Bilingual education in Cardiganshire, 1904-1974

Thesis

How to cite:

For guidance on citations see FAQs.

© 1984 David Gwilym Williams

https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher’s website:
http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000fcd9

oro.open.ac.uk
BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN CARDIGANSHIRE
1904 - 1974

A thesis submitted in candidature of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of the Open University in the discipline:
Administration and Management of Education.

by

David Gwilym Williams, M.A., (Wales)
30 September, 1984

Author's number: HDB 4232
Date of submission: 30 September 1984
Date of award: 29 November 1984
ORIGINAL COPY IS TIGHTLY BOUND AND TEXT IS CLOSE TO THE EDGE OF THE PAGE
CONTAINS PULLOUTS
I agree that, if my thesis 'Bilingual Education in Cardiganshire 1904 - 74' is accepted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and deposited in the University Library, it may be made available and photocopied at the discretion of the Librarian.

Signed:
The dissertation describes the bilingual policies formulated by the Cardiganshire Education Authority to ensure that both Welsh and English should be taught efficiently in all schools and that every child should have an opportunity of becoming bilingual by the time he left school. It relates how disagreements arose between some parents and the Authority over the implementation of language policy at certain times and indicates how the Central Authority reacted to these disputes.

The work shows what measures were taken by the Authority to implement bilingual policies in its schools and describes how the Authority declared its faith in the principle of teaching through the medium of Welsh by establishing a "Welsh" Primary School and a Bilingual Secondary School at Aberystwyth.

The study shows how the number of Welsh-speaking children dwindled in the primary schools as a result of falling rolls which lasted until the beginning of the sixties, while the number of English-speaking pupils increased after the Second World War mainly due to English-speaking families moving into the County. It is shown that similar linguistic changes occurred at the secondary level. The work assesses the success of the primary and secondary schools in teaching Welsh as a second language and examines the use made of Welsh as a medium of teaching at the secondary stage.

Education in a rural setting and the problems of small rural schools receive special attention. The work shows how the Authority was reluctant to close small schools and how it rejected a plan to set up 'area schools' as recommended by Gittins Reports except in the Lampeter district where Ysgol y Dderi was established to replace five very small schools.
I declare that my thesis 'Bilingual Education in Cardiganshire 1904-74' submitted in candidature of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Open University has not already been accepted for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for another degree.

Signed:
# CONTENTS

**MAPS AND TABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>YSGOL GYMRAEG, ABERYSTWYTH</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>THE RURAL SCHOOLS</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                      | **BIBLIOGRAPHY**                          | 457  |

|                      | **Page**                                  | (iv) |

(111)
Maps:

The Elementary Schools of Cardiganshire.  
The Proposed Amalgamation of Primary Schools 1970.  

Tables:

1.1 The size of the Elementary Schools in 1908 and 1939.  
1.2 The population of the Primary Schools 1946-74  
2.1 Falling rolls in the Schools of the Aberystwyth Borough 1910-38.  
2.2 Language spoken by children under 14 in the Borough of Aberystwyth in 1901 and 1911 (Census Reports).  
2.3 Home language of pupils at Alexandra Road School in 1913.  
2.4 Home language of pupils at Alexandra Road School in 1916 and their ability to speak Welsh.  
2.5 Language survey conducted at Alexandra Road School in May 1925.  
2.6 Number of Welsh-speaking pupils at the Aberystwyth Schools in 1928.  
2.7 Pupils at the Aberystwyth Schools in 1928 with Welsh-speaking parents  
2.8 Home language of pupils at the Aberystwyth Schools in 1928.  
2.9 Percentage of Welsh speakers in the Aberystwyth Schools in 1928.  
2.10 Linguistic pattern of schools within the Aberystwyth Borough in 1945.  
2.11 Linguistic pattern of schools within the Aberystwyth Borough in 1949.  
2.12 Relationship between the ability of pupils in schools in the Aberystwyth Borough in 1945 and 1949 to speak Welsh and the ability of their parents to speak that language.  
2.13 Number of pupils on roll in the Aberystwyth schools and Lluest in 1951.  

(iv)
2.14 Choice of schools by Aberystwyth parents in 1951. -134

2.15 (a) Aberystwyth and Penparcau pupils attending the two Aberystwyth Schools in 1952. -137
(b) Penparcau pupils included in the above table. -137

2.16 School population in the Aberystwyth district 1966-74. -140

2.17 Enrolments at Yr Ysgol Gymraeg and Aberystwyth C.P. School 1955-80. -141

2.18 Percentage of pupils whose first language was Welsh in the schools of the Aberystwyth Borough in 1961, 1967 and 1973. -142

3.1 The number of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils in the six school district in 1928. -148

3.2 Percentage of English-speaking pupils in Council and National Schools in the same locality in 1928. -150

3.3 The language of parents of pupils in the Elementary Schools in 1928. -152

3.4 The home language of pupils in the Elementary Schools of Cardiganshire in 1928. -155

3.5 Changes in the linguistic character of the elementary-school population of Cardiganshire between 1928 and 1932. -157

3.6 Comparison between the number of pupils able to speak Welsh in the six school districts in 1928 and 1945. -161

3.7 Changes in the percentage of Welsh speakers in the primary schools of Cardiganshire between 1928 and 1945. -164

3.8 Cardiganshire schools with under 40 per cent Welsh speakers in 1945. -164

3.9 The relationship between the ability of the parents and that of their children to speak Welsh. -165

3.10 Percentage of pupils of Welsh or English parentage in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1928 and 1945. -166

(v)
3.11 Number of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils in the Caernarvonshire schools in 1943 and in the Cardiganshire schools in 1945.

3.12 The primary-school population of the six Cardiganshire districts in April 1945 and September 1949.

3.13 Number of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils in the six districts of the County in 1949 and the percentage of pupils speaking Welsh in 1945 and 1949.

3.14 Number of primary schools with varying percentages of Welsh-speaking pupils in 1945 and 1949.

3.15 Classification of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils in 1949 according to the ability of their parents to speak Welsh.

3.16 Number and percentage of monolingual and bilingual pupils under 11 years of age in Cardiganshire schools in 1950.

3.17 Percentage of pupils of various ages under 11 who were bilingual in 1950.

3.18 Number and percentage of Welsh-speaking pupils under 11 in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and Merioneth in 1950.

3.19 Percentage of pupils at various ages under 11 in the Counties of Anglesey, Caernarvon, Cardigan, Carmarthen and Merioneth able to speak Welsh as a second language with fair fluency in 1950.


3.21 First language of pupils between 5 and 11 years of age in 1950 and 1961.

3.22 The first language of pupils in primary schools in the six districts of Cardiganshire in 1961.


3.24 First-language-English pupils in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1949 and 1961 and
the ability of their parents to speak Welsh.

3.25 Number of fluent Welsh speakers at various ages between 5 and 11 in Cardiganshire Schools in 1961. -195

3.26 Number of pupils between 5 and 11 years of age able to speak Welsh in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Carmarthenshire and Merioneth in 1961. -196

3.27 Percentage of fluent Welsh speakers between the ages of 5 and 15 in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and Merioneth in 1950 and 1961. -197

3.28 Number of pupils between the ages of 5 and 15 in the schools of Wales able to speak Welsh with fair fluency in 1950 and 1961. -198

3.29 Growth in the primary-school population of Cardiganshire between 1962 and 1974. -201

3.30 First language of pupils in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1967. -202

3.31 Number of first-language English pupils in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1961 and 1967. -205

3.32 English-first-language pupils at Aberaeron, Llan-non and New Quay in 1967 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh. -206

3.33 Percentage of first-language Welsh pupils in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1961 and 1967. -211

3.34 Ability of first-language-English children between the ages of 5 and 11 to speak Welsh in 1961 and 1967. -213

3.35 Number of pupils in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1967 and 1973. -223

3.36 Changes in the enrolments at particular schools in the Aberystwyth district in 1960 and 1973. -225


3.38 Number of primary-school pupils whose first language was Welsh in the six school districts of Cardiganshire in 1967 and 1973. -227
3.39 Number of primary-school pupils whose first language was English in the six school districts of Cardiganshire in 1967 and 1973.


3.41 Number of English-speaking pupils who entered Cardiganshire primary schools from areas outside the County during the years 1964 to 1967 and 1970 to 1973 and the number who left for schools outside the County during the same period.


3.45 Number of children between 5 and 11 years of age in Cardiganshire schools able to speak Welsh in 1961, 1967 and 1973.


3.47 Percentage of pupils of various ages in Cardiganshire schools who reached a satisfactory standard (Categories A or D) in their second language in 1973.

4.1 First language of pupils in the Secondary Schools of Cardiganshire in 1945.

4.2 Pupils who sat C.W.B. Examinations in Welsh in 1945.

4.3 Percentage of Welsh-speaking pupils in the catchment areas of the Secondary Schools in 1945-46.
4.4 First language of pupils in the Secondary School of Cardiganshire in 1945 and 1949.  - 252
4.5 First language of pupils at Ardwyn School in 1949 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh.  - 253
4.6 First language of pupils at Dinas School in 1949 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh.  - 253
4.7 Number of pupils sitting Papers A and B at the selection test in 1948.  - 258
4.8 First language of secondary-school pupils in Cardiganshire in 1949 and 1961.  - 262
4.9 First language of secondary-schools in 1949 and 1961 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh.  - 263
4.11 Percentage of English-speaking pupils between 5 and 15 in Wales and Cardiganshire able to speak Welsh in 1961.  - 267
4.12 First language of pupils in the Secondary Schools of Cardiganshire in 1968.  - 273
4.13 The relation between first-language-Welsh pupils in 1949, 1961 and 1968 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh.  - 274
4.14 Intake of pupils at Penweddig and Penglais Schools 1973-82.  - 324
4.18 Number of pupils entered for W.J.E.C. Examinations in Welsh in 1968 and 1974.  - 337
5.1 Number of pupils at Maestir School in 1913.  - 354

(ix)
5.2 The primary-school population of Cardiganshire in 1954 and 1962. - 407
5.3 The primary-school population of Cardiganshire 1962-74. - 409
5.4 Changes in the population of small schools in Cardiganshire between 1962 and 1974. - 410
5.5 Number of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils in 1983 in the five schools. - 443
5.6 Number of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils at Ysgol y Dderi. - 444
CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The twentieth century has seen a massive rise in the power and significance of the committee as a central factor in education. The Education Act 1902 abolished over 30 school boards in Cardiganshire and transferred their powers and duties to the County Council. This transfer occurred, after previous postponements, on 24 September, 1904. Meanwhile, the County Council, in compliance with the Act, had established an Education Committee under a Scheme adopted on 4 February, 1904 and approved by the Board of Education on 23 March, 1904.\(^{(1)}\) One of the features of this Scheme was that it enabled the Council to delegate its newly-acquired powers, except the power of raising a rate and borrowing money, to its Education Committee. Thus on 11 August, 1904, the Council passed the following resolution:

\[
\text{"That this Council hereby agrees to exercise the power conferred upon them by Section 17 (2) of the Education Act, 1902, and to delegate all their powers under the Act, except the power of raising a rate or borrowing money to their Education Committee."} \quad (2)
\]

In this way the Education Committee acquired powers to act as the Local Education Authority for Cardiganshire.

At first, the Education Committee consisted of 40 members, 30 of whom were Council members and 10 were selected to represent University, Intermediate, Elementary and Technical Education. Later, all members of the Council sat on the Education Committee, and, in addition, 10 co-opted members were elected. A large Committee of well over 70 members had very obvious disadvantages, but, on the
other hand, its size indicated the importance of the Education Committee in Cardiganshire, acting, as it did, as the Education Authority for the County.

Much of the work of the Education Committee was conducted by its sub-committees, which increased in number with the passage of time and especially during the years following the Education Act 1944. Special mention must be made of the six District Education Committees which were set up in 1904 in the Union Districts of the County. These Committees, which had a membership of local Councillors and co-opted members, had control of groups of primary schools in the Aberaeron, Aberystwyth, Cardigan, Lampeter, Llandysul and Tregaron districts, but, like all other sub-committees, they reported on their deliberations and presented their recommendations to the Education Committee at its quarterly meetings.

An Education Committee with a history of 70 years naturally had many changes in its membership. This could have resulted in changes in the attitude of the Committee from time to time towards educational issues and, in consequence, changes in the nature of its policies. But, over those 70 years, one can detect a remarkable consistency in the policies pursued by the Cardiganshire Education Committee, and this is especially true in matters appertaining to the Welsh language. This reflects an abiding commitment on the part of the members. There were also stabilising influences on a changing Committee membership; during the whole of its history, the Education Committee had no more than 15 Chairmen and four Directors of Education.

On 1 April 1974, the Cardiganshire Education Authority ceased to exist, and its powers and responsibilities were transferred to the Dyfed County Council which was established to exercise authority over the former counties of Cardigan, Carmarthen and Pembroke. The
Dyfed County Council now acts as the Local Education Authority for the whole of that area.

**The period 1904 to 1939**

On the appointed Day in September 1904, 100 Elementary Schools were handed over to the new Authority, and, in due course, six others were transferred to make a total of 82 Provided or Council Schools and 24 Non-Provided or Voluntary Schools. Some of these schools had been established by the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, but the vast majority - 71 of them - had been provided through the efforts of the School Boards between 1874 and 1904. This was a tremendous building output for a rural county, and it clearly indicates the intense enthusiasm for education that existed in Cardiganshire during the years following the opening of the first University College at Aberystwyth in 1872. As a result of this effort, almost every village in Cardiganshire had its Elementary School before 1904, and, although many of the buildings were in need of repair when they were handed over to the new Authority, they were so substantially built that only seven new schools had to be erected between 1904 and 1939. There must have been some sort of feeling that they were dealing with a matter of "eternal" import.

Cardiganshire also had a system of Secondary education before the end of the nineteenth century. The County had a long tradition for providing education of an advanced standard in its 'Grammar Schools' and Academies, and, when a Joint Education Committee was set up to establish Intermediate Schools under the Welsh Intermediate Act of 1889, it had to choose between areas which had very strong claims for a Secondary School. After a great deal of deliberation and much negotiation, a final programme for secondary education was produced, and Intermediate Schools were opened at
Llandysul (1895), Cardigan (1895), Aberaeron (1896), Aberystwyth (1896) and Tregaron (1897). These five Intermediate Schools, together with the Central School which the Authority established in Lampeter as a result of the Education Act, 1918, provided for the needs of secondary education in the County until the provisions of the Education Act 1944 were put into effect.

There were some 10,500 children in the Elementary Schools of the County in 1904, and about 460 attended the five Intermediate Schools. By 1939, the number of pupils in Elementary Schools had plummeted to almost 5,700, and, although the numbers in the five Intermediate Schools increased from 460 to 1,600 over the same period, the total number of pupils in full-time education in the County decreased by 3,500 during those 35 years as a result of rural depopulation. Ever since 1871, when the population of the County reached the highest recorded figure of 73,441, the dicennial census reports had shown a decrease in population. By 1901, it had dropped to 61,078; by 1931, it was down to 55,184 and the estimated total in 1939 was only 51,650. The drop in the child population of the County was proportionately more severe than that for all ages. The census of 1911 indicated that there were 10,861 between 5 and 14 years of age in the County; by 1931, this figure had dropped to 8,455 - a decrease of 22 per cent as compared with a 9.6 per cent drop in the total population of the County. Such a substantial drop in the child population was bound to have profound effects on the educational system of Cardiganshire as well as on the future strength of the Welsh language in the County.

Between the years 1908 and 1939, falling rolls led to the closure of three Elementary Schools in the rural areas and the amalgamation of boys' and girls' departments in two urban schools, while the remaining 109 schools or departments became diminished in
size, as the following table illustrates:

Table 1.1  Size of the Elementary Schools 1908 to 1939

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number on Roll</th>
<th>Number of Schools/Departments 1908</th>
<th>Number of Schools/Departments 1939</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 40</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 60</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 - 80</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 - 100</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101 - 200</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 200</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1939, only 27 per cent of the schools had over 60 pupils on roll as compared with 63 per cent in 1908, and the number of schools with fewer than 40 on roll increased from 12 per cent in 1908 to 48 per cent in 1939, by which time the small school with its two teachers had become a feature of the Cardiganshire educational scene.

In view of the changes in the size of the population of the County noted above, it is not surprising that each census report between 1901 and 1931 indicated a decrease in the number of Welsh speakers. In 1901, 53,638 persons over the age of 3 were Welsh speaking; by 1931, this number had dropped to 46,291 - a decrease of 13.6 per cent. The decline was more severe in country districts than in the towns, for it was the rural areas that had suffered the brunt of depopulation during those thirty years. The number of monoglot English-speakers also increased during the same period from 3,880 to 6,895, and this, together with the decrease in the number of Welsh-speakers, depressed the proportion of the Welsh-speaking

- 5 -
The Welsh language suffered in much the same way in the other counties of Wales, except in Carmarthenshire and Glamorgan. Caernarvonshire showed a loss of 13,400 Welsh-speakers - a reduction of 12.7 per cent, while in Merioneth, Montgomeryshire, and Monmouthshire, there were losses of 7,300, 5,500 and 10,000 respectively. The decline of the language in the other Welsh counties was less severe, although, in proportion to their Welsh-speaking population, even these losses were substantial. Thus, there was a fall of 6 per cent in the number of Welsh-speakers in Anglesey, 11 per cent in Breconshire, 3 per cent in Denbighshire, 8.5 per cent in Flintshire, 9.9 per cent in Pembrokeshire and 28.5 per cent in Radnorshire. Over the whole of Wales, the number of Welsh-speakers decreased from 929,800 to 909,300. Only Carmarthenshire and Glamorgan showed an increased number of Welsh speakers during those thirty years, and this was caused by the migration of labour from rural Wales to their coal-mining districts. In Carmarthenshire, the Welsh-speaking population increased steadily from a total of 113,900 in 1901 to reach a peak figure of 141,000 in 1931, while, in Glamorgan, it rose from 344,900 in 1901 to 393,700 in 1911, and, although this figure subsequently declined, it was still 355,400 in 1931. Cardiganshire contributed generously to the enhanced quota of Welsh speakers in both of these counties.

As already indicated, the decrease in the child population of Cardiganshire was proportionately higher than that for the population of the County as a whole, and, in view of this, a substantial drop in the number of Welsh speakers in the 3-15 age group was natural to expect. In 1901, 13,775 in this category were able to speak Welsh and only 789 were unable to do so. By 1931, the Welsh speakers had decreased to 8,420 - a 38.9 per cent drop as compared to a 13.6 per
cent decrease for all age groups in the County. At the same time, the non-Welsh speakers in this age group almost doubled to 1,477 and had the effect of depressing the proportion of Welsh speakers in the 3-15 age group from about 95 per cent in 1901 to about 85 per cent in 1931. The full effect of this decline was to be felt in the post-1939 period.

Language surveys conducted in the schools during the years up to 1939 indicate that the English-speaking pupils were mainly confined to the urban school, while the vast majority of the children in the other schools were Welsh-speaking. The findings of the surveys will be considered in greater detail in later chapters, but they can be summarized as follows:

1. In 1913, H.M. Inspectors found that while there was a preponderance of Welsh speaking pupils in the elementary schools in general, there was a substantial number of English-speaking children in the Aberystwyth and Cardigan schools. (6)

2. In 1928, a language survey indicated that out of a total of 7,611 pupils in the elementary schools, 6,693 (88 per cent) were fluent Welsh speakers. Most of the 918 unable to speak Welsh (12 per cent) attended schools in the urban areas. (7)

3. In 1932, H.M. Inspectors found that out of a total of 6,095 pupils in the elementary schools, 5,918 (85.7 per cent) were Welsh speaking. The non-Welsh speakers were mainly in the Aberystwyth schools, including Penparcau and Cwmpadarn, and to a lesser degree, in other schools situated along the coast. (8)

In some ways, the picture had not changed since 1913. In 1932, as in 1913, Welsh was the mother tongue of the vast majority of the pupils, and the English speakers were mostly confined to a
to a very small number of schools. On the other hand, the actual number of Welsh speakers in the schools had become greatly reduced by 1932 as a result of rural depopulation, while the English-speaking children formed a substantial proportion of the enrolment at those schools in which they were concentrated.

The Authority was eager from the beginning that Welsh should be taught in the schools, and it is interesting to find a reference to the teaching of Welsh in the Instructions and Information for the Use of Teachers issued by the Finance and General Purposes Committee on 30 March, 1905. The main purpose in preparing the Instructions had obviously been to provide teachers with information on such matters as school attendance, registers, holidays, absence of teachers, corporal punishment, school supplies and the time table, but a section had also been included on the teaching of Welsh, which stated:

"In all cases where Welsh is the language of the parents, it should be the aim of teachers that scholars at the end of their school careers should be able to read and write Welsh accurately and correctly and be so equipped as to have an intelligent appreciation of the beauties of Welsh literature." (9)

The urgency for an early declaration of policy on the teaching of Welsh is realized when it is remembered that the policies of the school boards had varied a great deal in this respect. The Code of 1891 had permitted Welsh to be taught as a 'specific subject', that of 1893 placed it in the group of 'class subjects', while subsequent codes had even advocated the use of Welsh for teaching Welsh-speaking pupils in Welsh areas. It is clear that the purpose of the note to teachers in 1905 was to ensure that there was uniformity of policy on the teaching of Welsh in the schools of the County.

This was taken a step further in 1906 when Councillor Morgan
Evans of Llannarth presented a notice of motion to the Education Committee on 27 July. It reads: 'that provision be made for instruction in Welsh in each Elementary and Intermediate School within the area of this Committee.' As in the Elementary Schools, there had been no uniform policy regarding the teaching of Welsh in the Intermediate Schools of the County. Indeed under The Scheme for Intermediate and Technical Education drawn up in 1896, Welsh Grammar, Composition and Literature had been classified as optional studies only, along with subjects like Greek, Mechanics, Agriculture, Navigation and certain practical subjects. However, English, Geography, History, including Scripture History, Drawing, Mathematics, Latin, a modern Foreign European Language, Science, Vocal Music and Drill were regarded as necessary elements of the curriculum of an Intermediate School. Early reports on the work of the five Intermediate Schools in Cardiganshire indicate that some gave instruction in Welsh from the beginning, one school offered Welsh as an option against French, while another did not include Welsh in its curriculum until after 1906.

The motion presented by Councillor Morgan Evans was accepted by the Education Committee and the Authority laid down the following principles on the teaching of Welsh in the Elementary Schools:

1. During the first two years of the normal Welsh child his reading should be confined to the language of his home. The teaching of English during this period should be oral only.

2. There should be one Welsh reading book in use in each class from the lowest upwards, and Welsh composition should be practised along with English composition throughout the school.

3. As the child advances through the school, the time devoted to Welsh reading should become gradually less as the time devoted to English subjects is gradually increased.
The aim of the policy was as stated in the Instruction and Information for the Use of Teachers issued in 1905.

At the same time, a statement was issued to teachers pointing out the great advantages to be derived through the application of these principles. It is well-known that the author of that circular was Thomas Darlington, (1864 - 1908), a distinguished linguist, who was H.M. Inspector of Schools in the County of Cardigan, Merioneth and Montgomery. Although an Englishman by birth, he had thoroughly mastered Welsh and the circular was addressed to teachers in that language. On reading the circular, it becomes very clear that the Authority's language policy was an expression of Darlington's advanced ideas regarding language teaching. The circular stressed the importance of Welsh in the early education of the Welsh child and that his introduction to reading should be through his mother tongue. English reading should be postponed until he had made an acquaintanceship with his second language through oral work. Early contact with the second language was advocated because experience had shown that a young child could acquire two languages simultaneously and that his speech organs could cope more satisfactorily with the differing sounds of languages at an early age than in later life. The circular dealt with the question of how time should be apportioned between Welsh and English at school and to what extent each language should be used as a medium of teaching. Darlington's views on these matters found expression in the language policy of the Authority. Finally, great stress was laid on the teaching of Welsh Literature and a special place should be accorded on the time-table of the elementary school to this subject. This was the only literature, it was claimed, that a Welsh child leaving education at the end of the elementary school could fully appreciate. But, if genuine interest could be created at this stage, it could lead, in later life, to the appreciation of literature in general.
Many references have been made to Thomas Darlington's memorandum by writers on bilingual education in Wales, and especially to his advocacy of an early introduction of the second language through an oral approach. Thus W.R. Jones in his book *Bilingualism in Welsh Education* evaluates the importance of the memorandum in these words: 'Indeed, this circular, so comprehensively conceived and yet so concerned with practical problems, may be rightly regarded as an enlightened and informed attempt to lay the foundation of a bilingual system of education in the elementary schools of Wales'.

When the Inspectors visited the schools in 1913 and produced a report, they were well pleased, on the whole, with the progress made since the time the Authority had formulated a language policy. Welsh reading preceded English reading, as the policy recommended, and, instead of confining themselves to two or three books as the old 'Schedule of Work' of the Board of Education had stipulated, many teachers provided their pupils with a variety of reading material. Welsh literature was being studied, and whole poems were being committed to memory by the pupils in many schools. Much oral work was being carried out both in Welsh and English by the teachers, and written composition in both languages was practised by the children in the upper school.

Although the report refers to the presence of English-speaking pupils in the schools of Aberystwyth and Cardigan, there is no reference, however, to any effort made in these schools to teach them Welsh. This may be understandable at a time when even some of the rural schools were only just beginning to include Welsh on their curriculum.

On the education offered at the Intermediate Schools, the report commented that its academic bias was too pronounced. There
was an expression of regret that subjects like Agriculture, Navigation and a Commercial Subject were omitted from the curriculum, and that in language teaching far too much stress was laid on formal grammar at the expense of the teaching of the living language. Not enough time was being devoted to the teaching of literature and to instilling a love of reading for its own sake. All this was particularly true of the teaching of Welsh. The report recommended that substantial attention should be given to local history and that the Intermediate Schools should be in closer touch with the Elementary Schools from which they drew their pupils.

Following the Education Act of 1918, the Authority drew up a 'Scheme of Welsh Studies'. Its objects were:

1. To strengthen the link between school and home;
2. To develop national and personal self-respect and thus attain the chief end of education, namely character building;
3. To familiarize the pupils with the culture, literature and life of Wales;
4. To enable the child to profit fully by the social and religious activities of the community.

According to the 'Scheme', the language of the home was to be the language of the Infant School. In Welsh districts, therefore, Welsh was to be the medium of instruction throughout the infant stage; and the Elementary School, as a whole, was to be a centre for diffusing Welsh culture and enriching the Welsh intellectual life of the district. Instruction would be provided to ensure that all pupils leaving the Elementary School would have acquired a standard of attainment that would enable them to speak and write correctly and naturally and to have a fairly extensive knowledge of Welsh literature, history, and allied Welsh cultural subjects. The
standard of attainment would not be lower than that in English. One normal period a day at least would be devoted to Welsh as a subject and the same principle would be applied to English. Welsh, being the natural approach for a Welsh-speaking child, would be the usual medium of instruction, especially in lessons in literature and history. Wherever practicable, courses of advanced Welsh study would be developed for older and more intelligent children.

When the then Director of Education for Cardiganshire, Mr. H.J. Lewis M.A., submitted evidence in 1926 to the Departmental Committee which produced the report *Welsh in Education and Life* a year later, he had to admit that not all schools implemented the language policy of the Authority. (15) In general, the rural schools taught Welsh and English conscientiously, and the best of these provided advanced studies in Welsh literature. There was at that time no problem in the schools to teach Welsh to the occasional English-speaking pupil; he had a compelling reason for learning Welsh and did so with remarkable facility through the help of his playmates. The basic problem of the rural school was to assist the children to become fluent in English.

The situation was quite different in the town schools where there was usually a much higher proportion of English-speaking pupils. The Director felt that Welsh was much neglected as a subject in those schools. Some of the larger schools in Aberystwyth, Cardigan, and Lampeter had adopted the system of linguistic streaming, and pupils in the Welsh streams received lessons in Scripture, Recitation, Conversation, Music and games in their native tongue. Some effort was made to teach Welsh to pupils from English homes, but the lessons were mainly confined to Welsh reading, together with Welsh recitation and singing. The considered opinion of the Director was that the English-speaking pupils derived little
benefit from their lessons in Welsh as the teaching was mechanical, and it never led to the children becoming bilingual.

Although the Director felt that insufficient time was being devoted in the town schools to the teaching of Welsh, he was happy with the amount of time allotted to the subject in rural schools, especially since the language was used so extensively in the homes of these children and in their community. The main concern of the parents in these areas was whether their children would reach an acceptable standard of attainment in English. On the other hand English-speaking parents in rural areas were eager for their children to master Welsh in order to enjoy the companionship of their playmates, and those living in the towns had raised no objection to their children being taught Welsh.

The Director outlined the main obstacles to the efficient teaching of Welsh. They were: the practice of employing untrained teachers to the schools, the insufficient supply of suitable books, the attitude of parents to the teaching of Welsh in rural areas, and the demands of examinations, not only the Examination for Free Places at Secondary Schools, which favoured the pupils of the Schools which concentrated on English, but also other examinations like those for entrance to the Mercantile Marine Services, which excluded Welsh altogether.

The Director was able to report some innovations regarding the teaching of Welsh. Penllwyn School had experimented with confining the teaching of the Infants and Standard I entirely to Welsh and introducing English later. Progress had been slow until half-way through Standard IV, but, after that, it had become rapid. At Bryn Road Council School, Lampeter, the introduction of Welsh had been delayed until Standard IV and then taken up seriously in the upper classes. The results had been very satisfactory. Alexandra Road C.P.
School, where Mr. D.J. Saer, the pioneer of research work into bilingual problems, was headteacher, had established an organization of parallel classes based on the home language of the pupils, and the system was giving good results. But the most important innovation was that of making greater use of Welsh as a medium of teaching in the rural schools and in those town schools where Welsh streams had been established.

It is noticeable that there is no mention of schools having experimented with the early introduction of the second language as suggested by Thomas Darlington. This theory had been abandoned as a result of pronouncements made by D.J. Saer and some members of the staff of the Aberystwyth University College to the effect that the use of two languages in the Infant section of the school tended to confuse the minds of young pupils. It was not until much later that the Authority re-adopted a policy of introducing a second language early at the infant stage.

The Curriculum of the Intermediate Schools was under the control of their Managers. The position at the time in those schools which largely served rural areas like the Aberaeron and Tregaron Schools was that Welsh was given a prominent place in their curriculum and in their social activities. On the other hand, in schools which drew a high proportion of their pupils from the towns, the tendency was to allow the English language to predominate, especially at school functions.

When the report Welsh in Education and Life appeared in 1927, the Cardiganshire Education Committee accepted its recommendations. Amongst its decisions at the time were the following:

1. that a language survey be conducted in the schools;

2. that schemes of work in language teaching should be drawn up by Headteachers and approved by the
Director of Education;

3. that the medium of teaching during the early years of a child should be his mother tongue;

4. that greater importance be attached to Welsh in the Entrance Examination to Secondary Schools;

5. that supplementary allowance be granted to schools to enable them to buy suitable books and equipment for teaching Welsh;

6. that courses on the teaching of Welsh be held at Centres within the County;


The main purpose of conducting a language survey in accordance with the recommendation of the Welsh Report was to enable local authorities to frame language policies based on the linguistic character of their districts, whether they were predominantly Welsh areas, predominantly English, or mixed-language areas. As already mentioned, a language survey was conducted in the schools of Cardiganshire in 1928, and this highlighted the areas where there was a concentration of English-speaking pupils. It will be shown in Chapter II how changes were made in the internal organisation of the Aberystwyth Schools at this time in order to make language teaching more effective.

In 1927, the Entrance Examination to Secondary Schools consisted of two papers - one in Arithmetic, the questions being worded in English, and the other in Language, Section A of the Language Paper consisted of an essay, comprehension, analysis and two general questions on language. Three questions could be answered in Welsh - the essay, the comprehension questions and the general question on language. If a pupil decided to restrict himself to answers in the
Welsh language, he was compelled to forego the additional choice which an English-speaking pupil had. Section B consisted of six questions on language usage, three of which had to be answered, and only one of the six was in Welsh. It is clear from the foregoing that the examination could favour the English-speaking pupil, who was not penalized for lack of knowledge of Welsh. A glance through the pass list for that particular year, however, indicates that somehow it was pupils from rural schools who headed them in all areas!

The Authority revised its methods of examining proficiency in language in accordance with the recommendations made in Memorandum No.2, issued by the Welsh Department in 1930. Two papers were therefore set in language. Paper A was for those whose mother tongue was English, but, nevertheless, contained questions of an elementary nature in Welsh which had to be answered or forfeit 30 marks. Paper B was intended to test those who had reached a reasonable degree of bilingualism. Not only was this system fairer to all pupils, it provided an incentive to the teaching of Welsh even in the town schools. The policy regarding the award of 'free places' at Secondary Schools was also modified at the same time. All pupils who gained over 50 per cent of the marks at the Entrance Examination were awarded 'free places', and this considerably increased the number of entrants to Secondary Schools.

In 1928 the Authority brought out Suggestions for a Scheme in Rural Education for the Elementary and Central Schools in Cardiganshire by the Director of Education. The purpose of the scheme was to give education in country districts a rural bias, and, although it dealt mainly with Agricultural Nature Study at various levels of a child's understanding, it clearly indicated how work in language both in Welsh and English, Arithmetic, History, Geography
and Handwork could be designed to a certain extent in conjunction with this scheme of work in Nature Study. The scheme included a useful bibliography and all the books listed were available at the County Library.

Reference has already been made to the report of H.M. Inspector of Schools following their visit to the Elementary Schools of Cardiganshire in the early thirties. Their Statement referred to the marked improvement which had resulted from the implementation of the new policy of postponing the introduction of English in rural schools until the child had acquired a sound grounding in his mother tongue. In the view of the Inspectors, the standard of work in the lower school in rural areas was equal to, and often well in advance of, that of corresponding pupils in English-speaking areas. The quality of the Welsh reading and writing in the higher classes was less commendable, and this was attributed to the fact that these pupils had passed through the infant stage before the new policy had come into force. The Inspectors were confident that the position would improve as pupils then in the lower school reached the top classes. On the whole, the Statement contained a favourable report on the work carried out in Welsh in the rural school. The only note of criticism was that Welsh Literature was a much neglected area of study, and it was felt that a well-designed scheme of work to serve as a guide to the teachers was urgently needed.

The Inspectors were less satisfied with the teaching of Welsh in the linguistically-mixed schools. Where Welsh appeared to be the mother tongue of the pupils, it was debased and lacked the quality of that spoken by children from Welsh homes in rural schools. It had become clear by 1932 that the process of anglicisation was not only reducing the number of Welsh speakers, but also affecting the quality of the Welsh speech of those children whose first language was still Welsh. It was unfortunate, as the Statement pointed out, that many of the teachers in the linguistically-mixed schools were
unable to correct inaccuracies in the oral and written work in Welsh because their own command of the language was very uncertain.

Some schools in linguistically-mixed areas had classified their children on a linguistic basis in accordance with the suggestions contained in the Board's Memorandum No.1. Good results had been achieved in some cases, while other schools which had done so could show no worth-while results because of poor teaching. There were also examples of schools who totally neglected the teaching of Welsh and showed complete apathy towards the language.

The Statement also dealt with the introduction of English as a second language. The unfortunate tendency to introduce English through reading and not by means of oral work was still prevalent in Cardiganshire Schools. The emphasis in these schools was on the comprehension of the written word and this had an adverse effect on the oral fluency of the pupils.

The remedy suggested was to develop a scheme of oral work for introducing the Welsh-speaking pupils to their second language, and all reading and writing work should then be based on this well-designed course. An Arithmetic book in Welsh was also clearly needed to meet the needs of young pupils who found it difficult to grasp the language content of their existing books written in English.

The Statement of 1932 was followed in 1936 by a General Report of H.M. Inspectors on Elementary Education in the Administrative County of Cardigan. Although the main purpose of this survey was to investigate the facilities at the school and estimate their adequacy to cope with the additional demands of raising the school age to 15 in 1939, as set out in the Education Act 1926, it still contained many references to the actual work of the schools. The Inspectors again commented on language teaching and on the teaching of Welsh. They summed up their observations in these words:
Welsh is now accorded a natural and dignified position in the school and the curriculum, and in consequence the pupils find the atmosphere of their schools much more homely and congenial than it was even ten years ago. Much of the work in Welsh is of a definitely high standard; the children, with very few exceptions, read Welsh fluently and intelligently, and write it with ease.\textsuperscript{(17)}

It seemed, however, that the teaching of English in rural schools was less satisfactory, although the report pointed out that there were notable exceptions. The reason for this lack of success was attributed to the scarcity of suitable text-books on the teaching of English as a second language, and the lack of expertise in this area on the part of the teachers, many of whom had not attained qualified status.

Serious consideration was given to the teaching of English in rural areas during the years following the two reports referred to above. An example of this was the experiment conducted in a group of rural schools in Cardiganshire to teach English through the 'basic method' as set forth in the course \textit{The Basic way to English} edited by C.K. Ogden, Director of the Orthological Institute at the time. The scheme consisted of 850 words, which, when used in conjunction with the basic rules of the language set out in a series of class books, enabled one to have a good working knowledge of English. Pupils of seven to eight years of age were chosen for the pilot scheme in accordance with the policy at the time regarding the introduction of the second language; their progress was carefully monitored and meetings were held with the Inspectorate to discuss the results.

Although records kept by the schools are no longer available, an account of a conference of H.M. Inspectors and Headteachers of the schools concerned held at Llandysul on 23 February, 1939 is
extant in the local Education Office. There was a general consensus of opinion amongst Headteachers that the 'basic method' had many advantages over the haphazard method previously used in the schools. Its precision and emphasis on oral work had led to a marked growth in pupils' active vocabulary and a definite improvement in their reading as well as their written work. It was generally felt at the conference that the experiment should be continued by the schools until the whole course had been completed in another 1½ to 2 years, that is a total of 2½ to 3 years for the complete course.

The experiment, however, did not run its course. Shortly after that Llandysul Conference, the country was at war and the Authority had to find accommodation in its schools for 'evacuees' from the English cities. When the war was over, some effort was made to revive the experiment, but by then the 'Basic Method' had lost a great deal of its appeal. The schools had benefitted from the experience gained by observing the 'evacuees' acquiring a sound knowledge of Welsh through practice, and this showed the value of an oral approach to second language teaching. Welsh-speaking pupils themselves had also improved their facility in English through their contact with their English-speaking mates. The teaching of English as a second language was never again to be the problem it was before the war. In the meantime, the radio had found its way to Welsh-speaking homes and before long it would be regarded, along with the television at a later time, as an anglicizing influence. Nevertheless, both media, from the point of view of the school, helped the Welsh-speaking child to acquire literacy in the English language. The 'Basic Method' itself had shown the importance of a carefully constructed scheme of work based on a limited vocabulary at a time when the second language to be acquired was not often heard in the pupil's cultural environment. It is ironical that a method which was
devised for the teaching of English as a second language was later to be used, though with a great deal of modification, for introducing Welsh as a second language even in rural Wales.

The period 1939 to 1974

By 1939, the Cardiganshire Education Authority, unknown to anyone at the time, had reached the mid-point of its life-span of threescore years and ten. If stock had been taken then of its achievements during the previous 35 years, it would have been found that a great deal had been undertaken to promote bilingual education in the schools. Cardiganshire had been foremost amongst Welsh Education Authorities to formulate an enlightened language policy to safeguard the interest of the Welsh-speaking child and afford Welsh an honourable place in the curriculum of its schools. The reports issued by the Inspectorate in 1932 and 1936 had assured the Authority that its language policy was being implemented successfully in the majority of the schools and that the atmosphere within the rural schools had become homely and congenial because teachers made use of Welsh as a medium of communication with their pupils. The Authority had also encouraged the pursuit of Welsh culture and local studies in both the elementary and the secondary sectors of education, and the Welsh language had been accorded a dignified position in the Special Place Examination. This change in policy, which had made it necessary for all pupils to attempt a certain number of questions in Welsh or forfeit marks, had compelled schools in anglicized areas to teach Welsh as a second language or place their pupils at a disadvantage. Regarding the Secondary Schools themselves, Welsh had become a necessary feature of their curriculum, although the language was not used exclusively as a medium of instruction. The number of pupils at Secondary Schools had increased steadily since 1902 and especially after 1928 when the Authority offered an
increased percentage of free places on the result of the Special Place Examination.

These were satisfying aspects of the educational scene in Cardiganshire in 1939; there were other aspects which were less pleasing. Falling rolls in the Elementary Schools had been a cause for concern for years especially since this had resulted in the closure of schools and the amalgamation of departments; and it is conceivable that more schools would have suffered the same fate had the Authority been able to implement its proposed scheme to provide for the education of senior pupils in various centres in the County. Ever since 1927, plans had been drawn up to re-organise the schools on the lines suggested in the Hadow Report, but due to financial constraints and failure to solve the 'religious question', the Elementary Schools had remained unorganised, apart from the provision made for a Central School in Lampeter and the provision of senior classes or 'higher tops' in the other urban areas. The report of the Inspectorate in 1936, referred to above, had regarded the reorganisation of the Elementary Schools as being the most urgent educational problem facing the Authority. The needs of the senior pupils were not being met under the existing arrangements, and this, the Inspectorate felt, could jeopardise the quality of country life in the future:

'These are children who will remain in the villages and homesteads of the rural areas. They will be the next generation of young people on whose activities will depend the social, cultural and intellectual life of the countryside. To neglect them will be to handicap the coming generation'. (18)

The Inspectors presented suggestions regarding the siting of the new Senior Schools, their lay-out and their curriculum. It was recommended that six Senior Schools located at Rhydyfennau,
Trawsgoed, Felin-fach, Brynhoffnant, Llan-non and Tregaron would cater for the needs of rural Cardiganshire, while for the urban areas, in addition to the Central School in Lampeter, Senior Schools should be provided at Aberystwyth, in or near Cardigan, and another somewhere between Llandysul and Newcastle Emlyn. As it was envisaged that a great deal of the work of the Senior Schools would be practical in nature, the recommendation was 'Let the School be a work-shop with a few classrooms added to it'.(19) There should be ample accommodation for Domestic Subjects, Handicraft and Science. A hall was essential for assembly, for community music, for dramatic entertainments, for concerts and eisteddfodau, and for dining purposes each day. The hall would also be used for physical education. Outside, a playing field of about two or three acres would be needed as well as a large garden; as gardening should have an important role in the life of the school both from the scientific and from the practical point of view.

Although the emphasis was to be on the practical nature of the education imparted at the Schools, the cultural side was not to be neglected. Literature, more especially on the dramatic side, history, music and art were to be given a fair share of attention and the school was to be regarded as a centre of culture for adults. The 'area school' was to be regarded as belonging to the area it served, and should help to fill the gap left by the decline of Literary Meetings (Cyrddau Llenyddol), Singing Practice (Ysgol Can) and other activities which had been a feature of Welsh Wales.

The provision of these Senior Schools sometime between 1927 and 1939 would obviously have entailed the expenditure of a substantial amount of money, and, during those years, the amount needed to reorganise the Elementary Schools was not at the disposal of the Authority. There were two other difficulties. Reorganisation was
dependent on a satisfactory agreement between the Authority and the managers of the non-provided schools concerned, and by 1936, an agreed solution to the 'religious question' had not been accepted by both sides. The other difficulty was that of conveying pupils daily from remote rural areas to the proposed centres, although by the mid-thirties this was less of a serious problem than it had been previously.

On looking at the whole matter in retrospect, one cannot escape the feeling that an opportunity was lost to provide senior pupils, in the thirties, with an education that admirably suited their existing needs as future citizens of rural Cardiganshire. Although the provision would have been a considerable undertaking by the Authority, and the system established would have been superseded to a certain extent by another as a result of the Education Act 1944, the expenditure and effort involved would have been worthwhile, since it was not until 1956 that Cardiganshire completed its reorganisation under the new Act. In the meantime a large number of senior pupils had to be educated in the ordinary classes of the Elementary Schools.

An earlier reorganisation would also have enabled the Elementary Schools to give more proper attention to junior pupils. This point was made very clearly by the Inspectorate in their report in 1936:

'It is clear that with time and freedom to concentrate on these younger children, the teacher would be able to devise a curriculum wider in scope, and introduce activities more suitable to their needs than is possible at present' (20)

Language teaching was very much in the minds of the Inspectors when this remark was made; for although the standard of achievement in Welsh was generally creditable, that in English, in
rural areas, often left much to be desired. Infant Departments, too, gave reason for concern, especially since the majority of teachers in these departments were untrained. The Inspectors recommended that the Authority should give serious consideration to the possibility of appointing an Infant Organiser, or failing that, to utilise the infant departments at Aberystwyth, Cardigan and Peterwell, Lampeter, as demonstration schools where inexperienced and untrained teachers could have in-service training. It was also recommended that nursery units should be set up at these centres. These recommendations had not been implemented by 1939, and many decades were to pass before Cardiganshire opened its first nursery unit and seconded a teacher to be responsible for giving advice on nursery and infant education.

In 1939 then, in spite of all that had been achieved by the Authority during the previous 35 years, the tasks ahead to provide pupils of all ages with an education suitable to their needs and abilities were quite formidable. Much forward planning had been made to cope with the extra pupils who would remain in the schools when the school-leaving age would be raised on 1 September 1939 to 15, and, on the whole it had been found that the accommodation was already available due to falling rolls in the Elementary Schools over a number of years.

With the outbreak of war in September 1939, the raising of the school-leaving age was postponed, and the spare capacity in the schools was taken up, not by the 14-15 year olds as envisaged, but by 'evacuees' from the English authorities. The population of the Elementary Schools in Cardiganshire increased from 5,438 in March 1939 to 6,292 in March 1942, and, although numbers declined during the following two years when many of the evacuees returned home, figures were again well over 6,000 during 1945 due to the return of
'evacuees' as a result of the renewed bombing of London. By March 1946, however, there were only 5,175 pupils in the Elementary Schools and this number was further depleted when the Authority implemented the provisions of the Education Act 1944 in respect of secondary education for all pupils.

As already pointed out, a high percentage of the English-speaking evacuees who came to rural districts were bilingual before they returned to England. Exposed as they were to an entirely Welsh environment, they had compelling reasons for learning the native language as quickly as possible and they did so with their Welsh mates on the playground and with their 'foster parents' at home. It was a process of 'total immersion', and the results were certainly impressive.

Equally interesting, but very much more significant even at a national level was the consequences of the arrival of the evacuees at Aberystwyth. At the time, there were four Elementary Schools under the Authority in the town, one being a National School and the other three were Council Schools – Aberystwyth Junior Boys' School, Aberystwyth Junior Girls' School, and Aberystwyth Infants' School. The Infants' School was streamed on a linguistic basis. Even before 1939, some parents in Aberystwyth had been concerned about the teaching of Welsh and were especially critical of the Junior Departments for failing to continue the approach of the Infants' School to language teaching. With the arrival of the English-speaking evacuees, this concern deepened, and this led to the setting up of a private 'Welsh School' at the headquarters of Urdd Gobaith Cymru on 25 September 1939. At first there were only seven pupils on roll, but, by May 1946, the number had increased to 79, and the school was moved to a local mansion, Lluest. In April 1951, the Authority took the first step in establishing its own Welsh School at
Aberystwyth, through agreement with the supporters of this project, by setting up three classes of Welsh-speaking pupils at Lluest as a temporary measure, and this was followed in 1952 by the reorganisation of the primary schools at Aberystwyth on a linguistic basis. The schools of the town had, in the meantime, been reorganised in consequence of the Education Act 1944, and the four schools or departments of 1939 had become two departments, Junior and Infants, by 1951. The reorganisation of 1952 established Ysgol Gymraeg, Aberystwyth at Alexandra Road, while the County Primary School (North Road School) provided primary education through the medium of English. A more detailed account of how Ysgol Gymraeg was established is given in a separate chapter of this work.\(^{21}\)

By 1951 all districts in the County had been reorganised into separate Primary and Secondary Schools although some of the Secondary Schools still occupied temporary buildings. The bilateral solution was adopted in Aberaeron, Cardigan, Lampeter and Tregaron, while, in the Aberystwyth, and the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn districts, separate Grammar and Modern Schools were provided. In Aberystwyth, the Grammar School was housed at Ardwyn buildings, while a purpose-built school was erected at Cefnlllan for the pupils of Dinas Secondary Schools. The former Llandysul Intermediate School became a Grammar School for the district while a Modern School was set up temporarily in an ex-Prisoner of War Camp at Henllan in 1951 and in 1958 it moved to permanent buildings at Newcastle Emlyn under the Carmarthenshire Education Authority.

The Secondary School population increased substantially as pupils of over eleven years of age were transferred from the Primary School. On the other hand, reorganisation led to the depletion of numbers in the primary sector and even to school closures as the following table illustrates:
Table 1.2 Population of the Primary Schools 1946-74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of pupils (January figures)</th>
<th>Number of Primary Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>5175</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>4649</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>4877</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>4622</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>4733</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5265</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>5592</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The year 1946 has been chosen for the purpose of this comparison since, by then, all 'evacuees' had returned to their homes outside Cardiganshire, and the reorganisation of the educational system had not yet been undertaken.

Between 1946 and 1952, the year after the completion of the change, the population of the primary schools dropped from 5,175 to 4,597, and although there was a slight rise in the numbers on roll during the subsequent two years, the previous trend continued until an all-time low of 4,578 pupils in primary schools was recorded in January 1962. By the early sixties, migration into the County was noticeably on the increase and this had the effect of boosting numbers in both the primary and sectors, as the above table indicates.

The table also shows how the 110 primary schools of 1946 were reduced to 97 in 1955. These closures were effected as a part of the Authority's scheme for reorganisation, and, by 1974, seven other small schools had been closed, to reduce the total to 90. \(^{22}\)

Even while the war was in progress, the Welsh Department alerted the Welsh Education Authorities to the need to safeguard the
position of the native tongue of Wales in their schools. In its Circular 182 (9 October 1942), the Welsh Department enquired what steps had been taken to implement the recommendations of the report Welsh in Education and Life which had appeared 15 years previously and drew attention to the need 'to consider anew and with all additional experience acquired after 15 years of useful endeavour what can be done effectively to develop and improve schemes of work already established, and, also, wherever possible, to break new ground in any direction likely to promote real and permanent interest in the value of the contribution that our countrymen in their own language have made and are making to thought and life'.

Each Authority was urged to set up a sub-committee, unless it had already done so, to consider language policy, such as, the teaching of Welsh and English in Infant, Junior and Senior Schools, including the use of both languages as media of instruction; the monitoring of progress in the schools; the place of Welsh in the Special Place Examination; the supply of bilingual teachers and adequate provision of books in both languages. In response, Cardiganshire Education Authority set up a Language Committee in 1942 to consider the matters outlined in Circular 182, but it is probably true to say that during the first years of its existence, there was a greater tendency to discuss issues than to resolve to take positive action. The probable reason for this was that the Authority was directing its thought to a reorganisation of the education system which was not completed, even in its temporary form, until 1951.

The appearance of the Welsh Department's Pamphlet No 1, Language Teaching in Primary Schools in 1945, however, was a shrewd reminder of all that had gone before. This Pamphlet was to be regarded by the Authorities as a development of Memorandum No 1, which had appeared in 1929 as a sequel to Welsh in Education and
Life, and it contained a new emphasis on the cultural background of the school and its importance in the education of the Welsh child. 'The education of the child should be related to the culture of the nation of which he is a member', (23) the Pamphlet boldly declared before proceeding to list the elements in the cultural background of the Welsh nation of which every child in Wales should be made aware - its history and geography, its song, literature, traditions and habits, its material culture like crafts, houses, dress, food of Welsh people through the ages, and finally, its religion. The Pamphlet dealt with each of these in turn from the point of view of the education of the Welsh child.

In 1949, the Welsh Department directed attention to Bilingualism in the Secondary School in Wales (Pamphlet No 4.). The principles expounded in this Pamphlet were precisely those which had been applied to the Primary School in 1945; indeed, as pointed out in the Foreword, 'the results of efforts in the primary schools will be lost unless they are continued at the secondary stage'. The argument put forward was that the Welsh child should have a sound knowledge of his cultural heritage and the study of Welsh became essential as 'the vehicle of all that was and is finest in Welsh culture'. The Pamphlet drew a gloomy picture of the position of Welsh in the secondary grammar schools. It was rare to have a grammar school whose general policy defined the place and function of the Welsh language within the school; in only 10 schools out of 151 was Welsh studied by all pupils up to School Certificate level, while the remainder either made no provision for Welsh teaching or provided for the teaching of Welsh as an alternative to French. In 1946, only 40 per cent of the pupils in the grammar secondary schools studied Welsh; only 34 per cent of those entered for the School Certificate in that year took Welsh as a subject, and a large
number of these were Welsh-speaking pupils, offering Welsh at a level expected from genuine learners of the language. At Sixth Form level, French, German and Latin were among languages which took precedence over Welsh. Very little use was being made of Welsh as a medium of instruction except in the lower forms of some schools where the pupils' knowledge of English was still inadequate to receive their education entirely through the medium of English.

The appearance of the Pamphlet had no doubt been timed to coincide with the establishment of the new Secondary Modern Schools over the country as a result of the Education Act 1944. It gave guidance on how to draw up schemes of work in Welsh as a first language and as a second language in all types of secondary schools and it also made suggestions on the teaching of English as a second language in Welsh schools.

The Authority had conducted a language survey in its primary schools in 1945, but it was deemed at the time that the figures obtained were too heavily weighted in favour of English, due to the presence of 'evacuees' in many of the schools. When the survey was repeated in 1949 to include both the primary and secondary sectors, it was found that while the 66.1 per cent return of Welsh speakers in Primary Schools in 1945 had been misleading, it was not as inaccurate as it had been hoped. In both the Primary and Secondary Schools, considered separately, the percentage of Welsh-speakers amounted to no more than 77.0 per cent. The survey showed that the position of the Welsh language was precarious in the schools of coastal towns and villages like Aberystwyth, Borth, New Quay and Cardigan, as well as in inland places like Llandysul and Lampeter. A course of action resulting in the assimilation of non-Welsh elements into the Welsh-speaking community was clearly indicated.

Following the survey, the Authority reviewed its language
policy in the light of the Welsh Department's pamphlets of 1945 and 1949. It was decided that in the schools Welsh as a second language should be on a par with English as a second language and that Welsh as a first language should be on a par with English as a first language. The mother-tongue should be extensively used in the primary school and teachers should avoid mixing the first and the second language at the early stages in the child's education. When the teaching of the second language was undertaken, adequate time should be given for the purpose. In view of the importance of the 'cultural background' in the education of the child, the content as well as the medium of teaching should be Welsh in Welsh schools. In English schools and classes, no less attention should be given to the stories from Welsh literature, to the geography and history of Wales, including the history of religion in Wales, to make pupils conscious of their heritage as future citizens of Wales. In secondary schools, Welsh was to be used more extensively as a medium of teaching in the lower forms and panels were to be established to co-ordinate the work of the primary and secondary schools in Welsh and English.

The report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales) entitled 'The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales' appeared in 1953. Its tables of statistics showed that only 70.7 per cent of pupils between 5 and 11 and only 73.4 per cent of those between 11 and 15 were natural Welsh speakers. Of those who were learning the language at primary and secondary schools, only about 3.0 per cent had reached the standard of 'fair fluency'. The report referred to previous surveys; Cardiganshire schools had been 85 per cent Welsh in 1932, Anglesey schools were 88.0 per cent Welsh in 1936 but only 79.0 per cent in 1950, while Caernarvonshire had dropped from being 81.0 per cent Welsh in 1934 to 74.0 per cent.

- 33 -
In Carmarthenshire there had been a drop from 84.0 per cent in 1936 to 62.0 per cent in 1950. The same trend was observable in the other counties and the decline in areas like Merthyr and Rhondda was truly catastrophic.

Many local education authorities in 1949 had no language policies to arrest this decline. Newport had not taught Welsh in its schools since 1929; there was no demand for Welsh language teaching in Radnorshire; Monmouth had no policy regarding the teaching of Welsh in its Secondary schools, and at the primary level, the matter was left in the hands of the individual headteacher and the inspector. Merthyr, which had been Welsh speaking at the beginning of the century and which had a return of only 1.6 per cent Welsh in 1950, had no policy regarding the teaching of Welsh in either its primary or secondary schools. Cardiff however, provided for the teaching of Welsh as a second language to pupils whose parents expressed a wish to that effect in writing.

All other authorities had well-defined language policies based on the general principles outlined in the Welsh Department's pamphlets. In general, these policies stated that the home language was to be the medium of teaching in Infant Schools and Departments and that that the second language was to be introduced in the junior classes at around 7 or 8 years of age with emphasis on oral work. In linguistically-mixed areas, a vertical or parallel classification was often made, but the second language was not introduced in infants' classes except in some cases with songs and nursery rhymes. Caernarvonshire had already devised a scheme of limited word lists for the teaching of the second language.

The language policies of these authorities were less clear as far as their secondary grammar and secondary modern schools were concerned, and, in most cases, the matter was left in the hands of
Cardiganshire in 1953, featured amongst those authorities who had taken positive steps since 1945 to safeguard the place of the language in its schools. Mention has already been made of the taking over of a Welsh School at Aberystwyth in 1951, although this was not the first of its kind to be set up by local authorities in Wales. The first Welsh School was established by the Carmarthenshire Authority in Llanelli in 1947, and by 1951 Caernarvonshire, Denbigh, Swansea, Cardiff, Glamorgan and Flintshire had established similar schools which, with Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth, made a total of 14 Welsh Schools in Wales.

Cardiganshire had also changed its Allocation Test to Secondary Schools since the Authority had submitted evidence to the Central Advisory Council through the W.J.E.C. in 1950. At that time, tests of the 'old type' in Welsh, English and Arithmetic were in use and an Essay was also set. The main essay could be written in either Welsh or English, but whichever language was used for the main essay the other language had to be used for a shorter composition. In the language Examination, there was a choice of either Paper A or Paper B, depending upon a child's first language. Both, however, consisted of second language questions, Welsh or English, and pupils would forfeit marks for lack of knowledge of their second language. By 1953, this method of testing had been abandoned and Moray House Standardised Tests in Arithmetic and English were in use. The main paper in Welsh was modelled on the English standardised test and a
balancing factor was applied to equalise overall results as between the English and Welsh tests respectively. All pupils were also required to sit a written test in their second language; this was drawn up locally and thirty marks were allotted to this paper. A later development was the inclusion of an essay question to be answered in the child's main language, and this carried 30 marks. When Glamorganshire Education Committee produced tests to examine a child's knowledge of Welsh as first language, these were adopted by Cardiganshire and the marks gained by pupils sitting these tests were equated to the scores obtained by those sitting the standardised tests in English.

There was a growing awareness in Cardiganshire by the mid-fifties, that the County was becoming anglicized at an alarming rate. The Census Report of 1951 confirmed that this was so; the 46,291 Welsh-speakers of 1931 had been eroded by 12.2 per cent to 40,642, while the English-speaking element in the population had increased by 51.8 per cent to 10,468. Figures for the 3–14 age-group were no less depressing. In 1931, there had been 9,897 children within this age-group, and, of these, 8,420 or 85.0 per cent were Welsh-speaking; by 1951 of the 8,385 within this age-group, only 6,175 or 73.6 per cent spoke Welsh. The child population had decreased by 1,512 but the number of Welsh-speakers had dropped by 2,245. On the other hand the English-speakers within the age-group had almost doubled to 2,210.

It was only natural, therefore, that pressure was being exerted on the Authority from various quarters to ensure that the schools, and secondary schools in particular, were doing their utmost to arrest the decline of the Welsh language. On 27 October, 1955 a letter from UCAC (Union of Welsh Teachers) calling for the abolition of choice between French and Welsh at Grammar Schools was read at the Education
Committee. The Higher Education Committee, to which the matter was referred, decided to draw the attention of Governing Bodies to the fact that all Cardiganshire pupils, should be taught Welsh to the school-leaving age. On 26 January, 1956, Councillor, Rev. T.O. Williams presented a notice of motion to the Education Committee to the effect that 'in future the various subjects be taught through the medium of Welsh at the Secondary Schools'. The motion was approved in principle by the Higher Education Committee to which the matter was referred, and the Director of Education was asked to consult Headmasters regarding the practicability of implementing the policy in the various schools.

A survey conducted at the time showed that in three of the seven Secondary Schools, the entire staff was Welsh-speaking, and even in the others, 16 out of 22, 17 out of 22, 19 out of 28, and 15 out of 17 were Welsh-speaking. The Language Survey of 1949 had shown that the percentage of Welsh-speaking pupils in the various schools were: Aberaeron 91, Ardwyn 34, Dinas 60, Cardigan 82, Llandysul 98, Lampeter 92 and Tregaron 97. Although the figures of 1949 were out of date by 1956, the fact still remained that in all schools except Ardwyn, the majority of the pupils could receive education through the medium of Welsh. The schools were also well provided with Welsh-speaking staffs, although their precise ability to teach through the medium of Welsh was another matter.

The position at the time regarding the use of Welsh in the teaching of other subjects was that the language was being used quite extensively in the majority of schools for the teaching of the various subjects to secondary-modern pupils. In the Grammar Schools and in the grammar streams of the Bilateral Schools, practice varied a great deal. Aberaeron was, undoubtedly, the most progressive in this respect, but, even here, the provision was limited to teaching a few
subjects through Welsh to pupils in their first and second year in
school, although Scripture could be studied through Welsh to A-level.
Much less was being attempted in the other schools, although in all
of them, much use was being made of Welsh alongside English during
lessons.

Some schools found it difficult at the time to extend their
existing provision without additional teachers to cope with the
necessary duplication of classes. There were other organisational
problems. Most of the schools were comparatively small and their
annual intake on the grammar side was insufficient to allow of
streaming on 'home language' and ability. Again, as the vast
majority of the pupils were from Welsh homes, the parallel streaming
of Welsh and English-speaking pupils in many schools was an
impracticable proposition. Aberaeron had experimented with mixed-
ability teaching of first-year pupils in order to classify pupils on
the basis of their 'home language'. This had cut across the
official grammar-modern division and it had been found that this form
of organisation impeded the progress of the more able pupil.

Another difficulty often quoted at the time was the lack of
suitable textbooks in Welsh to enable a pupil to study a subject
beyond an elementary level.

Between 1956 and 1958 a fairly constant pressure was placed
by the Authority on the Secondary Schools to extend their provision
for the teaching through the medium of Welsh as far as possible, and
periodical reports were being received from the Schools. By 1958,
the Director of Education was able to report that progress had been
achieved in this respect. Three fairly large schools, which had been
reluctant at one time to stream their school on a linguistic basis had
either begun or completed such a process during the previous two
years, and all schools had made an effort to extend their teaching
through the medium of Welsh. There was also an improvement in the methods employed for teaching Welsh as a second language. (28)

In 1956 the Annual Conference of UCAC had resolved to congratulate the Cardiganshire Authority on the steps already taken to use Welsh as a medium of teaching. (29) In 1958 the Annual Conference again decided to write to the Authority urging it to follow Flintshire's example by setting up a Bilingual Secondary School. (30) Cardiganshire had considered this possibility as early as 1956. The suggestion had been that an existing Bilateral School in a Welsh area could be selected for the purpose and provided with a residential wing to attract pupils, not only from outside its normal catchment area, but also from outside the County. Its existing English-speaking pupils could then be diverted to neighbouring schools.

No progress had been made in the matter in the meantime mainly because the Authority was more concerned to ensure, in the first instance, that all its Secondary Schools taught as many subjects as possible through the medium of Welsh. By 1958, fair progress had been made in this respect, and the letters from UCAC and the Cardiganshire Congregational Union renewed interest in the matter. The Teaching of Welsh Sub-Committee on 23 April 1959 decided to refer the letters to the Governors of the various Secondary Schools for their comments. (31) Cardigan governors deferred consideration of the matter. The governors of Aberaeron, Lampeter and Tregaron felt that as many subjects as possible were already being taught through the medium of Welsh at their school. The Governors of Dinas, Lampeter and Llandysul urged the Authority to investigate, in the first instance, whether there was a real demand in the County for a Bilingual School and boarding accommodation, but the Governors of Ardwyn and Llandysul were prepared to have a Welsh wing attached.
to their schools. (32) The end of the fifties, saw the Authority unresolved on the matter.

Two other matters which had been the subject of some discussion during the late fifties were the feasibility of appointing a Language Organiser and the advisability of modifying the language policy to enable teachers to introduce Welsh as a second language at the Infant stage. UCAC had pressed the Authorities on both issues, but no final decision was to be reached until the late sixties.

The Authority could, however, look back over the fifties as a decade of great achievements. (33) It saw the completion of reorganisation of its Secondary Schools and the undertaking of a massive building programme in both the Primary and Secondary sectors. Great progress was also made in the field of Further Education with centres at Aberystwyth and Cardigan. Mention must be made also of the Cardiganshire Welsh Books scheme which was developed during the course of the decade. It began with the publication of Ceredigion, Gemau o Bant a Bryn and the Historical atlas of Cardiganshire, but in a matter of years 27 volumes, mainly for children, had been produced. An offshoot of this scheme, was Llyfrau Ceredigion (Cardiganshire Books Scheme) which published books produced under the Education Committee Scheme. Llyfrau Ceredigion became so successful that other counties joined in the venture of producing Welsh reading books. The scheme was later taken over by the Welsh Joint Education Committee. Progress was made, as already indicated, with regard to the use of Welsh as a medium of teaching in the Secondary Schools and there were improvements in the technique of introducing Welsh as a second language at the Secondary stage. The abolition of the 'old-type' examination to Secondary Schools emancipated the Primary Schools and
enabled teachers to widen their curriculum. Some had predicted that less attention would be given by the schools to Welsh once the old-type examination was abolished, but figures produced in 1958 allayed these doubts. Between 1954 and 1958, the number of pupils taking Welsh as their main language in the 'new-type' test had increased in all areas, and, in Aberystwyth and Cardigan, where numbers in this respect had been least in 1954, the increase had been considerable. Here then was evidence in tangible form that the language policy was being observed in the vast majority of schools, and where this was not so, the Headteachers had been approached individually.

In October 1961 the W.J.E.C. repeated its survey of the position of Welsh and English in the schools of Wales.\(^{(34)}\) The results of the survey will be dealt with in greater depth in another chapter of this work, and only a few general observations will be made here. On a national level, numbers on roll between 5 and 15 increased by some 60,000 pupils but the number of pupils, whose first language was Welsh, decreased by slightly over 6,000 (12.0 per cent). It was gratifying however, to find that in addition to the 11.3 per cent of pupils whose first language was Welsh - this had been 15.0 per cent in 1950 - another 6.6 per cent could speak the language with varying degrees of fluency.

Cardiganshire had also experienced an increase in its 11 - 15 age group since 1950 - 99 in Primary Schools and 200 in Secondary Schools. There had been a decline, however, in the number of pupils whose first language was Welsh in the age group amounting in total to 685 - a drop of 14.0 per cent in the primary sector and 13.1 per cent in the secondary. On the other hand, English-speaking pupils had increased by 984 - an increase of almost 62.0 per cent in the Secondary Schools and of almost 45.0 per cent in the
Primary Schools. Only about 60.0 per cent of pupils in the Primary Schools and about the same amount in the Secondary Schools had Welsh as their first language, although, according to the survey, 78.2 per cent of the pupils had the ability to speak the language with a varying degree of fluency.

Certain areas of the County indicated a definite decline in the position of the Welsh language. Schools situated along the coast showed this tendency to a marked degree, as had been the case for many years previously. A new situation, however, had developed, and this was that English immigrants had found homes in remote rural areas and the process of anglicisation of country districts was well in progress.

For the Special Meeting of the Education Committee held on 7th September 1962, the Director of Education, Dr. J. Henry Jones, had prepared a special booklet entitled Welsh Language Survey, 1961 which contained details, not only of the W.J.E.C's most recent survey, but also details of language surveys carried out in the County since 1945. The Tivyside Advertiser carried a full report of the Committee. It summarized the Director's comments regarding the position of Welsh in various areas of the County and quoted his challenge to Committee:

'It is for the Committee to decide how far they are prepared to go in an endeavour to arrest the decline of Welsh and how firm their support is going to be for teachers whose Welsh policy in their schools might arouse opposition. Lines of approach can be suggested through school organisation and curriculum, but the obvious essential question is one of prestige. It might be possible for the Education Committee itself to consider means of improving the status of Welsh if such is its desire'. (35)
Of the members who took part in the discussion which followed only one, according to the report in the Tivyside Advertiser, namely Councillor J. Leighton Davies, who described himself as a non-Welsh-speaking Welshman, spoke against a bilingual policy. The others felt that the report should be accepted as a challenge and that there should be an effective response to it from all quarters. The report was referred to the Language Committee for suggestions on further lines of advance. (36)

When the Language Committee met on 14 November 1962, the Director of Education drew attention of members to the need to define the Authority's language policy, to consider at what age a child should normally be introduced to his second language and what standard of attainment should reasonably be expected of a child in his second language by the time he sat the Allocation Test. The streaming of pupils on a linguistic basis in Secondary Schools, the use of Welsh as a medium of instruction at the secondary stage and the place of Welsh in the curriculum of Colleges of Further Education also needed consideration, as well as ways of giving the Welsh language prestige through its use in the administration of the educational system.

The Language Committee decided to recommend that the age at which the second language was to be introduced should be left to the discretion of the Headteachers, as each school had its own individual problem. The course, 'Early Stages in Welsh', produced by the B.B.C. should be followed by the schools, and this gave an indication of the standard of attainment that could reasonably be expected by a learner of the language by the time he reached eleven years of age. By 15, pupils should have gained sufficient fluency in their second language, be it Welsh or English, for everyday use. The Committee also advocated the greater use of the Urdd magazine
Cymraeg in primary schools and that the Authority should provide the schools with language-teaching aids like record players and tape recorders.

At the secondary stage, it was felt that there should be intensive training in Welsh and English for first-year pupils with greater emphasis on a person's second language. No foreign language should be introduced at this stage. One subject at least, in addition to Religious Education, should be offered through the medium of Welsh in every Secondary School and the schools should be allowed an extra member of staff for the purpose. Regarding the appointment of teachers to Secondary Schools, the Committee recommended that the qualification 'ability to teach through the medium of Welsh' should replace 'ability to speak Welsh' in the advertisements of posts by the Authority.

The Language Committee felt that the Authority could increase the prestige of Welsh by making greater use of the language in committees and urged that Colleges of Further Education within the County should respond to the need of supplying the Authority with clerical staff with competence in the Welsh language.\(^{(37)}\)

These recommendations were presented to the Education Committee on 24 January, 1963 only to be referred back for further consideration by the Language Committee.\(^{(38)}\) The latter did not meet again until 21 October 1964 and there is no record that the recommendations of the previous committee were again discussed.

On 25 April 1963, the Education Committee considered a letter from the authorities of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Menevia applying that the St. Padarn's Convent Independent School, Aberystwyth be granted L.E.A. 'Aided status.\(^{(39)}\) The school at the time provided education for boys and girls of primary-school age.
and secondary education for girls only. The secondary section of the school was due for closure, but it was hoped to maintain the junior section as an Aided Primary School. In the event of Aided status being granted, the Church authorities would have to provide a building which conformed to the requirements of the Department of Education and Science, the L.E.A. would have to accept responsibility for staffing, furniture, equipment, books, heating and lighting, while the Department of Education and Science would provide for dining and playing facilities. It was estimated at the time that the L.E.A.'s commitment would amount to around £15,000 but this did not include costs in connection with school meals. After the matter was referred to a sub-committee for consideration in depth, the Authority decided to refuse Aided status to the School and informed the Department of Education that pupils from the Convent School could continue their education in the Primary Schools of the County.

The Church authorities, however, had a strong case for aided status to their school at Aberystwyth, and it was such that the Department of Education and Science could not well disregard it. Denominations had the right to establish Aided Schools under the Education Act 1944, and in the absence of agreement with the L.E.A., they were entitled to issue Section 13 Notices for the establishment of an aided school without such agreement. The Church authorities were able to show that the proposed Primary School would be a viable unit. There were already 84 pupils - 48 Catholic pupils and 36 non-Catholic pupils - of primary-school age at the Convent, and it was alleged that more Catholic pupils would attend if fees were not payable. There were 25 Catholic pupils attending the town schools at Aberystwyth but their parents could not afford to pay their fees at the Convent School. The Church authorities were confident that an Aided Primary School at the Convent would be a unit of around 100
pupils and the building could accommodate this number. Furthermore, the Convent authorities were prepared to comply with the D.E.S. building regulations, and in their negotiations with the L.E.A., they had indicated readiness to conform to the County's language policy and enter into an agreement regarding the admission of non-Catholic pupils to the School.

The Cardiganshire L.E.A. was faced with a dilemma. The granting of aided status to the Convent School obviously entailed extra expenditure to the Authority of some £5,000 per year initially, and the costs of maintaining the School would escalate with the passage of time. But in 1964 and 1965, the numbers on roll in the Aberystwyth schools were increasing, and Aberystwyth C.P. School, which would have to absorb pupils from the Convent if that school closed, was already overcrowded. The choice, therefore, was between maintaining the Convent as an Aided Primary School or the provision of extra accommodation at the Authority's existing schools. The former solution was the one recommended by the Department of Education and Science to the L.E.A., and, in view of this advice given in a letter dated 1st June 1965, the Education Committee on 28 October 1965, accepted the advice of its Reorganisation Committee on 22 July 1965 to grant aided status to the Convent School. Amongst the provisos with regard to this decision, was the one that adequate provision should be made for the teaching of Welsh at the School.

While the granting of aided status to the St. Padarn's Convent School was under consideration, the parents of the School were in dispute with the Cardiganshire L.E.A. over the use of Welsh in the Allocation Test which all pupils at the Convent would have to sit when the senior section closed in 1965. Reference has already been made to the new form of test established by the Authority in 1951,
and how an essay paper of 30 marks was subsequently introduced to be written in the main language of the pupil. The position in 1964, when the dispute arose, was that two main papers were offered in either the Welsh or English language and 100 marks were allotted to this paper. As the main test in Welsh was not standardised, a balancing factor was applied to equalise the overall results, and, in addition, the Authority operated a bonus system of marks in respect of pupils who had moved in to the County within three years of sitting the Allocation Test to compensate for their lack of facility in Welsh. Thus if a pupil had been in a local school for one year, a bonus of 15 marks were awarded, for two years' attendance only there was a bonus of 10 marks, and, in the case of three years' attendance, 5 extra marks were allowed. The general school record of the pupil was also taken into account, and with a 50 per cent intake to the Grammar Schools of the County, experience had shown that the failure of an English-speaking child to gain admission was invariably due to his lack of performance in his main paper and not due to the lack of marks in his supplementary paper in Welsh. The Authority, therefore, insisted that even in 1965, pupils from the Convent School had to abide by the normal procedure of allocating pupils to Grammar Schools; indeed pupils from the school had successfully sat the Allocation Test over the years and had been tutored in Welsh for the purpose.

Unhappy with the Authority's decision in this matter, a group of parents whose children would sit the test in 1965 sought the advice of the Secretary of State for Education, in-the-matter. Their particular grievance was that their children were being subjected to unfair competition for entrance to a Grammar School, inasmuch as Welsh had been a compulsory subject at the Convent for one year only. They also expressed general dissatisfaction with the language
policy of the County which enforced the study of Welsh up to O-level in the Grammar Schools and in grammar streams of Bilateral Schools. All this, they felt, was contrary to Section 76 of the Education Act regarding parental choice; it offended the Common Law concepts of natural justice; it was contrary to the declaration of principle as to mutual rights as set out in the recommendations of the 1963 Report on the Welsh Language Today by the Council for Wales and Monmouthshire, and, legally, it was felt to be ultra vires.

In his reply, the Secretary of State for Education pointed out that, although he neither had the power to enforce the teaching of Welsh nor the authority to prohibit it, he had the clear duty to encourage L.E.A.s in Wales to include the language in their curriculum and use it as medium of teaching. A balance, however, had to be maintained between the demands of a general education and Welsh needs. Lord Brecon, the Minister of State for Welsh Affairs, in the Lords' debate on the Welsh language on November 26 1958, had stated that while he would find difficulty in upholding a parental objection to the Welsh language when it was included as a subject of a school, a parent had a right of appeal, under the Education Act, to the Minister of Education if an agreement could not be reached with an L.E.A. on a language issue.

Regarding the Report on the Welsh Language Today which recognised the rights of those who were non-Welsh speakers, the Secretary of State drew attention to the section on Primary and Secondary Education paragraphs 380 to 386 which clearly confirmed that the bilingual policy as set out in the 1953 Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, Wales, was the right general framework within which L.E.A.s could operate. Again, regarding the legal connotation of Section 76, Case Law had shown that while Education Authorities were required to consider the wishes of parents,
they were not precluded from taking other factors into account before making a balanced judgement on an educational matter.

Referring to the particular problem of children from the Convent being required to sit the Allocation Test under the same conditions as pupils in the Authority's schools, the Secretary of State reminded the parents that pupils from the school had done so for years, and a good number had gained entrance to a Grammar School.

On 26 June, 1964 the parents presented a petition regarding the Allocation Test to the Authority. It was requested that all primary-school pupils be given the choice of taking either an Intelligence Test or a second-language paper, which, hitherto, had been compulsory. The parents also requested that the language policy of the Authority in its school should be in accordance with the wishes of the parents. The petition was signed by 17 parents.

The Education Committee held on 23 July, 1964 referred the petition to its Examination Board which met on 21 October, and decided as follows:

1. that the children who were now preparing to sit the Allocation Test in 1965 be given no preferential treatment, but that Committee should adhere to county policy and allow these children to sit on the same terms as other children from the county.

11. In the cases of children who would be over the allocation test age when the Convent closed in 1965, the Director was authorised, in close consultation with the Mother Superior and the Headmistress of the Convent, to see the reports of the work of these children and to bring a recommendation as to which School (Grammar or Modern) they should be admitted.
111. to reiterate county policy on the teaching of Welsh to 'O'-level at Secondary School. (44)

The Education Committee confirmed the resolutions of the Examination Board on 29 October, 1964 (45) and Mr. Melvyn Evans, who was acting on behalf of the parents and whose daughter was amongst those due to sit the Allocation Test in 1965, was informed of the decision. This led to a Writ being issued in the name of Mr. Ivor Melvyn Evans on January 26, 1965 against the Authority as follows:

'A declaration that the Defendants are not entitled in the exercise of their powers as Local Education Authority under the Education Act, 1944 to require that the Plaintiff's daughter and other children in like position shall sit a test paper in the use of the Welsh language as a condition of entry into the Defendant's Secondary Grammar School'.

On 12 February, 1965, however, Notice of Discontinuance of the action was issued to enable the then Minister of State for Education, Mr. Reginald Prentice, to consider an appeal on behalf of the parents under Section 68 of the Education Act 1944, which empowered the Minister to restrain a local education authority from acting unreasonably. The case made out against the Cardiganshire Education Committee was that, by compelling pupils at St. Padarn's Convent School to sit a paper in Welsh at the Allocation Test, the Authority was acting unreasonably.

