposes of this chapter, a brief overview of the dynamics and idiosyncrasies of Welsh industrial society is necessary as a means of contextualising the patterns of migrant settlement in their host communities. This, in turn, will demonstrate the suitability of Blaina and Dowlais as case studies. As several historians have observed,[71] perhaps one of the defining features of industrialisation in Wales was the manner in which it broadly correlated with the profoundly localist sensibilities of Welsh society.[72] This ensured that the majority of Welsh industrial communities, particularly those located in the southern valleys, were inherently 'self-contained' in terms of their socio-cultural dimensions, while the composition of the resident workforces were relatively undiversified. According to L.J. Williams, the fact that such localities were invariably dependent on the extraction of 'primary' minerals engendered the so-called 'enclave industrial' model, which became a far more prevalent facet of industrialisation in Wales compared to the rest of Britain.[73] Consequently, evaluating the process of migrant settlement must be grounded by an acknowledgement of the compact character of the typical Welsh industrial community during this period.

The local distribution of English migration is also worthy of consideration in this respect. In stark contrast to the Irish migrant population of Wales, which had a tendency of settling within clearly-delineated, concentrated and, often, segregated 'communal zones', English migrants were far more likely to be thinly spread across their host communities. This is conveyed by Allan Williams' study of the residential patterns of migrants in nineteenth century Cardiff, in which he compares the relatively even distribution of the English population across the city with areas such as Stuart Street, whose population was recorded as

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[69] Cooper, K.J., *Exodus from Cardiganshire: Rural-Urban Migration in Victorian Britain* (Cardiff, 2011).
[70] Cooper, *Exodus from Cardiganshire*.
[71] Gilbert, D., *Class, Community, and Collective Action: Social change in two British coalfields, 1850-1926* (Oxford, 1992).
[72] This forms part of the justification for L.J. Williams' 'gradualist' interpretation of the course of Welsh industrialisation. Williams, L.J., *Was Wales industrialised?: Essays in modern Welsh history* (Llandysul, 1995).
[73] Williams, *Was Wales industrialised?,* p.21.

being 57% Irish.[74][75] Such patterns, of course, should not be over-emphasised. As P.N. Jones observes in his examination of the Garw and Ogmore valley, 'long, uninterrupted runs of English-headed households' in certain streets were a noticeable feature of these mining communities, to the extent that they could occasionally have the 'appearance of English enclaves'.[76] Nevertheless, Jones concedes that 'the statistical evidence for spatial sorting into segregated runs of English and Welsh households' is insufficient, and thus this general aspect of English migrant settlement in Welsh society must form an integral component of subsequent analysis.[77]

The appropriateness of Dowlais and Blaina as representative case studies can thus be demonstrated according to the manner in which their English migrant populations broadly adhered to the aforementioned trends of settlement and gendered divisions. For example, as Pooley and Doherty emphasise in *Migrants, Emmigrants and Immigrants*, not only was Dowlais an industrial community whose demographic profile was particularly distorted by the presence of young, single men, this imbalance was also primarily attributable to the impact of migration, since the town had 'attracted rather more migrants than the other Welsh settlements, with a substantial proportion travelling from outside Glamorganshire to take advantage of the employment opportunities in Dowlais'.[78] Similar circumstances were also detectable across the western areas of Monmouthsire in which the iron-working community of Blaina was located. For example, the census returns for the nearby district of Bedwellty revealed that men between the ages of 15 to 30 vastly outnumbered women classified in the same age bracket, with this discrepancy between the sexes only beginning to level out towards the 55 to 60 age range[79]. The fact that both Dowlais and Blaina are featured case studies in Gwenfair Parry and Mari Williams' collaborative work on the 1891 census in

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[74] Williams, A.M., 'Migration and Residential Patterns in Mid-Nineteenth Century Cardiff' in *Cambria*, Vol.6 (1979), p.8.

[75] John Hickley, in his study of the Irish in Cardiff, identified the similarities in the population distribution of the English and Welsh residents of the town as being responsible for the relative 'lack of conflict' between both communities. Hickey, J.V., 'The Origin and Development of the Irish Community in Cardiff' (University of Wales, Unpub. M. A. thesis, 1959).

[76] Jones, P.N., *Migrants and Residence in the South Wales Steamcoal Valleys: The Ogmore and Garw Valleys in 1881* (Hull, 1987), p.61.

[77] Jones, *Migrants and Residence in the South Wales Steamcoal Valleys*, p.61.

[78] Pooley, C.G. & Doherty, J., 'The longitudinal study of migration: Welsh migration to English towns in the nineteenth century' in Whyte, I.D. & Pooley, C.G. (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration* (London, 1991), p.159.

[79] *Census of England & Wales: County Report – Monmouth*, p.18.

Wales is also advantageous in this respect, as it permits this chapter to elaborate on pre-existing scholarship from an alternative analytical angle.[80]

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[80] Parry, G. & Williams, M.A., *The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census* (Cardiff, 1999).

Interpreting the census data: Blaina 1891 and 1901, Dowlais 1891 and 1901

The noticeable gender imbalance in favour of males amongst English migrants in the industrial south-east should not reinforce the hackneyed stereotypes and models that recent scholarship of gender and migration has sought to challenge. Indeed, the data collected from Blaina and Dowlais during the census years of 1891 and 1901 provides a more nuanced insight into the dynamic interaction between masculinity and migration, which in turn further informs our understanding of the multi-faceted relationship between materialism and cultural perceptions of migrants. While male migrants formed a numerical majority of the English residents in both communities across both census years, female migrants also constituted a substantial minority, and should therefore be factored into any overarching interpretations of the relevant data.

As the following tables demonstrate (Fig.1 & Fig.2), male to female ratios among migrants in both communities during the years of the censuses were broadly similar, at around 2:1, with the presence of male migrants actually decreasing in relative terms by 1901 (and in absolute terms, in the case of Blaina). Indeed, when the increases in the male and female migrant populations for both communities in 1901 are scrutinised, it becomes apparent that it was English women, rather than men, who had been moving to industrial south-east Wales at a higher rate since 1891. While the inherent pitfalls associated with studies of census returns should caution against sweeping generalisations, the figures do at least hint towards a complex situation that is not easily reconciled by simple dichotomies. The fact that Wales experienced a period of industrial expansion between the 1880s and the 1910s (which was also the period when English migrants arrived in their greatest numbers) might lead to the expectation that, by 1901, both Blaina and Dowlais would demonstrate significant increases in their male migrant populations (and thus correspond with the model of economic growth predominantly driving single male migration). However, while males still represented a majority in each migrant community in both years, the increased growth rate of the female populations is an intriguing feature of these figures, and invites further investigation of patterns of kinship and family formation amongst English migrants.

Community	No. of recorded Male Migrants	No. of recorded Female Migrants	Total	Ratio of Male to Female (to two decimal points)
Blaina	978	442	1420	2.21:1
Dowlais	320	146	466	2.19:1

Fig.1: Male & Female English Migrants recorded in Blaina & Dowlais by the Census of 1891

Community	No. of recorded Male Migrants	% Increase since 1891	No. of recorded Female Migrants	% Increase since 1891	Total	Ratio of Male to Female (to two decimal points)
Blaina	936	-4.3	471	+6.6	1407	1.99:1
Dowlais	716	+123.8	402	+175.3	1118	1.78:1

Fig.2: Male & Female English Migrants recorded in Blaina & Dowlais by the Census of 1901

In his contribution to Pooley and Whyte's edited collection on the social history of migration, Kevin Schurer utilises Bailyn's model of the 'Dual Emigration' (based on his work on eighteenth century emigrants to the New World) to develop his own interpretation of the relationship between the physical process of migration and the family unit within Britain itself.[81] His distinction between subsistence migration (i.e. families moving together as a whole due to so-called 'push factors') and 'betterment' migration (i.e. individuals being drawn by 'pull factors', with family groups emerging at a later date) provides a useful frame of reference. While comparisons of the gender ratios for 1891 and 1901 have been illuminating in and of themselves, it is necessary to contextualise such trends according to collective as well as individual behavioural patterns amongst migrants, and to appreciate how networks of kinship are not always detectable in census returns, especially when population movements were subject to periodic and often volatile economic conditions. Schurer also emphasises the importance of migration as a determining factor in the formative stages of family development over time. Consequently, might the dramatic rate of increase in the female migrant population of Dowlais, for example, be attributed to a stabilisation and consolidation of the circumstances of male family members who had moved at an earlier date, and thus a product of kin-link migration?

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[81] Schurer, K., 'The role of the family in the process of migration' in Whyte, I.D. & Pooley, C.G. (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants A Social History of Migration* (London, 1991), p.107.

A thorough breakdown of the 'familial circumstances' of the migrants under consideration yields some conclusions in this respect. The categories that have been applied here are aimed to roughly distribute migrants according to their position in the familial life cycle, as well as to give an idea of the extent to which this was affected by pre-existing bonds of kinship with other migrants, or newly formed associations with the native population.

Familial circumstance	Male Migrants in 1891	Female Migrants in 1891	Male Migrants in 1901	Female Migrants in 1901
Single & Alone	351 (35.9%)	28 (6.3%)	223 (23.8%)	38 (8.1%)
Married to migrant	189 (19.3%)	193 (43.7%)	187 (20.0%)	186 (39.5%)
Married to native	182 (18.6%)	78 (17.6%)	284 (30.3%)	97 (20.6%)
Married & Alone	21 (2.1%)	0	20 (2.1%)	1 (0.2%)
Single & Living with family	235 (24.0%)	143 (32.3%)	222 (23.7%)	149 (31.6%)

Fig.3: Familial circumstances for English Migrants in Blaina in 1891 and 1901

Familial circumstance	Male Migrants in 1891	Female Migrants in 1891	Male Migrants in 1901	Female Migrants in 1901
Single & Alone	113 (35.3%)	14 (9.6%)	217 (30.3%)	48 (11.9%)
Married to migrant	47 (14.7%)	54 (37.0%)	118 (16.5%)	120 (29.9%)
Married to native	67 (20.9%)	24 (16.4%)	227 (31.7%)	87 (21.6%)
Married & Alone	4 (1.3%)	3 (2.1%)	16 (2.2%)	0
Single & Living with Family	89 (27.8%)	51 (34.9%)	138 (19.3%)	147 (36.6%)

Fig.4: Familial circumstances for English Migrants in Dowlais in 1891 and 1901

In the two tables presented for Blaina and Dowlais, therefore (fig.3 and fig.4), the following criteria were used: (i) **Single & Alone** (which applied to any unmarried or widowed migrant living in a household that didn't contain a family member), (ii) **Married to migrant** (a migrant whose spouse was also a migrant, whether from England or elsewhere), (iii) **Married to native** (a migrant whose spouse was a Welsh-born native), (iv) **Married and**

alone (applicable to married migrants who were not currently living with their spouse) and (v) **Single and living with family** (which included children and other co-habiting relatives). At first glance, the findings seem to conform to general expectations regarding gender roles and familial status during the period: female migrants were, therefore, more likely than their male counterparts to be dependent family members (i.e. **Single and living with family**), while the instances of single, unattached men (i.e. **Single and alone**) dwarfed those for women. However, further analysis of the data indicates some patterns that offer an insight into changing attitudes towards family formation, at a critical stage in Wales' industrial development.

The decline in the proportion of male migrants defined as **single and alone** from being the largest group for both communities in 1891 is perhaps the most arresting feature in this respect. This suggests, particularly in the case of Blaina, a slow-down in so-called 'pioneer frontierism' type migration, which was driven by 'pull factors' and undoubtedly contributed towards the lopsided gender figures for south Wales' census returns. The simultaneous increase in migrants married to a native spouse seems to complement this conclusion, as it is reasonable to assume that the large groups of single, unattached males in 1891 were steadily being integrated into the communities of Blaina and Dowlais by 1901, with the formative stages of the construction of the family unit starting, rather than continuing, after the process of migration. This, of course, has profound implications for industrial Welsh society as a whole, since it implies a high degree of social interaction between male migrants and Welsh women, which in turn demonstrates that, invariably, English migrants had an influential and, to borrow a phrase from John Tosh's work on masculinity,[82] hegemonic role in dictating the course of familial development in these particular communities (This assumes that the majority of male migrants married to natives were considered to be the 'heads' of their respective households).

The cultural context of these interactions is also instructive since, as Burman, Palmary, Chantler and Khatidja assert,[83] the perception of the single male migrant as a disruptive or even threatening presence to the social cohesion of the host community and the decency of its women in particular has become a recurring trope in modern-era migration narratives. It is an aspect that is noted by P.N. Jones while examining migrants in the steam-coal valleys of

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[82] Tosh, J., 'What should historians do with masculinity? Reflection on nineteenth century Britain' in Shoemaker, R. & Vincent, M. (eds.), *Gender and History in Western Europe* (London, 1998), p.75.

[83] Palmary, I.; Burman, E.; Chantler, K. & Kiguwa, P. (eds.), *Gender and Migration: Feminist Interventions* (London, 2010), p.3.

Garw and Ogmore, as Jones claims that the 'social life of the developing communities' were marred by 'exuberant drunkenness and rootlessness' amongst the mostly young and single male migrant populations.[84] A similar impression is conveyed by Lieven in his study of the mining community of Senghenydd during the turn of the nineteenth century, with the rapid population of the village by young single men precipitating frequent 'outbreaks of violence and disorder through drunkenness'.[85]

The term 'rootlessness' deployed by Jones in this context is a particularly illuminating one, since it suggests a complete detachment of the migrant population from the process of familial development within the community under observation, as well as the fact that networks of kinship, elaborated by Anderson in his studies on urban migration, were not articulated in any practical sense. Detecting these familial networks over different regions is difficult, and the fact that the census figures allow a mere snapshot of demographics at a specific moment in time means that it becomes an even more difficult task to ascertain the extent to which the migrant populations in 1891 were static. However, it is reasonable to assume that in the case of Blaina, based on the high instances of single male migrants in 1891, the increase in migrant to native marriages by 1901 and the relative decline in the number of female and male dependents, unattached male migrants were steadily consolidating their position in this particular community by forging new ties of kinship from an internal perspective, with the reliance on external familial bonds becoming less of a feature of the migrants' social behaviour.

This, in turn, suggests that Blaina's migrant population (and the male population in particular) becoming a more settled and grounded feature of the local society, potentially as a result of changing economic conditions. Whereas the statistics for 1891 provided evidence of rapid industrial expansion and social flux (and thus 'pulling' a high number of unattached male migrants seeking opportunities of work), by 1901 it seems that the situation had stabilised somewhat, with fewer new migrants being 'pulled' to Blaina and the pre-existing male migrant population seemingly more secure in terms of their social status and position within the local economy. A slightly different picture emerges for Dowlais, which, once again, may be elaborated by a materialist reading of migration flows. While the relative population of unattached male migrants also decreased in Dowlais between 1891 and 1901, it

[84] Jones, P.N., *Mines, Migrants and Residence in the South Wales Steam Coal Valleys: The Ogmore and Garw Valleys in 1881* (Hull, 1987), p.18.
[85] Lieven, M., *Senghennydd: The Universal Pit Village, 1890-1930* (Llandysul, 1994), p.20.

is notable that the number of female dependents (i.e. those classified as **Single and Living with Family**) as well as the number of migrant married couples increased in both relative and absolute terms. Not only does this indicate an economic relationship between migrants and the locality that was at a slightly less mature and stabilised stage in comparison to Blaina, but also that external bonds of kinship and, perhaps, chain migration were far more influential determinants in the process of family formation.

Converting such speculation into more concrete conclusions can prove to be a risky and often unfeasible task, given the scarcity of evidence that exists to cross-examine census figures. However, by attempting to interpret our data in this way, especially when considered from a materialist context, we are able to raise important issues regarding the means and ease with which migrants were able to stake a claim for themselves in a new environment. Once again, a gendered approach to migration is revealing, as it was often the case that proscribed gender roles provided the most visible blueprint by which individuals sought to attain a status of social respectability during the Victorian era. As John Tosh emphasises in his essay on expressions of nineteenth century masculinity in Britain, for males in Victorian society 'manhood' was something that every boy would eventually attain, however it would invariably be measured by that which 'each individual has achieved'.[86] Similarly, Tosh argues that the solidification of the public and private spheres in Victorian society meant that masculinity, in particular, increasingly became scrutinised as a 'public demonstration',[87] by which familial status and occupation were the most common reference points. In the case of migrants, this notion of 'demonstrations' of gendered status assumed an even greater significance, as their natural sense of cultural and social dislocation upon arrival in the host community would precipitate greater scrutiny of the means by which their gender roles were organised. In this respect, a breakdown of how the English migrants of Dowlais and Blaina were categorised according to their status within the household (which were invariably informed by gender roles) in the census returns for both 1891 and 1901 is informative.

Although the census categories (which are those of the census itself) are fairly self-explanatory, each needs to be assessed in the specific context of a migration study. **Head** refers to the 'leader' of the household, and the individual to whom the most important public duties would be delegated. Invariably, but not exclusively, male (the title would usually be

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[86] Tosh, J., 'What should historians do with masculinity? Reflections on nineteenth century Britain' in Shoemaker, R. & Vincent, M. (eds.), *Gender and History in Western Europe* (London, 1998), p.67.
[87] Tosh, 'What should historians do with masculinity?' in *Gender and History in Western Europe*, p.67.

conferred upon the widows of deceased male heads, while certain, predominantly female, occupations such as school governesses could also be assigned the title), the individual in question fulfilled the role of the 'bread winner' while simultaneously embodying the figure of authority within the confines of the household. This is particularly significant from the perspective of a migrant, for while the motivations of single, unattached migrants can often be condensed as a desire to better perform as a 'bread winner', success in this endeavour did not always translate to the attainment of the position of household head. As the most active representative of a family in the public domain, the figure of the head assumed a certain level of respectability that was not always reflected in the individual's material status. In many ways, the ability of migrants to reconcile their intimate association with the forces of capital with their efforts to cement positions of social and familial respectability in host communities forms a critical component of the narrative of the English experience in Wales.

The category of **Wife** was only applicable to women married to the head of household, which in itself implied certain social and familial responsibilities. In Wales, the 'Welsh Mam' became a powerful cultural trope amongst working-class mining communities which, despite adhering to the Victorian notion that an idealised femininity should be segregated from the realm of public, waged work, nevertheless valorised private duties (namely child nurturing and chores around the home) as an essential and complementary role in the collective management of the household.[88] Once again, a migration study uncovers additional avenues of inquiry related to this social dynamic: how, for example, did the geographically fluid lifestyle of the migrant affect this perception of domesticity that was very much grounded in static routine? Finally, the roles of **Lodgers** and **Boarders** were usually the most common categories of social status that were assumed by migrants upon their arrival in the host community. Whereas prior to 1901 the terms were used somewhat interchangeably in census returns, according to Kevin Schurer, Alice Reid and Eilidh Szreter this situation was clarified somewhat in time for the census of 1901, with lodgers being defined as 'separate households in their own right'[89] who were granted permission to complete the enumerators' schedules themselves (in contrast to boarders, who were not). This is a critical distinction that is worth bearing in mind when comparing the figures for both census years.

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[88] Beddoe, D., *Out of the Shadows: A History of Women in Twentieth-Century Wales* (Cardiff, 2008), p.13.
[89] Schurer, K.; Reid, A. & Szreter, E., *Changing Family Size in England and Wales: Place, Class and Demography, 1891-1911* (Cambridge, 2001), p.58.

Status/Role	1891	1901
Head	398 (28%)	510 (36.2%)
Wife	252 (17.7%)	270 (19.2%)
Children (including sons, daughters, step-sons and step-daughters)	222 (15.6%)	177 (12.6%)
Lodgers	252 (17.7%)	20 (1.4%)
Boarders	202 (14.2%)	283 (20.1%)
Other relatives (including fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, sons in law, daughters in law, and grandchildren)	62 (4.4%)	98 (7.1%)
Visitors	17 (1.2%)	23 (2%)
Servants	15 (1.1%)	22 (2%)

Fig.5: Family status of English migrants in Blaina in 1891 and 1901

Status/Role	1891	1901
Head	130 (27.9%)	346 (30.9%)
Wife	71 (15.2%)	191 (17.1%)
Children (including sons, daughters, step-sons and step-daughters)	80 (17.2%)	190 (17%)
Lodgers	95 (20.4%)	9 (1%)
Boarders	38 (8.2%)	270 (24.2%)
Other relatives (including fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, sons in law, daughters in law, and grandchildren)	21 (4.5%)	67 (6%)
Visitors	11 (2.4%)	21 (1.9%)
Servants	20 (4.3%)	23 (2.1%)

Fig.6: Family status of English migrants in Dowlais in 1891 and 1901

Undoubtedly the most arresting feature of both sets of data is the acute fluctuation in the figures for lodgers and boarders, as well as the steady increase (particularly in the case of Blaina) in the proportion of heads of households amongst the migrant population. Whereas every other category for both communities demonstrate little substantive change, with the relative proportion of wives, children and other relatives remaining relatively consistent, these significant differences in figures for heads, boarders and lodgers provide a compelling insight not only into the evolution and maturation of migrant family groups over the course of

a decade, but also the intriguing shifts in perceptions and definitions of social status between both years. These figures support the interpretations outlined for the previous data sets.

Firstly, it is worth focusing on the increase in the proportion of household heads recorded for Blaina by 1901, and to compare this result with the less substantial increase for Dowlais. While household heads account for the largest single group in both years for Blaina, the combined total of lodgers and boarders in 1891 (the terms were frequently being used interchangeably before 1901) exceeds the figures for heads by 3.9%, whereas by 1901 the proportion of heads was 14.7% greater than the same combination: in other words, between 1891 and 1901, an 18.6% swing had occurred from migrants who were co-habiting in a home that was not their own to those who did possess autonomy over their household. The significance of this, of course, is to reinforce the perception that Blaina's migrant community experienced a period of consolidation and entrenched respectability during this decade, as the substantial proportion of heads recorded in 1901 (combined with the simultaneous decline of lodgers and boarders) creates the impression of a migrant population whose position had gradually shifted from possessing an economic foothold on the periphery of society to one in which a substantial proportion of the population had an invested stake in the social fabric of the host community.

This situation contrasts somewhat with that of Dowlais. Here, too, household heads remained the largest single group during both census years, however the rate of increase was far less pronounced between 1891 and 1901 in comparison to that which occurred in Blaina (a 3% rise, as opposed to the 8.2% rise in Blaina), which is especially significant when the extent to which the overall English migrant population expanded over the course of the decade (an increase of 140% compared to the slight 0.9% decrease in Blaina's migrant population) is considered. This modest rate of growth contrasts most notably with the rapid, 16% increase in the migrant boarder population over the same timescale. It must be remembered that, by 1901, the category of boarder in census returns was defined, in opposition to a lodger, as an individual who was not permitted to complete an enumerator's schedule on their own accord, and whose authority was considered very much subordinate to the head within the confines of the household unit. In other words, the familial category that had demonstrated the most substantial growth amongst the migrant population of Dowlais by 1901 consisted of individuals who were located on the 'social periphery', and whose interaction with the local economy did not correspond to an autonomous social role in their respective households (and, by extension, the public domain of the community as a whole).

While instances of whole migrant families residing as boarders is an observable feature of the figures for Dowlais during both years (thus fitting the 'subsistence' model of migration described by Schurer), in the majority of cases they were single, unattached individuals who conformed to the profile of the wealth-seeking migrant who was motivated by 'pull' factors. Once again, therefore, it is possible to infer that Dowlais existed in a less mature stage as a hub for migration in comparison to Blaina by 1901, as the economic attraction of the area for single, unattached migrants had not yet facilitated the kind of social integration that had become a more prominent feature of Blaina's migrant community.

A few more aspects of this data set require consideration before a broader, gender-based analysis of cultural perceptions of English migrants in Wales may be undertaken. Firstly, the fact that the number of recorded lodgers, both in absolute and proportional terms, plummeted quite dramatically in both communities by 1901 appears rather suggestive in itself: the clarification concerning the definition of lodgers and their role within the household seems to have precipitated a substantial swing in migrants reclassifying themselves as boarders. This represents a tacit acknowledgment of the limitations of their familial authority. If, by 1901, lodgers were considered to occupy an intermediate position in terms of status compared to heads and boarders, these figures imply that hierarchies of authority in households containing migrants were rather more polarised than the 1891 census demonstrates.

The relative paucity of recorded servants is also illuminating. While the working-class character of both communities meant that it was always likely that employed servants would be a minimal presence in the census returns, this situation can be contrasted with the volume of Welsh, predominantly female, servants who migrated to England during the Victorian era. Indeed, the general report on the census returns for England and Wales in 1891 remarked about how the data demonstrated a 'large…demand in towns for country servants'[90], which was primarily satisfied by a geographically mobile workforce of single women. In contrast, no such movement seems to have occurred in the direction of Blaina and Dowlais, while P.N. Jones' study of migration to Ogmore and Garw Valley in 1881 demonstrates a similarly meagre proportion of servants. This suggests a broader trend throughout the industrial districts of south Wales towards the end of the century.

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[90] *England & Wales Census 1891: General Report Vol. IV,* p.61.

The manner in which employment opportunities in heavy industry communities such as Dowlais and Blaina were rigidly exclusionary across gender lines (in comparison to the textile industries of Yorkshire and the English north-west, where women played a far more active role in factory-based work), meant that avenues of waged employment for English female migrants were acutely restricted. While much has been discussed already about the economic 'pull' factors that probably underpinned the movement of male English migrants, it is also important to consider how the experiences of female English migrants, either as part of a family unit or individually, must be contextualised according to very different sociological parameters that, more often than not, were internalised within the confines of the household. Further investigation of these experiences and the ways in which they informed broader cultural and social perceptions of migrants are discussed below, however at this stage it is important to emphasise that simple dichotomies such as the 'push' and 'pull' models do not always adequately reflect the complex influence that migration exerted on the lifecycle of individuals.

Masculinity and English migration

To enrich our understanding of the relationship between gender identities and cultural perceptions of English migrants in Wales, it first becomes essential to dissect the manner by which expressions of masculinity and femininity were rigidly codified by the socio-cultural expectations of the Victorian era. As mentioned previously, the solidification and formalisation of the public and private spheres, in which men and women were invariably assigned specific roles, became a profound feature of society towards the end of the nineteenth century, and nowhere was this more apparent than in the industrial districts of Wales. Whereas the boundaries separating gender roles had become somewhat blurred during the 'cottage industrial' era, with women being active participants in tasks of manufacturing (and continued to be in the textile industries of the North-West of England), the onset of heavy industry centred around coal mining and steel work, occupations which were predicated upon notions of physical strength, increasingly marginalised the Welsh female workforce, and to a far greater extent than in England. Consequently, by the beginning of the twentieth century a mere 14% of women living in Rhondda were described as being 'gainfully employed', with similar figures being recorded throughout the south Wales valleys[91]. The lack of diversity in the Welsh economy (compared to the more mixed character of some industrial regions in England) exacerbated this situation, as it meant that, between 1871 and1901, over 50% of the Welsh female workforce was employed in domestic service (compared to just over 40% of the English female workforce over the equivalent period. As the census returns for both Dowlais and Blaina have indicated, the demand for such work was not particularly high in the industrial communities of Wales.

For all intents and purposes, therefore, the domain of employed, 'public' work (as opposed to the 'domestic' work undertaken by women) in the areas of Wales most affected by English migration was heavily male-dominated even by the standards of mid- to late-nineteenth century Britain. This means that the Victorian tendency to view a man's occupation as the quintessential barometer by which his masculinity was judged must figure prominently in any gender-based analysis. Indeed, the fact that a substantial proportion of migration to areas such as Blaina, Dowlais and other Welsh industrial communities involved men motivated by opportunities of employment demonstrates that John Tosh's assertion that

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[91] John, A.V., *Our Mother's Land: Chapters in Welsh Women's History, 1830-1939* (Cardiff, 2011), p.5.

a man's occupation was the most reliable indicator of his male 'calling' is particularly apt in this case, as the decision to relocate geographically became inexorably intertwined with expressions of masculine assertiveness. This notion of the act of migration being regarded as a kind of masculine rite of passage is explicitly conveyed in Bert Coombes' evocative account of his migration from the rural pastures of Herefordshire to industrial Glamorgan, in which moving to the 'works' in the South Walian valleys is presented as the ideal course of action for a 'young feller' seeking to make his mark on the world.[92] This is further expanded when, upon his departure, he is advised by a friend to 'keep away from them Welsh gels'.[93] This demonstrates that while opportunities of employment may have been the primary motivation for single male migration, the prospect of interacting with members of the opposite sex in the new locality (which could eventually lead to the formation of a family, as was the case for Bert Coombes) would have been a recurring theme in perceptions of the migratory experience. The precise relationship between the status of an individual as a migrant and his masculine credentials in Victorian Wales, however, presents a somewhat multifaceted picture, and in many ways cuts to the heart of the often conflicting responses which greeted English incomers amongst the native Welsh population.

Certainly, the tendency to conceptualise the male English migrant according to his capacity for work, and his function within the broader forces of industrialisation and capital was undoubtedly a common theme in public discourses in Wales, echoing tropes that have long been a feature of narratives on migration. As discussed previously, Palmary, Burman, Chantler, Kiguwa and Peace's feminist perspectives on migration stress how the supposed 'threat' posed by male migrants was often gendered, and the association of the migrant with work was a key component of this reaction. If Victorian idealisations of manhood and masculinity were predicated on an individual's occupation and ability to provide, the prospect of migrants denying employment opportunities for local residents would naturally have been perceived as an emasculating influence within anti-migration narratives. This theme was apparent in certain sections of the Welsh press during the latter half of the nineteenth century. For example, in an article appearing in the *Aberystwyth Observer* on 18 February 1877 under the provocative headline 'Wales for the English?', the fact that the commercial environment of Wales was supposedly being 'gulped by the English' is lamented, with specific references

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[92] Coombes, B.L., *These Poor Hands: The Autobiography of a Miner Working in South Wales* (London, 1939), p.3.

[93] Coombes, *These Poor Hands: The Autobiography of a Miner Working in South* Wales, p.7.

being made at migrants being allowed to 'steal the business' of the native population[94]. This was despite the fact that, as the *Observer* robustly contends, 'man for man' the average Welshman was 'quite the equal' of his English counterpart.[95]

A similar fear was raised earlier in the period by G.S. Kenrick in his statistical survey of the ironworks near Trevethin and Blaenavon. He remarked that the prospect of English recruits being hired in the area was considered by the local population to be a 'wanton and unjustifiable invasion of their territory'.[96] This certainly conveys the sense of anxiety that must have prevailed amongst the native male workforce at the prospect of their hegemonic masculine authority being compromised. Generally speaking, however, at least amongst contemporary newspapers and periodicals, public discourses surrounding migrants and their relationship with the workplace seemed to adopt a common tone that stressed the almost paternalistic influence that English migration, as a collective sociological process, would exert upon Welsh society. One of the particular features of English migration into Wales, in comparison to other population movements during this period, is that it involved communities absorbing groups of people deriving from a culture that was considered to be, at least in political and commercial terms, dominant. This precipitated an intriguing dimension to gender-based responses to the influx of external populations settling in the predominantly industrial districts of Wales. In the majority of instances of indigenous discourses on migration, particularly in cases where 'push' factors were the primary motivation, masculine anxieties were intertwined with assumptions of national inferiority. Thus, the figure of the uncouth and predatory navvy became a recurring trope in cultural depictions of male Irish migrants throughout Wales and the rest of Britain during the nineteenth century.

In the case of English migration to Wales, however, any masculine anxiety regarding the 'threat' posed by the incomers had to be tempered by the acknowledgement of English culture's hegemonic presence within British society. Whereas some commentators, most notably Emrys ap Iwan, attempted to vigorously challenge the perceived superiority of English values by asserting the virtues of Welsh culture,[97] many publications during the period, in line with the general tone of deference that pervaded middle-class attitudes towards Anglicisation, contextualised the English presence in Welsh workplaces as a beneficial,

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[94] 'Wales for the English?', *The Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1877.
[95] 'Wales for the English?', *The Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1877.
[96] Kendrick, G.S., 'Statistic of the population in the parish of Trevethin (Pontypool) and at the neighbouring works of Blaenavon in Monmouthshire', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, (1841), p.370.
[97] See Lloyd, D. M. (ed.), *Detholiad o Erthyglau a Llythyrau Emrys ap Iwan* (Aberystwyth, 1937).

paternalistic influence.[98] While cultural perceptions of groups such as the Irish, with their marginalised national culture, tended to be fixed on an individual level therefore, public attitudes towards English migrants, especially in terms of their material contribution to Wales, were invariably framed according to a collective outlook that was informed by an appreciation of the transformative effects of industrialisation.[99]

The broader relationship between discourses on English migration and materialist perspectives will be discussed in greater depth in chapter two, however at this point it is particularly beneficial to consider how it enriches a specifically gender-based analysis. As mentioned previously, it is the paternalistic undertones that accompany discussions of the interaction between male English migrants and their native Welsh counterparts in the workplace that are most apparent in this respect. The perceived emasculatory 'threat' posed by the individual English migrant towards the employability of a Welshman was therefore often reframed as a mutually beneficial association in which the native inhabitants would learn and develop from the guidance of their more enterprising English counterparts. Frequently, it was the juxtaposition between the 'natural' temperaments of both peoples that became a reference point in this respect. Therefore, even the *Aberystwyth Observer*, which had conducted a stern defence of the Welshman's masculine qualities while observing the increased penetration of English influences in the local economy, was forced to concede that the native worker suffered from being 'too cautious' and 'less venturesome' compared with the 'undoubted audacity' that characterised his English competitor.[100]

These depictions of the respective 'personalities' of the typical Welsh and English worker were not only by-products of national stereotyping, but actually served to reinforce perceptions of workspace hierarchies. The most common point of reference in this respect was the dispassionate rationality that was deemed to characterise the English work-ethic, in contrast to the overly emotive disposition of the Welsh worker. For example, in a report on a court dispute between a Welsh worker and an English worker in the *Liverpool Mercury* on 14 May 1892, the Master of the Rolls described the Welsh as a typically 'hot-headed' people while delivering his verdict on the case.[101] Meanwhile in another *Liverpool Mercury* article, dated 13 November 1869, a contributor to a debate on the issue of providing a Welsh Bishop

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[98] 'Lleyn and Eifionydd Agricultural Society', *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 20 August 1864.
[99] For recent scholarship on Irish family history see Herson, J., *Divergent Paths: Family Histories of Irish Emigrants in Britain 1820-1920* (Manchester, 2015).
[100] 'Wales for the English?', *Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1877.
[101] 'Master of the Rolls on Welsh Men', *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 May 1892.

for St. Asaph claimed that Englishmen were 'taught by the head and must be convinced by reason' whereas Welshmen were influenced 'by the heart'.[102] This image of the 'stolid Saxon', directed by an enterprising stoicism that allowed him to thrive within the modern environment of industry and commerce was lauded as an example for the native Welshman, still wedded to a more traditional, emotionally-driven outlook, to follow. According to the *Aberystwyth Observer*, it was precisely this mentality that had resulted in more technical professions, such as those offered by the town's university, being inherently occupied by English incomers rather than the Welsh locals.[103]

These trends in public discourse had broader implications for the Anglo-Welsh relationship, however in the context of a gender-based analysis it is particularly illuminating that the theme of emotional control was so readily invoked by newspapers when seeking to delineate the characteristics of the typical English and Welsh worker. By the mid-nineteenth century, notions of emotional sobriety and rationality had become firmly embedded in Victorian idealisations of masculinity, which very much corresponded with contemporary expectations of gender roles in the public and private spheres. As a figure whose primary duties resided in the public domain of work, the ideal Victorian man was expected to adhere to a code of conduct that emphasised rational thought and a sense of detachment from impassioned impulses. In a world that was increasingly becoming fine-tuned to the gears of industry and the relentless flow of commerce, such a level-headed approach was deemed essential as a route to prosperity.

As Connell hypothesises in his reflections on the theoretical foundations of masculine identity, the displacement of the landed gentry, who had been guided by more emotionally-driven 'codes of honour', by bureaucrats and businessmen towards the end of the eighteenth century had resulted in 'calculative rationality' and 'technical expertise' becoming increasingly valorised in burgeoning capitalist societies.[104] Consequently, within the confines of the household, the task of providing emotional nourishment, especially in the context of nurturing children, was inevitably delegated to women, whose natural sensitivity was perceived to be an essential component of their femininity. The father, in contrast, was expected to be wary of being emotionally over-indulgent, maintaining a sense of distance from his children (at least during their younger years).

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[102] 'A Welsh Bishop for St. Asaph', *Liverpool Mercury*, 13 November 1869.
[103] 'Wales for the English?', *Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1877.
[104] Tosh, John, 'Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender' in Dudink, S.; Hagemann, K. & Tosh, J. (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester, 2004), p.48.

In reality, such conduct was more a feature of middle-class families (particularly since domestic servants were often employed for the task of raising children), and several studies have explored how the dynamics of working-class familial behaviour differed in this respect. However it is striking how frequently these gendered themes were evoked by the contemporary press to portray the perceived attitudes of Welsh and English men in the working environment. Even the *Aberystwyth Observer*, which had sought to vindicate the qualities of the native Welsh workforce in competitive commercial conditions, conceded that a change was required in the mind-set of a typical Welsh worker, which was inexorably geared towards being content with the 'scanty fare' that had satisfied his 'grandfather' in previous generations, as opposed to the ambition of an Englishman for nothing less than 'roast beef and comfort'.[105] This analogy conveys the impression that the native worker was primarily instructed by an outlook of subsistence that was framed by familial concerns, whereas the English incomer was able to break from these confines to set his sights upon more ambitious goals. In other words, the conduct of the native Welsh worker was being characterised by a sense of overlap between his public and private affairs, in contrast to the English migrant who was able to more effectively thrive within the exclusively masculine domain of public work.

This notion of the English as a people who were naturally regulated by an ethos of enterprise became a recurring trope in contemporary public discourses, which once again was very much influenced by perceptions of masculinity. The inherent individualism that underpinned the enterprising spirit of the capitalist age (which gradually displaced the collective subsistence-level economic activity of pre-industrial societies) became influential in the rise to prominence of the man of fortune in the Victorian cultural consciousness, whose masculinity was defined by his willingness to seek personal wealth in this new environment of economic opportunity. This is particularly significant in the context of this study, since the single male migrant represented an identifiable manifestation of this cultural figure to wider society, and regardless of the fact that a sizable proportion of migration to Wales during this period involved entire families moving on a collective basis, as well as a number of women, it is this aspect of English migration that became a recurring point of reference for contemporary commentators. Jelinger C. Symons, a figure of considerable notoriety in Wales due to his involvement in compiling the Blue Books on education of 1847, summarised such attitudes by noting how a number of communities in the South-East of Wales in particular

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[105] 'Wales for the English?', *Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1877.

had become 'swollen by immigration' as a result of labourers being 'lured by the golden harvest' of industrialisation and the 'mineral adventure' that it entailed.[106]

Symons' use of the term 'adventure' here evocatively conveys the risk-reward dichotomy that lay at the heart of the migratory experience in a capitalist environment, while hinting at the specifically masculine romanticism that constituted its appeal: not only could the male worker demonstrate his prowess within the environment of industry and capitalist enterprise through his reason and rationality, but also through his daring (appropriately emphasised by the *Aberystwyth Observer*'s remark on the perceived 'audacity' of the English incomer). Such themes very much resonate with the notion of the migrant as a frontier pioneer (both from a geographic perspective and a more abstract cultural context), a concept most famously associated with Frederick Turner's thesis on the westward expansion of the United States.[107]While Turner's model deals with a very different historical context, his portrayal of migration as a formative cultural process by which the qualities of masculine daring and individualism play a critical role clearly has some relevance for the purposes of this study.

Indeed, in Smith and Williams' study of the early years of rugby union in Wales, the development of the game in the industrial valleys is explicitly linked to the characterisation of the region as a 'frontier society'.[108] Certainly, Coombes' account of his experiences as a young single migrant, enticed by the new horizons of the Bessemer works in Dowlais as a means of escaping his mundane life in the Herefordshire countryside, encapsulates this sense of masculine romanticism that underpinned public perceptions of migration during the industrial era. According to the more Anglophile elements of Welsh society, such as Captain Steble of the Liverpool Cambrian Society, such proactivity from incoming English workers was to be applauded, and native Welshmen were thus encouraged to 'assist the enterprise of Englishmen in Wales' in this spirit of industrial-driven progress.[109]

It was the male English migrant's association with specific and codified cultural traits that allowed him to be regarded as a 'pioneer' in this way, in stark contrast to migrants who

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[106] Pryce, W.T.R., 'Language Shift in Gwent, c.1770-1981' in Coupland, N. & Thomas, A.R. (eds.), *English in Wales: Diversity, Conflict and Change* (Cardiff, 1990), pp.57-58.

[107] Turner, F.J., *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920). Alfred E. Zimmern's work deployed similar themes in his study of the Welsh American communities. Zimmern, A.E., *My Impressions of Wales* (London, 1921).

[108] Smith, D., & Williams, G., *Fields of Praise* (Cardiff, 1980), p.13.

[109] 'St. David's Day – The Liverpool Cambrian Society's Dinner', *The Wrexham Advertiser, Denbighshire, Flintshire, Shropshire, Cheshire & North Wales Register*, 10 March 1866.

derived from elsewhere. In the case of Wales, of course, this was primarily categorised in terms of his command of English, and in many ways the experience of the English migrant in Wales served to emphasise the credentials of the language as the quintessential qualification by which an individual could gain access to and respectability within the masculine domain of public work (an aspect which will be explored in greater detail in chapter three).[110] This was a mutually reinforcing cultural nexus: on the one hand, the willingness of so many Englishmen to uproot themselves to seek their fortunes in unfamiliar surroundings was surely evidence of the durability and reliability of the language as the primary facilitator of economic prosperity, while the migrants' common linguistic heritage, deriving from the dominant cultural tradition of the Western hemisphere, could allow their ventures to be perceived not as acts of desperation, but rather as routes to personal advancement and success. This notion of personal success is significant, for while the 'audacity' required to proceed with the act of migration was often held up as a positive affirmation of the English migrant's masculinity, the prospect of failure was, usually through reference to their socio-linguistic traits, simultaneously rendered insignificant in public discourses.

While the *Aberystwyth Observer*, therefore, in the course of its commentary on English migration in the town, noted, quite reasonably, that not every English incomer was destined to succeed in their endeavours in Wales,[111] the manner in which Anglophone culture and economic enterprise were so intimately intertwined in the public consciousness meant that, at least on a collective level, English migrants were inevitably associated with the triumphant and supposedly irreversible march of Anglo-Saxon modernity, regardless of their relative success on an individual basis. Such attitudes appealed directly to notions of masculine pride: if the supremacy of Anglo-Saxon capitalist enterprise, projected through the medium of the English language, was assured, then the only path to respectability was to conform to its sociocultural characteristics. Thus, as Tom Elis reasoned, for a 'young man' to 'rise' in contemporary society, acquiring a degree of fluency in the English vernacular was essential,[112] with the figure of English migrant providing the model by which native Welshmen could follow. It is unsurprising, in this respect, that male English migration to Wales was, at least in economic terms, almost universally portrayed in terms of its 'successes', regardless of whether they were tangible.

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[110] See Williams, S.R., *Oes Y Byd I'r Iaith Gymraeg: Y Gymraeg Yn Ardal Ddiwydiannol Sir Fynwy Yn Y Bedwaredd Ganrif Ar Bymtheg* (Cardiff, 1992).

[111] 'Wales for the English?', *Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1877.

[112] Pryce, W.T.R., 'Language Shift in Gwent, c.1770-1981' in Coupland, N. & Thomas, A.R. (eds.), *English in Wales: Diversity, Conflict and Change* (Clevedon, 1990), p.75.

While the parallels between the treatment of English influences in Welsh workspaces and the tropes commonly associated with the idealised model of the Victorian working-man are certainly striking, it is important to realise that they did not always align in the same manner in other aspects of gender identity. Indeed, despite the aforementioned collective social benefits that were perceived to be a by-product of English migration, especially amongst more progressive elements of the Welsh middle classes, cultural stereotypes of the migrant as an individual existing outside of the industrial or commercial environment assumed very different features, which were once again dictated by Victorian assumptions concerning idealised states of masculinity. Whereas anglophile elements of Welsh society could point to the English migrant as the physical embodiment of progress and modernity, more critical voices determined that the intimate association between migration and the flow of capital meant that the incoming worker was naturally deficient compared to his indigenous counterpart in matters spiritual and moral. The stance of figures such as Emrys ap Iwan, which sought to emphasise the corrupting impact of the English migrant's perceived preoccupation with material gain, will be explored in a later chapter, however, once again a gender-based approach provides an intriguing insight into the manner in which masculine identities underpinned the moral fabric of Welsh society, and how the prospect of Anglicisation was perceived to challenge such dimensions outside the domain of industry and commerce.

In the absence of specifically Welsh political and social institutions up until the end of the nineteenth century, religious observance in Welsh society played a crucial role as the public 'voice' of national identity in Wales during the Victorian era.[113] Perhaps as a result of this, the relationship between religious practice in Wales and masculinity underwent a rather idiosyncratic trajectory, certainly in comparison to the state of Christian worship throughout the rest of Britain and Western Europe. As Yvonne Werner has noted in her study on Christian masculinity, the gradual retreat of religious worship to the private sphere in Western societies after the middle of the nineteenth century, largely as a result of the growing prominence of scientific rationalism in public discourse, resulted in Christianity becoming increasingly associated with notions of 'womanliness and docility'.[114] Such impressions are

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[113] See Jones, I.G., *Communities: Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales* (Llandysul, 1987), Jones, I.G. & Williams, D., *The Religious Census of 1851: A Calendar of the Returns Relating to Wales. Vol.I, South Wales* (Cardiff, 1976) & Jones, I.G.,*The Religious Census of 1851 : A Calendar of the Returns Relating to Wales. Vol.2, North Wales* (Cardiff, 1981).

[114] Werner, Y., *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Leuven, 2011), p.7.

certainly supported by the demographic trends of religious attendance in mainstream Christian denominations from the 1850s to the present day, which shows a definite increase in the female presence in congregations (and a simultaneous decline in the male presence). Werner contends that this idea of the 'feminisation of Christianity' which began to take hold in the Western consciousness towards the end of the nineteenth century played a vital role in formalising the division of society into the public and private spheres.

In the case of Wales, however, and especially from the perspective of Nonconformity, such trends are rather less perceptible. Far from being consigned to the private domain, chapel culture in Wales retained not only its prominence as an identifiable fixture in the public sphere throughout the majority of the century, but also its distinctly patriarchal character in terms of its attitudes. The figure of the (usually male) preacher commanded a distinct aura of public authority in Welsh communities that had, perhaps, started to erode somewhat in other areas of Britain. Certainly, his role as an arbiter of moral standards was very much taken seriously amongst the chapel-going population of Wales, which had particular implications for perceptions of women and female behaviour during the period. As Jane Aron has noted in her study of the relationship between gender and colonialism, the figure of the 'sadistic chapel deacon' obsessively and unrelentingly sermonising about the dangers of the 'fallen woman' became a recurring theme both in contemporary Welsh cultural discourses and retrospective literary depictions (she cites *How Green Was My Valley* as an example).[115] The response the Blue Books, which, to a considerable degree, was fixated upon the issue of female morality, precipitated a renewed sense of vigour amongst Nonconformists to proscribe and regulate patterns of social behaviour amongst women in Wales.[116] The publication of the Welsh-language *Y Gymraes* during the 1850s (which, despite being advertised as a women's interest periodical, was predominantly written by male contributors) represented one of the most visible manifestations of the Nonconformist exercise of patriarchal authority.[117]

It is unsurprising, in this respect, that Nonconformist rhetoric in the public domain often involved overtly masculine language, which in many ways had a direct impact on the cultural reception that greeted English incomers. The manner in which certain elements of

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[115] Aron, J., 'Finding a voice in two tongues: Gender and Colonisation' in Aron, J. & Vincentelli, M. (Eds.), *Our Sister's Land: The Changing Identities of Women in Wales* (Cardiff, 1994), p.183.
[116] See James, M.C., *Women, Identity and Religion in Wales: Theology, Poetry, Story* (University of Wales, 2018) & Roberts, G.T., *The Language of the Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Chicago, 1998).
[117] Williams, S.R., 'The True "Cymraes": Images of Women in Women's Nineteenth-Century Welsh Periodicals' in John, A.V. (ed.), *Our Mother's Land: Chapters in Welsh Women's History, 1830-1939* (Cardiff, 1991).

Nonconformist opinion expressed fears at the potential of English migration bolstering the position of the Established Church will be covered more thoroughly in chapter four. In the context of a gender-based analysis however, the pages of the *Liverpool Mercury* on 4 June 1868 provide a particularly illuminating example of how themes of masculinity could inform such debates, as a report from the Welsh Reform Association compared patterns of religious observance in both Nonconformist chapels and the Established Church by claiming that onlookers would notice how chapels in Wales were consistently 'crowded to the roof by the flower of Welsh manhood' every Sunday, in stark contrast to the 'few old women' who were deemed to be the sole representatives of the Church's congregation.[118] This declaration was received with 'great laughter' and a 'round of applause'.[119]

The implications were clear: the Established Church was disconnected from the masculine consciousness of Welsh society, and, as a result of years of neglect, it had retreated to further towards the 'womanly' domain of the private sphere, rendering it impotent as a public institution.[120] From a broader perspective, a few contemporary observers even utlised this gendered language to reinforce notions of national distinctiveness. For example, as Paul O'Leary states, the prominent political commentator R.J. Derfel frequently castigated Welshmen who sought to renounce their national identity (which could presumably be readily achieved through perceived displays of obsequiousness towards the 'English element' in Welsh society) as being 'the equivalent of a man who neglected his family'.[121] Thus a 'rejection of patriotism was equated with emasculation: being less than a Welshman meant being less than a man'.[122]

There is no doubt therefore of the existence of distinct strands of contemporary thought regarding the supposed deficiencies of English migrants in their ability to maintain a healthy and balanced masculine constitution, even amongst those who were more enthusiastic about the impact of migration. The fact that the migrant's motives were apparently solely

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[118] 'The Welsh Reform Association', *Liverpool Mercury*, 4 June 1868.
[119] 'The Welsh Reform Association', *Liverpool Mercury*, 4 June 1868.
[120] Owing to its perceived accessibility to Catholic influences, Paul O'Leary has also noted this tendency for the Established Church to be denigrated in gendered terms by Welsh nonconformists. O'Leary, P., 'When Was Anti-Catholicism? The Case of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Wales' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.56 (July 2005), pp.92-106.
[121] O'Leary, P., 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales, 1840-1880' in Jenkins, G.H. (Ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains, 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.543-44.
[122] O'Leary, 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales, 1840-1880' in *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains*, pp.543-44.

dictated by, as Thomas Gee asserted, the material lure of 'gems in the mountains',[123] without any prior grounding in the social mores of Welsh society implied that he was naturally less well-adjusted to regulating his emotional impulses. According to Sir Thomas Phillips, who had been knighted for his instrumental role in suppressing the Newport Rising of 1839, this meant that those areas which had been overrun by 'immigrants from England and Ireland' were more susceptible to be 'driven thither by crime or want'.[124] A similar argument regarding the apparent moral turpitude of migrants in Wales was posited by John Coke Fowler in his 1873 lecture series on *The Characteristics and Civilisation of South Wales*, in which he attributed the 'unpleasant appearance' of Glamorgan to the presence of its migrant population, referring to the high representation of English and Irish born prisoners in Swansea goal as evidence of this.[125] As will be explored in a later chapter, this line of reasoning became an essential factor in the decision of a number of Nonconformist denominations to establish the so-called English Causes during the second half of the nineteenth century, whose mandate was to facilitate processes of assimilation amongst English migrants, and thus acclimatise them to the sober and moderate precepts of chapel-based masculine culture.

This notion of restraint and control being valued as defining features of masculine respectability reflects the interconnectivity of gender attitudes with the growing influence of Nonconformist-led Liberal ideas in Welsh political discourses of the nineteenth century. As Wolfgang Schmale has observed in his studies of modern masculinities, the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of a liberal-bourgeois consensus regarding the 'optimum' state of manhood based on the biological categories of self-restraint and emotional moderation, in contrast to the unrefined and impulsive masculinities of the lower orders.[126] Owing to the consolidation of the Liberal Party's electoral hegemony in Wales after the 'miracle' election of 1868, it is unsurprising that such ideas gained traction amongst middle class Welsh society. This is perhaps most apparent in terms of the rise of temperance movements in Wales from the 1830s and 1840s,[127] which aimed to counteract the spread of drinking culture amongst working men, as well as provide alternate outlets for male bonding and socialising. Once again, the English migrant was often cast as the 'other' by which the

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[123] Edwards, H.T.i, *Codi'r Hen Wlad yn Ei Hôl* (Cardiff, 1989), p.147.
[124] Thomas, J.E., *Social Disorder in Britain, 1750-1850: The Power of the Gentry, Radicalism and Religion in Wales* (London, 2011), pp.178-179.
[125] O'Leary, P., *Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales 1798-1922* (Cardiff, 2000), p.168.
[126] Werner, Y., *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Leuven, 2011), p.12.
[127] See Lambert, W.R., *Drink and Sobriety in Victorian Wales, C.1820-c.1895* (Cardiff, 1983).

necessity for such movements was gauged, as their supposed predilection for the vices of drink was compared unfavourably to the virtuous sobriety of the native inhabitants.

The nature of the discourse surrounding the temperance movement's greatest triumph in Wales, namely the passing of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act in 1881, is particularly illuminating in this respect. Representing the first act of Parliament to treat Wales as a separate legislative unit since the passing of the Acts of Union in the sixteenth century, the act was frequently portrayed in terms of its resonance amongst the native working men of Wales, who were supposedly grateful for its role in preserving the cherished routines of chapel-worship, and its lack of success amongst the English migrant population. Indeed, a frequent complaint levelled against the terms of the act by the temperance lobby was that it did not extend to include Monmouthshire (the county's legal position in relation to Wales was ambiguous during this period), which they claimed allowed English workers in Glamorgan the opportunity to travel the short distance into the adjacent county in order to enjoy a Sunday pint, thus creating a kind of short term 'drink tourist' industry.[128]

These impressions of a lack of self-control on the part of the English migrant also fed into narratives relating to issues surrounding responsibility and self-reliance, especially in terms of the scale and scope of native Welsh proposals to provide religious instruction for incoming non-Welsh speakers. While the debates surrounding the so-called Nonconformist English Causes are an issue unto themselves, it is notable that their most ardent critics (i.e. those who were most sceptical of the English migrant's ability to conform to the spiritual standards of Welsh society) frequently adopted a Liberal-masculine mentality that prioritised the ability of a man to provide and sustain his own fortunes, in order to argue against a collective response to English-language services in chapels. In a highly charged article published in *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* on 11 April 1877, Emrys ap Iwan pointed to the example of Welsh inhabitants living in English towns who had been able to establish their own causes purely through their own endeavour and without external intervention to argue against establishing schemes to aid English residents in Welsh areas, claiming that, if their 'mothers have breasts between them', why should the native Welsh then become 'mothers to them'?[129]

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[128] See Lambert, W.R., 'The Welsh Sunday Closing Act, 1881' in *Welsh History Review*, Vol.6, No.2, (1972), pp.161-189.

[129] *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 11 April 1877.

Of course the irony here in portraying the male English migrant mind-set as being devoid of self-control and dictated by base passions is that it represents an almost complete contrast to popular perceptions of migrants within a labour context, where it was the English incomer who was praised for his enterprise and rationality, in comparison to the 'hot-headed' Welshman. While it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which contemporary commentators would have recognised this fundamental thematic contradiction, it is notable that some identified the inherent differences in the Welsh and English masculine identities not as an obstacle, but as something that could be reconciled for the good of society in Wales as a whole. In an address to a congregation about the difficulties of preaching in a bilingual nation, the Reverend H. Elvet Lewis of Buckley in Flintshire expressed a hope that the 'muscular Christianity' of the English migrant might be 'blended with the "bardic Christianity" of the Welsh' in order to 'achieve great results in the future'.[130]

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[130] *Cheshire Observer*, 21 April 1883.

Femininity and English migration

Delineating the precise relationship between English migration and attitudes to femininity is far harder to gauge. Unlike Bert Coombes' account of his experiences, there exist few first-hand contemporary accounts from female English migrants[131] and, unlike the case of Irish women who migrated during the post-famine era, their numbers were very much in the minority in comparison to their English male counterparts. The aforementioned prominence of the single, male 'fortune-seeker' within the English migrant community, as well as the glaring lack of employment opportunities afforded to women in general in the industrial areas of Wales,[132] unfortunately renders the female English migrant far less visible to historical scrutiny. However, while the female contingent of the English migrant community was undoubtedly a minority, it was a sizable minority, and any gender-based analysis is unsatisfactory without some consideration of how feminine identities, both inside and outside Wales, were affected by the process of migration. Indeed, whereas the industrial districts certainly recorded a relative paucity of English migrant women, a broader geographical range reveals significant concentrations of female migrants throughout Wales. According to the census returns for Caernarfonshire in 1901, for example, which recorded a population of 10,819 English-born individuals (out of a total county population of 126,883), female migrants accounted for 6,249 of that number.[133] Similarly, according to Ieuan Gwynedd Jones in his study of the relationship between religion and industrialisation in Cwmafan the majority of women residing within the local parish were migrants.[134] When compared with the kind of gender imbalances that were recorded in areas such as Rhondda and Merthyr, these are rather intriguing findings.

Exploring the relationships between femininity and migration also enriches prior discussions on migrant masculinity. Gender histories cannot thrive by treating categories of masculine and feminine identity in isolation, and the dynamic interaction between the two is certainly apparent in this case study. As discussed previously, a significant factor in the 'masculine adventurism' that became a feature of cultural perceptions of male migration during this period was the prospect of interacting with local women, and this is reflected over

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[131] The diary of Winifred Coombe Tennant may be regarded as one such example in this respect; unfortunately, however, Tennant does not dwell on her experiences as a migrant in any great detail. Coombe Tennant, W. & Lord, P., *Between Two Worlds: The Diary of Winifred Coombe Tennant 1909-1924* (Aberystwyth, 2011).

[132] See Williams, J., 'Women at Work in Nineteenth-Century Wales' in Williams, J., *Was Wales Industrialised? Essays in Modern Welsh History* (Llandysul, 1995), pp.58-78.

[133] *Census of England & Wales 1901: County of Carnarvon, Area Houses & Population.*

[134] Jones, I.G., 'Smoke and prayer: industry and religion in Cwmafan in the nineteenth century' in *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, 6 (1998), p.18.

the course of Coombes' account. At least during the earliest stages of his experiences as a migrant, the women of south Wales are frequently discussed in distinctly exotic terms by Coombes and his colleagues, as figures that imposed an equal measure of fascination and apprehension upon their masculine sensibilities. The jocular warnings concerning 'Welsh gels' and their wiles, of course, helped to shape the anticipatory stage of Coombes' migratory experience, however, once he had arrived at his destination the mystique of the local women showed no sign of diminishing. Coombes noted during the first few days of his new life in a Welsh community how local women seemed to be particularly curious observers of incoming migrants, which undoubtedly contributed towards his assessment, after a few months, that 'Wales was becoming quite attractive'.[135]

This was in stark contrast to his fellow traveller Jack, whose 'loneliness' in his new surroundings was supposedly compounded by an inability to form meaningful attachments with members of the opposite sex. In a particularly illuminating passage, Coombes' recalls his friend's misery at the fact that women of the house in which he was lodging had a habit of coming 'into the room while he was washing', and staying there despite his protestations.[136] A similar account was described to Coombes by a native Welshman who had worked for many years in the coal mines of Yorkshire. Upon his return to Wales, most of the locals assumed that he was an English migrant, and as a result, the women with whom he lodged also tended to stay in the same room while he bathed, apparently exchanging 'sly glances' and commenting upon his 'physical capabilities and shortcomings'.[137] The so-called 'Welsh bath', by which the whole family would play a role in cleansing the male breadwinner after a day of work, became a social ritual in nineteenth century Welsh mining communities, however from the perspective of the male migrant it serves to underline how the 'shock of the new' was often informed by gendered connotations, as contact with patterns of native feminine behaviour inhibited feelings of masculine self-assurance (in the case of Coombes himself) and anxiety (in the case of Jack).

In this respect, analysing patterns of native female behaviour provides an intriguing insight into the manner in which male migrants, especially those who were single, dealt with the novelty of their surroundings. However, adopting a similar approach for English female migration proves to be a rather more complicated endeavour. Due to their aforementioned

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[135] Coombes, B.L., *These Poor Hands: The Autobiography of a Miner Working in South Wales* (Cardiff,2002), p.32.
[136] Coombes, *These Poor Hands*, p.24.
[137] Coombes, *These Poor Hands*, p.24.

cultural associations with notions of progress and commercial modernisation, perceptions of male English migrants were invariably informed by the juxtaposition of their social identities with the traditions of the host community. In contrast, social contact between the locality and female migrants was, to a far greater extent, shaped by notions of conformity and integration. Whereas male English migrants, by virtue of their pronounced economic profile, were far more likely to be associated with social forces that were deemed to be transforming, if not completely displacing, the traditional parameters of Welsh society (which was viewed in both positive and negative lights by different contemporary commentators), female migrants by contrast, primarily due to the lack of employment opportunities for women in industrial Wales and the particularly stark divisions between the domestic and public spheres in the industrial districts of south Wales, were almost compelled to subsume themselves swiftly within the dynamics of their host communities. Despite the gradual expansion of the female migrant presence in both Dowlais and Blaina by 1901, therefore (in relative and absolute terms), as well as modest increases in the proportion of female migrants married to native Welshman and single female migrants, such attitudes rendered their ability to induce profound socio-cultural shifts upon their arrival in Wales negligible.

The experiences of Lady Charlotte Guest, one of the few female English migrants in Wales who left some form of historical footprint during the nineteenth century, seem to correspond to this impression. Of course, the circumstances of her movement, as the aristocratic wife of a prominent Welsh industrialist, were obviously atypical of the vast majority of English female migrants, however the manner in which she adapted to her life as a non-indigenous resident in Wales certainly resonates with the aforementioned themes of conformity and continuity, in contrast to the economic innovation and cultural displacement that were perceived to be by-products of English male migration. Having arrived at Dowlais as a 21 year-old native of Lincolnshire, Charlotte Guest's life in Wales was defined by her tireless efforts to ingratiate herself with the local population and their customs, including, most notably, her acquisition of fluency in the Welsh language and her championing of its literary and artistic merits. As Taliesin Williams was to observe during a gala dinner in celebration of John Guest's election as Merthyr's MP, whereas broad swathes of the English migrant population in Wales had been prone to viewing the 'national habits' and 'ancient language' of the Welsh people with 'jealous unkindness', Charlotte Guest had, from the 'first

day that she honoured Merthyr with her residence' immersed herself in the traditions of her adopted homeland, thus earning the profound admiration of the local inhabitants.[138]

This is not to imply that the experiences of some male English migrants were not also characterised by conscious efforts to integrate with the cultural and linguistic profile of Wales; indeed, the entire career of John Edward Southall revolved around his fascination with the native language, and how it lent itself to academic scrutiny. However, these were very much incidental features in the broader spectrum of cultural perceptions of male migrants, in contrast to the more influential role they played in shaping impressions of female migrants. While it is prudent to be aware of the class distinctions that separated the experiences of incomers such as Charlotte Guest and the overwhelming majority of female migrants to Wales, the evidence gathered from the census returns in Dowlais and Blaina tentatively suggests that the female migrant population as a whole were far more inclined towards appropriating the cultural traits of their new surroundings in comparison to their male counterparts. The proportion of female migrants married to native inhabitants who either learned Welsh or passed on the language to their children, for example, is far higher in the data sets for Blaina and Dowlais during both census years, compared to male migrants in the same category. The fact that the Welsh language, despite the best efforts of the likes of Dan Isaac Davies, was firmly associated with ideals of domesticity may well have influenced such trends, and it is intriguing to note how they were to feed into broader contemporary narratives surrounding female experiences of migration.

The idealised model of womanhood propagated by *Y Gymraes* and *Y Frythones*, for example, was heavily predicated upon notions of domestic stability and socio-cultural conservatism, and it is unsurprising, in this respect, that the prospect of migration was perceived as an existential threat. In an account outlining the experiences of an aspiring carpenter named Edward Evans and his efforts to migrate to London in search of higher wages (which included selling his house and land in Wales for half its value),[139] it is his wife Jane who emerges as the primary dissenting voice against this profound alteration to their circumstances (while simultaneously observing a 'proper' code of marital conduct by ultimately acquiescing to the superior authority of her husband). Whereas Edward pines for the big-city lifestyle, therefore, it is left to Jane to lament about leaving their 'pituresque village' (*'pentref tlws'*) despite the meagre state of their income (*'er mor lleied eu helw'*), and

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[138] John, A.V., *Our Mother's Land: Chapters in Welsh Women's History, 1830-1939* (Cardiff, 2011), p.47.
[139] *Y Gymraes*, Vol.1, No.4, (April, 1850).

to ruminate about the 'complications and disappointments' that inevitably accompanied the process of relocation.[140] Of course, such an account may been intended simply as a cautionary tale regarding the dangers of *ariangarwch* or 'money-worship' (see chapter three). However, the manner in which the attitudes towards migration were explicitly divided along gender lines is undoubtedly significant, conveying the impression that the integrity of femininity was fundamentally compromised by its geographical and cultural implications. A similar impression is conveyed from the perspective of an English migrant in Wales by an article reviewing aspects of George Borrow's famous (and somewhat self-aggrandising) travelogue, *Wild Wales*.[141] Between Cemaes and Machynlleth, Borrow is described as having encountered a female migrant, originally from Shrewsbury, who had settled in the area some years earlier with her husband and child.[142] Pointedly, the overriding emotion expressed by the woman when queried by Barrow was a sense of 'longing' to return to her 'homeland', having singularly failed to acclimatise herself to her new cultural surroundings.[143] The security of domesticity had thus been shattered by the physical dislocation of migration.

These mentalities inspired unfavourable comparisons between native Welsh women and their English migrant counterparts: *Y Gymraes* decried suggestions that Welshmen, motivated by a desire to appear connected with the pace of modernisation, should seek out English wives, and urged a more comprehensive appreciation of the fundamental wholesomeness of Welsh womanhood. Welsh women themselves were even advised on their conduct towards English incomers, as they were urged to 'embrace all that is good' regarding their 'English neighbours' but to also 'cleanse all that is bad'.[144] Such rhetoric, which aimed to identify the native populace as an essential and virtuous check on the more unreconstructed characteristics of English migration, naturally resonated with the broader trends that underpinned contemporary cultural perceptions. However, from a gender perspective it highlights how the rootlessness that was inherent in the process of migration was negatively associated with the feminine character, in a manner that was far more unambiguous in comparison to male migrants.

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[140] 'yr anhawsterau a'r siomedigaethau sydd yn aml yn dilyn symud o fan i fan'. *Y Gymraes*, Vol.1, No.4, (April, 1850).
[141] Borrow, G. & Hughes, R.C., *Wild Wales: Its People, Language and Scenery. Souvenir Ed. / [photographs by R. Cecil Hughes] with an Introduction by Cecil Price* (London, 1977).
[142] 'Cymru Trwy Lygaid Saesonig', *Y Traethodydd*, (July, 1865), p.264.
[143] 'Cymru Trwy Lygaid Saesonig', *Y Traethodydd*, (July, 1865), p.265.
[144] 'Gwerthfawrogwch eich cymdogion Seisonig am yr hyn sy dda ynddynt, a gochelwch y drwg'. *Y Gymraes*, Vol.1, No.4, (April, 1850).

Conclusion

It's clear that a gender-based approach towards the issue of migration reveals some important trends. This facilitates a more coherent analysis of population movements that were often geographically varied and demographically complex. Firstly, it is apparent that the process of dislocation, both in a physical and social sense, which was incurred through the act of migrating often fractured perceptions of gender. Thus, while English migrants as a collective body were often deemed to be delivering the positive virtues of masculine enterprise and a rational, reliable work-ethic within the secular domain of labour spaces, as an individual the English migrant was frequently tarred with associations of base impulses and spiritual deficiencies in comparison to the pious native. The notion of the male English migrant as a frontier 'pioneer', whose masculine rationality and enterprise enabled him to thrive in the industrial-capitalist environment, was juxtaposed, therefore, with the anti-materialist attitudes that underscored contemporary spiritual discourses (particularly from a Nonconformist perspective). This emphasised the debilitating effect that the migrant's 'money worship' (*'ariangarwch'*) inflicted upon his sense of moral respectability. For female migrants, the process of movement, both in a geographical and socio-cultural context, was perceived to fundamentally compromise the stability and conformity that were crucial motifs in Victorian codes of femininity.

In both cases, however, it is the influence of material forces, and popular reactions to capital-induced social change, that becomes readily apparent. When these factors are observed through the prism of gender, it is clear that materialist attitudes not only informed cultural perceptions of migrant masculinity and femininity, but were also, in turn, mutually reinforced by patterns of familial construction and societal integration amongst English incomers: the single male migrant, for example, was not merely a recurring, abstract cultural trope in contemporary narratives surrounding industrial development but was, as the census figures for Dowlais and Blaina suggest, an important and observable category of social identification in its own right. More than anything, a gendered analysis allows for a more nuanced understanding of how these materialist forces delineated the threat versus benefit dichotomy that is inherent within all popular reactions to migration, both from the perspectives of the migrants themselves and those of the host communities, as well as the fact that economic modernisation, in many ways, helped reinforce traditional boundaries between domestic and public roles in Victorian society. This, of course, should be a primary

consideration while scrutinising migrant interaction with other facets of Welsh life during this period of acute linguistic, social and cultural change.

Chapter 3: CLASS PERSPECTIVES, c.1850-1914

The dimensions of Welsh industrialisation

'The events of the last two or three months in Mold will leave an impression which will not be effaced for years. The attention of the country generally has been attracted to the painful circumstances which have resulted in misery, bloodshed, and imprisonment to an unfortunate class of workmen, who have not hitherto been looked upon as disorderly or insubordinate subjects.'[145]

This harrowing assessment, featured in the Saturday edition of the *Cheshire Observer* on August 21st 1869, adequately conveys the general sense of angst that accompanied the aftermath of a major riot in the Flintshire market town of Mold in June of the same year. Following a guilty verdict delivered to seven Welsh miners from the nearby Leeswood Green Colliery, who had been accused of inciting a disturbance against the management, the riot began when an angry crowd of local townspeople clashed with a contingent of soldiers and police officers which had been charged with escorting two of the sentenced party to Flint Gaol.[146] Amidst a barrage of stone-throwing, an order was given to the armed escort to open fire upon the crowd, resulting in the deaths of four people and the injuring of many more. The victims included Edward Bellis, a blacksmith from Treuddyn, Robert Hannaby, a nineteen year-old collier from the neighbouring Black Diamond colliery in Coed Talon, Elizabeth Jones, the fifty-two year-old wife of one of the convicted miners, and, significantly, a nineteen year-old English migrant from Chester by the name of Margaret Younghusband.[147] Having moved to Mold on the very day of the riot to take up employment as a housemaid at a property in High Street, Younghusband was one of several unconnected bystanders who were unfortunately caught up in the potent rage that had swept across the town.[148] At some point

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[145] *Cheshire Observer and Chester, Birkenhead, Crewe and North Wales Times*, 21 August 1869.
[146] 'THE RIOTS AT MOLD. INQUEST AND SUBSEQUENT PARTICULARS', *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, 12 June 1869.
[147] 'THE RIOTS AT MOLD. INQUEST AND SUBSEQUENT PARTICULARS', *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, 12 June 1869.
[148] Griffiths, J. & Griffiths, M., *The Mold Tragedy of 1869: An Investigation* (Llanrwst, 2001), p.45.

during the confusion that followed the orders to fire upon the crowd, she was shot below the ribs. The bullet passed through her left kidney, and she died soon afterwards.

