



Saunders Lewis' 1962 Radio Lecture: Tynged yr iaith (Fate of the Language)

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Darllith radio gan Saunders Lewis a ddarlledwyd gan y BBC yn 1962 oedd Tynged yr iaith, ac un o'r darllediadau pwysicaf yn hanes Cymru.

The Fate of the Language was a BBC radio lecture delivered in Welsh by Saunders Lewis in 1962, and one of the most important broadcasts in the history of Wales.

The translation into English was done by G. Aled Williams.

The context and impact of this is explained here: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tynged_yr_iaith.

Rhaid imi gychwyn a gorffen sgrifennu'r ddarllith hon cyn cyhoeddi ystadegau'r cyfrifiad a fu y llynedd ar y Cymry Cymraeg yng Nghymru. Mi ragdybiaf y bydd y ffigurau a gyhoeddir cyn hir yn sioc ac yn siom i'r rheini ohonom sy'n ystyried nad Cymru fydd Cymru heb y Gymraeg. Mi ragdybiaf hefyd y bydd terfyn ar y Gymraeg yn iaith fyw, ond parhau'r tueddiad presennol, tua dechrau'r unfed ganrif ar hugain, a rhoi

I have to start writing this and have to finish it before the returns of last year's census of the Welsh-speaking population of Wales are published. I shall presuppose that the figures which will shortly be published will shock and disappoint those of us who consider that Wales without the Welsh language will not be Wales. I shall also presuppose that Welsh will end as a living language, should the present trend continue, about the beginning of the twenty-first century, assuming that there will be people left in the

bod dynion ar gael yn Ynys Prydain y pryd hynny.

Dyna felly Iwyddo o'r diwedd y polisi a osodwyd yn nod i Lywodraeth Loegr yng Nghymru yn y mesur a elwir yn Ddeddf Uno Cymru a Lloegr yn y flwyddyn 1536. Chwarae teg i'r Llywodraeth, trwy ryw bedair canrif o lywodraethu Cymru, er pob tro ar fydd, er pob newid ar ddull y Senedd a moddion llywodraeth, er pob chwyldro cymdeithasol, ni bu eroed anwadalu ar y polisi hwn o ddiddymu'r iaith Gymraeg yn iaith weinyddol mewn na swydd na llys nac unrhyw ysgrif gyfreithiol. Meddai cyfreithiwr mewn llys barn yn 1773:

"It has always been the policy of the legislature to introduce the English language into Wales."

Meddai Matthew Arnold, arolygydd ysgolion, yn ei adroddiad swyddogol yn 1852:

"It must always be the desire of a Government to render its dominions, as far as possible, homogenous...Sooner or later, the difference of language between Wales and England will probably be effaced...an event which is socially and politically so desirable."

A hyd yn oed yn ail hanner yr ugeinfed ganrif, yn y flwyddyn 1952, yn Siarter y Gorfforaeth Ddarlledu Brydeinig, er yr holl newid a fu yn agwedd a meddwl arweinwyr addysg a diwylliant, fe ofalwyd peidio ag enwi'r iaith Gymraeg yn gynnieddf anhepgor ar reolwr a chadeirydd i Gymru.

Nid wyf yn anghofio fod newid dirfawr wedi bod yn yr ysgolion. Heddiw y mae Adran Gymreig y Weinyddiaeth Addysg yn noddi'r Gymraeg a'i chymhell ar yr ysgolion yn daerach na'r awdurdodau lleol Cymreig. Caf sôn yn nes ymlaen am arwyddocâd hynny. Eithr y tu allan i fydd y plentyn a'r ysgol erys yffaith mai Saesneg yn unig sy'n angenrheidiol i bob swydd neu offis weinyddol yng Nghymru. Nid yw egwyddor y Ddeddf Uno wedi llaesu dim, er bod newid o bwys yn agwedd meddwl y Llywodraeth.

Sgrifennai Matthew Arnold bedair blynedd wedi cyhoeddi Llyfrau Gleision 1847. Cefnogi argym-hellion y Llyfrau Gleision oedd ei fwriad ef, a rhoes bwyslais ar yffaith mai polisi politicaidd oedd difodi'r Gymraeg. Trown gan hynny at y Cymry eu hunain, rhag bod brycheuyn yn Ilygad y Sais yn peri na welom y trawst yn Ilygad y Cymro. Os ddarllenwch chi'r rhan hanesyddol o'r Adroddiad ar Y Gymraeg mewn Addysg a Bywyd, 1927, fe welwch heddiw fod y darlun o'r unfed ganrif ar bymtheg yn camddehongli'n druenus ystyr llawer o achwynion y Dyneiddwyr Cymraeg am gyflwr yr iaith Gymraeg. Ond mae'r dyfyniad o ragymadrodd enwog Morris Kyffin a gwynnai am âr eglwysig o Gymro- A ddoedodd nad cymwys oedd adel printio math yn y byd ar lyfrau Cymraeg eithr ef a fynne i'r bobl ddysgu Saesoneg a cholli eu Cymraeg.

Y mae hynny'n dystiolaeth deg i farn y mwyafrif mawr o'r gwñr eglwysig a'r boneddigion Cymreig ar bolisi'r Tuduriaid. Dywedodd Wiliam Salesbury a'r Esgob Morgan yn debyg. Dywedodd Siôn Tudur hynny ar gywydd. Fe wyddom heddiw nad a ddywedid ar goedd ac ar brint oedd gwir farn amryw byd o ddeiliaid Elisabeth y Gyntaf. Gwladwriaeth y siri a'r ysbïwr a'r ceisbwl oedd hi, ac nid a gredai a ddywedai'r call. At hynny, rhaid dehongli geirfa'r Dyneiddwyr.

island of Britain at that time.

Thus the policy laid down as the aim of the English Government in Wales in the measure called the Act of Union of England and Wales in 1536 will at last have succeeded. To give the Government its due, throughout some four centuries of governing Wales, despite every change of circumstance, despite every change in parliamentary method and in the means of government, despite every social revolution, it has never wavered in applying this policy of excluding the Welsh language as a language of administration from office, court and legal writing. A lawyer said in a court of law in 1773:

"It has always been the policy of the legislature to introduce the English language into Wales."

Matthew Arnold, an Inspector of Schools, said in his official report in 1852: *"It must always be the desire of a Government to render its dominions, as far as possible, homogenous...Sooner or later, the difference of language between Wales and England will probably be effaced...an event which is socially and politically so desirable."*

And even in the second half of the twentieth century, in 1952, in the Charter of the British Broadcasting Corporation, despite all the change there had been in the attitude and thinking of educational and cultural leaders, care was taken not to specify the Welsh language as an essential attribute of the Controller and Chairman for Wales.

I do not forget that there has been an enormous change in the schools. Today the Welsh Department of the Ministry of Education fosters the Welsh language and urges it on the schools more than the Welsh local authorities. I shall speak later on about significance of that. But outside the world of the child and school it is English only which is essential for every post or administrative office in Wales. The principle of the Act of Union has not been relaxed at all, although there has been an important in the Government's attitude of mind.

Matthew Arnold was writing four years after the Blue Books of 1847. His purpose was to support the recommendations of the Blue Books, and he laid emphasis on the fact that extermination of Welsh was a political policy. Let us turn to the Welsh people themselves, lest the mote in the Englishman's eye causes us not to see the beam in the eye of the Welshman. If you read the historical section of the report on The Welsh Language in Education and Life (1927) you will see today that the account of the sixteenth century hopelessly misinterprets the meaning of many of the Welsh Humanists' complaints about the condition of the Welsh language. But as to the quotation from the famous preface of Morris Kyffin who complained about the Welsh cleric who said that it were not proper to allow the printing Welsh book whatsoever, but he would that all the nation learn English and lose their Welsh.

That is fair evidence of the opinion of the great majority of clerics and gentry concerning Tudor policy. William Salesbury and Bishop Morgan wrote in a similar vein. Siôn Tudur said as much in a cywydd. We know today that what was said in public and in print was not the true opinion of many of the subjects of Elizabeth the First. Her state was that of the sheriff; the spy, and the catchpole, and the wise man did not speak his mind. Besides, we have to interpret the Humanists' vocabulary.

Mae'n iawn inni gydnabod dwy ffaith. Yn gyntaf, na fu wedi marw Elisabeth hyd at drothwy'r ugeinffed ganrif na chais na bwriad gan neb o bwys yng Nghymru i ddatod dim ar y cwlwm a unodd Gymru wrth Loegr na gwrthwynebiad o unrhyw gyfri i'r egwyddor o deyrnas gyfunol a diwahân. Ar ôl 1536 fe beidiiodd y syniad o Gymru'n genedl, yn undod hanesyddol, â bod yn atgof na delfryd na ffaith. Yn ail, o ganlyniad ni bu chwaith unrhyw gais politicaidd hyd at yr ugeinffed ganrif i adfer statws yr iaith Gymraeg na chael ei chyd nabod mewn unrhyw fod yn iaith swyddogol na gweinyddol. Bodlonwyd drwy Gymru gyfan i'w darostyngiad llwyr.