On 2 April, 1965, the Secretary of State conveyed his decision to Mr. Melvyn Evans, the parent representative. In his letter, the Secretary of State pointed out that the control of the curriculum of the schools was in the hands of individual local authorities, and that a Secretary of State would be very reluctant to intervene in curricular matters, including arrangements for selecting pupils for
secondary education. He felt that it was not unreasonable to include a compulsory paper in Welsh in the Allocation Test in a predominantly Welsh area, and the results of the Allocation Test in Cardiganshire over the previous five years did not seem to indicate an unfair advantage to pupils from Welsh-speaking homes over those from English-speaking homes. The Secretary of State was also able to deduce from evidence received from the school that the children in question would have received two years continuous instruction in Welsh by the time they sat the Allocation Test. After taking all the facts of the case into consideration, the Secretary of State had come to the decision that the Authority had not acted unreasonably in the exercise of its powers, and that he had no grounds for interfering with its decision regarding the Allocation Test under Section 68 of the Education Act 1944.

Following the decision of the Secretary of State, Mr. Melvyn Evans requested the Education Committee to consider further evidence based on replies to a questionnaire circulated to the parents concerned which indicated that the pupils involved had not received tuition in Welsh 'for more than about twelve months' before they were required to sit their test. The Education Committee considered this new evidence at its meeting on 3 June, 1965, but resolved not to alter its previous decision. The 13 pupils from St. Padarn's Convent School, therefore, sat their Allocation Test in the normal way, and the results indicated that a high percentage of them reached a creditable standard in their Welsh paper.

It was inevitable that a case of such importance as this should have been given publicity at the time in the press. The Times on 30 January, 1965 dealt with the matter under the heading 'Writ over Welsh Test Paper'. The correspondent regarded the action taken by the parents as a test case to be resolved by the courts, and the
precise wording of the Writ was quoted. On 10 August, 1965, the Western Mail reported on the Secretary of State's dismissal of the appeal presented by the parents. In an interview, Mr. Melvyn Evans had denied to the reporter that the appeal was against the bilingual policy of the Authority as such, but against one facet of it namely, 'the inherent injustice of making a child who has received instruction in Welsh only at school compete in the second language paper of the English 11-plus on equal terms with children who are bilingual by reason of their home environment'. Mr. Evans alleged that the Secretary of State's refusal to interfere with the decision of the Authority under Section 68 of the Education Act 1944 was no indication that he approved of the examination system of the Cardiganshire Education Committee. The delay in coming to a decision on the matter had forced the parents to abandon their intention of proceeding with the Writ, for, by the time the Secretary of State's reply was received, the Allocation Test was pending.

Although the dispute was not resolved in the courts, this was in a real sense a test case, and the decision of the Secretary of State not to interfere in a curricular matter was of significance not only to the Cardiganshire Education Committee but also to all other education authorities as well. The case had also indicated that parental choice under Section 76 of the Education Act 1944 was not absolute, and that education authorities were entitled to take factors in addition to parental wishes into consideration in making their decisions. Finally, the Secretary of State had ruled that it was not unreasonable for a local education authority to include a study of Welsh as a necessary element in the curriculum of its schools, and set a suitable paper in that subject in its Allocation Test for secondary education.

Even before the dispute with the parents of St. Padarn's...
Convent School had arisen, the future of the Allocation Test in Cardiganshire had been under consideration. At a Joint Meeting of the Reorganisation Committee and the Examination Board on 1 January, 1964, the Director of Education reported on a meeting he had held with the various teaching organisations within the County; very little criticism had been levelled at the nature of the test, although references had been made to the cramping effect of an Allocation Test on school work and the possible injustice resulting from a one-day test, which could be avoided if a system of continuous assessment of pupils could feature in the allocation procedure. The Joint Committee decided to retain selection, defer consideration of an alternative method until a scheme was put forward by the Director of Education.

The issuing of Circular 10/65 on 'The Reorganisation of Secondary Education' by the Department of Education and Science on 12 July, 1965 gave an impetus to the Authority to abolish the Allocation Test in its existing form and devise alternative means of selecting pupils for grammar-school education pending the reorganisation of all its secondary schools on comprehensive lines. On 7 April, 1966, the Reorganisation Committee resolved to agree in principle to the abolition of the Allocation Test and appoint a Sub-Committee to report on possible alternative means of selection.

The Sub-Committee favoured a scheme based on Headteachers' reports which would culminate in an order of merit list dividing pupils into Grammar and Modern categories with a number of borderline cases. Consultations would then be arranged between the Primary and the Secondary Schools before the final selection was made.

In 1968, a new form of selection procedure was adopted for the Aberystwyth and Llandysul districts - the two areas not served by
Comprehensive Schools. The new system was based on teachers' assessments which entailed the presentation of a profile on each pupil to be transferred to a Secondary School as well as the administration of the 'Dee-Side Non Verbal Intelligence Test'. This had the advantage of having bilingual instructions for the pupil, and of having been standardised in Welsh Wales. This form of selection, which also involved consultations between the primary and secondary sectors, was continued in the Aberystwyth district until comprehensive education was introduced in 1973, and is likely to be continued in the Llandysul district until the reorganisation of secondary education is effected.

Following its dispute with the parents of St. Padarn's School, Aberystwyth, the Education Committee on 28 October, 1965 considered the advisability of producing a statement of the Authority's language policy for distribution to parents when their children were admitted to school and referred the matter to the Language Committee. The agreed statement, approved by the Efficiency Committee on 23 June, 1966 and confirmed by the Education Committee on 28 July, 1966 read as follows:

Declaration of Policy on Language

The County has declared firmly for a bilingual policy in its schools. This aims at producing pupils who have a reasonable facility in both Welsh and English by the time they leave school and is the justification for the teaching of both Welsh and English to all pupils up to 'O'-level or to school leaving age, whichever is the later.

Pupils are taught in their mother tongue or the language of the home when they first enter school, and the second language is gradually introduced towards the age of seven, although there is an increasing tendency to introduce the second language earlier but informally with little or no written work. All children are thus taught both Welsh
and English in the Junior classes and schools, and some may be taught both languages at the Infants stage.

This statement was not intended to be a new declaration of policy, but merely a description of the existing language policy as practised by the schools. The reference to the practice in some schools of introducing the second language in Infant Departments, is, however, interesting, for it indicates a return to one of the basic principles advocated by Thomas Darlington in his Memorandum to Headteachers at the time when the Cardiganshire Education Committee formulated its first language policy. It is true that the Language Committee on 14 November 1962, as mentioned above, had recommended that schools should be allowed to introduce the second language, Welsh especially, at the infant-stage, if they thought this was desirable, but the recommendations of this Committee had not been incorporated into a language policy at the time. By 1966, it had become evident that some schools had found it necessary and beneficial to introduce Welsh as a second language through activities at the infant stage and the statement produced by the Authority in that year justified this course of action.

In June 1966, the Education Committee appointed a Primary Schools Adviser, the author of this dissertation, and a responsibility for language policy was included amongst his duties. During 1967, a language survey was conducted in the primary schools of the County and this was timed so that a report on the language situation to the Education Committee would coincide with the appearance of the Gittins Report. The results of the survey will be considered in greater detail in another section of this work, but in general, the report showed that although there had not been a marked decline in the number of Welsh speakers in the primary
schools since 1961 (about 2 per cent), the number of English-speaking pupils in the schools had increased by 430 (23.5 per cent) in six years to form 47.0 per cent of primary school population. The percentage of Welsh speaking pupils had dropped from 77 in 1949 to 58 in 1961 and to 53 in 1967.

Section 4 of the report dealt with the problems facing the schools in implementing the language policy and recommendations were offered to the Education Committee. The report pointed out that in the past, as a result of the demands of the Allocation Test, the schools had given great emphasis on written work in the second language and this had probably been at the expense of giving pupils oral training to attain mastery of the spoken word. Abolishing the Allocation Test would enable teachers to devote more time to the acquisition of oral proficiency by their pupils before written work was undertaken. It was recommended that this change of emphasis should be made clear in a future declaration of language policy. The existing language policy should also be amended so as to give precise instructions to schools regarding the time when the second language was to be introduced so that it became standard practice to give informal lessons in Welsh to English-speaking pupils at the infant stage. The teaching of Welsh and English both as first and second languages effectively was obviously demanding in terms of teaching time, and a balance had to be achieved between the demands of language work and those of other curricular activities. The solution to the problem, it was recommended, was to make as much use as possible of the second language as a medium of teaching. This would not only reduce the time devoted to formal language teaching, but would also add content to language lessons.

English-speaking pupils entering the school at the Junior stage presented a formidable problem in many rural schools at the time.
It was recommended that the Authority should experiment with the establishing of Language Centres where these pupils could be taught Welsh quickly to a standard which would enable them to follow lessons with pupils of their own age at their local school. The need for providing nursery education in the County was also emphasised, and it was recommended that the Authority should grant aid voluntary nursery groups in the meantime.

It was evident at the time that teachers worked to no set syllabus for teaching Welsh as a second language and methods varied a great deal from school to school. It was, therefore, recommended that an agreed scheme of work should be developed and that this be adopted by all primary schools in the County. The necessary resources should then be provided to enable the schools to implement the scheme. In particular it was necessary to increase the quota of teachers and the Department of Education and Science should be approached in the matter.

The report on the language survey was presented to the Education Committee on 25 April 1968. At the same meeting the Chairman, Alderman W. Morgan Davies presented his annual report on educational developments during the previous year, and included in his report was a summary of the Gittins Report prepared by the Director of Education - Dr. J. Henry Jones - who had been a member of the Council that produced the report. The Director highlighted two aspects of the report, namely the position of small schools in the education system and bilingual policy. The report advocated the amalgamation of small schools to form a teaching unit of between 50 and 60 children. These 'area schools', it was suggested, should be conveniently placed, and if possible, they should be purpose built and well provided with facilities to meet the various needs of the child. Regarding language policy, the
report recommended a reclassification of schools on a linguistic basis. Just as in an anglicized area, an Ysgol Gymraeg might be necessary with a corresponding English-medium school, so in rural areas a school whose basic medium was Welsh should be designated an Ysgol Gynradd and another Primary school set up to cater for the needs of English pupils but with provision for teaching Welsh. The report recommended that local education authorities in Wales should consider setting up at least one Bilingual School—a school where the medium of teaching would be English but, Welsh would be introduced early and progressively taught throughout the School.

The Director of Education concluded his summary in these words:

'There is a challenge to education authorities to aim at a full bilingualism and so to an unparalleled revival of the language. It is a good omen that the survey on the language in the schools appears in time for this meeting; it represents a real challenge to Committee to face a situation that cannot be left unchanged.'(55)

At the same meeting a Memorandum was presented from Undeb Cymru Fydd on The Language Problem in the Welsh Primary Schools of Cardiganshire (tr.). This recommended that the Education Committee should support voluntary nursery groups and offer them accommodation in schools where there was spare capacity; that Welsh should be the sole language used in Infant Departments in predominantly Welsh areas and that Language Centres be established within the County to provide crash courses in Welsh for English-speaking pupils who entered the Primary schools at the Junior stage.

The Education Committee decided to call a special meeting to consider the report on the language survey, the Memorandum of Undeb Cymru Fydd and the implications of the Gittins' Report.(56)
The Special Meeting of the Education Committee was held on 27 June 1968 and the Cambrian News carried a report of the discussion on the following Friday, 5 July. The Director of Education in his comments on the Gittins' Report strongly advocated 'a bold policy of providing model schools in the countryside, with the community provision where possible', but his views on the matter were not shared by all members, especially Clr. Mrs. Marie James, Llangeitho, who strongly felt that two-teacher schools should be maintained because of their importance in the life of the people in the rural areas. After a lengthy discussion, the Committee decided to approve of the Gittins' Report and referred it for detailed consideration by the Reorganisation Committee.

Since the time the report on the Welsh Language Survey 1967 had been published and first presented to the Education Committee on 25 April 1968, much publicity had been given to it by the media. The Western Mail on 26 April summarized the report under the title 'Heartbreak' task to save Welsh quoting Mr. A.D. Lewis, headmaster of Ardwyn Grammar School 'the figures in this report make us feel heartbroken. To teachers the situation looks almost impossible.' A shorter account appeared in the South Wales Evening Post at the same time under the title 'Despondency' after language survey. On 2 May, 1968 Y Cymro (The Welshman) referred to the survey under the heading 'Well done Cardiganshire' (tr.) and praised the Authority for coming to grips with the situation, which it pointed out, was not hopeless although some areas had shown disappointing returns from the point of view of the Welsh Language. The Cambrian News quoted figures from the report in its issue of 3 May 1968 under the heading '1,000 fewer pupils with Welsh as first language'. It referred to the percentage decline in the number of Welsh speakers from 77 per cent in 1949 to 53 per cent in 1967 and
to the increase of 1,153 English-speaking pupils since 1949. It also quoted one of the conclusions of the report 'The degree of bilingualism achieved in the primary schools in Cardiganshire falls short of the ideal put forward in the Gittins' Report, and a bold and vigorous language policy is clearly indicated'.

The Director of Education, in giving his full support to the recommendations, stressed that the crux of the solution was "early" and "oral". In the past children had been taught to read and write Welsh at an early age; now children had been taught to speak Welsh at an early age for speech was more fundamental than writing. He suggested that the Committee should approve of the recommendations and refer them to the Language Committee for working out details in implementing them. This course of action was adopted by the Education Committee. It decided:

- to approve of the seven recommendations contained in the Survey and the recommendations of Undeb Cymru Fydd regarding the establishment of centres for the purpose of instituting crash courses in Welsh;
- to refer the whole matter for detailed consideration to the Language Committee for immediate action;
- to recommend that recommendations 1, 3, 4 (Page 23 and 24 of the Survey) be implemented in September 1968, as far as possible;
- to ask that a report be made to the Language Committee
  (a) collating the contents of all reports considered this day;
  (b) clarifying the financial implications in order to implement the other recommendations. *(57)*
Recommendations 1, 3, 4 in the report referred to proposals for a new language policy, the provision of additional teachers and the adoption of an agreed syllabus of work for the teaching of Welsh as a second language by all primary schools in the County.

A supplementary estimate of £4,000 was sanctioned by the County Council in order to employ additional teachers and to cover other expenses in connection with the language policy during the course of that financial year. The Finance Committee, however, was unable on legal grounds to accept the recommendation that voluntary nursery groups should receive financial support from the Authority, but a policy was established that if there existed spare capacity within a school, a voluntary nursery group could be accommodated there free of charge at the request of the parents.

A statement of language policy on the lines suggested in the Report, drafted in the Education Office, was approved by the Language Committee on 24 October 1968 and ratified by the Education Committee on 31 October 1968. It read as follows:

**Declaration of Policy on Language**

The Education Committee has declared firmly in favour of a bilingual policy in its schools. This aims at producing pupils who have reasonable facility in the use of both Welsh and English by the time they leave the primary school and is the justification for the teaching of both Welsh and English to all pupils up to 'O' level or to statutory school-leaving age whichever is the later. In the primary school, great emphasis should be placed on developing a child's oral proficiency in both languages.

As it is an advantage for a child to come into early contact with his second language, every school should present that language in the Infants' Department. This is particularly important when Welsh is the second language as there is a tendency today to hear more English spoken than Welsh outside school. By the junior stage, children should have
gained sufficient mastery over their second language to receive a part of their education through the medium of that language.

This policy applies to all schools in the County.

The Education Committee on the same day approved the setting up of Language Centres in the County and resolved to approve the implementation of a pilot scheme in Lampeter; to set up a Language Panel to advise on the implications of this pilot scheme, and to bear in mind the necessity of having an adequate supply of visual aids comparable to what was available for the teaching of other modern languages, not forgetting the new centre for such aids at Treforest. (63)

The new policy was given publicity by the Cambrian News in its issue of 8 November 1968, and it also quoted the Director's report to the Education Committee that letters received from the Cardiganshire teachers and Parents Association and Undeb Cymru Fydd indicated their support to the new policy. Y Cymro, likewise, in a report under the heading 'Ceredigion in favour of bilingualism' (tr.) on 7 November and in a longer article on 5 December under the title 'Cardiganshire has taken firm hold of the language problem' gave publicity to the new policy, and, in the latter article, reported on the voluntary nursery groups and evening classes in Welsh that had been established recently in various parts of the County.

There were signs by this time, however, that the new policy would generate opposition from some members of the public, especially in Aberystwyth, and, for some time afterwards, the correspondence columns of the Cambrian News carried the debate for and against the policy. The main criticisms expressed were: that Welsh was being forced on all regardless of parental choice; that the policy made Welsh a medium of teaching at the Junior stage in all primary schools; that the policy disregarded the fact that the Borough of Aberystwyth
was a special linguistic area within Cardiganshire and that a policy of compulsory Welsh could have an adverse effect on its future prosperity inasmuch as it could deter business people who had young children from becoming established in the town. Some who wrote letters objecting to the policy were on the staff of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, for example, Mr. Edgar Jones, Dr. P.J. Madgwick and Dr. A.J.H. Carr, while some other members on the same staff like Professor Jac L. Williams, Dr. R.M. Jones and Dr. Philip Edwards wrote in defence of a bilingual policy in the schools. The Cambrian News on 13 December, 1968 carried a report that Cardiganshire's Member of Parliament at the time, Mr. (later Lord) Elystan Morgan supported the Authority's language policy.

Letters for and against the policy were also received at the Education Office, and the Director of Education reported on these to the Education Committee on 30 January, 1969. In a statement on the matter, which was quoted in full in the Western Mail on 31 January 1969, in the Baner ac Amserau Cymru on 6 February 1969, and in the Cambrian News on 7 February, 1969, the Director made three points:

1. There had been no fundamental change from the bilingual policy Cardiganshire had operated for some 50 years;

2. In the light of recent views on the teaching of language, a second language should be taught as early in a child's life as possible. Hence it should start in the Infants school or department but on a purely oral basis.

3. If, as may be hoped, children acquire greater fluency through such early teaching, it would be necessary to give a varied content to the second language lessons at the Junior stage, derived from history or nature study or other areas of the children's interests. Language could not be taught in vacuum.
The Director advised the Committee that its deliberations on that day were bound to some extent by a standing order which forbade any motion to rescind a resolution passed within the preceding six months. Committee could not therefore, on that day, even if it wished, reject what it had adopted in the previous October meeting and the only action possible was to refer the question back to the Language Committee for reconsideration, if such was the wish of the Committee. After a discussion, the Education Committee decided 'to adhere to the Policy but to refer the sentence in the second paragraph .... "By the junior stage, children should have gained sufficient mastery over their second language to receive a part of their education through the medium of that language" back to the Language Committee for clarification and that a detailed report be made on the Authority's proposals to the next meeting of this Committee'.

On 1 May 1969, the Language Committee recommended the following rewording of the sentence in the Language Policy 'During the junior stage, children will gain increasing competence in the second language through its use in the life and work of the school'. This version was approved by the Education Committee on the same day. In clarifying the implications of the new Language Policy, the Deputy Director of Education, Mr. W.J. Phillips, explained that it was not intended to extend the use of Welsh as a medium of teaching pupils whose first language was English. It meant, however, that the time spent on the teaching of Welsh as a second language should be used more effectively by relating the language lessons to the knowledge pupils had gained through their study of geography, history and environmental studies.

The Education Committee, on the same day, considered the recommendation of the Language Committee that Circular 2/69 Wales
issued on 19 March 1969, and entitled 'Welsh in the Primary Schools of Wales' be received, which meant that no action be taken regarding the Circular.\(^{(67)}\) This Circular summarized the conclusions of the then Secretary of State for Education regarding the report Primary Education in Wales (1967) after he had consulted various bodies on the matter. The Circular endorsed the principles set forth in the Gittins Report. Language policies should provide for pupils 'opting out' of Welsh lessons if this was the wish of their parents. Schools in Welsh-speaking areas should be designated 'Welsh Primary Schools', and, where it was impossible to set up separate "Welsh" Schools (Ysgolion Cymraeg) in the more anglicised areas, a system of streaming pupils on a linguistic basis should be adopted. L.E.A.s were encouraged to set up 'bilingual schools' where Welsh would be progressively taught to English-speaking children, and they were recommended to extend their programmes of in-service training with greater use to be made of exchange schemes between teachers and pupils in English - and Welsh-speaking areas.

The Education Committee endorsed the recommendation of the Language Committee that the Circular be received, but referred back to the same Committee the paragraphs regarding exchange schemes and in-service training.\(^{(68)}\) The Language Committee was satisfied that exchange schemes were already being operated in Cardiganshire and that in-service training were already being organised,\(^{(69)}\) and the Education Committee accepted this report on 31 July 1969.\(^{(70)}\)

In the meantime, a Language Centre had been set up in Pfinity-Bedr Primary School, Lampeter, and at the Language Committee on 17 September,\(^{(71)}\) Mr. Emyr Llewelyn Jones presented a full report of his work with the children aged 7 to 9 attending the Centre for the purpose of learning Welsh. He was warmly congratulated on his work at the Centre. The success of the
Language Centre at Lampeter had resulted in an application being received from the Tregaron district that a Language Centre be established in that area. The Language Committee asked Mr. Emyr Llewelyn Jones to establish a Language Centre at Tregaron County Primary School.

At the same meeting, members of the Language Committee considered a letter from the Welsh Education Office concerning the Authority's Language Policy. This letter had been addressed to the Authority on 7 August 1969 following an appeal made to the Secretary of State on behalf of parents in the Aberystwyth area who were concerned about the Cardiganshire Education Committee's statement on language policy and about parental option in regard to the teaching of Welsh. The purpose of the letter from the Welsh Office was to ascertain whether the Authority intended to review their language policy in the light of Circular 2/69.

Previous complaints to the Welsh Office had been submitted by some parents in Aberystwyth regarding the new language policy. Following press reports of meetings in 1968, the parents had complained that there was no provision for opting out of Welsh lessons in Cardiganshire's language policy, and the Authority, in consequence, had been requested to provide the Welsh Office with details of its proposals regarding language teaching in the primary sector. The Authority had pointed out to the Welsh Office at the time that the language policy of 1968 proposed no change except that Welsh was to be introduced in future at the Infant stage. It was not proposed to change the linguistic character of any primary school and the policy did not provide for opting out of Welsh lessons, since this would be impracticable in the schools of Cardiganshire.

During the early months of 1969, the Welsh Office pressed the Authority for reports on whether it had or intended to amend its
language policy in order to meet the wishes of the parents who were opposed to it in its original form. The Authority kept the Welsh Office informed of meetings held to discuss the language policy, but, as stated above, the rewording of the sentence regarding the use of Welsh as a medium of teaching was not decided by the Education Committee until its April meeting. The Authority's letter to the Welsh Office notifying it of this change pointed out that while it was not the intention to change the medium of teaching in English-medium schools, it was intended that there should be more integration between the teaching of Welsh as a second language and other subjects on the curriculum. The Welsh Office was also notified in the same letter that the Authority had noted Circular 2/69 but had not agreed to the principle of opting out in connection with the teaching of Welsh as a subject.

On January 1969 the 'Cardiganshire Education Campaign' was founded, and, according to its policy document, it represented 450 parents, 'drawn mainly from the Aberystwyth district but with a growing membership in other parts of the County'. It had been established 'as a result of general dissatisfaction and apprehension over the County's Declaration of Policy on Language Teaching'. Its members were opposed to compulsion regarding second language teaching irrespective of whether that language was Welsh or English; for compulsion in this context contravened the principle expressed by Clause 76 of the Education Act 1944 that a child should be educated in accordance with the wishes of the parents. A policy of compulsion regarding the teaching of Welsh, the document alleged, would only accelerate the decline of the language and it would also have an adverse effect on the industrial prosperity of the Aberystwyth area. The document called for opportunities to opt out of Welsh at the ages of 5, 7, 11 and 13, but at the same time stressed that the
objectives of the organisation was not anti-Welsh and that there was reason to believe that the majority of the parents who belonged to it would not opt their children out of Welsh lessons if freedom of choice were granted by the Authority.

As already indicated, the letter which the Authority received from the Welsh Office on 7 August 1969 followed an appeal which had been made on behalf of 450 parents in the Aberystwyth area. The Welsh Office had noted that the Education Committee had not agreed to the principle of opting out of Welsh as a subject as recommended in Circular 2/69, but the Secretary of State, in considering appeals would have regard to this principle together with the steps the Authority had taken in order to meet the wishes of parents. When this letter was considered by the Language Committee on 17 September, it was decided to request the Welsh Office to receive a deputation from the Authority in order that various matters concerning the policy could be clarified. In particular, the Authority required clarification on the apparent discrepancy between what was stated in Wales Circular 2/69 and what had been regarded as curriculum matters falling within the powers of the Authority under Section 23 of the Education Act 1944 and the Articles of Government of a School. The basic question was whether Circular 2/69 had legal significance. Then there was the Ombudsman's decision on Case No.C.620/68 - Compulsory lessons in Welsh. The complaint had been against the Department of Education and Science for refusing to interfere with the decision of a Headmaster of a Secondary School in a Welsh-speaking area to refuse permission to an English-speaking pupil to opt out of lessons in Welsh. The Ombudsman had upheld the decision of the Department of Education and Science on account that the case involved a curriculum matter, and, as such, was subject to the Articles of Government of the School which had been approved by the Secretary of State.
The meeting at the Education Office for Wales, Cardiff took place on 14 October 1969 and was attended on behalf of the Cardiganshire L.E.A. by Alderman H.H. Roberts, Miss Cassie Davies, Mr. T. Llew Jones, Mr. D.A. Lewis (Headmaster of Ardwyn Secondary School), Professor Jac L. Williams, Mr. W.J. Phillips (Deputy Director of Education) and Mr. D.G. Williams (Primary Adviser).

During the meeting, officers of the Department offered a clarification on problems raised by the Authority. It was stated that while Section 23(1) of the Education Act 1944 placed the curriculum under the control of the local education authorities, other sections of the Act brought education authorities under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State. Section 76 required education authorities to take account of the wishes of parents; Section 68 allowed the Secretary of State to intervene if he felt that a local authority was exercising its powers unreasonably, and Section 8 imposed a duty on local authorities to provide sufficient school to provide for the varying needs of pupils. If there was a substantial demand for parental option, the Secretary of State might conclude that the Authority was not meeting its obligations under Section 8 by not providing for the needs of their children. This applied, not only in the case of Welsh, but in connection with any curricular matter.

Regarding the Gittins Report, it was stressed by the Department that those who produced it had the interest of the Welsh language at heart and they had been unanimous in their opinion that provision for opting out of Welsh was desirable. Circular 2/69 had embodied the same principle, and in the debate on the Gittins Report in the Welsh Grand Committee, members of all parties had spoken in favour of a bilingual policy but against compulsion.

The Authority’s representatives stressed the difficulties of providing for pupils who opted out of Welsh lessons - insufficient
accommodation, lack of teachers, and problems of organisation - and also pointed out that, if Welsh became an optional subject, it would lose priority with English in the schools of the Authority.

The Department suggested that the Authority should examine closely the nature and extent of the problem and identifying the areas where it occurred. It seemed that it was necessary for the Authority to make a review of its language policy taking into account the linguistic nature of each area and also the wishes of the parents. The Department, in turn, had to consider the appeals already in hand from parents and this would be done in the light of proposals on the part of the Authority to review its existing policy. It was suggested that the Authority should take early steps to meet the group of parents in Aberystwyth calling themselves the Cardiganshire Education Campaign to see whether there was practical means of meeting their problems.

A full report on the visit to Cardiff was presented to the Language Committee on 20 November 1969 when it was decided that the Director of Education should invite the Cardiganshire Education Campaign to appoint not more than five representatives to meet the Chairman of the Education Committee and certain officers to discuss matters arising from their correspondence with the Department of Education and Science. This was confirmed by the Education Committee on 29 January 1970.

On 20 February 1970 a meeting was held between representatives of the Cardiganshire Education Campaign and representatives of the Cardiganshire Education Committee. The Campaign was represented by Dr. Alec Carr (Chairman), Dr. John Hughes (Vice-Chairman), Mrs. Ethel Horner (Secretary), Dr. H. Heller, and Mr. P. Madgwick. Representing the Cardiganshire Education Committee were Alderman W. Morgan Davies (Chairman), Dr. J. Henry Jones (Director of Education)
and Mr. D.G. Williams (Primary Adviser).

Dr. Alec Carr presented a statement on behalf of his Association indicating that 'although certain features of the revised Declaration issued in May 1969 (notably, the withdrawal of any implications of bilingual-medium instruction) are not unacceptable to our members; in our view the present policy does not go far enough towards meeting our objections, in that no provision is made for the exercise of parental option in Welsh language teaching'. The statement urged the Education Committee to consider this matter in the light of the Gittins Report and Circular 2/69 at its next meeting. After a full discussion of the matter, the Chairman of the Education Committee promised that a report would be made to his Committee at its next meeting.

The Education Committee on 21 May 1970 considered a report on the meeting with the Cardiganshire Education Campaign in the presence of a number of members of the Association. After a discussion, it was resolved 'to adhere to the County's present policy, subject to a review in two years time'.

On 16 July 1971, the Secretary of State for Wales, the Right Honourable Peter Thomas who, with the change of Government, had succeeded the Right Honourable George Thomas to the post, delivered an address to the annual meeting of the Welsh Joint Education Committee at Llandudno. During the course of his address, the Secretary of State dealt with the teaching of Welsh. After pledging his support 'to ensure that the use of Welsh in our schools is fostered and developed in a sensible way', he made it clear that the control of the curriculum was in the hands of the local education authority; the central government could advise "but it is up to the local authorities and school governors, in consultation with teachers and parents, to decide what is taught and how it is taught". In his
position as Secretary of State, it was not his intention to "restrict the freedom of local education authorities in formulating bilingual policies which are in keeping with the linguistic characteristics of their areas". But it was his firm belief 'that parents should be free to choose whether or not their children should learn Welsh in school, provided this is compatible with the efficient organisation of the curriculum and the avoidance of unreasonable public expense'. This, he felt, was "especially important at the secondary stage when choice of subject can be of great significance for the individual pupil".

The Secretary of State stressed the need for devoting resources to the teaching of Welsh as first language, and to improving methods of introducing Welsh as a second language, and, in this context referred to the work done by the Schools Council, the National Language Unit at Treforest as well as the Welsh Books Council, Urdd Gobaith Cymru and the publishing schemes of the Welsh Joint Education Committee. He also paid tribute to Undeb Rhieni Ysgolion Cymraeg for its enthusiasm in establishing bilingual schools.

Referring to school building programmes in Wales, the Secretary of State declared that a generous allocation of money had been made available for the replacement of 19th century primary schools and praised those local education authorities who were engaged in reorganising primary education in areas of declining population. He also urged authorities to prepare 'a coherent programme based on the replacement priorities of all the old schools in their areas that will be required in the long term'.

The speech touched on many aspects that were relevant to Cardiganshire at the time - opting out of Welsh lessons, the reorganisation of small schools and the establishing of bilingual schools. The Cardiganshire L.E.A. had already considered a
comprehensive plan drawn up in 1970\(^{(77)}\) for the amalgamation of primary schools either in existing but modernised buildings or in purpose-built area schools. *Wales Circular 3/69* had indicated that resources would be made available to implement such schemes and the Secretary for Wales's speech at Llandudno reiterated this promise. Strong opposition to school closures had, however, developed by this time in Cardiganshire, and, as will be indicated in another section of this work, the proposed scheme was rejected by the Education Committee except that a new area school was built at Llangybi to replace five small schools in the Lampeter district. The plan drawn up in 1970 was naturally meant to be implemented over a period of years under building programmes approved by the Central Authority, but it is now clear that, even if there had been no opposition to proposals for amalgamation, little headway could have been made in this respect with the restrictions on capital expenditure imposed during the seventies and eighties. It has to be pointed out that Dyfed, no more than Cardiganshire, has not yet been able to find a satisfactory solution to the problem of small rural schools.

There was greater unanimity, however, in 1971 regarding the need for reorganising Secondary education in the Aberystwyth district on comprehensive lines, where a separate Grammar School (Ardwyn) and Modern School (Dinas) existed. The Authority, since 1967, had been unsuccessful in its bid for an allocation to proceed with this reorganisation, but the Secretary of State's pronouncements regarding a more generous release of funds for building programmes in his Llandudno address augured well for the Authority. Those who hoped that a Bilingual Secondary School could be established at Aberystwyth as a part of the secondary reorganisation could draw hope from the praise the Secretary of State had given to the efforts of parents in helping to establish Bilingual Secondary Schools. The Cardiganshire
Education Committee had by July 1971 responded to the demands of parents in the Aberystwyth area for such a school by ascertaining the strength of that demand through the circulation of a questionnaire. On finding that the demand was substantial, the Authority had, on 28 May 1971, approved the recommendation of the Development Committee held on 29 April "that the Education Committee should establish within the Campus situated on the Erw Goch site, a Bilingual School sharing facilities, where necessary" (77).

A separate chapter will be necessary to relate how a Bilingual Secondary School was finally established at Aberystwyth in the buildings of the former Ardwyn Grammar School to be known as Penweddig and how the former Dinas Secondary School was extended to accommodate the English-medium comprehensive school to be known as Penglais, but it is important to note here that all this was accomplished as a result of the language policy of the County. The efforts of the Authority to provide for the varying needs of pupils at the secondary stage in the Aberystwyth area were to have an effect on the decision of the Secretary of State in the dispute between the Authority and the Cardiganshire Education Campaign.

On 21 July 1971, the Cardiganshire Education Campaign drew the attention of the Education Committee to the remarks of the Secretary of State at Llandudno regarding language policies and, in particular, to the need for local education authorities to ensure their policies were flexible and acceptable to teachers and parents. This letter from the Chairman of the Campaign stated "This Campaign is firmly of the opinion that implementation of the Committee's proposals for secondary reorganisation would, by offering full opportunity for bi-lingual and bi-lingual medium education to all who desire it, remove any remaining justification for compulsion at any stage of the education process". The Campaign requested that the
When the Education Committee considered this letter at its meeting on 29 July, it asked the Director of Education to provide each member for the next meeting with a full text of the Secretary of State’s address at Llandudno, and at its meeting on 28 October, referred the matter for comment by the Development Committee. On 27 January 1972, the Education Committee approved the recommendation of the Development Committee held on 24 November ‘that, in view of the fact that the Authority’s proposals for a Bilingual Secondary School at Aberystwyth were now under consideration by the Secretary of State, Committee felt that it was in their interest to defer consideration of Language Policy at this stage’.

In the meantime the Cardiganshire Education Campaign had announced their intention of appealing to the Parliamentary Commissioner (Ombudsman) to intervene in the dispute between them and the County Education Authority over the question of option in the teaching of Welsh in Schools and also to appeal against the proposals to build a separate Bilingual School at Aberystwyth. According to the Cambrian News on 12 November 1971, these decisions had been made at the Campaign’s annual meeting held the previous Monday. The Chairman (Mr. Alec Carr) had explained to the meeting how the efforts of the Campaign to secure parental option in the teaching of Welsh had met with no success, and how correspondence with the Department of Education and Science had not brought a decision from the Secretary of State in the matter. Dr. Carr felt ‘that after 12 months’ correspondence with Mr. (Peter) Thomas and no decision one way or another, the time must surely have come to call the Ombudsman, to investigate an alleged dereliction of ministerial duty by the Secretary of State’. The Education Committee was also criticised for its lack of response to the Campaign’s repeated requests.
for parental choice in the matter of language teaching. 'Such was the consideration given to the Campaign's proposals', stated Dr. Carr, 'that it led many people to believe the Education Committee was the political wing of the Welsh Language Society'.

On 13 March 1972, the Daily Telegraph reported that the Ombudsman (Sir Alan Marre) had agreed 'to investigate complaints that parents are still waiting for a ruling on an appeal they lodged 22 months ago'. The appeal, which was 'against the decision of the local education authority that Welsh can be compulsory taught up to O-level' had been sent to the Department of Education and Science in the last months of the Labour Government. The Conservatives took over with Mrs. Thatcher as Secretary of State for Education and, later, education in Wales came under Mr. Peter Thomas as Welsh Secretary. In an interview with the Reporter, Dr. Alec Carr had stated 'Despite a constant stream of letters and replies, we have never had an answer to the legal appeal we made on behalf of our members - we felt this constituted maladministration by a government department, and asked our M.P. (Mr. Elystan Morgan) to raise the question with the Ombudsman'.

On 20 June 1972, the long-awaited decision of the Secretary of State was conveyed to the Chairman of Cardiganshire Education Campaign. The letter indicated that the complaint had been received in May 1970 and that it concerned the decision of the Cardiganshire Education Committee to make the teaching of Welsh compulsory in all their schools up to G.C.E. 'O' level regardless of the wishes of the parents. The Secretary of State had intended to give a decision at the time he made a declaration of his views on language teaching in his Llandudno address, but, at that time, the Authority had decided to publish Section 13 Notices for a scheme of reorganisation in Aberystwyth involving the establishment of a separate bilingual
comprehensive, and this had made him decide to postpone his decision since the proposed reorganisation was so closely linked with the complaint of the Campaign.

The Secretary of State re-iterated what he had said at Llandudno regarding curriculum matters being the responsibility of the local education authorities and that the central government merely had an advisory role in the matter. When he had therefore voiced an opinion regarding opting out of Welsh lessons, he had done so in an advisory capacity.

Consideration had been given to the appeal under Section 76 of the Education Act 1944 and it had to be acknowledged that operating a policy of opting out would be impracticable in the majority of the Authority's schools and that, in the larger schools, the Authority had introduced linguistic streaming, while, in Aberystwyth itself, separate primary schools had been established. If the proposal to establish a bilingual comprehensive school in Aberystwyth materialised, the Authority would have gone a long way to meet the linguistic wishes of a large number of parents in the area. In view of all this, the Secretary of State concluded that he could not accept that the Authority had exercised its Section 23 powers unreasonably. He hoped, however, that when the Authority re-examined its language policy, it would have regard to the advice he had given to local authorities at Llandudno. A Press release of the decision was made on 21 June 1972.

On 22 July 1972, the Cardiganshire Education Campaign wrote to the Authority urging it to take heed of the advice expressed in the letter of the Secretary of State especially with regard to choice at the secondary stage. At the next meeting of the Education Committee on 27 July, 1972 the statement by the Secretary of State for Wales together with Dr. Carr's letter were referred to the
Development Committee to which Headmasters of Secondary Schools were also to be invited to attend. (81) This meeting was held on 19 October 1972 when it was decided to recommend as follows to the Education Committee regarding the language policy:

I. The members were of opinion that while the present policy should continue, the degree of flexibility which has been hitherto allowed in practice, should be stated, and that within the discretion of Headmasters and Governing Bodies, the following categories of pupils should not of necessity receive instruction in a second language:

(a) those pupils who were ascertained as suffering from learning difficulties;

(b) those pupils who move into the Authority's Secondary Schools at a late stage in their education;

II. There was need for additional resources to carry out the policy effectively. (82)

These recommendations were approved by the following Education Committee on 26 October 1972 with only two members, Councillor Eric Slater (Aberystwyth) and Councillor Ben Jones (Llanllwchaearn) dissenting. (83) The debate in Committee was reported in the Cambrian News on 3 November 1972 under the heading 'Welsh Policy Endorsed'.

Although the Cardiganshire Education Campaign was unhappy with this resolution and again approached the Secretary of State in the matter, the Authority did not give further consideration to its language policy and never operated a policy of opting out, except in accordance with the addendum to the general statement as decided by Committee on 20 October 1972. Reports in the press to the effect that the policy on the teaching of Welsh had been endorsed, aroused no lively response from those who had opposed it in the past in the letter columns, and again from press reports, it seemed that members
of the Cardiganshire Education Campaign had now accepted the fact that the Education Committee was unlikely to relent in the matter of compulsory Welsh teaching in its schools. They felt, however, that time could be on their side, for in 1974 Cardiganshire would hand over its powers as an Education Authority to Dyfed County Council, and this could bring about a change in the language policy.

It was fitting that the Authority finally endorsed its language policy on the last appearance of Dr. J. Henry Jones at the Education Committee before his retirement as Director of Education after a period of service of 28 years. On his appointment in 1944, he had been confronted with the task of reorganising the whole educational system of Cardiganshire on the lines of the new Education Act, and, due to his insight, the system that had been developed by 1972 was the pride of the Education Committee. He championed a bilingual policy which he was called upon to defend on many occasions. The endorsement of that policy on his last appearance in the council chamber was a personal triumph.

Dr. Jones was succeeded in his post as Director of Education by his able Deputy, Mr. W.J. Phillips. Although by the end of October 1972, there were only 18 months remaining before the new Dyfed Authority would assume power, Cardiganshire Education Committee accomplished a great deal in that time in connection with its language policy.

Both the Plowden and Gittins Reports had advocated a large expansion of pre-school education, but it was not until 1968, with the initiation of the Urban Aid Programme, that the recommendations of these reports could be put into effect. In 1970, the National Union of Teachers conducted a survey of pre-school provision in Wales and produced a pamphlet entitled Nursery Education in Wales. According to this pamphlet, there were in 1969-70, 2,153 children of
2-4 years of age in Cardiganshire, and, of these, only 5.8 per cent were receiving nursery education in voluntary classes or playgroups. There were no nursery classes under the control of the Education Committee, although voluntary units, under the control of the Social Service Department of the County Council, were allowed to use spare rooms and spare furniture in local primary schools.

On 8 June 1972 a joint meeting of officers of Social Services, Health and Education was held to consider ways of establishing nursery units and of giving assistance to voluntary nursery groups. It was decided that the Director of Social Services should present plans to his committee for a scheme which would be operated under the aegis of his Department. This scheme would allow grants in respect of rental premises, heating and lighting, as well as an allowance of £250 for initial equipment and an annual allowance of £50 for those groups already in existence. An additional allowance would be payable in respect of handicapped pupils.

It was also recommended that the Authority should submit an application for the provision of nursery units attached to primary schools under the Urban Aid Programme. Circular 98/72 had indicated that authorities could receive a 75 per cent grant on approved expenditure for building new nursery schools and units under this Programme, the Joint Committee recommended that submissions should be made to the Department of Education and Science in respect of Llandysul, Llan-non, Cardigan and Penparcau.

The recommendations of the Joint Committee were approved by the various committees except that it was decided that Lampeter should replace Llan-non on the priority list. (84)

On 31 January 1973, Circular No. 39/73 (Welsh Office) on 'Nursery Education' was issued. This informed local education authorities that the government intended to expand nursery education
provision and it invited authorities to plan its programmes accordingly. On 16 March, 1973 the Development Committee considered the contents of the Circular and decided to resubmit an application to the Department of Education and Science for nursery units at Llandysul, Lampeter, Cardigan and Penparcau (the first application had been unsuccessful) and also to add Llan-non to the list. It was also resolved to request an allocation to remodel the old Aberaeron C.P. School and the existing Rhydypennau C.P. School, when the school moved to a new building, for use as nursery units and the Director of Education was requested to present a report on possible provision of nursery education in other areas of the County. These recommendations were approved by the Education Committee held on 1 May, 1973.

On the same day (1 May 1973), the Education Committee approved the recommendations made by the Development Committee earlier in the day. These were that nursery education should include provision for the three to four-year olds on a part-time basis and for those between four and five years of age on a full-time basis subject to the parents' consent.

Committee also approved a scheme for the second phase of expansion of its nursery education and units were to be provided at Borth, Tal-y-bont, Penrhyn-coch, Aberystwyth Primary, Llanfarian, Comins Coch, Pen-llwyn and Aber-porth. All schools being built at the time, (Cwmpadarn, Llangybi, Llanilar and Llandygwydd) and those due for remodelling or replacement were to be provided with suitable accommodation for nursery pupils. Regarding Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth, it was decided to recommend to the Estates Committee that new premises be provided which would then provide for nursery education. At a subsequent meeting of the Development Committee (1 June 1973), the minutes of which were approved by
the Education Committee on 26 July 1973, it was decided 'to recommend as a matter of principle that there should be adequate provision for bilingual teaching at those nursery units set up under the aegis of the Education Committee' and further 'that the Director of Education be empowered to appoint nursery teachers with a sound knowledge of Welsh for the units to be established at Rhydypennau and Aberaeron'.

The first nursery unit to function was that at Rhydypennau and it was followed by that at Aberaeron and another at New Quay. Since it had been foreseen that no large-scale nursery provision could be made immediately, the Education Committee on 26 July 1973 had approved a recommendation of the Development Committee (1 June 1973) that at the discretion of Headteacher, pupils under 4 could be admitted to school.

With the prospect of expansion of nursery education in the County, the Education Committee approved that a teacher, Miss B. Juliana H. Davies, be seconded to research into matters relating to nursery education and Miss Davies took up her duties on 1 January 1974. In addition to her research work on behalf of the Authority, Miss Davies also provided advice to schools on nursery and infant education and worked closely with voluntary nursery groups, which were by then grant aided.

Two other appointments which had a bearing on the language policy were also made. The importance of Teachers' Centres for curriculum development and in-service training had become evident. It was at these Centres that the language policy, for instance, had been discussed with teachers and courses on the teaching of Welsh had been held. When they were set up, it had been agreed that they should be run under the direction of the teachers themselves with the minimum of control by the Authority's officer who had over-
all charge of them. As the work of the main Centre at Felin-fach increased, the Authority agreed to second a teacher to act as Warden, and Mr. J.E. Morris, Headteacher of Penparcau Junior School, was seconded to the post. \(^{(93)}\) Clerical assistance was also provided at the Centre and an honorarium was paid for the duties performed by teachers who acted as Wardens of the sub-centres at Aberystwyth, Cardigan and Llandysul. On 26 July 1973, the Education Committee accepted the recommendation of the Primary Education Committee held on 21 June 1973, that the post of Warden at Felin-fach should become a permanent one and teachers in service be invited to apply for the post. \(^{(94)}\) On 22 October 1973 the Primary Education Committee appointed Mr. J.E. Morris to the post. \(^{(95)}\) The future of the Centre with a staff of warden, secretary and technician had, therefore, been made secure.

Since 1971, the Authority had been considering the appointment of a Religious Education Officer and meetings between officers and 'Pwyllgor Cyd-Enwadol yr Iaith Gymraeg' (Welsh Language Inter-Denominational Committee) had been held to ascertain how this officer, if appointed, could in addition to performing advisory duties within the schools of the Authority, liaise with Sunday School teachers and offer assistance to them as appropriate. It was appreciated that Sunday Schools were on the wane in Cardiganshire and that this was having an effect on the religious knowledge possessed by young people. The Sunday Schools had also been bastions of the Welsh language and its culture. The appointment of an officer with the two-fold task of revitalising the work of the schools in religious education as well as providing a new impetus to the work of the Sunday Schools, the Authority finally decided, would be an interesting innovation. On 22 October 1973, Miss Eirlys Jones-Lewis was appointed to the post of Liaison Officer between the Authority's Schools and Sunday Schools for
a period of one year and commenced duties on 1 January 1974. Miss Jones-Lewis visited a number of Sunday Schools and held conferences of Sunday School teachers; the Centre at Felin-fach also provided teaching material for the Sunday Schools and loaned them visual aids. At the same time, meetings of teachers were held in order to provide teaching material in the form of work cards for the primary schools.

With the establishment of a Bilingual Secondary School as a result of secondary reorganisation at Aberystwyth which was completed by September 1973, the Authority considered the appropriateness of establishing a similar school in the south of the County. It was known, of course, that the Cardiganshire Education Authority would not see this project through. On May 25 1972, at a meeting of the Development Committee, the Headmaster of Llandysul Grammar (Mr. D. Islwyn Williams, M.Sc.) had enquired about the possibility of setting up a bilingual secondary school in the south of the County, and the matter was referred to the Education Committee, which, on 27 July 1972, decided to ascertain the views of the Governors of Llandysul Grammar School in the matter. On 1 May 1973 the Education Committee received the report that the Governors of Llandysul Grammar School agreed to the setting up of a bilingual secondary school for the south of the County at Llandysul and Committee endorsed the decision. A subsequent meeting of the Education Committee, held on 25 October 1973, resolved to recommend this development to the new Dyfed County Council. A Bilingual Secondary School was not, however, established at Llandysul until September 1984.

On 25 October 1973, the Development Committee requested the Assistant Director of Education to conduct a language survey in the primary schools of the County and present a report as early as
possible. The survey was conducted during December 1973 and a report was presented to the Development Committee on 26 February 1974. A further meeting was held in connection with the report on 22 March so that recommendations could be presented to the final meeting of the Education Committee on 24 March.

The report had encouraging as well as gloomy aspects. It was noted that the population of primary schools had increased by slightly over 700 since 1967 (from 4777 to 5494) - an increase of 672 in the number of English-speaking pupils and an increase of 45 in the number of Welsh-speakers. Small, though this increase was in the number of Welsh-speakers, it was gratifying to note it; for this was the first time for such an increase to be recorded in a language survey since 1949. It was noted with concern, however, that the number of English-speaking pupils had increased by 1104 since 1961 and by 672 since 1967. This had the effect of depressing the percentage of Welsh-speakers in the school population from 58 per cent in 1961 to 53 per cent in 1967 and to 47 per cent in 1973. The position regarding individual schools was that 39 of them showed increases in the number of Welsh-speakers amounting to 382 pupils; the others, however, showed losses which had the effect of suppressing the gains to 45.

The report also showed that the schools were attaining a greater degree of success in teaching Welsh as a second language as compared with what previous reports had indicated. 46 per cent of the pupils of all ages whose first language was English spoke Welsh with various degrees of fluency, and only 18 per cent, again of all ages and including those who were late arrivals at the schools, had no knowledge of Welsh. In the 10-11 age group 39 per cent were reported to be fairly fluent in Welsh and a further 29 per cent could conduct an elementary conversation in the language as well as follow
lessons in that language. It was evident that the new schemes of work and the new methods of teaching Welsh as a second language were having an effect.

The report made recommendations that were adopted by the Development Committee and by the Education Committee. On 27 March, the Education Committee approved that the following recommendations should be brought to the notice of the Dyfed Education Authority:

(1) In view of the evidence in the Report that the new approach to language teaching since 1967 is having effect, it is strongly recommended that the present Language Policy should remain in force. Not only is the Policy in keeping with the linguistic character of the County, it is also the most practicable from the point of view of the schools.

(ii) Cardiganshire Education Committee has already recommended that a Bilingual Secondary School be established in the South of the County. It was now recommended that Dyfed Education Committee should act on the matter with urgency.

(iii) In view of the fact that operating an effective Language Policy in primary and secondary schools demands a more generous allocation of teachers than the present 'quota' for Cardiganshire allows, it is recommended that the Dyfed Education Committee should request the Department of Education and Science to increase the teaching force within the County. Extra teachers are required:

(a) to increase the number of staff in schools where difficult language problems exist;
(b) to extend the use of peripatetic teachers of Welsh in rural schools;
(c) to establish additional 'language centres' for children and adult learners of Welsh; and
(d) to enable secondary schools to continue
the work of the primary schools and teach more subjects than at present through the medium of Welsh. The present teacher-pupil ratio in the Secondary Schools of Cardiganshire compares unfavourably with that in many English counties where problems relating to bilingualism do not exist.

(iv) The Dyfed Authority is urged to continue to provide an annual sum of money in the form of the present 'Bilingual Vote' to enable the Language Adviser to supply primary schools, secondary schools and evening classes with:

(a) Second language schemes of work, for example, those produced by the National Language Unit and the Schools Council.

(b) Suitable books and aids for language teaching.

(v) It is recommended that the present sponsorship of the publications of Urdd Gobaith Cymru by Cardiganshire be continued under the new Authority. These publications prove invaluable in our Schools. Also the practice of grant-aiding pupils attending 'crash-courses' in Welsh at Llangrannog Camp should be retained.

(vi) In view of the importance of the work performed by Teachers' Centres, they should be allowed to continue and their financial provision extended to enable Wardens to continue with their programmes of:

(a) in-service training of teachers;

(b) bringing teachers in primary and secondary schools together to discuss matters relating to the curriculum;

(c) providing repographic service to schools as well as lending them expensive teaching aids.

(vii) The provision of a system of nursery education should
have high priority on the development programme of the Dyfed Education Committee. It is hoped:

(a) that the scheme submitted by Cardiganshire Education Committee to the Welsh Office on the provision of nursery education can be put into effect as early as possible;

(b) that the present practice in Cardiganshire of taking over control of voluntary 'Playgroups' in areas where room is available at the local schools should be continued under Dyfed;

(c) that the new Social Services Department should continue the present policy of Cardiganshire in giving generous financial support to the voluntary 'Playgroups' and that the policy relating to the language of the group and the language of the teachers should be maintained.

The Development Committee on 22 March 1974 also considered a memorandum from 'Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru' (Dyfed Branch) entitled 'Bilingual Secondary Education in the South of the County'. After considering the contents of the report, it was decided to bring the following recommendations to the notice of Dyfed Education Committee:

(i) that the Education Authority should make wide provision for bilingual secondary education throughout Dyfed;

(ii) that bilingual secondary education should become the main pattern for areas where Welsh was spoken generally;

(iii) that immediate steps be taken to implement this pattern in the catchment areas of Llandysul and Newcastle Emlyn;

These recommendations were also approved by the Cardiganshire Education Committee at its last meeting on 27 March 1974. For this,
and the two previous meetings of the Education Committee held on 31 October 1973 and 31 January 1974, the whole Agenda, containing minutes of all its sub-committees, had been prepared bilingually to indicate wholehearted support for the language policy. (105)

The recommendations forwarded to Dyfed County Council showed the concern of the Authority that its bilingual policy should be maintained under a new Council. Some aspects of it had been bitterly fought and jealously guarded in the face of formidable opposition, and there was a natural fear that, under a new Education Authority which embraced such a vast geographical area and differing linguistic backgrounds, the language policy of Cardiganshire could be undermined.

It turned out, however, that Dyfed's language policy formulated in 1978 was a continuation of that operated in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1974, except that South Pembrokeshire, due to its unique linguistic characteristic, was regarded as a special area. Thus the efforts made under the Cardiganshire Education Authority to implement a bilingual policy in all its schools over a seventy-year period had not been in vain.

During the early years of its existence, the Cardiganshire Authority had strived to ensure that Welsh and Welsh studies were to have importance in the curriculum of its schools, and in doing so it had been well supported by the Welsh Education Office through its useful pamphlets and its Inspectors who visited the schools. The aim of the language policy from the beginning was to ensure that pupils achieved as high a standard as possible in Welsh and English and the entrance examinations to the Secondary Schools tested the proficiency of candidates in both languages. A bilingual policy in the schools had become well established long before 1939.

There were significant developments in language policy after 1939 made necessary by an increase in the number of English-speaking
pupils in the schools. One of the most important of these was the
taking over of Ysgol Gymraeg Lluest and establishing it at Alexandra
Road in 1952, thus effecting a reorganisation of the Aberystwyth
primary schools on a linguistic basis. No less significant was the
extension of bilingual provision to the secondary sector by
encouraging teaching through the medium of Welsh and especially by
the establishing of Penweddig Bilingual Comprehensive School at
Aberystwyth. Another important development was the directive given
to primary schools in 1968 to introduce Welsh as a second language
as early as possible through informal methods at the Infant stage
rather than delay this until the child entered the junior department.
This change was in line with educational thought on second language
learning, and it resulted in the schools achieving greater success in
implementing a bilingual policy. The innovation of providing
peripatetic support for rural schools which had to contend with complex
language problems was also of immense importance, not only because
of the valuable assistance the specialist language teachers were able
to render with the schools they visited, but also because this modest
provision in Cardiganshire led under Dyfed to the appointment of
'Athrawon Bro' (Area teachers of Welsh) to serve within the
catchment areas of the Secondary Schools.

It was largely on the basis of these developments that the
Cardiganshire Education Authority had claim to be classed with those
Welsh authorities which pursued enlightened bilingual policies at the
time. But these innovations were merely an expression of the
Education Committee's basic policy from the beginning to promote the
teaching of Welsh in its schools and to ensure that the native
language of the County should be a necessary element in the
curriculum of every child. The Authority's resolute defence of this
policy was no less significant than some of the innovations it
initiated, and an example of this was its determined resistance to an
effort by the Welsh Office to compel it to introduce the principle of
opting out of Welsh lessons into its language policy in accordance
with the recommendations of Circular 2/69. The Authority questioned
the legal force of this document and pointed out the dangers of
applying to an area of the traditional curriculum of a primary school
a principle which was only applicable by law to Religious Instruction.
In his reply to the Aberystwyth parents, the Secretary of State had
to admit that a policy of opting out would be impracticable in
Cardiganshire and exonerated the Authority of the allegations made by
the parents that it was acting unreasonably. At the same time he
clarified the nature of his powers as Secretary of State indicating
that in curricular matters they were merely advisory in character.
Cardiganshire's stand in this matter and the subsequent decision of
the Secretary of State on the complaint from the Aberystwyth parents
were of national import, and it is significant that when Dyfed later
formulated a language policy making Welsh a necessary ingredient of
the curriculum of every primary school child except those in schools
in the traditional English areas of south Pembrokeshire where Welsh
had not been taught in the past, there was no outcry from parents
or comment from the Welsh Office that the Authority had disregarded
Circular 2/69.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to present a general
picture of what the Cardiganshire Education Committee strove to
achieve in the field of bilingual education during the seventy years
it had powers as a Local Education Authority. The following
chapters will be an expansion of some of the aspects that could only
be touched on very lightly in this general survey.
NOTES

1. Minute Book of the Cardiganshire Education Committee 1904 - 6 p.1, in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. This is in typescript, but printed Agenda were provided as from 20 April, 1904. These can be consulted at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth or at the Record Office, Swyddfa'r Sir, Aberystwyth. The Minute Book 1904 - 6 will be referred to in short in the notes as MB, and the printed Agenda as A.

2. Cardiganshire County Council Minutes, 10 November, 1904, p.6. Minutes of the County Council may be consulted at the National Library or at the Record Office, Swyddfa'r Sir, Aberystwyth.

3. The Education Committee decided on 21 July 1904: 'that the Districts of the Poor Law Unions be constituted County Divisions for Elementary School purposes' (MB, p.15). The District of the Poor Law Unions were chosen for this purpose in preference to the catchment areas of the Intermediate Schools for the reason that the Lampeter district did not have an Intermediate School. The Districts were Aberaeron, Aberystwyth, Cardigan, Lampeter, Newcastle Emlyn and Tregaron. In the early thirties, the Newcastle Emlyn District became known as the Llandysul District.


5. List of Directors of Education - The Directors of Education were: Mr. (later, Dr.) Jenkin James, M.A., who in 1904 was appointed clerk to Cardiganshire Education Committee and four years later was appointed its Director of Education. He held this post until
1920 when he was appointed Director of Education for Barnsley, Yorkshire. His successor was Mr. H.J. Lewis, M.A., who held the post until his retirement in 1944. The third Director of Education was Dr. J. Henry Jones, M.A., who held the post for 28 years before retiring in 1972. He was succeeded by his Deputy, Mr. W.J. Phillips, M.A., LL.B., who was Director of Education until 31 March 1974, when the Cardiganshire Education Authority ceased to exist.

6. General Report of H.M. Inspectors on Education in the County of Cardigan for the period ended July 31st, 1913 (Welsh Department), 1914, p.3.

7. This survey followed the appearance of the report Welsh in Education and Life (1927).

8. 'A Statement based on an Investigation into the Teaching of Welsh in the Elementary Schools of the County of Cardigan by his Majesty's Inspectors of Schools' 1932. The Statement was not a full-inspection report and was not published by the Welsh Department. Printed copies of it were issued at the time by the Cardiganshire Education Committee.

9. MB, p.98.

10. A, 27 July, 1906, Item 11, p.2. Also included in the same item was, 'to consider a resolution to the same effect passed by the Free Church Council of Aberystwyth'. The Education Committee were also 'To receive and adopt a memorandum containing general instructions for the systematic teaching of Welsh in the Schools of the county' (Item 12, p.2). See Note 12, below.

11. The Scheme was printed and produced in book form by the 'Cambrian News' Office, Aberystwyth.

12. The Memorandum was approved by the Education Committee on 27 July, 1906, and was printed in full in Welsh in A, 18 October, 1906, pp. 82-86. It was also published in Cymru, Vol.XXXIV, No.199, (February 1908), pp. 201-3.


14. See Note 6, above.

15. A copy of the Director's statement to the Departmental Committee is extant in the Aberystwyth Office.
16. See Note 8, above.


21. See Chapter II, 'Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth'.

22. School closures will be discussed in detail in Chapter V.

23. Language Teaching in Primary Schools (Welsh Department, Pamphlet No.1), 1945, p.4.


32. For the actual resolutions of the various Governing Bodies see: A, 30 July, 1959, pp.7907, 7914, 7919; A, 29 October, 1959, pp.8001, 8007, 8017.

33. For a concise account of the Authority's achievements during those years, see Eleven Years 1951-1961, (Cardiganshire Education Committee), 1962. The work was compiled by the Director of Education as a tribute to Alderman M.L.L.G. Williams who had been Chairman of the Education Committee during those eleven years.

35. Cardigan and Tivy-Side Advertiser, 14 September 1962, p.1, col.7 and p.3 cols.5-8.


42. This was entitled The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales (H.M.S.O., London, 1953).


45. Ibid, p.413.


47. A, 30 April, 1964, p.57.


58. A, 31 October, 1968, p.54
63. Ibid, pp.195 and 224.
67. Ibid, p.615.
68. Ibid, p.587.
71. Ibid, p.794.
76. Printed copies of this speech were made available at the time.
77. This report, in 'typescript' was entitled 'Primary Education in Rural Areas'.
80. Ibid, p.2496.
83. Ibid, p.3257.
84. A, 26 October, 1972, pp.3142-3.
The report was presented to the Development Committee on 26 January, 1974. (A, 27 March 1974, p.4281), and, after a full discussion, it was decided to call a further meeting so that firm recommendations based on the report could be submitted to the Education Committee on 27 March. This meeting was held on 22 March, 1974 and the Minutes were presented to the Education Committee in typescript. Since no printed Minutes of that Education Committee was prepared, the recommendations of the Development Committee on 22 March are quoted in full in the text.
On 25 January, 1973, the Education Committee considered the following Notice of Motion submitted by Councillor Mrs. M.C. Davies: 'That the Minutes of the Education Committee should be bilingual'. The Education Committee decided to agree to this in principle but that it be referred to the Finance and General Purposes Committee for consideration of the financial implications. (A, 1 May 1973, p.3477). On 3 October 1973, the Director reported to the Finance and General Purposes Committee that a sum of £1,500 had been granted by the Chairmen of spending Committees towards the cost of providing bilingual Minutes of the Education Committee (A, 25 October 1973, p.3917). Mr. E.D. Jones, the former Headteacher of Rhydypennau C.P. School, was engaged to translate the Agenda into Welsh. The Welsh version, in typescript, was produced as a separate Agenda book.

An interesting comparative study could be made by comparing the history of the neighbouring county of Montgomeryshire, whose education has been traced in the pioneering study by J.A. Davies, Education in a Welsh Rural County. (University of Wales Press, Cardiff), 1973.
CHAPTER II

YSGOL GYMRAEG ABERYSTWYTH

One of the most significant developments in the language policies of local education authorities in Wales in the years following the Second World War was the establishment of "Welsh" Schools (Ysgolion Gymraeg). The term "Welsh" School (Ysgol Gymraeg) is, in a sense, a misnomer, for it could be interpreted as meaning a primary school teaching entirely though the medium of Welsh. This is not so. Set up in areas where the Welsh language was disappearing, they are essentially bilingual schools which lay particular emphasis on Welsh teaching and Welsh cultural studies to compensate for the decline in Welsh influences in the child's natural environment. The designation "Welsh" School, therefore, serves to highlight this emphasis. From their inception, "Welsh" Schools have admitted pupils from Welsh- and English-speaking homes, and they have sought to develop each child's command of both languages to the highest degree possible by the age of eleven.

Carmarthenshire was the first local education authority to establish a "Welsh" School. This occurred at Llanelli in March 1947, but the pioneer work of Carmarthenshire was soon emulated by such local education authorities as Flintshire, Caernarvonshire, Swansea, Cardiff, Glamorgan, Denbighshire and Cardiganshire, and, by 1952, 20 of these schools had been set up in Wales. Although Ysgol Gymraeg, Aberystwyth, which opened its doors in Alexandra Road in September 1952, was not the first of its kind, it has a special place in the history of Welsh education because of its association with Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards, who is rightly regarded as the father of the Welsh-school movement. During the early days of the Second World War, he was impelled to set up a private "Welsh" School at Aberystwyth and the success of this school led local authorities in Wales to
establish schools of a similar type. In the case of Cardiganshire, the local education authority, not only adopted Sir Ifan's educational philosophy but his school as well, and transferred its pupils to one of its own premises at Alexandra Road, Aberystwyth. Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth can, therefore, be regarded as a continuation of the first "Welsh" School established in Wales.

It may seem incongruous that it was in a predominantly Welsh-speaking county like Cardiganshire that the very first Welsh School was established, for Welsh Schools are identified with the more anglicised areas of Wales. Our investigation into the establishment of a Welsh School at Aberystwyth must, therefore, begin prior to 1939 to ascertain to what extent the Welsh language had been on the wane amongst the child and adult population of the town during earlier years, and also, to appraise the effectiveness of the local schools in implementing the county's bilingual policy.

In 1901, the Aberystwyth Borough had a population of 8,014 which amounted to about 13.0 per cent of that of Cardiganshire as a whole at the time. During the next 30 years, the Borough increased its population by 18.3 per cent to 9,473, although that of Cardiganshire diminished by 9.3 per cent. (1)

The community at Aberystwyth in 1901 was largely bilingual; of those over 3 years of age, according to the census figures of that year, 5,046 (66.1 per cent) spoke Welsh and English, and those who spoke Welsh only were merely 587 (7.7 per cent). There was, however, a substantial minority within that community, amounting to 2,005 (26.3 per cent) who spoke only English, and these, unlike the persons who spoke Welsh only, increased in proportion with lower age. 1,482 were recorded within the 3 to 14 age group, and, of those for whom returns were made, 134 (9.0 per cent) spoke Welsh only, 393 (26.5 per cent) spoke English only and 952 (64.2 per cent) were
bilingual. It would thus seem that the linguistic pattern of the Aberystwyth school children at the time resembled that of the local community as a whole very closely.

In 1904, three schools within the Borough were handed over to the newly-established Cardiganshire Education Authority. These were:

1. **Alexandra Road School:** Established by the Aberystwyth School Board in 1874, this school in 1904 comprised three Departments - Boys, Girls and Infants - each under its own headteacher. There were 722 pupils on roll at the time at the three schools.

2. **Aberystwyth National School:** This had been built by the Established Church in 1866. At first the school had three Departments - Boys, Girls and Infants - each under its own headteacher, but, in 1890, the Boys' and Girls' Departments were merged to become a Junior Mixed School under one headteacher. In 1904 there were 375 pupils in the Junior and Infants' Schools.

3. **Penparcau National School:** Erected by the Established Church at Penparcau in 1846, this was a three-teacher school in 1904 with 104 pupils on roll.

There were thus about 1,200 pupils in the elementary schools of the Borough in 1904, and, by 1910, the total enrolment at these schools had increased by over 100. Between 1910 and 1938, however, the schools experienced falling rolls, which resulted in 1928 in the amalgamation of the Junior and Infants' Departments at the Aberystwyth Non-Provided School under one headteacher. The extent of the decline in numbers in the schools of the Aberystwyth Borough between 1910 and 1938 is indicated by the following table:
Table 2.1 Falling rolls in the Schools of the Aberystwyth Borough
1910 - 38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>June 1910</th>
<th>June 1920</th>
<th>June 1930</th>
<th>1938</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth Council</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infants</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infants</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penparcau</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1,331</td>
<td>1,004</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>732</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The decline in the school population of the Borough between 1910 and 1938, amounting to 54.9 per cent, was truly substantial, and the Aberystwyth National School suffered most of all with a drop of 64.9 per cent in its enrolment. Penparcau, though down on its 1910 figures, showed promising signs of increasing its enrolment in the thirties, and the same applied to the Infants' Department at Alexandra Road where the enrolment almost doubled between 1930 and 1938.

The 1911 Census Report, unlike that for 1901, provided figures for three age groups of children between 3 and 15 years of age. The following table compares the position in 1901 and 1911 in respect of language spoken by those under 15:
Table 2.2 Language spoken by children under 15 in the Borough of Aberystwyth in 1901 and 1911 (Census Reports)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Welsh only</th>
<th>English only</th>
<th>Welsh &amp; English</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 &amp; under 5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 &amp; under 10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 &amp; under 15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>989</td>
<td>1,533</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6.4%) (29.1%) (64.5%)  

1901  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Welsh only</th>
<th>English only</th>
<th>Welsh &amp; English</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>(9.1%)</td>
<td>(26.6%)</td>
<td>(66.4%)</td>
<td>1,479</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By 1911, Welsh monolingualism in the child population of the Borough was a disappearing phenomenon, while English monolingualism was on the increase. The majority of the children, both in 1901 and 1911, were able to speak Welsh and English.

A report by H.M. Inspectors of Schools in 1913 refers to the language situation in the Aberystwyth schools thus: "It was found in 1913, that out of 1,146 children in the Aberystwyth Elementary Schools, 677 were from Welsh-speaking homes and 469 from English". (5) This being so, there is very little doubt that the majority of those in the bilingual category of the above table were Welsh-speaking children who had gained a knowledge of English. For this type of child, there were ample opportunities to learn English in school and outside. In the community as a whole in 1911, only 370 persons (5 per cent) spoke Welsh only, 5,192 (66 per cent) spoke both Welsh and English, while those who spoke English only were 2,285 - 29 per cent of the community as compared with 26 per cent in 1901. It is surprising to note that 131 of the children between 3 to 5 years of age, that is 52
per cent of the age group, spoke both languages, and the vast majority of these had not then entered school.

References to the linguistic pattern of the Aberystwyth Schools between 1904 and 1928 are extremely scanty, but the findings of three investigations are quoted in the Log Book of the Boys' Department at Alexandra Road where the renowned D.J. Saer was headteacher. Saer made the following entry on 17 April 1913:

"I made an enquiry this morning as to the number of children coming from Welsh-speaking and English-speaking homes to this school with the following result:

Table 2.3 Home language of pupils at Alexandra Road School in 1913

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>From Welsh-speaking homes</th>
<th>From English-speaking homes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I am informed by the headteachers that the numbers for the other departments are as follows:

Girls' Dept. No. from Welsh homes 193 English 81
Infants Dept. No. from Welsh homes 216 English 79

Totals for 3 Depts. 524 240

There is an obvious error in the addition in respect of the number of children from Welsh homes, for the total of the figures quoted add to 603 and not 524. It is evident that the vast majority of the children in the three Departments in 1913 were from Welsh-
speaking homes and that this amounted to at least 71.0 per cent of the children. It is quite probable that this investigation was conducted in connection with the survey which H.M. Inspectors were conducting in Cardiganshire at the time and referred to above. If the figures for the three Departments at Alexandra Road are compared with the total for the Aberystwyth Schools, as quoted in the Inspectors' report, it becomes evident that the majority of the children from Welsh-speaking homes were at Alexandra Road.

It would be incorrect, however, to infer from the above figures that 71.0 per cent of the pupils at Alexandra Road were Welsh-speaking as indeed an entry on 24 January, 1916 indicates:

*Return sent to the Education Office this day:

Table 2.4 Home language of pupils at Alexandra Road School in 1916 and their ability to speak Welsh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Std.</th>
<th>N.O.R.</th>
<th>No. who are of English Parentage</th>
<th>No. who are of Welsh Parentage</th>
<th>No. who can understand and speak Welsh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures show that while 85.5 per cent of the boys were of Welsh parentage, only 64.5 per cent of the total number of boys in the Department understood and spoke Welsh. Again, although only 14.5 per cent of boys had English-speaking parents, 35.5 per cent of the school population could not speak Welsh. It is therefore clear
that there were boys in the school in 1913 from homes where both parents could speak Welsh, but they themselves could not understand and speak the language.

A report in the Cambrian News in August 1922 highlighted this situation. It reads as follows:

"Mr. Saer, of the Council School, has been investigating the lingual knowledge of the children of the town. He found that 34 per cent of boys have never learnt to speak Welsh; 19 per cent learnt Welsh first, but have practically forgotten it; 32 per cent learnt Welsh and then English and only speak Welsh indifferently now and only 15 per cent are bilingual in the strict sense of the term".

A statement to the effect that, while 66 per cent of the children had learnt Welsh as first language, only 15 per cent of them spoke it well at the time of the investigation obviously poses many questions: had the parents in the meantime abandoned the use of Welsh as a medium of conversation with their children?; had the children themselves rejected Welsh as they gained proficiency in English or had the school neglected its duty of developing the child's knowledge of his first language, which, in this case, was Welsh? A further investigation carried out at the school during May 1925 sheds some light on the situation. The findings can be summarized as follows:
Table 2.5  Language survey conducted at Alexandra Road School in May 1925 (226 pupils on roll)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both parents Welsh speaking</td>
<td>147 (65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents English speaking</td>
<td>29 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father only Welsh speaking</td>
<td>26 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother only Welsh speaking</td>
<td>24 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home language entirely Welsh</td>
<td>80 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents speak Welsh to children, but they answer in English</td>
<td>37 (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents speak Welsh to each other, but English to their children</td>
<td>21 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys attending Welsh Chapel/Church</td>
<td>142 (63%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys attending Sunday School where Welsh only is used</td>
<td>118 (52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys attending Sunday Schools where both languages used</td>
<td>24 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys using Welsh in games</td>
<td>23 (10%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of pupils from homes where both parents were English speaking in 1925 was only 29 - 13.0 per cent of the total - the other 87.0 per cent could have had conversation in Welsh with either one or both parents. In only 35.0 per cent of the cases was Welsh used exclusively as the language of communication in the home, although 65.0 per cent of the children had two Welsh parents. The parents of 117 of the boys spoke Welsh to their children, but almost 32.0 per cent of these children refused to respond in the same language. It is noticeable that a large percentage of the children attended Welsh places of worship and Sunday Schools where Welsh was used either partially or entirely as a medium of instruction; on the other hand, only 10.0 per cent of the boys used the language in their play. The general conclusions that can be drawn from this investigation are that many of the parents who could have spoken Welsh to their children did not choose to do so, while some of those who did failed to have a response in the same language from their children. The fact that English was the language of play for 90.0 per cent of the children, indicates how little was Welsh used by the boys as a normal medium of communication amongst themselves.
Before referring to language surveys, conducted after 1925 it may be well to turn attention to the language policies of the Aberystwyth schools, and to those of the three Departments at Alexandra Road in particular since our figures so far have been derived from their surveys. As early as 1890, Welsh had been introduced as a specific subject in the upper standards of the Boys' and Girls' Departments, and, by 1895, a syllabus in Welsh had been prepared for all pupils in the three Departments.

Although there are only a few references to curricular matters in the Log Books of the Infants' Department, it is clear that Welsh was taught throughout the school and that English reading was introduced in Standard I. A full programme of activities in Welsh was staged annually on St. David's Day.

The Scheme of Work for 1909 in the Girls' Department indicated that Welsh was taught in all classes, and a report by H.M. Inspector of Schools the following year stated, "A good deal of work too has been done in Welsh in spite of many difficulties." References are also made to the readers and class-books in use. In 1911, a graded series of exercise books, Gwersi l'r Safonau I-VI were adopted, and these were supplemented by conversational practice and written composition. In 1912, pupils in Standard I read Plant Bach Ty Gwyn, and Bwthyn ar y Bryn was read by Standard II. Standard V undertook a close study of the long poem 'Alun Mabon' by J. Ceiriog Hughes. In 1914, the newly-published Gemau Ceredigion, a collection of poems written by Cardiganshire poets, was in use in the School, and Welsh Folk Songs was also in use in all classes. These are but a few examples of the nature of the work undertaken in Welsh at the School and how new books were adopted when they became available. This department also prepared a full programme of activities in Welsh for the St. David's Day celebrations.
The Scheme of work of the Boys' Department for 1910 indicated that Welsh was taught in all classes. This included oral and written exercises, reading and composition. Dictation was practised and lessons were given on the common errors in Welsh. There was a systematic study of Welsh poetry. The many interesting features of this School become apparent from the Log Books. D.J. Saer, the Headteacher, took his pupils on visits to places of historical interest and gave them lessons on site as the following entry for 22 April 1914 shows:

"At 2.30 this aftn. I took 46 boys from Stds 6 & 7 by train to Bow Street to visit BroGynin (sic), the birthplace of Dafydd ap Gwilym. Lessons on D.ap G. have been given during last term and this visit was looked forward to. I gave the boys an account of Gogerddan, The Caer, Penrhyncoch, and, at Brongynin (sic), I read two of D. ap G.'s Cywyddau and gave an account of his genius. We returned to Aberystwyth by 6.30."

In addition to the curriculum having a strong cultural content, great emphasis was placed on handwork, games and athletic activities. The St. David's Day celebrations at the School, initiated as an annual event by D.J. Saer in 1897, not only took the form of a concert in Welsh by the children, but also an exhibition of the children's work in handwork. Plays in Welsh were also staged at various times.

These three Departments enjoyed a wide reputation for the quality of the education they provided for their pupils, and the teaching of Welsh was certainly not omitted in the provision. The question, however, remains whether the teaching of Welsh was intensive enough in view of the neglect of the language in the homes and the anglicising influences on the child in his community.
The Director of Education, Mr. H.J. Lewis, in his statement to the Departmental Committee on Welsh at its meetings held at Aberystwyth on February 24th, 25th and 26th 1926, although not referring specifically to the schools of Aberystwyth, felt that the town schools of Cardiganshire were not giving sufficient attention to the Welsh language. His words were:

"With regard to the town schools, it is felt that sufficient attention is not given to the language. Inasmuch as the children hear so much English out of school, it is very necessary that they should hear more Welsh spoken in school. It is probably true more or less of every language that one gains a greater mastery of it by speaking it and hearing it spoken than by merely learning to read and write it, but, owing to the difficulty of mutation, it applies more to the Welsh Language than to any other language. If the teaching of our native tongue is to serve any purpose in our own town schools, it should be used as a medium of instruction for at least two hours every day, and it is suggested that it should be used as the medium in such subjects as Religious Instruction, Welsh History, Nature Study, Hygiene, Temperance, Music and Games. The main obstacle is the presence of so many English-speaking children at these schools. If it could be arranged to take the above-named subjects at the same periods throughout the whole school, the difficulty would be overcome by adopting the parallel class system. The adoption of the system in these subjects would be less difficult than in such subjects as Arithmetic, Geography, Handwork etc. If the enormous amount of time now spent on Arithmetic were reduced, greater justice could be done to the far more important subjects of English and Welsh." (7)

There is little doubt that the Director had the Aberystwyth schools in mind when he prepared the above statement. In fairness to
Alexandra Road Council School, it should be stated that the system of parallel classes was being tried out in certain subjects at the school in 1925 and that it was alleged to be working satisfactorily. In his own formal evidence to the Committee, D.J. Saer had advocated that children should be taught entirely through the medium of their mother tongue until their ninth year and that after that the second language could be taught intensively. This was in keeping with the conclusions which he had drawn from his investigations; some schools had tried this out and had found that the results were satisfactory.\(^{(8)}\)

The Committee's report Welsh in Education and Life, which appeared in 1927, felt that this, as a general practice, could not be recommended and that the second language should be introduced gradually, during the first or second year after the child had left the Infant School.\(^{(9)}\)

Following the appearance of this report, the classes within the three Departments of Alexandra Road Council School were reorganised on a linguistic basis. In April 1928, pupils in the Infants' Department were streamed according to home language, and three Welsh and three English classes were established. The following year, children in Standard I and II in the Girls' Department were classified according to their home language and according to the language in which they had been taught in the Infants' Department. Then, as a result of vertical grouping, two classes were established; Class I being Welsh-speaking pupils and Class II, English-speaking pupils. At first, Class I would be taught entirely through the medium of Welsh, but, during the second term, English would be introduced and progressively taught although Welsh would still be the main language of instruction. A new time-table was drawn up for the school and Standards III to VII, which were mixed-language classes, were to have ten lessons of language teaching per week, the time being equally
divided between Welsh and English. Reorganisation on similar lines was effected in the Boys' Department, but the change was delayed until 1929 because of D.J. Saer's death during 1928.