While often neglected in popular histories on the industrial development of Wales (perhaps due to the manner in which the industrialisation of the south-east tends to overshadow the experiences of the north-east), the Mold riot nevertheless represents a particularly illuminating episode within the context of migrant-indigenous labour relations. Not only does it provide a useful segue into a broader discussion on the class dynamics of English migration to Wales, it also enriches our understanding of the ways in which contemporary discourse sought to frame the relationship between the migrants themselves and the economic forces to which they were deemed to be subject. This, in turn, may facilitate a revision of traditional narratives of the English involvement in the industrialisation of Wales, which, in the realm of popular consciousness at least, have tended to focus on specific owners or magnates rather than the wider labouring masses. As a means of providing a comprehensive and multifaceted overview of the class-based characteristics of English migrants in Wales therefore, four distinct themes will be scrutinised. These include the role of English migrants within the context of rioting and other expressions of social agitation, the influence of English migration upon Welsh cultural perceptions of the 'modern' industrial economy, the patterns of social stratification amongst sample migrant populations through the deployment of quantitative methods of analysis, and an in-depth focus on the Mold riot as an appropriate case study of Anglo-Welsh class confrontation.

Before exploring these themes in greater detail, however, it is necessary to outline the relevant analytical and theoretical framework with which the question of social class in nineteenth and early twentieth century Wales will be analysed. This is particularly apposite given the extent to which the Industrial Revolution in Britain, and the dimensions of its material and economic base, has been subjected to a significant degree of historical revisionism over the past five decades (as well as a notable upswing in counter-revisionist interpretations during recent years). Perhaps the most noticeable thematic trend in this respect, and certainly the most pertinent in relation to this study, is the notion that the industrialisation of Britain, far from representing a socio-economic 'revolution', was a relatively more gradual and 'undramatic' process, which enabled the perpetuation of traditional social hierarchies well into the nineteenth century. This has been a viewpoint promoted by the likes of Alastair Reid, who has built on pre-existing scholarship to emphasise the prolonged influence of the aristocratic and landed classes in the British

political and economic domains, as well as the fact that the labouring industrial masses still retained a considerable skilled or quasi-artisanal element for much of the century (which runs contrary to the notion that the industrial revolution was a catalyst for the inexorable 'deskilling' of the working classes).[149] From a specifically Welsh perspective, John Williams' work is a prominent example of academic re-evaluations of the industrial era.[150] Much like Reid, Williams aligns himself with the 'gradualist' school of thought, underlining the disparate and uneven trajectory of industrial development in Wales, as well as the relative lack of mechanisation in Welsh industry up to 1914 (which in turn facilitated the entrenchment of skilled labour interests).[151]

These historiographical developments have naturally had a significant impact on the manner in which the issue of social class has been debated amongst historians. The applicability of the traditional 'three tier' class model (used to divide 'modern' societies between the aristocratic/landed/upper classes, the bourgeois/middle classes and the proletarian/working classes) has been under sustained pressure in recent decades, as has the conventional, Marxist-inspired consensus that the immediate post-Napoleonic era oversaw the emergence of a radically new 'vernacular' of class which was used to foment social identities (foreshadowing the eventual ascendancy of the bourgeoisie and the supplanting of the landed classes). However, despite the onslaught of postmodernist discourse since the 1970s, it is equally apparent that (perhaps in response to the current breakdown of the Fukuyaman paradigm) the case for materialist methods of inquiry have been championed with increasing vigour of late.[152] Indeed, as Neville Kirk acknowledges in *Change, Continuity and Class*,[153] whereas the scleroticism of orthodox Marxist approaches has been exposed with ever increasing regularity, the central concept of class as a signifier of the dynamic interaction between humanity and its modes of material production and consumption has remained a surprisingly resilient analytical tool.

It is clear that both scholarly perspectives of industrialisation and its social implications have their merits for a study of English migration to Wales. The 'gradualist' interpretation very much resonates with the protracted development of formal 'mass' unions in Wales for

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[149] Reid, A.J., *Social classes and social relations in Britain, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 1992).
[150] Williams, J., *Was Wales Industrialised? Essays in Modern Welsh History* (Llandysul, 1995).
[151] Williams, *Was Wales Industrialised?*.
[152] See Wood, E.M., *Democracy against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism* (Cambridge, 2000) & Lipartito, K., 'Reassembling the Economic: New Departures in Historical Materialism' in *The American Historical Review*, Vol.121, Issue 1, (February 2016), pp.101-139.
[153] Kirk, N. *Change, Continuity and Class: Labour in British Society, 1850-1920* (Manchester, 1998).

much of the nineteenth century, as well as the fact that more traditional (an implicitly non-proletarian) manifestations of labour protest remained a recurring aspect of Welsh industry until at least the 1890s. This would have a significant impact on the conduct of native workers towards newly imported migrant labour, which is testified by the notable persistence of anti-migrant rioting in the industrial environments of Wales throughout this period. Similarly, Lawrence Williams' emphasis on the uneven and fractured nature of industrial development in Wales is pertinent, especially from a regional perspective. Not only is the urban-rural socio-economic dichotomy relevant in this respect, but also the inherent diversity of Wales' industrial base. The profound structural and cultural differences between the primary industrial areas of Wales, namely the south-east, the north-east and the anthracite coalfields of the west, meant that the class-based relationships between English migrants and their indigenous counterparts could vary significantly on a geographic basis. Finally, Williams' assertion that the mechanisation of Welsh industry was a phenomenon that only entered its formative stages after 1914[154] very much corresponds with the fact that perceptions of skill amongst workers remained a fundamental factor in the shaping of workplace social hierarchies. Indeed, the juxtaposition between the relatively staggered course of Welsh industrial development and the rapid pace of English migration to Wales provides a critical backdrop to the efforts made by indigenous workers to defend their workspace privileges against the intrusion of imported labour.

However, it is also evident that a thorough understanding of the class basis for migrant-native social interactions must also be furnished with a broader recognition of the material forces that were shaping Welsh societal attitudes during this period, both in a physical and abstract sense. The particularly intimate association between English migrants and the newly emerging modes of capital production inherently underscored how they were perceived within contemporary Welsh cultural discourse. At this point it is worth introducing a key assumption that will inform the analytical framework of this chapter, namely the specificity and historicity of capitalism. It is a concept which is afforded a prominent position in Ellen Wood's commentary on the post-Cold War future of Marxist historiography.[155] As she argues vigorously in *Democracy Against Capitalism*, the exceptional nature of capitalism resided in its ability to drive an effective wedge between political and economic domains that had previously been intertwined: whereas the feudal economic order therefore depended on the

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[154] Williams, J., *Was Wales Industrialised? Essays in Modern Welsh History* (Llandysul, 1995), p.52.
[155] Wood, E.M., *Democracy against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism* (Cambridge, 2000).

simultaneous political coercion that was exerted by the lords of various fiefdoms upon their subject populations, capitalism had managed to dramatically wrest control of economic affairs away from the direct political influence of traditional elites, thus empowering the 'invisible hand' of the market.[156] This naturally becomes a vital consideration in the context of our case study, as the interaction between English migrants and the material forces of Victorian capitalism can only be adequately dissected when the historically specific nature of Welsh economic development is integrated within the analysis.

The second major reason for the suitability of this case study for the purposes of a materialist approach very much ties into these considerations of the historic specificity of capitalism, namely the manner in which contemporary perceptions of the English migrant were inexorably informed by material-based narratives. In stark contrast to the other major migrant group that moved to Wales during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Irish, English migrants were not predominantly tethered to negative cultural associations; indeed, their defining cultural trait, the English language, was very much regarded as a positive by-product of their entry into Welsh society, at least by sections of the contemporary commentariat. The inversion of the typical power dynamic which is inherent in most cases of migrant-indigenous relations, by which the figure of the migrant is usually perceived, either in implicit or explicit terms, as being of an inferior social status to that of the average native inhabitant, and thus must endeavour to assimilate to progress in his or her new surroundings, is an important point to consider in this respect. Whereas Irish migrants derived from a culture that was very much considered to be peripheral in the context of Victorian sensibilities, and were as such often burdened by stereotyping related to their moral behaviour (which, more often than not, translated into outright hostility on the part of their 'host' communities), English migrants were, regardless of their relative social status, clearly part of the dominant political, economic and cultural entity of the British Isles.

As a consequence, contemporary perceptions of English migration to Wales were inexorably shaped by their relationship with the burgeoning forces of capital that were transforming Welsh society. In several accounts of the period, especially those relating to the issue of religious provision that were disseminated by the likes of Emrys ap Iwan, English migrants became regarded almost as personifications of the capitalist ethos of the age,[157] as

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[156] Wood, *Democracy against Capitalism*.

[157] This notion that commercial avarice was ingrained in the English national psyche was expressed most vividly by Emrys ap Iwan: 'Ped ymholai'r Swediad ynghylch rhywun, gofynai "Pa fodd y mae'n ymddwyn?" Gofynai'r Helvetiad, y Germaniad, a'r Isdiriad, "Pa faint o wybodaeth sydd ganddo?" Gofynai'r Ffrangcwr, "Pa faint o

the particular intimacy with which they were associated with wealth and its various trappings became a recurring trope, either to supplement broader venerations of the Anglo-Saxon enterprising spirit, or, from the perspective of sections of Nonconformity, as a cautionary message against the moral corruption of ariangarwch ('money-worship'). Both cases serve to demonstrate, therefore, the analytical point that was outlined above, namely the importance of recognising that a materialist reading of history does not necessarily imply that aspects of culture and discourse are relegated to a position of secondary importance in the analysis, but rather emphasise the dynamic interaction between material conditions in particular localities and the manner in which their inhabitants perceived the socio-cultural contours of society.

ddawn-o *esprit*, sydd ganddo?" Ond y Sais a ofynai, "Pa faint o arian sydd ganddo ?"'. 'Wele dy Dduwiau, O Walia!', *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 21 March 1877.

Ariangarwch and Welsh attitudes towards the capitalist economy

Before embarking on a materialist dissection of the case study, namely the Mold riot of 1869, it is worth considering the manner in which the fundamental tropes of capitalism, such as wealth creation and market-orientated economics, were located within the Welsh cultural consciousness during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Raymond Williams' renowned *Keywords* presents some useful discursive guidance in this respect, particularly in relation to the crucial concept of wealth. It is emphasised that the term 'acquired not only a more definite association with money and possessions, but a strong subsidiary deprecatory sense' during the eighteenth century; a paradigm shift that would provide an important subtext to cultural conceptualisations of the newly emerging economic order (which, from a chronological perspective, also broadly coincided with the Welsh religious revival movement and the moral codes it imparted).[158] Furthermore, Williams outlines how a distinction was forged during this period, most notably by Adam Smith, between the 'wealth in a man and the wealth of society', which would become a frequently deployed motif by contemporary native commentators as a means of clearly compartmentalising Welsh and English attitudes towards the material world.[159]

Unsurprisingly, as the most visible human representatives of these socioeconomic processes, English migrants featured heavily in the contemporary narratives that sought to understand, rationalise and contextualise the material changes wrought by capitalist development. A recurring trope that became particularly prominent in the Welsh language press of the period was the notion of *'ariangarwch'* or money-worship. The fact that a substantial proportion of Welsh language newspapers had been conceived primarily to provide a mouthpiece for Nonconformist denominations (as well as countering increasingly bellicose Anglican publications such as David Owen's *Yr Haul*) means that it is unsurprising that public discourses in Victorian Welsh society were often informed by an inherently ascetic outlook. However it is also worth emphasising that such attitudes were not merely expressed through the prism of abstract morality, but were actively directed towards observed material developments in Welsh communities, with the cupidity that was perceived to be encoded within the capitalist ethos naturally representing a particular point of reference.

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[158] Williams, R., *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society* (London, 1988), p.332.
[159] Williams, *Keywords*, p.332.

In an article of 1857 commenting upon the dynamics of trade relations, for instance, *Baner Cymru* railed against what they perceived to be the 'impatient urge to enrich'[160] that seemed to define the behaviour of the contemporary workforce, while lamenting the fact that 'thousands of men' had been seduced by the 'dangerous adventurism' of capitalist enterprise.[161] The article went on to reason that, as a consequence of the prodigiousness of the material rewards promised by these new economic forces, a significant proportion of working men had become inclined to disavow the 'slow and steady medicine' that derived from providing for their families[162] favouring instead to recklessly plunge themselves into the 'hazardous world of broad commerce'.[163] Far from resorting to traditional Christian rhetoric surrounding the evils of avarice therefore, this article can reasonably be viewed as a critique of the specific dynamics of a capitalist economy, with its tendency for shifting the focus and motivation of economic activity away from the subsistence of the family or communal unit towards the abstract accumulation of wealth being singled out for particular criticism.

Similar sentiments, which sought to frame *ariangarwch* as a phenomenon that was specifically induced by capitalist development, were echoed across the Welsh Language press of the period. *Y Genedl Gymreig*, for example, in an article on working conditions in the quarries of north Wales, railed against the injustice of an economic system that compelled around 15,000 labourers to work in the 'most dangerous of locations' as a means of enriching a select few.[164] The organisation of labour in this manner, and the disproportionate concentration of the rewards of material activity in the hands of men who were not directly affected by the perils of the working environment, was a clear indication in the eyes of *Y Genedl Gymreig* that the 'worship of money and profit' took precedence over the welfare of ordinary workers within a capitalist-driven economy.[165] *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru* pursued a similar line of reasoning in an assessment of coal prices, which it claimed had been inflated to an unwarranted degree by the pervasive influence of *ariangarwch,*[166] while *Y Goleuad* articulated a striking rebuke of wealth creation from a broad, systemic perspective, rather

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[160] 'y wanc ddiamynedd i ymgyfoethogi', 'Y Cyfyngder Masnachol', *Baner Cymru,* 23 December 1857.
[161] 'Onid oes miloedd o ddynion yn hoffi y cynhyrfiad sydd yn dyfod oddi wrth anturiaeth beryglus mewn masnach?', *Baner Cymru,* 23 December 1857.
[162] 'Onid oes gormod nifer o ddynion wedi ffarwelio a'r moddion araf diogel i ddarparu dros eu teuluoedd', *Baner Cymru,* 23 December 1857.
[163] 'yn neidio i ganol trafferthion a pheryglon masnach eang', *Baner Cymru,* 23 December 1857.
[164] 'Y mae yn chwarelau Gogledd Cymru lawn pymtheg mil o bobl yn gweithio yn y lleoedd mwyaf peryglus…y mae ychydig bersonau yn ymbesgi ac ymgyfoethogi', *Y Genedl Cymreig*, 22 December 1881.
[165] 'yn brawf amlwg fod ariangarwch ac elw yn bwysicach yn ngolwg speculators na bywydau y gweithwyr.', *Y Genedl Cymreig*, 22 December 1881.
[166] *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 7 January 1874.

than from a moral platform, as it emphasised that the destructive capacity of *ariangarwch* as a 'governing principle' was just as potent on a societal level as it was to the individual.[167]

The aforementioned examples thus serve as an important reminder of the extent to which such publications, and, presumably, their wider readership, were attuned to the specifically structural and institutional mechanics of the material forces that were changing the framework of Welsh society during the Victorian era. Of course, it would be perfectly reasonable, owing to the explicit affiliation of the majority of the Welsh-language press with various Nonconfomist denominations, to categorise such critiques of the practices of wealth creation as simply a continuation of older strands of Christian thought, and the notion of *ariangarwch* was certainly not an unduly novel rhetorical device in the context of Welsh cultural perceptions of morality. However, the historical *specificity* of capitalist enterprise, and an awareness that the behaviour it encouraged amongst the human participants represented a clear departure from previous systems of economic activity, are themes that undoubtedly become recognisable from the aforementioned articles, which suggest that attributing such discourses to the continuities of Christian rhetoric may be overly simplistic. As *Baner Cymru* had noted, it wasn't so much the prospect of wealth creation in and of itself that had provoked their ire, but rather the particularity of its manifestation within the contemporary timeframe, which had irrevocably compromised traditional (and thus virtuous) bonds of subsistence-based labour in favour of more abstract (and thus amoral) patterns of economic activity. Meanwhile the indignation of *Y Genedl Gymreig* at the manner in which capitalist production invariably channelled wealth disproportionately towards the upper echelons of the workplace, as well as its observation of the insulation of 'accumulators' and 'speculators' from the exertions and conditions of physical labour, suggests a basic appreciation of how hierarchies of social class were being shaped by material forces.

It would be erroneous, however, to suggest that Nonconformist opinion was wholly consistent on the issue of wealth creation in a capitalist context and its concurrent social implications. Indeed, expressions of outrage at the corrosive stain of *ariangarwch* on the moral fabric of society were often projected by individuals who would have been distinctly conscious of their middle-class status, as well as the manner in which Nonconformist congregations on a collective basis tended to aspire to the bourgeois values (heavily inspired by a Liberal Party whose relationship with the Welsh chapels would become increasingly

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[167] 'Y mae ariangarwch mor ddinystriol fel elfen lywodraethol i gymdeithas yn gyffredinol ag ydyw i berson unigol'. 'At Fy Nghyfeillion yn yr Hen Wlad', *Y Goleuad*, 7 January 1871.

intimate during the latter half of the nineteenth century) of respectability, *laissez-faire* individualism and strict codes of socio-political moderation.[168] As Ieuan Gwynedd Jones asserts in his social history of Victorian Wales, the public face of Nonconformity during this period was 'respectable, religious, [and] petty bourgeois in style and aspiration'.[169] A more measured evaluation of the capitalist spirit can thus be found in a contribution to *Yr Herald Cymraeg* on 31 August 1909, which pragmatically noted the reality that, due to the 'present arrangement of society', an individual's survival was predicated upon a certain degree of attachment to wealth.[170] Furthermore, the fact that industrialists and their employees frequently worshipped alongside each other in Nonconformist congregations speaks to their noticeably 'classless' character; an aspect of religious relations in Wales that has received much attention in recent scholarship.[171]

From a broader perspective, the multifaceted nature of the association between the Victorian Welsh cultural sphere and the material-commercial impulses of the era is also apparent. As Robin Chapman observes in his study of popular attitudes to modernity in Welsh society, despite the fact that the organisers of the Eisteddfodic movement were eager to promote its allegedly primordial, pre-Christian origins,[172] this did not 'stop them from superimposing upon it contemporary ideas of popular culture and commercialism'.[173] Not only did this correspond to the emergence of a new Welsh lexicon relating to 'modern' objects,[174] it also coincided with the flourishing of Welsh 'information texts' as a 'sustainable commercial venture for the first and last time in the language's history'.[175] In these ways, it is possible to discern that, despite the denunciations of *ariangarwch* that habitually resonated

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[168] The exception to this was, of course, the campaign for disestablishment and the anti-tithe movement.

[169] Jones, I.G., *Explorations and Explanations: Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales* (Llandysul, 1981), p.270.

[170] 'Yn ol fel y mae cynllun cymdeithas ar hyn o bryd, rhaid i bawb garu arian i ryw raddau os am fyw', *Yr Herald Cymraeg*, 31 August 1909.

[171] For example, see Jones, I.G., *Communities: Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales* (Llandysul, 1987). For an analysis of the socially and politically conservative (with a small c) inclinations of Welsh Nonconformity in general, see Thomas, J. E., *Social Disorder in Britain, 1750-1850: The Power of the Gentry, Radicalism and Religion in Wales*, (London, 2011).

[172] A trait that is common amongst most nationalist endeavours to construct and promote the 'national community', which forms the basis for Anderson's most enduring work. Anderson, B.R., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 2002).

[173] Chapman, R.T., 'The Turn of the Tide: Melancholy and Modernity in Mid-Victorian Wales' in *Welsh History Review*, Vol.27, No.3, (June 2015), p.511.

[174] Chapman, 'The Turn of the Tide' in *Welsh History Review*, p.515.

[175] Chapman, 'The Turn of the Tide' in *Welsh History Review*, p.514. Aled Jones' work on the Welsh press has also done much to uncover the relationship between print culture in Wales and nineteenth century commercialism. Jones, A., *Press, Politics and Society: A history of journalism in Wales* (University of Wales, 1993) & Jones, A., 'The nineteenth-century media and Welsh identity' in Brake, L.; Bell, B. & Finkelstein, D. (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp.310-325.

from the platforms of the pulpits and press throughout this period, elements of Welsh society were decisively shifting towards a form of *modus vivendi* with the 'present arrangement' of their society.

In this respect therefore, it is tempting to conclude that nonconformist-inspired narratives on the economic forces of Victorian society were preoccupied (and, by extension, offended) more by its cosmetic form rather than its fundamental content, with their condemnations being reserved for the 'base' instincts of the profit motive (and the associated 'vulgarities' of its behavioural traits) rather than the underlying philosophical issue of wealth's social 'role'. Indeed, as Lipartito has observed, contemporary criticism of industrial development often specifically focused on its aesthetic dimensions, such as the environmental toll it inflicted on the surrounding landscape: a theme that was particularly relevant in depictions of the native *gwerin*, whose supposed purity of spirit was inexorably linked to the unblemished natural environments in which they inhabited.[176] However, it is also apparent that the growing English migrant presence in Wales played a key part in framing public attitudes towards economic development and commercialism. It may even be posited that the spectre of English migration provided a convenient point of reference with which native commentators could clarify their own cognitive dissonance regarding society's relationship with the new capitalist 'ethos' of the era.

Two distinct strands of thought may be detected in this respect. The first, which tended to view English migration from collective perspective, stressed its close ties with socio-economic modernisation, to the extent that it was often deemed to be an essential catalyst for this process. The second, which adopted an outlook that was underpinned by character-based judgements, regarded the individual qualities of English migrants in Wales to be inherently defined by their relationship with capital, which in turn facilitated cultural comparisons with the presumed values of their native hosts. While the former line of reasoning may be classified as being the 'positive' opinion of English migration, contrasted with the 'negative' context of the latter, they were not necessarily mutually exclusive in the minds of contemporary observers, and could often be accommodated within broader narratives on issues relating to Anglicisation and Wales' position in the 'modern' global economy.[177] It is undeniable that certain elements of Welsh society, primarily those which

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[176] Lipartito, K., 'Reassembling the Economic: New Departures in Historical Materialism' in *The American Historical Review*, Vol.121, Issue 1, (February 2016), pp.101-139.
[177] For an overview of Wales' position in the 'global economy', and the manner in which it affected patterns of out-migration, see Baines, D., 'Wales and the Atlantic economy, 1861-1914' in Baines, D., *Migration in a*

can be identified as the anglophile middle-class types, regarded the willingness of English migrants to settle and invest in Wales as an affirmation of the social progress of the country, and was thus to be encouraged. At a meeting of the Lleyn and Eifionydd Agricultural Society in 1865, for example, its president remarked that his countrymen owed a 'great debt of gratitude' to English migrants, while hailing the 'wealth and comfort' that Wales had enjoyed as a consequence of 'Saxon gold'.[178] Similar sentiments resonated throughout various publications of the period, with a particular emphasis being placed on the material benefits that derived from English migration, such as the growing sophistication of transportation networks across Wales. In an article appearing in the North Wales Chronicle on 29 March 1890, it was claimed that 'large public works like the construction of the Shrewsbury and Holyhead road, the Menai Suspension Bridge, the Holyhead Breakwater' would have been unfeasible without the 'investment of English capital in Wales'.[179] A letter submitted to The Welsh Coast Pioneer and Review for North Cambria on September 8th 1905 echoed this stance, listing the infrastructural contributions made to Welsh society as a result of the English inclination for spending money (primarily in the form of new chapels and other places of worship), and went on to express a hope that there would be 'no objections whatever to the English spending as much of their surplus cash in Wales as they like'.[180]

The apparent aptitude of English migrants in terms of their commercial and entrepreneurial abilities was invariably conceptualised according to perceptions of broader national traits. Vyrnwy Morgan, for example, having asserted that the 'vitality of nations, like the vitality of individuals, runs into different grooves', reasoned that the particular English expression of their national temperament was channelled most clearly 'into the genius for commerce'.[181] The natural predilection of English migrants for profiteering, however, invariably invited doubts regarding their moral character, which in turn facilitated cultural narratives that juxtaposed them with the inveterate wholesomeness (primarily understood in spiritual terms) of the native Welsh.[182] This dichotomy was exploited by both advocates and

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Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900 (Cambridge, 1985), pp.266-278.

[178] 'Lleyn and Eifionydd Agricultural Society', *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 20 August 1864.

[179] *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 29 March 1890.

[180] *The Welsh Coast Pioneer and Review for North Cambria*, 8 September 1905.

[181] Morgan, J.V., *The Welsh Religious Revival, 1904-5: A Retrospect and a Criticism* (London, 1909), p.24.

[182] The opportunity to extoll the virtues of the native *gwerin*, in particular, was seized with great relish by contemporary Welsh commentators. The Reverend John Griffith of Merthyr, for example, declared that there was 'not a finer, a more intelligent, or a more intellectual, and, especially, a more religious race of peasantry on the face of the whole earth than the Welsh'. *The Church in Wales: A Speech at the Leeds Church Congress and Notes on Men and Things by The Rev. John Griffith (Rector of Merthyr).*

opponents of the English Causes (as will be explored in greater detail in chapter four), however there was also a secular dimension to such discourses. Press portrayals of English migrants tended to emphasise the enhanced social expectations that were deemed to instruct their lifestyles, in contrast to the natural frugality of the Celtic peoples. For example, an article appearing in *Y Goleuad* in 1881 opined that no other national group 'paid so much for their pleasures' as the English.[183] It was these standards that had induced so many Englishmen, according to the article, to invest their 'gold and money' in the construction of 'thousands of houses' that were being built on the shores of Wales.[184]

Similarly, an 1897 article in *The Aberystwyth Observer* remarked that the prominence of English migrants in the local economy was not sustained by their willingness to accept lower working conditions (an allegation that was frequently levelled at Irish migrants in Wales),[185] but rather by their supposed assertiveness in securing greater concessions from their employers. Whereas the native Welshman was content with the 'scanty fare' that had sustained his ancestors therefore, *The Aberystwyth Observer*, paraphrasing an earlier speech by David Lloyd George, claimed that the English migrant was predisposed to settle for nothing less than 'roast beef and comfort'.[186] Intriguingly, this line of reasoning was even embedded in analyses of the fundamental socio-economic motives that orchestrated the process of migration itself. An article appearing in the *South Wales Daily News* in 1894 on the progress of the Welsh settlement in Patagonia remarked with great satisfaction that the 'object' of the original colonisers had not been to 'better their material condition', as was the 'case with most emigrants' (which most Welsh readers would surely have primarily understood in terms of 'pull-factor' English migration).[187] Eschewing the base impulses that defined the behaviour of migrant groups therefore, the Patagonian 'adventurers' had been guided by the higher purpose of escaping 'from contact with Anglo-Saxons', which it was assumed would lead to the 'preservation of their language and the re-construction of their ancient nationality'.[188]

These supposed differences in the attitudes of English migrants and native Welsh workers towards their material surroundings held particular implications for contemporary

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[183] 'Pleserau y Saeson', *Y Goleuad*, 12 November 1881.
[184] 'Pleserau y Saeson', *Y Goleuad*, 12 November 1881.
[185] 'Wales for the English', *Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1897.
[186] 'Wales for the English', *Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1897.
[187] 'Fleeing from the Saxon', *South Wales Daily News*, 26 December 1894.
[188] 'Fleeing from the Saxon', *South Wales Daily News*, 26 December 1894.

perceptions of social hierarchies in Wales. The notion that English migrants were not only better able to secure employment opportunities for themselves upon arriving in Wales, but were also disproportionately represented in more prestigious occupations, began to gain a significant degree of traction in contemporary discourse. In another demonstration of the explicit awareness amongst the Welsh press of the historic specificity of capitalist modes of production, the aforementioned article in *The Aberystwyth Observer* claimed that it was the adaptability of English migrants to the 'changed circumstances' of modern economic development, as well as their greater understanding of the 'tricks of the trade' that underpinned the capitalist ethos, which had allowed them to prosper at the expense of the more inhibited native workforce.[189] Thus all that was 'best in the Welsh commercial world' was in the process of being 'gulped by the English and Scotch' while the Welsh and Irish were being forced to 'take a back seat'.[190] The article went on to list a few examples of the town's native workforce being overlooked in favour of English-speaking migrants in areas of technical employment, including the University, which was described as being entirely staffed, with the exception of the Principal and a 'couple of young Professors', by 'aliens'.[191] Similarly, excise and inland revenue officials were deemed to be predominantly English outsiders, while, ironically, the prominence of Englishmen in the local journalistic circles was also noted.[192]

In this respect, traditional cultural narratives regarding the English exploitation of Wales became inexorably accommodated, and even reinvigorated, within the 'new' language of capitalism. For example, Michael D. Jones observed that under the economic framework that existed in Wales during the nineteenth century, 'Welsh resources' were being 'developed by English companies', which engendered a state of affairs whereby the 'Englishmen take the profits, and Welshmen do the work'.[193] The capacity of capitalism to exacerbate and redefine historic grievances in this manner has been advanced by the likes of James Petras and Dennis Canterbury, who have emphasised that 'dynamic inequalities and exploitative relations between "sender countries" and "receiver countries"'[194] play an instrumental role in fomenting intra-class conflicts amongst indigenous and migrant workers. This would provide

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[189] 'Wales for the English', *Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1897.
[190] 'Wales for the English', *Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1897.
[191] 'Wales for the English', *Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1897.
[192] 'Wales for the English', *Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 February 1897.
[193] Lloyd, D.M. & Wade-Evans, A.W., *The Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism: A Series of Lectures* (Cardiff, 1950), p.168.
[194] Canterbury, D.C., *Capital Accumulation and Migration* (New York, 2012), p.4.

a critical psychological backdrop to the outbreaks of anti-English agitation that periodically scarred the industrial workspaces of Wales.

English migration and rioting in Wales

Recent scholarship on crowds, popular protest and rioting has done much to challenge notions of Welsh society's inherent stability and placidity during the second half of the nineteenth century.[195] Far from representing a period of tranquillity sandwiched between the turbulent eras of Chartism on one side and the widespread industrial disputes of the 1910s on the other, social unrest of varying severity was a recurring aspect of life in post-1850 Wales. Unsurprisingly, migrant groups tended to feature prominently in the course of events, primarily as the targets of indigenous anger. As Louise Miskell and Paul O'Leary have observed, for example, the Irish population of Wales were involved in no fewer than twenty riots between 1826 and 1882, which defies prior assumptions that more serious instances of anti-Irish attacks largely dissipated after the immediate post-Famine years, and that it strictly correlated with the size of the migrant community (the Irish presence in Wales was relatively less substantial compared to areas such as Merseyside).[196]

Owing to the aforementioned reluctance in the historiography to treat the English population of Wales as a migrant group in their own right, they have generally been incidental to most studies of rioting. Indeed, the notion of positioning English migrants as 'victims' of native Welsh prejudice projects awkward connotations of its own, particularly due to the manner in which it subverts traditional interpretations of Wales as the inherently 'exploited' partner in the Anglo-Welsh social, cultural, economic and political relationship. Nevertheless, it is apparent that English migrants were often at the forefront of a number of significant labour disputes, which provide a useful insight into the social fault-lines of the increasingly diverse industrial workspaces of Wales. Of course, it is important at this stage not to conflate the particular experiences of English migrants with those of other migrant groups in Wales. Strong differences are detectable in terms of the range of attitudes that were projected by native Welsh communities towards the presence of Irish migrants on the one hand and English migrants on the other. In turn, this ensured a significant degree of variation in terms of the underlying motivations and fundamental complexions of anti-Irish and anti-English rioting. According to Neil Evans, anti-Irish riots broadly fell into two categories, namely industrial-based agitation caused by the common perception that imported Irish labour was responsible for depressing wages, and 'communal' unrest that was triggered by

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[195] See Evans, N., 'Through the Prism of Ethnic Violence: Riots and Racial Attacks in Wales, 1826–2014' in *A Tolerant Nation? Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Wales* (Cardiff, 2003).

[196] Miskell, L., 'Reassessing the Anti-Irish Riot: Popular Protest and the Irish in South Wales, c.1826-1882' in O'Leary, P. (ed.), *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2003), pp.101-118.

religious or ethnic bigotry.[197] In both cases, English people were just as likely to align themselves with Welsh rioters against Irish migrants as they were of being on the receiving end of indigenous ire.

For example, in a 'scene of national shame' ('Golygfa oedd yn warth i'n gwlad'), Christmas afternoon in Ebbw Vale in 1880 was disturbed by a violent skirmish between a group of around three to four hundred Welshmen and Englishmen on one side and around the same number of Irish on the other.[198] Exhibiting behaviour 'worthy of barbarians' ('ymladdfa teilwng o farbariaid'), the mixed Welsh and English crowd proceeded to treat their Irish opponents 'very badly', whose house windows were 'smashed to smithereens' ('chawsant eu trin yn arw, a chwalwyd ffenestri eu tai yn deilchion').[199] Such patterns of Anglo-Welsh co-operation against the Gaelic 'other' were not solely confined to Wales itself. In March 1873, 'great rioting' was reported at Portobello, near Wolverhampton, in which 'about 3000 people were hotly engaged' as a consequence of the 'hot blood' that had been 'engendered between the English and Welsh on the one hand and the Irish on the other, chiefly amongst the mining population'[200]. With the English and Welsh miners aggrieved by the fact that their Irish counterparts had not resumed work on the day after St. Patrick's Day (during which time the Irish were described as having 'drank freely'), an Englishman by the name of John Taylor and a Welshman by the name of George Probert, both brandishing pokers, joined forced to attack 'a ringleader of the Irish, named Fleeming'.[201] The assault subsequently drew in supporters from both sides, and soon spilled onto the adjoining streets, necessitating the deployment of a strong police presence to defuse the febrile atmosphere.[202]

These episodes very much hint at the relatively advantageous position that English migrant workers occupied when subjected to native 'profiling' of their status as 'outsiders'. This was sustained by a number of interconnecting factors. Whereas sectarian undertones were a frequent influence on relations between the Irish and Welsh, for obvious reasons English migrants were practically immune to the most virulent manifestations of religious hatred (though, as will be explored in a later chapter, this did not prevent Welsh

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[197] Evans, N., 'Through the Prism of Ethnic Violence: Riots and Racial Attacks in Wales, 1826–2014' in *A Tolerant Nation? Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Wales* (Cardiff, 2003), p.94.
[198] 'Cymru a Saeson yn Ymladd a Gwyddelod', *Y Tyst a'r Dydd*, 2 January 1880.
[199] 'Cymru a Saeson yn Ymladd a Gwyddelod', *Y Tyst a'r Dydd*, 2 January 1880.
[200] 'An English, Welsh and Irish Riot', *Wrexham and Denbighshire Advertiser and Cheshire, Shropshire and North Wales Register*, 22 March 1873.
[201] 'An English, Welsh and Irish Riot', *Wrexham and Denbighshire Advertiser and Cheshire, Shropshire and North Wales Register*, 22 March 1873.
[202] 'An English, Welsh and Irish Riot', *Wrexham and Denbighshire Advertiser and Cheshire, Shropshire and North Wales Register*, 22 March 1873.

commentators from casting aspersions on the spiritual and moral condition of the English-born population). Meanwhile, the fact that English migrant workforces in Wales tended, on average, to be better skilled than the Irish meant that they were less likely to be accused of undercutting the wages of locals. Finally, the more disparate and diffuse nature of English settlement in Welsh communities ensured that they could more effectively avoid being the particular focus of patterns of 'communal' unrest as described by O'Leary (Irish migrant populations, in contrast, had a greater tendency of being clustered within specific enclaves or neighbourhoods, and were thus a more 'visible' target for rioters). Consequently, English migrants, at least in theory, were generally better placed to insulate themselves from the worst excess of social discontent in Wales.

Despite their relatively favourable footing compared to the more 'exposed' and disadvantaged migrant populations of Wales however, it would be erroneous to completely dismiss the important role performed by English migrants in the development of Welsh patterns of rioting in emerging industrialised environments. Indeed, it was precisely because of their perceived privileges in terms of their skills and social background (such as their immediate access to the language of international commerce) that English migrants invariably became interwoven within native narratives of capitalist exploitation, which in turn informed the 'conduct' of subsequent outbreaks of rioting. In this respect, the objectives of anti-English riots were primarily conceived as the limitation or even complete exclusion of English migrants from workspaces, and the simultaneous reassertion of native authority. During the earliest decades of industrialisation in Wales, this indigenous backlash against the infiltration of Anglo-Saxon influences into the economic sphere of society was most notably embodied by the notorious Scotch Cattle movement, which emerged in Monmouthshire and parts of eastern Glamorgan in the 1820s and 1830s (though there were isolated reports of its continuation up to the 1850s).[203] Sharing several similarities with the rural-based Rebecca riots, the Scotch Cattlers engaged in ostentatious campaigns of harassment and intimidation against individuals or groups who were deemed to be a threat to the collective interests of the native workers. As E.W. Evans observes in his study of mining in south Wales, the overarching aim of such measures was to curtail the supply of imported labour as a means of inflating the wages of the local workforce, which frequently entailed the physical expulsion of so-called 'strangers'.[204]

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[203] Evans, E.W., *The Miners of South Wales* (Cardiff, 1961), p.48.
[204] Evans, *The Miners of South Wales*, p.48.

Whereas the Scotch Cattle movement, along with its formal trappings, largely ceased to be a feature of labour relations in Wales by the latter half of the nineteenth century, the patterns of anti-English rioting in subsequent decades continued to bear the imprint of its fundamental precepts. This speaks to the persistence of traditional expressions of protest amongst Welsh workers even as the 'modern' structures and practices of industry began to take hold; an aspect of particular significance in the context of the Mold riot. For example, as late as 1885, a riot involving 800 men was reported at the Llandalas quarries, near Conway, as a consequence of the 'management engaging workmen from Liverpool'.[205] Following the example set by their predecessors in the Scotch Cattle movement, the rioters resolved to ensure that the 'strangers' were 'driven out of the quarries', with several of the Liverpudlian workers being 'seriously injured' in the process.[206]

A similar episode occurred in May 1876 at the Hafodywern Slate Quarry, where the hiring of a 'number of Cornishmen and Welsh non-unionists' as a means of breaking an impasse relating to payment arrangements provoked a furious response from the established workforce.[207] A mob comprised of around five hundred local workers thus 'drove the Cornishmen from the level', of which many were 'hurt by the stones and other missiles which were freely used'.[208] In areas such as the western anthracite coalfields, where the domains of the workplace and the wider community often coalesced, in both a spatial and socio-cultural context,[209] anti-English industrial agitation invariably encompassed the local population as a whole. This was in evidence during a riot of 'unparalleled violence' which occurred at the Great Mountain Colliery near Llanelli in 1893.[210] Precipitated by the 'importation of Scottish and English hands into the village',[211] a group of disgruntled native workers 'invaded the village and swept everything before them', unleashing their anger on the lodging houses of the migrants as well as the manager responsible for hiring them.[212] Such was the severity of the riot that a squadron of dragoons was dispatched to Llanelli soon afterwards as a means of

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[205] 'Another Riot at a Welsh Colliery', *South Wales Echo*, 17 December 1885.
[206] 'Another Riot at a Welsh Colliery', *South Wales Echo*, 17 December 1885.
[207] 'Riot at a Welsh Slate Quarry', *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 20 May 1876.
[208] 'Riot at a Welsh Slate Quarry', *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 20 May 1876.
[209] This is suggested by the portrayal of the local community caught up in the Great Mountain Colliery riot: 'The colliery brought the village into being'. 'Riot near Llanelly', *South Wales Echo*, 6 September 1893.
[210] 'Riot near Llanelly', *South Wales Echo*, 6 September 1893.
[211] The village was described as having been the 'scene of intermittent warfare' between the native and migrant colliers for some time prior to the outbreak of the riot itself. 'Riot near Llanelly', *South Wales Echo*, 6 September 1893.
[212] 'Riot near Llanelly', *South Wales Echo*, 6 September 1893.

containing the 'strong antipathy' that continued to exist between the '"foreigners" and the natives'.[213]

In each case, it is interesting to note how the language featured in the newspaper reports has a tendency of using the terms 'strike' and 'riot' somewhat interchangeably, as if to convey the blurred nature of the boundaries between both concepts in the contemporary popular consciousness of Wales. This is further illustrated by the fact that during the Hafodywern riot, the North Wales Quarryman's Union itself was forced to deny allegations that it had abetted the misconduct of the unruly workforce.[214] In many ways therefore, this serves to emphasise the under-developed state of the formal and legalistic structures of trade unionism in Wales well into the second half of the nineteenth century (which, as will be explained later, is an aspect of Welsh labour history that is particularly pertinent to a study of English migration). Another feature of these riots that demands attention is the implicit nationalistic subtext that was interwoven into the behavioural patterns of the rioters themselves. Of course, the introduction of external agents within workforces underpinned by strong pre-existing communal ties (which was typical of the Welsh industrial landscape for much of the century) is always likely to engender discord and inflamed passions, as the standardising impulses of the capitalist-orientated market clashes with the parochial interests of the locality. However what is noticeable in this case was the manner in which the provided the ammunition to facilitate and exacerbate the process of 'othering' English migrants. This is hinted by the course of the rioting at Hafodywern, which, despite apparently being prompted by the hiring of a mixed contingent of Cornishmen and non-unionised Welshmen, was solely focused on the eviction of the former from the quarry. Indeed, while the treatment of the Cornish workers, which included details of their injuries and their eventual re-entry into the workplace, was outlined extensively by the newspaper article, the fate of their non-unionised Welsh counterparts was not mentioned at all.

Linguistic differences also performed an important function in this respect. As E.W. Evans mentions in *The Miners of South Wales*, the use of the Welsh language amongst members was a distinguishing characteristic of the Scotch Cattle movement, while literature associated with their activities was also invariably produced through the medium of Welsh.[215] Once again, it is apparent that subsequent anti-English riots inherited this trait, with the

[213] 'Riot near Llanelly', *South Wales Echo*, 6 September 1893.
[214] 'Riot at a Welsh Slate Quarry', *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 20 May 1876.
[215] Evans, E. W., *The Miners of South Wales* (Cardiff, 1961), p.51.

Welsh language being used both as a gesture of defiance against the overtly anglicising tendencies of capitalist-based production and as a means of creating a deliberately disconcerting working environment to any newcomers. This is demonstrated by the example of a riot involving around fifty men at the Coedcae Colliery near Pontypridd in 1867. At the court proceedings, the daughter of the one of the miners targeted by the rioters, Hannah Keats, asserted that an attack on their house was accompanied by the crowd shouting in Welsh, of which she had no knowledge.[216] Another English monoglot who was a witness to the event, Francis Renfrey, was subjected to a similar experience.[217]

Unfortunately, the ethnicity of both Keats and Renfrey are not divulged by the article, however since it is stated elsewhere that the cause of the commotion was the presence of Cornish workers in the colliery (who, much like their counterparts in Hafodywern, had been hired to ameliorate the impact of local strikes) it is reasonable to conclude that they were either English migrants themselves or deemed to be overly amicable towards the imported labourers. The latter point is implied by the testimony of a Mr. Roberts, who asserted that his house had been attacked due to his having 'accommodated some Cornish miners'.[218] Intriguingly, this represents something of a departure from the course of the Hafodywern riot, where the non-unionised Welsh who joined the Cornish workers to break the strike were pointedly not targeted by the rioting locals. As mentioned previously, therefore, it can be deduced that it was the space occupied by migrants in industrial workspaces, both from a physical and abstract perspective, which invariably constituted the 'justification' for anti-English rioting in Wales during this period.

The patterns of the riots outlined above thus highlight the aforementioned dynamic interaction between the cultural and material domains of contemporary discourses, whereby pre-existing national differences were given new meanings within the specific parameters of capitalist-industrial environments. This in turn facilitated and accentuated the process of 'othering' migrants, which, when pursued to its furthest stage, involved their physical separation from the working environment itself. These behavioural patterns in mixed migrant-indigenous workspaces in Wales throughout the nineteenth century thus provide a crucial backdrop to a more focused case study of the Mold riot. Before progressing to this end, however, it is necessary to consult the occupational data deriving from the relevant

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[216] 'The Coedcae Riot', *The Cardiff Times*, 21 December 1867.
[217] 'The Coedcae Riot', *The Cardiff Times*, 21 December 1867.
[218] 'The Coedcae Riot', *The Cardiff Times*, 21 December 1867.

censuses to acquire an understanding of the structural basis of labour relations between English migrants and their native Welsh counterparts.

Social stratification of English migrant workers: A quantitative analysis

The implication that English migrants possessed a natural inclination towards commercial enterprise was not merely the preserve of idle stereotyping in the Welsh press. In many ways, it echoed entrenched contemporary attitudes towards class distinctions between migrants and the native population, as well as perceptions of workplace hierarchies. The portrayal of English migrants as being uniquely accustomed to the dynamics of a capitalist-orientated economy invariably fuelled persistent speculation that they would be favoured by employers for specialised or more technical positions in workspaces (in contrast to Irish migrants, whose perceived lack of skill led to accusations that they were depressing wage levels). This was cited as a critical contributing factor in the outbreak of unrest at the Leeswood Green Colliery in Mold, which will be discussed in greater detail later. However, to what extent were these impressions grounded in reality? Is it reasonable to suggest that the enhanced social expectations and standards of English migrants allowed them to negotiate a favourable position within the hierarchies of Welsh society? Furthermore, to what extent is it useful to examine the social relations between migrants and their native hosts through the discourse of class?

The concept of skill in the context of labour history is a crucial consideration in this respect. Indeed, the extent to which industrialisation precipitated changes in perceptions of 'skilled' work and its resultant influence over the stratification of labour has become a particularly contentious area in the historiography. As Kirk states, the Marxist-inspired hypothesis that stresses the culpability of capitalist-driven industrial production in prompting a widespread 'deskilling' process, whereby the working-classed were reduced to 'a uniformly de-skilled, non-unionised and machine-dependent mass', has been vigorously challenged by recent scholarship.[219] According to Reid, for example, up until the late nineteenth century 'British industry more typically relied on craftsmen and other highly skilled workers who retained considerable levels of technical knowledge', in stark contrast to more traditional interpretations of the period heralding the emergence of a proletarian workforce as the primary embodiment of the new labouring class.[220] Reid goes on to identify the different political tendencies of both skilled and unskilled workers, with the latter favouring large-scale union activity and state involvement in industry, while the former were more inclined

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[219] Kirk, N., *Change, Continuity and Class: Labour in British Society, 1850-1920* (Manchester, 1998), p.160.
[220] Reid, A.J., *Social Classes and Social Relations in Britain, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 1992), p.24.

towards small-scale localised strikes that were informed by a quasi-libertarian preference for minimal governmental interference in their trade.[221] These characteristics are, of course, hugely significant in the context of the Mold riots and patterns of Welsh industrial unrest more broadly. The manner in which Welsh workers were able to defend their 'privileges of skill' against the challenge of imported English labour represents a crucial component of this narrative, especially since the skill profile of English migrants tended to differ rather markedly to those of the other migrant groups in nineteenth century Wales (as this quantitative analysis will soon reveal).

Navigating and processing the occupational data derived from the censuses, however, requires a particular level of caution, as the haphazard manner in which it was categorised by nineteenth century enumerators over successive decades represents a formidable obstacle for systematic methods of research. Whereas a 'general principle' for classifying and categorising an individual's employment status was established for the census of 1851 (previous editions of the census had either included broad overviews of occupational statistics for entire communities, or simply omitted such information altogether), the specific guidelines for registrars often varied on a decennial basis, either to accommodate a greater range of occupations or to standardise certain areas of employment. As a result, while the working population registered in the census of 1851 were grouped into 17 'orders' or 'classes' (ranging from 'persons engaged in Imperial or local government' to 'mineral workers' and 'unskilled or unspecified labour'), which in turn were further divided into 91 separate sub-orders, the number of orders were increased to 18 in time for the 1871 census, and to 24 by 1881. Any attempt to initiate longitudinal surveys of Victorian employment patterns therefore must take into account these pronounced variations in methods of registration.[222]

Similarly, the descriptions provided for employment statuses can often appear frustratingly vague for the purposes of dissecting hierarchies in working environments. In several cases, these descriptions merely inform the reader of the workplaces in which individuals were employed, as opposed to their specific roles, while the widespread deployment of broad categories of identification such as 'coal miner' or 'iron worker' belie the intricate complexity with which labour was organised within the industrial sector of

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[221] Reid, *Social Classes and Social Relations in Britain*, p.24.
[222] For a more thorough and technical breakdown of the successive alterations that were introduced to the methodologies of censuses in the nineteenth century, see Higgs, E., *A Clearer Sense of the Census* (London, 1996).

Victorian Britain. Women are also poorly served by the classification of employment found in nineteenth century census returns. The hardships of domestic work undertaken by women in the households of industrial communities, and the manner in which it effectively complemented the predominantly male workforce of the public sphere, has received considerable scholarly attention in recent years.[223] Such work, however, barely registers on census pages, as it often became common practise that only the occupation of the male household head was deemed worthy of 'official' registration, at the expense of his 'co-dependents'.

Nevertheless, when handled with appropriate care, the census can prove itself an extensive and insightful tool for the purposes of mapping employment patterns during this period. Numerous efforts have been made by historians and statisticians alike to iron out the aforementioned deficiencies as a means of producing a systematic method of enquiry, and perhaps the most well-known and comprehensive of these was outlined by W.A. Armstrong in *Nineteenth-century society: Essays in the use of Quantitative methods for the use of Social Data*, which will henceforth form the framework for our quantitative analysis.[224] This model is primarily based on Armstrong's interpretation of Charles Booth's criticisms of the erratic practices of the nineteenth century registrars, which in turn has produced ten separate occupational 'areas' or 'sectors' (with an additional 'miscellaneous' category for the purposes of anomalous results), ranging from agricultural labour to property owners. For the purposes of providing an appropriate context to our findings, the employment statistics for English migrants in Mold in the census years of 1861 and 1871 (which represent the most accurate source of information regarding the state of the migrant community during the Riot of 1869) will be compared with those for Dowlais between 1891 and 1901.

The most immediately arresting feature from each set of data is perhaps an obvious one, namely the prominence of the mining and manufacturing sectors (which in the case of Mold in 1861 and Dowlais in 1901 account for over half of all employed English migrants), however, a more comprehensive analysis reveals some intriguing patterns which may hint at changes in labour relations after the Riots of 1869. Whereas the English migrant workforce of Dowlais became increasingly concentrated in the mining and manufacturing sectors between both census years (a combined share of 49.1% in 1891 expanding to 53.3% by 1901), with

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[223] See John, A.V., *Our Mothers' Land: Chapters in Welsh Women's History, 1830-1939* (Cardiff, 2011).
[224] Armstrong, W.A., 'The use of information about occupation' in Wrigley, E. A. (Ed.), Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data (London, 1972), pp.191-310.

those employed in mining demonstrating the most substantial growth of any single occupational group, the proportion of Mold-based migrants employed in both sectors declined rather markedly, from a 53.5% share in 1861 to a 35% share in 1871. Despite a 415% increase in the English migrant workforce of Mold between the census years of 1861 and 1871 therefore, their presence in employment sectors traditionally defined as 'industrial' waned in favour of greater diversification in 'non-industrial' fields; a trend that ran contrary to the patterns of labour amongst migrants in the south-east of Wales.

Whilst drawing overarching conclusions from this preliminary stage of quantitative analysis is naturally an endeavour fraught with complications, and it should be noted that the pace of industrial development in the Welsh north-east and south-east proceeded along distinctly contrasting trajectories throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, it is nevertheless tempting to ascribe, at least to a certain degree, the drop in English migrants employed in mining and manufacture to the after-effects of the Mold Riot. Resentments amongst native Welsh miners at perceived privileges afforded to the English workforce were a marked feature of labour relations in the collieries of north Wales long before 1869,[225] and the tragic culmination of these tensions during the events of that year may well have played a part in diverting the flow of migrant labour away from the industrialised environments of Mold. Consequently, this breakdown of employment figures go some way towards reflecting the material dialectic at the heart of society in nineteenth century Mold, and the manner in which new modes of capitalist production imparted acute consequences for the organisation of humanity.

Further analysis of the census also provides an insight into the precise dynamics of this material-based social organisation, which is usually defined by anthropologists and historians alike as the process of 'class formation', but may also broadly encompass hierarchies in working environments which are not adequately catered by the traditional tropes of class discourses. It is worth stating at this point that if we are to accept Ellen Wood's hypothesis of the historicity of capitalism, then it stands to reason that the structures of class that are deemed to be the by-products of capitalist accumulation must also be conceptualised according to the historical conditions in which they emerge. Whereas terms such as 'working-classes' and 'upper-classes' would have been recognisable features of

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[225] See Evans, N., 'Regional dynamics: north Wales, 1750-1914' in Royle, E. & Marshall, J.D. (eds.), *Issues of Regional Identity: In Honour of John Marshall* (Manchester, 1998) & Rogers, E., 'Labour Struggles in Flintshire 1830-1850', *Flintshire Historical Society*, Vol.15, (1954-55), pp.47-71.

social discourse in Britain well before the emergence of Marxist-influenced labour movements (which is certainly demonstrated from a Welsh perspective by the Newport Rising of 1839, as the agitators made conscious efforts to foster notions of an explicit working-class socio-political solidarity), as Armstrong emphasises in *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the use of Quantitative Methods for the study of social data*, 'for every single individual who adhered to the Marxian view that society was becoming polarised into two great classes', there were many more who would have 'insisted upon the gradations and status distinctions to be found within each of those groups'.[226] Therefore, it becomes necessary to approach the epistemology of class formation as being inherently grounded in historical subjectivity, as opposed to the objective and standardised criteria that often constitute the models of more orthodox materialist interpretations.

This is an especially pertinent point to consider when attempting to discern other forms of social hierarchies from employment data, as shifting cultural narratives that informed the relationship between professions and their perceived social respectability often complicate efforts to impose uniform systems of categorisation. The case of the clerking profession, for example, is highlighted by Armstrong as a notable example of an occupation that was subject to significant alterations in methods of census registration throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and which entailed a skill level that was quantified in different ways across the period. To compensate for such variations, Armstrong proposed that a modified version of the 'skill-band' classifications that were featured in the 1951 census best serves the interests of sociologists studying the censuses of the previous century, and while there are some obvious deficiencies in this approach (which Armstrong himself readily acknowledges), it provides a useful tool by which work-place hierarchies amongst the migrants of Mold may be delineated.

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[226] Armstrong, W.A., 'The use of information about occupation' in Wrigley, E. A. (ed.), *Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (London, 1972), p.200

Area or Sector of Employment	Number of workers employed (from a total working population of 99)	Percentage of working population
Agriculture and Breeding	2	2.0%
Mining	21	21.2%
Building	5	5.1%
Manufacture	32	32.3%
Transport	7	7.1%
Dealing	8	8.1%
Industrial Service	5	5.1%
Public Service and Professional	9	9.1%
Domestic Service	7	7.1%
Property Owning and Independent	2	2.0%
Miscellaneous	1	1.0%

Fig. 1: Distribution of employment amongst English migrants in Mold, according to the 1861 census

Area or Sector of Employment	Number of workers employed (from a total working population of 411)	Percentage of working population
Agriculture and Breeding	21	5.1%
Mining	56	13.6%
Building	25	6.1%
Manufacture	88	21.4%
Transport	15	3.6%
Dealing	46	11.2%
Industrial Service	41	10.0%
Public Service and Professional	46	11.2%
Domestic Service	59	14.4%
Property Owning and Independent	12	2.9%
Miscellaneous	2	0.5%

Fig. 2: Distribution of employment amongst English migrants in Mold, according to the 1871 census

Area or Sector of Employment	Number of workers employed (from a total working population of 318)	Percentage of working population
Agriculture and Breeding	15	4.7%
Mining	48	15.1%
Building	27	8.5%
Manufacture	108	34.0%
Transport	20	6.3%
Dealing	18	5.7%
Industrial Service	48	15.1%
Public Service and Professional	15	4.7%
Domestic Service	16	5.0%
Property Owning and Independent	0	0
Miscellaneous	3	0.9%

Fig. 3: Distribution of employment amongst English migrants in Dowlais, according to the 1891 census

Area or Sector of Employment	Number of workers employed (from a total working population of 721)	Percentage of working population
Agriculture and Breeding	9	1.2%
Mining	175	24.3%
Building	65	9.0%
Manufacture	209	29.0%
Transport	50	6.9%
Dealing	74	10.3%
Industrial Service	52	7.2%
Public Service and Professional	32	4.4%
Domestic Service	36	5.0%
Property Owning and Independent	0	0
Miscellaneous	19	2.6%

Fig. 4: Distribution of employment amongst English migrants in Dowlais, according to the 1901 census

As the tables demonstrate therefore, Armstrong's model of classification entails grouping the various descriptions for occupational status that were deployed by the census registrars into five distinct 'classes' or 'skill-bands', which in turn hint towards the contours of social stratification that were present across a particular sample of workers. While the descriptions provided are fairly self-explanatory, a brief overview of each criterion is helpful before embarking upon any further analysis. The first 'band' or 'class' therefore is designated

for **Professionals**, which in this instance includes those deemed by Armstrong to represent the 'upper' or 'upper-middle' stratum of society as it was perceived by nineteenth century contemporaries. Whereas the Decennial Supplement of 1911 (which was the first to include some attempt by the Registrar-General to delineate a social stratification for occupational groups) includes all white-collar occupations in this social band, Armstrong, with some justification, disavows this approach as being the consequence of a 'first, hasty effort' that lacked the 'refinement' of later editions.[227] Consequently, the 'professional' class of his model is rather exclusive in its range, limited to individuals employed in highly skilled, non-manual professions that were likely to require some form of official qualification (such as surgeons, dentists, solicitors, architects and attorneys) and significant property owners (such as ship-owners and the owners of coal mines). Significantly, vicars and ministers of Independent denominations are also included in this group, despite (at least in the case of Welsh Nonconformist ministers) the relative material poverty of the occupation throughout the majority of the nineteenth century. Their inclusion is thus justified on the basis of the perceived social respectability of the profession and the manner in which they were representatives of the 'established order' of society; army and naval officers were included on similar grounds.

The second 'class', described here as **Intermediate**, was subject to several adjustments in terms of its scope between the censuses of 1911 to 1951, and here broadly encompassed individuals who were deemed to be employed in occupations which were not definitively regarded as being middle class or working class in character (primarily because, as the description of the 1911 Decennial Supplement stated, they were deemed to employ 'many members of both' social classes).[228] This group therefore includes most members of shop-keeping trades, as well as individuals who would nowadays be regarded as public servants, such as school teachers, inland-revenue collectors and police chief constables (although junior police constables were positioned in the subsequent group). The third 'class', devoted to **Skilled** workers, represents perhaps the most problematic category for the purposes of our investigation, and Armstrong himself freely admits that the group can often appear rather bloated and unwieldy due to the vast plethora of occupations that it contained. This class therefore not only includes the majority of miners, ironworkers and other labourers employed in heavy industry, but also craft-workers, artisans and those broadly defined as

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[227] Armstrong, W.A., 'The use of information about occupation' in Wrigley, E. A. (ed.), Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data (London, 1972), p.274.
[228] Census England and Wales, 1911: Decennial Supplement, xi.

'manufacturers' (such as bakers, confectioners and tailors). Clerks too, despite the administrative and non-manual nature of their work, were also categorised in this group, which meant, in contrast to the relatively cohesive make-up of the first two classes, the 'skilled' class resembled an amorphous assortment of professions which inhabited a diverse range of social and economic environments. Consequently, Armstrong suggests sub-categorising the 'skilled' group at the researcher's own discretion, and some effort will be made to unpick the various cleavages and hierarchies that existed amongst the skilled migrant workers of Mold later on.

The final two groups, namely the **Partly-Skilled** and **Unskilled** classes, are, by contrast, narrower in terms of their criteria for inclusion. Broadly speaking, the **Partly-Skilled** group was almost exclusively reserved for individuals deemed to be employed in domestic service, such as housekeepers, nurses and most agricultural labourers. This group also included a few professions that may be defined as 'menial assistance' labour, such as hotel porters and railway ticket collectors. Finally, the **Unskilled** category consisted of individuals who possessed no formal training or qualifications beyond their own physical capabilities, and were invariably involved in work that would have been considered temporary. Scavengers, messengers and errand boys were thus all included in this category, as well as general or undefined labourers, which is particularly relevant for the purposes of this study given the reliance of coal mines and other heavy industries for supplementary cheap labour on a periodic basis. Navvies, whose semi-nomadic lifestyle was well suited for migrant labour, were also included in this category.

The advantages of Armstrong's approach is not only based on the manner in which it presents a relatively satisfying and coherent aggregate of the inconsistent models of social stratification outlined by early twentieth century registrars, but it also facilitates effective quantitative comparisons with other census-based studies. Paul O'Leary's work on the composition of the Irish workforce of Dowlais in 1861, for example, provides a tantalising opportunity to contextualise the social hierarchies of their English counterparts from a similar geographic and chronological scale.[229] The immediate impression that is gleaned from the imposition of Armstrong's model upon employment data for the English migrants of both Dowlais and Mold therefore is the overwhelming prominence of the 'skilled' social class, which stands in stark contrast to the figures for the Irish workforce. Whereas skilled workers

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[229] O'Leary, P., 'Skill and the Workplace in an Industrial Economy: the Irish in South Wales' in Belchem, J. & Tenfelde, K. (eds.), *Irish and Polish Migration in Comparative Perspective* (Essen, 2003).

were a distinct minority in the Irish community of Dowlais in 1861, they constituted an absolute majority of the English workforce in Dowlais from 1891 to 1901 and in Mold in 1861, as well as being a substantial minority in Mold ten years later. Similarly, the proportion of professional and intermediate workers in the English migrant population of both communities compared very favourably with the Irish workforce of Dowlais. Whereas unskilled and partly-skilled labour accounted for 83.4% of all Irish workers in Dowlais in 1861, the top three 'tiers' of Armstrong's model are represented by over two-thirds of the English workforce in each observed case, with the exception of Dowlais in 1891.

Such contrasts, of course, are not surprising. The circumstances of Irish migration to Wales (as well as the rest of Britain) naturally favoured the kind of unskilled or semi-skilled labour which could easily adapt to a variety of working environments (indeed, such was the prominence of Irish navvies in Victorian engineering projects, that they became a particular point of reference for pejorative cultural stereotyping of Irish communities during the period).[230] In contrast, English migrants were far more likely to have been induced to relocate by economic 'pull' factors, and, as a consequence, were more likely to possess specific qualifications or training that could facilitate their entry into the 'upper' tiers of workplace hierarchies. The aforementioned facets that underpinned cultural depictions of English migrants in Wales, namely their perceived natural inclination towards enterprise and the heightened material expectations which were adjudged to instruct their lifestyles, may also have acted as a self-perpetuating determinant in the recruitment strategies of various employers.

Social Class	Number of workers (from a total working population of 99)	Percentage of working population (to 1 d.p.)
I – Professional	5	5.1%
II – Intermediate	18	18.2%
III – Skilled	50	50.5%
IV – Partly-Skilled	15	15.2%
V – Unskilled	11	11.1%

Fig. 5: Class characteristics of English migrant working population in Mold 1861, based on W.A. Armstrong's method of census classification

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[230] For example, see Swift, R., *The Men who Built Britain: A History of the Irish Navvy* by Ultan Cowley; *Irish Migrants in Britain, 1815-1914: A Documentary History*, (London, 2001).

Social Class	Number of workers (from a total working population of 411)	Percentage of working population (to 1 d.p.)
I – Professional	35	8.5%
II – Intermediate	75	18.2%
III – Skilled	179	43.6%
IV – Partly-Skilled	73	17.8%
V - Unskilled	49	11.9%

Fig. 6: Social class of English migrant working population in Mold 1871, based on W.A. Armstrong's method of census classification

Social Class	Number of workers (from a total working population of 318)	Percentage of working population (to 1 d.p.)
I – Professional	5	1.6%
II – Intermediate	17	5.3%
III – Skilled	160	50.3%
IV – Partly-Skilled	52	16.4%
V - Unskilled	84	26.4%

Fig. 7: Social class of English migrant working population in Dowlais 1891, based on W.A. Armstrong's method of census classification

Social Class	Number of workers (from a total working population of 721)	Percentage of working population (to 1 d.p.)
I – Professional	12	1.7%
II – Intermediate	47	6.5%
III – Skilled	449	62.3%
IV – Partly-Skilled	84	11.7%
V - Unskilled	129	17.9%

Fig. 8: Social class of English migrant working population in Dowlais 1901, based on W.A. Armstrong's method of census classification

Social Class	Number of workers (from a total working population of 897)	Percentage of working population (to 1 d.p.)
I – Professional	0	0
II – Intermediate	14	1.6%
III – Skilled	135	15.1%
IV – Partly-Skilled	123	13.7%
V – Unskilled	625	69.7%

Fig. 9: Social class of Irish-born migrants and their adult co-residents with Irish surnames in Dowlais 1861, taken from O'Leary, P., 'Skill and the Workplace in an Industrial Economy: the Irish in South Wales' in Belchem, J. & Tenfelde, K. (eds.), Irish and Polish Migration in Comparative Perspective (Essen, 2003)

These tables, therefore, demonstrated the existence of a highly skilled English workforce that occupied relatively advanced positions in environments of labour, however, more subtle variations between the figures for Mold in both census years may well reinforce the impression that the Riots of 1869 had at least a temporary debilitating impact upon the social stratification of the community's English workforce.[231] Whereas the 'skilled' sector of the English workforce in Dowlais expanded from a 50.3% share to a 62.3% share in the ten year period between 1891 to 1901 (which coincided with a substantial drop in the proportion of unskilled and partially-skilled labourers), it actually contracted in the case of Mold during the 1861-1871 period from 50.5% to 43.6%. This is partially accounted for by a slight increase in the upper, 'professional' class, which was probably the consequence of a greater intrusion of English landowners and affluent farmers into Mold by 1871 (see fig.2), however there is also a slight boost for the 'lower' orders of unskilled and partially-skilled workers. In a similar fashion to the trends in occupational distribution therefore, the social stratification of English migrants in Mold demonstrated a greater level of diversity by 1871, which stood in contrast to the consolidation and concentration of skilled migrants in Dowlais by 1901.

An awareness of broader historical and economic developments is required here, as the earlier timescale by which the industrial base of Mold experienced a deceleration in its productivity compared to south Wales would have naturally favoured a contraction in the rate of skilled migration in later decades. The manner in which trends in each set of tables for Mold in 1861 and 1871 seemingly complement each other, however, whether in terms of the distribution of occupational groups for migrants or their social classification, certainly lends credence to the notion that the Riots exposed and exacerbated class-based tensions in migrant-native labour relations. As a means of further analysing this hypothesis, more attention is required towards the 'skilled' group in the tables of social stratification, which not only represented the vast majority of miners and other colliery workers who were at the epicentre of the disturbances in 1869, but is also, as Armstrong himself admitted, undoubtedly the category that is least equipped to reflect labour hierarchies in his model.[232] Therefore, it is necessary to provide an alternate method of stratification that is determined by the technical divisions that were present within specific working environments. To accomplish this, each English migrant employed in a particular trade or workplace was

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[231] For a comparative perspective, see Miskell, L., 'Custom, conflict and community: a study of the Irish in south Wales and Cornwall, 1861-1891' (Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Wales, 1996).
[232] Armstrong, W.A., 'The use of information about occupation' in Wrigley, E. A. (ed.), *Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (London, 1972), p.285.

counted (in this case, those employed as coal miners or in collieries in some capacity were the test sample), and further categorised according to the technical role for which they were responsible. Unpicking the precise nature of an individual's function in a workplace can often be frustrated by the inconsistencies in Victorian census registration, and the process of subcategorising the original skill bands in Armstrong's model may be interpreted as an arbitrary or even anachronistic task. The method presented in the following tables, however, has been crafted by a conscious effort to remain faithful to the spirit of Armstrong's original models (namely to provide an insight into nineteenth century mentalities of labour-orientated social stratification), while simultaneously enhancing the scope of such quantitative historical data.

The sample in question was thus divided into five separate 'skill' or 'technical' bands, for which a brief explanation is required before we may embark upon an evaluation of the relevant results. The **'Managerial or Supervisory'** band was reserved for individuals whose level of occupational seniority was explicitly mentioned in the census returns, and whose responsibilities would have been centred on delegating tasks for other workers or providing some form of training where necessary. The most common census description in this particular instance was 'Coal Mine Manager', however other relevant terms included 'Colliery Owners' (although the extent to which owners would have immersed themselves in managerial duties varied on a case-by-case basis) and 'Coal Mine Masters'. The **'Administrative'** group encompassed workers involved in white-collar duties, and whose working environment would have been separate from the industrial conditions in which their manual colleagues operated. Clerks, secretaries and other office-based roles are thus all covered by this category.

Manual workers themselves represent perhaps the most problematic grouping, primarily due to the extensive range of occupations which were classified as such, and for the purposes of our model they have been divided into 'specialist' and 'non-specialist' categories. At this point, it is important to emphasise that this distinction is not coterminous to the 'skilled-unskilled' dichotomy that was introduced previously. Whereas 'skilled' workers could often be considered 'non-specialist' in terms of their responsibilities (this would have been applicable to individuals registered as general 'coal miners' and 'ironworkers' in the census, for example), they would have worked with colleagues whose roles would have required more 'enhanced', less 'standardised' training, which, more often than not, were affixed with a greater level of prestige within the workplace. A typical

example in this respect was the puddling profession in ironworking which, as Paul O'Leary emphasises, was afforded a degree of status that served to project the 'notoriously hierarchical concerns' of that particular industry.[233] The manner in which intricate labour hierarchies emerged within the close confines of manual industrial workspaces such as coal mines is especially significant for the purposes of this study, as the perception that English miners in Mold were being granted privileged positions at the expense of the indigenous workforce became a crucial catalyst for the events of 1869. Finally, the category of **'Assistants'** or **'Apprentices'** is fairly self-explanatory, and is primarily reserved for younger workers at a formative stage in their careers.