Rhwng y ddwy ffaith hyn y mae cysylltiad clos. Os un deyrnas gwbl unedig yw Lloegr a Chymru — homogenous yw gair Matthew Arnold — yna mae bod iaith Gymraeg hanesyddol yn dramgydd politicaidd, yn atgo am gyflwr gwahanol, yn berig i'r undod. Dywedwyd yn union hynny yn y Ddeddf Uno, yn y Llyfrau Gleision, a throeon lawer. Ond ar ôl oes Elisabeth y Gyntaf ni ddywedwyd hynny cyn amled yn Gymraeg. Derbyn y naill egwyddor a wnaeth llenyddiaeth Gymraeg, derbyn y Deyrnas Gyfunol. Clasur mawr cyntaf y Deyrnas Gyfunol yn y Gymraeg yw'r Bardd Cwsc. Y frenhines Ann gyda Llyfr Statud Lloegr dan ei naill law a'r Beibl dan y llall yw arwr y clasur hwnnw. Dewch gyda mi i gyfnod llawer nes atom, pan oedd adfywiad cenedlaethol Cymru yn hawlio Datgysylltiad yr Eglwys Wladol yn etholiad cyffredinol 1880. Dyma a ddywedodd hen ewythri mi, John Thomas, Lerpwl, mewn anerchiad yng Nghaernarfon:

"Un genedl fawr Brydeinig ydym, o dan yr un Llywodraeth, yn cael ein cynrychioli yn yr un senedd gyffredinol, ac y mae ein gwir nerth yn ein hunoliaeth...ac y mae'n rhaid imi ddweud nad oes yn of ond ychydig o gydymdeimlad â'r cri a godir yn y dyddiau hyn am gael Plaid Gymreig yn y senedd."

Yn union yr un safbwyt â Matthew Arnold, ond bod Arnold yn fwy rhesymegol- yn Saesneg y llefarodd ef a mynnai dranc y Gymraeg. Erbyn y ddeunawfed ganrif ceir digon o dystiolaeth i effeithiau'r Ddeddf Uno ar yr iaith. Dywedodd Thomas Sebastian Price o Lanfyllin mewn llythyr Lladin yn 1700 fod y Gymraeg erbyn hynny wedi peidio â'i harfer oddieithr gan y werin iselradd. Yr oedd Ellis Wynne ar y pryd yn gorffen ei gyfieithiad o Reol Bchedd Sanctaidd Jeremy Taylor. Yn y drydedd bennod fe ddaw at drafodaeth ar ddyletswyddau 'y sawl a gâdd eu rhan o'r uchel-swyddau', ac ebr ef:

"Dyletswyddau Brenhinoedd a Barnwyr a Llywodraethwyr Gwledig ac Eglwysig, heb law eu bod yn faith ac yn ddyrus, maent hefyd yn ammherthnasol sywaeth i'r laith Gymraeg."

Byddaf yn bendithio Ellis Wynne am y sywaeth yna, er ei fod yn lawn mor anghyson â John Thomas. Fe gofiwch ei fod ef yn y Bardd Cwsc yn dangos y Gymraeg yn iaith Ilysgenhadon a llythyrau bren-hinoedd. Ond, ysywaeth hefyd, Brenin Uffern ac Angau yw'r brenhinoedd: hwy'n bellach o lywod- raethwyr piâu'r Gymraeg.

Felly y bu i'r Ddeddf Uno gau'r Gymraeg allan o lysoedd Ilywodraethwyr a thai bonedd y deyrnas, allan o fyd arweinwyr cymdeithas lle y ceid trafod pob dysg a thechneg a chelfyddyd a gwyddor. Dangosodd Mr Alwyn Prosser fod Williams Pantycelyn yn cwyno'n debyg:

"O'r holl gelfyddydau ag y mae gwledydd eraill yn ei astudio, ac

It is proper that we should acknowledge two facts. First, that from the death of Elizabeth until the threshold of the twentieth century there was neither an attempt nor an intention by anyone of importance in Wales to undo in any way the bond that united Wales to England, nor opposition of any account to the principle of a united indivisible kingdom. After 1536 the concept of Wales as a nation, as an historical unit, ceased to be a memory, an ideal or a fact. Secondly, as a result neither was there any political attempt until the twentieth century to restore the status of the Welsh language or to win for it recognition in any way as an official or an administrative language. All Wales was satisfied with its complete suppression.

These two facts are closely connected. If England and Wales are one totally united kingdom - homogeneous is Matthew Arnold's word - then the existence of an historical Welsh language is a political stumbling-block, a reminder of a different state of affairs, a danger to the union. That was precisely what was said in the Act of Union, in the Blue Books, and many other times. But after the age of Elizabeth the First it was not said as often in Welsh. Welsh literature accepted one principle, it accepted the United Kingdom. The first major classic of the United Kingdom in Welsh is the Bardd Cwsc(1). The heroine of that classic is Queen Anne, with the Statute Book of England in one hand and the Bible in the other. Let us turn to a period which is much closer to us, when the Welsh national awakening demanded the Disestablishment of the State Church in the 1880 General Election. This was what a great-uncle of mine, John Thomas of Liverpool, said in an address at Caernarfon:

"We are one great British nation, under one Government, represented in one common parliament, and our true strength lies in our unity...and I must say that I have but little sympathy with the cry raised these days for a Welsh parliamentary party."

His standpoint was identical with that of Matthew Arnold, except that Arnold was more logical - it was in English he spoke and he wished that Welsh should die.

By the eighteenth century there is plenty of evidence of the effects of the Act of Union on the language. In a Latin letter written in 1700, Thomas Sebastian Price of Llanfyllin said that Welsh had ceased to be used by that time by anyone except the common folk of low degree. At the time Ellis Wynne was finishing his translation of Jeremy Taylor's Rule and Exercises of Holy Living. In the third chapter he comes to a discussion of the duties of 'those who have been given their share of high office,' and he says:

"The duties of kings, judges, and rulers of Church and State, apart from their being long and complicated, are also irrelevant, more's the pity, where the Welsh language is concerned."

I bless Ellis Wynne for that 'more's the pity', although he is just as inconsistent as John Thomas. You will remember that in the Bardd Cwsc he shows Welsh as the language of ambassadors and of the letters of kings. But, more's the pity however, those kings are the King of Hell and the King of Death: by this time they were the only rulers the Welsh language possessed.

So it was that the Act of Union excluded Welsh from the courts of rulers and the noble houses of the kingdom, and from the world of the leaders of society where every learning, skill, art and science were expounded. Mr. Alwyn Prosser has shown that Williams of Pantycelyn complained in a similar fashion:

"Of all the arts which other countries study, and in which they have

wedi dyfod i Berffeithrwydd mawr ynddynt, nid oes brin Lyfr yn Gymraeg ac sydd yn dangos pa beth yw un o'r Celfyddydau hyn...pa cyhyd y goddef y Cymru y fath anwybodaeth a hyn?"

Ei oddef a wnaeth y Cymry. Cais arall i ed fryd i'r Gymraeg ehangder diddordeb a diwylliant boneedd oedd Gosodedigaethau Cymdeithas y Cymrodotior, 1755. Dywedodd Richard Morris amdanyst mewn llythyr at William Vaughan:

"Nyni y Cymrodotior a ddatguddiwn i'r byd werthfawrogrwydd yr hen laith hon, mewn lliwiau mor brydferth, ag y bydd ei chyfri rhagllaw yn anrhyydedd ei siarad ym mhliith Dysgedigion a Dyledogion y Deyrnas, ie, yn llys y Brenin, mal yr arferid gynt."

Ond ei siomi a'i chwerwi a gafodd Richard Morris yntau. Method gan y Cymrodotior fagu dosbarth canol diwylliadig Cymraeg. A'r ddogfen bwysig nesaf ynghylch sefyllfa a dylanwad y Gymraeg yw adran fawr R W Lingen yn Llyfrau Gleision 1847. Brad y Llyfrau Gleision yw'r enw a roddwyd ar yr adroddiad hwn yng Nghymru. Deil Syr Reginald Coupland yn ei gyfrol Welsh and Scottish Nationalism mai Brad y Llyfrau Gleision a frathodd i fywyd genedlaetholdeb Cymreig. Coupland yn wir yw'r unig hanesydd sy wedi trafod yr adroddiad yn deg a chybtwys. Prin fod neb awdwr o Gymro eto wedi cydnabod yr hyn sy'n wir, mai'r Llyfrau Gleision hyn yw'r ddogfen hanesyddol bwysicaf a feddwn yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg a bod ynddi stôr o wybodaeth nas defnyddiwyd eto. Ni wnaf i'n awr ond dyfynnu tudalen sydd yn olyniaeth Ellis Wynne a Richard Morris a Williams Pantycelyn, ond bod Lingen yn sgrifennu yng nghanol y chwydro diwydiannol yn Neau Cymru pan oedd cymoedd y glo a'r haearn yn gyrchfa i filoedd o dlonion amaethyddol ardaloedd gwledig Cymru:

"My district exhibits the phenomenon of a peculiar language- here peculiar means belonging to a place or a group of people as distinct from any other- isolating the mass from the upper portion of society; and as a further phenomenon, it exhibits this mass engaged upon the most opposite occupations at points not very distant from each other; being, on the one side, rude and primitive agriculturists living poorly and thinly scattered; on the other, smelters and miners, wantoning in plenty, and congregated in the densest accumulations. An incessant tide of immigration sets in from the former extreme to the latter...Externally it would be impossible to exhibit a greater contrast...than by comparing the country between the rivers Towy and Teifi with Merthyr, Dowlais, Aberdare, Maesteg, Cwm Afon...Yet the families which are daily passing from the one scene to the other do not thereby change their relative position in society. A new field is opened to them, but not a wider. They are never masters...it is still the same people. Whether in the country or among the furnaces, the Welsh element is never found at the top of the social scale...Equally in his new as in his old home, his language keeps him under the hatches, being one in which he can neither acquire nor communicate the necessary information. It is a language of old-fashioned agriculture, of theology, and of simple rustic life, while all the world about him is English...he is left to live in an underworld of his own, and the march of society goes...completely over his head."