Two changes occurred at Aberystwyth National School in 1928. The first was the amalgamation of the Infants' and Junior Mixed Departments under one Headteacher as a result of falling rolls. Then the Infant classes and Standards I and II were streamed on a linguistic basis as at the Aberystwyth Council School.

In June 1928, a language survey was conducted in the schools of the County - another consequence of the appearance of the report Welsh in Education and Life. The purpose of the enquiry was to ascertain the number of children in each elementary school who were able to speak Welsh, the number who had Welsh-speaking parents and the number who were from homes where Welsh was used as a medium of communication. The findings of the survey in connection with the Aberystwyth Schools were as follows:

Table 2.6 Number of Welsh-speaking pupils at the Aberystwyth Schools in 1928

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>W.S</th>
<th>U.W</th>
<th>N.U</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth C Boys</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>128</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth N</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penparcau N</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Please see Note on p. 113)
Table 2.7 Pupils at the Aberystwyth schools in 1928 with Welsh-speaking parents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>2 W</th>
<th>1 W</th>
<th>N.W</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infants</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth N</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penparcau N</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 2 W - 2 Welsh-speaking parents; 1 W - 1 Welsh-speaking parent; N.W - neither parent Welsh speaking.

Table 2.8 Home language of pupils at the Aberystwyth schools in 1928

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>P.W</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infants</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth N</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penparcau N</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: W - entirely Welsh; P.W. - partially Welsh; E - English
Only 44.7 per cent of the pupils in the elementary schools within the Aberystwyth Borough in 1928 could speak Welsh, while 41.5 per cent of the total could not even understand the language. The proportion of pupils in individual schools falling within these two categories was as follows:

Table 2.9 Percentage of Welsh speakers in the Aberystwyth Schools in 1928

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>% Welsh speaking</th>
<th>% unable to understand Welsh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth C Boys</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infants</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% for 3 Departments</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth N</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penparcau N</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% for Borough</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aberystwyth Girls' School had the highest percentage of Welsh speakers (58.2 per cent) followed by Penparcau National School (46.7 per cent). Over half of the pupils at Aberystwyth National School could not understand Welsh, while at the Infants' Department, Alexandra Road, only 35.5 per cent of the children were Welsh-speaking.

It becomes evident from the survey that the homes and the schools were jointly responsible for the decline of the Welsh language in the child population of the Aberystwyth Borough. The figures indicate that fewer children spoke Welsh than had Welsh-speaking parents and that those who could speak or understand Welsh coincided with the number who heard the language spoken at home. It would, therefore, seem that the number of Welsh speakers in the schools
depended entirely on whether the language was spoken in the home, and that the schools were unsuccessful in their attempts to add to this number. It has to be realized, however, that the survey was conducted during the year when the Authority’s language policy was radically changed. As already told, the Infants Department at Alexandra Road had been reorganized on a linguistic basis since April and a similar change was due to occur in the lower classes of the Girls’ and Boys’ Departments. A similar policy had also been put into operation in April in Aberystwyth National School. Thus 1928 must be regarded as the beginning of a new phase in language teaching in the Aberystwyth schools as well as in all the other schools of the County. In view of this, the 1928 survey may be looked upon as an investigation into the language situation as it existed prior to the implementation of a new language policy.

In 1932, as referred to in Chapter I, there appeared a Statement based on an investigation into the teaching of Welsh in the elementary schools of the County. The Inspectors conducted a language survey, but unfortunately figures for individual schools are not available. The Statement however refers to the data in general terms, as follows:

*Returns obtained from the Headteachers of the various schools show that, out of a total of 6,905 pupils, 5,918 speak Welsh, 370 merely understand the language, and 617 are returned as being unable to speak or understand it. Of the 617 purely English-speaking children, 483 are confined to the Aberystwyth schools, including Penparcau and Cwmpadarn.*

The only comparison it is possible to make between the language situation in Aberystwyth in 1928 and 1932 is on the basis of the numbers who could neither speak nor understand Welsh in these two years. In 1928, there were 401 such children in the schools of the
Borough, while, in 1932, those schools, together with Cwmpadarn — a school situated just outside the Borough — had a return of 483 pupils in the same category. It is very improbable that the inclusion of Cwmpadarn in the figure quoted for 1932 would have accounted for the increase in the number of non-Welsh speakers during those four years; in 1928 only 27 pupils in the school were unable to speak and understand Welsh and its enrolment had been fairly constant in the meantime. The conclusion is inevitable that the position of the Welsh language had deteriorated in the Aberystwyth school in spite of the changes in their internal organisation for the purpose of language teaching.

The Log Books show that during January and February 1939, the Aberystwyth National School, and the Girls' and Infants' Departments at Alexandra Road received an official inspection. In his report on the National School, H.M. Inspector referred to the steady decline in the school's enrolment from 240 in 1929 to 159 in 1939. Reduction in numbers had resulted in a contraction in the number of staff and this had made it impossible for the school to group its pupils on a linguistic basis in the infant and lower-junior classes. At the time of the inspection, 75.0 per cent of the pupils were monoglot English-speaking while the remaining 25.0 per cent were from Welsh-speaking homes.

There were 150 pupils in the Infants' Department of the Council School at the time of the inspection and the enrolment had been fairly constant during the previous ten years. The pupils were divided into five, well-balanced groups: two of the groups contained Welsh-speaking pupils, while, in the other three, the children were monoglot English-speaking. A similar organisation was continued for the first two years in the boys' and girls' departments. The inspection showed that the achievement of the English-speaking pupils
in English in the infants' department was higher than that of the Welsh-speaking pupils in their native tongue.

Numbers on roll in the Girls' Department had fluctuated a great deal over the years. In 1915 there had been 300 on books; by 1928, this number had dropped to nearly 200, and, although there was a temporary increase in the enrolment in the mid-thirties, the fall in pupil numbers continued, and there were only 172 on registers in 1939. Classes were organised on a linguistic basis for the first two years, but, after that, pupils were taught in mixed linguistic classes except for lessons in Welsh when vertical grouping was used. The oral and written work in English was good, and the Welsh-speaking pupils made good progress in Welsh. The progress in Welsh, by the English-speaking pupils, however, was less satisfactory and the standard achieved in Standard V after four years of instruction in Welsh was rather disappointing.

The Boys' Department was not inspected until 23 November 1939 and the school was again visited on 26 April 1940 before an official report was issued. This report is of particular interest because it refers to changes in the organisation of the Aberystwyth schools following the outbreak of war in September 1939. The arrival of a considerable number of officially - and privately-evacuated school children to Aberystwyth naturally affected the normal running of the schools; for some weeks after the commencement of the autumn term 1939, the schools of the town had to operate a four-hour double-shift system - 8.30 a.m. - 12.30 p.m. and 1.00 p.m. - 5.00 p.m. - the time of school attendance for local children and the evacuated pupils being reversed every other week. In November, this arrangement was modified; the four hours were reduced to three, but, in addition, a recognised one and a half hour session of activities was organised in the off-shift period during which time schools had the use of various
chapel schoolrooms and halls in the town. As a large number of evacuated children returned home at the beginning of the spring term 1940, it became possible for the schools to modify their arrangements. The senior pupils were able to attend at their school full-time, but the junior pupils had to continue to receive a part of their education in hired premises. This was the position when the report was issued.

Like the other schools of the town, the Boys' Department had experienced falling rolls; the 250 on register in 1928 had dwindled to 206 by 1933, and, in April 1940, there were only 173 local children and 17 privately-evacuated pupils on books, although the latter increased to 31 by the following November. The report referred to a notable feature of the work of the school during the periods the children were educated in the various premises in the town. The work outside the ordinary classroom had to be oral in character and great emphasis had been laid on the study of literature, music and drama. The classification of pupils on the basis of language had continued during this period, as in the Girls' Department, but progress in Welsh tended to slow down as the children proceeded through the school.

Although the reports on the Aberystwyth schools referred to aspects of work that were praiseworthy, references to the teaching of Welsh both as a first and second language were disappointing. The National School by 1939 had found it necessary to dispense with the practice of streaming pupils in the infants and lower junior classes on a linguistic basis, and although the three departments of the Council School had maintained this kind of organisation, the standard attained in Welsh was still below that in English.

What occurred at the Infants' Department, Alexandra Road at the beginning of the autumn term 1939 is so crucial to this account that
it is best referred to in the actual words of the Headteacher in the School's log book:

**Sept. 15th:** School was re-opened on Sept. 12th, one extra day having been granted on account of the Government Evacuation Scheme. School children from Liverpool have been evacuated to this county. Arrangements have been made whereby they, and the local children are taught alternatively under the double-shift system - 8.30 to 12.30 in the morning and 1 to 5 in the afternoon. The Infants from Breckfield Council School are taught in this school. Classes I and V (Welsh) were taken by their teachers to the "Aelwyd" on Llanbadarn Road for their lessons from Tuesday to make room for Boys and Girls from the Liverpool Junior School, who, however, did not attend in this department.

**Sept. 18th-22nd:** We have worked in the afternoons this week. The Welsh classes are still taught at the "Aelwyd", though their classrooms are empty. Thirty-four children have been admitted during the past two weeks. The total number on roll is now 146.

**Sept. 25th-29th:** The two Welsh classes who were taught at the "Aelwyd" (Urdd Headquarters) for the past fortnight have now returned. The parents of a few of the pupils met to discuss the situation. They thought the double-shift system would affect the health of their children. They decided, therefore, to organise a private school in Welsh, at the "Aelwyd", until public education would return to normal, with the result that nine of our pupils have been withdrawn from the school."

In his two volumes *Urdd Gobaith Cymru*,(12) R.E. Griffith provides valuable information concerning the setting up of this private school and its subsequent development. According to this account, Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards, the founder of Urdd Gobaith Cymru and a strong supporter of streaming on a linguistic basis of the Infants' Department, had, on the commencement of the autumn term 1939, offered the Cardiganshire Education Authority free accommodation at Urdd Headquarters, Llanbadarn Road to pupils in the Welsh stream of the Infants' Department, Alexandra Road. This
offer, if accepted, would enable the Welsh-speaking children to continue their education in a Welsh atmosphere and unhampered by the double-shift system. The offer was gratefully accepted, but as already told, the classes soon returned to Alexandra Road because, according to Griffith's account, 'the teachers complained that the plan was not working successfully'. (Tr.) This move bitterly disappointed Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards whose son was a pupil in one of these classes, and he, together with five other parents, informed the Education Authority of their intention to withdraw their children from the state system and provide for their education at the Urdd Headquarters. When the private 'school' opened on the afternoon of 25 September under the charge of Miss Norah Isaac, a qualified teacher who, at the time, was a member of the administrative staff, seven pupils were enrolled. The Urdd provided the accommodation free of charge to the parents, but a fee was charged as a contribution towards the teacher's salary. A Governing Body was later established comprising members of the Urdd Company, parents and local educationists.

By October 1941, the number of pupils at the school had increased to 19, and an additional teacher had been appointed. In that year, the school produced a prospectus indicating its educational philosophy and language policy. "The aim of the School", it stated, "is to foster citizenship, the Christian way of life and a love of beauty, and to base this on the culture of Wales". (Tr.) Its language policy was thus described "Welsh is the language of the School in work and play. Every subject is taught in Welsh except the English language and its literature". (Tr.)

Numbers on roll at the school increased to 31 by October 1942, to 56 by October 1944 and to 71 by October 1945. By then, four teachers had been appointed to the staff. The school was now
rapidly outgrowing the accommodation available at the Urdd Headquarters, and a sum of £3,000 was expended from Urdd funds to purchase a mansion, known as Lluest, to house the school about two miles outside the centre of the town. After an additional £1,500 was spent to adapt the building for use as a school, the premises were occupied on 1 May 1946, by which time, there were 79 pupils on books.

The move into a spacious building in a rural setting brought very obvious educational advantages to this Welsh School, which had, hitherto, been housed in cramped surroundings in the town. But the move entailed a heavier financial commitment. Even if the capital expenditure involved in purchasing and adapting the building were to be borne entirely by the Urdd, additional costs would have to be faced in the form of school services - heating, lighting and caretaking - as well as the transport of the pupils to school. The possibility of seeking 'aided' status to the school under the Cardiganshire Education Authority was, therefore, considered at this time, but after much deliberation, this step was not taken because a strong feeling prevailed that a school which was experimental in nature should be allowed to develop along its own lines and independent of an outside education authority. The additional financial costs had therefore to be borne by the Urdd itself and the parents, supplemented by a system of patronage by which supporters of the experiment could contribute financially to the cost of running the school. Occasional fund-raising activities were also organised.

Although the overwhelming majority of the Governors were adamant that the school should remain independent, there was also a strong feeling amongst them that the time had come for local education authorities in Wales should establish their own Welsh Schools on the lines of the Aberystwyth experiment. By this time,
the Aberystwyth School had received wide-spread publicity in Wales, and its success as an educational institution serving the particular needs of the Welsh child could not be ignored. Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards and Miss Norah Isaac, the Headteacher, had not only taken a leading role in disseminating knowledge concerning the school and its philosophy in numerous meetings they had addressed in Wales, but had openly urged parents to request their local education authorities to provide schools on similar lines for their own children. Thus began the Welsh School movement in Wales, and, as already told, the first school of this kind was established under a local education authority in Llanelli on 1 March 1947. Others followed in due course, and their aspirations and activities were all modelled on Lluest School.

1947 was a year of triumph for Lluest in other respects as well. In that year, there were 90 pupils on the registers and the fifth teacher was added to the staff. Eight of the older children passed the Entrance Examination to Ardwyn County School, which proved that the pupils of the school were under no disadvantage in competitive examinations calling for a sound knowledge of Arithmetic and English, in addition to Welsh, their main language. In the same year, an application was submitted to the Ministry of Education to have the school inspected for the purpose of being recognized as 'an efficient school on the Ministry's list'.

The school was inspected on 13 February, 1948, and, about six months later, a report was issued. There were 94 pupils on roll at the time of the inspection, and, of these, 69 were Welsh speaking on entry, eight had a little knowledge of Welsh and 17 were definitely non-Welsh. The pupils, on the whole, were above average in ability because the pupils were mainly drawn from the homes of the professional classes in the town.
The main body of the report dealt with the policy, curriculum and organisation of the school and the standard of work of the pupils. It quoted the aim of the school as presented in the prospectus - fostering citizenship, the Christian way of life and love of beauty, all based on the culture of Wales. With the use of English mainly confined to lessons in English language and literature, the school had a distinctive Welsh atmosphere. But although the literature, songs, history, geography and the arts and crafts of Wales received special attention, the curriculum was extended to provide information to the pupils about other lands and peoples. The basic skills were taught during each morning, and every afternoon was devoted to English as a second language, to music, to indoor and outdoor physical activities including dancing, to handwork and to art.

The report highly praised the work done in the Infant and Nursery class where a sound basis was laid in language and number, in art and music and in self expression generally. This work was well continued in the middle classes. English was introduced in the lower of these two classes on oral lines and was dealt with more formally in the next class for one hour a day. "In both groups," the report said, "the children are delightfully responsive and their progress in all directions is well maintained."  

The work of the top class, which comprised 29 children, was of a very high order. The class had been subdivided to two groups, one of which was in charge of the Head Mistress who was described as 'quite exceptional in her practical skill as a teacher, in her breadth of vision and in her general influence upon the School.' The standard of attainment in language work, both Welsh and English, was particularly good. The children had sound training in Arithmetic and their knowledge of the Bible, of Welsh literature and folk songs was remarkable. The children followed a broad
curriculum and the work in History, Geography, Nature Study and Art showed high promise. The standard attained in second language teaching is thus described: "What causes a perpetual surprise to anyone coming in contact with the School, is the speed and efficiency with which the non-Welsh speaking section of the younger pupils attain a good working knowledge of Welsh and the facility with which they speak, read and write Welsh before they leave school."

It is not surprising that the inspection led to the school becoming recognised by the Ministry of Education as an 'efficient school'. But although this raised its status in the eyes of the public, it did not qualify it for a Government grant. The School had never been a financial success and annual deficits in its accounts had been cleared out of Urdd funds. By 1949, however, the School faced a serious financial crisis as a result of rising costs, and it became apparent then that the future of the School would soon have to be considered. In the same year, Miss Norah Isaac, the Headmistress, resigned her post to take up an appointment as lecturer in Barry Training College, and Mr. D. Hywel Roberts was appointed to succeed her at Lluest School. From an educational point of view, the School owed everything to Miss Isaac who had seen the unit grow within ten years from a small group of 9 children to a five-teacher school of 112 pupils.

Since 1949, the Governing Body of the School, by its own decision had become a sub-committee of the Urdd Council. When the Council met in January 1951, it was called upon to consider a recommendation from the Urdd's Working Party, which had also been approved by the School's Committee, that Lluest School should close in July 1952 or earlier if the Cardiganshire Education Committee decided to establish its own Welsh School before that date. The proposal was based in the main on financial considerations; with an
enrolment of 125 in 1951, the School required an additional teacher and the staff, who had been placed on the Burnham Scale a few years previously, would be subject to an increase in salary in April. The annual deficit in the School's account had become substantial, and clearing these amounts had become a heavy drain on Urdd funds. By 1951 also, with 10 Welsh Schools already established by local education authorities in Wales, it was felt that this private school's pioneering work had been accomplished. Its philosophy, which had been embodied in its prospectus, had been accepted countrywide, and its success in implementing these ideas was beyond doubt. While Lluest remained open, the Cardiganshire Education Committee would be unlikely to establish its own Welsh School and parents in the Aberystwyth area would have to continue to pay for bilingual primary education for their children.

An approach had already been made to Cardiganshire Education Authority in May 1950 when the Executive Committee of Urdd Gobaith Cymru prepared a memorandum urging the local authority to establish a free Welsh School in the town of Aberystwyth. The application pointed out that the system of parallel streaming based on language had not solved the linguistic problems of the schools of Wales as it had been hoped at one time. The Lluest experiment, on the other hand, had convincingly shown that there was an effective alternative-type of organisation, namely the separate Welsh School which was rapidly becoming a feature of the educational system of Wales. The memorandum further pointed out that in Aberystwyth this type of education was available only at great expense to the parents who had to pay an annual fee of £40 for maintaining a child at Lluest School. On the other hand, parents who held similar views regarding the education of their children within areas where Welsh Schools had been established by local education authorities had free schooling for their
children, and, of course, within Aberystwyth itself, education through the medium of English was free for all. The memorandum concluded by urging the Cardiganshire Education Authority to reconsider its language policy as a whole, and, in particular, to consider setting up a Welsh School at Aberystwyth as soon as possible. The Urdd had not received a reply to this request when its Council met in January 1951.

The Council at that meeting accepted the recommendation of the Executive Committee that Lluest School should be closed, and that the education of the children should be handed over to the care of the Cardiganshire Education Committee with a strong plea that a Welsh School be established for them in Aberystwyth. The Executive Committee had recommended that the School should be closed in July 1952, but on the grounds that the Urdd could not afford to sponsor the School until that time, Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards' alternative proposal to discontinue the School in July 1951 was finally carried. This decision proved to be a controversial one; it was badly received by some parents who felt that six months was far too short a warning to all concerned regarding the proposed change, and their views were strongly reflected at the time in the Press. It was only after the Urdd had made a frank statement concerning its financial position, that it was finally accepted that the closure of Lluest School on 31 July 1951 was inevitable.

During the period that the Welsh School had been in existence, there had also been developments in the schools of the Authority in Aberystwyth. As the evacuated children returned to their home schools, the schools of the town returned to normal working conditions. There were, however, a few evacuated pupils in the schools of the town when the Authority conducted a language survey in the primary schools of the County in 1945(18) and their presence gave extra
weighting to the English-speaking element in the schools at the time.
The figures for the Aberystwyth Schools were as follows:

Table 2.10 Linguistic pattern of schools within the Aberystwyth Borough in 1945

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>On roll</th>
<th>Welsh-speaking pupils</th>
<th>Non-Welsh speaking pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth (B) C.</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>43 (23.7%)</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth (G) C.</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>34 (17.1%)</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth (I) C.</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>40 (27.9%)</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth N.P.</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>29 (16.2%)</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penparcau N.P.</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>9 (8.0%)</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>815</strong></td>
<td><strong>155 (19.0%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>660</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: B - Boys' Department; G - Girls' Department; I - Infants' Department; C - Council School; N.P. - Non Provided School.

The survey indicates how the number of Welsh-speaking pupils had dwindled dramatically since 1928 when the figure had been 432 or 44.7 per cent of the population of the five schools. Even after allowing for the pupils from the Town attending the Welsh School at Lluest, the decline in the number of Welsh-speaking pupils in the town since 1928 was still spectacular.

The language survey was repeated in September 1949, but, in the meantime, the schools of Aberystwyth had been subject to a major reorganisation on the lines of the Education Act 1944. In September 1948, the three separate departments at Alexandra Road ceased to exist, and the school was divided into two sections. One section was used to accommodate all the infants of the town aged 4 to 7 and the 202 pupils enrolled at the school were grouped into three Welsh and five English classes. This section was in charge of Miss E.G. Morgan who had been headmistress of the Infant Department.
since 1929. The other section was occupied by pupils over 11 years of age who had not proceeded to Ardwyn Grammar School. This was a temporary arrangement until a new Modern School could be provided on a site at Cefn-llan. Mr. H. Watkins was headmaster of this section. Under the reorganisation, pupils between 7 and 11 were accommodated at the Aberystwyth V.P. School in North Road where Mr. Griffith Davies was headmaster. This school was also organised on a linguistic basis. In September 1948, junior pupils from Penparcau also attended the Aberystwyth V.P. School, but this was a temporary measure until a new school could be provided for them at Penparcau.

The 1949 survey indicated the position of Welsh and English in the schools of Aberystwyth after a separate primary and secondary system had been established. (20) The figures were:

Table 2.11 Linguistic pattern of schools within the Aberystwyth Borough in 1949

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>On roll</th>
<th>Welsh-speaking pupils</th>
<th>English-speaking pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth I</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>66 (32.8%)</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth J</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>100 (34.8%)</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penparcau</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>11 (13.3%)</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>177 (30.9%)</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1945 Survey | 815 | 155 (19.0%) | 660 |

The drop in the enrolments in the Primary Schools following reorganisation was naturally expected, but it is interesting to note how the 1949 survey showed a substantial reduction in the number of English-speaking pupils since 1945, though this could not be
attributed entirely to the reorganisation, for some evacuated pupils were still in the Aberystwyth schools when the 1945 language survey was conducted. Even more spectacular was the increase, though slight, in the number of Welsh-speaking pupils in the Primary Schools in spite of the reorganisation that had taken place and also in spite of the fact that the vast majority of the pupils at Lluest School resided in Aberystwyth and Penparcau. Was it possible that the Lluest experiment was exerting an influence on parents of children in the other schools of the town? A breakdown of the returns regarding Welsh-speaking certainly suggests a new attitude towards the Welsh language on the part of the parents by 1949:

Table 2.12  Relationship between the ability of pupils in schools in the Aberystwyth Borough in 1945 and 1949 to speak Welsh and the ability of their parents to speak that language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Welsh speaking pupils with:</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Welsh parents</td>
<td>1 Welsh parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>English-speaking pupils with:</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Welsh parents</td>
<td>1 Welsh parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the Cardiganshire Education Committee, therefore, received a request from the parents of pupils at Lluest School to take over the care of the education of their children, and provide a Welsh School at Aberystwyth, the Authority was in a position of only having recently reorganised primary education in the town. The new system provided for bilingual education by streaming the pupils on a
linguistic basis, but the memorandum from Urdd Gobaith Cymru, stressed that this form of organisation was not a satisfactory solution to the language problem and that only a separate Welsh School could cater effectively for the needs of the Welsh-speaking child.

On 18 January, 1951 the local education authority's Reorganisation Committee discussed the letters received from the Proprietors of Lluest School and the parents of the children then at the School. At the same time, the Director of Education presented a memorandum providing committee members with background information regarding the Authority's schools at Aberystwyth, the private school at Lluest and its premises, as well as highlighting the most important issues that would have to be considered before reaching a decision on the requests contained in the letters. Lluest School had 118 pupils at the time but 22 of these were due for transfer to secondary schools the following September. Also 25 of the pupils resided outside Aberystwyth, and the question arose in respect of these pupils whether the Authority would want to deviate from its consistent policy of supporting the rural primary schools and discouraging the transfer of pupils to town schools. The parents had suggested that the Authority should retain Lluest as a school; this would be paramount to opening a new school at Aberystwyth, and could not be undertaken without the prior consent of the Ministry of Education. Lluest, however, could not accommodate more than 120 pupils, while the Welsh-speaking child population of Aberystwyth amounted to 300. Absorbing the Lluest pupils into the existing Welsh streams of the Authority's schools in the town would also present problems of accommodation; pupils from Penparcau had been temporarily transferred to the town schools until their new Primary School would be completed in September 1952, and, any reorganisation
contemplated for September 1951, would inevitably involve the use of Lluest as an annexe. Although the Lluest premises could only be of limited use as a school, the Authority, it was suggested, could still utilize the building for the purpose of residential courses, and its fields, six acres in area, could be considered as a site for a new school to replace the existing Cwmpadarn and Comins Coch Primary Schools.

The Reorganisation Committee decided to accede to the parents' request that a deputation be received at the next meeting and also authorized the Director of Education to enquire whether the school premises and site at Lluest were available for purchase at District Valuer's valuation. The Director was further requested to provide additional details concerning the school population at Aberystwyth. (21)

On 1 February 1951, a deputation on behalf of the parents of children attending Lluest School were received by the Reorganisation Committee. The members of the deputation were the Rev. J.M. Meredith, Professor R.I. Aaron, Dr. W.C. Evans, Mr. A ap Gwynn, and Mr. Humphrey Roberts. They requested that the unit at Lluest be adopted as a nucleus of a Welsh School at Aberystwyth without prejudice to the question of a building to accommodate the school. At the same committee a letter was read from the Urdd stating that it was prepared to allow the use of the Lluest building for one year to assist the setting up of a Welsh School. The Committee resolved unanimously 'to recommend approval of the principle that a Welsh school be set up in Aberystwyth such approval to be separate from any consideration of the use or acquisition of the Lluest building'. (22) It was further recommended that a deputation on behalf of the Authority should attend upon the Ministry of Education so that the practical and administrative problems could be discussed. The deputation was to consist of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or failing
the Vice-Chairman, Clr. Hubert M. Davies, and the Director of Education. The resolutions of this meeting was confirmed by the Education Committee on 14 February 1951. (23)

The deputation was received at the Welsh Department at 11 a.m. on 2 March 1951. The Minister's representative informed the deputation that there would be no objection to the reorganisation within the two present schools, making one a Welsh School and the other an English-medium School provided there was adequate accommodation for all the children. There would be overcrowding if this arrangement was adopted in September 1951, but the position would ease when the new School at Penparcau would open during 1952. This information was conveyed to the Reorganisation Committee at its meeting on 15 March 1951 (24) when it was decided to recommend to the Education Committee that the approval of the Ministry of Education be sought to the holding of the Lluest building for a period of 12 months as from 1st September 1951. This received the approval of the Education Committee at its meeting on 26th April 1951. By this time Dr. J. Henry Jones, the Director of Education, had become ill and was compelled to undergo a prolonged period of treatment in hospital and Mr. A.D. Lewis, his Deputy, had become the Acting Director of Education.

At the next meeting of the Reorganisation Committee held on 14 June 1951, the Acting Director presented details of the child population within the various schools in Aberystwyth. Since the previous meeting, the parents had been given an opportunity to express their choice of a type of primary school for their children under the proposed reorganisation scheme, and a report on parental choices was also submitted to the committee.

The number of pupils on roll at the various schools were as follows:

- 132 -
### Table 2.13 Number of pupils on roll in the Aberystwyth schools and Lluest in 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Number of pupils</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English-speaking</td>
<td>Welsh-speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth V.P.</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth I</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lluest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72 pupils from Aberystwyth V.P. School were due for transfer to secondary schools the following September and two other pupils would soon be leaving the district. This reduced the number at the School for consideration under a reorganised scheme to 253. The parents of seven pupils at the Infants' School were against the proposed reorganisation and did not indicate their choice of a school for their children. In addition, four forms were not returned and two were void. Thus a definite choice was made in respect of 218 pupils from this School. Returns were received in respect of 113 out of 124 pupils at Lluest, but 23 of these pupils resided outside Aberystwyth, 19 were due to be transferred to secondary schools the following September and five would be admitted to private schools when Lluest closed. This left 66 parental choices to be considered by the Authority.

The parents of pupils at these schools indicated their choices as follows:
Table 2.14 Choice of schools by Aberystwyth parents in 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Existing School</th>
<th>Pupils for:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English-medium school</td>
<td>Welsh School</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>Infants</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>Infants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth V.P.</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth I</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>218</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ 9 if at Alexandra Rd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lluest</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>148 + ? 9</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>344 + ? 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: the above figures did not take into account the new intake during the year September 1951 to July 1952 which had been 24 Welsh-speaking children and 58 English-speaking children in the case of the Authority's schools during 1950-51.

Thus the English-medium school would require accommodation for about 353 pupils plus a year's intake of children while the Welsh School would need to accommodate 184 plus a year's intake of pupils. Aberystwyth Infants' School could provide accommodation for 225 and Aberystwyth V.P. School could take around 360 pupils.

Aberystwyth Infants' School could accommodate all Welsh-speaking pupils, but this would involve overcrowding at the Aberystwyth V.P. School which could only be overcome by using Lluest as an annexe. This course of action, if taken, would probably be opposed both by the English-speaking parents whose children would have to travel daily to Lluest and by the owners of that School. The Acting Director recommended a temporary scheme of...
partial reorganisation as a compromise. This would involve
transferring the infants from Lluest to the Welsh classes of
Aberystwyth Infants' School and providing for the education of the
Welsh pupils of Aberystwyth Junior School together with the junior
pupils of Lluest at the Lluest building. Its adoption would be
subject to the Ministry's approval of the maintenance of Lluest.

The Reorganisation decided to recommend to the Education
Committee:

'that, subject to satisfactory assurances and arrangements
concerning the rent of the Lluest premises, staffing and
the conveyance of the children who would be placed at
Lluest, the following scheme be adopted for a period of
one year from 1.9.51 with a proviso that the original
resolution of the Education Committee to establish a
Welsh School at Aberystwyth (V.Agenda page 2627) should
be implemented with a reasonable period of time, or as
soon as accommodation permitted:-

INFANTS: Alexandra Road School to remain a
linguistically mixed Infants' School as at
present. Lluest Infants to be taken into
the Welsh stream at Alexandra Road.

JUNIORS: The V.P. School to be left as at present
except that the pupils who have opted for a
Welsh School will be placed at Lluest together
with the Juniors already there. Lluest to
become a Department of the V.P. School, with
the teachers and the pupils there under the
control of the Headteacher of that School.'

It was further recommended that the Headteacher of Lluest and two of
the assistants should be offered temporary posts as qualified
assistants on the staff of the County.

The Education Committee at its meeting on 20 June 1951
unanimously adopted the scheme proposed by the Reorganisation
Committee. The Minister of Education also approved the Authority's
proposals on the understanding that the use of the Lluest premises be
confined to one year only as the opening of the new Penparcau
School would remove the need for additional hired premises.
When schools opened after the summer holiday on Tuesday, 4 September, 21 infants from Lluest were admitted to Aberystwyth Infants School and they were accompanied by Miss Iona Lewis who had served on staff at Lluest. The unit at Lluest had 63 pupils, but it soon increased to 73. Two teachers, Miss Pegl Harding Rees and Miss Heti Mair Davies remained on the staff at Lluest on the pay roll of the Education Authority, and Mr. John Thomas was transferred from the staff of Aberystwyth V.P. School to be teacher-in-charge of the unit under the Headteacher of Aberystwyth V.P. School. Mr. Hywel D. Roberts had declined the offer of a temporary post as teacher-in-charge, and was appointed to the post of Assistant Director of Education at Wigan.

Pupils had to be conveyed daily from Aberystwyth to Lluest in two buses. Those residing out of town could also board these buses, but their parents usually made their own arrangements regarding travelling. As the Education Authority could not accept responsibility for the conveyance of children to a school under two miles away from their home, the Urdd cleared the cost of travelling for the first two terms after which this became the responsibility of the Parents' Association. In addition, the Urdd granted the Authority the use of the Lluest building and furniture for 12 months for a nominal sum of one shilling.

On 21 February 1952, the Education Committee considered a letter from the Urdd requesting information regarding the Authority's intentions in connection with Lluest. The Education Committee resolved to adhere to its previous decision to establish a Welsh School in Aberystwyth and to refer the matter to the Reorganisation Committee. (26)

Meetings of the Reorganisation Committee of 7 March and 25 April dealt with this matter. The facts and figures presented by the
Acting Director were as follows:

Table 2.15 (a) Aberystwyth and Penparcau pupils attending the two Aberystwyth Schools in 1952

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Junior</th>
<th>Infants</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in Welsh classes</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>including Lluest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in English classes</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>557</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Penparcau pupils, included in the above table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Junior</th>
<th>Infants</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in Welsh classes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in English classes</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were also 114 English-speaking pupils and 25 Welsh-speaking pupils at the existing school at Penparcau.

Alexandra Road School could accommodate 190 Welsh-speaking pupils of the town for it had room for 225 children. The V.P. School, with accommodation for 360 pupils, could also house the 234 English-speaking children of Aberystwyth. The existing school at Penparcau could only accommodate 139 pupils, but the new school, which was due to be ready by September, could cope with over 280 pupils. It was obvious, that Alexandra Road could not accommodate the Welsh-speaking pupils residing at Penparcau, and, even if it could, such an arrangement would result in the new school at Penparcau having empty classrooms.
The size of the buildings dictated the form the reorganisation should take. As early as 7 March 1952, the Reorganisation Committee decided that the building at Lluest would not be required after 31 August, and, on 25 April, 1952, the same Committee decided that the two existing primary schools in Aberystwyth should be reorganised in September 1952, making one, Alexandra Road School, a school where Welsh would be the first language of the pupils, and the other, the V.P. School, North Road, a school where English would be the first language of the pupils. This was confirmed by the Education Committee on 8 May, 1952.

The plans of the Education Authority to reorganize the schools at Aberystwyth on a linguistic basis did not materialize without opposition. Protestation began soon after the Authority had approached the parents in May 1951 to ascertain their wishes regarding the type of primary school for their children under a reorganised scheme. On 27 July, 1951, the Education Committee considered a letter from the Aberystwyth Parents' Association protesting against the Authority's proposed reorganisation the following September. It was decided to 'receive' the letter, which indicated that no action would be taken in the matter. After the Authority had formulated its final plans for the reorganisation in May 1952, the objectors made their protest known to the Ministry of Education. On 12 June, the Reorganisation Committee considered a letter from the Ministry of Education on this matter, but in the meantime, the Education Committee at its May meeting took into account a petition from 90 parents of 140 children in the town urging the Authority to set up a Welsh School. A separate Welsh School was, therefore, considered to be a viable unit and the Authority was allowed to proceed with the reorganisation.

The two schools opened, as arranged, in September 1952. The English-medium school at North Road was under the headship of Mr.
Griffith Davies, and Miss E.G. Morgan, who had postponed her retirement, was in charge of the Welsh School. The Authority had ensured that neither of the two headteachers suffered financially as a result of the reorganisation by safeguarding their salary. In September 1953, Miss Morgan was succeeded by Mr. Hywel D. Roberts, who had previously been headteacher of Lluest, and the school became known as Yr Ysgol Gymraeg. Mr. Roberts continued in his post for three years only, and in 1956, Mr. J. Hywel Jones, a member of the staff, was appointed to the headship of the School. In 1966, Mr. Huw J. Evans succeeded to the headship and remained in the post until his death in 1973 when he was followed by Mr. T.L. Thomas. On Mr. Thomas' retirement in 1982, Mr. Eirian Evans was appointed headmaster of the School. Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth has been housed in the old building at Alexandra Road since its establishment in 1952, but the Dyfed Education Authority have plans to provide a new building on Plas-crug playing fields in 1985.

When Dinas Secondary Modern School moved to its new premises in 1955, North Road Primary School or Aberystwyth County Primary School, as it was officially known, was transferred to the vacated section of the Alexandra Road school building, and it remained under the charge of Mr. Griffith Davies until his retirement in 1959. The School remained there under his successor, Mr. Ceiriog Evans, until 1969, when a new building was provided at Plas-crug and the school became known as Plas-crug County Primary. Mr. Evans retired in 1981 and was succeeded by his Deputy, Mr. Lloyd Evans, who is the present headteacher.

The numbers on roll at Yr Ysgol Gymraeg increased fairly steadily during the first 16 years of its existence and its initial enrolment of 164 reached 265 in 1968. After 1969, numbers at the school began to dwindle, and, by January 1974, the enrolment had
dropped to 223. The same trend is observable in the figures for Plas-crug School; the school population there peaked in 1971 when the January enrolment reached 351, but three years later, the number on register dropped to 322. It is interesting to note that while Yr Ysgol Gymraeg and Plas-crug were experiencing falling rolls after 1969 and 1971 respectively, the total school population in the Aberystwyth district was increasing as the following table indicates:

Table 2.16 School population in the Aberystwyth district 1966-74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>January enrolments - Aberystwyth district</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>1740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>2070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>2174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main reason for this expansion in numbers was the building programmes undertaken at such areas as Penparcau, Comins Coch and Bow Street, all near Aberystwyth, mainly in response to developments in the town, where fresh building sites were not available. Thus schools in the immediate vicinity of Aberystwyth increased their enrolments while schools of the town experienced falling rolls. The Penparcau Junior School increased its numbers from 126 to 198 between 1966 and 1974 while its Infant School increased its population from 127 to 160 over the same period. Comins Coch, likewise, grew from being a school of 91 in 1961 to a unit of 153 in 1974, and the growth at Rhydypennau School - the primary school serving the Bow Street area - was truly remarkable, for it expanded its pupil numbers from 65 in 1966 to 166 in 1974. Not only did Rhydypennau increase its enrolment dramatically during those eight years, but it also established a reputation, under the headship of Mr. Eddie Jones, of being a Welsh School in all but
official designation.

The school population of the Aberystwyth district continued to increase until it reached a peak of 2,200 in January 1975. By that time, the enrolment at Yr Ysgol Gymraeg was 220, and that at Plas-crug was 326. At the time of writing (April 1983), the number of full-time pupils in the primary schools of the Aberystwyth district has dropped to 1,906 as a result of a general decline in the child population, and the numbers of full-time pupils at Yr Ysgol Gymraeg and Plas-crug are 183 and 278 respectively. In the meantime, nursery units have been established at these two schools where suitable part-time education is provided for children between the ages of 3½ to 4½. At present there are 13 such pupils attending Yr Ysgol Gymraeg and 38 at Plas-crug. A voluntary Welsh Nursery group, under the auspices of 'Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin' (Nursery Schools' Movement), for children under 3½ years of age also meet on the premises of Yr Ysgol Gymraeg.

Over the years, Yr Ysgol Gymraeg has attracted a fair proportion of the child population of the town in comparison with its counterpart, Plas-crug C.P. School, as the following table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yr Ysgol Gymraeg</th>
<th>Aberystwyth C.P.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>196 (41.8%)</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>222 (43.1%)</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>213 (41.0%)</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>254 (42.7%)</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>223 (41.0%)</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>169 (42.1%)</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Language surveys conducted after 1952 have indicated that children whose first language is Welsh residing within the Borough
have invariably attended Yr Ysgol Gymraeg. But the School has also enrolled children whose first language is English and has proved exceedingly successful over the years in assisting these pupils to become bilingual long before they completed their primary education.

Table 2.18 Percentage of pupils whose first language was Welsh in the schools of the Aberystwyth Borough in 1961, 1967 and 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1967</th>
<th>1973</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ysgol Gymraeg</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth C.P.</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penparcau J</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penparcau I</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For many years after Yr Ysgol Gymraeg was established, pupils who had received a sound grounding in Welsh at the School, either as a first or second language, had only a limited opportunity to pursue their education through the medium of that language at the secondary stage. However, when the Education Authority reorganized secondary education on a linguistic basis in 1973, pupils from Yr Ysgol Gymraeg naturally proceeded to Penweddig Bilingual School to continue to receive a large part of their education through the Welsh language. The establishment of Ysgol Penweddig thus complemented the educational provision at Yr Ysgol Gymraeg, which, in turn, ensured that Ysgol Penweddig received a steady annual intake of pupils with high competence in both Welsh and English.

It would be impossible to assess the contribution of Yr Ysgol Gymraeg in a town whose Welsh-speaking population declined from 56.3 per cent in 1951 to 44.9 per cent in 1971. In such a situation, Yr Ysgol Gymraeg has been a bastion of the Welsh language and the
culture of Wales. It has maintained its connection with the Urdd whose founder established it and whose funds maintained it until the Cardiganshire Education Authority adopted it. The academic record and cultural activities of Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth over the years have fully justified that act of adoption.
NOTES

1. Census Reports 1901 to 1931.

2 & 3. For a brief history of Alexandra Road School (1) and the Aberystwyth National School (2), see:
   A.L. Trott and I.R. Davies, Alexandra Road School, Aberystwyth 1874-1974. This work, which is in typescript, was included in the programme, Centenary Celebrations 1874-1974 (16 December 1974).
   A.L. Trott, Aberystwyth Primary School, Plascrug; Its Historical Background, Cambrian News 1970. This article is included in the Programme of the Opening Ceremony of the new Aberystwyth Primary School at Plascrug on 4 June, 1970.

4. Figures from Agenda of quarterly meetings of the Education Committee.

5. General Report of H.M. Inspectors on Education in the County of Cardigan for the period ended July 31st, 1913, (Board of Education, Welsh Department), 1914, p.3

6. The Log Books of the Aberystwyth Schools are in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

7. The Director's statement, entitled "Memorandum on the 'Position of Welsh in Cardiganshire' submitted to the Departmental Committee on February 24th, 25th and 26th", is in typescript at the Education Office, Aberystwyth.


10. A Statement based on An Investigation into the Teaching of Welsh in the Elementary Schools of the County of Cardigan by His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools (1932), p.4.

11. Headteachers were required to copy reports by H.M. Inspectors in their Log Books.


15. Ibid, p.3.

17. This memorandum, written in Welsh, was entitled Cais am Ysgol Gymraeg i Aberystwyth: Cyflwynedig i Awdurdod Addysg Sir Abertefa gan Bwyllgor Gwraith Cwmni Urdd Gobaith Cymru, Mai 1950 (A Request for a Free Welsh School for Aberystwyth: Presented to Cardiganshire Education Authority by the Executive Committee of the 'Urdd Gobaith Cymru' Company).

18. Dr. J. Henry Jones, Welsh Language Survey 1961, Cardiganshire Education Committee, 1962. This report also presents the findings of surveys conducted in 1945 and 1949.


27. Ibid, pp. 3405-6.


29. Ibid, p.3584.


32. Ibid, p.3584.
CHAPTER III

THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS

When the Cardiganshire Education Authority assumed responsibility for some 10,500 pupils in elementary schools in 1904, the vast majority of these children were Welsh-speaking. Early reports from H.M. Inspectors of Schools indicate that the English-speaking pupils were mainly confined to the towns of Aberystwyth and Cardigan; in 1913, they wrote, "It was found in April 1913 that, out of 1,146 children in the Aberystwyth Elementary Schools, 677 were from Welsh-speaking homes and 469 from English. In the town of Cardigan at the same period, out of 513 pupils at school, 389 were returned as Welsh and 124 as English." (1) Although a substantial proportion of pupils at these schools in 1913 were English-speaking - 41 per cent at Aberystwyth and 24.2 per cent at Cardigan - they comprised less than 7 per cent of the elementary school population of Cardiganshire at the time. In this chapter, an attempt will be made to trace how the position of Welsh changed from being the main language of the vast majority of pupils in the elementary schools at the beginning of this century to become the everyday language of only a minority of young children by 1974.

It would seem that special language surveys were not regularly conducted in the elementary schools of the County during the period up to the Second World War, or, at least, the results of only one full-scale study of this nature, carried out in 1928, is extant. No doubt, the Education Office would have information regarding the number of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils in the schools from the various returns from the headteachers, and it was probably felt that, since the linguistic pattern of the vast majority of schools scarcely changed from year to year during that period, the use of elaborate language surveys, was unnecessary.
The language survey conducted in 1928 was prompted by the report *Welsh in Education and Life*, which had recommended that the language policies of local education authorities in Wales should reflect the linguistic characteristics of their various districts. The survey was organised by the Federation of Education Committees (Wales and Monmouthshire) and headteachers were requested to complete a questionnaire. The returns from the schools are extant in the Education Office, and, from these, the writer has compiled statistics for the County as a whole. As far as it is known, the figures have not been previously published.

The questionnaire requested information regarding the number of children on roll, their ability to speak Welsh, the ability of their parents to speak Welsh and the language of their homes. The questions asked, however, were not inter-related, and, in consequence, it is impossible to draw firm conclusions concerning the relationship between the children's ability to speak Welsh on the one hand, and that of their parents and the language of their homes on the other. The replies to each of the four questions asked will be dealt with in turn.

1. **The number of pupils on register.**

At the time of the survey, there were 7,611 pupils on roll in the elementary schools of Cardiganshire. This figure serves to indicate the extent of the decline in the elementary school population of the County during the early part of the century, for, in 1904, there were over 10,800 registered in the schools. Thus, over a period of 24 years, pupil number had declined by over 3,200, which was a drop of 29.6 per cent. Falling rolls continued to be a feature of elementary education in the County long after 1928; by March 1939, the enrolments had declined to 5,671 - a 47.6 per cent decrease on the 1904 figure - and this trend continued into the sixties, as will be indicated later.
2. **The number of pupils able to speak Welsh.**

The replies from the schools were as follows:

Number of children:
(a) who spoke Welsh - 6,693 (87.9%)
(b) who understood Welsh, but could not speak it - 339 (4.5%)
(c) who could not understand Welsh - 579 (7.6%)

Total - 7,611

The returns from the six school districts are given below: a, b and c in the table denote the categories listed above.

**Table 3.1 The number of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils in the six school district in 1928**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>On roll</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(c)</th>
<th>% Welsh speaking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>1307</td>
<td>1261</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>96.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>2560</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>73.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>877</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>88.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>93.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>1108</td>
<td>1074</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>96.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>919</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>98.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7611</td>
<td>6693</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>87.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed that in all districts except Aberystwyth and Cardigan, over 90 per cent of the pupils were Welsh speaking. 918 children throughout the County were unable to speak Welsh but 36.9 per cent of these understood the language.

In the Aberaeron district, the English speakers were mainly concentrated in the two seaside towns of Aberaeron (14) and New Quay (21), the remaining 11 being found in small numbers in six of the rural schools.

In the Aberystwyth district, 85.9 per cent of the English speakers
attended schools in or near the town of Aberystwyth. These schools with their number and percentage of English speakers were:

- Aberystwyth Council (3 departments) - 336 (53.8%)
- Aberystwyth National - 149 (59.6%)
- Penparcau National - 49 (53.3%)
- Cwmpadarn Council - 46 (46.0%)

Total - 580 (54.4%)

The distribution of the remaining 95 English-speaking pupils in the Aberystwyth district is interesting. 41 of these resided in the seaside village of Borth to the north of Aberystwyth, and schools to the north of Aberystwyth also accounted for 49 out of the remaining 54 English-speaking pupils. These schools, with their number of English speakers, were: Aberffrwd (3); Comins Coch (6); Goginan (7); Llangynfelyn (4); Pen-llwyn (5); Rhydypenna (4); Eglwys-fach (10); Clarach (5) and Penrhyn Mach (5). It may have been coincidental that most of these schools were in neighbourhoods associated with the lead-mining industry of north Cardiganshire.

In the Cardigan district 89 out of the 101 non-Welsh speakers attended schools in Cardigan town and St. Dogmaels - 72 in the Cardigan schools and 17 at St. Dogmaels. The remainder attended Llechryd (2), Blaenporth (3), Llandygroedd (2) and Llangoedmor (5).

The 45 English-speaking pupils in the schools of Lampeter town formed 86.5 per cent of the total English-speaking children in the Lampeter district. The remaining seven were in the rural schools of Cellan (1), Betws Bledwrws (4) and Silian (2) - schools situated within about 3 miles from Lampeter.

Out of 34 non-Welsh speakers in the Llandysul district, 19 were in the two schools at Llandysul, while the remaining 15 were in Adpar (7), Pontgarreg (6), Penmorfa (1) and Rhydlewis (1). Nine schools out of 15 in this district had a one hundred per cent return
There were only 10 English-speaking pupils in a school population of 929 in the Tregaron district. Only 2 of these were in the schools of Tregaron itself, while the remainder attended Llanddewibrefi (3), Strata Florida (2), Tanygarreg (2) and Gartheli (1).

Some general conclusions can be drawn regarding the distribution of English-speaking pupils in the schools of the County in 1928. They are:

(i) 75 per cent of the English speakers attended schools in or near Aberystwyth, Cardigan and Lampeter while, another 10 per cent attended schools situated along the coast at Borth, Aberaeron and New Quay.

(ii) There was no particular pattern to the distribution of the remaining 15 per cent of English-speaking pupils, except in the case of the Aberystwyth district, where it was found that a large number of them attended schools situated to the north of Aberystwyth town. In the Cardigan and Lampeter districts, it was found, however, that schools near the towns of Cardigan and Lampeter tended to have English speakers on roll.

(iii) It is noticeable from the survey that in places where there was a duplication of Council and National Schools, a higher percentage of English-speaking pupils as a rule attended the National Schools, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>National</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borth</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 Percentage of English-speaking pupils in Council and National Schools in the same locality in 1928
It would seem that where there was a choice of elementary schools in the same locality, there was a strong tendency for English-speaking pupils to be enrolled at the time in the National rather than in the Council school, but whether linguistic considerations influenced parental choice in this matter, it is difficult to say.

(iv) Out of 112 schools or departments in the County, 57 had a one hundred per cent return of Welsh speakers, and a further 33 indicated that over 90 per cent of their pupils were Welsh-speaking. In 96 schools or departments there were fewer than 20 per cent non-Welsh speakers while only eight had an English-speaking population of over 30 per cent. These were:

- Aberystwyth Boys (C) - 58 per cent
- Aberystwyth Girls (C) - 42 per cent
- Aberystwyth Infants (C) - 65 per cent
- Aberystwyth (N) - 60 per cent
- Penparcau (N) - 53 per cent
- Cwmpadarn (C) - 46 per cent
- Borth (N) - 56 per cent
- Cardigan (N) - 46 per cent

Thus in 1928, the position of Welsh as the main language of the vast majority of pupils in the elementary schools of Cardiganshire seemed fairly secure, except in the few urban schools of the County where English was the first language of a substantial number of the children. English was also the home language of many children attending rural schools, but these pupils were distributed in such small numbers in over 55 schools that they were easily outnumbered by the Welsh-speaking pupils.
3. The language of the parents.

The returns from the schools were as follows:

(a) children with two Welsh-speaking parents - 6,595 (86.7%)
(b) children with one Welsh-speaking parent (3) - 640 (8.4%)
(c) children with two English-speaking parents - 376 (4.9%)

Total 7,611

As previously pointed out, no conclusions can be drawn regarding the relationship that existed between the number of children who spoke Welsh and the ability of their parents to do so, since the questions on these two topics were not related in the questionnaire. It can be observed, however, that more children could speak Welsh (6,693) than had two Welsh-speaking parents (6,595), but their number was considerably less (by 542) than those who had either one or two Welsh-speaking parents (7,235). Also the number of non-Welsh speakers (918) was appreciably higher than the number of children who had two English-speaking parents (376).

The returns in respect of the school district were as follows:

Table 3.3 The language of parents of pupils in the Elementary Schools in 1928.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of pupils</th>
<th>Pupils with:</th>
<th>2 Welsh parents</th>
<th>1 Welsh parent</th>
<th>2 English parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>1,307</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>2,560</td>
<td>1,949</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>244</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>877</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>1,108</td>
<td>1,037</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7,611</td>
<td>6,595</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>376</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Aberaeron district, most of the children who had two English-speaking parents resided in Aberaeton and New Quay, and this
also applied to those with only one Welsh-speaking parent.

64.9 per cent of the total pupils with two English-speaking parents resided in the Aberystwyth district, and most of these - 76 per cent - attended schools in or near Aberystwyth. Again, the same proportion of pupils with only one Welsh-speaking parent in the Aberystwyth district attended these schools. There were also pupils with two English-speaking parents in 21 out of 36 schools in the Aberystwyth district, but these were usually in small numbers in the rural schools. There were 11, however, in Borth National, 10 at Eglwys-fach, 6 at Goginan and 6 at Llanafan. 25 schools in the Aberystwyth district had children with only one Welsh-speaking parent. In the rural schools the largest number of these children were in the Borth Schools (18); Comins Coch (7); Llangynfelyn (9); Penllwyn (5); Cwmystwyth (5); Rhydypennau (5); Eglwys-fach (6); Tal-y-bont (7) and Meñenydd (5).

In the Cardigan district, 29 out of the 46 children with two English-speaking parents attended schools in Cardigan town and a further 7 attended St. Dogmaels. The remainder (10) attended Llechryd, Blaen-porth, Llandygwydd and Llangoedmor. Pupils with only one Welsh-speaking parent also attended the same schools - the highest number being in the Cardigan Schools - and, in addition, there were pupils in this category at Aber-porth and Pen-parc.

Most of the pupils with two English parents in the Lampeter district attended the schools of Lampeter town, and there were only three such pupils in the rural schools (Cellan - 1, and Sillian - 2). 43 out of the 52 with only one Welsh speaking parent also attended the Lampeter schools, while the remainder were at Blaenau, Cellan, Llanfair and Llangybi.

Only nine pupils in the Llandysul district had two English-speaking parents and these were at Adpar, Bryn (Coed-y-bryn),
Pontgarreg, Rhydlewis and the Llandysul Schools. There were 62 pupils, however, with only one Welsh-speaking parent and they were registered at 12 out of the 15 schools of the district. The highest numbers were at Adpar (7), Pontgarreg (8), Tre-groes (6), Tre-wen (6) and Llandysul National (16).

Of the 7 children with English-speaking parents in the Tregaron district, 5 attended Ysbyty Ystwyth and 2 at Strata Florida. Those with one Welsh-speaking parent attended Llanddewibrefi, Llaneitho, Swyddffynnon, Tanygarreg, Garthell and the Tregaron Schools. The highest number was at Tregaron National which had 7 of these pupils.

It will be seen from the fore-going that 4.9 per cent of pupils in the elementary schools of Cardiganshire in 1928 had two English-speaking parents and a further 8.4 per cent had only one Welsh-speaking parent. The vast majority of these children attended schools in urban areas while the remainder were registered in small numbers in various rural schools. Generally speaking, the distribution of these pupils in the schools of the County followed the same pattern as that of pupils who were unable to speak Welsh and the similarity of the two distributions is particularly striking when only those with two English parents are considered.

4. The language of the homes.

The total returns were as follows:

(a) Pupils whose home language was exclusively Welsh - 6,201 (81.47%)
(b) Pupils from homes where Welsh and English were spoken - 553 (7.27%)
(c) Pupils whose home language was English - 857 (11.26%)

Total 7,611

As previously indicated, this language survey does not allow one to observe an exact connection between the ability of the parents to speak Welsh and the medium of communication in their homes as the
three questions asked were entirely independent. It is observed, however, that more children had two Welsh-speaking parents (6,595) than had Welsh as their home language (6,201). Also fewer children heard Welsh for a part of the time in their homes - a total of 553 - than had one Welsh-speaking parent (640). Again English was the only home language for a larger number of pupils - a total of 857 - than had two English-speaking parents (376). It is also noticeable that more children could speak Welsh (6,693) than spoke Welsh in the home all the time, but the number of Welsh speakers was 61 less than the total of those who either heard Welsh spoken all the time or for part of the time in their homes (6,754). One cannot escape a conclusion here that Welsh was not always the language of the homes where both parents were Welsh-speaking.

The returns in respect of the six district were:

Table 3.4 The home language of pupils in the elementary schools of Cardiganshire in 1928.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of pupils</th>
<th>Welsh only</th>
<th>Welsh &amp; English</th>
<th>English only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>1,307</td>
<td>1,228</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>2,560</td>
<td>1,676</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>877</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>1,108</td>
<td>1,023</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7,611</td>
<td>6,201</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Aberaeron district, the use of English in the homes was most prevalent in Aberaeron and New Quay, and more children in both towns heard English spoken all the time in their homes than had two English parents.

Of the 538 children in the Aberystwyth district whose home
language was exclusively English, 419 (77.8 per cent) attended schools
in or near Aberystwyth. Another 62 were in the Borth Schools and
most of the remainder were also in the schools to the north of
Aberystwyth previously mentioned.

In the Cardigan district, English was the home language of 101
children in the schools of Cardigan town, while 13 of the remainder
were in St. Dogmaels and Llangoedmor.

In the Lampeter district, 75 out of the 84 children from English-
speaking homes attended the schools of Lampeter town, while the
remainder were in schools previously mentioned - Cellan, Betws Bledrws
and Silian.

Of the 29 children from English-speaking homes in the Llandysul
district, 14 attended the Llandysul Schools, while there were 5 at
Adpar, 5 at Bryn (Coed-y-bryn) and 6 at Pontgarreg - a school
serving the Llangrannog area. The remainder, in smaller numbers,
were at Brongest, Penmorfa, Rhydlewis and Capel Dewi.

The 16 pupils from English-speaking homes in the Tregaron
district attended Llanddewibrefi (4), Strata Florida (2), Tanygarreg
(2), Swyddffynnon (3) and Ysbyty Ystwyth (5).

In spite of some of its shortcomings, the language survey of
1928 clearly provides very important information concerning the
position of Welsh and English in the elementary schools of Cardiganshire.
It indicated a definite tendency for schools in the coastal belt to
become anglicised, and it highlighted the same process in an inland
town like Lampeter. Although it revealed that the rural schools were
predominantly Welsh in character, it also showed that there were
small numbers of children from English-speaking homes in many of
these places. One of the interesting aspects of the survey from
present day standpoint is that it indicated in miniature what was to
be writ large in subsequent investigations conducted by the Authority.

In 1932 H.M. Inspectors conducted an investigation into the teaching of Welsh, and in the Statement they issued in the same year, they referred to the linguistic character of the school population:

"The elementary school-children of Cardiganshire are preponderatingly Welsh speaking. Returns obtained from the Headteachers of the various schools show that, out of a total of 6,905 pupils, 5,918 speak Welsh, 370 merely understand the language, and 617 are returned as being unable to speak or understand it."(4)

When these figures are compared with those obtained in 1928, the changes that had occurred in the meantime become apparent:

Table 3.5 Changes in the linguistic character of the elementary school population of Cardiganshire between 1928 and 1932.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Welsh-speaking pupils</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>6,693</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>7,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>5,918</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>6,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes</td>
<td>- 775</td>
<td>+ 31</td>
<td>+ 38</td>
<td>- 706</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: U - being able to understand Welsh but unable to speak it
E - being unable to understand or speak Welsh.

It was natural to expect a drop in the number of Welsh-speaking pupils at a time when the elementary school population was on the decline, but the figures indicate that, while the enrolments dropped by 9.3 per cent, the number of Welsh speakers diminished by 11.5 per cent. At the same time, the number of children unable to speak
Welsh increased by 8.6 per cent. As a result of these changes the proportion of Welsh speakers in the school population dropped from 87.9 per cent in 1928 to 85.7 per cent in 1932.

The Statement went on to identify the areas where the non-Welsh speakers were concentrated: "Of the 617 purely English-speaking, 483 are confined to the Aberystwyth schools, including Penparcau and Cwmpadarn. The non-Welsh speaking children appear to be very largely localised at Aberystwyth, and, in a much lesser extent, at some other seaboard places." Thus the Aberystwyth schools, including those of Penparcau and Cwmpadarn, accounted for 78.2 per cent of the total number of pupils in the County unable to speak or understand Welsh in 1932, and this marks an increase on the 72.8 per cent indicated in 1928.

Although no further language surveys were conducted in the schools, as far as it is known, until the forties, the position of the two languages in the elementary schools during the thirties seems very clear. Welsh was the main language of the vast majority of the pupils, but the number of Welsh speakers was on the decline mainly due to the drop in the school population. Yet, even in a situation of falling rolls, the number of English speakers in the schools was on the increase, and, although these pupils were mainly confined to the schools of Aberystwyth and other areas on the coastal belt, they were also found in small numbers in more rural schools.

By the thirties, the language policy of the Authority had undergone radical changes as a result of the appearance of the report Welsh in Education and Life in 1927. Before that, the general practice in Cardiganshire schools had been to teach both Welsh and English at the Infant stage, and after the first year or so to concentrate largely upon English, a policy which inevitably led to
the neglect of Welsh at the expense of English. The new policy
gave effect to the principle that a child should be taught in his
mother tongue during his early years at school and that the second
language, be it English or Welsh, should not be introduced until he
had attained a measure of proficiency, both in oral and written work,
in his own language. In practice, this meant that the second
language was not introduced until the first year after the child had
left the Infants' class, that is, in Standard I. This new policy not
only affected language teaching in the rural schools, but also those
in urban areas, and this led some of the linguistically-mixed schools
to stream their pupils on the basis of their home language.

The 1932 Statement felt that it was too early at that time to
judge the real effects of the change in policy, for children who were
at the Infant stage when it was introduced had not then reached the
higher classes of the schools. Nevertheless, it praised the standard
already attained in Welsh as the mother tongue in the lower classes:

"The facility in speaking, reading and writing Welsh,
reached before English is commenced, is generally very
satisfactory. Infants and Standard I pupils, taught on
the lines now adopted in the schools, attain a proficiency
in oral expression and in reading and writing their
native language which is usually at least as high as
that attained by corresponding children in English-
speaking areas; in frequent cases it is well ahead of that
standard, even to the extent of twelve months' progress."(6)

On the other hand, the teaching of Welsh in the linguistically-mixed
schools varied a great deal. Some schools had made a genuine
attempt to follow the suggestions of the Board's Memorandum No 1(7)
regarding organisation and teaching; some others, in spite of
classifying pupils on the basis of their home language, achieved no
progress due to poor teaching, while the remainder had either not
implemented a policy of streaming or grossly neglected the teaching
In its letter to the Authority accompanying the Statement, the Welsh Department indicated its intention of reviewing the work done in the Cardiganshire schools in about five years' time when a full report would be issued on the position of Welsh teaching throughout the County. Although the Welsh Inspectorate conducted a survey of the schools of Cardiganshire in 1936, its main purpose was not to inspect the work done by the schools 'but rather to investigate the existing facilities in the schools and to estimate their adequacy to meet the present situation which will become even more acute in 1939 when the Act for the raising of the school-leaving age becomes operative.' The Report on the survey, issued in 1937, merely reiterated the main points of the 1932 Statement. The 'full report' on language teaching did not appear and the raising of the school leaving age had to be postponed due to the outbreak of the Second World War.

In April 1945, when the war was almost over, the Authority conducted its own language survey in its primary schools. Almost three years previously, on 9 October, 1942, the Welsh Office had issued Wales Circular 182 to remind local education authorities of their obligation, even during a period of war, to consider their language policies in the light of the report Welsh in Education and Life and Memorandum No 1 and pledged its full support to all those who pursued enlightened programmes. It was in response to this Circular that Cardiganshire set up a Language Committee in 1942, as previously indicated, and this was followed by the language survey of 1945.

For the purpose of the survey the schools were asked to indicate the number of (a) Welsh-speaking pupils (b) non-Welsh speaking on roll and, at the same time, classify the children
according to the ability of the parents to speak Welsh, that is those with: (i) 2 Welsh-speaking parents; (ii) 1 Welsh-speaking parent or (iii) no Welsh-speaking parent. The findings of the survey are recorded in the Director of Education's report Welsh Language Survey 1961. Details of the returns from each school are indicated, together with the percentage of Welsh-speaking at each school. The totals of the returns for all the schools in the County were not, however, recorded in the report, but these have been calculated for the purpose of this study.

There were returns in respect of 5,778 pupils in the primary schools, and, of this number, 4,189 - 72.5 per cent - could speak Welsh and 1,589 were indicated as being unable to do so. When the detailed figures obtained in 1945 are shown alongside those recorded in 1928, the extent of the changes that had occurred in the meantime are clearly demonstrated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Welsh-speaking pupils</th>
<th>Non-Welsh speaking pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>1,261 (96%)</td>
<td>899 (86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>1,885 (74%)</td>
<td>1,009 (51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>776 (88%)</td>
<td>481 (66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>778 (94%)</td>
<td>503 (82%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>1,074 (97%)</td>
<td>701 (89%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>919 (99%)</td>
<td>596 (93%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,693 (88%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,189 (73%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.6 Comparison between the number of pupils able to speak Welsh in the six school district in 1928 and 1945.

Total on roll in 1928 - 7,611 and in 1945 - 5,778

There had been a substantial drop of over 1,800 in the primary school population between 1928 and 1945, although there had been
periods during the war when the enrolments had been over 6,200 due to the presence of a large number of evacuees in the schools. It was to be expected that a fall in the school population would be accompanied by a somewhat similar decline in the number of Welsh speakers, but it is astonishing to find that, while the enrolments diminished by around 24 per cent, there was a 37 per cent loss of Welsh speakers. The decline in the number of Welsh-speaking children since 1928 had been severe in each of the six school districts: in the Aberaeron district it amounted to 29 per cent; in the Cardigan, Lampeter, Llandysul and Tregaron districts, the losses ranged between 35 and 39 per cent, while, in the Aberystwyth district, it was as high as 46 per cent. The country schools accounted for about 80 per cent of the decline in Welsh speakers, while the remaining losses were recorded at the urban schools of Aberystwyth (including Penparcau and Cwmpadarn), Aberaeron, New Quay and Lampeter.

The 1945 survey indicated a total of 1,589 English-speaking pupils in the schools, and this was an increase of 671 (73 per cent) since 1928. Heed, however, must be taken of the Director's observation in his Report that there were some evacuees still in the schools when the survey was conducted, and that they were responsible, in some measure, for the high number of English speakers included in the returns. (12) As the figures stand, it will be observed that the most substantial increase in English speaking had occurred in the schools of the Aberystwyth and Cardigan districts - 280 and 151 respectively. The schools of Aberystwyth town, together with Penparcau and Cwmpadarn accounted for 40 per cent of the increase in the Aberystwyth district, while the two schools in the town of Cardigan were responsible for 60 per cent of the increase in the Cardigan district. Of the rural schools in these two districts, Borth, Rhydypennau and Llangynfelyn in the north, and the schools of Aber-porth, Llechryd and St. Dogmaels in the south had the highest
number of English speakers. The increase recorded at both schools in Aber-porth is of particular interest, since it resulted from the establishing of an R.A.F. station at Blaenannerch and a Royal Aircraft Establishment at Parc-llyn during the war. In 1928 there were no English-speaking pupils at either the Council or the National School at Aber-porth, but, by 1945, there was a total of 43 at the two schools forming 48 per cent of their combined enrolments. These developments in the vicinity of Aber-porth had profound effects for many years on the linguistic character of the surrounding primary schools as a result of the English-speaking personnel of the R.A.F. station and of the R.A.E. finding housing accommodation in the neighbouring villages as well as in the town of Cardigan.

Thus the 1945 survey showed a marked decrease in the number of Welsh-speaking children in the primary schools of Cardiganshire since 1928, while, at the same time, it indicated a definite increase in the number of English speakers in both urban and rural schools, though this was influenced to a certain extent by the presence of evacuated children. The result of these changes was that the proportion of Welsh speakers in the primary school population became depressed from 87.9 per cent in 1928 to 72.5 per cent in 1945. Table 3.7 indicates the changes in the percentage of Welsh speakers in the primary schools of the County during those 17 years.
Table 3.7 Changes in the percentage of Welsh speakers in the primary schools of Cardiganshire between 1928 and 1945

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Welsh speakers</th>
<th>Number of schools in:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-99</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of schools/departments: 112 (1928) and 110 (1945)

It will be observed that while over half the schools had a 100 per cent Welsh-speaking population in 1928, only 24.8 per cent of them were in a similar position in 1945. Again, while only one school (Aberystwyth Infant School) had under 40 per cent Welsh speakers in 1928, another nine were in the same category in 1945. These were:

Table 3.8 Cardiganshire schools with under 40 per cent Welsh speakers in 1945

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Welsh speakers</th>
<th>Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>Cwmpadarn C; Borth C; Cardigan N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aberporth N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>Aberystwyth (Boys) C; Aberystwyth (I) C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
<td>Aberystwyth (Girls) C; Aberystwyth N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Borth N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>Penparcau N.P.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 164 -
The 1945 survey also investigated the ability of the parents to speak Welsh and related this to the capability of their children to speak the same language. The findings of the survey may be summarized as follows:

Table 3.9 The relationship between the ability of the parents and that of their children to speak Welsh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Welsh-speaking pupils</th>
<th>English-speaking pupils</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 Welsh</td>
<td>3,924</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>4,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Welsh</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 English</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,189</td>
<td>1,589</td>
<td>5,778</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figures indicate that the vast majority of the pupils in 1945 had two Welsh-speaking parents, and the overwhelming majority of these children could speak Welsh. Most of the children with only one Welsh-speaking parent spoke English - the report does not differentiate between Welsh-speaking fathers and Welsh-speaking mothers - and all, except 26, with two English-speaking parents also spoke English.

In terms of percentages, it could be stated that:

1. 73.2 per cent of the pupils had two Welsh-speaking parents, and 92.8 per cent of these children also spoke Welsh.

2. 13.8 per cent had only one Welsh-speaking parent and 70 per cent of them spoke English.

3. 13.0 per cent of the pupils had two English-speaking parents, and only 3.5 per cent of these could speak Welsh.

Over half of those with two Welsh-speaking parents but unable themselves to speak Welsh were pupils at the Aberystwyth schools and...
most of the remaining children in the same category were at Borth, Aberaeron, New Quay, Cardigan and Lampeter. Only very occasionally were these found to be in the rural areas.

Of the 725 English-speaking children of two English-speaking parents, 447 were in schools in the Aberystwyth district (69 per cent of them were in the schools of Aberystwyth town together with those of Penparcau and Cwmpadarn) while 115 of them were in schools in the Cardigan district, mostly in Cardigan town, Aber-porth and Llechryd.

It will be recalled that the 1928 survey also investigated the ability of the parents to speak Welsh, and when the findings of these two surveys in this respect are compared, the extent of the changes that had occurred in the meantime becomes evident.

Table 3.10 Percentage of pupils of Welsh or English parentage in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1928 and 1945.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Percentage of pupils in:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Welsh</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Welsh</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 English</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that a lower proportion of children had two Welsh-speaking parents in 1945 than in 1928, while, on the other hand, there had been a substantial increase in the proportion of those who had either one or two English-speaking parents.

The 1945 survey, in spite of the reservations expressed by the Director that it could be weighted in favour of English, is a very important one. From one point of view, the fact that there were evacuees in the schools does not detract from the value of the
investigation, since a language survey seeks to ascertain the language situation at a particular point in time, and in 1945, the relative position of Welsh and English in the schools was precisely as indicated by the survey. On the other hand, due to the abnormal circumstances prevailing at the time, it is less valuable for comparative purposes, though subsequent surveys were to show that the trends it highlighted were remarkably accurate.

It is interesting to note in this context that the Caernarvonshire Education Authority also conducted a language survey in its schools in response to Circular 182. This was undertaken in May 1943, two years before Cardiganshire, and, at the time, there were a number of evacuated children in the Caernarvonshire schools. These two former Education Authorities had much in common: they had a large number of rural schools; their larger schools were situated in areas along their seaboard; they were traditionally Welsh-speaking counties and both Authorities, since their establishment, had fostered the Welsh language in their educational systems. In view of these similarities, it is interesting to compare some of the findings of the two surveys.

The Caernarvonshire survey was wider in scope than that of Cardiganshire, for it investigated the position of Welsh and English in all its schools - Infants, Junior, Central and County Schools. The 1945 survey in Cardiganshire did not include the County Schools, although Bryn Road Central School was included in the investigation. Omitting the figures Caernarvonshire obtained in respect of its County Schools, the returns for both counties compared as follows:
Table 3.11 Number of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils in the Caernarvonshire schools in 1943 and in the Cardiganshire schools in 1945.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main language:</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caernarvonshire</td>
<td>11,718 (75.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardiganshire</td>
<td>4,189 (72.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Caernarvonshire's school population was substantially higher than that of Cardiganshire, and, in consequence, its Welsh-speaking pupils were more numerous than those of Cardiganshire. On the other hand, the number of English speakers in the Caernarvonshire schools far exceeded those of Cardiganshire, but their proportion in the total school population was lower - 24.9 per cent as compared with 27.5 per cent in Cardiganshire.

The vast majority of the schools of Caernarvonshire, like those of Cardiganshire, had a high proportion of Welsh speakers, and, as in Cardiganshire, there were schools where all pupils spoke Welsh. But schools with a very low proportion of Welsh speakers were more numerous in Caernarvonshire, and, unlike Cardiganshire, some of these had not one Welsh-speaking pupil on the register. It is significant that in both counties, the schools which had the highest percentage of English speakers were located in areas along the coast. The Caernarvonshire Report observed: 'It is interesting to note how the Welsh-speaking percentage in the county decreases gradually along the north-west coastal strip from Bangor to Llandudno and that Llandudno Junction is, in truth, the crossroads of the two languages'.(14) In Cardiganshire, on the other hand, the schools with the highest percentage of English-speaking pupils were situated in the extremities of the county - the Aberystwyth and Borth schools in the north and
the Cardigan and St. Dogmaels schools in the south—while the intervening areas along the coast were becoming anglicised to a lesser degree. Thus in both counties, the surveys had diagnosed complex language situations.

By September 1949, when the Cardiganshire Education Authority conducted its next language survey in its schools, many changes had occurred. The war was over and the evacuees had departed, and it could naturally be expected that this survey would present a more accurate picture regarding the position of Welsh and English as media of communication for children whose parents resided in the county. But the end of the forties was a period of great change as far as the Cardiganshire schools were concerned, for it was the time when the reorganisation of the primary schools on the lines of the Education Act 1944 was commenced, and this was not completed until 1952. Thus, when the 1949 language survey was conducted, the Authority was in the throes of this reorganisation; the Aberystwyth, Cardigan and Lampeter districts had, by then, been reorganised into separate Primary and Secondary Schools, but the reorganisation of the Aberaeron, Llandysul and Tregaron districts was still to be undertaken.

There had been profound changes in those primary schools which had been subject to this reorganisation. Their enrolments had naturally decreased when their senior pupils were transferred to the secondary sector, and this had meant, in many cases, a reorganisation of classes under fewer teachers. Some schools, as will be related later in this work, disappeared completely at this time because they became too small in size to form viable units, and the separate departments of some of the larger schools were also merged. Thus Trisant C.P., Abenporth N.P. and the temporary school at Soar-y-mynydd vestry do not feature in the 1949 survey, and neither did
Bryn Road Central School, since, by this time, it had given way to the newly-established Lampeter Secondary School. In Aberystwyth the three departments at Alexandra Road and the National School at North Road had merged to form two schools - Infant and Junior - while a similar reorganisation had occurred in Cardigan, where three schools in the town had been reduced to two.

The 1945 language investigation had indicated that there were 5,778 pupils on roll in the primary schools, including pupils at Bryn Road Central School, Lampeter, but, when the survey was repeated in 1949, the enrolments had declined to 4,770. The following table shows the changes in the school population of the six districts of the county during the intervening years:

Table 3.12 The primary school population of the six Cardiganshire districts in April 1945 and September 1949

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Enrolments</th>
<th>% +/-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>1,040</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>1,964</td>
<td>1,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,778</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,770</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table indicates a drop in the primary school population in all districts except Llandysul, and the decrease had been most severe in areas that had been subject to the reorganisation namely, Aberystwyth, Cardigan and Lampeter. Depopulation within the County was also a cause for this decline, and it has also to be borne in mind that the 1945 figures for the schools had been boosted by the presence of evacuated children. Another important point to be
considered in this connection is that the 1945 survey was conducted in April when the school population is at its maximum for the year, while the 1949 investigation was made in September when the schools had received their first intake of pupils only for that year. Several schools in the Llandysul district, however, had increased their enrolments since 1945, but the area had not been reorganised at the time of the survey.

The position in the Lampeter district calls for closer examination. The above table indicates a 36.3 per cent drop in the school population by 1949, but this was due to the fact that Bryn Road Central School was included in the 1945 survey and had been discontinued by 1949. That school had an enrolment of 250 in 1945 which left the remainder of the school of the Lampeter district with only 361 pupils. When this adjustment is made to the 1945 figures, it is observed that the 1949 returns for the Lampeter district showed an increase of 28 primary school pupils.

The 1949 survey indicated that out of a total of 4,770 pupils in the primary schools, 3,664 (76.8 per cent) were Welsh-speaking and 1,106 were English speaking. Thus, 525 Welsh-speaking pupils and 483 English-speaking pupils had disappeared from the schools since 1945, and this represented decreases of 12.5 per cent and 30.3 per cent respectively. The returns for the six district were as follows:
Table 3.13 Number of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils in the six districts of the County in 1949 and the percentage of pupils speaking Welsh in 1945 and 1949:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number speaking: Welsh English Total</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>792 116 908 87.2 86.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>826 617 1,443 57.2 51.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>406 192 598 67.8 65.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>297 92 389 76.3 82.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>784 54 838 93.5 89.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>559 35 594 94.1 92.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,664 1,106 4,770 76.8 72.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All district indicated a decrease in the number of Welsh speakers since 1945 except Llandysul, where an increase of 83 Welsh-speaking pupils was recorded. All district also showed a decrease in the number of English speakers. But the proportion of Welsh-speaking pupils in the primary school population was enhanced from 72.5 per cent in 1945 to 76.8 per cent in 1949 and this upward trend was indicated in all district except Lampeter, where a drop from 82.3 per cent to 76.3 per cent was recorded. An adjustment to take account of the fact that figures for Bryn Road School were included in 1945 survey does not significantly change the position as indicated for the Lampeter district in the above table for the reason that an increase of 25 English-speaking pupils is then indicated for the remaining schools of the area.