This model was thus used to gauge the divisions of labour that existed in the critical arena of coal mining in Mold both before and after the Riots of 1869, and while the sample size for English miners is rather small (which is not particularly surprising: according to contemporary sources, there were only 7 English miners registered out of a total workforce of 132 at the Leeswood Green Colliery on the eve of the riots),[234] it does manage to demonstrate some significant trends that serve to reinforce prior hypothesising. It transpires therefore that during the observed ten-year period, the English workforce of the coalmining districts near Mold became increasingly *unspecialised* in its composition, and thus, by extension, occupied a less privileged position in proportional terms by 1871. Whereas 19% of the 21 English migrants employed in coal mining around Mold occupied either senior managerial roles or technical white-collar positions by 1861, this combined figure declined to 14.2% by 1871, while the proportion of non-specialised manual workers, who would have represented the 'lower rung' in internalised perspectives of labour hierarchies, increased during the same period from a 57.1% share to a 78.6% share over the same period.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the results, however, is the substantial drop in the proportion of 'specialist' manual workers, who were to become the focus of so much indigenous consternation immediately before the outbreak of the riots. While in absolute terms the decline in the 'specialised-manual' English migrant population was marginal, the dilution of their proportional influence, which in many ways was a more influential contributing factor in the emergence of workplace hierarchies, is undoubtedly significant, and may well reflect a wariness on the part of employers of overloading more coveted positions

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[233] O'Leary, P., 'Skill and the workplace in an industrial economy: the Irish in south Wales' in Belchem, J. and Tenfelde, K. (eds.), *Polish and Irish Migration in Comparative Perspective* (Essen, Klartext, 2003), p.62.
[234] Griffiths, J. & Griffiths, M., *The Mold Tragedy of 1869: An Investigation* (Llanrwst, 2001), p.24.

with imported labour. Such methods of quantitative analysis, therefore, not only demonstrate the dynamism, fluidity and intricacy with which hierarchies of labour emerged in the volatile environments of capitalist production, but also reinforce Ellen Wood's notion of class as a *relational*, rather than a *fixed*, concept.[235]

Skill / Technical band	Number of workers	Percentage of English miners
Managerial / Supervisory	2	9.5%
Administrative	2	9.5%
Manual (Specialist)	5	23.8%
Manual (Non-specialist)	12	57.1%
Assistants/Apprentices	0	0

Fig. 10: Hierarchies of labour amongst English migrant miners in Mold, 1861

Skill / Technical band	Number of workers	Percentage of English miners
Managerial/Supervisory	4	7.1%
Administrative	4	7.1%
Manual (Specialist)	4	7.1%
Manual (Non-specialist)	44	78.6%
Assistant/Apprentices	0	0

Fig. 11: Hierarchies of labour amongst English migrant miners in Mold, 1871

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[235] Wood, E.M., *Democracy against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism* (Cambridge, 2000)

Case study: The Mold Riot

The conclusion derived from this quantitative analysis of English migrants in Mold, therefore, is one of a highly skilled (relative to other contemporaneous migrant groups in Wales) workforce which was nevertheless, in contrast to the English working population in the south-east, becoming increasingly fractured in terms of its occupational composition and, at least within the context of heavy industry, less likely to feature in the 'higher tiers' of labour hierarchies. This provides an intriguing backdrop for initiating a more qualitative discussion of migrant-native class relations, however before doing so a more in-depth overview of the industrial development of north-east Wales is required.

Owing to its close proximity to urban centres such as Liverpool, as well as the industrial communities of North Staffordshire, the demographic and economic growth of Flintshire was fuelled by cross-border migration from a relatively early stage by the standards of Wales as a whole. Whereas migratory patterns in South Wales during the earliest phases of its industrial development was sustained to a large extent by the depopulation of rural counties within Wales itself,[236] with large-scale movement from England becoming a more prominent fixture in the region during the latter half of the nineteenth century, north Wales, and Flintshire in particular, was exposed to the impact of English migration from at least the 1750s onwards.[237] In a similar manner to the aforementioned patterns of anti-English rioting therefore, the introduction of imported labour into the industrial workspaces of the region frequently engendered unrest on the part of the affected communities. As early as 1776, for example, it was reported that a 'great number of colliers belonging to coal-pits in the neighbourhood of Wrexham' had 'risen up in a riotous and tumultuous manner', owing to the large presence of Englishmen who were being employed in their workplace.[238] Similar instances of anti-English agitation amongst native workers were recorded throughout Flintshire during the early nineteenth century, most notably in Bagillt in 1819 and Coed Talon in 1826.[239]

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[236] See Evans, N., 'Immigrants and Minorities in Wales, 1840–1990: A Comparative Perspective', *Llafur*, Vol. 5, No.4, (1991), pp.5–26.

[237] According to the census of 1851, the English-born population of Flintshire at that time was 5,309 (compared to a total English-born population in Wales of 89,874).

[238] Dodd, A.H., 'The North Wales Coal Industry during the Industrial Revolution', *Archaelogica Cambrensis*, Vol.84, (1929), p.220.

[239] Dodd, 'The North Wales Coal Industry during the Industrial Revolution', *Archaelogica Cambrensis*, pp.220-221.

Mold itself figured prominently in these regional developments. The discovery of coal deposits around the surrounding countryside during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century earned the town a reputation as a significant hub in the emerging industrial belt of north-east Wales. Indeed, an 1866 report on the Leeswood Green Colliery, the site of the initial disturbances in 1869, claimed that its coal seam was 'one of the richest in the area and possibly in North Wales', while the quality of its carnel was regarded with 'astonishment' by 'every other colliery in the neighbourhood'.[240] The properties of carnel coal, which was usually found at a lower depth than the coals found in the seams of south Wales, would have commanded a particular type of workforce for its extraction. As a resource, carnel was primarily used to produce fuel for gas lighting in both domestic and public settings,[241] but soon faced competition from alternative oil-based products that were developed during the second half of the nineteenth century, which in turn would have a disruptive impact on the marketization of carnel coal mining. As Lipartito asserts, the onset of capitalism had a profoundly transformative influence upon perceptions of 'spaces and environments', which meant that the tangible, objective geological characteristics of physical resources could be absorbed into subjective and abstract expressions of materiality, with acute human consequences.[242] By the latter half of the nineteenth-century, therefore, coalmining in Mold was forced to contend with increasingly acute market pressures (corresponding to the general state of industrial production in Flintshire as a whole),[243] which, understandably, added an extra layer of tension to localised indigenous-migrant labour relations.

Mold was also at the heart of the region's industrial-driven demographic growth. It was amongst the fastest-growing settlements in Flintshire during the 1800s, 1810s and 1820s, and despite a slowdown through the 1830s and 1840s, by 1851 Mold boasted a population that had more than doubled in size since the start of the century (from 4,235 to 9,286), becoming the second-largest town in the county after Holywell (and perhaps on a par in terms of economic significance, according to Davies' research).[244] Towards the latter half of the century, the English migrant presence in the town was also expanding, albeit rather modestly.

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[240] Griffiths, J. & Griffiths, M., *The Mold Tragedy of 1869: An Investigation* (Llanrwst, 2001), p.15.

[241] Davies, K., 'The growth and development of settlement and population in Flintshire, 1801-1851', *Flintshire Historical Society*, Vol.25, (1971-1972), pp.62-97.

[242] Lipartito, K., 'Reassembling the Economic: New Departures in Historical Materialism', *The American Historical Review*, Vol.121, Issue 1, (February 2016), p.119.

[243] See Dodd, A.H., *The Industrial Revolution in North Wales*, (Cardiff, 1971). For a focused analysis of the collapse of the lead industry in the region, see Williams, C. J., 'The Lead Miners of Flintshire and Denbighshire' in *Llafur*, Vol.3, No.1, (1980), pp. 87–96.

[244] Davies, K., 'The growth and development of settlement and population in Flintshire, 1801-1851' in *Flintshire Historical Society*, Vol.25, (1971-1972), pp.62-97.

Between 1851 and 1871 (the first census taken after the riot), the resident English-born population increased from 277 to 859,[245] with a significant proportion finding employment in the surrounding coal-mines. In line with the broader patterns of indigenous-migrant relations in Flintshire, a distinct undercurrent of antagonism between English and Welsh miners of the area had been noted by contemporary observers well before the events of 1869. In a report of 1867, Edward Rymer, a union agent from St. Helens who had been sent to Mold to explore the viability of a miners' union in the area, remarked on the social polarisation of English and Welsh workers, exacerbated by the manner in which those employed at the mines were 'eking out a miserable existence on 2s to 2s. 6d. a day'.[246] Meanwhile, at the nearby Coed Talon colliery in 1863, six Welsh miners were served with a weeks' notice of their dismissal and eviction from their workplace lodgings specifically to accommodate new English recruits, which in turn ignited a strike by the native workforce.[247] While the decision was eventually overturned, such a display of favouritism by the colliery owners towards migrant labour would not have been easily forgotten by a workforce which was struggling against squeezed wages.

The fact that English migrants were such a pronounced presence in the upper echelons of industrial ownership and management would only have served to fuel such resentments. As Davies noted in his study of industrial development in Flintshire during the first half of the nineteenth century, the particular expertise of Cornish industrialists in deep ore mining attracted several of their number to the various metal works of Flintshire, with the Pen-y-Fron lead mine being acquired by the Cornish Lead Mining Company in 1820s.[248] English businessmen with coal mining interests followed suit towards the second half of the century, as demonstrated by John Watkinson's controversial ownership of a variety of coal mines during the mid-1870s and 1880s.[249] Certainly, English investment in industrial interests across North Wales became an increasingly common occurrence throughout this period, to the extent that an early nineteenth century writer, upon observing the state of economic development in Wales at the time, claimed that Montgomeryshire was the only remaining county in the region in which 'manufactures and other commercial works'

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[245] Census England and Wales, 1851-1971.

[246] Burge, A., 'The Mold Riots of 1869', *Llafur, Vol.*3, No.3, (1982), p.43.

[247] Burge, 'The Mold Riots of 1869', *Llafur*, p.43.

[248] Davies, K., 'The growth and development of settlement and population in Flintshire, 1801-1851', *Flintshire Historical Society*, Vol.25, (1971-1972), p.80.

[249] See Messham, J.E., 'Conflict at the Buckley collieries: The strike at the Elm and Maesygrug, 1884-5', *Flintshire Historical Society*, Vol.33, (1992), pp.151-190.

were being 'conducted by natives'.[250] While this assessment was overly simplistic, the industrial workspaces of Flintshire had unquestionably become accustomed to English businessmen assuming an increasingly greater control of their activities.

Whereas some English owners, such as Watkinson, very much adopted a hands-on approach in terms of their dealings in Wales, a substantial number became regarded as 'non-visible' players, conducting their management from afar. Not only was this method of 'absentee ownership', which increasingly became synonymous with Britain's trend towards a liberalised market economy, perceived as an affront to the staunchly localist sensibilities of Welsh society, but it also created a sense of disconnect with a native workforce that had particular expectations of being able to communicate directly with their superiors. From a more intimate perspective, these issues were compounded by the increasing predisposition of industrial magnates towards the practice of 'gafferism', which involved hiring well-connected individuals, often from outside of the locality, to supervisory roles. This new breed of management, informed by notions of rigid workplace stratification and strict codes of discipline, invariably became a focal point of the workforce's dissatisfaction during periods of hardship, and while such positions were not the exclusive preserve of Englishmen (indeed, the Buckley strike of 1884-5 was triggered by animosity towards a Welsh-born underground manager who had succeeded an Englishman), the propensity for industrial owners to recruit from over the border certainly became commonplace by the start of the nineteenth century. Such was the situation in which the Leeswood Green colliery found itself at the eve of the riots, as the recruitment of a manager from Durham by the name of John Young prompted a considerable degree of consternation amongst the local workforce.

The extent to which this managerial class, and their associated disciplinary practices, became a recognisable feature in the industrial workspaces of Britain has been debated considerably. In his study on the evolution of the stratification of labour under capitalist modes of production, Murray Bookchin insists that new 'technics of supervision' were a defining feature of Western industrialisation, underpinned by the 'heartless intensification of the labour-process', 'conscienceless introduction of fear and insecurity' and 'debasing forms of supervisory behaviour'.[251] Some British historians, especially those who subscribe to the notion that industrialisation was less 'revolutionary' than traditionally assumed, have been

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[250] Dodd, A.H., 'The North Wales Coal Industry during the Industrial Revolution', *Archaelogica Cambrensis*, Vol.84, (1929), p.220.
[251] Bookchin, M., *The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy* (Oakland, 2005), p.337.

rather more circumspect in their analysis. Reid, for example, stresses that skilled workers were relatively successful in ensuring that they were able to carry out their tasks with a minimum of managerial interference.[252] From a Welsh perspective, Williams broadly concurs with this assessment, arguing that there was 'more elasticity and scope for personal judgement' in the smaller coalfields of Wales, at least among the face miners.[253]

However, while the independent-mindedness of skilled coalminers is certainly an important facet to this case study, it is apparent that this interpretation of the managerial and supervisory class is not entirely satisfactory in the context of the labour relations of industrial Flintshire. The frequency and severity of instances of agitation against the predominantly non-native managers in the region emphasises the fact that, regardless of the technical level of their authority, such individuals invariably gave coherent expression to disparate currents of anger amongst native workers for most of the nineteenth century. As late as 1884, for example, on the eve of the strikes at the Buckley collieries, a local miner by the name of John Wright expressed his frustration at this new breed of underground management who, despite never 'pulling off their jackets' to aid with the manual work of the pit, were nevertheless prone to using 'all the tyranny their power allows them to do'.[254] Indeed, even Williams concedes that the 'latitude available to workers in mines and quarries was coming increasingly under attack before 1914', citing as evidence the resistance of Dinorwic quarrymen in the 1880s against a 'very mild version of factory rules by a new Manchester-trained manager' due to their perceived association with the conditions of 'slavery'.[255]

In this respect, perhaps Kirk's hypothesis that employer control was largely channelled via the 'mechanisms of traditionalism', which had been forged amongst the 'customs and structures of small-scale, competitive and largely fragmented nineteenth-century capitalism', represents a more appropriate model for this case study, especially in light of the particular dimensions of labour protest in the industrial areas of Wales.[256] Specifically, this refers to the general weaknesses of Welsh trade unionism for much of the nineteenth century, which, in turn, ensured the persistence of the riot and similar forms of direct, physical action as projections of the workers' 'will'. In both cases, the presence of English migrants and their

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[252] Reid, A., *Social classes and social relations in Britain, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 1995), p.24.

[253] Williams, L.J., *Was Wales industrialised? : Essays in modern Welsh history* (Llandysul, 1995), pp.29-30.

[254] Messham, J.E., 'Conflict at the Buckley collieries: The strike at the Elm and Maesygrug, 1884-5', *Flintshire Historical Society*, Vol.33, (1992), p.164.

[255] Williams, L.J., *Was Wales industrialised? : Essays in modern Welsh history* (Llandysul, 1995), p.31.

[256] Kirk, N., *Change, continuity and class: Labour in British society, 1850-1920* (Manchester, 1998), pp.164-165.

perceived influence in the industrial communities of Wales proved to be instrumental factors. The underlying causes of anti-English rioting, which primarily rested on indigenous resentments at perceived favouritism shown by employers towards imported English labour, have already been discussed. However, the inherent structural deficiencies of trade unions in Wales, which only began to be resolved in earnest during the last decade of the nineteenth century (most visibly by the establishment of the South Wales Miners' Federation),[257] deserve further scrutiny, since their characterisation as being the product of exclusively English 'ideas' and 'leadership' became a recurring theme in contemporary discourse.

Once again, the influence of Nonconformity upon Welsh popular opinion, and the aforementioned narratives of *ariangarwch*, is a crucial consideration in this respect. The fact that the fundamental strategic objective of a trade union rested on its ability to negotiate and ultimately secure material concessions for its members would have undoubtedly been regarded as an affront to the Nonconformist predilection for prioritising spiritual fulfilment above all other 'worldly' impulses, as well as typifying the insidious spirit of *ariangarwch*. Consequently, trade unionism was often portrayed as a fundamentally 'foreign' concept by Welsh commentators, with their emergence in the industrial landscapes of the country invariably attributed to English migrants and their wealth-orientated sensibilities.[258] For example, Abel Hughes, a Calvinist observer of the period, opined that strikes and other forms of union directed activism were 'strange things' that had 'come from the English', before stating that such practices did 'not belong' to the native Welsh, and were likely to 'bring great evil to the country and to religion'.[259] Similarly, even a declared socialist such as the Baptist minister Robert Jones Derfel publically announced his distrust of trade union movements as a form of social protest.[260] As Ben Rees explains in *Wales: The Cultural*

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[257] See Evans, E. W., *The Miners of South Wales* (Cardiff, 1961) & Francis, H. & Smith, D., *The Fed : A History of the South Wales Miners in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1980).

[258] While the notion of the 'alienness' of trade unions was primarily predicated on their association with the English, it was also occasionally apparent in relation to the other migrant groups in Wales. For example, during an outbreak of unrest in Abercraf in July 1914 in response to the arrival of Spanish migrants into the area, a representative for the Spaniards, M. Esteban, dismissed the accusations that his fellow countrymen were undercutting wages or had been hired to counter strikes, claiming that, in fact, they were more unionised than the native Welsh. Evans, N., 'Immigrants and Minorities in Wales, 1840-1990: A Comparative Perspective' in Williams, C., Evans, N., & O'Leary, P. (eds.), *A Tolerant Nation? : Exploring ethnic diversity in Wales* (Cardiff, 2003), pp.14-34.

[259] Rees, D.B., *Wales: The Cultural Heritage* (Hesketh, 1981), p.13.

[260] See Derfel, R. J., *Traethodau Ac Areithiau: Ar Y Gwahanol Faterion Canlynol: Cymdeithas Llenyddol; Enwogion Cymru; Ar Dderbyniad Tyster; Araeth; Gwersi'r Cyfyngder; Araeth; Peryglon Y Cystadlu; Achosion Seisnig Yn Nghymru; Sut I Gael Prif Athrofa I Gymru; Dysgu Cymraeg; Dyledswydd Yr Ieuainc : Cadwraeth Yr Iaith Gymraeg; Yr Eisteddfod; Papur Newydd Dyddiol Cymreig; Enllibwyr Ein Gwlad; Addysg I Ferched Ieuainc; Gwladgarwch Y Cymry; Pethau Wnawn Pe Bae Genyf Arian; Eisieu Dynion Mawr; Y Modd Goreu I Waradwyddo Cymru; Troi at Y Seison: Pethau Wnawn Pe Gallwn*, (Bangor, 1864).

Heritage, 'The Trade Unions were English to them (Nonconformists), and therefore an alien incursion on a well-established and well-proved way of life'.[261]

From a less portentous perspective, this innate aversion to trade unions may well have also derived from a sense of self-preservation on the part of Nonconformists. The rise of secular organisations such as trade unions, and its associated values of communal solidarity, was viewed as an existential threat to the moral authority of chapel culture, and a challenge to nonconformity's wider hegemonic influence in Welsh society. Despite Thompson's assertion that the emergence of a distinctive working-class consciousness in the form of trade union activity can be traced directly 'from the Methodist Chapel' therefore,[262] it is fair to say that most Welsh denominations took a dim view of accommodating the presence of formal labour movements for most of the nineteenth century. Indeed, at the 1831 Tredegar assembly of Calvinistic Methodists, who explicitly positioned themselves as the most authentically 'Welsh' denomination, trade unionism was condemned unequivocally,[263] to the extent that union affiliation was deemed to be incompatible with the principles of denominational membership.[264] Similarly, their Wesleyan counterparts warned their membership at a conference of 1833 not to involve themselves in 'associations which are subversive of the principles of true and proper liberty, employing unlawful oaths and threats and force to acquire new members'.[265] According to Messham, this hostility amongst Methodists towards organised labour movements only began to truly dissipate during the 1880s.[266]

These suspicions of the inherent 'Englishness' of trade unionism were undoubtedly sustained by the fact that several of the earliest proponents of formal labour organisations and political labour representation in Wales were themselves either English migrants or visitors. As Martin Wright has emphasised in his recent study on Welsh socialism, much of the necessary groundwork to unionise Welsh workers during the late nineteenth century was undertaken by representatives of English unions or socialist groups (Wright cites the lecturing tours of Henry Hydman and John Fielding of the SDF and Willie Wright of the ILP in this

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[261] Rees, D.B., *Wales: The Cultural Heritage* (Hesketh, 1981), p.13.

[262] Morris, R. J., *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1850* (London, 1979), p.39.

[263] Dodd, A.H., 'The North Wales Coal Industry during the Industrial Revolution', *Archaelogica Cambrensis*, Vol.84, (1929), p.224.

[264] Evans, E. W., *The Miners of South Wales* (Cardiff, 1961), p.45.

[265] Evans, *The Miners of South Wales*, p.45.

[266] Messham, J.E., 'Conflict at the Buckley collieries: The strike at the Elm and Maesygrug, 1884-5', *Flintshire Historical Society*, Vol.33, (1992), p.159.

respect),[267] while several leading figures in nascent domestic societies were English-born. For example, E.A.Cleeves of the SDF's Swansea branch was a Yorkshire colliery owner who had moved to Wales in the early 1890s,[268] John Spargo, one of the leading voices in Barry's SDF branch, was a Cornish tin miner and stone cutter[269] and Moses Severn, the branch president, was a Nottinghamshire colliery manager who had moved to Wales in 1888.[270]

Outside the realm of these small socialist groups (whose influence in Wales remained minimal for most of the century in any case), similar trends were detectable in the tentative efforts to introduce centralised 'mass' unions to Welsh industrial environments. As E.W. Evans has claimed, the formation of unions in Wales up until the very end of the nineteenth century tended to stall or stagnate 'without English leadership or inspiration'.[271] For example, the affiliation of seven lodges in Pontypool to the Miners' National Association in November 1865 was primarily attributed to the high proportion of Staffordshire migrant labourers in the area, who, according to Evans, 'brought with them both knowledge and experience of trade unionism'.[272] A reluctance amongst native workers to collaborate with such activity was, however, noticeably entrenched. According to one contemporary observer, this was due to the 'penurious' nature of the Welsh, which contributed to their refusal to countenance any arrangement which would compel them to put 'money into the pocket of the English'.[273]These attitudes proved influential in ensuring the eventual collapse of other efforts at Anglo-Welsh union co-operation during the middle of the nineteenth century, such as the Amalgamated Association of Miners.[274]

These trends were certainly in evidence across the industrial districts of north Wales up until the riot of 1869. According to CJ Williams' study of lead and zinc mining in Flintshire and Derbyshire, for example, despite the prodigious rate of production by both industries, which accounted for around 13% of the total British output of lead and 27% of the total British output of zinc between 1845 and 1938, union activity amongst its workforce was virtually non-existent until the start of the 20th century, with a similar degree of ambivalence

[267] Wright, M., 'Pioneers, 1790s-1880s' in Wright, M., *Wales and Socialism: Political Culture and National Identity before the Great War* (Cardiff, 2016), pp.5-34.
[268] Wright, M., 'Putting down roots, 1889-1899' in Wright, M., *Wales and Socialism: Political Culture and National Identity before the Great War* (Cardiff, 2016), p.67.
[269] Wright, 'Putting down roots, 1889-1899', *Wales and Socialism*, p.69.
[270] Wright, 'Putting down roots, 1889-1899', *Wales and Socialism*, p.74.
[271] Evans, E. W., *The Miners of South Wales* (Cardiff, 1961), p.216.
[272] Evans, *The Miners of South Wales*, p.96.
[273] Evans, *The Miners of South Wales*, p.96.
[274] Evans, *The Miners of South Wales*, p.114.

was detectable amongst the other mineral-based operations of the region.[275] The situation was slightly more complex in the coalfields of Flintshire, however in general the trajectory of trade union development conformed to a similarly sluggish pace. A blue book report of 1835 described how a 'system' of 'striking for wages' had been so extensive in the collieries around Mold that a permanent station of the military was requested for the area, however this was more in reference to ad hoc outbursts of industrial unrest as opposed to activism directed by formal union organisations.[276] The efforts of the Union of Miners of Great Britain and Ireland to rally support in north Wales reveals a more sober picture: the lecturer sent to fulfil that very purpose, Martin Davidson, remarked upon the 'slow growth of unionism' in the region, which was not rectified by his intervention.[277] A mere 934 North Walians were recorded as members by the Manchester conference of 1844, and by the time that the national union had faded into obscurity in 1848, there had been little sign of subsequent enthusiasm amongst the local colliers.[278]

From the perspective of the Leeswood Green Colliery itself, similar schemes to provide union representation to the workforce had foundered in the face of widespread indifference. The North Staffordshire and North Wales Amalgamated Association, which had been established in 1863 with the intention of fostering a common network of solidarity between coal-mining districts on both sides of the Anglo-Welsh border, ran into administrative difficulties from the outset (primarily due to a lack of financial support), eventually disbanding a mere three years later in 1866.[279] Edward Rymer, the aforementioned union agent from St. Helens, was sent to the Mold district a year later in an effort to revive some form of miners' union in the area, but his endeavours were ultimately in vain.[280] As the 1874 Red Dragon revolt in Merthyr demonstrates, native Welsh workers had a habit of resisting measures to affiliate themselves to organisations that claimed extensive geographic areas of operation and particularly those which were centralised in England.[281] In his study on the South Walian coalfields, David Gilbert identifies the strongly localist tendencies that existed amongst the socially insulated mining communities as a reason for the failure of cross-border

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[275] Williams, C. J., 'The Lead Miners of Flintshire and Denbighshire' in *Llafur*, Vol.3, No.1, (1980), p.87.

[276] Municipal Corporations Commission – Appendix to First Rept. (Parl. Pap., 1835, XXVI), p. 610.

[277] Rogers, E., 'Labour Struggles in Flintshire 1830-1850', *Flintshire Historical Society*, Vol.15, (1954-55), p.104.

[278] Rogers, 'Labour Struggles in Flintshire 1830-1850', *Flintshire Historical Society*, p.104.

[279] Messham, J.E., 'Conflict at the Buckley collieries: The strike at the Elm and Maesygrug, 1884-5', *Flintshire Historical Society*, Vol.33, (1992), p.176.

[280] Burge, A., 'The Mold Riots of 1869', *Llafur, Vol.*3, No.3, (1982), p.43.

[281] See Jones, A., 'Trade unions and the press: journalism and the Red Dragon revolt of 1874', *Welsh History Review*, Vol.12, No.2, (1984), pp.197-224.

union ventures, which eventually persuaded labour activists to adopt more 'Cambro-centric' policies. As Messham's examination of the state of trade unionism in the Buckley area prior to the strikes of 1884-5 demonstrates, it is apparent that these issues were also in play in north Wales' collieries.

In the absence of formal trade unions therefore, the workers of the Flintshire coalfields resorted to the informal customs of pre-capitalist labour activism, which increasingly clashed with the rigidly professional and bureaucratic outlook of their employers. Chief among these was the practise of 'packing off' supervisors or managers who were deemed to have offended the sensibilities of the workforce in some capacity. Resembling a form of direct action by the ordinary workers, and upheld by a collective agreement, this process involved escorting the condemned superiors to the nearest train station, and buying a ticket to send them home.[282] It became customary for the workers to offer a soft drink to their departing colleague (which would be consumed on the train journey), primarily as a conciliatory gesture to demonstrate that their actions were motivated by purely practical concerns, rather than any sense of personal vengeance.[283]

In *The Making of the English Working-Class*, E.P. Thompson highlighted the social continuities that informed working-class behaviour during the nineteenth century, as well as the persistence of a 'rebellious traditional culture' (with 'traditional' being the operative word in this context), to explain why changes in the material base of society did not immediately precipitate advancements in forms of labour organisation, and it is tempting to adopt Thompson's analytical lens for the purposes of our case study.[284] Certainly, his assertion that these 'traditional patterns of culture', which did not alter drastically in terms of their substance, acquired dramatically different social meanings when they came into contact with the 'field of force of capitalist production' has some relevance to the manner in which the owners and management of the Leeswood Green Colliery responded to their workforce on the eve of the riot, as well as the subsequent course of public discourse.[285]

By the start of the nineteenth century, the preponderance of Englishmen in senior or managerial positions in industrial environments meant that these train journeys were being increasingly directed across the border, with the tradition of 'packing off' being viewed as a means by which the native workforce could reassert a sense of local authority in the face of

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[282] Burge, A., 'The Mold Riots of 1869', *Llafur,* Vol.3, No.3, (1982), p.44.
[283] Burge, 'The Mold Riots of 1869', *Llafur*, p.44.
[284] See Thompson, E. P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth, 1991).
[285] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*.

'external' influences.[286] It is unsurprising that such practises, which at least implicitly gestured towards notions of worker democracy[287] and self-management, became regarded with suspicion, if not outright hostility by the 'modern' Victorian capitalist, whose approach to business would have been inherently framed according to a belief in the inviolable sovereignty of the market. This corresponds to another of Thompson's hypotheses on working-class attitudes to emerging capitalist-orientated modes of production, namely the concept of the 'moral economy', which brought the fundamental ideological faultlines between employers and their employees into sharper focus. Whereas the underlying philosophical objectivity of the 'laws' of market capitalism naturally entailed the 'de-moralising of the theory of trade and consumption' so that the 'new political economy was disinfested of intrusive moral imperatives',[288] therefore, the aforementioned customs of working-class culture were strongly predicated on the subjective moral values of fairness, justice and the notion of human 'autonomy' over systemic mechanisms. A confrontation between these competing interpretations of labour relations was thus rendered inevitable, and in the case of Mold and the Leeswood Green Colliery, it was the appointment of John Young as underground manager in 1863 which provided the necessary touch-paper for the future unrest.

A native of Durham, Young replaced a Welshman who had been popular amongst his workers during his tenure, and the Englishman did very little to sustain the spirit of goodwill fostered by his predecessor. From the outset, Young was regarded as a contentious figure by his workforce, and was frequently dogged by allegations that he expressed derogatory attitudes towards the Welsh, as well as his perceived favouritism towards imported English labour. In a *Western Mail* article covering the aftermath of the riot, it was mentioned how

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[286] This interpretation conforms to Thompson's explanation of the persistence of traditional customs of working-class activism during the industrial era: 'The plebeian culture which clothed itself in the rhetoric of "custom" and which is the central theme of this book was not self-defining or independent of external influences. It had taken form defensively, in opposition to the constraints and controls of the patrician rulers'. Thompson, E.P., *Customs in Common*, (London, 1993), pp.6-7.

[287] According to Thompson, the fact that these customs operated by 'overwhelming popular consensus' ensured the 'remarkable' restraint of their outcomes, which certainly is suggested by the manner in which 'packing off' involved the conciliatory gesture of lemonade and a train ticket bought by the workers. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, p.229.

[288] Bookchin also has some valuable insights on the fundamentally 'amoral' dimensions of capitalist exchange, and their ominous implications for labour relations in industrial societies: 'Precapitalist society may well have seen in the exchange of commodities a return of the inorganic, or the substitution of things for living human relationships. These objects could certainly be viewed symbolically as tokens of consocation, alliance and mutuality – which is precisely what the gift was meant to represent. But divested of this symbolic meaning, these mere things or commodities could acquire socially corrosive traits…The transition from gift to commodity, in effect, could yield the disintegration of the community into a market place, the consanguinal or ethical union between people into rivalry and aggressive egotism'. Bookchin, M., *The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy* (Oakland, 2005), p.210.

Young's style of management 'gave offence' to the Welsh colliers, who accused him of 'favouring some half-dozen English colliers by giving them easy stalls to work'.[289] Furthermore, it was stated that Young had 'spoken most disrespectfully of the Welsh colliers as a body', and, 'being an Englishman' himself, had deliberately 'oppressed them by refusing proper timbers for their roofs'.[290] The invocation of 'oppression' in this context is particularly illuminating, since it implied a dichotomy of tyranny and freedom which could be addressed by the direct action of the downtrodden native workforce, and fed into the underlying democratic themes that informed their discourses of activism.

When an announcement was made on 17 May 1869, therefore, that the price of coal was to be cut for two weeks, with the shortfall in the colliery's income being primarily compensated by a reduction in miners' wages, Young became the subject of much of the workforce's dissatisfaction. The immediate result of this announcement was a confrontation between Young and a group of around 200 Welsh miners two days later.[291] The Welsh contingent would later claim that they had assembled and acted as part of the region's longstanding tradition of 'packing off' unwelcome industrial managers. However, in contrast to previous instances of this 'peculiar' custom (as the *Times* was to report the conduct of the native workforce),[292] John Young vehemently resisted his removal from the colliery, which lead to the eventual arrest of eight Welsh colliers identified as ringleaders, namely Ishmael Jones, John Jones, Edwin Jones, Robert Davies, Thomas Jones, Richard Taylor, William Jones and William Hughes.[293]

While the defendants insisted on the non-violent intent of their actions, and pointed to the precedent that had been established by similar manifestations of unilateral labour activism in north-east Wales over preceding decades, the prosecution accused their opponents of assaulting Young to the extent that he had feared for his life at one stage. John Jones was claimed to have seized a piece of wood for the purposes of striking Young across the head, which was only prevented by the intervention of his less hot-headed colleagues amongst the crowd.[294] The jury eventually sided with Young's version of events, with all eight defendants being charged with assault, receiving sentences ranging from a month's imprisonment with hard labour (in the case of Ishmael Jones and John Jones), to fines of 10/-d, or the equivalent

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[289] *Western Mail,* 5 June 1869.
[290] *Western Mail,* 5 June 1869.
[291] Griffiths, J. & Griffiths, M., *The Mold Tragedy of 1869: An Investigation* (Llanrwst, 2001), p.20.
[292] *The Times*, 4 June 1869.
[293] Griffiths, J. & Griffiths, M., *The Mold Tragedy of 1869: An Investigation* (Llanrwst, 2001), p.19.
[294] Griffiths & Griffiths, *The Mold Tragedy of 1869,* p.20.

of a week and a half's wages (in the case of William Jones and Edwin Jones), and £1 for the remaining four.[295]

However, from the perspective of a materialist analysis, it was the manner in which the embattled underground manager sought to justify his role in the wage cuts which was particularly illuminating (as was the counter-response from the legal representatives of the accused miners), as it served to underline the increasing sense of disconnect that was becoming apparent between the attitudes of the managerial and labouring sectors of Welsh industry towards notions of responsibility, fairness and co-operation within the confines of a maturing capitalist economy. Despite disputing the accusations levelled against him regarding the preferential treatment of English colliers, alleging that he had never heard such complaints from the native workforce during his time as underground manager (which evoked a particularly hostile response from elements of the audience), Young sought to defend the rest of his involvement in the cuts of May 1869 by pointing out that they had been imposed upon the colliery by market forces beyond his control. Whether consciously or otherwise therefore, Young's perception of his role in the management of the colliery hinted at an underlying belief of the sovereignty of the capitalist-driven marketplace, to which all other concerns, including the working conditions and wages of workers, would naturally be subordinate. In this respect, the mentalities that fuelled the 'de-moralising' of economics as described by Thompson were laid bare.[296]

Such themes were also interwoven in contemporary press narratives which were critical of the actions of the miners. As the *Cheshire Observer and Chester, Birkenhead, Crewe and North Wales Times* reported on August 21st 1869, those involved in the direct action against Young had been miss-led by the 'erroneous impression' that sending him 'out of the country would have the effect of raising their wages', which, in turn, displayed an 'entire ignorance of the laws which regulate the labour market'.[297] The manner in which the dynamics of capitalist production were thus portrayed as objective and inviolable 'laws' further reinforces the visage of 'sovereignty' that was being increasingly afforded to the 'market' in mid-nineteenth century cultural discourses. As such, the quasi-democratic instincts that instructed earlier traditions of workplace activism, such as that of 'packing off' managers who had been collectively denounced by the workforce, was not only becoming

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[295] Griffiths & Griffiths, *The Mold Tragedy of 1869,* p.29.
[296] Thompson, E.P., *Customs in Common* (London, 1993).
[297] *Cheshire Observer and Chester, Birkenhead, Crewe and North Wales Times*, 21 August 1869.

increasingly marginalised under the economic authoritarianism of maturing capitalism, but actively associated with illegality. Even the representatives for the eight defendants made implicit references over the course of the trial to these distinct changes in social attitudes, as a Mr. Swetenham claimed that 'every day when capital comes into play like this' (in other words, the market being afforded precedence over the wages of the worker), it would become 'more likely' that 'matters like these' would emerge.[298] The *Pall Mall Gazette*, reporting a few days after the riots on 5 June (demonstrating in turn the national coverage afforded to the event at the time), was also quick to acknowledge this sea-change in attitudes towards labour relations, asserting that the unrest in Mold represented a 'new instance that masters and men are becoming more, instead of less, antagonistic in their views'.[299] Such dynamics of acute conflict and competition in matters economic had, reasoned the Gazette, resulted in the participants of industrial workspaces 'daily endeavouring to assume a power in the management of enterprise' at the expense of others.[300]

In this respect, the validity of Ellen Wood's argument regarding the tendency of capitalists to isolate their economic activity beyond the discursive realm of consensus and collaboration, and insist upon the philosophical separation of the political and economic spheres of society as a means of undermining any democratisation of the 'market', is further enhanced. The manner in which modern businessmen of the mid Victorian era increasingly, and tenaciously, adhered to the principle of the supreme sovereignty of the market meant that the long-standing traditions of North-East Walian industry, which implied forms of worker-led consent and authority, were being disenfranchised in favour of rigidly formalised hierarchies. The necessity for acknowledging the essential *historicity* of capitalism becomes abundantly clear if the profound shifts in the mentalities that directed mid-Victorian labour relations are to be identified and analysed. As Mark Rupert and Hazel Smith outline in their study of *Historical Materialism and Globalization*, it is this particular capitalist-driven 'shift' that enabled the economy to be 'conceived as a distinct and separate sphere', which in turn facilitated the categorisation of its human participants as 'market-dependent' economic actors 'subject to the specifically "economic" imperatives of competition and accumulation' which were dictated by the abstract, intangible but nevertheless sovereign market, as opposed to the traditional forces of political coercion.[301] The inherent contradictions that existed between

[298] Griffiths, J. & Griffiths, M., *The Mold Tragedy of 1869* (Llanwrst, 2001), p.26.
[299] *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 June 1869.
[300] *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 June 1869.
[301] Rupert, M. & Smith, H., *Historical Materialism and Globalization* (London, 2002), p.17.

these new realities (which, despite the best efforts of those seeking to perpetuate the notion of the 'inviolable laws' of capitalist production, were indeed novel phenomena in the context of Welsh society) and the old certainties that had existed in previous decades regarding the accountability of employers to their workers naturally induced a fracturing of labour relations which, in the case of Mold and the Leeswood Green Colliery, resulted in violent ends.

Conclusion

According to Burge, the Mold riot signalled a watershed moment in the labour relations of north Wales, both in terms of the 'decline in the use of nationalistic protests as a means of articulating economic grievances' as well as the inexorable 'accommodation' of native workers with the basic principles of formal trade unionism.[302] As the aforementioned overview of anti-English rioting has served to illustrate, this is perhaps an overly simplistic interpretation. A distinctly Welsh strand of a 'rebellious traditional culture' continued to linger in industrial districts throughout Wales until the late nineteenth century and, albeit in a somewhat modified form, during the first decade of the twentieth.[303] Furthermore, the Mold riot did not act as a truly decisive catalyst for the philosophical revision of native attitudes to codes of 'negotiation' with their employers according to the new 'arrangements' and 'laws' of their society. The structural weaknesses of the trade union movement in Wales continued to frustrate agents for most of the century.[304]

Nevertheless, a more modest case can be made which locates the riot in the context of a gradual transition in which the native Welsh workforce were compelled to shed its quasi-artisanal 'rebellious traditional culture' (with its associated values of 'moral' fairness in contrast to the amoral dimensions of the capitalist economy) and embrace a more recognisably 'proletarian' identity. Their labour relations with English migrants were an instrumental component of this change. This process was undoubtedly accelerated by revisions in the Methodist outlook towards unionism during the 1880s, which not only saw several of the more important Nonconformist denominations in Wales acquiesce to trade union membership amongst their congregations, but also in some cases become active supporters of their activities. The rise of Mabonism, in particular,[305] which prioritised harmonious co-existence between workers and managers in industrial areas and was deeply wedded to parliamentary liberalism, is perhaps the most notable embodiment of this paradigm shift, as it implicitly condoned the regimentation by capitalist production of status and authority which had been zealously contested by the workers of the Leeswood Green Colliery. From a broader perspective, this class-based analysis has also demonstrated the extent to which the presence of English migrants inherently brought a certain degree of

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[302] Burge, A., 'The Mold Riots of 1869', *Llafur*, Vol.3, No.3, (1982), p.54.
[303] In the form of the Tonypandy riots, for example.
[304] See Messham, J.E., 'Conflict at the Buckley collieries: The strike at the Elm and Maesygrug, 1884-5', *Flintshire Historical Society*, Vol.33, (1992)
[305] See Croll, A., 'Mabon's Day: The Rise and Fall of a Lib-Lab Holiday in the South Wales Coalfield, 1888-1898', *Labour History Review*, Vol.72, No.1, (April, 2007), pp.49-68.

clarity and coherence to contemporary Welsh cultural narratives regarding the 'modern' characteristics and vicissitudes of capitalist-driven production, as well as its fundamental historicity.

Chapter 4: LANGUAGE PERSPECTIVES I: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS, c.1850-1914

English migrants and the Welsh Language: Public attitudes

The perception that the 'long' nineteenth century represented a pivotal era in the history of the Welsh language is one that has been well-established by scholarly research of the past five decades. From Brinley Thomas' provocative thesis regarding the relationship between the language and industrialisation to more recent collaborative works focusing upon the social domains of Welsh, a noticeable degree of academic unanimity has been reached in terms of highlighting the significance of this period to the subsequent development of the modern Welsh nation.[306] Even a cursory glance of the relevant statistics reveals the extremities experienced by the language over the space of a few decades, and, more ominously for those invested in its survival, its polarisation in both regional and societal contexts. The national census of 1891, the first to record the number of Welsh speakers, demonstrated a greater presence in absolute numerical terms for the language than at any point in its history, with nearly a million people in Wales registering themselves as either bilingual or monoglot speakers (not including the substantial number of Welsh speakers residing in England who, to the acute frustration of historians, were unable to announce their linguistic capabilities on their census forms).[307]

Conversely, the census figures for that year also underlined the extent to which the Welsh language was being challenged, in proportional terms, by English. It has been estimated that around 90% of the population of Wales were proficient in Welsh during the early nineteenth century,[308] while the English language barely registered on the socio-cultural landscape (with the exception of some border areas and south Pembroke, which, for various reasons, had been thoroughly anglicised since the eleventh century). By 1891 however, non-Welsh speakers constituted over 40% of the total population, while approximately 80% possessed some command of the English language.[309] Ten years later, the census of 1901

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[306] For recent scholarship on this aspect of Welsh history, see Brooks, S., *Pam Na Fu Cymru: Methiant Cenedlaetholdeb Cymraeg* (Cardiff, 2015) & Thomas, M.W., The Nations of Wales 1890-1914, (University of Wales, 2016).

[307] Jones, S., 'An analysis of the Welsh language in Carmarthenshire based on the 1891 census returns' (unpub. MA thesis, Swansea, 2006), p.10.

[308] See Jenkins, G. (ed.), The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911, (Cardiff, 2000).

[309] Southall, J.E., *The Welsh Language Census of 1891* (Newport, 1895), x.

confirmed that Welsh was a minority language in Wales for the first time, a state in which it has consistently remained ever since.[310] Regional variations in terms of the presence of the language also became increasingly pronounced: whereas western counties such as Anglesey, Caernarfonshire, Merionethshire and Cardiganshire were able to retain high concentrations of Welsh speakers throughout this period, the more easterly counties and border areas witnessed a distinct erosion in native use, sometimes gradual, sometimes precipitous. By 1891, for example, a mere 15% of the population of Monmouthshire possessed a knowledge of Welsh, a figure that prompted J.E. Southall's famous lamentation regarding the insouciance of certain sections of Welsh society towards their native language.[311]

These stark geographic divisions were also reflected in the social domain, as the notion that models of 'separate spheres' governed the use of language in Wales during this period has become a recurring feature of recent scholarly research. In essence, this meant the promotion of English as the 'public' language of Wales, which encompassed business, education and politics, while Welsh would be confined, in the words of the Rev. Shadrach Pryce, a school inspector and notable anglophile, to the 'private' sphere of the 'hearth and the altar'.[312] Such sentiments, which became voiced by certain sections of Welsh society with an increasing level of urgency throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, were invariably influenced by a utilitarian outlook that sought to categorise the English language as the quintessential conduit to prosperity, progress and modernity. The continued presence of Welsh, on the other hand, was viewed either as a symptom of the incompleteness of Wales' transition from a Celtic backwater to a modern nation and respectable participant in the British imperial project, or as an active obstacle to this process.

These questions of 'status' and 'function' in relation to the languages of Wales, which continue to incite considerable debate up to the present day, were an inevitable by-product of the demographic changes of the last decades of the nineteenth century, and serve to contribute towards the general historiographical impression that this represented a critical period of 'language shift' for the country. Unsurprisingly, the English migrant community of Wales, which by 1891 accounted for approximately 16% of the total population, featured

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[310] Southall, J.E, *The Welsh Language Census of 1901, also a Coloured Linguistic Map of Wales with a Chapter on Welsh in the Schools* (Newport, 1904), vi.

[311] 'A painful array of figures! Poor, miserable percentages, most of them! Where is the Patriot who will arise to save Gwent from grinding the Philistines' corn, from losing all sight of her Cymric kinship and of Cymric ideals and speech?', Southall, *The Welsh Language Census of 1901*, p.36.

[312] Evans, G.W., 'The "Bilingual Difficulty": HMI and the Welsh Language in the Victorian Age', *The Welsh History Review*, Vol.16, No.4, (1993), p.505.

prominently not only in contemporary discourses on the future of the native language, but also in retrospective cultural debate, particularly those associated with Welsh language activism of the post-war era. Owing to its particular contribution to the nineteenth century population boom in Wales, which coincided with the dilution of the native language's presence, English migration has therefore been inexorably burdened with a particular share of historic responsibility for the decline in the fortunes of Welsh.

Such themes became apparent as early as 1847, as R.R.W. Lingen, one of the commissioners associated with the notorious Blue Book reports on education of that year, remarked upon how the 'influx of English or English-speaking labourers into the iron and coal fields' was ensuring that the 'English tongue' kept spreading in industrial districts.[313] A Mr. Bompas concurred with this impression in the General Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1864, as he concluded that the native language was 'dying out more rapidly' in Glamorgan 'on account of the great influx of English'.[314] Indeed, alongside the native 'Dic Sion Dafyddion' of Victorian Welsh society, English migrants frequently rank as enduring 'villains' in nationalist narratives on the fate of the language. It is perhaps surprising in this respect, given the aforementioned academic consensus regarding the significance of the period in which English migration to Wales reached its zenith to the modern history of Welsh, that critical analyses of the relationship between the migrants themselves and the native language often appear somewhat monochrome in complexion.

This is not to say that English migration has been wholly neglected as an aspect of historical scholarship on the Welsh language. Without indulging in the polemical slant of certain nationalistic perspectives, studies of the period have tended to identify a correlation between English migration and the process of linguistic change. Despite conceding that earlier migrants in Wales often learned the native tongue as part of their eventual assimilation within their new surroundings, mainstream academic opinion on the impact of English migration on the Welsh language has broadly emphasised that a point of saturation was reached around the latter half of the nineteenth century, during which time the sheer volume of non-Welsh speakers simply overwhelmed the ability of Welsh to stand its ground in the affected areas. A myriad of other socio-cultural factors such as educational reforms, changing religious attitudes and the maturation of industrial capitalism also lay the groundwork for the

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[313] Williams, T., 'Patriots and Citizens: Language, Identity and Education in a Liberal State: The Anglicisation of Pontypridd, 1818-1920', (Unpubl. Thesis, University of Wales), p.69.
[314] Williams, 'Patriots and Citizens', p.69.

ascendancy of the English language in Wales, however in most studies of this period it is English migration that is categorised as the necessary 'human capital' that eventually pushed Welsh into a state of minority.

All too frequently, however, the historiography has tended to overlook the inherent complexities of the interaction between English incomers and the native language during this period, in favour of generalised models that treat migrants as components of amorphous sociological 'processes'. Such responses, while clearly insightful as a measure of the quantitative demographic impact of migration upon Welsh, have not fully engaged with more qualitative approaches that seek to delineate the variegated social relationships that existed between migrants and the native language they encountered over the course of their time in Wales. This is not to deny the underlying themes of previous studies that have attributed anglicisation, especially in industrial and border areas, in part to high levels of migration, especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is no-coincidence that the counties most affected by the English migratory 'waves' of the 1860s to 1880s and the 1900s to 1910s, namely Monmouthshire and Glamorgan, were to experience the most precipitous falls in their Welsh-speaking populations (although it is also important to highlight that significant local variations existed within both counties. The presence of the Welsh language in north-western Monmouthshire, for example, remained relatively stable in contrast to the rapid decline experienced elsewhere).[315] Meanwhile those areas least affected by English migration, namely the agrarian counties of the north and south-West, were able to sustain the native language to a far greater extent. Rather, the purpose of this chapter is to emphasise that the purely antithetical dichotomy that is often implied to have existed between English migration and the status of Welsh during the 'language shift' of the nineteenth century is somewhat unhelpful, and that a more nuanced approach that considers the whole spectrum of social responses to the native language amongst migrant groups may reap dividends.

The manner in which the Welsh language was perceived within contemporary public discourses, particularly those that originated from a non-native perspective, requires further examination in this respect. A recurring theme that seems to emerge from Welsh publications during this period is the assumption that English people regarded the presence of the native language with suspicion or even outright hostility.[316] The incendiary content of the

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[315] See Williams, S.R., 'The Welsh Language in Industrial Monmouthshire c.1800-1901' in Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1998), pp.203-229.

[316] Such a view was outlined in an Eisteddfodic essay in 1879: 'Many among the English, and not a few among the Welsh, would have us let our language die, but the advice is given from mercenary motives. Such advisers

Blue Books of 1847 looms large in this respect, and did much to instil a sense of chronic insecurity within the consciousness of the Welsh-speaking community which was to linger for the rest of the century.[317] While sections of the Welsh intelligentsia reacted with outright defiance to the conclusions reached by the commissioners, demonstrated most memorably by Robert Derfel's evocation of the Saxon 'treachery' of the 'long knives' (*'Brad y Cyllyll Hirion'*), it is unquestionable that the report had a profoundly detrimental impact on Welsh society's perception of the standing of the native language outside of Wales. Indeed, according to J.E. Southall, that great nineteenth century scholar of the language, 'English opinion' of Welsh linguistic habits 'took its cue' from the dubious 'findings' of the commissioners, which had the regrettable consequence of impeding the appearance of 'any important portraiture of Wales calculated to reach English readers' for a number of years afterwards.[318] This had the effect, according to Southall, of perpetuating a situation where Englishmen, 'as a rule', had little in the way of patience for 'anything Welsh', and rather than assist a fellow language of the British Isles, they preferred 'crushing it under foot'.[319]

Further attacks that appeared later in the mainstream British press only served to reinforce this impression. In 1866, for example, *The Times* referred to the native language as an 'antiquated and semi-barbarous' speech that represented the 'curse of Wales', responsible for shrouding the country in 'darkness'.[320] This line of reasoning was mirrored in some of the literary output of the period, which often demeaned the Welsh language for its supposedly meagre contribution to the cultural profile of the British Isles. Despite the well-publicised revival of the Eisteddfodic movement in Wales throughout the nineteenth century therefore, Havelock Ellis' 1904 study of 'British Genius' estimated, to a rather implausibly precise degree, that the productiveness of Welsh 'genius' was a mere 3.1% (compared to a figure of

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assume the loftiness of cosmopolites, and their levelling spirit would crush imagination out of the human mind. Language would become a series of signs for money affairs and necessary conveniences'. *The Cymric Language: On the Propriety of maintaining the Cymric Language, not simply for the strengthening of Welsh nationality, but also for the purpose of aiding the English student in elucidating the etymology of diverse words in his own tongue, many of which are partially, some totally, derived from the Cymric*, (Cardiff Eisteddfod, 1879), p.34.

[317] See Morgan, P., *Brad Y Llyfrau Gleision: Ysgrifau Ar Hanes Cymru* (Llandysul, 1991) & Chapman, T.R., 'The Turn of the Tide: Melancholy and Modernity in Mid-Victorian Wales', *Welsh History Review*, Vol.27, No.3, (March 2015), pp.503-527.

[318] Southall, J.E., *Wales and Her Language Considered from a Historical, Educational and Social Standpoint* (Newport, 1892), p.203.

[319] Southall, *Wales and Her Language*, p.128.

[320] Evans, G., 'The "Bilingual Difficulty": H.M.I. and the Welsh Language in the Victorian Age', *The Welsh History Review*, Vol.16, No.4, (Dec. 1993), p.505.

74.2% for England), which was primarily attributed to the 'difficulty of a language not recognised as a medium of civilisation'.[321]

Such interventions were decisive in motivating the so-called 'Anglophile' elements of Welsh society to conspicuously 'prove' the potential for reform in Wales to English audiences, which often entailed echoing the notion that the language was incompatible with the precepts of modernity in debates over its public role and profile. This is underlined by the testimonies of Owen Roberts and Major R.O. Jones, who were both native Welsh speakers, at the 1881 Aberdare Commission into the provision of Welsh education. Roberts, a Caernarfonshire-born lawyer, expressed his desire for the lifespan of the language to be as short as possible, since it presented the 'greatest drawback' for his fellow countrymen, while R.O. Jones of Bala, deploying the kind of paternalistic rhetoric that became a prominent feature of Anglophile discourses in Wales during the second half of the nineteenth century, claimed that the 'interests of the humbler classes' would be best served by the prompt extinction of Welsh.[322] This belief that Welsh exerted an inexorable and, ultimately, debilitating influence on an individual's ability to prosper in the competitive domain of Victorian capitalism became an enduring trait of the Anglophile argument, and one that proved to be a frustratingly persistent obstacle for language activists of the late nineteenth century.

Where Welsh offered modesty and austerity, English promised opportunity and plenty, as David Davis, an entrepreneur from Llandinam, contended: 'If you are to continue to eat barley bread and to lie on straw beds, by all means proclaim "Long live the Welsh language": but if you desire to eat white bread and roast beef, you must learn English'.[323] Even contemporary commentators who vigorously contested the Anglophile narrative were often forced to concede its particular potency within Welsh society. As Beriah Gwynfe Evans, one of the pre-eminent nationalist figures of the era, asserted in an 1889 article in the *Transactions of the Liverpool Welsh National Society*, it was widely perceived that Welsh was the 'language of the woodcutters and the fishermen, of labour and fatigue, of hardship

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[321] Jenkins, G. (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains, 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000), p.7.
[322] Evans, G., 'The "Bilingual Difficulty": H.M.I. and the Welsh Language in the Victorian Age', *The Welsh History Review*, Vol.16, 4, (Dec. 1993), p.505.
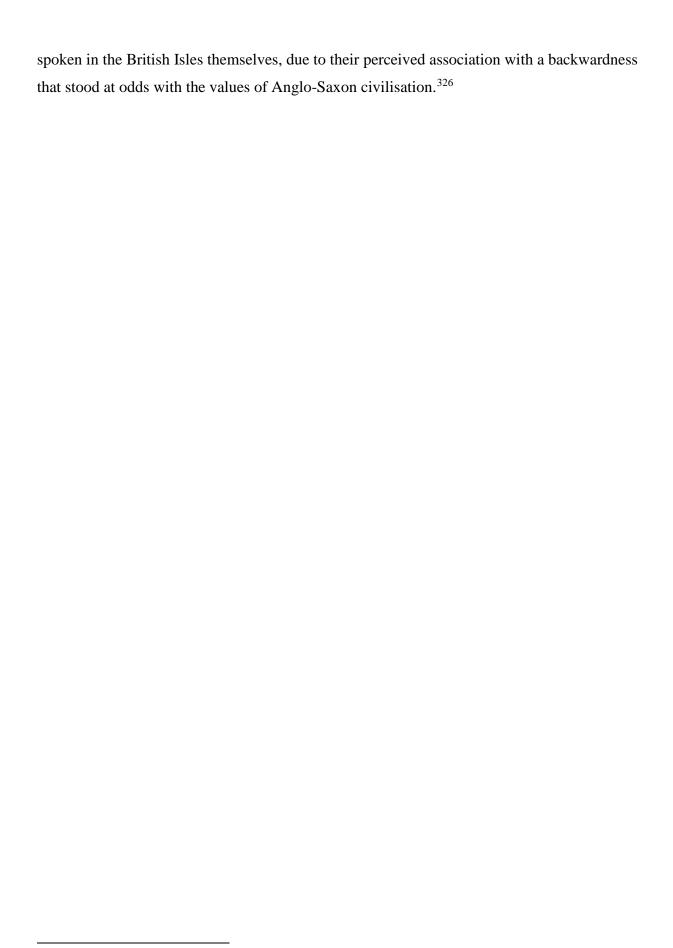[323] 'Os ydych chwi am barhau i fwyta bara tywyll (haidd), a gorwedd ar wely gwellt, gwaeddwch chwi eich goreu, "Oes y byd i'r iaith Gymraeg": ond os ydych chwi yn chwenych bwyta bara gwyn a chig eidion rhost, mae yn rhaid i chwi ddysgu Saesoneg.'Jones, J.R. Kilsby, 'Pa unai mantais neu anfantais i Gymru fyddai tranc yr iaith Gymraeg?', *Y Geninen*, Vol.1, No1. (1883), p.21.

and need', whereas English was associated with everyone who was 'comfortable in their circumstances, little in their labour and large in their wages.[324]

In this respect, therefore, the internal antagonism faced by the Welsh at this time was, either implicitly or explicitly, responding to the anxieties that had been prompted by external social commentaries, such as the report of the Blue Books. It became acknowledged amongst Anglophile circles that Wales' respectability as a modern nation was dependent on eroding the cultural differences with their English 'superiors', of which the native language represented the most prominent example. Suggestions of some form of bilingual co-existence between Welsh and English therefore, such as those which were promoted by the Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language during the 1880s, were to be vehemently resisted. An illuminating contribution on this matter came from the Reverend Shadrach Pryce, the schools inspector for south-west Wales from 1867 to 1894 who acquired a particular reputation for his belligerent stance towards his mother tongue. Reacting to the claims made by bilingual activists such as Dan Isaac Davies regarding the usefulness of Welsh in fostering the learning of English amongst school children, Pryce proclaimed that the Welsh language possessed 'no kind of relation to, or affinity with the English', and that to introduce both into the educational system would only serve to 'burden the mind of a child'.[325]

This emphasis upon the supposedly irreconcilable polarisation of the Welsh and English languages became a fundamental aspect of the Anglophile outlook, and was motivated by an active desire to conform to aforementioned narratives that disqualified the Welsh language from any constructive role in a progressive nation. Thus the notion that both languages, and the cultural values affixed to each one, were destined to exist in a state of existential conflict became a recurring trope in Welsh public discourse throughout the nineteenth century, despite the best efforts of bilingual activists such as Isaac Davies. It is an impression that has invariably permeated the historiography of the period. Brinley Thomas, for example, claimed that while the English were prone to viewing 'minority languages in faraway countries' with a degree of fascination, they held 'nothing but contempt for the Celtic languages' that were

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[324] 'Gwelai mai Cymraeg oedd iaith y cymynwyr coed a'r gwenhynwyr dwfr, iaith llafur a lludded, iaith caledi ac angen, tra mai Saesneg oedd iaith pawb oeddent esmwyth eu byd, bychan eu llafur, a mawr eu cyflogau'. Evans, B.G., 'Cymro, Cymru a Chymraeg', *Transactions of the Liverpool Welsh National Society* (1889), p.22.
[325] Evans, G., 'The "Bilingual Difficulty": H.M.I. and the Welsh Language in the Victorian Age', *The Welsh History Review*, Vol.16, No.4, (Dec. 1993), p.511.

spoken in the British Isles themselves, due to their perceived association with a backwardness that stood at odds with the values of Anglo-Saxon civilisation.[326]

[326] Williams, T., *Patriots and Citizens. Language, Identity and Education in a Liberal State: the Anglicisation of Pontypridd 1818-1920* (Unpubl. PhD Thesis, University of Wales, Cardiff, 1989), p.433.

<u>English literary perspectives on Welsh: the works of Barrow and Brunton</u>

While the profoundly demoralising impact of the Blue Books and subsequent public portrayals of the Welsh language should not be underestimated, which in turn provided ample justification in the eyes of native Anglophiles to limit its profile as far as possible, it is surprising to note the extent to which these select incidents are almost exclusively used to extrapolate official English attitudes towards Wales during the Victorian era. It is equally perplexing that while these examples, which were mainly based on either wholly external perspectives of Wales (in the case of *The Times* article) or merely transient experiences (in the case of the commissioners), are afforded such prominence in the context of the Anglo-Welsh cultural relationship, those sources that were based on longer-term contact with the language have been somewhat neglected. Fortunately, a small, but nevertheless insightful range of contemporary accounts are available, which reveal a richly diverse gamut of emotional responses amongst English incomers in Wales towards the native language, and are perhaps more reliable indicators of the experiences of the migrants that were to settle in the country.

A significant example in this respect is George Borrow's travel writings, which, despite not being the work of a permanent settler in Wales, undoubtedly merit a mention in the context of this analysis. In stark contrast to other travel writings on Wales, which peaked in terms of popularity from the late eighteenth century to the early decades of the nineteenth century, Borrow's account, released under the title *Wild Wales* in 1862, was allegedly informed by an intimate personal knowledge of the language spoken by the majority of the population on a day-to-day basis. Whereas the ignorance of his predecessors regarding Welsh had often meant that their observations of Wales' social and cultural character were either marginal aspects of the broader narrative, or coloured by casually dismissive attitudes (as Hywel M. Davies' research on Welsh travel writing has served to demonstrate),[327] Borrow's self-declared fluency in the language forms a critical component of his account. Despite the fact that the exact level of his proficiency has been subject to some debate,[328] Borrow's accounts, regardless of their precise authenticity, represent an intriguing case of an English

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[327] Davies, H.M., 'Wales in English travel writing 1791-8: the Welsh critique of Theophilius Jones', *Welsh History Review*, Vol.23, No.3 (June 2007), pp.65-93. See also Edwards, E., '"A Kind of Geological Novel": Wales and Travel Writing, 1783-1819', *Romanticism*, Vol.24, No.2 (2018), pp.134-147.

[328] Scepticism of Borrow's knowledge of the Welsh people and their language was registered at an early stage. For example, in an article featured in *Y Traethodydd* in 1865, the following view was expressed regarding Borrow's work: 'Y mae y camsyniadau aneirif a digrifol i ba rai y mae ein hawdur wedi syrthio wrth ddisgrifio Cymru, Cymry, a Chymraeg, yn fwy na digon i'n hattal rhag rhoddi un ymddiried i'r hyn a ddywed am yr Hispaen, yr Hispaeniaid, a'r Sipsiwn'. 'Cymru trwy Lygaid y Saeson', *Y Traethodydd*, July 1865.

'outsider's' attempt to engage with the Welsh language on an intimate basis, and are thus worthy of further analysis.

A technique favoured by Borrow was to initially conceal his English nationality during his conversations with Welsh speakers, which he believed allowed for a more authentic insight into the psyche of the native. While this occasionally engendered some rather awkward situations, in which underlying aspects of the 'old Celtic hatred to the Saxon' supposedly rose to the surface,[329] it also exposed the apparent protectiveness of the Welsh-speaking population towards their language, which bordered on hostility when its accessibility to 'outsiders' was discussed. During one particularly tetchy exchange at Llangollen, for example, a woman reacted with considerable surprise to the revelation that Borrow was English, having previously believed that 'no Englishman could speak Welsh' on account that their tongues were 'too short'.[330] Having been admonished by Borrow for her mistake, the woman, in turn, questioned the right of the 'English to come here speaking Welsh', a language that belonged 'to the Welsh alone' and only properly 'understood' by the indigenous population.[331] The acute bitterness of the woman's comments may well have simply been a reaction to Borrow's own haughty demeanour, who had earlier condemned her as a 'disgraceful figure' for her dim view of an Englishman's linguistic abilities. However, it may also hint at notions of ethnic exclusivity that were guiding native attitudes towards Welsh during this period, presenting an intriguing counterpoint to traditional narratives that attribute the decline of the language to aggressive anglicising influences. A similar reaction was observed near Wrexham, where a local, upon learning of Barrow's nationality, was 'evidently offended', presumably because he 'did not approve of an Englishman's understanding Welsh'.[332]

Certainly, while the rest of Borrow's encounters with Welsh speakers did not match the acrimony of these episodes, the reception to the news that he was an Englishman who had managed to learn the language was often characterised by outright bewilderment. After meeting a Welsh-speaking local in Anglesey, Borrow was greeted by the rather amusing sight of his companion rushing to a variety of cottages in the village to announce that he had made the startling discovery of a 'Sais' who 'can speak Cumraeg' (sic). Indeed, such was this man's astonishment, that he sincerely declared it would be a 'thing to talk of' for the 'rest of

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[329] Borrow, G., *Wild Wales: Its People, Language and Scenery* (Wrexham, 1862), p.50.
[330] Borrow, *Wild Wales,* p.81.
[331] Borrow, *Wild Wales,* p.81.
[332] Borrow, *Wild Wales,* p.37.

my life'.[333] Once again, we must be wary of a potential for embellishment on Borrow's part, who was certainly not averse to a degree of self-aggrandisement in his writing. Nevertheless, the apparent exceptionality of his status as a Welsh-speaking Englishman represents an important and recurring theme throughout the course of his travels, and every revelation regarding his nationality to unsuspecting locals was usually accompanied by a dramatic shift in behaviour on their part, whether in a positive or negative sense. Borrow himself theorised that the reasons for this could be traced back to ancient grievances, which inhibited an instinctive 'suspicion of the Saxon' on the part of the indigenous Welsh population.[334]

Adopting a somewhat antiquarian outlook towards the issue that was also apparent in his broader portrayals of the Anglo-Welsh sociocultural relationship, Borrow argued that the legacy of the English conquest of Wales during the Edwardian era continued to resonate with relevance amongst native Welsh speakers, which fundamentally informed their conception of cultural 'inheritance'. Since the language represented the most prominent facet of an authentically distinctive 'Welshness' that, in stark contrast to Wales' political and legislative character, had managed to survive largely undefiled in the face of centuries of English domination, Borrow reasoned that, as a 'conquered people', the Welsh would possess a natural inclination to be 'afraid lest an Englishman should learn their language' and thus gain an insight into their 'private affairs'.[335] Rather than being irrational impulses, these fears were emblematic of a continuous and organic dynamic in the bond between the Welsh and their language, which was reflected by the fact that their 'very children' were raised to 'sympathise with them' on this matter.[336]

From Borrow's perspective therefore, historic experiences of oppression fundamentally codified the Welsh attitude to their language. Due to the fact that the English people had never been subjected to such national hardships (with the exception, perhaps, of the opening stages of the Norman invasion, which Borrow actually invoked on a frequent basis in *Wild Wales*, possibly as a means of establishing a rapport with the locals), it stood to reason that they were excluded from being able to form a meaningful connection with the Welsh language. It is striking in this respect that despite his advertised fluency in Welsh, Borrow's confrontation with the woman in Llangollen still elicited the accusation that the English were incapable of 'understanding' their vernacular, while he himself surmised that

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[333] Borrow, *Wild Wales,* pp.147-8.
[334] Borrow, *Wild Wales,* p.263.
[335] Borrow, *Wild Wales,* p.263.
[336] Borrow, *Wild Wales,* p.263.

the Welsh reaction to his linguistic abilities was based more on preconceived notions of what he, as an Englishman, 'should' know, rather than what he 'could' know. A very clear distinction was thus made between 'learning' and 'understanding' a language throughout the course of Borrow's travels in Wales, which very much underscores his rather scholarly approach to the topic. For Borrow, the native language was a source of intellectual curiosity due to the exoticism of its qualities to the Anglo-Saxon mind-set, but was otherwise inaccessible as a lived, day-to-day experience for modern Englishmen. This was not necessarily interpreted in negative terms. Indeed, Borrow's impression of the Welsh language was frequently imbued by a recognition of its potent spirituality, which was juxtaposed with the materialist-centred alignment of Anglophone culture.[337]

A consideration of the linguistic geography of Borrow's travels is necessary at this point. The nature of his encounters with Welsh-speakers may simply have been a product of the isolation of the communities in which they lived, where contact with English people was minimal as a whole. Significantly, Borrow did not visit the major urban centres of south-east Wales over the course of his travels, which contained far more prominent English migrant populations. It is therefore entirely feasible that their experiences of the Welsh language may have differed markedly to those of Borrow's. The availability of a first-hand account from a Welsh-speaking English contemporary of Borrow permits such a comparison, namely that of John Brunton. A Birmingham-born engineer, Brunton's first contact with Wales came when he was tasked to assist his father with the construction of a tramway from the Ynyscedwyn Iron works to another tramway located in Breconshire.[338] Unlike Borrow, Brunton's time in Wales was more permanent, nor did he have any prior knowledge of the Welsh language, and therefore his experiences were perhaps more in line with those shared by other English migrants of the period. Upon arriving in Ynyscedwyn, Brunton's immediate impressions were inexorably shaped by an awareness of the Welsh language's strength in the area, as well as an acknowledgement that 'very few people spoke a word of English'.[339] Such an environment meant that the author 'felt like a foreigner' during the first few months of his

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[337] 'However, I am a Saxon myself, and the Saxons have no doubt their virtues; a pity that they should be all uncouth and ungracious ones!', Borrow, *Wild Wales,* p.175.

[338] Brunton, J. & Clapham, J.H., *John Brunton's book : being the memories of John Brunton, engineer, from a manuscript in his own hand written for his grandchildren and now first printed* (Cambridge, 1939), p.16.

[339] Brunton & Clapham, *John Brunton's book*, p.17.

time in Ynyscedwyn, an outlook that was supposedly reciprocated by the locals, which in turn inhibited a general sense of loneliness and frustration.[340]

The opening stages of Brunton's account therefore may well be interpreted as an affirmation of Borrow's portrayal of the possessive nature of the indigenous relationship with the Welsh language, as well as its exotic qualities to an outsider. Whereas Borrow, however, cited this sense of exoticism to justify his detached, scholarly approach towards the language, Brunton's attitude was grounded by practical, pragmatic concerns, which motivated his efforts to acquire Welsh within the intimate surroundings of Ynyscedwyn. Having repeatedly received the general reply of 'Drin Sassenach' (sic.) while instructing his work colleagues on his work site, Brunton described how he became 'determined to learn the Welch language', which led to him striking a deal with a Welsh-speaking parson whereby both men would take turns teaching each other their native tongues.[341] The pursuit for accessibility to Welsh, which Borrow insisted was elusive to the average Englishman due to profound socio-cultural differences, was thus subsumed within the mundane activities of daily life, without imparting the kind of mytho-poetic connotations that form such an integral part of Borrow's narrative. It is reasonable to assume that Brunton's perception of the Welsh language as an obstacle that necessitated resolution for the sake of social convenience was a dynamic that was echoed amongst most English migrants of the period, particularly those who settled in Wales during the earlier decades of the nineteenth century.