Cywirdeb a chraffter Lingen sy'n ein taro ni heddiw. Ychydig dros hanner canrif yn ddiweddarach aeth Mr D J Williams Yn Chwech ar Hugain Oed i'r pyllau glo yng Nghwm Rhondda. Nid

achieved great perfection, there is hardly a book in Welsh which shows what one of these arts consists of...how long will the Welsh tolerate such ignorance?"

The Welsh did tolerate it. The Constitutions of the Society of Cymrodotior (1755) were another attempt to restore breadth of interest and the culture of nobility to the Welsh language. In a letter to William Vaughan, Richard Morris said of them:

"We, the Cymrodotior, shall reveal to the world the value of this old language in such beautiful colours as it will be reckoned an honour henceforth to speak it amongst the learned and the nobility of the kingdom, aye, in the King's court, as was the custom of yore."

But Richard Morris, too, was disappointed and embittered. The Cymrodotior failed to nurture a cultured Welsh-speaking middle class. And the next important document concerning the position and influence of Welsh is R. W. Lingen's large section in the Blue Books of 1847. The Betrayal of the Blue Books was the name given in Wales to this report. In his book Welsh and Scottish Nationalism, Sir Reginald Coupland maintains that it was the Betrayal of the Blue Books which stung Welsh nationalism awake. Indeed, Coupland is the only historian who has discussed the report in a fair and balanced manner. Hardly a single Welsh writer has yet acknowledged the truth, that these Blue Books are the most important nineteenth-century historical documents we possess, and that they contain a store of information that has not yet been used. All I shall do now is quote a page which is in direct descent from Ellis Wynne, Richard Morris and Williams of Pantycelyn, except that Lingen was writing in the middle of the industrial revolution in South Wales when thousands of the agricultural poor of rural Wales were flocking to the coal-mining and iron-working valleys:

"My district exhibits the phenomenon of a peculiar language- here peculiar means belonging to a place or a group of people as distinct from any other- isolating the mass from the upper portion of society; and as a further phenomenon, it exhibits this mass engaged upon the most opposite occupations at points not very distant from each other; being, on the one side, rude and primitive agriculturists living poorly and thinly scattered; on the other, smelters and miners, wantoning in plenty, and congregated in the densest accumulations. An incessant tide of immigration sets in from the former extreme to the latter...Externally it would be impossible to exhibit a greater contrast...than by comparing the country between the rivers Towy and Teifi with Merthyr, Dowlais, Aberdare, Maesteg, Cwm Afon...Yet the families which are daily passing from the one scene to the other do not thereby change their relative position in society. A new field is opened to them, but not a wider. They are never masters...it is still the same people. Whether in the country or among the furnaces, the Welsh element is never found at the top of the social scale...Equally in his new as in his old home, his language keeps him under the hatches, being one in which he can neither acquire nor communicate the necessary information. It is a language of old-fashioned agriculture, of theology, and of simple rustic life, while all the world about him is English...he is left to live in an underworld of his own, and the march of society goes...completely over his head."

It is Lingen's accuracy and keen perception which strike us today. A little over half a century later Mr. D.J. Williams went to the coal mines of the Rhondda valley. There is nothing in his portrait of Ferndale at the

oes dim yn y darlun a ddyry ef o Ferndale ar gychwyn yr ugeinfed ganrif sy'n groes i'r darlun cyffredinol a gafwyd gan Lingen yn 1847. Nid yw'r amgylchiadau na'r cyflwr byw na'r dulliau byw wedi newid fawr. Y mae disgrifiad Lingen o nos Sadwrn a nos Sul ym Merthyr yn rhyfedd o debyg yn ei hanfodion i ddisgrifiad D J Williams o'r nosau hynny yn Ferndale. Gwir fod D J yn rhoi o helaethrwydd ei gydymdeimlad a'i hoffter o'r natur ddynol ym mhob cyflwr, a Lingen yn dadansoddi'n oer heb flewyn ar ei dafod. Dweud y gwir llym am a welodd ac y glywedd a wnaeth Lingen a dangos tynged anesgor yr iaith Gymraeg a'r gymdeithas a siaradai Gymraeg wedi tair canrif o'u cadw gyda'r:

"Diawl o dan yr hatsus

Yn sownd, co bach, dan glo."

Yn ddiweddar bu'r Athro Brinley Thomas yn dangos mai'r chwyldro diwydiannol a gadwodd yr iaith Gymraeg yn fyw yn ail hanner y ganrif ddiwethaf. Heb gyoedd glo a gweithiau'r Deheudir troesai'r dylifiad pobl o Gymru wledig yn dranc i'r Gymraeg megis y bu'r newyn yn Iwerddon yn dranc i'r Wyddeleg. Erbyn 1911 yr oedd llawer rhagor na hanner poblogaeth Gymraeg Cymru yn ardaloedd y glo, 'wantoning in plenty' chwedol Lingen, a dyna sut y llwyddodd Gwyddoniadur Thomas Gee a'r cyhoeddi helaeth Cymraeg. Eisoes yn 1847 yr oedd Lingen wedi sylwi ar hyn a rhagweld ychwaneg. Nid oedd gan y Cymry, ebr ef, ddiddordeb mewn gwleidyddiaeth. Dywedodd un dysty wrtho fod y Cymry o'r bryniau a aeth i ymuno gyda Siartwyr Frost yn credu mai cyrchu Llundain oedd eu nod, ymladd yno un frwydr fawr ac ennill teyrnas. Dyna, mi dybiaf i, ddolen gyswilt â'r cywyddau brud a brwydr Bosworth, a phropaganda beirdd Rhyfeloedd y Rhos a ddug Harri Tudur i Llundain. Ewch yn iach, Sieffre o Fynwy, clywsom atsain olaf eich Brut. Ar un wedd dyna ddatguddiad rhyfeddol a mwyaf cyffrous y Llyfrau Gleision. Ond am wleidyddiaeth gyfoes dywedodd Lingen mai Saeson o Loegr a ddygai bob cyffro gwleidyddol i'r meysydd glo Cymreig, a dyna ragweld y Seisnigo ar y mudiad Llafur a oedd i ddwyn Keir Hardie o Glasgow i fod yn arweinydd y Cymry. Ni chyfrannodd yr ardaloedd diwydiannol ddim newydd chwaith i'r bywyd cymdeithasol Cymreig nac i lenyddiaeth yr eisteddfodau. Trefnasant eu bywyd yn y cymoedd poblog ar lun a delw y bywyd gwledig a'r capel yn ganolfan iddo. Yr oedd anghydffurfiaeth Gymraeg yn clymu'n undod wlad a thref. A'r un pryd yn eu cadw yn eu hunfan.

Os adwaith yn erbyn y Llyfrau Gleision a roes gychwyn i genedlaetholdeb Cymreig yn ail hanner y ganrif, rhaid cyfaddef hefyd mai'r Llyfrau Gleision a orfu. Er cymaint y digofaint a'r cynddaredd a gyffroisant, er cymaint y protestio pybyr oblegid eu darlun du o Anghydffurfiaeth Cymru, yn rhyfedd iawn fe fabwsiadodd Cymru gyfan, Anghydffurfiaeth Cymru'n arbennig, holl bolisi a phrif argymhellion yr adroddiad enbyd. Rhoes arweinwyr y genedl, yn lleygwyr ac yn weinidogion, eu hegni gorau glas i sefydlu cyfundrefn addysg Saesneg drwyndl ym mhob rhan o Gymru o'r ysgol elfennol hyd at golegau normal a thri choleg prifathrofaol, a Siarter Prifysgol i goroni'r cwbl. Casglwyd arian y gweithiwr o Gymro at y colegau prifysgol. 'Rhoses ei geiniog brin at godi'r coleg' er mwyn i'w fab ei hunan beidio â medru nac iaith ei dad nac ystorïau'i dadau na gwybod dim am 'adlais cerddi ei ieuenctid pell'. Mynych y dywedwyd mai'r gwahaniaeth rhwng colegau Prifysgol Cymru a

beginning of the twentieth century in *Yn Chwech ar Hugain Oed* (Twenty-six Years of Age) which conflicts with the general picture drawn by Lingen in 1847. Neither the circumstances, nor the quality of life, nor the mode of living have changed very much. Lingen's description of Saturday and Sunday nights in Merthyr is astonishingly similar in essence to D. J. Williams's description of those nights in Ferndale. It is true that D.J. gives of his abundant sympathy and his love for human nature whatever its condition, and that Lingen analyses coldly without mincing his words. Lingen told the harsh truth about what he saw and heard, and he revealed the inevitable fate of the Welsh language and of Welsh-speaking society after three centuries of being kept with:

*"The devil under the hatches,
safe, my lad, under lock and key."*

Recently Professor Brinley Thomas has been showing that it was the industrial revolution which kept the Welsh language alive in the second half of the last century. Were it not for the coal-mining valleys and the industrial undertakings of the South the drift of people from rural Wales would have been the death of Welsh just as the famine in Ireland was the death of Irish. By 1911 considerably more than half the Welsh-speaking population of Wales was in the coal-mining areas, in Lingen's words 'wantoning in plenty,' and that was why Thomas Gee's Encyclopaedia and the extensive publication of works in Welsh was successful. Already in 1847 Lingen had observed this and foreseen more. The Welsh, he said, had no interest in politics. One witness told him that the Welshmen from the hills who went to join Frost's Chartists believed that their aim was to make for London, to fight one great battle there and win the kingdom. That, I think, is a connecting link with the poems of prognostication and the battle of Bosworth, and with the propaganda of the poets of the Wars of the Roses which carried Henry Tudor to London. Fare you well, Geoffrey of Monmouth, we have heard the final echo of your Brut! In one way this is the strangest and most exciting of the Blue Books' revelations. But as to contemporary politics, Lingen said that all political unrest in the Welsh coalfields was due to incoming Englishmen, thus anticipating the anglicisation of the Labour movement which was to bring Keir Hardie from Glasgow to be a leader of the Welsh. The industrial areas did not contribute anything new either to Welsh social life or to the literature of the eisteddfodau. Life in the densely populated valleys was organised on the pattern of that of the rural areas, with the chapel as its focal point. Welsh nonconformity was the bond which united town and country. And which at the same time kept them standing still.

