

**Welsh Print Culture in y *Wladfa*: The Role of Ethnic  
Newspapers in Welsh Patagonia, 1868–1933**

**Walter Ariel Brooks**

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## Summary of thesis

This thesis explores the role played by Welsh-language newspapers in y *Wladfa* (the Welsh settlement in Argentine Patagonia) from its inception in 1865 until 1933. The newspapers are analysed to assess in which manner they contributed to creating and maintaining a particular kind of Welsh identity whose preservation was the founding principle of the Patagonian settlement, and how that particular sense of Welshness evolved through time. The various publications produced by the Welsh in Patagonia will also be used to identify whether there were any challenges from within the Welsh community to the values, culture and identity that the newspapers promoted. Of special interest is analysing the interaction of the Welsh settlers with the Argentine Central Government and its representatives in the Chubut Territory. The reactions of Welsh-Patagonian newspapers to the complexities of the socio-political and cultural changes that Argentina underwent towards the end of the nineteenth century until the 1930s will be identified in order to understand how the Welsh experience in Patagonia fits in with the designs of the Government to effectively incorporate the Patagonian region into the fold of the Republic, and how the nationalistic policies of the Argentine Government impacted on the Welsh community and its press. This thesis also looks at how the Welsh-Patagonian newspapers interacted with an international network of Welsh-language publications from a distant corner of Patagonia.

This research thesis intends to be a contribution to the studies of the ethnic press, studies of the experiences of the Welsh overseas, and studies in the field of immigration and ethnic communities in Argentina –more specifically in the context of the Patagonian region.

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Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to:

First of all, to the memory of my Welsh ancestors who migrated to Patagonia.

To my parents, for their unconditional love.

To my dear friend Gabriel Jurjevic, who sadly passed away but remains a guiding light in my life (A mayor gloria de Dios)

With love to my wife Geraldine and my son Ioan, for so many things...

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## Introduction

Following the return of democracy to Argentina in 1983, after a long and unstable 50 years during which military coups were all too common,<sup>1</sup> it was finally possible for Argentines to question the concept of a monolithic, quasi-mythological national identity that had been purposefully created towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century to generate a sense of unity and consensus in a country that was experiencing profound transformations.<sup>2</sup> This new atmosphere experienced mostly since the late 1980s, had an impact on many aspects of the Argentine psyche, leading to a reassessment of the contribution of the diverse and numerous immigrant groups to the development of the country as well as the continued presence of the original peoples.<sup>3</sup>

This new interest in the study of immigrant group experiences has opened the gates for an exploration of ethnic communities throughout Argentina. For the purpose of this study, we are mostly concerned with those works that focus on the Welsh experience in Patagonia. In the past 25 years there has been a good number of academic and non-academic publications in Spanish, Welsh or English –or a combination of these languages– dealing with different aspects of the Welsh

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<sup>1</sup> The first of six military *coup d'état* in Argentina in the twentieth century happened in 1930 and the last one in 1976.

<sup>2</sup> See Liliana Bertoni, *Patriotas, Cosmopolitas y Nacionalistas. La Construcción de la Nacionalidad Argentina a Fines del Siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001); and Luis Alberto Romero (ed.), *La Argentina en la Escuela. La Idea de Nación en los Textos Escolares* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2004). For a general exploration of the concepts of how traditions and nations were invented and/or modelled, see the following edited volumes: Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth and Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>3</sup> See for instance, Carlos Martínez Sarasola, *Nuestros Paisanos los Indios* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1992); María Bjerg, *Historias de la Inmigración en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2009); Brígida Baeza, *Fronteras e Identidades en Patagonia Central* (Rosario: Prohistoria, 2009).

settlement, from its history to its literary production in prose and poetry, conference proceedings, works on genealogy and even Welsh-Patagonian recipes.<sup>4</sup>

On the other side of the Atlantic, and more specifically in Wales, the phenomenon of Welsh migration has been studied in considerable depth, even to the point where some authors have challenged the highlighting of some of those experiences as not being always relevant or contributing anything valuable to the on-going academic debate.<sup>5</sup>

Within this extensive field, many aspects of the history of *y Wladfa* –the Welsh settlement established in Patagonia in 1865–<sup>6</sup> have been studied by historians, sociologists, geographers and linguists, among others. In fact, most of the early works about the Welsh experience in Patagonia were produced by Welsh people from Wales, and it is only since the end of the twentieth century that we see the majority of the publications originating in Argentina, while some are of a ‘bi-national’ nature.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See Walter Brooks and Geraldine Lublin, ‘Croesi ffiniau diwylliannol’, *Taliesin*, 125 (Haf 2005), 94-95.

<sup>5</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones quote Keith Jeffery commenting on the ‘just fancy that’ school of history approach by which some researchers consider it worth studying any venture (outside Wales in this case) irrespective of its importance. See Aled Jones and Bill Jones, ‘The Welsh World and the British Empire, c. 1851-1939: an exploration’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31/2 (2003), 60.

<sup>6</sup> In this thesis I shall use the Welsh name *y Wladfa* to refer to the settlement in Patagonia. While the main Welsh areas in Patagonia are located in the province of Chubut, more precisely along the Chubut Valley and on the foothills of the Andes in the area known in Welsh as Cwm Hyfryd and Valle 16 de Octubre in Spanish, *y Wladfa* also encompasses other areas settled by Welsh people and their descendants in Argentina, like Sarmiento and Comodoro Rivadavia in the province of Chubut, Choele Choel in the neighbouring province of Rio Negro and perhaps even Buenos Aires, where there was an active Welsh community as well.

<sup>7</sup> See footnote 4. Further examples of works produced by researchers and academics are: Jorge Fiori and Gustavo de Vera, *Trevelin. Un Pueblo en los Tiempos del Molino* (Trevelin: Dirección de Cultura, 2002); María Marta Novella and Jorge Oriola, *Historias de la Capilla Seion* (Esquel: Asociación Galesa Esquel, 2004); Clemente I. Dumrauf, *La Colonia Galesa de Chubut. Su Lucha por el Gobierno Propio* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Dunken, 2008); David Williams, *El Valle Prometido* (Gaiman: Ediciones del Cedro, 2008); Tegai Roberts and Marcelo Gavirati, *Diarios del Explorador Llwyd apIwan* (Río Negro-Buenos Aires: La Bitácora-Patagonia Sur, 2008); Fernando Williams, *Entre el Desierto y el Jardín. Viaje, Literatura y Paisaje en la Colonia Galesa de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2010).

In spite of the many contributions towards understanding the complexity of *y Wladfa*, there are still no extensive studies of Welsh Patagonian print culture, and it is the aim of this present study to start redressing this gap in the available literature. Several academics have pointed out in recent years that the immigrant and ethnic press generally has not received the attention it deserves. As early as 1978, Samuel Baily argued in an article about the Italian-language press in Brazil and Argentina that newspapers were one of the institutions that immigrant groups established to help them cope in the new environment. However, Baily maintained that, despite this, the foreign-language immigrant press was one of the most neglected areas of study.<sup>8</sup>

Hanno Hardt also agrees that the immigrant press has received limited attention and that a wider perspective is needed to remedy this.

Throughout these years, historical treatments of the press remained limited to descriptive, biographical presentations of newspapers, publishers, and leading journalists of their day, more often than not devoid of social, cultural, or political contexts and generally without much appreciation for the importance of history as a source for understanding the current conditions of people and their institutions.<sup>9</sup>

Such print culture is, in Robert Harney's words, 'one of those rare sources through which we can reach some understanding of the *mentalités* and psychic maps of immigrants, people articulate in their own time and culture, rendered silent by historians with inadequate methods for hearing them'.<sup>10</sup> Rudolph Vecoli explains that for many years the immigrant press was considered only a transmitter of information and, as such, it was used by researchers merely as a source of factual information, whereas in recent studies it is considered as one of the forces that constructs the

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<sup>8</sup> Samuel L. Baily, 'The Role of two Newspapers in the Assimilation of Italians in Buenos Aires and Sao Paulo, 1839-1913', *International Migration Review*, 12/3 (1978), 321.

<sup>9</sup> Hanno Hardt, 'The Foreign Language Press in American Press History', *Journal of Communication*, 39 (1989), 114-131.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Rudolph J. Vecoli, 'The Italian Immigrant Press', in James P. Danky, and Wayne A. Wiegand (ed.), *Print Culture in a Diverse America* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 18.

identity and the social reality of a community.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, despite its importance and value as a source for research, the press produced by immigrant groups has generally been neglected and still awaits deeper analysis.

My research in this thesis has drawn inspiration from a pioneer study in the field of the immigrant and ethnic press, and of Welsh-American periodicals in particular, namely the history of *Y Drych*,<sup>12</sup> the most important of the newspapers that has been servicing the Welsh-American community for more than a century and a half. Aled Jones and Bill Jones provide in their volume published in 2001 a comprehensive analysis of the role of *Y Drych* not only as a transmitter of information, but also as a link between members of a Welsh-speaking community scattered across the vastness of the United States, a sort of guidebook for newly arrived immigrants, and a community project to redefine the culture and identity of the immigrants – ‘a screen, a kind of cultural Ellis Island, through which successive waves of Welsh-speaking emigrants passed on their journey to become Americans’.<sup>13</sup>

A further confirmation of the importance of the Welsh-language press can be found in an article, also by Aled Jones and Bill Jones, that explores the Welsh presence in the British Empire and in which it is argued that ‘... in terms of chronological range, consistency and sheer size, the most abundant single source from which we can build a picture of the Welsh presence in the Empire are Welsh-language newspapers and

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<sup>11</sup> Rudolph J. Vecoli, ‘The Italian Immigrant Press’, in James P. Danky, and Wayne A. Wiegand (ed.), *Print Culture in a Diverse America* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 19.

<sup>12</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections. Y Drych & America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gomer, 2001).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

periodicals'.<sup>14</sup> Focusing on one of the corners of the British Empire, attention has been paid to Welsh-Australian print culture in studies conducted by Bill Jones and Robert Tyler. Bill Jones has described the Welsh-Australian newspapers *Yr Australydd* (1866–1872) and *Yr Ymwelydd* (1874–1876) as a platform from which contrasting opinions about the changing identity of the Welsh in Australia were expressed.<sup>15</sup> According to Robert Tyler, the Welsh-Australian press had its roots in the Welsh religious tradition –the foundation of *Yr Australydd*, for instance, was decided in a meeting of the Calvinist Methodist church in Sebastopol, Australia–<sup>16</sup> and as such one of its aims was maintaining the image of the Welsh as ‘virtuous and hard-working people... the most God-fearing, the best at observing the Sabbath, the most temperate with regard to drink, the most deeply devoted to educational improvement and to things of the mind’.<sup>17</sup> However, its aims went beyond the religious sphere and included promoting literature, cultural institutions and servicing the community in general.<sup>18</sup>

However, if the Welsh ethnic press in the United States and Australia –the two main destinations for Welsh migrants in the nineteenth century– has received academic attention, that is not the case with Welsh-Patagonian periodical publications, which

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<sup>14</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, ‘The Welsh World and the British Empire, c. 1851–1939: An Exploration’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31/12 (May 2003), 71.

<sup>15</sup> See Bill Jones, ‘Welsh Identities in Ballarat, Australia, during the Late Nineteenth Century’, *Welsh History Review*, 20/2 (2000), 292. For an analysis of the nature of the Welsh community in Australia in the nineteenth-century, its comparatively rapid assimilation and the process of language shift from Welsh to English see Bill Jones, ‘Cymru “Gwlad yr Aur”: Ymfudwyr Cymreig yn Ballarat, Awstralia, yn Ail Hanner y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg’, *Llafur*, 8/2 (2001), 41-61; and Robert Llewelyn Tyler, ‘The Welsh Language in a Nineteenth-Century Australian Gold Town’, *The Welsh History Review*, 24/1 (June 2008), 52-76.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Llewelyn Tyler, ‘Y Wasg Gymraeg yn Nhrefedigaeth Awstralia yn y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg’, *Llafur*, 10/1 (2008), 25.

<sup>17</sup> Prys Morgan, ‘Keeping the Legends Alive’, in Tony Curtis (ed.), *Wales: the Imagined Nation: Essays in Cultural and National Identity* (Bridgend: Poetry Wales Press, 1986), 35-36.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Llewelyn Tyler, ‘Y Wasg Gymraeg yn Nhrefedigaeth Awstralia yn y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg’, *Llafur*, 10, 1 (2008), 26.

are still waiting to be analysed in depth –the early hand-written *Y Brut*; *Ein Breiniad*, the first printed newspaper in any language in Patagonia; *Y Drafod*, the main newspaper in the history of the Welsh settlement in Patagonia which is still published today; the shorter-lived *Y Gwerinwr* and *Y Gwiliedydd*; and the literary magazine *Yr Eisteddfodwr*. The field has not been entirely neglected, and some preliminary studies have already been done, starting with R. Bryn Williams’s *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa*, published in 1949. In this concise study, the author analyzes, describes and briefly assesses publications –newspapers and books– connected to *y Wladfa*. R. Bryn Williams referred to Welsh-Patagonian print culture again in his masterpiece *Y Wladfa*, published in 1962, but to a lesser extent, since in 1962 he was trying to write a historical chronicle of the settlement instead of concentrating only on the literary aspect as he had done in 1949. In both works, the author provides an excellent starting point to learn about publishing and print culture in general, and shares valuable information about the aims of the different Welsh-Patagonian periodicals.

On the other side of the Atlantic, and in Spanish, the Argentinean journalist Luis Feldman Josín wrote about the history of journalism in Chubut in an article published in a series of short edited volumes about the history of the province of Chubut.<sup>19</sup> He mentions the founding of the newspaper *Y Drafod* –the most enduring of the Welsh-language newspapers in Patagonia– and its purpose and lists the names of some of its editors, although not following a chronological order. This short essay is more a compilation of information than an academic treatment of Welsh-Patagonian newspapers. Much more detailed information about the history of the paper can be found in the five-volume *Trelew: un Desafío Patagónico* by Matthew Henry Jones, a

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<sup>19</sup> Luis Feldman Josín, ‘Reseña Histórica del Periodismo en el Chubut’, in *Cuadernos de Historia del Chubut* (Trelew: Junta de Estudios Históricos del Chubut, 1968), 17-30.

Welsh descendant born and bred in Trelew, the largest town in the Chubut Valley, whose passion for history led him to compile meticulously valuable information about the history of his hometown, including long passages about matters related to the Welsh community in the Chubut Valley. Although extremely useful, it contains only factual information about *Y Drafod* and other newspapers but not an analysis of its role and its significance.

A more focused analysis of the Welsh-Patagonian press can be found in an article published in a journal and in a chapter in an edited volume, both written by Welsh poet and Hispanist academic, Gareth Alban Davies.<sup>20</sup> In the journal article, published in *Llafur* in 1995, Gareth Alban Davies outlines briefly the development and the importance of the press in Wales and comments on the period before the arrival of the first Welsh contingent in Patagonia in 1865. It is only towards the end of the article that *Y Drafod* is mentioned and he suggests that the appearance of the paper may be the result of a greater confidence among the Welsh settlers in the future of *y Wladfa* and also of entering a period of economic prosperity.<sup>21</sup> Davies used this article as an introduction to the chapter he wrote for the edited volume *A Nation and its Books*.<sup>22</sup> In this second contribution he provides a more detailed account of the main Welsh-Patagonian newspapers, *Y Brut*, *Ein Breiniad*, and *Y Drafod* and other publications. Although he discusses their content, their purpose and briefly outlines the

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<sup>20</sup> See Gareth Alban Davies, 'Wales, Patagonia, and the Printed Word: the Missionary Role of the Press', *Llafur*, 6/4 (1995), 44-59, and Gareth Alban Davies, 'The Welsh Press in Patagonia', in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (ed.), *A Nation and its Books. A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), 265-276.

<sup>21</sup> See Gareth Alban Davies, 'Wales, Patagonia, and the Printed Word: the Missionary Role of the Press', *Llafur*, 6/4 (1995), 54.

<sup>22</sup> Gareth Alban Davies, 'The Welsh Press in Patagonia', in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (ed.), *A Nation and its Books. A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), 265-276.

circumstances under which they were published, a single chapter does not allow for a deep analysis of the newspapers.

An article in Spanish about *Y Drafod* authored by Argentine academic Fernando Williams appeared in the journal *Registros* in 2008.<sup>23</sup> The intention of the author was to go beyond a mere analysis of the actual text in order to include an analysis of the context in which it was produced and therefore gain a better understanding of the development of the Territory of Chubut.<sup>24</sup> *Y Drafod* is defined as a promoter of the idea of *y Wladfa* and even Patagonia as a region in different contexts,<sup>25</sup> and also as a tool for the Welsh to take possession of the territory. Because of the constraints of space imposed by an article, it does not contain a detailed analysis of the role of the paper to understand how it worked within the community and for it.

The same concept has been further developed by Fernando Williams in his latest publication, *Entre el Desierto y el Jardín* –an updated revised version of his MA dissertation published in 2010.<sup>26</sup> His work lies at the crossroads of three traditions: firstly, studies about colonies of immigrants; secondly, the question of a frontier/border as a porous space that is much more meaningful than an abstract line on a map suggests; and thirdly, the history of how the landscape was shaped as a formative element of a specific territory and also how that landscape was represented

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<sup>23</sup> Fernando Williams, 'Y Drafod: Promoción y Circulación en la Conformación de los Saberes Sobre el Territorio', *Registros*, 5/5 (2008), 119-135

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>25</sup> For example when Eluned Morgan invited new immigrants from Wales (*Y Drafod*, 19 February 1904) or when Llwyd ap Iwan praised Patagonia in a report about the conditions for emigrating to South Africa (*Y Drafod*, 4 December 1903; 29 January 1904 and 5 February 1904).

<sup>26</sup> See Fernando Williams, *Entre el Desierto y el Jardín. Viaje, Literatura y Paisaje en la Colonia Galesa de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2010).

in various media.<sup>27</sup> Although *Y Drafod* is used as a primary source by the author and an analysis of its role is provided, the scope and the aim of the work does not allow the detailed analysis of the paper that is awaiting to be done.

Fernando Williams also used *Y Drafod* –as well as other Welsh-Patagonian newspapers– for his PhD dissertation<sup>28</sup> in which he sets out to demonstrate that the Welsh had a project of colonising a territory –namely, creating *y Wladfa* in Patagonia– that diverged from the one promoted by the Argentine government. Williams considers Welsh-Patagonian newspapers as fundamental players in the implementation of the Welsh project, functioning as a platform and a forum for discussing the affairs of the colony and as a means of sustaining the ambitions of the Welsh community through time.

It is evident therefore that although Welsh-language Patagonian newspapers have been used for academic research in the past and that they have been analysed in terms of their purpose and role in the community, there remains the need for a deeper study of the several layers of meaning that the ethnic press has in the Welsh-Patagonian context. In this thesis I shall argue that the Welsh press played a number of key roles in Patagonia –such as contributing to the preservation of a number of features that were associated with a particular kind of Welshness– and that by studying it in depth we can gain a better and richer understanding of one of the most important Welsh

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<sup>27</sup> See Fernando Williams, *Entre el Desierto y el Jardín. Viaje, Literatura y Paisaje en la Colonia Galesa de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2010), 13.

<sup>28</sup> Fernando Williams, ‘Colonización, Espacio Público y Paisaje en el Valle del Chubut. La Gestión del Territorio Entre la Política y la Poética’, unpublished PhD thesis (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2011).

experiences overseas. By focusing on ethnic Welsh newspapers in Patagonia, the purpose of this study is to address some of these questions in the following chapters.