Both Brunton and Borrow's accounts of their interaction with the Welsh language, whether as part of a calculated exercise in travel writing or as a happenstance of personal circumstances, perform vital roles in dispelling the frequently propagated notion that the English were uniformly predisposed towards dismissive or ambivalent attitudes when confronted with Wales' distinctive linguistic character. Indeed, while lacking the breadth of Borrow and Brunton's writings, there exist a number of scattered contemporary testimonies that hint at a more thorough engagement with the Welsh language on the part of English 'outsiders' than is sometimes acknowledged. In his seminal work *Wales and her Language*, J.E. Southall, himself a non-native Welsh speaker, recalled an intriguing encounter with a Merionethshire-based English migrant during a railway journey through mid-Wales, which was prompted by an overheard conversation regarding a newspaper proprietor's attitude towards the native language. Bemoaning the derogatory stance of the newspaper in question,

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[340] Brunton & Clapham, *John Brunton's book*, p.17.
[341] Brunton & Clapham, *John Brunton's book*, p.17.

the English migrant asserted that there was 'no use' in 'ignoring the Welsh language', and that it represented an indisputable 'fact' of the nation.[342] Upon being interrogated further by Southall, the migrant revealed that despite his own inability to speak the language that had been the subject of his impassioned defence, he had ensured his family were being 'brought up to do so'.[343] Such anecdotal evidence demonstrates that statistical, census-based figures on the question of language are not always a reliable indicator of social attitudes.

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[342] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.327.
[343] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, p.327.

English migrants and the 'Bilingual Difficulty'

Indeed, given Southall's somewhat pessimistic assessment of broader English views of the Welsh language, it is notable how frequently he invokes evidence to the contrary throughout the course of his writing. The case of a daughter of a country squire in Cheltenham who had managed to learn Welsh as a 'self-imposed task' is highlighted by Southall as a positive affirmation of the applicability of Welsh amongst non-native audiences, and is even used as an 'example worthy to be followed by the great men of Wales', who were deemed to be overly cautious in professing their allegiance to the language.[344] He also vigorously contested the assumption that Welsh possessed little in the way of cultural or academic prestige in England. Challenging a correspondent to a national newspaper who had declared that 'every English or foreign scholar' with a knowledge of Welsh was of the belief that the 'literature it contains, does not justify the time and labour of acquiring it', Southall cited the example of George Borrow, who considered the 'writings of Hugh Morris and Goronwy Owain alone' a sufficient reward 'for the study of the Welsh language'.[345] Borrow himself was equally determined to defend the artistic merits of the native language throughout the pages of *Wild Wales*. The example of an Oxford student who had come to Pengwern Hall to study for his examinations, and emerged two months later with a grasp of Welsh which rivalled that of the locals, was used by Borrow to emphasise the compatibility of the language with modern academia.[346]

These contributions demonstrate the extent to which the recurring trope of the Englishman as a resolutely monolingual creature impinged upon the sensibilities of linguists such as Southall and Borrow. The persistence of such attitudes may be discerned by the testimony of a Professor H. Jones at the 1886 to 1887 Royal Commission on Bilingual Teaching in Welsh Elementary Schools, who criticised the assumption that Welsh and English existed in a state of 'collision with each other'.[347] This false dichotomy was, he claimed, the product of the 'English idea that a man should only speak one language', which meant that in a multilingual society 'one language should stand in the way of the other'.[348] A palpable sense of anxiety regarding the reputation of the English approach to language was as

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[344] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, pp.150-151.
[345] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, p.162.
[346] Borrow, G., *Wild Wales* (Wrexham, 1862), p.100.
[347] Southall, J.E., *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools : or, minutes of evidence of Welsh witnesses before the Royal Commission on Education in 1886-7, with introductory remarks and the recommendations of the Commissioners on the question as given in their official report* (Newport, 1888), p.98.
[348] Southall, *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools*, p.98.

much a motivation for the work of these scholars as their genuine sincerity to guard the interests of Welsh for its own sake. By perpetuating a knowledge and appreciation of Welsh, a language that was directly related to the pre-Roman populations of Britain, amongst their fellow countrymen, therefore, such unwelcome caricatures of the Englishman's unsophisticated linguistic palate could be readily dispelled. According to Southall, such trends were already in evidence amongst the 'better-educated English-speaking inhabitants of Wales', due to their supposed inclination to buy newly published Welsh phrasebooks in substantial volumes.[349]

Certainly, both Borrow and Southall's justification of their interest in the language corresponds with the broader currents of antiquarian interest in the Celtic nations that became a noticeable feature of Victorian cultural discourses during the second half of the nineteenth century. Borrow's repeated lamentations regarding the philistinism of his countrymen in comparison to the materially-poor yet culturally-rich Welshmen[350] were undoubtedly based on a perception that the native Welsh were more in tune with their ancient heritage. By familiarising himself with the Welsh language, which represented a direct link to the Brythonic forefathers of the British nation, the Englishman could thus acquire a cultural outlook befitting of his dominant economic and political status. It was a line of reasoning that played a significant role in sustaining the mid-Victorian enthusiasm for antiquarianism, and it is unsurprising in this respect that it featured prominently in a number of works seeking to promote the wider benefits of the Welsh language to non-native speakers.

For example, in an essay entitled 'Advantages accruing to Englishmen from a knowledge of the Welsh language' and submitted on September 21 1858 for consideration at the Grand Eisteddfod in Llangollen, the author (a self-declared 'Englishman desirous of becoming acquainted with a knowledge of mankind')[351] strove to convince his readers of how their 'great nation – the British' could be bolstered if its 'ancient tongue – the language of the ancient world, was cultivated'.[352] His argument was based on his belief that Welsh, alongside the other Celtic languages, acted as a 'base' for the modern languages of Europe,

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[349] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.246.

[350] One such example is the following exchange between Borrow and his wife: '" What a difference," said I to my wife, after we had departed, "between a Welshman and an Englishman of the lower class. What would a Suffolk miller's swain have said if I had repeated to him verses out of Beowulf or even Chaucer, and had asked him about the residence of Skelton?"'. Borrow, G., *Wild Wales* (Wrexham, 1862), p.98.

[351] Elved, A., 'Essay on the Advantages accruing to Englishmen from a knowledge of the Welsh language', By Manceinion, Delivered by invitation to the Grand Eisteddfod at Llangollen, September 21st 1858, by their essayist and advocate', *The Cambrian Journal*, Vol.1, (1858), p.212.

[352] Elved, 'Essay on the Advantages accruing to Englishmen from a knowledge of the Welsh language', *The Cambrian Journal*, Vol.1, p.212.

including English.[353] As a result, by acquiring some knowledge of the language of his nearest neighbour, the average Englishman could be presented with the ability to 'soar into the higher and rational element', while pursuing 'legitimate arguments and facts connected to British history'.[354] An immersion into the pool of this authentically 'British' history, undiluted by the 'narrow conceits and pedantic follies' of monoglotism, also had the potential of legitimising contemporary British superiority overseas. After all, as the author was keen to stress, the favoured patriotic maxim of 'Britons never shall be slaves!' derived from the address of the Celtic chieftain Galgacus to his countrymen in the face of Roman subjugation.[355]

Unfortunately, since the essay was submitted after the deadline for the Eisteddfod in question, it is difficult to discern how its lofty claims were received amongst its intended audience. The notion that Welsh provided some form of foundational template for the English language, however, was certainly pursued with great vigour by the linguists and antiquarians of the period. Southall, for example, devoted a considerable portion of *Wales and her Language* to outline the etymological influence of Welsh in English place names (e.g. *afon* for Avon or *pen* in various locations) as a means of highlighting the shared Celtic heritage of the British Isles as a whole. Consequently, the Welsh language had the 'power of awakening the sympathies and enthusiasm' of a 'large number of English students' to a 'much greater degree than German'.[356] Even Matthew Arnold, whose personal opinion of the Welsh language was rather hostile,[357] conceded that scientific advances had revealed that 'no such original chasm between the Celt and Saxon' races existed, and that the native tongue of Wales was an echo of an ancient and common British identity.[358] In *The Study of Celtic Literature*, Arnold invoked the contemporary phenomenon of English migration to the seaside resort of Llandudno, to demonstrate how the local Welsh population, primarily through their continued use of the language, had been able to preserve 'this past, this tradition, this poetry', whereas the 'prosperous Saxon' living in the town (who were primarily defined as 'invaders' from Liverpool and Birkenhead seeking to capitalise on the growing trade in tourism along the North-Eastern coast of Wales) had 'long ago forgotten' the history

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[353] Elved, 'Essay on the Advantages accruing to Englishmen from a knowledge of the Welsh language', *The Cambrian Journal*, Vol.1, p.212.

[354] Elved, 'Essay on the Advantages accruing to Englishmen from a knowledge of the Welsh language', *The Cambrian Journal*, Vol.1, p.229.

[355] Elved, 'Essay on the Advantages accruing to Englishmen from a knowledge of the Welsh language', *The Cambrian Journal*, Vol.1, pp.230-31.

[356] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.245.

[357] For a more in-depth study of Arnold's views, see Williams, D.G., *Ethnicity and Cultural Authority: From Arnold to Du Bois* (Edinburgh, 2006).

[358] Arnold, M., *The Study of Celtic Literature* (London, 1891), p.18.

of his ancient British ancestors.[359] Indeed, this notion of 'proximity' to history, facilitated by a knowledge of the Welsh language, was occasionally extrapolated to discussions regarding patterns of acculturation amongst English migrants as a whole. Southall theorised that were a 'practical test of ability in learning Welsh' conducted amongst an equal number of English 'youths from the western half' and the 'eastern half' of England, those from 'Cumberland would beat those from Lincoln' and 'Devonshire those from Sussex'.[360] This was attributed to the fact that elements of Celtic culture still lingered across western areas of England, inhibiting a natural affinity between their inhabitants and the native Welsh population.

It is clear, therefore, that there was a lively scholarly interest in the Welsh language amongst English writers, which was particularly predicated upon notions of linguistic ability and its relationship to cultural heritage, during the second half of the nineteenth century. It is also unsurprising that English migrants in Wales should elicit such prominence in these discussions, as they provided an ideal contemporary case study with which re-examine the shared common ancestry of the British Isles. Their pertinence to the actual day-to-day experiences of English migrants themselves, however, remains an issue of some contention, despite Southall's efforts to introduce anecdotal evidence to enrich his narrative. Was Southall's hypothesis regarding the 'natural' bonds between western Englishmen and their Welsh neighbours, for example, more than mere speculation? Did these cultural discourses, predicated on the flourishing antiquarian scene of Victorian society, accurately reflect the contemporary patterns of assimilation (or otherwise) in Wales? Certainly, Brunton's account of his time in Ynyscedwyn provides some useful context with which to dissect these issues, and in this respect the benefits of exploring how the interaction between migrants and the native language were affected by the dynamics of workplace environments are all too apparent.

As mentioned previously, in stark contrast to other migrant groups that entered Wales during the boom years of the nineteenth century, most notably the Irish, English migrants were predominantly influenced by economic 'pull factors', namely the expanding industrial hubs of the south-east and north-east. The section exploring patterns of class identity and occupational hierarchies in areas most affected by English migration has already demonstrated that incoming English workers were, on average, more likely to occupy prestigious positions in the workplace, and were prominently represented in 'supervisory' or

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[359] Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature*, p.2.
[360] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.246.

'managerial' roles in particular. Naturally, these trends had significant implications for the manner in which they approached the issue of language. As Brunton's experiences serve to illustrate, English migrants appointed to positions of authority were frequently faced with pressing issues of communication, which meant that for the sake of self-preservation the acquisition of at least a rudimentary grasp of Welsh became essential, especially during the earlier decades of the century. Even by the turn of the century, when certain areas of Wales had already been subjected to the forces of anglicisation for some time, an individual's confidence in the general applicability of English monoglotism for the purposes of employment could occasionally prove to be misplaced. In an article appearing in the *South Wales Daily News* concerning the appointment of an out-door foreman by Colwyn District Council, it was noted that two English migrants were amongst the applicants. One, a Mr. F.W. Abraham of St. Albans, was discovered upon examination to be 'unable to converse in the Welsh language', whereas the other, a Mr. H.J. Lee was, 'although an Englishman', able to 'speak Welsh fluently'.[361] On these grounds, the Council, eager to show that they were 'not narrow-minded' and that it was 'untrue to say that an Englishman had no chance of an appointment under them', unanimously decided to award Mr. Lee the vacant post.

Therefore, despite the widespread assumption that the intimate association between the English language and the advancement of modern commercial practices would soon render the so-called 'bilingual difficulty' non-existent in the near future (as was the case in the more heavily anglicised parts of Wales such as the South-Eastern urban coast line), the formative stages of Wales' industrial development were characterised by awkward linguistic fissures that could occasionally, as was the case in Mold in 1869, induce considerable social unrest. Indeed, the idea that the languages of Wales represented a reliable indicator of class boundaries had been articulated within public political discourses earlier in the century. For example, in an address to Parliament in 1846 on the issue of education in Wales, William Williams, the MP for Coventry, remarked how the 'gentry and educated classes' of Wales were English speakers, whereas the 'farmers, labourers, and other inhabitants of the rural and mining districts' were almost exclusively Welsh speakers.[362] Southall's summation of the manner in which 'ordinary Englishmen in Wales' approached this delicate issue is particularly revealing. While he acknowledged that they usually saw 'nothing peculiar about

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[361] 'ENGLISHMEN IN WALES', *South Wales Daily News*, 18 August 1900.
[362] Williams, W., '*That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to direct an Inquiry to be made into the State of Education in the Principality of Wales, especially into the means afforded to the Labouring Classes of acquiring a knowledge of the English Language.*', (Parliamentary Debates. London, 1846), p.3.

the present use of the language', they nevertheless were inclined to believe ('complacently', according to Southall) that it represented nothing but a 'temporary anomaly' that was to be 'patiently suffered' while the advance of English continued apace.[363]

The manner in which Brunton managed the linguistic difficulties he encountered in Ynyscedwyn certainly seems to correspond with this impression. His efforts to learn Welsh did not involve a process of immersion within the native cultural domain to any great extent, but was rather viewed as a contingency measure that was not to be indulged beyond the confines of his workspace. As a result, Brunton prioritised obtaining 'certain words of command & instructions' over the course of his Welsh lessons with the local parson, without 'attempting to learn more than colloquial Welsh'.[364] This focused approach soon paid dividends, as he soon found himself able to 'chatter away and make Taffy understand what I wanted', without ever striving to engage with the language in a wider socio-cultural context.[365] It is unsurprising, in this respect, that Brunton often viewed the habits of the locals in Ynyscedwyn with considerable derision, which contrasts markedly with Borrow's reverence for their literary and artistic heritage. P.N. Jones' study of the process of acculturation amongst migrants in the Glamorganshire valleys seems to suggest that this functional approach to the Welsh language, which limited its practical range to the immediate confines of the workplace, was prevalent during the 1880s. Having collected a sample of 19 English migrants in the area who possessed some form of fluency in Welsh, Jones noted how several, including a colliery undermanager from the Forest of Dean and a coal miner from Somerset, were married to monoglot English speakers and had raised monogot English children.[366]

Clearly, the implication was that such individuals did not possess any degree of emotional attachment to the native language they had encountered upon moving to Wales, and as a consequence they saw no reason to pass it on to their families. As Jones also points out, the manner in which individuals approached the issue of linguistic categorisation through the census forms is subject to considerable interpretation. In the case of the 19 migrants sampled by Jones, it is apparent that they were making a clear and unambiguous statement regarding their bilingualism (which, given their simultaneous reluctance to pass on their

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[363] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.224.
[364] Brunton, J. & Clapham, J.H., *John Brunton's book* (Cambridge, 1939), p.18.
[365] Brunton & Clapham, *John Brunton's book*, p.18.
[366] Jones, P.N., 'The Welsh Language in the Valley of Glamorgan, c.1800-1914' in Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1998), p.179.

Welsh to their children is an intriguing aspect in and of itself). However it can be reasonably speculated that several other migrants adopting a similarly pragmatic approach to the Welsh language may have been inclined to simply register themselves as English monoglots, despite some degree of bilingual fluency. Would Brunton, for example, have considered himself a truly 'bilingual' speaker, despite possessing a grasp of Welsh that was apparently sufficient to issue commands to his native work colleagues? Certainly, public debate surrounding the inclusion of the 'language question' in the census of 1891 demonstrates the inherent pitfalls of accepting such figures at face value. During the days leading up to the 1891 census, for example, the town crier in Machynlleth was heard urging its inhabitants to register themselves as monoglot Welsh speakers regardless of their actual linguistic abilities, in order to send a powerful message to the authorities of the vitality of Welsh nationhood.[367] There is some evidence that the authorities were aware of such machinations on the part of Welsh language activists, and made alterations to a number of forms without any means of conclusively ascertaining their veracity.[368]

The figures for Welsh monoglotism deriving from the 1891 census have been treated with a degree of scepticism by historians.[369] However could it not be equally plausible that the figures for English monoglotism contain similar inconsistencies? It is important at this point to consider the symbolic value attached to the process of registering oneself as a bilingual in Wales as opposed to a monolingual English speaker, since it naturally implied a conscious recognition of at least some measure of assimilation within the native culture on the part of the respondent. For a migrant in particular, this was a consideration that was naturally replete with existential permutations, and was not to be taken lightly. It is conceivable that the act of registering as a bilingual would have been perceived by English migrants as an act, however slight or superficial, which distanced themselves from their original national identity, as well as the cultural precepts that it imparted. Additionally, since English migrants would have surely been aware of the negative cultural connotations associated with Welsh during this period, particularly those relating to issues of social status, any knowledge of the native language may well have been regarded as something to downplay in official documentation. The fact that 'Anglophile' Welsh speakers themselves were not averse to such behaviour is an indication that similar trends amongst English

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[367] Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1998), p.86.
[368] Norris, D., 'The Census in Wales and the Language Question', *Pembrokeshire*, Vol.25, (2016), p.59.
[369] See Parry, G. & Williams, M.A. (eds.), *The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census: Social History of the Welsh Language* (Cardiff, 1999).

migrants should not be discounted. Unfortunately, the extent to which these nuances surrounding issues of identity and cultural 'belonging' actually affected the complexion of census figures can only be matter of speculation.

As a counterpoint to this image of the English migrant approaching the Welsh language in such a calculated manner, based on conscious assessments of its practicality according to individual circumstances, it is also important to consider the extent to which patterns of employment facilitated more organic processes of linguistic dissemination. After all, the notion that English labourers could become naturally absorbed within the Welsh-speaking community purely on the basis of their regular proximity to native colleagues in the workplace became a recurring feature of contemporary discourses on the fate of the language. The crucial determinant in this respect is the sector in which English migrants were employed, since it was often acknowledged that certain professions aided the advancement of Welsh amongst non-indigenous workers more readily than others. In his work analysing the figures from the 1901 census, J.E. Southall noted the 'extraordinary preponderance of English monoglot females' from the ages of 25 to 45 in Denbighshire, which was attributed to the 'influence of domestic servants, lodging-house keepers, and shop assistants from Lancashire, Cheshire &c.'.[370]

Occupations related to the railway were also deemed to be particularly conducive to English monoglotism. Dot Jones' work on the impact of railways on the Welsh language has revealed that proficiency in English was particularly sought after by rail companies,[371] and as a consequence monoglot English migrants were often able to monopolise positions on Welsh lines without having to trouble themselves with acquiring the native tongue. This became a notable point of contention in Welsh counties that recorded low levels of bilingualism, since policies that prioritised English language skills on the railways naturally denied substantial swathes of the local population from being able to capitalise on this emerging industry. The London and North Western Railway Company, for example, provoked a considerable degree of outrage during the 1890s for its perceived discrimination against Welsh language workers on its North Walian line, with one respondent to *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru* claiming that monoglot Englishmen were deliberately being given the 'best positions along the line',

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[370] Southall, J.E., *The Welsh Language Census of 1901* (Newport, 1904), p.26.
[371] Jones, D. 'The Coming of the Railways and Language Change in North Wales 1850-1900' in Jenkins, G. (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.131-150.

despite the fact that a number of native bilinguals working for the company were able to understand English as well or 'even better' than the migrants .[372]

As evidence for this, he went on to allege that 'forty Englishmen from Crewe' were being lined up to replace Welsh workers on the lines who 'could not speak English', but who were nevertheless able to 'comprehend it'.[373] In the face of local boycotts and the threat of parliamentary action on the part of Welsh MPs, the company held firm, asserting that monoglot Welshmen or any other individuals who were not fully conversant in English would be unable to be 'employed in any responsible capacity where their employment might supposedly endanger the safety of traffic and the lives of the passengers'.[374] Certainly, census figures seem to corroborate this notion of a strong correlation between English monoglotism and the railways. For example, the village of Llanbrynmair in 1891 recorded a mere 25 monolingual speakers (from a total population of 1,226), however a full fifth resided in the household of John Chidlaw, a migrant from Shropshire who worked on the local rail line as the stationmaster.[375]

Similar trends were apparent in the appointment of Church clergy, which incited passionate debate of its own. In a particularly heated exchange between the Reverend Edwin Jones and a Richard Bowton in the pages of the Bangor Parish Magazine in August 1905, the Reverend lamented the fact that 'monoglot Englishmen' were entering the service of the Welsh Church 'where a knowledge of Welsh is necessary', insisting that the congregations of Wales had a 'right to expect of such people' some mastery of the native language on their part.[376] Having been rebuked by Bowton for his apparent anti-English prejudice, Jones replied in a subsequent correspondence that the only way that English migrants could become of 'real use' for the Church would be through learning Welsh, pointing out that 'Welsh parsons who seek and obtain preferment in England' would 'not be tolerated' without some fluency in the 'language of the people amongst whom and for whom they labour'.[377] These apparent double standards in recruitment policies for the Established Church became a recurring theme in religious discourses of the period, and despite efforts during the 1870s and

[372] 'Saeson sydd yn cael y swyddi goreu ar hyd y llinell, er fod Cymry sydd yn medru Saesneg yn dda yn deal y gwaith lawn cystal, a gwell na llawer ohonynt', *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru*, 18 July 1894, p.9.

[373] 'A chlywais sibrwd fod tua deugain o Saeson yn Crewe, wedi eu dethol yn barod i gymeryd lle y Cymry nad allant siarad Saesneg, er y gallant ei deall', *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru*, 18 July 1894, p.9.

[374] Jones, D., 'The Coming of the Railways and Language Change in North Wales, 1850-1900' in Jenkins, G. (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.143-44.

[375] Jenkins, G.H., *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1998), p. 88.

[376] *Bangor Parish Magazine*, August 1905, p. 3.

[377] *Bangor Parish Magazine*, August 1905, p. 3.

1880s to improve the standing of the Church amongst the Welsh-speaking population, the accusations that it favoured recruits who were 'alien' in speech persisted throughout the century. Gladstone himself became particularly concerned by this issue, stating that the Church's 'cruelly anti-national policy' of appointing clergy who would 'Anglicise the people' was inherently undermining its ability to 'recover ground' in Wales.[378]

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[378] Cragoe, M., 'A Question of Culture: The Welsh Church and the Bishopric of St. Asaph, 1870' in *The Welsh History Review*, Vol.18, No.2 (Dec. 1996), p. 250.

'Becoming Welshmen'? The issue of linguistic assimilation

Conversely, intimate industrial working environments, especially collieries, were often regarded by contemporary commentators as veritable incubators for the Welsh language. Since ease of communication, for the sake of efficiency as well as personal safety, was essential in these often intensive workspaces, it was deemed prudent to eliminate linguistic barriers amongst the workforce as quickly as possible. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the particular dynamics of migration to the major coalfields of South Wales had allowed a sizeable proportion of native speakers to monopolise superior roles within the recesses of the pits, which meant that, in stark contrast to the railways of Wales, English colliers were often compelled to pick up some Welsh over the course of their employment.[379] Several historians, including Ioan Aled Matthews in his study of the anthracite coalfields of West Wales, have portrayed the coalmining communities of the period as linguistic 'borderlands' between rural and urban Wales, which allowed such areas to retain their Welsh-speaking character more robustly in comparison to others.[380] Similar claims were made by D.T. Williams in *My People's Ways* regarding the more easterly works at Rhymney, which were 'opened, managed, run and closed' in Welsh, and therefore the 'migrants from Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Somerset' were obliged to obtain a 'working knowledge of Welsh in order to have workmanlike approach to the job'.[381]

Even in the more metropolitan setting of Cardiff, where the advance of the English language was undoubtedly more keenly felt in comparison to the neighbouring inland industrial districts, the likes of Owen John Thomas have pointed out that one of the most prominent 'bastions of the Welsh language' in the city was 'amidst the din, commotion and black dust in the holds of the collier-ships'.[382] It comes as little surprise therefore that for contemporary writers such as Southall, the Welsh coalfield represented a 'sacred place' for the native worker, where he could consider himself 'master' of that particular domain, and

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[379] According to Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, in his study of the Swansea Valley: 'It was a condition of survival for the few English people who came in [to the coalfield] that they should achieve linguistic assimilation.' Jones, I.G., 'The Swansea valley: life and labour in the nineteenth century', *Llafur*, Vol.4, No.1 (1984), pp.57-71. Jim Griffiths, a mining agent in the Anthracite district concurred with this impression: 'This much smaller invasion [of migrants] enabled the villages and valleys of the anthracite to absorb the newcomers into their communities without changing their language and customs….both were moulded by and into our ways rather than change ours into theirs'. Matthews, I.A., *The World of the Anthracite Miner,* (Unpub. PhD thesis, Cardiff 1996), p.43.

[380] Matthews, I.A., *The World of the Anthracite Miner*, (Unpub. PhD thesis, Cardiff 1996).

[381] Williams, S.R., 'Welsh in the Valleys of Gwent' in *Planet*, 51, 1985, p. 115.

[382] Thomas, O.J., 'The Welsh Language in Cardiff c.1800-1914' in Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1998), p.200.

this perception that the unique working conditions of the mines provided a breeding-ground for Welsh became a recurring theme for native language activists.

In his testimony to the Royal Commission on bilingual teaching in Wales, for example, Dan Isaac Davies claimed that of the 147 'immigrants or their children' employed in the Cwmsaerbren Farm colliery near Treherbert (owned by the Marquis of Bute and managed by Sir William Thomas Lewis), 80 'knew Welsh like Welshmen, thoroughly well', 40 'spoke it very fairly' and an additional 20 'understood Welsh when others spoke to them', with only the remaining 7 having no grasp of the native language at all.[383] It was a case study that became frequently utilised by Welsh language activists to refute the notion that their endeavours were mere quixotic indulgences, with J.E. Southall quoting the same figures in *Wales and her Language*. Similarly, an 1885 article produced by the Cymmrodorion Society highlighted that while Welshmen were 'so busily engaged in learning English' they had overlooked the fact that the 'English, Scotch, and Irish settlers in Wales were at the same time busily acquiring Welsh'.[384] It was assumed, as the article goes on to announce, that similar tests of linguistic ability amongst migrant groups would 'probably be the same in all the colliery districts of Glamorganshire'.[385]

It should be emphasised that this was a single example, and the fact that it was quoted on numerous occasions by Welsh language activists is illuminating in and of itself. What is clear, however, is that the cultural association between the native language and the realm of the coalfield exerted a powerful hold upon Welsh society, an aspect that was certainly acknowledged by the English migrants who came to work in such areas. It is unsurprising, in this respect, that J.E. Southall was able to make the bold claim in *Wales and her Language* that English colliers in Welsh mines would, upon spending no more than six months underground with their Welsh-speaking colleagues, 'come out as Welshmen'.[386] Similarly, the line of questioning at the Royal Commission on bilingual education between 1886 and 1887 demonstrated an inherent tendency to comply with this received wisdom. For example, while presenting his evidence to the panel, the Archdeacon of Llandaff, John Griffiths, was asked whether the 'English immigrants into Wales', particularly those 'employed in collieries

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[383] Southall, J.E., *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools : or, minutes of evidence of Welsh witnesses before the Royal Commission on Education in 1886-7, with introductory remarks and the recommendations of the Commissioners on the question as given in their official report* (Newport, 1888), p.21.

[384] 'The Cymmrodorion Society – Bi-Lingual Wales', *Bye-gones relating to Wales and the border counties*, (April 1885), p.212.

[385] 'The Cymmrodorion Society – Bi-Lingual Wales', *Bye-gones relating to Wales and the border counties*, (April 1885), p.212.

[386] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.170.

and other industries were particularly prone to 'become Welsh speaking', to which Griffiths asserted that it was not 'long' before such groups did indeed become 'inoculated with Welsh'.[387] Upon being further questioned regarding the extent to which English labourers in the 'colliery population' became 'Welshified', Griffiths stressed the transformative effect imparted by the unique conditions of the mines, claiming that a 'peculiar sort of change often takes place when a person of another nation goes underground, either from fear of affection, in contact with Welshmen'.[388]

The importance of coalfields within the matrix of Welsh language activism during the late nineteenth century therefore was twofold. Firstly, it seemingly inverted the long perpetuated cultural dichotomy between Welsh and English whereby the native language was exclusively confined to the domestic domain (or the 'hearth', to borrow the common parlance of the era). By emphasising its prominence in the hostile, unforgiving environments of the coal mining industry, activists such as Isaac Davies hoped to imbue the Welsh language with a degree of relevance within a specifically public (and masculine) context, which naturally legitimised its presence alongside English in the world of work. Intriguingly, even Daniel Lewis, the Rector of Merthyr who was opposed to the teaching of Welsh in secondary schools, answered in the affirmative during his testimony to the Royal Commission on bilingual education when asked whether Welsh could be a 'great help in some instances to men obtaining positions of importance in Wales', particularly 'inspectors of mines and medical men who attend upon miners'.[389]

The fact that the coal trade was indubitably linked with Victorian ideals of progress and civilisation also meant, in turn, that the modern credentials of the Welsh language could be reinforced, which explained why it apparently diffused with such ease amongst large numbers of English colliers. It is telling in this respect that the likes of Southall frequently used English migrants living in Wales as a point of reference with which to probe and verify the robustness of the native language according to Victorian standards of modernity. In *Wales and her Language*, for example, Southall called upon all 'Englishmen who sigh for the day when echoes of the last word of native Welsh will expire amid the craggy heights of Snowdon', as well as 'half ignorant Welshmen' who considered it an 'incubus', to consider

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[387] Southall, J.E., *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools : or, minutes of evidence of Welsh witnesses before the Royal Commission on Education in 1886-7, with introductory remarks and the recommendations of the Commissioners on the question as given in their official report* (Newport, 1888), p.61.
[388] Southall, *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools,* p.67.
[389] Southall, *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools*, p.55.

the testimony of one Anna Thomas, an Englishwoman living in the overwhelmingly Welsh-speaking village of Bethesda, near Bangor.[390] According to Thomas, despite the practical absence of the English language in the area, its inhabitants were in 'no way behind in civilization', being 'exceptionally refined and intelligent'.[391]

To what extent can the confident portrayals of Welsh coalfields as hotspots for a form of linguistic osmosis be verified by the English migrants who were employed in such working environments? Unfortunately, the preponderance of sources deriving from Welsh language activists such as J.E. Southall and Dan Isaac Davies compared to the relative scarcity of those associated with independent, contemporary English migrants naturally creates a somewhat imbalanced picture. While there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Dan Isaac Davies' assessment of the position of the Welsh language in collieries such as Cwmsaerbren Farm, nor the testimonies of the likes of John Griffiths at the Royal Commission of 1886-87, there is equally little in the way of comprehensive empirical evidence to refute the suspicion that these cases may have represented exceptions to the norm. The memoirs of Bertrand Coombes, however, may offer a degree of clarity on this issue from a migrant's perspective, regardless of its relative isolation in comparison to the wealth of sources from native commentators.

Born in Wolverhampton on 9 January 9 1893 and raised in rural Herefordshire since 1906, Coombes migrated in 1910 to Resolven in the Vale of Neath to work as a miner, where he was to remain for the majority of his working life. In many ways, the socio-geographic dynamics of his migratory experiences, which involved relocating from a rural setting in a south-western English county to an industrial district of south-east Wales on the basis of economic 'pull' factors, were very much typical of English migration to Wales during the nineteenth century. The chronology of his movement is also significant. Arriving in Wales in 1910, Coombes was part of the second intensive 'wave' of English migration during the long nineteenth century, which coincided with the profound linguistic shifts that were observed between 1891 and 1911. In stark contrast to incomers who had settled during earlier decades of the period therefore, it was less likely that migrants such as Coombes would have been subjected to the kinds of processes of linguistic assimilation in the coalfields that had been outlined by Dan Isaac Davies and J.E. Southall.

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[390] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.218.
[391] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, p.218.

It is unsurprising, therefore, to learn that Coombes does not mention during the course of his memoirs of having to acquire a similar level of fluency in Welsh as that which was displayed by the English miners of Cwmsaerbren Farm, and on the whole his monolingualism does not seem to have significantly impeded his ability to integrate within his new surroundings. While the 1891 census returns for the registration district of Neath demonstrate that Welsh was understood by approximately 66.5% of its population (numbered at 56,673), this figure stood at under 30% in the urban centre itself by 1911 (despite the population of the registration district almost doubling to 100,924), and a knowledge of English was professed by all but 119 of its inhabitants.[392] By the time of Coombes' arrival in the Vale of Neath in 1910 therefore, the area was very much located in the so-called 'bilingual zone' of Wales, in which the English language possessed a stable socio-cultural footing, and would, over subsequent decades, gradually erode the presence of Welsh to varying degrees.[393] While little in the way of consensus has been reached amongst historians of the Welsh language regarding the extent and permanence of the bilingual zone, it is broadly accepted that it inexorably shifted westwards throughout the first half of the twentieth century, leaving swathes of Wales that were thoroughly anglicised in speech to the immediate east and effectively confining Welsh-speaking Wales to Gwynedd and parts of Ceredigion and Camarthenshire. Due to the fact that the bilingual zone encompassed several important industrial districts such as Neath during this period, it is in these areas that the role of migration in tipping the linguistic balance of Wales towards English is traditionally assumed to have been at its most decisive.[394]

Despite Coombes' lack of fluency in Welsh and the bilingual complexion of the local community however, it would be erroneous to suggest that the native language did not feature as a prominent aspect of his experiences as a migrant in Wales. Indeed, his narrative demonstrates a distinct awareness of the active role that Welsh continued to exert upon the socio-cultural fabric of his immediate surroundings, which would in turn consciously influence his behaviour amongst friends, neighbours and work colleagues. It is a reminder that even amongst English migrants whose knowledge of Welsh, whether through personal

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[392] *Census of England and Wales 1911 Vol. XII, Language Spoken in Wales and Monmouthshire*, p.30.
[393] See Pryce, W.T.R., 'Language Zones, Demographic Changes, and the Welsh Culture Area 1800-1911' in Jenkins, G. (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.37-80; Pryce, W.T.R., 'Migration and the Evolution of Culture Areas: Cultural and Linguistic Frontiers in North-East Wales, 1750 and 1851', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, No.65, (July, 1975), pp.79-107 & Southall, J. E., *The Welsh Language Census of 1891: With Coloured Map of the 52 Registration Districts into Which Wales Is Divided* (Newport, 1895).
[394] See Pryce, W.T.R., 'Language Zones, Demographic Changes, and the Welsh Culture Area 1800-1911' in Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1998), pp.37-80.

choice or external circumstances, was negligible, the native language nevertheless often occupied a significant position in the broader spectrum of their social interaction with the indigenous population. During the earlier stages of his account in particular therefore, the presence of the Welsh language is evoked by Coombes as a means of juxtaposing his status as a migrant with the circumstances of his previous home life, as well as conveying the exoticism of the new environment. For example, Coombes' acknowledgement of the transformative impact of the process of migration is suggested upon his arrival at a train station in Wales, in which he immediately took note that 'more Welsh than English had been spoken among the crowd'.[395] His sense of bewilderment at the linguistic situation must have clearly been detectable to onlookers, as a 'young porter' came to inspect the labels of Coombes' luggage, and thereafter 'became interested' in the migrant.[396]

A palpable sense of fascination at the vitality of the native language became a recurring theme throughout the rest of Coombes' account, and while he occasionally recognised the obstacles that it presented for monolingual English speakers, he nevertheless displayed a considerable level of respect towards its status as a foundation of the local community.[397] Such sentiments are evident in Coombes' descriptions of his working conditions as well as the wider social life of Resolven. His open-minded willingness to at least sample aspects of Welsh language culture is indicated by his efforts to persuade his friend Jack, a migrant who was rather less enamoured with the village compared to Coombes, to attend the local chapel service, despite being warned that previous English attendees had been forced to sit 'in complete confusion' due to the linguistic barriers, 'not knowing when to get up or sit down and not understanding one word of what was said'.[398] Nor does Coombes appear to have been particularly daunted by the level of linguistic diversity he encountered in the mines in which he was employed. Noting the substantial range of 'languages and dialects' that were present amongst the workforce, which was comprised of 'Yorkshire and Durham men', 'Londoners, men from the Forest of Dean', 'two Australians, four Frenchmen and several coloured gentlemen', Coombes registered a degree of sympathy with the native workers who he deemed to be at a 'disadvantage when they tried to convey their thoughts' in English.[399] Indeed, despite claiming that the majority of the English contingent 'maintained a

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[395] Coombes, B.L., *These poor hands: the autobiography of a miner in South Wales* (Cardiff, 2002).
[396] Coombes, *These poor hands*.
[397] See Jones, B. & Williams, C., *B.L. Coombes*, (University of Wales, 1999) & Jones, B. & Williams, C. (eds.), *With Dust Still in His Throat: An Anthology of Writings by B.L. Coombes* (Cardiff, 1999).
[398] Coombes, B.L., *These Poor Hands: the autobiography of a miner in South Wales* (Cardiff, 2002).
[399] Coombes, *These Poor Hands*.

frightened silence whenever Welsh was spoken' in the workplace, Coombes himself struck a more reverential tone, contrasting the supposed purity of the Welsh language (which, he believed, was more resonant amongst the North Walian miners than their South Walian counterparts) with the 'mixture of languages that is called English'.[400]

Certainly, the bilingual character of the community as a whole may well have eased any sense of social anxiety on Coombes' part, facilitating a more favourable impression of the native language compared to the likes of Brunton, who was forced to contend with Welsh monolingualism to a far greater extent. For example, according to Coombes, bilingualism was effectively sustained in the coal mine by one diligent mediator who 'insisted on translating a Welsh speech into English or English speech into Welsh'.[401] Such luxuries were, of course, unavailable to Brunton, and it appears that Coombes, despite the array of languages spoken at his workplace, never truly struggled with issues of communication over the course of his employment. Nevertheless, the Welsh language was not relegated to irrelevance in the context of Coombes' experiences in Resolven, and did not impede his successful integration within Welsh society. Indeed, in many ways, it served to enrich the sense of exhilaration and adventurism that clearly resonates throughout the course of his reminiscing on his formative years in Wales. After marrying a native of the village, Coombes was quick to emphasise that despite the fact that there was nothing 'lacking' in the 'speed and fluency' of his new wife's English, Welsh was nevertheless her 'natural language', and his description of their wedding day is embellished with the snippets of Welsh that were used by the minister at the service (namely his tendency to refer to Coombes as 'bachgen' and the bride as 'merchi').[402]

Thus Coombes, without acquiring a command of Welsh himself (beyond a few select phrases that he overheard at his workplace), was able to achieve a form of *modus vivendi* with a community in which the native language performed a significant socio-cultural function. Far from representing a disruptive presence to the integrity of the local profile of Welsh, simply by virtue of his status as a non-Welsh speaker, Coombes seems to have been able to adjust to and indeed complement the existing cultural dynamics of the village. It is tempting to hypothesise that Coombes' approach to the linguistic issue is one that was applicable to a number of English migrants during the same period, owing to the sizeable

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[400] Coombes, B.L., *These Poor Hands: The Autobiography of a Miner in South Wales* (Cardiff, 1939), p.59.
[401] Coombes, *These Poor Hands*, p.59.
[402] Coombes, *These Poor Hands,* p. 41.

proportion of migrant households that comprised a combination of native Welsh speakers and monoglot English speakers, whether as a result of marital union, domestic service or boarding arrangements. Such examples demonstrate that an understanding of individual migrant's engagement with the native language cannot simply be reduced to the rigidly binary parameters of the language question in the census, and must therefore accommodate a more nuanced spectrum of socio-cultural responses.

At this stage, having considered the marriage of Coombes and his wife for the purposes of assessing the interaction between migrants and the native language, the familial structures of migrant households require further scrutiny, particularly as a means of ascertaining the extent to which they affected the generational evolution of Welsh. For although Coombes' conduct as a migrant appears to have been conducive towards a state of co-existence with the Welsh-speaking culture of his host community, the manner in which he, along with the thousands of other permanent English settlers, established their families in Wales was likely to have a far more decisive impact upon the future integrity of the native language, at least from a purely demographic perspective. Unsurprisingly, the onset of English migration to Wales was frequently identified as an inherent blockage to the smooth transference of the native language between generations. The fact that these migratory patterns often involved single male migrants marrying Welsh–speaking women and subsequently raising families with them only served to exacerbate this impression of cultural dislocation on the part of contemporary observers.

For example, as early as the 1780s, the travel writer Thomas Pennant commented on how the 'extremely populous' county of Flintshire was 'composed of a mixed people', whose 'fathers and grandfathers' had settled there for the 'sake of employ out of the English mine counties'. These migrants had eventually raised children 'born of Welsh mothers' who 'lost the language of their forefathers', which, according to Pennant, explained the relative precariousness of Welsh in the region.[403] Certainly, the evidence gathered from census samples seems to indicate the rarity of children living in households containing either migrant heads or spouses acquiring any command of Welsh.[404] As mentioned previously, studies by the likes of P.N. Jones have suggested that since many migrants adopted a strictly strategic and utilitarian outlook towards the learning of Welsh (particularly males who had migrated on the basis of economic 'pull' factors), they felt little compulsion on the basis of emotional

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[403] Jenkins, G.H.*, Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century*, (Cardiff, 1998), p. 37.
[404] See next chapter.

ties or tradition to pass on the language to their offspring, regardless of whether their partners were native speakers or not. Such tendencies thus ensured a gradual 'phasing out' of Welsh across generations in areas most affected by English migration, as well as diluting the potency of the existing pool of Welsh speakers for future census returns.[405]

However, the extent that 'responsibility' can be realistically ascribed to English migrants regarding the generational transference of Welsh in the areas in which they settled is an issue that necessitates further reflection. It is rather telling, for example, that migrants in multi-lingual households are frequently afforded active agency by historians for initiating the transition to English monolingualism, whereas their Welsh family members are reduced to passive participants in this process. This may be attributable to aforementioned gender imbalances in patterns of English migration, which meant that household authority in mixed Anglo-Welsh families was invariably weighted in favour of male migrants. The assumption that a Welsh-speaking wife of a monolingual English migrant would be deprived of the right to pass on her native language on the basis of the patriarchal complexion of the Victorian family unit is not one, however, that holds much credibility.

The rigidly gendered separation of public and domestic spheres in Victorian society imparted a substantial level of autonomy to women in nurturing children, which presumably, by extension, included the ability to determine familial linguistic practices. Indeed, the association of the Welsh language with the virtues of domesticity and motherhood became a recurring trope of social life in nineteenth century and early twentieth century Wales[406] (with the notable exception of the patriarchal dimensions of Nonconformist chapel culture, which found expression almost exclusively through the medium of Welsh). From a broader perspective, the relationship between migration and the generational diffusion of Welsh must also be contextualised by the relative accessibility of the native language's social base. The virtual exclusion of Welsh from public institutions for the majority of the century invariably compromised the long-term stability of the native language across migrant groups, regardless of how quickly it was absorbed in certain working environments.

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[405] See Jones, P.N., *Mines, Migrants and Residence in the South Wales Steamcoal Valleys: The Ogmore and Garw Valleys in 1881* (Hull, 1987) & Jones, P.N., *Colliery Settlement in the South Wales Coalfield, 1850-1926* (Hull, 1969).

[406] See Jones, R., *'Sfferau ar wahân'?: Menywod, Iaith a Pharchusrwydd yng Nghymru Oes Victoria'* in Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *Gwnewch Bopeth yn Gymraeg: Yr Iaith Gymraeg a'i Pheuoedd 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 1999), pp.175-205.

While Sunday schooling, popular amongst adults and children alike in Victorian Wales, provided the language with much of its sustenance and vitality during this period, its availability to migrants was somewhat limited, due to their peripheral status in the religious affairs of their host communities. Nor, for obvious reasons, were migrants particularly well-versed in native customs of linguistic inheritance. The shallowness of a migrant household's roots of kinship in Welsh society thus meant that preserving a sense of generational continuity for the native language was dependent upon more formalised methods of institutional intervention. For a number of reasons however, such support was not forthcoming throughout this period. As Dan Isaac Davies emphasised in his testimony to the Royal Commission of 1886-7, an Englishman who came to 'bi-lingual Wales' during this period would soon find that he could do 'little or nothing towards teaching Welsh in his family'.[407] An appreciation of these social restrictions resulted in J.E. Southall imploring 'English middle-class families in Wales' to consider the 'desirability of procuring Welsh-speaking nurses for their children', as a means of ensuring that their descendants would not miss out on the native language of their new homeland.[408] Consequently, it is necessary to assess the extent to which shortcomings in contemporary Welsh language institutional frameworks impeded the effective assimilation of wholly migrant households within the Welsh-speaking population of Wales.

In this respect, the issue of education, which very much dominated wider currents of cultural and political discourses in Welsh society throughout this period, assumes critical importance, especially since the status of English migrants and their descendants often featured prominently in such debates (as indicated by the Royal Commission of 1886-87). Due to the recruitment of large numbers of monolingual English teachers to Welsh schools during the Victorian era, the association of English migrants with Welsh education has frequently occupied a position of considerable infamy in the annals of Welsh history. The image of the English schoolmaster struggling to comprehend his Welsh-speaking pupils, while imposing draconian punishments upon them for using their native tongue (most notably, the Welsh Not), has become a rather potent cultural motif, and has been deployed by nationalist-driven historical narratives to epitomise the notion of inherent English disdain towards the Welsh language. These portrayals, of course, are not entirely without foundation.

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[407] Southall, J.E., *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools : or, minutes of evidence of Welsh witnesses before the Royal Commission on Education in 1886-7, with introductory remarks and the recommendations of the Commissioners on the question as given in their official report* (Newport, 1888), p.28.
[408] Southall, J.E., *The Welsh Language Census of 1891* (Newport, 1895), p.35.

The paucity of native Welsh teachers, particularly in the immediate aftermath of the 1870 Education Act, meant that the employment of teachers from across the border was viewed as the most effective means of addressing the shortfall.[409] Rarely, however, did they possess anything beyond a rudimentary knowledge of the native language of their new surroundings, and as a result they often struggled to communicate their instructions to classrooms that were usually more accustomed with Welsh. J.E. Southall's works are replete with such examples, which became the centre-point of arguments in favour of effective bilingual teaching during the end of the nineteenth century. Decrying the fact that so many teachers in the schools of Wales were being called upon to 'undertake a duty for which the residential training Colleges persistently decline to qualify them', Southall took it upon himself to highlight how shoehorning monoglot English migrants into Welsh education was acutely detrimental to standards of learning in the classroom.[410]

Schoolmasters, in particular, became the focus of Southall's ire on the basis of their perceived incompetence. The schoolmaster of Holt in Denbighshire, for example, was described as an 'Englishman' who 'spoke very ungrammatically' to his pupils, and when he 'thought a blunder was committed, corrected it by committing another'.[411] Similarly, the accent of the head of Halkin in Flint, also an Englishman, was identified by Southall as being responsible for exacerbating the sense of linguistic confusion that pervaded his school (replacing 'whole' for 'whoole' and 'an' for 'han', for example).[412] Meanwhile, in yet another denunciation of teaching practises in north-east Wales, Southall portrayed the master of a school in Ruthin as an 'Englishman, with no system of interpretation', which meant that questions to his 'all Welsh' pupils were 'few, slowly conceived, and commonplace'.[413] As a result, the notion that English migration was inimical to the perpetuation of the Welsh language became conceived within an institutional context, as well on purely demographic grounds (ironically, of course, English migrants families were adversely affected by the institutional deficiencies of contemporary Welsh education to the same, if not greater, extent as their native counterparts, as will be revealed further on).

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[409] Such practices were acknowledged by John Griffiths at the Royal Commission on bilingual teaching: 'We get a very large number of our male teachers necessarily from England, because our training colleges cannot supply the demand', p.62.

[410] Southall, J.E., *The Welsh Language Census of 1901* (Newport, 1905), p.60.

[411] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.68.

[412] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, p.68.

[413] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, p.68.

Somewhat surprisingly, however, the position of migrants in the educational debates of the era was not always viewed as being intrinsically antagonistic to the interests of contemporary Welsh language activists. Indeed, far from being hindrance to the overall crux of their arguments, English migrants were often presented as an ideal case study with which the credibility of the bilingual cause could be persuasively demonstrated. It was also emphasised that migrants could often be as equally receptive as the indigenous population to the prospect of the Welsh language being used as a method of teaching. For example, during his testimony to the Royal Commission on bilingual education, Dan Isaac Davies, whose reputation was primarily built on his vast experience as a schools inspector, recounted a rather intriguing visit to a school that, despite being 'in charge of an English master', was teaching its pupils partially through the medium of Welsh.[414]

Puzzled by how 'this Englishman had taught', Davies queried the master in question (named as a Mr. Duck), who revealed that he had hired a native speaking 'assistant mistress' to teach in Welsh.[415] Upon being asked about his opinion, 'as an Englishman', of this 'innovation', Mr. Duck was described to have responded positively to the idea that his scholars, some of whom being from 'English homes, with English fathers and English mothers', would be able to take up Welsh and advance their prospects.[416] Indeed, such was his enthusiasm that he had endeavoured to 'try a little Welsh', which, he hoped, would allow him to teach the same course himself during the following academic year.[417] According to Davies, this account was compelling evidence that Englishmen working in Welsh education were 'not injured' by the introduction of Welsh in the classroom, and that by promoting bilingual teaching the likes of Mr. Duck would not only be able to acquire another language, but also enhance their 'chance of promotion' in Wales.[418]

Of course, this account may have merely been an isolated case highlighted by Dan Isaac Davies as a conciliatory measure. Ever the canny strategist, Davies would have been aware of the fierce objections amongst certain sections of Welsh society to English school masters, however the sheer weight of their numbers within the Welsh educational system demanded a softer approach if the bilingual cause was to have any hope of success, at least in

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[414] Southall, J.E., *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools : or, minutes of evidence of Welsh witnesses before the Royal Commission on Education in 1886-7, with introductory remarks and the recommendations of the Commissioners on the question as given in their official report* (Newport, 1888), p.25.
[415] Southall, *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools*, p.25.
[416] Southall, *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools*, p.25.
[417] Southall, *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools*, p.25.
[418] Southall, *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools*, p.25.

the short term. Nevertheless, the willingness of Davies and his fellow activists to confidently engage with notions of a positive co-existence between migrants and a bilingual vision of Welsh education provides a rather intriguing counterpoint to more traditional narratives of the classroom teaching in Victorian Wales. The example of Mr. Olley, an English migrant living in Llangollen, who declared at the conference of the Welsh Intermediate Schools Association in 1896 that it was 'very desirable that Welsh should be taught in Welsh schools' (having done so himself at a number of his own schools) also demonstrates that Mr. Duck was not the only English schoolmaster to hold pro-Welsh language sympathies.[419] Indeed, there are a few suggestions within contemporary sources that the parents of English children themselves frequently reciprocated the enthusiasm of campaigners such as Dan Isaac Davies regarding the benefits of bilingual teaching, as well as a sense of frustration about the existing provision of education in Wales. Referring to a survey conducted in 1898 at the Mynyddislwyn district in Monmouthshire regarding Welsh language teaching, which found an 83% approval rate for such methods amongst a sample of 1,538 parents, J.E. Southall claimed that these sentiments existed 'more strongly, among many of those of English descent, than among the Welsh themselves'.[420] Such alleged attitudes demonstrated a marked contrast from the 1847 report into Welsh education, in which it was asserted that the parents of children at a school in Meliden in Denbighshire were strongly opposed to the use of Welsh in the classroom, 'believing that the exclusive use of English is more conducive to the speedy acquirement of that language'.[421]

Consequently, as the number of migrant-born children attending Welsh schools increased exponentially towards the end of the nineteenth century, the case for introducing bilingual teaching methods naturally sought to accommodate non-native speakers. By emphasising the enthusiasm of English migrant parents towards Welsh education it was hoped that the reluctance of native Welsh households to appreciate its academic value could be effectively countered, while simultaneously dispelling broader notions of cultural inferiority associated with the native language. As Professor H. Jones asserted in his testimony to the Royal Commission, the fact that 'more than half' of his fellow professors were in the 'habit of learning Welsh' was positive proof of its appeal to educated

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[419] 'Welsh Intermediate Schools Association Conference', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal*, 6 November 1896.
[420] Williams, S.R., 'Welsh in the Valleys of Gwent', *Planet*, Vol.51, (1985), p.115.
[421] Seaborne, M.V.J., 'Education and School Building in Flintshire during the Early Victorian Period', *The Flintshire Historical Society Journal*, Vol.33 (1992), p.94.

'Englishmen living in Wales'.[422] In this respect, the manner in which the attitudes of these enlightened English migrants were portrayed as an 'example' for the rest of the Welsh population was emblematic of the strategies of bilingual activism during the late nineteenth century, which were synchronised towards demonstrating the role of the native language in accessing the rewards of a modern, Anglo-centric civilisation, as opposed to its own intrinsic worth. Meanwhile, the supposed ease with which non-native children themselves were able to acquire fluency in Welsh was therefore also cited by activists as a means of highlighting its cosmopolitan credentials. For a language that was frequently lumbered by accusations of parochialism both inside and outside Wales during the nineteenth century, such cases were understandably regarded as indispensable for the credibility of the bilingual cause. For example, in an article entitled 'The Utilization of the Welsh Language in Schools and Colleges', which appeared in the transactions of the Cambrian Society of South Wales and Monmouthshire during the session of 1885-6, it was noted with 'very great pleasure' that 'thousands of Englishmen and Englishwomen, of English boys and English girls' were able to 'learn Welsh without the aid of paid teachers, and in the absence of sensible books'.[423]

This notion that migrant-born children possessed a particular propensity for acquiring the native language was one that was repeatedly raised at the Royal Commission for bilingual education, to the extent it became regarded as the most prominent indication of the 'organic' naturalisation of the English element in Wales. It was reasoned that by further fostering bilingualism in the country, such tendencies could be wielded to produce a future generation that would be fully immersed in the values of progressive cosmopolitanism, but which would also be resolutely wedded to a distinctive Welsh nationality. Recalling a visit to a national school in the parish of Aberdare, Dan Isaac Davies, for example, claimed that the local curate had informed him that a third of the school was comprised of 'children of English-speaking settlers' who had 'become Welsh'.[424] He corroborated this account by divulging his experiences at his own school, where 'children bearing such names as Dyer, Gray, Hayter, Wright, Irving, Murray, Hicks, and so on', whose parents were invariably English 'railway employees', 'preferred Welsh' as their language of communication at

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[422] Southall, J.E., *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools : or, minutes of evidence of Welsh witnesses before the Royal Commission on Education in 1886-7, with introductory remarks and the recommendations of the Commissioners on the question as given in their official report* (Newport, 1888), p.105.

[423] 'The Utilization of the Welsh Language in Schools and Colleges', *The Cambrian Society of South Wales and Monmouthshire Transactions*, (Session 1885-6), p.45.

[424] Southall, J.E., *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools : or, minutes of evidence of Welsh witnesses before the Royal Commission on Education in 1886-7, with introductory remarks and the recommendations of the Commissioners on the question as given in their official report* (Newport, 1888), pp.21-22.

home.[425] Within 'another generation', Davies hypothesised, such migrant families would 'be purely Welsh'.[426] Davies was not the only contributor to the Commission to speculate upon the possibility of 'absorbed immigrants' becoming fully integrated within the Welsh nation.[427] The Cymmrodorion society intervened to 'draw attention to the fact' that the 'children of English immigrants not infrequently become Welsh in tongue', while J.E. Southall, in *Wales and her Language*, pointed to a 'remarkable' episode in Mountain Ash, where one hundred copies of *Esboniad ar y Hebreaid* (a Welsh translation of a text by John Calvin) had been recently sold despite the anglicised complexion of the community, as evidence that the children of English parents would soon be 'added to the circle of Welsh readers'.[428]

Declarations made by bilingual activists may have, in reality, been nothing more than wishful thinking on their part. It is rather telling that their confident projections were rarely accompanied by substantive evidence, relying instead on isolated cases or even hearsay. Regardless of the actual empirical validity of their claims, however, the rhetoric deployed by the likes of Dan Isaac Davies and J.E. Southall demonstrates how English migrants in Wales were being increasingly incorporated within wider contemporary discourses on issues of nationality. Perhaps to a greater degree than is sometimes reflected in the historiography, therefore, the case of English migration to Wales became regarded as a veritable barometer by which the dynamics of a modern Welsh national identity could be gauged and promoted. The aforementioned discussions on the provision of education were not merely motivated by practical concerns, but also sought to address the feasibility that processes of cultural assimilation could assume distinctively Welsh characteristics, with the language inevitably being promoted as the tool to achieve such ends. They also served to inspire social questions that have retained their potency to the present day, most notably the debate surrounding the extent to which the native language should be considered coterminous with the parameters of Welsh nationhood (which naturally acquired particular relevance once the Welsh language slipped to a state of demographic minority around the turn of the nineteenth century).

Efforts to define the criteria of Welsh nationhood, and the qualifications required of the non-native population to be considered inclusive of its socio-cultural domain, acquired a distinct sense of urgency during the immediate aftermath of the 1891 census. For example, in

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[425] Southall, *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools*, p.4.
[426] Southall, *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools*, p.4.
[427] Southall, *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools*, pp.21-22.
[428] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.82.

his examination of the census results, J.E. Southall was particularly preoccupied by the proportion of the 1,776,405 inhabitants of Wales and Monmouthshire that could reasonably be 'entitled' to a 'Welsh nationality'.[429] To this end, he deducted from the total 'all non-naturalised foreigners', which were understood as 'all persons born outside of the country', as well as a 'large number of persons' that had been born in Wales to 'English or Anglicized parents during the last fifty years' and who were 'to all intents and purposes alien to Welsh nationality'.[430] In seeking to delineate the exact dimensions of the non-Welsh population however, Southall included the following caveats: the 20,000 non-native inhabitants that could 'very reasonably be supposed to have learnt the language', as well as a further 20,000 who, despite not possessing a fluency in Welsh, could nevertheless be considered 'sufficiently naturalised in thought and habit to be called Welshmen' were to be classified alongside the native Welsh population.[431] In addition to this, Southall estimated that there were approximately 30,000 'naturalised' English people in Wales who were not Welsh-speakers, but were in 'frequent attendance' at Welsh language religious services. In this respect, Southall's methods of categorisation serve to both simplify and complicate the precise 'requirements' of a Welsh national identity. On the one hand, his assertion that a mastery of the native language automatically conferred Welsh nationality upon the individual is fairly clear. Similarly, he was unequivocal regarding the relationship between birthplace and nationality.

However, the clarity of Southall's model appears rather more nebulous in other areas. Whereas it was asserted that proficiency in the native language provided a direct gateway to Welsh nationality, it was not necessarily a compulsory criterion. The notion that non-Welsh speaking English migrants could also qualify as members of the Welsh nation by being 'sufficiently naturalised in thought and habit' is an intriguing one, and which invites further discussion of the aforementioned case studies. Despite his acquisition of the Welsh language as a contingency measure, would John Brunton have truly considered himself affiliated to Wales in any meaningful way (particularly in light of his rather derogatory attitudes towards the indigenous population)? Conversely, given his more reverential outlook towards Welsh social life, as well as his marriage to a native Welsh speaker, would B.L. Coombes have been 'sufficiently naturalised' to have been accepted into Welsh nationhood, in spite of his lack of fluency in the native language?

[429] Southall, J.E., *The Welsh Language Census of 1891* (Newport, 1895), p.28.
[430] Southall, *The Welsh Language Census of 1891*, p.28.
[431] Southall, *The Welsh Language Census of 1891*, p.28.

With the exception of a brief reference to religious attendance, Southall is frustratingly vague in qualifying his processes of 'naturalisation'. However, in crude terms it can be discerned that his model was based on the assumption that whereas fluency in Welsh implied some form of engagement with the precepts of nationhood, Welsh nationality itself was not exclusively dependent on the possession of the native language. Such methods of reasoning, of course, had significant implications for contemporary perceptions of socio-cultural 'belonging' in Welsh society, and would have undoubtedly evolved over the century as the demographic composition of Wales' population became increasingly diversified. Whereas the popular consensus during the earliest decades of the nineteenth century may well have regarded the categories of 'nationality' and 'language' to have been virtually interchangeable within a Welsh context, it is clear that more nuanced evaluations of national identity were coming to the fore around the time of the census of 1891.

According to Sian Rhiannon Williams, earlier migrant communities in Monmouthshire, which would have been smaller in size compared to subsequent migratory groups, had a tendency to segregate themselves from the wider Welsh-speaking population. The evidence for such patterns of behaviour was 'borne out by the existence of street names such like Staffordshire Row, Blaenafon and Tai'r Saeson, Ebbw Vale'[432]. However, as Ioan Matthews states in his study of the Anthracite coalfield between 1870 and 1914, the 'biggest unresolved issue' in this respect is to 'define the meaning of terms such as acculturation', and their relationship with the native language[433]. This clearly would became a more pressing concern as English migration to Wales intensified in scale towards the end of the nineteenth century. Matthews himself points to the work of Dai Smith, who has claimed that migrants such as B.L. Coombes would have been absorbed more by the 'traditional apparatuses of Welsh life than by learning the Welsh language'[434].

Such trends would thus help to explain the ability of the populous, South-Eastern counties of Wales in particular to retain a distinctive Welsh identity despite its acute exposure to the forces of anglicisation towards the turn of the nineteenth century, as non-linguistic socio-cultural factors became increasingly influential in shaping the existential relationship between the Welsh population and the land in which it was located (the growth in popularity

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[432] Williams, S.R., 'The Welsh Language in Industrial Monmouthshire c.1800-1901' in Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1998), p.204.
[433] Matthews, I., 'The Welsh Language in the Anthracite Coalfield c.1870-1914' in Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1998), p.148.
[434] Matthews, 'The Welsh Language in the Anthracite Coalfield c.1870-1914' in *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century*, p.148.

of rugby union in the South Wales valleys represents an obvious example in this respect).[435] According to Tim Williams, in his occasionally polemical but nevertheless insightful study of the decline of the Welsh language in Pontypridd during the period 1818 to 1920, this had the relatively immediate effect of ensuring that the native and migrant inhabitants were able to socialise without making 'what differentiated them as Welsh and English the basis of their relationship with one another'.[436] To underline this assertion, he points to the testimony of a local resident of the nearby village of Beddau, who claimed that during his upbringing in the 1920s he 'never thought of any difference' between the native and non-native inhabitants, and that he had never heard his Welsh speaking father refer to their neighbours as 'English', despite conceding the fact that, technically speaking, they indeed were.[437]

These sentiments were echoed, from a more extensive geographic perspective, by E. Laws in his 1888 history of 'Little England Beyond Wales'. Having identified the anglicisation of South Pembrokeshire, initiated by Norman and Flemish immigration throughout the eleventh century, as something of an historical precursor for emerging socio-cultural conditions towards the turn of the nineteenth century, Laws asserted that the intensification of English migration to Wales was a sign that the 'coming man must necessarily be of mingled lineage'.[438] With the rise of locomotion in particular being held responsible for 'regenerating the races', Laws went on to hypothesise that in the near future, 'tribes of unmixed blood will cease to exist', as ethnically and linguistically isolated communities would become increasingly unable to influence the 'progress of the mongrel majority'.[439] As a result, Laws reasoned that Wales would be left in a poorer state if it was to 'lose that valuable replenishment of Teutonic blood' provided by the influx of English migration, and while his argument was primarily tailored for a religious context (Laws feared the consequences of disestablishment), its themes would have undoubtedly resonated on a broader scale within cultural discourses of the period.

For other contemporary commentators however, the trajectory of the process of migrant-native assimilation was more fractured, with the Welsh language frequently being

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[435] See Williams, G., 'Community, class and rugby in Wales, 1880-1914', *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, Vol.50, (Spring 1985), pp.10-11 & Andrews, D.L., 'Welsh Indigenous! and British Imperial? – Welsh Rugby, Culture, and Society 1890-1914', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol.18, No.3, (Winter, 1991), pp.335-349.
[436] Williams, T.I., 'Patriots and Citizens: Language, Identity and Education in a Liberal State: the Anglicization of Pontypridd, 1818-1920' (Unpublished University of Wales PhD thesis, 1989), iv.
[437] Williams, 'Patriots and Citizens, iv.
[438] Laws, Edward, *The History of Little England Beyond Wales and the Non-Kymric colony settled in Pembrokeshire* (London, 1888), i.
[439] Laws, *The History of Little England Beyond Wales*, i.

viewed as a means of stabilising and clarifying such social changes. Coincidentally, J.E. Southall also chose Pontypridd as the basis for a case study on the impact of migration, however his conclusions differ rather markedly from the impression portrayed by the aforementioned resident of Beddau. Having claimed that the district was fairly evenly split between 50,000 monolingual English speakers, 46,000 bilinguals and 40,000 monolingual Welsh speakers, Southall asserted that such a diverse linguistic environment was not conducive for the 'free development of Welsh nationality, neither for the free circulation of social life'.[440] The presence and status of 'non-naturalised foreigners' in Wales (which, according to Southall, had not been 'satisfactorily solved' by the 'prevailing customs and laws' of the country), thus became a matter of particular urgency for like-mined observers, especially as the wider issue of defining Welsh 'distinctiveness' in relation to the British state moved into the mainstream of political debate during the last decades of the nineteenth century. It was a situation that allowed successive Whitehall governments, in Southall's opinion, to view the Welsh language as a 'vexatious obstacle to the unification of the country'.[441] Later observers would concur with Southall's hypothesis, emphasising the strict delineation of Welsh society along linguistic lines which inhibited any sense of national cohesion from emerging. In a 1923 edition of the *Welsh Outlook*, for example, it was asserted that 'civilized life in Wales' could only be preserved through the perpetuation of the 'Welsh life in Wales', which entailed making the 'English-speaking Welshmen and Englishmen in Wales Welsh', as opposed to permitting the 'Welsh-speaking man to be made English'.[442]

Such attitudes, of course, may simply be interpreted as a gesture of defiance against the notion that a Welsh national identity was existentially incompatible with the precepts of modern civilisation. However, the manner in which the article acknowledged the presence of three distinct socio-linguistic 'tribes' within Welsh society, as well as the state of cultural discord that apparently existed between them, is in itself highly illuminating. A sense of anxiety regarding the fragmentation of Wales' cultural profile was clearly in evidence within a few decades of the 'waves' of mass English migration, with efforts at reconciling these disparate 'tribes' being increasingly prioritised by the nascent Welsh nationalist movement towards the start of the twentieth century. This is not to say, however, that English migrants were necessarily regarded as the catalyst for this process of linguistic polarisation, as has tended to be the case within retrospective commentaries on this period of Welsh history, nor

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[440] Southall, J.E., *The Welsh Language Census of 1891* (Newport, 1895), p.29.
[441] Jenkins, G.H. (Ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains, 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000), p.27.
[442] *Welsh Outlook: A monthly journal of national and social progress*, Vol. 10, No. 10, (1923), p.258.

indeed that the language itself was incapable of thriving within a non-native human context. In Thomas Gwynn Jones' 1912 biography of the Nonconformist firebrand (and prominent opponent of English Causes) Emrys ap Iwan, for example, it was claimed that the Englishmen who 'came to live' in Iwan's hometown of Abergele soon became 'pure Welshmen in terms of language',[443] to the extent that a sure-fire method of identifying a 'monoglot Welshman' in the town was to search out a 'man with an English name'.[444] Gwynn himself endeavoured to reinforce this assertion by relaying an apparent conversation overheard between two English inhabitants of Abergele. Having returned from a period of employment over the border, the first of the pair asked the other about a mutual acquaintance in the town, to which he was told, in English, that the 'cradle bone is on him'.[445] Sensing that his companion was struggling to comprehend the meaning of this turn of phrase, the respondent promptly translated it into Welsh, at which point 'both men understood each other'.[446]

While the particular vigour of national feeling in Abergele, which was described in the biography as being the 'most Welsh area in Wales', may well have contributed towards its propensity for 'converting' English migrants to Welsh nationhood, the frequency with which contemporary commentators assumed the highly absorptive qualities of the native language is nevertheless striking, and certainly belies the notion that non-native incomers were exclusively perceived as an antithetical presence to its integrity. J.E. Southall himself, despite his aforementioned concerns at the 'unresolved' state of linguistic affairs in Wales, was often confident in the ability of the indigenous language to act as a facilitator for the future assimilation of migrant groups, on the condition that certain cultural policies were implemented. For example, having estimated that the 'Englishry in Glamorgan' (which was defined in this instance as the population of the county born in England, as well as their offspring) was comprised of '350,000 souls' at the time of the 1901 census, Southall asserted that this formidable volume of migrants, who would have normally been expected to be a reliable source of English monoglotism, was nevertheless producing 'some' Welsh-speaking children and grand-children.[447]

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[443] 'fod y Saeson a ddeuai i fyw i'r dref yn troi yn Gymry glan o rhan iaith'. Jones, G.T. & Williams, J.L., *Emrys Ap Iwan, Dysgawdr, Llenor, Cenedlgarwr: Cofiant,* (Swansea, 1978).

[444] 'os mynnech gael hyd i Gymro uniaith yn nhref Abergele, am ddyn ag arno enw Saesneg y byddai raid i chwi chwilio'. Jones & Williams, *Emrys Ap Iwan*.

[445] 'Mae'r cryd cymylau arno fo, wyddost!'. Jones & Williams, *Emrys Ap Iwan*.

[446] 'Yna deallodd y ddau ei gilydd'. Jones & Williams, *Emrys Ap Iwan*.

[447] Southall, J.E., *The Welsh Language Census of 1901* (Newport, 1904), pp.27-8.