It was the reaction against the Blue Books which initiated Welsh nationalism in the second half of the century; it must be confessed, too, that it was the Blue Books which triumphed. Despite the anger and wrath they engendered, despite the fervent protest provoked by their dark picture of Welsh Nonconformity, strangely enough the whole of Wales, and Welsh nonconformity in particular, adopted all the policy and main recommendations of the baleful report. The nation's leaders, both laymen and ministers, devoted their energies to the utmost to the establishment of a thoroughly English educational system in every part of Wales, ranging from primary schools to normal colleges and three university colleges with a University Charter crowning it all. The money of the Welsh worker was collected towards the University Colleges. 'He gave his scanty penny to the college' so that his own son might not know his father's language or the tales of his forefathers or anything of 'the echo of the songs of his distant youth.' It has often been said that the difference between the colleges of the University of Wales and the universities of the commercial

phrifysgolion dinasoedd masnachol a diwydiannol Lloegr yw mai meistri masnach a diwydiant a greodd y sefydliadau Seisnig ond ceiniogau'r werin a gododd golegau Cymru. Diau fod gwir yn hynny; nid yw ond yn chwerwi'r trasiedi. Canys trasiedi eironig a chwerw yw Prifysgol Cymru, ffrwyth pennaf deffroad cenedlaethol y werin Gymreig a Chymraeg. Edrychwr ar Brifysgol Jerwsalem heddiw a'r Hebraeg a oedd yn iaith farw hir oesoedd cyn Crist yn gyfrwng ei holl hyfforddiant yn y gwyddorau mwyaf cyfrwys a modern. Ystyriwr brifysgolion y Swistir, a Ghent a Louvain yng ngwlad Belg. Yna edrychwr ar Brifysgol Cymru gyda'i chwe choleg mwyach. Beth a ddywedwn ni am y Cymro Cymraeg yn y pedwar coleg cyflawn? Beth a ddywedwn ni am yr adrannau Cymraeg eu hunain, er holl gais Bwrdd y Gwybodau Celtaidd i greu geirfaedd i'r technegau? Ni ellir mewn gwaed oer ond dweud a ddywedodd Lingen yn y Llyfrau Gleision:

"Equally in his new as in his old home his language keeps him under the hatches...his superiors are content simply to ignore his existence. He is left to live in an underworld of his own, and the march of society goes completely over his head."

Dyna'r gwir heddiw am y Gymraeg ym Mhrifysgol Cymru; a Chymru Gymraeg a'i creodd hi, ei chynnal hi, dotio ar ei graddau anrhyydeddus hi, a bodloni mai gradd diraddiad y Gymraeg yw diploma ei hanrhyydedd hi. Y mae Prifysgol Cymru yn fwy cyfrifol nag unrhyw sefydliad arall fod yn amhosibl heddiw i lenyddiaeth Gymraeg fod yn ddarlun cyflawn o fywyd gwareiddiad. Polisi Prifysgol Cymru yw polisi Deddf Uno 1536 a pholisi Matthew Arnold a'r Llyfrau Gleision; ac y mae Cymru Gymraeg yn bodloni.

Trown at weddau politicaidd y deffroad Cymreig yn y ganrif ddiwethaf ac fe welwn yn union yr un diystyr ar y Gymraeg. Er bod yr iaith yn destun gwawd ac ymosod barnwyr ac esgobion a gweision sifil, ni chododd neb i fynnu ei hawliau iddi yn y Senedd nac ar lwyfan. Bu gwrthgymreigrwydd esgobion a phersoniaid yr Eglwys Wladol a'u gelynnaeth i'r Gymraeg yn rhan fawr o'r ddadl o blaid Datgysylltiad, yn rhan hefyd o ddadl y Degwm. Ond testun dychan Emrys ap Iwan oedd Cymru Fydd yn 1891:

"Mi a ddylwn ddweud wrthochi fod llawer hyd yn oed o Ddic-Siôn-Dafyddion cyn y flwyddyn 1890 wedi ymuno â chymdeithasau Cymreig o fath Kumree Fidd...yr oeddenw, er mwyn enniill cyhoeddusrwydd, ac er mwyn marchogaeth ar y teimlad Cymreig i bwylgorau, i gynghorau, ac i'r Senedd, yn ymostwng i ddibennu pob arraith trwy ddyweddyd mewn Cymraeg go ddyalladwy 'Oes y byd i'r iaith Gymraeg'. Ond dyna'r cwbl."

Efallai mai oherwydd hyn y rhoes Cymdeithasau Cymru Fydd ar eu rhaglen yn 1894 'Penodi swydd- ogion cyhoeddus a fedrai Gymraeg'. Dwy flynedd wedyn yng nghynhadledd Cymru Fydd cafwyd datganiad gan lwydd Cymdeithas Ryddfrydol Caerdydd, Sais a gâr busnes o'r enw Bird. Roes Mr T I Ellis ei eiriau ef i Gymraeg:

"Y mae drwy Ddeheubarth Cymru filoedd ar filoedd o Saeson...poblogaeth gosmopolitan na fydd iddi ymostwng i dra-arglywddiaeth syniadau Cymreig."

Ar y gair syrthiodd Cymru Fydd i lewyg yn y fan a'r lle; yn fuan wedyn, heb ddadebru a heb stâr, ymadawodd.

and industrial cities of England is that the English institutions were created by the captains of industry and commerce whilst the colleges of Wales were built with the pennies of the ordinary people. Doubtless, there is truth in that; it only makes the tragedy more bitter. For the University of Wales, the principal creation of the national awakening of the ordinary people of Wales, is an ironic and bitter tragedy. Look at the University of Jerusalem today where Hebrew, which was a dead language long before Christ, is the medium of all instruction in the most subtle and modern sciences. Consider the universities of Switzerland, and those of Ghent and Louvain in Belgium. Then look at the University of Wales, now with its six colleges. What shall we say about the Welsh-speaking Welshman in the four principal colleges? What shall we say about the departments of Welsh themselves, despite all the attempt of the Board of Celtic Studies to create technical vocabularies? In cold blood one can only say what Lingen said in the Blue Books:

"Equally in his new as in his old home his language keeps him under the hatches...His superiors are content simply to ignore his existence. He is left to live in an underworld of his own, and the march of society goes completely over his head."

That is the truth about the Welsh language in the University of Wales today; and it was Welsh Wales which created it, supported it, doted upon its honorary degrees, and is satisfied that its diploma of honour is a token of the degree of the language's degradation. The University of Wales is more responsible than any other institution for the fact that it is impossible for Welsh literature today to portray civilised life in full. The policy of the University of Wales is the policy of the 1536 Act of Union and the policy of Matthew Arnold and the Blue Books; and Welsh Wales is satisfied.

If we turn to the political aspects of the Welsh awakening in the last century we shall see exactly the same disregard for Welsh. Although the language was subjected to the ridicule and attack of judges, bishops and civil servants, no one arose to demand its rights in parliament or on platform. The anti-Welshness of the bishops and clergy of the State Church and their hostility 'towards the Welsh Language constituted a large part of the argument in favour of Disestablishment, and it contributed also to the Tithe Dispute. But the subject of Emrys ap Iwan's satire in 1891 was Cymru Fydd:

"I ought to tell you that even many a Dic Siôn Dafydd had enrolled in half-Welsh societies of the Kumree Fidd type before 1890...In order to gain publicity and in order to ride on the back of Welsh feeling onto committees, councils, and into Parliament, they condescended to end each speech by saying in partly understandable Welsh 'The Welsh language for ever.' But that was all."

It may be that it was because of this that the Cymru Fydd societies included 'The appointment of public officials who were proficient in Welsh' in their programme in 1894. Two years later at the Cymru Fydd conference there was a statement by the president of the Cardiff Liberal Association, an English businessman named Bird:

"Throughout South Wales there are many thousands of English people...a cosmopolitan population who will never submit to the domination of Welsh ideas."

Thereupon Cymru Fydd was seized with apoplexy; soon afterwards, without having revived and without fuss, it departed this life.