Firstly, what is contained in the Welsh-Patagonian newspapers and what can be learned from their pages about the Welsh community in terms of its identity, language, cultural practices and the changes that they underwent over time.

Secondly, what kind of community is the one that those printed media tried to construct, and which idea and model of Welshness did they favour.

Thirdly, which elements do we find are common and which ones are different when comparing the Welsh emigrant experience in Patagonia with other Welsh experiences overseas as they are articulated in Welsh ethnic newspapers.

And finally, how does the Welsh experience in Patagonia correspond with the plans and policies of the Argentine government to incorporate all immigrants into an ‘Argentine nation’ as fully Argentine citizens.

Any study of the role of the press in a community requires that the researcher has access to the primary sources, namely the newspapers that are the subject of study. In the case of this particular research, gaining access to the primary sources was a relatively straightforward task. Most of the issues of *Y Dravod/Y Drafod*<sup>29</sup> were available on microfilm reels in the Arts and Social Studies Library at Cardiff University, although the collection presented some gaps in the early years up to 1913.

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<sup>29</sup> For an explanation of the spelling conventions of the Welsh language in Patagonia see Chapter 3, 101-103.

Most of these gaps were filled by consulting the archives at Cardiff Central Library, where hard copies of *Y Drafod* were held. During the period I was conducting research for this thesis, there was an on-going project in the Chubut Valley to find, collect and digitise a new, complete edition of *Y Drafod* to be kept at the Provincial Archive in Rawson. Although the final output was not available in time for me to consult it, I believe that the materials available in Wales provided a sound foundation that allowed me to analyse the nature of *Y Drafod* and its role within the Welsh community in Patagonia.

One important consideration was what period in the long history of *Y Drafod* ought to be chosen for analysis in this thesis. A major turning point in the history of the paper and the Welsh-Patagonian community was chosen as the cut-off point, namely 1933, when a parallel newspaper in Spanish named *El Mentor* was established by the owners of *Y Drafod*. This meant that the content of *Y Drafod* changed since it no longer included items in Spanish.<sup>30</sup> It was also in 1933 that one of the most important Welsh institutions, ‘Cwmni Masnachol y Camwy’ (the Chubut Mercantile Society, known more informally as the ‘Coop’)<sup>31</sup> –that was in charge of funding the publication of *Y Drafod*– went bankrupt, thus affecting dramatically the situation of the Welsh community as a whole, and *Y Drafod* in particular.<sup>32</sup> The ambitious idea of encompassing the history of the newspaper until the present was discarded after realising that it was such a rich source that the scope provided by a doctoral thesis was insufficient to analyse the paper in depth in all periods of its history. Narrowing the

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<sup>30</sup> Items in Spanish had appeared in the paper since the early days at the end of the nineteenth century. They would appear again in *Y Drafod* after 1936, when *El Mentor* folded.

<sup>31</sup> The more informal, shorter ‘Coop’ will be used in this thesis when referring to this institution.

<sup>32</sup> The period of decline that affected the Welsh community in Patagonia and the developments of 1933 will be explored in the historical background provided in Chapter 1 and in the chapters that concentrate specifically on *Y Drafod* (Chapters 4, 5 and 6).

period to be analysed up until 1952 –when the then editor and owner of the paper Evan Thomas passed away– was a plausible option, since the content and the purpose of the paper changed dramatically when the following editor, Irma Hughes de Jones, took the reins in 1953. However, it became obvious that this cut-off date would also compromise the depth of the analysis in the thesis, and it was finally decided that by studying the period up until 1933 it is possible to have a broad perspective of the origins of the Welsh-language press in Patagonia and some of the key stages in the history of the main newspaper *Y Drafod* and the Welsh-Patagonian community.

### **Thesis structure**

In Chapter 1, an informed overview of the history of the period is included to provide the necessary background to understand the role of Welsh-language newspapers in context. Attention will be paid to the socio-political and cultural conditions in Wales at a time when emigration from the European continent to other parts of the world was a common phenomenon, concentrating on the unique characteristic of the emigration movement to Patagonia. A basic understanding of the historical context of the Argentine Republic is provided –with a special emphasis on Patagonia as a distinct region that was progressively incorporated into the republic– since it is essential to grasp the complexities of the interaction between the Welsh colonists, the Argentine authorities and other ethnic communities in Patagonia.

Chapter 2 discusses the main academic works that have provided the necessary theoretical tools to carry out an assessment of the role of Welsh-language newspapers. The main themes that have guided my research are the roles of the press in general, some of the particularities of the British-Welsh press, the immigrant and ethnic press

–and more particularly the Welsh ethnic press in the United States and Australia– and finally the question of immigration in the context of Argentina, the country that had the highest percentage –although not in actual numbers– of immigrant reception in the whole of the American continent.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of Welsh print culture in Chubut and an analysis of the role of the early Welsh-language newspapers in Patagonia –the handwritten *Y Brut* and *Ein Breiniad*, the first printed Welsh newspaper. I also assess other Welsh-language printed materials published for the use of the Welsh settlement in Patagonia and their role in the life of the settlement. The chapter argues that both periodical publications responded to different aims and that they were created to play a specific role at a time of crisis in the Welsh community. The newspapers also show the degree to which the Welsh recreated the cultural and political roles of the press in the Patagonian context and demonstrate the appearance of the first traits of Patagonian Welshness.

Chapter 4 discusses the establishment of *Y Drafod* in 1891 and the aims of the publication as stated by its owner and editor, Lewis Jones. After presenting factual information about the paper and the changes it underwent in the period between 1891 and 1913, an assessment of the impact that *Y Drafod* must have had in the community is provided by looking at its contents and taking into account the main developments in Patagonia and Argentina in that period. I also explore what message the paper tried to convey to its readers as regards the preservation of the community's culture, language and identity during a period of profound changes at the national level and

the role it played at the community level in a time of severe difficulties that put into question the continuation and survival of *y Wladfa*.

Chapter 5 analyses the fundamental changes that the paper experienced in its content from the advent of the First World War until 1920, how they relate to the Welsh-Patagonian identity that prevailed at the time and how those changes conform with, or diverge from, the original aims of the paper. During this period we see in the pages of the paper an almost total adherence and sense of belonging to an international British community, while the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Welsh in Patagonia in 1915 provide an opportunity to reassess the aims of the settlement.

In Chapter 6 –the final chapter– an analysis is provided of the manifold difficulties that the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s brought to Patagonia in terms of economic stagnation, with special emphasis on its impact on the Welsh settlement. The new decade would herald an acceleration in the gradual process of language erosion due to a combination of socio-political, economic and demographic factors that would have a corroding influence on the status of the Welsh community and the strength of its identity.

## **Chapter 1: Historical context 1860s–1930s: Wales, Argentina and Patagonia**

In order to understand the main developments relating to the conception, establishment and growth of the Welsh settlement in Patagonia so that the role of print culture can be fully appreciated, it is necessary to start by providing an overview of the history of both Wales and Argentina, with a special emphasis on the southern territory of Patagonia.

This chapter starts by referring to the Spanish Empire and its legacy in the region of the Viceroyalty of the River Plate, an administrative division that encompassed in practice most of what is now central and northern Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, parts of Paraguay and northern Chile as well as the Patagonian region west of the Andes –although the Spanish presence in the southern regions was negligible and never permanent. The background of the Welsh migration movement is then analysed, taking into account the socio-political, economic, cultural and religious situation in Wales, as well as the contributions of some of the most prominent leaders of the emigration movement. The key early developments are assessed as the Welsh successfully settled in their new homeland. Finally, the growing interest of the Argentine Government and the policies it implemented to cope with the phenomenon of mass immigration are considered with a special interest in Patagonia. This chapter closes with an overview of the main developments at the national level in a country that experienced radical changes in terms of its geography, demography, political development and its culture and identity in the context of the First World War and its international consequences leading up to the economic crises of the 1930s.

## **Argentina and immigration: a ‘country of immigrants’**

Although the Welsh arrived in Patagonia before mass immigration to Argentina started in the 1880s,

<sup>1</sup> the region had a long history of receiving foreigners. Europeans, mostly from Spain, arrived and settled in the area inhabited by native peoples that is known today as Argentina from the sixteenth century onwards, and most parts of the territory remained under the nominal rule of the Spanish Empire for more than two centuries. At first, the areas of influence of the Spanish Empire were centred around a string of cities in what is now the centre and north-west of Argentina. The few attempts to establish a Spanish colony in southern Patagonia proved a complete failure due to the rather hostile terrain, the uneasy relationship between the Spanish conquistadores and the native peoples, and internal strife among the Spaniards.<sup>2</sup> The only permanent Spanish outpost was the fort of Carmen de Patagones, located in northern Patagonia, and founded in 1779 by the sailor Francisco de Viedma.<sup>3</sup> Sailors and scientists from other nationalities also explored the region but no other permanent settlement was established in the whole of the region during this period.<sup>4</sup>

The idea that the Viceroyalty of the River Plate –the southernmost extreme of the Spanish Empire–<sup>5</sup> could aspire to a degree of autonomy gained considerable strength in 1806 and 1807, when local militias were able to repel two attempts by British

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<sup>1</sup> Although promoting European immigration had been discussed as early as 1824, it was only in the 1830s that a flow of immigrants started arriving in Argentina. Subsequently, mass immigration occurred towards the end of the nineteenth century. See Fernando Devoto, *Historia de la Inmigración en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2009), 214.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Chapter 3 in Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 89-90.

<sup>4</sup> See Glyn Williams, *The Desert and the Dream: a Study of Welsh Colonization in Chubut, 1865-1915* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975), 10-21.

<sup>5</sup> The viceroyalty was created in 1776 to facilitate the administration of the Southern Spanish American Empire and to increase the Spanish presence in an area coveted by Britain and France.

expeditions to take over Buenos Aires and control the Viceroyalty.<sup>6</sup> The two incidents became a point of no return in the history of Spanish dominance in the River Plate since the local residents of the city discovered that they were able to defend themselves without the aid of the metropolis. A few years later the first step towards full independence was taken when the first local government was formed in Buenos Aires on 25 May 1810 after King Ferdinand VII of Spain had been deposed and imprisoned by the Napoleonic Army in 1808. A long struggle started which culminated in 1816 when independence was officially declared on 9 July, although the wars of independence that were being fought across Spanish America would not be over for many years.

Freedom from Spanish domination was not a harbinger of an era of prosperity and growth in the territory that is now Argentina, but rather the beginning of several decades of internal warfare during which different factions –namely ‘unitarios’ (unitarians) in favour of a republic with a strong centralised government in Buenos Aires and ‘federales’ (federals), who wanted a federal republic based loosely on the United States model– fought to impose a political programme on a nascent republic, a loose and nebulous unit whose international boundaries had not yet been clearly demarcated. A major turning point was reached with the Battle of Caseros in 1852, when a coalition army led by General Justo José de Urquiza defeated the army of the dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas and sent him into exile. Urquiza’s attempts to establish a federal government proved futile in the long run, and the fighting resumed between the factions. It was only in 1861 after the Battle of Pavón that gave the victory to the

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<sup>6</sup> The expeditions were led by William Carr Beresford in 1806 and John Whitelocke in 1807. During the first expedition, the British forces conquered Buenos Aires and occupied the city for 45 days until they were expelled by local militias organised and led by Santiago de Liniers, a Frenchman who fought for the Spanish Empire. The second invasion was successfully repelled from the start and the invading army surrendered after fighting on the streets of Buenos Aires.

unitarian party, that the central government in Buenos Aires gradually began to generate a sense of unity among the western and northern provinces –Patagonia was still a matter of contention although Argentina was certain that her claims to the region were the only valid ones.

Although immigration had been a constant feature in Argentina after independence – British merchants were among the prominent communities that settled in the River Plate area especially after the signing of the Anglo-Argentine Treaty in 1825<sup>7</sup> it was only after 1852 that the government made inviting European immigrants a state policy. Immigration would later become of the utmost importance to the ‘Generación del ’80’ (Generation of the ’80s), a group of intellectuals, politicians and leaders who laid the foundations of modern Argentina towards the end of the nineteenth century. Attracting immigrants from northern Europe was one of their goals, since they believed that the original peoples and the ‘criollos’<sup>8</sup> were far from being a desirable element to create the country that they envisaged. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, an intellectual, military man and politician who was president of Argentina from 1868 until 1874, wrote extensively about the existence of two opposing forces in the country: ‘civilización’ (civilization) and ‘barbarie’ (barbarism). The former was represented by Western civilization, the Protestant countries of northern Europe, the steam engine and the Industrial Revolution. The latter, from his point of view, was the remnants of the Spanish Empire, the ‘telluric forces’ and gaucho culture.<sup>9</sup> For

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<sup>7</sup> See David Rock, *Argentina 1516-1987: From Spanish colonization to the Falklands War and Alfonsín* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co., 1987), 72.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Criollo’ is the word used in Latin America to refer to people of mixed Spanish, Native, and/or African heritage. For a discussion on the ‘criollo’ population in Latin America, see Edwin Williamson, *The Penguin History of Latin America* (London: Penguin, 1992), 83; 144-146.

<sup>9</sup> See Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Facundo o Civilización y Barbarie en las Pampas Argentinas* (Santiago: El Progreso, 1845).

Sarmiento and many of his contemporaries, only the annihilation of barbarism would give birth to a new, prosperous Argentina.

Juan Bautista Alberdi, a political theorist, was also one of those who were strongly in favour of a certain type of European immigration to populate and develop the republic. In the prologue to his volume on which the first constitution of Argentina was based he wrote:

Conviene *aumentar el número* de nuestra población y, lo que es más, *cambiar su condición* en sentido ventajoso a la causa del progreso. Con tres millones de indígenas, cristianos y católicos, no realizaríais la república ciertamente. No la realizaríais tampoco con cuatro millones de españoles peninsulares, porque el español puro es incapaz de realizarla allá o acá. ... es necesario fomentar en nuestro suelo la población anglo-sajona. Ella está identificada con el vapor, el comercio y la libertad, y no será imposible radicar estas cosas entre nosotros sin la cooperación activa de esa raza de progreso y de civilización.<sup>10</sup>

(It is advisable to increase the number of our population and, moreover, to change its condition in an advantageous sense to the cause of progress. With three million indigenous peoples, Christians and Catholics, you would certainly not achieve the republic. You would not achieve it either with four million peninsular Spaniards, because the pure Spaniard is incapable of achieving it over there or here... it is necessary to promote in our soil the Anglo-Saxon population. This people are identified with the steam [i.e., with progress], commerce and liberty, and it will be impossible [for us] to root these things among us without the active cooperation of this race of progress and civilisation.)

He also claimed that an Anglo-Saxon immigrant was worth three Mediterranean immigrants, referring more specifically to western peninsular Europe.<sup>11</sup> Despite the preference for those they considered the industrious and advanced northern

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<sup>10</sup> Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Bases y Puntos de Partida Para la Organización Política de la República Argentina*, <http://www.hacer.org/pdf/Bases.pdf>, consulted on 2 July 2012. All translations from Spanish and Welsh into English are mine unless stated otherwise. I would like to thank Dr E. Wyn James for correcting and suggesting improvements to all my translations from Welsh into English in this thesis.

<sup>11</sup> See Fernando Devoto, *Historia de la Inmigración en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2009), 251.

Europeans, in the end the vast majority of immigrants that came to Argentina were from Italy and Spain.<sup>12</sup>

### **The idea of Patagonia**

While many European migrants during the nineteenth century left their homes looking for a better life<sup>13</sup> –and the development of *y Wladfa* has this population movement as its background– the Patagonian Welsh settlement remains unique within the context of mass migration. This may be, from the point of view of Wales, because of the romanticism that surrounds the history of the colony –for some, the Patagonian settlement is Wales’s own version of a Far West that was explored, conquered and civilised, or even the only ‘colony’ that Wales ever had. As early as the end of the 1930s, Saunders Lewis was praising *y Wladfa* as ‘y weithred fwyaf anturus ac arwrol yn hanes Cymru yn y ganrif ddiwethaf’ (the most adventurous and heroic act in the history of Wales in the last century) in an essay that he had written assessing Eluned Morgan’s contribution to Welsh literature one year after her death.<sup>14</sup> In a later essay Saunders Lewis in which he reviewed the book *Cymry Patagonia* by R. Bryn Williams, he also praised the Welsh settlement in South America as the first politically independent venture in Welsh modern history since the time of the Tudors.<sup>15</sup> *Y Wladfa* was once again mentioned in the fateful lecture *Tynged yr Iaith*, in which Saunders Lewis described the history of the settlement as an experiment of

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<sup>12</sup> Fernando Devoto, *Historia de la Inmigración en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2009), 247.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion on the multiplicity of factors that impelled Welsh people to migrate in this period see Bill Jones, “‘Raising the Wind’: Emigrating from Wales to the USA in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century”, Annual Lecture of the Cardiff Centre for Welsh American Studies, 2003. <http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/welsh/resources/RaisingTheWind.pdf> . Consulted on 2 July 2012.

<sup>14</sup> The essay had been originally published in Lewis’ column ‘Cwrs y Byd’ in the newspaper *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* in 1939. It was later published in a compilation; see Saunders Lewis, *Ysgrifau Dydd Mercher* (Llandysul: J. D. Lewis a’i Feibion, 1945), 84-92.

<sup>15</sup> The essay had appeared in 1942 in the columns of *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* and it was published two years later. See Saunders Lewis, *Ysgrifau Dydd Mercher* (Llandysul: J. D. Lewis a’i Feibion, 1945), 93-99.

which the Welsh should be proud and from which lessons should be drawn for Wales itself.<sup>16</sup> R. Bryn Williams, the Welsh writer and historian, realised that the subject of *y Wladfa* generated considerable interest in Wales in 1942, when he published his volume *Cymry Patagonia*, in which he narrated the history of the settlement as if he were writing a novel.<sup>17</sup> The book sold well and it had to be reprinted. He then wrote a series of novels for children, in which the main characters were Welsh-speaking gauchos who pioneered the vastness of Patagonia, captivating the minds of a generation of Welsh speakers.<sup>18</sup> This romantic portrayal of the Welsh pioneers in Patagonia has had a long lasting influence and it can turn –in its most extreme manifestation– *y Wladfa* into some kind of ‘Disneyland for the Welsh middle class’ –as a Welsh entertainer wittily described the phenomenon towards the end of the twentieth century–, a haven where a certain strain of Welshness has been preserved isolated from the polluting effects of English-language culture.<sup>19</sup> From the point of view of an Argentina that was born under the paradigm that northern European immigration was the most desirable one, the image of the Welsh as bearers of the banner of civilization –as well as the Argentine flag– in the ‘wilderness’ of Patagonia complies with the ideals of the invented nation.

However, there are concrete facts in the history of *y Wladfa* that explain to some extent why there was such a degree of romanticization.<sup>20</sup> After all, it was the first

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<sup>16</sup> For the full text of the lecture see <http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/iaith/TyngedIaith/tynged.htm>. Consulted on 2 July 2012.

<sup>17</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Cymry Patagonia* (Aberystwyth: Gwasg Aberystwyth, 1942).

<sup>18</sup> See for instance, R. Bryn Williams, *Straeon Patagonia* (Aberystwyth: Gwasg Aberystwyth, 1946); R. Bryn Williams, *Bandit yr Andes* (Caerdydd: Hughes, 1951); R. Bryn Williams, *Y March Coch* (Bala: Gwasg y Bala, 1954); R. Bryn Williams, *Croesi'r Paith* (Llandybie: Llyfrau'r Dryw, 1958).

<sup>19</sup> See Mici Plwm, ‘Patagonia–Disney Dosbarth Canol Cymraeg’, *Golwg*, 4/32 (1992), 6.