Similarly, Southall deemed it 'noteworthy' to compare the 3,870 persons registered as English monoglots in Ceredigion with the 3,455 persons registered as having been born outside of Wales and Monmouthsire, claiming that the 'difference scarcely shows' the 'probable number of children of English parents' that would have been born in the county, thus leading to the deduction that a 'good number' of the English migrant population must have been Welsh speakers.[448] In another indication of the importance of the issue of generational linguistic diffusion to contemporary thinking on the status of Welsh, Southall identified the introduction of 'suitable educational methods' amongst the children of migrants as the necessary catalyst for rapid assimilation. Southall's optimism in his strategy is underlined by his belief that it would be 'possible, nay, even easy' to 'Cymricize' the new town of Barry, which had experienced sizeable growth as a consequence of an 'influx of able-bodied workers' from 'England or non-Welsh speaking districts'.[449]

The extent to which Southall's own experiences as a non-native learner of the language shaped his broader attitudes should be acknowledged at this point. As an Englishman who had acquired proficiency in Welsh as a result of intellectual curiosity and had subsequently settled in Newport to pursue his studies into its cultural character, Southall would have had a vested interest in promoting the permeability of 'Welshness' to non-indigenous individuals, with the language representing a clear and distinct pathway in this regard. The particularly formative role played by the Welsh language in Southall's lifetime must have also informed the sense of urgency which is palpable in his analysis on linguistic transference between generations, as well as an appreciation of the extent to which such processes had evolved over ensuing decades. This becomes evident by his observations on the industrial counties of Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire, in which he claimed that a 'large amount of English blood' was present in those 'persons speaking the Welsh language', who were primarily the descendants of migrants that had arrived in Wales during the 'last 60 or 70 years'.[450]

Southall was particularly impressed by the durability of the language in Mountain Ash, where it was observed that on one of the 'idle days' for the colliery's local workforce 'little but Welsh was heard in their conversation', despite the fact that the 'signs of English descent' were 'numerous'.[451] This seemingly smooth transition undertaken by earlier migrant

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[448] Southall, *The Welsh Language Census of 1901*, p.15.
[449] Southall, *The Welsh Language Census of 1901*, p.30.
[450] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.221.
[451] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, p.221.

communities over the course of a few generations to become fully 'Cymricized' therefore only served to highlight the importance of sustaining and adapting such processes according to current socio-political conditions. According to Southall, it was imperative for the 'welfare of Wales' that the 'children of the foreign settlers who have arrived more recently' be effectively 'engrafted into the national life', which was to be achieved by the introduction of formal procedures by day schools, and the proliferation of 'facilities for travelling and cheap reading', since it was acknowledged that effective bilingualism could not be 'left to the chances of learning by the ear only'.[452]

At first glance, Southall's stance on the interaction between Welsh and non-native settlers, which simultaneously implied the naturally absorptive qualities of the language while also stressing the need for formal and institutional intervention to sustain bilingualism, may appear somewhat contradictory. However, his multifaceted response to the issue merely highlights the extent to which he, as well as other social commentators of the period, were receptive to the reality that the foundations of Welsh society were evolving at an accelerated pace. Thus, whereas migrants in previous decades had apparently been absorbed into Welsh-speaking society on an organic basis, it was not necessarily assured that their successors would be similarly compatible without systematic modes of regulation. Whether this was a consequence of perceptions surrounding changing economic circumstances, an awareness of the increased absolute volume of migration, or simply a combination of both is open to interpretation, but it is apparent that there was a widespread acknowledgement of the particular volatility of linguistic habits, especially when they assumed such a central role in the formulation of national identity. For example, in his 1915 analysis of methods of bilingual teaching, which included the case studies of Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine as well as Wales itself, James G. Williams emphasised how the position of the native language in the 'industrial districts' was qualitatively 'different' to that of the rural areas, as a result of a consistent influx of a 'motley population' searching for 'economic sustenance in the *"gweithia"* [works]'.[453]

This had created a situation in which a variety of dialects were poised to 'jostle one another in the south and north-east of the country', producing a 'hybrid language' that was 'full of borrowed accents and phrases' of both English and Welsh origin.[454] Such sentiments

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[452] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, p.221.
[453] Williams, J.G., *Mother-Tongue and Other-Tongue, or a Study in Bilingual Teaching* (Bangor, 1915), p.106.
[454] Williams, *Mother-Tongue and Other-Tongue*, p.106.

reveal a rather intriguing insight into the complex and amorphous social interactions along Wales' linguistic fault-lines, which are inevitably downplayed in the neatly clinical statistical outlook of contemporary censuses, while also highlighting how analysts such as Williams were acutely aware that the transition of migrant groups towards a state of accommodation with the pre-existing characteristics of the indigenous national culture was by no means a linear process. Much like Southall, Williams advocated educational reforms to ensure that the delicate balance of bilingualism in Wales was not unduly distorted against one language or the other. However he also proffered a more nuanced approach for specifically dealing with the ethnically diverse populations of urban and industrial areas compared to Southall's broader strategy, which envisioned firstly the 'elimination of local incorrect expressions' followed by the 'earliest possible substitution of a literary language for the local variety of speech'.[455] In this respect, it is apparent that Williams recognised the apparent futility of imposing a standardised model of bilingualism upon linguistically non-assimilated communities, and that a more flexible strategy, which was more receptive to variations in local conditions, was required. Indeed, the manner in which Williams established such a clear distinction between the 'literary' form of the language and the hybridised speech in the areas most affected by inward migration suggests an awareness of a form of reciprocal linguistic relationship between indigenous and migrant populations.

This notion of linguistic complementarity was a recurring feature of nineteenth century commentary on the state of the native Welsh language. As early as 1828, for example, one James Lewis had published a list of 'English words derived from the Ancient British or Welsh Language' as a means of indicating a common Celtic base between both languages, and while this theme invariably informed the aforementioned growing body of antiquarian interest into the existential connection between the Celtic 'fringe' and the Saxon 'core' of the British Isles, it also permeated analysis of the contemporary cultural climate in Wales. Despite his reservations about how the fractured linguistic character of the more urban areas was acting as an impediment to the 'free development' of nationhood in Wales, even J.E. Southall conceded that he may have 'understated the amount of English influence on Welsh nationality', and while issues of mutual intelligibility were still prevalent in certain social settings, it was nevertheless the case that in counties such as Glamorgan 'large numbers of people' who were defined as 'English only' were able to 'live side by side' with

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[455] Williams, *Mother-Tongue and Other-Tongue*, p.106.

those who professed to be 'Welsh only'.[456] As A.H. Dodd also observed in his study of North Walian industrial development, the influx of Staffordshire migrants to Buckley during the first half of the nineteenth century, primarily as a consequence of the burgeoning local trade in pottery, imparted distinctive patterns of 'speech and habits' in the area which persisted long after the erosion of the initial 'migrant identity'.[457] Similar observations were made by the Reverend D. Phillips Lewis regarding the Shropshire-influenced dialect heard in his parish of Guilsfield (which also contained a 'host of local peculiarities'), while the Reverend F.W. Parker of Montgomeryshire remarked in a letter to Alexander J. Ellis in 1879 that the local Welsh accent was combined with an 'admixture of Shropshire twang'.[458]

Consequently, given the particularly contested cultural backdrop that accompanied the 1891 census, as well as the tendency for subsequent scholars to portray the social developments of the era in decisive terms such as 'language shifts', it occasionally becomes tempting to consider the process of linguistic change as intrinsically confrontational and antagonistic, with English migrants assuming the role of the necessary catalysts. However, the nature of the language found within contemporary debates on the issue display a far greater appreciation for its inherent complexities and variations than is perhaps realised, with the receptiveness of non-native people towards the Welsh language often being adjudged according to rather sophisticated sociological methodologies. As mentioned previously, some of the more common factors that were considered in this respect included the chronological timescale in which migration had occurred (with a tendency to view earlier migrants as being more responsive to the native language) and the age of the migrants themselves (with a general correlation being established between relative youth and proficiency in Welsh).

The literal and figurative proximity of migrants to Welsh religious life also featured prominently in such analyses. While the role of Nonconformist denominations in particular within the wider social matrix of migrant assimilation will be scrutinised in more exhaustive detail in the next chapter, at this stage the extent to which participation in religious affairs became regarded as a direct pathway to linguistic as well as national enlightenment should be noted. As Sian Rhiannon Williams observed in her study of the Welsh language in the Valleys of Gwent, the 'densely Welsh nature of the society', which allowed incoming English migrants to learn the native language 'with ease' to become 'thoroughly assimilated',

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[456] Southall, J.E., *The Welsh Language Census of 1891* (Newport, 1895), p.30.
[457] Dodd, A.H., *The Industrial Revolution in North Wales* (Cardiff, 1971).
[458] Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains, 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000), p.85.

was fundamentally sustained by the potent chapel-based culture of the region. The examples of English migrants such as Richard Wornell and Peter Skyman, who both became notable members of the Bethesda Welsh Baptist Chapel in Beaufort (and, as a consequence, fluent speakers of Welsh) serve to demonstrate the intrinsic correlation that often existed between religious activity and linguistic habits in nineteenth century Welsh society.[459]

In addition to these broad themes, a number of remarkably intricate ideas were posited by contemporary observers, of which one of the more intriguing was Southall's theory concerning the ethno-regional origin of English migrants. While wary of the fact that more recent migrants to Wales were, for reasons related to the increasing universal applicability of the English language within the industrial domain, notably less compelled by societal pressures to acquire a measure of fluency in Welsh compared to their predecessors, Southall was nevertheless heartened to note that a 'large proportion of the new comers' had originated from the 'west of England, where Celtic blood is more abundant than the east'.[460] In some respects, Southall was once again pandering to the notion, frequently promoted by antiquarian studies, that a common Celtic ancestry pervaded modern British society which, if properly utilised, could act as a reliable socio-cultural adhesive in the contemporary climate. By implying the existence of some form of gradation in terms of the 'Celtic element' in the English national identity, which unsurprisingly increased in its potency further to the west of the country, he also communicated his belief in the potential for more recent migrants to be organically accommodated within the contours of native Welsh culture. Echoing his earlier hypothesis regarding the contrasting linguistic abilities of incomers from eastern and western counties of England, Southall declared that converting migrants into Welsh speakers was becoming an 'easier process than it would otherwise be' due to the fact that Somerset and Devon were supplying a 'considerable proportion of the English element' of the current migrant population. He also noted how the native language had spread 'to some extent among the Cornish settlers at Llantrisant'.[461]

Intriguingly, Southall chose to convey the applicability of the Welsh language amongst more recent migratory groups by emphasising its supposed 'aggressive attitude', which, consciously or not, established distinct thematic parallels with cultural perceptions of the dynamics of the capitalist-driven industrial milieu. Far from being destined to wilt under

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[459] See Williams, G., *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (Cardiff, 1979) & Jones, I.G., *Communities: Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales*, (Llandysul, 1987).
[460] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.362.
[461] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, p.362.

the unforgiving conditions of industrialisation, of which mass migration was surely its most potent demographic symptom, Southall imputed the native language with an almost masculine robustness that belied other contemporary assumptions of its association with distinctly 'feminine' social domains (such as the private sphere of the 'hearth and altar'). The significance of this rhetorical manoeuvre is amplified when one considers the evolving familial patterns of migration during this period, with a greater tendency towards the end of the century for migrants to be unattached individuals motivated by economic pull factors, as opposed to kin-based sustenance. In this respect therefore, the notion that the Welsh and English languages were underpinned by common ancestral bonds was not merely confined to the realm of antiquarian musing, but was also used to express a form of synchronicity between the Celtic 'fringe' and the enterprising ethos of Anglo-Saxon culture.

It was an idea that was explored in an article on 'The Utilization of the Welsh Language in Schools and Colleges', which appeared in the transactions of the Cambrian Society of South Wales and Monmouthshire. By citing an extract from Motley's 'Rise of the Dutch Republic', which attributed the supposed ethnic superiority of the descendants of the Dutch people to the intermingling of the native Belgae with migratory Germanic tribes (thus lending 'an additional metal to the Celtic blood'), the article sought to underline similarities with the current state of the Welsh nation, where the influx of 'Teutonic friends from England' had contrived to strengthen the base 'Celtic element' of society.[462] This perception that a hybridised Celtic-Saxon population, retaining the positive facets of both cultures, could be fostered in Wales through appropriate linguistic policies was one that became particularly seductive to sections of the Welsh intelligentsia.

Southall, whose interest in individual cases of Englishmen and women endeavouring to immerse themselves in Welsh native culture has already been noted, emphasised in *Wales and her Language* that the influx of migrants into south-eastern regions was responsible for the development of a 'partly Celticized Teutonic population'.[463] It was a process that could also reap rewards within a mutually beneficial context. For example, Matthew Arnold claimed that a remedy for the supposed 'philistinism' of the English people was to ensure that the 'greater delicacy and spirituality' of Celtic traditions were more effectively 'blended' with Anglo-Saxon culture.[464] Far from representing an existential threat to the integrity of

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[462] 'The Utilization of the Welsh Language in Schools and Colleges', *The Cambrian Society of South Wales and Monmouthshire Transactions*, (Session 1885-6), p.43.

[463] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.217.

[464] Arnold, M., *The Study of Celtic Literature* (London, 1891), x.

Welsh nationhood therefore, the 'hybridisation' of Welsh society was often viewed by contemporary commentators as an opportunity to enhance its 'modern' credentials.

Indeed, according to the Cambrian Society, the ability of the native Welsh population to 'absorb these new elements' not only offered the potential of lifting up 'the plane of their national life', but would also represent an affirmation of 'faith in themselves and their future'.[465] Contrary to more conventional cultural discourses on indigenous-migrant relations therefore, the onset of mass migration into Wales during the nineteenth century and the subsequent capacity of its society to assimilate the new populations became perceived as a reflection of the nation's maturity, as well as the dynamic vitality of its nationhood. It was a hypothesis to which Southall gave considerable credence, as he asserted that the intention of Welsh language activists of his ilk was not to 'exclude Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen from Wales' but rather to ensure that once they were 'settled in our midst', their 'good qualities' could be effectively integrated within the broader spectrum of Welsh 'national life'.[466] He echoed these thoughts in *Wales and her Language*, claiming that the 'new blood' provided by migration would 'tend to the advancement of the nation' if it was appropriately managed.[467]

Such lofty ambitions, which envisioned a Welsh nation possessing the self-confidence to retain a strong native socio-cultural profile while simultaneously asserting its accessibility to external (primarily commercial) influences, were naturally underpinned by a belief in a durable bilingual settlement for Wales. Certainly, a majority of works associated with linguistic activists of the period share a common tendency for extolling the virtues of 'effective bilingualism', of which Dan Isaac Davies' 1885 article *'Tair Miliwn o Gymry Dwyieithog'* is perhaps the most prominent.[468] The notion that the use of both languages in Wales could be regulated within specific social domains (primarily within a public context for English and a private context for Welsh) without any form of mutual antagonism became a favoured rhetorical tool for the likes of Southall and Davies, particularly as a response to the recurring allegations that Welsh language activism represented an active impediment to the proliferation of English language throughout Wales. The extent to which these rather clinical models for bilingualism could be efficiently transferred onto the inherently volatile

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[465] *The Cambrian Society of South Wales and Monmouthshire Transactions*, (Session 1885-6),
'The Utilization of the Welsh Language in Schools and Colleges', p.43.
[466] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.142.
[467] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, pp.362-63.
[468] Davies, D.I., *Yr Iaith Gymraeg, 1785, 1885, 1985! Neu, Tair Miliwn O Gymry Dwy-ieithawg Mewn Can Mlynedd* (Denbigh, 1886).

socio-cultural landscape of nineteenth century Welsh society became an issue of considerable debate throughout this period, with the presence of the English migrant population often prefiguring highly in such theorising. Indeed, the ability of migrants to be accommodated within a bilingual settlement was invariably considered a reliable indicator of its long-term sustainability. English migration was also recognised as a significant factor in discussions surrounding the distribution of social responsibility in a bilingual society, as commentators became compelled to consider the roles of both personal initiative and institutional direction in upholding a form of linguistic harmony.

Before embarking on an analysis of the precise relationship between migrant groups in Wales and discourses on bilingualism however, it becomes necessary to consider broader contemporary scholarly opinion on the practicality and functionality of bilingual societies. Generally speaking, intellectual cleavages on this issue were most readily visible between two distinct schools of thought: one which envisioned bilingualism to be a stable linguistic state that could assign lasting socio-cultural 'roles' for each language, and one which regarded it as an intrinsically ephemeral phenomenon that merely marked the transitional phase of the 'dominant' language supplanting the other. Naturally, the likes of Dan Isaac Davies were prominent subscribers to the former interpretation, arguing that the status of the native language could be secured by clearly defining and advocating its social 'purpose' (an idea that was concisely conveyed by the slogan of 'pob tegwch i'r Gymraeg').[469]

As James G. Williams expressed in his 1915 study of bilingual teaching, the 'popularisation of English in Wales' presented no qualms for the 'ardent nationalist' of the day as long as it made 'no encroachment upon' and did 'not impair the character of his own language'.[470] A strict (and, ideally, institutionally codified) delineation of each linguistic 'realm' was thus considered a matter of urgency, which would allow both languages to thrive without being pressurised by competition from the other. Williams concluded that the confidence of Welsh language activists in the ability of the native language to hold its own in the face of the spread of English had engendered a situation in which they could feel 'satisfied to the extent of the progress of bilingualism' in Wales.[471] Similar sentiments were expressed by Southall in *Wales and her Language*, in which he asserted that the 'part of patriotism in Wales' was not necessarily dependent on efforts to 'disparage or obstruct the

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[469] Davies, *Yr Iaith Gymraeg, 1785, 1885, 1985!*.

[470] Williams, J.G., *Mother-Tongue and Other-Tongue, or a Study in Bilingual Teaching* (Bangor, 1915), p.100.

[471] Williams, *Mother-Tongue and Other-Tongue*, p.100.

influence of new blood', provided that 'reasonable and proper care' were taken to ensure that each language received some form of 'equal treatment'. Presumably, the notion of 'equal treatment' in this context mirrored the aforementioned desire of Welsh activists for the native language to be afforded a particular societal 'function' of its own.

In other words, bilingualism could be regarded as a form of *modus vivendi* between two distinct socio-cultural traditions, as opposed to being the initial symptom of a prolonged linguistic shift. Unsurprisingly, the supporters of this stance often highlighted other cases of bilingual societies as a means of enhancing the legitimacy of their cause. Invariably, the example of Belgium and its seemingly delicate balance between its Flemish and Wallonian populations became a favoured case study for Welsh language activists, while Switzerland, with its even more intricate linguistic composition, was also frequently cited.[472] Intriguingly, perhaps as a means of assuring sceptics of the capacity of bilingualism to thrive within a non-state context, the case of Alscace-Lorraine, the territory annexed to Germany in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian, was also highlighted by interested parties as a relevant comparison with Wales.[473] In the two first instances, the co-existence of a modern language of 'international' repute with a more traditional 'regional' vernacular (French and Flemish in the case of Belgium; French, German, Italian and Romansh in the case of Switzerland) were used as historical precedents for the bilingual cause in Wales, while the continued presence of the French language in Alsace-Lorraine, despite the territory's political separation from the French nation after 1871, was consistently emphasised as evidence that formal, institutional authority was not always a pre-requisite for the survival of a language.

In a similar vein to present-day advocates for bilingualism, nineteenth to early twentieth century justifications for linguistic policies that sought to simultaneously preserve the integrity of the native language as well as perpetuate universal comprehension of English in Welsh society rested on its perceived cognitive and intellectual benefits. For example, the Cambrian Society's article on the utilisation of Welsh in education makes an explicit reference to the 'bilingual advantage' that presented itself to the migrant population of Wales, which would otherwise be denied to 'most Englishmen who remain in England'.[474] Indeed, far from merely conferring 'very favourable' circumstances upon the migrants themselves

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[472] 'The Cymmrodorion Society – Bi-Lingual Wales', *Bye-gones relating to Wales and the border counties*, April 1885, p.212.
[473] 'The Cymmrodorion Society ', *Bye-gones relating to Wales*, p.212.
[474] 'The Utilization of the Welsh Language in Schools and Colleges', *The Cambrian Society of South Wales and Monmouthshire Transactions*, (Session 1885-6), p.45.

who settled in border regions such as Glamorgan, the combination of 'Welsh with English' was assumed to carry the potential to 'open to the talent of bi-lingual Wales the doors of Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, and German countries'.[475] These opportunities were deemed to be 'more readily' accessible for a properly functioning bilingual society as opposed to one that was wedded to 'English alone'.[476]

In many ways, such bold statements were designed to invert traditional stereotypes of the Welsh language as an inherently insular language that compromised Wales' national 'reputation', while confidently proclaiming the potentially privileges that could be acquired by migrants who were willing to immerse themselves in the bilingual ethos. The appeal to English migrants in particular demonstrates an implicit desire to dispel the notion that consolidating a monolingual English identity in Wales was in some way synonymous with an enhanced social status. The portrayal of the native language as a distinct opportunity to incomers, as opposed to a short-term obstacle that was merely to be endured, thus made Welsh correspond, at least on a conceptual level, with the impulses of modern migratory trends (which underlined a growth in individualised patterns of migration over those that were orchestrated by the family unit, and a greater tendency for 'pull' factors to act as a catalyst for population movements).

For the likes of J.E. Southall, a bilingual agenda was also contingent on establishing the tangible usefulness of the native language, both for the non-indigenous population and the social cohesion of Welsh society as a whole. The key requirement in this respect was not to perpetuate a scenario in which both languages were 'wanted equally' (an objective that even Southall deemed unfeasible), but rather ensure that the Welsh was 'WANTED A LITTLE BY ALL' (his capitalisation), and 'much by some' if necessary.[477] Once again, Southall seems to have been motivated by a desire to promote a sense of homogeneity in national 'feeling', despite the evidently heterogeneous (and, from his perspective, increasingly polarised) social composition of the Welsh nation. This vision was neatly summarised as 'inclusive patriotism', which was juxtaposed with the current prevailing attitudes of 'exclusive patriotism' that were apparently in evidence on both sides of the linguistic divide[478]. By fomenting a universal demand for Welsh, at least on a fundamental level, Southall believed

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[475] 'The Utilization of the Welsh Language in Schools and Colleges', *The Cambrian Society of South Wales*, p.44.
[476] 'The Utilization of the Welsh Language in Schools and Colleges', *The Cambrian Society of South Wales*, p.44.
[477] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language* (Newport, 1894), p.241.
[478] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, p.241.

that certain antagonisms between the indigenous and migrant sections of Welsh society, particularly those related to occupational standards, would soon dissipate.

Thus the implementation of a true bilingual settlement for Wales would ensure that there would no longer be 'grumbling if all the scholarships fell to Englishmen' (which became a point of particular contention in Aberystwyth during the early years of the University of Wales) nor indeed a 'cry of Wales for the Welsh', since every inhabitant of the country, regardless of their actual ancestry, would be 'naturalised' to some degree, and 'able to play their part as men of Wales, understanding the country, and forming a part of the Welsh unity'.[479] Consequently, Southall's approach to bilingualism assumed radically different characteristics to that of the likes of Brunton. Rather than being merely a contingency measure designed to ease particular individual circumstances, which became Brunton's prevailing outlook during his time in Wales, Southall envisioned bilingualism as a more grandiose and overarching philosophy that represented a form of permanent initiation into Welsh nationhood. In contrast to the Cambrian Society's emphasis on the intellectual and cognitive benefits, Southall preferred to contextualise the positive aspects of bilingualism in terms of the more tangible by-products of social cohesion, as the potent theme of meritocracy resonates throughout his argument. It was implied that an equitable distribution of the language across Welsh society, transcending boundaries of class and nationality, would induce some form of a level playing field in a social environment that was inevitably being shaped by migrant-indigenous economic competition. Bilingualism thus offered the tantalizing opportunity to dislodge vested interests based on national lines, while simultaneously fostering a spirit of unity in Welsh society that was solely generated by individual talent.

It is apparent therefore that at least on a conceptual level, the visions of bilingual activists could be rather grand in scope and intent. But what of the practical strategies required to implement such linguistic designs? Generally speaking, the rhetoric of activists such as Southall was underpinned by two distinct strands of thought, of which one stressed the supposedly organic development of bilingualism, and the other was influenced by notions of institutional intervention to maintain a 'stable' and 'balanced' linguistic environment. The complementarity of these seemingly disparate strands became a recurring aspect of activist discourse, with the organic nature of bilingualism being highlighted as 'evidence' of its long-term viability, and the focus on institutional reform being justified on the grounds that it

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[479] Southall, *Wales and her Language*, p.241.

would effectively 'harness' its potential. Southall, for example, despite his aforementioned reservations about the fragmented linguistic landscape of Glamorgan, was prepared to announce that the sheer presence of a 'solid phalanx of Celtic speakers' in the counties of Anglesey, Caernarfonshire, Meirionethshire, Cardiganshire and Camarthenshire (as well as the northern portion of Pembrokeshire) would be capable of 'perpetuating the language among their English neighbours', as if by some form of linguistic diffusion.[480] He pointed to the example of Meirioneth, where the number of English monoglots in the county (2,828) was less than the number of inhabitants registered as having been born outside of Wales (2,918), as evidence of the natural ability of Welsh to 'propagate itself'.[481] At the same time, however, he was sufficiently concerned by the stagnation or decline of the native language in areas such as Barmouth to urge the county education authorities to be 'very strict' with English monoglot children, while intervening to 'counteract' the 'effect of the foreign immigrants'.[482]

In this respect, Southall's faith in the general vitality of the Welsh language was tempered by a concern about fragility of its particular current circumstances, with the implication that a realignment of the bilingual 'balance' was in order. Such sentiments were echoed, from an educational perspective, by Beriah G. Evans in his testimony to the royal commission. Whereas he conceded that the children of Wales were currently labouring 'under a bilingual difficulty', this did not, as the likes of Shaddrach Pryce and his anglophile supporters would have asserted, undermine the intrinsic value of bilingualism as a social benefit. Rather, it was merely the present state of 'spurious bilingualism', implied to be the product of prolonged institutional mismanagement, which was to be avoided. The challenge for Welsh language activists therefore was to convert the 'bilingual difficulty' into a 'bilingual advantage', which would allow the commercial and intellectual potential of the native tongue to be fully realised.

A key component of this strategy was to convince naysayers that the Welsh language could effectively complement, rather than impair, the English language's presumed capacity for self-advancement. Thus Evans was quick to stress that the process of 'cymricization' that had apparently been observed amongst the children of migrants, as well as in industrial workplaces, was not solely confined to the realm of the school and the 'lower' orders of

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[480] Southall, J.E, *The Welsh Language Census of 1901* (Newport, 1904), p.47.
[481] Southall, *The Welsh Language Census of 1901*, p.34.
[482] Southall, *The Welsh Language Census of 1901,* pp.33-34.

society. In response to such a line of questioning by the commission, Evans cited the example of a lawyer by the name of Kenshole, the son of two English migrants, who had mastered the Welsh language with proficiency, and ensured in turn that his family did not 'sink into the monoglot condition', but rather 'remain bi-lingual'.[483] Evidently, Evans and his colleagues were keenly aware of the necessity for demonstrating the compatibility of bilingualism with the precepts of bourgeois respectability. This was also highlighted by the particular manner in which Evans stated his case for Welsh language teaching, as he assured the commission that his intent was not the 'preservation of Welsh' for its own sake, but rather its practical 'utilisation' for the purposes of boosting educational standards.[484] The manner in which bilingual campaigners made conscious efforts to shift their strategic focus away from romanticised appeals to tradition and towards a practical, pragmatic approach guided by an appreciation of contemporary realities thus reveals the extent to which their outlook was shaped by an appreciation of the migratory experience. Appeasing and even accommodating the anglicised portion of Welsh society, of which English migrants represented its most 'visible' manifestation, was considered the quintessential 'prize' that would instil the bilingual cause with a veneer of legitimacy.

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[483] Southall, J.E., *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools : or, minutes of evidence of Welsh witnesses before the Royal Commission on Education in 1886-7, with introductory remarks and the recommendations of the Commissioners on the question as given in their official report* (Newport, 1888), p.21.
[484] Southall, *Bi-lingual teaching in Welsh elementary schools*, p.28.

Conclusion

Perhaps to a greater extent than is acknowledged in historical scholarship on nineteenth and early twentieth Welsh society therefore, English migrants often assumed a pivotal role in shaping the course of contemporary discourse on issues of language, identity and nationhood. While direct examples of English migrants expressing their personal experiences of interacting with the Welsh language, such as those of Bertram Coombes and John Brunton, remain somewhat scarce, they nevertheless provide a compelling impression of the multifaceted responses to the fractured linguistic landscape of Wales. In this respect, their insights allow for a more nuanced understanding of the social relationship between migration and the 'linguistic shift' of the period, in contrast to empirical approaches that solely rely on 'volumes' of migrants and their consequent aggregated numerical contribution to the demographic 'dilution' of the native language.

Meanwhile, efforts to promote a bilingual settlement in Welsh society frequently evoked the presence of the migrant population of Wales. This was viewed not only as a means of demonstrating the universal applicability of such policies, but to also bolster their legitimacy within the context of an idealised, modern society. The particular patterns of English migration to Wales towards the end of the nineteenth century meant that bilingual activists strove to emphasise the complementarity of their cause with the industrial environment of Wales, whose demographic growth and the increasing diversity of its workforces was largely underpinned by economic 'pull factors'. Inverting the so-called 'bilingual difficulty' into a 'bilingual advantage' thus became a key objective of contemporary Welsh language campaigners, as the perceived allegiance of non-native migrants to the bilingual cause became regarded as a veritable barometer of its fundamental applicability. While the course of public discourse on linguistic affairs during this period, especially those relating to the specific social 'roles' expected of both Welsh and English, conveys the impression that such issues were evaluated according to rigidly binary conceptual parameters, it is significant to note that this notion of migrant 'allegiance' towards a functionally bilingual Wales often encompassed more fluid intellectual terrain. J.E. Southall's musings regarding the complex gradations of migrant assimilation in particular provides a perfect segue into a more localised analysis of the responsiveness of English migrant communities towards the Welsh language, and how it influenced their social interaction with the indigenous population.

Chapter 5: LANGUAGE PERSPECTIVES II: A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS, c.1850-1914

As has been discussed previously, the use of census data for the purposes of delineating the influence of the Welsh language in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries presents certain challenges for social historians. They are merely amplified when the same methodological enquiries are conducted from the specific perspective of the English migrant population of Wales. Not only is it necessary to treat the figures related to the linguistic composition of Wales with the usual degree of caution, distorted as they often were by bilinguals officially registering themselves as either monolingual Welsh or English speakers, but the fundamental correlation between birthplace and language within the broader dynamic of national identity also requires consideration. In an era in which processes of cultural pollination across national borders, facilitated by ever-sophisticated networks of transportation and communication as well as more volatile migratory trends, were intensifying, the notion that linguistic domains were coterminous with fixed geographical spaces was being rapidly undermined. The emergence of large and, particularly in the case of the cities of Liverpool and London, thriving Welsh-language diaspora communities across Britain during the nineteenth century[485] inevitably blurred perceptions of the spatial dimensions of Welsh-speaking Wales, which for the purposes of this study complicates our ability to precisely identify authentically migrant learners of Welsh. For example, it is difficult to determine whether a Welsh-speaking individual born in Liverpool but residing in Wales during the 1891 census was a native inheritor of the language or an English migrant that had adapted to the indigenous cultural profile of their adopted community.

Nevertheless, census data can provide a useful insight into the overarching trends that shaped the relationship between English migrants and the Welsh language during a truly pivotal phase in its development. In this respect, data related to the migrant populations of four communities across Wales during both the 1891 and 1901 censuses has been scrutinised, with a variety of metrics having been deployed. The four communities, namely Blaina,

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[485] See Pryce, H., 'Welsh Liverpool, 1861-1877' in Pryce, H., *J.E. Lloyd and the Creation of Welsh History: Renewing a Nation's Past* (Cardiff, 2011), pp.13-26; Cooper, K., 'The move to Liverpool and the north-west' in Cooper, K., *Exodus from Cardiganshire: Rural-Urban Migration in Modern Britain* (Cardiff, 2011), pp.154-178; Cooper, K., 'The lure of London' in Cooper, K., *Exodus from Cardiganshire: Rural-Urban Migration in Modern Britain*, (Cardiff, 2011), pp.131-153; Jones, E., *The Welsh in London, 1500-2000* (Cardiff, 2001); Hayes, M., *Cows, Cobs & Corner Shops: The Story of London's Welsh Dairies* (Aberystwyth, 2018);

Dowlais, Aberystwyth and Ffestiniog, were chosen not only for the purposes of presenting an even geographical spread, but to also provide an insight into the impact of different *forms* of migration upon the profile of the Welsh language in each area.Thus while Blaina and Dowlais were very much representative of the south-eastern industrial belt that was exposed to waves of mass migration primarily fuelled by the coal trade during the turn of the nineteenth century, Aberystwyth was simultaneously affected by migration specifically associated with its growing reputation as a tourist and leisure resort. Meanwhile, Ffestiniog's economic profile, and its resultant attraction to migrants, was based upon the slate trade of North-West Wales (though this period represented the apex of the region's prominence in this respect, as competition from foreign exports would soon lead to a downturn during the first decades of the 20th century). The analytical approach used to interpret the data has also been calibrated to ensure a nuanced interpretation of the interaction between English migrants and the Welsh language during this period. Consequently, while attention will be devoted to those specific migrants that learned the native language, broader questions will also be considered regarding the relative presence of Welsh within migrant families, as well as to evaluate whether, as Southall suggested, some form of correlation is detectable between the birthplace of migrants and their relative levels of propensity for acquiring Welsh.

Registered linguistic status	Number residing in Aberystwyth in 1891 (from total adult migrant population of 75)	Number residing in Aberystwyth in 1901 (from total adult migrant population of 1097)	Percentage change
Monolingual English	58 (77.3%)	963 (87.8%)	+10.5
Bilingual	16 (21.3%)	133 (12.1%)	-9.2
Monolingual Welsh	1 (1.3%)	1 (0.1%)	-1.2
Misc.	0	0	N/A

Fig. 1: Linguistic profile of adult English migrant population in Aberystwyth, according to the censuses of 1891 and 1901

Registered linguistic status	Number residing in Blaina in 1891 (from total adult migrant population of 1177)	Number residing in Blaina in 1901 (from total adult migrant population of 1241)	Percentage change
Monolingual English	1138 (96.8%)	1228 (99%)	+2.2
Bilingual	32 (3.0%)	11 (1.0%)	-2.0
Monolingual Welsh	6 (0.5%)	1 (<0.1%)	-0.49
Misc.	1 (<0.1%)	1 (<0.1%)	N/A

Fig. 2: Linguistic profile of adult English migrant population in Blaina, according to the censuses of 1891 and 1901

Registered linguistic status	Number residing in Dowlais in 1891 (from total adult migrant population of 393)	Number residing in Dowlais in 1901 (from total adult migrant population of 940)	Percentage change (to 1 d.p)
Monolingual English	358 (91.1%)	837 (89.0%)	-1.0
Bilingual	27 (6.9%)	100 (10.6%)	+3.0
Monolingual Welsh	6 (1.5%)	2 (<0.1%)	-1.9
Misc.	2 (0.1%)	1 (<0.1%)	N/A

Fig. 3: Linguistic profile of adult English migrant population in Dowlais, according to the censuses of 1891 and 1901

Registered linguistic status	Number residing in Ffestiniog in 1891 (from total adult migrant population of)	Number residing in Ffestiniog in 1901 (from total adult migrant population of)	Percentage change (to 1 d.p)
Monolingual English	83 (51.9%)	89 (53.9%)	+2.0
Bilingual	56 (35.0%)	69 (41.8%)	+6.8
Monolingual Welsh	21 (13.1%)	7 (4.2%)	-8.9
Misc.	0	0	N/A

Fig. 4: Linguistic profile of adult English migrant population in Ffestiniog, according to the censuses of 1891 and 1901

An overview of the linguistic breakdown of the adult migrant populations from each community corresponds with broader trends in Welsh society that were observed following the initial introduction of the language question in the 1891 census. A gradual drift towards English monolingualism, alongside a simultaneous relative decline in bilingualism and Welsh monolingualism, characterises the linguistic habits of English migrants from 1891 to 1901, which, as has been mentioned previously, were also apparent amongst the native Welsh population as a whole during the same timescale. Similarly, the varying pace of such tendencies on a regional basis is also in evidence, reflecting the increasing polarisation between the anglicised east and the redoubts of the Welsh language in its western heartlands. Thus Blaina, located in the heart of the Monmouthshire valleys, contained a large migrant population that was overwhelmingly anglicised in speech from 1891 onwards and demonstrated an extremely limited degree of engagement with a native language whose presence was already waning rapidly in the locality. Meanwhile, the smaller migrant community in Ffestiniog, located firmly in the western areas of Welsh-speaking Wales, demonstrated a far greater capacity for acquiring a fluency in Welsh, with the proportion of

bilinguals actually increasing between both census years from 35.0% to 41.8% of the total English migrant population.

A more detailed inspection of the figures reveals a few important aspects that merit further comment. Firstly, despite a moderate decrease in their proportional share of the migrant population between 1891 and 1901, the absolute numerical increase in bilingual migrants residing in Aberystwyth over the ten year period is striking. The fact that Aberystwyth, in spite of its westerly location, had long been exposed to anglicising influences prior to 1891[486] (as suggested by Southall) underlines the surprising resilience of bilingualism amongst its English migrant population during this decade, as migrant-bilinguals were able to retain a relatively prominent demographic presence as late as 1901. Their refusal to conform to the otherwise growing tide of English monolingualism in the locality is echoed in the case of Dowlais, which also boasted a sizeable migrant-bilingual community by 1901. Indeed, in this instance, bilingualism amongst resident English migrants increased in both absolute and proportional terms (English monolingualism, in contrast, remained static), which, given Dowlais' position at the heart of a South Walian network of heavy industry that was particularly anglicised in terms of the conduct of its economic activity, is intriguing.[487]

Whereas the footprint of the Welsh language had seemingly been almost completely erased amongst the large English migrant population of Blaina a few years prior to 1891 therefore, migrant-bilingualism had managed to hold its ground in the face of the pervasive forces of anglicisation in the case of Aberystwyth and Dowlais, and was even thriving in Ffestiniog. Such figures suggest that while the English 'waves' of migration into Wales during the latter half of the twentieth century were sufficient to overwhelm the Welsh language in easternmost areas such as Monmouthshire,[488] even heavy industrial communities such as Dowlais were able to retain a relatively significant minority of migrant-bilinguals up to the beginning of the twentieth century. In this respect the notion, often propagated within

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[486] See Jones, D.Ll & Smith, R., 'Tourism and the Welsh Language in the Nineteenth Century' in Jenkins, G. (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.151-176.

[487] At this point, it is worth emphasising that the apparent resilience of migrant-bilingualismin Dowlais may well have been an exceptional case within the context of Glamorgan during this period. In one of the few case-studies that scrutinises the Welsh-speaking proficiency of English migrants in any great detail, Mari A. Williams' analysis of the linguistic traits of the Llwynypia coalfields in 1891emphasises that a mere twenty individuals out of a total English-born population of 599 in the locality were registered as Welsh-speakers during the census of that year (or 3.3% of the total English migrant population), which is more comparable to the figures recorded for Blaina. Williams, M.A., 'Llwynypia (Glamorgan)' in Parry & Williams, *The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census*, p.158.

[488] See Davies, J., 'The Welsh Language in the Era of Industrialization' in Davies, J., *The Welsh Language: A History* (University of Wales, 2014), pp.55-68.

the historiography, that English migration simply suffocated the native language by sheer weight of numbers, is an overly-simplistic interpretation of what was an inherently complex process of adaptability and accommodation on the part of migrants to indigenous cultural environments.

As mentioned previously, however, a quantitative analysis of migrants who registered themselves as Welsh speakers during both census years is an insufficient indicator of the broader qualitative interaction between migrants and the native language during this period. As mentioned by Southall in *Wales and her Language*[489] and very much exemplified by Bertram Coombes' experiences upon settling in the Neath Valley,[490] while the majority of migrants arriving during the 1880s, 1890s and 1900s did not acquire fluency in the Welsh language to any significant degree, they nevertheless were often regularly exposed to the dynamics of its socio-cultural profile, whether within the public domain or within their own households. In this respect, even non-Welsh speaking migrants could become, in the words of Southall, 'sufficiently naturalised in thought and habit' to attain membership of a wider Welsh nationhood. Precisely gauging this level of social interplay between monolingual migrants and the Welsh language represents a daunting analytical challenge, primarily due to the greater diversity of its dimensions in comparison to the rigidly binary nature of the census' 'language question'. In the case of migrant responses to the Welsh language within the public domain, individual accounts such as those of Coombes[491] and Brunton[492] provide an insight with which we can assess the formulation of migrant attitudes beyond the simple parameters of 'fluency' or 'non-fluency'. However, census data may offer a tantalising glimpse into the role played by the composition of households in determining these often intangible bonds between migrants and notions of native Welsh 'nationhood'. An attempt has been made to demonstrate this through the following series of tables, which were compiled from the same data set as before.

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[489] Southall, J.E., *Wales and Her Language Considered from a Historical, Educational and Social Standpoint* (Newport, 1892).
[490] Coombes, B. L., Jones, W.D. & Williams, C., *These Poor Hands: The Autobiography of a Miner in South Wales* (Cardiff, 2002).
[491] Coombes, Jones & Williams, *These Poor Hands*.
[492] Brunton, J. & Clapham, J.H., *John Brunton's Book: Being the Memories of John Brunton, Engineer, from a Manuscript in His Own Hand Written for His Grandchildren and Now First Printed* (Cambridge, 1939).

Community and census year	Number of migrant households containing at least two Welsh speakers	Proportion of total number of migrant households (%)
Aberystwyth, 1891	30	58.8
Aberystwyth, 1901	355	65.9

Fig. 5: English migrant households containing at least two Welsh speakers in Aberystwyth during the censuses of 1891 and 1901

Community and census year	Number of migrant households containing at least two Welsh speakers	Proportion of total number of migrant households (%)
Blaina, 1891	112	17.5
Blaina, 1901	53	7.0

Fig. 6: English migrant households containing at least two Welsh speakers in Blaina during the censuses of 1891 and 1901

Community and census year	Number of migrant households containing at least two Welsh speakers	Proportion of total number of migrant households (%)
Dowlais, 1891	93	36.0
Dowlais, 1901	255	39.7

Fig. 7: English migrant households containing at least two Welsh speakers in Dowlais during the censuses of 1891 and 1901

Community and census year	Number of migrant households containing at least two Welsh speakers	Proportion of total number of migrant households (%)
Ffestiniog, 1891	129	86.6
Ffestiniog, 1901	138	86.8

Fig. 8: English migrant households containing at least two Welsh speakers in Dowlais during the censuses of 1891 and 1901

The decision to select only those households that contained at least two Welsh speakers (whether native or non-native and bilingual or monolingual) was based on the expectation that it would expose the non-Welsh speaking members to Welsh language conversations on a relatively consistent basis. While it is impossible to predict the exact speech patterns that emerged within migrant households during this period, it is nevertheless reasonable to assume that Welsh speakers in mixed households would have engaged with each other in their native language, thus fostering an atmosphere of bilingualism within an intimate, private

setting.[493] In this respect, non-Welsh speaking migrants residing in such households would become immersed, or at least accustomed to, the fundamental facets of a Welsh-speaking environment, without necessarily having to identify with them completely.

Generally speaking, the results obtained by this methodological approach seem to conform to the trends observed in the first set of tables. In the case of Blaina, the limited proportional presence of bilinguals amongst the English migrant population is unsurprisingly reflected by the precariousness of the 'demographic footprint' of the Welsh language upon migrant households. The fact that a mere 17.5% of Blaina's migrant households in 1891 contained two or more Welsh speakers, a figure which decreased to 7% by 1901, demonstrates the weaknesses of their potential to develop any long-term roots of kinship and community with the Welsh language. Since it can thus be reasonably assumed that over 90% of Blaina's fairly substantial English migrant population in 1901 would have had little to no exposure to Welsh within the private domain, processes of cultural assimilation would not have been a particularly pervasive or disruptive influence upon their lifestyles. In other words, the foundations of anglicisation were already well-established in Blaina by 1891, allowing for a relatively smooth transition for migrants, at least in cultural-linguistic terms, from England to their new residence in Wales.

Once again, however, the particular durability of the Welsh language's influence over English migrant households in Ffestiniog, Aberystwyth and Dowlais is noticeable, in spite of an apparent surge in levels of inward-migration between 1891 and 1901 in the case of both latter examples. Households containing two or more Welsh speakers increased in both absolute and proportional terms in each of the three communities, to the extent that they constituted a majority of migrant households in Aberystwyth and Ffestiniog and a significant minority in Dowlais. Of course, the aforementioned prominence of migrant-bilinguals in these case studies means that such trends might have been reasonably anticipated, however the *proportional* increase in mixed Welsh-English language migrant households during a period of simultaneous *absolute* expansion in the overall English migrant population of both communities (a growth of 202% in the case of Dowlais and 1,199% in the case of

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[493] From an Irish perspective, see Herson, J., *Divergent Paths: Family Histories of Irish Emigrants in Britain 1820-1920* (Manchester, 2015).

Aberystwyth) hints at somewhat alternative dynamics of socio-cultural integration compared to those that had affected Blaina.[494]

In contrast to the relationship between migrant households and the native language in Blaina, it is clear that a substantial proportion of migration to Aberystwyth and Dowlais during the same period was shaped by at least a measure of cultural interaction with the host communities that was, it turn, influential in determining initial outcomes of migrant settlement. Far from propagating linguistically segregated patterns of residency between migrants and the indigenous population, the onset of English migration to Dowlais and Aberystwyth was characterised by a considerable degree of overlap with the pre-existing social domains of the Welsh language.[495] These figures also merely serve to reinforce the impression that accelerations in the pace of inward migration from England did not necessarily lead to the capacity of the Welsh language to sustain its presence in the private sphere becoming inexorably 'overwhelmed' by sheer weight of numbers, as has often been suggested.

The final set of tables to be produced by this set of census data presents a more focused profile of those migrants that registered themselves as Welsh speakers during 1891 and 1901. As the work of J.E. Southall demonstrates, these individuals became a subject of considerable interest within broader discourses on the fate of the Welsh language during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, despite the relative paucity of their own personal testimonies amongst the relevant sources. Consequently, an analysis of the relevant census data may provide a more rounded profile of a demographic who were almost purely

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[494] Once again, Mari A. Williams' study of Llwynypia conveys a rather different impression, as she asserts that the vast majority of migrant lodgers 'resided in households where members of the host family were of a similar linguistic ability'. It is intriguing to note, however, that Williams' measure for this is solely based on the proportion of English-speaking lodgers residing in wholly monolingual Welsh households, rather than being expanded to include bilingual households. While Williams' central thesis that the migrant lodging class of Llwynypia played an instrumental role in consolidating the foothold of the English language in the area is undoubtedly pertinent (as is her emphasis on their contribution to the emergence of so-called 'Scotch housing' patterns of residency in Welsh industrial districts, which were an important factor in the dynamics of anti-English rioting), the narrowness of her methodology neatly illustrates how the full spectrum of the socio-cultural relationship between English migrants and their Welsh hosts during this period has not always been adequately represented within the historiography. Williams, M.A., 'Llwynypia (Glamorgan)' in Parry & Williams, *The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census*, p.163.

[495] Pryce, W.T.R., 'Language Zones, Demographic Changes, and the Welsh Culture Area 1800-1911' in Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.1-36.

conceived in terms of their narrow statistical 'value' within the context of debates both in favour and opposed to the preservation of the native language.[496]

A source of data that may be utilised for these purposes is the registered birthplaces of the Welsh-speaking migrants from the case studies. As the tables below serve to illustrate, their counties of origin generally encompass an extensive geographical range during both census years, however the numerical disparities between individual counties may hint at underlying trends that determined the 'likelihood' of a migrant acquiring the language. In absolute terms, the greatest concentration of migrant Welsh speakers tended to originate from more westerly or border counties such as Shropshire, Lancashire and, to a lesser extent, Herefordshire and Cheshire. The most notable exception to this pattern was London, which was recorded as the birthplace for a high number of migrants in Aberystwyth and Ffestiniog in particular. This may be attributable to the prominence of the London-Welsh community, which had developed during the second half of the nineteenth century to become an influential component of the native language's broader social domains. Similarly, it is reasonable to assume that the significant representation of Lancashire in these figures may be traced to the deep cultural links that existed between Wales and the city of Liverpool.[497]

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[496] For example, see Southall's discussion of the linguistic conditions in the Cwmsaerbren colliery in Glamorgan. Southall, J.E., *Wales and Her Language Considered from a Historical, Educational and Social Standpoint* (Newport, 1892), p.143.

[497] See Pryce, H., 'Welsh Liverpool, 1861-1877' in Pryce, H., *J.E. Lloyd and the Creation of Welsh History: Renewing a Nation's Past*, (Cardiff, 2011), pp.13-26; Cooper, K., 'The move to Liverpool and the north-west' in Cooper, K., *Exodus from Cardiganshire: Rural-Urban Migration in Modern Britain*, (Cardiff, 2011), pp.154-178.

County of Origin	Aberystwyth	Blaina	Dowlais	Ffestiniog
Cambridgeshire	1			
Cheshire	3			1
Cornwall	1	1	3	1
Cumberland		2		
Derbyshire		1		
Devonshire		2	1	
Dorset		1		
Durham			2	
Gloucestershire		3	5	
Hampshire	2			1
Herefordshire	1	9	8	
Kent				1
Lancashire		1	2	28
Lincolnshire				1
London	3	3		12
Middlesex			1	
Northumberland			1	
Northamptonshire				1
Shropshire	2	1	1	19
Somersetshire		11	4	7
Staffordshire			1	2
Warwickshire	2			1
Wiltshire		1		1
Worcestershire		1		1
Yorkshire	2	1	3	
TOTAL	17	38	32	77

Fig. 9: English migrants registered as Welsh speakers in 1891 census by county of origin

County of Origin	Aberystwyth	Blaina	Dowlais	Ffestiniog
Bedfordshire			1	
Cambridgeshire	1			
Cheshire	15			8
Cornwall	2	1	3	
Cumberland			3	1
Derbyshire	1		2	1
Devonshire			5	
Dorset			1	
Durham	2	1	7	
Gloucestershire	3	1	8	1
Hampshire	1		2	
Herefordshire	3	3	18	
Hertfordshire	1			
Kent	3			
Lancashire	29		7	36
Leicestershire			1	
Lincolnshire				1
London	29	2	8	10
Middlesex	3			1
Norfolk	2		1	
Northamptonshire	1			
Northumberland				1
Nottinghamshire			1	
Oxfordshire			1	
Shropshire	16	1	6	8
Somersetshire	2	2	12	2
Staffordshire	6			2
Sussex	1		2	
Warwickshire	3			3
Wiltshire		1	3	1
Worcestershire	2		4	
Yorkshire	8		4	
TOTAL	134	12	100	76

Fig. 10: English migrants registered as Welsh speakers in 1901 census by county of origin

To determine whether the general westward bias in these figures is indeed indicative of a greater inclination on the part of westerly English migrants for acquiring the Welsh language, as suggested by Southall, or merely the consequence of the absolute volume of short-distance migration during this period, it becomes necessary to assess the proportional presence of Welsh-speaking migrants in relation to the broader monolingual migrant population originating from each respective county. This has been achieved by the following

tables, revealing the relative representation of English counties within our data sets for both census years.

County	Proportion from county registered as Welsh speakers in Aberystwyth (%)	Proportion from county registered as Welsh speakers in Blaina (%)	Proportion from county registered as Welsh speakers in Dowlais (%)	Proportion from county registered as Welsh speakers in Ffestiniog (%)
Bedfordshire				
Cambridgeshire	100.0			
Cheshire	100.0			16.7
Cornwall	16.7	9.1	17.6	33.3
Cumberland		33.3		
Derbyshire		50.0		
Devonshire		7.4	4.5	
Dorset		7.1		
Durham			66.7	
Gloucestershire		1.7	13.9	25.0
Hampshire	50.0			100.0
Herefordshire	20.0	4.0	7.5	
Kent				50.0
Lancashire		4.8	11.1	62.2
Leicestershire				
Lincolnshire				100.0
London	37.5	16.7		75.0
Middlesex			20.0	
Norfolk				
Northamptonshire				100.0
Northumberland			100.0	
Nottinghamshire				
Oxfordshire				
Shropshire	22.2	2.8	3.0	65.5
Somersetshire		2.8	10.5	55.6
Staffordshire			6.7	50.0
Sussex				
Warwickshire	20.0			20.0
Wiltshire		1.0		100.0
Worcestershire		6.7		16.7
Yorkshire	66.7	7.1	17.6	

Fig. 11: Proportion of Welsh speakers within the overall populations of English migrants by counties of origin, 1891 census

County	Proportion from county registered as Welsh speakers in Aberystwyth (%)	Proportion from county registered as Welsh speakers in Blaina (%)	Proportion from county registered as Welsh speakers in Dowlais (%)	Proportion from county registered as Welsh speakers in Ffestiniog (%)
Bedfordshire			20.0	
Cambridgeshire	14.3			
Cheshire	28.8			61.5
Cornwall	11.8	11.1	15.0	
Cumberland			60.0	100
Derbyshire	12.5		33.3	50
Devonshire			13.2	
Dorset			5.9	
Durham	40.0	4.0	31.8	
Gloucestershire	7.7	0.4	12.3	9.1
Hampshire	6.3		13.3	
Herefordshire	11.5	0.9	8.1	
Hertfordshire	33.3			
Kent	10.7			
Lancashire	24.2		18.4	62.1
Leicestershire	15.8		33.3	
Lincolnshire				50.0
London		8.0	21.6	66.7
Middlesex				50.0
Norfolk	14.3		25.0	
Northamptonshire	7.7			
Northumberland				
Nottinghamshire			100.0	
Oxfordshire			33.3	
Shropshire	11.7	3.3	8.3	61.5
Somersetshire	5.7	0.5	15.8	50.0
Staffordshire	5.6			28.6
Sussex	7.1		28.6	
Warwickshire	4.2			37.5
Wiltshire		0.8	7.3	33.3
Worcestershire	5.7		18.2	
Yorkshire	17.8		14.3	

Fig. 12: Proportion of Welsh speakers within the overall populations of English migrants by counties of origin, 1901 census

An initial examination of the relevant figures corroborates Southall's assertions to a certain extent, as westerly counties such as Somersetshire were not only represented across all four of the bilingual migrant populations under observation here, but also, in certain cases, demonstrated rather high incidences of Welsh fluency (61.5% of the Shropshire-born population of Ffestiniog, for example, could speak Welsh in 1901).

However, the fact that several individual counties are often represented in the tables by numerically limited sample sizes (such as Cambridgeshire in Aberystwyth's census returns of 1891, whose sole representative amongst the town's broader English migrant population also happened to be a Welsh speaker) means that it becomes difficult to infer significant overarching trends from this method of interpreting the census data. In order to account for these distortions therefore, it becomes necessary to analyse aggregated data sets derived from each of the Welsh communities under consideration. As demonstrated below, this has been achieved in incremental stages, starting with counties that are represented twice in the general data sets for both census year and finishing with those counties whose migrant populations appear in each of the four case studies. Consequently, this process of refinement can offer a more accurate understanding of the correlation between the geographic origins of English migrants and their relationship with the Welsh language.

Counties represented twice in Fig.11	% Welsh speakers in total
Cheshire	58.4
Devonshire	6.0
Hampshire	75.0
Staffordshire	28.4
Warwickshire	20.0
Wiltshire	50.5
Worcestershire	11.7

Fig. 13: Aggregate percentage of Welsh speakers amongst the English migrant populations from those counties of origin appearing twice in Fig. 11, 1891 census

Counties represented twice in Fig. 12	% Welsh speakers in total
Cheshire	45.2
Cumberland	80.0
Hampshire	9.8
Leicestershire	24.6
Norfolk	19.7
Staffordshire	17.1
Sussex	17.9
Warwickshire	20.9
Worcestershire	12.0
Yorkshire	16.1

Fig. 14: Aggregate percentage of Welsh speakers amongst the English migrant populations from those counties of origin appearing twice in Fig. 12, 1901 census

Counties represented three times in Fig. 11	% Welsh speakers in total
Gloucestershire	13.5
Herefordshire	10.5
Lancashire	26.0
London	43.1
Somersetshire	23.0
Yorkshire	30.5

Fig. 15: Aggregate percentage of Welsh speakers amongst the English migrant populations from those counties of origin appearing three times in Fig. 11, 1891 census

Counties represented three times in Fig. 12	% Welsh speakers in total
Cornwall	12.6
Derbyshire	31.9
Durham	25.3
Herefordshire	6.8
Lancashire	34.9
London	32.1
Wiltshire	13.8

Fig. 16: Aggregate percentage of Welsh speakers amongst the English migrant populations from those counties of origin appearing three times in Fig. 12, 1901 census

Counties represented four times in Fig. 11	% Welsh speakers in total
Cornwall	19.2
Shropshire	23.4

Fig. 17: Aggregate percentage of Welsh speakers amongst the English migrant populations from those counties of origin appearing four times in Fig. 11, 1891 census

Counties represented four times in Fig. 12	% Welsh speakers in total
Gloucestershire	7.4
Shropshire	21.2
Somersetshire	18.0

Fig. 18: Aggregate percentage of Welsh speakers amongst the English migrant populations from those counties of origin appearing four times in Fig. 12, 1901 census

Several important aspects arise from these tables. Firstly, while a slight westward bias, as hypothesised by Southall, is broadly detectable throughout each stage, this trend is only applicable on a sporadic basis. Thus while English migrants from counties such as Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, though heavily represented in the general data set, demonstrated rather minimal levels of Welsh-language proficiency, ranging from the low teens to single figures, migrant populations from other border counties such as Shropshire were more than twice as likely to possess a degree of fluency in Welsh. This, of course, may

well be attributable to the varying directions of short-distance migratory flows from each county, with Shropshire-born migrants more likely to move to the Welsh-speaking heartlands of the north-west than those originating in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, who would have been influenced to a greater extent by the economic pull of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, both of which had already been exposed to intensive processes of anglicisation for a number of decades prior to 1891. However, the relatively high incidence of Welsh language fluency amongst Somersetshire-born migrants, whose movements would have been far more inclined towards industrial centres such as Blaina or Dowlais, demonstrates that such evaluations, solely based on considerations of regional differences in the Welsh socio-linguistic terrain, are perhaps not entirely rigorous.

In addition to the westward bias that is detectable at each successive 'stage' of this series, it is also apparent that, perhaps surprisingly, a slight slant in favour of northern and midland counties is also present. Whereas southern counties either appear fleetingly throughout the course of the tables, or are represented by migrant populations which generally demonstrate low levels of Welsh language proficiency, northern and midland counties are prominently featured towards the 'higher' end of the series. Indeed, despite their geographical proximity from the Anglo-Welsh border, both Yorkshire and Derbyshire, which appear in three out of the four case studies in either 1891 or 1901, produced migrants that were particularly responsive in proportional terms towards the native language. The aggregated fluency of their representative migrant populations are of a magnitude that is roughly three times greater than the corresponding figures for most southern counties sharing the same data sets. The notable exception to this trend was London, which, alongside Lancashire, figures prominently in absolute numerical terms within the general data set and may well demonstrate the influence of the Welsh diaspora communities in shaping the linguistic attitudes of outbound migrants from the same counties. In this respect, without wishing to promote a completely rigid model of geographical determinism, it is apparent that the sociological conditions that were present in a migrant's county of origin are as valid as categories of analysis as those that they were to encounter upon settling in their 'host' communities.

As a means of enriching and substantiating these thoughts on the geographical spread of Welsh-speaking English migrants, the next line of enquiry concerns the patterns of employment amongst these groups, since both factors were often inexorably interlinked. For example, the significance of coal mining to the local economies of Derbyshire and Yorkshire

during this period may well have been a determining factor in bolstering the Welsh language proficiency of their migrants. The tendency for Yorkshire-based migrants (and, to a lesser extent, those originating from Derbyshire) to be employed in mining occupations throughout the coalfields of south-east Wales would have exposed such individuals to working conditions that were, at least in the minds of contemporary commentators such as J.E. Southall,[498] particularly conducive to the acquisition of Welsh. Through the use of W.A. Armstrong's methodology for interpreting occupational data in census returns,[499] it also becomes possible to acquire at least an insight into the patterns of social class that characterised the Welsh-speaking English migrant communities under observation. Due to contemporary perceptions that identified the Welsh language as an impediment to professional advancement,[500] in stark contrast to the supposedly enhanced credentials of English, such analysis will prove invaluable as a means of gauging the extent to which incoming migrants were influenced by the internal dynamics of social discourses in Welsh society.

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[498] Southall, J.E., *Wales and Her Language Considered from a Historical, Educational and Social Standpoint* (Newport, 1892), p.170.

[499] Armstrong, W.A., 'The use of information about occupation' in Wrigley, E. A. (Ed.), *Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (London, 1972), pp.191-310.

[500] J.R. Kilsby Jones summarised this general perception thusly: *'Os ydych chwi am barhau i fwyta bara tywyll (haidd), a gorwedd ar wely gwellt, gwaeddwch chwi eich goreu, "Oes y byd i'r iaith Gymraeg": ond os ydych chwi yn chwenych bwyta bara gwyn a chig eidion rhost, mae yn rhaid i chwi ddysgu Saesoneg.'* Jones, J.R. Kilsby, 'Pa unai mantais neu anfantais i Gymru fyddai tranc yr iaith Gymraeg?', *Y Geninen*, Vol.1, No1, (1883), p.21.

Occupational allocation	Aberystwyth (from total working population of 11)	Blaina (from total working population of 21)	Dowlais (from total working population of 28)	Ffestiniog (from total working population of 41)
Agriculture/Fishing	-	-	1 (3.6%)	1 (2.4%)
Building	2 (18.2%)	-	3 (10.7%)	-
Dealing	3 (27.3%)	4 (19.0%)	2 (7.1%)	-
Domestic Service	2 (18.2%)	-	-	4 (9.8%)
Industrial Service	1 (9.1%)	3 (14.3%)	1 (3.6%)	1 (2.4%)
Manufacturing	-	4 (19.0%)	5 (14.3%)	12 (29.3%)
Mining	-	10 (47.6%)	14 (50.0%)	13 (31.7%)
Public Service and Professional	2 (18.2%)	-	-	2 (4.9%)
Property Owning and Independent	-	-	-	1 (2.4%)
Transport	-	-	1 (3.6%)	6 (14.6%)
Miscellaneous	1 (9.1%)	-	1 (3.6%)	1 (2.4%)

Fig. 19: Occupational allocations of Welsh-speaking English migrants in employment, according to the 1891 census

Occupational allocation	Aberystwyth (from total working population of 87)	Blaina (from total working population of 8)	Dowlais (from total working population of 75)	Ffestiniog (from total working population of 34)
Agriculture/Fishing	5 (5.7%)	-	-	-
Building	4 (4.6%)	-	3 (4.0%)	4 (11.8%)
Dealing	11 (12.6%)	1 (12.5%)	8 (10.7%)	4 (11.8%)
Domestic Service	24 (27.6%)	1 (12.5%)	2 (2.7%)	3 (8.8%)
Industrial Service	1 (1.1%)	2 (25.0%)	2 (2.7%)	2 (5.9%)
Manufacturing	14 (16.1%)	-	15 (20.0%)	7 (20.6%)
Mining	3 (3.4%)	4 (50.0%)	41 (54.7%)	7 (20.6%)
Public Service and Professional	10 (11.5%)	-	3 (4.0%)	5 (14.7%)
Property Owning and Independent	-	-	-	-
Transport	5 (5.7%)	-	1 (1.3%)	2 (5.9%)
Miscellaneous	10 (11.5%)	-	-	-

Fig. 20: Occupational allocations of Welsh-speaking English migrants in employment, according to the 1901 census

Occupational allocation	Combined total of Welsh-speaking migrants in employment (population of 101)
Agriculture/Fishing	2 (2.0%)
Building	5 (5.0%)
Dealing	9 (8.9%)
Domestic Service	6 (5.9%)
Industrial Service	6 (5.9%)
Manufacturing	21 (20.8%)
Mining	37 (36.6%)
Public Service and Professional	4 (4.0%)
Property Owning and Independent	1 (1.0%)
Transport	7 (6.9%)
Miscellaneous	3 (3.0%)

Fig. 21: Combined occupational allocations of Welsh-speaking English migrants in employment, according to the 1891 census

Occupational allocation	Combined total of Welsh-speaking migrants in employment (population of 204)
Agriculture/Fishing	5 (2.5%)
Building	11 (5.4%)
Dealing	24 (11.8%)
Domestic Service	30 (14.7%)
Industrial Service	7 (3.4%)
Manufacturing	36 (17.6%)
Mining	55 (27.0%)
Public Service and Professional	18 (8.8%)
Property Owning and Independent	-
Transport	8 (3.9%)
Miscellaneous	10 (4.9%)

Fig. 22: Combined occupational allocations of Welsh-speaking English migrants in employment, according to the 1901 census

The prominence of the mining sector is an immediately apparent feature of the data sets for both 1891 and 1901. In Blaina and Dowlais in particular, miners accounted for around half of all Welsh-speaking English migrants in employment, while a significant minority were also in evidence in Ffestiniog during the same time period. Such trends very much seem to lend a certain degree of credence to contemporary perceptions of the working environments of Welsh mining representing a social incubator for the native language, insulated from the tides of anglicisation that were rapidly diluting the profile of Welsh throughout the rest of the public sphere. However, despite the fact that the proportional presence of the mining sector amongst the broader Welsh-speaking migrant communities of Blaina and Dowlais was to increase between both census years, the aggregated figures for our

entire data set of adult migrants in employment suggests that even this redoubt for Welsh was being subjected to the acute pressures of anglicisation by 1901. Whereas the mining sector remained the largest single employer of Welsh-speaking migrants in both census years therefore, its profile was to diminish in proportional terms by almost 10% during the course of the decade.

With a decline (if on a more modest scale) also apparent in the presence of the manufacturing sector, which encompassed the slate quarrying sector that dominated the local economy of Ffestiniog, the absolute numerical increase in the combined population of our data sets can be attributed primarily to an expansion in migrants employed in domestic service. This trend assumes a particular significance within the context of our survey of the linguistic characteristics of migrant populations due to aforementioned contemporary associations of Welsh with the private sphere. With the social boundaries between Welsh, as the language of the 'hearth and altar', and English, as the language of commerce and industry, firmly entrenched within the popular consciousness of Welsh society by the dawn of the twentieth century, it is apparent, to a certain extent, that the patterns of employment amongst Welsh-speaking migrants were beginning to conform to these preconceptions.

The widespread employment of Welsh women as domestic servants in English towns and cities had long been a notable feature of the depopulation of rural Wales throughout the nineteenth century, and it appears that a reciprocal movement, at least among Welsh-speaking English migrants, seems to have taken place towards the end of this period. This is suggested by the gender ratios of the migrant populations under consideration: whereas those related to the heavily industrialised communities of Dowlais and, to a lesser extent, Blaina were unsurprisingly very much skewed in favour of males (though even in the case of Dowlais this imbalance was to become far less pronounced by 1901), migration to the more rural settings of Aberystwyth and Ffestiniog was noticeably female-dominated, which, in the case of the former, may well be a testament to the burgeoning tourism industry that was emerging across the Ceredigion coastline.

What is less certain is the extent to which preconceptions regarding the respective 'roles' of Welsh and English actively conditioned incoming migrants throughout this period. Were Welsh-speaking English migrants inherently drawn to domestic service in Wales, for example, due to its perceived suitability for individuals proficient in the native language? The extent to which Welsh-speaking English migrants actively anticipated the linguistic

environment into which they entered or were merely reacting to unfamiliar socio-cultural surroundings, and the occupational trends amongst the samples very much provide an insight in this respect. In the case of those employed in the mining districts of the south-east and north-east it is reasonable to assume, with the aid of the testimonies from the likes of Bertrand Coombes[501] and John Brunton,[502] that the acquisition of Welsh would have primarily been achieved on an ad hoc basis, facilitated by regular immersion within the particularly intimate working environments. For those migrants employed as domestic servants, however, it is probable that their learning of Welsh would have been far more of a pre-meditated response to the expectations of the role, with the perception of Welsh as a language of the private sphere very much reinforcing its 'desirability' in this context.

The final aspect of these set of tables that is requires further attention is the minimal presence of Welsh-speaking migrants employed in agricultural roles between both census years. While this may simply be a reflection of the general decline in the economic profile of agriculture during this period in the face of depopulation and the concurrent rise of industry,[503] it is nevertheless notable that the significant seasonal movement of Welsh agricultural workers to rural areas across the border[504] was not reciprocated on an equivalent scale on the English side. The paucity of Welsh-speaking English migrants employed in transport, despite the substantial recruitment of the broader migrant population on the railway network of Wales throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, may also support the perceived correlation between the emergence of the railways and the inexorable onset of anglicisation in Welsh society. Indeed, as mentioned previously, such was the potency of this association in contemporary public discourse that the railways were practically viewed as the embodiment of the irresistible tide of the English language that was rapidly sweeping across the more urbanised areas of Wales.[505] In this respect, the almost complete absence of Welsh-speaking English migrants on the railways that served each community under consideration hints at their acutely anglicised working conditions, which were often consciously perpetuated by the recruitment policies of the employers.

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[501] Coombes, B. L., Jones, W.D. & Williams, C., *These Poor Hands: The Autobiography of a Miner in South Wales* (Cardiff, 2002).
[502] Brunton, J. & Clapham, J.H., *John Brunton's Book : Being the Memories of John Brunton, Engineer, from a Manuscript in His Own Hand Written for His Grandchildren and Now First Printed* (Cambridge, 1939).
[503] See Cooper, K.J., *Exodus from Cardiganshire: Rural-urban Migration in Victorian Britain* (Cardiff, 2011).
[504] See Williams-Davies, J., 'Merched Y Gerddi: A Seasonal Migration of Female Labour from Rural Wales' in Folk Life, Vol.15, (1977), pp.12-26.
[505] See Jones, D., 'The Coming of the Railways and Language Change in North Wales 1850-1900' in Jenkins, G. (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.131-150.

Such trends, which hint at the retreat of the Welsh language from certain areas of employment (such as the railways) and its consolidation within others (such as domestic service) seemingly corroborate the public-private dichotomy that shaped contemporary public attitudes towards the respective societal 'roles' of Welsh and English. Consequently, it might be reasonably anticipated that a breakdown of the social stratification of the dataset would reveal a tendency for Welsh-speaking English migrants to be concentrated around the 'lower end' of the occupational scale. The application of W.A. Armstrong's model,[506] however, demonstrates that not only were these particular communities far more likely to be employed in 'advanced' occupations in comparison to other migrant groups (such as the Irish), but also that their general social position compared rather favourably to that of the broader English migrant population of Wales in several aspects. In the case of Blaina, Dowlais and Ffestiniog, it is unsurprising to note the dominance of the 'third' class (defined by Armstrong as being broadly representative of 'skilled' industrial workers) amongst their respective migrant populations in employment, which is undoubtedly indicative of the continued influence of the Welsh-language in areas of heavy industry such as coal mining.