In general, these changes did not have a great effect on the linguistic pattern of the schools, and the position in this respect remained roughly the same as it was in 1945 as the following table indicates:
Table 3.14  Number of primary schools with varying percentages of Welsh-speaking pupils in 1945 and 1949

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Welsh speakers</th>
<th>Number of schools:</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1949</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 - 100</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 90</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 80</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 70</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 60</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 50</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 40</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 30</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>110</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two general points in respect of the above table must be borne in mind. Some schools with a high percentage of Welsh speakers in 1945 had been discontinued by 1949, while departments in Aberystwyth and Cardigan, which had a low percentage of Welsh-speakers in 1945, had been reduced in number in the meantime through amalgamation. On the whole, however, the picture remained the same as in 1945. 27 schools in 1945 and 28 schools in 1949 had a 100 per cent enrolment of Welsh speakers and almost the same number of schools on both occasions had over 80 per cent Welsh-speaking pupils on roll. It is interesting to note that the same schools, with a few exceptions, featured in the top categories of the above table in 1945 and 1949; all these were village schools and they had only a very small number of English speaking pupils on roll. In contrast, the 10 schools with under 50 per cent Welsh speakers in 1949 accounted for 65.9 per cent of the total English-speaking pupils within the County.
These schools and their percentage of Welsh speakers were:

Cardigan C.P. - 48; Aberaeron V.P. - 47;
Peterwell C.P. - 46; Cardigan Infants C.P. - 42;
Cwmpadarn C.P. - 30; Borth C.P. - 36;
Aberystwyth V.P. - 34; Aberystwyth C.P. - 32;
Borth V.P. - 14 and Penparcau V.P. - 13.

The 1949 survey, like that of 1945, classified the Welsh- and English-speaking pupils according to the ability of their parents to speak Welsh, with the following findings:

Table 3.15 Classification of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils in 1949 according to the ability of their parents to speak Welsh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Welsh-speaking pupils</th>
<th>English-speaking pupils</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 Welsh parents</td>
<td>3,303</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3,463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Welsh parent</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Welsh parents</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,664</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,106</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,770</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following conclusions may be drawn on the basis of the above table:

1. 72.6 per cent of the pupils had two Welsh parents and 95.4 of these children spoke Welsh. In 1945, 72.3 per cent of the pupils had two Welsh parents and 92.8 per cent of them could speak Welsh.

2. 14.9 per cent of the pupils had only one Welsh-speaking parent and 58.5 per cent of the children were English-speaking. In 1945, 13.8 per cent of the children had one Welsh-speaking parent, but 70 per cent of them spoke English.

3. The remaining 12.5 per cent of pupils had two English parents and 11.8 per cent of these spoke Welsh. In 1945,
13.0 per cent of the children had two English parents, but only 3.5 per cent of them spoke Welsh. In 1949, as in 1945, slightly over 66.5 per cent of the English-speaking pupils with two English parents attended schools at Aberystwyth, Penparcau, Cwmpadarn, Borth, New Quay, Aber-porth, Cardigan and Lampeter.

4. The percentages quoted above would indicate an improvement in the position of Welsh by 1949. A higher proportion of children with two Welsh-speaking parents spoke the language, and this was also true of those who had only one Welsh-speaking parent. Whether this improvement was due to the efforts of the schools or to changed attitudes on the part of parents, it is impossible to state. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that it was the schools that had to be credited for the improvement by 1949 in the proportion of children from purely English homes able to speak Welsh.

In spite of these bright aspects, the 1949 survey indicated a gloomier side from the standpoint of the Welsh language. It confirmed that the anglicisation of the urban schools was an on-going process and that many rural schools, some along the coast and others in the heart of the County, were admitting an increasing number of English-speaking children. A short list of such schools show how widely they were dispersed over the whole area:

Llangynfelyn; Penllwyn; Comins Coch; Meifennydd (Llanrhystud); Pen-lôn (Llwynceleyn); Llannarth; Pontgarreg; Rhydlewis; Penparc; Llanfair; Llanwnnen; Castell Flemish; Pen-uwch and Cofadail.

The numbers of English-speaking pupils admitted at these schools were small in relation to the Welsh speakers, and it is more than probable that there was no difficulty in integrating them into the normal life of the school. But, although the presence of these children in such small numbers presented no serious educational problems to the
schools, it is important to state that their very presence signified a change in the linguistic character of the rural school and its neighbourhood. Subsequent language surveys were to present a clearer picture of the changes underway in the forties.

The Caernarvonshire Education Authority also found it expedient before the end of the same decade to repeat its war-time language survey in its schools, and this was undertaken in December 1947. Its report on the investigation, entitled *Second Language Survey*, shows that, out of a total of 10,595 pupils on roll in its primary schools, 7,541 - 71.7 per cent - could speak Welsh and 3,070 were English speaking. About two years later, in September 1949, it was found that 76.8 per cent of pupils in the primary schools in Cardiganshire were Welsh speaking. The second Caernarvonshire Report again drew attention to the variety of language situations existing within the county; some schools were still entirely Welsh in character, some were entirely English but the majority had a language mix which was either favourable to Welsh or English. As in 1943, schools which were predominantly English in character ranged along the county's northern seaboard, but it is interesting to note that by 1949 the western limit of this anglicised belt had extended beyond Bangor to the town of Caernarvon. It was also noted how the development of the tourist industry and the setting up of industrial factories had brought numbers of English-speaking people into the County, and this had produced a change in the linguistic pattern of the local schools. Although Cardiganshire did not have its industrial factories, it has already been shown that the establishment of the R.A.F. station and the R.A.E. near Aber-porth exerted a linguistic influence on the schools of the surrounding area.

An interesting feature of the Caernarvonshire survey was that it investigated the language of play of those children who could
speak Welsh. It will be recalled that 10,595 (71.7 per cent) children in the primary schools of the County in 1947 were able to speak Welsh, but of this number only 5,422 (51.2 per cent) used Welsh habitually at play, while 3,348 (31.6 per cent) always played in English and 1,825 (17.2 per cent) used both languages. Thus, although the English-speaking pupils were in a minority in most primary schools of the County at the time, their influence on the language of play far outstripped their numerical strength.

The language surveys conducted by the Caernarvonshire and Cardiganshire Education Authorities in the forties are of importance today because they denote a stage in a process of change in the linguistic character of the two counties. On the one hand, they confirmed that previously-noticed trends were continuing, while, on the other, they indicated slight changes in the linguistic nature of many small schools. The significance of the small changes they denoted would become very apparent as the years went by, for then they would be regarded as first stages in a process of anglicisation of the countryside.

In June 1950, the Welsh Joint Education Committee conducted a language survey in the schools of Wales on behalf of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales), which had been requested 'to review the Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales and the Problem of Bilingualism in Wales generally.' The two bodies jointly devised a suitable questionnaire, which not only sought information regarding the language usually spoken by the children and that used in their homes, but also details regarding the degree of proficiency the children had gained in their second language, Welsh or English, as well as the language policies in force in the schools. Finally, the questionnaire asked the views of teachers on suitable books and aids for language teaching.
Unfortunately, details of the returns from individual primary schools in Cardiganshire are not available. These were not published by the Authority probably because it had conducted its own survey only a year previously. A summary of the statistical returns from all the Education Authorities in Wales, however, appear in the report *The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales*, (21) and the maps, which were also produced, indicate the percentage of Welsh-speaking pupils in the various schools.

The map for Cardiganshire (22) shows clearly that the vast majority of the schools had over 90 per cent Welsh-speaking children, and it can be observed that these schools tended to be located away from the County's boundaries. 18 schools had between 80 and 90 per cent Welsh speakers on roll. Six of these were in the Aberystwyth district and were: Llangynfelyn; Tal-y-bont; Rhydypennau; Comins-coch; Pen-llwyn; Aber-ffrwd; Elerch; Mynach and Llanfihangel-y-Creuuddyn. The three schools in this category in the Aberaeron district were Llan-non, Aber-arth and Llannarth - on or near the coast - while Llangoedmor, near Cardigan, also appeared in the same group. Three schools near Lampeter, Silian, Llanfair and Llangybi were similarly grouped, together with Brongest and Coed-y-bryn in the Llandysul district.

The schools with under 80 per cent of Welsh speakers were few in number. They were:

(a) Eglwys-fach; Goginan; Cofadail; New Quay; Aber-porth; Tre-wen; Lampeter and Betws Bledrws. The percentage of Welsh speakers at these schools ranged between 60 and 80.

(b) The Borth Schools - 40 to 60 per cent Welsh speakers.

(c) The Aberystwyth Schools with Penparcau and Cwmpadarn - 20 to 40 per cent Welsh speakers.

The tables of statistics in respect of the various Authorities in
Appendix II of the Report provide a classification of pupils according to age and first language and, at the same time, indicate the measure of proficiency the children had gained in their second language. The table in respect of Cardiganshire (23) shows that there were 3,798 pupils under 11 years of age in the schools. This figure does not coincide with the number of children in the primary schools at the time, for schools which had not then been reorganised had pupils over 11 years of age on roll. However, since the returns from individual schools are not extant, the details for pupils under 11 years of age will receive consideration in this section. The table indicates that Welsh was the first language of 2,687 pupils out of 3,798 in the age range, while English was the main language of the remaining 1,111. Thus for 70.7 per cent of the children, Welsh was their first language. The table also enables us to ascertain the number of children who were bilingual, since teachers provided an assessment of the children's proficiency in their second language in accordance with the following scale:

A. Pupils with no knowledge of the second language
B. Pupils able to understand but unable to speak Welsh
C. Pupils able to understand simple lessons in the 2nd Language and able to conduct an elementary conversation in the 2nd Language
D. Pupils able to express themselves with fair fluency in the 2nd Language.

The table indicates that, in addition to the 2,687 pupils whose first language was Welsh, 143 of those whose first language was English also spoke Welsh with fair fluency. Thus the total of fluent Welsh speakers under 11 years of age amounted to 2,830, that is, 74.5 per cent of the age range. In contrast to the small number of English-speaking pupils who had gained fluency in Welsh, 926 pupils, whose first language was Welsh, spoke English with fair fluency.
The following table shows the number and percentage of the pupils who were either monolingual or bilingual, Category D pupils only being regarded as bilingual.

Table 3.16 Number and percentage of monolingual and bilingual pupils under 11 years of age in Cardiganshire schools in 1950.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Language Welsh</th>
<th>1st Language English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,687</td>
<td>1,761  (65.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that the overwhelming majority of the bilingual pupils in the schools were those whose first language was Welsh. A considerable number of Welsh-speaking pupils, however, had not reached a stage of fluency in English. It has to be borne in mind, however, that the figures in the above table applied to all pupils under 11 years of age, and, therefore, included young children who had not received a great deal of instruction in the second language. The following table, however, relates bilingual attainment to the age of the child:
### Table 3.17 Percentage of pupils of various ages under 11 who were bilingual in 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Percentage of 1st Language Welsh pupils who were bilingual</th>
<th>Percentage of 1st Language English pupils who were bilingual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 - 6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 7</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 8</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - 9</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 10</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 11</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the percentage of bilingual pupils increased with the ages of the pupils, but the rate of progress of those who had to acquire English was far more satisfactory than those who had to learn Welsh. Although the standard of success of the Welsh learners in the 10 to 11 age group left much to be desired, it has to be pointed out that an additional 25.5 per cent could follow simple lessons in Welsh and conduct an elementary conversation in the language (Category C pupils). On the other hand, 54.6 per cent of the learners were below that standard (Categories A and B) and, of these, 32.6 per cent had no knowledge of Welsh.

The tables of statistics included in the published Report of the survey enables us to compare the position in Cardiganshire with that in other areas of Wales, and it is particularly interesting to compare the existing situations in 1950 in the predominantly Welsh-speaking counties. The following tables compare the position in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and Merioneth; in the tables abbreviations are used for the names of the counties, namely: Angls.; Caerns.; Cards.; Carms. and Mernth.
Table 3.18 Number and percentage of Welsh-speaking pupils under 11 in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and Meirioneth in 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category D</th>
<th>Total Welsh-speaking pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angls. 2987 (73.6%)</td>
<td>3171 (78.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caerns. 6011 (66.3%)</td>
<td>6486 (71.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cards. 2687 (70.7%)</td>
<td>2830 (74.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carms. 7114 (56.4%)</td>
<td>7772 (61.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mernth. 2285 (76.5%)</td>
<td>2464 (82.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table would indicate that Meirionethshire was the most successful and Cardiganshire the least successful of the named counties in dealing with Welsh learners in 1950. The following table indicates the percentage of pupils of various ages under eleven within each County who had gained fluency in Welsh as a second language:

Table 3.19 Percentage of pupils at various ages under 11 in Counties of Anglesey, Caernarvon, Cardigan, Carmarthen and Meirioneth able to speak Welsh as a second language with fair fluency in 1950.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 - 6</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 8</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - 9</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 10</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 11</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table again indicates the superiority of Meirioneth schools in dealing with Welsh learners. It is noticeable that the two counties which were most successful in this respect, Meirioneth and
Anglesey, also had remarkable successes with pupils at an early age. This could be taken as indicating the value of introducing Welsh as a second language as early as possible in the education of the English-speaking child in order to ensure that he would gain fluency in it during his stay in the primary school. On the other hand, the success rate in Caernarvonshire during the early years of the children was far from spectacular, although, by the time the children left for secondary education, it was more impressive.

Figures, however, do not tell the whole story, and they cannot indicate the particular difficulties of schools in meeting the educational demands made upon them. Figures for the whole of the County can also be misleading, especially when the teaching of Welsh as a second language is concerned, for the high rate of success of many schools can be depressed by the low rate of performance of a few larger ones. Unfortunately, evidence is not now available to indicate how individual schools in Cardiganshire coped with their bilingual problems in 1950, and, in view of this, all conclusions have to be based on the aggregate returns for the county. The Caernarvonshire Authority, however, published full details of the findings of the 1950 survey, within its own County. (24)

Denbighshire, like Cardiganshire, had conducted its own language survey shortly before that of the W.J.E.C. was undertaken, and the findings of that investigation was published. (25)

There is obvious value in Local Education Authorities conducting their own language surveys, for it is only in this way that local problems can be adequately investigated. But a nationally-organised language survey is also tremendously useful, for it can provide a picture of the language situation in the country as a whole, and makes it possible to compare the achievements of the various Local Education Authorities. The 1953 report "Welsh and English in
the Schools of Wales, of course, provided more than statistical evidence on the teaching of Welsh and English in the schools; in keeping with the Advisory Council's terms of reference, it examined the bilingual problem in Wales generally and, in view of the wealth of information and advice it provided for Authorities and schools, it is rightly regarded as one of the important education reports produced during the course of this century.

In October 1961, the W.J.E.C. repeated its language survey in the schools of Wales. During the eleven years that had intervened since it conducted its previous investigation, many changes had occurred in Cardiganshire.

The reorganisation of primary and secondary education, which was in progress in 1950, was completed in 1952. This process, together with the continuing decline in population in areas of the County, had resulted in a considerable drop in numbers in several schools by 1961, although over the whole of Cardiganshire, the decrease in the primary school population amounted to no more than about 260. In the Aberaeron district, pupil numbers declined by 229 between January 1951 and January 1961; the total enrolment in the Aberystwyth district decreased by 98 during the same period, while, in the Llandysul and Tregaron district, losses of 43 and 154 were recorded respectively. Examples of schools badly affected were: Llwyncelyn (67 to 47); Brynherbert (34 to 18); Cofadail (26 to 8); Llangynfelyn (53 to 30); Tanygarreg (49 to 29) and Ysbyty Ystwyth (49 to 29). But there was a substantial gain in numbers in the Cardigan district - from 619 to 880 - and a smaller increase - from 397 to 479 - was recorded in the Lampeter district. Almost every school in the Cardigan district increased its enrolment during those ten years, and this expansion was mainly attributable to developments at the R.A.F. station and the R.A.E. at Aber-porth. Aber-porth
School itself grew from 31 in 1941 to 144 in 1961, but some of the Aber-porth personnel resided in neighbouring areas and their children attended local schools. The increase in the Lampeter district was mainly confined to Ffynnon Bedr\(^2\) in Lampeter town, where pupil numbers increased from 127 to 215 between the years 1951 and 1961.

Reorganisation, accompanied by a natural decline in population in some areas, resulted in the closure of twelve schools during the ten-year period and the transfer of their pupils to schools in neighbouring districts. The schools which were discontinued were: Aberaeron (V.P.); Aber-ffrwd; Elerch; Gors; Trisant; Ystumtuen; Llanddeiniol (V.P.); Llandysul (V.P.); Llangoedmor (V.P.); St. Dogmaels (V.P.); Strata Florida and Tregaron (V.P.). The closure of schools will be dealt with in detail later in this work, but it is necessary to point out here that with the closure of St. Dogmaels V.P. School and the transfer of its pupils to the County Primary School under the control of Pembrokeshire Education Authority, the Cardiganshire Authority ceased to have responsibility for primary education in the village of St. Dogmaels.

Another important change that had occurred by 1961 was the reorganisation of primary education on a linguistic basis in the town of Aberystwyth. As already related in Chapter II, the Authority discontinued Aberystwyth Infants and Aberystwyth Junior Schools - two mixed-language schools - and replaced them by Yr Ysgol Gymraeg, a bilingual infant and junior school, and Aberystwyth C.P., an English-medium infant and junior school, which was to become known as Plas Crug School when it was eventually moved to new premises. Thus, the needs of the Welsh- and English-speaking children of Aberystwyth were henceforth to be catered for in two separate schools.
Language problems in certain other areas of the County had also received attention. In 1953, for instance, H.M. Inspectors surveyed 18 primary schools and the schools they visited included those which had a growing language problem due to the movement of English-speaking people into the localities. The urban schools were naturally visited, but it is of interest to find schools in the rural areas also on their list namely, Pen-lôn (Llwyncelyn), the Borth Schools, Mefenydd (Llanrhystud), Pen-llwyn, Aber-porth, Coed-y-bryn, Pen-parc and Llanfair. During their visits, the Inspectors discussed the particular difficulties of each school with the staff and suggested new forms of approach to language teaching. The visits were followed by a one-day conference on the teaching of Welsh at Aberaeron, when the Inspectors and the teachers further discussed problems of organisation and methods of teaching Welsh as a first and second language. This and similar conferences arranged by the Authority provided the guidance that teachers required to find solutions to the language difficulties that they had to face within their schools. Again, the Authority, in an effort to improve standards in its schools, had decided in 1950 that all future appointments to primary schools should be qualified teachers. The Training Colleges in Wales provided courses in Bilingual Education for those students intending to teach in Welsh areas, and, after 1950, an increasing number of young teachers with this qualification were appointed to the schools. There is little doubt that during the fifties, the teachers gained in competence to deal with language difficulties.

At the time of the 1961 survey, there were 4,400 pupils on roll in the 92 primary schools of Cardiganshire, and, of these, 2,573 - 58.4 per cent - were first language Welsh pupils and 1,827 were first language English pupils. The survey also indicated that out of 3,897 children between 5 and 11 years of age, 2,288 - 58.7 per cent -
used Welsh as their first language and 1,609 used English. In order to perceive the significance of these two sets of figures, the first has to be compared with the Authority's findings in 1949 and the second with the findings of the W.J.E.C. survey in 1950.

Table 3.20 First language of pupils in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1949 and 1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>On roll</th>
<th>First language:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>4,770</td>
<td>3,664 (76.8%)</td>
<td>1,106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>4,400</td>
<td>2,573 (58.4%)</td>
<td>1,827</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase +/-</td>
<td>- 370</td>
<td>+ 1,091</td>
<td>+ 721</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures of the table indicates a drop of 7.7 per cent in the school population and a decline of 27.7 per cent in the number of Welsh-speaking pupils. It has to be remembered, however, that the figures for 1949 denote a position before the reorganisation of primary education was completed. The figures of the table indicate an increase of 65.1 per cent in the number of English speakers, and it is equally important to realize that this was an expansion on the position before senior pupils from Aberaeron, Llandysul and Tregaron were transferred to secondary schools when the reorganisation of these districts were eventually undertaken.

The effects of reorganisation however may be eliminated from our calculations by considering figures for pupils between 5 and 11 years of age in 1950 and 1961 as provided by the two W.J.E.C. surveys.
Table 3.21  First language of pupils between 5 and 11 years of age in 1950 and 1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First language</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2,687 (70.7%)</td>
<td>1,111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2,288 (58.7%)</td>
<td>1,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase +/</td>
<td>- 399</td>
<td>+ 498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same trends are again observable except that this table shows that the increase in the number of English speakers counterbalanced the drop in the number of Welsh speakers. It denotes a decrease of 14.8 per cent Welsh speakers and an increase of 44.8 per cent English speakers.

The position in the six districts of the County in 1961 was as follows:

Table 3.22 The first language of pupils in primary schools in the six districts of Cardiganshire in 1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>On roll</th>
<th>First language</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>465 (70.0%)</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>1,505</td>
<td>664 (44.1%)</td>
<td>841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>777</td>
<td>367 (47.2%)</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>319 (67.1%)</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>414 (72.3%)</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>344 (84.5%)</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,400</td>
<td>2,573 (58.4%)</td>
<td>1,827</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1949, before the schools of the Aberaeron district had been reorganised, there were 908 pupils in the primary schools, and 87.2
per cent of these were Welsh-speaking. Although the number of Welsh-speaking pupils in the district had decreased from 792 to 465 by 1961, the number of English speakers increased from 116 to 199 and only one school by that time - Cribyn C.P. - had no English-speaking pupils on roll. Aberaeron, New Quay and Llan-non had the highest number of English speakers on roll in the district, but, in relation to their size, schools like Aber-arth, Caerwedros, Cross Inn, Mydroillyn, Pen-Iôn (Llwyncelyn) and Pennant also had a substantial proportion of English-speaking pupils.

The school population in the Aberystwyth district had increased from 1,443 to 1,505 since 1949, but the proportion of Welsh speakers had contracted from 57.2 per cent to 44.1 per cent. The English-speaking pupils in the district, however, had increased from 617 to 826. It is interesting to note the position in the schools of Aberystwyth Town in 1961. Ysgol Gymraeg in that year had an enrolment of 212 and all but one of its pupils had Welsh as a first language. The 272 pupils at Aberystwyth C.P. were English-speaking. In 1949 the combined enrolments at the Infant and Junior Schools of the town had been 488, and, of these 166 were Welsh-speaking and 322 were English-speaking. Thus, by 1961, the Welsh-speaking pupils had increased by 45, and the English speakers had decreased by 44. The expansion in the number of Welsh speakers was undoubtedly due to children from other areas, like Penparcau, attending Yr Ysgol Gymraeg.

An entirely different situation obtained at Penparcau, where two new schools - an Infant and Junior - had been provided since 1949 to replace the single V.P. School. In 1949, the V.P. School had an enrolment of 83 - 11 Welsh- and 72 English-speaking pupils; in 1961, the Infant School had 91 pupils and only two of these were Welsh-speaking, while the Junior School had 144 on roll and all but one
were English speaking. Thus the expansion at Penparcau, due to housing development in the area, had been accompanied by a substantial increase in the number of English-speaking pupils.

Comins-coch, on the northern fringe of Aberystwyth town, was another growth point, though on a much smaller scale than Penparcau. In 1949, its County Primary was a small school of 22 and only 8 of its pupils were English speaking. By 1961, it had an enrolment of 66 - 28 Welsh speakers and 38 English speakers. It was also apparent that Rhydypennau School - situated a short distance to the north of Comins-coch - was undergoing change both in size and in linguistic character. In 1949, it had been a school of 48 and all its pupils were Welsh speaking; by 1961, however, it had increased its enrolment to 66, and 23 of these were English speaking.

In contrast, the two Borth schools showed a decline in pupil numbers by 1961, and there were only 8 Welsh-speaking children on their registers. English-speaking pupils at the two schools decreased from 78 in 1949 to 56 in 1961.

Although Ponterwyd School had not substantially increased its enrolment - it had 20 pupils in 1949 and 27 in 1961 - there was a remarkable change in its language mix. In 1949, there was only one English speaker on roll, but the school in 1961 had 18 English speakers to 9 Welsh speakers. The change had resulted from English-speaking people moving into the area while the Rhéidol Hydro-Electric Scheme was in progress.

Less spectacular increases of English-speaking pupils were also recorded in most other schools in the Aberystwyth district, but they all indicated that an increasing number of English-speaking families were moving into the area. It was particularly noticeable by 1961 that these families were attracted to places on the fringe of Aberystwyth town.
The 1961 survey also indicated a remarkable increase in the number of English-speaking pupils in the Cardigan district. In 1949, after reorganisation had taken place, the primary school population of the district was 598, which comprised 406 Welsh speakers and 192 English speakers. By 1961, the enrolments had increased to 777, the number of Welsh speakers had declined to 367, while the English speakers in the schools had increased to 410. The Cardigan Schools and Aber-porth showed the greatest increase in the number of English speakers - 99 and 72 respectively - but a similar expansion occurred also at Pen-parc (24), Llandygwydd (18) and Llechryd (11).

Lampeter was the only one of the six districts which showed an increase in the number of Welsh-speaking pupils since 1949, although this amounted to no more than 22. The English-speaking pupils, however, increased from 92 to 156 over the same period. The change that had occurred in the meantime in Lampeter town is interesting; in 1949, Peterwell School had 54 Welsh-speaking pupils and 62 English speakers, but, by 1961, Ffynnon Bedr school had 96 Welsh speakers and 116 English speakers. Equally interesting were the changes which had occurred in the rural schools of the Lampeter district. Betws Bledrws School had 7 pupils in 1949 and all except one were Welsh-speaking; by 1961, it had only one Welsh-speaking pupil to 11 English speakers. Thus, the school had changed from being an 85 per cent Welsh school to a 99 per cent English school. A change of a similar kind occurred at Llanfair School, which transformed it from being 87 per cent Welsh in 1949 to 69 per cent English in 1961. Only two schools - Blaenau and Cwrtnewydd - remained solidly Welsh in 1961.

The number of English-speaking pupils in the Llandysul district increased from 54 to 158 between 1948 and 1961, and the schools where this expansion had mainly occurred were: Llandysul
(19 to 36); Aber-banc (4 to 21); Pontgarreg (6 to 20) and Tre-wen (4 to 22). Pont-sían School alone in the whole district remained 100 per cent Welsh in 1961.

The increase in the number of English-speaking pupils in the Tregaron district - from 35 in 1949 to 63 in 1961 - was on a much smaller scale than in the other districts of the County, but it was sufficient in some schools to create a notable change in their linguistic character. Thus Bromant and Swyddffynnon, 100 per cent Welsh and 94 per cent Welsh respectively in 1949, were only 59 per cent Welsh and 63 per cent Welsh respectively in 1961, although each school in 1961 had no more than 9 English speaking pupils on roll. The percentage of Welsh speakers in the Tregaron district as a whole declined from 94.1 to 84.5 during those years.

The following table indicates how the proportion of Welsh speakers in the primary schools of the County changed between 1949 and 1961:

Table 3.23 Percentages of Welsh-speaking pupils in the Schools of Cardiganshire in 1949 and 1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Welsh</th>
<th>Number of schools:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 - 100</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 90</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 80</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 70</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 60</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 50</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 40</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 30</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table indicates a general drop in the percentage of Welsh-speaking pupils in the schools by 1961. The majority of the schools in 1949 (74 per cent) had over 80 per cent Welsh speakers, but by 1961, only 38.0 per cent of the schools fell into the same category. At the other end of the scale, the number of schools where there was a majority of English speakers increased from 10 in 1949 to 17 in 1961.

It should be pointed out that the increase in the number of English-speaking pupils by 1961 was not entirely due to additional children from purely English-speaking homes attending the schools, as the following table indicates:

Table 3.24 First language - English pupils in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1949 and 1961 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Lang. English pupils with:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Welsh parents</td>
<td>1 Welsh parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>+ 56</td>
<td>+ 189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is noticeable that the number of English-speaking children with two Welsh-speaking parents had increased. The pupils were mostly at the following schools: Aberaeron; New Quay; Cwmpadarn; the Penparcau Schools; the Cardigan Schools and Ffynnon Bedr. There was also an increase in English speakers with one Welsh parent, and the majority of these were again in the schools previously mentioned, but they were present also in sizeable numbers at such schools as Borth, Comins-coch, Llangynfelyn, Rhydypennau, Llan-non, Aber-porth, Llandysul, Tre-wen and Tregaron. The table, however, indicates that most of the English speaking pupils in the schools
both in 1949 and in 1961 were of English parentage.

The message of the 1961 survey for Cardiganshire was crystal clear; the number of primary school children whose first language was Welsh was in serious decline, while English-speaking children, who had increased astonishingly in number during the previous twelve years, were to be found in varying numbers in almost every primary school of the County. The figures in respect of pupils between 5 and 11 years of age in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Carmarthenshire and Merioneth also indicated the same trends. Between 1950 and 1961, the number of children whose first language was Welsh declined in Anglesey by 6.4 per cent, in Caernarvonshire by 14.8 per cent, in Carmarthenshire by 18.4 per cent and in Merioneth by 10.4 per cent. In Cardiganshire, as already indicated, the decline was 14.8 per cent. During the same period, the number of English-speaking pupils in the same age range increased by 59.6 per cent in Anglesey, by 24.2 per cent in Caernarvonshire, by 31.3 per cent in Carmarthenshire and by 53.0 per cent in Merioneth. In Cardiganshire, the increase was 44.8 per cent. As a result of these changes between 1950 and 1961 the proportion of Welsh speakers in the 5 to 11 age group in those counties had declined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>First Language Percentage Before</th>
<th>First Language Percentage After</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglesey</td>
<td>73.6 per cent</td>
<td>62.1 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caernarvonshire</td>
<td>66.3 per cent</td>
<td>57.5 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardiganshire</td>
<td>70.7 per cent</td>
<td>58.7 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmarthenshire</td>
<td>56.4 per cent</td>
<td>44.6 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merioneth</td>
<td>76.5 per cent</td>
<td>65.6 per cent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All figures considered so far in connection with the 1961 survey have referred to the first language of the pupils. But the survey, like the preceding one conducted in 1950, investigated the bilingual attainment of the children, and the same method of assessment was used on both occasions. For Welsh as a second language, Cardiganshire pupils were classified as follows by their
teachers:

Category A - 651 pupils  
Category B - 389 pupils  
Category C - 349 pupils  
Category D - 220 pupils  
Total - 1,609 pupils

The figures were bound to be disturbing at the time, for only 13.6 per cent of the Welsh learners (Category D) had achieved fluency in their second language, while 40.4 per cent (Category A) had no knowledge of Welsh. The position was only slightly better than that in 1950 when 48.6 per cent of the English-speaking pupils had no knowledge of Welsh and only 12.8 per cent of them had become fluent in their second language. The number of fluent Welsh speakers at various ages between 5 and 11 in 1961 was as follows:

Table 3.25 Number of fluent Welsh speakers at various ages between 5 and 11 in Cardiganshire schools in 1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>On roll</th>
<th>No. of 1st Lang. Welsh pupils</th>
<th>Category D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 - 6</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>368 (60.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 7</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>380 (57.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 8</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>410 (63.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - 9</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>457 (68.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 10</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>450 (66.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 11</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>443 (69.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,897</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,288</strong></td>
<td><strong>220</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,508 (64.3%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1950, as Table 3.18 (p.182) indicates, 2,830 pupils between 5 and 11 years of age - 74.5 per cent - spoke Welsh fluently, but at that time 2,687 (70.7 per cent) used Welsh as a first language. Thus, although a slightly higher number of Welsh learners had become fluent in their second language in 1961 than in 1950 - 220 in 1961 as against 143 in 1950 - this was not substantial enough to counterbalance
the decline in the number of every-day Welsh speakers. This was also true of the other "Welsh" Counties:

Table 3.26 Number of pupils between 5 and 11 years of age able to speak Welsh in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Carmarthenshire and Merioneth in 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1st Language Welsh pupils</th>
<th>Category D</th>
<th>Total Welsh speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglesey</td>
<td>2793 (62.1%)</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>3,006 (66.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caernarvon</td>
<td>5120 (57.5%)</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>5,817 (65.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmarthen</td>
<td>5801 (44.6%)</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>6,636 (51.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merioneth</td>
<td>2047 (65.6%)</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>2,266 (72.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When this table is compared with Table 3.18 (p.182), it becomes clear that, although a higher number of pupils in each County had attained fluency in Welsh as a second language in 1961 than in 1950, there were fewer fluent Welsh speakers in 1961 than in 1950 due to the extent of the decline that had occurred in the meantime in the number of pupils whose first language was Welsh. At the same time, there had been an increase in the number of pupils whose first language was English in each of the above-mentioned Counties; it amounted to 636 in Anglesey, 738 in Caernarvonshire, 1,721 in Carmarthenshire and 371 in Merioneth. It was not, therefore, surprising to find that between the years 1950 and 1961, the percentage of fluent Welsh speakers between the ages of 5 and 11 years of age had declined from 78.2 to 66.8 in Anglesey, from 71.6 to 65.3 in Caernarvonshire, from 61.7 to 51.0 in Carmarthenshire, and from 82.5 to 72.6 in Merioneth. The decline in Cardiganshire had been from 74.5 per cent to 64.3 per cent.

It has to be borne in mind, however, that pupils classified in Category C were able to conduct an elementary conversation in Welsh as a second language and that there was hope, therefore, that they
would become fluent Welsh speakers at a later stage in their education. In view of this, it would be fair to consider the standard of achievement of pupils between 5 and 15 years of age in Welsh as a second language, and Table 1 of the W.J.E.C.'s report *Language Survey 1961* provide statistics for this age group in respect of the 1950 and 1961 surveys. The percentage of fluent Welsh speakers between 5 and 15 in those years in each of the five counties referred to above was as follows:

Table 3.27 Percentage of fluent Welsh speakers between the ages of 5 and 15 in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and Merioneth in 1950 and 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Percentage of fluent Welsh speakers in:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglesey</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caernarvon</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>76.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmarthen</td>
<td>62.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merioneth</td>
<td>83.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If Category C pupils were to be taken into account, the percentage of Welsh speakers would be increased to 79.6 in Anglesey, to 76.0 in Caernarvonshire, to 78.2 in Cardiganshire, to 61.0 in Carmarthenshire and to 83.3 in Merionethshire. But these percentages still indicate a marked deterioration on the corresponding figures in 1950.

It was a sad picture, therefore, that was presented in 1961 of the position of Welsh in the predominantly Welsh-speaking counties. The language was evidently in a situation of decline as a first language of school children, and the place of English had become strengthened due to the influx of English-speaking children into the schools. Although the schools were having a measure of success in
enabling those English-speaking pupils to become bilingual, this was not sufficient to compensate for the decline in the number of native Welsh speakers.

Viewed from a national standpoint, the figures of the 1961 survey were still more depressing. The following table tells the tale:

Table 3.28 Number of pupils between the ages of 5 and 15 in the schools of Wales able to speak Welsh with fair fluency in 1950 and 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Language Welsh pupils</th>
<th>Category D</th>
<th>Total Welsh speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>50,368</td>
<td>8054</td>
<td>58,422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>44,136</td>
<td>8098</td>
<td>52,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase +/-</td>
<td>-6,232</td>
<td>+ 44</td>
<td>-6,188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 13.4 per cent of the pupils in the 5 to 15 age group in 1961 could speak Welsh with fair fluency as compared with 17.7 per cent in 1950. If Category C pupils were taken into account, the percentages for 1950 and 1961 were 21.0 and 17.6 respectively.

The position of English as a second language on the other hand, revealed a different picture. 77.2 per cent of pupils between 5 and 15 years of age in Cardiganshire schools could speak English with fair fluency in 1961 as compared with 69.8 per cent in 1950, and, in the schools of Wales, a similar competence in English was possessed by 96.4 per cent of the pupils.

Headteachers in Cardiganshire were asked to comment on the findings of the 1961 survey in respect of their own schools. As expected, many referred to the infiltration of English-speaking families into the rural areas and some of these were of foreign
origin. Farms, in some districts, had passed into the hands of these people and houses were being increasingly sold as holiday homes. Housing developments in some areas accounted for the increase in the number of English-speaking pupils in the local schools, while an expansion in employment opportunities at the R.A.E. in Aber-porth accounted for the increase in the enrolments and in the number of English-speaking pupils in the Cardigan district. The main concern of some schools, on the other hand, was the drop in their enrolments, and, in some places, this would have been even more serious than it was if a few English-speaking pupils had not been admitted.

Many small schools indicated that they experienced very little difficulty in teaching Welsh to the 'new-comers' due to the prevailing Welsh atmosphere in the classrooms. And, unless these pupils were admitted late at the junior stage, they were able to sit the main paper in Welsh at the Eleven-plus Examination. The problem, however, was that so many of the 'new comers' were 'late-comers'. Some schools indicated that they had found it advisable to disregard the Authority's policy concerning the appropriate age to introduce the second language; these schools had found that the later Welsh was introduced as a second language the less chance the children had of becoming fluent in the language by the time they left for secondary education.

Some schools, especially those in country districts, commented on the inconsistency between the language policy pursued by the primary schools on the one hand and the secondary schools on the other. Welsh was the main medium of instruction in the rural schools, and, at a time when spoken Welsh was deteriorating, it was appropriate that much emphasis was being placed on oral proficiency. The secondary schools, however, taught mainly through the medium of
English and proficiency in written English was required at the outset. Some also pointed out that there was a lack of continuity very often in the teaching of Welsh as a second language when children entered the secondary schools.

On the whole, there were very little indications that there were objections from parents to the bilingual policy of the Authority, although schools in the more populous areas found that the vast majority of the parents could not reinforce the Welsh teaching given during the day because they themselves were English speaking. But, although it is clear that objections to the language policy was not widespread, it is clear that it existed in some places, even in some rural areas; for there was a call from some schools for the Authority to give more effective support to its language policy by indicating to parents the value of learning Welsh and of being bilingual.

The action taken by the Education Committee in response to the findings of the 1961 survey has already been related in Chapter I. It will be recalled that the Authority reviewed its language policy in 1966, and, although the new policy did not direct the schools to introduce Welsh as a second language at the infant stage, it permitted them to do so if teachers felt this was desirable.

The primary school population, which had been in decline since the beginning of the century, descended to 4,578 in January 1962. During the following years, however, there was a remarkable growth in pupil numbers and this trend continued until the late seventies. The following table indicates the extent of this growth in the six primary districts between 1962 and 1974:

- 200 -
### Table 3.29 Growth in the primary-school population of Cardiganshire between 1962 and 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>1,589</td>
<td>1,633</td>
<td>2,005</td>
<td>2,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>839</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,578</td>
<td>4,733</td>
<td>5,265</td>
<td>5,592</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table indicates a growth of slightly over 20 per cent in the Aberaeron and Llandysul districts, while in the Aberystwyth district, it amounted to 24 per cent. In the Cardigan district, pupil numbers had been on the increase since the early fifties; between 1954 and 1974, there was a growth of 38 per cent in numbers and even from 1962 it was 13 per cent. In the Lampeter district, however, the school population continued to decline until 1968, but, between then and 1974, there was an expansion of 13 per cent. The upturn in the Tregaron district occurred in 1965 and there was a 9 per cent growth by 1974. The full significance of this new trend would become apparent when the Authority conducted its next language survey in November 1967. (27)

The 1967 survey was conducted on the same lines as those previously undertaken by the W.J.E.C. so that comparisons with previous findings would be possible. But since it was realized by 1967 that the influx of English-speaking pupils into the schools had increased since 1961 and that many left after a short stay, headteachers were asked to indicate how many of these pupils they had admitted from areas outside the County during the previous three years and how many had left the schools and the County during the
same period.

The following table indicates the findings of the survey regarding the first language of the pupils in the various school districts.

Table 3.30 First language of pupils in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>First language</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>539 (68.6%)</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>610 (35.9%)</td>
<td>1,088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>360 (42.2%)</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>281 (65.9%)</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>418 (66.5%)</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>310 (79.8%)</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,518 (52.7%)</td>
<td>2,259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Welsh as a first language 1961-1967

It was gratifying to find in 1967 that the number of pupils whose first language was Welsh had not declined by more than 45 since 1961, for successive surveys in the past had indicated sharper drops in the number of first-language-Welsh pupils. But it should be borne in mind that those surveys had been conducted at a time when the primary school population itself was in decline while the decrease in 1967 was recorded when pupil numbers were on the increase. It seemed in 1967 that the Welsh language could not benefit from either growth or decline in the school population.

In spite of the net loss in the County as a whole, the Aberaeron and Llandysul districts showed a net gain in the number of first-language-Welsh pupils; it amounted to 74 in the
former and 4 in the latter. The schools which showed an increase more clearly in the Aberaeron district were Aberaeron C.P. (47 to 67), Caerwedros (15 to 32), Cribyn (30 to 45), Llan-non (29 to 42) and Pennant (4 to 26), while there was a noticeable decline at Llannarth (52 to 36) and in Trefilan (17 to 9). In the Llandysul district, the increase or the decrease in the various schools was usually small, and, overall, they were almost equal. But, in spite of the net gain in both areas, the proportion of Welsh speakers in the Aberaeron district dropped from 70.0 per cent in 1961 to 68.6 per cent in 1967 and in the Llandysul district from 72.3 per cent to 66.5 per cent.

In the Aberystwyth district, first-language-Welsh pupils decreased during those six years from 664 to 610. Only a few schools indicated an increase, and, where it occurred, it was small. The change at Cofadail, however, was interesting: in 1961, this school had an enrolment of 7 and all pupils spoke Welsh; by 1967 pupil number had increased to 19, and all, except one, were Welsh speaking. Equally interesting was the change at Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth, which increased its enrolment from 212 in 1961 to 251 in 1967, but showed a decrease from 211 to 183 in the number of first-language-Welsh pupils. The increase in the school population had been achieved by admitting 68 English-speaking pupils, while only one such pupil was in attendance in 1961. 22 of those 68 English-speaking pupils had two Welsh parents, 34 had one Welsh-speaking parent and 12 of them had two non-Welsh-speaking parents. In the Aberystwyth schools, including Penparcau and Cwmpadarn, 210 pupils in 1967, as compared with 220 in 1961, had Welsh as their first language. At Borth, where the C.P. and the V.P. had merged since 1961, the number of Welsh speakers had dropped from eight to three, although pupil numbers had increased in the meantime from 64 to
91. Over the Aberystwyth district, the proportion of Welsh speakers descended from 44.1 per cent in 1961 to 35.9 per cent in 1967.

Although the decline in the number of first-language-Welsh pupils was almost negligible in the Cardigan district - it amounted to no more than 7 - the proportion of Welsh speakers dropped from 47.2 per cent in 1961 to 42.2 per cent in 1967 due to the increase in the school population. Several schools indicated small increases, and amongst them were Aber-porth, Blaen-porth and Llechryd, but there was a more substantial decrease at Beulah, Pen-parc and Ferwig.

In the Lampeter district, where the number of first-language-Welsh pupils declined from 319 to 281 and their percentage dropped from 67.1 to 65.9, only Betws Bledrws showed a sizable increase, which amounted to 13. The schools which showed the greatest decrease were: Cellan (23 to 13), Cwrtnewydd (45 to 29) and Ffynnon Bedr (96 to 82).

In the Tregaron district there was a decrease from 344 to 310 in the number of Welsh speakers, but the changes within the schools, one way or another, was small. The percentage of first-language-Welsh pupils dropped from 84.5 per cent in 1961 to 79.8 per cent in 1967.

It is interesting to note in conclusion that 41 of the 90 schools showed an increase in the number of first-language-Welsh pupils, 46 showed a decrease and there was no change in this respect in the other three. With very few exceptions, the changes, one way or the other, were not substantial, but over the County as a whole, the losses exceeded the gains by 45.
2. English as a first language 1961 - 1967

The number of pupils whose first language was English increased from 1,827 in 1961 to 2,259 in 1967. This was a growth of 23.6 per cent in six years. The following table indicates the extent of this growth in the six districts of the County:

Table 3.31 Number of first-language English pupils in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1961 and 1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>First-language-English pupils in:</th>
<th>Increase +/-Decrease -</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>1,088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,827</td>
<td>2,259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The growth in the number of first-language-English pupils was, therefore, evident in all the six districts except Lampeter, where a 7 per cent drop was indicated. Numerically, the increase was most substantial in the Aberystwyth district, but, in proportion to the size of the school population, it was greater in the Llandysul district.

(a) Aberaeron District:

The Aberaeron district, with an increased school population by 1967, indicated a 11 per cent growth in first-language-Welsh pupils and a 23 per cent growth in the number of first-language-English pupils. The schools with most English speakers on roll in 1967 were: Aberaeron (55); Llan-non (30) and New Quay (41). Anglicisation at Llan-non, a school situated on the coastal strip and some 12 miles from Aberystwyth, is interesting; it was 100
per cent Welsh in 1945, 85.7 per cent Welsh in 1949, 63 per cent Welsh in 1961 and only 42 per cent Welsh in 1967. The proportion of English speakers at Llan-non in 1967 (58 per cent) was higher than that at Aberaeron (45 per cent) but lower than that at New Quay, which had the highest proportion of English speakers (68 per cent) for the whole of the Aberaeron district. The following figures provide further details concerning the English-speaking children at those three schools and also indicate the ability of their parents to speak Welsh:

Table 3.32 English-first-language pupils at Aberaeron, Llan-non and New Quay in 1967 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>English-speaking pupils with:</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Welsh parents</td>
<td>1 Welsh parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llan-non</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Quay</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is noticeable that the majority of the English speakers at the three schools had either one- or two-Welsh-speaking parents. The number of children with no Welsh-speaking parents was lower at New Quay than in the other two; the reason for this, no doubt, was that there had been only a small increase in pupil numbers at New Quay since 1961 (55 in 1961 and 60 in 1967), but, in Aberaeron and Llan-non, there had been an expansion from 105 to 122 and from 46 to 72 respectively. The total number of English speakers at these three schools, however, amounted to no more than 51 per cent of the English-speaking children in the Aberaeron district. Only Dihewyd school, was 100 per cent Welsh by 1967 while, at the other end of the scale, Trefilan, another small rural school, had 61 per cent English-speaking pupils. 10 from outside the County had been admitted to the primary schools of the district during the previous three years and 66 had left for areas outside Cardiganshire during the same period.

(b) Aberystwyth District:

70.3 per cent of all English-speaking pupils in the Aberystwyth district in 1967, as compared with 68.0 per cent in
1961, were in the schools of Aberystwyth Town together with those of Penparcau and Cwmpadarn. The increase, however, had occurred in only three of these schools: Ysgol Gymraeg (67), Aberystwyth C.P. (35) and Penparcau Infants (38), and this represented 55.4 per cent of the growth in the number of English speakers in the Aberystwyth district. Outside Aberystwyth, there was a substantial increase in the number of English speakers at Borth (47 to 88) and Comins-coch (38 to 72), while, in the smaller schools, sizable growth occurred at Brynherbert (3 to 15), Llanfarian (14 to 28), Rhydypennau (23 to 33), and Tal-y-bont (12 to 33). Most of the schools, however, showed only a small change either way. Mynach school deserves a special mention; in 1961, 13 of its 36 pupils were English-speaking, but, by 1967, all of the 21 pupils on roll were Welsh-speaking. This was the only school with no English speakers in the whole of the Aberystwyth district in 1967.

It is noticeable that there was a substantial increase in the number of English speakers with either one- or two-Welsh speaking parents and this amounted to 180 and 66 respectively. The vast majority of the English speakers with two Welsh-speaking parents were at: Ysgol Gymraeg (22); Aberystwyth C.P. (20); Borth (17); Comins-coch (17); Cwmpadarn (14); Penparcau J. (22) and Penparcau I. (12). Those with one Welsh-speaking parent were present, even in larger numbers, in the schools already listed, and to a lesser extent at: Brynherbert (12); Llanfarian (14); Rhydypennau (14) and Tal-y-bont (19). On the other hand, there was hardly any change in the district as a whole in the number of children with no Welsh-speaking parents - there were 540 of these in 1961 and 541 in 1967. There were fairly large increases, however, in some schools and examples of this were: Borth (from 27 to 47); Comins-coch (from 16 to 36), Penparcau Infants (from 55 to 70) and Rhydypennau (from 2 to 17), but it is interesting to note that the decrease in this respect at Aberystwyth C.P. (from 272 to 190) was almost sufficient to counterbalance the increases recorded in the other schools.

With the decline in the number of first-language-Welsh pupils and the increase in the number of first-language-English pupils, it is not surprising to find that the proportion of habitual Welsh speakers dropped from 44.1 per cent in 1961 to 35.9 per cent in 1961. It was indicated that 380 English-
speaking pupils had entered the schools from areas outside Cardiganshire during the previous three years and 283 had left the County during the same period.

(c) Cardigan District:

As in 1961, first-language-English pupils were in the majority at Aber-porth (76%), Cardigan Junior (73%) and Cardigan Infants (51%), but they also formed a substantial proportion at Llechryd (48%), Pen-parc (36%) and Ferwig (42%). Beulah, with only six English speakers, and Blaen-porth with only eight had the highest proportion of Welsh speakers in the district - 85 per cent and 86 per cent respectively - and the reason for this was that it had become customary by this time for English-speaking pupils from these areas to attend Aber-porth schools where streaming on a linguistic basis had been introduced. The greatest increase in the number of English-speaking pupils in the Cardigan district occurred in Aber-porth (from 99 to 134) and most of the English speakers at the school (99) had two English-speaking parents. In the district as a whole, however, there was only a slight increase in the number of English speakers with two English-speaking parents (from 200 to 227), while those with one Welsh-speaking parent increased from 147 to 201. These were mostly at: Aber-porth (30), Cardigan Junior (81), Cardigan Infants (44), Llechryd (17) and Pen-parc (10). There was hardly any change in the number of English speakers with two Welsh-speaking parents - there were 63 in 1961 and 64 in 1967 - and most of these were at Cardigan Junior (40) and at Cardigan Infants (10). As a result of the changes since 1961, the proportion of Welsh speakers in the Cardigan district declined from 47.2 per cent to 42.2 per cent. The percentage of Welsh speakers dropped in the majority of the schools in the district, and this was particularly noticeable at Llechryd (from 69% to 52%) and Ferwig (from 80% to 58%). On the other hand the proportion of Welsh speakers at Llandygwydd increased from 56 per cent to 62 per cent. During the previous three years, 171 English-speaking pupils had entered the schools of the district from areas outside Cardiganshire and 142 had departed.

(d) Lampeter District:

The Lampeter district was unique in 1967 in that it showed an all-round decrease in the number of pupils in the schools,
and also in the number of first language-Welsh- and first-
language-English pupils. The decrease in the number of English
speakers, however, was slight - it dropped from 156 to 145 -
and, even in a large school like Ffynnon Bedr, it amounted to
no more than 22. Cwrtnewydd remained 100 per cent Welsh as
in 1961 and only a few English speakers were at Blaenau,
Llanwenog and Llanwnnen. The most remarkable change occurred
at Betws Bledrws which had only 11 pupils on roll in 1961 and
10 of these were English speaking; by 1967, however, with an
enrolment of 22 and only 8 English speakers, it had changed
from being 91 per cent English to 64 per cent Welsh. In the
district as a whole there was very little change in the proportion
of Welsh pupils; it was 67.1 per cent in 1961 and 65.9 per cent
in 1967. The number of English-speaking pupils admitted from
areas outside the County during the previous three years was
48, and 20 such pupils left the schools and the County during the
same period.

(e) Llandysul District:

Only a small increase in the number of first-language-
English pupils occurred in the Llandysul district (from 158 in
1961 to 210 in 1967), and only two schools - Llandysul and
Rhydlewis - stand out as places where this had occurred on an
appreciable scale. At Llandysul C.P., the number of English
speakers increased from 36 to 53, but, as, there had been a
greater expansion in the number of first-language-Welsh pupils,
the school changed from being 59 per cent Welsh in 1961 to 62
per cent Welsh in 1967. A most remarkable change had occurred
at Rhydlewis, which had 23 first-language-Welsh pupils and 9
first-language-English pupils in 1961 and was 72 per cent Welsh
at the time. By 1967, however, still with 32 pupils on roll,
the school had only 10 Welsh speakers to 22 English speakers,
and 21 of the latter had two non-Welsh-speaking parents. Thus
the school was only 31 per cent Welsh in 1967.

In the district as a whole, slightly over 66 per cent of the
English speakers in 1967 had no Welsh-speaking parents and this
was far higher than that recorded by any other district of the
County. In Aberaeron, it was 51 per cent, in Aberystwyth it
was 49 per cent, in Cardigan, 46 per cent, in Lampeter, 48 per
cent and in Tregaron it was 49 per cent. This would suggest
that the Llandysul district had a definite attraction for English-
speaking families who desired to enter the County at the time. 104 English-speaking children entered the schools of the district during the previous three years from areas outside Cardiganshire and 57 left for districts outside the County during the same period. The Llandysul district, as a result of the changes that had occurred since 1961, was only 66.5 per cent Welsh in 1967 when it had been 72.3 per cent Welsh in 1961.

(f) Tregaron District:

Although an upward trend in the school population of the Tregaron district is noticeable in the mid-sixties, numbers fluctuated until the beginning of the seventies, when a continuous increase occurred for several years. In November 1967, the enrolment was 388 as compared with 407 in September 1961, when the previous survey had been undertaken. As already told, the number of first-language Welsh pupils declined from 344 to 310 during that period, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that the number of English speakers had not increased by more than 15, and that changes in this respect within individual schools were very small. A small increase or decrease in a rural school, as previously pointed out, can cause a profound change in its linguistic pattern; thus Pen-uuwch and Pontrhydfendigaid, 80 and 95 per cent Welsh respectively in 1961 were both 100 per cent Welsh in 1967, while on the other hand, Swyddffynnon and Tanygarreg dropped from being 63 and 83 per cent Welsh respectively in 1961 to being only 40 and 58 per cent Welsh respectively in 1967. Bwlch-llan, however, had remained solidly Welsh since 1949.

Only five of the 78 English speakers in the Tregaron district had two Welsh-speaking parents, but 36 had one Welsh-speaking parent. The 37 children of two non-Welsh-speaking parents were mostly at Bronnant, Llanddewibrefi, Llanegitho, Swyddffynnon, Tanygarreg and Tregaron. 41 English-speaking pupils had entered the schools of the district from areas outside Cardiganshire during the previous three years and 22 had departed for districts outside the County during the same period. The Tregaron district, which was 84.5 per cent Welsh in 1961 was only 79.8 by 1967.

The following table gives a general indication of how the
changes since 1961 affected the linguistic character of the primary schools of the County:

Table 3.33 Percenta de of first-language-Welsh pupils in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1961 and 1967.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Welsh</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 - 100</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 90</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 80</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 70</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 60</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 50</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the table may not indicate radical changes, a downward trend in 'Welshness' is clearly observable. Only 26 schools in 1967, as opposed to 35 in 1961 were over 80 per cent Welsh, and 31 schools in 1967, as against 27 in 1961, had a majority of English-speaking pupils. When the position in 1967 is compared with that in 1949, the changes become more apparent; in 1949, 77 schools were over 80 per cent Welsh and only 10 had a majority of English speakers.

One of the distinctive features of the 1967 survey was the number of rural schools whose linguistic character resembled that of the urban schools. Rural schools feature prominently in the following list of schools with under 50 per cent Welsh-speaking pupils in 1967:
Under 10 per cent: Aberystwyth C.P.; Borth; Penparcau Junior and Infants.

10 - 20 per cent: Cwmpadarn.

20 - 30 per cent: Comins-coch, Goginan; Llanfarian; Aber-porth, Cardigan Junior.

30 - 40 per cent: New Quay; Trefilan; Brynherbert; Cardigan Infants; Llanfair, Rhydlewis.

40 - 50 per cent: Ffynnon Bedr; Pontgarreg; Swyddffynnon.

Although schools with a preponderance of English speakers in 1967, as in the past, were those in areas along the coastal strip, it was becoming apparent at the time that the clear difference that once existed in the linguistic character of these schools and the remainder in the County was disappearing as a result of the changes that had occurred in the fifties and sixties.

3. Ability to speak Welsh 1961 - 1967

The 2,259 pupils whose first language was English were classified as follows in 1967 in respect of their ability to speak Welsh:

Category A: 534 (24%)
Category B: 735 (33%)
Category C: 687 (30%)
Category D: 303 (13%)

Thus in addition to the 2,518 pupils whose first language was Welsh, 303 pupils whose first language was English could speak Welsh with fair fluency. This total - 2821 - represented 59.0 per cent in the primary school population. When Category C pupils are taken into account - that is, pupils who could conduct an elementary conversation in Welsh - a total of 3,508 could be regarded as having the ability to speak Welsh. This total would represent 73.4 per cent of the primary-school population.
The corresponding figures for pupils of all ages in the primary schools in 1961 are not available, but it is possible to compare the proficiency of first-language-English pupils between the ages of 5 and 11 in Welsh in 1967 with that of pupils within the same age group in 1961:

Table 3.34 Ability of first-language-English children between the ages of 5 and 11 to speak Welsh in 1961 and 1967.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>651 (40%)</td>
<td>389 (24%)</td>
<td>349 (22%)</td>
<td>220 (14%)</td>
<td>1,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>373 (19%)</td>
<td>624 (33%)</td>
<td>635 (33%)</td>
<td>289 (15%)</td>
<td>1,921</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In spite of the increase in the number of English speakers in the age group, the position in 1967 was a marked improvement on that in 1961. But, since there was a total of 2,288 first-language-Welsh pupils in the age group in 1961 as against 2,200 in 1967, the total number of fluent Welsh speakers decreased in the meantime from 2,508 (64.3 per cent) to 2,489 (60.39 per cent). On the other hand, if Welsh-speaking were to be defined more liberally so as to include Category C pupils in both years, 3,124 in 1967 (75.8 per cent) as opposed to 2,857 (73.3 per cent) could speak Welsh. This was the brightest aspect of the 1967 survey.


In addition to the 2,259 first-language-English pupils, 1,206 pupils, whose first language was Welsh, spoke English with fair fluency. This total of 3,465 represented 72.5 per cent of the total primary school population in 1967. An additional 713 pupils in Category C could conduct an elementary conversation in
English, and this second total, amounting to 4,178 represented 87.4 per cent of the primary school population.

When children between the ages of 5 and 11 were considered, it was found in 1967 that 74.0 per cent of the age group could speak English with fair fluency as compared with 65.8 per cent in 1961. With the addition of pupils placed in Category C, 90.2 per cent in 1967 as against 82.1 per cent in 1961 had ability in English ranging between 'being able to follow elementary lessons through the medium of the language' and 'fair fluency' in speaking it.

5. Conclusion.

Although only six years had elapsed since the previous survey had been conducted, the 1967 investigation indicated important trends, the full significance of which would only become apparent when a further review of developments during the whole of the sixties would be made. It had become clear by 1967 that pupil numbers had taken an upward trend and that the main reason for this was the increase in the number of children admitted to the schools from areas outside the County.

The survey indicated clearly that, although the decline in the number of first-language-Welsh pupils continued, it was proceeding at a much reduced rate. On the other hand, it showed that the rate of growth in the number of first-language-English pupils had accelerated since 1961. Pupils between the ages of 5 and 11 whose first language was Welsh had declined from 2,687 in 1950 to 2,288 in 1961 but only to 2,200 by 1967, while those in the same age group whose first language was English had increased from 1,111 in 1950 to 1,609 in 1961 and to 1,921 in 1967.
The growth in pupil numbers and in the number of English speakers had occurred in certain well-defined areas. Developments in the town of Aberystwyth had exerted an influence on schools as far apart as Llan-non to the south and Tal-y-bont to the north, and developments at Aber-porth exerted a similar influence on schools over a wide area in the south of the County. In both cases, it was employment opportunities that had been responsible for the in-migration. The situation was somewhat different in the Aberaeron and Llandysul districts where no special employment opportunities existed. Farms and small holdings were the main attraction in these areas, but dwelling houses, especially those situated on the coastal strip, also drew families from areas in and around Birmingham either to reside in them permanently or for occasional holidays.

It is interesting to note that the number of children from homes where both parents spoke Welsh increased from 2,512 in 1961 to 2,641 in 1967. But there was also an increase in the number of these children who spoke English as their first language - from 216 in 1961 to 275 in 1967 - with the result that only 2,366 in 1967 as compared with 2,396 in 1967 spoke Welsh as a first language. A similar trend is observable in respect of pupils with only one Welsh-speaking parent; their number increased from 751 in 1961 to 989 in 1967, but 844 of these in 1967 as compared with 604 in 1961 spoke English as their first language. It is noteworthy that the greatest increase in the number of English speakers occurred in respect of children born of mixed-linguistic marriages; it amounted to 40 per cent as compared with a 27 per cent growth in the number of English speakers with two Welsh-speaking parents and a 13 per cent increase in the number of English speakers with two English-speaking parents. To what extent pupils within each of these categories had entered the County, it is impossible to tell, but the survey shows clearly that the greatest
increase in the number of English speakers with either one or two Welsh-speaking parents had occurred in the Aberystwyth district, and that these children were mostly in schools in or around Aberystwyth. As already indicated, a substantial number of them were at Ysgol Gymraeg, Aberystwyth, which might suggest that some of these families had entered the County from English-speaking areas and were eager for their children to have the opportunity of learning Welsh. But the greatest increase in the number of English speakers with no Welsh-speaking parents occurred in the Aberaeron and Llandysul district, and it was in these two districts alone that there was a preponderance of English-speaking children from purely English-speaking homes. In the County as a whole, 49 per cent of the English speakers had either one, or two Welsh-speaking parents and this compared with 45 per cent in 1961. This fact should have been of great importance to the schools, which could, therefore, enlist the support of a large number of the homes in their efforts to teach Welsh as a second language.

There were indications by 1967 that the schools were getting to grips with the problem of teaching Welsh as a second language, even to an increasing number of pupils. Many had adopted a policy of introducing Welsh at the infant stage through informal methods and the change had proved beneficial. But the main difficulty was that English-speaking pupils were often admitted to the upper classes and this imposed a particular strain on the teacher's time, especially in the small, rural schools. On the other hand, the teaching of English as a second language presented fewer problems than previously due to the contact children had with English in their social environment.

There is little doubt, that as the sixties progressed, Cardiganshire teachers gained in competence in dealing with the
complex language situations that existed within their schools. Much of the credit for this must be attributed to the activities of the Collegiate Faculty of Education, Aberystwyth which organised courses for teachers on various aspects of bilingual education, utilized Cardiganshire schools to conduct experiments in bilingual teaching and, through its publications, kept teachers abreast of modern theory and practice concerning second-language presentation. A brief reference to some of the Faculty's publications during the sixties will indicate the invaluable contribution its staff made in the field of second-language teaching.

In 1961, the Faculty produced a pamphlet on The Presentation of Welsh as a Second Language which gave suggestions on how to introduce Welsh in nursery and infant schools as well as to older children and even to adult learners. This was followed in 1962 by R.M. Jones' Graddio Geirfa (Grading Vocabulary) which not only contained a discussion on the grading of vocabulary for the purpose of the second language teaching but also presented teachers with lists of suitable vocabulary, based on frequency of usage, for incorporating in their second-language courses. Also in the same year, C.J. Dodson produced a pamphlet on The Bilingual Method; this method, which has become associated with Dodson's name, makes use, as the title suggests, of the child's first language when the second language is introduced. The author subsequently elaborated on this method of language teaching in his book Language Teaching and the Bilingual Method.

In 1964, R.M. Jones produced a comprehensive handbook for teachers on Cyflwyno'r Gymraeg. (Introducing Welsh). A sequel to Graddio Geirfa (Grading Vocabulary) referred to above, this work showed how language patterns as well as vocabulary could be graded, and how a course for learners of Welsh could be constructed on the
basis of these graded patterns. The book also contained a discussion on 'standard' spoken Welsh for learners, which was particularly relevant for teachers in a county like Cardiganshire, where Welsh was still the main medium of communication within rural communities. It also discussed methods of teaching, indicating the value of games and audio-visual aids and showed how the content of second-language lessons could be enriched so that new knowledge could be imparted to the children while they were learning a new language. In 1965, the same author, being a strong advocate of teaching Welsh to adults, produced Cymraeg i Oedolion (Welsh for Adults I), which was a course based on a graded vocabulary as well as on graded language patterns. By this time, evening classes in Welsh as a second language had been established in various centres in Cardiganshire and this book met a much-felt-need by teachers at these centres. It would be true to state that many teachers gained competence in teaching Welsh in their schools through the use they made of this course in their evening classes.

Following experiments he conducted in foreign-language teaching at Ysgol Gymraeg, Aberystwyth, C.J. Dodson produced a pamphlet in 1966 on Foreign & Second Language Learning. Although this was an account of an experiment in introducing German to children at the primary level, the results could be applied equally well to the teaching of any other second language.

Another interesting experiment was conducted by the Faculty of Education at Penparcau Infants' School Aberystwyth early in 1967, when a project was launched to explore the possibility of introducing Welsh as a second language early in the life of a child at school. The methods employed in doing so and the success achieved by the end of a six-month period is fully described in a chapter by Eurwen Price, one of the research officers of the Faculty, on 'Early Bilingualism' in
Towards Bilingualism, which was Volume I in a series on Welsh Studies in Education by the Aberystwyth Faculty of Education. While the experiment was in progress and after its completion, the Faculty organised courses for teachers to explain the nature of the investigation, the methods employed by the research officers, and the results that had been achieved at the end of the period. This successful experiment proved influential in Cardiganshire, for the new language policy formulated by the Authority in the late sixties clearly declared that Welsh as a second language should be introduced as early as possible at the infant stage.

The volume Towards Bilingualism also contained a chapter on 'Preparing a Learner's Welsh Dictionary' by Ina Tudno Williams. This report outlined the methods and criteria which the author had used for compiling a basic vocabulary in Welsh for her Geiriadur Dysgwr (Learner's Dictionary), which has proved invaluable for schools and to adult learners of the Welsh language.

Finally, reference has to be made to R.M. Jones' scholarly work, System in Child Language, which appeared in 1970 and was Volume 2 in the Faculty's series Welsh Studies in Education. The author had previously studied the way his own daughter had acquired command of Welsh as her first language, and his publication in 1970 not only took into account the observations he had made at that time but also what leading scholars in various countries had written on the same subject. The main purpose of this study, however, was not so much to describe how a child acquires language but to explain why the process follows a definite pattern. Although the author was not directly concerned in this work about the acquisition of a second language, the study obviously contains important implications for second language presentation.

Some time after the successful experiment in the early
introduction of Welsh as second language at Penparcau Infants' School, Dan Lynn James, who succeeded R.M. Jones as Research Lecturer in the Faculty of Education, Aberystwyth, undertook a number of teaching periods over several weeks with young children at the same school. During this time, infant teachers in Cardiganshire Schools visited Penparcau to observe the teaching methods employed and courses were also held for the benefit of teachers.

The above references only briefly indicate the important contribution the Faculty of Education, Aberystwyth made over a ten-year period in the field of bilingual teaching. Teachers in Cardiganshire were particularly fortunate that nearness to Aberystwyth enabled them to attend the courses regularly held by the Faculty more readily than those employed by Authorities farther away.

It has been described in another chapter how the Cardiganshire Education Authority took definite steps after 1967 to combat the language problems within its schools. In addition to strengthening its language policy, the Authority established a system of peripatetic support for the rural schools and increased its allocation of teachers the larger, urban schools. At the same time, the Primary Adviser was allowed a generous sum of money to expend for the purpose of implementing the County's language policy. Thus a variety of books, both Welsh and English, language courses and teaching aids found their way into the schools. The Authority also established a Teachers' Centre at Felin-fach under a full-time Warden and four local centres under part-time Wardens for the purpose of curriculum development. Initial experiments were also made in establishing 'language centres' for learners of Welsh, and the Authority gave its fullest support to 'crash courses' sponsored by Urdd Gobaith Cymru at its Camp at Llangrannog.
One of the most interesting developments in the sixties was the establishment of the Schools Council and, especially the setting up of the Committee for Wales of the Schools Council for the purpose of paying attention to the particular educational needs of Wales. During the sixties and early seventies, the Schools Council launched a number of projects which aimed at supporting the Welsh language and improving the methods of teaching it within the schools. Cardiganshire schools were again fortunate in that they were invited to participate in the following projects: Welsh as a First Language at the Primary Level; The Teaching of Reading in Welsh; Bilingual Education in Primary Schools and Mathematics and Science through the medium of Welsh. The teachers involved obviously derived great benefit from experimenting with new schemes of work and from the contact they had with the Directors and Field Officers of the various projects. And the newly-established Teachers' Centres proved to be suitable places for disseminating knowledge concerning these pilot schemes.

Thus the seven years between 1967 and 1974 was an exciting period in the history of primary education in Cardiganshire. On the other hand, the Education Committee, as already related, had to face difficulties over its language policy in the schools during that period, but this had been resolved before 1974. Following the appearance of the Gittins Report, the language question in primary schools and the reorganisation of small rural schools became related issues in Cardiganshire, but, as it will be shown in a later chapter, no progress was made to implement officers' recommendations on reorganisation except for the establishment of an 'area school', Ysgol y Dderi, in the Lampeter district.

It was quite natural for the Education Committee to seek a report on the language situation in its primary schools before it
handed over its powers to the Dyfed County Council in 1974. The
purpose of the report was to be two fold: it was to indicate what
changes had occurred in the position of Welsh and English in the
schools since 1967 and what progress had been made in the
meantime in implementing a thorough-going bilingual policy. The
report, together with recommendations for future language policies, was
to be presented to Dyfed County Council at the appropriate time. A
language survey was, therefore, conducted in the primary schools
during December 1973.(39)

The findings of the 1973 survey, which was conducted on the same
lines as the 1967 investigation, will be summarized under the following
headings: (1) The Growth in the Primary School Population (2) First
Language of the Pupils (3) The Second Language - Welsh and
English.

(1) Growth in the Primary-School Population

The census returns of 1971 showed that the population of
Cardiganshire had increased by 2.3 per cent since 1961; the
growth in the Urban areas was 2.9 per cent and it was 1.9 per
cent in the Rural Districts. The rate of growth had varied,
however, from area to area, and there were also instances of a
marked population decline. In the Urban areas of Aberaeron,
Aberystwyth, Cardigan and Lampeter a population growth of 9.8
per cent, 2.5 per cent, 0.5 per cent and 18.0 per cent
respectively had been recorded, but New Quay showed a fall of
21.3 per cent. The Rural Districts of Aberystwyth and Tivyside
showed a population expansion of 12.7 per cent and 1.0 per cent
respectively, while the Aberaeron and Tregaron R.D.C. areas
indicated a population decline amounting to 3.0 per cent in the
former and 13.3 per cent in the latter. Thus, the most substantial
increase in an Urban area had occurred in Lampeter, while the
greatest population growth within the County had occurred in the
Aberystwyth R.D.C area. (40) In the New Quay Urban District and
Tregaron Rural District, the decline in population assumed a
serious dimension; in New Quay, a strong factor in the
situation was the increase in the purchase of dwellings for
holiday homes, but in the Tregaron District the decline was due to rural depopulation.

It has already been shown how the primary-school population increased substantially after the mid sixties (See Table 3.29 p.201). In December 1973, there were 5,494 on roll in the primary schools as compared with 4,777 in November 1967, when the previous survey was undertaken. The following table indicates the increase in the enrolments in the six school districts between 1967 and 1973:

Table 3.35 Number of pupils in the primary schools of Cardiganshire in 1967 and 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>On roll:</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>2,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4,777</td>
<td>5,494</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rate of expansion in pupil numbers in the Aberaeron district had slowed down since 1967, for an 18.2 per cent growth had been recorded during the six years prior to 1967. In the Aberystwyth district, on the other hand, the rate of increase since 1967 had accelerated, for it had only been 12.8 per cent between 1961 and 1967. An increased rate of growth was also recorded at Llandysul; it was 11.1 per cent between 1967 and 1973 as compared with 9.2 per cent between 1961 and 1967. The Lampeter and Tregaron districts had experienced falling rolls between 1961 and 1967 amounting to 10.3 per cent and 4.6 per cent respectively, but the trend had been reversed in both districts during the period 1967 to 1973, and a 13.8 per cent increase in 1973 was recorded in Lampeter and 14.9 per cent in Tregaron. For the County as a whole, the 8.5 per cent growth in pupil numbers between 1961 and 1967 had become a
15.0 per cent growth during the years 1967 to 1973.

As during the period 1961 to 1967, the most spectacular growth had occurred in particular areas of the County. In the Aberaeron district, the most striking increase in enrolments occurred in two schools, namely, at Aberaeron C.P. where pupil numbers expanded from 122 to 142 and at Ciliau Parc where they rose from 27 to 43.

There was a substantial growth in the enrolments at several schools in the Aberystwyth district. These schools and the growth recorded were: Comins-coch - from 92 to 146; Llangynfel - from 25 to 63; Llanfarian - from 38 to 55; Pen-llwyn - from 47 to 79; Penparcau Junior - from 147 to 196; Penparcau Infants - from 135 to 150; Rhydypennau - from 73 to 158 and Tal-y-bont - from 78 to 107. There were similar increases at other schools, for example at Llanafan (from 35 to 47) and Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn (from 20 to 36). The omission of the two schools of Aberystwyth Town from the above list is interesting; numbers at Ysgol Gymraeg declined from 251 in 1967 to 217 in 1973, and Aberystwyth C.P. had an increase of only 5 pupils during the same period. The growth had occurred in schools around Aberystwyth Town, while the total number in the schools of Aberystwyth itself had dwindled since 1967.

In the Cardigan district, Cardigan Junior and Cardigan Infants School increased their enrolments from 147 to 196 and from 135 to 150 respectively, while pupil numbers at Llandygwydd expanded from 37 to 60.

In the Lampeter district, the school population at Ffynnon Bedr increased from 176 to 254, and Cwrtnewydd, in a rural setting, had an increase from 29 to 43.

Increase in numbers in the Llandysul district had occurred mainly in two schools namely at Llandysul C.P. and Pontgarreg. At Llandysul, pupil numbers increased from 147 to 197, and, at Pontgarreg, from 33 to 61.

In the Tregaron district, there was a growth from 39 to 59 at Llanddewibrefi, from 95 to 106 at Tregaron and from 15 to 36 at Swyddffynnon.

Schools referred to above have been specially mentioned...
because they were places where a substantial or a fairly substantial increase in pupil numbers had occurred during the period 1967 to 1973. But smaller increases also occurred in a number of other schools and even in some, like Llan-non and Aber-porth, where a substantial growth had occurred during the previous six-year period.

It is clear from what has been described above that the growth in the primary-school population between 1967 and 1973 had occurred mainly in particular schools around Aberystwyth. Some of these schools had been growing in size during the whole of the sixties, while the growth began to occur in the others later on in the decade. The following table indicates this development around Aberystwyth and also shows how the town schools experienced falling rolls in the early seventies.

Table 3.36 Changes in the enrolments at particular schools in the Aberystwyth district 1960 to 1973 (January figures)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yr Ysgol Gymraeg</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth C.P.</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comins-coch</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cwmpadarn</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llangynfelyn</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llanfarian</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penllwyn</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penparcau J</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penparcau I</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhydypennau</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tal-y-bont</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This population expansion resulted from the increased employment opportunities in the Aberystwyth area during the sixties. The University College was being expanded, a new Hospital was being constructed, two advanced factories were established in the town and there were developments on the 62 acre site which had been acquired by the County Council at Glanyrafon. All this was in addition to the general increase in employment opportunities occurring in the town itself. These developments resulted in new housing estates appearing in areas
around Aberystwyth and the enlargement of the existing ones. 

And as this occurred, pupil numbers in the local schools increased. By 1973, 38.4 per cent of the County's primary-school population were in schools in the Aberystwyth district as compared with 34.5 per cent in 1960.

Alongside this growth in some schools, a decline in pupil numbers occurred in others. In the Aberaeron district, Cribyn had a drop from 50 to 29, Mydroilyn experienced a decline from 35 to 22 and Pennant from 28 to 14. There were no severe drops in numbers in the schools of the Aberystwyth district, except in Mynach, where a decline from 21 to 14 was recorded. Eglwys-fach also in 1973 had only 14 pupils on roll. Beulah, in the Cardigan district, had a population decline from 57 to 32 and Blaen-porth from 57 to 32. In the Lampeter district, the most severe reduction in numbers occurred at Cellan, where an enrolment of 20 in 1967 dropped to 8 in 1973. Pont-siôn and Tre-groes, in the Llandysul district, pupil numbers were reduced from 35 to 27 and from 43 to 32 respectively, while, in the Tregaron district, Ysbyty Ystwyth, which had an enrolment of 32 in 1967, had only 16 on roll in 1973. Over the whole County, however, there was an increase of 377 pupils which was an 8.4 per cent growth on the 1967 total.

(2) First Language of Pupils 1967 to 1973

The following table indicates the number of children who spoke either Welsh or English as their first language in 1973 and shows how the position then compared with that in 1967.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First language Welsh</th>
<th>First language English</th>
<th>Total on roll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>2,518 (52.7%)</td>
<td>2,259</td>
<td>4,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>2,563 (46.6%)</td>
<td>2,931</td>
<td>5,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although this survey was the first to indicate an increase in the number of primary-school pupils whose first language was...
Welsh, it was also the first to show that these pupils had become a minority group in the total primary-school population due to the spectacular growth (29.7 per cent) in the number of pupils whose first language was English. The number of first language-Welsh pupils, though higher than that recorded in 1967, was still short of the number recorded in 1961, when it had been 2,573.

(a) Welsh as a first language:

The following table shows how the number of children whose first language was Welsh increased in some districts and declined in others during the period 1967 to 1973. It will be noted that even in the Aberystwyth, Cardigan, Lampeter and Llandysul districts, where the total of first-language-Welsh pupils increased, their proportion in the school population of those districts declined as a result of the increase in the number of first-language-English pupils.

Table 3.38 Number of primary-school pupils whose first language was Welsh in the six school districts of Cardiganshire in 1967 and 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of first language-Welsh pupils in:</th>
<th>1967</th>
<th>1973</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td></td>
<td>539 (68.6%)</td>
<td>497 (60.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td></td>
<td>610 (35.9%)</td>
<td>689 (32.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td></td>
<td>360 (42.2%)</td>
<td>379 (41.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td></td>
<td>281 (65.9%)</td>
<td>284 (58.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td></td>
<td>418 (66.5%)</td>
<td>424 (60.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td></td>
<td>310 (79.8%)</td>
<td>290 (65.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,518 (52.7%)</td>
<td>2,563 (46.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most remarkable increase in the number of first-language-Welsh pupils in the Aberaeron district occurred at Ciliau Parc and Trefilan where their number grew from 23 to 39 and from 9 to 20 respectively. But there was a decline in their number at the following...
schools: Caerwedros (from 22 to 12); Cribyn (from 45 to 23); Mydroilyn (from 25 to 12); Pennant (from 26 to 12) and New Quay (19 to 11). Pupil numbers had also dropped at Cribyn, Mydroilyn and Pennant.