<sup>20</sup> For an exploration of how the Patagonian settlement adopted an almost mythical value in the eyes of Welsh nationalists, see Ann Knowles, ‘Migration, Nationalism, and the Construction of Welsh

permanent European foothold in what would later become Argentine Patagonia that was not wiped out by the native peoples and that succeeded in settling in and adapting to a challenging environment. Also, despite it being a small settlement whose links with the mother country were severed for decades, it is the only outpost where the Welsh language and culture have been maintained to a certain degree for almost 150 years.

The idea of establishing a colony where the Welsh could migrate as a group had been widely discussed in the Welsh-American press in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Welsh emigrants had settled as a group in the New World as early as the seventeenth century, although none of those experiments produced a long-term, self-governing Welsh territory.<sup>22</sup> The idea of channelling Welsh emigration to Patagonia was first proposed in the United States in a meeting held by the Camptonville Colonizing Society, California, in 1856.<sup>23</sup> The members of that society were not pleased with some of the outcomes of the Welsh immigration flow to the United States. In their view, although many migrants eventually led a prosperous life in the new country, the price to pay was too dear, since they had to relinquish their Welsh affiliations in order to become citizens of the United States. This, of course, implied speaking English instead of Welsh. Although many Welsh immigrants must have accepted that forsaking their mother tongue –or seeing that their descendants preferred English to Welsh– was part and parcel of migrating, for many, like the

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Identity’, in Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan (ed.), *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory, and Scale* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 289-316.

<sup>21</sup> See Bill Jones, ‘Cymru, Patagonia ac Ymfudo’, in E. Wyn James and Bill Jones (ed.), *Michael D. Jones a’i Wladfa Gymreig* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2009), 16.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 15. See also the first chapter of R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962).

<sup>23</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 22; Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 7.

Reverend Michael Daniel Jones –a key figure in the history of *y Wladfa*– this situation was unacceptable. Therefore, the idea of channelling the mass of Welsh emigrants to a single territory where they would be able to govern themselves and live their lives fully through the medium of Welsh became increasingly attractive.

Michael Daniel Jones, born in Llanuwchllyn in 1822, was the son of the Reverend Michael Jones, an Independent minister who was the first principal of the Bala Independent College.<sup>24</sup> After starting as an apprentice in a draper's shop in Wrexham in 1837, Michael D. Jones entered the Carmarthen Presbyterian College to train for the ministry. He then received further education in Highbury College, London, and was ordained as a minister in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1847 during one of his trips to the United States, where he had family connections. Michael D. Jones was an ardent supporter of Welsh nationalism, and he has been described as 'tad cenedlaetholdeb cyfoes Cymreig' (the father of modern Welsh nationalism)<sup>25</sup> and 'Cymro pennaf y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg; y cenedlaetholwr mwyaf ar ôl Owain Glyndŵr' (the most important Welshman of the nineteenth century; the greatest nationalist after Owain Glyndŵr).<sup>26</sup> His contribution to the movement to channel the emigration flow from Wales to a single place resulted in the establishment of *y Wladfa* in Patagonia, after considering other possible locations in North America such as Oregon and

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<sup>24</sup> For a brief biography of Michael D. Jones, see Welsh Biography Online <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-JONE-MIC-1787.html> . Consulted on 2 July 2012.

<sup>25</sup> Glyn Williams, 'Ail-gloriannu Michael D. Jones', *Y Faner*, 23 September 1983, 12, cited in E. Wyn James, 'Michael D. Jones: Y Cyfnod Ffurfiannol Cynnar', in E. Wyn James and Bill Jones (ed.), *Michael D. Jones a'i Wladfa Gymreig* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch: 2009), 31.

<sup>26</sup> D. Gwenallt Jones, 'Hanes Mudiadau Cymraeg a Chenedlaethol y Bedwaredd-Ganrif-ar-Bymtheg', in D. Myrddin Lloyd (ed.), *Seiliau Hanesyddol Cenedlaetholdeb Cymru* (Caerdydd: Plaid Cymru, 1950), 113, cited in E. Wyn James, 'Michael D. Jones: Y Cyfnod Ffurfiannol Cynnar', in E. Wyn James and Bill Jones (ed.), *Michael D. Jones a'i Wladfa Gymreig* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch: 2009), 31.

Vancouver Island.<sup>27</sup> Although he never settled in Patagonia, the ideological, moral and most importantly perhaps, the economic support that he provided –through the considerable economic means of his wife, Anne Lloyd– were instrumental in the establishment of the settlement.<sup>28</sup>

The idea of emigrating to Patagonia found further impetus in the UK with the foundation of the ‘Cymdeithas Wladfaol’ (Colonizing Society) in Liverpool on 9 July 1861.<sup>29</sup> In order to support the venture, the Society decided to establish a joint stock company. However, this idea never developed successfully and Michael D. Jones would end up footing the bill for most of the many expenses incurred in starting the colony.<sup>30</sup>

Negotiations were started in 1861 with the Argentinean Government to explore which possibilities were open for a prospective colony on Patagonian soil.<sup>31</sup> From the beginning there was a clash of interests which would prove fatal to the dream of establishing either an independent Wales or a Welsh autonomous province within the Argentine Republic. For the Welsh promoters of the emigration movement, Patagonia seemed an ideal destination where their dreams of independence or self-government could be realised. Patagonia was sparsely inhabited by roaming tribes, neither the Chilean nor the Argentine government had yet consolidated their claims to the region and therefore a high degree of autonomy could be –in theory– easily secured. In a

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<sup>27</sup> Welsh Biography Online, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-JONE-DAN-1822.html>. Consulted on 3 March 2012.

<sup>28</sup> Dafydd Tudur has assessed the contribution of Michael D. Jones to the Patagonian venture in “‘Tad y Wladfa’?: Michael D. Jones a Sefydlu’r Wladfa ym Mhatagonia’, in Geraint H. Jenkins (ed.), *Cof Cenedl XXII* (Llandysul: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2007), 99-127.

<sup>29</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 46.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-8.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

word, it looked as if in Patagonia the Welsh could have free rein to organise the colony according to their own rules and fulfil the dreams of independence that had originated among Welsh communities in the United States and Wales.

In order to raise support for the project and attract prospective migrants, a book – *Llawlyfr y Wladychfa Gymreig* (Manual of the Welsh Colony)– was published in 1862 by one of the members of the society.<sup>32</sup> Although presenting a thorough study based on many available sources about Patagonia such as Darwin’s voyages, the report was erroneous in its assumptions about a land that the author had never visited –and what is even worse, he is credited with purposefully omitting all negative references to Patagonia from the sources on which he based his book.<sup>33</sup> The publication of the ‘Manual of the Welsh Colony’ was complemented by a series of lectures around Wales and areas of England with a strong Welsh presence given by itinerant enthusiasts who wanted to promote the benefits of establishing a new Wales in a remote corner of South America.<sup>34</sup>

At the end of 1862 and the beginning of 1863, representatives of the Colonizing Society were sent to Argentina on an exploratory trip with the aim of surveying the land where the future colony was going to be established. Lewis Jones went to Buenos Aires in November 1862 and was later joined by Captain Love Jones-Parry in

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<sup>32</sup> Hugh Hughes, *Llawlyfr y Wladychfa Gymreig* (Llynlleifiad: L. Jones & Co., 1862). The full title of the handbook is actually *Llawlyfr y Wladychfa Gymreig yn cynnwys sylwadau ar yr angenrheidrwydd a'r posibilrwydd o'i sefydlu, hanes Patagonia, yn egluro ei haddasrwydd i'r sefydliad, y drafodaeth a Buenos Ayres am drosglwyddiad y tir, bras-gynllun o drefn yr ymfudiad, yn ngayda darlunlen o Patagonia* (Manual of the Welsh Colony including comments on the necessity and the possibility of founding it, a history of Patagonia, explaining its appropriateness for the settlement, the discussion with Buenos Ayres about transferring the land, a sketch of the organization of the migration with a picture of Patagonia).

<sup>33</sup> See E. G. Bowen, ‘The Welsh colony in Patagonia 1865-1885: A Study in Historical Geography’, *The Geographical Journal*, 13 (1966), 16-31. See also R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 47; and Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 15.

<sup>34</sup> Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 19-20.

January 1863. They were able to travel south to Carmen de Patagones and then to the Chubut Valley. Upon returning to Britain, they presented reports about the nature of the land that they had explored and commented on the prospects of a future Welsh settlement in those regions.<sup>35</sup>

Although the nineteenth century was a period of great migrations from Europe, Wales was not among the countries that experienced a massive outflow of inhabitants in the same way as Ireland, and migration was never as central to its history as it was for places like Scotland, Cornwall or Scandinavia.<sup>36</sup> However there was migration from Wales to several countries, mainly to the United States but also, in smaller numbers, to Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. There were even small Welsh communities in Mexico, Chile, France, Russia, Brazil, India and the Caribbean.<sup>37</sup> The end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century found Wales affected by the Napoleonic Wars and towards the middle of the nineteenth century the process of rapid industrialization altered the geography and the cultural, social and political landscape of Wales.<sup>38</sup> It was also a time of population shift from the countryside to more urban areas. On the one hand, Welsh peasants struggled to make a living out of the land, burdened with heavy and increasing taxes and found a new range of opportunities in the coalfields. On the other hand, migrants from other parts of the British Isles swarmed into Wales in large numbers changing dramatically

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<sup>35</sup> Excerpts from both reports can be read in Lewis Jones, *Cymru Newydd: Hanes y Wladva Gymreig Tiriogaeth Chubut, yn y Weriniaeth Arianin, De Amerig* (Caernarvon: Cwmni'r Wasg Genedlaethol Gymreig, 1898), 38-41. Lewis Jones' report came under severe criticism for misrepresenting the actual nature of the Valley in his desire to convince people to emigrate.

<sup>36</sup> See Bill Jones, 'Cymru, Patagonia ac Ymfudo', in E. Wyn James and Bill Jones (ed.), *Michael D. Jones a'i Wadfa Gymreig* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwach, 2009), 15.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, 15.

<sup>38</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Desert and the Dream: a Study of Welsh Colonization in Chubut, 1865-1915* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975), 1-9.

the social composition of those areas where they settled, mainly in the valleys in southeast Wales towards the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup>

These economic, demographic and social changes were the breeding ground for a rise in Welsh nationalism coupled with a deep religious movement that had a tremendous impact on the identitarian makeup of the Welsh people. Wales had experienced a profound religious revival in the eighteenth century that had led to the appearance of Methodism – a religious awakening that was experienced throughout the Protestant world.<sup>40</sup> Wales became a stronghold of what was called Nonconformity and, despite the divisions in denominations like Independents, Baptists and Calvinistic Methodists, Nonconformity became a way of life for the majority of the Welsh-speaking population of Wales.<sup>41</sup> Nonconformity placed special emphasis on the chapel as centre point for religious and community life, the preservation of the Welsh language and defence against oppression from the Established (Anglican) Church that required that tithes be paid even by those who were not members of the church.<sup>42</sup>

It is against this background of profound changes and the polarisation between two opposed social sectors – on the one hand the Welsh-speaking, Nonconformist, mostly rural but eventually urban population and on the other the English-speaking, Anglican, landowning class – that the idea of establishing a settlement exclusively for Welsh people in remote Patagonia sounded a desirable option for those who wanted to

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<sup>39</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Desert and the Dream: a Study of Welsh Colonization in Chubut, 1865-1915* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975), 7-8.

<sup>40</sup> See John Davies, *A History of Wales* (Penguin: London, 1993), 308.

<sup>41</sup> See Bill Jones, 'Cymru, Patagonia ac Ymfudo', in E. Wyn James and Bill Jones (ed.), *Michael D. Jones a'i Wadfa Gymreig* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2009), 18.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

fulfil the dream of living their lives as Welsh people, through the medium of Welsh, and free from external cultural and linguistic influences.

The idea of establishing a Welsh colony in Patagonia also sounded attractive to some Argentinean officials who thought that sending a party under the auspices of the Buenos Aires government would strengthen Argentina's claims over the Patagonian region before neighbouring Chile took the upper hand. However, others saw the settlement as a high-risk enterprise; the proximity of a colony of British subjects on the Falkland Islands occupied permanently by Great Britain in 1833 soon generated suspicions among those who were wary of British intentions. This, combined with the fear that the Welsh were Protestants who could convert the original peoples and eventually turn them against the officially Catholic Argentine State, led the Legislators in Congress to reject the project by 21 votes against 5 on 27 July 1863. Dr Guillermo Rawson, the Home Secretary, was still enthusiastic about the Welsh settling in Patagonia, and secured tracts of land in the Chubut Valley that were to be given to owners individually rather than to an immigration company. In 1864, when the Congress was not in session, Rawson managed to get the Welsh petition approved.<sup>43</sup>

The efforts of the committee were eventually rewarded and by May 1865 a group of immigrants were ready to board the *Mimosa*, a tea clipper that had been hired to take them to Patagonia. Although the project of migrating to Patagonia was finally being realised, Lewis Jones would later complain in his volume about the history of y

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<sup>43</sup> A detailed account of the Congress debates concerning the establishment of the Welsh settlement can be found in Clemente I. Dumrauf, *Historia del Chubut* (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra, 1996), 148-158.

*Wladfa*<sup>44</sup> that, because of the delays in getting the *Halton Castle* –the original ship that had been rented to sail in April– ready for the voyage, the wealthy immigrants who had gathered in Liverpool had decided to go back to their homes, and the Committee had to look for replacements among people without money. This confirms the idea that not everyone in the first contingent was an ardent nationalist in quest of a haven to save the Welsh language and culture.<sup>45</sup>

The first contingent set sail from Liverpool on 25 May 1865, with the Welsh flag flying at the top of the ship's mast and singing the 'Anthem y Wladychfa' (the Colony's Anthem) to the tune of 'God Save the King'.<sup>46</sup> After enduring a two-month trip, the group landed on what is now Port Madryn on 28 July 1865. Lewis Jones and Edwin Cynrig Roberts were waiting for the contingent and with the help of workers hired in the northern Patagonian town of Carmen de Patagones they had tried to build shelters and find water for the new arrivals. The rough coast and arid landscape of eastern Patagonia in the winter must have been a disheartening sight for the immigrants. Furthermore, they had to trek for 40 miles across the desert in order to get to the Chubut Valley, where the intended settlement was going to be established.<sup>47</sup>

Once in the Chubut Valley, the colonists began to organise the settlement. It would take them many years of constant hardship to finally obtain a good harvest.<sup>48</sup> In the

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<sup>44</sup> Lewis Jones, *Cymru Newydd. Hanes y Wladva Gymreig Tiriogaeth Chubut, yn y Weriniaeth Arianin, De Amerig* (Caernarvon: Cwmni'r Wasg Genedlaethol Gymreig, 1898).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-48.

<sup>46</sup> Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 52.

<sup>47</sup> Most of the women and children were taken to the Chubut Valley aboard two ships, one of which faced a severe storm that proved almost fatal to the passengers. A detailed account of the sufferings experienced by the colonists while trying to reach the Chubut Valley can be found in Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 68-90.

<sup>48</sup> The first good harvest was obtained in 1869, but it was washed away to the sea when the Chubut River overflowed its banks. In 1870 another good harvest was finally obtained. See Glyn Williams, *The*

meantime, they suffered because of their lack of experience in pioneering a new land, their ignorance of adequate farming techniques for the Patagonian soil, and the lack of regular contact with the outside world. There were various instances when the idea of a colony in Patagonia was on the brink of being abandoned –in 1867 many colonists led by the Rev. Abraham Matthews had opted for moving to another spot in the neighbouring province of Río Negro or in the northern province of Santa Fe, where lands had been promised to the farmers. It took considerable persuasion from some of the leaders, notably Lewis Jones, to convince the majority of the settlers to stay in the valley for another season.<sup>49</sup> However, many decided to leave and the pioneering group was, by 1868, reduced to less than two thirds of its original number. In all these instances, the Argentine government played a decisive role in supporting the pioneers even when the future of the colony did not look promising. The interaction with the native peoples also proved invaluable and instrumental in helping the Welsh to understand, adapt to, and survive in the new environment.<sup>50</sup>

The Welsh arrived in Patagonia came into contact with a variety of ethnic groups that had inhabited the Patagonian region for thousands of years before the arrival of European settlers.<sup>51</sup> Providing an accurate catalogue of the various nations that populated the region is a difficult task complicated by the fact that different labels were used by the native peoples themselves –since they spoke a number of languages– and by the European-Argentine population. However, in his work about

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*Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 53.

<sup>49</sup> A moving account of these key events can be found in Elvey MacDonald, ‘1865-1867: De la Euforia al Desengaño’, in Comité Organizador (ed.), *Los Galeses en la Patagonia* (Puerto Madryn: Fundación Ameghino and EHYS, 2004), 35-47; and in R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 114-115.

<sup>50</sup> See Marcelo Gavirati, ‘El Contacto entre Galeses, Pampas y Tehuelches: la Conformación de un Modelo de Convivencia Pacífica en la Patagonia Central (1865-1885)’, unpublished PhD thesis (Universidad del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 2012).

<sup>51</sup> Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2005), 29-36.

the contact between the Welsh settlers and the native peoples, Marcelo Gavirati uses the classification proposed by the Argentine scholar Rodolfo Casamiquela.<sup>52</sup> To the north of the Chubut river, there was the territory of the northern Tehuelches, subdivided into two groups. The ones that inhabited the territory between the rivers Colorado and Chubut were known as ‘Pampas’ or ‘Gününa a küna’ in their own language. To the south of the Chubut river, there were the southern Tehuelches, subdivided into two major groups (‘Aoni kenk’ in the north and ‘Mech’am’ to the south), with the Santa Cruz river as a sort of dividing line between them. It was mostly with the ‘Pampas’ and ‘Aoni kenk’ that the Welsh would have more fluid contact. One of the many remarkable aspects about the Welsh settlement in Patagonia is that it was able to cohabit with the original peoples without repeating the pattern of violence and destruction that was characteristic of the process of appropriation of the American continent by European peoples. The relationship between the Welsh and the natives was not devoid of tension, fear of the other, and even conflict, but those instances were outbalanced by the ability displayed by both groups to generate the means to overcome conflict through agreement and negotiation.<sup>53</sup> One of the key elements that cemented this amicable relationship was the commercial exchange that benefitted both sides. In exchange for meat, Patagonian rhea feathers, guanaco<sup>54</sup> hides and ponchos woven by the native women the Welsh would give in return bread, butter, rice, sugar, tobacco, yerba, items of clothing and tools and weapons and even alcohol. The Welsh settlement became a desirable alternative trading point for the

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<sup>52</sup> Marcelo Gavirati, ‘El Contacto entre Galeses, Pampas y Tehuelches: la Conformación de un Modelo de Convivencia Pacífica en la Patagonia Central (1865-1885)’, unpublished PhD thesis (Universidad del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 2012), 18-25. The research carried out by Gavirati provides a thorough analysis of the interaction between the Welsh settlers and the native peoples in the first 20 years of *Wladfa*.

<sup>53</sup> Marcelo Gavirati, ‘El Contacto entre Galeses, Pampas y Tehuelches: la Conformación de un Modelo de Convivencia Pacífica en la Patagonia Central (1865-1885)’, unpublished PhD thesis (Universidad del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 2012), 394.