Stratification of occupation	Aberystwyth (from total working population of 11)	Blaina (from total working population of 21)	Dowlais (from total working population of 28)	Ffestiniog (from total working population of 41)
Class I	1 (9.1%)	-	-	3 (7.3%)
Class II	3 (27.3%)	1 (4.8%)	1 (3.6%)	2 (4.9%)
Class III	2 (18.2%)	17 (81.0%)	24 (85.7%)	27 (65.9%)
Class IV	2 (18.2%)	-	1 (3.6%)	8 (19.5%)
Class V	2 (18.2%)	3 (14.3%)	1 (3.6%)	-
Miscellaneous	1 (9.1%)	-	1 (3.6%)	1 (2.4%)

Fig. 23: Occupational stratifications of Welsh-speaking English migrants in employment, according to the 1891 census)

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[506] Armstrong, W.A., 'The use of information about occupation' in Wrigley, E. A. (Ed.), *Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (London, 1972), pp.191-310.

Stratification of occupation	Aberystwyth (from total working population of 88)	Blaina (from total working population of 8)	Dowlais (from total working population of 75)	Ffestiniog (from total working population of 34)
Class I	3 (3.4%)	-	2 (2.7%)	2 (5.9%)
Class II	15 (17.0%)	-	5 (6.7%)	6 (17.6%)
Class III	37 (42.0%)	5 (62.5%)	64 (85.3%)	23 (67.6%)
Class IV	19 (21.6%)	1 (12.5%)	2 (2.7%)	2 (5.9%)
Class V	5 (5.7%)	2 (25.0%)	2 (2.7%)	1 (2.9%)
Miscellaneous	9 (10.2%)	-	-	-

Fig. 24: Occupational stratifications of Welsh-speaking English migrants in employment, according to the 1901 census

Stratification of occupation	Combined total of Welsh-speaking migrants in employment (population of 101)
Class I	4 (4.0%)
Class II	7 (6.9%)
Class III	70 (69.3%)
Class IV	11 (10.9%)
Class V	6 (5.9%)
Miscellaneous	3 (3.0%)

Fig. 25: Combined occupational stratifications of Welsh-speaking English migrants in employment, according to the 1891 census

Stratification of occupation	Combined total of Welsh-speaking migrants in employment (population of 204)
Class I	7 (3.4%)
Class II	26 (12.7%)
Class III	129 (63.2%)
Class IV	24 (11.8%)
Class V	10 (4.9%)
Miscellaneous	9 (4.4%)

Fig. 26: Combined occupational stratifications of Welsh-speaking English migrants in employment, according to the 1901 census

A more striking aspect of these tables, however, is the general proportional increase in the number of individuals assigned to the 'second' class between both census years, with the slight decrease in the presence of the 'third' class (from 69.3% to 63.2%) being compensated by a near doubling of the presence of the 'second' class (from 6.9% to 12.7%). Conversely, the proportional presence of the 'lower' classes, which broadly encompassed the private-

sphere occupations deemed more naturally aligned to the social character of the Welsh language, either remained relatively static (in the case of the 'fourth' class) or actually declined over the same ten-year period (in the case of the 'fifth' class). Far from inhibiting personal advancement therefore, the Welsh language skills of the migrant populations under consideration did not seem to have an unduly detrimental impact on their ability to occupy specialised professional occupations. On the contrary, the overall patterns of social stratification amongst Welsh-speaking English migrants demonstrate that they were far more likely, on average, to be upwardly mobile in terms of their social status in comparison to other migrant groups, while the distribution of their social stratification roughly matched that which characterised the wider English migrant population in Wales towards the end of the nineteenth century.

As demonstrated by the following tables for example, whereas Irish migrants working in Dowlais during the 1861 census were overwhelmingly concentrated within the two lowest classes (with the unskilled 'fifth' class accounting for almost 70% of the total population), Welsh-speaking English migrants employed in the same community were predominantly classified within the three highest classes of Armstrong's model (with those employed in professional, intermediate or skilled occupations accounting for around 95% of the total working population by 1901). Meanwhile, the breakdown of social stratification for the general employed English migrant population of Dowlais during the censuses of 1891 and 1901 indicates that Welsh-speakers were increasingly more likely to be employed in professional or intermediate posts compared to the average migrant (the combined proportional presence of the two top classes amongst the Welsh-speaking population rose from 3.6% to 9.4% between 1891 and 1901, whereas the equivalent combined presence for the English migrant population as a whole experienced a more modest increase during the same timeframe from 6.9% to 8.2%). Similarly, Welsh-speaking migrants based in Dowlais were also a greater presence in the 'skilled' class, which encompassed the most prestigious occupations in heavy industrial workspaces (they accounted for 85.3% of the total population sample by 1901 compared to a figure of 62.3% for the general English migrant population).

A note of caution must be emphasised before any overarching conclusions can be made. The large numerical discrepancies between the sample sizes for populations of Welsh-speaking migrants and the broader English migrant population invariably compromise the reliability of a comparative approach of this nature. As a consequence of the technical limitations of nineteenth century census data (primarily the absence of documentation on the

Welsh language until 1891), it is also difficult to trace and contextualise trends in the class identities of Welsh-speaking migrants beyond rather narrow chronological timeframes. Finally, it is entirely possible that the acquisition of Welsh by the individuals under consideration was purely incidental to their occupations, emerging as a consequence of household environments rather than their career trajectories. Nevertheless, it is possible to reach the tentative conclusion that Welsh-speaking contingents within the English migrant communities of Wales were able to forge a social profile for themselves that, to a certain extent, defied contemporary mainstream expectations of the native language. In each of the four case studies presented here, the prominent presence of Welsh-speaking migrants within the 'skilled' class up to 1901 is particularly evident, which, given the intensification of industrial activity in Blaina and Dowlais and the elevation of Aberystwyth as a hub for tourism during this period, is significant.

In the case of Blaina, Dowlais and, to a lesser extent, Ffestiniog, this may well be a reflection of how Welsh-speaking industrial workers were able to consolidate their grasp of more privileged positions (such as coal cutting) for a longer period of time compared to their counterparts in other areas of employment. For English migrants entering such environments therefore, it is reasonable to assume that their prospects would have been aided somewhat by their ability to at least familiarise themselves with these dynamics of workplace hierarchies. In the case of Aberystwyth however, the historic and cultural relationship between the Welsh language and the most influential sector of the local economy, namely tourism, would have been far less pronounced. As mentioned previously, the extensively anglicised state of Welsh railways, which acted as the veritable ventricles for the tourism industry across the Cambrian coastline, and the growing number of English visitors that headed to Wales for purposes of leisure during this period meant that the native language was effectively side-lined from an industry that was in its formative stages of development.

In this respect, while the proportion of Aberystwyth-based Welsh-speaking migrants located within the 'skilled' class of Armstrong's model was noticeably lower compared to the other three communities by 1901, it is perhaps surprising to observe that they still represented the largest single occupational group amongst the total employed population. Similarly, the rather modest proportional increase of the 'partially-skilled' class, which included the kind of domestic work that would have been in demand in a tourist resort such as Aberystwyth, stands somewhat contrary to initial expectations. Far from being exclusively cornered into lower-skilled occupations primarily related to the private sphere therefore, these migrants

seemed to have formed a visible presence within the upper stratum of the local workforce, in spite of the apparent lack of obvious social advantages afforded to Welsh-speakers employed in a tourism-centred economy. Once again, whether their acquisition of Welsh actively aided this outcome is difficult to determine conclusively.

The analysis of the social profile of Welsh-speaking migrants within the context of their working environments provides a natural precursor to an analysis of their household status, as well as an examination of the distributions of ages and gender amongst each sample. As demonstrated by the tables below, six separate categories have been used as a means of conducting an investigation of household status, which are all based on the descriptors used by the census enumerators (with combined categories created for boarders and lodgers as well as non-immediate family members for the sake of simplicity). Perhaps the most immediately apparent feature of both sets of tables for the four case studies is the degree of fluctuation that is detectable in the relevant figures for household heads. Whereas the proportion of household heads in Blaina and Dowlais either remained relatively stable at around 50% of the total population (in the case of Dowlais) or 40% of the total population (in the case of Blaina), the relevant figures for the Welsh-speaking migrant communities of Aberystwyth and Ffestiniog were to decrease significantly between both census years by 18% and 16.6% respectively.

Household status	Aberystwyth	Blaina	Dowlais	Ffestiniog
Head	8 (47.1%)	14 (36.8%)	17 (51.5%)	30 (39.0%)
Wife	3 (17.6%)	9 (23.7%)	4 (12.1%)	24 (31.2%)
Other relatives (including sons, daughters, cousins, grandchildren etc.)	2 (11.8%)	5 (13.2%)	5 (15.2%)	14 (18.2%)
Servant	0 (n/a)	0 (n/a)	0 (n/a)	4 (5.2%)
Boarders and Lodgers	2 (11.8%)	10 (26.3%)	6 (18.2%)	5 (6.5%)
Visitors	2 (11.8%)	0 (n/a)	1 (3.0%)	0 (n/a)
Total	17	38	33	77

Fig. 27: Household status of adult Welsh-speaking English migrant populations according to the 1891 census

Household status	Aberystwyth	Blaina	Dowlais	Ffestiniog
Head	39 (29.1%)	5 (41.7%)	50 (49.0%)	17 (22.4%)
Wife	20 (14.9%)	3 (25.0%)	14 (13.7%)	34 (44.7%)
Other relatives (including sons, daughters, cousins, grandchildren etc.)	31 (23.1%)	2 (16.7%)	14 (13.7%)	18 (23.7%)
Servant	14 (10.4%)	1 (8.3%)	0	4 (5.3%)
Boarders and Lodgers	15 (11.2%)	1 (8.3%)	23 (22.5%)	3 (3.9%)
Visitors	10 (7.5%)	0 (n/a)	1 (1.0%)	0 (n/a)
Other	5 (3.7%)	0 (n/a)	0 (n/a)	0 (n/a)
Total	134	12	102	76

Fig. 28: Household status of adult Welsh-speaking English migrant populations according to the 1901 census

Household status	Combined Welsh-speaking migrant population
Head	69 (41.8%)
Wife	40 (24.2%)
Other relatives (including sons, daughters, cousins, grandchildren etc.)	26 (15.8%)
Servant	4 (2.4%)
Boarders and Lodgers	23 (13.9%)
Visitors	3 (1.8%)
Other	-
Total	165

Fig. 29: Household status of combined adult Welsh-speaking English migrant population according to the 1891 census

Household status	Combined Welsh-speaking migrant population
Head	111 (34.3%)
Wife	71 (21.9%)
Other relatives (including sons, daughters, cousins, grandchildren etc.)	65 (20.1%)
Servant	19 (5.9%)
Boarders and Lodgers	42 (13.0%)
Visitors	11 (3.4%)
Other	5 (1.5%)
Total	324

Fig. 30: Household status of combined adult Welsh-speaking English migrant population according to the 1901 census

Consequently, by 1901, a mere 29.1% of Aberystwyth's Welsh-speaking migrant population was registered as heads of their households, while in Ffestiniog the figure stood at an even less substantial 22.4%. In Ffestiniog, this was primarily compensated by a large proportional increase in wives, with 44.7% of the Welsh-speaking migrant population registered as such by 1901, naturally hinting towards the increasingly female-orientated composition of migrant households in the locality. This impression of marital imbalances in the data set for Ffestiniog is corroborated by the breakdown of the population in terms of gender, which demonstrates that the male to female ratio for resident Welsh-speaking migrants was particularly low in comparison to the other case studies. Meanwhile, in Aberystwyth, it is the increase in the presence of servants amongst migrant households that was most responsible for accounting for the shortfall in household heads by 1901, with the total population residing in the locality also demonstrating a gender ratio that was skewed (though in a less acutely compared to Ffestiniog) in favour of females.

Community (1891 Census)	Number of males	Number of females	Gender ratio (male to female)	Community (1901 Census)	Number of males	Number of females	Gender ratio (male to female)
Aberystwyth	7	10	0.7	Aberystwyth	61	73	0.8
Blaina	21	17	1.2	Blaina	7	5	1.4
Dowlais	28	5	5.6	Dowlais	75	27	2.8
Ffestiniog	36	41	0.9	Ffestiniog	27	49	0.6

Fig. 31: Gender breakdown of adult Welsh-speaking English migrant populations according to the 1891 and 1901 censuses

Age group	Aberystwyth (1891)	Blaina (1891)	Dowlais (1891)	Ffestiniog (1891)
18-29	6 (35.3%)	15 (39.5%)	14 (42.4%)	23 (29.9%)
30-45	7 (41.2%)	11 (28.9%)	10 (30.3%)	35 (45.5%)
46-64	4 (23.5%)	10 (26.3%)	7 (21.2%)	14 (18.2%)
65+	-	2 (5.3%)	2 (6.1%)	5 (6.5%)
Total	17	38	33	77

Fig. 32: Age ranges of Welsh-speaking English migrant populations according to the 1891 census

Age group	Aberystwyth (1901)	Blaina (1901)	Dowlais (1901)	Ffestiniog (1901)
18-29	66 (49.3%)	2 (16.7%)	35 (34.3%)	32 (42.1%)
30-45	38 (28.4%)	5 (41.7%)	41 (40.2%)	25 (32.9%)
46-64	24 (17.4%)	2 (16.7%)	20 (19.6%)	16 (21.1%)
65+	6 (4.5%)	3 (25.0%)	6 (5.9%)	3 (3.9%)
Total	134	12	102	76

Fig. 33: Age ranges of Welsh-speaking English migrant populations according to the 1901 census

An insight into such trends effectively complements the prior observations of the occupational and social characteristics of the migrant populations. In the case of Ffestiniog, the aforementioned figures for household heads and gender, as well as the relevant occupational data, are strongly suggestive of the fact that the industrial base of the locality was becoming increasingly less appealing to the kind of male migrants that would have intentions of long-term settlement in the area. Of course, as numerous studies of industrial development in north Wales have emphasised,[507] the start of the twentieth century witnessed a significant downturn, primarily as a consequence of competition from cheaper continental

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[507] See Dodd, A., *The Industrial Revolution in North Wales* (Cardiff, 1971) & Williams, C. J., 'The Lead Miners of Flintshire and Denbighshire', *Llafur*, Vol.3, No.1, (1980), pp.87–96.

imports, in the profitability of the local slate mining industry in particular, which would have naturally stemmed the incoming flow of 'pull factor' (in other words, economically motivated) migration. The fact that the overall Welsh-speaking migrant population in Ffestiniog did not significantly contract during this ten-year period is thus testament to the consolidation of the female presence in the area, and, to a lesser extent, a steady increase in the family sizes of migrant households.

There are two salient points that may be extracted from this: firstly, from a cultural perspective, the gender balance of the migrant sample for Ffestiniog, as well as the apparent retreat of Welsh-speaking migrants from the local industrial economy, seems to correspond with contemporary predictions of the Welsh language inevitably becoming confined to the realm of the private sphere. The specifically gendered assumptions regarding language usage in Welsh society, with the 'masculine' role of English juxtaposed with the 'feminine' role of Welsh, would thus have been emboldened by cases such as these. The second point to consider in this respect is the age profile of the Welsh-speaking migrants of Ffestiniog, which clearly demonstrates the relative youth of the population in question by 1901 (42.1% of the entire sample fell within the 18 to 29 age band compared to 29.9% ten years previously). On this basis, we must naturally surmise that Welsh-speaking migration entering Ffestiniog between 1891 and 1901 predominantly entailed the settlement of younger, single women in the area who would have subsequently married locals, which compensated for the gradual drift away of migrant males employed in slate mining and other heavy industries.

Owing to the fact that nineteenth to early twentieth century census records for female employment in particular are often incomplete,[508] determining the underlying economic motives for the apparent upsurge in young female migration to Ffestiniog during this period is challenging, however it is reasonable to conclude that their acquisition of Welsh would have probably been precipitated by their entry into pre-existing Welsh-speaking households. In this respect, the profile of the Welsh language amongst Ffestiniog-based migrants was becoming increasingly shaped within a domestic, which may well have limited its usage in a public capacity as well as ensuring the more thorough erosion of the migrant population as a distinct socio-cultural grouping in its own right. Furthermore, it is also probable on this basis that the generational transfer of the Welsh-language would have been more frequent amongst

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[508] For a detailed examination of this particular problem, see Williams, L.J., 'Women at Work in Nineteenth-Century Wales' in Williams, L.J., *Was Wales industrialised? Essays in modern Welsh history* (Llandysul, 1995), pp.58-78.

the migrant population of Ffestiniog (in contrast to other migrant groups who acquired the language as a pragmatic contingency measure owing to their working environment).

Aberystwyth's Welsh-speaking migrant population was similarly defined by its relative youth and a gender ratio that was very much weighted in favour of females. Indeed, by 1901, almost half of the entire sample were registered as being 29 years of age or younger, while conversely a little over 20% were classified as either middle-aged or elderly. Coupled with the fact that Aberystwyth's English migrant population was the fastest growing of all the case studies between the census years of 1891 and 1901, this demographic pattern conveys the impression that the town had become an attractive hub for young, particularly female, incomers. Unlike Ffestiniog, however, these factors did not result in a simultaneous rise in the proportion of individuals registered as wives within migrant households: indeed, this figure declined by 2.7% during this timeframe. Accounting for the contraction in the presence of both household heads and wives amongst the Aberystwyth-based migrant population therefore was a rise in the number of other family members (such as children, grand-children and grand-parents) as well as the number of domestic servants. In this respect therefore, the patterns of settlement amongst Welsh-speaking migrants in Aberystwyth assumed different dimensions to that which was experienced by Ffestiniog, as it is likely that incoming migration would have been primarily centred on the family unit.

Consequently, intermarriage with indigenous Welsh-speaking households, which was seemingly prevalent in Ffestiniog, would have been a far less influential aspect of migrant-native social relations in the locality. As always, establishing the exact reasons for these outcomes can often be a rather imprecise science, however given the aforementioned emergence of Aberystwyth as a renowned leisure resort towards the end of the nineteenth century, it may well be the case that a significant number of the sample population settled in the town as part of family-orientated ventures related to the tourism industry. The modest growth in the number of Welsh-speaking migrants employed as domestic servants only serves to reinforce this hypothesis, while the relatively prominent proportion of visitors within our sample by 1901 also lends the impression that the resident migrant community was presumably associated with less permanent, seasonal-based activities compared to their counterparts in Ffestiniog.

Whereas the age and gender demographics of the migrant communities of both Aberystwyth and Ffestiniog aligned rather closely therefore, the dynamics of household

formation in these localities showed signs of divergence, as a more pronounced trend towards intermarriage and integration with the indigenous population was apparent in the case of the latter. For the migrant populations of Blaina and Dowlais, however, inverse patterns are far more detectable, which provides a compelling insight into the relationship between the Welsh language and the social standing of resident migrants. As demonstrated by the tables below, it is apparent that the Welsh-speaking migrant populations of both Blaina and Dowlais was aging between the census years of 1891 and 1901, with a decline in the 18-29 age group being compensated by a simultaneous increase in the 30-45 age group (of 12.8% in the case of Blaina and 9.9% in the case of Dowlais). While this process should not be overstated (particularly in the case of Dowlais, where a sizeable minority of 34.3% of the total migrant population still fell within the age range of 18-29 by 1901), it is nevertheless rather telling that the 'early middle-age' group were becoming a more demographically influential component of the Welsh-speaking migrant populations that resided within the coal mining districts of Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire.

It is reasonable to assume that these patterns reinforce our prior assumptions that Welsh-speaking migrants employed in mining had generally arrived in Wales somewhat earlier than the later 'waves' of English migration (which have been roughly dated to the period 1900-1920).[509] These older migrants, perhaps, in part, as a consequence of their proficiency in Welsh, had thus managed to consolidate themselves within the working environments of the coalfields of south Wales for some time before the arrival of a newer generation of incomers that were less likely to view the acquisition of the native language as a pre-requisite for social advancement. This impression is corroborated by the testimony of Bertram Coombes (very much an archetype of the 'newer' generation of migrants) upon his encounter with older migrants in his workspace.[510]

The disparity between the proportion of household heads within the samples for Blaina and Dowlais by 1901 and those that were present in Aberystwyth and Ffestiniog during the same census year also serves to demonstrate the relative 'maturation' of the Welsh-speaking migrant populations that settled in these type of coal-mining communities. It is thus apparent that the samples for both Dowlais and Blaina reflect a group that had attained a distinct level of seniority in terms of their social standing, and had established themselves

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[509] J.E.T., 'Migration to and from Wales and Monmouthshire', *Welsh Outlook*, Vol.2, No.3, (March 1915), pp.105-109.
[510] Coombes, B. L., Jones, W.D. & Williams, C., *These Poor Hands: The Autobiography of a Miner in South Wales* (Cardiff, 2002).

within the local populations accordingly. The data sets also hint at the possibility that these 'earlier' migrants (for lack of a better term) predominantly viewed the acquisition of Welsh as a contingency measure in order to better adapt to local working conditions, and were less inclined to bequeath the language to future generations. Whereas individuals classified as relatives accounted for around a quarter of the bilingual migrants in Aberystwyth and Ffestiniog by 1901, the figures for both Blaina and Dowlais were significantly lower, at 16.7% and 13.7% respectively. Consequently, it becomes tempting to assume that the demographic profiles of both Welsh-speaking migrant communities were rather precarious by 1901, and were in the process of being gradually subsumed within the larger, monolingual migrant population. While this was undoubtedly the case in Blaina, such projections do not wholly correspond with the experience of Dowlais during this period. As mentioned previously, despite the prominence of the 'early middle age' group within the broader population, a significant minority of migrants aged 29 or under were still a presence in the community by 1901. Furthermore, the proportion of boarder and lodgers continued to grow between 1891 and 1901, which implies that it may be hasty to dismiss the foothold of the Welsh language amongst Dowlais' English migrants as a mere palimpsest of earlier working practices.

By analysing a selection of certain individuals and families represented in the data sets it becomes possible to further enrich our understanding of the relationship between English migrants and the linguistic environments of their host communities. This provides some particularly intriguing insights into the transference of the Welsh language between generations of bilingual migrants, a process whose implications would be as critical to the long-term status of Welsh as the sheer physical volume of inward migration. Ascertaining the precise extent to which bilingual migrants were predisposed to transferring the Welsh language skills within their households is an exercise fraught with complications. Naturally, the census returns reveal very little as to the relative significance of internal household dynamics as a determing factor in the linguistic habits of migrants (compared to the external socio-cultural conditions of their 'host communities). Additionally, the fact that there are few comprehensive and quantitative studies of the effectiveness, scale and patterns of inter-generational Welsh language transference amongst the broader population of Wales during this period diminishes our capacity to sustain macrohistorical comparisons of migrant-indigenous behavioural traits. Nevertheless, the individual cases here serve to illustrate that

the interaction of bilingual migrants with the Welsh language was not always solely framed in terms of short-term practical considerations.

Though the matrimonial union of bilinguals was by no means a guarantee that the Welsh language would be transferred to their offspring during this period (amongst migrant and indigenous populations alike), there are several instances within the datasets of bilingual migrant marriages to local Welsh-speakers which, in turn, produced fully bilingual families. Some examples include Henry Wright, an Aberystwyth-based general labourer from Buckinghamshire who in 1891 was married to a bilingual local and a father to a Welsh-speaking son,[511] and George Barrett, a coal miner from Oxford who was the head of a family of three bilingual children (two sons and one daughter) in Dowlais in 1901.[512] These familial dynamics can thus be juxtaposed with the likes of Francis John Barnett, a bilingual coal hewer from Helston in Cornwall who lived in Dowlais in 1901 with his monolingual widowed mother (also from Helston) and a locally-born monolingual brother.[513] It can be reasonably inferred in this respect that Barnett's interaction with the Welsh language was solely based on practical necessities (which certainly chimes with the nature of his profession), compared to the more thorough and comprehensive engagements by the likes of Henry Wright and George Barrett.

Naturally, the census data reveals little as to the respective influence of spouses in mixed migrant-indigenous marriages upon the linguistic habits of their offspring, and as such it is difficult to ascertain whether bilingual migrants such as Wright and Barrett would have taken an active role in promoting the Welsh language within their households.[514] Of greater interest for the purposes of this study therefore are bilingual households whose adult members were exclusively migrants. While certainly a rarity within the datasets, there are nevertheless a number of instances of bilingual migrants transferring the Welsh language to their children without the apparent intervention by an indigenous family member. For

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[511] 'Henry Wright' (1891) *Census return for Aberystwyth, Aberystwyth subdistrict, Ceredigion.* Public Record Office: PRO 4558, folio 40, p.25 (1891). Available at: http://www.ancestry.co.uk [Accessed: 29 April 2019].
[512] 'George Barrett' (1901) *Census return for Dowlais, Upper Merthyr Tydfil subdistrict, Merthyr Tydfil.* Public Record Office: PRO 5028, folio 16, p.23 (1901). Available at: http://www.ancestry.co.uk [Accessed: 29 April 2019].
[513] 'Francis John Barnett' (1901) *Census return for Dowlais, Upper Merthyr Tydfil subdistrict, Merthyr Tydfil.* Public Record Office: PRO 5029, folio 56, p.10 (1901). Available at: http://www.ancestry.co.uk [Accessed: 29 April 2019].
[514] The implicitly gendered dimensions to the respective 'roles' of Welsh and English in nineteenth to early twentieth century Wales (with Welsh being considered the language of the domestic sphere in contrast to the pre-eminence of English in the 'masculine' public domain), and the particular gender balances of the English migrant populations in Wales are, of course, vital considerations in this respect.

example, Ellen Day, a Gloucester-born domestic cook based in Aberystwyth, was the single parent of a bilingual daughter from London at the time of the 1901 census,[515] while Jason Pugh, a Dowlais-based mason from Herefordshire (who was married to a monolingual migrant from Cornwall), was the father of a bilingual son in 1891.[516] However, perhaps the most striking example to emerge from this microhistorical survey is that of the Goodwin family from Leek in Staffordshire, who lived in Aberystwyth at the time of the 1901 census.[517] Whereas the parents, John and Mary, were both registered as monolinguals, their three sons, aged between four and fourteen and born in Leek, were all bilinguals. Whether this was simply a testament to the particular effectiveness of the Welsh language's regenerative properties in Dowlais, or a reflection of John and Mary's commitment to fully immerse their offspring within the socio-cultural environments of their host community, the case of the Goodwin family provides a fittingly intriguing coda to a study of the bilingual English migrant population.

To what extent, therefore, is it possible to construct a profile of the 'average' Welsh-speaking English migrant during the turn of the nineteenth century? The four case studies outlined here provide a reasonable quantitative foundation upon which some conclusions may be posited. Perhaps the aspect of the data set that most qualifies for immediate comment is the fact that, in absolute terms, the Welsh-speaking migrant population increased between the census years of 1891 and 1901. This growth was not evenly distributed across all four communities during this period. In the case of Blaina, the overriding impression is of a linguistic group that was in decline, and seemingly destined to disappear within a generation, barring an unlikely replenishment from new incomers.[518] Such trends correlate with the general onset of rapid anglicisation that particularly affected Monmouthshire throughout the nineteenth century. For the three other communities under consideration here, however, not only were bilingual migrant able to sustain a relatively visible demographic presence throughout the decade, in the case of Dowlais and Ffestiniog the resident populations actually increased in proportional terms too. Contrary to the

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[515] 'Ellen Day' (1901), *Census return for Aberystwyth, Aberystwyth subdistrict, Ceredigion*. Public Record Office: PRO 5153, folio 108, p.43 (1901). Available at: http://www.ancestry.co.uk [Accessed: 29 April 2019].
[516] 'Jas. Pugh' (1891) *Census return for Dowlais, Upper Merthyr Tydfil subdistrict, Merthyr Tydfil.* Public Record Office: PRO 4438, folio 94, p.3 (1891). Available at: http://www.ancestry.co.uk [Accessed: 29 April 2019].
[517] 'John Goodwin', 'Mary Goodwin', 'John Goodwin', 'George Goodwin', 'Edwin Goodwin' (1901), *Census return for Aberystwyth, Aberystwyth subdistrict, Ceredigion*. Public Record Office: PRO 5153, folio 145, p.20 (1901). Available at: http://www.ancestry.co.uk [Accessed: 29 April 2019].
[518] See Williams, S.R., 'The Welsh Language in Industrial Monmouthshire c.1800-1901' in Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1998), pp.203-229.

pessimistic predictions that were a feature of contemporary discourses on the status of the Welsh language therefore,[519] the Welsh-speaking migrant populations demonstrated a degree of vitality that at least partially vindicated the claims made by the likes of Southall and Isaac Davies regarding the accessibility of the language.[520]

It appears that the social standing of these groups also belied contemporary assumptions regarding the societal 'value' of Welsh. The ability of the average Welsh-speaking migrant to be employed in professions that would have been considered 'specialised' roughly corresponded to that of an average monolingual English migrant; indeed, in some aspects, they actually held greater advantages. Certainly, the data set compares very favourably to other migrant groups residing in Wales during this period (such as the Irish), who were far more likely to be employed in work that was located at the 'lower end' of Armstrong's model. In terms of occupational trends, the mining sector continued to be the biggest single employer of Welsh-speaking migrants throughout the decade, however by 1901 there were signs of some diversification in this area, particularly in relation to domestic service. This may well be attributable to the aforementioned trends in the age demographics of the four case studies, which demonstrate an aging population in the predominantly mining communities of Blaina and Dowlais, whereas those residing in Ffestiniog and Aberystwyth were comparatively more youthful. In this respect, while it is valid to classify experiences such as those of Brunton as still being fairly typical of Welsh-speaking migrants, towards the beginning of the twentieth century it is possible that the working environments of coal mining, for so long viewed as the veritable bastions of the Welsh language in the public sphere, were finally showing signs that they were gradually succumbing to the rising tide of anglicisation.

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[519] The notion that the demise of Welsh was an inevitability is conveyed by an account of a meeting of North Walian Congregationalists in 1882: 'The fifth annual assembly of the North Wales English Congregational Union met on Wednesday at Wrexham, under the presidency of Alderman Minshull, of Oswestry. Representatives were present from all parts of the principality, also from London and elsewhere. In his opening remarks the chairman alluded to great inroads being made into Wales by the English, and expressed the belief that the Welsh would eventually be washed out altogether. The objects of meeting were to provide English ministrations for English permanent residents in Wales; also, to provide similar ministrations for summer visitors to Welsh seaside resorts'. 'English Congregational Union', *Cheshire Observer*, 15 April 1882

[520] See Southall, J. E. (ed.), *Bi-lingual Teaching in Welsh Elementary Schools: Or, Minutes of Evidence of Welsh Witnesses before the Royal Commission on Education in 1886-7, with Introductory Remarks and the Recommendations of the Commissioners on the Question as given in Their Final Report* (Newport, 1888) & Southall, J.E., *Wales and Her Language Considered from a Historical, Educational and Social Standpoint* (Newport, 1892).

In terms of the gender patterns contained within the data set, once again a considerable degree of variation is apparent across each case study, with those related to Aberystwyth and Ffestiniog skewed in favour of females and the inverse being apparent in Blaina and Dowlais. Nevertheless, on average, Welsh-speaking migrants roughly tended to conform to the broader male-centric trends of English migration to Wales during this period (though the gender disparity by 1901 had narrowed considerably, and to a greater extent than the rate of the mean). A similarly varied impression is conveyed by our analysis into the counties of origin of Welsh-speaking English migrants. However, it seems that Southall's hypothesis regarding the greater aptitude of migrants from westerly English counties in acquiring Welsh language skills is somewhat supported by the data set (though it is also worth noting the not inconsiderable contribution of London-born migrants to the overall total).

The profile of a typical Welsh-speaking English migrant living during the last decade of the nineteenth century would be one of a relatively young male, employed as a skilled or specialised worker in the mining sector, and originally hailing from a westerly English county. To this portrayal, of course, there must be attached the caveat that these identities would become far less entrenched towards the end of the period, particularly regarding the relationship between bilingual migrant populations and the working environments of the South Walian coalfields. Regardless of how the characteristics of Welsh-speaking migrants are aggregated, however, it is undeniable that, despite often being relegated to the background of studies on English migration, they represented a visible and active presence in the social life of communities across Wales during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Fin de Siècle anxiety in the 'Nonconformist nation'

Whereas from a longer-term perspective the legacy of English migration has been primarily scrutinised in terms of its contribution to the 'language shift' of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (which is certainly reflected in the historiography),[521] it is through the lens of religion that the more immediate indigenous responses were primarily calibrated. Not only did these responses inherently shape broader debates surrounding the issue of disestablishment, they would also provide a critical insight into the manner in which notions of responsibility for the assimilation of migrants, in both a cultural and moral sense, were conceptualised within Welsh society. The reason for this can largely be attributed to the aforementioned 'non-state' character of Welsh nationhood during this period. Owing to the absence (or, at least, protracted development) of formal, institutional markers of national 'distinctiveness' in Wales for much of the nineteenth century, it is unsurprising in this respect that Nonconformity in particular, which had consolidated itself as the most tangible and coherent hub of national identity in Victorian Welsh society, would seek to assume the leading role in mediating the social and cultural 'dialogue' between migrant groups and their native host communities.

The primary consequence of this was the emergence of the so-called 'English Causes', whose purpose was to proliferate English-language preaching and encourage the construction of separate places of worship to accommodate the burgeoning non-Welsh speaking population of the nation. These measures became a source of particular contention amongst Welsh religious circles, attracting vigorous contributions from the likes of Emrys ap Iwan related to issues ranging from the perceived precariousness of the Nonconformist hegemony in Wales to the extent to which fund-raising campaigns to support English-language chapels were representative of a general trend towards *'Saisaddoliaeth'* (literally, 'Anglo-worship') on the part of certain elements in Welsh society. In turn, the debates surrounding the English Causes have often featured prominently in the historiography, particularly as a reflection of the contested nature of Welsh national identity during this era of acute social, cultural and economic change (an aspect that has most recently formed the basis of M.Wynn Thomas'

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[521] For example, see Pryce, W.T.R., 'Language Zones, Demographic Changes, and the Welsh Culture Area 1800-1911' in Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.37-80.

study).[522] Where academic studies have perhaps been lacking, however, is in their willingness examine the Nonconformist English Causes as both a specific response to English migration and as a social tool by which the objective of assimilation could be actively pursued. It is these lines of enquiry that will form the basis of the subsequent analysis.

Before doing so, however, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the religious landscape that would have been encountered by English migrants during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and to delineate the denominational 'zones of influence' in both a spatial and social context. To a large extent, the period under observation has traditionally been characterised as the era of nonconformist ascendancy in Wales,[523] during which time the chapel building and its associated preacher became recognisable symbols of authority around which Welsh social life would inexorably coalesce. The influence exerted by nonconformity upon Welsh society is very much reflected by the exponential growth it experienced in terms of infrastructure and membership: around 70% of all places of worship in Wales were nonconformist by 1850[524], while the religious census of 1851, often heralded by contemporaries as the definitive 'proof' of Wales' estrangement from the Established Church, revealed that a similar proportion of the religiously observant population (a key qualifier in this respect) were affiliated to one of the nonconformist denominations. In light of the 1851 census in particular, the clamour for disestablishment of an institution often portrayed as being 'alien' to the religious sensibilities of the Welsh nation intensified throughout the rest of the century, which was eventually resolved, after much prevarication on the part of successive Liberal governments, by the passing of the 1914 Welsh Church Act. Meanwhile, the estimation by the Independent minister Evan James that there were around 1,975 active nonconformist preachers in Wales by 1847, almost double the number of Anglican clergymen, also serves to underline that the demographic prominence of nonconformity was very much mirrored by the numerical superiority of its personnel.[525]

An essential element of nonconformity's appeal lay in the ability of its representatives to present themselves as the authentic custodians of indigenous Welsh culture. This was achieved not only by juxtaposing the supposedly 'organic' development of chapel culture

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[522] Thomas, M.W., *The Nations of Wales 1890-1914* (University of Wales, 2016).
[523] For example, see Williams, C. R., "The Welsh Religious Revival, 1904-5", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.3, No.3, (1952), pp. 242–259.
[524] Jones, R.T. & Pope, R., *Congregationalism in Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p.184.
[525] Griffith, W.P., '"Preaching Second to No Other under the Sun": Edward Matthews, the Nonconformist Pulpit and Welsh Identity during the Mid-Nineteenth Century' in Pope, R. (ed.), *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland c.1700-2000* (Cardiff, 2001), p.62.

against the 'artificial' imposition of the Established Church, but also by emphasising the seemingly symbiotic relationship between nonconformity and the Welsh language. In contrast to its gradual retreat from most other areas of public life in Wales, Welsh was afforded a prominent and functioning role within the domain of the chapel, forming one end of the 'hearth and pulpit' axis that was deemed to be responsible for sustaining the vitality of the native tongue in the face of the relentless pressures of anglicisation. The willingness of nonconformist preachers to communicate with their congregations through the medium of Welsh naturally facilitated their portrayal as being in a unique state of communion with the *gwerin*, the quasi-romanticised version of the Welsh peasant class from whom the lifeblood of the nation was derived.[526]

This perception was further reinforced by the conscious efforts of nonconformists to cultivate their social profile beyond the confines of the ordinary religious service. For example, the provision of Sunday schooling by chapels, popular amongst children and adults alike, offered a crucial alternative route to learning and self-improvement, which, in stark contrast to the national day schools, did not deny a formal role for the Welsh language. Indeed, as Gareth Evans has emphasised in his history of Wales from 1815 to 1906, the 'triumph' of nonconformity during this period was partially attributable to its ability to appear 'not "wholly" religious';[527] in other words, the representatives of nonconformist chapels enthusiastically embraced opportunities to become active (and, more often than not, leading) participants in the broader socio-cultural dynamics of their local communities. The organisational characteristics of nonconformity were also frequently invoked as a means of highlighting its particular engagement with the 'ethos' of Welsh nationality. Consequently, whereas the Established Church was portrayed as an overbearing, monolithic entity that was underpinned by rigidly hierarchical systems of governance, the inclusive, decentralised and democratic values of nonconformity (which were particularly apparent in relation to its recruitment of preachers) were said to more comfortably resonate with the philosophical inclinations of Welsh society.[528]

As several subsequent studies have sought to demonstrate, contemporary narratives of a vibrant, self-confident and ascendant nonconformity pitted against an increasingly irrelevant

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[526] For recent scholarship on portrayals of the *gwerin* as thequintessential *volk* community of the Welsh nation, see Thomas, M.W., 'O.M. Edwards: Keeping track of the *gwerin*' in Thomas, M.W., *The Nations of Wales 1890-1914*, (Cardiff, 2016), pp.75-109.

[527] Evans, D. G., *A History of Wales, 1815-1906* (Cardiff, 1989), p.242.

[528] See Rees, B.D., *Chapels in the Valley: A Study in the Sociology of Welsh Nonconformity*, (Upton, 1975) & Jones, I.G., *Communities: Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales*, (Llandysul, 1987).

and declining Established Church belie the fundamental precariousness of the Welsh religious landscape during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it is hard to escape the impression that, in spite of the triumphalist rhetoric that was often deployed by its representatives, the overriding mentality of nonconformity during this period was characterised by an implicit sense of existential anxiety as well as a conscious acknowledgement of the inherent instability of its social domains. Certainly, the implied demographic 'strength' of nonconformity, based on the findings of the religious census, can be qualified considerably upon closer inspection. Whereas the combined mass of nonconformist worshippers did indeed dwarf that of the recorded Anglican worshippers, it is notable that no single denomination exceeded the 30% share of the religiously observant population that was affiliated to the Established Church.

In this respect, the extent to which the nonconformist denominations shared a common sense of unity in terms of their identity and purpose has been subject to much debate amongst historians of Wales. From a theological perspective, the primary internal division within nonconformity, at least towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, was between the Calvinistic and Arminian tendencies of the Methodist tradition. The distinguishing features of the denominations that eventually emerged from this split, namely the Calvinistic Methodists and the Wesleyan Methodists, demonstrate the inherent folly of attempting to universalise the social outlook of Welsh nonconformity, particularly in terms of attitudes to language and nationality. Whereas the former, inspired by the teachings of Howell Harris in particular, found a great deal of traction in modelling themselves, with some justification, as the sole authentically Welsh religious denomination, the Wesleyans consistently struggled to establish much of a foothold in Welsh-speaking areas, and were deemed to be representative of the thoroughly anglicised populations of southern Pembrokeshire and Radnorshire.[529]

As Ieuan Gwynedd Jones has demonstrated in his study of religion in the Cwmafan valley during the nineteenth century, this was reflected in the varying approaches adopted by each denomination towards the issue of Sunday schooling, with the Calvinistic Methodists instructing exclusively through the medium of Welsh, while their Wesleyan counterparts offered English-language teaching only (the Baptists of Cwmafan, in contrast, provided a measure of bilingual schooling).[530] Similar patterns of uneven development were also

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[529] Allen, R.C. & Hughes, T.O., *The Religious History of Wales: Religious Life and Practice in Wales from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cardiff, 2014), p.98.
[530] Jones, I.G., 'Smoke and prayer: industry and religion in Cwmafan in the nineteenth century', *The Journal of Welsh Religious History*, Vol. 6, (1998), p.23.

apparent across Methodism as a whole during the first decades of its emergence in Wales. According to the Reverend J. Williams, writing in an 1877 history of the origins of nonconformity, there was a considerable degree of regional variation in the manner in which the Methodist denominations seceded from the Established Church. While the Methodists of north Wales had been widely recognised as a distinct and autonomous 'sect' from an early stage, Williams alleged that the separation in south Wales had been a far more protracted and 'turbulent' affair, with the Methodists in the region being merely regarded as an 'enlightened' faction of the church, and as such the eventual split had the appearance of a painful 'tear between colleagues'.[531]

As several studies of Welsh religion have emphasised, the fragmentation of nonconformity along the lines of theological disputes gradually eased towards the latter half of the nineteenth century.[532] Generally speaking, a relatively broad form of Calvinism became the predominant mode of Christian thought across most nonconformist denominations after 1850,[533] which stressed the importance of personal interpretation of scripture and made allowances for moderate political activism (primarily through association with the Liberal Party) that had previously been renounced by earlier generations of dissent (with the notable exception of the Unitarians and Quakers). In this respect, the conditions by which an all-encompassing nonconformist 'identity' could be forged, and subsequently intertwined with concepts of Welsh 'nationhood', became far more favourable during this period, particularly as the issue of disestablishment loomed ever larger over contemporary public debates. The advantages of nonconformist collaboration as a means of undermining the Established Church were frequently extolled by representatives of a variety of denominations, while even the stubbornly localist sensibilities of Congregationalism were somewhat relaxed in favour of co-ordinated organisation on a wider, national scale. For example, in his examination of the association between Methodism and Congregationalism, R.T. Jenkins identifies distinct stages in the development of the interdenominational relationship, in which a period of deliberate 'distancing' on the part of both groups in terms of their theological and liturgical conduct was followed by a period of 'settling down' that

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[531] 'Yr oedd ymranniad y Methodistiaid Calfinaidd oddiwrth yr Egwlys, a'i gweinidogion, a'i hordinhadau, wedi peri llawer mwy o derfysg a gofid i bobl y Deheudir nag i bobl y Gogledd. Yr oeddynt yn sect, ac yn cael eu hystyried felly, yn y Gogledd ers blynyddoedd bellach, os nid o'r dechreuad; ond nid felly yr ystyrid hwynt yn y Deheudir, canys fe edrychid arnynt yno fel aelodau deffroedig yn yr Eglwys; am hynny fe demlid yr ymraniad fel rhwygiad cyfeillion, y nail oddi wrth y llall'. Williams, J., *Hanes yr Eglwys yn Nghymru; yn enwedig o orseddiad Elisabeth hyd deyrnasiad Victoria; gyda tharddiad ac amledaeniad anghydffurfiaeth*, (1877), p.142.
[532] Rees, D.B., *Wales: The Cultural Heritage* (Ormskirk, 1981), p.12.
[533] Jones, R. T. & Pope, R., *Congregationalism in Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p.193.

facilitated 'instances of co-operation'.[534] In many ways, this model is applicable for the interactions between most Welsh denominations, and it is this conciliatory spirit that enabled several contemporary commentators to proclaim with such gusto that the results of the 1851 census represented a victory for nonconformity as a whole.

Ironically, however, this cooling of theological debates only served to indirectly exacerbate the underlying sense of anxiety that gradually took hold of Welsh nonconformists during the latter half of the nineteenth century. While the aforementioned 'instances of cooperation' between various dissenting groups did indeed become a regular feature of religious activity in Victorian Wales, and that the notion of nonconformist solidarity became a recurring trope of pro-disestablishment rhetoric in particular, it is also apparent that at no stage were the denominations prepared to entertain the possibility of compromising their fiercely cherished autonomy beyond informal, ad hoc arrangements (as R.T. Jenkins himself readily admits).[535] Consequently, in the face of the narrowing of the theological divide, Welsh nonconformists became increasingly compelled to justify and sustain the relevance of their respective denominations in the eyes of the public. Maintaining at least a pretence of 'rivalry' between the denominations, without unduly diminishing the broader case for disestablishment, thus inherently shaped the strategic outlook of nonconformist figures during this period.[536] The magnification of minute liturgical distinctions or other superficial aspects of religious services was one method that was deployed in this respect, but of greater significance in the context of our study was the increasing willingness to substitute theological debate for more secular grounded 'competition' on the basis of demographics and membership. Perhaps as an inevitable by-product of the 1851 religious census therefore, nonconformist denominations became particularly fixated by notions of 'popular' appeal, and in turn to conceptualise their relative 'health' in terms of raw membership figures. As will be demonstrated later, this mind-set would have profound implications for the manner in which the issue of the English Causes would be debated.

Of even greater concern to Welsh nonconformists of the late nineteenth century, which would once again become inexorably intertwined within subsequent debates on the English Causes, was the chilling spectre of irreligiosity and the supposedly related social changes that were affecting Wales during this period. At first glance, this may appear somewhat

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[534] Thomas, W.S.K., *Georgian and Victorian Brecon: portrait of a Welsh county town* (Llandysul, 1993), p.129.
[535] Thomas, *Georgian and Victorian Brecon*, p.129.
[536] Jones, R.T., *Hanes Annibynwyr Cymru* (Swansea, 1966), p.252.

surprising, given the fact that, aside from the results of the 1851 census, the confidence of the Welsh nonconformist denominations in their very own 'manifest destiny' was based on the particular piety of the native *gwerin*. In some respects, this perception was well-founded. For example, in the 1851 census it was observed that west Wales, a predominantly rural and agrarian-based region with which the *gwerin* were deemed to be intimately associated, stood out 'as having a level of religious observance well above the national average'.[537] In the principal towns of the region, namely Aberystwyth, Aberaeron and Cardigan, over 70% of the resident populations were recorded as being regular religious worshippers, which compared favourably to similar-sized communities in England (and certainly far in excess of most of the major conurbations).[538] Across Wales as whole, the extent to which the population engaged with the institutions of religion was, at times, undeniably substantial. During the immediate aftermath of the 1904-5 revival, it was estimated that around two out of every five Welsh people (or, to be precise, 743,361 out of a total population of 1,864,696) were fully registered members of a church or chapel.[539]

However, at this stage it becomes necessary to precisely delineate the actual parameters of the 'religiously observant population' of Wales during this period. Contemporary commentators could often be rather selective in their portrayal of Wales' relationship with religion. Whereas the 1851 census was enthusiastically hailed by nonconformists for revealing the extent to which the combined strength of dissent exceeded that of the Established Church, it also revealed that a mere 52% of the Welsh population were regular religious worshippers at the time. Such a figure immediately serves to moderate the perception, often promoted by the champions of nonconformity, of the Welsh as a uniquely devout nation. Indeed, amidst the hagiographic, self-congratulatory rhetoric espoused by contemporaries regarding the supposedly refined state of religion in Wales (a mentality that subsequently persisted within much of the early historiography), it is apparent that the phenomenon of irreligiosity was an understated but nevertheless notable presence in Welsh society even during the nonconformist 'golden age', and one which certainly demands further scholarly attention than it has hitherto received.

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[537] Thomas, J.E., *Social disorder in Britain, 1750-1850: the power of the gentry, radicalism and religion in Wales* (London, 2011), p.159.
[538] Thomas, *Social disorder in Britain, 1750-1850*, p.159.
[539] Jenkins, G.H. & Williams, M.A. (eds.), *'"Eu hiaith a gadwant"?: y Gymraeg yn yr ugeinfed ganrif'* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.357-358.

Consequently, it may be more advisable to chart the religious character of Wales during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through a series of peaks and troughs, rather than a steady and consistent trajectory throughout the whole period. The 'peaks', in this respect, correspond to the periodic instances of religious 'revivals' (the most significant of which occurred in 1859 and 1904-5), which should be viewed more as short-term outbreaks of fervour as opposed to an indication of the long-term commitment of the Welsh population (an aspect that even some nonconformist figures readily accepted). This sense of instability was undoubtedly exacerbated by the aforementioned social changes that were rapidly transforming Welsh society, particularly those that were precipitating profound demographic shifts along the rural-urban divide. The idealisation of the native *gwerin* as the source of Nonconformity's strength masked the underlying reality that this quasi-mythical community, in so far as it resembled the actual rural population of Wales, was destined to become considerably marginalised in the face of industrialisation and urbanisation.

In this respect, the impact of internal rural to urban migration would have a profoundly adverse effect on the demographic profile of regions that had long been considered to be strongholds of nonconformity, while reinforcing those in which the socio-cultural influence of the *gwerin* was far less secure. For example, the population of Ceredigion, which had been highlighted in the 1851 census for its intense religiosity, declined by over 10,000 between 1881 and 1911 (from 70,270 to 59,879).[540] Meanwhile the population of Merionethshire, which exhibited similar social traits, would decrease by almost 7,000 during the same period (from 52,038 to 45,565).[541] These trends, whose implications for the rural communities of Wales have been forensically examined by the likes of Kathryn J. Cooper in recent years,[542] would have undoubtedly raised concerns amongst nonconformists about the long-term health of their 'natural' heartlands. As well as the phenomenon of widespread internal migration, the religious leaders of Wales during this period were also compelled to confront the emergence of a burgeoning non-native population whose standards of religious observance were perceived to be deficient. While this aspect will naturally be explored in greater detail later on, at this stage it is sufficient to emphasise that nonconformist commentators readily indulged in narratives that juxtaposed the 'purity' of native Welsh rural communities with the rapidly expanding 'mixed' populations of regions such as Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire.

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[540] Herbert, T. & Jones, G.E., *Wales 1880-1914* (Cardiff, 1988).
[541] Herbert & Jones, *Wales 1880-1914.*
[542] Cooper, Kathryn J., *Exodus from Cardiganshire: rural-urban migration in Victorian Britain* (Cardiff, 2011).

The threat posed by these social developments was thus not solely conceived in purely demographic terms. Industrial and urban environments engendered profound changes in lifestyles that directly challenged the continuity and integrity of the traditional moral values associated with nonconformity. As M. Wynne Thomas has rightly observed, whereas the character of the Welsh *gwerin* was primarily conceived in distinctly classless terms,[543] underpinned by staunchly localist and spiritual communal identities, the emerging urban populations were deemed to be rigorously stratified according to materialistic (and by extension overtly non-spiritual) impulses. As numerous studies have demonstrated,[544] the notion that the rural population of Wales was somehow immune to economistic, class-based tensions is immediately disproved by their protracted struggles against the gentry and landowners, which were embodied by episodes such as the Rebecca Riots and the Tithe Wars. Indeed, nonconformists were more than willing to deploy class-based rhetoric where it suited their cause, as was often the case in their arguments in favour of disestablishment.

However, the manner in which class identities emerged within specifically industrial and urban contexts engendered alternate social 'affiliations' that had the potential to supersede older, religious-based loyalties. It is entirely unsurprising, in this respect, that the emergence of organised labour and its accompanying socio-cultural institutions were viewed with the utmost suspicion by a substantial proportion of Welsh nonconformity for the majority of the period under observation, and that these fears would invariably permeate debates surrounding the English Causes (particularly given the widespread perception amongst contemporary Welsh commentators that trade unions and strike action were exclusively English imports that did not conform to the sensibilities of the native Welsh).[545] Consequently, it is abundantly clear that to fully comprehend the mentalities that gave rise to the English Causes, the following analysis must be constructed within the broader context of nonconformist weaknesses, insecurity and anxiety rather than its strength, stability and self-assurance.

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[543] This is underlined by Thomas' observations of O.M. Edwards' travel book *Cartrefi Cymru,* in which the Welsh-speaking *gwerin* constituted a 'naturally classless society'; by contrast, the demeanour of an Englishman he encounters at Haverfordwest station is described as being 'thick with class consciousness'. Thomas, M.W., *The Nations of Wales, 1890-1914* (Cardiff, 2016), p.93.

[544] See Molloy, P., *And They Blessed Rebecca: An Account of the Welsh Toll-Gate Riots, 1839-1844* (Llandysul, 1985) & Jones, D.J., *Before Rebecca: Popular Protests in Wales, 1793-1835* (London, 1973).

[545] The remarks of Abel Hughes to his fellow Calvinist Mari Lewis typify this mentality: 'These strikes are strange things Mari. They are things that have come from the English; they do not belong to us, and I greatly fear that they will bring great evil to the country and to religion'. Rees, D.B., *Wales: The Cultural Heritage* (Ormskirk, 1981), p.13.

Of equal importance to this study is the necessity of recognising that the emergence of the English Causes was a protracted cultural process which cut to the heart of native Welsh perceptions of the moral values of anglicisation. As alluded to earlier, it is the notion that the national traits of the indigenous population were subject to higher standards of piety compared to their English counterparts that is significant in this regard, and it is apparent that this featured as a recurring theme in contemporary discourse long before the formalisation of strategies for the provision of English-language services. This dichotomy in terms of native and non-native religious attitudes became even more pronounced in the face of growing levels of English migration towards the end of the century. While the precise characteristics of the *gwerin*, as well as their resemblance to the broader native Welsh population, have been much debated by historians, it is undeniable that commentators of the period were utterly convinced of the unrivalled potency of their spiritual convictions. The Reverend John Griffith's declaration, in a speech delivered to the Leeds Church Congress, that there was 'not a finer, a more intelligent, or a more intellectual, and, especially, a more religious race of peasantry on the face of the whole earth than the Welsh',[546] was typical in this regard, and would have very much resonated across denominational divides. For example, at a meeting led by Thomas Jones, the president of the Welsh Independents, it was announced that the Welsh were 'the most loyal, moral and religious nation on the face of the earth', while Henry Richard, the Congregationalist minister and Liberal MP for Merthyr, similarly expressed his sincere doubt that there was a 'population on the face of the Earth more enlightened and moral' than that of Wales.[547]

Perhaps as a means of fully contextualising the alleged moral and spiritual rigour of the native Welsh, such proclamations were often juxtaposed with the corresponding condition of the English nation. Thus, whereas the superiority of English attitudes to purely secular concerns were either tacitly acknowledged or, in some cases, actively encouraged, the primacy of the Welsh approach to spiritual matters was impregnable. Crucially, this meant that the ability of English migrants to provide societal benefits in terms of their supposed aptitude for commercial enterprise was inevitably counterbalanced by their inherent religious deficiencies. This outlook is very much revealed in an article which appeared in *The Cardiff Times* on 30 November 1860. Quoting a speech made by a Reverend H. Richards to a

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[546] Griffith, J., *The Church in Wales: A Speech at the Leeds Church Congress and Notes on Men and Things by The Rev. John Griffith (Rector of Merthyr),* p.40.

[547] Thomas, J.E., *Social Disorder in Britain 1750-1850*, p.176. See also O'Leary, P. 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales 1840-1880' in Jenkins, G. (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911* (Cardiff, 2000), pp.533-560.

gathering of ministers at Ebeneezer Chapel, it was asserted that whereas 'English capital and enterprise' would be 'beneficial and advantageous to Wales', there were also 'grave apprehensions' expressed in relation to the impact that migrants would have upon the 'moral and spiritual interest of the Principality'.[548] This was attributed to the fact that the 'Saxon race were not essentially and constitutionally a religious people'; a facet that became even more accentuated 'among the lower classes'.[549] As a consequence, when 'large numbers of Englishmen came into Wales, in connection with the railways and other works', they would invariably be of a 'deteriorating character'.[550]

Similar sentiments were expressed at a meeting of the Association of Congregational Churches for the Extension of English Preaching in South Wales and Monmouthshire, held in Newport in 1862. According to one of the speakers, a Mr. Jones, in the districts of Wales in which the 'English element prevailed' it was observed that the 'the Lord's day was fearfully disregarded'.[551] Adopting the same line of reasoning as Richards, it was emphasised that this was due to the 'lamentable fact that the working classes of England were more irreligious than those of Wales'.[552] Meanwhile, at a gathering of Calvinistic Methodists at Mountain Ash in 1883 it was stated that whereas 'quarrels' between English people had formerly been conducted on the basis of 'how they were to worship God', they had since been far more inclined to debate 'whether there was a God to worship at all'.[553] Such attitudes may well have been a natural by-product of class snobbery on the part of the increasingly influential chapel-going Welsh middle-classes (their focus on the supposed spiritual shortcomings of the English working-classes in particular is telling in this respect), however the manner in which perceptions of national distinctiveness consistently informed such debates imply that a broader, more profound cultural paradigm was in evidence.[554]

This is very much suggested by an article appearing in *The North Wales Express* on 9 May 1890. Primarily aimed as an affirmation of the growing reputation of Wales' Eisteddfodic traditions amongst non-native commentators, the author asserted that the reason that the 'English neighbours' had not been 'very charitable critics of our national

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[548] 'The Religious Interest of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.
[549] 'The Religious Interest of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.
[550] 'The Religious Interest of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.
[551] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[552] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[553] 'The English Calvinistic Methodists. Opening of a new church at Mountain Ash', *South Wales Daily News*, 14 August 1883.
[554] For a more detailed study of how religious worship acted as a conduit for expressions of Welsh national identity during this period, see Morgan, D.D., *Wales and the Word: Historical Perspectives on Welsh Identity and Religion* (Cardiff, 2008).

characteristics' in the past was due to their innate sense of disconnect from the kind of religious struggles (which in this case referred to the efforts of dissenting groups for recognition and autonomy from the Established Church) that had irrevocably moulded Welsh society during previous centuries.[555] As a consequence, it was vigorously asserted that 'from Carlyle and Matthew Arnold down to the materialised Philistine' the Welsh approach to religious affairs had singularly 'not been understood by the English people'.[556] In other words, the religious deficit detected amongst English migrants could not simply be remedied by the 'enlightenment' of the labouring masses, but was rather a symptom of long-term spiritual and philosophical differences that transcended class-based divisions. This was also conveyed in an 1877 lecture delivered by the Independent minister W. Catwg Davies of Pennorth, Breconshire, in which he sardonically explained that his belief in English people requiring a greater degree of religious guidance than the Welsh[557] was based on how frequently he had encountered Englishmen who had mistaken Martin Luther for either a 'Turk or a Russian'.[558] A Mr. S. Morely, speaking at the aforementioned gathering at Ebeneezer Church in 1860, was even more forthright on the issue. In reference to contemporary perceptions of 'heathenism', Morely noted that whereas conceptualisations of ungodliness were usually affixed, in the public consciousness, to 'distant parts of the world – to Africa, India, Japan, China', it had been overlooked that there 'existed in England a state of heathenism worse than they were accustomed to call heathen in other parts of the world'.[559]

While these portrayals were certainly motivated by a desire to reinforce notions Welsh religious exceptionalism in general, it is also striking that the apparent sub-standard nature of English spiritual values were frequently identified as the root of specific instances of social decay in Welsh society. Far from being mere indulgences in national stereotyping therefore, the prospect of widespread English migration diluting the hard-earned religiously upstanding character of the Welsh nation engendered a very real sense of moral panic amongst nonconformists. For example, during the discussion at Ebeneezer Chapel the 'districts occupied by Englishmen' in large towns such as Merthyr were described as 'dens of infamy',

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[555] 'Praised by the English', *The North Wales Express*, 9 May 1890.
[556] 'Praised by the English', *The North Wales Express*, 9 May 1890.
[557] *'Byddai yn dda i bob cynulleidfa trwy y sir, ie, trwy Gymru, ei glywed, yn enwedig cynulleidfaoedd Seisonig, o herwydd, fel y dywedodd Mr Davies, "fod eisieu mwy o oleuni ar y Saeson na'r Cymry'*. 'Pennorth, Brycheiniog. Darlith', *Y Tyst a'r Dydd*, 24 August 1877.
[558] *'canys gofynwyd iddo gan Sais, "Pa un ai Twrc neu Rwsian oedd Martin Luther?'*. *Y Tyst a'r Dydd*, 24 August 1877.
[559] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.

while at the same meeting it was claimed that the criminal returns for Glamorganshire, which contained a 'large amount of Englishmen', demonstrated that the number of criminals in the county was 'very large'.[560] This contrasted markedly with the figures for the less anglicised regions of Wales, which showed 'but two or three Welsh criminals in two or three counties'.[561] The Reverend Thomas Jones, president of the Welsh Independents, concurred with this stark discrepancy. Whereas he deemed that the 'Welsh rural areas' remained the 'location of *"Hen Wlad y Menyg Gwynion"'* (directly translated as 'Old Land of the White Gloves', referring to the practice of judges being presented with white gloves when there were no cases to be heard at the assizes, but J.E. Thomas offers 'the land of pure morals' to convey the all-encompassing nature of the term), he asserted that the 'southern industrial valleys' had become 'corrupted through the influence of English people and their vicious habits'.[562]

Fears of the 'corruption' that accompanied English migration to Wales became a recurring trope within Welsh religious narratives of the period, as was the alarming prospect of 'spiritual destitution' that awaited those regions most affected by incoming non-native populations. In an article pointedly entitled 'The Drift of Welsh Life', written by 'A Welsh Curate', an apparent decline in the wholesomeness of the Welsh national constitution was firmly and squarely placed at the feet of the *'Saeson drygionus'* ('Perfidious Albion'), who through their anglicising influences had turned the Welsh into a 'race of supremely narrow and selfish people, gangrened by corrupt ethical ideas'.[563] Meanwhile, another contributor to the debate that took place at Ebeneezer Chapel in 1860, a Reverend H. Oliver of Pontypridd, opined that the unsavoury practices of the 'English Population in Wales', whom he described as being 'dreadfully ungodly', were so potent as to cause the Welsh to become 'contaminated by them'.[564] The overarching consequence of these trends, according to the Reverend H. Richards at the same meeting, was a 'danger that there might grow up in this part of the Principality an ungodly, immoral, and unchristianised population'.[565] While he optimistically assured himself that there existed 'no spiritual destitution among the Welsh' at 'the present moment', he nevertheless emphasised that, 'with regard to the other population' (namely, the

[560] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[561] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[562] Thomas, J.E., *Social Disorder in Britain 1750-1850*, p. 181.
[563] 'The Drift of Welsh Life. A Welsh Curate's Views', *Caernarfon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, 16 December 1887.
[564] 'The Religious Interest of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.
[565] 'The Religious Interest of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.

English migrants of Wales), it was 'notorious that there was a large amount of spiritual destitution'.[566]

Meanwhile, some commentators extended this concept of 'contamination' towards a seemingly logical conclusion, to imply that deteriorating standards in the religious domain could subsequently permeate into other areas of society. In an article appearing in the Welsh-language periodical *Y Dehonglwr*, for example, the author emphasised that there was 'not one part of the country where Welsh had been swallowed by the rising tide of English' that had not also experienced a 'great degeneration in its religious, literary and moral character'.[567] Furthermore, this rhetoric of revulsion could often manifest itself as specific patterns of behaviour. According to Roger L. Brown in his study of evangelicalism in Wales, Evan Roberts, the unofficial figurehead of the 1904-5 religious revival, declined to tour the thoroughly anglicised city of Cardiff due to his belief that 'an English ethos was inimical to this kind of movement'.[568] Even those who approached the issue in a somewhat more measured manner were prone to unconditionally embrace pre-conceptions regarding the 'unnaturalness' of the migrant's moral condition. Dr Thomas Jones, in his observations regarding the inexorable economic appeal of Wales' 'magnetic south' for 'multitudes of men, women and children' derived from 'North and Mid Wales, and from the West of England', remarked that these migratory groups were comprised of a mixture of Christians and 'pagans'.[569] While not explicitly acknowledged, there is little doubt as to which specific group of migrants Jones had in mind when referring to the paganism amongst their ranks. The spectre of heathenism was also deployed by an article appearing in *Yr Annibynwyr*, which claimed that it was 'well-known' that the inhabitants of the Welsh borderland regions were 'half pagan' in their spiritual outlook.[570]

In this respect, it is clear that the cultural platform that gave rise to the English Causes encompassed themes that transcended narrow theological concerns, and very much cut to the heart of contemporary notions surrounding the social specifications that upheld Welsh society. It is unsurprising, therefore, that Welsh religious figures who sought to address the apparent moral and spiritual shortfall in the English migrant stock demonstrated a particular

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[566] 'The Religious Interest of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.
[567] *'Nid ydym ni yn gwybod am un rhan o'r wlad, yn yr hon y llyncwyd y Gymraeg o'r golwg gan llanw Saesneg na chymerodd dirywiad mawr le, yn grefyddol, yn llenyddol, a moesol'. Y Dehonglwr*, Vol.1, No. 6, (June 1903), p.162.
[568] Brown, R.L., *Evangelicals in the Church of Wales* (Welshpool, 2007), p.243.
[569] Davies, E.T., *Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales* (Cardiff, 1965), p.9.
[570] *Edrychwn eto ar y gwaith cenhadol sydd i'w wneyd ar ein gwlad. Gwyddom yn dda fod y rhandir cyffinol rhwng Cymru a Lloegr – "y Goror" – yn hanner paganaidd, Yr Annibynwyr*, Vol.8, No.85, (January, 1864), p.5.

willingness to locate these trends within the broader social, economic and cultural developments that had emerged in Wales throughout the nineteenth century. Perhaps as a consequence of their own sense of self-importance, they also strove to frame what was ostensibly a matter of religious provision as a more holistic strategy for reconciling the fundamental differences between indigenous and migrant communities. Such attitudes are demonstrated in the pages of *The Treasury*, one of the first English-language periodicals affiliated to the Calvinistic Methodists, and which would become one of the most vocal advocates for the English Causes within the Welsh press. In a grand, sweeping narration of the historical background to Welsh Methodism, one of its earliest issues recognised that whereas the movement had, for 'more than a hundred years' after its origin, operated on the basis that the Welsh language was spoken by '95 per cent of the entire population', it recognised that within 'the last half century' the English language had 'gained ground' across Wales.[571] This was attributed to the 'development of the great iron and coal industries of South Wales', which had 'caused thousands of English people to settle in Wales', while the emergence of the railway system had also opened up the nation's 'enchanting scenery' to the 'admiring thousands of England and Scotland'.[572] With a suitably emphatic flourish, the article concluded by enquiring 'in the face of all this, what was to be done?'

The Welsh-language press also acknowledged that the issue of the English Causes could not be wholly extracted from the wider current of modernisation that was seemingly eroding the traditional foundations of Welsh society. As was the case with the contributors to *The Treasury*, of particular interest to those commenting on the religious character of incoming migrants was their intimate relationship with the new modes of capitalist-driven economic development, and their capacity to reshape demographic patterns on a scale hitherto unseen. Adopting a similarly long-term diagnosis of the situation there, an article appearing in *Y Genedl Gymreig* in 1884 emphasised that all the present alarm that was being articulated regarding English people arriving in Wales 'in their droves'[573] overlooked the fact that migration from England to Wales had been a constant feature of Welsh history ever since the 'days of Edward I'.[574] However, whereas the previous six centuries of Anglo-Welsh cultural contact had left little in the way of indelible marks on the fundamental complexion of the

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[571] *The Treasury*, Vol.9, No.105, (September 1872), p.175.
[572] *The Treasury*, Vol.9, No.105, (September 1872), p.175.
[573] 'Dywedir fod y Saeson yn dyfod i'r wlad yn lluosog'. 'Y Methodistiad Calfinaidd a'r Iaith Saesonig', *Y Genedl Gymreig,* 12 November 1884.
[574] 'Wel, y mae hyny yn bod, ac y mae lluaws mawr o honynt wedi dyfod i Gymru er dyddiau Edward y cyntaf', Y Methodistiad Calfinaidd a'r Iaith Saesonig', *Y Genedl Gymreig,* 12 November 1884.

Welsh-speaking nation,[575] it was noted that the current vehicles for Anglicisation, namely the 'railways and the flow of commerce',[576] were far more potent in their ability to alter the cherished religious habits of the nation.[577] As a consequence, it was incumbent upon the present representatives of nonconformity to treat this phenomenon with the utmost seriousness, and to recognise that the introduction of these new practises of capitalist production had the tendency of conditioning affected areas into a state of exclusive dependence upon the English language.[578]

However, in stark contrast to the sense of urgency and profundity that was invariably instilled within native commentaries on the issue of religious provision for migrants, the formal emergence of English Causes was a somewhat protracted and uneven process that did not attain a reasonable level of unanimity amongst their advocates until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. Early efforts to address the perceived gulf between the religious temperaments of the native and non-native populations of Wales include the formation of the 'Travelling Society of Pembrokeshire' in 1821, which aimed to evangelise the more anglicised portions of the county.[579] Similarly, an English-speaking Bangor and Caernarvon Circuit was established in 1830, six years after a motion entitled '*What can be done for our English friends who come to reside in the Principality?*' was submitted for consideration at a meeting of the North Wales District.[580] Unfortunately, there is little indication as to the immediate success of such ventures, and it is difficult to ascertain their subsequent influence, if any, on the debates surrounding the English Causes that appeared at a later stage in the century.

Of greater certainty is the fact that English migrants, particularly those who arrived during the earlier 'waves' of migration to Wales, occasionally undertook measures of their own to ensure that their religious requirements were adequately addressed. Those associated with the Wesleyan traditions of Methodism (which, as was mentioned earlier, took a far more

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[575] '*ond nid ydyw chwe' chan' mlynedd o'r llifeiriant hwn wedi gadael ond ychydig o'i arnom fel cenedl*'. 'Y Methodistiad Calfinaidd a'r Iaith Saesonig'*, Y Genedl Gymreig,* 12 November 1884.

[576] '*Ond dywedir yn mhellach fod y rheilffyrdd a threigliad masnach yn Seisnigeiddio y wlad*'. 'Y Methodistiad Calfinaidd a'r Iaith Saesonig'*, Y Genedl Gymreig,* 12 November 1884.

[577] *Y mae gan hyn, o bosibl, ddylanwad cryf iawn, ac hwyrach mai dyma un o'r dylanwadau cryfaf* . 'Y Methodistiad Calfinaidd a'r Iaith Saesonig'*, Y Genedl Gymreig,* 12 November 1884.