A oes o gwbl draddodiad o amddiffyn politicaidd i'r iaith Gymraeg? Nid gofyn yr wyl a oes traddodiad o frolio'r iaith mewn areithiau politicaidd neu gan wleidyddion ar lwyfan eisteddfod. Yn hytrach gweld yr iaith fel y mae Llywodraeth Lloegr wedi ei gweld hi erioed, yn fater politicaidd, ac o'i gweld hi felly ei chodi hi'n faner i frwydr?

Daliai'r diweddar John Arthur Price fod peth o'r ysbryd hwnnw yn yr achos cyfreithiol a ddug wardeinaiad Trefdraeth ym Môn yn 1773 yn erbyn penodi Sais uniaith yn berson y plwy. Ond yn llythyrau a cherddi a thraethodau Evan Evans, Ieuan Brydydd Hir, y ceir propaganda pendant yn erbyn y polisi o droi'r eglwys plwy yn foddion i ddfodoli'r Gymraeg. Ofnodd ei gyfeillion amdanu ac ebr yntau:

"Diau mai rhy flanellym yw'r traethawd yn erbyn yr Esgyb Eingl; a bychan fyddai ganddynt fy nhorri yn ddeuddarn...Mi a fynnwn yn ddiau fod rhywbed o'r fath yna wedi ei argraffu...Y mae un Richardson wedi cyhoeddi llyfr o blaid y Gwyddelod, ag sydd yn cael yr un cam â ninnau... Y mae gennf i ryw bapuryn...wedi ei ysgrifennu yn Lladin...Llythyr y Parchedig Dad Ioan Elphin, Cennad Apostolaidd Cymdeithas yr Iesu at y Cymry Pabaidd... ym mha un y mae yn mynegi yn helaeth yng nghylch Helynt Crefydd yn y wlad honno...Y mae hwn yn finiog gethin."

Yn y ganrif wedyn cafwyd arweiniad Michael Jones a'r arbraw arwrol ar Wladfa Gymreig ym Mhatagonia:

"Bydd yno gapel ac ysgol a senedd-dŷ a'r heniaith yn gyfrwng addoli a masnachu, dysgu a llywodraethu. Tyf yno genedl gref mewn cartref Cymreig."

Geiriau chwyldroadol, rhaglen chwyldroadol. Hyd at heddiw mae'n diffyg ni o ymwybyddiaeth cenedl, ein hamddifadrwydd ni o falchter cenedl, yn rhwystro inni amgyffred arwyddocâd ac arwriaeth yr antur ym Mhatagonia. Yn Ilinach Michael Jones y mae gosod Emrys ap Iwan. Megis yr ymosododd Evan Evans ar yr Esgyb Eingl yr ymosododd Emrys ar achosion Seisnig ei enwad a mynd rhagddo i ddadlau mai'r iaith Gymraeg oedd prif fater politicaidd Cymru a chraidd ei bod, mai eilbeth oedd pob problem boliticaidd wrth hon. Felly y cafwyd ganddo'r pamffled enwog Breuddwyd Pabydd wrth ei Ewillys, a thybed nad iawn awgrymu mai'r Tad Ioan Elphin o Gymdeithas yr Iesu yn nychan Ieuan Brydydd Hir a roes i Emrys ap Iwan yntau y syniad am y Tad Morgan o Gymdeithas yr Iesu sy'n rhoi hanes atgyfodiad Cymru Gymraeg yn Breuddwyd Pabydd.

Nid yw Coupland yn sôn am Ieuan Brydydd Hir ond fel un o feirdd cwmni'r Morrisiaid. 'A somewhat eccentric Independent minister' yw Michael Jones ganddo, ac nid oes air am Emrys ap Iwan. Dyna ddangos yn deg mor ddiieffaith, mor ddirym, mor ddibwys ym mywyd politicaidd Cymru ac yn natblygiad ei meddwl hi ar faterion cymdeithasol fu traddodiad amddiffyn yr iaith Gymraeg. Pobl od, 'somewhat eccentric', yn dilyn llwybr cul, culni cenedlaetholdeb a chulni iaith, yn lle'r ffordd lydan sy'n arwain i Westminster. Traddodiad o ddioddef dirmyg ac erlid yw traddodiad amddiffyn politicaidd i'r iaith Gymraeg. Yng Nghymru gellir maddau popeth ond bod o ddifri ynglŷn â'r iaith. Dyna brofiad Ieuan Brydydd Hir, Michael Jones, ac Emrys ap Iwan. Yr unig beth sy'n ddolen gyswilt rhygddyn' hwy a mwyaf enfawr eu cyd-genedl yw'r anthem genedlaethol fwyaf celwyddog yn Ewrop.

Is there any tradition of defending the Welsh Language through political means? I am not asking if there is a tradition of praising the language in political speeches or by politicians on eisteddfod platforms. Rather I mean seeing the language as the English Government has always seen it, as a political matter, and from seeing it so raising it as a battle-standard.

The late John Arthur Price maintained that there was something of that spirit in the legal action brought by the churchwardens of Trefdraeth in Anglesey in 1773 against the appointment of a monoglot Englishman as parish priest. But it is in the letters and poems and tracts of Evan Evans (Ieuan Brydydd Hir) that we find explicit propaganda against the policy of turning the parish churches into means for extirpating the Welsh language. His friends feared for him, and he retorted:

"The tract against the Anglican Bishops is, doubtless, too harsh; and it would be a little thing in their sight to cut me into two pieces...But I certainly wish that something of that kind had been published...One Richardson has published a book on behalf of the Irish, who suffer the same wrong as we do...I have a small paper...Written in Latin...the Letter of the Reverend Father Ioan Elphin, Apostolic Nuncio of the Society of Jesus to the Papist Welsh...in which he pours forth at length concerning the State of Religion in that country...This is exceedingly sharp."

In the following century there was the leadership of Michael Jones and the heroic experiment of the Welsh Colony in Patagonia:

"There will be a chapel, a school, and a parliament building there, with the old language as the medium of worship and commerce, of teaching and government. A strong nation will grow there in a Welsh home."

Revolutionary words, a revolutionary programme. To this day our want of national consciousness and our lack of the pride of nationhood prevent us from understanding the significance and heroism of the Patagonian venture. Emrys ap Iwan was in the tradition of Michael Jones. As Evan Evans had attacked the Anglican Bishops so did Emrys attack the English causes of his denomination and go on to argue that the Welsh language was Wales's foremost political issue and the essence of her being, and that every political problem was secondary compared with that. So it was that he wrote the famous political pamphlet A Papist's Dream according to his Wish, and is it not perhaps correct to suggest that it was Father Ioan Elphin of the Society of Jesus in Ieuan Brydydd Hir's satire who gave Emrys ap Iwan the idea of Father Morgan of the Society of Jesus who tells the story of the revival of Welsh Wales in Breuddwyd Pabydd.

Coupland does not mention Ieuan Brydydd Hir except as one of the poets of the Morris circle. Michael Jones is to him 'a somewhat eccentric Independent minister' and he does not have a word about Emrys ap Iwan. That shows in all fairness how ineffectual, how powerless, and how unimportant in Welsh political life and in the development of Welsh thought the tradition of defending the Welsh language has been. Its advocates have been considered odd, 'somewhat eccentric' people treading a narrow path, the narrowness of nationalism and the narrowness of language, instead of the broad highway which leads to Westminster. The tradition of defending the Welsh language politically is a tradition of suffering, obloquy and persecution. In Wales everything can be forgiven except being seriously concerned about the language. That was the experience of Ieuan Brydydd Hir, Michael Jones and Emrys ap Iwan. Their only connecting link with the vast majority of their fellow-countrymen is the most untruthful national anthem in Europe.

Trown felly at y sefyllfa bresennol, argyfwng yr iaith yn ail hanner yr ugeinffed ganrif. Mae hi'n sefyllfa wan. Bu amser, yng nghyfnod deffroad y werin rhwng 1860 a 1890, y buasai'n ymarferol sefydlu'r Gymraeg yn iaith addysg a'r Brifysgol, yn iaith y cynghorau sir newydd, yn iaith diwydiant. Ni ddaeth y cyfryw beth i feddwl y Cymry. Mi gredais i nad oedd y peth yn amhosibl, gydag amser ac o ddilyn polisi cyson am genhedaeth neu ddwy, rhwng y ddau rhyfel byd. Heddiw nid yw hynny'n bosibl. Bu cyfnewidiadau cymdeithasol aruthrol yng Nghymru yn y chwarter canrif diwethaf. Iaith ar encil yw'r Gymraeg yng Nghymru mwyach, iaith lleiafrif a lleiafrif sydd eto'n lleihau.

Ystyriwn eto agwedd Llywodraeth Whitehall tuag at y Gymraeg heddiw ac wedyn agwedd pobl yng Nghymru. Y mae agwedd y Llywodraeth wedi newid rhagor nag unrhyw newid a fu yng Nghymru. Bid siār y mae ymyrraeth Llywodraeth â bywyd cymdeithasol yn y Wladwriaeth Les yn cyraedd ymhellach nag a ddychmygwyd yn y ganrif ddiwethaf. Nid addysg o bob math a gradd sy dan ofal y Llywodraeth bellach ond llawer math o adloniant oriau hamdden, clybiau a gwersylloedd ienctid, addysg oedolion, theatrau, celfyddyd, darlledu a theledu, sy'n cyraedd bron i bob aelwyd yn y deyrnas. Y mae diwylliant pob bro a rhanbarth yn wrthrych rhyw gymaint o nodded. Mae'r Cyngor Celfyddydau yn cydnabod- er nad yn hael gydnabod- hawliau diwylliant Cymraeg.