<sup>54</sup> The guanaco is an animal similar to the llama found in South America. the native peoples used to hunt guanacos for their hide, its wool, and its meat.

native population for whom Carmen de Patagones was too far or who preferred to trade with the Welsh since they offered fairer deals.<sup>55</sup> The commercial exchange with the original peoples proved vital for the survival of *y Wladfa* in the first years and became lucrative for the settlers, especially during the period when the settlement had not found stability in terms of its agricultural produce.<sup>56</sup>

Once irrigation proved successful and the pioneers realised that the land could yield good crops, the settlement started to find a certain degree of stability.<sup>57</sup> The next step towards consolidating the colony was to attract more Welsh immigrants to Patagonia. Some families began to arrive as early as the end of 1867: David Williams 'Oneida', a successful Welsh farmer from the state of New York, brought his family and his pioneering experience from the United States.<sup>58</sup> However, the first organised contingent did not arrive until seven years later aboard the *Irene*. The ship carried a group of immigrants from the United States, that had set sail some time before aboard the *Electric Spark*, a ship that had foundered off the coast of Brazil without any loss of human life but with considerable losses in terms of agricultural machinery and belongings that the experienced and wealthy Welsh-Americans were bringing.

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<sup>55</sup> See Marcelo Gavirati, 'El Contacto entre Galeses, Pampas y Tehuelches: la Conformación de un Modelo de Convivencia Pacífica en la Patagonia Central (1865-1885)', unpublished PhD thesis (Universidad del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 2012), especially chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7.

<sup>56</sup> See Glyn Williams, *The Desert and the Dream, A Study of Welsh Colonization in Chubut 1865-1915* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press), 53-54; 62-69.

<sup>57</sup> Although being by now part of the Welsh Patagonian myth and confirmed by Abraham Matthews and most historians, the story of Rachel Jenkins suggesting to her husband Aaron that water from the river could be used to irrigate the dry farm patches is contested by Elvey MacDonald. According to the latter, irrigation was known and used in the Chubut River from the very beginning, and Mr and Mrs Jenkins's contribution was to realise that the black soil patches removed from the river could be irrigated and that they were, contrary to common belief, much more productive than those closer to the riverbanks. See Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 122-123 and 147-148. An even more detailed analysis based on a range of sources can be found in David Williams, *El Valle Prometido* (Gaiman: Ediciones del Cedro, 2008), 29-33.

<sup>58</sup> Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 147. It became a custom among the Welsh in Patagonia to add their place of origin or the name of the farm they inhabited to their names. Such is the case of David Williams 'Oneida', Richard Jones 'Berwyn' and Evan Jones 'Triangl' among many others.

Once in Buenos Aires, the group joined a contingent from Wales under the guidance of the Reverend Abraham Matthews –who was by then convinced that it was worth staying in Patagonia and who had been on a recruiting tour in Wales– before sailing to the Chubut River.<sup>59</sup> Over 500 newcomers joined the settlement in 1875-1876.<sup>60</sup>

If the dream of a Welsh province with 20,000 inhabitants was ever to become a reality, more space beyond the Chubut Valley would be needed eventually. This triggered a series of exploratory trips by Welsh pioneers, generally following Indian trails, in search of other areas suitable for settlement or for links with other towns like Carmen de Patagones.<sup>61</sup> The most far-reaching of these trips was the expedition organised in 1885 by the Welsh settlers under the nominal guidance of Governor Luis Fontana. They explored the territory of Chubut on horseback and found a vast valley at the foot of the Andes that looked ideal to establish a branch of the colony about 400 miles to the west of the Chubut Valley. The Welsh named the valley ‘Cwm Hyfryd’ (Pleasant Valley), in reference to the valley’s natural beauty. Colonel Fontana opted for the less charming ‘Valle 16 de Octubre’ (16 October Valley), to commemorate the date of the passing of the law creating the National Territories the previous year.<sup>62</sup> It was not until February 1888 that the ‘Colonia Valle 16 de Octubre’ (16 October Valley Colony) was officially founded, and in October 1889 the first Welsh men arrived to build some houses for their families, which arrived the following year.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 144.

<sup>60</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Desert and the Dream* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975), 74.

<sup>61</sup> See Glyn Williams, ‘Welsh Contributions to Exploration in Patagonia’, *The Geographical Journal*, 135/2 (1969), 213-227.

<sup>62</sup> It is the less poetic Spanish option and not a translation of the Welsh version that has remained as the official name of the area although among Welsh speakers, the Welsh name is still used.

<sup>63</sup> Jorge Fiori and Gustavo de Vera, *Trevelin. Un Pueblo en los Tiempos del Molino* (Trevelin: Dirección de Cultura, 2002), 45.

In 1892, some inhabitants of Gaiman wrote a petition to the Gaiman Council asking for governmental support to obtain the concession of land in the south of the territory of Chubut, in a valley surrounded by two lakes that the Welsh had named Colwapi –a Welsh version of a native name–, some 250 miles to the south-west of *y Wladfa*. The area had been explored in 1877 by the settler John Murray Thomas,<sup>64</sup> although he had not gone far enough to appreciate the fertility of the valley. The Fontana expedition explored the Colwapi area in more detail on their way back to the Chubut Valley after having explored the Andean region in 1885. After obtaining permission from the government to settle in the valley between the two lakes, some Welsh families started moving to the new settlement in 1899, although from the beginning they were joined by immigrants from other nationalities.<sup>65</sup>

By the time of the Fontana expedition in 1885, the settlers had established themselves firmly in the Chubut Valley. As well as building a network of canals across the valley, they had also founded a company –‘Cwmni Dyfrhau y Camwy’ (the Chubut Irrigation Society)– to administer them, of which the farmers were the shareholders.<sup>66</sup> The use

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<sup>64</sup> One of the most important and controversial figures of *y Wladfa*, John Murray Thomas arrived in Patagonia aboard the *Mimosa* in 1865, but soon left for Buenos Aires, where he became an accountant, developed close ties with the British community in the capital city and the Argentinean Government, and became the first Welsh settler from the *Mimosa* to learn Spanish fluently and take Argentinean citizenship. He became a wealthy businessman and was able to fund several exploratory trips, of which the ‘Rifleros’ expedition around the territory of Chubut with Governor Fontana in 1885 is the most well known. Thomas’ diaries and photographs are a vivid record of life in Patagonia at the end of the nineteenth century. Albina Jones de Zampini, *Reunión de Familias en el Sur* (Gaiman: Edición del Autor, 1995), 229.

<sup>65</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 264-265. The Government gave the new colony the name ‘Colonia Sarmiento’ (Sarmiento Colony) in honour of President Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1868-1874), who is considered as one of the founding fathers of modern Argentina. The native name ‘Colwapi’ has survived to this day, since one of the lakes surrounding the valley is ‘Lago Colhué Huapi’ (Lake Colhué Huapi). The other lake has been named Lago Musters (Lake Musters) in memory of the English explorer George Chaworth Musters, who was the first white man to travel across Patagonia with a group of ‘Aoni kenk’ (southern Tehuelche) natives. See George C. Musters, *At home with the Patagonians: a year's wanderings over untrodden ground from the Straits of Magellan to the Rio Negro* (London: John Murray, 1871).

<sup>66</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 64.

of irrigation increased the agricultural production to the point that a sizable surplus became available. However, in order to sell their produce in Buenos Aires, the farmers had to rely on intermediaries who charged too high a price to take the products to the market. The entrepreneurial mind of some colonists led to the creation in 1885 of 'Cwmni Masnachol y Camwy' (the Chubut Mercantile Society), informally known as the Coop. Its aim was to pool the producers' efforts to obtain greater benefits and avoid losing money at the expense of intermediaries.<sup>67</sup>

Communications with Buenos Aires and the rest of the world had always been a problem and a concern for the settlers. The project for building a railway to the harbour in Port Madryn in the New Bay gained momentum, so that the settlers would be able to export their produce from a place ideal for ships to anchor. By the same token, they hoped to reduce the high freight costs that ships charged for having to navigate the treacherous mouth of the Chubut River. The idea of building a railway on the Patagonian plain had already been mentioned by Captain Love Jones-Parry in his report to the Immigration Society in Liverpool in 1863, and it was Lewis Jones who set out to find the capital to fund the construction of the line linking Port Madryn and the Chubut Valley. The task was given to an English engineer, Azahel P. Bell, who raised the capital and organised the venture. The building of the railway meant not only that the Chubut Valley would have a direct link to export its produce to Buenos Aires and the rest of the world, but it also led to a new inflow of about 500 Welsh immigrants hired as workers to build the railway settling permanently in the colony. This was also the reason behind the founding in 1886 of a new town at the end of the

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<sup>67</sup> An account of the process of founding the Coop can be found in William Meloch Hughes, *Ar Lannau'r Gamwy ym Mhatagonia* (Lerpwl: Y Brython, 1927), 106-131. William Meloch Hughes was one of the founding members.

railway line in the Chubut Valley. After considering several names, it was decided that it would be named Trelew in honour of Lewis Jones.<sup>68</sup>

The successful experiments in the field of agriculture and commerce made *y Wladfa* the most mechanised rural settlement in the whole of the Argentine Republic by the end of the nineteenth century,<sup>69</sup> and Welsh Patagonian grain won gold medals in the Chicago and Paris agricultural exhibitions in 1889 and 1895 respectively.<sup>70</sup> However, there were also other fields in which the colonists excelled. With the aim of creating a New Wales in South America, the leaders of the movement made sure that from the start children received an education through the medium of Welsh. A number of Welsh-medium primary schools appeared across the Chubut Valley as the population grew, and by the end of the century a committee was created to work on the idea of establishing an ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ (Intermediate School). By 1899 the building for that school had been almost finished, but it was swept away during the floods that devastated the Valley that year.<sup>71</sup> It was not until 1906 that the Intermediate School was finally inaugurated in Gaiman –the first Welsh-language intermediate school in the world.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 189-193. ‘Tre’ in Welsh means town, and ‘Lew’ is the shortened form of Lewis.

<sup>69</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 80.

<sup>70</sup> Although the wheat sent by the colonist Benjamin Brunt won the gold medal in the Paris International Exhibition in 1889, it was only in 1892 that he found out about his success. Benjamin Brunt won the same prize in the Chicago International Exhibition in 1895. The colonists William Meloch Hughes and Robert Adna Davies also got a diploma for the quality of their wheat. See Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico, i* (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 61.

<sup>71</sup> See *Y Drafod*, 31 January 1930.

<sup>72</sup> See Robert Owen Jones, *Hir Oes i'r Iaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1997), 317. An account of the work involved in founding the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ can be found in Eluned Morgan, ‘Addysg ar y Gamwy. Y Gwyll a'r Gwawr’, *Cymru*, 38/22 (1910), 29-35.

A range of cultural institutions were also taken from Wales and recreated in Patagonia. It is claimed that the first eisteddfod took place as early as 1865, at a time when the first settlers were barely beginning to find their feet in the new land, a fact that evidences their resolve to protect and recreate their cultural institutions.<sup>73</sup> When the settlement expanded, eisteddfodau were held bringing together the Welsh community almost every year. Periodical literary meetings and competitions were held in the different sectors of the Valley in preparation for the main event, and a society under the name of ‘Camwy Fydd’ –an obvious replica of the ‘Cymru Fydd’ movement in Wales (‘Cymru’) but based in the Chubut Valley (‘Dyffryn Camwy’ in Welsh)<sup>74</sup> – was founded around 1890 with the aim of ‘meithryn ysbryd a chwaeth at lenyddiaeth a gwyddoniaeth, a bod yn gyfrwng i wyntyllio pynciau deimlid deilyngent sylw y Wladfa, heblaw bod yn ddolen gymdeithasol i loewi a dyddori yn ystod nosweithiau hirion y gaeaf’ (developing a spirit and a taste for literature and science, and to be a medium for publicizing matters that it was felt deserved the attention of *y Wladfa*, as well as being a social link to bring improvement and entertainment during the long winter nights).<sup>75</sup>

Since the Nonconformist religion was a fundamental part of the personal and social life of many of the Welsh and since it had been mostly Nonconformist ministers in Wales who had recruited emigrants to Patagonia,<sup>76</sup> it is not surprising that a string of chapels was built across the Valley. The chapels worked not only as centres for

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<sup>73</sup> See Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2001), 111-112.

<sup>74</sup> The movement was founded in London in 1886 with the aim of gaining self-government for Wales, although that specific aim was not achieved. The movement was known in English as ‘Young Wales’. See R. Merfyn Jones, ‘Beyond Identity? The Reconstruction of the Welsh’, *Journal of British Studies*, 31/4 (1992), 337.

<sup>75</sup> See R. Edwyn Roberts, ‘Cymdeithas Camwy Fydd y Wladfa’, *Cymru*, LV (1918), 41.

<sup>76</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 92.

worship but also as social, cultural and educational meeting points. They were strategically built so that every family would not be more than two miles away from the nearest one.<sup>77</sup> Although most of the chapels belonged to one of the three main denominations in Wales, in Patagonia denominationalism became less and less important especially with the founding of ‘Undeb Eglwysi Rhyddion y Wladfa’ (the Association of the Free Churches of the Welsh Settlement) in 1903 to ‘administer and coordinate the activities of all the protestant chapels within the settlement, regardless of denomination’.<sup>78</sup>

### **The relationship with the Argentine State**

Even though all the achievements of the first settlers could make one think that y *Wladfa* project had been successful, the seeds of its failure as a New Wales had been planted as the settlement was being established. In fact, it could be said that the dream was doomed even before the settlers had set sail from Liverpool. Although the leaders of the immigration movement to Patagonia sought to establish a New Wales in South America either as an independent entity or as an autonomous Welsh province within the Argentine Republic –the title of Lewis Jones’s chronicle of the development of y *Wladfa* published in 1898 evidences that ambition–<sup>79</sup> for the Argentine authorities in Buenos Aires there was never any doubt that the colony would not have any special privileges other than those granted to other immigrant colonies in the country. The

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 95. For an overview of the history of the chapels in the Chubut Valley see Alberto Abdala and Matthew Henry Jones, *Capillas del Valle* (Trelew: Comisión de Centenario, 1965).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 101. See also May Williams de Hughes, ‘Cien Años del UNDEB’, unpublished speech on the occasion of the Centenary of the Establishment of Undeb Eglwysi Rhyddion y Wladfa (Union of Free Churches of y *Wladfa*), Bethlehem Chapel, Treorcki, Chubut, Argentina, 3 August 2003.

<sup>79</sup> Lewis Jones, *Cymru Newydd. Hanes y Wladva Gymreig Tiriogaeth Chubut, yn y Weriniaeth Arianin, De Amerig* (Caernarvon: Cwmni’r Wasg Genedlaethol Gymreig, 1898). The title can be translated as: *A New Wales. The History of the Welsh Settlement in the Territory of Chubut, in the Argentine Republic, South America*. The Chubut historian Clemente Dumrauf published a volume describing the Welsh intentions of establishing a settlement in Patagonia with a high degree of autonomy from the central government. See Clemente I. Dumrauf, *La Colonia Galesa de Chubut. Su Lucha por el Gobierno Propio* (Buenos Aires: Dunken, 2008).

government had no intention of offering a vast tract of land that it wanted for its own so that a group of immigrants could potentially create a separate country, or even an autonomous province –Argentina was growing as the unified, centralised country revolving around the port city of Buenos Aires that its victorious ‘unitario’ leaders had envisioned during the civil wars.<sup>80</sup> As early as September 1865, the colony received a visit by an official party led by Colonel Murga, who was in charge of the military garrison in Carmen de Patagones. He arrived under the auspices of the National Government to check that the immigrants had reached their destination safely and also to hoist the Argentinean flag and declare that the land was under Argentine sovereignty. The land surveyor Julian Díaz was also part of the party and stayed to measure the farms that were to be given to the settlers.<sup>81</sup>

However, after this display of authority, the Welsh were left on their own to run their affairs as they saw fit. This is no wonder since Argentina –allied with Uruguay and Brazil– found herself immersed in a war against Paraguay from 1865 until 1871, and it was only in the early 1870s that the internal rebellions organised by local *caudillos* who supported the ideal of a federal government were quelled and most of the provinces came under the centralised rule of Buenos Aires.<sup>82</sup> Although having to face a period of hardship and great uncertainty regarding the survival of the colony, the colonists at least were able to govern themselves through their own institutions for almost a decade. However, 1874 was a year that would bring profound changes. In February, business men arrived from Buenos Aires to open their own stores in the Chubut Valley: John Murray Thomas with his partner Francis Young, and the

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<sup>80</sup> See pg. 18-19 in this chapter for an explanation of the ‘unitario’ and ‘federal’ factions in Argentine history.

<sup>81</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 98-99.

<sup>82</sup> David Rock, *Argentina 1516-1987. From Spanish Colonization to the Falkland War and Alfonsín* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co., 1987), 127-129.

Spaniard Malaquías Nuñez. They also brought their own merchant ships, the *Gwenllian* and the *Esperanza* respectively. The colony would from then on have a permanent means of contact with the outside world.

At the end of 1874 the authorities in Buenos Aires, concerned about the growing interest in western Patagonia shown by Chile, turned their attention to the southern regions and decided to send representatives on a permanent basis to be in charge of the port in Rawson.<sup>83</sup> By the end of 1875 the Italian Antonio Oneto, the first ‘Comisario de la Colonia’ (Administrator of the Colony), appointed in Buenos Aires, was sent to the Chubut Valley to make sure that the settlement abided by Argentinean law and that the territory became an integral part of the Republic. Frictions would be inevitable between the colonists who had grown accustomed to following their own rules and the sometimes tactless officials sent by the Argentine State to enforce the national law. The growing interest of the National Government in controlling the southern regions was felt again in October 1878, when a new law was passed creating the ‘Gobernación de la Patagonia’ (Governorship of Patagonia), an administrative unit extending from the Colorado River –currently the northern border of the province of Río Negro, to the north of Chubut– down to Cape Horn.<sup>84</sup> This shows the clear intention of the Government of organising the southern territories before gaining effective control of them.

The date of the creation of the administrative region of Patagonia is not a random one.

The following year would be one of the major turning points in the history of

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<sup>83</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 150.

<sup>84</sup> The ‘Ley de la Gobernación de la Patagonia 954’ (The Governorship of Patagonia Act 954), passed on 11 October 1878. See Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2005), 142.

Argentine Patagonia. In 1879, General Julio Argentino Roca, in charge of the Ministry of War, launched the first of a series of military campaigns to subjugate the native peoples of Patagonia and take possession of their lands.<sup>85</sup> Waged between 1879 and 1885, the campaigns known as the ‘Conquista del Desierto’ (Conquest of the Desert) –implying that the lands to be conquered were an empty space that needed to be ‘civilised’– were financed by private landowners and merchants and foreign investors who were given vast tracts of the newly-acquired lands in return for buying Government bonds to fund the campaign.<sup>86</sup> The campaign was justified on the grounds that it was a step in the right direction to bring the benefits of ‘civilization’ to the ‘savages’ that lived in Patagonia, that the landowners of the pampas would not have their cattle taken away by the natives to feed the active ‘unofficial’ trade with Chile, and also it would incorporate into Argentina the vast tracts of land that were needed as a grazing ground for the growing number of cattle and sheep that fuelled the Argentine economy based on train to Buenos Aires. The men were sent to the northern provinces to work as on exporting cereals and meat to Europe.<sup>87</sup> As a result of the bloody and violent campaigns, many of the vanquished original inhabitants of Patagonia were sent by ship to labourers, and the women and children were distributed as servants to the homes of well-off families in Buenos Aires, while remained in Patagonia impoverished and half forgotten by the official discourse.<sup>88</sup> The campaigns put an end to the fruitful commercial exchange between the original peoples and the

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<sup>85</sup> Juan Carlos Vedoya, ‘La Generación del ’80 y los Territorios Nacionales. Formación, Sociedad Política y Demografía Social y Económica’, in *Jornadas de Historia Argentino-Americana* (Tandil: Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 1983), 3.