In the Aberystwyth district, there was quite a substantial increase in the number of first language-Welsh pupils at Llangynfelyn (from 17 to 27); Llanfarian (from 10 to 26), Pen-llwyn (32 to 45), and, most of all, at Rhydypennau where a tremendous increase from 40 to 104 was recorded. Tal-y-bont showed a smaller increase - from 45 to 51.

In the Cardigan district there was a substantial increase in the number of pupils whose first language was Welsh at Cardigan Junior School (from 60 to 82) and at the rural school of Llandygwydd (from 23 to 41). With the drop in pupil numbers at Blaen-porth, however, the number of Welsh speakers declined from 49 to 25.

At Ffynnon Bedr, in the Lampeter district, the number of Welsh speakers increased from 82 to 113, and, in the Llandysul district, there was an increase from 36 to 48 at Adpar, from 88 to 114 at Llandysul C.P., and from 16 to 32 at Pontgarreg. On the other hand a drop from 34 to 22 was recorded at Tre-wen. In the Tregaron district, there was a growth from 32 to 40 at Llanddewibrefi and from 6 to 17 at Swyddffynnon, while, at Llangeltho, there was a drop from 43 to 33 and from 27 to 11 at Ysbyty Ystwyth.

Thus, while some schools had substantially increased their number of Welsh speakers during the period 1967 to 1973, others recorded a marked decline in this respect. The net increase for the County as a whole amounted to 45; 12 of these were from Welsh speaking homes and 33 had only one Welsh-speaking parent.

(b) **English as first language:**

The number of pupils whose first language was English increased as follows in the six districts of the County between 1967 and 1973.
Table 3.39  Number of primary-school pupils whose first language was English in the six school districts of Cardiganshire in 1967 and 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of first-language English pupils in:</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>1,088</td>
<td>1,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,259</td>
<td>2,931</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen from the above table that the highest increase in the number of English speakers occurred in the Aberystwyth district, while the highest percentage growth occurred in the Tregaron district, where the number of English speakers doubled. The following list refers to the schools where a fairly substantial increase in the number of first-language-English pupils occurred between 1967 and 1973:

(1) **Aberaeron District:**
   - Aberaeron C.P. 55 to 68
   - Caerwedros 8 to 16
   - Llan-non 30 to 42
   - New Quay 41 to 58

(2) **Aberystwyth District:**
   - Comins-coch 72 to 141
   - Llangynfelyn 8 to 36
   - Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn 3 to 14
   - Pen-llwyn 15 to 34
   - Penparcau Junior 141 to 184
   - Penparcau Infants 127 to 142
   - Penrhyn-coch 6 to 28
   - Rhydypenau 33 to 54
   - Tal-y-bont 33 to 56

(3) **Cardigan District:**
   - Cardigan Junior 159 to 190
In all, almost 70 per cent of the schools of the County indicated some increase in the number of first-language-English pupils.

The 1967 survey had indicated that the increase which occurred since 1961 in the number of English speakers from purely English homes had been small in comparison with the growth in the number of those who had one Welsh speaking parent. The 1973 survey told a different tale, as the following table shows:

Table 3.40 First-language-English pupils in Cardiganshire schools in 1961, 1967 and 1973 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Number of first language English pupils in:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Welsh</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Welsh</td>
<td>604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Welsh</td>
<td>1,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,827</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the number of English-speaking children from homes where either one or two of the parents could speak Welsh had decreased since 1967, although their numbers in 1973 were still higher than they had been in 1961. There was a substantial increase, on the other hand, in the number of English speakers from homes where neither parent spoke Welsh. This amounted to 84.4 per cent since 1961 and 62.8 per cent since 1967.
The schools reported on the number of English-speaking pupils who had been admitted from areas outside Cardiganshire during the previous three years, and the number who had left for schools outside the County during the same period. The following table compares the findings of the 1967 and 1973 surveys on this matter:

Table 3.41 Number of English-speaking pupils who entered Cardiganshire primary schools from areas outside the County during the years 1964 to 1967 and 1970 to 1973 and the number who left for schools outside the County during the same periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>1,255</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen how the number of these entrants had increased substantially in all districts of the County during the years 1970 to 1973, and the number of leavers had likewise increased, except in the Aberystwyth district. The pupils who remained for only short periods in their schools created special problems to their teachers, and especially in connection with second language teaching.

The changes that had occurred since 1967 had naturally affected the linguistic pattern of the Schools, as the following table indicates:
Table 3.42 Changes in the linguistic pattern of Cardiganshire primary schools between 1967 and 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Welsh</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 - 100</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 90</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 80</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 70</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 60</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 50</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 40</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                  | 90    | 91(42) |

Only one school, Blaenau, in the Lampeter district, as compared with 7 in 1967 and 8 in 1961, was entirely Welsh in character in 1973, and only 16 schools in 1973 as compared with 26 in 1967 and 35 in 1961 had over 80 per cent habitual Welsh speakers. The number of schools where the majority of the pupils normally spoke English had increased from 19 in 1967 to 28 in 1973. The schools with a low percentage of first language Welsh pupils could be classified as follows:

- **30 - 40 per cent Welsh:** Mefenydd; Cardigan J; Cardigan I; Rhydlewis.
- **20 - 30 per cent Welsh:** Cwmpadarn; Aberporth
- **10 - 20 per cent Welsh:** New Quay

**Under 10 per cent Welsh:** Aberystwyth C.P.; Borth; Comins-coch; Penparcau J; Penparcau I; St. Padarn's R.C. School.
The teachers employed the same 'criteria' as for previous investigations in order to assess the standard of attainment of their pupils in their second language. Thus pupils were classified according to a four-point scale, A, B, C or D, A signifying that a pupil had no knowledge of the second language, and D indicating that he could speak it with 'fair fluency'. B and C were intermediate grades indicating the progress the child made towards becoming fluent in his second language.

(a) Welsh as a Second Language:

The following table indicates how pupils whose first language was English were classified in 1973 in respect of their ability to speak Welsh. The findings of the 1967 survey have also been included in the table in order to show the progress that had been achieved in teaching Welsh as a second language in the meantime. It should be borne in mind that the figures refer to children whose ages ranged from 4+ to 11+.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>2,259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(24%)</td>
<td>(33%)</td>
<td>(30%)</td>
<td>(13%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>1,075</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>2,931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td>(37%)</td>
<td>(28%)</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the schools had to teach Welsh as a second language to a larger number of children in 1973 than in 1967, a higher number and a higher proportion of the English speakers reached the stage of 'fair fluency' in 1973 than in 1967. Again, although the number in Category A was not substantially lower in 1973 than in 1967 - due to the increase in the number of children under five in the schools and the increase in the number of late-comers to the schools - the proportion of the
pupils in that category had substantially diminished since 1967. 65 per cent of the English learners had reached the intermediate grades of B and C in 1973 as compared with 63 per cent in 1967.

Pupils of ten to eleven years of age were assessed as follows in 1967 and 1973:

Table 3.44 Ability of primary-school children between the ages of 10 and 11 in Cardiganshire schools to speak Welsh as a second language in 1967 and 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10%)</td>
<td>(21%)</td>
<td>(42%)</td>
<td>(27%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7%)</td>
<td>(24%)</td>
<td>(30%)</td>
<td>(39%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from the two tables that the schools were having a greater measure of success in 1973 than in 1967 in teaching Welsh as a second language in spite of the complex linguistic situations that existed in many places.

The question, however, remains, To what extent had the schools succeeded during the sixties and early seventies in arresting the decline in Welsh speaking that was indicated by the 1961 survey. In order to answer this question, reference will have to be made to figures appertaining to 5 to 11 year-old children, for, as previously pointed out, these are the only figures available in respect of the bilingual proficiency of children in Cardiganshire in 1961.

In the following table, two totals (First Total and Second Total) are provided in addition to the number of pupils between 5 and 11 at the time of the survey and the number of children whose first language was Welsh. The 'First Total' includes all those whose first language was Welsh, together with those whose first language was English and were in Categories C and D in respect of
Welsh as a second language. The English-speaking pupils in these two categories had ability to speak Welsh ranging from elementary conversational powers to ability to speak it with fair fluency. The 'Second Total' includes, in addition to those whose first language was Welsh, only those learners who spoke Welsh with fair fluency (Category D).

Table 3.45 Number of children between 5 and 11 years of age in Cardiganshire Schools able to speak Welsh in 1961, 1967 and 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>On roll (5 - 11)</th>
<th>First language Welsh pupils</th>
<th>First Total</th>
<th>Second Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>3,897</td>
<td>2,288 (58.7%)</td>
<td>2,857 (73.3%)</td>
<td>2,508 (64.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>4,121</td>
<td>2,200 (53.3%)</td>
<td>3,124 (75.8%)</td>
<td>2,489 (60.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>4,718</td>
<td>2,198 (46.5%)</td>
<td>3,472 (73.5%)</td>
<td>2,689 (56.9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the number of children who could speak Welsh with 'fair fluency' increased after 1967, although their proportion in the total of the 5 to 11 age group was lower than it was in 1961 due to the increase in the number of children in that age group. There was a steady increase since 1961, however, in the number of children who could conduct an elementary conversation through the medium of Welsh. Although it was gratifying to find in 1973 that progress had been achieved during the sixties and early seventies in implementing a bilingual policy, the success, on the whole, had been less substantial than expected. The difficulties within the schools, on the other hand, could not be minimised.

The Language Policy of the Authority expected 'reasonable facility in the use of Welsh' by the time the children left the primary school. 'Reasonable facility'
was not defined; but the returns from the headteachers indicated that in a large number of schools, and especially in the urban ones, the highest stage most of the children reached in Welsh as a second language was that defined in Category C of the questionnaire: being able to follow simple lessons in Welsh and conduct an elementary conversation through the medium of that language. On the other hand a fairly high proportion of the pupils in many of the rural schools acquired oral fluency in their second language and some even acquired written proficiency before they left for the secondary schools.

(b) English as a Second Language

The following table indicates the progress made since 1967 in teaching English as a second language.

Table 3.46 Standard of attainment of primary-school pupils in Cardiganshire in English as a second language in 1967 and 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>219 (9%)</td>
<td>380 (15%)</td>
<td>713 (28%)</td>
<td>1,206 (48%)</td>
<td>2,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>83 (3%)</td>
<td>234 (9%)</td>
<td>545 (21%)</td>
<td>1,701 (66%)</td>
<td>2,563</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The standard of achievement in English as a second language was most satisfactory, for the majority of the learners of all ages in 1973 could speak the language with 'fair fluency'. Many of the pupils had gained fluency in English at an early age, due, no doubt, to the amount of English these children heard in their social environment. A satisfactory standard in Welsh was not, however, reached by a substantial number of the English-speakers until a later age as the following table shows:
Table 3.47 Percentage of pupils of various ages in Cardiganshire Schools who reached a satisfactory standard (Categories C or D) in their second language in 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Second Language:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - 5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - 9</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 10</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 +</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures in respect of English indicate very clearly what can be achieved where there is a strong incentive to acquire command of a second language and where the social environment reinforces the efforts of the school to teach it.

The 1973 language survey had produced for the Cardiganshire Education Committee a chequered picture. On the one hand, it contained evidence that there was an increase in 'Welsh-speaking' at the primary level, due to an expansion in the number of pupils from Welsh-speaking homes and due to the better results achieved by the schools in teaching Welsh as a second language. On the other hand, the growing problems facing the schools as a result of the substantial migration into the county by English-speaking families was cause for deep concern, especially since the admission of their children at the local schools often led to a severe dilution in the Welsh character of those schools. It was too late in the day for the Education Committee to consider implementing new policies of its own, and all it could do at its last meeting, as related in Chapter I, was to make recommendations on future language policies to the new Dyfed Authority, which was about to replace it. The main plea was for the existing Language Policy of Cardiganshire to remain in
force under Dyfed, and for the existing provision in the field of language teaching to continue and be strengthened by the new Authority.

The hope engendered by the 1973 language survey was dashed in 1976 when the Dyfed Authority conducted its own investigation. This survey showed that the number of pupils whose first language was Welsh had declined since 1973 from 2,563 to 2,369 - a drop of 7.5 per cent. On the other hand, the number of pupils whose first language was English had increased from 2,931 to 3,107 - a growth of 6.0 per cent over the same period. As a result of these changes the primary school population was only 43.2 per cent Welsh in 1976 as compared with 46.6 per cent three years previously. The survey also showed that only 9.5 per cent of the Welsh learners in 1976, as compared with 18.0 per cent in 1973, had reached the stage of 'fair fluency' in their second language.

Following this survey, the Dyfed Education declared a Language Policy for its schools, which as far as the Ceredigion Area was considered, was essentially the same as that formulated by the former Cardiganshire Education Authority. At the same time, it decided to appoint 22 Area Teachers of Welsh, seven of whom were assigned to the Ceredigion Area. Two of these were to serve in the Aberystwyth district, and the other five were assigned to the remaining five school districts.

By the time Dyfed conducted its next language survey in 1982, the school population of the Ceredigion Area, like that within the other areas of Dyfed, was in a situation of decline. At the time of the survey, pupil numbers in Ceredigion schools, which had been 5,476 in 1976, had dropped to 4,639 - a fall of 15.3 per cent. This change of trend resulted in the decline in the number of pupils whose first language was Welsh, from 2,369 to 1,758 - a fall of 25.7 per cent and also in the number of pupils whose first language was English, from 3,107 to 2,881 - a decline of 7.2 per cent. The proportion of Welsh-speaking children in the school population had, therefore, dropped to 37.8 per cent by 1982. The Area Teachers of Welsh,
however, gained satisfying results in the schools in which they had served, and over the whole Area, 13.0 per cent of the Welsh learners in 1982 as compared with only 9.5 per cent in 1976 had reached the standard of 'fair fluency' in their second language. But, although this improvement was gratifying, the results achieved by the schools still fell short of what they had been in 1973.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to describe the varying fortunes of Welsh and English as languages spoken by primary-school children and as languages taught in the schools throughout the period under consideration. For this purpose, the language surveys conducted in Cardiganshire Education Authority have been considered in some detail and brief references have also been made to two further investigations undertaken by the Dyfed Education Authority so that trends after 1974 could also be taken into account.

The study has indicated a severe decline in the number of children whose main language is Welsh. Such a decline was inevitable in a county where it has been necessary for young people over the years to move away to find suitable employment. It was natural to find that the contraction in the number of Welsh-speaking pupils was most severe at a time when the school population was in sharp decline. Thus, during the period 1928 to 1945, pupil numbers dropped, according to the surveys, from 7,611 to 5,778 and the number of Welsh-speaking pupils plummeted from 6,693 to 4,189. During the sixties, on the other hand, when there were improved employment opportunities in the County, especially in the Aberystwyth area, the primary school population expanded and the number of Welsh-speaking pupils remained steady at the 2,500 mark. In the late seventies, however, pupil numbers were again in decline and this trend has continued to date. Between 1973 and 1976, the number of Welsh speakers decreased in the primary schools of Ceredigion from 2,563 to 2,369, and, when the Dyfed Education
Authority conducted its survey in 1982, this number had further declined to 1,758.

The question that poses itself is: How many of the 1,758 Welsh speakers in the primary schools in 1982 will be likely to find future employment in Ceredigion so that they may bring up their own children to speak Welsh, or will a large proportion of them, like many before them, find it necessary to seek posts outside their native area? The question, obviously, cannot be answered, but it serves to highlight the fact that the survival of the Welsh language in Cardiganshire is largely dependent on economic factors. Census reports have indicated that in Cardiganshire the proportion of Welsh-speaking is higher in the older than in the younger age groups. This signifies that as the older people die, the decline in Welsh-speaking is likely to accelerate unless economic solutions can be found to arrest the movement away from the area.

In contrast, the increase in the number of English-speakers in the primary was found to be mainly due to the movement of English-speaking families into the county. It is true that it has been practice of some Welsh-speaking parents to bring up their children to speak English, but the surveys have shown that no more than about 12 per cent of English speakers have been from homes where both parents speak Welsh. A larger proportion of English speakers - about 36 per cent, on average - were found to have one Welsh-speaking parent, but, more often than not, it was the mother who spoke English. Most of the English-speaking children, it was found, had two English-speaking parents. These increased steadily in the schools after the Second World War; the surveys indicated that there were 531 of them in the schools in 1949, 1,007 in 1961, 1,140 in 1967 and 1,857 in 1973. Immigration into the County accelerated in the sixties and the number of English-speaking pupils increased.
from 1,827 in 1961 to 2,931 in 1973 and to 3,108 in 1976. Their number, however, subsequently declined, and by 1982, it had dropped to 2,881.

It has to be admitted that the primary schools on the whole have only had a limited success in making the English speaking children fluent in Welsh, although there have been notable exceptions. A large number of schools have succeeded, however, in getting these pupils to the stage where they are able to follow simple lessons in Welsh and conduct an elementary conversation through the medium of the language. Links have also been made over the years with the Secondary Schools in order to ensure continuity in second-language teaching. The progress made in making English-speaking children bilingual at the Secondary stage will be examined in the next chapter.
NOTES

1. General Report of H.M. Inspectors on Education in the County of Cardigan for the period ended July 31st, 1913, Board of Education - Welsh Department, 1914.

2. The numbers on registers at the various schools of the County were provided in Extracts from Returns made to the Committee relative to the position of the various Elementary Schools in the County, Cardiganshire Education Committee, 1905. This document also contains information concerning the school buildings and the staff employed at each school.

3. The questionnaire did not distinguish between the ability of the father and the mother to speak Welsh. It merely asked for the number of children with one Welsh-speaking parent.

4. A Statement based on an Investigation into the teaching of Welsh in the Elementary Schools of the County of Cardigan by His Majesty's Inspectors of School, Cardiganshire Education Committee, 1932, p.4.

5. Ibid, p.4

6. Ibid, pp.5-6.

7. Suggestions for the consideration of Education Authorities and Teachers - Memorandum No. 1, Welsh Department, 1929.


9. This letter appears as an introduction to the Statement (see note 4, above).

10. General Report of H.M. Inspectors on Elementary Education in the Administrative County of Cardigan for the period ending on 31 December, 1936 Welsh Department, 1937, p.3.


12. Ibid, p.3.

13. See, A Language Survey, Caernarvonshire Education Authority, 1944.

15. Errors appear in the published report on the 1949 language survey (see Note 11, above), where the percentage of Welsh-speaking pupils for the six districts are shown as follows: Aberaeron - 87.3%; Aberystwyth - 52.96%; Cardigan - 67.9 per cent; Lampeter 83.59%; Llandysul - 92.85% and Tregaron 93.18%.

16. The use of percentages to indicate changes can be misleading unless they are related to the size of the school. Mynach School, for instance, was 100 per cent Welsh-speaking in 1945, but, by 1949, four of its 23 pupils were English-speaking. This small change depressed the proportion of its Welsh-speaking pupils to 82.6 per cent.


18. The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales, Ministry of Education, H.M.S.O., 1953, P.IV. A. Pinsent, who was a co-opted member of the Cardiganshire Education Committee and an ex-member of staff of the Education Department at U.C.W. Aberystwyth, commented on the Report in an article entitled 'A Bilingual Policy for Wales and how to achieve it' in Yr Einion, Volume VI, 1954. Referring to the statistical tables of the Report, he warned that the figures concerning bilingual attainment could, even at best, be only approximate, since they were based on the purely subjective impressions of teachers, and there was a total absence of objective measurements. References will have to be made, however, to these figures in this study, for as Pinsent had to admit 'the statistics of the Report represent the best educational returns at present available'.

19. Ibid, p.35.


22. Ibid, p.80.


27. For a report on this survey, see D.G. Williams, Welsh Language Survey 1967. (Cardiganshire Education Committee).


32. R.M. Jones, Cyflwyno'r Gymraeg. (Ysgrifau ar Addysg, Cyfrol 3), Cardiff, 1964.


39. D.G. Williams, 1973 Language Survey (Cardiganshire Education Committee)

40. Census figures for the Aberystwyth Borough and R.D.C area were, however, complicated by the inclusion of students - 1,820 in the Borough and 350 in the R.D.C area.

42. The Remedial Unit at Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth was included separately in the language survey. Although not officially registered as a 'school', it admitted pupils from various areas in the Aberystwyth district.

43. For a precise definition of the four Categories, see p.179.
CHAPTER IV

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

One of the prime features of education in Cardiganshire during the first forty years of this century was the growth in the number of secondary-school pupils. In 1898, there were only 373 pupils in the five Intermediate Schools that had been recently established at Aberaeron, Aberystwyth, Cardigan, Llandysul and Tregaron, but, by 1920, the year when a non-selective Central School was opened at Lampeter, the number of secondary-school pupils had increased to 1,112. The enthusiasm for secondary education continued, and the secondary school population grew to 1,273 in 1932, to 1,603 in 1940 and to 1,884 in 1944. This growth is even more remarkable when it is realised that this was a period of severe decline in the child population of the County, as indicated in Chapter I. In October 1944, the total school population - elementary and secondary - was no more than 7,298, and, with only 5,414 of these in the Elementary Schools, the 1,884 in the Secondary School represented 25.8 per cent of the total school population. It has to be pointed out, however, that some pupils attending Cardigan Secondary School came from Pembrokeshire, and some at Llandysul and Lampeter came from Carmarthenshire, but the vast majority on roll at the Secondary Schools were Cardiganshire pupils.

This growth had been encouraged by the award of 'free places' in the five selective schools by the Authority. Until 1932, these 'free places' were granted on merit alone on the results of the annual entrance examination, but afterwards, in consequence to a change in the regulations of the Board of Education, the parents of the successful candidates became subject to a means test. It had also been the practice until 1924 to award special scholarships to intending teachers at the early age of 12 or 13, again on the results of the entrance examination to the Intermediate Schools. This
examination at the time was therefore known as 'Examination for Free Places and Special Scholarships', and 'Teacher Candidates' were required to gain 50 per cent of the maximum marks in order to gain a scholarship. If successful at the Secondary School Examination, these 'Teacher Candidates', as they were known while they remained at the Secondary School, became 'Student Teachers' for a year before proceeding to college or before being raised to the status of 'Uncertificated Teachers'. When the system came to an end in 1924, teachers were selected from those who had reached a satisfactory standard in the Senior or Higher School Certificate. 'Uncertificated Teachers' formed the bulk of the teaching force in the Elementary Schools of Cardiganshire until the early fifties when it was finally decided to confine all teaching appointments to college-trained teachers. To reflect the change that occurred in 1924, the entrance examination became known as the 'Entrance Scholarship Examination', and when 'free places' became 'special places' in 1932, it became known as the 'Special Place Examination'.

Numbers presented by the schools for these examinations varied from year to year, but there was a noticeable upward trend in the number of candidates until the mid thirties. The number doubled between 1910 and 1921 - 123 for 1910 and 246 for 1921 - and this did not include the number of 'Teacher Candidates' entered for the examinations amounting to 61 and 60 for the respective years. In 1930, 376 sat the examination and 541 in 1935, but afterwards the number of candidates declined in keeping with the drop in the elementary school population at the time.

Although the number of secondary school pupils in 1944 represented a quarter of the total school population, the individual Secondary Schools were still small in size:
Aberaeron  288
Aberystwyth  466
Cardigan  376
Llandysul  314
Tregaron  206
Lampeter (Central)  234

Total  1,884

But the reorganisation\(^{(1)}\) which was to follow the Education Act of that year transformed the education system of Cardiganshire creating larger units in the secondary sector and denuding the primary schools still further of numbers. The new system evolved by the Authority was not the product of any particular theory of education or of a political dogma but rather the result of practical considerations like facts of demography, ease of travelling from home to school and, above all, financial considerations. Aberaeron, Cardigan and Tregaron were destined to become bilateral schools by extending their existing buildings, but, at Cardigan, a Secondary Modern School had to be maintained temporarily at St. Mary's School - a Church of England Elementary School prior to its amalgamation with the Council School in the town. A new bilateral school was constructed at Lampeter and the buildings of the former Central School was made available for the Primary School in the town, which then became known as Ffynnon Bedr County Primary School. At Aberystwyth, accommodation would be required from some 1,200 pupils if the bilateral solution were adopted, and as the Authority also felt that such a large unit would be undesirable, separate Grammar and Modern Schools were established. The Grammar School was accommodated at Ardwyn and a purpose-built Secondary Modern School, to be known as Dinas, was provided on a site at Cefn-llan overlooking the town. In the Llandysul area, the Authority co-operated with the Carmarthenshire Authority; Cardiganshire provided for a Grammar
School at Llandysul while Carmarthenshire provided a new Secondary Modern School in its own territory at Newcastle Emlyn, although, for a period, Cardiganshire maintained a Secondary Modern School in an ex-Prisoner of War Camp at Henllan pending the completion of the new building at Newcastle Emlyn.

The separation of the primary and secondary sectors was completed by 1951 although it took longer to provide all the buildings required. By September 1959 the final pattern had been achieved and the numbers on roll at the Secondary Schools were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Roll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardwyn (Grammar)</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinas (Modern)</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul (Grammar)</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,015</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About 470 Cardiganshire pupils also attended Emlyn Secondary Modern School which had been opened the previous year. Since there were only about 4,600 pupils in the Primary Schools at the time, reorganisation had provided secondary education for almost 50 per cent of pupils then in school.

In April 1946, a questionnaire\(^2\) was sent to the Secondary Schools to enquire about the linguistic character of the school population, the number who took Welsh as first language and second language at the School Certificate Examination in 1945 as well as the number who sat for the Higher Certificate in Welsh in the same year. At the School Certificate Examination of the Central Welsh Board, three papers in Welsh were set: the S.W. paper was intended for those whose first language was Welsh and papers in Language and
Literature were offered; the Sa paper in Language and Literature was intended for those pupils who had acquired Welsh in a favourable environment, while the Sb paper was for those who had studied Welsh as a 'foreign language'. The following tables summarise the findings of the survey:

Table 4.1 First language of pupils in the Secondary Schools of Cardiganshine in 1945

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1st Language of pupils</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>247 (91%)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth (Ardwyn)</td>
<td>188 (42%)</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>281 (83%)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter (Central)</td>
<td>232 (96%)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>338 (97%)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>198 (99%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,484 (81%)</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 Pupils who sat C.W.B. Examinations in Welsh (1945)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Pupils who sat C.W.B. Examination in Welsh (1945)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S.W. Papers</td>
<td>Sa and Sb Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Lampeter Secondary School entered pupils for the Oxford Senior Certificate at the time. Only one paper in Welsh was set at that examination and Lampeter entered 12 pupils in 1945
It will be noticed that all Secondary Schools, with the exception of Ardwyn, had a high percentage of Welsh-speaking pupils in 1946, and in each case, again with the exception of Ardwyn, this proportion of Welsh speakers was higher than that for the Primary Schools in the same district according to a language survey conducted in the Primary Schools the previous year. Although there could be objections to comparing the language situation in the Primary Schools to that in the selective Secondary Schools of the time, the figures, nevertheless, are interesting:

Table 4.3 Percentage of Welsh-speaking pupils in the catchment areas of secondary schools in 1945-46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary School Districts (1945)</th>
<th>% Welsh</th>
<th>Secondary Schools (1946)</th>
<th>% Welsh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Lampeter (non selective)</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bearing in mind the linguistic character of the Secondary Schools at the time, it is surprising that such a high proportion sitting the C.W.B. Examination in Welsh were entered for the Sa and Sb papers - the questionnaire did not differentiate between the two papers. Aberaeron, Cardigan and Llandysul entered 45 per cent, 29 per cent and 36 per cent of their pupils respectively for one or other of these papers, while at Tregaron 92 per cent of the pupils sat the S.W. papers as compared with 43 per cent at Ardwyn.

In 1949, while the reorganisation of primary and secondary education was still in progress, the Authority again conducted a language survey in its Primary and Secondary Schools. A comparison of the findings of the two surveys indicate how the
changes in progress were affecting the linguistic character of the
Secondary Schools:

Table 4.4 First language of pupils in the Secondary Schools of
Cardiganshire in 1945 and 1949

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1949 Survey</th>
<th></th>
<th>(%)</th>
<th>1945 Survey</th>
<th></th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>319 (91%)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>247 (91%)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardwyn</td>
<td>209 (39%)</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>188 (42%)</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinas</td>
<td>215 (60%)</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>324 (75%)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>281 (83%)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
<td>126 (80%)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>372 (92%)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>232 (96%)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>346 (98%)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>338 (97%)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>259 (97%)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>198 (99%)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,170 (77%)</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>2,830</td>
<td>1,484 (81%)</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>1,841</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Aberaeron, Llandysul and Tregaron district had not been
reorganised in 1949 and the increase in the number of pupils between
1945 and 1949 at those schools are not, therefore, the result of the
primary/secondary reorganisation. The same natural increase in
pupil numbers is noticed in the case of Ardwyn, while that at
Lampeter was due to the reorganisation. Dinas (temporarily
accommodated at Alexandra Road School, Aberystwyth) and St. Mary's
Secondary Modern had been established and, between them, they had
341 pupils on roll. Between 1945 and 1949, the Secondary School
population had increased by some 1,000 pupils - approximately 700 Welsh speakers and almost 300 English speakers. The additional intake at Ardwyn had the effect of depressing the proportion of Welsh-speaking pupils from 42 per cent in 1945 to 39 per cent in 1949. Since Ardwyn had the lowest percentage of Welsh-speaking pupils of all the Secondary Schools of the County, it is instructive to examine the relationship between the first language of its pupils and that of their parents. It was as follows:

**Table 4.5 First language of pupils at Ardwyn School in 1949 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language of parents</th>
<th>First language of pupils</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both spoke Welsh</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>92 (28.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One spoke Welsh</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>122 (38.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither spoke Welsh</td>
<td>107 (33.3%)</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>209 (39.4%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>321</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that only one third of the pupils came from homes where neither parent spoke Welsh and that almost as many of the English speakers had two Welsh-speaking parents.

It is interesting to compare the position at Dinas at the time:

**Table 4.6 First language of pupils at Dinas School in 1949 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language of parents</th>
<th>First language of pupils</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both spoke Welsh</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>29 (20.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One spoke Welsh</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50 (35.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither spoke Welsh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>63 (44.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>215 (60.2%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>142</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Dinas had fewer pupils than Ardwyn, it had a higher number of Welsh-speaking pupils, and they formed 60 per cent of the enrolment. Dinas, on the other hand, had a higher proportion of
pupils from homes where neither parent spoke Welsh, but a lower percentage of English-speaking pupils with both parents able to speak the Welsh language. When the totals at both schools are combined, it is found that 48 per cent of the Secondary School population at Aberystwyth was Welsh-speaking; that 37 per cent of the pupils had two English-speaking parents and that 26 per cent of the English-speaking pupils had two Welsh-speaking parents.

The survey conducted in the Primary sector at the same time had shown that, when all 32 Primary Schools in the Aberystwyth district were considered, almost 53 per cent of their pupils were Welsh-speaking. This was higher than the return from Ardwyn, which was only 39 per cent, but lower than that from Dinas which was 60 per cent. The district figures show that when the totals for the four Primary Schools in the Aberystwyth Borough are taken out, the remaining 28 schools had only 150 English-speakers as against 620 Welsh-speakers, which amounted to a 78 per cent Welsh-speaking population. Thus, the Aberystwyth rural areas were predominantly Welsh at the time.

The fact that the Grammar School at Aberystwyth did not reflect the linguistic character of the whole of its catchment area was a vexed question at the time. The same situation prevailed to a lesser extent in Cardigan where St. Mary's School had 89 per cent Welsh-speaking population as opposed to Cardigan Grammar's 75 per cent. The Primary Schools of the district had a 68 per cent Welsh-speaking population which would have been 84 per cent Welsh if the Junior and Infants School at Cardigan itself were disregarded. The Secondary Schools at Aberaeron, Lampeter, Llandysul and Tregaron, on the other hand, had higher percentages of Welsh speakers than their corresponding primary district. They were: Aberaeron 91 per cent (Primaries 82 per cent); Lampeter 92 per cent (Primaries 84 per cent); Llandysul 98 per cent (Primaries 93 per cent); and Tregaron 97 per cent
Two points should be made about the foregoing remarks and about the 1949 language survey in general. The primary districts did not always coincide with the catchment areas of the Secondary Schools, and pupils from over the border in Pembrokeshire attended at Cardigan while the catchment areas of Llandysul and Lampeter extended into Carmarthenshire. Comparisons between the Secondary Schools and the primary districts are not therefore strictly accurate, although the figures obtained by doing so are good general indicators of the situation at the time.

The other point may be even more relevant. The 1949 survey, like the one conducted in 1945, by merely classifying pupils according to their first language, took no account of those who were bilingual. Both surveys had shown the relationship between the children's first language and that of their parents, but neither indicated the total number of pupils able to speak a particular language. The language survey conducted by the Welsh Joint Education Committee in collaboration with the Advisory Council for Education (Wales) in June 1950, however, took account of the bilingual competence of the child by classifying pupils, not only according to their first language, but also according to their ability to speak their second language as follows:

A. Those with no knowledge of the 2nd Language.
B. Those who could understand but could not speak their 2nd Language.
C. Those who could understand simple lessons in their 2nd Language and could conduct an elementary conversation in that language.
D. Those who could express themselves with fair fluency in their 2nd Language.
It is clear that no consideration of the number of pupils able to speak either Welsh or English could be accurate unless account had been taken of those classified under C or D above. The 1945 and 1949 surveys in Cardiganshire had not done so.

Unfortunately the figures of the W.J.E.C. survey of 1950 for individual schools are not extant, but combined totals for each year group of the school population of Cardiganshire appear in the report of the Central Advisory Council (Wales) entitled *The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales* (1953). Since the survey was conducted during June, it can be safely assumed that only a few pupils under 12 formed part of the Secondary School population at the time and they can be ignored in calculations without affecting the general picture of the language situation in the Secondary Schools at the time.

The total number of pupils surveyed between 12 and 18 was 3,096 (there were 3,165 on roll in the Secondary Schools in January 1950), and of this number 2,246 (73 per cent) were pupils whose first language was Welsh. Also 173 pupils whose first language was English spoke Welsh with fair fluency, and this brought the proportion of Welsh speakers in the Secondary School population to 78 per cent, which is further enhanced to 84 per cent when numbers in Category C are taken into account.

The position with regard to English, on the other hand, was that 850 pupils used it as their main language while 2,005 of the habitual Welsh speakers could also speak English with fair fluency. This represented 92 per cent of the Secondary School population, which, again, could be enhanced to 98 per cent if Category C were considered.

The W.J.E.C. survey is a useful complement to the Authority's 1949 report. It shows that an effort was being made by the Secondary
Schools to teach Welsh as a second language and that 42 per cent of the pupils had reached a satisfactory level of attainment. On the other hand, 58 per cent of the pupils had either no knowledge of Welsh, or no oral facility in the language. This compared very sharply with the 3 per cent in the same position with regard to English - all, probably, in the special education classes.

Both reports were considered at different times by the Authority. One of the main concerns arising from the 1949 survey was that the Grammar School population was less Welsh in character than the Modern Schools, a fact that was more easily stated than explained. Attention became focussed on Ardwyn and Dinas where the difference in this respect was pronounced. It was natural that a variety of questions were asked at the time in an attempt to find a reason why this should be so: was bilingualism proving a advantage at an early age?; was there some element of unfairness in the Entrance Examination which favoured English speakers?; were rural schools less effective as teaching units than urban schools?; were the Grammar Schools themselves exerting an anglicising influence on their pupils?

People who asked questions about the effects of bilingualism on intelligence and attainment did not at the time have the benefit of later knowledge resulting from research into the matter, but experience of administering a selection procedure over the years in Cardiganshire had shown that the bright child from a Welsh home coped satisfactorily with the questions set in English. At one time, an intelligence test supplemented the papers in Language and English, but this practice had been discontinued when it was found that there was close correlation between the scores in the intelligence test and those gained by pupils in the other papers. Nevertheless, the system of awarding marks for the Welsh and English questions in the two papers set in Language was suspect. Paper A tested English as
main language but question in Welsh were also set for which 30 marks were allotted. In Paper B, however, only 90 marks out of 150 were allotted to Welsh, the main language, while 60 were apportioned to the English questions. The only justification for this discrepancy seemed to be the necessity for all pupils to have an adequate knowledge of English to conform to the existing practice and tradition of the Secondary Schools of teaching through the medium of English. Yet in spite of this apparent unfairness in the apportioning of marks, which could be particularly disadvantageous to the linguistically less-gifted Welsh child, there seemed to be a fair balance at the time between the number of pupils admitted to the Grammar Schools from the anglicised Primary Schools on the one hand and from the predominantly Welsh schools on the other. But the number of pupils offering English as main language in the Entrance Examination at Aberystwyth and Cardigan seemed out of proportion to those offering Welsh as their main language, as the following figures for 1948 indicate:

Table 4.7 Number of pupils sitting Papers A and B at the selection test in 1948

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of Candidates</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paper A</td>
<td>Paper B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>139 (67.4%) 67</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>52 (61.1%) 33</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>191 (65.6%) 100</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the number of pupils taking Paper A at Aberystwyth 34 or 24.4 per cent made no attempt to answer the Welsh question and 19 or 36.5 per cent acted similarly at Cardigan. One cannot escape the conclusion that the language policies of some of the Primary Schools were responsible to some extent for the linguistic imbalance of the Grammar Schools especially if 'first language' and 'main language' are regarded as synonymous terms, as indeed they were for the purpose of the 1949 and 1950 Language surveys.
Discussions of various aspects of these surveys proved useful for they led to an examination of the language policies of some of the Primary Schools, the abolishing of the Entrance Examination in its existing form and a re-appraisal of the place of Welsh in the Secondary Schools in the light of the Welsh Department's Bilingualism in the Secondary School in Wales (Pamphlet No.4) issued in 1949. The Pamphlet contained the following scathing criticism of the Grammar Schools in Wales:

'The secondary grammar schools of Wales as a whole have no general policy of even the broadest kind, within the terms of which it would be possible to define the place and function of the Welsh language in the school. In this respect secondary education in Wales is probably unique.'

The Pamphlet quoted the Norwood Report of 1943 which had stated very clearly that a secondary school in Wales had a special duty with respect to the language and culture of Wales. The Pamphlet was an elaboration of this theme, laying emphasis on the importance of the secondary schools transmitting all aspects of this culture to its pupils, and, as far as possible, through the medium of the Welsh language. It deplored the fact that only 40 per cent of pupils in the grammar schools of Wales took Welsh as a subject in 1946, and that in only very few schools was Welsh studied by all pupils up to the School Certificate stage. It also regretted the fact that so many Welsh-speaking pupils were entered for papers designed for those whose mother tongue was English and, above all, the neglect of Welsh as a medium of teaching. The Pamphlet advocated that all pupils in secondary modern schools should study Welsh throughout their period in school either as a first or second language, while, at the grammar schools, all pupils whose mother tongue was Welsh should study it as a part of their general course to the School Certificate stage. It also gave useful advice on the drawing up of schemes of work in Welsh as
a mother tongue, Welsh as a second language and English in the predominantly Welsh schools.

As already indicated in Chapter I, the Authority, during the fifties, exerted considerable pressure on the Secondary Schools to extend their teaching through the medium of Welsh, and it was shown how the schools responded. It has to be remembered that the control over the curriculum of individual Secondary Schools was in the hands of its Governors in consultation with the Headmaster, which, in practice, meant that curricular innovations depended to a large extent on the reforming zeal of the Headmaster. It was not surprising, therefore, that some schools did more than others to implement the recommendations of the Welsh Department's Pamphlet No.4 during the fifties.

The Education Committee, however, had a more direct control over the primary sector, and reform in this area was bound to benefit the work of the Secondary Schools at a later stage. One of the ways in which the Authority enforced its language policy on the Primary Schools was through its Allocation Tests to Secondary Schools, and a watchful eye was kept during the fifties on those schools which presented a disproportionate number of pupils for the main language paper in English. As a result of the Director of Education giving annual reports on this matter to the Education Committee, the percentage of pupils offering Welsh as main language increased from 48.6 in 1948 to 56.1 in 1958. The intensive study of Welsh by an increased number of pupils in the upper classes of the Primary School in preparation for their Allocation Test was bound to improve the standard of work in the language at the secondary stage.

In 1961, the Welsh Joint Education Committee repeated its language survey of 1950 in the Primary and Secondary Schools of Wales. Several changes had occurred in the secondary system of
Cardiganshire in the meantime. The number of Schools had been reduced from nine to seven by the absorption of pupils of St. Mary's School at Cardigan Secondary School and by the transfer of Henllan Secondary Modern School, established in September 1949, to a new building at Newcastle Emlyn under the control of the Carmarthenshire Education Authority. The position in 1961, therefore, was that Cardiganshire had two Grammar Schools (Ardwyn and Llandysul), one Secondary Modern School (Dinas) and four Bilateral Schools (Aberaeron, Cardigan, Lampeter and Tregaron). The population of these schools had increased substantially during the fifties: in January 1950 it was 3,165; by January 1955, it had increased to 3,696 and by January 1960 it had reached 3,957. This growth was largely due to an increased intake, but more pupils were also remaining at school beyond the statutory school age.

The 1961 survey took account of 4,017 pupils in the Secondary Schools of Cardiganshire, and, of this number, it was found that 2,366 (58.9 per cent) had been classified as 'Welsh first-language pupils' and 1,651 as 'English first-language pupils', first language being defined as in the 1950 survey, "the language in which the child's attainment is greater and in which he is more at ease". Thus, the growth in the child population in the fifties had resulted in no more than about 200 additional Welsh speakers at the Secondary School, while the number of English speakers increased by about 1,000.

The increase in the number of Secondary School pupils, accompanied by a growth in the number of English speakers, was a true reflection of a trend indicated by the Census of 1961 for the County as a whole. This showed that the population of Cardiganshire had continued to rise since 1951 when a substantial increase had been recorded on the 1931 figures. The percentage of Welsh speakers,
however, had declined from 79.5 per cent in 1951 to 74.8 in 1961, while the number of monoglot English speakers had increased by 44.6 per cent during the same decade.

As previously indicated, the figures of the 1950 survey for individual schools are not extant, but, if the findings of the Authority's survey of 1949 are used instead, changes that had occurred in the linguistic pattern of the Secondary Schools during the intervening 12 years become apparent:

Table 4.8 First language of secondary-school pupils in Cardiganshire in 1949 and 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th></th>
<th>1961</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>319   (91%)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>384   (59%)</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardwyn</td>
<td>209   (39%)</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>312   (46%)</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinas</td>
<td>215   (60%)</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>236   (43%)</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>324   (76%)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>398   (50%)</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
<td>126   (89%)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>372   (92%)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>391   (72%)</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>346   (98%)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>292   (77%)</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>259   (97%)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>353   (86%)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,170 (77%)</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>2,366 (59%)</td>
<td>1,651</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All Secondary Schools recorded an increased number of Welsh speakers in 1961, except Cardigan (the two Secondary Schools in the town had amalgamated by 1961) and Llandysul. Ardwyn's return in this respect was 56 per cent higher than in 1949, due largely to the intake of Welsh-speaking pupils from Ysgol Gymraeg, Aberystwyth, established in 1952. There was almost no change in the size of Ardwyn's English-speaking population, but, at Dinas, the increase in the English speakers had heavily outbalanced the small growth in the number of Welsh speakers. The five Secondary Schools outside
Aberystwyth had experienced a severe drop in the percentage of Welsh speakers since 1949, and, at Aberaeron and Cardigan, the decline was dramatic. The anglicization of the countryside, as indicated by the language survey in the Primary Schools, was reflected at the secondary stage, and Aberaeron and Dinas showed even an higher percentage of English speakers than that in their primary-school districts.

Both the 1949 and 1961 surveys related the first language of the pupils to the ability of their parents to speak Welsh. The findings in connection with pupils whose first language was English provide an explanation why the Secondary Schools had become 'anglicized' in character:

Table 4.9 First language of secondary-school pupils in 1949 and 1961 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2 Welsh parents</th>
<th>1 Welsh parent</th>
<th>No Welsh parents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pupils (1949)</td>
<td>147 (24%)</td>
<td>243 (37%)</td>
<td>260 (39%)</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils (1961)</td>
<td>311 (19%)</td>
<td>682 (41%)</td>
<td>658 (40%)</td>
<td>1,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>991</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures showed a substantial increase in the number of pupils from homes where none of the parents or only one of them spoke Welsh. The number of English speakers from homes where both parents spoke Welsh had almost doubled, although their percentage in the school population had dropped. The majority of these cases attended Aberaeron and Cardigan Secondary Schools. Of the 682 pupils from homes where one parent spoke Welsh, it is interesting to note that those with English-speaking fathers predominated (55.9%). It is also a fact of significance from the point of view of teaching Welsh as a second language that 37.0 per cent of the total number of English speakers had Welsh-speaking mothers and that 60 per cent of
them could have had contact with the Welsh language through one of their parents.

The W.J.E.C.'s language surveys of 1950 and 1961 sought to estimate each child's bilingual proficiency and then ascertain the number of children able to speak Welsh. As the same criteria were used for assessing bilingual attainment on both occasions, the results of the surveys are comparable in this respect. It has to be pointed out, however, that there was dissatisfaction at the time with the method employed in assessing oral proficiency for it was entirely dependent on the judgements of teachers. Teachers themselves also pointed out that the four categories ranging from 'no knowledge of second language' (A) to a standard of 'fair fluency' were inadequate for the purpose. To take an example, Ardwyn Secondary School noted on its returns in 1961, that a large number of pupils had been classified as having no knowledge of Welsh (A) merely because they were not advanced enough to be classified under B, that is, being able to understand Welsh although unable to speak it. The school also denied the possibility of an English-speaking child being able to reach the standard of 'fair fluency' in Welsh by the end of his course in a Secondary School, and in consequence, classified its most advanced learners of the language in category C. It is thus clear that the returns from the schools cannot be regarded as precise indicators of the position of the two languages either in 1950 or in 1961, but, since the two surveys were subject to the same human errors, the figures obtained on both occasions are useful in showing general trends during the intervening eleven years.

The combined figures of the Secondary Schools of Cardiganshire recording the attainment of pupils in Welsh as a second language in 1950 and 1960 were as follows:

- 264 -
Table 4. 10 Attainment of secondary-school pupils in Cardiganshire in Welsh as a second language in 1950 and 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>210 (25%)</td>
<td>287 (34%)</td>
<td>180 (21%)</td>
<td>173 (20%)</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>366 (22%)</td>
<td>299 (18%)</td>
<td>504 (31%)</td>
<td>467 (29%)</td>
<td>1,636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>786</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1961 figures, especially if Ardwyn's returns in Category A are discounted, show a definite all-round improvement on those in 1950, and they indicated a genuine effort on the part of the schools to teach Welsh as a second language to an increasing number of pupils, resulting in a shift of numbers towards the 'Welsh' end of the scale. Thus the number of Welsh speakers (that is, those whose first language was Welsh plus those in Category D, above) increased from 2,419 in 1950 to 2,848 in 1961. There were, however, 135 additional first language Welsh pupils in the Secondary School in 1961 than in 1950, and the gain in the number of Welsh speakers through good teaching must be diminished by this amount. In spite of this gain, the proportion of those pupils with competence to speak Welsh dropped from 78.1 per cent in 1950 to 70.8 per cent in 1961 due to the spectacular growth in the meantime in the number of pupils whose first language was English. Thus, while the schools were able to maintain their 1950 numbers of Welsh speakers, their success rate was below what was required to maintain the level of 'Welshness' in a school population that was becoming increasingly English. If, however, 'Welsh speaking' in this context is more liberally defined to include those in Category C (that is, those able to conduct an elementary conversation in Welsh), the picture brightens. The number of Welsh speakers in 1950 would then have amounted to 2,592 (83.7%), and, in 1961 3,352 (83.4%). This would be the minimum of success.
required in 1961 in order to maintain the linguistic pattern of the secondary school population in its 1950 form.

Although these figures may have given the Secondary Schools a measure of satisfaction, those in respect of the Primary Schools, no doubt, gave them reason for concern. As indicated in a previous chapter, the figures for the Primary Schools showed a decline in the number of first-language Welsh pupils, a substantial increase in the number of pupils whose first language was English, and a drop of 7.3 per cent in the number of pupils with ability to speak Welsh. When a comparison is made between the position in 1950 and 1961 taking all ages in primary and secondary schools into account, it is found that there had been a 14 per cent decline in number of first-language Welsh pupils, and, while these had formed 71.8 per cent of the school population in 1950, they were only 59.1 per cent of the total on roll in 1961. Those able to speak Welsh (first-language Welsh plus category D Welsh) had also declined by about 400 and, as a proportion of the total school population, from 82.4 per cent to 78.5 per cent during the same period.

Since the W.J.E.C. published figures in respect of its two surveys for the various Welsh local education authorities, it is possible to compare the position of Welsh in Cardiganshire with that in the other areas of Wales. The main conclusions may be summarized as follows:

1. There had been a substantial increase, amounting to about 60,000 in the number of pupils between 5-15 years of age in the Schools of Wales during the period 1950-61. The number of pupils whose first language was Welsh, however, had declined by 6,232 or 12.4 per cent (there had been a 14 per cent drop in this respect in Cardiganshire), and those whose first language was English had increased by 66,382 or 23.7 per cent - the percentage increase in Cardiganshire was 51.9.
2. There was a distinct drop in the national figures in respect of those who were fluent Welsh speakers; in 1950, the total for the whole of Wales in the 5-15 age group had been 58,422 (17.7%) but by 1961 there had been a decline to 52,234 (13.4%). In Cardiganshire there was a drop in this proportion from 76.2 per cent to 67.7 per cent. In 1950, the counties with the highest proportion of fluent Welsh speakers in the 5-15 age groups were: Merioneth (83.1%), Anglesey (79.1%), Cardiganshire (76.2%), Caernarvonshire (74%) and Carmarthenshire (62.1%), and the same pattern was found in 1961 with Merioneth 75.2 per cent, Anglesey 67 per cent, Cardiganshire 66.9 per cent, Caernarvonshire 66.8 per cent and Carmarthenshire 53 per cent. There had, therefore, been a decline in the position of Welsh, not only in the anglicised areas of Wales, but in the predominantly Welsh-speaking counties where the decreases in actual numbers and percentages were more substantial.

3. The figures of the two reports indicate a definite change in the pattern of Welsh speaking in Wales. In 1950, a higher proportion of first-language Welsh children 5-15 years were Welsh-speaking only or with a limited understanding of English, but, by 1961 a higher percentage within the same age group spoke English with fair fluency. By contrast, there had been a substantial increase by 1961 in the number of pupils with no knowledge or a limited knowledge of Welsh and there was little change in the number of English-speaking pupils who were fluent in Welsh. The same tendency was evident in Cardiganshire as far as English-speaking was concerned, but, as the following table indicates, a higher percentage of first-language English pupils become "Bilingual" in Cardiganshire than in Wales as a whole:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardiganshire</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

occurred in the majority of the local education authorities during those years. In the predominantly Welsh areas, the Report refers to the following changes between 1950 and 1961:

(a) **Anglesey:** The percentage of pupils whose first language was Welsh, declined substantially at every age group, while the proportion of first language English children with fair fluency in Welsh fell substantially at ages 13 and 14, and there was a substantial increase to category C (first language English able to follow lessons in Welsh and conduct elementary conversation in that language) after 9 years of age.

(b) **Caernarvonshire:** Again, there was a substantial decline in the percentage of pupils whose first language was Welsh at all ages and also in Category D English except in the case of the youngest children. There was an increase in the number assigned to Category C English in the Secondary Schools and there was a substantial increase in the number of pupils who had learnt a little Welsh (Category B)

(c) **Cardiganshire:** The decline in pupils whose first language was Welsh was substantial in each age group. There was a substantial increase in first-language English speakers with fair fluency in Welsh and an even more marked rise in those able to conduct an elementary conversation in Welsh. The total increase of pupils in categories 'C' and 'D' English was, however, less than the decline at all ages in the percentage of pupils with no knowledge of Welsh.

(d) **Merioneth:** There was a decline in the proportion of pupils with Welsh as their first language. There was an increase in the number of pupils in Category 'D' English especially towards school leaving age, and in category 'C' English at all ages. But there was a decline in the proportion of first-language Welsh pupils and an increase in monoglot English-speakers in all age-groups.

(e) **Carmarthenshire:** Not only had there been a substantial decline at all ages in the percentage of
pupils. whose first-language was Welsh, but also a
decline, from 11 years onwards, in first-language
English pupils with fair fluency in Welsh. There
were increases in the categories with little or no
Welsh at most ages.

These comments indicate differences even between the "core"
Welsh areas, but it would seem that general trends are
discernible, namely a decline in the number of first-
language Welsh pupils, a substantial increase in the first-
language English group, an increase in bilingualism from the
point of view of the Welsh-speaking child with only a
comparatively few of the English-speaking pupils reaching
the same standard of attainment in Welsh as their second
language.

5. The W.J.E.C.'s 1961 Report (Tables III and IV) gives details
of the number of pupils over 7 years of age who received
instruction in Welsh at the time of the survey, and
condensed figures are presented in Table 21 of the Report on
the Welsh Language Today (1963). The figures show that
over 90.0 per cent of pupils in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire,
Cardiganshire, and Merioneth were being taught Welsh and a
large proportion in several other areas. On the other hand,
the proportion was low in Newport (0.05%), Monmouth (2.4%),
Radnorshire (20.1%), Pembrokeshire (26.6%) and Merthyr
(37.5%).

It is interesting to note in this context that in Anglesey,
Caernarvonshire, Merioneth and Cardiganshire between 30
and 40 per cent of the pupils being taught Welsh were
first-language English pupils, while in Carmarthenshire the
proportion was 46.5 per cent first-language Welsh, 53.5 per
cent English, and in Pembrokeshire it was 43.2 per cent
Welsh and 56.8 per cent English. In the other areas of
Wales, the majority of the pupils under instruction in Welsh
were first-language English pupils, for example, Denbighshire
- 19 per cent first-language Welsh, Flintshire 7.0 per cent
Welsh and Glamorgan 3.4 per cent Welsh.

The inevitable conclusion is that by 1961 the teaching of
Welsh in the schools of Wales, even in the predominantly
Welsh areas, was increasingly becoming a matter of providing
instruction on the level of a second language.

The W.J.E.C. surveys of 1950 and 1961 provided a yardstick for education authorities to compare local developments with wider, national trends, and their findings have been discussed in this chapter on the Secondary Schools of Cardiganshire in order to compare the picture as a whole locally with that in the other areas of Wales. Unfortunately, this was not possible after 1961, for the W.J.E.C. did not continue to conduct periodic language surveys for the reason that local education authorities did so themselves. But the local authorities which did so conducted surveys at different times and on different scales which make valid comparisons impossible.

As outlined in Chapter I, the Cardiganshire Education Committee reacted to the Language Survey of 1961 by restating its language policy in respect to its Primary and Secondary Schools. It was natural that much of the attention was focused at the time on the Primary Schools, not only because it was in this sector that the decline in the position of Welsh was most apparent, but also because it was felt that the primary school had a fundamental role in teaching Welsh as a second language. Nevertheless, the Authority recognised in its language policy that second language teaching should be a continuing process and provided for this in its Secondary Schools up to 'O' level standard for all pupils. The Authority also brought pressure to bear on the Secondary Schools, as indicated in Chapter I, to make greater provision for teaching through the medium of Welsh. There was ample justification for this development; the majority of the secondary-school pupils in 1961 were Welsh speaking and their attainment in English at the time was judged to be satisfactory; 29 per cent of the English-speakers had reached a standard of fair fluency in Welsh (Category D), and a further 31 per cent were able to follow lessons in Welsh (Category C). In all 83.1 per cent could have
benefitted from teaching through the medium of Welsh either as a means of increasing their mastery of their mother tongue or as a means of developing their competence in their second language.

In 1968, the Authority conducted its own language survey in the Secondary Schools. The then Deputy Director of Education, Mr. W. J. Phillips, was responsible for the survey, which followed a similar one the previous year in the Primary Schools of the County. The one conducted in the Primary Schools had shown that, although the number of primary school pupils had increased by 8.4 per cent since 1961, the number of first-language-Welsh pupils had declined by 2.1 per cent. The number of first-language English pupils, on the other hand, had increased by 23.6 per cent. The proportion of the first-language-Welsh group had contracted from 58.4 per cent in 1961 to 52.7 per cent in 1967, but 59.0 per cent of the primary school population could speak Welsh in 1967.

The 1968 survey in the Secondary Schools classified 3,783 pupils as compared with 4,017 during the previous survey in 1961. There had been a slight drop in the population of the Secondary Schools in the meantime; in January 1961 the enrolments were 3,947 but by the same month in 1968, numbers were down to 3,910. During the fifties, the Secondary Schools had steadily increased their enrolments, but, by the end of the decade, the primary school population was on the decline and this lasted until 1962 when numbers again increased. The decline in the primary-school population naturally affected the Secondary Schools in the sixties, and, although the total drop between the January figures of 1961 and those of January 1968 amounted to no more than 39, some schools experienced a fairly substantial loss in numbers. At Aberaeron and Tregaron, numbers dropped by 73 and 88 respectively, and both Ardwyn and Llandysul in 1968 were slightly below their 1961 numbers. Dinas, Cardigan and Lampeter, on the
other hand, surpassed their 1961 rolls by 41, 84 and 12 respectively.

The decline in the secondary-school population does not
however account for the entire drop in the numbers classified in the
1968 survey as compared with that of 1961. The two surveys were
conducted at different times of the year; the 1961 survey was
undertaken in September when there was a maximum number of pupils
for the academic year on roll, while the 1968 study was made in
June when a number of pupils had attained school-leaving age and
had left school. One has, therefore, to be cautious in drawing
comparisons between these two surveys.

Of the 3,783 pupils classified in 1968, 2,116 (55.9 per cent)
were first-language Welsh pupils and 1,667 were first-language
English pupils. The corresponding figures in 1961 survey were 2,366
and 1,651. There were, therefore, 250 fewer first-language Welsh
pupils in the Secondary Schools in June 1968 than in September 1961
and 16 additional first-language English pupils. Thus, while the
1968 sample was 5.8 per cent smaller than that of 1961, the number
of first-language Welsh pupils declined by 10.6 per cent. This
decline, together with the increase in the number of the first-
language English group, caused the proportion of the first-language
Welsh to contract from 58.9 per cent in 1961 to 55.9 per cent in
1968. In 1949, this proportion had been 76.7 per cent.

The returns for the individual Secondary Schools were as
follows:
Table 4.12  First language of pupils in the Secondary Schools of Ceredigion in 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1st Language</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>328 (58.9%)</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardwyn</td>
<td>295 (43.9%)</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinas</td>
<td>182 (34.4%)</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>402 (46.8%)</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>403 (77.0%)</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>277 (77.8%)</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>229 (78.9%)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,116 (55.9%)</td>
<td>1,667</td>
<td>3,780</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All Schools had fewer pupils classified in 1968 than in 1961 except Cardigan which had 56 more in 1968. Aberaeron's sample in 1968 was 91 fewer than in 1961 and showed decreases in both the first-language Welsh and the first-language English amounting respectively to 56 and 35. Tregaron, with 123 fewer pupils than in 1961, indicated a decrease of 124 in the first-language Welsh and an increase of 1 in the other group. The variations at Ardwyn and Llandysul were small, but such as they were, they were unfavourable to the Welsh group, while Dinas, with a drop of 25 in the sample, showed a decrease of 54 in the first-language Welsh and an increase of 20 in the first-language English. Cardigan showed an increase in both groups, 4 in the Welsh group and 52 in the English group, while Lampeter, with a decreased sample of 23, indicated an increase of 12 in the Welsh group and a contraction of 35 in the other. Thus only two Schools, Cardigan and Lampeter showed an increase in the number of first-language Welsh pupils, but their combined total in this respect amounted to no more than 16 and was counterbalanced by losses of 276 in the other Schools. The English-speaking group became depleted by a total of 77 at Aberaeron, Lampeter and
Llandysul, but increases amounting to 93 were recorded at Ardwyn, Dinas and Llandysul.

At two schools only, was there an increase in the proportion of first-language Welsh pupils: these were Lampeter, with an increase of 5.4 per cent, and Llandysul, with an increase of 9.6 per cent. The decrease at the other schools ranged from 9.4 per cent at Aberaeron to 8.1 per cent at Dinas, with Ardwyn 2.1 per cent, Cardigan 2.8 per cent and Tregaron 6.5 per cent.

The following table shows how the first language of the pupils was related to the ability of the parents to speak Welsh in 1968 and compares the position then with the information derived from previous language surveys in the County:

Table 4.13 The relation between first-language-Welsh pupils in 1949, 1961 and 1968 and the ability of their parents to speak Welsh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
<th>1st Lang. Welsh</th>
<th>% Welsh 1968</th>
<th>% Welsh 1961</th>
<th>% Welsh 1949</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 W.</td>
<td>2,237</td>
<td>1,959</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father W.</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother W</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No W.</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,783</td>
<td>2,074</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proportion of first-language-Welsh pupils with two Welsh-speaking parents had remained almost unchanged since 1961, but numerically, there were 192 fewer in this category than in 1961, and, compared with 1949, there had been a 5.0 per cent drop. First language-Welsh pupils having a Welsh-speaking father only, had decreased by almost 50.0 per cent since 1961, while those with a Welsh-speaking mother only, had increased by 11.6 per cent. 788 pupils in 1968 - 20.0 per cent of the total - had only one Welsh-
speaking parent, and of these 13.8 per cent in 1968 were classified as first-language Welsh pupils compared with 11.9 per cent in 1961. There had been a marked decline in this respect, however, since 1949 when this proportion had been 43.8 per cent. It is interesting to note in this context that the proportion of pupils in Secondary Schools who could have had contact with the Welsh language in their homes, through either parent or both, increased from 83.4 per cent in 1961 to 89.5 per cent in 1968 which equalled the 1949 proportion of 89.4 per cent. The number of pupils with no Welsh-speaking parents increased from 300 in 1949 (10.6 per cent of the total) to 667 in 1961 (16.6 per cent of the total) and to 758 (20.0 per cent of the total) in 1968, but the percentage of these pupils having Welsh as their main language declined from 13.3 in 1949, through 1.3 in 1961 to 0.8 in 1968. The high percentage in this respect in 1949 is interesting; no doubt these pupils were in a minority position in their primary schools at the time and they mastered Welsh to such an extent in their contact with their Welsh-speaking playmates that, by the secondary stage, Welsh was their main language. As the linguistic character of the primary schools and the rural communities changed as the years went by, the chances of a child from an English-speaking home becoming so proficient in Welsh as to regard it as his main language diminished.

The 1968 survey, like the previous ones, classified pupils according to their bilingual attainment using a four-point scale which ranged from 'no knowledge of the second language' (A) to 'ability to speak the second language with fair fluency (D). The intermediate categories were: 'ability to understand some Welsh but without oral proficiency' (B) and 'ability to follow simple lessons in the second language and with ability to conduct an elementary conversation in that language' (C). Although these criteria for assessing proficiency
in the second language had been much criticised in the past, there was an advantage in adhering to them inasmuch as comparisons with past achievements were then made possible.

Pupils whose first language was Welsh in 1968 were classified as follows in respect of their achievements in spoken English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(A)</th>
<th>(B)</th>
<th>(C)</th>
<th>(D)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1,989</td>
<td>2,116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.05%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>93.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This was a marked improvement on the 1961 return when 12.0 per cent were still in the (C) category and only 87.9 per cent had received the highest grading. There was, therefore, no doubt in 1968 that the Welsh-speaking child was acquiring competence in his second language during his school life.

There is no evidence that the English-speaking children, on the other hand, were attaining the same degree of bilingual competence. The figures in this respect in 1968 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(A)</th>
<th>(B)</th>
<th>(C)</th>
<th>(D)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>1,667</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed that 43.2 per cent of the first-language English pupils had no conversational proficiency in Welsh. No doubt, many of these were late entrants to the schools of Cardiganshire; none the less these figures were disappointing. The general conclusion is that the schools were having maximum success in the case of 25.0 per cent of English-speaking pupils only. In fairness, however, it should be stated that four schools had percentages of pupils in category (D) which were above the average for the County. These were Aberaeron 37.7 per cent, Lampeter 39.1 per cent, Llandysul 39.2 per cent and Tregaron 47.5 per cent.
In 1961, the attainment in Welsh as a second language was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(A)</th>
<th>(B)</th>
<th>(C)</th>
<th>(D)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>1,636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(22.4%)</td>
<td>(18.3%)</td>
<td>(30.8%)</td>
<td>(28.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was, therefore, a decline in the percentage of pupils in category (D) since 1961, and the percentage of those in categories (A) and (B) (combined) had also increased in the meantime. 65.5% of the group, however, were in either categories (B) or (C) in 1968 as compared with 49.1 per cent in 1961 and this, together with the drop of 12.0 per cent in the number of pupils with no knowledge of Welsh in 1968, indicates a better effort than in 1961 to teach Welsh as a second language to pupils generally.

The number of pupils able to speak Welsh in the Secondary Schools was 2,524 (66.7 per cent). This figure takes into account not only those whose first language was Welsh but also the first language English pupils who were fairly fluent in Welsh. If those in category (C) (Welsh as a second language) are also taken into account the figure rises to 3,063 or 80.96 per cent of secondary school population. In 1961, the corresponding numbers and percentages were 2,848 (70.9 per cent) and 3,352 (83.7 per cent).

The 1968 language survey portrays a decline in the fortunes of the Welsh language in the Secondary Schools of Cardiganshire. There had been a decline since 1961 in the number and percentage of first-language Welsh pupils as well as in the number and percentage of Welsh speakers. It is clear that a conscientious effort was being made in some schools to teach Welsh as a second language, but, even at best, less than 50.0 per cent of the English-speaking pupils, in those Schools reached the standard of 'fair fluency' in Welsh. One of the disappointing facts of the survey is the absence of clear
evidence that an increasing number of pupils reached the standard of 'fair fluency' (in Welsh as they progressed through the school. The following numbers were classified as such in the various age groups in the combined total for the schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY (D) (Welsh)</th>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-13</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-15</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-16</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-17</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-19</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The decline in the performance after the first year is noticeable (all the under twelve year olds and a large number of the under thirteens would be in Form 1), and real progress was not made until Forms 4 and 5: the pending W.J.E.C. examinations may have provided the impetus.

Although lack of teaching through the medium of Welsh may have been the main reason, another possible reason for the lack of progression in some schools was the fact that English-speaking pupils of various ages were entering the Secondary Schools. The survey showed the Secondary Schools had admitted 361 of these late arrivals during the three years preceding 1968. The numbers admitted at the various schools were: Aberaeron - 22; Ardwyn - 186; Cardigan - 45; Dinas - 33; Lampeter - 60; Llandysul - 12 and Tregaron - 3.

The County Language Policy demanded that all pupils should study Welsh up to O level or the time they left school whichever was the earlier. The numbers entered for the various W.J.E.C. examination in Welsh in 1968 were as follows:

(a) **Ordinary Level:**
- Welsh Language (1st Language) - 160
- Welsh Literature (1st Language) - 140
- Welsh O2 (2nd Language) - 35
- Welsh O3 (Foreign Language) - 85
47 pupils were also entered for Advanced Level examinations in Welsh - 43 for Welsh Home Language papers and 4 for the Welsh Modern Language papers.

Of the total entered for 'O' and 'C.S.E.' examinations in Welsh, 64 per cent were to sit papers at the level of 'first language'. The percentage of pupils of 16 years of age having Welsh as their first language at the time was 61.3, and, at 17, 59.0 per cent. 131 pupils were entered for papers in the second language and for the vast majority this was at the level of a 'foreign language'. Only 48 pupils, however, at age 16 and 22 at age 17 had reached the standard of 'fair fluency' in Welsh as a second language. It is common knowledge that fluency in the second language counts far less in W.J.E.C. examinations in Welsh than does written proficiency, and this may account in part for the apparent lack of progress in children's oral proficiency at the secondary stage.

There had been a little progress, however, in the use made of Welsh as a medium of teaching in the Secondary Schools since 1968. All schools by then, except Llandysul and Tregaron, streamed their pupils on a linguistic basis especially in the lower forms. This was not practicable at Llandysul and Tregaron because of the low number of English-speaking pupils in the various age groups. It had become general practice in all schools, either as a result of streaming or setting, to teach such subjects as Geography, History and Scripture through the medium of Welsh in the lower classes. At Aberaeron, there was provision for the teaching of Scripture through Welsh up to and including A level work. Welsh was also extensively used for the

(b) Certificate of Secondary Education:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welsh Language (1st Language)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh Literature (1st Language)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh 2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh 3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
teaching of practical subjects where the teachers were Welsh-speaking. In subjects where the medium of teaching was English, much use was also very often being made of Welsh in oral discussions and in teacher-pupil relationship in the class. Extra curricular activities were also largely carried out through the medium of Welsh in most schools. The general impression one gets is that Welsh was more extensively used in the life of the schools than their time-tables indicated. The importance of this 'informal' use of the language both inside and outside of the school should not be underestimated especially if the practice was applied, not only to pupils who habitually spoke Welsh but also to those who were learning it as a second language.

In July 1965, the Department of Education and Science addressed Circular 10/65 'The Organisation of Secondary Education' to all Local Education Authorities and the Governors of Direct Grant Voluntary Aided and Special Agreement Schools. The Circular set out the Government's objective 'to end selection at eleven plus and to eliminate separatism in secondary education'. Local education authorities were therefore requested, unless they had already done so, to submit plans for reorganising secondary education on comprehensive lines.

The Circular outlined six possible forms of comprehensive organisations:

(1) The orthodox comprehensive school with an age range of 11-18.

(ii) A two-tier system whereby all pupils would transfer at 11 to a junior comprehensive and all would go on at 13 or 14 to a senior comprehensive school.

(iii) A two-tier system whereby all pupils would transfer to a junior comprehensive but at 13 or 14 some pupils would transfer to a senior school while the remainder stayed on in the same school.
(iv) A two-tier system by which all pupils would transfer to a junior comprehensive and at 13 or 14 would have the choice between a senior school catering for those who would stay on at School well beyond compulsory school age and another senior school catering for those who would not.

(v) Comprehensive Schools for 11-16 with V1th form colleges for pupils over 16.

(vi) A system of middle schools, to which pupils would be transferred at 8 or 9, and then, at about 12 or 13, into comprehensive Schools.

The Circular stressed that no extra allocation would be available for new buildings and that, where suitable, existing buildings should be used for effecting reorganisation. The quota of teachers would not be modified under a new system of reorganisation, but, where teachers suffered loss of status as a result of reorganisation, their salaries would be safeguarded. The normal age of transfer from primary schools would be eleven plus, and, where junior and senior comprehensive schools were to be established, the Authority would have to choose between two years in the former and three in the latter or vice-versa.

The Circular stressed that local education authorities should consult teachers and parents fully on all proposals to reorganise secondary education. But the local authority should provide the initiative and accept ultimate responsibility for making a decision: "The proper processes of local government must leave initiative on matters of principle and the ultimate responsibility for decisions with the elected representatives of the community".

Within one year of 12 July, 1965, local authorities were required to submit plans in two parts:

(a) a general statement of long-term proposals and
(b) a detailed statement of proposals covering a period of three years starting not later than September 1967.
This was to refer to all schools due for reorganisation and was to include: any instalments of a long-term plan; any interim arrangements; arrangements for transfer involved in a two-tier plan and estimates of cost of major and minor works involved, including provision for the raising of the school-leaving age in 1970-71.

Two areas in Cardiganshire needed consideration in the light of Circular 10/65, namely the Aberystwyth and Llandysul districts, which were served by separate Grammar and Modern Schools. The other Secondary Schools at Aberaeron, Cardigan, Lampeter and Tregaron were already bilateral and counted as comprehensive in statistics issued by the Department of Education and Science. But these schools, nonetheless, distinguished between their Grammar and Modern streams which was contrary to the 'comprehensive' principle, and pupils were admitted to these streams on the results of the eleven-plus examination, a practice which Circular 10/65 sought to abolish. Reorganisation of secondary education in the Llandysul district required the co-operation of the Carmarthenshire Education Authority for the Secondary Modern School serving that area was situated in Newcastle Emlyn, Carmarthenshire. The Cardiganshire Education Authority, however, had sole responsibility for reorganising secondary education in the Aberystwyth district, which involved Ardwyn Grammar School and Dinas Secondary Modern School.

Although consideration was given to the reorganisation of the Aberystwyth and of the Llandysul-Newcastle Emlyn districts at the same time and proposals were submitted to the Welsh Office on the same date, it will be convenient to deal with these two districts separately in this work. This will be done in some detail, beginning with the Aberystwyth district, because, in each of these areas, the provision of bilingual education was to accompany educational reconstruction.
At Aberystwyth, the Dinas buildings had been erected under the building programme of 1953-54 and 1954-55 at a cost of around £180,000. They were adequate for the purpose for which they were built, but additions would be required to accommodate additional pupils when the school leaving age would be raised to 16 in 1970. Ardwyn Grammar School, on the other hand, was housed in buildings dating back to 1860, when the school was established as a private school. During the years following 1898, when the school became an Intermediate School, many additions had been provided to the buildings, but, in 1965, they were still inadequate in size and sub-standard in quality. Although priority had been given to the provision of a new Secondary Modern School in the plan for reorganisation following the Education Act 1944, the Authority had realized the necessity of eventually replacing the existing Grammar School, and many unsuccessful bids had been made during the years prior to 1965 for an allocation to build a new Grammar School. As early as 1951, the Authority had received permission from the Welsh Office to negotiate for a site at Erw Goch, adjoining that of the proposed new Secondary Modern School. Difficulty had arisen at the time over the purchase, but the site had been designated for education purposes. One of the first actions taken by the Authority in respect of Circular 10/65 was to take steps to acquire this site, and, when loan sanction from the Welsh Office on 13 January, 1966 permitted the Authority to borrow a sum of £33,126 for a period of 60 years for this purpose, the land at Erw Goch was purchased.

The number of pupils on roll at Ardwyn in 1965 was 710 and there were 574 at Dinas, totalling 1,284. A forecast predicted a rise in the secondary school population of the district and, of course, numbers would rise as a result of raising the school leaving age in 1970-71. Projections indicated that 1,300 would be the minimum size
of the secondary school population of the future in the Aberystwyth
district and this could be as high as 1,500. A single comprehensive
school would have to provide for this number of pupils; this could
be done by extending the Dinas buildings and using the 16.25 acres
at Erw Goch as playing fields. If, on the other hand, the existing two
buildings were used, Dinas could accommodate about 555 pupils, but
this was for a secondary modern course only and not for 'O' and 'A'
level work, while Ardwyn had room for 450 pupils at Grammar School
level but was deficient in playing fields. It became evident from the
outset that there were practical difficulties in effecting reorganisation
without the expenditure of a substantial sum of money.

The first views of the Authority on reorganisation were that
Scheme 4, 5 and 6 as outlined in the Circular should be eliminated
as possible solutions. Scheme 4 involved the provision of 2 senior
schools in addition to a junior school, while Scheme 5 meant, not
only the provision of a V1th form College, but also a comprehensive
school large enough to accommodate pupils of 11 to 16, and there
would also be duplication of teaching staff. Establishing a middle-
school - Scheme 6 - with provision for pupils of 8 or 9 to 12 or 13
would have disastrous effect on the primary schools many of which
were already very small in size. A two-tier system - Schemes 2 and
3 - together with a unitary system - Scheme 1 - were therefore the
only forms seriously considered by the Authority in the initial stages.

The next step was to consult teachers and parents. A memorandum
from the teaching staff at Ardwyn indicated that they were clearly in
favour of one comprehensive school to enable pupils to have the
benefit of specialist teachers throughout their secondary school course
and avoid the inevitable break at 13 or 14. The staff at Dinas were
divided between the claims of the large comprehensive and the junior-
senior type of organisation. Some of the teachers felt that the former
type would be too big a unit and that rural children would find a
break at 13 could be detrimental and could affect the continuity of
the curriculum and the approach of the teachers. Some of the Dinas
staff favoured 'Welsh' and 'English' comprehensives.

At a meeting held on 7 March, 1966, between the Authority and
Headteachers of Primary Schools in the Aberystwyth district, the
teachers were unanimously in favour of one comprehensive school as a
final solution, but if the separation of junior and senior comprehensives
would lead more quickly to reorganisation, they felt that this should
be adopted as an interim scheme. They were also in favour of
abolishing the allocation test as soon as possible.

On 25 April, 1966, the Chairman of the Education Committee and
the Director of Education met representatives of the Ardwyn Parent
Teacher Association. The P.T.A. had conducted a referendum among
the parents of pupils at Ardwyn regarding the various schemes
outlined in the Circular and reported at the meeting that the response
had been as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheme</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was thus a considerable majority in favour of a single
comprehensive School. The representatives of the P.T.A. were agreed
that, provided the allocation test could be abolished, it was better
to await for the permanent building than to provide a temporary
solution which tended to become semi-permanent for a long period.

In the meantime, the Authority had received letters and memoranda
from various associations regarding the proposed reorganisation. On 29 September, 1965, the Secretary of the Cardiganshire Welsh Language Inter-Denominational Committee (Reverend J. Tudno Williams) had conveyed the request of this Committee that particular attention be given to the use of Welsh as a medium of teaching when the reorganisation was completed. Following an address by the Director of Education to a joint meeting of parents of pupils at Ysgol Gymraeg, Aberystwyth and at Aberystwyth County Primary School, a memorandum was received from the parents of Ysgol Gymraeg outlining their reasons for favouring a single comprehensive school. Eight reasons were given for their choice, one of which was that it would be easier to arrange for the teaching of subjects through the medium of Welsh in a large unit than in two smaller ones. The memorandum from the parents of Aberystwyth Primary School emphasised the harmful effects of selection at eleven plus and urged its abolition. Regarding the form of reorganisation, the memorandum favoured a junior-senior system with all pupils proceeding from the junior to the senior school at the age of 14. This, the parents felt, was the only practicable solution in view of financial constraints.

By April 1966, the Cardiganshire Welsh Language Inter-Denominational Committee had prepared a memorandum to the Education Committee on the question of reorganisation. Its previous request had been for the use of Welsh in the reorganised system of secondary education, but this memorandum called for the establishment of a bilingual secondary school alongside an English-medium one, each unit under a Deputy Head and with one Headmaster over all. The official language of the Welsh unit should then be Welsh, and a reasonable number of subjects should be taught through the medium of that language. Adequate time should be allocated to the teaching of English and a reasonable number of subjects should be taught.
entirely through the medium of that language.