Y canlyniad yw fod y Llywodraeth wedi newid ei safbwyt i raddau helaeth. Nid honiad Matthew Arnold yw credo Whitehall heddiw. Nid ystyrir y Gymraeg mwyach yn dramgydd politicaidd. Ped ysgrifennid llythyr Cymraeg a'i anfon i unrhyw swyddfa awdurdod lleol Cymreig y mae'n fwy na thebyg mai yn Saesneg y deuai'r ateb. Pes anfonid i unrhyw swyddfa yn Whitehall neu yn Cathays Park, y mae'n fwy na phosib mai yn Gymraeg y deuai'r ateb. Gellir cynnig y Gymraeg ar gyfer arholiad y gwasanaeth sifil. Yn yr ysgolion y Wein yddiaeth Addysg bellach sy'n cymhell y Cymry i dyfu'n genedl ddwy-ieithog, gan ennill y gorau o'r ddau fyf, byd y dec uchaf Seisnig a byd, nid dan yr hatsus yn llwyr, ond ar fwriad yr ail ddobarth Cymreig. Y mae'r rhan fwyaf o lawer o arweinwyr addysg Cymru, llenorion Cymraeg yn eu plith, yn gweld hyn yn ddelfryd mawrfrydig a theilwng. Yr wyf innau'n un o'r lleiafrif hurt sy'n gweld ynddo farwolaeth barchus ac esmwyth ac angladd ddialar i'r Gymraeg.

Gellir tynnu un wers o bwys oddi wrth agwedd y Llywodraeth. Pe hawliai Cymru o ddifri gael y Gymraeg yn iaith swyddogol gydradd â'r Saesneg nid o du'r Llywodraeth nac oddi wrth y Gwasanaeth Sifil y deuai'r gwrthwynebiad. Yn naturiol fe fyddai peth rhegi ysgafn gan glercod yn chwilio am eiriadur a chan ferched teipio yn dysgu sbelio, ond y mae'r gwasanaeth sifil wedi hen ddysgu derbyn chwyldroadau yn yr Ymerodraeth Brydeinig yn rhan o'r drefn feunyddiol. O Gymru, oddi wrth yr awdurdodau lleol ac oddi wrth eu swyddogion, y deuai'r gwrthwynebiad, yn gras, yn ddialgar, yn chwyrn.

Eithr rhag i'm gweniaith i'r Llywodraeth beri i neb amau fy mod i'n anelu at Dñ'r Arglwyddi, a gaf i chwanegu pwynt arall? Nid oes obaith fyf fythoedd i Lywodraeth Whitehall fabwysiadu

Let us therefore turn to the present situation, the crisis of the language in the second half of the twentieth century. It is a weak situation. There was a time, in the period of the awakening of the ordinary people between 1860 and 1890, when it would have been practical to establish Welsh as the language of education and of the university, as the language of the new county councils, and as the language of industry. Such a thing did not enter the minds of the Welsh. Between the two World Wars I believed that the thing was not impossible, given time and a consistent policy followed for a generation or two. Today it is not possible. There have been enormous social changes in Wales in the last quarter of a century. Welsh in Wales is now a language in retreat, the language of a minority, and that a decreasing minority.

Let us consider again the present-day attitude of the Whitehall Government towards Welsh and then the attitude of people in Wales. The change in the Government's attitude has been greater than any change there has been in Wales. To be sure, Government interference with social life in the Welfare State is more far-reaching than was imagined possible in the last century. It is not only education of every kind and at every stage which is under Government care nowadays, but also all kinds of leisure activities, youth clubs and camps, adult education, theatres, art, and radio and television which reach almost every home in the kingdom. The culture of every area and region enjoys a certain amount of patronage. The Arts Council recognises- although it does not do so generously- the claims of Welsh culture.

The result is that the Government has changed its attitude to a considerable degree. Matthew Arnold's assertion no longer represents the creed of Whitehall. The Welsh language is not considered a political stumbling-block any more. If a letter were written in Welsh and sent to the office of any Welsh local authority it is more than likely that the reply would be in English. If it were sent to any office in Whitehall or in Cathays Park, (2) it is more than possible that the reply would be in Welsh. Welsh can be offered for the Civil Service examination. In the schools it is now the Ministry of Education which urges the Welsh to become a bilingual nation, and so win the best of both worlds, the World of the English upper deck, and the world of the second-class Welsh deck, not quite under the hatches. By far the great majority of Welsh educational leaders, amongst them Welsh writers, see this as a magnanimous and worthy ideal. I am one of the stupid minority who see in it a respectable and peaceful death and a burial without mourning for the Welsh language.

One important lesson can be drawn from the Government's attitude. If Wales seriously demanded to have Welsh as an official language on a par with English, the opposition would not come from the Government or from the Civil Service. Naturally there would be a few muttered curses from clerks looking for a dictionary and from girl typists who were learning to spell, but their Civil Service has long since learnt to accept revolutionary changes in the British Empire as part of the daily routine. The opposition- harsh, vindictive and violent- would come from Wales.

But lest my flattery of the Government make anyone suspect that I aspire to the House of Lords, may I add another point? There is no hope of the Whitehall Government ever adopting a Welsh standpoint. It is no part of

safbwyt Cymreig. Nid yw'n rhan o dasg y Weinyddiaeth Addysg orfodi'r Gymraeg ar ysgolion Cymru na hyd yn oed orfodi dysgu effeithiol ar y Gymraeg. Cymhell, cefnogi, calonogi- purion. Ond digio Cyngor Sir Gaerfyrddin? 'Choelia' i fawr. De minimis non curat lex. Nid estyn y Llywodraeth fys i achub lleiafrif sy mor boliticaidd aneffeithiol, mor druenus ddihelp, mor anabl i'w amddiffyn ei hun ag yw'r lleiafrif Cymraeg yng Nghymru.

Ystyriwch fater Cwm Tryweryn a Chapel Celyn. Pa achos a oedd i bobl Cymru wrthwynebu cynllun Corfforaeth Lerpwl i foddi'r dyffryn a'r pentre a throi'r fro yn gronfa ddâr i ddiwydiannau'r ddinas? Mae'n wir fod yr elw economaidd i Gorfforaeth Lerpwl yn enfawr. Mae'n wir y gallasai cydweithrediad cynghorau sir Gogledd Cymru fod wedi codi trefn well er budd i'w broydd chwarter canrif yn gynt. Arfer cynghorau sir Cymru yw gwrrthod cydweithredu â'i gilydd heb eu gorfodi, a gwrrthod hyd y gallant bob cais i newid eu cyfansoddiad a'u trefn. Nid hynny chwaith mo'r rheswm dros wrthod cynllun Lerpwl. Yr oedd y cynllun yn chwalu cymdeithas Gymraeg uniaith yn un o ardaloedd gwledig hanesyddol Meirion. Amddiffyn iaith, amddiffyn cymdeithas ydyw, amddiffyn cartrefi a theuluoedd. Heddiw ni all Cymru fforddio chwalu cartrefi'r iaith Gymraeg. Maen' nhw'n brin ac yn eiddil. Bu cynadleddau o holl awdurdodau lleol Cymru dan lywyddiaeth Arglwydd Faer Caerdydd yn protestio yn erbyn mesur Lerpwl. Aeth y mesur drwy'r Senedd yn rhwydd. Y mae Lerpwl yn ddinas fawr boblog a'i dylanwad politicaidd yn aruthrol. Pa Lywodraeth allai osod cymdeithas fechan wledig dlawd Gymreig yn y glorian yn erbyn buddiannau economaidd Corfforaeth Lerpwl? Nid plentynnaidd, eithr anonest, oedd beio'r Gweinidog dros Gymru am na rwystrodd ef y mesur. Ein mater ni, ein cyfrifoldeb ni, ni'n unig, oedd Tryweryn. Ond 'Nid Gwyddelod mohonom' meddai cylchgrawn y bobl oedd piau'r amddiffyn. A dybiwch chi na chraffwyd ar hynny yn swyddfeydd y Llywodraeth a'i osod yno gyda'r slogan Cymraeg clasurol arall, Bread before beauty? Be' fu'r canlyniad? Y mae Cymru heddiw wedi ei rhwyo'n ddwy ar y Suliau, Cymru Gymraeg a Chymru Saesneg. Nid yw hynny ond praw fod y Llywodraeth wedi cymryd mesur eiddilwch Cymru Gymraeg ac nad rhaid mwy ymboeni amdani. Ac y mae Gwylfa a Menai ac Eryi yn awr i'w halogi i borthi trydan Lancashire.