<sup>86</sup> The bonds were issued by the Government after passing the ‘Ley del Empréstito N 947, 1876’ (Loan Act N 947, 1876). See Susana Bandieri, ‘Ampliando Fronteras: la Ocupación de la Patagonia. Expedicionarios y viajeros: el Imaginario Patagónico del Siglo XIX’, in Mirta Lobato (ed.), *Nueva Historia Argentina: el Progreso, la Modernización y sus Límites (1880-1916)* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2000), 6.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

<sup>88</sup> See Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2005), 125-154.

Welsh settlers, and destroyed a clear example of peaceful coexistence between settlers and original peoples. The Welsh were not indifferent to the violent campaigns of the Argentine Government, and they interceded in favour of the native peoples arguing that, contrary to the government's discourse, the original peoples were not violent, that they had been kind with the Welsh, and that they could be supportive in founding new settlements in the hinterland.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, the Welsh plea went unheeded.

Once the campaigns had almost come to an end, the Law of the National Territories 1532 was passed on 16 October 1884 creating the Territory of Chubut among nine other territories.<sup>90</sup> The creation of the territories was not a merely bureaucratic operation but the outcome of a carefully conceived surgical strike by the Argentine Government. The Law of the National Territories was the legislative attempt to organise the vast tracts of land that Argentina had recently acquired by war in the north-east and through the genocidal campaign in the south. Although the territories were officially incorporated into the Republic, politically they were not on the same level as the provinces of Argentina. Furthermore, the central government created a uniform legislation that did not take into consideration the specificities of each territory; hence, the territories became marginal, hybrid entities whose development was hindered by the lack of attention paid to their specific needs.<sup>91</sup> A heavy bureaucracy based in Buenos Aires worked against the efficiency of the local administration. The governors of the territories were appointed in Buenos Aires and had limited powers and a reduced budget, so that their role was constricted to obeying

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<sup>89</sup> Lewis Jones, *Cymru Newydd. Hanes y Wladva Gymreig Tiriogaeth Chubut, yn y Weriniaeth Arianin, De Amerig* (Caernarvon: Cwmni'r Wasg Genedlaethol Gymreig, 1898), 115.

<sup>90</sup> Six of the territories were in Patagonia, while three others were in the north-east of the country. The latter had been gained as a result of the war against Paraguay, 1864-1870. This law was previously mentioned in this chapter, since the date when it was promulgated gave the name to the valley where the Welsh would settle by the Andean foothills towards the end of the nineteenth century. See pg. 34.

<sup>91</sup> See Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2005), 156.

and executing the orders emanated from the central Government. They were unable, for example, to take any action in the field of legislation, education, the administration of taxes, policing, public land, the post office, jails or road building without the consent of the National Government.<sup>92</sup> The territories whose population exceeded thirty thousand inhabitants had the right to elect a legislative assembly, and provincial status was granted when the population reached sixty thousand inhabitants. However, in practice censuses were not frequent and this particular piece of legislation was never effectively applied. The only element of political autonomy granted to the citizens of the territories was conferred on locations with more than one thousand inhabitants: they were able to elect authorities for the local council and justices of the peace. However they did not have the right to vote in national elections.<sup>93</sup>

With the creation of the territories, new authorities were needed to govern them. Colonel Luis Jorge Fontana became the first appointed governor to replace the ‘comisario’ that had represented the National Government until then in the Territory of Chubut. Fontana proved to be a man fit for the job and a shrewd politician who managed to appease the colonists while at the same time confirming the authority of the National Government. By the end of his second term in 1894, the Welsh colony had experienced considerable development and at the same time it had come increasingly under the rule of the National Government, although the transformation of the Welsh settlers and their descendants into fervent Argentinean citizens was a process that would take many more years.

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<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>93</sup> See Juan Carlos, ‘La Generación del ’80 y los Territorios Nacionales. Formación, Sociedad Política y Demografía Social y Económica’, in *Jornadas de Historia Argentino-Americana* (Tandil: Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 1983), 1-15.

All in all, the Argentine policy of attracting immigrants was extremely successful, and millions of mostly European immigrants flocked to the South American republic. It is useful to draw a comparison with the United States of America as far as immigrant reception is concerned in order to understand the impact that the massive inflow of immigrants must have had on the country. While the United States received 27 million immigrants in the period from 1857 to 1914, Argentina received only 4.6 million. However, in terms of the impact on the local population we can see that, according to the 1890 census, foreigners made up 14.7% of the total population in the United States, while the Argentinean 1895 census showed that foreigners were 25.5%. The percentage would diminish in the United States to 14.5% in the 1910 census but in Argentina it would grow to 30% in 1914.<sup>94</sup>

Although this massive inflow of foreigners was what was needed to build the country in the way that the government and the elites had envisioned, at the turn of the twentieth century they became increasingly concerned. The millions of immigrants had provided the manpower needed to make Argentina one of the bread-baskets of the world at the beginning of the twentieth century and they had contributed to founding cities in the sparsely populated republic, but they had also become a nascent urban proletariat that introduced ideologies that were considered a threat to the *status quo*: socialism, communism and anarchism. Mass immigration paradoxically became a problematic solution to the country's problems.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> See Fernando Devoto, *Historia de la Inmigración en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2009), 49.

<sup>95</sup> See Lilia Ana Bertoni, *Patriotas, Cosmopolitas y Nacionalista. La Construcción de la Nacionalidad Argentina a Fines del Siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), Chapter 1.

The strategy that the government and the elites employed to tackle the potential social upheaval was to implement policies to ensure that all immigrants and their descendants would feel an unquestionable allegiance to Argentina. These policies affected all immigrant communities in the country –including of course, the Welsh– and although some immigrant groups were more successful than others in transmitting and preserving their original identity across several generations, all of them became eventually integrated into Argentine society.

The main tool employed by the government to ‘argentinise’ the children of immigrants born on Argentinean soil was the primary school and the obligatory military service for men.<sup>96</sup> Argentinean historian Luis Alberto Romero has explored how the government implemented those strategies in the field of education and explains that one of the purposes of the primary school system in Argentina was precisely to ‘hacer argentinos’ (create Argentines).<sup>97</sup> The deep concern about a supposedly dissipated Argentine nationality had become almost an obsession for the elites and the government by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>98</sup> In 1884, the same year in which the Law of the National Territories was passed, the Argentine Government passed another key piece of legislation: the ‘Ley de la Educación Común 1420’ (Law of Common Education 1420), providing free, universal, obligatory, lay education for all Argentines. This was the first step at the national level to incorporate effectively all citizens born in the territory of Argentina as full members of the nascent nation. However, it was only in the twentieth century that the campaign

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<sup>96</sup> All men born in Argentina were considered Argentinean, whereas the parents had the option of becoming Argentine citizens. See Fernando Devoto, *Historia de la Inmigración en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2009), 277-280.

<sup>97</sup> Luis Alberto Romero, *La Argentina en la Escuela. La Idea de Nación en los Textos Escolares* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2004), 24.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

to ‘argentinise’ gained full swing under the leadership of Minister José María Ramos Mejía, who was in charge of the ‘Consejo de Educación’ (Ministry of Education) from 1908 until 1912. He devised the principles of the ‘educación patriótica’ (patriotic education), a set of concepts and rituals that sought to ingrain in the young minds of schoolchildren that they were first and foremost Argentinean.<sup>99</sup> This nationalistic campaign gained momentum in 1910, when Argentina celebrated the centenary of the establishment in Buenos Aires of the first local government, considered the first step towards independence.<sup>100</sup>

Another tool used in constructing the Argentine nation was the passing of Law 4301 in 1901, also known as ‘Ley Ricchieri’, since it was devised by Lieutenant General Pablo Ricchieri. Ricchieri was in charge of the Ministry of War during the second presidency of Julio Argentino Roca (1898-1904), who had given him the task of creating a professional army, and he developed the idea of establishing the obligatory military service for all males born in Argentina. A year of conscription –or two years in the case of those joining the Navy– was implemented so that the young recruits would familiarise themselves with the basic institutions and rituals of the nation. It also became an instrument to create a sense of equality across social classes, increasing the literacy rate and incorporating the sons of immigrants into the Argentine nation.

A more radical measure that exemplifies the extreme approach taken by the Argentine Government in order to find a solution to the problems that they found as a

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<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 40. The outcome of this campaign will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

<sup>100</sup> For an analysis of the significance of the 1910 celebrations see Geraldine Lublin, “‘Lighting up in distant regions the sacred fire of the Nation’: the Centenary celebrations (1910) and the Welsh community in Patagonia”, *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, <http://nuevomundo.revues.org/64600>, consulted 21 January 2013.

consequence of mass migration was the passing of two pieces of legislation: the ‘Ley de Residencia 4144’ (Residency Act 4144) in 1902 and the ‘Ley de Defensa Social’ (Social Defence Act) in 1910. Both were passed in key periods in Argentine history. In 1901 and 1902 there was an unusual number of strikes, mainly in cities and towns. By 1910 the tension between the workers and the upper classes and the government had not waned, and the immediacy of the centenary celebrations of the first elected local government prompted the government to take the necessary precautions to prevent any social issues from ruining the celebrations. Both pieces of legislation allowed the government to deport any resident immigrants who could be a threat to national security or who disrupted public order.<sup>101</sup> Despite the fact that both laws were in full operation at the beginning of the twentieth century and were only revoked by President Arturo Frondizi in 1958,<sup>102</sup> they were unconstitutional –the National Constitution guaranteed the right to enter and leave the country to all foreigners who wished to do so. However, the government decided that the constitution could be overruled and many immigrants were denied the right to enter the country or were deported without having the right to defend themselves by any legal means.<sup>103</sup>

It is almost needless to stress that the campaign to ‘argentinise’ was not directed solely against the Welsh population in Patagonia –it affected all immigrants and their descendants and Argentineans as well, since the creation of a sense of nationhood and unity was a pressing issue for the government. After all, as has already been mentioned, at the turn of the nineteenth century Argentina was a country that had recently incorporated vast territories and had welcomed millions of immigrants: it was

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<sup>101</sup> See Alberto Sarramone, *Inmigrantes y Criollos en el Bicentenario* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones B, 2009), 206-207.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.

<sup>103</sup> Fernando Devoto, *Historia de la Inmigración en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2002), 275.

basically a country in need of redefining itself. Although the campaign of argentinisation was extremely successful as a gradual, long-term project, it met considerable difficulties in its implementation in Patagonia, as a result of the region being so far removed from Buenos Aires and being a frontier zone where immigrant, Chilean and native populations were in the majority.<sup>104</sup> In the course of this process of creating a new nation and imposing an identity, clashes between the central government and the Patagonian Welsh settlement that aspired to having autonomy were inevitable.

Perhaps the best example of this tension between the government and the settlers during the last decade of the nineteenth century is the episode of the obligatory military exercises of the 'Guardia Nacional' (National Guard). The National Guard was a paramilitary organization founded in Buenos Aires in 1852 with the aim of training all Argentine males between 17 and 60 to defend the country in case of an emergency. As such, the 'Guardia' was a complementary organization to the regular army. In case of an emergency or external military threat, the citizens were incorporated into units under the orders of civilians and were supposed to fight alongside the regular army. From 1891 onwards, when the government equipped the army with modern Mauser rifles, the need to provide better training to the National Guard became a priority.<sup>105</sup>

In 1894, Welsh-friendly Governor Jorge Fontana was replaced by Eugenio Tello, a governor who, according to Glyn Williams, resented the superior stance and the

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<sup>104</sup> Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2005), 166.

<sup>105</sup> Lilia Ana Bertoni, *Patriotas, Cosmopolitas y Nacionalista. La Construcción de la Nacionalidad Argentina a Fines del Siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 216-218.

power and influence of Welsh Protestants.<sup>106</sup> Tello, who in his youth had been a seminarist, was also a devout Catholic.<sup>107</sup> The new governor ordered that military exercises should be held every Sunday, and that all Argentinean males should attend the weekly practices. This idea went against the sabbatarian practices of the Welsh community, who expressed their willingness to participate in the exercises provided that they were held on a different day of the week. The governor was adamant, and the conflict lasted for several years. Even after the colonists succeeded in obtaining decrees from the National Government in Buenos Aires on 27 August 1897 and on 27 May 1898 authorizing the Governor of Chubut to change the day of the military exercises, on both occasions Governor Tello refused to compromise on the grounds that it would be irrational to attend to the needs of all Argentineans who had different religious faiths.<sup>108</sup> The conflict persisted even when Governor Tello was replaced by Carlos O'Donnell in 1898 and culminated only when President Julio Roca –who visited the colony in 1899 on his way to the Straits of Magellan to sign a treaty of peace with the Chilean president Federico Errázuriz– interceded in favour of the Welsh,<sup>109</sup> but not before some young Welsh-Argentineans were imprisoned and some settlers had felt forced to send their sons back to Wales to avoid the military exercises.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 61.

<sup>107</sup> Clemente I. Dumrauf, *Patagonia Tierra de Hombres. Vida y Obra de los Misioneros Salesianos en el Sur Argentino* (Buenos Aires: Continente, 2005), 88.

<sup>108</sup> See Jorge L. Barzini, 'La Misión de Thomas B. Phillips y Llwyd Ap Iwan a Londres', in Comité Organizador (ed.), *Los Galeses en la Patagonia*, iii (Puerto Madryn: Fundación Ameghino y Asociación Punta Cuevas, 2008), 128.

<sup>109</sup> The conflict was resolved by 1902. Clemente I. Dumrauf, *Patagonia Tierra de Hombres. Vida y Obra de los Misioneros Salesianos en el Sur Argentino* (Buenos Aires: Continente, 2005), 61.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

However, the relationship with the central authorities was not always characterised by conflict, especially in the Andean region in Chubut, where the Welsh became the first European group to establish a permanent settlement. In fact, the Welsh who had settled in the ‘Cwm Hyfryd’ area, strengthened the Argentinean claim in the arbitration conducted by Sir Thomas Holdich, a representative of the British Crown chosen to solve the dispute between Chile and Argentina about the possession of vast amount of land in the Patagonian region.<sup>111</sup> Even when the cooperation of the Welsh in expressing a greater affinity with Argentina may have been prompted by their desire to being given legal ownership of the land that they inhabited and remaining in the same country as their relatives in the Chubut Valley, recent studies show that the relationship with the Argentine Government was smoother in the Andean region than in the Chubut Valley.<sup>112</sup>

Another event that became a milestone in the history of the colonization of Patagonia in the nineteenth century was the arrival of the first Salesians of Don Bosco in 1879 –they left such a deep mark that a visiting priest, Father Pedro Berruti, commented in 1936 that ‘si la Patagonia no es atea, ni protestante, se debe a los misioneros salesianos’ (if Patagonia is not an atheist or Protestant region it is because of the Salesian missionaries).<sup>113</sup> The Salesians were a Roman Catholic religious institute founded in Turin, Italy, by Don John Bosco.<sup>114</sup> Although their initial aim was to work in the field of education among destitute youngsters in Italy, Patagonia became a goal for the newly-created group after Don Bosco purportedly had a dream in which God

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<sup>111</sup> See Jorge Fiori and Gustavo De Vera, 1902. *El Protagonismo de los Colonos Galeses en la Frontera Argentino-Chilena* (Esquel: Editorial FB, 2002).

<sup>112</sup> See Brígida Baeza, *Fronteras e Identidades en Patagonia Central* (Rosario: Prohistoria, 2009)

<sup>113</sup> See Clemente I. Dumrauf, *Historia del Chubut* (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra, 1996), 389.

<sup>114</sup> Although Don Bosco started his work with destitute children in 1845, it was only in 1873 that the Pope officially approved the set of rules for the Salesians.

asked him to evangelise the region. In 1875 the first group of Salesian fathers arrived in Buenos Aires, but it was not until 1879 that they arrived in Patagonia with the Roca expedition.<sup>115</sup>

The first missionary to arrive in Rawson was Father Pedro Bonacina in 1892. After preparing a report about the situation in the Valley and the prospects for a Salesian mission, he went back to Buenos Aires. At the end of the year, Father Bernardo Vacchina was sent to take charge of the mission in Rawson. He soon founded a school for boys and another for girls, catering for the whole community but attended mostly by descendants of Italian, French and Spanish families that lived in the Rawson area.<sup>116</sup> In 1895 he built the first hospital in Chubut.<sup>117</sup> On 1 January 1905 Father Vacchina founded *La Cruz del Sur*, the first Spanish-language newspaper in Chubut.<sup>118</sup>

Although considerable tensions arose between the Salesians and the liberal, lay government of the generation of the '80s,<sup>119</sup> the Catholic priests would complement, and sometimes be ahead of, the work carried out by the authorities in Buenos Aires to bring the Patagonian region under the solid grip of the National Government.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Harsh criticism of the manner in which the native population was treated by the soldiers can be found in the letters that the priests who accompanied the Roca expedition sent to Don Bosco in Italy. Don Bosco himself was convinced that the task of the priests would not be fruitful if it were associated with the bloody, unfair campaign led by the government troops. In spite of this, the Salesians went on to become the main branch of the Catholic Church in Patagonia. See María Andrea Nicoletti, 'Los Salesianos y la Conquista de la Patagonia: desde Don Bosco Hasta sus Primeros Textos Escolares e Historias Oficiales', *Tefros*, 5/2 (2007), 1-24.

<sup>116</sup> Clemente I. Dumrauf, *Patagonia Tierra de Hombres. Vida y Obra de los Misioneros Salesianos en el Sur Argentino* (Buenos Aires: Continente, 2005), 80.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>118</sup> Clemente I. Dumrauf, *Historia del Chubut* (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra, 1996), 413.

<sup>119</sup> The passing of Law of Common Education 1420 in 1884 and the Law of Civil Marriage 2393 in 1888 eliminated the control by the Catholic Church in the field of education and marriage. See Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2005), 166.

<sup>120</sup> See Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2005), 167-171; and Pedro Navarro Floria, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Ciudad Argentina, 1999), 114-119.

Therefore, they became another institution that challenged the supremacy of the Welsh community in the Chubut Valley.

The turn of the century heralded other problems for the settlement. In 1899, and to a lesser degree in 1901, 1902 and 1903, the Chubut River burst its banks, obliterating what the colonists had achieved after almost 35 years of toil. The settlers were forced to live in tents for months on the slopes of the Chubut Valley until they were able to return to their farms to start anew.<sup>121</sup> Although most settlers stayed in Patagonia, a contingent departed for Canada in 1902.<sup>122</sup> In the same year, another group of Welsh colonists moved to the neighbouring province of Río Negro invited by Governor Eugenio Tello –who already knew the Welsh from his time as Governor of Chubut. They settled on the island of Choele Choel, some 270 miles to the north west of the Chubut River, where they built a network of irrigation canals and farmed the land. Another option that the Welsh considered was relocating somewhere under the protection of the British Empire. South Africa was deemed a feasible option. Land taken from the Boers after the end of the Second Boer War (1899-1902) was available,<sup>123</sup> so a delegation headed by Llwyd ap Iwan was sent to inspect the terrain. The reports were not favourable and the project was eventually discarded.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> A description of the condition of the settlers after the floods can be found in Eluned Morgan, *Dringo'r Andes* (Y Fenni: Owen, 1904), Chapter 1. For another colourful witness account, see William Meloch Hughes, *Ar Lannau'r Gamwy ym Mhatagonia* (Lerpwl: Y Brython, 1927), 176-186; 192-198; 209-225.