[578] '*Y pethau hyn sydd yn dyfod a'r Seisoneg at ein drysau, ac yn gosod angenrheidrwydd arnom ei harferyd yn feunyddiol yn ein bywioliaeth, nes y mae dyn yn gweled nas gall wneyd dim ohoni ond gyda'r Seisoneg, dyna'r pryd y mae dynion yn ymaflyd o ddifrif ynddi, ac y bydd yr ail oes yn dechreu gollwng yr hen iaith o'u dwylaw*'. 'Y Methodistiad Calfinaidd a'r Iaith Saesonig'*, Y Genedl Gymreig,* 12 November 1884.

[579] Jones, R.T., *Hanes Annibynwyr Cymru,* (Swansea, 1966), p.194.

[580] Knighton, D.G., 'English-speaking Methodism' in ed. Madden, L., *Methodism in Wales – A Short History of the Wesley tradition* (Llandudno, 2003), p.8.

tolerant view of the English language compared to Calvinistic Methodism) were especially active in this respect. The life of James Treweek, a Cornishman who came to work at Parys Mountain near Amlwch, was highlighted by Gareth Haulfryn Williams in his study of Wesleyanism in Caernarfonshire as a typical example of a migrant who seized the initiative in ensuring that the process of resettling would not unduly disrupt his spiritual commitments. Upon arriving in Wales therefore, Treweek joined a local branch of the Welsh Wesleyans and proceeded to become an enthusiastic participant in their work, later gaining a considerable reputation for his proficiency as a preacher in both English and Welsh.[581] In 1860 another Cornishman, a Captain Vivian, also left his mark on the religious landscape of the local community in which he settled by establishing a Wesleyan cause for fellow migrants near the copper works of Pen-y-gogarth (near Llandudno).[582]

Meanwhile, in Caernarfon itself, Williams states that the small English migrant community of the town had managed to establish a small chapel for themselves beside the Welsh-speaking chapel at Ebeneser Street, and, five years later, had advanced to a position where they were able to construct a larger place of worship at Llyn Street.[583] There were also signs that some English migrants recruited to serve in the Established Church took steps to comply with the pre-existing religio-linguistic ecosystem of Wales (often to a greater extent than their native Welsh counterparts). For example, William Bruce Knight, a Devonshire-born migrant who had managed to learn Welsh, was appointed archdeacon of Llandaff in 1843.[584] Similarly, from a nonconformist perspective, Howell Elfed Lewis, in his 1907 study on the religious revival of 1904-5, observed how the extensive 'emigration of the sons of the soil' during the latter half of the nineteenth century had resulted in a situation where religious positions had often been 'filled up by drafting lads from English orphan homes and industrial schools'.[585] Lewis went on to state that many of these migrants had since 'settled down' and had eventually 'learnt the language of the people'.[586]

While many of these case studies very much resonated with a number of the common themes that underpinned the debates surrounding the English Causes, particularly the notions of self-reliance and social responsibility, it is perhaps unsurprising that they were rarely

[581] Williams, G.H., 'Achosion Bach Saesneg y Wesleaid yn Sir Gaernarfon', *Bathafarn: Cylchgrawn Hanes yr Eglwys Fethodistaidd yng Nghymru*, Vol.31, (2000), p.47.
[582] Williams, 'Achosion Bach Saesneg y Wesleaid yn Sir Gaernarfon', *Bathafarn,* Vol.31, p.48.
[583] Williams, 'Achosion Bach Saesneg y Wesleaid yn Sir Gaernarfon', *Bathafarn,* Vol.31, p.46.
[584] Walker, D., *A History of the Church in Wales* (Cardiff, 1976), pp.126-127.
[585] Lewis, H.E., *With Christ Among the Miners: Incidents and Impressions of the Welsh Revival* (Cincinnati, 1907), p.97.
[586] Lewis, *With Christ Among the Miners*, p.97.

invoked in contemporary discourse given the potency of aforementioned narratives that specifically associated English settlers with religious 'negligence'. Certainly, the likes of the Reverend D. Hughes of Tredegar had far less faith in the ability of English migrants to initiate religious causes on their own accord. Referring to the split between the Welsh and English Wesleyans that had occurred in Tredegar fifteen years previously, Hughes alleged that the relative fortunes of both religious communities in the town since that time had contrasted markedly.[587] Whereas the native Welsh had enthusiastically devoted their energies into establishing a chapel that was not only full of 'life, strength and prayer', but, crucially, was also entirely funded through their own means,[588] the English Wesleyans had 'looked elsewhere' for support, which had resulted in their cause slumping into a state of torpor and stagnation to the extent that it was ultimately rendered unsustainable.[589] It was this dichotomy of Welsh resourcefulness against English neglect that would invariably come to define subsequent discussion on the issue, while the examples of Treweek, Vivian and Knight inexorably faded into the background.

Such was the philosophical platform upon which the often acrimonious debates surrounding the English Causes were conducted, with prominent advocates such as Lewis Edwards (the principal of Bala Calvinistic Methodist College)[590] and Thomas Rees[591] being pitted against the trenchant opposition of noted firebrands such as Emrys ap Iwan (the Calvinistic Methodist minister and literary critic), and Thomas Gee (the editor of *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* during the paper's zenith).[592] The rest of this chapter will thus be devoted to scrutinising the manner in which both the cases for and against the English Causes unfolded over ensuing decades, with a particular emphasis on how English migrants featured within the context of the respective arguments. The issue of responsibility for the raising of the

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[587]'Neu deuer yn nes adref, tua 15 mlynedd yn ol ymranodd y Wesleyaid Cymreig a'r Wesleyaid Saesonig yn Nhredegar'. Hughes, D., *Achosion Saesonig yng Nghymru – Papur a gyfansoddwyd yn unol a phenderfyniad cynnadledd cyfarfod chwarterol Undeb Cymreig Sir Fynwy yn Saron, Penycae, Medi 24, 1867, ac a ddarllenwyd yn nghynnadledd cyfarfod chwarterol yr un undeb yn Sardis, Varteg, Rhagfyr 31, 1867, gan y Parch D. Hughes, B.A., Tredegar*, (1867), p.13.

[588] 'Ymroddodd y Cymry ati a'u holl egni; cynnaliasant yr achos heb bwyso ar neb; maent wedi talu o'r bron am eu haddoldy (heb flino neb y tu allan iddynt eu hunain); y maent wedi cadw eu gweinidog yn barchus yr holl amser, canys ni fu ganddynt erioed ddim ond un, ac y maent yn awry n eglwys a bywyd, nerth, a gweddio ynddi.', Hughes, *Achosion Saesonig yng Nghymru*, p.13.

[589] 'Ond beth am yr un Saesonig? Wel, gwyddoch ei hanes, am fod yr aelodau yno yn edrych am gynnorthwy y tu faes iddynt eu hunain, syrthiasant i farweidd-dra a diffrwythdra, ac yn y man methasant a chynnal yr achos ddim yn hwy.', Hughes, *Achosion Saesonig yng Nghymru*, p.13.

[590] Dictionary of Welsh Biography. EDWARDS, LEWIS (1809 - 1887), for fifty years principal of Bala Calvinistic Methodist College, teacher and theologian. [ONLINE]. Available at: http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-EDWA-LEW-1809.html. [Accessed 30 September 2018].

[591] Williams, A.H., 'Y Dr Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Seisnig' in *Y Cofiadur*, No.40, (May, 1975), pp.3-34.

[592] Jones, T.G., *Cofiant Thomas Gee* (Denbigh, 1913).

causes, as well as the methods by which they were promoted and pursued, will also be explored within the parameters of this analysis.

The English Causes: The moral and strategic case

While the proponents of the English Causes espoused their arguments from a vast array of social, cultural and theological vantage points, with a significant variation in terms of individual interpretations of the precise methods of implementation also apparent, generally speaking the case in favour of extending the provision of English-language services can be broadly separated into two distinct sub-categories: the **strategic case** and the **moral case**. Whereas the former was very much centred on the specifics of inter-denominational rivalry and the aforementioned sense of anxiety regarding Nonconformity's foothold in Wales, the latter embraced wider-reaching themes related to social assimilation and the ethical constitution of society. The strategic case for the English Causes also overlapped to a certain extent with the broader issue of disestablishment, while the moral case evoked tropes that had frequently underpinned contemporary discourses on the state of the Welsh language. While this method of enquiry should not be viewed as entirely rigorous; indeed, several sympathetic commentators expressed themselves by borrowing from both rhetorical 'toolkits'; it does nevertheless provide a fairly useful analytical blueprint with which we may excavate and examine the underlying motives for the English Causes.

To fully comprehend the manner in which the English Causes were conceived as a matter of strategic interest, it becomes necessary to discuss the intensification of the so-called 'competitive spirit' that increasingly came to characterise inter-denominational relations during the second half of the nineteenth century. The spectre of disestablishment featured prominently in such discussions, as the promotion of the causes became intertwined within broader efforts to reinforce the ascendancy of nonconformity across the religiously-observant population of Wales. Keen to sustain the momentum that had been so emphatically acquired by the census of 1851 therefore, nonconformist advocates of the English Causes argued that their proposed measures would definitively ensure that the demographic pendulum would not swing back in the Anglicans' favour, irrespective of the changing socio-cultural climate. In this respect, the growing English population of the country lent their case a certain degree of urgency, since incoming migrants were deemed to be particularly susceptible to the influence of the Established Church (which, given that nonconformist attitudes throughout this period were inherently shaped by the notion that the Church was an 'alien' institution that had been imposed from England, is unsurprising).

This is demonstrated by a contribution made at the 1862 meeting of the Association of Congregational Churches for the Extension of English Preaching in South Wales and Monmouthshire, which declared that, in the absence of any provisions being made for the 'English population in the manufacturing districts', a substantial proportion of these migrants had either 'become irreligious' or had 'gone over to the Established Church' (eventualities which were practically synonymous in the eyes of nonconformists).[593] Similar fears were expressed by the Reverend D. Hughes in his 1867 speech on the English Causes, as he highlighted that since the influx of 'English and Irish foreigners into the country'[594] was seemingly proceeding unabated, it was only logical to assume that the Established Church, which conducted services largely through the medium of English, would be well-placed to exploit these circumstances at the expense of a nonconformist hegemony that had largely been established on account of its intimate association with the native language.[595]Such observations underline a growing awareness therefore that, at least amongst certain elements of nonconformity, the cultural-linguistic dichotomy as embodied by chapel culture and Anglicanism, which had frequently been deployed as a measure of the Church's 'otherness' in Wales, could act as an ideological straightjacket upon efforts to accommodate changes in Welsh society.

Perhaps surprisingly however, given the overt expressions of Nonconformist unity that became a staple of the pro-disestablishment cause from the 1851 census onwards, this tendency of viewing the English Causes as an effective mechanism for securing the adherence of 'new' (in other words, anglicised) audiences also extended well beyond the chapel-church divide. While much of the contemporary literature on the issue sought to portray the promotion of English Causes as a necessary contingency in the wider effort to marginalise the Established Church, there were also implicit indications that such measures were motivated by more parochial impulses of self-preservation. This impression conveyed by an article appearing in *The Monthly Treasury* that outlined an imagined scenario between

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[593] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *Monmouthshire Merlin,* 29 November 1862.

[594] *'Trwy fod dyeithriaid o Saeson a Gwyddelod yn dyfod drosodd i'r wlad hon o Loegr a'r Iwerddon'*, Hughes, D., *Achosion Saesonig yng Nghymru – Papur a gyfansoddwyd yn unol a phenderfyniad cynnadledd cyfarfod chwarterol Undeb Cymreig Sir Fynwy yn Saron, Penycae, Medi 24, 1867, ac a ddarllenwyd yn nghynnadledd cyfarfod chwarterol yr un undeb yn Sardis, Varteg, Rhagfyr 31, 1867, gan y Parch D. Hughes, B.A., Tredegar*, (1867), p.2.

[595] *'A thrwy fod cryn lawer o wasanaeth crefyddol yn cael ei gynnal yn y wlad hon yn yr iaith Saesoneg, gan yr Eglwys Wladol yn gystal a chan wahanol enwadau crefyddol, y mae yn amlwg y dylai yr Annibynwyr fel enwad, ymroddi i gyfodi a chynnal achosion Saesonig yn eu plith, onide, byddant yn rhwym o golli tir a cholli eu dylanwad crefyddol yn mhlith y dosparth Saesonig o'r trigolion'*. Hughes, *Achosion Saesonig yng Nghymru*, p.2.

a group of religious figures (humorously described with names such as 'Brother Bigot' or 'Brother Progressive', depending on their stance in relation to the English Causes) discussing the relative merits of extending the provision of English-language preaching. Intriguingly, no mention of disestablishment is made by any of the proponents of the English Causes in this hypothetical conference, their case instead being constructed according to the narrow (and distinctly non-spiritual) interests of their own affiliated denomination. 'Brother Progressive', for example, urged instant action on the part of his denomination due to the fact that the 'field' was 'open' to exploit the growing presence of the English-speaking population, and that such decisiveness would ensure their endeavours would face 'no opposition at all' from their rivals.[596]

The less extravagantly named 'Deacon No. 2' concurred with the strategic vision of 'Brother Progressive', and was wary that present indecision had already undermined their position in the arena of inter-denominational competition. Noting that 'other denominations' were already in the process of 'starting English Causes everywhere', the Deacon warned that without a coherent response on their part, the 'chance' would be 'gone' to secure their future prosperity in the new, presumably anglicised, Wales.[597] While this satirical swipe at those sections of nonconformity that were perceived to be obstructing the provision of English-language preaching has no basis in actual events, it nevertheless serves as a useful demonstration of how the English Causes became a prism through which the broader dynamics of inter-denominational relations in Welsh society were conceived.

This was particularly apparent in the case of the Calvinistic Methodists, whose pretensions of being the authentic voice of religion in Wales were very much challenged by the actual diversity of denominational affiliation across the nation, which could often fluctuate significantly on a regional basis, as well as the rapidly changing demographic complexion of the nation. The fear that rigid adherence to the traditions of 'nationality' could impede the ability of Calvinistic Methodism to effectively respond to the emergence of anglicised environments were voiced by *The Treasury*, in which it was claimed that the 'Welsh origin' of the denomination, whilst a 'matter of congratulation to Welshmen', had ironically become the 'greatest disadvantage to its present existence' due to its unwillingness to cater for the 'influx of Englishmen into Wales'.[598] Concerns were also raised regarding the

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[596] *The Monthly Treasury*, Vol.7, (September, 1906).
[597] *The Monthly Treasury*, Vol.7, (September, 1906).
[598] 'God's voice to the churches', *The Treasury*, Vol.8, No.94, (October 1874), p.1.

organisational capacity of Calvinistic Methodism to compete with its denominational rivals for the affections of the English migrant population. For example, in an article that also appeared in *The Treasury* magazine, it was observed that the 'nucleus' of English Causes directed by the Calvinistic Methodists would invariably be formed from individuals plucked out of Welsh-speaking chapels, whereas other denominations such as the Baptists, Independents and Wesleyans, primarily due to their historical origins, were able to rely on more 'thorough English members to form the nucleus' of their respective causes.[599] As a result, it was stated that these denominations were naturally more adept to 'take the lead in occupying what may be called the English ground in Wales', which would, without urgent action on the part of the Calvinistic Methodists, allow them to consolidate their 'future prosperity' in Wales.[600] Similar fears were expressed from a North Walian perspective by a Reverend Thomas in 1883. Upon learning of the inactivity of the Lleyn and Eifionydd monthly meetings in promoting the English Causes, he gravely warned that while 'other connections were actively increasing' their provision of English-language services, the Calvinistic Methodists were remaining 'dormant' on the issue to the extent that 'places which should really belong to that body were now under the charge of other connections'.[601]

Elements of the Welsh-speaking press concurred with this view that the Calvinistic Methodist pretentions to hegemony in Welsh society could be fatally compromised if a comprehensive strategy for extending the provision of English-language services did not materialise. A contributor to *Y Drysorfa*, the Welsh-language equivalent of *The Treasury*, reflected bitterly that it was 'self-evident' that the representatives of Welsh Methodism were not exhibiting the vigour nor enthusiasm required for effective English Causes in Wales, in stark contrast to the endeavours of their Congregationalist counterparts.[602] The Calvinsitic Methodists were not the only denomination during this period to express an awareness of having to operate in a congested and fiercely competitive 'marketplace'. During the 1862 meeting of the Association of Congregational Churches for the Extension of English Preaching in South Wales and Monmouthshire, it was observed with regret that whereas a number of 'English people coming to Wales' had originally been 'members of Congregational Churches in England', by the time that they migrated to Wales it was found

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[599] 'The Formation of English Churches', *The Treasury,* No.4, (April 1864), pp.100-101.
[600] 'The Formation of English Churches', *The Treasury,* No.4, (April 1864), pp.100-101.
[601] 'English Services in Wales', *Flintshire Observer,* 30 August 1883.
[602] *'Mae yn wirionedd na ddylid ei gelu, nad ydyw cyfoethogion Methodistiaeth Cymru yn gweithredu yn debyg mor anrhydeddus yn y mater hwn ag y mae yr Annibynwyr cyfoethog yn Lloegr tuag at eu brodyr sydd yn llafurio i godi achosion Saesonig yn Nghymru'. Y Drysorfa*, No.275, (October 1869), p.382.

that, for reasons ranging from the language used at services to the inadequate dimensions of the places of worship, many 'went to another denomination'.[603]

In this respect, it is striking to note the extent to which some arguments in favour of the English Causes appropriated elements of the ruthlessly rationalist and utilitarian philosophical outlook that underpinned the capitalist ethos of the era. Despite their aforementioned reservations towards the social impact of capitalist-driven industrialisation, particularly due to its perceived potential to undermine the position of the rural *gwerin*, lobbying for the extension of English Causes therefore often involved indulging in rhetoric that mirrored the individualistic, quasi-Darwinist logic of free-market commercialism. As a consequence, several Nonconformists (as well as contemporary Welsh commentators in general) would have been prepared to subscribe, at least tacitly, to the mantra promoted by Llewelyn Turner that 'a man should acquire those languages best suited to the line he is about to take and the particular kind of fight for "existence" he is about to make, for that is what it comes to in these days of competition'.[604] In this context, the 'fight for existence' was expressed by the representatives of various denominations in terms of the struggle to consolidate and expand their membership, with the English Causes being viewed as an effective means of tapping into a new and largely unaffiliated 'market' of worshippers in the form of the English migrant population. This mentality was displayed in an article appearing on behalf of the 'Society for the Promotion of English Congregationalism in South Wales and Monmouthshire', which established an explicit connection between the necessity for the extension of English-language services and the 'law of demand and supply' which had attracted 'large numbers of English-speaking people into the valleys and mountains' to mine for the 'prodigious wealth lying underneath the ground'.[605] A similar sentiment was expressed by *The Torch* magazine in 1907, the mouthpiece of the so-called 'Forward Movement', a faction that promoted the English Causes within Welsh Presbyterianism. The article in question urged its readers to recognise that while the Welsh valleys continued to 'yield their treasures of mineral wealth', the Presbyterian churches would be required to 'double and re-double its earnestness in the winning of souls'.[606]

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[603] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[604] Edwards, H.T., *Codi'r hen wlad yn ei hol, 1850-1914* (Llandysul, 1989), p.155.
[605] 'Society for the Promotion of English Congregationalism in South Wales and Monmouthshire', *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 16 March 1867.
[606] *The Torch (official organ of Forward Movement of the Presbyterian Church of Wales)*, Vol.3, (September 1907), p.2.

Consequently, it is unsurprising that contemporary writings on the English Causes displayed a distinct awareness of the social and economic forces that were shaping Welsh society, and, in turn, sought to present their views as an accommodation of said developments. The emergence of increasingly sophisticated census data during this period was critical in this respect, as the assessments of the relative merits of enlarging the provision of English-language services became inherently expressed in distinctly empirical terms. For example, as early as the aftermath of the 1841 census a representative of the Established Church had noted that 'only 62% of Monmouth and 74% of Glamorgan were natives of the diocese', which underlined the necessity for 'both Welsh and English clergy'.[607] The rapidly industrialising south-east was not the only area of concern for contemporary religious observers. As Gareth Haulfryn Williams has noted in his study of Wesleyanism in north Wales, the influx of non-native migrant labourers to work on schemes such as the construction of the Britannia Bridge across the Menai Straits amplified calls for a decisive response from Welsh religious representatives.[608] The assumption that these social changes were seismic in their scale and irrepressible in their potency also became a recurring theme in such observations. In an address delivered by E. Herbert Evans to the North Wales English Congregational Union in 1884, it was declared that a 'New Wales was coming in' as a result of the 'restless Saxon' introducing 'new customs, new habits, new enterprise' into the nation.[609] Crucially, the supremacy of these Anglo-Saxon ideals were deemed so great that, 'like all the world', the Welsh people would be 'obliged to bow before them'.[610] It was thus a duty for Welsh Christians to ensure that the emerging 'New Wales', underpinned by the modernising ethos of English capitalism, would become 'as high in its moral and religious character as the Old Wales that is passing away'.[611] Such reasoning represented a classic rhetorical trade-off that would become a recurring feature of contemporary Nonconformist discourse, in which the prowess of the English in secular affairs was readily affirmed in exchange for the recognition of Welsh moral and spiritual superiority.

Similar sentiments were expressed at an earlier meeting of the Congregational Union in 1882. Having acknowledged delegates from 'all parts of the Principality' (a clear indication of the significance assigned to the issue by a denomination that was otherwise historically

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[607] Walker, D., *A History of the Church in Wales* (Penarth, 1976), p.155.
[608] Williams, G.H., 'Achosion Bach Saesneg y Wesleaid yn Sir Gaernarfon', *Bathafarn: Cylchgrawn Hanes yr Eglwys Fethodistaidd yng Nghymru*, Vol.31, (2000), p.47.
[609] 'The Claims of Wales upon English Friends', *The North Wales Express,* 31 October 1884.
[610] 'The Claims of Wales upon English Friends', *The North Wales Express,* 31 October 1884.
[611] 'The Claims of Wales upon English Friends', *The North Wales Express,* 31 October 1884.

wedded to its localist and decentralised sensibilities), the chairman 'alluded to the great inroads being made into Wales by the English' that would eventually cause the native language to be 'washed out altogether'.[612] The representatives of congregationalism in Wales would thus be compelled to provide 'English ministrations for English permanent residents in Wales', as well as, in another demonstration of how proponents of the English Causes strove to appear particularly attuned with the evolving socio-cultural climate, 'similar ministrations for summer visitors to Welsh seaside resorts'.[613] Such projections of the inevitability of Anglicisation, both in terms of the linguistic and demographic complexion of the nation, were not solely confined to the English-language press. In an article featured in *Y Tyst Cymreig* in 1869 it was stated that it had become 'abundantly clear that a major and fundamental change' had occurred in recent years to the 'language of the nation, and especially in its towns and labouring communities'.[614] Whereas a mere twenty years previously in areas such as Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire it had not been necessary to 'address the congregations in English', the situation had since altered so that Welsh was no longer required as the language of religious instruction.[615]

While the supposed inevitability and all-pervasive nature of Anglicisation was generally accepted by the advocates of the English Causes throughout this period however, a degree of variation was apparent in terms of its actual desirability to Nonconformity, as well as Welsh society as a whole. For certain figures, the incoming tide of English migration and the English language was viewed as a tantalising opportunity for socio-cultural renewal and progress. For example, a contributor to *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, going by the pseudonym 'I Deacon', expressed his eagerness towards the prospect of 'every hamlet' having its own English chapel, which he reasoned would not only 'give the English visitors opportunities of religious consolation', but also serve to 'elevate and educate the Welsh peasantry'.[616] Such a proclamation represented a rare inversion of the recurring cultural trope of the Welsh *gwerin* being exceptionally distinguished in their moral and intellectual character. This outlook was shared by a contributor to *Seren Cymru*, who declared that in spite of his relative youth and

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[612] 'English Congregational Union', *Cheshire Observer*, 15 April 1882.

[613] 'English Congregational Union', *Cheshire Observer*, 15 April 1882.

[614] 'Amlwg yw, fod cyfnewidiad pwysig a chyfiawn yn cymeryd lie yn iaith ein gwlad, yn neillduol yn ein trefydd a'n cymydogaethau gweithfaol'. 'Cymdeithas yr Achosion Seisnig yng Nghymru', *Y Tyst Cymreig*, 19 November 1869.

[615] 'Mewn llawer o fanau, yn Morganwg a Mynwy yn neillduol, ugain mlynedd yn ol, nid oedd angen darllen y testyn yn Saesonaeg, yn awr nid oes angen ei ddarllen yn Gymraeg.' *Y Tyst Cymreig*, 19 November 1869.

[616] 'The English Cause', *Banner ac Amserau Cymru*, 11 September 1915.

lack of formal education[617] he had nevertheless managed to advance himself to a position where he possessed authority over 'more than a dozen Englishmen', of which many were described as either having received far 'superior scholarship' to his own or were considerably advanced in terms of their seniority.[618] This he attributed to his acquisition of English, which had been facilitated in part by the provision of regular English-language preaching in his locality.[619]

In most cases, however, the arguments in favour of the English Causes were invariably presented, at least to native audiences, as the product of a distinctly pragmatic mindset, engendered by a growing recognition of socio-cultural forces that were deemed to be beyond the control of Welsh society. A sense of resignation at the inexorable advance of Anglicisation often pervaded the writings of the pro-English Cause lobby, as the extension of English-language religious provision became viewed as a regrettable, but nevertheless logical consequence of having to prioritise the preservation of Wales' religious customs. In a manner that seemed to deliberately evoke themes of Christian selflessness therefore, the decline of the Welsh language was portrayed as a necessary 'sacrifice' for the greater good of securing the long-term spiritual character of the nation. For example, upon the opening of the English Presbyterian Chapel on Brecon's Watton Street in 1867, a Mr. Mordecai Jones, one of its local patrons, asserted that while it was generally acknowledged that the Welsh language was 'far superior to the English' as a medium of religious instruction, it was also apparent that 'no thoughtful person' could reasonably deny that the 'rapid progress' of anglicisation would soon become 'impossible to resist'.[620] On this basis therefore, Jones reasoned that the present religious class of Wales would be 'called upon to provide places of worship for the rising generation', who were supposedly destined to become exclusively English in speech.[621] The Reverend Joseph Evans, speaking at the annual English Calvinistic Methodist conference in 1886, pursued this pragmatic line of reasoning even further. Imploring the audience, and, by extension, the Welsh people as a whole, to display a 'spirit of forbearance and sacrifice' towards the issue of the native language, Evans concluded his speech by expressing his

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[617] 'Nid wyf fi ond 33 oed; ni chefais erioed ysgol oedd yn deilwng o'r enw'. *Seren Cymru*, October 1863.
[618] 'yr wyf fi heddyw mewn sefyllfa a chenyf awdurdod ar fwy na dwsin o Saeson, rhai ohonynt wedi derbyn ysgoloriaeth athrofaol, ac eraill yn digon hen i fod yn dadau i mi'. *Seren Cymru*, October 1863.
[619] 'Dyna beth y mae dysgu Saesneg wedi ei wneyd i mi'. *Seren Cymru*, October 1863.
[620] 'The Opening of the English Calvinistic Methodist or Presbyterian Chapel', *Brecon County Times,* 2 February 1867.
[621] 'The Opening of the English Calvinistic Methodist or Presbyterian Chapel', *Brecon County Times,* 2 February 1867.

sincere 'hope that no love of language would be permitted to interfere' with the greater good of the 'welfare of the religion which their forefathers loved and practised'.[622]

These sentiments were echoed by Samuel Morley at a meeting on 27 November 1860, which involved preliminary discussions regarding the eventual formation of the Society for Promoting the Establishment and Support of English Congregational Churches in South Wales and Monmouthshire. Following on from a speech delivered by Thomas Rees which outlined potential pitfalls for the extension of English-language preaching, Morley warned the assembled audience that they should not be under any illusions as to the hardships facing their cause, as he asserted that the native Welsh would be compelled to 'sacrifice their money and members' to ensure its future success.[623] The fallout from these endeavours would necessarily serve to 'devalue' the 'nationality and language' of areas in which the English Causes were most prevalent, which, as Morley freely (and presciently) acknowledged, would not be particularly welcomed by a substantial proportion of the native Welsh.[624]

Nevertheless, Morley confidently predicted that pragmatism would overcome this initial phase of disgruntlement, and that the indigenous population would eventually come to recognise the 'higher' purpose of the English Causes in upholding the moral standards of the nation in the face of the 'polluting' influence of the 'ungodly' migrants.[625] Even *The Treasurer* journal, which was ordinarily far more effusive in its promotion of the causes, was prone to indulging in themes of Christian self-abnegation and humility to advance its arguments. In an article from 1910, it was emphasised that the practice of starting English Causes in areas in which there were either 'English people with no place of worship provided for them' or Welsh Methodists who preferred 'speaking English to Welsh' naturally implied a 'good deal of self-sacrifice' on the part of the affected communities.[626]

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[622] 'English Calvinistic Methodists. Annual Conference at Llanelly', *Weekly Mail*, 25 September 1886.
[623] 'Byddai'n rhaid i'r Cymry aberthu arian ac aelodau'. Williams, A.H., 'Y Dr. Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Saesnig', *Y Cofiadur*, No. 40, (May 1975), p.20.
[624] 'ac wrth ofyn iddynt wneud hynny byddai'r pwyllgor yn anuniongyrchol yn tueddu i ddibrisio'u cenedligrwydd a'u hiaith, oblegid yr oeddynt yn rhwym o wneud rhywbeth a fyddai'n lladd yr iaith Gymraeg. Yn naturiol, ni fyddai'r Cymry'n croesawu hyn'. Williams, 'Y Dr. Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Saesnig', *Y Cofiadur*, p.20.
[625] 'ond credai yr edrychent ar y mater yn y goleuni priodol, a sylweddoli, oni wnaent, y byddai'u moesau, yn ogystal a'u hiaith, yn dioddef o ddod i gysylltiad a'r newydd-ddyfodiaid o Saeson; yn wir roedd achub cydwladwyr rhag cael eu llygru gan y trigolion newydd annuwiol yn ddigon o reswm ynddo'i hun dros iddynt ymgymryd a'r gwaith yr oedd Rhagluniaeth wedi'u galw i'w gyflawni'. Williams, 'Y Dr. Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Saesnig', *Y Cofiadur*, p.20.
[626] *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, Vol.11, No.1, (January 1910), p.4.

This tendency to cloak what were essentially strategic, empirically-grounded concerns in the more portentous language of 'noble' hardship thus fomented the moral case for the English Causes, which located the measures to enhance English-language preaching for the anglicised portions of Wales within broader theological understandings of Christian 'good work'. While unpalatable it may have seemed to the particular cultural sensibilities of Welsh nonconformity, the establishment of English Causes thus became equated with the maintenance of the universal Christian faith, providing the consistently image-conscious nonconformist leaders with the opportunity to publically eschew parochial self-interest in the name of a 'higher' duty. Consequently, the English migrant population represented the ideal group for the realisation of these ambitions, since their perceived spiritual deficiencies could be remedied through the active and charitable interventions of the more 'enlightened' indigenous Welsh. Indeed, the explicit characterisation of the English Causes as a legitimate expression of Victorian missionary zeal became a recurring feature of contemporary discourse, as their proponents strove to highlight how the domestic tending of the religious needs of English migrants was no less pressing (and no less worthy) than concurrent endeavours to evangelise the furthest-flung corners of the British Empire.

Such reasoning was especially prevalent in the writings and speeches of the Swansea-based Congregationalist minister Thomas Rees, who perhaps represented the most prominent advocate of the moral case for the English Causes. For example, in a letter to *The Patriot* newspaper in December 1859, Rees lamented the fact that while his denomination was persistently 'appealing for money towards saving China, Africa, Europe, the colonies, Ireland and the rural areas of England',[627] there had been little attention towards the 'newly-arrived settlers to Wales from England, Scotland and Ireland', whose situation was equally deserving of the 'medicine of grace'.[628] To rectify this discrepancy, Rees made a series of energetic pleas to elevate the English Causes to the position of missionary work, with the infusion of the revitalising 'medicine' of the gospel to the spiritually ailing English population of Wales becoming a recurring thematic motif in his public addresses. In a report commissioned by the Welsh Congregationalists into the provision of English preaching therefore, which had been partially inspired by Rees' work, it was asserted that the denomination should be 'enabled to

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[627] 'Roedd yr enwad byth a hefyd yn apelio am arian tuag at achub China, Africa, Ewrob, y Trefedigaethau, Iwerddon ac ardaloedd gwledig Lloegr'. Williams, A.H., 'Y Dr. Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Saesnig', *Y Cofiadur*, No. 40, May 1975, p.14.

[628] 'roedd y newydd-ddyfodiaid i Gymru o Loegr, Scotland ac Iwerddon, heb son am y miloedd o Gymry di-Gymraeg, yn amddifad o foddion gras hefyd, a neb yn malio fawr ddim amdanynt'. Williams, 'Y Dr. Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Saesnig', *Y Cofiadur*, p.14.

send at least four missionaries to this long-neglected field'.[629] The efforts of Monmouthshire-based preachers, whom the report described as being particularly proactive in their efforts to accommodate the burgeoning English element of the county, were also highlighted as being a positive example for the rest of Welsh congregationalism.[630]

Rees' attempt to conflate the English Causes with the contemporary spirit of missionary activism was echoed by a variety of nonconformist figures. For example, at the 1862 meeting of the Association of Congregational Churches for the Extension of English Preaching in South Wales and Monmouthshire, the Reverend P.W. Darnton expressed his belief in the 'duty of Christians to cultivate a missionary spirit', and that nowhere was this more applicable than in the case of English migration to Wales.[631] Whilst acknowledging the 'urgent claims of foreign countries upon the sympathy of British Christians' therefore, Darnton nevertheless called upon the audience to prioritise schemes to enhance the provision of English-language preaching within Wales itself, so that they could effectively resemble 'a missionary society for extending the kingdom of Christ among their own fellow countrymen'.[632] Meanwhile, at an English Calvinistic Methodist conference that was held in Brecon in 1888, it was generally agreed by a 'large attendance of ministers and laymen from different parts of the principality' that 'those who professed the Christian religion should also be workers in the Christian church', and that the implementation of English Causes should be carried out in that spirit.[633]

In a manner that was certainly designed to reinforce the notion that the English Causes and the work of foreign missionaries shared common ideological and theological foundations, the meeting also concluded with an address delivered by a variety of speakers on 'the missionary work promoted by the connexion in the far East'.[634] Samuel Morley, the other great nineteenth century advocate of the English Causes, was also not averse to presenting his case as part of a grandiose project for Christian renewal. At the Ebeneezer chapel conference of 1860, he described the 'formation of congregational churches where population and other circumstances may warrant their establishment, and the erection of suitable chapels for their

[629] Williams, 'Y Dr. Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Saesnig', *Y Cofiadur*, pp.6-7.
[630] Williams, 'Y Dr. Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Saesnig', *Y Cofiadur*, pp.6-7.
[631] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[632] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[633] 'English Calvinistic Methodism', *The Cardiff Times*, 15 September 1888.
[634] 'English Calvinistic Methodism', *The Cardiff Times*, 15 September 1888.

comfort and accommodation' as being the quintessential objectives of the 'home mission operations' for the English migrant population.[635]

Therefore, the portrayal of English migrants as neglected and helpless souls that were in desperate need of guidance from the more spiritually privileged sections of Welsh society became a potent trope in the conceptualisation of the English Causes as missionary bodies. In a speech delivered to the North Wales Calvinistic Methodist Association in 1880, for example, a Dr. Edwards of Bala rhetorically questioned his audience, having been frustrated by the perceived inactivity of his denomination in promoting English-language preaching, whether the 'souls' of the English migrants that were rapidly 'filling the towns of Wales' were as worthy of salvation as those of the indigenous Welsh.[636] He went on to declare that it was the sworn responsibility of the 'Methodist body' to thus 'preach the gospel to those strangers who came in their midst'.[637] Even more explicitly paternalistic language was deployed in an article appearing in *The Monthly Treasury* in 1910, which refuted suggestions that the English migrant population should be wholly self-sufficient in their religious affairs by establishing a distinct thematic association between their situation and that of a child being raised by a Welsh parent.[638] The notion that inactivity on the part of Welsh nonconformity towards their English-speaking Christian brethren would thus be tantamount to 'neglect' also served to imbue the English Causes with a distinctly benevolent authority.[639]

In this respect, a striking aspect of these contemporary narratives in favour of the English Causes is the manner in which they both unconsciously and consciously restricted any agency on the part of the migrant population on whose behalf they purported to be speaking. Not only were English migrants portrayed as being the passive victims of the supposed philistinism and spiritual destitution of their culture, they were also mostly deemed to be ill-equipped to unilaterally address these deficiencies upon arrival in Wales. Consequently, the vast majority of literature on the subject was produced by the self-styled

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[635] 'The Religious Interest of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times,* 30 November 1860.

[636] 'Dr. Edwards' Speech on English Causes in Wales', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard,* 30 July 1880.

[637] 'Dr. Edwards' Speech on English Causes in Wales', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard,* 30 July 1880.

[638] 'It may be said that Welsh parents ought to teach Welsh to their children and that the English people among us can provide for themselves; but it is easier to say that Welsh parents ought to bring their children up as thorough Welshmen than it is to get them to do so in the face of the difficulties that are in their way, and is the religion of the children to suffer because their parents have not done all their duty towards them, and are the English people who live in our towns to be neglected by us because their own countrymen have not provided for them?'. *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, Vol.11, No.1, (January 1910), p.4.

[639] *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, Vol.11, No.1, p.4.

native intelligentsia of Welsh nonconformity, and thus inexorably shaped more by often parochial concerns relating to their affiliated denomination than empirical observations of the English migrant population as it existed during this period. Nevertheless, proponents for the causes did occasionally seek to supplement their arguments with the authentic voices of English migrants, which provides a valuable, if slightly distorted, insight into their attitudes towards these schemes of religious provision (and, by implication, socio-cultural assimilation). For example, one of the contributors to the meeting held at Ebeneezer Chapel in 1860 was a Mr. Jupe, a self-declared 'Englishman upon Welsh ground', who expressed his hearty support for the measures being proposed by his 'friend' Samuel Morley.[640]

A more substantial account was provided in the pages of an article appearing in *The Monthly Treasurer* in 1910, which profiled the opinions of a Mr. Stott, a native Liverpudlian who had recently migrated to north-east Wales with his wife. Having announced his satisfaction with the 'lovely spot' in which he had chosen to settle, he nevertheless lamented the difficulties he had encountered in finding English-language services around the locality.[641] While he had occasionally attended services where the preacher had been willing to 'condescend to interpolate a few remarks in his sermon in English', he nevertheless impressed upon the native population to provide a full 'English service now and then' in one of the four Welsh chapels that represented the community.[642] Observing a similar pattern to the imagined scenario between 'Brother Bigot', 'Brother Progressive' and their colleagues, the article then proceeded to take the form of an interview in which the author played devil's advocate to challenge Stott's stance (and thus inversely dismissing some of the oft-repeated criticisms levelled against the English Causes). For example, the hypothetical interviewer challenged Stott's call for the extension of English-language preaching by claiming that it would be an act of 'treason to the Welsh language' and precipitate the 'beginning of the end of our noble tongue'.[643] Stott's response, who now assumed the role of the 'voice of reason' championed by the journal as a whole, represented something of a departure from the aforementioned narratives that sought to portray the demise of the Welsh language as a necessary sacrifice for the greater good of the nation's religious constitution. Far from empathising with the dilemma, expressed with varying degrees of sincerity by native

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[640] 'The Religious Interests of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.

[641] Anwyl, T., 'English Impressions of Welsh Village Life', *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, Vol.11, No.8, (August 1910), p.149.

[642] Anwyl, 'English Impressions of Welsh Village Life', *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, p.149.

[643] Anwyl, 'English Impressions of Welsh Village Life', *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, p.149.

commentators, of having to compromise the status of Welsh in order to accommodate the incoming tide of anglicisation therefore, Stott ridiculed the notion of the language being 'so insecurely fixed' that a 'few English Causes' scattered 'here and there where English people come into Wales' would 'sap its life'.[644]

At first glance, this line of reasoning, articulated as it was by an 'outsider', seems to have been a rudimentary effort to assuage fears that the English Causes presented some form of existential, foreign threat to the national indigenous culture of Wales. Indeed, the manner in which Stott casually advocates the establishment of such causes 'here and there', presumably as a contingency measure on a case-by-case basis rather than a comprehensive and all-encompassing movement of reform, may well hint at an attempt to satirise what could have seemed, at least to external observers, a rather trivial issue regarding the organisation of day-to-day services. This is reinforced by Stott's assertion that the 'Welsh valley' in which he now resided had managed to retain its character as a Welsh-speaking community despite being located 'within three miles of England' and the fact that the local 'works' attracted the 'English and Irish in their hundreds'.[645] The introduction of English Causes into the few areas in which they were required would thus have a 'negligible' impact upon the broader health of the native language.[646] However, the manner in which Stott casts some aspersions on the fundamental vitality of the native language in the local society (questioning whether it was 'so insecurely fixed' as to require protection from outside influences) very much resonates with the social Darwinist assumptions that often underpinned discourses surrounding the English Causes, corresponding to the manner in which the ruthlessly 'rationalist' and 'competitive' ethos of the capitalist era were instilled within broader assessments of the status and utility of the Welsh language. Other contributions made by Stott only serve to further expose this underlying consumeristic mentality, which very much observed the unsentimental and distinctly economistic rationale of 'supply and demand'.

For example, in response to a query made by the reporter relating to the failure of English society to provide reciprocal 'Welsh Causes' for the Welsh-speaking population of England ('Let me ask you this. Do you, Englishmen, think of starting a Welsh Cause for the Welshmen who flock into England?'), Stott countered the suggestion that the situations were

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[644] Anwyl, 'English Impressions of Welsh Village Life', *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, p.149.
[645] Anwyl, 'English Impressions of Welsh Village Life', *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, p.149.
[646] Anwyl, 'English Impressions of Welsh Village Life', *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, p.149.

comparable by stating that the Welsh inhabitants of England had migrated with the intention to 'make money' whereas the English were in Wales to 'spend it'.[647] The implication was clear: the English investment of their wealth in Wales had, through the natural, market-driven 'laws' of the modern age, had bestowed upon them the 'consumer privilege' of being able to demand services that were synchronised according to their particular needs. The aforementioned utilitarianism that often sustained the case for the English Causes was also apparent in Stott's argument. Anticipating calls that he, along with fellow English migrants in Wales, should simply acquire a degree of fluency in Welsh as a means of adjusting to these unfamiliar religious environments, Stott once again juxtaposed the respective situations faced by Welsh and English migrants. While the motivations of Welsh migrants in England, who were apparently dictated by a desire for employment, had meant that they invariably arrived in their new surroundings with 'a fair knowledge of English', their English counterparts in Wales, despite 'desperate efforts' to familiarise themselves with a language that was virtually excluded from the realm of commerce, often had 'no skills in Welsh'.[648]

There are several logical inconsistencies in Stott's argument, which is particularly apparent in terms of its cognitive dissonance while delineating the fundamental differences between the course of English and Welsh migration. For example, his attempt to establish distinct motivations for migration amongst both groups based on their respective 'national characteristics' is somewhat undermined by the acknowledgement that the local 'works' and collieries had attracted a host of English workers from across the border, which very much mirrors his assessment of Welsh migration to England being directed by a desire to 'make money'. The manner in which his responses to the questioning of the 'interviewer' conveniently address recurring contemporary qualms regarding the scale and scope of the English Causes also casts some doubt as to the reliability of Stott's account, as it is entirely possible that the authors of the article manipulated his statements to more adequately serve their agenda. Nevertheless, the interview with Stott represents a rare instance of a distinct English migrant 'voice' appearing amongst the substantial volume of literature that was produced on the English Causes, while also providing a useful segue into the issue of responsibility. Stott's account clearly demonstrates that while the proponents for the causes throughout this period were unanimous in their belief that the proliferation of English-

[647] Anwyl, 'English Impressions of Welsh Village Life', *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, p.149.
[648] Anwyl, 'English Impressions of Welsh Village Life', *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, p.149.

language services was an urgent necessity for Welsh society, there was a greater diversity of opinion on how best to delegate accountability for their physical establishment and maintenance. Such considerations also naturally fed into broader philosophical debates relating to the precise nature of indigenous society's intervention in catering for the perceived needs of its non-indigenous population, and the extent to which the Welsh nonconformist denominations should assume a hegemonic role in this respect.

As the Reverend D. Hughes declared in his speech to an assortment of colleagues at Varteg in December 1867, the fundamental dilemma facing the proponents of extending English-language preaching in Wales was to definitely resolve 'how much responsibility rests on the Welsh churches to take care of, and contribute to, the English Causes in this country.[649] Generally speaking, this was addressed by two distinct schools of thought, namely those who believed in pursuing these objectives on a unilateral and proactive basis, and those who were in favour of the representatives of Welsh nonconformity overseeing proceedings from a more advisory position, with the expectation that their English counterparts would provide much of the necessary capital and investment. To a certain degree, a 'third path' is also somewhat detectable within the relevant literature, which expressed a desire for Welsh nonconformity to initiate the process of establishing the causes (presumably as to not exacerbate the sense of distance between the denomination and the targeted migrants), but to subsequently persuade the English denominations to sustain their long-term status.

In this respect, it is immediately apparent that Stott's account followed the 'interventionist' line of reasoning; an approach shared by several contemporary commentators, but expressed according to differing social perspectives. In Stott's case, this was based on his (rather dubious) evaluation of the commercial activities of English migrants in relation to their Welsh counterparts. The willingness of the English to 'spend money' in Wales was thus emphasised to justify the expectation that the migrant population should receive a 'social dividend' in the form of the English Causes. In this respect, the implementation of a mutually beneficial social contract between the indigenous and migrant populations of Wales was implied, whereby the English migrants would offer their inherent enterprise in service to the material advancement of the nation, in exchange for the spiritual nourishment that was to be provided by the native Welsh.

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[649] 'Pa faint o ddyledswydd sydd ar yr eglwysi Cymreig i ofalu am, a chyfranu at achosion Saesonig yn y wlad hon mewn un modd?''. D. Hughes, *'Achosion Saesonig yng Nghymru – Papur a gyfansoddwyd yn unol a phenderfyniad cynnadledd cyfarfod chwarterol Undeb Cymreig Sir Fynwy gan y Parch D. Hughes, B.A., Tredegar'*, (24 September 1867), p.2.

It was a narrative that very much resonated with contemporary perceptions of the Anglo-Welsh cultural divide, and as such it is unsurprising that many Welsh nonconformists echoed Stott's call for the native population to enthusiastically embrace their duty in establishing causes for their English counterparts. For example, one of the major themes in Thomas Rees' campaigning on the issue of English-language preaching was the notion that idleness on the part of Welsh nonconformity would only serve to further exacerbate declining spiritual standards amongst incoming migrants, and that the pretensions of nonconformist leaders, as well as their congregations, of securing a hegemonic position in Welsh society required validation through genuine and decisive action.

Consequently, while some measure of support from England could be expected at certain stages, Rees stressed that the primary driving force behind the causes should be derived from native sources.[650] This was a conclusion that was also reached by Dr. Lewis Edwards during the Ebeneezer Chapel meeting of 1860. While Edwards conceded that some of his colleagues may have felt 'indebted to their English friends' for their contributions to other aspects of Welsh society, it was necessary to acknowledge that the particular work of initiating English Causes 'must be done by Welshmen, in Wales', and that if the effective provision of English preaching was to be achieved 'Welsh ministers must set the example by doing it themselves'.[651] Elements of the Welsh-speaking press concurred with this forthright stance. In an article appearing in *Y Tyst Cymreig* on 19 November 1867, for example, a statement on behalf of the Congregationalist 'Association for the English Causes in Wales' announced that the 'experiences of the past few years' had compelled their number to contend with the reality that it was the 'primary and most pressing responsibility of Welsh Independency' to provide 'places of worship and English ministry' to those areas in which the 'irreligious English' had settled.[652]

In this respect, it is apparent that the notion that Welsh nonconformists had an obligation to establish English Causes on behalf of the migrant population drew its inspiration less from Stott's rigidly economistic interpretation (though cultural narratives

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[650] 'Dro ar ol tro fe bwysleisiodd y Saeson mai dyletswydd y Cymry (a'r Cymry-Cymraeg yn enwedig) oedd cyflawni'r nail orchwyll a'r llall; roeddynt hwy yn Lloegr yn barod i'w cynorthwyo, ond arnynt hwy eu hunain roedd y cyfrifoldeb cyntaf'. Williams, A.H., 'Y Dr Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Seisnig', *Y Cofiadur*, No.40, (May, 1975), p.21.

[651] 'The Religious Interests of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.

[652] 'Mae profiad y blynyddoedd diweddaf a sylw ar arwyddion yr amserau yn ein gorfodi i gredu, a chymhell y grediniaeth hono ar yr eglwysi, mai dyledswydd flaenaf a phenaf Annibynwyr Cymru, os mynant gadw Annibyniaeth yn y wlad, yw darparu lleoedd i addoli, a gweinidogaeth Saesonaeg yn y manau hyny lle y preswylia Saeson digrefydd'. 'Cymdeitha yr Achosion Seisnig yng Nghymru', *Y Tyst Cymreig*, 19 November 1869.

which juxtaposed Welsh and English attitudes to wealth continued to inform broader opinions on religious provision throughout the period) and more from the conviction that Nonconformity held an inherent right to dictate moral standards across Welsh society. Indeed, despite the acknowledgement that the implementation of English Causes would entail a significant financial contribution from the native population, the opportunity to position nonconformity at the forefront of efforts to accommodate the influx of migrants from across the border, thus reinforcing perceptions of the quintessential virility of chapel culture as the definitive source of social and moral authority in Wales, would prove enticing to many of the more idealistically-minded commentators of the period. This line of reasoning also naturally resonated with the aforementioned narratives that sought to portray the Welsh commitment to the English Causes as a morally righteous exercise in Christian 'self-sacrifice'. Other voices were far more circumspect in their logistical assessments. While firmly committed to the principle that nonconformity should not abdicate its responsibilities in relation to the causes, several contemporary observers struck a more measured tone in expressing how they were to be established and maintained. In most cases, this meant appealing to their counterparts in England for at least a partial level of support, which represented a departure from Stott's belief that English migrants were 'owed' some form of assistance from their Welsh 'hosts'.

For example, at a meeting of the Society for Establishing Chapels amongst the English-speaking people of Wales, held in Bristol in 1867, a Reverend J. Davies of Cardiff declared that while he sympathised greatly with the idea that the 'establishment of English chapels was needed in Wales', he nevertheless impressed upon the audience that it was only 'fair that the English, who were richer than the Welsh, should pay the amounts required for the erection of the places of worship'.[653] At the 1876 Conference on English Congregationalism in North Wales, a similarly pragmatic approach was advocated by the attendees, with the apparent proactivity of the Welsh communities of England in establishing religious services for themselves being highlighted as an instructive example for English migrants in their own struggles for religious fulfilment. Consequently, given the particular efforts of the Welsh in enabling 'their countrymen to worship in their mother tongue in the great hives of industry in England', it was reasoned that it was 'only right and just that the English people should help to provide similar accommodation for the English immigrants into Wales'.[654]

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[653] 'English Missions in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 1 June 1867.
[654] 'English Congregationalism in North Wales', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard,* 27 October 1876.

Even the stance of the Established Church, which possessed far superior resources to cater to the demands of the English migrant population, seems to have chimed to a certain extent with this strand of nonconformist opinion. In a rare public address on the issue by an Anglican representative, the Bishop of St. Asaph explained to an audience assembled at Old Colwyn's bazaar in 1899 the 'obligations of the Anglo-Saxon to the Welsh', which, in line with the 'spirit of the age', had been calculated according to an economistic outlook of their relationship with Wales. Having benefitted from the 'best coal' of Wales, as well as the other natural resources that were abundantly found across the country, the Bishop reasoned that, on the grounds of 'common sense, justice and fair play', it was necessary that English migrants should 'do the lion's share' of the work in establishing churches for themselves 'of a permanent and durable character'.[655] The expectation that an equitable distribution of responsibilities could be negotiated with the English was not solely confined to matters of finance either. While the 'pragmatists' were far more willing to endorse Welsh leadership on the broader moral guidance underpinning the English Causes, there were also calls for English preachers, and the religiously observant English population as a whole, to contribute towards the 'proper' spiritual education of English migrants arriving in Wales.

One such figure who voiced his support for this course of action was the Reverend J. Davies, who expressed his belief at the meeting for the Society for Establishing Chapels amongst the English-speaking people of Wales that it 'behoved the Bristol people to endeavour to Christianise those who spoke their own language, and who went to settle in Wales'.[656] Some form of pre-emptive action on the part of English preachers towards members of their congregations that were intending to migrate to Wales proved an attractive proposition for proponents of the English Causes as a means of easing the integration of migrants within their new religious environments. Such measures were also regarded as an effective remedy for the sense of social disorientation that was often imparted by the process of migration, thus stymieing the potential of migrants 'drifting' towards rival denominations or even complete irreligiosity. Thomas Rees, while insisting upon Welsh direction of the causes on a more general scale, stressed the importance of 'co-operation from the ministers and deacons of England' in imploring 'members on the verge of leaving for Wales to remain

[655] 'Anglo-Saxon Obligations to the Welsh', [655] *The Montgomery County Times and Shropshire and Mid-Wales Advertiser*, 22 July 1899.
[656] 'English Missions in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 1 June 1867.

faithful to the denomination', primarily as a means of arresting the alarming tendency of English migrants to 'turn into Churchmen'.[657]

Rees was even amenable to the notion of exploring some form of equitable financial arrangement between denominational representatives on both sides of the border. At a meeting of the Congregational Union in Swansea in 1871, which focused on the topic of 'The Establishment of English Congregational Churches in Wales', Rees conceded that the urge to be proactive on this matter had to be tempered to a certain extent by a recognition of the limitations of resources, and in that respect it was not 'unreasonable to expect half the cost' for the causes to derive 'from England' at some stage in the future due to the fact that 'in the past the Welsh-speaking Welsh had contributed two-thirds of the income of the Welsh Society' in service of English-language preaching.[658] This may well have been a response to the level of disquiet that had apparently accompanied prior announcements that an initial grant of around £8000 was required for the effective implementation of English Causes by the Congregationalists, as well as a yearly 'upkeep' sum of £1000. Rees had also previously acknowledged that a full commitment to the causes had the potential of reducing the yearly salaries of native ministers by between £5 and £10, which, given the fact that a significant discrepancy already existed between the average wages of Welsh and English preachers, would have undoubtedly engendered considerable resentment.

However, a distinct lack of clarity remained regarding the precise mechanisms by which a *quid pro quo* settlement could be forged on a long-term basis. Rees himself, having learned of the 'slow' progress of English Causes at 'Ebbw Vale, Beaufort, Aberdare, and Dowlais', had reportedly written a series of 'stirring letters' to 'The Patriot, and other English newspapers' as a means of 'urging the friends in England to take the matter up'.[659] A similar strategy was outlined in an article appearing in *The Treasury* journal, which announced that the Reverends H. Barrow Williams, E. Jerman, and a Mr. R. Williams of Newtown were to 'devise some method of bringing our efforts to establish English Causes to the notice of our

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[657] 'Yn ail, cydweithrediad gweinidogion a diaconiaid egwlysi Lloegr i erfyn ar eu haelodau a oedd ar fin symud i Gymru i bara'n ffyddlon i'r enwad; 'roedd gormod o lawer o'r rheini a ddaethai yma'n barod wedi troi'n Eglwyswyr'. Williams, A.H., 'Y Dr. Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Saesnig', *Y Cofiadur*, No.40, (May 1975), p.22.

[658] 'Doedd hi ddim yn afresymol disgwyl y byddai'i hanner (o'r gost) yn dod o Loegr; wedi'r cyfan, o Loegr 'roedd y Saeson yn dylifo i Gymru, ac yn y gorffennol y Cymry Cymraeg a gyfrannodd ddwy ran o dair o incwm y Gymdeithas Gymreig'. Williams, 'Y Dr. Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Saesnig', *Y Cofiadur*, p.24.

[659] 'The Religious Interests of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.

English friends in England, so as to secure their assistance'.[660] It is apparent in both cases that English support was very much sought 'after the fact', and for all the bold proclamations from various commentators regarding the prospect of financial contributions from England, it is telling that, in most cases, the establishment of English Causes were not contingent upon the ability of the various denominations in securing external support.

This exposes the fundamental conflict at the heart of the issue of 'responsibility' for the English Causes, namely the effort to reconcile a desire for a degree of 'fairness' in their implementation with a wariness that a prolonged state of inactivity or prevarication on the matter would undermine the position of nonconformity in relation to the migrant population. The fear of conceding any ground in the inter-denominational struggle for supremacy, particularly in terms of infrastructure, thus became inexorably subsumed within questions of responsibility for the English Causes, which often compromised efforts to secure lasting arrangements with religious groups in England itself. That a sense of urgency often overrode any measure of practicality on the issue is demonstrated by an address made by the Reverend H. Richards at the Ebeneezer Chapel meeting of 1860, in which he stressed it would be 'disastrous if such a spirit' as that which called for the English population to uphold their own 'spiritual care and culture' were to dictate the strategic approach of Welsh nonconformity towards English-language preaching.[661] The resolution of the question, as it was framed by Richards, of 'What, then, was to be done, and who were to do the work?' thus demanded raising above 'such considerations as country, language, and race'.[662]

The emphasis that was placed on enhancing the structural capacity of Nonconformity in relation to the burgeoning English-speaking population may be viewed within the broader context of the chapel-building 'craze' that periodically gripped Welsh society throughout the nineteenth century. As R.Tudur Jones and Robert Pope note in their study of Congregationalism in Wales, there was 'never as much building and rebuilding of chapels as there was between 1850 and 1900', as 'building bigger churches became an inter-denominational competition'.[663] Indeed, such was the enthusiasm with which these projects were undertaken that in several cases the size of the chapels were often overestimated during construction, being designed according to fanciful approximations of the maximum possible

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[660] *The Treasury: A Monthly miscellany and missionary reporter in connection with the Calvinistic Methodist Churches*, Vol.20, No.236, (August 1883), p.246.

[661] 'The Religious Interests of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.

[662] 'The Religious Interests of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.

[663] Jones, R.T. & Pope, R., *Congregationalism in Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p.183.

congregation, rather than being based on average attendances in the locality.[664] However, the very fact that the causes became increasingly conceived primarily as structural undertakings towards the latter half of the century also hints at a more profound trend in the nonconformist psyche, namely the solidification and formalisation of notions of national distinctiveness between the religious habits of the Welsh and English. In this respect, whereas most proponents of the causes subscribed to the principle of eschewing nationalistic parochialism in favour of 'universal' Christian values, it is striking to observe that the realisation of their ambitions in practical terms invariably entailed the physical separation of the autochthonous and migrant congregations, with the idea that they could be accommodated within the confines of the same building often being dismissed as harmful to the long-term religious cohesion of the respective communities.

Such attitudes are immediately suggested by the extent to which bilingualism was routinely rejected by contemporary commentators as an effective solution to the 'English Question'. For example, the great spokesperson for the English Causes, Thomas Rees, announced to a conference of his peers in 1860 that the practice of conducting two services for each language in the same chapels had 'failed', and thus proclaimed his support for the construction of separate places of worship for the English-speaking population.[665] He reiterated this point at the Ebeneezer Chapel meeting of the same year, where he declared that colleagues who had 'attempted English services in Welsh chapels' had invariably found the habit to be an 'obstruction to both services'.[666] The fear that religious services would incur some form of disruption as a consequence of bilingual preaching was also expressed in the Welsh-language press. In an article appearing in *Y Drych* newspaper on August 7th 1890, for example, it was proclaimed that it would be 'futile to deny that a host of Welsh congregations' were in a state of 'considerable distress due to the clash between both languages'.[667] A Mr. Jones, speaking at the 1862 meeting of the Association of Congregational Churches for the Extension of English Preaching in South Wales and Monmouthshire, concurred with this assessment. Having received calls to promote bilingual services, Jones remarked that he was of the opinion (which, he assured his audience, was not a 'hastily formed one') that 'any attempt to combine English and Welsh in one place of

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[664] Jones & Pope, *Congregationalism in Wales*, p.183.

[665] 'Roedd cynnal dau wasanaeth yn yr un capel, meddai unwaith eto, y nail yn Gymraeg a'r llall yn Saesneg, wedi methu, a'r unig ateb i'r broblem oedd codi capeli Seisnig'. Williams, A.H., 'Y Dr Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Seisnig', *Y Cofiadur*, No.40, (May, 1975), p.19.

[666] 'The Religious Interests of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.

[667] 'Ofer yw ceisio celu y ffaith fod lluaws o'n cynulleidfaoedd Cymreig mewn anhawsderau poenus o herwydd gwrthdarawiad y ddwy iaith'. 'Gormes y Saesoneg ar Achosion Cymreig', *Y Drych*, 7 August 1890.

worship would be ruinous to both'.[668] Intriguingly, Jones justified his belief in the impracticality of bilingualism by referring to the example of the Established Church, with its present 'unpopularity' in Welsh society being largely attributed to its unsuccessful attempts at introducing bilingual services (according to Jones, such measures had alienated native parishioners due to the fact that English services had been primarily 'conducted in English at the most convenient part of the day' for the 'sake of the squire and his family' whereas the 'most inconvenient part was for the Welsh').[669]

The apparent difficulties that bilingualism posed to resident preachers were also highlighted as potential pitfalls for its effective implementation at religious services. Jones alleged that a 'popular Welsh preacher would never be popular as an English preacher', and even if he were to somehow become a renowned preacher in the English language, it would be at the expense of his reputation in the Welsh language (if he did become popular in English, he would simultaneously become stiff and unpopular in Welsh).[670] Jones thus concluded that 'no man could preach effectively in both languages', and that the only plausible solution would be to 'build convenient chapels and to find effective ministers to preach the gospel in English' for 'those who came from England to live in Wales'.[671] Such reasoning regarding the fundamental unsuitability of bilingualism correlated with broader socio-cultural assumptions of the period, concisely summarised by Lewis Edwards' assertion that 'no people ever were known to speak two languages for many generations' (unsurprisingly, much of the work by the likes of Dan Isaac Davies towards the end of the century was devoted to challenging these preconceptions).[672] However, while commentators such as Jones may have attempted to construct their objections to bilingual services in these purely functional, non-sectarian terms, they nevertheless hint at a deeper sense of distrust amongst nonconformists regarding the extent to which the comprehensive accommodation of English migrants within pre-existing services could dilute their general religious integrity (the aforementioned use of terms such as 'contamination' to describe the impact of migration upon the spiritual environment of affected communities is particularly illuminating in this respect). Consequently, the physical application of the English Causes cuts to the heart of the question of whether they were designed to effectively assimilate migrant populations within a

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[668] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[669] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[670] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[671] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[672] 'The Claims of Wales Upon English Friends', *The North Wales Express*, 31 October 1884.

broader Christian community or to subconsciously reinforce perceptions of separation between both communities.

Indeed, the latter impression is very much conveyed by the obstacles encountered by a number of nonconformist institutions that did attempt to instigate some form of holistic bilingual approach to their methods of religious instruction. For example, the early years of the Baptist Watergate Chapel in Brecon were described in remarkably harmonious terms, as the resident preacher (a Reverend John Evans) undertook the practice of conducting bilingual services to culturally heterogeneous congregations from 1817 onwards, which had the effect of ensuring that 'for a period of some six years the Welsh and English members were content to sit shoulder to shoulder'.[673] However, tensions between the Welsh-speakers and the rapidly expanding English-speaking population of the town (the nature of which are regrettably left unspecified) soon emerged, which eventually resulted in the formation of separate, exclusively English, Baptist Church at Kensington.[674] A similar process of fragmentation appears to have taken place amongst the Wesleyan Methodist community of Mold, which shared the same building for Welsh and English worshippers up until 1828, when the Welsh society constructed a separate chapel for themselves, with the English-speakers eventually following their lead by building their own place of worship in 1868.[675]

Even in cases where the sharing of religious buildings was deemed to be unavoidable, a particular emphasis was placed on the temporary nature of such arrangements. In a letter submitted to *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* in 1915, for example, the correspondent suggested 'holding one English service every Sunday in every Welsh chapel' only until the stage it was deemed feasible to 'provide an English chapel in every village'.[676] A comparable course of action was demonstrated in Ruthin, where the nascent English nonconformist community had been housed in the Town Hall for a few years until it was 'thought advisable to procure a settled home' in 1891.[677] Certainly, the dangers of housing English congregations in shared accommodation or non-specialised buildings on a long-term basis were prominently advertised by proponents of the causes.

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[673] Thomas, W.S.K., *Georgian and Victorian Brecon: Portrait of a Welsh County Town* (Llandysul, 1993), p.128.
[674] Thomas, *Georgian and Victorian Brecon*, p.128.
[675] Knighton, D.G., 'English-speaking Methodism' in Madden, L. (ed.), *Methodism in Wales: A Short History of the Wesley Tradition*, (Llandudno, 2003), p.8.
[676] 'The English Cause', *Banner ac Amserau Cymru*, 11 September 1915.
[677] 'The English Cause Bazaar', *Wrexham and Denbighshire Advertiser*, 19 September, 1891.

For example, in an article appearing in *The Treasury* which outlined guidelines for 'The Formation of English Churches', the 'very perilous way' of establishing causes through shared 'room experiments' were denounced in the 'strongest terms'.[678] Indeed, in some cases it was even considered desirable to initiate the process of constructing separate places of worship before a recognisable and coherent English-speaking congregation had actually emerged within the locality. In his address to the Ebenezer Chapel conference of 1860, for example, the Reverend H. Oliver opined that the task of getting 'chapels erected' should precede efforts to get the 'people together in many places'.[679] He was particularly amenable towards such decisiveness due to its obvious ability to nip any prospect of bilingualism in the bud, stating that the inclination to simply 'mingle the English and Welsh together' had been conclusively shown to have 'failed'.[680]

This preoccupation with the material dimension of the English Causes, often at the expense of their spiritual intent, very much resonates with the aforementioned notion that their proponents were at least subconsciously responding to the capitalistic ethos of the era. In this respect, the explicitly structural strategies for dealing with the religious requirements of the English migrant population seem to have been calibrated to reflect overarching perceptions of their fundamental 'role' in Welsh society, namely as harbingers of new and 'modernised' forms of capital and commercial enterprise. The tendency towards the (often immediate) institutional separation of Welsh and English religious communities, rather than allowing for their organic amalgamation, also speaks to this attitude of bowing to what were perceived to be specific market-orientated demands (since the notion of bilingual services challenged the 'progressive' assumption that Welsh and English should occupy different, and unconnected, social 'realms'). In this respect therefore, it is apparent that a certain degree of cognitive dissonance permeated the mindset of the campaign to establish English Causes. Various commentators on the same side of the debate could frame the questions of responsibility and strategy according to vastly contrasting philosophical platforms. While some deployed the rhetoric of all-embracing, universal Christian values to convey the supposedly inclusive intention of the causes, others outlined their strategic agendas according to rigidly particularistic outlooks, which were founded on the perception that the religious habits of the indigenous and migrant populations were fundamentally irreconcilable.

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[678] 'The Formation of English Churches', *The Treasury*, No. 4, (April 1864), p.102.
[679] 'The Religious Interests of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.
[680] 'The Religious Interests of English Residents in Wales', *The Cardiff Times*, 30 November 1860.

Similarly, the quasi-consumerist mentality that often interlaced contemporary discourses on the English Causes (which asserted that denominations should seek to respond to the evolving socio-cultural climate to gain a competitive advantage over their rivals, as well as recognising that the material contribution of English migrants to Welsh society in afforded them certain privileges) conflicted with the fact that, in practical terms, the native Welsh were expected to take the initiative in providing services and accommodation from which would not ultimately directly benefit. Whereas some proponents of the causes made noises as to their collaborative dimension therefore, the notion that they could be self-sufficient and viable on the grounds of 'market demand' was somewhat undermined by the considerable financial intervention that was required from native sources. This represented a distinct departure from the utilitarian logic that often underpinned contemporary justifications for the existence and perpetuation of the causes.

The English Causes: Opposition

It is unsurprising, in this respect, that such convoluted reasoning frequently hampered efforts to attract support to the causes from amongst the general religiously observant population of Wales, while simultaneously providing ample ammunition to critical voices in the press. For example, Mr. Jones, in his address to the Association of Congregational Churches for the Extension of English Preaching in South Wales and Monmouthshire in 1862, ruefully remarked of the 'discouraging circumstances' that were facing the causes at that point, which were primarily attributed to the fact that several pre-existing Welsh churches had regarded the proposals to provide English-language services and places of worship in decidedly 'apathetic' terms.[681] Jones went on to suggest that the reason that so many Welsh churches 'did not take the scheme to heart as they ought to do' was due to the fact that the trajectory of nonconformity's development amongst the native population had been to rise 'from small beginnings to be large and self-supporting, without assistance from any society whatsoever', and it had thus proved 'difficult to convince the mass of the Welsh that they should support a society whose aim was to organize churches in a different way from that in which their own had been established'.[682]

The typical response of most pro-cause supporters to the persistent calls for the English migrant population to 'make their own way' in establishing religious arrangements for themselves was to emphasise the apparent particularity of their logistical circumstances. In an article to *The Treasury* which appeared in 1871, it was announced that the suggestion of 'let the English support the English' overlooked the fact that the 'young English churches' had 'nowhere to look for help but their parent Welsh Churches'.[683] The article went on to stress that it was effectively a 'vain' hope to expect consistent and substantial support from England due to the absence of 'strong churches there' (specifically those identifying as Calvinistic Methodist) and in this respect it was deemed necessary to reaffirm that the new English churches were being 'planted especially' for 'English people who come to reside in Wales'.[684]

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[681] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[682] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.
[683] 'God's Voice to Our Churches', *The Treasury*, Vol.8, No.94, (October 1871), p.183.
[684] 'God's Voice to Our Churches', *The Treasury*, p.183.