When the Governors of Ardwyn and Dinas met together on 12 July 1966 to consider reorganisation, there was a decision in favour of two schools on comprehensive lines, but consideration regarding site and building work was deferred pending a full report on costings from the County Architect. (8)

The Authority had been eagerly awaiting the outcome of its bid for an allocation to replace Ardwyn under the Department of Education's 1968-9 Major Building Programme and under which the Authority had presented this project as first priority. If an allocation was granted, the money could be used in accordance with Circular 10/65, for secondary reorganisation. When the proposed building programme for 1968-9 was announced, late in July 1966, the replacement of Ardwyn was not included and priority, had been given to building a new primary school at Tal-y-bont. When the Authority protested to the Department of Education and Science over the non-inclusion of the secondary project and its decision to alter the Authority's stated order of priority, the reply was received that the Department's decision had been consistent with the policy described in Circular 10/66 of giving priority to needs in the primary sector. The Secretary of State regretted that he was unable to reconsider his decision to include the Secondary School project in the 1967/68 programme but would be ready to give full consideration to it in the light of the circumstances then prevailing, should it be put forward for the 1968/69 Major Building Programme. Although this letter gave some hope for a replacement in the future, it became clear that the interim needs of Ardwyn had to be met, and that extra accommodation would have to be provided in the form of temporary buildings. The Secondary School project was duly resubmitted for consideration in respect of the 1968/69 Building Programme, and additional accommodation was provided.
for Ardwyn in the form of mobile classrooms.

On 5 October, 1966, the Reorganisation Committee offered recommendations regarding secondary education in the Aberystwyth district and these were confirmed by the Education Committee on 3 November, 1966. The recommendations were:

(i) 'that Reorganisation in the Aberystwyth District should take the form on one large Comprehensive School (resolved by 11 votes to 9)';

(ii) 'that the Department of Education and Science be informed that, in view of the distance of the buildings of the existing two schools, Committee was not prepared to operate an interim solution until a new building was available';

(iii) 'that the School be built on the Cefn Llan site and that the Erw Goch site be planned as playing fields';

(iv) 'that the Headmasters of both schools together with the officers should now meet to prepare a report so that Committee could plan the school'.

The Architect's estimated cost of providing a single comprehensive scheme for 1,400 pupils on the Dinas site was £565,180 plus £17,000 for the preparation of new playing fields at Erw Goch.

The Authority's submissions in respect of the Major Building Programme 1968/69 had been in the following order of priority: Aberystwyth Secondary School (£415,860); Llandysul C.P. New School (£41,160); Cwmpadarn New School (£31,150). When the Authority's allocation was made known on 31 March, 1966, Cwmpadarn New School was the only project to feature in the programme. While the Authority welcomed the inclusion of a replacement for Cwmpadarn School in view of the condition of the existing building, it decided to protest strongly concerning the exclusion of the Secondary School project yet again. The Authority requested the Secretary of State to receive a deputation on the matter, and the assistance of Mr. Elystan
Morgan, the local Member of Parliament at the time, was sought. A
deputation was received at the Welsh Education Office, Cardiff on 31
May, 1967.

On 10 August, 1967, a letter from the Welsh Education Office
informed the Authority that it had become possible to programme the
replacement of Ardwyn Grammar School partly under the 1968/69 Major
Building Programme with the balance of the cost included probably in
the following year's programme. It was stated that it was not
possible at the time to let the Authority have an official letter on
the matter since the Welsh Office was still tidying up the 'financial
ends', but the information given would enable the Education Committee
to draw up plans for the necessary extensions to Dinas School. Thus
it seemed at the time that the Secondary School project and the
replacement of Cwmpadarn C.P. School would feature in the 1968/69
Building Programme. Work on the new Tal-y-bont C.P. School was
due to commence before 31 March, 1968.

The Authority proceeded to plan the proposed extensions to
Dinas School in consultation with the staff of the two Secondary
Schools and members of the Inspectorate. This had to be done on the
basis of estimates from the Architect only, for even when the
Schedule of Accommodation was forwarded to the Welsh Office on 12
March, 1968, the Authority had received no information regarding its
allocation in respect of the project.

In the meantime, however, Circular 6/68, issued on 19 January
1968, had informed local education authorities that projects included
in the 1968/69 Building Programme were to be reviewed, and
authorities were requested to include in their revised list to the
Department of Education and Science only those projects which could
start during the financial year 1968/69. The Education Committee
decided to resubmit the Aberystwyth Secondary School and the
Cwmpadarn projects, both of which could be commenced during the 1968/69 financial year. This decision was conveyed to the Department of Education and Science on 15 February, 1968.

On 10 April, 1968, the Welsh Office informed the Authority that none of its submissions had been approved under the Department's initial allocation for the 1968/69 Building Programme, but that the complete Programme for that year would not be finalized until the end of May. On 19 June, 1968, the Authority was informed that all its submissions had been unsuccessful. Thus the Department's previous decisions of including the replacement of Cwmpadarn School and the extensions to Dinas School on the 1968/69 Programme had been reversed. This further delay in implementing a scheme of reorganisation in Aberystwyth had serious implications for Ardwyn Grammar School where additional accommodation was a pressing need. During the summer term 1968, the Authority therefore provided additional teaching space at the school in the form of two mobile classrooms and made arrangements with the University College of Wales for the School to have the use of laboratories at the Dairy Buildings, Llanbadarn as from 1 September, 1968.

Even before the Department of Education and Science had announced its 1968/69 Building Programme, it had requested local education authorities to make their submissions in respect of the 1969/70 Building Programme. In its submission, the Education Committee had restated its priorities namely the Aberystwyth Secondary School project and the replacements of Cwmpadarn and Llandysul Primary Schools. New projects were also added to the list.

During the latter part of 1968, the Authority was in discussion with the Department of Education and Science over the Schedule of Accommodation in respect of the Aberystwyth project, then under consideration for the 1969/70 Building Programme. The Welsh Office
argued that the estimates presented were in excess of D.E.S. Building Regulations both in terms of accommodation and costs, but the teaching staff at Ardwyn and Dinas were reluctant to reduce their demands. When an impasse was reached over the matter, the Joint Buildings Committee decided on 4 December, 1968 that the Schedule of Accommodation should be in accordance with the limits laid down by the Department, and this was confirmed by the Education Committee on 23 January, 1969. This involved a complete revision of the Schedule by the Deputy Director of Education in consultation with the Headmasters of Ardwyn and Dinas. But even before the work was commenced early in 1969, the Authority had been informed by the Welsh Office that the Aberystwyth Secondary School project would not feature in the 1969-70 Building Programme.

There was disappointment again when the 1970/71 Building Programme was announced, and when the Authority's proposals failed to get acceptance for the 1971-72 Programme, the Development Committee at its meeting on 1 October, 1969, requested its Officers, in consultation with the two schools concerned, to present a report on the alternative schemes possible in order to effect a reorganisation of secondary education in the Aberystwyth district.

In his report to the Development Committee on 22 September, 1970, the Director of Education outlined alternative schemes of two-tier organisations based on the two existing buildings with the age of transfer fixed at either 13 or 14 years of age. Details of the number of children involved in respect of each scheme as well as costings were indicated in the report. The cheapest scheme to implement was that which used Dinas as a Junior Comprehensive and Ardwyn as a Senior School with the age of transfer between the two schools fixed at 14. On the other hand, if the age of transfer was to be 13, the only feasible proposal would be to use Ardwyn as a Junior
Comprehensive and Dinas as the Senior Comprehensive, otherwise the Dinas buildings would be underused. Dinas had been allocated a sum of £30,000 to provide for the raising of the school leaving age in 1970, and this allocation could be used for the purpose of introducing comprehensive education. It was estimated that introducing the former scheme - Dinas as a Junior Comprehensive and Ardwyn as a Senior School - would involve an additional expenditure of about £65,000 to expand Dinas together with about £15,000 to modify Ardwyn. To make Dinas the Senior School, however, involved an expenditure of £128,000 in addition to the allocation for the raising of the school leaving age, and some £5,000 would be necessary for adapting Ardwyn. Either scheme was cheaper than providing a unitary Comprehensive School on the Dinas site, which would involve an expenditure of about £500,000.

It has to be appreciated that this report was considered by the Development Committee on 22 September, 1970 against the background of repeated failure to get an allocation to provide a unitary Comprehensive School in the Aberystwyth district. The schemes outlined in the report had the advantage of being less expensive than the proposals hitherto presented by the Authority to the Department of Education and Science, and it was reckoned at the time that an allocation of £500,000 for a unitary Comprehensive School at Aberystwyth would represent approximately one-tenth of the whole allocation for Capital Building Programmes in Wales during previous years. There were two other factors in the minds of members who considered the Director’s report. The first was the growing distaste for selection at 11+, which was inherent in some form or other in the existing secondary school system, and, the other, a growing feeling amongst some parents in the Aberystwyth district, that reorganisation should take into account the linguistic needs of the pupils. After
considering all these aspects, the Development Committee decided as follows:

1. that the Director be authorised to convene a meeting consisting of the teaching staffs of Ardwyn and Dinas Schools in order to discuss the report further and make recommendations to this Committee.

2. that the question of a Welsh Secondary School be considered at the same time.

3. that the Director be authorised to circularise the parents of children at the primary schools in the Aberystwyth district asking whether they would wish their children to attend a Welsh Secondary School if one was established in the area.

These resolutions were confirmed by the Education Committee on 29 October, 1970. At the same meeting, the Director of Education reported on a letter received from the Cardiganshire Parent Teacher Association urging the Authority to establish a Bilingual Secondary School at Aberystwyth.

By the next meeting of the Development Committee on 12 November, 1970, the staff of Ardwyn and Dinas Schools had been given an opportunity to discuss with Officers possible interim schemes for reorganisation as presented to the previous meeting of the Development Committee, together with possible schemes which offered bilingual secondary education as part of the reorganisation. In order to implement a scheme of reorganisation on a linguistic basis it was envisaged that it would be necessary to provide an English-medium Secondary School at the Dinas site for an estimated number of 1000 pupils while the Ardwyn buildings would be temporarily used as a Bilingual Secondary School to accommodate about 420 pupils - the figures being based on the language survey conducted in the Primary Schools in 1967 as well as on the numbers currently studying Welsh as main language at Ardwyn and Dinas. The estimated cost of extending Dinas would be £275,000 and adaptations to the Ardwyn buildings would amount to about £5,000. The replacement of the
Ardwyn buildings at a later stage would cost about £200,000. The development of a complex on the Dinas site consisting of an English-medium Secondary School and a Bilingual School sharing laboratory, workshop, dining and recreational facilities was also envisaged, but only as a long-term solution, for the cost of implementing this scheme would be no less than that for providing a unitary scheme on the Dinas site for which an allocation had been refused over the years by the Welsh Office.

The majority of the staff of Ardwyn Grammar School were opposed to an interim scheme; they feared that if such a scheme were established, it would assume permanency because of lack of funds, and they felt that Ardwyn should not be used even in a temporary capacity to effect reorganisation. They were also opposed in principle to the Junior-Senior organisation: it involved three breaks in the education of a child; it deprived pupils in the Junior Comprehensive of coming into contact with the highest qualified teachers who would be attracted to posts in the Senior School, and the Junior School itself would not have the opportunity of developing a sense of community as it would be a 'short-stay' school between the Primary and the Senior Comprehensive. Those who took this view felt that the Authority should press its case for an allocation to establish a unitary system at Aberystwyth after years of waiting. But while this was the view of the vast majority at Ardwyn, a small minority felt that the majority view regarding a unitary school should not preclude an introduction of an interim scheme for even a two-tier organisation with all its drawbacks would be preferrable to the existing system. But even those who held this view rejected a scheme which entailed the use of Ardwyn for a large number of pupils for a number of years. On the question of bilingual education, the majority view favoured a Welsh stream or a 'Welsh House' unit within a single
comprehensive school while a significant minority favoured the establishment of a Bilingual Secondary School.

The staff at Dinas agreed that the ultimate aim should be one school, but they appreciated the advantages of implementing an interim scheme. Their proposals were that a Bilingual Comprehensive School be established at Ardwyn, and extending Dinas to accommodate an English-medium School. Then, when money became available, Ardwyn could be replaced by a new block on the Dinas site.\(^{15}\)

The Development Committee (12 November, 1970), after taking various schemes into account, including that which provided for a reorganisation on linguistic basis as well as the various views expressed by teachers, recommended as follows:

1. that the parents of primary school children in the Aberystwyth district be circularised in order:
   (a) to ascertain their views concerning the implementation of Comprehensive Education on an interim basis;
   (b) to determine the degree of support for the establishment of a bilingual Secondary School in the area.

2. that the Governors of Tregaron Secondary School be asked in the first instance to comment on the suggestion that this school should cater for those children whose parents would wish them to be taught in the medium of Welsh.

3. that the final drafting of the above be left to the officers.\(^{16}\)

These recommendations were accepted by the Education Committee on 28 January, 1971.\(^{17}\)

In December 1970, local education authorities were requested to resubmit building projects for inclusion in the Preliminary List for 1971/72. In the meantime, there had been a change of Government,
from Labour to Conservative, and the newly-appointed Secretary of State had issued Circular 10/70 (June 20, 1970) withdrawing Circular 10/65 and giving local education authorities the freedom to submit projects which were not necessarily in accordance with the principle of comprehensive education as laid down by the previous Government. Cardiganshire responded to Circular 10/70 by stating the various options under consideration in respect of Aberystwyth, namely: the retention of the existing system and delaying comprehensivisation until one school was provided; the provision of a temporary two-tier system comprising of a Junior Comprehensive and a Senior Comprehensive, utilising the existing buildings with certain additions to Dinas; or provide one Bilingual Comprehensive and one English-medium Comprehensive School using the existing buildings with the necessary additions. The Authority could not be more specific at the time, as it was in the process of consulting parents regarding these possibilities.

On 16th February, 1971, a questionnaire was addressed to the parents who had children in the Primary Schools of the Aberystwyth district. Parents were requested to give yes or no answers to the following questions which had been formulated in Welsh and English:

1. Do you wish your child/children to be educated in a Secondary School where Welsh is a medium of instruction except in English, Mathematics and Science? Yes/No

2. Since the Authority has not succeeded in obtaining monies to raise one comprehensive school for Aberystwyth, would you prefer:
   (a) To see the Authority continue with the present system of selecting children at 11+ for Ardwyn and Dinas? Yes/No
   (b) To see the Authority operating a scheme based on using the present building with some extensions so as to remove selection at 11+ and establish a junior comprehensive 11-13 or 14 and a senior comprehensive 13 or 14 - 18 years? Yes/No

Parents were also asked to give the names and ages of their children.
On 29th April, 1971, the results of the questionnaire were reported to the Development Committee. They were as follows:

1. The questionnaire had been issued in respect of 2,079 pupils in the Aberystwyth area, and replies had been received in respect of 1,856 pupils - a 90 per cent coverage.

2. Question 2 continuation of existing system of implementation of interim scheme based on a two-tier system:
   (a) In favour of existing system : 224 parents of 420 pupils.
   (b) In favour of interim scheme : 951 parents of 1,369 pupils.
   (c) No answers to this question : 43 parents of 67 pupils.

Thus the majority of the parents wished to see selection at 11+ abolished and were prepared to see the Authority implement an interim scheme using the buildings at Ardwyn and Dinas to accomplish this end.

3. Question 1 regarding Bilingual Education.
   (a) In favour of bilingual education as part of an interim scheme - 276 parents of 421 pupils.
   (b) In favour of bilingual education irrespective of reorganisation - 43 parents of 67 pupils.

Thus a total of 319 parents of 488 children were in favour of bilingual secondary education. The breakdown of the children involved according to age groups was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 - 11</td>
<td>73 pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 10</td>
<td>69 pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - 9</td>
<td>56 pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 8</td>
<td>64 pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 7</td>
<td>73 pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 6</td>
<td>79 pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>64 pupils</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures indicated a school with a 2 to 2.5 form entry, which, over five years, and with a VI Form could have between 350 to 420 pupils on roll. On the other hand, 276 of the 319 parents who wished bilingual
Education for their children were also in favour of implementing a two-tier system of reorganisation.

Also in his report to the Development Committee on that day (29th April, 1971), the Director of Education outlined possible solutions. These were:

(a) A two-tier system with Dinas becoming a Junior Comprehensive for pupils 11-14 years of age and Ardwyn becoming a Senior Comprehensive catering for pupils between 14 and 18 years of age. Dinas would have to be expanded to accommodate about 720 pupils at a cost of £102,000 less the £37,000 which had been granted to the school under the 1972/73 Building Programme in respect of the raising of the school leaving age. To implement this scheme, therefore, an allocation of £65,000 would be required from the Welsh Office.

(b) English Medium Comprehensive School and Bilingual Comprehensive School using existing buildings. The only feasible solution, it was suggested, was to utilize the Ardwyn buildings for the bilingual school - about 400 pupils, eventually - and expand Dinas to become an English-medium School. It had to be borne in mind that, while the numbers at Ardwyn would be small at first, numbers at Dinas could be as high as 1,330 at first but decreasing annually as enrolments increased at Ardwyn. It was estimated that an allocation of about £250,000 would be required to implement this scheme.

(c) A compromise solution. This would be a two-tier system using Ardwyn and Dinas as Junior and Senior Comprehensives respectively with provision for teaching through the medium of Welsh at both Schools. This would involve the duplication of staff in order to provide for bilingual teaching. If adapted, it would be an interim arrangement and would lead to the following permanent one:

(d) English-medium and Bilingual Comprehensive on the Dinas site. This would involve locating two units on the Dinas site with certain facilities planned for joint usage. The estimated cost of the scheme was £550,000 and the capital allocation would have to be phased over a number of years.
When the system was completed, the Authority would relinquish Ardwyn as a Secondary School.

The most realistic interim scheme in order to meet the demand for abolishing selection at 11+ and for providing for bilingual education with the minimum of delay, the report suggested, was the implementation of a two-tier system with the provision for bilingual teaching at both schools. It required an allocation of no more than £65,000 from the Welsh Office. The most realistic permanent solution in order to achieve the same aims would be two schools, sharing the same site and also sharing certain facilities.

After discussing the results of the questionnaire and the Director's report, the Development Committee (29th April, 1971) resolved "to recommend the Education Committee to take immediate steps to implement an interim scheme of two-tier organisation side by side with the establishing of a bilingual Secondary School initiated not later than September, 1973". It also resolved "that the ultimate aim should be a Campus comprising a unitary Comprehensive School and a bilingual Welsh Medium Comprehensive Secondary School sharing certain facilities on the Erw Goch site". (18)

In the afternoon of the same day, the Director of Education gave an oral report of the meeting of the Development Committee to the Education Committee which resolved "to take immediate steps to implement an interim scheme of two-tier organisation initiated no later than 1973, but that the question of establishing a bilingual Secondary School, as recommended by the Development Committee, be deferred for further consideration at a Special Education Committee to be held as soon as possible. It was further resolved that members be furnished with a full report". (19)

On 28 May, 1971, a Special Education Committee was convened to consider the question of establishing a Bilingual Secondary School at Aberystwyth in the light of the report presented to the Development
Committee on 29 April, 1971. After a full discussion, it was resolved to "establish, within the Campus situated in the Erw Goch site, a Bilingual School sharing facilities, where necessary, as recommended by the Development Committee on the 29 April, 1971. It was further resolved that the Officers concerned be authorised to negotiate with the Department of Education and Science in order to draw up an interim scheme to be presented to Committee at a future date". (20)

The same meeting confirmed the appointment of Mr. C.G. Suff B.A., as Headmaster of Ardwyn Grammar School by its Governors in succession to Mr. A.D. Lewis M.A., who would be retiring on 31st August, 1971 after 17 years of service to the School.

On 21 September, 1971, the Deputy Director of Education was able to report to the Development Committee that the Department of Education and Science had allocated a sum of £280,000 under its infra-structure resources for Phase I of the scheme of reorganisation on the Erw Goch site on the understanding that the Authority would be able to complete the work, or substantially so, by March 1973. The Deputy further reported that work had already commenced on preparing Preliminary Schedules of Accommodation. Committee confirmed the action taken and authorized Officers to issue Section 13 Notices. (21)

By the time the Estates Committee considered the building programme at its meeting on 13 October, 1971, the Department of Education and Science had increased its offer in respect of the reorganisation from £280,000 to £285,052, again on the clear understanding that the buildings could be substantially completed by March 1973. The Director of Education was authorized "to inform the Department of Education and Science that the Authority would be prepared to take advantage of these allocations subject to the Education Committee's approval on the 28th of this month." (22)
The Education Committee on 28th October, 1971, confirmed the resolutions of the Development Committee and those of the Estates Committee held on 21 September and 13 October respectively, and also resolved "that Officers should again approach the Department of Education and Science regarding the possibility of obtaining an allocation to complete the Aberystwyth Secondary Schools on a comprehensive basis at an early date". Thus, when the Estates Committee on 15 December 1971 considered its submissions in respect of the 1974/75 Building Programme, it decided to request an allocation of £250,000 in order to complete its secondary reorganisation in the Aberystwyth district. This was confirmed by the Education Committee on 27 January, 1972 and also the resolution of the Estates Committee on 5 January, 1972 which had recommended that in view of the time factor involved, the County Council be asked to suspend Standing Orders in order to enable the Chairman and Vice-Chairman to negotiate a contract rather than invite tenders in the usual manner. By this time, Saxon Smith and Partners had completed the sketch plans, which had been considered by the staff of the two schools and minor amendments were being undertaken. The County Council approved the recommendation on 13 March, 1972.

On 6 October, 1971, the Cardiganshire Education Authority published notices declaring its intention to establish at Aberystwyth a Mixed English-Medium Secondary School for about 1,000 children mainly between the ages of 11 and 18, and a Mixed Bilingual Secondary School for about 450 children mainly between the ages of 11 and 18. The two schools established were to serve the district served currently by Ardwyn and Dinas Schools and the Authority would cease to maintain the existing Ardwyn and Dinas Schools. Objections to the Authority's proposals were to be submitted to the Welsh Office within two months from the first publication of the notices. In an
explanatory note accompanying the notices, the Authority indicated its intention to build a Mixed Bilingual Comprehensive School for about 450 children residing in the Aberystwyth district on a site adjacent to Dinas Secondary School. Dinas Secondary School would be adapted to provide comprehensive education through the medium of English to pupils between 11 and 14 years of age while the existing Ardwyn School would be used as a Senior Comprehensive School for pupils between the ages of 14 and 18. When funds become available, the Dinas buildings would be extended to accommodate pupils of 14 to 18 years of age, and, when that had been accomplished, the Authority would cease to maintain Ardwyn.

The Authority had thus made its intentions explicit to the public, namely to implement an interim two-tier scheme using Dinas as a Junior Comprehensive and Ardwyn as a Senior Comprehensive for pupils in the Aberystwyth district who were to be taught through the medium of English, while a new building was to be erected to house a Bilingual Comprehensive School near the Dinas buildings. When more money became available, additions would be made to Dinas to accommodate pupils temporarily housed at Ardwyn which would, then, be discontinued as a Secondary School. It was a bold plan and one likely to attract stiff opposition from a section of the community on account of the priority it gave to the establishing of a Bilingual Comprehensive School.

As already told, 1968 to 1972 were turbulent years for Cardiganshire Education Authority. In the primary field, it dealt with two controversial and emotive issues namely, its language policy and the future of small rural schools in the light of the Gittins Report, and there was formidable resistance to attempts to formulate policies on both issues. In the secondary field, reorganisation on comprehensive lines was the central issue for which no special allocation was granted.
The Authority had set its mind on reorganising the Aberystwyth district in the first instance and giving it priority over the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn district, for there was a strong case for abandoning the Ardwyn buildings completely. Its efforts in this direction had been thwarted by lack of response from the Department of Education and Science in the form of a building allocation.

The repeated omissions of the Aberystwyth Secondary School Project from the Department's building programmes were seen by some at times as a sign of weakness on the part of the Authority or of its unreadiness to cease opportunities offered. On 26 March, 1971, Dr. J. Henry Jones, Director of Education, published a letter in the Cambrian News on this matter. According to this letter, Mr. Elystan Morgan, the Labour Member of Parliament for the County at the time, had been quoted in a previous issue as saying that had 'greater drive and initiative' been shown, presumably by the Authority, the money allocated in respect of the 1968/9 Building Programme would not have been lost. Since this had been the second time that Mr. Morgan had made this statement, the Director felt that the full facts should be made public. In his letter, the Director referred to the tentative offer of an allocation contained in the letter from the Department of Education and Science dated 10 August, 1967. This was to be an initial allocation to enable the building work to commence during 1968/9. Official confirmation was to be received later, and in anticipation that it would be forthcoming, the Authority commissioned Architects to undertake this work and authorised Officers to consult the teachers on matters of accommodation and design. Circular 6/68, on January 19, 1968, however, informed local education authorities that all projects included in the 1968/9 programme would be subject to review and authorities were asked to resubmit only those projects which would be ready to start within the year 1 April, 1968 to 31
March, 1969. The Authority had resubmitted the Aberystwyth Secondary School Project as one which could meet the deadline specified by the Department. When the list of successful projects was issued in June 1968, none of the Authority's submissions had appeared on it. The Director added that, had the Authority been given the opportunity to continue with its planning of the Aberystwyth Comprehensive School, he was confident that the work would have commenced prior to 31 March, 1969. "This confidence", the Director added, "is based on the fact that on no occasion in the past 25 years has this Authority failed to commence projects within the programmed year and has never forfeited any allocation. Any innuendos regarding 'drive and initiative' are, therefore, totally unjustified".

When the Special Education Committee on 28 May, 1972 decided to establish a Bilingual Comprehensive School at Aberystwyth in addition to implementing an interim scheme of comprehensive education based on Ardwyn and Dinas, there was a lively response to the decision. On 10 June, 1971 the Western Mail reported on the Authority's proposals under the heading 'Parents vote fails to halt plans for Welsh School'. The Director of Education had been asked by the reporter to justify the establishing of a bilingual school when the majority of the parents had voted against it, and the reply had been "the English parents who did not wish their children to attend a bilingual school did not necessarily object to the establishment of a bilingual school for those who wanted it".

The Aberystwyth Labour Party were strongly opposed to the Authority's proposals as set out in the Public Notice published in the Cambrian News on 8 October, 1971. In a front-page article under the heading "Labour call for enquiry on new schools set up. Incredulity and anger by parents - says M.P." (27) the Cambrian News on 15 October, 1971 restated the Authority's proposals and quoted a
statement issued by the Labour Party's Executive Committee. The statement alleged that the situation regarding the reorganisation had altered radically within the previous few weeks and that the Authority's latest plans involved the deployment of resources on a greater scale than had been previously available. "In the light of this", it was stated, "we consider it the duty of the education authority to inform the public exactly how much money is now available". The statement continued, "The prospect of a large sum of money being available was not known at the time of the recent inquiry by the local education authority into the wishes of parents, and the new situation makes it imperative that another inquiry be held". The Labour Party wanted a single comprehensive school at Aberystwyth and had regarded a two-tier organisation as an interim measure only. In view of the money being made available to the Authority, "it is only proper that parents should now be given the opportunity of deciding between a two-tier comprehensive system and a single comprehensive school", the statement affirmed.

The article also expressed the views of Mr. Elystan Morgan, the County Member of Parliament, on the matter, as well as the reaction of the Chairman of the Cardiganshire Education Committee (Alderman W. Morgan Davies) to Mr. Morgan's statement. Referring to the initial interim scheme, based on Ardwyn and Dinas only, Mr. Morgan had commented, "people of all manner of political views accepted this as a drastic short-term measure which had been made necessary by circumstances". But it had been assumed, Mr. Morgan added, that, once monies were made available, they would be used to unite the two schools on the Dinas site. "It now transpires", Mr. Morgan said, "that funds currently available (and reputed to be of the order of £270,000) are to be used for a wholly different purpose. From contacts I have had with a number of my constituents in the area, I
am aware that the news has been received with a mixture of incredulity and anger. A broadly-based and utterly determined effort will be made to have the Education Committee act fairly and reasonably in this matter". Mr. Morgan was of opinion that the first priority should be the provision of a single school and "then when the grave problem of a divided school has been overcome, the question of what special status should be given to the Welsh language can be properly considered". Mr. Morgan's closing remarks were "The issue is not really whether an independent Welsh School should be established or not, but whether the closing of an intolerable gap between two parts of a comprehensive school should be given precedence over every other purpose".

In his statement, the Chairman of the Education Committee explained that the Authority had sought to meet the wishes of the majority for an early end to selection at 11+ and also to meet the demand of the minority who wished their children to have bilingual education. A sum of £285,000 had been allocated to the Authority under the Government's infra-structure resource scheme to complete Phase I of the reorganisation on condition that the scheme could be largely completed by March 1973. A sum of £37,000 was also available for the raising of the school leaving age in Aberystwyth. It was necessary for the Authority to act without delay. "Some time ago", the Chairman declared "a suggestion was made that an allocation made by the previous government had been lost due to a delay on the part of the Authority. It transpired that this suggestion was erroneous as no actual allocation had been made. We are anxious that no such accusations can again be levelled, and to ensure that, in spite of the difficulties, we take advantage of the largesse of the present government thus taking a positive step towards the ending of selection at Aberystwyth". The Authority had consulted the Welsh
Office and H.M. Inspectors of Schools, and it had been suggested, subject to the necessary statutory procedures, that the best way of using the allocation was to provide a bilingual school together with those joining facilities and adaptations for Dinas to function as a junior comprehensive. "It must be stressed", the Chairman's statement continued, "that the sum of money is not sufficient to provide for the one comprehensive school called for by the Labour Party. Even if the Education Committee had accepted this as its policy and discounted the need for a bilingual school, a two-tier system will have to operate in Aberystwyth until more money could be made available." The Authority had always accepted the principle that a two-tier system would be an interim measure. "Is the Labour Party, therefore suggesting" the Chairman asked "that the Authority should not make use of this allocation which can only produce a two-tier system for the English Medium Comprehensive School with or without the Bilingual School and continue the selective system in Aberystwyth?" If this was the case, it was contrary to the demand previously made by the Labour Party for the abolition of selection. "The other alternative", the Chairman's statement added, "is for the Authority to plan rationally the first Phase of the ultimate objective, as accepted by the Education Committee, in the knowledge that after 1973 the 11 plus allocation test will be a thing of the past in Aberystwyth. This reflects the wishes of the vast majority of the primary parents consulted in February". The Authority, however, had to press for the remaining allocation necessary to complete the scheme.

In its issue of 22 October, 1981, the Cambrian News reported that the Aberystwyth and District Trades Council had decided to demand a public inquiry into the plans of the Cardiganshire Education Authority for comprehensive education in Aberystwyth. "The
Trade Council is writing to the Secretary of State for Wales to state its objections and to demand that parents be given the opportunity of deciding between the proposed scheme and a single comprehensive*, it was stated.

An attempt was made on 28 October, 1971 to get the Education Committee, meeting on that day, to reconsider its policy regarding the reorganisation at Aberystwyth. In an account of this meeting, the Cambrian News, in its issue of 5 November 1971, reported that the matter had been raised by Councillor D.G. Raw-Rees, Llandre. "There has been a lot of unrest at Aberystwyth because of it", the Councillor was reported to have said when referring to the proposed scheme. "Many of the people were misinformed. I do not know where the Education Committee came to its decision". Councillor Raw-Rees continued "In fairness to the people, there has been a lot of misunderstanding. We should discuss it today". The Councillor also pressed for a rethink on the matter because an eminent specialist had written a letter to the Cambrian News criticising it.*28* "We should ask for sufficient money to build the project at Dinas site as one school", Councillor Raw-Rees had asserted "I do not want the situation in Wales to develop into something similar to that in Northern Ireland." Councillor Major Ben Jones, Cross Inn, New Quay was reported to have drawn attention to the additional expenditure involved in engaging a firm of architects to design the plans, and warned that he would report the matter to the Public Auditor. The Director of Education at this point had reminded Committee of its decision a long time previously to engage a firm of architects. The report then refers to explanations made by the Director and his Deputy of how the Authority in its previous meeting had formulated a policy regarding reorganisation at Aberystwyth taking into account the wishes of parents to eliminate selection at eleven plus on the one
hand, and the extent of the demand for bilingual education on the other. When these statements were made, the majority of the members present were reported to have urged the Chairman to proceed with the next business, and the debate on the matter was closed.

As already told in Chapter 1, the Cardiganshire Education Campaign was reported in the Cambrian News on 12 November, 1971 as having decided to appeal to the Parliamentary Commissioner (Ombudsman) "to intervene in the dispute between them and the County Education over the question of option in the teaching of Welsh in Schools." The appeal was also to include "the authority's proposals to build a separate Welsh Medium Comprehensive School at Aberystwyth." This, according to the report, had been the decision of the annual meeting of the Campaign at its meeting the previous Monday. The principal speaker had been Mr. Stuart John who had made 'a succinct appraisal of the questionnaire's alleged findings on Secondary School reorganisation, and gave reasons for his opposition.' His reasons for opposing the establishment of the Bilingual School were: that the Authority "was relying on figures that were, at best, unreliable"; that he foresaw the whole matter becoming "riotously expensive", for the reasons that "the school would not be a viable proposition until 1979 at the earliest", that "specialist staff could not be recruited from the present pool in the county" and that "there was even talk of expanding the school's catchment area to attract pupils". Mr. John alleged that a separate school would be socially divisive; "It was ludicrous", he had said "that the Local Education Authority should get rid of division at the 11-plus stage and then re-introduce another division on a linguistic basis." He felt that the Authority should press for one comprehensive school on one site while implementing a two-tier system during the interim period with provision for bilingual teaching for those who wished it in one and
the same school. The decision to appeal to the Secretary of State for Wales had been carried unanimously at the meeting with the exception of three who had dissented.

On 19 November, 1971, the Cambrian News reported that an all-party Liaison Committee had been set up at Aberystwyth "to organise a campaign aimed at establishing one comprehensive school in which instruction would be in English and Welsh, in opposition to the Cardiganshire Education Authority's plan to use the £285,000 at present available to set up a separate Welsh medium secondary school". The Liaison Committee was reported to have representatives from the Aberystwyth and District Trades Council, the Aberystwyth Labour Party, the Cardiganshire Education Campaign and Aberystwyth Borough Councillors. The Committee intended objecting to the Authority's proposals by circulating a petition calling for a public inquiry. The petition also called on the Authority to use the money available to commence work on the building of one comprehensive school on the Dinas site and not expend it to meet the wishes of a minority of parents. Mrs. Ann Walker, the Secretary of the Committee, had stated during the course of an interview that it was not too late for the Authority to change its plan and that the allocation would not be lost by a delay caused by a public enquiry. "The Committee cannot believe that neither the Government nor the Welsh Office want to blackmail Aberystwyth parents into accepting a plan they clearly do not want", Mrs. Walker had said.

On 3 December, 1971, the Cambrian News announced that the Secretary of State for Wales had turned down the Aberystwyth Borough Council's plea to hold a public enquiry into proposals for the reorganisation of secondary education in the town. This information had been conveyed to the Council's Finance Committee the previous Tuesday, and had given rise to a general feeling of disappointment.
Although the Secretary of State for Wales had stated that it was normal for him to hold public inquiries, Councillor D. Leslie Evans, the Deputy Mayor, had felt that this particular issue demanded one. Councillor Philip Davies felt aggrieved by the refusal of the Secretary of State and believed that an inquiry was essential in order "to restore the confidence of the people in a matter which was of great concern to the Borough". After reminding the Committee that the Borough Council had more or less been a leader in the field as far as accepting the Hughes Parry report, the Chairman, Alderman Merfyn Jones, had said, "No one can say we are doing this against the Welsh language, but it is disturbing for me, living in a democratic country, that with the confusion and unrest that the Local Education Authority proposals have caused in the town, we cannot have an independent inquiry where only the best can result." After a discussion, it had been decided to urge the Secretary of State to reconsider his decision, and, should he again refuse to hold a public inquiry, to request him to receive a deputation who would argue the case for such an inquiry. 22 out of the 24 members were against the proposals of the Local Education Authority.

Mrs. Ann Walker, Secretary of the Liaison Committee for One Comprehensive School, in a letter to the *Cambrian News* on 10 December, 1971 called for clarification on four 'inconsistencies' in the information which senior officers of the Authority had given at P.T.A. meetings and elsewhere, and what had been indicated in the press. The four matters were (1) that the allocation was specific for the bilingual school, for this had been denied by the Secretary of State to the County's Member of Parliament in a written reply; (2) that 'the decision to give first priority to the establishment of a bilingual school derived democratically from the full Education Committee,' but 'discussion of the proposal and of financing of it was
ruled 'out of order' at the first meeting of the Education Committee (28th October) held subsequent to the infra-structure allocation.

(3) that "the current proposals are the only ones feasible within the available resources, which will satisfy demands for the abolition selection at 11 plus and for a bilingual school, yet in a written report to the Education Committee on 28 May, it was stated that the estimated cost of utilising the Ardwyn buildings for the bilingual school and of expanding Dinas as the English medium school would be £250,000 - a sum less than had been subsequently allocated, namely £285,000." (4) the statements made that it was not intended for the bilingual school to be completely separate from Dinas were incompatible neither with the terms of the statutory notice nor with the plans.

On 17 December, 1971 the Director of Education (Dr. J. Henry Jones) and the Deputy Director (Mr. W.J. Phillips) answered these points in a letter in the Cambrian News. They indicated surprise that the Member of Parliament had found it necessary to ask a parliamentary question to ascertain the purpose of the allocation when the Chairman of the Education Committee in his letter in the Cambrian News on the 15th October, 1971 had indicated that the sum had been allocated "to complete Phase I of the reorganisation of Secondary Education in Aberystwyth". Had the allocation been given specifically for the Bilingual School, there would have been no need for Officers to arrange meetings to explain and defend the Authority's proposals. "Perhaps Mrs. Walker is confused by a statement that the interim scheme was drawn up in consultation with H.M.I.'s," the letter continued. On the allegation that the proposals were not allowed to be reconsidered at the Education Committee on 28 October, the letter stated that this was "a matter which concerns the Chairman of the Education Committee and his ruling was confirmed almost unanimously by that Committee." Regarding the discrepancy in the estimated cost
of a scheme for using Ardwyn as a bilingual school and Dinas as an
English medium comprehensive school as stated in April 1971 and
subsequently at parents' meetings was due to the fact that the former
had not taken into account increases in building costs which would
occur by the time building would commence. In April it had been
estimated that £250,000 would suffice to cover costs, but a subsequent
study by the Quantity Surveyor had indicated that the expenditure of
£285,000 on the extensions at Dinas would still leave a deficiency of
3,500 sq.ft. in the minimum teaching area required for a school of
1,000 pupils. But the Authority's report in April had clearly stated
that, if the provision at Dinas would have to be for more than 1,000
pupils for some years until Ardwyn became fully operational. The
letter expressed surprise at Mrs. Walker's reference to the plans
which she had not examined; none of the objectors to the Authority's
proposals had been to the Education Office during the previous two
months to discuss matters relating to the reorganisation, and by the
time Mrs. Walker had written her letter, the period allowed for
objections to the Secretary of State had elapsed.

In the same issue of the Cambrian News, Mr. Ceiriog Williams,
Secretary of the Cardiganshire Liberal Association published a letter
explaining how his Party had decided to give support to the
Authority's proposals, as briefly reported in the previous issue.
The Deputy Director of Education had been invited to attend a meeting
of the Executive to explain the Authority's policy in reorganisation,
and to answer questions put to him by members. At the end of a
lengthy debate, after the Deputy Director had left, to which the
prospective Liberal Candidate (Mr. Geraint Howells) had contributed,
the following resolution was adopted by a substantial majority. "The
Cardiganshire Liberal Executive agrees with the policy of the
Cardiganshire Education Authority, as explained by the Deputy
Director, in implementing the first stage of a Comprehensive System of Education in the North of the County. We appreciate the difficulty with which the authority is faced in that the money available has to be spent before March 1973. The plan, as at present formulated, is a flexible one which can give equal opportunities to all children in the North of the County.

There was thus opposition and support to the Authority's proposals for reorganisation at Aberystwyth, and the differing views found expression in the columns of the local weekly newspaper, the Cambrian News. As the establishing of a Bilingual School at Aberystwyth was a matter of wider interest, reports on the matter appeared in national newspapers, both English and Welsh, and on 15 November, 1971 it was a topic of discussion of a television programme in Welsh 'Yr Wythnos' (tr. The Week) when Councillor D. Raw-Rees, Llandre, Dr. John Hughes, Aberystwyth and Mr. Elystan Morgan, M.P., argued against the Authority's scheme, while Mr. Cynog Davies, representing the Cardiganshire Parent-Teacher Association, defended it.

Although the period for submitting objections to the Secretary of State expired on 6 December, 1971, it was not until 13 April, 1972 that his decision in the matter was conveyed to the Local Education Authority. In his letter, the Secretary of State stated that, while he was able to approve the proposal to establish an English Medium School and a Bilingual School, he was not able to approve the interim scheme suggested. It was further stated that, in his view, a better solution would be the extension of the Dinas buildings to provide the English Medium School and to use the Ardwyn buildings as a Bilingual School.

This was a fair decision. It satisfied the objectors who felt that the Authority was giving priority to the wishes of the minority of parents and using the bulk of the allocation to build a Bilingual
School. It also dispensed with the necessity of operating an interim scheme as far as the English-Medium set-up was concerned. On the other hand, the Secretary of State accepted the principle of a separate Bilingual School as suggested by the Authority on the basis of the questionnaire, although the objections lodged against this course of action had been substantial. The Secretary of State's decision had important implications for the Education Committee. It involved the republication of Section 13 Notices in order to proceed with the reorganisation, and there was also the question of finance, for the promised allocation was insufficient, as mentioned above, to provide an English-Medium Comprehensive School on the Dinas site.

The decision of the Secretary of State was conveyed to the Education Committee on 27 April, 1972. The meeting also considered the following Notice of Motion presented by Councillor D.G. Raw-Rees, Llandre:

"Re-Secondary Education in the Aberystwyth Area:
In view of the prospect of more substantial funds that hitherto allocated being available for the development of comprehensive education in the Aberystwyth area, the officers of the Committee should proceed to negotiate with the Welsh Office for the provision of funds for the establishment at the Erw-Goch site of one Comprehensive School to serve the needs now being satisfied by the present Ardwyn and Dinas Schools, and further to cater for the teaching through the medium of Welsh such subjects as can be so taught to any child whose parents so wish, by the establishment of a block within the curtilage of the school or by way of streaming."(29)

The Cambrian News on 5 May, 1972 gave an account of the meeting. After the Director of Education had referred to the letter of the Secretary of State conveying his decision to the Authority regarding reorganisation at Aberystwyth, he had suggested that officers should
discuss the recommendations put forward by the Secretary of State with the Welsh Office at Cardiff, and also the allocation of additional money (in addition to the £285,000 already allocated). Also that the Authority should issue statutory notices in support of the Bilingual School at Ardwyn and a large English-Medium Comprehensive School on the Dinas site. Councillor Eric Slater had embodied the three points made by the Director into a proposal which was supported by Alderman H.H. Roberts, Synod Inn, and seconded by Alderman R.J. Ellis. Councillor D. Gareth Raw-Rees, Llandre had spoken in support of his Notice of Motion stressing that he had always supported a bilingual policy in the County provided the children had the choice. But he wanted one school under one umbrella; he did not believe in segregation. Councillor Major Ben Jones, Cross Inn, New Quay supported Councillor Raw-Rees. Councillor Slater's notion was carried by 43 votes to 4.

The minutes of the Education Committee for that day read as follows:

"It was Resolved to adopt the suggestion made in the Secretary of State's letter. In view of the urgency needed to secure the funds allocated under the Infra-structure scheme, the Officers of the Authority were instructed to proceed immediately with the issuing of Statutory Notices for the Reorganisation of Secondary Education in the Aberystwyth area. (On a vote being taken, the above motion was carried by 43 votes, 4 members only supporting Councillor Raw-Rees' Notice of Motion).

(b) Resolved to refer matters relating to implementing the scheme during the transitional period/stage to the Development Committee in view of the urgency of the matter.

(c) Resolved that the following be asked to serve in an advisory capacity on the Development Committee during the planning of the above project:

   Headmasters Ardwyn and Dinas Schools;
   Members of Staff from each School;
Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Estates Committee.

(d) It was **Resolved** to authorise the Director of Education to call a Special Education Committee in order to consider the Officers' report of the proposed meeting in Cardiff with the Officers of the Welsh Office should this be deemed necessary.*

On 12 May, 1972, Section 13 Notices were published. These indicated the Authority's proposals: to cease to maintain Ardwyn Grammar and Dinas County Secondary Schools; to establish on the site of Dinas County Secondary School an English-medium mixed comprehensive school for about 1,000 children mainly of the ages 11-18, and to establish in the Ardwyn Grammar School premises, a mixed comprehensive school for about 450 children mainly of the ages 11-18 in which the medium of instruction would be mainly Welsh. The new schools would be available for the area then served by the Ardwyn and Dinas Schools. Objections to the proposals had to be submitted to the Secretary of State for Welsh Education and Science within two months of the publication of the notices. In an explanatory note, the Authority set out the effects of its proposals: the funds made available by the Welsh Office would be utilized to extend and adapt the existing Dinas buildings; the existing eleven-plus allocation procedure would be abolished and parents would be enabled to chose which of the two new schools to be established they wished their children to attend, and, for pupils already attending the existing secondary schools, a 'transitional' period would apply details concerning which would be circulated to their parents in due course.

At an Emergency Meeting of the Development Committee on 17 May, 1972, the Deputy Director reported on his recent discussions at Cardiff with representatives of the Welsh Office. The Welsh Office was prepared to increase its previous allocation of £285,000 in respect of the project to £350,000 together with a sum of £30,000 from the Raising of the School Leaving Age provision thus allowing a
total allocation of £380,000 for the extensions at Dinas. The Deputy
Director presented three possible schemes for organising the two
schools during the 'transitional' period, but as Committee felt that it
would be unwise to transfer pupils between the two schools in 1973,
it was decided that either Schemes 2 or 3, which avoided such
transfers, should be adopted after consulting the staff of Ardwyn and
Dinas in the matter. (30)

On 25 May, the Development Committee met again to discuss the
same topic. (31) In the meantime, the staff at both schools had been
consulted and it had been found that the majority of the teachers
favoured Scheme 3. This provided for new entrants to first year
forms to have education on comprehensive lines at both schools and
the availability of bilingual education at the bilingual school. It was
envisaged that about 180 pupils would be admitted to the English-
medium school and about 70 to the bilingual school. There would be
no transfer of pupils between the two schools during that first year
in order to ensure manageable figures at the two schools - about 680
at Dinas and about 730 at Ardwyn - while building was in progress.
In September 1974, Dinas buildings would be capable of accommodating
the 3rd and 4th year pupils subject to the satisfactory progress of
the building programme, but the 5th and 6th form pupils would still
be taught at Ardwyn. Those moved to Dinas in 1975 would derive
some of the advantages of comprehensive education during their third
and fourth years in a secondary school. In 1975, when all building
work had been completed, Dinas would have pupils of five age
groups with only the 6th form at Ardwyn and these would complete
their education in the Ardwyn buildings. Obviously the scheme
meant that some teachers were required to teach pupils at both
buildings during the 'transitional' period. In the case of the
bilingual section at Ardwyn, what was envisaged was an annual
growth of some 70 pupils a year to reach a total of about 350 pupils by 1977 and 420 by 1979 when the school had a 1st and a 2nd Sixth Form.

The Development Committee decided to adopt this scheme and also resolved to approve a recommendation made by the staff of Ardwyn and Dinas that an opportunity should be given to parents of children up to Forms III to opt for their transfer to the bilingual school in September 1973 provided their numbers warranted the establishment of viable classes. The Deputy Director was requested to provide parents with full information of the proposed 'transitional' scheme.

On 2 June 1972 a detailed letter in Welsh and English was addressed to the parents. It stated how the building programme at Dinas was to be phased - the first phase being due for completion by September 1973 and the second phase by September 1974. This would allow the abolition of the selection procedure in 1973 and parents of pupils who were to be transferred from primary schools to secondary education in that year would have a choice between an English-medium school and a bilingual one, both providing education on Comprehensive lines. Details of the proposed transfer of pupils from Ardwyn to Dinas in 1974, subject to the satisfactory progress of the building programme, were also given, together with information about an alternative scheme which would have to be operated in the event of the first phase of the building programme being not completed by September 1974. The letter also dealt with the medium of teaching of the various subjects in the bilingual school; in this respect the pattern laid down by other education authorities at such schools as Rhydfelen, Ystalyfera, Maes Garmon, Glan Clwyd and Morgan Llwyd would be followed, and, therefore, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, Biology and English would be taught through the medium of the English language while the other subjects would be taught in Welsh.
At the Education Committee on 27 July, 1972, the Director of Education was able to report that the Secretary of State had approved the proposals submitted by the Authority under Section 13 of the Education Act 1944 regarding reorganisation of secondary education in the Aberystwyth district. He was also able to report that the planning of the new school was progressing satisfactorily. With the prior consent of the County Council that a negotiated contract could be effected in the case of this, the Education Committee approved the recommendation of the Estates Committee on 10 May 1972 that Messrs. Glyndwr Jenkins and Son, Tregaron be approached in the matter. Committee also decided to make new arrangements regarding the government of the two schools to be established in 1973.

As stated in Chapter 1, the Education Committee on the same date was to consider the language policy of the County. When this matter was brought up for discussion, the Director of Education reminded members the Secretary of State in announcing his decision to reject the Cardiganshire Education Campaign's appeal against the Education Authority's language policy on 20 June, 1972 had urged the Education Committee to adopt a more flexible language policy in its Secondary Schools, especially with the establishment of a separate Bilingual Secondary School at Aberystwyth. A letter from Dr. A.J.H. Carr, Chairman of the Cardiganshire Education Campaign, for the consideration of the Education Committee on that day also drew attention to the wish expressed by the Secretary of State and urged Committee to provide an assurance that a choice would be allowed regarding the study of Welsh at the Secondary stage when reorganisation at Aberystwyth had been effected. The Education Committee on that day referred the matter for consideration by the Development Committee. As already told in Chapter 1, the Cardiganshire Education Committee did not provide a general option regarding the study of
Welsh up to O level at the new English-medium comprehensive school at Aberystwyth, but gave official endorsement to the existing practice of Headmasters of all Secondary Schools in the County of using their discretion in the case of English-speaking pupils enrolling at their schools at a late stage in their secondary education. On 12 March, 1973, the Welsh Office approved the plans submitted for the extensions at Dinas at a gross building cost of £401,583 which was £21,000 above the cost limit originally approved by the Secretary of State. The brunt of planning the new buildings from an education standpoint, and of communicating with the professional planners of the buildings on the one hand and the Welsh Office on the other had rested on the shoulders of Mr. W.J. Phillips, first as Deputy Director, then as Director Designate and finally as Director of Education.

When the Estates Committee on 14 March accepted the tender of Messrs. G.M. Jenkins and Son, Tregaron in the sum of £401,583, this was merely the commitment of the Authority concerning the extensions on the Dinas site. Teaching and kitchen equipment had also to be provided at an estimated cost of about £453,654. The date of possession of the site by the Contractors was fixed as 31 March 1973 and the date of completion as 16 May, 1975. It was anticipated that work on site would actually commence on 9 April, 1973 and that phased completions would occur during August 1974 and December 1974.

On 15 March, 1973, the Director of Education addressed a further letter to the parents to provide further information about the new schools which would be established in September 1973, and in particular about the bilingual school which would be the first of its kind in Cardiganshire. Parents who had children due for transfer from primary schools in September to one of these schools were asked to make their choice on Form A accompanying the letter and those who
desired their children to transfer from junior forms at Dinas to the bilingual school in September were invited to express their wishes on Form B which also accompanied the letter.

One of the first acts of the newly-constituted Governing Bodies was to provide a name for their new schools. The bilingual school was named Ysgol Penweddig and the English-medium school was named Penglais Comprehensive School. The Governors then proceeded to staff their schools and the teaching staff at Ardwyn and Dinas were invited to apply for the posts they wished to obtain. On 27 March 1973, the Governors of Penglais appointed Mr. C.G. Suff, B.A., the Headmaster of Ardwyn Grammar School, to the headship of Penglais Comprehensive School, and Mr. Gerald R. Morgan, M.A. the Headmaster of Llangefni Comprehensive School, Anglesey, was appointed to the headship of Penweddig. Other staff appointments were made in due course.

The establishment of Penweddig and Penglais in September 1973 was the climax of years of effort by the Authority to reorganise secondary education in the Aberystwyth district. Genuine efforts by the Authority to effect this change over the years had been frustrated by annual rejections by the Welsh Office to release money for the purpose. The Authority and its Officers were subjected to much unfair criticism due to lack of progress in the matter, and when money became available, there was organised opposition to its proposals to provide a bilingual school as the first phase of the reorganisation. Although the Welsh Office at first was not very supportive, and on one occasion even withdrew what could be called a 'gentleman's agreement' regarding the release of funds, in the end it became totally committed to the Authority's proposals. The Welsh Office's decision in favour of the parents who objected to the initial publication of Section 13 Notices was regarded by all as being fair
under the circumstances; for, at the time, it approved in principle
the provision of a bilingual school at Aberystwyth and indicated how
the Authority could establish one at minimum expense. Again, when
the Welsh Office approved the final proposals of the Authority, it
backed its approval by an increased allocation.

Many who were kindly disposed to the bilingual school felt at
the time that there was a positive advantage in having it established
at Ardwyn in spite of the shortcomings of the building. Ardwyn had
the prestige of a long-established educational institution and the
traditions of Ardwyn would tend to be associated more with the new
school established within its walls than with the one established on
a more modern building on another site. But the bilingual school,
some felt, would not only be seen as the obvious inheritor of past
traditions, but also as a natural development on all that had been
provided on the premises in the past. It was fitting that the school
so committed to preserve the best in the Welsh-way of life should
have marked its opening by holding a religious service.

The first year intake to Penweddig was 67 pupils - 25 per cent
of the age group from the Primary Schools of the district and the
total enrollment was 165. In September 1974, there were 96 new
entrants - 35 per cent of the 11-12 age group of the district bringing
the total on roll to 263. Although this study ends at 1974, figures
are here provided to indicate how the two schools fared regarding
enrolments during the ensuing years:
Table 4: 14 Intake of pupils at Penweddig and Penglais Schools 1973-82

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Intake (September)</th>
<th>Total on roll (January)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Penweddig</td>
<td>Penglais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>67 (25%)</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>96 (35%)</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>98 (35%)</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>95 (32%)</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>111 (36%)</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>104 (38%)</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>119 (42%)</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>113 (37%)</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>96 (34%)</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>108 (40%)</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figures show how a unitary school on the Dinas site, as once proposed, would have become a very large teaching unit of some 1,700 pupils as a result of increase in the secondary school population. The form the reorganisation eventually took had, therefore, the beneficial effect of reducing this large total to two smaller units. The growth at Penweddig surpassed all hopes and projections; for a school intended for some 450 pupils developed into a school of 600 pupils. This indicated a growing confidence amongst parents as well as the fact that the principle of bilingual education had been accepted by a substantial number of parents whose children could take advantage of it.

The completion of arrangements for reorganising secondary education in the Aberystwyth district came too late for the Cardiganshire Education Authority to devote serious attention to reorganising the Llandysul district before handing over its powers to Dyfed County Council. Preliminary work in this direction had been undertaken following the receipt of Circular 10/65, had been dependent
upon the two neighbouring local education authorities - Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire - co-operating in the matter.

In 1965, Llandysul Grammar School had 380 pupils on roll and there were 327 at Emlyn Secondary Modern School under the control of the Carmarthenshire Authority. One comprehensive school of some 700 pupils could, therefore, be contemplated in theory, but it was obviously impossible to abandon any one of the two very good school buildings in view of the financial restrictions imposed by Circular 10/65, and make a case for the provision of a unitary school. A two-tier organisation seemed the only solution at the time, but even this could present difficulties due to the small number of secondary school pupils in the area. A split at 13 would have yielded the Junior School with only about 267 pupils with about 440 to the Senior School. On the other hand, a break at 14 would provide the Junior School with about 411 pupils and only about 296 to the Senior Comprehensive. If, again, only a certain number transferred to the senior Comprehensive in accordance with Scheme 3 of Circular 10/65, the Junior School would have to accommodate about 447 pupils and the Senior School would have only about 260 pupils.

On 11 July, 1966, the Governors of Llandysul Grammar School, after considering a memorandum prepared by the Headmaster and staff of the School, decided to recommend to the Reorganisation Committee "that comprehensive education in Llandysul should, in the first instance, take the form of a two-tier system utilising the present Emlyn Secondary School and Llandysul Grammar School" and "that it should be the long term aim to provide one comprehensive school for the Llandysul area". The Reorganisation Committee on 5 October, 1966 decided that this resolution should be discussed at a meeting which was to be convened on 14 October between the representatives of the Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire Local
The meeting between the two Authorities on 14 October, indicated two different views regarding the form the reorganisation should assume. Carmarthenshire envisaged a scheme whereby all Carmarthenshire pupils 11-16 years of age would attend Emlyn Comprehensive and all Cardiganshire pupils 11-16 years of age would attend Llandysul Comprehensive School. Both schools would cater for O level and C.S.E. work. After the age of 16, all the Carmarthenshire pupils wishing to pursue A level studies would proceed from Emlyn to Llandysul. The Cardiganshire's proposals on the other hand, were that all pupils from both counties should enter Emlyn at the age of transfer from primary schools and that they should continue their education at Llandysul at 13 or 14 (to be decided) where they could pursue courses to C.S.E., or G.C.E. - O and A levels. Carmarthenshire's representatives felt that this scheme involving the transfer of pupils at 13 or 14 from one comprehensive school to another would be contrary to the policy accepted by their Authority. It was finally decided that the representatives should report on the meeting to their authorities and that the Director of Education for Cardiganshire should prepare a memorandum for the next meeting indicating the implications of both schemes.

By the next meeting of the Cardiganshire's Reorganisation Committee held on 24 November, 1966, the Director of Education had prepared a memorandum indicating the implications of the two schemes under consideration. The Carmarthenshire scheme would provide some 360 at Emlyn and about 440 pupils at Llandysul; it thus had the merit of making full use of the existing buildings. The Director, however, observed that each school would be too small to give the necessary wide range of courses and that there would inevitably be a duplication of specialist staff, expensive equipment and laboratories.
to conduct studies to O level. The example was given of the teaching of languages and the sciences; only 12 studied Latin and Spanish at Llandysul at the time and only 24 studied Physics, Chemistry and Biology, and if these were disbursed between two schools, staff would have to be provided for teaching very small groups and expensive laboratory equipment at both schools would be underused. Another feature deemed to be a disadvantage would be the small number of pupils of 15 to 16 years of age at both schools - a very important age group from the point of view of team and cultural activities. There was also the point to be considered whether as many pupils would proceed to Advanced level work if it involved changing schools.

The Cardiganshire scheme with a preferred transfer age of 13 between the Junior and Senior Comprehensive would give 300 pupils to Emlyn and 500 to Llandysul. It provided an imbalance between the two schools; Emlyn would be below capacity and building work would be necessary at Llandysul to provide an additional 5,000 sq.ft. of teaching space. The danger in the scheme was that the effective cooperation between the two units which was so essential for the success of a two-tier system could be difficult to achieve since the schools were eight miles apart. A possible solution would be the appointment of one Headmaster for both schools with two Deputy Headmasters. The interchange of staff could also be considered.

The Director was convinced that the only real solution in the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn area was one purpose-built comprehensive school to cater for all pupils; but this was a remote prospect at the time. Both interim schemes put forward had their limitations, but, of the two, he felt that, on purely educational grounds, the two-tier system had certain advantages.

The Reorganisation Committee on that day (22 November, 1966) after considering the Director's memorandum decided: that one
comprehensive school be provided to cater for all pupils in the area; that, in the interim period use be made of the Emlyn and Llandysul Secondary Schools by the introduction of a two-tier system; that those schemes - long term and interim schemes - be submitted for approval to the Department of Education and Science and that the Governors of Llandysul Grammar School be requested to call a meeting of parents in order to discuss the implication of the Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire schemes.

The decision of the Reorganisation Committee was conveyed to the Secretary for Welsh Education on 13 December, 1966. On 19 December, the Headmaster of Llandysul Grammar School reported to his Governors that a meeting of the school's Parent/Teachers Association had been convened and that a working party consisting of five members had been elected. The Association favoured one large comprehensive school and they resolved that their decision should be conveyed to the Department of Education and Science and that the Sub-Committee appointed should seek an interview with the two local Members of Parliament.

On 27 February, 1967, the Governors of Llandysul Grammar School considered a letter from the Parents' Committee requesting that another Joint Meeting be arranged and that in addition to the Governors, representatives of the Cardiganshire Local Education Authority and the local Member of Parliament be invited to attend. The Governors acceded to this request and decided to invite the Director of Education for Carmarthenshire and the representatives of that Authority to attend. There was no response from Carmarthenshire to this invitation for several months, but on 18 December the Governors of Llandysul were informed by letter from the Director of Education for Carmarthenshire that his Authority would be happy to discuss the future of reorganisation of the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn
Secondary Schools at the opportune time.

It was not until 17 June, 1969 that representatives of the Cardiganshire and the Carmarthenshire L.E.A.'s met at Carmarthen to give further consideration to the reorganisation of the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn. It is interesting to note that when the Deputy Director reported on this meeting to the Education Committee on 31 July, 1969, there was reference to the possible provision of a bilingual secondary school as a feature of the reorganisation in the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn area. The Education Committee decided to refer this matter to the Governors of Llandysul Grammar School, who in turn, on 8 September, 1969, resolved that a meeting be arranged in the first instance between the Governors of the two secondary schools concerned - Llandysul and Emlyn. There is no record that this meeting took place.

It was not until 25 May, 1972 that the possible establishment of a Bilingual Secondary School in the south of the County was seriously discussed, when Mr. Islwyn Williams, Headmaster of Llandysul Grammar School raised the matter in the Reorganisation Committee. It was decided to refer the question to the Education Committee. When this was considered by the Education Committee on 27 July, 1972, a letter was also received from Cymdeithas Rhieni ac Athrawon Ceredigion (Cardiganshire Parent/Teacher Association) asking the Committee's reactions regarding the establishing of a Bilingual Comprehensive School in the south of the County. The Education Committee on that day decided to obtain the views of the Llandysul and Cardigan Secondary Schools in the first instance. The Director of Education was also authorised to contact the Carmarthenshire Education Authority in the matter.

On 2 October, 1972 the Governors of Cardigan Secondary School discussed the suggestion of establishing a Bilingual Secondary
School in the south of the County. It was reported that the Headmaster was in favour of the suggestion, but it was decided to defer the matter pending the reorganisation of Local Government.  

On 27 November, 1972 the Governors of Llandysul Grammar School considered the same suggestion and decided to request the Headmaster - Mr. Arwyn Pierce, who by this time had been appointed to succeed Mr. Islwyn Williams, as Headmaster of the School - to provide a report for the next meeting on the possibilities of expanding teaching through the medium of Welsh within the school.  

On 5th March, 1973, the Governors of Llandysul Grammar School received a report from the Headmaster on the possibilities of expanding teaching through the medium of Welsh within the school and further resolved to agree in principle to the setting up of a bilingual school for south Cardiganshire. The resolutions of the Governors of Cardigan Secondary School and of the Governors of Llandysul Grammar School were conveyed to the Education Committee on 1 May, 1973, and it was decided to receive their recommendations.

On 25 October, 1973, the Development Committee decided 'to recommend to the Dyfed Education Committee that a Bilingual Secondary School be provided for the South of the County' and, on the afternoon of the same day, the Cardiganshire Education Committee resolved 'that, in view of the fact that the Education Committee had previously accepted this in principle, the recommendation for the provision of a Bilingual School for the South of the County be now referred to the Dyfed County Council for consideration'.

As already told, on 22 March, 1974 the Assistant Director of Education presented a report on his language survey in the primary schools of the County to the Development Committee and the recommendations of the report were approved and were to be forwarded for the consideration of the new Dyfed Authority. Amongst
the recommendations was that the new Authority should consider the possibility of establishing a Bilingual Secondary School in the south of the County.

At the same meeting a memorandum was considered from the Dyfed Committee of the National Union of Teachers of Welsh (U.C.A.C.) endorsing the resolution of the Authority to accept in principle the establishing of a Bilingual Secondary School in the south of the County and the language policy of the Carmarthenshire Authority which recommended an increased provision for the teaching of various subjects through the medium of Welsh. It was suggested that both Llandysul Grammar School and Emlyn Secondary Modern School should be designated Bilingual Schools without awaiting for secondary reorganisation; the new principle, it was suggested, should be introduced while the existing organisation prevailed, for the change would then be seen as a more normal development that if it were associated with a radical change in the educational system in the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn district. Once the principle of bilingual education at the secondary stage had been established, it would also become a part of any change in secondary school organisation that could later be effected. It was appreciated that not all pupils would be able to fit into the system because of their lack of knowledge of Welsh, but it would be the duty of the Authority to provide transport for these pupils to receive their education in neighbouring Secondary Schools when there was provision for subjects to be taught through the medium of English.

After giving careful consideration to the memorandum, the Development Committee decided to recommend to the Dyfed Education Authority: that it should make wide provision for bilingual secondary education throughout Dyfed; that bilingual secondary education should become the main pattern in areas where Welsh was widely spoken and
that immediate steps be taken to implement this pattern in the catchment areas of Llandysul and Newcastle Emlyn.

These recommendations were endorsed by the Education Committee at its final meeting on 27 March, 1974.

Eight years were to elapse, however, before the Dyfed Education Authority could devote serious attention to the reorganisation of secondary education in the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn area. The Authority decided to give priority to the reorganisation of schools in the more populous areas of Llanelli, Carmarthen and Gwendraeth, but, while doing so, it had indicated a commitment to the principle of bilingual education by establishing a Bilingual Secondary School in each of the three areas. When the time came to consider a plan for the reorganisation of secondary education in the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn areas, it became clear that there was a strong local feeling in favour of a Bilingual School for the area. The Authority, therefore, proposed that a Bilingual Secondary School should be set up in September 1984 on the premises currently occupied by the Llandysul Grammar School and that an English-Medium Secondary School be established on the premises currently occupied by the Emlyn Secondary Modern School. The existing buildings at both places were to be extended to provide for the needs of pupils between the ages of eleven and eighteen. Some parents, supported by the Member of Parliament for Carmarthen, Dr. Roger Thomas, objected to this proposal, but the Secretary of State for Wales approved the Authority's plan.

When the new Bilingual Secondary School is established at Llandysul in September 1984, the area which it will serve will include, not only the districts previously served by the Llandysul Grammar School, but also the whole catchment area of the Cardigan Secondary School as well as the Llanybydder and the Llanllwni areas.
in the Lampeter district. The English-Medium School, however, is intended to serve only pupils residing in the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn district.

Thus, in September 1984, there will be a provision of five Bilingual Secondary Schools within Dyfed: Penweddig (Aberystwyth); Strade (Llanelli); Bro Myrddin (Carmarthen); Cefneithin (Gwendraeth) and Ysgol Gyfun Ddwyieithog Dyffryn Teifi (Llandysul). There is a possibility that a sixth will be established in the future to the west of Carmarthen.

During March 1974, the writer followed up his survey of language in the primary sector by a similar one in the Secondary Schools, although it was known that it could not be completed in time for consideration by the Cardiganshire Education Authority. It would serve, nevertheless, to complete the picture regarding the position of Welsh and English in the educational system of Cardiganshire on the eve of the reorganisation of local government. By 1974, Ardwyn Grammar School and Dinas Secondary Modern Schools had been discontinued, and Penweddig and Penglais Schools had been established. The new schools were, however, in a transitional period, and, at the time of the survey, there were only 167 on roll at Penweddig while there were 1,250 at Penglais.

One of the characteristics of this period was the unforeseen increase in the enrolments due to migration into the County, largely by non-Welsh speaking families. In 1954 a year when the reorganisation of the educational system into separate Primary and Secondary Schools had been undertaken, the total number of pupils in the secondary sector was 3,631 (January return), but 20 years later this number had increased to 4,509. Changes in the number of pupils using Welsh as their main language, the language of their homes, and the proportion of these pupils in the secondary school population are
indicated in the following table:

Table 4.15 First-language- Welsh pupils and the language of their homes in 1949, 1961, 1968 and 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2 Welsh parents</th>
<th>1 Welsh parent</th>
<th>2 English parents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2170 (76.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2150</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2366 (58.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2074 (54.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>2178</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2366 (53.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was gratifying to note in 1974 that the total number of secondary pupils using Welsh as their main language equalled that recorded in the 1961 survey and was even higher than that recorded in 1949, although primary/secondary reorganisation was not entirely complete at the time. The number of pupils in this category, having only one Welsh-speaking parent or even two English-speaking parents, was also the highest since 1961. But, in spite of these figures, the proportion of the habitual Welsh speakers in the school population was down to almost 53 per cent, when it had been nearly 80 per cent in 1949. The obvious reason for this was the substantial increase in the number of pupils whose main language was English. Their numbers had increased as follows over the years:
Table 4.16 First-language-English pupils and the language of their homes in 1949, 1961, 1968 and 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1st language English pupils with:</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Welsh parents</td>
<td>1 Welsh parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of pupils with two English speaking parents had increased five-fold since 1949, and the most substantial increase in their numbers had occurred between 1968 and 1974. The Secondary Schools reported that 429 pupils whose first language was English had been admitted from areas outside Cardiganshire between September 1970 and July 1973. It should be noted, however, that there was a significant decrease in 1974 in the number of pupils whose main language was English from homes where one or both parents were Welsh speaking.

The bright aspect of this survey from the point of view of the Welsh language was the increase in the number of Welsh-speaking pupils from homes where one or both parents spoke Welsh. Public discussion of the Authority's language policy and its claimed benefits may have been influential in bringing about a change of attitude in some parents towards Welsh and in giving the language enhanced prestige.

The Secondary Schools, using the W.J.E.C.'s four-point scale, assessed the performance of their pupils in Welsh as a second language as follows:
Table 4.17 Attainment of secondary-school pupils of Cardiganshire in Welsh as a second language in 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>70 (27%)</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penweddig</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19 (100%)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penglais</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>746 (85%)</td>
<td>868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>114 (23%)</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>105 (51%)</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>86 (73%)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>45 (38%)</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>184</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>1,185</td>
<td>2,077</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The wide variation in the percentage of pupils in the various schools deemed to have reached the stage of 'fair fluency' (Category D) would seem to indicate the inadequacy of a subjective method of assessing pupils' competence in their second language. 746 (85 per cent) of the learners at Penglais were judged to have reached this stage in 1974, while only 114 out of a total of 723 learners (15 per cent) in Ardwyn and Dinas in 1968 were deemed to be fairly fluent in Welsh. There must, therefore, be considerable doubt about the reliability of the above figures.

If the figures of the table were reliable, it could be stated that 3,551 secondary-school pupils in 1974 (2,366 first-language Welsh pupils and 1,185 learners of Welsh in Category D) had ability to speak Welsh with fair fluency. This would compare with 2,524 in 1968 and 2,874 in 1961.

When the survey was undertaken, 901 pupils had been submitted to sit external examinations in Welsh later in the year while the corresponding figure for 1968 had been 626. The details were as follows:
Table 4.18 Number of pupils entered for W.J.E.C. Examinations in 1968 and 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W.J.E.C. in Welsh Examinations</th>
<th>1974</th>
<th>1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-level: Home Language</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Language</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-level: Language</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh O2</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh O3</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.S.E. Language</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh 2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh 3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>626</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1974 figures showed a drop in the number of pupils studying Welsh as Home Language at advanced level but there was a small increase in the number of pupils studying it at this level as a Modern Language. There was no significant change in the number of pupils taking the Language paper at O-level, but there was an increase in those studying Welsh Literature. Those taking O2 and O3 papers in Welsh also increased substantially as well as those sitting the various grades offered at C.S.E. level.

The various schools indicated the provision they made for teaching through the medium of Welsh but without reference to the numbers pursuing courses through the medium of that language. The provision was as follows:

(1) Aberaeron Comprehensive School: Only Scripture/Religious Instruction was offered at the time through the medium of Welsh, but it was intended to teach History and Crafts through Welsh in September 1974.
(2) **Penweddig Bilingual School:** The following subjects were taught through Welsh - History, Geography, Latin, French, Domestic Science, Rural Science, Scripture/Religious Instruction, Music, Citizenship, Drama, Physical Education, Arts and Crafts.

(3) **Cardigan Comprehensive School:** Scripture and History were taught in Welsh in the lower forms.

(4) **Lampeter Comprehensive School:** Scripture knowledge was presented through the medium of Welsh, and it was proposed to teach Geography in Welsh in September 1974.

(5) **Llandysul Grammar School:** Biblical Knowledge was presented in Welsh throughout the school, as well as Welsh History in the second year.

(6) **Tregaron Comprehensive School:** Welsh History, Scripture and Physical Education were taught in Welsh.

The Headmasters of the above-named Schools indicated their keen desire to extend the provision of teaching through the medium of Welsh, if only the Authority allowed an additional allocation of teaching staff for the purpose.

Each Headmaster was asked to express the difficulties his school experienced in teaching Welsh as a main and second language, and what problems were being encountered in making use of Welsh as a medium of teaching. It was pointed out that a marked deterioration was noticeable in the mastery Welsh-speaking pupils had of their native tongue, and the influence of English on oral and written Welsh was becoming very pronounced. This lack of control over the Welsh language and lack of confidence in using it naturally in speech and writing had two unfortunate effects, it was said, on pupils' course of studies. Many pupils were so conscious of their lack of mastery of Welsh that they were reluctant to follow the Language and Literature courses, O and Ol, designed for those whose first language was Welsh, and preferred to follow a course meant for those studying Welsh as a second language (02 paper). This lack of confidence in
the use of Welsh also deterred some pupils from following courses through the medium of that language when the opportunity to do so was offered by a school.

Headmasters referred to the difficulty they were experiencing in timetabling lesson periods when parallel courses were offered through Welsh and English. Since no extra staff had been allocated to the schools for bilingual teaching, it was difficult to prepare a timetable on the basis of language and ability; under a comprehensive system, some pupils followed courses leading to O level examinations and other to C.S.E. level examinations. The survey indicated very clearly that duplication of staff is necessary in this kind of situation, and that this additional provision in turn, called for extra teaching spaces. In the case of a Bilingual Secondary School, like Penweddig, on the other hand, no duplication of staff and additional accommodation were required; for specified subjects were taught to all pupils through the medium of Welsh, while the others were taught in English, and pupils could then be grouped, as in a school in an English area, on the basis of ability and attainment. Schools also referred to the lack of teaching material in Welsh and that this placed the pupils studying a subject through the medium of Welsh at a serious disadvantage as compared with those who chose English-medium courses. Headmasters called on the Welsh Books Committee of the W.J.E.C. to remedy the situation.

Regarding the teaching of Welsh as a second language, Headmasters pointed out two main difficulties. The first was the lack of a uniform standard of achievement by pupils embarking on secondary education. Some children had been taught Welsh as a second language conscientiously for a number of years and had reached a high standard of achievement, but there were many instances of pupils arriving late in the junior stage at the primary
schools and these suffered from lack of grounding in the language. Again there were observable differences in the standards achieved by various schools in this respect. Under these conditions, continuity in the learning process, which is so necessary in language learning was difficult to achieve at the early stages in the secondary schools. There were also late entrants at the secondary stage and the majority of the English-speaking pupils had not received previous tuition in Welsh. Those placed in the junior classes were given an opportunity to acquire a knowledge of Welsh in accordance with the County's language policy, but this tuition had to be given by the teachers during ordinary lessons, for the schools did not have the supply of teachers to enable them to make special provision in this respect for late arrivals. When older pupils, with no knowledge of Welsh, were admitted, the Headmaster could use the discretion that the language policy granted him in respect of compulsory Welsh.

The difficulties referred to by the Headmasters were very real problems. It is conceivable that some of them could have been resolved if additional teachers had been granted to the schools, but the more fundamental ones indicated that closer links between the secondary schools and their feeder primary schools were required. Problems that arose in connection with Welsh as main language and teaching through the medium of Welsh clearly indicated a viscious circle. Primary Schools tended to give prominence to the language through which a child received his education at the secondary stage, and, as a result, many pupils even from Welsh homes found that they were more proficient in Welsh than in English by the time they embarked on their secondary school course. This being so, these pupils were reluctant to undertake courses through the medium of Welsh at the secondary stage, which would, of course, have developed their control over their mother-tongue through its use in acquiring
knowledge. It is interesting to note how the establishment of a bilingual secondary school can overcome these difficulties. With the establishment of Penweddig at Aberystwyth, the primary schools in its catchment area were provided with an additional incentive to make greater use of Welsh in their teaching, and this led to the pupils themselves becoming more confident in the use of the language and gaining in proficiency at the same time.

The Cardiganshire Education Committee had every reason to be proud of the secondary school system it handed over to the new Dyfed Education Authority in 1974. It had expended large sums of money on the extension and upkeep of its secondary school buildings over the years, and the quality of the education provided within these buildings had been its constant source of pride. The system it handed over had a history of 80 years and was in being even before the County had organised system of primary education. Established under the Welsh Intermediate Schools Act in 1899, the system had seen many changes; in 1935, the five Intermediate Schools were transferred to the care of the Cardiganshire Education Authority and became County Schools; following the Education Act 1944, a system of Secondary Schools for all was established, some being Grammar Schools, some being Modern Schools and some being Bilateral Schools, and finally, after 1965, all but Llandysul Grammar School were reorganised on comprehensive lines with the secondary schools in the Aberystwyth district also reorganised on a language basis. The pattern established at Aberystwyth was strongly recommended by the Cardiganshire Education Committee to the new Dyfed Education Authority as the best system to meet the needs of secondary school pupils in the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn districts.

When a bilingual secondary school is established in the Llandysul/Newcastle Emlyn district in September 1984, the former
county of Cardiganshire will be served by two secondary schools of this character - one in the north and one in the south. This will leave the areas served by Aberaeron, Lampeter and Tregaron without an authority-backed policy for bilingual education, although the schools make varied provision in this respect.

Will parents in these areas seek equal opportunities for their children to those enjoyed by pupils attending bilingual secondary schools or will the Education Authority seek to pre-empt this likely demand and formulate a policy of equal opportunity for all pupils in the former county of Cardiganshire to receive a substantial part of their education through the medium of Welsh? And what of the solution - a third bilingual secondary school nearer the centre of the old county and an official policy, backed by resources, to enable the other three Secondary Schools to carry out a meaningful programme of bilingual education? The answers to these questions lie in the future.
General note: On the early history of the Intermediate Schools in Cardiganshire, see:


Webster's remark on the narrowness of the curriculum of the Intermediate Schools in general: 'A narrow academic curriculum resulted in a tremendous wastage of ability and was undoubtedly the most important reason for the high rate of early leaving found in the Welsh Intermediate Schools' is well borne out in Griffiths' account of these schools in Cardiganshire.