<sup>122</sup> See Robert Owen Jones, 'O Gymru i Saskatchewan drwy Batagonia', in E. Wyn James and Bill Jones (ed.), *Michael D Jones a'i Wadfa Gymreig* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwach, 2009), 188-216. Most of these families had arrived in y *Wladfa* at a time when most of the land had already been occupied.

<sup>123</sup> Ironically, many of the Boers emigrated to Chubut in 1902 and settled in the south-eastern corner of the province, between the towns of Colonia Sarmiento and Comodoro Rivadavia. Although half of the six hundred Boer families that settled in the region had gone back to South Africa by 1940, many stayed in Chubut and are to this day considered the first European pioneers of the area. See Liliana Esther Peralta and María Laura Morón, *En las Tierras del Viento... Última Travesía Boer, 1902–2002* (Comodoro Rivadavia: N/D, 2002).

<sup>124</sup> Geraint Dyfnallt Owen, *Crisis in Chubut: a Chapter in the History of the Welsh Colony in Patagonia* (Swansea: Christopher Davies, 1977), 97-138.

Despite the setback as a result of the floods *y Wladfa* was back on its feet in less than a decade, and by the start of the First World War, it was one of the most productive settlements of its kind in South America.<sup>125</sup> However at the end of 1911, the last organised contingent from Wales arrived on board the steamer *Orita*. From then onwards only individuals would make their way to Patagonia. The original idea of sending 20,000 Welsh immigrants to Patagonia remained a dream –the historian R. Bryn Williams estimates that about 2,500 Welsh settlers stayed permanently in Patagonia. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 became another stumbling block in the flow of communications between Wales and *y Wladfa*, although Argentina remained a neutral country throughout the conflict. For four years it was almost impossible to import goods from Britain, and to receive Welsh newspapers and magazines regularly. The post-war years brought economic hardship to Argentina, and particularly to Patagonia. In order to promote the economic development of the region, President Roca had removed customs tolls from Patagonia after his visit to the region in 1899. However, by 1919 the customs were reinstated affecting negatively the economic prospects of the region by increasing the cost of living and the marketing costs at a time when a long period of economic crisis would affect Argentina for more than a decade.<sup>126</sup>

If the early twentieth century witnessed a series of landmark events in the history of *y Wladfa*, important changes were under way at the national level as well. The liberal, positivist, lay and europeanising Generation of the '80s that had laid the foundations

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<sup>125</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 133.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

of modern Argentina gave way to an intellectual and cultural movement opposed to what was considered an excessive cosmopolitanism in Argentine society.<sup>127</sup> The so-called ‘cultural nationalists’ proposed that foreign influences posed a threat to the nation and the Argentine being, a collective personality grounded in a rooted Hispanic, Catholic past shaped by the experience of the Argentine ‘pampas’.<sup>128</sup> In time, the philosophy of this sector gave birth to groups like the ‘Liga Patriótica’ (Patriotic League) which promoted an extreme strain of nationalism that would have a major impact in Argentinean political life in the twentieth century.<sup>129</sup>

If the 1920s were a decade of extreme economic difficulties for y *Wladfa*, from the 1930s onwards there would be clear manifestations that the Welsh community was undergoing a profound crisis in many aspects beyond the economy that would lead to it finally losing its prestige, power and place of privilege among the other communities in Chubut. This loss would have a long-lasting, damaging effect on the preservation of Welsh language and culture: once Patagonian Welshness was devoid of its aura of power and prestige, the younger generations had little interest in maintaining the cultural baggage inherited from their forefathers, and the process of argentinisation gained considerable impetus, especially once Spanish became the language of social and economic mobility.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Jean H. Delaney, ‘Imagining *El Ser Argentino*: Cultural Nationalism and Romantic Concepts of Nationhood in Early Twentieth-Century Argentina’, in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 34/3 (2002), 625.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 657.

<sup>129</sup> Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 33-34. For an example of how the Patriotic League intervened in the suppression of strikes by rural workers in southern Patagonia see Osvaldo Bayer, *La Patagonia Rebelde. La Masacre* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2004).

<sup>130</sup> Joshua Fishman, *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1989), 206.

In 1933 the Coop went bankrupt, and although it continued operating for a few years under a different name, it was only a shadow of its former self. For the Welsh community it implied a loss of social prestige and a worsening of an already difficult economic situation –with the Coop gone, the main source of credit for the Welsh farmers disappeared.<sup>131</sup> The Welsh also lost faith in the ability of their leaders to represent them and look after their collective well-being.<sup>132</sup> The other surviving Welsh institution, the Irrigation Society, had also been in difficulties. The progressive salinization of vast tracts of land in the Chubut Valley called for urgent action and work had to be done to the canals to tackle this growing problem, and to avoid the periodic threat of floods –in 1932 droughts affected the valley, but in the same year the Chubut River burst its banks once again, albeit with less disastrous consequences than in 1899.<sup>133</sup> The shareholders lacked the funds to carry out the comprehensive work that was needed, and the company also went into debt after the economic hardship of the 1920s. By 1945 the shareholders of the Irrigation Society were forced to sell it to the National Government.<sup>134</sup> It is also in the 1930s that we start seeing the Welsh community being challenged in terms of their numerical supremacy in the whole of the Chubut Valley<sup>135</sup> and Welsh descendants intermarrying with people of other ethnic extraction.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 136-143.

<sup>132</sup> Irma Hughes de Jones, 'Flor de Ceibo', in R. Bryn Williams (gol.), *Atgofion o Batagonia* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1980), 21.

<sup>133</sup> See *Y Drafod*, 22 July 1932, 29 July 1932, 2 August 1932 and 21 January 1933.

<sup>134</sup> An account of this can be read in *Y Drafod*, 23 June 1944; 11 May 1945; 18 May 1945; 8 June 1945.

<sup>135</sup> See Appendix 3 for data about the Chubut Valley. In Argentina, censuses were not held regularly until the mid-twentieth century. After the first cense of 1869, there was a national census in 1895, 1914, 1947 and then from 1960 it has been held regularly almost every 10 years.

<sup>136</sup> See Walter Ariel Brooks, 'Polisiau Addysg, Iaith a Hunaniaeth yn y Wladfa', *Y Traethodydd*, Hydref 2008, 232-250 and Walter Ariel Brooks, 'Algunas Consideraciones Sobre los Patronos de Casamiento en el Valle del Chubut 1900–1960', in Comité Organizador (ed.), *Los Galeses en la Patagonia II* (Puerto Madryn, 2006), 231-248. See also Appendix 4.

The 1930s were a time of political upheaval in Argentina as well. Major changes in the political scene had happened in 1912 when the Saenz Peña Law was promulgated giving the vote to all Argentinean-born or naturalised males older than 18. This groundbreaking piece of legislation ended a long period of electoral fraud and brought Hipólito Yrigoyen, leader of the Radical Civic Union, to power as the first president elected by universal (male) suffrage in 1916. Nevertheless, this key development in the political history of Argentina did not affect the political *status quo* of the National Territories: no changes were registered in the right of the inhabitants to elect the local, territorial or national authorities, and the governors continued to be the powerless puppets of the central government.<sup>137</sup> The first experiment with democratic elections lasted only until 1930, when a military *coup* deposed Yrigoyen –who was in the second year of his second term as president– and inaugurated a period in Argentine history known as the ‘*Década Infame*’ (Infamous Decade), during which rigged elections allowed a succession of military men to rule the country and implement conservative policies.<sup>138</sup> As with all the other major changes that shaped the political development of the country, their impact on the National Territories was different compared to the provinces. After all –as we have seen earlier in this chapter– the inhabitants of the Territories would not have the same political rights as Argentinean citizens from the provinces until the provincialization laws passed in 1955.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Juan Carlos Vedoya, ‘La Generación del ’80 y los Territorios Nacionales. Formación, Sociedad Política y Demografía Social y Económica’ in *Jornadas de Historia Argentino-Americana* (Tandil: Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 1983), 7-8.

<sup>138</sup> The military would play a dominant role in Argentinean political life in the following decades. Four *coup d’états* organised by the armed forces would overthrow several democratic governments until 1983. After the latest dictatorship (1976-1983) free elections and democratic governments have been the norm.

<sup>139</sup> The Territory of Chubut became a province only in 1955. However, due to the fact that there was a military *coup* that year, the first governor of the province elected through free, democratic elections did not take charge until 1958.

The historical background in this chapter provides the foundations for understanding the tensions inherent in being an immigrant or belonging to an ethnic community in Patagonia towards the end of nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, a time of profound and dramatic changes in the region. Grasping the basic concepts of socio-political developments in Wales, Argentina and more specifically Patagonia is essential to interpret the role played by ethnic newspapers against the background of that particular time and it certainly shapes any interpretation of the role of the immigrant and ethnic press.

## Chapter 2: The Press, Immigration and Ethnicity

The purpose of this thesis is to conduct a study of the role of the Welsh press from the early stages of *y Wladfa* until 1933. In order to do this, a theoretical framework has to be adopted that will provide the foundations for my analysis while addressing the issue of the immigrant and ethnic press –that is, the purpose, role and importance of newspapers produced by and for a specific community established in a new homeland. In order to provide an analysis that is as encompassing as possible, I will be drawing on work carried out by scholars in the field of history, literature, sociology, sociolinguistics and media studies. By using a truly interdisciplinary approach, I intend to study the Welsh-Patagonian press in its multiple aspects and functions, thus rendering a valid portrayal and analysis of the role fulfilled by early Welsh-language newspapers in *y Wladfa*.

The chapter starts by exploring the characteristics of diasporic groups to see whether the study of the Welsh experience in Patagonia can be approached within this framework. Then, the press will be considered as an agent that is vital in the creation and the survival of an ethnic community and what the advantages and disadvantages are of using it as a source for research. The different roles that the press plays with regard to the community it services will be analysed before finishing the chapter by providing information about the nature of the British –and more specifically, Welsh– press and the roles played by the immigrant and ethnic press.

## **The Welsh as a diasporic group in Patagonia**

In considering the Welsh experience in Patagonia, I have chosen to categorise them as a diasporic group, following Robin Cohen's analysis. Resorting to Cohen's study of diasporic groups is useful in the case of the Patagonian venture since it provides a clear framework that helps us define the Welsh settlers within the wider context of Patagonia and Argentina and also understand the role of Welsh-Patagonian print culture as the product of a diasporic community. The basic premise, according to Cohen, is that 'all diaspora communities settled outside their natal (or imagined natal) territories, acknowledged that "the old country" –a notion often buried deep in language, religion, custom or folklore– always has some claim on their loyalty and emotions'.<sup>1</sup> This adherence to an original 'home' –in the broad sense of the word as used by Cohen– once they were settled overseas is a fair description of one of the values upheld by Welsh Patagonians. Since they may have been trying to found a New Wales in South America, they did not want to sever the links with Wales. In fact, those links were extremely important to sustain the kind of identity that some members of the group were trying to promote. The weakening of the strong connection with the mother country was one of the factors that contributed to the eventual merging of the Welsh community with the wider Argentine society. In Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6, the role of Welsh-Patagonian newspapers in maintaining that loyalty to 'the old country' will be analysed in depth. Considerable emphasis will be placed on the history and the role of *Y Drafod* because of its importance as the main Welsh-Patagonian newspaper because of its scope and its resilience through time. However, it has to be said that Welsh-Patagonian print culture as a whole promoted the kinds of ideas that fit in perfectly with Robin Cohen's broad definition of a

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<sup>1</sup> Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas. An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997), p. ix.

diasporic group. It is precisely in the Welsh-Patagonian press that we find ample confirmation that the Welsh as a group fell easily into the frame proposed by Cohen –more evidence of this can also be found in other primary sources such as the written works of the early pioneers.<sup>2</sup>

Cohen expanded his basic definition of diasporic groups by stating that in order to be considered a diasporic group, a community has to conform with at least two of the following characteristics:

1. Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically
2. The expansion from a homeland in search of work, pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions
3. A collective memory and myth about the homeland
4. An idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation
5. The development of a return movement
6. A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate
7. A troubled relationship with host societies
8. A sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement

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<sup>2</sup> Any of the early chronicles provide plenty of evidence of the importance of the link between the Welsh settlers in Patagonia and Wales. See for instance Abraham Matthews, *Hanes y Wladfa Gymreig yn Patagonia* (Aberdâr: Mills ac Evans, 1894); Lewis Jones, *Cymru Newydd. Hanes y Wladva Gymreig Tiriogaeth Chubut, yn y Weriniaeth Arianin, De Amerig* (Caernarvon: Cwmni'r Wasg Genedlaethol Gymreig, 1898); William Casnodyn Rhys, *A Welsh Song in Patagonia* (N/D: E. K. Vymheister, 2005).

9. The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism.<sup>3</sup>

The validity of point 5 with regard to the Welsh in Patagonia could be challenged. However, while it is true there was no intention in Patagonia of returning to Wales as a group, many individuals did go back to the mother country. In addition, an organised migration to Canada took place in 1902 as was mentioned in Chapter 1,<sup>4</sup> and also other Welsh-Patagonian families migrated to Australia during the first years of the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup>

It could also be argued that the element of trauma noted in point 1 did not exist in the case of the Welsh who emigrated to Patagonia –that is, if we compare their situation with the plight of other diasporic groups that feature in Cohen’s analysis such as the Jews or Armenians forced to flee persecutions. However, despite there being no organised persecution in Wales in the nineteenth century, there was a distinct sense –at least among the leaders of the immigration movement– that there was no religious freedom for Nonconformists and that the attempts to suppress the use of the Welsh language were an overt attack on the majority of the Welsh population that, as was noted in Chapter 1, was Welsh-speaking (sometimes monoglot Welsh), Nonconformist and Liberal in contrast to an Anglican, English-speaking, Conservative group of powerful landowners.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas. An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997), 26. Examples for each of the relevant points will be found in the following chapters.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 1, 53.

<sup>5</sup> See Michelle Langfield and Peta Roberts, *Welsh Patagonians. The Australian Connection* (Darlinghurst: Crossing Press, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter 1, 28. Also a clear example of the enmity between these two groups and the resistance of the powers that be to any change in the *status quo* was the incident when the mother of the Reverend Michael D. Jones lost the tenancy of the farm Weirglodd Wen in Bala as a revenge by Sir Watkin

However, as Cohen points out, belonging to a diasporic group can be one of individual choice, since ‘a member’s adherence to a diasporic community is demonstrated by an acceptance of an inescapable link with their past migration history and a sense of co-ethnicity with others of a similar background’.<sup>7</sup> In this sense, one of the tasks of the immigrant and ethnic press is closely associated with maintaining that link with a homeland and the past. Newspapers, as we shall see, can play a vital role in promoting these connections, although whether the press is able to achieve its aim or whether the ethnic community integrates fully into the new society remains a multi-faceted, complex process.

### **Diaspora and Imagined Community**

There is a range of institutions that can be used to build and strengthen some of the elements that Cohen mentioned in his definition of diasporic groups – namely the elements that maintain a link with the homeland and generate a stronger sense of community in the diaspora. In her study of the ethnic press in the United States, Sally Miller cites the printed word, and more specifically the press, among those institutions: ‘Just as schools, churches, fraternal organizations, and community meeting places were essential in the effort to recreate Old World societies in microcosm, the press too was a necessary ingredient in that recreation’.<sup>8</sup> Miller suggests some nuances which will affect my classification of Welsh newspapers in Patagonia. She establishes a difference between what she calls the immigrant press

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Williams Wynn against the family for having voted for the Liberals in the elections. See R. Tudur Jones, ‘Michael D. Jones a Thynged y Genedl’, in E. Wyn James and Bill Jones (ed.), *Michael D. Jones a’i Wladfa Gymreig* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2009), 81.

<sup>7</sup> Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas. An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997), x.

<sup>8</sup> Sally M. Miller (ed.), *The Ethnic Press in the United States. A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), xix.

and the ethnic press. The former is the one that serves the needs of the immigrant generation, whereas the latter generally has a longer life and appeals to those who ‘continued to live within the context of or identify with their heritage’.<sup>9</sup> The time elapsed in order for the term ‘immigrant’ to be replaced by ‘ethnic’ then might not be dissimilar to the time needed for an immigrant group to be considered a diaspora –Cohen suggests that the ethnic group consciousness needs to be sustained over a long time before a community that has migrated can be called a diaspora.<sup>10</sup>

The press, however, does not fulfil only the function of recreating an Old World in a new environment. It can also shape a community and a new reality. In fact, Benedict Anderson ascribes the creation of a national consciousness to the printed word as a form of capitalist enterprise.<sup>11</sup> He defines the community as ‘imagined’ because ‘the members of the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion’.<sup>12</sup> This concept works even for a community as small as the Welsh in Patagonia since the difficulties of communication in the isolation of a rural environment both within and between the two main settlements in Chubut were far from negligible. It is in this context, to mention one example, that the press must have played a key role in bringing the imagined community alive. In fact, Anderson underlines the power of the press by presenting the image of a number of human beings connected on a regular, perhaps daily, basis, by their performing the same

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<sup>9</sup> Sally M. Miller (ed.), *The Ethnic Press in the United States. A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), xii.

<sup>10</sup> Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas. An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997), 185.

<sup>11</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 44.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

ritual of reading a paper, even at the same time: ‘What more vivid figure for the secular, historically clocked, imagined community can be envisioned?’<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless Anderson’s concept of the imagined community in the environment of Latin America has been challenged by a group of Latin American scholars who believe that his views on the region were based on scant and outdated evidence.<sup>14</sup> According to these scholars, contrary to what Anderson suggested, in Latin America states preceded nations, while the opposite phenomenon was true in the case of Europe. In most of Latin America, it was the role of the state to generate the nation/imagined community towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, long after the wars of independence had come to an end.<sup>15</sup> This is appropriate in the case of Argentina, a country that gradually incorporated a diverse population within its expanding frontiers based loosely on the administrative districts inherited from the Spanish Empire. This was a country in which legislation was passed by a state apparatus that was already in place with the aim of creating the nation that did not yet exist as such.<sup>16</sup> It is necessary to take into consideration this argument since the community to be analysed in this thesis is a European community that settled in Latin America. However, the Welsh conform to the analysis proposed by Anderson inasmuch as they were a European nation –although without a state of its own– that experienced a great surge in terms of its print culture during the

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<sup>13</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 35.

<sup>14</sup> Sara Castro-Klarén and John Charles Chasteen, *Beyond Imagined Communities. Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003), xviii.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, xviii. Anderson had suggested in his study that national consciousness had preceded the wars of independence.

<sup>16</sup> Some obvious examples of this approach in legislation can be seen in Chapter 1, especially in the case of Patagonia.

nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> Since much of the press was in the hands of Nonconformist denominations, and since Nonconformism and the Welsh language became such powerful factors in building an imagined Welsh community, Anderson's theory provides an accurate description of the Welsh experience in Wales. However, it is interesting to consider what the Welsh response would be as a European group that had undergone the beginnings of the process of modern nation building when settling in a Latin American country that was still 'in the making'. By 1865, Argentina had gone through the struggle for independence but was still expanding geographically and trying to consolidate the state presence in the provinces –without having yet taken full possession of vast tracts of lands that eventually became the National Territories.<sup>18</sup> As a result, it was only gradually that the state began in earnest to generate the imagined community towards the end of the nineteenth century, a process which the Welsh in Patagonia would witness and in which they would participate at the same time.

### **Print Culture as Literature**

Following Jerry Hunter's approach in his study of various materials written by Welsh-speaking soldiers in the American Civil War, I will apply the concept of 'literary history' that he used in his attempt to 'assess literature stemming from a particular historical experience' while at the same time 'writing a narrative history by using literature as my primary source'.<sup>19</sup> This approach in which literature and history go hand in hand and feed each other provides an optimum platform for the kind of work I intend to do, since the core primary sources I shall be using are printed Welsh

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<sup>17</sup> See Aled Jones, 'The Welsh Language and Journalism', in Geraint H. Jenkins (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains, 1801-1911* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 379-403.