Such reasoning invariably received short shrift from the sceptics. Indeed, the opponents of the causes seized upon the issue of self-sufficiency with considerable relish. In one of a series of typically incendiary letters he sent to *Baner ac Amersau Cymru*, Emrys ap Iwan used the over-reliance of the causes on native support as a point of reference to strongly urge against his Welsh compatriots viewing the making of 'nests for the English' as the 'sole purpose of existence'.[685] Calling for the Welsh people to regain their sense of 'self-respect', ap Iwan went on to emphasise that the native population would only shame themselves, as well as the English migrants, if they were to 'sacrifice' their 'hard-earned coins' to support a people who dealt in 'gold and gems'.[686] He concluded his diatribe against the causes by asserting that if the English were to 'live among us', they needed to learn to 'adapt' to indigenous attitudes to religious worship, by which he presumably meant the notions of organic self-sufficiency and self-reliance, as opposed to dependence on external support.[687]

If they were unable to do so, ap Iwan reasoned that they should simply be left to 'return to their own country', as there were plenty of English migrants already 'chewing the fat' of the Welsh nation without it being necessary for the native population to create 'even more comfortable conditions for them'.[688] He reiterated this stance, which consistently juxtaposed the relative means and resources of the Welsh and English populations (and the consequent irrationality of forging arrangements that made the latter dependent on the former), in his notorious article entitled *'Y Dwymyn Seisnig yn Nghymru'* ('The English Fever in Wales'). Questioning the wisdom of 'compelling poor Welshmen' to provide places of worship for 'religious flirts' (which neatly encapsulates the extent to which English migrants were associated with philistinism in the Welsh cultural consciousness), ap Iwan went on to suggest that the government, rather than the Welsh population, could assume responsibility for those that were deemed to be religiously dispossessed.[689]

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[685] 'Dangoswch mai nid gwneyd nyth i'r gog Seisnig yw unig amcan eich creadigaeth'. *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 11 April 1877.

[686] 'Cofiwch mai sarhau eich hunain yr ydych, a sarhau y Saeson hefyd, wrth aberthu eich ceiniogau cochion i gynnorthwyo pobl ag sy'n ymgreinio mewn aur a gemau'. *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 11 April 1877.

[687] 'Os ydynt yn dyfod atom i fyw, boed iddynt gyfaddasu eu hunain atom'. *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 11 April 1877.

[688] 'Os nad ydym wrth eubodd hwy, boed iddynt ddychwelyd i'w gwlad eu hunain. Y mae digon o honynt eisoes yn bwyta brasder y wlad hon, heb i ni ei gwneyd hi mor gysurus iddynt fel ag i ddenu chwaneg o honynt yma'. *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 11 April 1877.

[689] 'Ai teg yw gorfodi Cymry tlodion i ddarparu bugeiliaid drudion, chapelau drutach, ar gyfer math o flirts crefyddol, tra y bo gan y Llywodraeth ddigon o accomodation iddynt yn mhob cymmydogaeth?'. 'Y Dwymyn Seisnig yn Nghymru', *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 27 December 1876.

The vituperative exhortations of ap Iwan, which were often interwoven with a potent nativist subtext, can very much be regarded as outliers within the broader domain of critical opinion on the English Causes, which on the whole tended towards sober moderation and nuanced reflection. However, it is undeniable that ap Iwan tapped into a popular undercurrent of resentment towards the dynamic of dependence between the native and migrant populations that was an implicit aspect of the practical application of the causes. This meant that, even amongst voices that were otherwise amenable to the prospect of extending the provision of English-language services in theory, grave reservations were frequently expressed towards the methods by which the causes were to be established.

For example, in his 1867 paper on the English Causes, the Reverend D. Hughes of Tredegar, while acknowledging the 'extreme discrepancies' between the 'Welsh in England and the English in Wales' in terms of their religious temperaments, nevertheless pondered whether it would be more beneficial for the English migrant population if they could 'take a leaf from the book' of their Welsh counterparts and discover the means to sustain their own causes without having to 'rely on the support of others'.[690] In a similar fashion to several dissenting opinions on the causes therefore, Hughes referred to the perceived affluence and influence of the English population in Welsh society to make the case that their interests could be best served 'through their own means and resources'.[691] Given the extent to which classical liberalism dominated the socio-political landscape of Wales after 1850, as well as the particular alignment of Nonconformity with the Liberal Party itself, it is unsurprising in this respect that the themes of individual responsibility and self-reliance became recurring features of the criticism levelled against the 'interventionist' approach advocated by supporters of the causes.

The practice of pre-emptively establishing causes before a discernible English-speaking congregation was in evidence also became a source of considerable consternation. In an article appearing in *Y Genedl Gymreig*, for example, it was emphasised that the decision to initiate causes had to be based on 'facts rather than the imaginations of a select few', and in

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[690] 'a phe byddai y Saeson yn Nghymru yn cymmeryd dalen o'u llyfr, yn lle gwibio a dysgwyl wrth eraill am gynnaliaeth at eu hachosion byddai yn iechyd mawr iddynt hwy eu hunain, ac yn dawelwch mawr i eraill'. *Achosion Saesonig yng Nghymru – Papur a gyfansoddwyd yn unol a phenderfyniad cynnadledd cyfarfod chwarterol Undeb Cymreig Sir Fynwy Yn Saron, Penycae, Medi 24, 1867, ac a ddarllenwyd yn nghynnadledd cyfarfod chwarterol yr un undeb yn Sardis, Varteg, Rhagfyr 31, 1867, Gan y Parch D. Hughes, B.A., Tredegar*, p.14.

[691] 'Ac os yw y boblogaeth Saesonig yn ein gwlad mor gynnyddol a dylanwladol a rhai achosion Saesonig, a'u cynnilleidfaoedd mor lluosog, a rhif eu haelodau mor fawr ag eu gosodir allan, oni fyddai yn hyfrydwch mawr iddynt hwy eu hunain ac yn dawelwch mawr i eraill, iddynt fyw bellach yn fwy ar eu hadnoddau eu hunain?', *Achosion Saesonig yng Nghymru*, p.14.

the case of several areas, such as the 'quarries of North Wales', it was noted that, despite the exuberance of the pro-cause lobby, their social complexion meant that the provision of English-language preaching did not need to become 'a serious topic of discussion for many years'.[692] Indeed, in their search for some semblance of objectivity on the issue, the article went on to ponder the possibility of appointing a Royal Commission to conduct a 'thorough investigation into the matter', which would allow for a detailed insight into the extent to which each Welsh community had been affected by English migration over recent decades.[693]

Such objections at the supposedly subjective nature of both the justifications for the causes (particularly their propensity for accepting the demise of the Welsh language as a *fait accompli*, in spite of ample evidence to the contrary) as well as the manner by which they were organised from logistical and regional contexts, thus became increasingly vocalised from the latter half of the nineteenth century onwards. In turn, this specific line of dissent may be located within a broader constellation of critical opinion on the issue of the causes. Much in the same way that support for the perpetuation of the causes may be viewed as a reflection of the permeation widespread anglophile sentiment within Welsh socio-cultural discourses during this period therefore (primarily due to the inextricable association of Anglicisation with the values of 'modernity' and 'progress'),[694] opposition to the causes very much represented the crystallisation of reaction and resistance to such trends. Consequently, the figure of the English migrant, whose religious interests were supposedly being indulged at the expense of the morally upstanding native population, became convenient trope with which certain commentators could focus amorphous currents of popular discontent into a coherent backlash against the intrusive forces of Anglicisation.

It is striking, in this respect, that both sides of the debate heavily evoked the primal theme of identity loss throughout the relevant literature, albeit from significantly inverted perspectives. For the proponents of the causes, it was Wales' identity as a uniquely devout

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[692] 'Nid yw clywed ambell un yn siarad ar y mater yn ddigon i argyhoeddi pawb nad allant fod yn siarad oddiar ryw ddychymygion ac nid oddiar ffeithiau. Y mae yn ddiamheu genym fod y rhai sydd yn ngwyneb y pwnc yn teimlo ei bwys. Ond y mae ardaloedd yn Nghymru lle nad yw eto yn y golwg, a rhai megis chwarelau Gogledd Cymru, er esiampl, lle nad yw yn debyg y daw yn bwnc difrifol am amser maith, ac nid oes dim a wna argyhoeddi y cyfryw ond casgliad teg a gwyneb agored o ffeithiau nas gellir eu gwadu.' 'Y Methodistiaid Calfinaidd A'r Iaith Saesonig', *Y Genedl Gymreig*, 12 November 1884.

[693] 'Oni fyddai yn bosibl iddi benodi Royal Commission i wneyd ymchwiliad trwyadl i'r mater?...Tybier fod ymchwiliad fel hyn yn cael ei wneyd - cael adroddiad o bob cymydogaeth o fewn cylch y cyfundeb yn dangos mor agos ag y gellir pa nifer o Saeson oedd ynddi 30, 20, a 10 mlynedd yn ol ac yn bresenol'. 'Y Methodistiaid Calfinaidd A'r Iaith Saesonig', *Y Genedl Gymreig*, 12 November 1884.

[694] See Jones, I.G., 'Language and community in nineteenth-century Wales' in Smith, D. (Ed.), *A People and a Proletariat: Essays in the History of Wales 1780-1980*, (Chicago, 1980), pp.47-71.

nation, as well as more parochial denominational allegiances, that were deemed to be under threat due to the absence of adequate provisions to cater for the evolving demographic landscape. In the case of the critics, however, the causes were viewed as merely the most visible manifestation of social trends that had overseen a gradual deterioration in the status of native Welsh culture over recent decades. While several advocates of the causes would thus attempt to excuse this otherwise unfortunate consequence as being part of the necessary 'self-sacrifice' through which the long-term survival of Wales' religious heritage could be secured therefore, their opponents considered this to be an unacceptable price to pay, especially given the aforementioned subjectivity by which causes were seemingly being initiated. Furthermore, the irony that the causes were implicitly compelling the native Welsh, historically renowned for their piety, to emulate the customs of a people whose chronic spiritual deficiencies and inherently materialistic impulses had become deeply ingrained within the popular consciousness was not lost amongst the sceptics, and no amount of appealing to notions of social responsibility could convince them that catering to the particular demands of this religiously inferior population was a worthy undertaking.

This sense of resentment at the way that the causes were seemingly catalysing the processes by which the Welsh language was becoming irrevocably reduced to a state of subordination has been neatly summarised by Jenkins, who emphasised that 'nid yr awydd i gyflwyno'r efengyl i'r di-Gymraeg oedd asgwrn y gynnen yn gymaint a'r ymdeimlad o wahaniaeth statws rhwng y nail iaith a'r llall'.[695] The apparent preferential treatment that was being afforded to English-speaking religious worshippers, often to the detriment of Welsh-speakers, would have undoubtedly served to reinforce such impressions in the minds of certain contemporary observers. Predictably, this became a recurring theme for Emrys ap Iwan throughout the course of his tireless campaigning against the so-called 'English Fever', of which the English Causes appeared to him to be the most malignant symptom. Decrying the predilection of the Welsh middle-classes in particular for prostrating themselves before the 'llo Saesnig' (the 'English calf': a deliberate reference to the Biblical Golden calf that, much like the anglophile Welsh in the mind of ap Iwan, had glorified the worship of base material instincts over spiritual concerns), ap Iwan, in an article to Banner ac Amserau Cymru 1877, urged his readers that they should not seek to 'impersonate' their English

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[695] Jenkins, G.H. & Williams, M.A. (Eds.), '"Eu hiaith a gadwant"?: y Gymraeg yn yr ugeinfed ganrif' (Cardiff, 2000), p.358.

neighbours to the extent that they lost any sense of self-respect for their own native culture.[696] Thomas Gee, the newspaper's editor and a staunch ally of ap Iwan, echoed these sentiments by proclaiming that the promotion of the causes was merely causing some Welshmen to 'turn their backs on all their old affiliations – their nation, their language, their friends, their relationships, their homes and even their parents – and lose themselves in the English chaos'.[697]

Whether intentional or not, Gee's use of the word 'chaos' is highly instructive in this respect, as it effectively conveys the sense of cultural disorientation that must have been felt by a sizable portion of native Welsh society during a period of profound linguistic change. Furthermore, Gee's assertion that the causes were facilitating the divorce of the Welsh population from their 'natural roots' of nationhood introduces a potent theme that re-emerged on a consistent basis amongst the sceptics. Far from representing a noble endeavour to provide migrants with the means by which they could uphold the impeccable spiritual reputation of the nation therefore, the causes became increasingly portrayed by the likes of Gee as an underhand scheme of social engineering that was designed to accelerate the process of anglicising the indigenous population of Wales. For example, in his 1867 paper, the Reverend D. Hughes of Tredegar accused certain proponents of the causes of advancing measures that were not intended to 'evangelise the English' or 'raise the English through the influence of religion', but were rather conceived as 'surreptitious efforts to anglicise the Welsh' by compelling them to 'turn their back on their own language'.[698]

Hughes went on to make an even more explicit reference to the supposed conspiratorial credentials of the causes by claiming that their proponents tended to work in a 'secretive and Jesuit-esque fashion', that had enabled them to 'lure the richest, most influential and most useful families', as well as the 'most promising element of our youth', away from the Welsh

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[696] 'Dadleu yr wyf fi nad yw corph y genedl Seisnig ddim yn gyfryw bobl ag y dylem ni y Cymry eu haddoli a'u dynwared'. *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 11 April 1877.

[697] 'yr oedd rhai dynion i'w cael oedd fel yn prysuro i droi eu cefnau ar eu holl hen gysylltiadau – eu cenedl, eu hiaith, eu cyfeillion, eu perthynasau, a'u cartrefi; ie, ac hyd yn oed ar eu rhieni – ac ymgolli yn y tryblith Saesneg'. Edwards, H.T., *Codi'r Hen Wlad yn ei hol, 1850-1914* (Llandysul, 1989), p.148.

[698] 'nid efengyleiddio y Saeson, neu ddwyn y Saeson dan ddylanwad crefydd ydyw hyn, ond amcan uniongyrchol y cyfryw ymdrech ydyw Seisnigeiddio y Cymry – neu, mewn geiriau eraill, troi y Cymry oddi wrth addoli yn eu hiaith eu hunain, i addoli yn iaith y Saeson'. *Achosion Saesonig yng Nghymru – Papur a gyfansoddwyd yn unol a phenderfyniad cynnadledd cyfarfod chwarterol Undeb Cymreig Sir Fynwy Yn Saron, Penycae, Medi 24, 1867, ac a ddarllenwyd yn nghynnadledd cyfarfod chwarterol yr un undeb yn Sardis, Varteg, Rhagfyr 31, 1867, Gan y Parch D. Hughes, B.A., Tredegar*, p.12.

and towards the embrace of the English.[699] At a time when anti-Catholic prejudice, reinforced by the considerable influx of Irish migrants into Wales throughout the course of the nineteenth century, remained as a looming presence over Welsh religious discourse, it is undeniable that Hughes' association of the causes with Jesuit organisations was intended to stimulate an acute sense of distress amongst his audience, and thus encourage a more thorough and sceptical assessment of the actual spiritual value of extending the provision of English-language preachers.[700]

Others followed Hughes' lead in casting an aura of suspicion over the causes, particularly in relation to their 'true' purpose (namely their 'overbearing tendency' of 'proselytising the Welsh towards the English causes', as Hughes himself argued).[701] Indeed, ap Iwan also invoked the spectre of Catholicism in his denunciations of the causes, proclaiming in his article on *'Y Dwymyn Saesnig yn Nghymru'* that it was tantamount to 'Papism' to 'preach in a language that the congregations could not understand'.[702] He redeployed this theme in some of his personal writings, emphasising that had Christ and his apostles been around in Wales during his time, they would have preached the gospel in the 'language of the Welsh', and not in an 'unfamiliar vernacular to the common people'.[703] As he reminded his readers, this had been the regular practice of 'the Papists previous centuries', and was now in the process of being replicated by the 'anglophiles of this age'.[704] In this respect, he viewed the causes as a harmful and ideologically-driven imposition on pre-established customs of worship in Wales that had proved successful for generations, rather than a pragmatic contingency measure to deal with newly emerging social conditions.

The persistent references to 'Papism' also served as a useful rhetorical tool whereby he could effectively convey his sense of indignation not only at the apparent lack of accountability with which the causes were operating, but also to emphasise their social, cultural and spiritual 'remoteness' from the authentic character of Welsh religion. Disputing

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[699]'Nis gellir gwadu nad oes ymdrech yn cael ei gwneyd a hyny gan fwyaf mewn modd dirgelaidd a Jesuitaidd, i hudo drosodd y teuluoedd cyfoethocaf, mwyaf dylanwadol, a mwyaf defnyddiol; a'r ieuenctyd mwyaf gobeithiol oddi wrth y Cymry at y Saeson'. *Achosion Saesonig yng Nghymru*, p.12.

[700] For a more thorough analysis of anti-Catholicism in Wales, see O'Leary, P., 'When Was Anti-Catholicism? The Case of Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Wales', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.56, No.1, (January, 2005), pp.1-18.

[701] O'Leary, 'When Was Anti-Catholicism?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, pp.1-18.

[702] 'Gyda llaw, onid oes llawer o Babyddiaeth yn ngwaith rhai yn pregethu mewn iaith nad all y cynnulleidfaoedd mo'i deall'. 'Y Dwymyn Seisnig yn Nghymru', *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 27 December 1876.

[703] Jones, T.G, *Emrys ap Iwan: Dysgawdr, Llenor, Cenedlgarwr – Cofiant* (Caernarfon, 1912), p.78.

[704] 'Pe buasai Crist a'i apostolion, yng Nghymru yn awr, pregethent yr efengyl yn iaith y Cymry, ac nid mewn tafodiaeth ddieithr i'r cyffredin, fel y gwnai Pabyddion yr oesoedd o'r blaen, ac fel y gwna hoffwyr Saesneg y roes hon'. Jones, *Emrys ap Iwan: Cofiant*, p.78.

the fundamental premise that the causes were meant for those who had no prior knowledge of Welsh therefore, ap Iwan accused their supporters of attempting to crowd Welsh-speakers into officially designated English chapels as a means of ensuring that such congregations would henceforth be formally designated as monolingual English-speakers, regardless of their actual comprehension of the language.[705]

In this respect, ap Iwan was particularly forthright in demanding specific explanations from various supporters of the causes for their motivations, which he felt were often concealed from the people that they purportedly served. For example, having learned from Dr. Lewis Edwards of the case of 'an area in Montgomeryshire' in which the local chapel had been compelled to 'switch from a Welsh service to an English service', ap Iwan, while acknowledging the fact that such measures had become a regrettably regular occurrence in Welsh society, nevertheless expressed his wish to receive precise details as to why it had 'turned to the English'.[706] He went on to suggest that much of the 'official' evidence for initiating causes was 'completely false and misleading', claiming that in most cases it was merely the 'imaginative whim' of the richest members of the local communities that were used as the justification for marginalising Welsh-language preaching in favour of the English.[707] In a bitter reflection on the 'spirit of the age' (which once again demonstrates the extent to which English migrants were identified as the archetypal representatives of the materialistic compulsions of 'modern' society), he concluded that such eventualities were inevitable at a time when the 'imagination of the rich' was deemed to be 'more secure than the facts of the poor'.[708]

The notion that the causes were being pursued on the basis of flimsy justifications that ran contrary to the interests of the indigenous population was further explored by ap Iwan in a series of articles submitted to *Baner ac Amsersau Cymru* in 1879, entitled *Yr Achosion Seisnig, Alias Yr Effeithiau Seisnig* (*'The English Causes, Alias The English Effects'*). In an entry published on 19 March of that year, for example, ap Iwan claimed that the 'common

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[705] 'Ond, medd rhywun, nid er mwyn rhai heb ddeall Saesneg y gwneir capelau Seisnig. Gan nad beth am hyny, y ffaith yw, mai y cyfryw sydd yn myned iddynt, ac am na wyddant Saesneg yr ant i gapel Seisnig. Yn unig trwy wneuthur hyn y gallant obeithio argyhoeddi y byd mai Saesneg yn unig a fedrant. Y fath yw trachwant rhai i gael eu cyfrif yn ddynion uniaith!'. Jones, *Emrys ap Iwan: Cofiant*, p.78.

[706] 'Cyfeiriodd y Doctor at ardal yn sir Drefaldwyn lle y bu raid troi'r gwasanaeth Cymraeg yn un Saesneg. Nid wyf yn amau na throes yr eglwys honno i'w Saesneg fel y gwnaeth aml eglwys Gymraeg arall y gwn amdani, ond dymunwn gael enw'r ardal er mwyn peri i rywrai ymofyn paham y troes i'r Saesneg'. Lloyd, D.M., *Detholiad o erthyglau a llythyrau Emrys ap Iwan*, Vol.3 (Aberystwyth, 1939), p.85.

[707] Lloyd, *Detholiad o erthyglau a llythyrau Emrys ap Iwan*, p.85.

[708] 'a chan fod dychymyg gwr cyfoethog yn gadarnach na ffeithiau dyn tlawd, y mae'n ddiau gennyf ddarfod i'r cyngor Seisnigol sefydlu aml "achos" ar ei sail.' Lloyd, *Detholiad o erthyglau a llythyrau Emrys ap Iwan*, p.86.

evidence' he had ascertained from the causes invariably showed 'Welsh worshippers', of which many had 'little fluency in English', being 'compelled by interferers from afar' to 'renounce the language of their nation'.[709] This was a far cry, as ap Iwan later asserted, from the supposedly benign intentions of the causes, which were to cater for the religious needs of the 'genuine and pure' English population in Wales only.[710] This line of reasoning, which deliberately established a distinct correlation between efforts to accommodate incoming migrants and the erosion of the integrity of indigenous socio-cultural values, naturally represents a well-worn track within the rhetorical parameters of nativist discourses. Unsurprisingly, in this respect, it was to be consistently echoed amongst several of ap Iwan's contemporaries, particularly as the public profile of Welsh nationalism became increasingly pronounced towards the end of the nineteenth century. As Edward Matthews observes in his study of the relationship between nonconformity and Welsh national identity during the nineteenth century, the introduction of the English-language to the pulpit invariably 'deflected all attempts to assimilate the migrants into the Welsh-language tradition and bore all sorts of social implications',[711] of which arguably the most potent was the indigenous backlash to the cultural imperialism that was adjudged to be an implicit characteristic of the causes and their supporters.

Indeed, such was the extent to which the causes were regarded as an anathema to the national spirit of Wales that their supposedly pernicious influence was able to leave an impression upon Welsh outposts in the New World. In an article appearing in *Y Drych* on the state of religious affairs in the Welsh American communities, for example, it was declared (in suitably alarmist tones) that the causes were the 'primary threat' to the 'peace, stability...and existence' of Welsh customs of worship, and thus, by extension, as an assault upon the very foundations of Welsh nationhood as a whole.[712] While conceding that the 'language of Hengist' had a significant role to play in the realm of commerce and trade (a concession that

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[709] 'Y dystiolaeth gyffredin am achos Saesnig ydyw hon: - Cynnulleidfa o Gymry, a'r rhan fwyaf o honynt heb fedru nemawr o Saesneg, wedi eu cymmhell gan ymyrwyr o bell, neu ynte gan falchder eu calon eu hunain, i wadu iaith eu gwlad, ac i gymmeryd arnynt addoli mewn iaith na ddeallant, a hyny mewn capelau gwychach, ac mewn dull mwy ffasiynol na'r eiddo'r "Welshmen"'. 'Yr Achosion Saesnig, Alias Yr Effeithiau Saeisnig', *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 19 March 1879.

[710] 'Pan oedd hwn (Achosion Saesnig) yn cael ei ffurfio, y syniad oedd, gwneyd darpariaeth ar gyfer y nifer liosog o Saeson, pur a gwirioneddol, sydd yn byw yn y dreflan'*,* 'Yr Achosion Saesnig, Alias Yr Effeithiau Saeisnig', *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 26 March 1879.

[711] Griffith, W.P., 'Preaching Second to No Other under the Sun': Edward Matthews, the Nonconformist Pulpit and Welsh Identity during the Mid-Nineteenth Century' in Pope, R. (Ed.), *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland c.1700-2000* (Cardiff, 2001), p.75.

[712] 'Un o'r peryglon penaf a fygythia, nid yn unig heddwch a chysur Iluaws o achosion crefyddol Cymreig yn wlad hon, ond eu bodolaeth, ydyw yr ormes Saesonig-llithriad dosbarth o'r genedl i barablu ac addoli yn iaith y Saeson, a chefnu ar eu hiaith eu hunain'. 'Gormes y Saesoneg ar Achosion Cymraeg', *Y Drych*, 7 August 1890.

was frequently made by nationalist commentators as a means of appeasing sceptics of the notion that the Welsh language should be afforded pre-eminence in the spiritual domain),[713] the attempt to introduce English into the religious services of the American Welsh was thus dramatically denounced as an aggressive act of 'violation' against their national heritage.[714]

Intriguingly, the article also expressed a similar degree of vehemence against the disruptive influence of bilingualism as was frequently voiced by advocates of the causes, further reinforcing the apparent futility of attempts to reconcile the divergent cultural identities of the native Welsh and migrant English. Consequently, the article outlined the inherent 'folly' of denying the 'painful difficulties' that had been incurred by the linguistic 'clash' between Welsh and English,[715] and that upon arriving in America it was noted that Welsh worshippers would frequently disavow schemes by which both languages held a shared platform in religious services.[716] Such was the disapproval towards these 'shared' linguistic approaches that the American Welsh allegedly preferred seeking alternative methods of worship if their 'home' denomination was perceived to be overly indulgent towards anglicising tendencies.[717]

Inverting the pro-cause narrative that framed the decline of the Welsh language as an 'acceptable' collateral for the perpetuation of nonconformity therefore, the article asserted that the communities in question would readily 'sacrifice their denomination for their language' ('Aberthant eu henwad er mwyn eu hiaith'), with the hope that the native population of Wales itself would follow their lead being heavily implied.[718] The title of the article, *'The Oppression of English upon the Welsh Causes'* (*'Gormes Y Saesoneg ar Achosion Cymraeg'*) is also highly instructive in this regard. By referring to the imposition of English-language services as an act of 'oppression' (which was surely also a less-than subtle nod to Edward I's subjugation of Wales) the article clearly reveals an intent to locate the

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[713] 'Ffolineb yn ymylu ar wallgofrwydd fyddai gwadu pwysigrwydd iaith Hengist yn y cysylltiadau eang y mae yn eu llanw; ac nid oes neb ond y cyfryw a gariant eu cenedlgarwch i eithafion a ameuant hyny. Nis gall fod ond un syniad am y Saesoneg fel iaith masnach', 'Gormes y Saesoneg ar Achosion Cymraeg', *Y Drych*, 7 August 1890.

[714] 'Y mae dwyn Saesoneg i'raddoliad Cymreig yn gwmwl ar deimlad ac yn drais ar natur Cymro diledryw', 'Gormes y Saesoneg ar Achosion Cymraeg', *Y Drych*, 7 August 1890.

[715] 'Ofer yw ceisio celu y ffaith fod lluaws o'n cynulleidfaoedd Cymreig mewn anhawsderau poenus o herwydd gwrthdarawiad y ddwy iaith', 'Gormes y Saesoneg ar Achosion Cymraeg', *Y Drych*, 7 August 1890.

[716] 'A phan ddaw rhai o honynt i'r wlad hon, ymofynant yn fuan am addoldai Cymreig; ac os yn gyfleus, eu henwad. Os canfyddant fod v eyfryw yn rhanol, neu yn gyfartal Saesonig a Chymraeg, ymofynant am wasanaeth hollol yn eu hiaith eu hunain.', 'Gormes y Saesoneg ar Achosion Cymraeg', *Y Drych*, 7 August 1890.

[717] 'Gormes y Saesoneg ar Achosion Cymraeg', *Y Drych*, 7 August 1890.

[718] 'Gormes y Saesoneg ar Achosion Cymraeg', *Y Drych*, 7 August 1890.

issue of the causes within a broader context of native resistance to the permeation of 'external' and 'alien' socio-cultural influences.

Even members of the Established Church, while not directly involved in the promotion of English Causes during this period, nevertheless expressed concern at the implications of eroding the presence of Welsh-language services under the guise of catering to the demands of the English migrant population. Such interventions were part of a noticeable effort on the part of the Church towards the latter half of the century to rehabilitate its tarnished reputation amongst Welsh-speakers, and very much reveal the extent to which the religious representatives throughout Wales came to increasingly acknowledge the potential utility of aligning themselves with expressions of indigenous indignation. For example, in a letter to the Anglican journal *Baner Y Groes,* a correspondent going by the pseudonym 'Carwr yr Iaith Gymraeg' ('Lover of the Welsh language') queried the emerging trend of appointing 'English bishops in Welsh bishoprics', concluding that such measures were designed to overwhelm and stifle the integrity of the Welsh language.[719] Similarly, Rowland Williams, the senior vicar of Ysgeifiog and the vice-principal of St. David's College from 1850 to 1862, expressed his serious reservations towards the 'frequent practice of introducing the English language into places where it is not understood (sic) of the people'.[720] He reasoned that this had been 'unwisely sanctioned' as a means of 'accelerating the general introduction of English into the Principality'.[721]

Indeed, such was the sense of disgruntlement at the intrusion of English influences within the Established Church that it occasionally engendered visible instances of communal discord, very much in line with Edward Matthew's assessment from a nonconformist perspective. For example, a 'case of somewhat curious character', heard before the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, was described in the pages of *The Welshman* on 6 May 1864 involving a dispute between two Breconshire churchmen regarding linguistic practices.[722] Having recently erected a chapel in his grounds for the purpose of conducting services 'for the benefit of those of the parishioners who were able to follow the English language', the Revered W. Jelf encountered considerable opposition from another local clergyman by the name of Reverend J. Jones, who had 'protested against the continuance of

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[719] 'I ba bwrpas yr appwyntiwyd Esgobion Seisonig ar Esgobaethau Cymreig?...Yn awr, Ddarllenwyr y "Faner", a phawb o'r Cymry yn gyffredinol, "daliwn heb laesu dwylaw", fel na byddo i'r Saeson ein gorchfygu'. *Baner y Groes*, Vol.1, June 1857.
[720] Walker, D., *A History of the Church in Wales*, (Penarth, 1976), p.146.
[721] Walker, *A History of the Church in Wales*, p.146.
[722] 'English Services in Wales. Jones, Appellant, V. Jelf, Respondent', *The Welshman,* 6 May 1864.

the English services'.[723] Despite these objections, Jelf had continued with his English-language services 'Sunday after Sunday', which had induced 'much ill-feeling', to the extent that a 'bitter paper war' was being conducted by both men. It is not unreasonable to suppose that similar instances of discontent would have been commonplace across Wales throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century as old customs of religious observance collided with the new, particularly as supporters of the causes struggled to comprehensively assuage concerns that their proposed measures were not fundamentally detrimental to the interests and socio-cultural identity of the indigenous population.

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[723] 'English Services in Wales. Jones, Appellant, V. Jelf, Respondent', *The Welshman,* 6 May 1864.

<u>Conclusion: The legacy of the Causes</u>

With aspersions being cast upon the true intentions of the causes therefore, it is unsurprising that critics would seek to extend their scepticism to question the very success and viability of measures to promote the provision of English-language religious services in the first place. After all, there was no better way to convey the inherent 'unnaturalness' of the causes in Welsh society, which became a recurring theme in cultural narratives promulgated by the likes of ap Iwan, than to emphasise their failure to fully acclimatise to local conditions. Indeed, the fact that even ardent supporters frequently acknowledged that, at least during their initial stages, the causes would have to be directed by native Welsh-speakers to effectively attract the support of English migrants merely served to fuel notions of their incompatibility and redundancy. According to Emrys ap Iwan, for example, despite being nominally labelled as 'English Causes' it was apparent that in practical terms 'very few English people make up the congregations'.[724] While acknowledging that a degree of regional variation existed on this matter,[725] ap Iwan nevertheless estimated that, on average, a mere one in ten of those affiliated to English chapels could be regarded as 'pure Englishmen'.[726] The rest, he reasoned, had been derived from the Welsh-language chapels, which ap Iwan specifically identified as the more 'moneyed' and 'respectable' elements of native Welsh society.[727] The implication was that the English Cause movement, in terms of its stated ambition to prosletise the English migrants of Wales, was destined to founder, regardless of its strategy: a proverbial wheel to break a butterfly. Such proclamations also reinforce how class-based narratives inexorably shaped public discourse on this issue, with ap Iwan's characterisation of Welsh members of English chapels as a wealthy elite serving to reinforce the apparent sense of detachment between the causes and the common 'folk community' of Wales as embodied by the *gwerin*.

Emrys ap Iwan's testimonies are hardly the most reliable barometer with which to objectively assess the relative success of the causes as a tool of social, cultural and religious assimilation. It would have been in the best interests of ap Iwan and his ilk to portray the causes as failing endeavours, and to fully and disproportionately exploit cases where their

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[724] 'Er mai Achosion Saesneg ydyw yr enw arnynt, ychydig iawn o Saeson sydd yn gwneyd y cynnulleidfaoedd i fyny'. 'Yr Achosion i'r Saeson', *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 19 Mawrth 1879.

[725] 'Y mae rhai manau yn well na'u gilydd, bid siwr; a cheir rhai yn waeth na'u gilydd hefyd – ie, llawer gwaeth', 'Yr Achosion i'r Saeson', *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 19 Mawrth 1879.

[726] 'Ond a'u gosod at eu gilydd gallwn feddwl nad ydyw y Saeson pur yn eu plith yn un o ddeg o'r cwbl!'. 'Yr Achosion i'r Saeson', *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 19 Mawrth 1879.

[727] 'Ac yn aml, y Cymry mwyaf arianog yw y bobl yma hefyd – respectable, ac mewn sefyllfa uchel yn y byd a'r ardal y maent yn byw'. 'Yr Achosion i'r Saeson', *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 19 Mawrth 1879.

popularity amongst the religiously observant population of Wales had been shown to be minimal. However, the prevalence of pessimistic assessments by more sympathetic voices on this issue, particularly in relation to the apparent reluctance of Welsh chapels to fully engage with their English counterparts, suggests that the causes faced very real and persistent obstacles before they were able to gain even a modicum of a foothold within their respective communities.

Invariably, the 'blame' for instances where the development of causes had been deemed to be overly protracted or substandard was primarily apportioned to the senior representatives of Welsh chapels, who were often accused of not fully embracing their social responsibility as the arbiters of the religious accommodation of the English migrants in Wales. For example, in a retrospective analysis of the 'first 50 years of the English movement', an article appearing in *The Treasury* journal soberly conceded that it could 'scarcely be said that its success was particularly encouraging'.[728] This lack of progress, however, was not indicative of the fundamental incompatibility of the causes within the Welsh religious domain (which corresponded to the ap Iwanite school of thought) but was rather attributable to the truculent attitudes of the native preachers. Consequently, the article lamented the fact that the relationship between several English causes and their 'contiguous Welsh churches' was 'neither fraternal nor encouraging', which had engendered a social climate that was 'much to be deplored'.[729]

A similarly downbeat outlook was in evidence over thirty years later in the same journal, as it was noted that, in general, English Causes were still regarded as being 'feeble and poor in places where they might be expected to be strong'.[730] In a slight deviation from the usual line of reasoning (perhaps due to the benefit of an additional three decades of hindsight), these difficulties were partially attributed to the supposed habit of allowing 'anyone and everyone to start them [the causes] and care for them', which once again speaks to the somewhat elitist mind-set that pervaded the development of the causes (as mentioned previously, this was an aspect that featured regularly in the criticisms of ap Iwan).[731] However, the article was also more than willing to resort to the usual strategy of condemning the tepid reaction of the native religious classes towards the prospect of catering to the

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[728] *The Treasury*, Vol.16, No.189, (September 1879), p.162.
[729] *The Treasury*, Vol.16, No.189, (September 1879), p.164.
[730] *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, Vol.11, No.1, (January 1910), p.4.
[731] *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, Vol.11, No.1, (January 1910), p.4.

particular needs of the migrant population, as the neighbouring Welsh Churches 'in those places' that required particular attention were accused of displaying 'but little sympathy' towards the aims of the English Cause movement.[732]

This assessment became regularly articulated during public meetings of pro-cause supporters, which must have only served to further undermine the spirit of conciliation and collective co-operation that were supposedly the cornerstones of the fledgling English movement. For example, at a gathering of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1865 in Bristol, with the main topic of discussion being 'The Congregational Churches and the English Population of Wales', it was noted that a mere 14 English churches had received any form of support from the Chapel Society of Wales during the preceding five years. Thomas Rees, in an address to the congregation, concluded that such figures conclusively demonstrated the sobering reality that only a 'very small proportion of ministers and Welsh Churches' had supported the causes with the 'requisite energy and enthusiasm'.[733] Rees' fears may well have derived from the persistent struggles faced by supporters of the causes to secure long-term financial commitments from Welsh chapels. At the annual meeting of the Association of Congregational Churches for the Extension of English Preaching in South Wales and Monmouthshire in 1862, the financial reports, read out by a Mr. J. Williams of Aberdare, revealed that there was a recurring and discouraging habit of Welsh Churches voicing their 'hearty support' for the extension of English-language preaching in principle, but in practice being rather more reticent when asked to submit their contributions.[734]

Amidst this general air of despondency however, a few contemporary commentators endeavoured to strike a more circumspect tone, with a particular emphasis on the portentous dimension of the causes (which somewhat accounted for the frustrations encountered during their initial development). In a defiant response to the accusation made by an unnamed bishop that Welsh Nonconformists had 'utterly failed to start English causes', an article featured in the official journal of *Cymru Fydd* (which, in and of itself, serves to illustrate that the issue of the causes was not necessarily regarded as a *bête noir* amongst nationalist circles) asserted that, while it was true that the causes 'are often not a great success so far in many

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[732] *Monthly treasury organ of the English Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales*, Vol.11, No.1, (January 1910), p.4.
[733] 'y drwg oedd, meddai, mai dim ond lleiafrif bychan iawn o weinidogion ac eglwysi Cymraeg a oedd wedi ei chefnogi hi gyda'r egni a'r brwdfrydedd hynny roedd yn ei haeddu'. Williams, A.H., 'Y Dr Thomas Rees, A'r Achosion Seisnig', *Y Cofiadur*, No.40, (May, 1975), p.22.
[734] 'English Preaching for English Residents in Wales', *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 29 November 1862.

places', it was 'utterly false' to dismiss their effectiveness entirely.[735] The notion that the shortcomings of the causes were being deliberately exaggerated for political ends thus became a recurring riposte amongst contemporary commentators in defence of their agenda. For example, in a speech to the Dolgellau Association which featured in *Y Goleuad* on 11 September 1880, Dr. Lewis Edwards declared that, contrary to the claims of their detractors, the 'majority of the English churches' were in a 'tolerably satisfactory condition, both spiritually and financially'.[736] Furthermore, the relationship between the ministers and the churches was described as being 'invariably of a happy character'.[737] According to Edwards therefore, the 'bitter enemies of the English Causes' had managed to create a general impression of the causes as ineffectual endeavours based on nothing but 'hearsay evidence' rather than objective reasoning (similar accusations were frequently levelled by critics of the causes towards the portrayal of the Welsh language as being in a state of irrevocable decline).[738]

An article appearing in *The Treasury* journal in September 1872 was even more upbeat regarding the long-term prospects of the causes, as well as their supposedly rapid progression beyond the isolated 'Englishries' of Wales. Consequently, it claimed with great confidence that whereas twenty years previously the English Causes had been confined to twenty churches located in the 'English parts of Pembroke, Carmarthen, and Glamorgan', as well as the 'Home Missionary stations on the English borders', they had since expanded threefold, with English churches having been established in 'most of the large towns' and were in the process of 'springing up throughout the iron and coal districts'.[739] Crucially, it was also alleged that a 'great proportion' of these churches had advanced to a stage where they could be reasonably classified as being 'self-supporting'.[740] The relative success or failures of causes were often linked to the particular approaches adopted by the various Welsh denominations. The aforementioned greater flexibility of the Baptists and, to a lesser extent, the Congregationalists, in relation to their linguistic policies compared to the apparent institutional rigidity of the Calvinistic Methodists was thus hinted at during the annual conference of the English Calvinistic Methodist Churches of South Wales and Monmouthshire in 1886.

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[735] *Cymru Fydd*, Vol.3, No.2, (Chwefror 1890), p.114.
[736] 'The English Causes', *Y Goleuad*, 11 September 1880.
[737] 'The English Causes', *Y Goleuad*, 11 September 1880.
[738] 'The English Causes', *Y Goleuad*, 11 September 1880.
[739] 'Calvinsitic Methodism in Wales', *The Treasury*, Vol.9, No.105, (September 1872), p.176.
[740] 'Calvinsitic Methodism in Wales', *The Treasury*, p.176.

With respect to the period 1861 to 1885, a Revered Joseph Evans of Swansea informed the conference that while there had been a relatively satisfactory increase of 68 English churches affiliated with the denomination (which brought the total number up to 171, along with a membership of 9,621), such figures compared rather unfavourably with those of rival denominations.[741] In Glamorgan, for example, it was pointed out that the Baptists and Congregationalists had managed to erect 32 and 43 new English churches respectively over the previous quarter of a century, whereas the Calvinistic Methodists had only established fifteen new churches during the same period.[742] Such trends serve to corroborate the observations made by Snell and Eli regarding the particular adaptability of the Baptists, who had generally been more efficient than their denominational rivals in exploiting the changeable nature of Wales' linguistic landscape throughout the nineteenth century.[743]

The manner in which the legacy of the causes, as well as their perceived effectiveness, were vigorously contested by both sides of the debate very much underlines their profound hold on the popular consciousness of nineteenth to early twentieth century Welsh society. The fact that the significance of the causes transcended merely religio-centred concerns to encompass a far broader social canvass is illustrated by the ultimate ambitions of their promoters, which were expressed in terms of grand societal visions. For example, the aforementioned article on 'Calvinistic Methodism in Wales', which appeared in *The Treasury* journal in September 1872, proclaimed with great conviction that the notion that the 'real English would never mix up with the English-speaking Welsh' and 'would never amalgamate with the native Welsh as church members' had been comprehensively 'exploded' by the example set by the causes.[744] Indeed, the article went on to announce that the causes had inhibited a general climate in which the 'native English and Scotch' migrant populations of Wales could eventually 'mix up and unite with the Welsh', in spite of the 'clannish antipathy' of their detractors.[745] Such expectations naturally correspond with the inherent fears of the anti-cause lobby, who predicted that the causes represented one component of a general trend towards the 'fusion of nationalities' (as it was put by Thomas Gee), whereby Welsh social,

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[741] 'English Calvinistic Methodists. Annual Conference at Llanelly', *Weekly Mail,* 25 September 1886.
[742] 'English Calvinistic Methodists. Annual Conference at Llanelly', *Weekly Mail,* 25 September 1886.
[743] Snell, K.D.M. & Eli, P.S. (Eds.), *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge, 2000), p.107.
[744] 'Calvinsitic Methodism in Wales', *The Treasury*, Vol.9, No.105, (September 1872), p.176.
[745] 'Calvinsitic Methodism in Wales', *The Treasury*, p.176.

cultural and national identities would inevitably be subsumed into a rigidly anglocentric framework.[746]

In this respect therefore, the debates surrounding the causes may be viewed as a microcosm of the broader struggle between the particularism of an increasingly embattled indigenous culture and the ruthlessly homogenising tendencies of anglicisation. This sense of conflict is very much exposed by the contemporary assertion, often propagated by opponents of the causes, that the fundamental social outlooks of the Welsh and English remained mutually exclusive; thus, as an article which appeared in Y Faner in 1866 declared that, whereas the 'foreigners' of Wales would be left to satiate their worldly appetites through the 'minerals in our mountains', the indigenous Welsh could comfort themselves with the 'far greater riches of our language and ministry'.[747] The initiation of English Causes would have been viewed as a direct contravention of the article's vow that these 'greater riches' would not be 'surrendered' to the incoming migrants at any price.[748] It thus becomes readily apparent that analysing the causes provides a compelling insight into the ways in which English migration induced profound ideological and philosophical faultlines within the socio-cultural fabric of Welsh society, despite, ironically, the relative lack of agency on the part of the migrants themselves. Indeed, the case of the causes serve as a useful indicator of the point where the pervasive forces of anglicisation crossed a proverbial rubicon in the minds of a significant proportion of the Welsh population, thereby acting as a catalyst for the gradual crystallisation of a nativist cultural 'entrenchment'. Consequently, the case of the English Cause movement vividly demonstrates the inherent potency and enduring influence of the 'idea' of migration in relation to its actual human dimensions.

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[746] Edwards, H.T., *Codi'r Hen Wlad yn ei Hol, 1850-1914*, (Llandysul, 1989), p.147.
[747] 'Y Gymraeg a'r Dyfodol', *Y Faner,* August 1866.
[748] 'Y Gymraeg a'r Dyfodol', *Y Faner,* August 1866.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The history of English migration to Wales during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century can often appear to exert distinctly paradoxical qualities. Their presence on the Welsh historiographical landscape registering as both elusive and pronounced in equal measures, the English migrants of Wales retain a somewhat enigmatic profile that sets them apart from the other migrant groups of the period. Theirs is a role that is fundamentally integral to the story of Wales' development as a modern nation, and yet one which has also been inexorably obscured or removed entirely from the foreground: the quintessential unseen characters of Welsh history. This is perfectly encapsulated by the 1915 *Welsh Journal a*rticle on the demographic complexion of Wales, which noted the fact that the English migrant population was precisely 388,238, or one-sixth of the Welsh population as a whole, but nevertheless predicted that this information would 'come as a surprise' to most of their readers.[749]

In this respect, it is apparent that the issue of English migration to Wales has invariably been observed, both by contemporary commentators and by retrospective studies,[750] within the narrow confines of its specific physical dimensions as opposed to the entire gamut of its socio-cultural implications. The thematic approach pursued throughout the preceding chapters has thus attempted to redress this balance, and to demonstrate that focusing on the case of English migrants need not necessarily detract from the particularities of Wales' national history. Indeed, in several important areas, they complement each other in insightful and useful ways. For example, a gender-based analysis of English migration is highly fruitful in contextualising the broader impact of Wales' extraordinary population boom during the turn of the nineteenth century. The manner in which English migration was fuelled primarily by economic 'pull' factors ensured that it would contribute extensively to the distorted nature of the gender ratios in the industrial communities of Wales, where the male populations could often dramatically outnumber the female populations. The uneven demographic complexion of the most urbanised and industrialised regions of Wales would not begin to level out until well into the first half of the twentieth century (mainly as a consequence of the downturn in

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[749] 'Migration to and from Wales and Monmouthshire', *The Welsh Outlook*, Vol.2, No.3, (March 1915), p.105.
[750] See Jones, P.N., *Mines, Migrants and Residence in the South Wales Steamcoal Valleys: The Ogmore and Garw Valleys in 1881* (Hull, 1987) & Thomas, C., 'West Country Migrants to the Ebbw, Sirhowy and Rhymney Valleys, 1841-91' in *Gwent Local History*, No.120 (2016), pp. 25-38.

the core sectors of the Welsh economy during the 1920s and 1930s), which implies that at least a generation of inhabitants in counties such as Glamorgan and Monmouthshire was compelled to contend with acutely atypical social conditions.[751] The male-centred configuration of English migration to Wales also provides an important backdrop to contemporary social discourse on the subject of Welsh industrialisation, because of its tendency to juxtapose the brash 'masculinity' of Anglo-Saxon commercial enterprise with the supposedly 'feminine' characteristics of Wales' native Celtic (and, through its valorisation of the *gwerin*, staunchly rural-orientated) culture.

Unfortunately, due to the particular features of the gender divisions of the English population in Wales, uncovering the histories of female English migrants is often rendered a somewhat imprecise and unsatisfactory endeavour. Indeed, the problem of the relative 'invisibility' of women in historical sources is often accentuated within the parameters of a migration study. Nevertheless, isolated cases scattered across the primary literature may serve to enrich our understanding of women's lives in nineteenth and early twentieth century Wales, especially with regards to the manner in which the domestic sphere was conceptualised within a newly industrialising society. Of course, these considerations naturally prompted an investigation into the patterns of social relations between migrants and their host communities within the intimate setting of the household. While acknowledging the numerous shortcomings of the census data, the results gathered from a series of quantitative analyses for the migrant populations of both Blaina and Dowlais suggest that interrelationships between the native Welsh and the incoming English were a recurring aspect of Welsh society.

In contrast to the other migrant groups of Wales during this period, who tended to be clustered within specific 'ethnic enclaves' and thus likely to be socially segregated from the indigenous population, the settlement of English migrants in Welsh communities was far more widely dispersed. Predictably, single males were a prominent grouping amongst the sample migrant populations, however their presence gradually diminished towards the end of the period in question. Consequently, 'mixed' households are strongly represented in the relevant data sets, with a strong upswing in the levels of migrant-indigenous intermarriage detectable between the census years of 1891 and 1901. The breakdown of the data pertaining

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[751] As mentioned previously, the situation was reversed in Wales' rural counties, where the rapid decrease in their male populations often imparted significant economic consequences. This has been explored in some detail in Cooper, K., *Exodus from Cardiganshire: Rural-Urban Migration in Victorian Britain* (Cardiff, 2011) .

to household status was also highly illuminating, emphasising the importance of the lodger class in determining the dynamics of migrant-indigenous social interactions in industrial environments. Such quantitative findings allow for first-hand contemporary accounts by the likes of Bertrand Coombes, who spent a portion of his formative years as an English migrant lodger in a Welsh household, to be scrutinised from fresh perspectives.

A comprehensive overview of the class-based characteristics of English migrants also reveals the extent to which their collective presence also irrevocably influenced the formation of social hierarchies in the workspaces of Wales. With the aid of Armstrong's methodology for interpreting occupational information from census data, the thesis demonstrated that English migrants, in contrast to the other migrant communities of Wales, were far more likely to occupy skilled or 'professional' positions of employment. However, their relatively privileged status in this respect did not insulate them from the worst excesses of industrial unrest which were to periodically erupt across Wales throughout the nineteenth century. Indeed, the patterns of anti-English rioting often exhibited idiosyncrasies of their own, which potentially open a fascinating avenue for future comparative research on migrant-indigenous labour relations in Wales.

From a cultural and conceptual perspective, it is undeniable that contemporary impressions of English migrants were inexorably shaped by an instinctive awareness of the new and 'modern' material forces that were underpinning the economic development of Wales. Of course, as several recent studies have highlighted, the industrialisation of Wales was a far more disparate and staggered process than has often been acknowledged in the historiography.[752] In some ways, this proved instrumental in sustaining traditional customs of industrial protest which periodically targeted English migrant labour. Notwithstanding these structural realities, the figure of the English migrant, perpetually enterprising in spirit, became an enduring motif in public perceptions of economic and commercial change, which was juxtaposed with the perceived frugality of the native Welshman.

Such cultural assumptions were interpreted in two distinct ways by contemporary observers. For the Welsh middle-classes in particular, the onset of English migration was lauded as an affirmation of Wales' transformation into a modern nation. Indeed, English migrants were frequently portrayed as the veritable vanguard of economic development, which motivated anglophile sections of Welsh society to promote the English language as a

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[752] See Williams, L.J., *Was Wales industrialised?: Essays in modern Welsh history*, (Llandysul, 1995).

means of better accommodating incomers. From a religious perspective, however, the supposedly intimate association between the burgeoning English migrant population and the avaricious tendencies of capitalist production was profoundly troubling, and was regarded as an existential threat to the impeccable spiritual and moral constitution of native Welsh society. The most visible response to this challenge, namely the nonconformist English causes, represents an interesting example of a native effort to institutionally assimilate migrants within a non-state context, while further highlighting the underlying fragility of the nonconformist social hegemony of the period.

The promotion of the English causes also raised broader questions relating to the status of the Welsh language, and the role of English migrants in precipitating its decline throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. In many ways, it is this issue that is invariably cited as the abiding socio-cultural legacy of English migration, both in academic and popular discourse. Within the historiography, for example, the intensification of English migration is almost universally regarded as being detrimental to the long-term prospects of Welsh, with the rapid influx of monoglot English workers into the industrial areas of Wales virtually cancelling out the temporary 'social dividend' reaped by the language through the inward rural-to-urban migration of natives.[753] From a purely demographic perspective, it is difficult to dispute these overarching conclusions. However, it is also evident that the relationship between English migrants and the Welsh language contains a far richer story than is usually credited by broad-brush statistical overviews. Furthermore, the tendency to apportion 'blame' or 'responsibility' to a single group for an inherently complex linguistic process can be a somewhat asinine and counter-productive endeavour.

While uncommon, the acquisition of Welsh by English migrants, whether as a means of acclimatising to new social environments or through the particular circumstances of their households, was nevertheless a notable occurrence throughout this period, and, perhaps more significantly, the notion of introducing the language to the English population of Wales became a key component of debates surrounding the viability and practicality of bilingualism which emerged during the 1880s and 1890s. The fact that one of the most prominent contemporary advocates for bilingualism, the eminent author J.E. Southall, was himself a Welsh-speaking English migrant is in itself a convincing endorsement for the relationship

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[753] This is a view that is promoted most notably by Dudley Baines in his refutation of Brinley Thomas' hypothesis that industrialisation was the 'saviour' of the Welsh language. Baines, Dudley, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1986).

between English migrants and the native language to receive a more nuanced treatment than it has hitherto been afforded.[754]

This chapter began with the assertion that English migrants were the silent protagonists of the history of Wales. They were significant catalysts in many of the social, cultural and economic changes that affected the nation during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but lacking a historic 'voice' of their own. Unlike the Irish migrant population of Wales, for example, which can be located within a broader diaspora narrative, English migrants do not possess a clear identity in the domain of both academic and popular literature. Indeed, for a variety of reasons, it is difficult if not impossible to speak of the English migrants of Wales as a tangible 'community' in the same way that is possible for other migrant groups.[755] In this respect therefore, perhaps a more relevant conceptual framework can be constructed by answering the following question: to what extent did the English migrant population of Wales become 'Welsh'? For a number of contemporaries,[756] of course, this would have been a strange, if not perverse consideration, since they firmly anticipated that the prevailing socio-political order would ensure that the Welsh would eventually become subsumed within the wider Anglo-Saxon race.[757] This was an opinion that was often shared by anglophiles (who promoted educational reforms to accelerate this process of cultural homogenisation) and nationalists alike.[758]

However, the correlation between the rise of Victorian antiquarianism and the maturation of the Celtic revival movement also engendered a distinct intellectual current that sought to emphasise the common (and explicitly pre-Saxon) ethno-cultural heritage of both the Welsh and English people. As has already been observed, this was a trend that was mostly confined to certain branches of linguistics and other related quasi-academic cultural

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[754] 'Southall, John Edward (1855-1928), printer, publisher, author; a member of the Society of Friends', http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-SOUT-EDW-1855.html, accessed 18 September 2018.

[755] The apparent 'invisibility' of English migrant communities is a theme that is also covered in MacRaild, D.; Bueltmann, T. & Gleeson, D.T., 'Invisible Diaspora? English Ethnicity in the United States before 1920', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol.33, No.4, (2014), pp. 5-30.

[756] Primarily the anglophile elements of the Welsh middle-class.

[757] This trend towards what Gee described as the 'fusion of nationalities' became an issue of pressing concern for newspapers such as *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. Edwards, H.T., *Codi'r Hen Wlad Yn Ei Hôl 1850-1914* (Llandysul, 1989), 141. The clash between the 'nationalist-particularist' and 'unionist-integrationist' visions of Welsh national identity is discussed in greater detail in Thomas, M.W., *The Nations of Wales 1890-1914* (Cardiff, 2016).

[758] As has been discussed previously, Emrys ap Iwan, for example, lambasted the emergence of the English cause movement as a less-than clandestine ploy by the perfidious *Dic-Sion Dafyddion* to create Englishmen out of the Welsh.

circles.[759] Nevertheless, it is apparent that this line of reasoning did occasionally acquire some traction in the broader public domain. For example, an article appearing in *The Cambrian* newspaper on 23 September 1881 emphasised the inherent similarities between the English and the Welsh in comparison with their continental European neighbours, asserting that the 'inference seems pretty clear' that 'most inhabitants of England now have at least some fraction of Celtic blood in their veins'.[760] Pointedly, this was primarily attributed to the 'comparatively modern intermarriages' between the English and the 'numerous Welsh, Cornish, Scotch and Irish families' who had migrated eastwards over preceding years.[761] It is reasonable to assume that such logic would have been similarly applicable to the case of English migrant intermarriage with their native Welsh hosts. Similar sentiments were expressed by a columnist in *Y Tyst*, who compared the present English 'invaders' of Wales in a more favourable light to those of earlier ages, asserting that the English influx had fostered a social climate in which both races could revel in the natural 'genius' of the Welsh nation.[762]

The extent to which this process of cultural hybridisation could be accommodated within a modern Welsh nationality was, unsurprisingly, a matter of considerable contention. As discussed above, the 'mixed' populations of the south-east were routinely castigated by religious and political leaders alike for their supposed predilection for criminality, vice and irreligiosity, thus excluding them indefinitely from the realm of a Welsh nationhood that was inherently pure in its moral and spiritual temperament. The influence of the rural-urban dichotomy in shaping conceptualisations of 'idealised' Welshness is also detectable in this regard. For example, in his *Letters and Essays concerning Wales*, Henry Richard contrasted 'Wales Proper' (encompassing the rural, Welsh-speaking communities of the *gwerin*) with the urbanised and industrialised districts, which he believed had 'long ceased to be distinctively Welsh.[763] Thomas Rees concurred with this rather apocalyptic assessment, as he claimed that the migration of English people into the north-east and south-east of Wales had ensured that the 'peculiar characteristics of the Welsh labourer' were 'to a great extent

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[759] See *The Cymric Language: On the Propriety of maintaining the Cymric Language, not simply for the strengthening of Welsh nationality, but also for the purpose of aiding the English student in elucidating the etymology of diverse words in his own tongue, many of which are partially, some totally, derived from the Cymric* (Cardiff Eisteddfod, 1879) and Elved, A., 'Essay on the Advantages accruing to Englishmen from a knowledge of the Welsh language', By Manceinion, Delivered by invitation to the Grand Eisteddfod at Llangollen, September 21st 1858, by their essayist and advocate' in *The Cambrian Journal*, Vol.1, 1858.
[760] 'Englishmen and Welshmen', *The Cambrian*, 23rd September 1881.
[761] 'Englishmen and Welshmen', *The Cambrian*, 23rd September 1881.
[762] Chapman, R., 'The Turn of the Tide: Melancholy and Modernity in Mid-Victorian Wales' in *Welsh History Review*, Vol.27, No.3, p.521.
[763] Richard, H., *'Letters and Essays concerning Wales'*, (London, 1884).

obliterated in these counties'.[764] Meanwhile, a more conciliatory stance was in evidence amongst bilingual activists such as Southall, who viewed the acquisition of the Welsh language as a direct pathway for migrants to assume a coherent Welsh identity. However, the emergence, during the start of the twentieth century, of a distinct English-speaking Welsh national identity in the south-eastern counties that had been most affected by the onset of English migration clearly adds a new dimension to this analysis. As Southall himself readily acknowledged, it was possible for the English residents of Wales to become gradually 'Cymricised' through their immersion in a broader set of social values that were not strictly contingent on a knowledge of the native tongue.[765]

Perhaps the most visible manifestation of this new Anglo-Welsh national identity was in the field of Wales' fledgling sporting culture, whose growth owed a considerable debt to the involvement of English migrants. Since sport in Wales (and rugby union in particular) was generally orientated around a form of 'soft' nationalism, which was implicitly non-sectarian and unionist in character, it meant that English migrants could readily embrace its socio-cultural milieu without having to subscribe to the more stringent qualifications of nationality that were demanded in other areas of Welsh society. Consequently, as Dai Smith and Gareth Williams note in *Fields of Praise*, this allowed English migrants to 'become Welsh' in the context of a 'different Welsh world from any that had existed in the past'.[766] Rugby union, the dominant sport in the south-east and one which became inextricably (if somewhat misleadingly) associated with the country as a whole during the first decade of the twentieth century, provided an ideal outlet for the projection of this 'new face' of Welsh nationality. Indeed, several of the earliest pioneers of the game in Wales were English migrants, of which several had moved from the rugby stronghold of the south-western counties.

For example, the Wales and Cardiff player Franck Hancock, the first 'fourth three-quarter' in rugby history, had migrated from his native Somerset in the 1880s, while fellow Welsh internationals Harry Uzzell and Harry Packer hailed from Gloucestershire and Devonshire respectively.[767] Outside of the West Country, other English migrants who represented Wales during rugby union's formative years included Tom Graham, from

[764] O'Leary, P., *Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales 1789-1922,* (Cardiff, 2000), p.165.
[765] Southall, J.E., *Wales and her Language Considered from a Historical, Educational and Social Standpoint* (Newport, 1892).
[766] Smith, D. & Williams, G., *Fields of Praise: The Official History of the Welsh Rugby Union 1881-1981* (Cardiff, 1980), p.29.
[767] Smith & Williams, *Fields of Praise,* p.33.

Newcastle, Bert Winfield, from Nottingham, and 'Boxer' Harding from Lincolnshire.[768] As Smith and Williams emphasise, the notion that rugby could act as a veritable socio-cultural crucible for the forging of a new and expressly cosmopolitan Welsh identity is perfectly conveyed by *The Western Mail's* 1939 obituary to the Gloucestershire-born player Gwyn Nicholls, which asserted that 'in everything except birth, he was a true rugby son of Wales'.[769]

Football also acted as a catalyst for the communion of English migrants with this 'broad-church' version of Welshness. While primarily regarded as the sport of north Wales for most of the nineteenth century, football began to make inroads into south Wales during the first decades of the following century, with English migrants once again becoming active (and in some cases, leading) participants in its development. As Martin Johnes underlines in his study of football in south Wales before the outbreak of the Second World War, Bristolians such as Bartley Wilson would become instrumental in the foundation of Cardiff City, while migrants from the English Midlands and south-west were prominently represented amongst the squads and supporters of south Wales' early clubs.[770] An intriguing case of cross-cultural pollination between English migrants and their host community may also be located in the circumstances surrounding the establishment of Newport County FC. Perhaps appropriately for a city that had always maintained a somewhat ambiguous relationship with Welsh national culture and whose residents had been identified at an early stage as typifying the burgeoning 'mixed' population of the country, the local football club adopted its colour scheme of amber and black in homage to Wolverhampton Wanderers, due to the considerable influx of Wolverhampton-born migrants into the Newport area over the preceding decades[771]. A number of important administrators and patrons at both club and national level were also English migrants. According to Johnes, George Thorneycroft, one of the founding directors of Newport County, had 'moved into the town from West Bromwich to work as an iron mill manager', while one of the first chairmen of the South Wales Football Association, Jack Sandiford, was a northern Englishman.[772]

In this respect, English involvement in the sporting life of Wales during the turn of the nineteenth century may be regarded as the most obvious instance of the kind of organic and

[768] Smith & Williams, *Fields of Praise,* p.33.
[769] Smith & Williams, *Fields of Praise,* p.33.
[770] Johnes, M., *Soccer and Society: South Wales, 1900-1939* (Cardiff, 2002), p.20.
[771] Johnes, *Soccer and Society*, p.20.
[772] Johnes, *Soccer and Society*, p.20.

mutually reinforcing socio-cultural interactions between migrants and natives that helped to sustain and refine the explicitly English-speaking Welsh identity of the south-east. Crucially, the particular climate in which this process unfolded ensured that it was not encumbered by the socio-cultural tensions that inherently inhibited alternative efforts to instil so-called Welsh values amongst migrant populations (the English cause movement being the most notable example in this regard). Beyond the football and rugby pitches of Wales, this cautious and deliberately apoliticised version of Welsh nationhood was seemingly being cultivated in other social contexts. For example, Sandra Irish's study of demographic changes in Wrexham during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provides a useful insight into the manner in which the gradual and 'soft' assimilation of English migrants could be accomplished at a localised level. Having previously been considered an overwhelmingly 'English' town through most of the medieval and early modern era (which conformed to the general state of the Maelor region during this period), the integration of the descendants of the original 'English invaders' within the wider community, which in turn allowed the native population to 're-establish themselves socially and to play a fuller role in the civic life of the borough', ensured that by the early twentieth century Wrexham was 'beginning to return to its original role as the centre of north-east Wales'.[773]

From a broader perspective, the co-habitation of English migrants and the native Welsh within the domain of this all-encompassing 'national society' was also being promoted through the medium of Wales' evolving newspaper culture. The significance of print culture as a component in the formulation of the 'imagined community' of the nation is a well-established theme in historical discourse,[774] and one which has been effectively utilised within a specifically Welsh context by historians such as Aled Jones in recent years.[775] However, while studies of Welsh newspapers have rightly emphasised their contribution to the construction of a modern Welsh identity, they have perhaps neglected to fully explore the ways in which the Welsh print media, whether consciously or subconsciously, might have also fostered the participation of English migrants in this national 'cultural dialogue'. This dynamic is hinted at by an article which appeared in the *Young Wales* journal in 1895 by the

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[773] Irish, S., 'Spatial Patterns in the Small Town in the Nineteenth Century: A Case Study of Wrexham' (unpub. PhD thesis, Aberystwyth, 1987), p.132.
[774] See Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 2006).
[775] Jones, A.G., *Press, Politics and Society: A History of Journalism in Wales* (Cardiff, 1993).

editor of the *Merthyr Times*, J.O. Jones.[776] Reflecting on the wider relationship of the Welsh press with the 'national awakening in Wales', Jones praised *The Western Mail* for adopting a holistically Welsh approach to its news reporting (which he compared favourably to the supposedly rigid provincialism of the other leading dailies).[777] This had not only induced a situation where the readership of the paper included 'Welshmen of all creeds and opinions', but it also enabled the 'English folk who have made Wales their home' to 'take an interest in our affairs, and to sympathise with our ways of thinking and mode of life'.[778] Indeed, despite readily acknowledging that the *Mail* was a 'Church and Tory organ', Jones was nevertheless compelled to make the remarkable assertion that the paper was 'far and away the strongest nationalising agency we have in the country', since it 'makes Welshmen better and more intelligent Welshmen, and it Celticises the Englishmen who come to live in our midst'.[779] Much the same way that *The Western Mail* had apparently managed to transcend its particular editorial character (as a 'Church and Tory organ') to appeal to a broad and diverse Welsh audience therefore, a new English-speaking Welsh national consensus between migrants and natives would be forged by circumventing the old political, religious and social divisions of Welsh society.

The broader chronological and regional trends that characterised the relative integration of the English migrant population of Wales should also be acknowledged at this point. Crudely speaking, the trajectory of English migration to Wales alternated between periods of intensity (which generally lasted for approximately twenty years) and rather more subdued phases (of roughly the same duration), reaching an apogee   From a regional perspective, English migration was heavily concentrated towards the industrial south-eastern counties of Monmouthshire and Glamorgan. In the case of Monmouthshire, anglicisation in the county had been a protracted process over the course of several decades, extending as far back as the mid-eighteenth century in its eastern periphery. As such, while the influx of English migration to the county was comparable in scale and intensity to the rest of south-east Wales during the latter half of the century (only easing by the 1890s to 1900s), much of the dynamics of the socio-cultural environment in which they entered was broadly comparable with that from which they had departed. This relatively smooth transition from

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[776] Jones, J.O., 'The National Awakening in Wales: IV – In its relation to the Welsh press' in *Young Wales*, Vol.1, No.12, (December, 1895), pp.280-284.
[777] Jones, 'The National Awakening in Wales' in *Young Wales*, p.283.
[778] Jones, 'The National Awakening in Wales' in *Young Wales*, p.284.
[779] Jones, 'The National Awakening in Wales' in *Young Wales*, p.284.

one culture zone to another was also undoubtedly facilitated by the anomalous legislative status of Monmouthshire throughout the period under observation.

The penetration of English migration into Glamorgan, by comparison, proceeded at an altogether more rapid pace, in a county whose Welsh-speaking character was generally far more secure towards the latter half of the nineteenth century. Here the linguistic shift that inevitably accompanied such an influx of peoples was a noticeably more pronounced phenomenon, with the proportion of Welsh-speakers in some of the major urban centres of the county declining markedly over the course of a few decades. The case of the north-eastern counties of Flintshire and Denbighshire reveals even further variations in terms of the spatial and chronological dynamics of English migration. Much like Monmouthshire, its initial stages proceeded at a relatively steady pace, often involving limited numbers of specialised workers recruited directly into workspaces by employers (as opposed to whole-scale movements of speculative labourers into the wider communities). However, the relative decline in the prominence and relative stature of north-east Wales' industrial base ensured that, in contrast to the circumstances by which Monmouthsire became thoroughly anglicised towards the latter half of the nineteenth century, there was no subsequent stage of widespread demographic 'consolidation' by later English incomers throughout Flintshire and Denbyshire. The English migrant populations of these counties thus tended to be less communally cohesive compared to their counterparts in the south, and, perhaps as a consequence, were more susceptible to being targeted in periodic instances of nativist unrest over a longer timsescale.

This is suggested by a *long duree* outlook of the patterns of anti-English rioting throughout the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which indicates that points of social discord between migrants and the indigenous population were generally more frequent during the earlier stages of the period in question, typically during (though this certainly did not preclude occasional incidents of unrest flaring up during later decades, as the aforementioned episodes in Llanelli and Pontypridd demonstrate). Indeed, it is reasonable to conclude that the orthodox paradigm which assumes a correlation between a rise in the absolute volume of migration and an increase in social discord amongst the indigenous population does not adequately reflect the particular dynamics of English migrant assimilation in Wales during this period. As a general rule therefore (though with the caveat that the process was by no means uniform in its dimensions), it may be posited that the earlier English incomers, who tended to induce the most acute forms of social disruption, assumed

the role of cultural 'outriders', with later (and invariably more numerous) arrivals contributing to the gradual 'normalisation' of a distinctly anglicised socio-cultural climate, especially in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire.

It was through these demographic patterns that the relative 'transparency' of their profile as a distinctive migratory group (certainly in comparison to the Irish population of Wales) was reinforced. Ironically, therefore, while English incomers to Wales were undeniably a fundamental catalyst of anglicisation from a linguistic perspective, their relative 'imperceptibility' as a distinct migratory group towards the end of the nineteenth century facilitated their accommodation within a broadly unionist, English-speaking and distinctly proletarian character of Welshness. In this respect the negative assumptions that have invariably influenced the portrayal of English migration within the context of Welsh historiography can be revised and re-evaluated. Rather than being necessarily responsible for diminishing the Welsh identity of areas such as the south-east therefore, it becomes possible to construct an alternate narrative on English migration which stresses its critical role in redefining Welsh conceptions of nationhood, by widening and diversifying the fundamental parameters of Welshness.

At the outset, this thesis resolved to undertake a social history of English migration to Wales between 1850 and 1914. The lack of a definite article in the title, as well as the relative brevity of the chronological timeline, should be viewed as an indicator that the potential for future research in this field is substantial. Indeed, it is the contention of this thesis that the study of this oft maligned, occasionally misunderstood and invariably ignored group remains firmly in its infancy. This thesis has thus made a positive case in favour of evaluating the English population of Wales according to two primary criteria. Firstly, the significance of treating the English in Wales as a migrant group in their own right, which in turn can facilitate constructive comparative studies within the framework of a historiography that has grown exponentially in terms of its depth and sophistication in recent years. Secondly, the merits of adopting a social historical approach have also been emphasised, which can greatly enrich the vibrancy of a topic that has all too often been constrained by the overly monochrome palette of quantitative analysis. In these ways therefore, these silent characters, whose legacy endures as a distinct socio-cultural palimpsest on the present day society of Wales, may finally be afforded a worthy place on the stage of Welsh history.

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