Y mae rheswm arall pam nad rhaid i'r Llywodraeth ymboeni ynghylch Cymru Gymraeg. Gall hi adael hynny i'r awdurdodau lleol Cymreig a'r pleidiau politicaidd yng Nghymru. Rhai ymhlið yr aelodau seneddol Cymreig a wasgodd ar y Llywodraeth nad rhaid wrth Gymraeg hyd yn oed mewn swyddi yn ymwneud â diwylliant Cymreig yng Nghymru. Arwyddocaol dros ben yw ymosodiadau amryw awdurdodau lleol Cymreig yn Neau Cymru ar yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol. Gwrthodant gyfrannu tuag ati neu gyfrnnu cil-dwrn tuag ati oblegid mai sefydliad Gymraeg yw hi. Hawliaint droi diwrnod o'i phum niwrnod hi yn ddydd Saesneg cyn cyfrannu at ei chynnal hi'n anrhyydeddus. Dyna'r math o âyrdroad enaid a meddwl sy'n wynfyd o broblem i'r seicietrydd, ond y mae'r ysbyryd ar gynydd yn Neau Cymru a gall frystio diwedd yr Eisteddfod. Nid sefydliad swyddogol na chyfreithiol na gweinyddol mohoni. Creadigaeth Cymru Gymraeg yw hi, yr unig sumbol sy'n aros o undod hanesyddol cenedl y Cymry, yr unig muthos Cymreig. Ond y mae amryw o arweinwyr y pleidiau politicaidd ac o arweinwyr awdurdodau lleol yng Nghymru a

the Ministry' of Education's task to force the Welsh language on the schools of Wales, nor even to enforce the effective teaching of Welsh. It will urge, support and encourage, certainly. But offend the Carmarthenshire County Council? I doubt it. De minimis non curat lex. The Government will not lift a finger to save a minority which is as politically ineffectual, as wretchedly helpless and as unable to defend itself as is the Welsh-speaking minority in Wales.

Consider the question of the Tryweryn valley and Capel Celyn. What reason was there for the people of Wales to oppose Liverpool Corporation's plan to drown the valley and the village and turn the locality into a reservoir to serve the city's industries? It is true that the economic gain for Liverpool Corporation is enormous. It is true that co-operation between the county councils of North Wales a quarter of a century earlier could have established a better procedure to the advantage of their localities. It is the custom of the Welsh county councils to refuse to co-operate with each other unless they are forced to do so, and to reject as far as they can every attempt to change their constitution and procedure. But that was not the reason for rejecting Liverpool's plan either. The project would destroy a monoglot Welsh-speaking community in one of Merioneth's historical rural areas. To defend it is to defend a language, to defend a society, to defend homes and families. Today Wales cannot afford the destruction of Welsh-speaking homes. They are few and weak. Conferences of all the local authorities of Wales under the presidency of the Lord Mayor of Cardiff, protested against Liverpool's measure. The measure went through Parliament with ease. Liverpool is a great and populous city with immense political influence. What Government could weigh a small and poor Welsh rural community in the balance against the economic interests of Liverpool Corporation? It was not childish but dishonest to blame the Minister for Welsh Affairs because he did not block the measure. Tryweryn was our concern, our responsibility, and ours alone. But 'We are not Irishmen,' said the journal of the people who were defending. Do you suppose that that was not observed in Government offices and noted there together with the other classical Welsh slogan 'Bread before beauty'? What has been the result? Wales is today rent in twain on Sundays, Welsh-speaking Wales and English-speaking Wales. That is but proof that the Government has taken the measure of the feebleness of Welsh Wales and knows that it need not concern itself about it any more. And Gwylfa, the Menai and Snowdonia are now to be desecrated to feed Lancashire with electricity.

There is another reason why the Government need not concern itself about Welsh-speaking Wales. It can leave that to the Welsh local authorities and to the political parties in Wales. It was some of the Welsh members of Parliament who pressed upon the Government that Welsh was not essential even in posts in Wales connected with Welsh culture. The attacks made on the National Eisteddfod by several Welsh local authorities in South Wales are extremely significant. They refuse to contribute towards it or to give a grant towards it because it is a Welsh language institution. They demand that one out of its five days should be turned into an English day before they will contribute towards its maintenance in an honourable fashion. This is the type of spiritual and mental perversity which is the psychiatrist's bliss, but this spirit is on the increase in South Wales and can hasten the end of the Eisteddfod. It is not an official, legal or administrative institution. It is the creation of Welsh-speaking Wales, the only remaining symbol of the historical unity of the Welsh nation, the only Welsh mythos. But several of the leaders of the political parties and local authorities in Wales are full of poison towards the Welsh language.

chanddynt wenwyn i'r Gymraeg.

Ac y mae miloedd ar filoedd o weithwyr dur a glo a neilon a'r crefftâu newydd o bob math na wyddan' nhw ddim bellach hyd yn oed fod yr iaith. Llawn mor fygythiol yw agwedd meddwl cyngh- orau sir ac awdurdodau lleol y parthau Cymraeg. Nid oes ganddynt ond un ateb i broblem nychdod y broyd gwledig, sef pwysio ar y Llywodraeth am ddwyn iddynt hwythau ffatrioedd a diwydiannau o Loegr, a gwahodd corfforaethau dinasoedd megis Birmingham i sefydlu maestrefi ym Môn neu Feirion neu Sir Drefaldwyn. Mae'r Gweinidog Materion Cymreig yn gwneud a fedro gyda chymorth adrannau o'r gwasanaeth sifil i hybu'r polisi hwn; nid yn ofer chwaith. Ond dywedodd Arglwydd Brecon ei hun ei bod hi'n drueni na wnâi'r ardaloedd Cymraeg fwy i gychwyn diwydiannau eu hunain yn hytrach na galw byth a beunydd am gymorth o'r tu allan. Ni ddywedaf i ond hyn am y polisi yn awr: hoelen arall yw hi yn arch yr iaith Gymraeg. Nid rhaid ychwanegu fod holl duedd economaidd Prydain Fawr gyda'r canoli fwylwyd ar ddiwydiannau yn gwthio'r Gymraeg fel clwt i gornel, yn barod i'w daflu ar y domen.

A ydy'r sefyllfa yn anobeithiol? Ydy', wrth gwrs, os bodlonwn ni i anobeithio. 'Does dim yn y byd yn fwy cysurus nag anobeithio. Wedyn gall dyn fynd ymlaen i fwynhau byw.

Y mae traddodiad politicaidd y canrifoeedd, y mae holl duediadau economaidd y dwthwn hwn, yn erbyn parhad y Gymraeg. Ni all dim newid hynny ond penderfyniad, ewyllys, brwydro, aberth, ymdrech. A gaf i alw eich sylw chi at hanes Mr a Mrs Trefor Beasley. Glowl yw Mr Beasley. Yn Ebrill 1952 prynodd ef a'i wraig fwthyn yn Llangennech gerllaw Llanelli, mewn ardal y mae naw o bob deg o'i phoblogaeth yn Gymry Cymraeg. Yn y cyngor gwledig y perthyn Llangennech iddo y mae'r cynghorwyr i gyd yn Gymry Cymraeg: felly hefyd swyddogion y cyngor. Gan hynny, pan ddaeth papur hawlio'r dreth leol atynt oddi wrth The Rural District Council of Llanelli, anfonodd Mrs Beasley i ofyn am ei gael yn Gymraeg.

Gwrthodwyd. Gwrthododd hithau dalu'r dreth nes ei gael. Gwyswyd hi a Mr Beasley dros ddwsin o weithiau gerbron llys yr ustusiaid. Mynnodd Mr a Mrs Beasley fod dwyn y llys ymlaen yn Gymraeg. Tair gwaith bu'r beiliod yn cludo dodrefn o'u tñ nhw, a'r dodrefn yn werth llawer mwy na'r dreth a hawlid. Aeth hyn ymlaen am wyth mlynedd. Yn 1960 cafodd Mr a Mrs Beasley bapur dwy-ieithog yn hawlio'r dreth leol oddi wrth Gyngor Dosbarth Gwledig Llanelli, a Chymraeg y bil lawn crystal â'i Saesneg. Nid oes gennyl i hawl i ddweud beth a gosiodd hyn oll yn ariannol i Mr a Mrs Beasley. Bu cyfeillion yn lew iawn, gan gynnwys cyfreithwyr a bargyfreithwyr. Aeth eu helynt yn destun sylw gwlod, a'r papurau newydd a'r radio a'r teledu yn boen beunyddiol iddynt. Yr oedd yr achosion yn y llys yn ddiddorol a phwysig. Er engraifft, ateb swyddog y dreth i Mr Wynne Samuel: 'Nid oes unrhyw rwymedigaeth ar y Cyngor i argraffu'r papurau sy'n hawlio'r dreth mewn unrhyw iaith ond Saesneg.'

Yng nghanol y rhyfel diwethaf, yn Hydref 1941, trwy ymdrech bwysicaf Undeb Cymru Fydd, cyflwynwyd deiseb i'r Senedd, deiseb y torrodd tua phedwar can mil o Gymry eu henwau wrthi, yn erfyn am ddeddf A wna'r iaith Gymraeg yn unfraint â'r iaith Saesneg ym mhob agwedd ar Weinyddiad y Gyfriath a'r Gwasanaethau Cyhoeddus yng Nghymru.

And many thousands of steel, coal and nylon workers and workers in the various new industries do not even know of the language's existence any more. The attitude of mind of the county councils and local authorities of the Welsh-speaking parts is just as threatening. They have but one answer to the problem of the decline of the rural areas, that is to press on the Government to bring them factories and industries from England, and to invite the corporations of cities like Birmingham to establish satellite towns in Anglesey, Merioneth or Montgomeryshire., The Minister for Welsh Affairs does what he can with the aid of civil service departments to promote this policy; and not in vain either. But Lord Brecon himself has said that it is a pity that the Welsh-speaking districts do not do more to set up industries themselves instead of calling continually for aid from outside. I shall only say this about the present policy: it is another nail in the coffin of the Welsh language. There is no need to add that the whole economic tendency in Great Britain, with the ever-increasing centralisation of industry, is to drive the Welsh language into a corner, ready to be thrown, like a worthless rag, on the dung-heap.