<sup>18</sup> See Chapter 1, 42-43.

<sup>19</sup> See Jerry Hunter, *Sons of Arthur, Children of Lincoln. Welsh Writing from the American Civil War* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 27.

newspapers. Therefore in this study, the historical experience of the Welsh community will be approached through its 'literary' production, since –it is argued– these literary primary sources can help us gain a better understanding of the historical context.

Newspapers used for researching migrants experiences have been classified within the group of sources that Bill Jones defines as 'emigration literature':

What might be called 'emigration literature' can encompass a range of types of writing. In the Welsh case, this has survived in a wide variety of forms in both Welsh and English and in public and private sources: articles and editorials in newspapers and periodicals, emigrant guide books, speeches, ballads, letters, diaries, memoirs, biographies and so forth.<sup>20</sup>

In order to be able to consider newspapers as valid sources, in the case of Welsh media in the nineteenth century, Aled Jones explains that until the end of that century there was no distinction 'between literature and reportage, between the book and the newspaper, in effect between "high" and "low" forms of literary culture'.<sup>21</sup> Following this line of reasoning, newspapers, then, become valid literary sources that contain a wealth of information that can help us not only to reconstruct the experience of an immigrant group through time based on factual data, but also to enrich our understanding of the immigrant experience by taking into account a spectrum of aspects that go beyond –and deeper– than a mere chronology of events. In other words, in newspapers we can find more than a list of events that happened in the past since we can also become aware of the different voices in a community. These voices

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<sup>20</sup> Bill Jones, 'Representations of Australia in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Welsh Emigrant Literature: *Gwlad yr Aur* and *Awstralia a'r Cloddfeydd Aur*', *The Welsh History Review*, 23/2 (December 2006), 53.

<sup>21</sup> Aled Jones, 'The Welsh Newspaper Press', in Hywel Teifi Edwards (ed.), *A Guide to Welsh Literature c. 1800-1900* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 1.

will not necessarily be a fair representation of the opinion of every single constitutive sector of the community –the medium will be more often than not the organ of a certain political group, for example, and the small Welsh-Patagonian context proved no exception<sup>22</sup> but the immigrant experience as seen on the pages of their press should give us a better understanding of the processes undergone by the group. These voices of immigrants will inevitably leave us with unanswered questions for future research –there is obviously no single medium that can portray the whole of the experience of a particular diasporic group– but newspapers can be extremely important in helping to put some of the pieces together.

Newspapers can also provide a valuable insight into the social circumstances in which they were born. These circumstances, naturally, vary across time and have different characteristics in different social groups. According to Kevin Williams, ‘different eras have their own cultural, social, economic and political imperatives which impact on the newspapers and determine form and appearance, what appears in the pages, how content is produced, the way in which people understand its role in society and its relationship with other social actors’.<sup>23</sup> This concept reinforces the importance of using newspapers to understand a particular community at a point in time or its evolution through a certain period in its history.

However, one must tread with care when using newspapers to research any community. Aled Jones has stressed the need for historians (and researchers in

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<sup>22</sup> A discussion about the media not being objective but the organ of particular sectors within society can be found in Xabier Giró, ‘Periódicos y Construcción Nacional’, *Zer*, 12 (2002), 1-15. The issue of the press being partial to one sector of the Welsh Patagonian community will be discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

<sup>23</sup> Kevin Williams, *Read All About It! A History of the British Newspaper* (London: Routledge, 2010), 15.

general) to cross-reference their sources when working on, and with, newspapers and to bear in mind that they do not tell an absolute truth but rather convey a unique perspective of the world.<sup>24</sup> Jones further reinforces the idea that these substantial shortcomings have to be taken into account: ‘Dylid darllen yr hen bapurau gyda gofal a pharodrwydd i fod yn amheugar ac yn feirniadol, oblegid ymgorfforiad ydynt yn aml o bersonoliaeth eiddgar a fu’n awyddus i annog ac i berswadio. A ddarlleno, ystyried!’ (Old newspapers should be read with care and readiness to be sceptical and critical, since they are often the embodiment of a fervent personality eager to exhort and convince. Those who read should take this into account!).<sup>25</sup> However, Rudolph Vecoli raises a further complication when dealing with ethnic newspapers. No matter what the agenda of the owners and editors of a newspaper may be, gauging what the real impact of the newspapers was is a challenging and complicated task. Readers’ minds were not ‘a tabula rasa upon which print culture impressed its definition of social reality. Rather, *they* filtered media messages through the sieve of their own experience. Finally, they decided what was reality –and its meaning’.<sup>26</sup> Ultimately, this calls for methodical cross-referencing on the part of the researcher without taking any materials at face value.

However, this does not undermine the validity of using such sources. Bill Jones has also noted that any text belonging to the category of emigration literature can only offer a mediated version of the past:

Scholars have disagreed over the usefulness and validity of using literary sources in historical enquiry and it can be debated to what extent texts are the imaginative constructions of authors and how much they reflect accurately

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<sup>24</sup> Aled Jones, *Cymru a Hanes y Papur Newydd* (Bangor: Y Colegium Cymraeg, 1987), 18-19.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>26</sup> Rudolph J. Vecoli, ‘The Italian Immigrant Press’, in James P. Danky and Wayne A. Wiegand (ed.), *Print Culture in a Diverse America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 28.

prevailing attitudes and conditions. Such considerations are ultimately dependent on each individual text, but all texts create as well as reflect meaning.<sup>27</sup>

It is with these caveats in mind that we shall be looking at the Welsh Patagonian newspapers in the following chapters.

### **The roles of the press**

John Nerone and Kevin Barnhurst also draw attention to the fact that news media fulfil more than one role, since it is not only for performing the basic task of ‘transmitting information to readers’ (what is known as the Transmission Model of communication) that newspapers exist, but newspapers also work ‘as a daily reaffirming of community ties’ (called the Ritual Model).<sup>28</sup> Rudolph Vecoli also proposes that the role of the press goes beyond transmitting information and that immigrant newspapers are ‘forces actively constructing social reality and identity in the minds of their audiences’.<sup>29</sup> The idea of the press as a transmitter of information that also plays other roles was first proposed in 1988 by the cultural theorist James Carey, who saw newspapers and other forms of communication as playing the role of bringing people together by presenting, and therefore highlighting, the aspects that they have in common. The Ritual Model then ‘is directed not towards the extension of messages in space but towards the maintenance of society in time’.<sup>30</sup> The social role, according to Simon Cottle, has a direct bearing on the construction of a specific

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<sup>27</sup> Bill Jones, ‘Representations of Australia in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Welsh Emigrant Literature: *Gwlad yr Aur* and *Awstralia A’r Cloddfeidd Aur*’, *The Welsh History Review*, 23/2 (December 2006), 54.

<sup>28</sup> See John Nerone and Kevin G. Barnhurst, ‘News form and the media environment: a network of represented relationships’, *Media, Culture and Society*, 25/1 (2003), 111-124; and Kevin Williams, *Read All About It! A History of the British Newspaper* (London: Routledge, 2010), 10.

<sup>29</sup> Rudolph J. Vecoli, ‘The Italian Immigrant Press’, in James P. Danky and Wayne A. Wiegand (ed.), *Print Culture in a Diverse America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 19.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in Kevin Williams, *Read All about It! A History of the British Newspaper* (London, 2010), 13.

identity in a community, since the media invite the readers ‘to construct a sense of who “we” are in relation to who “we” are not, whether as “us” and “them”, “insider” and “outsider”, “colonizer” and “colonized”, “citizen” and “foreigner”, “normal” and “deviant”, “friend” and “foe”...’.<sup>31</sup> In this sense, the media can act as a guideline for building a specific identity but also for fencing out undesirable elements by providing ‘crucial spaces in and through which imposed identities or the interest of others can be resisted, challenged and changed’.<sup>32</sup> Since communication does not work as a ‘plumbing system carrying messages from senders to receivers’ but more as a process with many layers,<sup>33</sup> and in the context of a diasporic group –and more specifically in the case of the Welsh in Patagonia– the idea of preserving a society through time becomes a feasible and fundamental role to be played by the media.

Those models form the basis of a key concept in media theory regarding the process of mass communication: the process can be analysed in terms of who is producing the messages, the content of the messages themselves, how they are transmitted, to whom they are transmitted and with what effect.<sup>34</sup> It is this multi-layered, comprehensive approach that should shed new light on the relationship between the Welsh-Patagonian press and its readers, and between them and the surrounding environment – be it the Patagonian region, Argentina, or other more distant places where Welsh-Patagonian papers were read.<sup>35</sup> In fact, the impact and influence of the press and the

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<sup>31</sup> Simon Cottle (ed.), *Ethnic Minorities and the Media. Changing Cultural Boundaries* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000), 2.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>33</sup> John Nerone and Kevin G. Barnhurst, ‘News Form and the Media Environment: a Network of Represented Relationships’, *Media, Culture and Society*, 25 (2003), 111-124.

<sup>34</sup> Kevin Williams, *Understanding Media Theory* (London: Routledge, 2003), 5. This concept was first put forward by the communications theorist Harold Lasswell in 1948.

<sup>35</sup> As we shall see in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, Welsh-Patagonian newspapers were read not only in Patagonia and other parts of Argentina but also in Wales, other parts of Great Britain and even in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

media in general, and more specifically in the experience of an immigrant/ethnic group, should not be overlooked. According to Kevin Williams, the media's impact on social life is crucial and it is impossible to discuss social relations without acknowledging their role.<sup>36</sup> While it is true that Kevin Williams may be referring to a more modern context in which the media are more technologically developed and play a more visible role in our everyday lives than in a Patagonian settlement at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, it is the geographical and socio-political characteristics of the settlement that make newspapers a vital component of the colonists lives as a link among themselves and also between them and the rest of the world.

### **The British and Welsh Press**

If we consider who the promoters of the first Welsh-language newspapers in Patagonia were –Richard Jones Berwyn and Lewis Jones–<sup>37</sup> we can see that they were Welshmen who had worked in the field of publishing before emigrating to Patagonia.<sup>38</sup> Because of this initial experience on British soil, it is useful to look at some of the characteristics of the Welsh press in the nineteenth century, since it was bound to have had a formative influence on these two editors as well as many others who eventually ended up contributing to Welsh print culture in Patagonia.

Following the emergence of prototype newspapers in the seventeenth century two approaches were predominant as far as communication was concerned. The first is

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<sup>36</sup> Kevin Williams, *Understanding Media Theory* (London: Routledge, 2003), 6.

<sup>37</sup> Richard Jones Berwyn's biography and contribution will be discussed in Chapter 3. For Lewis Jones, see Chapter 4.

<sup>38</sup> This is especially true in the case of Lewis Jones, whose first job had been as an apprentice at the offices of the *Carmarvon and Denbigh Herald* and who opened a printing business in Liverpool. Although R. J. Berwyn had earned a degree as a teacher, he was also involved in publishing magazines and newspapers.

concerned with the instructive, educational purpose of giving people what they need. The other approach is the more ‘entertaining’ one, focused on giving people what they want. From the beginning and until our day, newspapers have tried to strike a balance between these two approaches in terms of their content in what media theorist Denis McQuail defines as the ‘multiple purpose’ of the newspaper.<sup>39</sup> In fact, ignoring the non-news and non-information items in newspapers would be a major mistake, since they provide important information about the attitudes, interests and world-view of a social group. Both the ‘instructive’ and ‘entertaining’ elements in a newspaper are, therefore, extremely valuable in the process of gaining a better understanding of an immigrant and ethnic group.

As well as informing and entertaining, in the context of nineteenth-century Wales newspapers were instruments that played a key role in the fields of politics, religion and identity-building. Politically speaking, Wales in the nineteenth-century had a problematic status, since it was designated both as a region of England and as a Principality of the British realm.<sup>40</sup> Its status as a distinct nation was not clearly recognised, and it is in this context that the appearance of a domestic press both in Welsh and in English was a way of building boundaries and starting to define a territory and an identity. Aled Jones proposes that the press in Wales was ‘a means of defining an alternative centre to London and the other great corporations of England... Every new title, by its very nature, acknowledged and identified both the

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<sup>39</sup> Cited in Kevin Williams, *Read All About It! A History of the British Newspaper* (London: Routledge, 2010), 13.

<sup>40</sup> Aled Jones, ‘Y Wasg Gymraeg yn y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg’, in Geraint.H. Jenkins (ed.), *Cof Cenedl III* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1988), 89-116.

presence and the difference of Wales'.<sup>41</sup> In other words, the Welsh press was an instrument to put Wales on the map and to define and express an identity within the framework of the United Kingdom –this is another example of the concept of the printed word playing a key role in creating and building a nation proposed by Benedict Anderson.

One of the problems in building a Welsh nation in those times was the language issue. Newspapers whose content addressed an intended Welsh audience were published both in English and in Welsh, but the tendency was for the English media to grow while Welsh publications followed the fate of the language and its decline in the nineteenth-century. However, even as early as 1814, printers and journalists deliberately published newspapers magazines and books in Welsh, even when the enterprise was not economically viable.<sup>42</sup> This strong drive will also be found in Patagonia as we shall see in my analysis.

The press in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth-century was perceived as playing a key role both in civil society and in the political world. According to Aled Jones, it was believed that society was structured in such a way that political strategies, evangelical campaigns and social movements could only make progress and succeed when the support from a sector of the press had been secured.<sup>43</sup> Newspapers were at the core of everyday life in Wales, and in fact 'newspapers and journals were agents as well as symptoms of social change, and the

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<sup>41</sup> Aled Jones, 'The Nineteenth-Century Media and Welsh Identity', in Laurel Brake, Bill Bell and David Finkelstein (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 310.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 317.

<sup>43</sup> Aled Jones, *Press, Politics and Society. A History of Journalism in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), 152.

press was overwhelmingly perceived as a medium which performed a structuring rather than a merely reflecting role in the institutions and activities of public life'.<sup>44</sup>

The kind of structuring that the press performed can be clearly seen in the field of religion and morality. Weekly, monthly and quarterly publications were used to maintain the loyalty of the adherents of the various Protestant denominations in Wales –to cite some important titles of periodicals which began publication before the establishment of the Welsh settlement in Patagonia, *Y Drysorfa* (The Treasury, 1831) was published by the Calvinistic Methodist, *Yr Eurgrawn* (The Magazine, 1809) by the Wesleyan Methodists, *Y Dysgedydd* (The Instructor, 1821) by the Independents, *Seren Gomer* (The Star of Gomer, 1818) by the Baptists, and *Yr Ymofynydd* (The Inquirer, 1847) by the Unitarians.<sup>45</sup> Although there were many more periodicals published in Wales, these were the flagships.<sup>46</sup> Welsh-language periodicals were also responsible for setting a moral standard and for promoting a set of desirable values that were 'on the whole Puritan in their tone', according to John Rhys and David Brynmor-Jones in their volume published in 1906.<sup>47</sup> According to Brynley Roberts, these Welsh-language journals had a strongly didactic, informative and educational role, with sections reserved for essays, reviews and poetry. They served to create and confirm a Nonconformist view of life and inculcate Nonconformist values and mores.<sup>48</sup> In their pages there was no space for sports and horse-racing, and they were

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<sup>44</sup> Aled Jones, 'The Nineteenth-Century Media and Welsh Identity', in Laurel Brake, Bill Bell and David Finkelstein (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 314.

<sup>45</sup> Aled Jones, *Press, Politics and Society. A History of Journalism in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), 134.

<sup>46</sup> See Brynley F. Roberts, 'Welsh Periodicals: a Survey', in Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (ed.), *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1990), 77-78.

<sup>47</sup> John Rhys and David Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People: Chapters on their Origin, History and Laws, Language, Literature and their Characteristics* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), 608.

<sup>48</sup> Brynley F. Roberts, 'Welsh Periodicals: a Survey', in Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (ed.), *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1990), 78.

cautious about their reports of divorce cases and indecent assaults. In this sense, Welsh-language periodicals were no different than other periodicals: they had an agenda, a message they wanted to present to their readers and certain issues with which they disagreed and did not want to feature as part of their usual content. Notwithstanding this, there was also a market in the Nonconformist community for publications with a wider range of contents, like *Y Traethodydd* (The Essayist), founded in 1846 by Lewis Edwards, principal of a Calvinistic Methodist seminary at Bala. This publication strove to ‘to wean Welsh Nonconformity from its distrust of secular reading to this wider world of classical and European literature while at the same time insisting that Welsh literature be subject to the same serious scrutiny’.<sup>49</sup>

As far as the content of periodicals and newspapers is concerned, Aled Jones comments that they ‘carried not only news items from Wales and beyond, but also letters, poems, reviews, features, short stories, serialised novels, articles on music, art, the human and natural sciences, acres of religious exegesis and, of course, square miles of political comment, theory and analysis’.<sup>50</sup> My intention in the following chapters, with respect to these aspects of the Welsh press, is to discover how many of these elements and patterns were carried over to Patagonia, and whether they remained intact or were accommodated to satisfy the needs of a readership in y *Wladfa*.

### **The Immigrant Press**

Any study of the experiences of an immigrant group in their new home relies to a great extent on examining the accounts left by the protagonists of the venture. When

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>50</sup> Aled Jones, ‘The Welsh Newspaper Press’, in Hywel Teifi Edwards (ed.), *A Guide to Welsh Literature c. 1800-1900* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 1.

focusing on groups that migrated during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the available sources are mainly written. In these cases, newspapers and similar publications produced by these groups become a rich source of information for the researcher. As was mentioned in the introduction, it is only recently that the immigrant press has been recognised as a field that deserves to be studied in depth, as indicated by the studies of Aled Jones and Bill Jones and Samuel Baily. In her study of the ethnic press in the United States, Sally Miller goes even further when suggesting that ‘no other printed source compares to the press for its ability to provide a multidimensional overview of an immigrant group’, and that it can be the best primary source to gain an understanding of an immigrant group’s expectations and concerns, their background and evolution as individual communities.<sup>51</sup>

Russell King and Nancy Wood proposed a multi-sided approach in order to analyse the immigrant press stating that there are interesting linkages between media and the creation and maintenance of transnational communities. They propose that media may intervene in the migration process and in the individual and collective experience of migration in three ways. Firstly, images from the destination country can act as a source of information for potential immigrants. Secondly, host-country media constructions of the immigrants will condition their experience of exclusion or inclusion in the new country. And thirdly, media from the migration sending country will play a dynamic role in the cultural identity and politics of a diasporic group.<sup>52</sup>

King and Wood believe that the interplay of the messages produced both in the

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<sup>51</sup> Sally M. Miller (ed.), *The Ethnic Press in the United States. A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), xii.

<sup>52</sup> Russell King and Nancy Wood (ed.), *Media and Migration. Constructions of Mobility and Difference* (London: Routledge, 2001), 1-2.

sending and receiving countries by immigrants and hosts needs to be considered to gain a more comprehensive perspective of the immigrant experience.