1. On the reorganisation of primary and secondary education in Cardiganshire following the Education Act, 1944, see:


2. Records at Swyddfa'r Sir, Aberystwyth.


4. Ibid pp. 7-10.


7. Language Survey 1968 (in type script at Swyddfa'r Sir, Aberystwyth). This was the work of Mr. W.J. Phillips, Deputy Director of Education at the time.


10. Ibid, 30 January, 1969, pp. 244-5.


15. The staff of Ardwyn and Dinas presented their ideas in the form of two separate reports in April 1971.

16. Ibid, 28 January, 1971, p. 1767. There were two reasons why the Governors of Tregaron Secondary School were to be consulted in this matter. As early as 1966, the Governors and staff of Tregaron Secondary School had urged the Authority to extend the catchment area of the School in order to maintain the numbers on roll. The school was still in a situation of falling rolls in 1970, and it was feared that reorganisation on a linguistic basis in the Aberystwyth district could aggravate the situation at Tregaron. On the other hand, some held the view at the time that Tregaron, with spare capacity at the School and with its tradition of Welshness, would be the ideal location for a Bilingual Secondary School in the centre of the County.

17. Ibid, 29 April, 1971, p. 1938


27. A shorter report on the same lines had appeared in the Western Mail on 8 October, 1971, under the heading: "Demand for inquiry
28. The issue of Friday, 29 October 1971, of the Cambrian News (published the previous Wednesday) had reported on a statement made by the Member of Parliament that the number of parents who wished to see an independent Welsh School established was only 43. The same issue published a letter from Dr. Heller making the same point and also arguing that the Education Committee's proposals would lead to overcrowding at Dinas and Ardwyn. On 5 November, 1971, the Director of Education replied to these assertions in a letter in the Cambrian News. "The number who asked for a Bilingual School was 319 parents of 488 children," the Director wrote. "This number included the 43 parents of 67 children who opted for a Welsh School but did not express an opinion on comprehensive education". The correct figures had been published in the Cambrian News on 7 May, 1971 and had also been sent to the Secretary of the local Labour Party Education Sub-Committee on 18 October in reply to questions. The Director also pointed out that the explanatory preface sent to parents with the questionnaire made definite reference to two schools separated linguistically. Replying to the argument that the proposed reorganisation would lead to overcrowding at Ardwyn and Dinas, the Director said that it was not intended to disrupt the education of pupils unduly by transferring those in Senior Forms at Dinas to Ardwyn, which would, therefore, have no intake of pupils in 1973 and probably none in 1974 as well. This would relieve the existing accommodational difficulties at Ardwyn. The additional pressure at Dinas would be met by the new extensions. Eventually, the Junior Comprehensive (Dinas) would be required to accommodate 500 pupils and about the same number would be in the Senior Comprehensive (Ardwyn) with about 450 in the Bilingual School. At the time Ardwyn accommodated 780 pupils and Dinas 550.

On 12 November, 1971, Mr. J.R. Hinchliffe, Secretary of the Cardiganshire Labour Party Education Sub-Committee, in a letter in the Cambrian News replied to the Director of Education. Mr. Hinchliffe alleged that the Director had missed the point made by the Member of Parliament and Dr. Heller. While admitting that 319 parents had voted for the establishment of a Welsh School and that 276 of these were in favour of comprehensive education generally, the voting gave "no indication of the
priorities of the 276 parents as between the expenditure on comprehensive education generally and the expenditure on the establishment of a Welsh school". Only 43 had voted for a Welsh School "irrespective of whether the remaining 97% were to be given resources or not", but "almost the whole of the £285,000 windfall is in reality being expended in accordance with the priorities of these 43 people", Dr. Heller alleged.


30. Ibid, p. 2932.


33. On 22 May 1978, the Governing Body of Penglais Comprehensive School resolved as follows with regard to the policy of compulsory Welsh at the School:

"to recommend to the Dyfed Education Committee that option be allowed in the fourth year provided the Welsh staff were guaranteed security of tenure, and that extra staff be granted by the Dyfed County Council to enable feasible options to be placed on the timetable".

A deputation of representatives of the Governing Body was received by the Schools and Schools Services Committee of Dyfed County Council on 6 March, 1979. The Minutes of the County Council (1 May, 1979 p. 465) gives account of the meeting and records the following resolution:

"After a lengthy discussion, it was RESOLVED to accede to the Governors' request in view of the fact that within the town of Aberystwyth a bilingual secondary school, Ysgol Gyfun Penweddig, had been established and subject to the following provisos:

(a) That the Governors implement these curricula changes within the teaching and accommodational resources at present available.

(b) That the Governors be requested to ensure that, the status of the Welsh language within the school be safeguarded".

The above resolution was confirmed by the Education Committee and County Council.

35. Ibid, p. 609.


37. Ibid, p. 759.


40. Ibid, p. 908.

41. This meeting would have had to be arranged jointly by the two local education authorities concerned - Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire.


43. Ibid, 26 October, 1972, p. 3104.


45. Ibid, p. 3421.


It is not surprising to find that the Cardiganshire Education Committee, throughout the period it served as a local education authority, directed a great deal of its attention to education in a rural setting. Cardiganshire is a rural county with only a few urban areas, and the main occupation of its people has always been agriculture. In 1901, 73.6 per cent of the County's population were country dwellers, and, after 70 years of savage rural depopulation, 65.8 per cent of Cardiganshire people still made their homes in the rural areas in scattered homesteads, villages and hamlets which stud the county scene. (1) Cardiganshire Education Committee's preoccupation with rural education in a wide context is, therefore, understandable and, indeed, commendable, for in no other way could it fully execute its brief of acting as an education authority within a predominantly rural county.

When it received that brief from the County Council in 1904, a 'system' of schools catering for elementary education had been established within the county by denominational bodies and the school boards. At the time of the Commissioners' Report in 1847, (2) the provision, as far as elementary schools were concerned, was deplorable, and apart from places like Aberystwyth, Borth, Llanfihangel y Creuddyn, Llandygwydd and Llangrannog, where the premises were considered to be moderately good, the buildings were generally described as being 'mere outhouses' with little attention being paid to lighting, heating, ventilation, sanitation and equipment. Between 1847 and 1870, due to the combined efforts of the British and Foreign School Society and of the National Society, 47 new schools were provided within the County, and, after 1870, the school boards set up 71 of their own in addition to several established by the
National Society. On the 'Appointed Day' in 1904, a total of 100 schools comprising 114 departments were handed over to the new Education Authority, and, in due course, six others were transferred to make a total of 106 Public Elementary Schools of which 82 with 89 departments were Provided or Council Schools and 24 with 25 departments were Non-Provided or Voluntary Schools. Only 16 of these were located in the urban areas.

The schools which the Authority inherited from the various bodies were distributed over the whole County. The majority were in villages or in some central spot where the needs of two districts or of a scattered community could be served. In some areas, the religious denominations had been so assiduous in establishing their own schools that there had been a duplication of British and National Schools. This was the case in Aberystwyth, Borth, Aberaeron, Cardigan, Lampeter, Llandysul, St. Dogmaels and Tregaron. Soon after the new Authority was set up, there was agitation in Aber-porth for a Council School in addition to the school that had been provided by the Church of England, and this was sanctioned by the Board of Education after a Public Enquiry and much local disagreements. The inhabitants of Beulah, near by, also felt that their district should have its own school; they collected a large sum of money for the erection of a building and a new school was opened in 1917. With these exceptions, as well as the two schools which were later established as a temporary expediency in the chapel vestries of Gors and Soar-y-mynydd, the initial provision of schools was more than adequate in number to serve the needs of the County for the following 70 years.

These schools, on the whole, were solidly built and were meant to stand the passage of time. Many, however, were in a state of disrepair when they were handed over to the Authority. On the
an extensive programme of renovation of school buildings was undertaken which took several years to complete. Sub-standard buildings were replaced, some were provided with extensions while others were upgraded with attention being paid to such matters as ventilation, heating, lighting, sanitation, and, wherever possible, to the water supply. The total cost of the programme amounted to about £40,000.\(^5\) This was a mere foretaste of what the Authority would be required to pay during the following 70 years in replacing, modernising and maintaining such a vast number of school buildings.

The accommodation in 1911-12, when a large part of the building programme had been completed, was 14,370; there were 11,329 places at the Council Schools and 3,041 at the Non-Provided Schools. The average attendance for the same year at the Council Schools was 6,541 and 1,647 at the Non-Provided Schools, the total average attendance being 8,118.\(^6\) In 1902-3, there had been 11,076 children on the registers. Rural depopulation was already having its effect on pupil numbers.

The areas first affected by rural depopulation were those districts in the north and east of the County where lead had been mined since early times. In 1881 the amount of lead raised, amounted to about 4,600 tons, but, by 1903, the output had dropped to 1,823 tons, and, according to the 1901 Census, only 550 leadmines were engaged in the industry. Their number had declined further to 463 by 1910. The eclipse of this industry naturally had its repurcussions on the local schools; at Trefeurig, for instance, a school in the heart of the lead mining industry, pupil numbers decreased from 138 in 1895 to 43 in 1913, and substantial drops were also experienced at Goginan, Pen-llwyn, Llanafan and Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, all village schools serving the lead-mining areas. But falling rolls was not confined to such schools.
Llan-non is a coastal village, and, for decades, its people had been engaged in the ship-building trade and seafaring in addition to farming. In 1861, the parish of Llansanffraid, where Llan-non is situated, had a population of 1,309, but, by 1911, it was reduced to 893. It was not surprising, therefore, to find that the enrolment at Llan-non School had declined from 182 in 1895 to 108 in 1913.

Schools in more prosperous agricultural areas had also experienced falls in their enrolments. Felin-fach School, situated in the fertile Vale of Aeron, had 182 pupils on register in 1895, but, some 10 years later, numbers had contracted to 74.

Unfortunately for Cardiganshire, rural depopulation was to be an on-going process due to the collapse of the native industries and the depression in agriculture. The County's population, which had been 73,441 in 1871 plunged to 55,184 in 1931, and, as is well known, there was emigration to the South Wales coalfield and to the milk trade in London. This, naturally, had its effect on the elementary school population, which declined from about 9,200 in 1910 to about 5,800 in 1938. It is true that the number of pupils on roll at the Secondary schools increased during this period, but, after taking this into consideration, the drop in numbers in the primary sector was drastic. Although country schools were particularly affected, town schools also became depleted of numbers. The enrolment at the Aberystwyth and Cardigan Schools dropped by 47 per cent and 46 per cent respectively, while the Aberaeron Schools experienced a contraction of 55 per cent respectively.

Some rural schools experienced falling rolls amounting to 60 per cent and over of their 1910 enrolments and amongst them were: Llan-non (65%); Capel Seion (76%); Mynach (64%); Llanrhystud (61%); Tal-y-bont (63%); Aber-porth (64%); Llandygwydd (60%); Garthelli (62%); Llanddewibrefi (71%); Lledrod (66%) and Swyddffynnon (66%). These examples, drawn from various areas of the county, indicate how widespread and how extensive the fall in population had affected the
numbers in school. Schools in the Tregaron district collectively had 49.5 per cent decreased numbers in 1938, while those in the Aberaeron, Aberystwyth and Cardigan districts had reductions of 40.2 per cent, 43.5 per cent and 45.5 per cent respectively. Schools in the Lampeter and Llandysul districts fared better than the rest and escaped with a decreased enrolment of only 24.1 per cent and 33.0 per cent respectively. (8)

A natural consequence of falling rolls was an increase in the number of small schools. Even in 1904, the vast number of the schools had been small ones; this was to be expected in a county whose low population was widely dispersed yet generously provided with schools situated only a few miles apart to avoid long-distance travelling. In 1912-13, there were 33 schools with under 50 pupils on roll, nine of these being under 30 and two under 20. By 1938, the number of schools with an enrolment of 50 or less had increased to 65, 22 of which had under 30 pupils and 10 had under 20 on roll. It was not surprising, therefore, that the future of the small schools engaged the attention of the Education Authority during the intervening years.

The one-teacher school was already a feature of the educational system of Cardiganshire in 1904, and amongst these were St. Mary's School, Maestir and Blaencaron School, near Tregaron. St. Mary's School was situated in the hills to the west of Lampeter near the Church of St. Mary's from which it derived its name. Provided in 1880 through the benevolence of the Harford family who owned the Falcondale estate near Lampeter, this had only 25 pupils on roll in 1905, all under the care of a certificated master. Blaencaron, opened in 1882, was situated in the upland region to the east of Tregaron and was the only Cardiganshire school serving the needs of this vast but sparsely-populated area. In 1905, its 25 pupils were under the
care of one teacher who was a certificated master. By 1911-12, the average attendance at Maestir had diminished to 11 and at Blaencaron to 9.

When the Managers of Blaencaron received an adverse report on the condition of the building in 1912, they decided to recommend that, in view of the structural faults pointed out in the report and the low enrolment, the school should be closed. By the time the Education Committee considered the recommendation, letters protesting against the closure had been received, and it was decided that representatives of the Committee should conduct a local inquiry. It turned out that there was a strong local feeling in favour of retaining the school; transporting the children to another school would present a problem because some resided in places where they had to walk two or three miles before reaching a road; parents were convinced of the value of the individual attention received at this small school in contrast to the class-teaching method employed in the larger schools, and the parishioners were unanimous that the school should be kept open, for it had been established with the purpose of serving the needs of the community as a whole.

The Sub-Committee, which had been formed to investigate the matter, however, could not recommend the retention of the school 'on grounds of economy and efficiency', but when their recommendation was put to the vote at the Education Committee on 10th July, 1913 it was defeated.

At the same Education Committee, a motion was proposed by the Chairman, Alderman C.M. Williams to the effect:

"that in view of the fact that there are now only 11 children on the Registers at St. Mary's Council School, Lampeter, the Committee take into consideration the desirability or otherwise of closing the School".
As previously done in the case of Blaencaron School, a Committee of inquiry was set up and this met locally on 22 October 1913. Councillor J.C. Harford, who had a particular interest in the School, was present to speak on behalf of the parents and the local inhabitants. Attention was drawn to the steep lay of the land between Maestir and Lampeter, and the poor state of the road between Maestir and Silian. The conveyance of pupils to another school - either Lampeter or Silian - would, therefore, present a problem. It was also pointed out that the prospect for future numbers at the School was not too gloomy, for, with farms about to change hands, an increased enrolment could be expected.

In its report to the Education Committee on 30 October, 1913, the Sub-Committee not only pointed out how numbers had dwindled consistently since 1904, but also presented details of the existing enrolment by age group. The details were as follows:

Table 5.1 Number of pupils at Maestir School in 1913

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13+</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - 13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - 9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No doubt, the members of the Committee had been impressed by the enormity of the task the Headmistress of this School had to face in providing suitable education for the various pupils entrusted to her
care. They were also bound to notice that six of the 15 pupils at the School were over 12 years of age, and that their departure, when the time came, would be a serious loss to the School. Committee decided by a majority to close the School as from 1 April 1914 and transfer the pupils and Headmistress to another school. However, at the meeting of the Committee on 12 February 1914, Councillor J.C. Harford moved a motion, of which he had given due notice, to the effect 'that the resolution passed at the last Meeting of the Education Committee relating to the Closure of Maestir St. Mary's Council School be rescinded.'\(^{(13)}\) This motion, which had been signed, by 10 members, was carried with a majority 15 to 10 votes.

With the outbreak of War in 1914 and the financial constraints that followed, attention was again directed to the very small schools within the educational system. On 3 February 1916, Alderman C.M. Williams presented a motion to the Education Committee to the effect:

"That steps be taken to close during the period of War any schools with an average attendance of less than 15 and that necessary arrangements be made for the daily conveyance to a neighbouring school of those children now attending these schools, whose homes are situated beyond the three mile limit."\(^{(14)}\)

This motion, if adopted, would have involved blanket closure of schools which did not have the requisite number of 15 pupils, without reference to local needs and travelling difficulties. It is quite probable that it was for these reasons that the motion was defeated.

Three months later, on 4 May 1916, the same member, Alderman C.M. Williams, presented a motion on similar lines regarding St. Mary's Council School, Maestir, which had, by then become reduced to 6 pupils. This time, by a majority of 10 votes to 5, it was decided to close the school.\(^{(15)}\) Although the terms of the motion applied to the period of War only, Maestir School was never
An effort was also made to amalgamate some of the Council and the Church of England Schools as a temporary measure during the War years. The Authority offered the Non-Provided Schools special provision for the religious instruction of their pupils, but the whole proposal turned out to be a failure. No doubt the Church Authorities were sceptical of the Education Authority's intentions, and probably felt that the War was being used as an excuse for reducing the number of Non-Provided Schools in the County. The fact that no local authority could guarantee that a school, once closed, could be re-opened was also no incentive to the Church Authorities to be in a co-operative mood over the matter. Many years later, however, in 1928 two departments of the Non-Provided School at Aberystwyth - the boys' and the girls' departments - were amalgamated as a result of declining enrolments, but this did not involve loss of control over a school by the Church Authorities. A similar kind of amalgamation had to be affected in Cardigan Council School in April 1934 when the boys' and girls' departments were united under one headteacher.  

During the thirties, much of the Authority's attention was focussed on the very small schools of the county. This was a time when the Board of Education was pressing for a reduction in the establishment of teachers in view of the decline in the school population and also in view of the economic situation that prevailed at the time. The Authority was also contemplating a reorganisation of the educational system to provide for the needs of the senior pupils, still in its elementary schools, on the lines suggested in the Hadow Report; it was realized that such a reorganisation, by decapitating the elementary schools, would create even a larger number of small schools and make the existing small schools even smaller. By 1931, 16 schools had under 30 pupils, and seven had
fewer than 20 pupils. In the latter category were: Blaencaron Council
- 7 pupils; Clarach C. of E. - 16; Capel Selon Council - 17; Strata
Florida Council - 17; Betws Bledrws C. of E. - 18; Trefilan C. of E.
- 19 and Silian C. of E. - 20.

At the Education Committee on 29 October, 1931, the Director of
Education drew attention to these small schools and the problems
connected with them. These, like the larger schools, were required
to provide for the needs of children in nine or ten different stages
of development between the ages of 5 and 14, and, since one teacher
could not hope to do this with any measure of success, all but
Blaencaron, with only seven pupils, were staffed by two teachers.
Closure in the past had been opposed on the grounds of transport
difficulties, and especially since it involved transferring young
children from their local school to one outside their area. The
latter objection, the Director felt, could be overcome by transferring
the junior and senior pupils only and retaining the local school for
the infants. Transport facilities had improved in country districts
and some rural authorities had provided bicycles to older pupils to
travel to another centre when their local school had closed. No
action was taken at the time in this matter, but on 28 April 1932 it
was reported to the Education Committee that the Tregaron District
Committee had recommended that Blaencaron School should be closed.
Since the number of pupils at the School by that time had decreased
to six, it was decided that it should close on 31 July 1932.

At the Education Committee on 18 September, 1935, the Director
reported that the Board of Education had fixed the establishment of
teachers for the county at 328, falling rolls being the reason given
for the decrease in the allocation. The Director pointed out that the
reduction in quota of teachers was unrealistic in view of the number
of small schools maintained by the Authority. The Education
Committee decided to set up a Sub-Committee to consider the closure of small schools. (21)

When the Sub-Committee met on 19 December, 1935, (22) particular attention was given to the schools which had 15 pupils or less on their registers. There were five of these namely, Aber-ffrwd (Council) - 15 pupils; Betws Bledrws (C. of E.) - 10 pupils; Clarach (C. of E.) - 9 pupils; Capel Seion (Council) - 12 pupils and Strata Florida (Council) - 14 pupils. The Sub-Committee recommended that Aber-ffrwd and Strata Florida Schools should be retained because of the lack of travelling facilities in those districts, while the other three should be closed and their pupils transferred to neighbouring schools. It would seem that the Education Committee was reluctant to endorse the policy recommended by its Sub-Committee, for the matter of closure was deferred at Education Committees held on 30 January 1936 (23) and on 23 April 1936. (24) By this time, the Education Act 1936, which proposed the raising of the School leaving age to 15 in September 1939, demanded prime attention and it had become of extreme importance that the Authority should review its plans for the education of the senior pupils.

It happened, however, that the Education Committee on 29 October 1936 received the resignation of the Headteacher of Clarach Non-Provided School to take effect as from the end of that month. Committee, feeling that this was an opportune time to close the school, set up a small committee to discuss the issue with the Managers of the School. (25) Although there were only six pupils at the School at the time, the Managers were opposed to closure. They felt that the low enrolment was a temporary phase in the history of the School; that the cost of conveying children to another school would considerably erode the saving resulting from the closure; that the district would lose its social and cultural centre if the school were
closed and leased for some other purpose; and, finally, they felt that
the closure of a rural school did not further the cause of the Welsh
language and of the culture of Wales. (26)

The Sub-Committee recommended that the school should not be
retained, (27) and the Education Committee on 28 January 1937 decided
that it should close as from 31 March of that year. (28) A subsequent
Education Committee held on 29 April resolved that the date of
closure should be 30 April. (29) In the meantime, a letter had been
received from the Managers of the School consenting to the closure.

This was the last school to close during the 1904-1939 period.
In spite of the substantial increase in the number of small schools
during those years and the higher cost per child of maintaining
small schools than larger ones, no more than three small schools were
closed throughout the period. There was a marked reluctance on the
part of the Authority to do so and this was matched by an equal
desire on the part of local districts to retain their school. It is
interesting to note why this was so: difficulty of travelling,
especially during the early years of the century, was a potent factor;
the school was also being regarded as the hub of social and cultural
life of the locality and, in later years, it was being strongly felt
that the rural school was the custodian of the Welsh language and of
Welsh culture. Despite the arguments put forward at the time that
the interest of the child might be better served in a neighbouring
two-or three-teacher school, the countryman was steadfast in his
opinion that the local school, however small, had its advantages as
an educational unit and was worth preserving.

The sympathetic attitude of the Education Committee towards
local needs is clearly indicated in its response in 1934 to a request
from a parent residing in the upland region behind Tregaron for a
teacher to give instruction to his five children who could not easily
attend a school because of the remoteness of his farm. The Education Committee decided to provide tuition for these children at Soar-y-mynydd vestry, and even provided the teacher with a pony to travel there daily.\(^{(30)}\) This was not registered as a school but was officially attached to Tregaron Council School, and annual permission of the Board of Education to keep the centre open had to be sought. It remained open until after the War.

One of the reasons why the closure of small schools came up for discussion during the period was the pressure from the Board of Education to reduce the number of teachers to match the decline in the school population. In 1935, for instance, the Board fixed the quota of teachers at \(328^{(31)}\) and, the following year, this was reduced to \(324^{(32)}\). It is true that there had been a fall in the number of pupils in the meantime, but, in a county with such a large number of small schools, a decrease in the total school population did not make an annual decrease in the establishment of teachers possible, unless, of course, there was an on-going policy of amalgamating schools. But, although annual reductions in the teaching force of the county was virtually impossible, over the years there had been a substantial contraction in the number of teachers. In 1913, the establishment of teachers had been 400 which included 95 men and 43 women Certificated Teachers, 32 men and 128 women Uncertificated Teachers and 102 women Supplementary Teachers.\(^{(33)}\)

In April 1936, when the Board of Education fixed the Authority's quota of teachers at \(324\), there were actually 330 on the staff of the county. Of these, 95 were Certificated men teachers and 48 Certificated women; 4 men and 138 women were Uncertificated and 37 women were Supplementary. In addition, there were 2 Practical Instruction teachers, 5 Domestic Science teachers and 1 Permanent Supply.\(^{(34)}\) Thus, during those 23 years, the teaching staff had been
reduced by 70. The contraction had been affected by reducing the number of Supplementary teachers from 102 to 37; these, the least qualified as well as the least paid, were mostly on the staff of small rural schools. There had also been a reduction of 18 in the number of Unqualified teachers while there was a small increase of five in the number of Certificated teachers.

The fact that the Authority was not able to increase its trained staff was a matter of great concern to the Director of Education by 1934. In the Education Committee on 25 October of that year, he referred to the fact that the supply of teachers within the county was well in excess of needs. Cardiganshire, by that time, had become noted for the number of its young people who trained to become teachers, and the proposal to raise the school leaving age to 15 on 1 April 1931 had been an incentive for even more to enter the Training Colleges. The proposal to raise the school-leaving age had not materialized, and, in addition, the elementary-school population was in decline and the consequence was that the number of trained teachers in the county exceeded the number of available posts. In 1933, there had been 16 Certificated Teachers in the County without employment and there were 30 in a similar position in 1934, eight of whom being graduates.\(^{(35)}\)

The Director was obviously right in directing attention to one of the tragedies of the day, but unfortunately the Education Authority was unable to remedy the situation at the time beyond offering these young teachers temporary posts. Some remained in the county, others departed, like many before them, to take up positions and spend their teaching days under another education authority.

The lot of the country schoolmaster in those days was a formidable one. He presided over an educational establishment which had been set up in Victorian times to provide a minimum of learning
to young children, but, over the years, its curriculum had been broadened and the school leaving age extended to 14 with compulsory schooling to 15 being anticipated. As early as 1913, the Inspectors described the work of the elementary schools not only in Welsh, English and Arithmetic but also in History, Geography, Nature Study, Needlework, Cookery, Handicraft including Woodwork, Music, Gardening, Physical Education and Moral Education. It is true that not all schools pursued such an expansive curriculum at that time, but the fact that some did, while the remainder made an effort to follow their example, reflects the philosophy that, since the elementary school was the end of the road educationally for the majority of the children, it should provide them with as complete an education as possible before they embarked on the business of life.

The Cardiganshire schoolmaster had to live with this thought and shoulder this responsibility for the first 50 years of this century. The town schools, with their teacher-to-an-age-group organisation, were in a better position to meet this enormous challenge than the small rural school with only two or three teachers on staff. In a typical country school the headteacher's class would have three main groups of children of various ages and abilities. The lower junior group included those who had recently been transferred from the middle class, or, in the case of a two-teacher school, direct from the infant department. This group as a whole demanded much of the teacher's time, if only in language and number work. The upper-junior groups had amongst them those who were destined to sit the entrance examination to a secondary school, and, bearing in mind the standard of that examination, the headteacher had to devote to them a generous portion of his time. Country schoolmasters were sometimes criticized for being too generous in this respect, and for establishing, at times, a so called 'scholarship class', a practice which was
regarded as normal organisation in the urban schools. But the reputation of the village schoolmaster depended more on the successes of his pupils at this examination than almost on anything else he accomplished within his school. And, not only was there pressure from parents in regard to this examination, but also from the Authority which insisted on printing in the Minutes of the Education Committee the marks of the candidates as well as a list of the schools which had not presented pupils for the examination during the year and some of the previous years. Non-presentation of candidates called for an explanation. A schoolmaster, therefore, had a dual role in respect of the entrance examination, namely to ensure that there were annual candidates, which often involved persuading parents to allow their children to sit the examination, and afterwards to provide the candidates with intensive instruction on the lines of the examination in Welsh, English, and Arithmetic. That the rural schools provided the local secondary schools with a large part of their quota of pupils is unquestionable, and, by doing so, they provided their able pupils with the opportunity to have a wider education which would lead them to posts of responsibility, though not always within their native county. It was unfortunate that the small rural school had to undertake this important duty as a part of a wider one of providing suitable education for all children up to the age of fourteen.

The third distinct group under the care of the headteacher was that of the senior pupils who would remain in the school until 14 years of age or even 15, if that was the wish of their parents. Although popularly regarded as a non-academic group, their importance as future citizens of the rural areas was unmistakable, and their curriculum was expected to have a practical aspect and a definite rural bias.
One of the striking features of the curriculum of an elementary school in the pre-1939 era was the prominence given to Gardening as an activity. According to the Inspectors' Report in 1913, 14 schools already had gardens, and more would have introduced Gardening as a subject if plots were available for the purpose. The aim of teaching Gardening, the Report stated, was not so much 'to make boys clever and skilled gardeners, though that is a point of no little value and importance, but to lead them to take an interest in rural occupations, not only to serve as an introduction to agricultural pursuits generally, but also to train their intelligence and their powers of observation.'(36) Thus Gardening was not to be an end in itself but a means of infusing an intelligent interest in the countryside and in agriculture in particular.

This philosophy was given a clear expression in the Education Committee's publication in 1928 Suggestions for a Scheme in "Rural Education" for Elementary and Central Schools in Cardiganshire.(37) This Scheme, provided suggestions for a systematic course in Agricultural Nature Study for pupils from 5 to 14 years of age, and indicated how language work in Welsh and English, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Handwork and Domestic Science could all be given a rural bias. The Scheme was admirable in aim and design. It was comprehensive in scope, taking into account plant and animal life, physical phenomena, as well as human needs, interests and activities, and its basic aim, which was in line with the current thought of the Board of Education on the education of the rural child, was "to attune, or adapt to his or her surroundings the subjects taught to every child in a rural school, to use for the inculcation of knowledge illustrations drawn from the countryside and not from artificial conditions of life; to create in the child an appreciation of the beauty and value of the things that lie around him."(38)
The Scheme was drawn up at a time when the Education Committee looked forward to the time when there would be separate provision for the primary and post-primary-school pupils on the lines of the Hadow Report, which would have made such an extensive syllabus of work more realistic, but, in spite of local efforts to reorganise the education system for the benefit of the senior pupils, this did not occur for another 20 years.

The first step had been taken in this direction in response to the Education Act 1918, which, in addition to enforcing school attendance up to the age of fourteen years, had provided a duty upon local education authorities in charge of elementary schools to make adequate and suitable provision by means of Central Schools, Central or Special Classes or otherwise for the older or more intelligent children, including those who would remain at school beyond the age of 14. In 1919, the Authority prepared a draft scheme covering the whole of the county, and, in 1920, it established a Central School in Lampeter to meet the needs of the senior pupils of the town as well as those residing in the immediate neighbourhood. One of the main difficulties of implementing a scheme of reorganisation at the time was the difficulty of travelling in the rural areas, but it was the country's financial crises of 1920-22 which brought developments in Cardiganshire to a halt. The appearance of the Hadow Report in 1926, however, rekindled the interest in reorganisation by proposing that all children should be transferred at the age of 11 or 12 from the junior or primary school, either to schools of the type then called secondary or to schools of the type then called central or to senior or separate departments of existing elementary schools. This was followed, in 1928, by a Board of Education pamphlet entitled New Prospect in Education, which dealt with problems involved in reorganisation, and the special problems
of Wales were fully discussed in the report *Education in Rural Wales* which appeared in 1930.\(^{(42)}\) In the meantime, the Board of Education had intimated the Government's intention of raising the school leaving age to fifteen as from 1 April 1931, and that a 50 per cent Exchequer grant would be allowed in respect of schemes involving reorganisation during the period up to September 1932.

In 1929, the Authority produced a Draft Scheme of the Reorganisation of Schools in Cardiganshire. The Education Committee was faced with a dilemma; it favoured a scheme based on the existing secondary schools, but, in Cardiganshire, these were Intermediate Schools, and, before all pupils over eleven or twelve could be admitted to them, the County Intermediate Scheme would have to be revised. An alternative scheme had, therefore, to be considered, if only as a temporary form of reorganisation; it was suggested that central schools like that already set up in Lampeter, could be established in centres like Aberystwyth, Aberaeron, Cardigan, Llandysul and Tregaron, while "Higher Tops" could be established in other centrally situated schools to which senior pupils from neighbouring districts could be transferred. The alternative scheme had its advantages; there was ample accommodation in most elementary schools due to the decrease in the number of pupils, and, in the towns, where the dual system prevailed, one of elementary schools could be converted into a central school, if an agreement on the matter could be reached with the Church Authorities. Extending secondary school buildings to accommodate all pupils over eleven or twelve years of age, on the other hand, would be an expensive item, and, in addition, the high cost of conveying the pupils daily from all parts of the county would have to be met.

The Draft Scheme, which indicated which schools could be grouped to feed the central schools and which could be served by a
particular "Higher Top", was much debated and amended in the process. The Authority's strong leanings towards a secondary school solution of the reorganisation problem is clearly indicated by its resolution to consider a third possible scheme. It was realized that the conveyance of pupils from remote areas to a Secondary School could be a real problem, and therefore the third scheme suggested was a provision for all senior pupils within reasonable distance in a secondary school, and for the remainder in "Higher Tops" near their homes.\(^{(44)}\) In 1930, the Authority raised the number of "Free Places" at the Secondary Schools from 25 per cent to 50 per cent of the previous year's entrants, and it decided at the same meeting to discuss its reorganisation proposals with the Church Authorities.\(^{(45)}\)

The Authority had already reached agreement with the Church Authorities over a syllabus of Biblical Instruction. On 25 July 1929, the Education Committee had approved a Syllabus of Biblical Instruction at the Central and Elementary Schools, which had been drawn up by three Committee Members and three Cardiganshire teachers, and which was based on The Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Instruction.\(^{(46)}\) The Cardiganshire Syllabus had been accepted by the Diocesan Education Committee with the proviso that it be supplemented on one day a week in the Non-Provided Schools by a syllabus of religious instruction prepared by the Authorities of the Church.

It became clear at the outset that, while the Church Authorities would be prepared to co-operate in respect of reorganisation as far as the use of buildings was concerned, they would not be prepared to transfer their schools to the Authority or yield their right of control over them.\(^{(47)}\) If Church Schools were, therefore, to feature in schemes of reorganisation, agreement would have to be reached with the Church Authorities on such matters as the appointment of teaching
staff and the provision of Religious Instruction bearing in mind the relevant sections of the Education Act 1921. Under the Act, the Managers of Church Schools were entrusted with the duty of appointing members of the teaching staff, and they also had a responsibility regarding religious education which was to be in accordance with their wishes, but individual children could opt out from the provision made at the school. A Concordat was drawn up, with reorganisation in Cardigan most immediately in view, which, after discussion with the Church Authorities, was to provide that the short listing of candidates for posts of assistant teachers would be undertaken by a representative of the Education Committee, a representative of the Managers and the Director, while the Managers made the final appointment. The method of appointing Headteachers would remain unchanged. Biblical Instruction was to be four days a week in accordance with the Cambridgeshire Syllabus, but, on the fifth day, in accordance with the wishes of the Managers. During the same period, which was not to exceed 45 minutes, all pupils whose parents desired it were to have Biblical Instruction in accordance with the Cambridgeshire Syllabus.

The Concordat proved to be controversial. It was severely criticised in the local press, which, championing the Nonconformist standpoint, regarded it as a sell-out to the Church Authorities. It was also fiercely opposed by Nonconformists in Cardigan, when an attempt was made to implement a scheme of reorganisation in the town in 1930. Of all the District Education Committees, Aberystwyth alone accepted it without amendments, but the Managers of the Aberystwyth Non-Provided School later withdrew their support, in view of the controversy raging at the time. The Education Committee on 28 April 1932, accepting that an impasse had been reached, decided to postpone further discussion of the matter for a period of six months. In any case, the sudden withdrawal of the offer of a 50
per cent Exchequer grant in 1931, due to financial stringency, had made it virtually impossible for the Authority to implement schemes of reorganisation.

The Education Committee had taken steps by this time to revise the County Intermediate Scheme to bring the five Intermediate Schools under its control. A new scheme had been drawn up for the consideration of the Governing Bodies in 1931, and, after much discussion, the Board of Education drew the attention of the public to the proposed scheme on 27 August, 1934. On 20 December, 1934, the scheme was finally approved. This made the Authority financially responsible for these County Schools, as they were to be known, while, at the same time, giving the Governors a fair amount of freedom in the running of their schools. This accomplished, discussions then ensued on the extent to which these schools could broaden their curriculum and adapt their teaching to meet the needs of the less able pupils still in the elementary schools. Even under the old system, the Intermediate Schools had been expected, under the Act which founded them in 1889, to provide for technical education, but this side had been sadly neglected over the years. What was now in question was, whether the Secondary Schools could provide adequately for all pupils irrespective of ability. The Headmasters of the Secondary Schools were confident that this could be accomplished.

The Education Act 1936 provided a renewed incentive for reorganisation by offering a 50 per cent grant in respect of building work and a 40 per cent grant in respect of conveyance of pupils. The Act also proposed to raise the school leaving age to 15 on 1 September 1939, which meant that the Authority had three years to implement a scheme of reorganisation to avoid placing an additional burden on the elementary schools. The Inspectors in the same year
advocated a scheme for Cardiganshire based on the establishment of several senior schools in preference to changing the existing character of the County Schools. The Education Committee eventually adopted this policy and decided that ten senior schools should be established to serve the needs of the County. These were to be set up at Ponterwyd, Aberystwyth, Rhydypennau, Llan-non, Synod Inn, Trawsgoed, Tregaron, one on the Carmarthenshire side of the border near Henllan, and one in Llanybydder, which would also be a Carmarthenshire school. A strong feature of the scheme was that in all areas, except in the town of Aberystwyth and in Tregaron, the new senior schools would be sited in rural districts. It was inevitable that a senior school should be established in Aberystwyth because of the size of the contributory schools, while it was considered that Tregaron's rural character was an ideal setting for such a school. Although the Authority had a strong inclination over the years towards a secondary-school solution in respect of reorganisation, there existed some uncertainty as to whether the County Schools with their strong academic bias could cater adequately for the needs of these pupils who would eventually work and live in the rural areas.

This scheme of reorganisation was not, however, put into effect because of the outbreak of war in 1939, and ten further years had to elapse before the Authority could begin to introduce a new scheme which was to be largely based on the existing secondary schools. Up to 1939, much time and thought had been devoted to the question of reorganisation, and various schemes had been produced. The Authority's efforts, however, had been frustrated by financial constraints and by opposition to its policy regarding the Non-Provided Schools. In the Lampeter district, nevertheless, it had succeeded in providing for the needs of the senior pupils by transferring all those
who did not enter a secondary school to Bryn Road Central School, and all elementary schools in that district after 1931 catered for infant and junior pupils only. The Authority had also brought the Intermediate Schools under its control by putting into effect a new scheme regulating the County Schools, and ensured, in the thirties, that more pupils could attend them by increasing the number of 'free places'. During the late thirties, there had also been a definite move to establish a secondary school in Lampeter. but this proposal did not materialize until after the War.

In March 1936, there were approximately 1,500 pupils of twelve years of age and over in the elementary schools, and, of these, less than 450 were in the urban schools while there were about 1,050 in the rural schools. The urban schools were in a better position as far as staffing and school organisation was concerned to meet the needs of these pupils than the country schools with only two or three teachers on staff. The presence of these pupils in the small school and the time that had to be devoted to them inevitably affected the work that could be accomplished with the younger pupils. It was difficult for one teacher to provide for the needs of the junior and senior pupils in one class, and it is not surprising that the Inspectors in 1932 expressed the opinion that the time for the separation of junior and senior pupils was long overdue:

"A break-away from the existing organisation and the setting up of junior schools and senior schools, each type with its new problems, would do much to stimulate effort along fresh lines, and would not only make the provision for the older pupils which had long been their due, but would also infuse new life into teaching of the junior children."

In addition to meeting all the demands already referred to, the rural school had to cope with the teaching of two languages - Welsh and English. It has already been shown in Chapter 1 that the vast majority of pupils in the rural schools, even in 1932, were from
Welsh-speaking homes, and it was the declared policy of the Education Committee that these children should be taught at first through the medium of Welsh, and that English should be introduced and progressively taught during the junior stage. This policy also applied to the urban schools, but, as also indicated in Chapter 1, the teaching of Welsh in these schools up to about 1926 was much neglected. Following the appearance of the report *Welsh in Education and Life* in 1927, greater attention was paid to the teaching of Welsh in the urban schools, and, as shown in Chapter 2 the schools of Aberystwyth Town became to be organised on a linguistic basis in or soon after 1928. But, although this reorganisation made it possible for these schools to teach both Welsh and English effectively, it was shown that the results, as far as the teaching of Welsh was concerned, was rather disappointing in 1939.

The rural school, on the other hand, had to implement a thorough-going bilingual policy, if only because of the general acceptance of the fact that English, the second language taught, would have an utilitarian value to the children in their future lives.

Mr. R.E. Bevan, the Headteacher of Llannarth Council School in his *Memorandum on the Position of Welsh in Cardiganshire* (60) to the Departmental Committee on Welsh at its meeting in Aberystwyth in 1926, referred to the countryman's attitude towards English. Taking his own district as an example - and he had served as headteacher at Llannarth for 34 years at the time - he indicated how people in his area had long recognised the importance of English not only to those who wished to enter 'the learned professions', but also to the farming community who wished to do business with the cattle dealers at the local fairs. The problem had been how to acquire a sound knowledge of English. In the past, the children of the well-to-do had been sent from Llannarth to fashionable schools in such places as Frome and Taunton to learn English, and girls had been found
employment as maids in respectable English homes, usually in London, for periods of about two years for the same reason. Farmers had engaged boys from Industrial Schools in England so that their own children could have practice in speaking English, and this had also been a strong reason in the past why some had decided to go to Hereford and Somerset to assist at harvest time. When schools were established in country districts, School Boards had often appointed monoglot English headteachers with the purpose of giving children a good grounding in English; this policy had died out with the School Boards, but parents still expected the local school to provide children with a sound knowledge of English. The teaching of English over the years, he said, had produced favourable results, for the vast majority of the people residing in the Llannarth district were bilingual; 56 copies of the Western Mail and South Wales News, printed entirely in English, were distributed daily in 1926 by agents in the village, and 120 copies of the Welsh Gazette, Cambrian News and Carmarthen Journal, which were bilingual newspapers, were distributed weekly in the district. At the same time, 15 weekly papers and 36 monthly magazines produced entirely in Welsh by the various denominations were read in the locality.

Although a knowledge of English was widespread in the Llannarth district in 1926, the position of Welsh seemed secure enough. "Although English is gaining ground," Mr. Bevan stated, "Welsh is not giving way. Welsh is still the language of the home, the Sunday School, the Church and Chapel, all committees, public meetings (except some political meetings), the playground and of business." There was no English place of worship nearer than Cardigan, 18 miles to the south of Llannarth, and Aberystwyth, 20 miles to the north. Indeed there was evidence that Welsh culture was flourishing; Llannarth had held an annual 'eisteddfod' for many years and between six and seven hundred people had attended the one recently
six other villages within a radius of four miles from Llannarth held an annual 'eisteddfod', and the literary societies also thrived in these districts. The social environment in country areas was thoroughly Welsh, and the occasional English-speaking immigrant was soon integrated into the life of the community.

Mr. Bevan's statement has been referred to at length because it indicates very clearly how Welsh people in the countryside highly prized a knowledge of English, and how the position of Welsh as the predominant language of the community was taken for granted in 1926. In that era, a knowledge of English could spread without impairing the native tongue. Mr. Bevan, like the Director of Education in his own statement to the Departmental Committee, felt that there was no necessity for the country schools to allocate more time than they did to the teaching of Welsh, although he was of opinion that more of the time already devoted to the subject should be spent on the study of literature. The problem, however, was that suitable Welsh books were scarce, and, in view of this, the children preferred reading English novels.

The rural school, therefore, had to take the teaching of English, the second language of the children, very seriously and that language had to be introduced virtually as a foreign tongue. Nevertheless, those who aspired to proceed to secondary education at eleven plus were expected for many years to have acquired an eleven-plus knowledge of English irrespective of whether they were from Welsh or English-speaking homes. The paper set at the entrance examination to secondary schools in 1920 illustrates the standard expected of a child of that age at the time. In that year the language paper consisted of six questions, five to be answered in English, while the sixth was a choice question either on a Welsh or an English set book, Gemau Ceredigion (Gems of Ceredigion) in Welsh or
Song and Story in English. Four of the five questions demanded knowledge of the novel *Rob Roy*, while the remaining question required the candidates to write sentences containing the following words: spirited, displeasure, bolsterous, extraordinary, acquaintance, affront, interfere, kindred, ambuscade and valorously. It was commendable that questions on literature loomed large in the test, but it was unfortunate for the Welsh child that the scope for him to demonstrate his skill in the use of the Welsh language was so severely limited. A knowledge of Welsh was not essential for success in the test, and the standard expected in English was demanding even in the case of a child from an English-speaking home. Yet a glance at the results of the examination in that year, shows that children who heard little or no English outside school in rural areas had performed creditably in the test, and this is attributable to the efforts of the teachers to teach English intensively to pupils at the junior stage.

Following the appearance of the Welsh Department's Memorandum 2, *Suggestions for the Consideration of Local Education Authorities and Teachers in 1930*, which was a sequel to the report *Welsh in Education and Life*, the Authority changed the form of the entrance examination to secondary schools, and papers were afterwards set in the child's main language while testing at the same time his proficiency in his second language. This provided a fairer opportunity for a child from a Welsh home to compete for a place in a secondary school, and it also made it essential for an English-speaking child to have a knowledge of Welsh as a second language or forfeit marks in the test. But, although after 1930 the Welsh child's test in English at eleven plus was on the level of a second language, the rural schools still aimed at a much higher standard as a preparation for those who would be transferred to secondary schools where all subjects, except Welsh, were taught through the medium of English.
The requirement of having to teach two languages to almost an equal standard imposed a heavy strain on the time and the effort of the rural teacher. In the majority of cases a Welsh child did not have contact with English until the language was introduced to him at about six years of age at school, and this called for intensive training in the language so that a child by eleven years of age could express himself fairly freely in writing and also be able to absorb new knowledge through the medium of the language at the secondary stage. Under such conditions, it is not surprising to find that the time factor dictated that some other aspects of a child's education were neglected in some small schools. This was unfortunate for those who proceeded to secondary education, and particularly so to those whose schooling would come to an end at the elementary stage. Other small schools devised integrated studies to take account of the geography and history of their district with science, art, handwork and gardening included in the courses.

The pressure of time, together with the emphasis on the ability to write English well by the time the child reached eleven years of age, tended to force the small schools to give the minimum of time to oral work, which should have been the rockbed of good written work. It was thus often found that the average Welsh child at around eleven years of age was more at ease in expressing himself in English on paper than in speech, and it was to remedy this situation that the Authority decided in the 1930's to experiment with the 'basic method' of teaching English, as indicated in Chapter 1.

A study of elementary education in Cardiganshire in the pre 1939 years shows what an enormous task the rural schools with their two or three teachers and pupils ranging in ages between about five to about fourteen or fifteen were asked to perform. It is difficult to generalise as to what extent they succeeded in coping with the
demands imposed upon them. The Inspectors' Report in 1936 referred to the best schools as 'vivid examples of enthusiasm and enterprise, operating under conditions which are far from encouraging.' Other schools, it was reported, though doing 'sound work along traditional lines', lacked colour and individuality, and failed 'to capture the imagination and arouse the enthusiasm of the pupils'.

On the whole, the years of the Second World War had very little effect on the education of pupils in the rural school, and no radical changes of organization had to be made in order to implement the Government's evacuation scheme. The spare accommodation resulting from the decline in pupil numbers usually enabled the evacuated pupils and their teachers to occupy separate rooms within the schools, and when the evacuated teachers eventually returned to the service of their own authorities, the children they left behind, who by then had acquired a knowledge of Welsh, were absorbed quite naturally into the various classes of the schools. Contacts made at the time between the local children and those from the large English cities, however, proved mutually beneficial; the urban children gained experience of rural life and its culture while the local children benefitted linguistically and socially from their contact with the evacuated children.

Although the War years had no direct effect on education in the country schools, this period marks the end of an era in the history of the rural areas. Some changes, already slowly underway in previous years, were accelerated during the War and in after years, while others may be more directly attributable to the War itself. Some of these changes are of great importance from the point of view of this study.

There had been much concern during the inter-war years about the depressed condition of the farming industry, and it had been felt
that, if this industry could be revived, emigration from the
countryside could be halted, and interest in rural crafts could be
renewed. Much of an educational nature had been done to assist in
this recovery. The Local Education Authority had fostered
agriculture studies in the schools and had appointed an Agricultural
Adviser. The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth had
established suitable courses in Agriculture and Dairying for the
benefit of farmers, and had provided them with an advisory service
on their farms. But the main problem of the Cardiganshire farmer
was that his land, on the whole, was unsuitable for arable crops and
that his speciality should be grass. When, therefore, the Milk
Marketing Board opened a Creamery at Pont Llanio, near Tregaron, in
1937, the way ahead for the Cardiganshire farmer was clear,
especially since the Board also provided the means of transporting the
milk from the farms to the Creamery. With the increase for the
demand for milk during the War, the switch over to milk production
was accelerated, and, by 1951, it became necessary to open an even
larger creamery at Felin-fach in the Vale of Aeron to cope with the
increased output of milk. But the resuscitation of the farming
industry did not increase the demand for labour and thus halt rural
depopulation; on the contrary the demand for labour diminished as
farming in Cardiganshire became more specialized and as the industry
became more mechanized. The enormous amount of milk nowadays
received at Felin-fach is produced on holdings which usually require
no more than two people - the farmer and his wife - to farm. Rural
depopulation, therefore, remained a greater problem after the War than
even before.

It was the development in transport, which had made the revival
of the farming industry possible in Cardiganshire, that also broke down
the isolation of the rural areas, and, in time, opened up the
countryside to the town dweller. Motor cars had already appeared in country areas before the War, but they were strictly limited in number until the farming community were in a position to own one. The number of car owners in the rural areas increased further when petrol restriction was eventually lifted. This new mobility had far-reaching results; it made it possible for country people to avail themselves more readily than before of the commercial and cultural facilities of the towns, while, in the process, becoming themselves subject to urban influences. It also brought urban dwellers into the countryside; there was an enormous increase in tourism, which eventually led to a substantial increase in holiday homes in the rural districts and even to permanent settlement in village, farm and remote cottage of people from the large English conurbations. Thus the distinct character of the rural areas tended to become eroded as two cultural patterns came into contact with each other in small communities, and it became increasingly the task of the local school to integrate its pupils into the life of a Welsh area.

The English language had become more familiar to the countryman in the 1930's with the appearance of the wireless set in the homes, and some schools also owned their own sets at this time. Concern for news during the War increased the number of sets in the homes, and soon, a radio was to be found in almost every household. During the sixties, however, the importance of the radio became overshadowed by the appearance of the television set in the rural areas, and this not only changed family habits within the home but also the social habits of people within their community. The attraction of the television screen has been a strong factor in the decline of cultural activities in the country areas, and it was widely predicted at one time, that, since Welsh programmes were accorded such an insignificant proportion of the broadcasting time, radio and television
between them would cause the demise of that language. Recent changes in policy regarding broadcasting Welsh-language programmes on radio and the establishing of a Welsh-television channel after much campaigning for it in Wales have, however, given rise to a new hope that such powerful media, after all, can help preserve the Welsh language. The problem in the past has not only been the disproportionate output in the Welsh language as compared with that in English, but also the greater variety and attractiveness of the English programmes, especially those designed to appeal to children. The result has been obvious; as in the pre-War period when Welsh children preferred to read English than Welsh books because of their attractiveness, they have had greater satisfaction in watching English than Welsh programmes on television. This has, undoubtedly, improved a Welsh child's control over the English language, but it has decreased his contact time with his native tongue which has suffered in quality and accuracy as a result. The schools have made full use of both radio and television in their teaching, and programmes for learners of Welsh have been found to be particularly useful. For many years, the schools were largely dependent for courses in Welsh as a second language on the syllabuses drawn up by specialists on the staff of the B.B.C which issued pamphlets for use in the schools. The full impact on the media on rural life and on rural schools has still to be studied, but it can be safely said that, while it has broadened the outlook of the countryman and strengthened the position of English in the country districts, it has placed the Welsh language in jeopardy in its traditional strongholds.

Of all the changes that have occurred in the pattern of rural life, none has probably had a greater effect on education and culture in a Welsh context than the decline in church and chapel-going accompanied by a sharp fall off in the number of adults and
children attending Sunday School. It could be argued that this tendency was present even in the rural areas of Cardiganshire before the Second World War, but none would argue that the trend gathered momentum during the War and in subsequent years. The reasons for this decline are far too complex to analyse here, but the fact that this has occurred indicates a radical change not only of attitude but also in the values of the family as a unit and of communities in the rural areas. Thus the custom of family worship in the family pew was eclipsed and congregations dwindled. The chapels and churches had not only been places of religious worship but also centres of culture transmitted through the medium of the Welsh language. The divorce between the homes and these centres had a profound effect on the rural school, which had depended heavily in the past on the Sunday School to reinforce its efforts to provide children with a sound grounding in their mother tongue and with a wide knowledge of Welsh culture. But the time came when a large number of the rural schools had to accept the fact that they remained the sole agency directly concerned with the education of young children. That this had occurred much earlier in the large urban areas of England is well recognised in the Education Act of 1944, which imposed on Authorities the duty of providing in their schools for the religious education of the children and of providing the opportunity for pupils to take part in a corporate act of worship each day.

The Cardiganshire Education Authority responded to this duty imposed by the new Education Act by convening a conference on Religious Education at Aberaeron on 28 March, 1946. A working party composed of a teachers' panel, and L.E.A. panel and a denominational panel was set up, and its recommendation that A Syllabus of Religious Instruction in the Schools of Wales be adopted
was accepted by the Education Committee on 25 April 1946. (66) The Education Committee at the same time declared a policy that religious instruction should be given in the schools in the child's home language, which in the case of the majority of the pupils was Welsh. Thus the Authority not only accepted its new responsibility for religious education under the Act, in accordance with an agreed syllabus, but also formulated a basic policy that a religious act of worship and biblical studies could be meaningful to children only if they were conducted in the children's everyday language and that which they heard in their local churches, chapels and Sunday Schools.

The 1944 Education Act also heralded the dawn of a new era in the history of education in Cardiganshire in other respects. Like every other local education authority in England and Wales, Cardiganshire was required to prepare a development plan indicating how it proposed to secure an adequate provision of primary and secondary schools in future years. The Development Plan (67) which the Authority had prepared by March 1949 for submission to the Ministry of Education was a comprehensive document; it indicated the existing schools which would be maintained in the future; it gave details of the new schools which would have to be provided and it named the schools which would be discontinued. Some of the Authority's proposals had to be reconsidered in the light of objections raised by the Ministry of Education, and it was not until December 1951 that the development plan was approved in its entirety. (68)

It was essential to give priority to secondary school provision in the Authority's scheme of reorganization in order to enable pupils of eleven and over still in the primary schools to be transferred as early as possible to the secondary sector. As already related elsewhere in this work, the separation of the two sectors had been
completed by 1951, although, in some areas, secondary school pupils had to be accommodated in temporary buildings for a time.

The reorganization of primary education was regarded as a long-term process. The majority of the schools would continue to be maintained, and their buildings would either be replaced or upgraded; others would become surplus to needs and would be closed, while in some cases a new school would be built in a central position to replace two or three school that would be discontinued. The Authority envisaged in 1947 that 22 schools in all would be surplus to needs and should be closed. Included in this number were 10 non-provided schools, which obviously could not be closed without consulting the local managers. Under the new Act, non-provided schools automatically acquired 'aided' status, and, as such, their managers had the responsibility of upgrading the school buildings to the required standard. This obligation forced the managers of the vast majority of these schools in Cardiganshire to accept 'controlled' status for their schools; and only four schools, Llanddeiniol, Penrhyn-coch, Llandygwydd and Llanwenog were granted 'aided' status. (69)

Although reorganization brought the question of closure of schools to the fore in Cardiganshire, it has to be stressed that the decapitation of the primary schools merely magnified a problem already in existence, namely that of falling rolls. Years of rural depopulation had denuded many of the country schools of children although, at the time, there were pupils between 5 and 14 years of age on their registers. In November 1942, the Director of Education had reported on 16 one-teacher schools to the Efficiency Committee. These schools, with their enrolments indicated in brackets, were: Ystumtuen (16); Capel Seion (16); Sillian (16); Cwmystwyth (16); Trefilan (13); Trisant (15); Aber-ffrwd (23); Strata Florida (12);
Blaenau (17); Tanygarreg (8); Soar-y-mynydd class (4); Gors (18); Elerch (12); Betws Bledrws (12); Llangoedmor (27) and Castell Flemish (15).

The Director suggested three possible solutions in the above cases, namely:

1. The closure of one-teacher schools and the transfer of the pupils to another school.

2. The transfer of older children (say, 10+ years of age) leaving the remainder as a Junior School in charge of an Uncertificated Teacher.

3. The visiting of the schools one month in three by a Certificated Assistant or Headteacher - in the latter case, the Headteacher to be in charge of a group of three schools, in the former there being a limit to five years to one such peripatetic appointment followed by a move to a larger school.^(70)^

The Director's suggestions regarding the possible lines of action have been quoted in full because they indicate a refreshing attitude in 1942 to the problem of the small schools, inasmuch as alternative solutions were offered to the usual remedy of school closures. The second solution was feasible at the time and for many years afterwards until reorganisation became a reality. It also had the merit of easing the problems of the teacher who had to cater for the needs of children between 5 and 14. The third solution was by far the most constructive in character, for it provided additional help where it was needed. 'Peripatetic support' is a term with a modern ring and the fact that such assistance was suggested as a possible solution to the problems of the struggling, small school in 1943 is highly commendable. The other possibility of installing a Headteacher in charge of three small schools is even more remarkable in its modernity. Almost forty years had to pass before local authorities in England and Wales experimented with this possible line of approach as an alternative to school closures.
The Efficiency Committee resolved to recommend that:

(i) The following schools be closed - Trisant C; Gors C; Elerch N.P; Blaenau C; Strata Florida C; Betws Bledrws N.P; Trefilan N.P; Tanygarreg C; Castell Flemish C and the Class at Soar-y-mynydd.

(ii) The alternative method of a peripatetic Certificated Assistant for a period each term be adopted in the remainder and for any of the above, if not closed, a detailed scheme to be worked out by the Director of Education and H.M. Inspector before these recommendations are considered by the Education Committee.\(^{71}\)

It is most unfortunate that Cardiganshire did not pioneer any of the 'alternative methods' suggested to Committee in 1942.

Trisant C.P. School and the class at Soar-y-mynydd did not feature in the Authority's Development Plan for they were in the process of being closed in 1947. It will be recalled that the Soar-y-mynydd class had been established in 1934 to meet the needs of a few children residing in an isolated upland area behind Tregaron, and that annual permission had to be obtained from the Ministry of Education to continue its existence. By early 1946, when the Tregaron District Education Committee\(^ {72}\) considered the future of this class, there were only three pupils at the centre. Committee decided that the Director and the Headteacher should forewarn the parents of these pupils of the likelihood that the class would be discontinued in the near future when arrangements would be made to convey the children to another school. The class, however, survived another year and was finally discontinued in 1947 and the three pupils were admitted to Tregaron C.P. School on 9 September 1947.\(^ {73}\)

Trisant C.P. School, which had 46 on books in 1904, had only three pupils in 1946 when its future was considered by the Education Committee. Committee, always reluctant to close a small school, decided *that this school of three pupils be closed, on the understanding that favourable consideration be given to the re-opening
should an increase in population in the area warrant it.\(^{(74)}\) The school was officially closed on 8 September, 1947.\(^{(75)}\)

Nine of the other 14 schools under consideration in 1942 were scheduled for closure in the Development Plan. These were Ystumtuen C.P., Trefilan V.P., Aber-ffrwd C.P., Strata Florida C.P., Gors C.P., Elerch V.P., Betws Bledrws V.P., Llangoedmor V.P., and Castell Flemish C.P.. Other Schools, not considered for closure in 1942, were added to this list in 1947. They were mainly Voluntary Schools in areas where there was a dual provision of primary schools; this was the case in Aberaeron, Aberystwyth, Aber-porth, Cardigan, Llandysul and Tregaron, while at Borth a new school was proposed on the site of the V.P. School to replace the two existing ones. Goginan and Pen-llwyn in the north of the County, and Adpar and Tre-wen in the south near Newcastle Emlyn - all county primary schools - were to be discontinued, but two new area schools would be built to replace them. Finally, two very small schools in the Tregaron district were also scheduled for closure; they were Cofadail C.P. and Lledrod C.P., each with 13 pupils on roll at the time. Thus 22 schools in all were due to disappear, while two new schools would be built to replace four of them on a new site.

Although it was foreseen that some schools would become very small in size following reorganisation, the Authority decided at the time to continue to maintain them. It was predicted that the following would have about 20 or less on roll once pupils over 11 years of age had been transferred to the secondary sector:

Aber-arth (11); Cilcennin (18); Llanllwchaearn (17); Pennant (18); Brynherbert (18); Llanfarian (21); Comins-coch (21); Cwmystwyth (15); Capel Selon (12); Mynach (12); Eglwys-fach (15); Trefeurig (17); Llanddeiniol (13); Ferwig (21); Llandygwydd (15); Llanfair Clydogau (19); Llanwnnen (18); Sillian (10); Brongest (18); Glynarthen (17);
Such a list must have indicated very clearly to the Authority in 1947 that much of its time in years to come would be taken up in discussing problems connected with the small rural schools.

The publication of the Authority's Development Plan in 1947 engendered opposition from areas where schools were to be closed, and, in the case of the Voluntary Schools, this opposition was usually supported by the St. David's Religious Education Committee. But the Development Plan at this stage was no more than an expression of the Authority's proposals regarding reorganisation, and they could not be enacted until approval had been received by the Ministry of Education. This, however, did not deter the Authority from closing some of its schools through the usual procedure of publishing Notices, before the Ministry of Education finally approved the Plan with some modification in December 1951.

It happened that in August 1947 both Headteachers at Aber-porth would reach retiring age. The Authority, therefore, ceased this opportunity to amalgamate the County Primary and the Voluntary Schools, and appointed a new Headteacher to the former school only. In September 1947, therefore, the latter school was discontinued. In September 1948, the Voluntary School in Cardigan was discontinued as a primary school but its buildings were used to accommodate the senior pupils of the Cardigan district pending extensions to Cardigan Secondary School being completed. Pupils under eleven years of age in the Voluntary School were transferred to the local Primary School, and the Headteacher of the Voluntary School had the charge of the Modern School. In August 1950, the Headteacher of Tregaron C.P. School was due to retire, and on the recommendation of the Tregaron District Education Committee, the Education Committee on 27 April, 1950 decided to transfer the Headteacher of the V.P. School to the
C.P. School. (78) The V.P. School closed in September 1950, and its pupils continued their education in the C.P. School.

All the above V.P. Schools were situated in areas where there was also a provision of county primary schools. This however, was not true in the case of Llangoedmor V.P. School which had been built a few miles outside Cardigan as a National School in 1845. It had 31 pupils on register in 1904; by 1949, the enrolment had however, declined to single figures. When the Cardigan District Education Committee considered a report on the school in that year, it decided to recommend: "that owing to the small number of books, the Llangoedmor School should be closed". (79) This recommendation was accepted by the Education Committee on 28 October 1949, and the Director of Education was authorized to publish the usual Notices. (80) The parishioners objected to the closure, (81) but the Ministry approved the Authority's proposal and the school was discontinued as from 11 September, 1950. (82)

Thus by 1951, by which time the primary and the secondary sectors had been completely separated, the County Primary School at Trisant, the special class at Soar-y-mynydd as well as the Voluntary Primary Schools at Aber-porth, Cardigan, Tregaron and Llangoedmor had ceased to exist. The period 1951-61 saw the disappearance of other schools; the following list indicates the schools that were closed during this ten-year period, the year of closure in each case and the name of the schools to which pupils from the discontinued schools were transferred:

1. Aberaeron V.P. (1951) to Aberaeron C.P.
2. Penparcau V.P. (1952) to Penparcau C.P. (new school)
3. St. Dogmaels V.P. (1952) to St. Dogmaels C.P. (Pembrokeshire)
4. Strata Florida C.P. (1952) to Pontrhydfendigaid C.P.
5. Llanddeiniol V.P. (1953) to Môsennydd V.P.
6. Aberystwyth V.P. (1955) to Aberystwyth C.P., Alexandra Road
In 1949, a vacancy for a Headteacher occurred at Aberaeron V.P. School, and on 11 May, 1949, the Reorganisation Committee decided to recommend that the juniors and seniors at that school should be transferred to Aberaeron C.P. School leaving the infant department only at the V.P. School. During 1950, when schools in the Aberaeron district were being reorganised, a section of the V.P. School was used as an annexe to Aberaeron Secondary School. On 18 July, 1951, a Sub-Committee of the Reorganisation Committee met the Managers of the V.P. School when the Chairman of the Managers reported that in view of the fact that the V.P. and the C.P. Schools were to be merged on completion of a new C.P. School, the Managers would not ask for their School to be opened in September, 1951. The Ministry approved the proposal, and the V.P. School closed in September 1951.

In 1952, a new County Primary School was built at Penparcau where previously only a small V.P. School existed. With the agreement of the Church Authorities, the V.P. School, originally built as a National School in 1846, was discontinued on 1 September, 1952.

The village of St. Dogmaels on the southern bank of the Teifi, near Cardigan, had a V.P. School in the administrative County of Cardigan and a C.P. School in Pembrokeshire. The Authority's Development Plan had indicated that the V.P. School would be maintained as a
two-class school of some 44 pupils. The alterations required to the building were found, however, to be extensive, and, in 1948, the Authority desired to consider the future of the School with the Pembrokeshire L.E.A. The Managers, even in 1951, were reluctant to apply for controlled status, and they wished the C.P. School to become a junior school while retaining the V.P. School for infants only. The Pembrokeshire Authority was prepared to operate such a scheme, or, on the other hand, to make arrangements to absorb all pupils from the V.P. at its own C.P. School, as well as offering the Headteacher of the V.P. School the headship of the C.P. School. The Education Committee on 27 July, 1951 approved the recommendation of the Reorganisation Committee that all pupils from the V.P. School should be transferred to the C.P. School. (87) The St. David's Religious Education Committee, which had consistently supported the Managers in their efforts to keep the school open, objected strongly to the proposed closure, (88) but the Ministry of education upheld the Authority's decision, (89) and the school was closed at the end of the Spring Term 1952. (90) The Headteacher of the V.P. School was appointed to the vacant headship at the C.P. School under the Pembrokeshire L.E.A. (91)

4. Strata Florida C.P. School:

Strata Florida C.P. School, whose date of erection is unknown, was built near Strata Florida Abbey, near Pontrhydfendigaid. Even in 1904, there were only 26 pupils on roll, and this number had dwindled to seven in 1950. On 10 October, 1950, the Tregaron District Education Committee decided to defer consideration of the closure of the school until the views of the local inhabitants were known. (92) On 9 January, 1951, it was reported to the same Committee that the school had been closed temporarily due to the illness of the Headteacher and the pupils were being conveyed to Pontrhydfendigaid C.P. School. (93) On 12 June,
1951, the District Committee recommended that the school should remain open for another 12 months, but by this time, there were only four pupils on roll, and the Education Committee, on 27 July, 1951, approved the temporary transfer of pupils from Strata Florida School to Pontrhydfendigaid C.P. School. On 24 July, 1952, the Education Committee decided that in view of the small number of pupils from Strata Florida School at Pontrhydfendigaid School, Strata Florida School should be officially closed. The pending closure of Strata Florida School brought the question of the ownership of the building to the fore. Ministry records could shed no light on the matter except to confirm that the building had been held rent free as a school since 1876, while a Vestry record, dated 15 September, 1826, indicated that the building was the property of the Church. The Ministry of Works was interested in the property and desired to convert it for use as a museum in connection with the old Strata Florida Abbey. In view of this, the Tregaron District Education Committee, on 11 November, 1952 recommended "that the L.E.A. should abandon any claim to the ownership of the school on the understanding that it would be handed over to the Ministry of Works to be converted into a museum" and the Education Committee on 27 November, 1952 accepted this recommendation. On 28 January, 1954, it was reported to the Education Committee that the Representative Body of the Church in Wales had agreed to make a gift of the old school building to the Ministry of Works.

5. Llanddeiniol V.P. School:

Llanddeiniol V.P. School had not been scheduled for closure in the Development Plan, but it had been foreseen that it would be a small school of some 13 pupils and that the building was so poor that it would have to be replaced on a new site. The Ministry of Education rejected this proposal and was not even prepared to
allow the Authority to provide a canteen at the school due to the condition of the building. The Ministry suggested that the school should be closed. On 12 December, 1948, the Aberystwyth District Education Committee, therefore, decided to recommend that the school be closed and the pupils be transferred either to Myfenydd V.P. School or to Llanfarian C.P. School. On 10 November, 1952, the Aberystwyth District Education Committee considered a letter from the Rev. D.R. Lewis, the vicar of Llanddeiniol, stating that the number of pupils attending the school had dropped to five and that there was no prospect of children entering the school for some time. The Managers, had decided to leave the matter in the hands of the Director of Education and the L.E.A., on condition that, if the School closed, the building should revert to the Trustees. When the Reorganisation Committee on 20 November, 1952 considered this report, it recommended to the Education Committee that the school should be discontinued and the building handed over to the Trustees. The Education Committee accepted this recommendation on 27 November, 1952. There were local objections to the closure, but the Ministry of Education sanctioned the Authority's proposal and the School was discontinued in September 1953.

6. Aberystwyth V.P. School:

When the primary schools in the Aberystwyth district were reorganized in 1948, all infants in the town were accommodated in the C.P. School at Alexandra Road while the juniors were housed at the V.P. School at North Road. At the same time a Secondary Modern School was established in a section of the building at Alexandra Road pending a new building being provided at Cefn-llan. When a further reorganisation on a linguistic basis took place in Aberystwyth in 1952, a Welsh School was established in the Alexandra Road.
building and an English-medium primary school was established at the North Road V.P. School, both buildings being necessary because the Modern School still occupied a section of Alexandra Road School. When the new building at Cefn-llan was completed in 1955, accommodation became available at the Alexandra Road building for the English-medium school, and the V.P. School at North Road ceased to exist as from 5 September, 1955. The building, however, was leased to the Authority, and for many years it was used as a College of Further Education until a new College was provided at the Llanbadarn Campus in 1975.

7. Ystumtuen C.P. School:

Numbers at Ystumtuen C.P. School, a village school, built in 1876 in an area then actively engaged in the lead-mining industry, had been on the decline over the years. In 1904, by which time the industry itself was declining, there were only 41 on roll, although there was accommodation for 120. By March 1939, the enrolment had dropped to 18 and by 1950 to 4. It had been scheduled for closure in the Development Plan with its pupils to be conveyed to Ponterwyd C.P. School. On 12 December, 1949, the Aberystwyth District Education Committee recommended that the school be closed (111) and half the parents agreed with this recommendation. (112) The Education Committee, however, on 26 January, 1950, resolved to defer the matter for twelve months. (113) In 1952, the Authority received an allocation for erecting a new school at Ponterwyd, and, in view of this, the future of Ystumtuen School was reviewed by the Reorganisation Committee. (114) The Education Committee decided to defer consideration of the future of the school pending the completion of the new Ponterwyd School. (115) On 19 February, 1953, the Reorganisation Committee set up a Sub-Committee to meet the inhabitants of Ystumtuen, (116) and at a meeting held in the school on
27 March, 1953, 18 votes were cast in favour of retaining the school with two abstentions. (117) The Sub-Committee, therefore recommended "that in view of the isolated position of the village, the inclement weather conditions which often prevailed and the possibility of an increase in the child population, the school should remain open for a further two years, the position to be reviewed after that time". (118) This recommendation was confirmed by the Reorganisation Committee and adopted by the Education Committee on 23 July, 1953. (119) When Committee reviewed the situation on 26 July, 1956, it had become known that a Rheidol Hydro Electric Scheme was to be undertaken early in 1957, and, since this could have an effect on Ystumtuen, it was decided to postpone consideration of the future of the school for another six months. (120) On 6 February 1957, the Education Committee again deferred consideration of this question for another six months as it was possible that there would be an influx of people into the area when the Hydro Electric Scheme commenced. (121) In January 1957, there had been only 6 pupils on roll. The Education Committee came to a final decision regarding this school on 25 July, 1957 when it resolved that it should be discontinued and its pupils conveyed to the new school at Ponterwyd. (122) The school building had been held on lease by the Authority, and, in recompense for the surrender of the lease and for making good any dilapidation to the building, the Authority, with the agreement of the Ministry of Education, made a payment of £260 to the local trustees. (123) The school did not re-open in September 1957.

8. Elerch V.P. School:

Elerch V.P. School had been provided by the Church of England in 1860, as the village, where it was situated, was once in the heartland of the lead-mining industry. The number on books at the school in 1904, however had been only 42, due to the decline of the native
industry, and this number had reduced to 18 in 1939. The Development Plan had proposed the closure of the school and the transfer of its pupils to Penrhyn-coch C.P. School. By January 1954, there were only 10 pupils at the school, and although numbers increased to 12 in January 1955 and to 13 the following year, there were only 9 on roll in January 1957 and 7 in 1958. On 19 May 1958, the Aberystwyth District Education Committee decided to recommend that, since the number of pupils at Elerch would probably drop to four or five after the summer term, the future of the school should be discussed. The Education Committee on 24 July 1958 resolved that, subject to consultation with parents at Elerch, the school should be closed. A meeting with parents was arranged for 13 August when it was agreed that the school should be closed on condition that the pupils be conveyed to Tal-y-bont C.P. School. The Education Committee confirmed this arrangement on 11 September, 1958.

9. Aber-ffrwd C.P. School:

The school at Aber-ffrwd in the Rheidol Valley near Capel Bangor had been established in 1900, and, four years later, when it was handed over to the Authority, it had 42 pupils on roll. By January 1939, there were only 18 pupils on roll, and, in 1947, the Authority decided that the school would eventually close and its pupils transferred to a new area school which would also absorb pupils from Pen-llwyn and Goginan schools and which would be built somewhere around Capel Bangor. By January 1954, there were only five pupils at the school, and, when the Aberystwyth District Education Committee received a report on the school by H.M. Inspector of Schools on 12 April, it decided to make enquiries regarding the prospects of any future housing developments in the area. At a subsequent meeting on 10 May, it decided to recommend that a Sub-
Committee be set up to discuss the future of the school with the parents.\(^{(128)}\) This course of action was approved by the Education Committee on 27 May, 1954, when the Chairman and the Director were authorized to attend the meeting with the parents.\(^{(129)}\) On 29 July, 1954 the Education Committee received the report of this Sub-Committee and accepted its recommendation that "an extension of two years be given to this school to see if the school population would reach 12 by the end of that period, otherwise closure would follow automatically".\(^{(130)}\)

By January 1956 there were seven pupils at the school, and, when the future of the school was considered by the Education Committee on 26 July, 1956, it was decided to take no action until March 1957 when the Rheidol Hydro Electric Scheme, which could have an effect on the Aber-ffrwd area, was due to commence.\(^{(131)}\) The school was given a reprieve for six months in February 1957\(^{(132)}\) and decision on the matter was again deferred at the Education Committee on 25 July, 1957.\(^{(133)}\)

A year later, on 24 July, 1958, the Education Committee adopted a recommendation of the Aberystwyth District Education Committee that subject to consultation with the parents, the school should be closed.\(^{(134)}\) A Sub-Committee met the parents on 13 August, 1958; the parents were eager to retain the local school and two members of the Sub-Committee were to ascertain from the Rural District Council whether housing development was envisaged in the area in the near future. Failing a firm promise on this matter within the following six months, it was agreed that the school should be closed and the pupils transferred to the existing school at Pen-llwyn. This course of action was adopted by a Special Meeting of the Education Committee on 11 September, 1958.\(^{(135)}\) By January 1959, there were only four pupils on roll at the school, and, when the future of the school was discussed in the light of the reports received regarding the housing position in the area, the Education Committee on 23 April, 1959, decided that the school be closed. It was officially discontinued as from 7 September, 1959.\(^{(136)}\)
Gors C.P. School had been established by the Authority in the vestry of Horeb Chapel, New Cross in 1914 to meet a demand from parents for a local school. There were only 15 pupils on roll in 1939, and the Authority in its Development Plan proposed the closure of the school with the transfer of its pupils to Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn.

On 10 November, 1947, the Aberystwyth District Education Committee recommended that the school be discontinued, but the Education Committee on 12 March, 1948 decided to defer the matter for 12 months. When a vacancy for a headteacher at this school occurred in 1951, the Education Committee on 26 April decided to make an appointment, which indicated the Authority's intention to continue to maintain the school, if possible. There were only 14 pupils on roll in January 1954, and, although this number increased to 15 in 1957, there were only 12 on register in January 1958 when the Education Committee considered a recommendation made by the Aberystwyth District Education Committee that the school should be closed. The Education Committee deferred a decision in the matter at the time, but at a Special Meeting held on 11 September, 1958, it decided to inform parents of children at the school of the Authority's intention to close the school and that members of the Education Committee would meet then in due course to discuss the proposal.

At the local meeting which was held on 30 October, 1958, so it was reported to the Education Committee on 29 January, 1959, "the parents present forcibly expressed their desire to retain Gors C.P. School and their preference that their children should attend a school in Aberystwyth rather than Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn. A deputation from Gors was also received by the Education Committee on that day and a case was presented for the retention of the school. It was decided that no action be taken at the time. By January
1960, the enrolment at Gors had dropped to eight, and, on 28 April, 1960, the Education Committee decided that the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, the local member for New Cross and the Director of Education should approach the parents regarding the closure of the school, and, in the event of no opposition to this course of action, the relevant Notices should be published.\(^{(145)}\) This meeting was held on 26 May, 1960 when the parents agreed "to close the school and to ask for its reopening should an increase in population justify this course".\(^{(146)}\) The parents also agreed that their children should then attend Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn School. Gors C.P. School was, therefore, discontinued with the agreement of the Ministry of Education as from September 1960.\(^{(147)}\)

11. Cwmystwyth C.P. School:

The village of Cwmystwyth, in the upper Ystwyth Valley, had a long association with the lead-mining industry, and, when its local school was handed over to the Education Authority in 1904, it had 88 pupils on roll. By 1939, however, due to the decline of this industry, numbers at the school had dwindled to 26. The Authority had hoped in 1947 to retain the school as a one-class unit of about 15 pupils and proposed alterations to the building. By January 1955, the enrolment had dropped to seven, and, although this increased slightly during the following three years, there were only five pupils at the school in January 1960. On 28 April, 1960, the Education Committee decided to set up a Sub-Committee to discuss the future of the school with the parents, and, in the event of no objection being raised to closure, the usual Notices be published.\(^{(148)}\) At the meeting held at Cwmystwyth on 26 May, 1960, "the parents unanimously agreed that they had no objection to the school being closed, provided transport was provided to Mynach School. They asked, however, that reopening of school be considered if there should be an increase in
The Education Committee adopted the report of its Sub-Committee on 28 July, 1960, (150) and Cwmystwyth School did not reopen in September.

The steps taken by the Authority to close these schools have been traced with some detail in order to indicate that closure was not undertaken without due regard to the wishes of the parents and without heed of the social consequences of depriving an area of its local school. The county primary schools closed were all in areas or on the fringe of an area once associated with the lead-mining industry, and in all cases, the collapse of that industry and the consequent depopulation of the district, had resulted in the village school becoming sadly depleted of numbers. Only the smallest schools were discontinued, and only those in areas where housing and industrial developments, which could have rejuvenated the life of the district, were not envisaged. The future of other small schools had been considered during the course of this period, for example, Betws Bledrws, Lledrod, Castell Flemish, Cofadall, Capel Seion and Goginan, but, as there were prospects that these schools could survive, they were reprieved.