Is the position hopeless? It is, of course, if we are content to give up hope. There is nothing in the world more comfortable than to give up hope. For then one can go on to enjoy life.

The political tradition of the centuries and all present-day economic tendencies militate against the continued existence of Welsh. Nothing can change that except determination, will power, struggle, sacrifice and endeavour. May I call your attention to the story of Mr. and Mrs. Trefor Beasley? Mr. Beasley is a coal-miner. In April 1952 he and his wife bought a cottage in Llangennech near Llanelli, a district where nine out of every ten of the population are Welsh-speaking. All the councillors on the rural council which controls Llangennech are Welsh-speaking: so too are the council officials. Therefore when a note demanding the local rates arrived from 'The Rural District Council of Llanelli' Mrs. Beasley wrote to ask for it in Welsh. It was refused. She refused to pay the rates until she got it. She and Mr. Beasley were summoned more than a dozen times to appear before the magistrates' court. Mr. and Mrs. Beasley insisted that the court proceedings should be in Welsh. Three times did the bailiffs carry off furniture from their home, the furniture being worth much more than the rates which were demanded. This went on for eight years. In 1960 Mr. and Mrs. Beasley received a bilingual note demanding the local rates from (Cyngor Dosbarth Gwledig Llanelli, the Welsh on the bill being just as good as its English. It is not my right to say what was the financial cost of all this to Mr. and Mrs. Beasley. Friends, including solicitors and barristers, were very loyal. Their trouble became the subject of the country's attention, and the newspapers and radio and television plagued them continually. The court cases were interesting and important. For example, the rating officer's reply to Mr. Wynne Samuel:

"The Council is not under any obligation to print rate demand notes in any language except English."

In the middle of the last war, in October 1941 - as a result of Undeb Cymru Fydd's (Union of the Wales to Be) most important campaign - a petition was presented to Parliament, a petition signed by approximately four hundred thousand Welshmen, appealing for a law placing the Welsh language on a footing of equality with the English language in all proceedings connected with the Administration of Justice and of Public

Ond wedi'r llafur mawr a'r hel enwau a chynadleddau aeth yr aelodau seneddol Cymreig i gyfrinachu â Mr Herbert Morrison, yr Ysgrifennydd Cartref ar y pryd. Y canlyniad fu'r Welsh Courts Act, 1942, deddf seneddol a ddiystyrodd holl fwriad y ddeiseb ac a adawodd y Saesneg o hyd yn unig iaith swyddogol y llysoedd cyfraith a'r gwasanaethau cyhoeddus oll. At hynny y cyfeiriodd swyddog y dreth yn Llanelli.

Fe ellir achub y Gymraeg. Y mae Cymru Gymraeg eto'n rhan go helaeth o ddaear Cymru ac nid yw'r lleiafrif eto'n gwbl ddibwys. Dengys esiampl Mr a Mrs Beasley sut y dylid mynd ati. Trwy wyth mlynedd ymdrech Mrs Beasley, un Cymro arall yn y dosbarth gwledig a ofynnodd am bapur y dreth yn Gymraeg. Peth na ellir ei wneud yn rhesymol ond yn unig yn y rhannau hynny y mae'r Cymry Gymraeg yn nifer sylwedol o'r boblogaeth yw hyn. Eler ati o ddifri a heb anwadal i'w gwneud hi'n amhosibl dwyn ymlaen fusnes llywodraeth leol na busnes llywodraeth ganol heb y Gymraeg. Hawlier fod papur y dreth yn Gymraeg neu yn Gymraeg a Saesneg. Rhoi rhybudd i'r Postfeistr Cyffredinol na thelir trwyddedau blynnyddol oddieithr eu cael yn Gymraeg. Mynnau fod pob gwîns i lys yn Gymraeg. Nid polisi i unigolion, un yma, un acw ar siawns mo hyn. Byddai gofyn ei drefnu a symud o gam i gam gan roi rhybudd a rhoi amser i gyfnewidiadau. Polisi i fudiad yw ef a'r mudiad hwnnw yn yr ardaloedd y mae'r Gymraeg yn iaith lafar feunyddiol yn dynt. Hawlio fod pob papur etholiad a phob ffurflen swyddogol yn ymwneud ag etholiadau lleol neu seneddol yn Gymraeg. Codi'r Gymraeg yn brif fater gweinyddol y dosbarth a'r sir.

Efallai y dywedwch chi na ellid hynny fyth, na cheid fyth ddigon o Gymry i gytuno ac i drefnu'r peth yn ymgyrch o bwys a grym. 'Hwyrach eich bod yn iawn. Y cwbl a ddalaf i yw mai dyna'r unig fater politicaidd y mae'n i Gymro ymboeni ag ef heddiw. Mi wn yr anawsterau. Byddai'n stormydd o bob cyfeiriad. Fe daerid fod y cyfryw ymgyrch yn lladd ein siawns i ddenu ffatrioedd Seisnig i'r ardaloedd gwledig Cymraeg; a diau mai felly y byddai. Hawdd addo y byddai gwawd a dirmyg y sothach newydd- iadurwyr Saesneg yn llaes feunyddiol. Byddai dig swyddogion yr awdurdodau lleol a llawer cyngor sir yn ail i'r bytheirio a fu yn Nosbarth Gwledig Llanelli. Byddai'r dirwyon yn y llysoedd yn drwm, ac o wrthod eu talu byddai'r canlyniadau'n gostus, er nad yn fwy costus nag ymladd etholiadau seneddol diamcan. Nid wyf yn gwadu na byddai cyfnod o gas ac erlid a chynnen yn hytrach na'r cariad heddychol sydd mor amlwg ym mywyd politicaidd Cymru heddiw. Nid dim llai na chwyldroad yw adfer yr iaith Gymraeg yng Nghymru. Trwy ddulliau chwyldro yn unig y mae llwyddo. Efallai y dygai'r iaith hunan-lywodraeth yn ei sgil: 'wn i ddim. Mae'r iaith yn bwysicach na hunan-lywodraeth. Yn fy marn i, pe ceid unrhyw fath o hunan-lywodraeth i Gymru cyn arddel ac arfer yr iaith Gymraeg yn iaith swyddogol yn holl weinyddiad yr awdurdodau lleol a gwladol yn y rhanbarthau Cymraeg o'n gwlad, ni cheid mohoni'n iaith swyddogol o gwbl, a byddai tranc yr iaith yn gynt nag y bydd ei thranc hi dan Lywodraeth Loegr.

But after the great labour, the collection of signatures, and the conferences, the Welsh members of Parliament went into conclave with Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary at the time. The result was the Welsh Courts Act of 1942, a parliamentary Act which disregarded the whole purpose of the petition and which still left English as the only official language of the courts and all the public services. That was what the Llanelli rating officer was referring to.

The Welsh language can be saved. Welsh-speaking Wales is still quite an extensive part of Wales territorially, and the minority is not yet wholly unimportant. The example of Mr. and Mrs. Beasley shows how we should set about it. During Mrs. Beasley's eight years of endeavour only one other Welshman in the rural district asked for a rate demand in Welsh. This cannot be done reasonably except in those districts where Welsh-speakers are a substantial proportion of the population. Let us set about it in seriousness and without hesitation to make it impossible for the business of local and central government to continue without using Welsh. Let it be insisted upon that the rate demand should be in Welsh or in Welsh and English. Let the Postmaster-General be warned that annual licences will not be paid unless they are obtainable in Welsh. Let it be insisted upon that every summons to a court should be in Welsh. This is not a chance policy for individuals here and there. It would demand organising and moving step by step, giving due warning and allowing time for changes. It is a policy for a movement, and that a movement in the areas where Welsh is the spoken language in daily use. Let it be demanded that every election communication and every official form relating to local or parliamentary elections should be in Welsh. Let Welsh be raised as the chief administrative issue in district and county.

Perhaps you will say that this could never be done, that not enough Welshmen could be found to agree and to organise it as a campaign of importance and strength. Perhaps you are right. All I maintain is that this is the only political matter which it is worth a Welshman's while to trouble himself about today. I know the difficulties. There would be storms from every direction. It would be argued that such a campaign was killing our chances of attracting English factories to the Welsh-speaking rural areas, and that would doubtless be the case. It is easy to predict that the scorn and sneers of the English gutter journalist would be a daily burden. The anger of local authority officials and those of many county councils would be like the blustering of those in the Llanelli Rural District. Fines in courts would be heavy, and a refusal to pay them would bring expensive consequences, though no more expensive than fighting purposeless parliamentary elections. I do not deny that there would be a period of hatred, persecution and controversy in place of the brotherly love which is so manifest in Welsh political life today. It will be nothing less than a revolution to restore the Welsh language in Wales. Success is only possible through revolutionary methods. Perhaps the language would bring self-government in its wake - I don't know. In my opinion, if any kind of self-government for Wales were obtained before the Welsh language was acknowledged and used as an official language in local authority and state administration in the Welsh-speaking parts of our country, then the language would never achieve official status at all, and its demise would be quicker than it will be under English rule.