These records could give the impression that the Authority was indecisive in its policy and that it unnecessarily prolonged taking positive action until the parents agreed that the closure of their local schools was inevitable. They might also give the impression that insufficient account had been taken of purely educational issues, for it could be argued that pupils in those very small schools would have been better catered for in a larger school a few miles away from their home. But the Authority took a broad view of the problem, taking social as well as educational factors into account; it was conscious that it was dealing with areas suffering the effects of depopulation and its consequent social changes, and the loss of the
local school in those circumstances would deepen the sense of depravation already felt in those districts. The Authority's kindly attitude towards the small schools was consistent with its wider policy of supporting the social and cultural traditions of the rural areas.

The schools closed in other districts of the County during the ten-year period were all Voluntary Schools, and, in the majority of cases, they existed in towns and villages where there had been a duplication of a Primary and a Voluntary School. Llangoedmor, Llanddeiniol and Penparcau were the exceptions; Llangoedmor had too few on roll to be maintained, Llanddeiniol was not sanctioned a new building and Penparcau was replaced by a new County Primary School. A feature of the post-1939 period was the gradual disappearance of the voluntary schools in Cardiganshire. There were 21 such schools in 1939, but only nine of these remained in 1960. Eleven were actually closed, but Betws Bledrws became a County Primary School in 1953. The school had been provided by the Church of England in 1830, but the building was privately owned. In 1951, the Managers applied for controlled status, and, at the same time, the owner, Councillor D.O. Morgan, declared his willingness to let the building to the Authority at a nominal sum of 1/= per annum. The Managers found themselves in the position where they could not continue to support the school and requested the Authority to adopt it as a county primary school. The Authority received the permission of the Ministry to waive Section 14 of the Education Act which made it necessary for the Managers of a Voluntary School to give two years notice before discontinuing their school. On the expiry of the two years, during which the Authority assumed responsibility for the school on behalf of the Managers, the school was given the status of a County Primary School.

Of the nine Voluntary Schools in existence in 1960, only
Trefilan, Mefenydd, Silian and Llanwenog remained in 1974. The other five had been replaced by new county primary schools. Trefilan, Silian and Mefenydd were controlled schools while Llanwenog had been granted aided status.

References have been made above to the provision of new school buildings. In the late forties, canteens were provided to enable children to have a mid-day meal, which helped considerably in improving the health of the school child. In the fifties the proposed programme of replacing or renovating old school buildings was launched. It began with the building of a new school at Penparcau followed by the replacement of the old Ponterwyd School and the provision of a new Infant School at Cardigan. The scheme at Ponterwyd was particularly interesting; it combined a School and a Community Centre in a memorial scheme to Sir John Rhys, an illustrious son of the locality, who, with the minimum advantages in his early days, rose to eminence as a Welsh Scholar and was appointed Master of Jesus College, Oxford. In addition to the schools already mentioned, the Authority received allocations during the period 1951-61 to provide new primary schools at Tre-wen, Cwrtnewydd, Comins-coch and Aberaeron, a new Infant School at Penparcau and substantial extensions to Aber-porth C.P. School.

This was in addition to the building programme in the Secondary and the Further Education sectors, and, in total, it amounted to £741,389. Undoubtedly, the most exciting undertaking by the Authority in the field of Further Education during this period was the establishing of a Farmers' Education Centre at Felin-fach in 1953 in order to provide part-time day and evening classes in agriculture and related subjects for young farmers. The report Education in Rural Wales (1960) took note of this provision and recommended that there should be "more extensive provision in the rural areas of..."
Wales of facilities for part-time further education in agriculture. (154) Felin-fach was the first place in England and Wales to do so. From a modest beginning, all within three rooms - a farm workshop, a laboratory classroom and a Nissen hut adapted as a farm-jobbing workshop - Coleg Bro Aeron developed, and, before 1974, an Arts Centre and a Teachers' Centre shared the same campus.

The report Education in Rural Wales, in a section on Primary Education, touched on the problem of small primary schools with less than 20 pupils. (155) It dealt briefly with the strength and weakness of the small school; the homeliness and the personal relationship it provided was admirable but since numbers were too small to allow for homogeneous teaching groups, pupils in the absence of competition were deprived of an opportunity to excel. Organised games and activities connected with music and drama, the Report indicated, were impossible under such circumstances. On considering both sides of the question, the conclusion arrived it was "that it would be advisable to incorporate schools of less than 20 pupils in a rural school of larger size (40 to 50 pupils, with at least three teachers) provided that such amalgamation does not lead to unreasonable travelling distances". (156) The maximum travelling distance, it was stated, should not exceed five to six miles and the host school should be similar in linguistic character to the one the child had known. The guiding factor in deciding whether a school should be closed, the Report stressed, was the child himself, because he had "claim on the best available form of education". (157)

The message of the Report was unmistakeable; it favoured the closure of small schools of under 20 pupils as long as local education authorities observed certain principles regarding the transfer of pupils to larger ones. The Cardiganshire Education Authority had observed all the principles mentioned when schools had been
discontinued, and, in contrast to the Report itself, it had given due consideration to the social effects of school closures.

In an article in The Teacher in Wales in February 1961 under the title "Can the Village School Survive?", Dr. J. Henry Jones, the Director of Education for Cardiganshire at the time, took a broad look at the small rural school and its problems taking into account not only educational and financial factors but also the social consequences of school closures. The Director saw the small school as a symptom of a community in decay; the young people who were best equipped to contribute to its welfare had been forced to leave in search of employment. The community had lost some of its former amenities and the village school had become bereft of children. There were important educational issues to be considered in such circumstances. The child was often placed in a situation where there was a disproportionate number of pupils of either sex and he had no playmates of his own sex and age. Having a constant one-to-one relationship with the teacher could have an advantage, but it could also be a poor preparation for the secondary stage, where class teaching was the standard practice. Antipathy between pupil and teacher and vice-versa could be disastrous in such a situation. The position of the woman headteacher in a one-teacher school was also a consideration; her responsibilities for her pupils never ceased all day and her sense of isolation was most unpleasant. Recruitment of teachers for such posts was often difficult.

There were also financial considerations. The small school was an expensive unit to maintain when the cost per child was taken into account. The question was, however, whether the additional cost was justified in terms of improved returns. "On the whole", the Director added, "it seems to me that the die is weighted against the very small school on purely educational grounds".
Socially, however, the picture could be very different: the closure of the local school could well deprive the community of the leadership traditionally given by the headteacher, and possibly of the only non-sectarian meeting-place the locality possessed. But the Director questioned whether the existing catchment areas of the primary schools, established in the nineteenth century, were realistic in the twentieth century which had brought a new mobility into the countryside. Natural centres of recreation had developed in the rural areas, and these were the obvious places where the children from the small schools in the surrounding villages could be educated. Better facilities could be provided for them there, for the small village school could not compete with the larger ones for allocations to improve their buildings, and the children could also benefit from being taught by three teachers instead of one.

The report *Education in Rural Wales* had recommended the closure of small schools in the interest of the child; Cardiganshire, on the other hand, had tended to give greater consideration to the social factors involved. Both aspects had obviously, to be taken into account. But the basic question was how to arrest rural depopulation and rejuvenate village life in order to ensure that the future of the village school was secure.

The Director called for research into the various issues connected with the small rural school, so that real knowledge could replace opinion on these matters. It was important, the Director felt, that a basic question like 'At what number does the child's development suffer because the school is too small to cater adequately for his needs as a growing human being and potential member of society' should be answered in order 'to prevent so much dogmatism on so little evidence'.

In his article, the Director referred to an enquiry being...
carried out at the time in Cardiganshire by Mr. A. Pinsent of the Faculty of Education, Aberystwyth as to whether Welsh-speaking children were at a disadvantage when given standardised tests in problem and mechanical arithmetic set in English and whether the time factor imposed in such tests should be eliminated. "A preliminary examination of the data available", the Director stated in his article, "suggests that the linguistic factor is less important than the size of the Primary School attended by a child". When the enquiry was completed, and the data fully analysed, Mr. Pinsent produced a report *Analysis of Scores in Tests of Arithmetic Ability made by Pupils in a Mixed-Language Area.* He concluded that "Size of school appears to have no systematic influence on the scores. One-teacher schools produce some of the highest as well as some of the lowest scores". Although some Welsh-speaking pupils performed better than English-speaking pupils in problem and mechanical arithmetic, on the whole the Welsh pupils performed less well than the English group in both types of test, and pupils in urban schools had better average scores than those attending country schools. Mr. Pinsent concluded that generally speaking the Welsh children were handicapped by the use of these tests and advocated that the constraint of a time factor should be abolished altogether. At the same time, he stressed that the language factor was not simple and not direct, for, while it was found that pupils generally performed less well in problem work than in mechanical arithmetic, the drop in the case of some of the Welsh children's results was less than in the English group as a whole. It was clear that factors other than linguistic and size of school were involved, and it is conceivable that the child's ability, his cultural background and the quality of the teaching at his school had much influence on the results of the enquiry. It must be stated that the whole enquiry and its findings
should be considered in the light of investigations carried out by W.R. Jones when socio-economic factors were taken into account. These have shown that when like is compared with like within a socio-economic group, urban-rural differences disappear.

The Director's article on the village school was considered by the Reorganisation Committee on 29 June, 1961 (159) and Mr. Pinsent's Memorandum was discussed by the Examination Board on 24 May 1962 when it was decided that in the first instance, trial tests in Arithmetic be held in certain rural areas with extension of time factor and that a report on the results be submitted by the Director before a decision on any modification could be made. (160) But changes were soon made in the Selection procedure to provide safeguards for pupils in the border zone for grammar school education, and this was followed by a strong movement for the abolition of the test in areas served by bilateral secondary schools. When this course of action was adopted the only test administered in the other areas was non-verbal in character, and test results were considered alongside a report on the child's standard of achievement at his primary school. All testing was discontinued when the remaining Secondary Schools became comprehensive in character.

By January 1962, the primary school population had dropped to 4,578 - 16.1 per cent decline since 1954. The decrease, however, was far from uniformly spread over the primary districts, as the following table illustrates:
Table 5.2  The primary-school population of Cardiganshire in 1954 and 1962

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1954</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>+/−</th>
<th>% +/−</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>−152</td>
<td>−18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>1,706</td>
<td>1,589</td>
<td>−117</td>
<td>−6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>+145</td>
<td>+21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>+29</td>
<td>+6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>−84</td>
<td>−12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>−118</td>
<td>−22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,875</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,578</strong></td>
<td><strong>−297</strong></td>
<td><strong>−6.1</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The decline in numbers in the Tregaron district was remarkable and there were substantial decreases recorded also for the Aberaeron and the Llandysul districts. The Aberystwyth district also indicated the same trend. The increase in enrolments in the Cardigan district was due to immigration resulting from developments at the R.A.E. station at Aber-porth.

It is not surprising to find that 12 schools within the County had fewer than 20 pupils on roll in 1962. These schools, with their enrolments, were:

- Ciliau Parc (17);
- Capel Seion (18);
- Betws Bledrws (11);
- Castell Flemish (15);
- Pennant (12);
- Cofadail (7);
- Llanfair (17);
- Lledrod (10); and
- Brynherbert (16);
- Trefeurig (17);
- Bwlch-llan (13);
- Tanygarreg (10).

On 24 January, 1963, the Education Committee considered a resolution of the Aberaeron District Education at its meeting on 28 November, 1962 to effect that the future of Pennant C.P. School should be considered since there were only 10 pupils on roll. The Education Committee requested the Director to produce a report on the subject and also to include in it relevant information concerning Cofadail C.P., Betws Bledrws C.P. and Lledrod C.P. which had only 12, 8 and 6
When the Director presented his report to the Education Committee on 25 April, 1963, it was decided to refer the matter to the Efficiency Committee and co-opt council members on that Committee from areas affected by the report. The Efficiency Committee, on 23 May 1963, after giving full considerations to the Director’s report resolved “to defer consideration until the proposals of the Boundary Commission had been finally decided as it is the policy of the Cardiganshire Authority to keep the very small schools open as long as possible in view of the possible changes in child population in rural areas.”

The Education Committee on 25 July, 1963 adopted this recommendation.

This resolution is interesting for several reasons. It indicates very clearly the Authority’s attitude towards its small schools and explains why it delayed pronouncing the final verdict of closure even in respect of the very small schools. There was always the hope that the child population of the rural areas would increase. In 1962, this possibility seemed remote, but in his Annual Report to the Education Committee on 25 April, 1963, the Chairman could state that there were first indications that the persistent fall in the child population of the County was not only at a halt but that the trend of previous years was being reversed. The primary school population had increased from 8,495 in January 1962 to 8,521 by January 1963, and, he stated, “A sample survey of some very small schools suggests that their population will increase steadily for the next few years and the forecast for the County as a whole indicates a steady increase in births and consequent population up to 1967 when a slight fall is predicted up to 1970, to be followed by a great surge after 1970 when the children born in the ‘bulge’ years after the war will themselves become fathers and mothers.”

In the face of this optimism, it is not surprising that the
Education Committee was happy to delay its verdict on the future of the very small schools.

Events showed that the Chairman's prediction was correct in all but one detail. The primary school population did increase during the years 1963 to 1967 from 4,594 to 4,831, but, instead of the predicted drop between 1967 and 1970, the enrolments continued to rise steadily due to migration into the County. The following table indicates how a primary population of 4,578 in 1962 increased in the six county districts to reach a total of 5,592 in 1974:

Table 5.3 Primary-school population of Cardiganshire 1962-74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberaeron</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>1589</td>
<td>1633</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>2174</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>839</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampeter</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandysul</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tregaron</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4578</td>
<td>4733</td>
<td>5265</td>
<td>5592</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note how this new trend affected the enrolments of the small schools whose future was under consideration in 1962:
Table 5.4 Changes in the population of small schools in Cardiganshire between 1962 and 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ciliau Parc</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennant</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brynherbert</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capel Seion</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cofadail</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trefeurig</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betws Bledrws</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llanfair</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bwlch-llan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castell Flemish</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lledrod</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanygarreg</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>163</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Castell Flemish C.P. School was closed in 1967 (see below)

During the twelve-year period, most of the small schools indicated above increased their enrolments although the extent of the increase varied widely from school to school. Numbers in some schools increased steadily during this twelve-year period, while in others, the numbers peaked around 1970 and decreased afterwards. Fluctuations in school population over a period of some twelve years is a normal feature of a rural school, and this fact had been taken fully into account when the Education Committee decided against taking immediate action regarding its very small schools in 1963.

Another interesting point in the resolution of the Efficiency Committee on 23 May, 1963 was the reference to the proposals of the Boundary Commission, which, if accepted, would have an effect on the fabric of local government in Cardiganshire, and, possibly also, on the future of educational policy within the area. The Local
Government Commission for Wales had issued its Report and Proposals for Wales\textsuperscript{(166)} in 1963 in which it was proposed to establish seven new administrative counties in Wales to replace the existing thirteen and which involved the division of the existing counties. It was proposed that Cardiganshire would form part of a Mid-Wales County comprising also of Radnorshire, part of Merioneth, Montgomery and a part of Breconshire, while South Cardiganshire would be amalgamated with Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire to form a South West County. The dismemberment of the County of Cardigan was a matter of concern in itself, but Dr. J. Henry Jones, the Director of Education, also focussed the attention of the Education Committee on the possible damaging effect of the proposals on the future of the Welsh language. His observations, entitled The Effect of the Proposals of the Local Government Commission on the Welsh language\textsuperscript{(167)} encompassed the whole of Wales and indicated that this aspect had been totally ignored in the Commission's proposals. For instance, North Cardiganshire, whose whole population at the time was 62.24 per cent Welsh-speaking, would be merged with areas where the incidence of Welsh speaking was much lower, and the proposed new county would have a Welsh-speaking population of only 34.79 per cent. Similarly, South Cardiganshire, with its Welsh-speaking population of 83.45 per cent, would form part of a larger unit with a Welsh-speaking population of only 59.91 per cent. A scheme incorporating the whole of Cardiganshire with Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, so as to avoid the division of Cardiganshire, would only bring the percentage of Welsh speakers up to 60.05. But the Director was not merely concerned about the numbers and percentages of Welsh speakers within the proposed new counties, important though they were; there was even a more basic issue, namely, given the new situation, would the new authorities set up have the same regard to
language policies and provide the same support to the Welsh language as the ones they replaced?

The Director's observations were warmly accepted by the Education Committee on 30th January, 1964, when it was decided that his memorandum should be presented to the Clerk of the County Council to submit as evidence at an enquiry regarding the proposals. (168)

The Government's rejection of the proposals for the counties only removed the threat of amalgamation temporarily, as it decided at the same time to present its own proposals. The White Paper of 1967 with some later modification set the pattern for the reorganisation of local government in 1974 which amalgamated the whole of Cardiganshire with Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire to form the new County of Dyfed.

There is little doubt that during the sixties, the Cardiganshire Education Authority was conscious that the writing was on the wall and that it revealed that its days as a separate Authority were drawing to a close. This, no doubt, spurred the Authority to accomplish as much as possible during the time it had at its disposal and this probably accounts for the fact that a great deal was achieved in the way of policies and innovations during the late sixties and early seventies. And it is not surprising that during those critical years the Authority directed much of its attention to matters appertaining to the Welsh language and to policies regarding its small schools.

In 1961 the Director of Education had produced a report on the Welsh language in the Schools of Cardiganshire based on a survey conducted by the W.J.E.C. This report entitled Welsh Language Survey 1961 (169) also incorporated surveys previously conducted in 1945 and
1949, and it indicated how 77 per cent Welsh-speaking population of primary schools in 1949 had become diluted to 58 per cent by 1961 due to a substantial drop in the number of pupils from Welsh-speaking homes and a considerable increase in the number of pupils whose first language was English. In the past, the increase in English speaking was a phenomena largely confined to the urban areas, but, by 1961, there were some indications that the rural schools could also be vulnerable, for notice was drawn to several small schools where the percentage of Welsh speakers had noticeably declined.

The report *Welsh Language Survey 1967* indicated how the process of anglicisation had proceeded in the primary schools of the County since 1961. It showed that although the drop in the number of Welsh speakers had not been more than 55 during the intervening years, the number of English speakers had increased by 432 thus enhancing the percentage of the English speakers from 42 per cent in 1961 to 47 per cent in 1967. By this time only seven schools showed a total resistance to anglicisation, and only about a half of the rural schools had over a 70 per cent Welsh-speaking population while in 28 per cent of the rural schools there was a preponderance of English speakers on roll.

Over the years, the rural school had been regarded as a stronghold of the Welsh language, and the few English speakers who entered one of them soon acquired a working knowledge of Welsh had became assimilated without difficulty into the life of the School. The increased intake of English speakers to small schools created a linguistic situation quite unfamiliar to county teachers and it was natural that some schools found difficulty in coping with mixed-language classes. It has been shown in another chapter how the Authority gave additional support for the teaching of Welsh after 1967. But the deeper significance of the 1967 Survey was that it
indicated that some of the rural schools had become more English in character than some of the urban schools and this posed the question whether larger units in a rural setting would be better able to cope with this new language situation than the small two-teacher schools.

The Gittins Report (171) which appeared in 1967 definitely favoured larger units. It recommended that "in rural areas the minimum size for a junior and infants school (first and middle school) should, in future, be a three-teacher school, or between 50 and 60 pupils, and it should, if possible, be larger." (172) Education Authorities, the Report recommended, should draw up a long-term plan to reorganize and strengthen rural education by amalgamation and closing one- and two-teacher schools. The 'area' school was recommended as a basic solution, and the Department of Education and Science was urged to give special consideration in its building programme to proposals from authorities involving reorganisation. The Report also indicated how the position of the small rural school could be strengthened by linking them with larger ones to enable staff to consult one another and share special skills. Greater use should also be made of peripatetic teachers and of advisory teachers who, under the guidance of the Authority's advisory staff, should have the responsibility for providing guidance to some 20 primary schools.

The Chairman's annual report to the Education Committee on 25 April, 1968 included a note by the Director of Education on the Gittins Report. (173) The Director dealt mainly with two topics within the Report which would have implications for policy for many years to come; these were the future of small schools and the organization of schools to meet language difficulties. A three-teacher school in Cardiganshire, the Director indicated, was a unit of over 45 pupils, and, at the time, 58 out of 90 Primary schools in the County had
under 45 on roll. Of these 58, 12 had under 20 pupils, 23 had between 20 and 29 and 23 had between 30 and 45 pupils. After dealing with the 'area' school as the ideal recommended by the Report, the Director continued "In the present climate of opinion Committee must reconsider its policy both because of the difficulties of small schools and the problems of language teaching". He recommended that Committee "should embark on a bold policy of providing model schools in the country side, with community provision where possible."

The Director drew Committee's attention to the Report's recommendation that schools should be re-classified on a linguistic basis. A rural school whose basic medium of teaching was Welsh would become known as an Ysgol Gynradd while another Primary School in the vicinity would cater for English-speaking pupils but with effective provision for teaching Welsh. The Report advocated the setting up of at least one Bilingual School under every Authority; this would be a School where English would be the main medium of teaching, but Welsh would be introduced from the beginning and used increasingly in the education of the children as they advanced through the School. Innovations on these lines, the Director pointed out, would obviously have to be associated with schemes for area schools.

Thus the Gittins Report provided a new reason for the amalgamation of schools in counties where language problems called for a solution. This was precisely the position in Cardiganshire in 1968 when the report Welsh Language Survey 1967 and the Gittins Report were presented for discussion by the Education Committee. Both reports were initially brought to the attention of the Education Committee on 25 April, 1968(174) and a Special Meeting was convened on 27 June, 1968 to consider both reports in greater depth.(175) It
has already been related in Chapter 1 how Committee took positive steps to strengthen the position of Welsh by reviewing its language policy, increasing the supply of teachers within the larger schools and as peripatetic support for the smaller ones, and by providing all schools with suitable materials for the teaching of Welsh as a first and second language. The recommendations of the Gittins Report regarding the amalgamation of small schools were referred for further consideration by the Reorganisation Committee.

In the meantime, the future of one small school had been decided and that of another two was under consideration. At the Education Committee on 28 July, 1967, the Director had reported that the number of pupils at Castell Flemish C.P. School as from 1 September would be two. (176) This school, in the vicinity of Tregaron, had 64 pupils on roll in 1910, but, by 1956, its enrolment had dwindled to 16 and to 9 in 1960. There was a temporary improvement in 1962 when the number on registers increased to 15, but by January 1967 the school had only five pupils. It was against this background and the information that only two pupils would be in attendance the following September that the future of the school was discussed by Committee on 28 July, 1967. It was decided to authorize the closure of the School, and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman were asked to take the usual steps of discussing the closure with the parents.

There was a strong feeling at the time, both locally in the Tregaron area and amongst Council members, that, in view of depopulation in the Tregaron district, priority should be given to applicants for the lease or purchase of the school buildings who intended to establish a light industry. The property was eventually sold for the purpose of establishing a pottery manufacturing industry in the area.

The future of Goginan C.P. School had been discussed at a Special Education Committee held on 27 June, 1968, (177) when the
Director had reported on the decrease in numbers at the school. Goginan had been a school of some 64 pupils in 1910 and had been much larger before the decline in the lead-mining industry of the area. By 1961 the enrolment at the school had dwindled to 14, and, by January 1968, to eight. The Authority's Development Plan of 1947 had proposed the building of a new area school in the vicinity of Capel Bangor which pupils from Pen-llwyn, Aber-ffrwd and Goginan would attend. Aber-ffrwd School had closed in 1959 and its pupils were transferred to the existing school at Pen-llwyn. A new school had been provided at Pen-llwyn in 1966. The Education Committee on 27 June decided to recommend to the Aberystwyth District Education Committee that the school should be closed and that a report should be received from them on the matter at the next meeting. The Director was to consult the parents in the meantime. As the Aberystwyth District Committee on 8 July, 1968 decided that the school should be closed, the Education Committee on 25 July 1968 authorized the Director to take the necessary steps to effect closure and make arrangements to convey pupils from Goginan to Pen-llwyn. The Department of Education and Science approved the closure of the School under Section 13(4) of the Education Act 1944. Goginan C.P. School was, therefore, discontinued in 1968.

On 30 May, 1968, the Education Committee had received the resignation of the headteacher of Brongest C.P. School. This school, situated in the Llandysul district had only 14 pupils on roll, and, in view of this and the recommendations of the Gittins Report concerning the amalgamation of small schools, the Education Committee decided to refer the question of appointing a permanent headteacher to the school for the consideration of the Llandysul District Education Committee. The District Committee on 17 June 1968 decided not to make a specific recommendation regarding the future of the school.
pending a county policy on small schools in the light of the Gittins Report but recommended that a temporary headteacher be appointed. (180) On 25 July, 1968, the Education Committee, however, received a letter on behalf of parents in Brongest C.P. School requesting the Authority to move the children to a larger school. Committee decided to ask the Chairman of the Education Committee, the Chairman of the District Education Committee, the Local Member and the Director to meet the parents to make sure of the local feeling in this matter and to convene a Special Meeting in September to consider a report on that meeting. (181)

The Special Meeting called for 4 September, 1968, received a report on a meeting held at Brongest C.P. School on 14 August, 1968 when all the parents had agreed that the school should close since there was no prospect of an increase in the number of pupils in the foreseeable future. It had also been agreed that the school would have to remain open until the half-term holiday during the Christmas term. The parents had requested that the school building should be retained for youth and community uses by the locality. It had also been decided to hold another meeting with the parents at the beginning of the Christmas term to ascertain their wishes regarding the schools they wished their children to attend when the school closed. The Education Committee on receiving this report authorized the closure of the school. (182)

However, at the next meeting of the Committee on 31 October 1968, a letter was received from a public meeting held at Brongest on 29 October requesting that the school be kept open until July 1969, that is the end of the school year. The Education Committee decided to meet the wishes of the parents by delaying the closure of the School until July 1969. (183)

At a meeting of the Education Committee on 1 May, 1969, a letter
was read from the Department of Education and Science authorizing the closure of Brongest C.P. School under Section 13(4) of the Education Act 1944. (184) Between this time and the next meeting of the Education Committee on 31 July 1969, letters and a petition from the Brongest area were received deprecating the closure of the School. In view of this the Education Committee, on 31 July decided to postpone closure until Christmas 1969 and requested the Reorganisation Committee to review the position. At the same time, the Department of Education and Science was to be consulted regarding the legal aspect of the matter. (185)

The Reorganisation Committee considered the existing position regarding Brongest at two meetings held on 1 October, 1969 (186) and 30 October, 1969. (187) At the latter, a report was given on a letter from the Department of Education and Science indicating that retaining Brongest School after permission for closure had been granted was paramount to providing a new school, and, as such, it would be necessary for the Authority to upgrade it to comply with standards required of a new school. The Reorganisation Committee decided to recommend that the School be kept open for another 12 months but that the Department of Education and Science be requested to grant special dispensation in this case from bringing the school up to the required standard as it was felt that an expenditure of around £8,000 for up-grading the school building could not be justified. The Llandysul District Education Committee on 20 October, 1969 had also recommended that appropriate steps should be taken to keep the school open. (188) The Education Committee on 30 October, 1969 approved the recommendation of the Reorganisation Committee. (189)

When the closure of Brongest came up for discussion at the Education Committee on 30 July, 1970 the Development Committee had formulated proposals for school closures and Brongest was scheduled
for closure. While the Education Committee on 30 July accepted these proposals in principle, it decided in the case of Brongest that, in view of the petition received from parents of children attending the school, the officers were to take no action and that the Development Committee were asked "to reconsider the question of closure in the light of the position at other 2 teacher schools." (190) Since 1968, when the decisions to close the school had been made, the number on registers had increased from 14 to 18 and it thus qualified for two teachers. The future of the school, was therefore, to be determined along with other schools of similar size.

As stated above, the Education Committee on 27June 1968 referred the recommendations of the Gittins Report regarding the amalgamation of small schools to its Reorganisation Committee. On 8 October, 1968 the Director presented a memorandum in two sections for the consideration of the Reorganisation Committee. (191) Part A dealt with those small schools whose future the Authority should decide upon as a matter of urgency, while Part B dealt with the larger two-teacher schools which could be amalgamated and some schools which could be officially designated as Welsh-medium or English-medium Primary schools. The Director suggested the amalgamation of the following schools:

(a) Pennant (28); Cilcennin (26) and Cross Inn (Llannon) (20) on the Cross Inn site, thus establishing a four-teacher school of some 74 pupils.

(b) The transfer of pupils from Eglwys-fach to Llangynfelyn thus creating a three-teacher school of some 56 pupils.

(c) Trefeurig pupils (13) to be absorbed at the new School at Penrhyn-coch (46) which would then continue to be a three-teacher school with about 59 pupils on roll.

(d) Mynach, already an area school since the closure of Cwmystwyth and Trisant but with only 17 pupils on register, could be amalgamated either with Ponterwyd (25) or Ysbyty Ystwyth (28) to produce a school, in either
In Part B of his memorandum, the Director gave examples of possible amalgamations of schools which were or had been on the borderline as well as schools of under 30 pupils. He suggested the following possible amalgamations:

- Betws Bledrws + Silian + Llangybi (new school in Betws area)
- Aberarth + Aberaeron
- Caerwedros + Llanllwchaearn + Gwenlli
- Ciliau Parc + Dihewyd + Cilcennin
- Brynherbert + Mefenydd
- Cofadail + Llangwyryfon
- Llanwenog + Cwrtnewydd
- Llandygwydd + Llechryd
- Pontgarreg + Penmorfa.

Finally the Director suggested how some primary schools could be designated according to the main language of instruction:

- Rhydypennau (Welsh) Borth (English)
- Glynarthen or Beulah or Coed-y-bryn (Welsh) Rhydlewis (English) or Beulah (Welsh) Aber-porth (English)
- Llanllwchaearn or Lliannarth (Welsh) and New Quay (English)

The Reorganisation Committee decided that the proposals contained in Section A of the memorandum be considered without
prejudice and that the Director be asked to make further enquiries and provide a fuller report on the whole position. With regard to the amalgamation of larger units as proposed in Section B, the Director was asked to consult with the County Planning Department and local members and produce a fuller report in due course. This would then form the basis of a new Primary School Development plan. This course of action was confirmed by the Education Committee on 31 October, 1968. (192)

On 17 April, 1969, a second memorandum on the 'Reorganisation of Small Schools' was presented to the Reorganisation Committee this time concentrating attention on the small schools only as the Education Committee had suggested. (193) The Director prefaced his recommendations by pointing out the reasons why the future of small schools should be seriously considered. The four reasons given were:

1. **Educational efficiency**: The Director doubted whether a school of under 45 pupils and 3 teachers could give children the attention they required, and it could not provide the range of activities of a larger school.

2. **Language policy**: This was said to be linked with (1). Group organisation for language work in a mixed-linguistic situation was more feasible in a three-teacher school than in one- or two-teacher schools. Even the designation of school on a linguistic basis could be desirable in some cases.

3. **Economy**: The smaller schools were more expensive per capita than the larger ones.

4. **Deployment of staff**: Amalgamation of schools would enable the Authority to deploy the surplus staff in schools where they were most needed.

The Director recommended the amalgamation of the following schools of under 20 pupils in the first instance:

Penrhyn-coch (45) to absorb Trefeurig (13)
Bronnant (31) to absorb Lledrod (14) and Tanygarreg (19)
Llanfair (23) to absorb Cellan (13)
Pontrhydfendigaid (35) to absorb Swyddffynnon (17)
Llangeitho (55) to absorb Garthell (19) and Bwlch-llan (10)
Mynach pupils (17) to be transferred to Ysbyty Ystwyth (31)
A new school in the Betws Bledrws area for pupils from
Llangybi (29), Betws Bledrws (29) and Silian (19).

If the above recommendations were implemented, 19 teachers
would replace the existing 27.

The Reorganisation Committee gave careful consideration to the
Director's memorandum and decided to make the following
recommendations to the Education Committee:

(i) that at the opportune time every one-teacher school
in the county that is, every school with 16 children
or under, should be closed on the following grounds:
   (a) educational efficiency;
   (b) better implementation of the language policy;
   (c) economy;
   (d) better deployment of teaching staff;
   (e) reduction in maintenance cost of buildings.

(ii) that before any action was taken, a complete study of
the area concerned be undertaken.

(iii) that Trefeurig School be closed to coincide with the
Headteacher's retirement in 1970 and the pupils
transferred to the new school at Penrhyn-coch.

The recommendations of the Reorganisation Committee were approved by
the Education Committee on 1 May, 1969. (194)

The Reorganisation Committee on 1 October 1969 received a
letter from the Cardiganshire Association of the National Union of
Teachers urging the Authority to formulate a clear policy for
establishing area schools in the County on the lines envisaged in the
Gittins Report. (195) It was decided to ask the officers to consult with
the teachers' unions and H.M. Inspector and present a full report on
a future development plan for the County in respect of primary
education. This resolution was approved by the Education Committee
on 30 October, 1969. (196)
On 10 December, 1969 the Department of Education issued a circular on Reorganisation of Primary Education in Rural Wales (Wales Circular 3/69) which gave the Secretary of State's view on the recommendations of the Gittins Report on the reorganisation of Primary Schools in the rural areas. The Circular pointed out that the quality of small schools varied enormously, and the difficulties arose from their small size and their language mixture. They were also expensive to maintain. The Report had suggested an optimum size of a school of 100 to 150 pupils and a minimum desirable size of 50 to 60 pupils. To achieve this there should be a long-term plan of rural reorganisation into "Area Schools" so located and designed to preserve the sense of community. They should be purpose-built to cater for a variety of teaching resources; they should serve similar communities, have similar linguistic backgrounds and offer better facilities than their forerunners. Conveyance of pupils should not take more than 45 minutes (30 minutes for pupils under 5). Teachers might serve a group of schools to provide specialist instruction and the interest of displaced teachers had to be safeguarded. The old schools should be used for community purposes and the new ones could be linked to community welfare services. Authorities should draw up a long-term plan for such reorganisation to which building programmes and appointments should be related. Teachers and parents should be consulted and closure procedure under Section 13 would still have to be observed. Resources would be included in the Starts Programme for 1971/72 for a limited number of projects to replace unsatisfactory primary buildings with priority for those that were part of a rural reorganisation scheme.

On 26 January, 1970 a meeting was held at the Education Office, Aberystwyth with the representatives of the teachers' unions and the
local H.M. Inspector of Schools, Mr. Ricey Thomas, as recommended by the Reorganisation Committee on 1 October, 1969. The meeting gave careful consideration to the recommendation of the Gittins Report on the amalgamation of rural schools and also to a memorandum prepared by the Director containing a summary of Wales Circular 3/69 and suggestions as to how its provisions could be applied in Cardiganshire. The Director recommended that the smaller schools should be considered in the first instance and suggested the following possible amalgamations:

(i) Trefeurig to Penrhyn-coch - no building required;
(ii) Eglwys-fach to Llangynfelyn - new classroom required;
(iii) Mynach to Ysbyty Ystwyth - add a classroom
(iv) Lampeter District Education Committee had suggested an area school in the Betws/Llangybi district to replace: Cellan (11), Llangybi (36), Betws Bledrws (24) Llanfair (21) and Silian (17) thus creating a new area school of some 109 pupils.
(v) Lledrod together with Tanygarreg to Bronnant - remodel to provide new classroom.
(vi) Bwlch-llan and Garthelli to Llangeitho - new classroom;
(vii) Swyddffynnon to Pontrhydfendigaid - no building required.

The teachers present represented three Unions: the N.U.T., the N.A.S. and U.C.A.C. (Union of Teachers in Wales). The N.U.T. representatives declared that a system of area schools was their stated policy with a three-teacher school as a minimum size. Transfer should be to a rural school and not to a town school, and the status of teachers had to be safeguarded. The N.A.S. agreed with the policy but would prefer a larger minimum size. Staffing ratios should still be generous in area schools. U.C.A.C., on the other hand, disagreed with larger schools which they thought represented a danger to Welsh. They preferred smaller units of 60 or even 40 staffed as generously as possible.
The Development Committee on 3rd June considered a comprehensive report on Primary Education in Rural Wales prepared by H.M. Inspector Ricey Thomas and officers of the Authority. The report presented the case for reorganizing primary education in Cardiganshire; it was necessary because local circumstances had changed and was still changing. The number of pupils in primary schools had dropped from 10,468 in 1904 to 5,265 in 1970, yet only 17 schools had been discontinued in the meantime with the result that the average enrolment of 87 per school in 1904 had dropped by 31 per cent to 59 by 1970. Only Radnorshire had a lower average number of pupils per school (54 per cent) than Cardiganshire in the whole of Wales. Cardiganshire had the most generous pupil-teacher ratio in Wales with one teacher for every 18.7 pupils in January 1969 and only in Radnorshire was the cost of educating a primary school child higher than in Cardiganshire. During the year 1964-5 the cost per child in Cardiganshire had been £96 to Radnorshire's £104.

Another change had been the need to broaden the primary curriculum. The smaller school, with some notable exceptions, had found this difficult due to lack of resources in the form of teacher expertise and general facilities. Also many activities could not be organised due to small numbers of pupils of similar age.

There had also been changes in the linguistic pattern of the rural school as the Language Survey 1967 had indicated. The introduction and development of two second language imposed a strain on the time and energy of a teacher in a small school, but this situation could be more readily dealt with in a larger school.

There was also a need to make special provision for the slow learners on a larger scale than Cardiganshire could do at the time. With reorganisation more teachers would come available to attend to the needs of these pupils.
The maintenance of such a large stock of school buildings was a great drain on the financial resources of the county, while money was desperately needed to improve the resources for learning and teaching within the schools. Although a great deal had been accomplished by the Architect's department to improve the quality of the school buildings, 41 out of 90 primary schools could still be classed as poor. Thus many pupils and teachers had to contend with sub-standard buildings and it was difficult to see how progress in re-housing children could be much accelerated without reorganisation.

There was also a need to facilitate in-service training for teachers to cope with the needs of a new-type of curriculum for junior pupils. Reorganisation could lead to some teachers becoming 'advisory teachers' as envisaged in the Gittins Report.

Finally the report claimed that reorganisation would further the confidence and morale of teachers serving in small schools. Those in one-teacher schools found their work very demanding and there was a feeling of insecurity amongst those in two-teacher schools as their enrolments declined.

In preparing a scheme of reorganisation the aim had been to achieve schools of a minimum size to justify the employment of three teachers. The following factors had been taken into account in the suggested scheme:

1. Minimum enrolment of 50 pupils;
2. Future schools to be located near good roads;
3. Preservation of linguistic, social and other factors demanding compatibility of amalgamated areas;
4. Preservation and whenever possible strengthening of local communities by provision of better education and facilities for community activities;
5. Travelling from home to school not to exceed 30 minutes;
PROPOSED AMALGAMATION OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS (1970)

- Schools to be retained
- Pupils to be transferred to
- Schools underlined
6. Maximum use to be made of existing school buildings wherever these were of significant value and well sited.

The scheme proposed a reduction in the number of schools as a result of amalgamation from 90 to 55. The map indicates the schools which would be retained as Area Schools and those which would be discontinued. The average number of pupils per school would be increased from 59 to 96 while the number of pupils per teacher would increase from 18.5 to 20. The existing system required 261 teachers and there were 22.5 additional teachers on staff (8 in schools where there were non-teaching heads; 7.5 language specialists; 2 remedial teachers and 1 teacher of drama). The reorganised system would require only 221 teachers and the report recommended a bonus of 44 teachers in the primary sector to enable 9 headteachers to be free of class duties, to provide 12 language specialists, 13 remedial teachers, 9 advisory teachers and retaining the drama teacher. Even with these additions, the teaching establishment in the primary sector would be reduced from 283.5 to 265 thus enabling the Authority to improve the pupils to teacher ratio in the secondary sector which at the time was high at 18.5.

The total cost of implementing the scheme would be around £328,000, but it was pointed out that reorganisation had to be phased and policy implemented as money became available. Thus schools were scheduled for reorganisation either under Phase 1 or Subsequent Schemes.

The Report, first presented to the Development Committee on 3rd June, 1970, was further discussed at a meeting held on 30 June when it was decided to recommend to the Education Committee that the schools proposed for organization should be considered under two groups, as follows:
Group 1: Trefeurlig, Eglwys-fach, Brynherbert, Mynach, Bwlch-llan and Gartheli, Betws Bledrws, Llangybi and Silian.

The closure of Brongest, already decided, to be implemented.

Group 2: Tanygarreg and Lledrod; Cofadail, Swyddffynnon; Ferwig; Trefilan; Pennant; Cilcennin and Pen-uwch.

These recommendations were accepted in principle by the Education Committee on 30 July 1970 by a very slender majority. (200)

Further suggestions on the proposed reorganisation were made at a meeting of the Development Committee on 22 September, 1970. Parents and teachers, it was recommended, should be consulted on the proposed reorganisation and no schools should be deprived of equipment and materials because of the possibility of closure. The following measures were to be recommended to parents:

1. that Betws and Silian should be closed and the children to be transferred to a proposed new area school which would be probably sited at Llangybi.

2. that the pupils at Cellan be transferred to Llanfair as a temporary measure pending the establishment of a new area school. The parents were to be asked, however, whether they would prefer their children to proceed to a new area school in the vicinity of Llangybi or to Llanddewi Brefi.

3. that Mynach School be closed and the children transferred to Ponterwyd or Ysbyty Ystwyth whichever was the nearest.

4. that the children of Eglwys-fach be transferred to Llangynfelyn.

5. that Brynherbert children be transferred to Mefenydd V.P. (Llanrhystud).

6. that Bwlch-llan children be transferred to Pen-uwch.

7. that the closure of Gartheli be considered at a later date when the reorganisation of primary education in
Even before these recommendations by the Development Committee were presented to the Education Committee on 22 October 1970, there were indications already that the proposals for the amalgamation of schools would receive stiff resistance from within and outside the Council chamber although the Education Committee had accepted a scheme of primary reorganisation in principle at its previous meeting on 30 July. As already told, the Authority had run into difficulties over the closure of Brongest C.P. which had been sanctioned by the Department of Education, and at its meeting on 30 July, the Education Committee had precluded its officers from taking any action concerning the closure of this school and requested the Development Committee to reconsider the situation.

In its issue of 14 August 1970, the Cambrian News carried a report of a meeting held on the National Eisteddfod field at Ammanford the previous week when, it was stated, "a watchdog organisation was formed to protect the interests of the children, the parents and the inhabitants of the villages where primary schools are threatened with extinction". A co-opted member of the Cardiganshire Education Committee, Miss Cassie Davies, Tregaron, an H.M. Inspector of Schools for 20 years, was reported to have contributed to the discussion at the meeting and was quoted as having said that it would be wise for the Cardiganshire Committee to consult immediately with the parents and people involved in their proposals to close 17 schools. "It boils down to the officials taking the people into their confidence" she had said. "They must realize that a stand must be made for the preservation of the character and values of small rural groups." Mr. (now Lord) Elystan Morgan, Cardiganshire's Member of Parliament at the time, had told the Cambrian News that he was totally opposed to closure of small schools, he had grave suspicion
that the Association formed on the Eisteddfod field could be used for political exploitation since the steering committee had been drawn from one political party. He preferred that opposition be organised on a local basis, and he intended to consult parents and teachers' representatives in Cardiganshire to decide the basis of a local campaign against the proposed closure of 17 rural schools. "I believe that when the full strength of local opinion is appreciated, the County Education Committee will be willing to reverse its earlier decision", he had added. The Member of Parliament subsequently campaigned against the proposed closures.

The *Cambrian News* also made 'School Closures' the subject of its Editorial that week. It praised the officers in Cardiganshire for stating what changes should be made throughout the area rather than having 'a tedious series of repetitive arguments on individual schools going on for years'. The planners wanted to streamline the primary system not only in the interests of economy and efficiency but also in order to modernise the provision that was so lacking in the existing outdated village schools. But as traditions die hard in Cardiganshire, there would be resistance to change and the village school was such a focal and integral part of community life. There was also a widespread belief amongst country people that the education children received in a homely atmosphere in a village school was superior to that they would receive in a larger school some distance away. "What must be borne in mind in the welter of discussions and debates that will take place over the scheme in the next year or so," the Editorial concluded, "is not so much what is more economical or efficient from the administration point of view, but what is best for the welfare and education of the pupil. They are the end product of any scheme. And the answer to this may very well vary according to the differing conditions in each area."
The Cambrian News had analysed the problem very fairly, and, as it had foreseen, the debate followed. During the ensuing weeks, petitions were received from several of the areas involved in the reorganisation and signed by a large number of the local inhabitants who were opposed to the closure of their local school.

The recommendations of the Development Committee on school closures made at its meeting on 29 September 1970 were submitted to the Education Committee on 29 October, but since two Notices of Motion on the same subject had been received in the meantime, Committee decided not to confirm the recommendations at that stage. (202)

The first Notice of Motion, submitted by Miss Cassie Davies, read:

"That the matter of closing a number of rural schools in Cardiganshire be reconsidered by the Education Committee on 28 January, 1971."

The other Notice of Motion, signed by nine County Councillors and Miss Cassie Davies, Co-opted Member of the Education Committee was as follows:

"That this Committee rescinds the resolution relating to the closure of primary schools in Cardiganshire, passed at its previous Quarterly Meeting on the 30 July 1970, expresses its disapproval of any plan involving general closures of our primary schools, and affirms its determination that each case of proposed closure should be carefully scrutinised on its merits and that the fullest consideration should be given to both educational and the social consequences likely to result therefrom."

Signed by Councillors D.C. Morgan, T.I. Lloyd, G.W. Howells, James Morgan, J.E. Raw Rees, Vernon Jones, J.D. Herbert, John Jones, Mrs. Marie James, Miss Cassie Davies.

The Education Committee decided to refer the first Notice of Motion to the next Education Committee in January and the second to a Special Education Committee to be called as soon as possible and
this would also consider the recommendation made by the Development Committee on 22 September, 1970.

The Special Education Committee was convened on 25 November 1970. Before the Notices of Motion were considered, a member enquired whether a Co-opted Member entitled to move a Notice of Motion or act as one of the 10 signatories required under Standing Order 12. The meeting was adjourned to seek the Clerk's opinion in the matter, and, when the meeting was resumed, members were informed that, in the Clerk's opinion, it was contrary to Standing Orders for a Co-opted Member to move a Notice of Motion or to be a signatory to one. The meeting was, therefore, adjourned so that the Chairman and officers could look further into the matter. (203)

On 12 November, 1970 the Development Committee had considered a letter from the Department of Education and Science approving the closure of Trefeurig C.P. School. It was resolved to authorize the Director to carry out the decision of the Education Committee and close the school at the end of the Christmas term. (204) However, the following Notice of Motion presented to the County Council was referred to the Education Committee:

"That Trefeurig C.P. School should remain open as a School upon such basis as is decided by the Committee in accordance with the provisions of Statute".

A Special Education Committee on 6 January 1971 decided "to authorise the Director to keep Trefeurig School open until 31 August, 1971, and that its future be reconsidered at the Special Meeting of the Education Committee to be called to consider the future of very small rural schools." (205)

The Special Meeting was convened on 3 February 1971 and gave consideration to the Notice of Motion signed by 31 members who
wished Committee to rescind its previous resolution regarding school closures and also to the future of very small schools which had also been referred for discussions at this meeting. After a lively and lengthy discussion it was resolved "to refer the matter back to the Development Committee using the two-teacher school as a basis for reorganisation of primary education. The Development Committee to be furnished with detailed reports on buildings, location, future population trends, etc. appertaining to each individual school under consideration for closure". (206)

Committee on the same day also considered a recommendation of the Estates Committee on 13 January 1971 to the effect that a new area school should be built at Llangybi as top priority to replace the three schools, Llangybi, Betws Bledrws and Sillian, accommodation to be provided for 80 pupils. (207) It was stated that this project should be submitted for the 1973/74 Building Programme in view of the poor state of the existing buildings. The quarterly meeting of the Education Committee on 29 April, 1971 endorsed this recommendation. (208)

The Development Committee on 29 April 1970 gave priority to secondary reorganization in the Aberystwyth district and had to postpone its discussion of a possible initial primary reorganisation based on the two-teacher school until a later meeting. The next meeting of the Development Committee on 21 September, 1971 considered the Director's suggestions regarding the following schools: Cellan, Bwlch-llan, Mynach, Lledrod, Trefeurig, Brongest and Betws Bledrws made in the light of projected numbers, quality of the existing buildings and proposals for housing development. It was noted that of these schools, Mynach alone was situated in a district classified as a major village by the Planning Committee.

The Development Committee decided to defer the closure of
Eglwys-fach for six months and Trefeurig and Brongest for one year, while the future of Lledrod and Tanygarreg was to be considered further after another report had been submitted. The merger of Bwlch-llan (7 pupils) with Pen-uwch (23) was recommended and the Director was requested to meet the parents to explain the situation. Since it had been reported that a school of 100 pupils would be required at Llangybi in order to qualify for an allocation from the Department of Education and Science under the Major Capital Programme, it was recommended that Llanfair and Cellan would be included in the Llangybi area school project. The Education Committee approved these recommendations at its meeting on 28 October, 1971.

The Development Committee on 24 November 1971 received a report on the meeting held at Bwlch-llan C.P. School to discuss the proposed closure of the School with the parents. Although there were only seven pupils on roll, the parents desired the School to remain open especially since there was a prospect of an increase to 12 in the near future. But should closure take place, the parents would want their children to attend Pen-uwch C.P. School. The Development Committee decided to adhere to its present policy and merge Bwlch-llan with Pen-uwch. Meetings with parents at Lledrod, Tanygarreg, Cellan and Llanfair were to be arranged shortly; the Director had already met parents at Llangybi, Betws Bledrws and Julian in October 1970. The Education Committee on 27 January 1972 approved these recommendations except in the case of Bwlch-llan; it was decided to defer consideration of closure until a public meeting had been held at the School.

During 1972, the Development Committee devoted its whole time to such matters as the County Language Policy, the reorganisation of secondary education in the Aberystwyth district and nursery education. A public meeting, however, was held at Bwlch-llan on
3rd July, 1972, and this was followed by a petition from the parents who strongly opposed the closure of the school. The Education Committee on 26 October, 1972 decided to defer the closure of the school pending local government reorganisation. (214)

This was Cardiganshire Education Committee's last word on the closure of small rural Schools, except for the reorganisation of the five schools in the Lampeter area, which proceeded. The other small schools survived including Brongest and Trefeurig which were officially closed simply because the people would not see them disappear. Parents were not convinced by the arguments of the educationists, and in no sphere of their responsibilities are County Councillors more sensitive to public opinion than in the matter of school closures.

As already told there was urgency in providing an area school in the vicinity of Llangybi in view of the existing condition of Silian C.P. School. The Lampeter District Education had recommended that not only the Schools at Llangybi, Silian and Betws Bledrws should feature in this reorganisation, but that the schools at Cellan and Llanfair, some distance away, should also be incorporated in the project. The amalgamation of these five small schools became necessary in order to produce a scheme of reorganisation expensive enough to qualify for an allocation under the Major Capital Programme.

Suitable land for building the area school was available at Llangybi, and, after initial difficulties over its purchase, (215) an agreement was reached in July 1972 when the plot was acquired for the sum of £2,300 with the Authority also defraying the legal costs of the Vendors. The first sketch plans were prepared in 1971 and submitted to the Department of Education and Science for approval. (216) During the ensuing discussions of the plans, the Department showed a willingness to allow its own personnel to co-operate with the officers of the Authority in designing the new area school subject to
the L.E.A. presenting a request on the matter to the Department. Such a request was duly presented as the officers of the Authority viewed with excitement the opportunity of working on this project with a team of specialists from the Department of Education and Science.

Section 13 Notices publishing the Authority's intention of closing the five schools and providing a new area school at Llangybi were issued late in 1972, the closing date to receive objections to the proposals being 15 December. Although the Department received objections over the closure of Silian Voluntary Provided School, it approved the scheme as a whole early in January 1973, and, at the same time indicated that the new Llangybi School had been included on its Starts List 1973/74. The cost of the project was then estimated at £42,683 net, £48,018 gross, but these figures were later amended as a result of providing accommodation for 120 pupils instead of for 100 as originally planned and also as a result of including new features in the scheme at the planning stage.

When the Department of Education and Science approved the Authority's scheme of organisation early in January 1973, it also gave approval to the Authority's request for members of the Architects and Building Branch to co-operate with L.E.A. officers in the designing of the new area school. A meeting of an exploratory nature had already taken place between a team of L.E.A. officers and that of the Department including the Welsh Office prior to the consent being given; this had been arranged for 16 November, 1972 and the venue was Carmarthen. The purpose of this meeting was to define the role of both teams in respect of the project and consider ways and means of involving local teachers, governors and parents in the scheme. The Architects and Building Branch would act as consultants to the Authority but not as their agents; Mr. David Medd would be the
architect concerned and Mr. G. Battersby would be their cost surveyor. H.M. Inspectors would also be involved in the exercise.(218)

The Local Authority's team comprised the Director, the Assistant Director of Education, the County Architect and an Assistant Architect. The L.E.A. would be responsible for producing a brief for the consideration of the Architects who would incorporate as many of the recommended features as possible in the design within cost limits. It was agreed at this initial meeting that there should be a record of the exercise on film which would contrast the existing provision in the five small schools with the superior facilities provided in the area school. The Authority was to consider the advisability of forming a working party of teachers and/or holding a conference in which they might be involved. The suggestion was also made that some Cardiganshire teachers might visit schools in Oxfordshire where there were examples of well-designed rural schools often with community provision.

The second meeting of the design team was held in the Welsh Office in Cardiff on 13 March 1973. By this time the Section 13 proposals of the Authority had been approved by the Secretary of State and the objections to the closure of Silian Voluntary Controlled School had been overruled. The inclusion of Silian in the scheme had made it necessary for the Authority to reconsider the size of the new school; initially a school for 100 pupils had been programmed, but with the inclusion of Silian a school for 120 pupils was felt to be justified.(219) The 120 places would be for 100 pupils in the age range 5-11 and 20 for the under-fives. The Department of Education and Science had approved this change.

By this time the Authority had prepared its brief for the Architects. Accommodation for five groups of children would be required namely one group of nursery pupils, two groups of infants
ages 5 to 8 and two groups of juniors ages 8 to 11+. Home bases would thus have to be provided for four main groups in addition to the nursery group, but there should also be provision for smaller group work. This indicated a school of five teachers, but the Authority felt that it was essential to provide a sixth member of staff who should specialise in language teaching. Although the pupils would be drawn from the rural areas, many of them were from English speaking homes, and, as the Gittins Report had pointed out, the area school should be able to deal more effectively with language problems than the smaller schools it replaced. Thus, included in the brief, was the provision of a language room which would be an enclosed area where the language specialist could teach a group of children with the aid of audio-visual equipment.

A larger area was to be provided for group activities like physical education, dancing, music and drama. This school hall could also be used for dining purposes.

Community provision was regarded as an essential feature of an area school and a large area near the kitchen for evening activities was desirable for this purpose. It was also suggested that a smaller area for the use of local doctors might also be considered.

On 4 and 5 April, 1973, the Assistant Director of Education accompanied a party of nine teachers and the Assistant Architect, Mr. Leonard Evans, who would be in charge of the project locally, visited schools in the vicinity of Oxford. These schools were Chalgrove C.P. School, Lewknor C.E. School, Ducklington C.E. School, all in Oxfordshire, and Finmere C.E. School in Buckingham. Each school had its particular interest for example, Chalgrove had its Community Centre and its programme of Further Education and Leisure Activities was impressive; the main point of interest in Lewknor was its school organisation on an open plan-system, while Finmere, a
rural area school, illustrated good points in design and school organisation. Some of the teachers who visited these schools would be serving in the new area school at Llangybi while the others were due to have new schools in the near future. The visit proved to be of direct value to all members of the party.

By the next meeting of the design team in the Welsh Education Office, Cardiff on 10 May, 1973, Mr. David Medd had prepared a plan of the proposed school and displayed a site plan with models of the pitched-roofed building set on it. The school would consist of a nursery, infant area and a junior area with hall and kitchen. The staff sitting-room would be large enough for dual use and seating could be provided for twenty five adults. The Architect was able to provide a language room as requested by the Authority.

On 20 June a conference was held at the Theatre, Felin-fach when various aspects of the Llangybi project was discussed. Officers from the Department and the Welsh Office as well as officers of the L.E.A. and a large number of headteachers and assistant teachers attended. Mr. David Medd led discussions on the following topics: School Design and Furniture, the proposed plan of the Llangybi Area School and Furnishing the new School while Mr. W.J. Phillips, the Director of Education, dealt with the topic 'Llangybi Area School: The brief submitted by Cardiganshire L.E.A.' Mr. Medd had miniature furniture on the same scale as the plans and the teachers undertook an exercise of arranging these items of furniture in the most effective manner within the teaching spaces provided. During the discussion periods, points were raised with the Architects, and some of these suggestions were incorporated in the final design.

The new school building which became known as Ysgol y Dderi because of its nearness to Derry Ormond Mansion and the famous tower 'Tŵr y Dderi', is well documented. In 1976, the year when
the school was officially opened by the Right Honourable John Morris, the Secretary of State for Wales at the time, the Welsh Office produced the booklet *Ysgol y Dderi: An Area School in Dyfed.* (220)

That publication gives details of the five schools that were amalgamated, and precise description of the new school, its furniture, its colour schemes together with cost description and analysis. Those matters are, therefore, not discussed in this work; the facts provided here are those not previously recorded. Various articles on the new School have also appeared, (221) and, during 1975, a documentary film was sponsored by the Central Office of Information.

This thirty-minute film, produced bilingually, records the provision in the five small schools prior to the reorganisation and the reaction of their headteachers and the parents to the change. Mr. W.J. Phillips, by then one of the two Deputy Directors of Education for Dyfed, also appears on the film to give background information on the reorganisation and to comment on the provision at the new area School. By this time also, Mr. T. Davies-Jones had been appointed headteacher of the school and he describes on this film in the new setting how the area school would be organised. Like the school itself, this film had been broadly planned by the design team.

The completion of the building at the end of 1975, marked the culmination of a joint effort in producing a new school whose very design illustrated a specific educational philosophy and suggested practices that were necessary for its teachers to adopt if full use was to be made of the facilities provided. The structure itself had been designed around furniture and this dictated a method of class organisation very much in line with current thinking. Ysgol y Dderi was not only the first school to be built purposely as an area school in Cardiganshire, but was also the first development programme to be undertaken in Wales by the Welsh Education Office and the Architects and Building Branch of the Department of Education and
Science in co-operation with a local education authority. The exercise proved interesting, instructive and, indeed, exciting from the point of view of the local officers, and it is deeply regrettable that, due to financial constraints, the officers who participated locally in the project had no subsequent opportunity to use this knowledge and experience in planning additional area schools in Cardiganshire. Ysgol y Dderi remains to this day the only school in Ceredigion specifically designed to serve fully as an area school.

Thus, when the Cardiganshire L.E.A. handed over its powers to Dyfed in 1974, it also handed over the problem of its small schools unsolved. Nevertheless, it had indicated by establishing Ysgol y Dderi how the problem should be approached. The years following the takeover of authority in educational matters have been ones of severe financial difficulties for Dyfed, and its capital building programme has been drastically curtailed. In view of this, Dyfed has been forced to adopt old-fashioned methods of dealing with its very small schools, namely closing the smallest ones and transferring their pupils to the nearest two- or three-teacher schools without providing improved facilities at the receiving schools.

Dyfed, like Cardiganshire, has had to face much opposition to its policy of school closure and, as a result, only a few schools have been actually discontinued during the first ten years of its existence as a local education authority. Three of these have been in Ceredigion, namely Tanygarreg, Aber-arth and Eglwys-fach, the last two being closed without opposition. If money had been available to provide area schools on the Ysgol y Dderi model to replace the ones being discontinued, no doubt a closure policy would prove more acceptable to parents.

Two other points must be mentioned in connection with Ysgol y Dderi, namely its contribution as an area school to solve language
difficulties in the district it serves and also its importance as a community centre. As already told in another chapter, the position of Welsh in the rural schools had deteriorated considerably by the seventies due to the movement of English-speaking families into country districts. The following table indicates the number of Welsh and English-speakers in 1973 in the five small schools which were amalgamated to form Ysgol y Dderi in 1976:

Table 5.5 Number of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils in 1983 in the five schools amalgamated to form Ysgol y Dderi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Welsh-speaking</th>
<th>English-speaking</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Welsh-speaking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Betws Bledrws</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cellan</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llanfair</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llangybi</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silian</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>95</strong></td>
<td><strong>51.6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The task of implementing the Authority's language policy had become quite formidable in these small schools by 1973; Cellan, by then, was a one-teacher school, and in Llanfair and Llangybi, the English speaking pupils were in a majority. The situation was soon to deteriorate, for example in Ysgol y Dderi in 1979, there were the following proportions of Welsh- and English-speakers in the classes:
Table 5.6 Number of Welsh- and English-speaking pupils at Ysgol y Dderi in 1979

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Welsh speaking</th>
<th>English-speaking</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>&amp; Welsh speaking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nursery</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the 51.6 per cent Welsh-speaking population of the separate five schools in 1973 had dropped to 31.4 per cent in the area school six years later. The school population had increased by 33.6 per cent over the same period and the English speakers had increased by 47.1 per cent. Had the five individual schools been required to cope with this situation in 1979, it would have almost been an intolerable strain on their teacher resources. Yet, this was precisely the task imposed upon the majority of the small schools as the migration into the rural areas continued during the seventies.

Ysgol y Dderi, however, was in a better position to meet this changing situation than the small schools it supplanted. Welsh as a second language could be introduced early in the child's life at the nursery stage and a sound basis for further language development could be laid down at this stage. At the infant stage, pupils could be grouped on a linguistic basis during certain times of the day, especially in the afternoons for activities conducted through the medium of Welsh and this practice could also be continued at the junior level. Work of a high standard has been achieved by this school in both Welsh and English and it probably comes nearer to attaining the Authority's aim of bilingualism by the age of eleven.
than the vast majority of the primary schools within Dyfed. This is not entirely due to the way the School is organised but also due to the fact that a Welsh ethos has been preserved since the day it was established. It was only natural that an area school with community provision should forge strong links with parents. 'Cymdeithas Cyfeillion Ysgol y Dderi' (Friends of Ysgol y Dderi Association) was soon established and regular activities were organised. Parents with special skills have also been welcomed to participate in the activities of the school, but, it has been found over the years that, on the whole, the English-speaking parents have been more ready to do so than the Welsh-speaking ones. The school has also attempted to serve as a focal point for community life at a time of change in the rural areas. Aelwyd yr Urdd, a junior and senior section, was established at the school and both have thrived. Also evening programmes, including Keep Fit classes, needlecraft, a drama club, a Bible discussion group and a Welsh Book discussion Group were organised by the Headteacher who also acts as Warden in respect of the evening activities. Organisations like 'Merched y Wawr y Dderi' also make use of the school for their meetings. No use, however, has been made to date of the provision for a health clinic or the facilities intended to be used by the social services.

Although Ysgol y Dderi has not yet reached its full potential as an area school - and it has to be realized that it has been hampered in achieving its full aims by financial constraints - it is a model rural school which draws visitors from far and wide to inspect its building and school organisation. It remains a fitting tribute to Cardiganshire Education Committee's concern about education in the rural areas.
NOTES:

M.B. in the following notes refers to the printed Minute Book of the quarterly meeting of the Education Committee specified.


3. *General Report of H.M. Inspectors on Education in the County of Cardigan for the period ended July 31st, 1913*, Board of Education, (Welsh Department) 1914, pp. 5-6, and *General Report of H.M. Inspectors on Elementary Education in the Administrative County of Cardigan* for the period ending on 31 December, 1936, Board of Education (Welsh Department) 1937, p.5

There will be referred to subsequently as *General Report 1913* and *General Report 1936* respectively.


8. A summary of the attendance at each school was presented annually to the spring quarterly meeting of the Education Committee and printed in the Minute Book up to the period ending 31 March, 1946. Records of school attendance after 1954 exist on typed sheets in the Education Office, Aberystwyth.


16. The school building, which had been converted for use as a dwelling, has now been dismantled and re-erected in its form as a school at the Welsh Folk Museum, St. Fagans.

17. M.B., 26 April, 1934, p. 4851.


20. Ibid, 28 April, 1932, p. 4264.

21. Ibid, 18 September, 1935, pp. 5469 and 5514


23. Ibid, p. 5754


27. Ibid, p. 6160.


33. General Report 1913, p. 11.


37. This Scheme, printed by the "Welsh Gazette", Aberystwyth is 27 pages in length. It was approved by the County Education Committee on 26 July 1928.

38. Scheme, p. 4.

39. The Elementary Education Act 1900 had empowered an l.e.a. to compel attendance, subject to numerous exemptions, up to the age of 14. The Education Act 1918 abolished all exemptions in respect of pupils under 14 years of age.

40. M.B., 29 April, 1920, p. 325.

41. Lampeter had not been provided with an Intermediate School, the one for the area having been allocated to Tregaron. Pupils in the Lampeter district had, therefore, to travel to Tregaron, Aberaeron or Llandysul for secondary education. The boys of the district, however, could attend St. David's College School,
Lampeter, but girls could not be admitted. In 1920, the Governors of College School were considering opening their school for girls to attend, and, in consequence, Cardiganshire Education Committee conducted an enquiry in Lampeter to ascertain the needs of the town in respect of secondary education for girls amongst the townpeople, but there was strong opposition from the governors of Aberaeron, Llandysul and Tregaron to any change in the existing provision due to the fear that their schools would suffer financially if girls from the Lampeter district were withdrawn. The Education Committee did not, therefore, support the proposal put forward by the governors of St. David's College School. Lampeter did not have its own secondary school until the Authority implemented its development plan in consequence to the Education Act 1944. See M.B., 29 January 1920, p. 244, Ibid, 29 April, 1920, p. 324 and Ibid, 29 July 1920, pp. 336-49.

42. (i) The New Prospect in Education, Board of Education Pamphlet No. 60, H.M.S.O., 1928.
(ii) Education in Rural Wales, H.M.S.O. 1930. The Departmental Committee which produced the report had the following terms of reference: "To enquire into the public system of education in Wales and Monmouthshire in relation to the needs of rural areas, and to advise how these needs may best be met having regards to the requirements:— (i) of a general Education; (ii) of rural industries, business and professions; (iii) of life in a rural community". It is interesting to note that the assessor of the Report on behalf of the University of Wales was a former Director of Education for Cardiganshire, Mr. (later Dr.) Jenkin James, under whose guidance a scheme of elementary school reorganisation had been drawn up in Cardiganshire in 1919.

43. M.B., 24 October, 1929 pp. 3230 and 3242.
45. Ibid, 24 July, 1930, p. 3576. The first 25 per cent of the "free places" was to be awarded on scholastic merit, and the second 25 per cent was to be awarded on scholastic merit considered in conjunction with the financial needs of the candidates. "Free places", however, would not be granted to a candidate who had not gained 50 per cent of the total marks given in the examination.
46. Ibid, 25 July, 1929, pp. 3044-59 where a copy of the Cardiganshire Syllabus is printed.


48. Section 27 of the Act dealt with religious teaching and Section 29 dealt with the appointment of teachers in a Non-Provided School.

49. In 1930, the headteacher of the Council School and the headteacher of the Non-Provided School attained retiring age, and the Authority felt that this would be an opportune time to introduce a scheme of reorganisation in the town. Both schools had experienced falling rolls, and it would, therefore, be practicable to make use of the Council School as a Senior School, while the junior pupils could be accommodated in the Church School.


52. Ibid, p. 4234.


56. M.B., 26 January, 1939, pp. 7245-53. The Authority, of course, would have to negotiate with the Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire Authorities over the establishment of schools in their areas.

57. Ibid, 28 April, 1938, p. 6817. This was a move on the part of the Authority. See Note 41, above.


59. Ibid, p. 16.

60. The Memorandum, in script and type script, is in the Education Office, Aberystwyth.

61. See, Chapter 1.

62. The Memorandum dealt with the question of entrance tests for admission to Secondary Schools.


64. Ibid, p. 16.
65. In 1941, the Education Committee had requested Councillor, the Rev. J.M. Lloyd Thomas to produce a memorandum on the topic: Religion in Schools. The subject came up for discussion when considering the resolution of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Education Authority regarding religious education. The memorandum entitled Religious Instruction in Schools was published by the Cardiganshire Education Committee and printed by the Cambrian News (Aberystwyth) Ltd., in 1941. The Newcastle-on-Tyne's resolutions are quoted in the Appendix to the pamphlet, p.20.


67. The printed document Development Plan, Cardiganshire Education Committee, 27 March 1947 was inspected in the Education Office, Aberystwyth.


69. See 'Chairman's Report' to the Education Committee on 23 April, 1953, M.B. p. 4151.


71. Ibid, p. 8847.


73. Entry in Log Book of Tregaron County Primary School.


78. M.B., 27 April, 1950, pp. 2093 and 2095.


80. Ibid, 28 October, 1949, p. 1801.


83. Ibid, p. 1582.

84. Ibid, 26 April, 1951, p. 2809 and p. 3023.

86. Ibid, 23 April, 1943, p. 4345.
91. Ibid, p. 3405.
94. Ibid, 12 June, 1951, p. 2878.
98. Ibid, p. 3498.
104. Ibid, 29 April, 1948, p. 917.
106. Ibid, p. 3989.
110. The reorganisation of the Aberystwyth primary school was discussed in Chapter 2.
116. Ibid, 23 April, 1953, p. 4199
117. Ibid, p. 4247.
129. Ibid, p. 4923.
130. Ibid, p. 5003.
139. Ibid, 29 April, 1948, p. 837.
140. Ibid, 26 April, 1951, p. 2757.
141. Ibid, 1 May, 1958, p. 7164.
144. Ibid, 23 April, 1959 p. 7676.
145. Ibid, 28 July, 1960, pp. 8283-4
146. Ibid, p. 8279.
147. Ibid, 4 May, 1961 p. 8602.
151. Silian V.P. School, however, was soon to disappear as plans were already well in progress by 1974 to provide an 'area school' at Llangybi to replace five small schools in the neighbourhood, one of which being Silian V.P. School. The reorganisation will be discussed later in the text.

152. These were, Aber-banc, Borth, Blaen-porth, Llandygwydd and Penrhyn-coch. The replacement for Llandygwydd V.P. School was built near Cenarth and the new school became known as Cenarth County Primary School. The new school at Borth provided in 1967 replaced the existing County Primary and the Voluntary School, the Authority having failed to reach an agreement with the Church Authorities over any form of prior reorganisation of primary education in the village.

153. See Eleven Years 1951-1961, a pamphlet produced by Cardiganshire Education Committee, 26 July 1962 to commemorate ten years of service by Alderman M.L1.G. Williams as Chairman of the Education Committee. It was printed by Gomerian Press, Llandysul, but the pages are not numbered.


156. Ibid, p. 55.

157. Ibid, p. 55

158. Analysis of Scores in Tests of Arithmetic Ability made by pupils in a Mixed-Language Area, by Mr. A. Pinsent, is a typed report covering 15 pages to which Appendices of various statistical tables have been added. A copy of the Report was examined in the Education Office, Aberystwyth.


163. Ibid, p. 9710.


168. M.B., 30 April, 1964, p. 11.

169. J. Henry Jones, Welsh Language Survey 1961, Cardiganshire Education Committee, 20 June 1962. This is a printed report, which is available in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.


172. Ibid, Chapter 7, p. 130.


182. Ibid, p. 15.


186. Ibid, p. 792.


188. Ibid, pp. 1050-1.
189. Ibid, p. 928.


191. Ibid, 31 October, 1968 p. 47. The Minutes, however, do not give details of the Director's report, and in view of this, a summary is given in the text.


193. Ibid, 31 July, 1969 p. 614-5. Details of the Memorandum is given in the text, as the Minutes refer to the resolutions only.


197. Details of this meeting were taken from the writer's own notes.

198. M.B., 30 July, 1970 p. 1392. The typed report was widely circulated at the time.


201. Ibid, pp. 1593-4.


204. Ibid, p. 1767.

205. Ibid, p. 1713.


207. Ibid, p. 1943.


212. Ibid, 27 April, 1972 pp. 2674 and 2676.


An agreement over the price had, however, been reached by 12 July, 1972. See M.B., 26 October, 1972, p. 3150.


218. Minutes of the 'Design Team' do not appear in the printed Minute Books of the Authority.


BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. OFFICIAL PAPERS

Cardiganshire County Council Minutes.

Cardiganshire Education Committee Minutes and Agenda.

The Cardiganshire Intermediate and Technical Education Scheme, Aberystwyth, 1896.

Log Books of Cardiganshire Schools.

Memoranda to Committees and correspondence.


Census Reports.

H.M.I. reports on various schools, including the following surveys:

General Report of H.M. Inspectors on Education in the County of Cardigan for the period ended July 31st, 1913, Board of Education (Welsh Department), 1913.

A Statement based on an investigation into the teaching of Welsh in the Elementary Schools of the County of Cardigan by His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, Cardiganshire Education Committee, 1932.

General Report of H.M. Inspectors on Elementary Education in the Administrative County of Cardigan for the Period ending on 31 December, 1936, Board of Education (Welsh Department), 1937.


Schemes drawn up by Cardiganshire Education Committee:

Draft scheme of the reorganisation of Schools in Cardiganshire, 1928.

Development Plan, 1947.

Primary Education in Rural Areas, 1970.

Language surveys:

(a) Cardiganshire Education Committee:


(b) Dyfed Education Authority:

(c) Caernarvonshire Education Authority:
A Language Survey 1944, (Jennie Thomas).
Third Language Survey 1952, (Jennie Thomas).
The Language Policy 1952, (Jennie Thomas).

(d) Other Education Authorities:
Bilingual Education in Carmarthenshire, Carmarthenshire Education Committee, 1970.

Tables of language statistics in respect of the Language Survey conducted by the W.J.E.C. in 1950 in Appendix II to The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales, Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales), Welsh Department, H.M.S.O., 1953.


Publications by the Board of Education, Ministry of Education, Department of Education and Science and Welsh Department:

(a) Board of Education:
The New Prospect in Education, Educational Pamphlet, No.60, H.M.S.O., 1928.

Education in Rural Wales, Report of a Departmental Committee, H.M.S.O., 1930.
(b) Ministry of Education:


(c) Department of Education and Science:


(d) Welsh Department/Welsh Education Office:

Welsh in Education and Life, H.M.S.O., 1927.

Suggestions for the consideration of Education Authorities and Teachers. Memorandum No.1, H.M.S.O., 1929.

Entrance Tests for Admission to Secondary Schools, Memorandum No.2, H.M.S.O., 1930.

Language Teaching in Primary Schools, Pamphlet No.1, 1945.


Bilingualism in the Secondary Schools in Wales, Pamphlet No.4, H.M.S.O., 1949.

The Curriculum and the Community in Wales, Pamphlet No.6, H.M.S.O., 1952.


Small Rural Primary Schools in Wales (Design Study 1), 1975.

Ysgol y Dderi, An Area School in Dyfed (Design Study 2), 1976.

Primary Education in Rural Wales, Education Survey No.6, 1978.
Publications by the Schools Council Committee for Wales:

- Development of bilingual education in Wales, Methuen/Evans, London 1972.
- Sixth-form general studies in Wales: the importance of Welsh studies, Methuen/Evans, London 1973.


Depopulation in Mid Wales, Report of a Committee set up to study the problems of depopulation in mid-Wales, Welsh Office, H.M.S.O., 1964.

Circulars:

- 182 (Wales): 'The Teaching of Welsh' (1942).
- 10/66 'Capital Expenditure during 1966-67'.
- 6/68 'Education Building Programmes'. Raising the school leaving age.
- 3/69 (Wales): 'Reorganisation of Primary Education in Rural Areas'.
- 10/70 The Organisation of Secondary Education.
- 39/73 (Wales): 'Nursery Education' (1973)
B. NEWSPAPERS

Cambrian News
Cardigan & Tivy-Side Advertiser
Daily Mail
Daily Telegraph
Evening Post
The People
The Times
Welsh Gazette
Western Mail

C. PERIODICALS

Ceredigion
Education
Planet
Teacher in Wales
Transactions, Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion
Welsh Anvil
Welsh History Review
Welsh Outlook

D. OTHER WORKS

Aberystwyth Collegiate Faculty of Education:

A Welsh Linguistic Background Scale, Pamphlet No.2 (G. Rees), 1954.
The Construction and Use of Standardised Tests of Intelligence and Attainment, Pamphlet No.3 (A. Pinsent), 1954.
A Welsh Word Recognition Test, Pamphlet No.5 (J.L. Brace), 1957.
The Presentation of Welsh as a Second Language, Pamphlet No.8. (Tecwyn Ellis and Jac L. Williams), 1961.
The Bilingual Method, Pamphlet No.9, (C.J. Dodson), 1962.


Bowen E.G., Wales. A study in geography and history, Cardiff, 1941.

Cardiganshire Education Committee:


Suggestions for a Scheme in "Rural Education" for the Elementary and Central Schools of Cardiganshire, (H.J. Lewis), 1928.


Chazan, Maurice (ed), Aspects of Primary Education, Cardiff 1972.


Darlington, T., 'Cymraeg yn yr Ysgolion' in Cymru, 34, 1908, pp.201-3, (A circular to elementary-school teachers in Cardiganshire on the teaching of Welsh).


id, Some Problems of Rural Education and their Solution. Paper read at the Annual Conference of the Federation of Education Committees (Wales and Monmouthshire) at Llandrindod Wells, May 9, 1919, Aberdate 1919.

Jones, Alan Wynne, 'A study of the development of the teaching of music in Cardiganshire Schools 1945-75'. M.Ed. (Wales), 1975.


id, 'Can the Village School Survive?', Teacher in Wales I, No.6, 1961, pp.7-9.


id, The Boundary Commission and the Welsh Language, Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru, s.d.

Jones, R.M., Graddio Geirfa, Faculty of Education, Pamphlet No.10, Aberystwyth.

id, Cyflwyno'r Gymraeg, (Volume 3 of Ysgrifau ar Addysg), Wasg Prifysgol Cymru, Caerdydd, 1964.


d, Bilingualism in Welsh Education, Cardiff, 1966.


id, The Plight of the Rural Areas. An address delivered to the delegates from Scale II Associations at Margate on April 15, 1938. Aberystwyth. s.d.


Saer, D.J., 'An enquiry into the Effects of Bilingualism upon the Intelligence of Young Children'. J. Experimental Pedagogy, 6, (1922) pp.232-240 (Saer's conclusions were re-examined by W.R. Jones in 'Bilingualism and Intellectual Development'. Higher Education Journal, No. 6, March 1938, pp.10-19).


Thomas, David Gollwyn Pearce. 'A sociological study of a rural comprehensive school (Cardigan), M.Ed. (Wales) 1970.


id, 'Elementary day schools for children of the working classes in Cardiganshire' Ceredigion, III, 1956-9, p.207-30.