In general, the ethnic press fulfils more than one role for the immigrant groups in their new homeland. Following Miller's description of the ethnic press, we can say that one of its many aims is basically informational.<sup>53</sup> In this sense, ethnic newspapers provide a wide variety of information ranging from local to national and even international news. In most instances, news of particular interest to the ethnic group is naturally paramount. For instance, Samuel Baily notes that the bulk of the Italian daily *La Patria* (The Homeland) published in Buenos Aires was devoted to news about Italy, followed in order of importance by news and stories about the Italians in Argentina or in other Latin American countries.<sup>54</sup> However, this emphasis on news about the homeland was not necessarily present in all immigrant groups, as Aled Jones and Bill Jones suggest in their analysis of *Yr Awstralydd* (The Australian) and *Yr Ymwelydd* (The Visitor), two newspapers that serviced the Welsh community in Australia in the late nineteenth century.<sup>55</sup> In none of them the news from Wales accounted for more than 3% of their content, and the focus was put on generating a sense of allegiance to the new territorial home.

In addition to the informational aspect, the ethnic press has also been a vehicle of expression for the readers. In its pages, the contributors find a space to share their values, their heritage and their changing sense of identity. An interesting example of

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<sup>53</sup> Sally M. Miller (ed.), *The Ethnic Press in the United States. A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), xi-xii.

<sup>54</sup> Samuel L. Baily, 'The Role of Two Newspapers in the Assimilation of Italians in Buenos Aires and Sao Paulo, 1839-1913', *International Migration Review*, 12/3 (1978), 327.

<sup>55</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire, c. 1851-1939: An Exploration', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31/2 (2003), 69.

the need to preserve loyalty to the country of origin can be found in the above-mentioned *La Patria* and the Sao Paulo Italian newspaper *Fanfulla* (Warrior)—‘both agreed on the need for primary loyalty to Italy and for the maintenance of Italian culture in their new environment’.<sup>56</sup> However, other newspapers may take a different approach towards the preservation of a group’s original allegiance. As already suggested, in the case of both the Welsh in Australia and the United States, the desire to preserve the language and identity of the group was intermingled with encouragement to become fully integrated citizens of the new country, developing a fresh Australian or American form of Welsh identity through the medium of Welsh.<sup>57</sup> Yet there were still other groups for which maintaining a specific language would not go hand in hand with preserving a particular sense of identity, as was the case with Jewish immigrants in the United States. The many newspapers that serviced that community since 1823 were written either in English, German, Germanised Yiddish, Yiddish, Ladino or Hebrew according to the ideology of the editors and the message that they wanted to convey to the readers.<sup>58</sup>

Another function commonly performed by the immigrant and ethnic press is helping the immigrants adapt to the new environment by means of advice on how to survive and thrive in the host society. That is exactly what the Irish press did in the case of the Irish, rural, Catholic peasants that emigrated into urban, industrial, Protestant America. Combined with the fact that the adaptation into the new society was not

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<sup>56</sup> Samuel L. Baily, ‘The Role of Two Newspapers in the Assimilation of Italians in Buenos Aires and Sao Paulo, 1839-1913’, *International Migration Review*, 12/3 (1978), 333.

<sup>57</sup> See Aled Jones and Bill Jones, ‘The Welsh World and the British Empire, c. 1851-1939: An Exploration’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31/2 (2003), 69; and Aled Jones and Bill Jones, ‘*Y Drych* and American Welsh Identities, 1851-1951’, *North American Journal of Welsh Studies*, 1/1 (2001), 52-54.

<sup>58</sup> See Arthur A. Goren, ‘The Jewish Press’, in Sally M. Miller (ed.), *The Ethnic Press in the United States. A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 210.

always an easy process, there was a high probability that the immigrant group might not always be welcome in the host society, precisely because of its inherent traits. Under such circumstances the ethnic press could also become a defender of the underdog against discrimination – a role that the Irish press had to play in America in order to help the migrants overcome the suspicions arising from a hostile new environment.<sup>59</sup> However, no matter how harsh the discrimination against the Irish immigrants may have been, at least they had one advantage on their side: they were an English-speaking group. This was an asset upon which the Mexicans in the South of the United States could not rely.<sup>60</sup> Their press became thus a multipurpose channel to spread official government information about how Americans were supposed to help socialize Chicanos into the ‘American way of thinking’ and to point out the lack of public services for Mexican Americans, raise Chicano social consciousness, and exhort Mexican Americans to take action.<sup>61</sup>

In cases of social conflict and in the face of discrimination against an ethnic group, the ethnic press may become a vehicle for the community to defend itself. According to Susan Olzak and Elizabeth West, ethnic conflict intensifies ethnic solidarity; therefore, members of a community may try to strengthen network ties and participation in ethnic institutions.<sup>62</sup> Under these circumstances, ethnic papers can become symbols of the ethnic community itself and also form a key link in the

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<sup>59</sup> Eileen McMahon, ‘The Irish-American Press’, in Sally M. Miller (ed.), *The Ethnic Press in the United States. A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 177.

<sup>60</sup> For an overview of how the Spanish speaking inhabitants of northern Mexico ended up being foreigners within the annexed territories of the United States, see the account of the development of the Chicano press in the United States by Carlos E. Cortés, ‘The Mexican American Press’, in Sally M. Miller (ed.), *The Ethnic Press in the United States. A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 247-249.

<sup>61</sup> Carlos E. Cortés, ‘The Mexican American Press’, in Sally M. Miller (ed.), *The Ethnic Press in the United States. A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 254.

<sup>62</sup> See Susan Olzak and Elizabeth West, ‘Ethnic conflict and the Rise and Fall of Ethnic Newspapers’, *American Sociological Review*, 56/4 (1991), 459.

information network of the ethnic community. Ethnic newspapers resemble social movements advocating group solidarity.<sup>63</sup> According to Susana Baravalle in her study of the immigrant press in Argentina, it was the leaders of the ethnic groups in Argentina that grasped the concept that having a newspaper catering for the community's needs was the ideal platform from which they would be able to give voice to, and defend, the interests of the ethnic group, as well as informing the immigrants of their rights and the way in which they could participate more actively in the new homeland's public life.<sup>64</sup>

In many cases, the immigrant groups did not remain confined to one specific area in the new homeland. The newspapers then played the role of a printed network that connected these groups scattered across a vast area. *Y Drych* (The Mirror) –the main organ of the Welsh community in the United States– is a fine example of this. Although the Welsh were not by any means one of the largest immigrant groups in the United States, the newspaper had to service a community spread in various states stretching from the New York State to California.<sup>65</sup>

Although the ethnic press services a community of immigrants in the main, we should not forget the fact that some communities were serviced by more than one publication. In the same way that different religious denominations in Wales had their own organs, immigrant groups created different publications to give expression to opposing points of view and ideologies. That was the case of the German press in

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 458.

<sup>64</sup> See Susana Baravalle, *La Prensa y la Inmigración en la Biblioteca Nacional Argentina*, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Berlin, [http://www.iai.spk-berlin.de/fileadmin/salalmdocs/La\\_prensa\\_y\\_la\\_inmigracion\\_en\\_la\\_Biblioteca\\_Nacional\\_Argentina\\_tetxt.pdf](http://www.iai.spk-berlin.de/fileadmin/salalmdocs/La_prensa_y_la_inmigracion_en_la_Biblioteca_Nacional_Argentina_tetxt.pdf), consulted on 18 July 2012.

<sup>65</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections. Y Drych & America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2001), 31.

Argentina, for instance, where two German newspapers supported opposing tendencies –especially during the rise of Nazism and until Argentina abandoned its neutrality in favour of the Allies in 1944. While the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* (German La Plata Newspaper) was a defender of the Nazi government, the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* (Argentinean Daily Paper) was against the totalitarian regime and denounced the persecution of minorities in Germany and welcomed Jewish refugees to publish their writings on its pages.<sup>66</sup> Thus for a researcher the immigrant and ethnic press can function as a window into the conflicts within a certain community. If from the point of view of the host country the immigrant group can be classified under an umbrella term –German, Italian, Spanish, etc.– the newspapers produced by these communities prove that the dynamics of their experiences can be extremely complex and rich.

We can conclude by agreeing with the concept that the ethnic press can be an exceptionally valuable source of information about a community living in an initially alien environment –that may eventually become a home– and its links with the mother country. It is precisely in its pages that we can follow chronologically the development of the processes that may affect the group such as integration –participating in public life without discarding the specific characteristics of the ethnic group– or acculturation –taking on the characteristics of the majority while diluting the original cultural traits.<sup>67</sup> It will be useful to look now at some of the issues that the Welsh faced as an immigrant and ethnic community once they settled in

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<sup>66</sup> Sebastian Schöpp, 'Das *Argentinische Tageblatt* 1933-1945. Eine Bürgerliche Kampfzeitung als Forum der Emigration', *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 43/1 (1995), 75-113.

<sup>67</sup> Paul O'Leary, 'A Tolerant Nation? Anti-Catholicism in Nineteenth century Wales', in R. R. Davies, and Geraint H. Jenkins (ed.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 209.

Patagonia by considering the changes undergone by Argentinean society that resulted from mass migration.

Having explored some of the theoretical concepts that will be fundamental in my analysis in the following chapters, I will now turn in Chapter 3 to examine the role of the ethnic Welsh press in the Patagonian settlement from the primal, handwritten *Y Brut* to *Ein Breiniad* –the first printed in Welsh newspaper in Patagonia– before concentrating in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 on the emblematic *Y Drafod*, a paper that has successfully stood the test of time and is still published today.

### **Chapter 3: In the Beginning was the Word: Early Welsh Patagonian Print Culture, 1868–1890**

Although *Y Drafod* remains the main newspaper in the history of the Welsh Patagonian community because of its longevity, the variety of its content and its significance as an ethnic institution, it would be a mistake to assume that it was the only important publication in the history of *y Wladfa*. Newspapers were published before *Y Drafod* was founded and some others were contemporaneous. Since they all constitute part of the rich and varied spectrum of Welsh-Patagonian print culture, studying these sources sheds new light on the dynamics and the complexity of the history of the Welsh community in Patagonia.

This chapter considers the nature of Welsh-Patagonian newspapers other than *Y Drafod* in order to understand better the development of print culture in *y Wladfa*. We start by looking at the context prior to 1865 before discussing the appearance of *Y Brut*, the first manuscript newspaper in *y Wladfa*, and then the publication of *Ein Breiniad*, the first printed newspaper in Patagonia. We also look briefly at other printed materials in Welsh to locate these papers in the wider context of Welsh-Patagonian print culture in general. Hence, this chapter aims at providing the background information and an overview of the field of publishing and the ethnic press in Welsh Patagonia.

#### **Publications before 1865**

Even before emigrating to Patagonia, printed materials had been an integral part of the emigration movement in Wales, whose leaders felt that they needed both to attract prospective immigrants and also to counter bad publicity from the press in both Wales

and the United States. Although the idea of choosing Patagonia as the destination to which Welsh emigration should be channelled to protect the Welsh language and culture was first expressed among the Welsh community in the mining town of Camptonville, California, the Welsh North American newspaper *Y Drych* published articles against the idea of migrating to Patagonia, since it clashed with the plans to establish a colony in the state of Kansas on lands newly acquired by the newspaper.<sup>1</sup> The committee in Wales in charge of promoting the Patagonian venture decided to take action to neutralise the negative press. According to R. Bryn Williams, the newspaper *Y Ddraig Goch* ('The Red Dragon') was established to further that aim:

... dechreuwyd cyhoeddi'r "*Ddraig Goch*" ar y pumed o Orffnaf yn y flwyddyn 1862, eithr ni ddaeth y rhifynnau allan yn rheolaidd. Ceir ynddynt erthyglau ar yr ymfudo i Batagonia gan bleidwyr y mudiad, ac adroddiadau am gyfarfodydd a gynhaliwyd yma a thraw yng Nghymru i'r pwrpas hwnnw, a buont yn ddolen gydiol rhwng y rhai a fwriadai ymfudo o wahanol rannau o Gymru.<sup>2</sup>

(... the "*Ddraig Goch*" began to be published on the fifth of July 1862, but the issues did not appear regularly. In them, we can find articles on the migration to Patagonia by supporters of the movement, and reports of meetings held here and there in Wales for that purpose. They worked as a link between those who intended to migrate from different parts of Wales.)

The editor of the paper was the indefatigable Lewis Jones.<sup>3</sup> In fact, Lewis Jones, one of the main leaders of the Colonizing Society was himself a printer who, by the year 1856, had finished his apprenticeship with the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald* in his native Caernarfon.<sup>4</sup> After buying a printing press, he moved to Holyhead in 1857, where he printed and co-edited *Y Punch Cymraeg* ('The Welsh Punch') with Evan

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<sup>1</sup> See Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 50.

<sup>2</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 18.

<sup>3</sup> For a brief biography of Lewis Jones, see Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/89/101089948/>. A more detailed account and assessment of Lewis Jones's life can be found in Dafydd Tudur, *Lewis Jones a'r Wladfa Gymreig* (Aberystwyth: Cymdeithas Cymru-Ariannin a Chyngor Gwynedd, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 44.

Jones who, while remaining a journalist all his life, would also become a prominent minister within the Calvinists Methodists after graduating from the Bala College in 1867.<sup>5</sup> In 1858 Lewis Jones moved to Liverpool where he met with Hugh Hughes (also known as ‘Cadfan Gwynedd’) and they both continued with their involvement with the emigration movement. Hugh Hughes was a carpenter born in Anglesey in 1824. In 1850, he established a carpentry business in Caernarfon, and in 1856 he became a member of the ‘Cymdeithas Lenyddol’ (the Literary Society) of Caernarfon – some of the fellow members were Lewis Jones and Evan Jones – and the founder of the ‘Cymdeithas Wladychfaol Caernarfon’ (The Colonizing Society of Caernarfon). Evan Jones described Hugh Hughes as an individual who was ‘wedi llwyr feddwi ar y Wladfa’ (completely drunk with the ideal of y *Wladfa*)<sup>6</sup>. More recently, Elvey MacDonald portrays ‘Cadfan Gwynedd’ as an ‘ymgyrchwr unllygeidiog a digyfaddawd dros yr achos’ (uncompromising and determined campaigner for the cause).<sup>7</sup> It was his zeal for the Patagonian venture that made him found another branch of the Colonizing Society in Liverpool in 1859, less than a year after he had moved to that city<sup>8</sup> –the Liverpool committee would be the most active one.<sup>9</sup>

Proof of the liveliness of the Liverpool committee was that Lewis Jones started publishing the newspaper *Y Ddraig Goch* to rally support for the establishment of a Welsh settlement in Patagonia.<sup>10</sup> In his chronicle of the Patagonian settlement, Lewis

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<sup>5</sup> Welsh Biography Online, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/cy/c-JONE-EVA-1836.html>, consulted on 1 July 2012.

<sup>6</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 45.

<sup>7</sup> Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 15.

<sup>8</sup> See R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych, 1949), 25.

<sup>9</sup> Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 15.

<sup>10</sup> A letter from Lewis Jones to Michael D. Jones dated 29 May 1862 commented on the decision of the Colonizing Committee to publish the newspaper to gain support for the venture and counteract bad press from publications like *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*. See webpage Gathering the Jewels, <http://www.gtj.org.uk/en/small/item/cnp00003//page/1/>, consulted on 20 July 2012.

Jones records the history of the paper, which started being published fortnightly on 5 July 1862.<sup>11</sup> Regular contributors to the paper included prominent figures in the history of *y Wladfa* like Hugh Hughes Cadfan Gwynedd, Richard Jones Berwyn, Michael D. Jones, the Rev. David Lloyd Jones, Lewis Jones and Gutyn Ebrill.<sup>12</sup> According to Lewis Jones the organ was ‘lluman Gwleidyddiaeth Genedlaethol Gymreig... yn dysgu ac ysbrydu Cymry i deimlo YN BOBL, vedrent lywiadu eu gwlad oedd hanvod y Mudiad Gwladvaol’ (the ensign of Welsh National Politics... teaching and inspiring the Welsh to feel they are A PEOPLE that are able to steer its country was the aim of the Colonizing Movement’).<sup>13</sup> R. Bryn Williams mentions that the paper was not published regularly.<sup>14</sup>

The paper ceased publication when the Chubut settlement was established, but it reappeared for two years from January 1876 until December 1877. In this second period the newspaper was printed by H. Evans in Bala, and the editor was Rev. R. Mawddwy Jones, Dolwyddelan. Its aims in this second period were to promote contact between the Welsh that were already in Patagonia, but also, and most importantly perhaps, to increase interest in Wales in migrating to *y Wladfa* and familiarise potential emigrants with the new environment they would encounter.<sup>15</sup> The paper seems to have been intended as a rallying cry for the Welsh to emigrate in large

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<sup>11</sup> Lewis Jones, *Cymru Newydd. Hanes y Wladva Gymreig Tiriogaeth Chubut, yn y Weriniaeth Arianin, De Amerig* (Caernarvon: Cwmni'r Wasg Genedlaethol Gymreig, 1898), 34.

<sup>12</sup> See R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 18.

<sup>13</sup> Lewis Jones, *Cymru Newydd. Hanes y Wladva Gymreig Tiriogaeth Chubut, yn y Weriniaeth Arianin, De Amerig* (Caernarvon: Cwmni'r Wasg Genedlaethol Gymreig, 1898), 34-35.

<sup>14</sup> A first series of ten numbers was published between 5 July and 15 November 1862, and a second series of six numbers between 3 October and 14 November 1863. See Gareth Alban Davies, ‘Wales, Patagonia, and the Printed Word: the Missionary Role of the Press’, *Llafur*, 6/4 (1995), 44-59. The interval between the first and the second series could be attributed to the fact that Lewis Jones, editor of *Y Ddraig Goch*, sailed to Argentina on an exploratory mission to see the lands where *y Wladfa* was going to be established. During his absence his first son Llewelyn died and considerable economic problems arose with his printing shop. See R. Gerallt Jones, ‘Gofid i Wr Gonest Talwd’, *Taliesin*, 61 (Mawrth 1988), 62.

<sup>15</sup> See R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 18.

numbers to Patagonia to make sure that the dream of an autonomous, or at least semi-autonomous, Welsh province within Argentina could be secured. In 1875 the central government had sent Antonio Oneto, the first ‘Comisario’ (Administrator) to take charge of bringing the Chubut settlement under the administrative control of Buenos Aires. Once the decade of isolation (1865-1875) and Welsh-Patagonian ‘independence’ had come to an end, large numbers of Welsh emigrants were needed to overturn the new course the settlement had taken in coming gradually under the supervision of the central state. The new series of *Y Ddraig Goch* sold well during the first three months, but when news arrived that the harvest had failed in Patagonia at the end of the summer of 1875-1876, the number of buyers of the paper decreased alarmingly.<sup>16</sup> In the final number of the paper, the editor suggested that all future contribution about *y Wladfa* should be sent to the newspaper *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* or any other publication that would be willing to give some space to Patagonian items.<sup>17</sup>

Another important publication that appeared before 1865 with the aim of attracting prospective immigrants was *Llawlyfr y Wladychfa Gymreig* (Handbook of the Welsh Colony),<sup>18</sup> written by Hugh Hughes Cadfan Gwynedd and printed in Liverpool in Lewis Jones’ printing shop. The book was published in 1863 shortly after the reports by Lewis Jones and Captain Love Jones–Parry were presented to the committee in

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<sup>16</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, December 1877.

<sup>17</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, December 1877.

<sup>18</sup> The full title of the handbook was the rather verbose *Llawlyfr y Wladychfa Gymreig yn Cynnwys Sylwadau ar yr Angenrheidrwydd a'r Posibilrwydd o'i Sefydlu, Hanes Patagonia yn Egluro ei Haddasrwydd i'r Sefydlaid, y Drafodaeth a Buenos Ayres am Drosglwyddiad y Tir, Bras-gynllun o Drefn yr Ymfudiad, yng ngyda Darlunen o Patagonia* (Handbook of the Welsh Colony Including Comments on the Need and the Possibility of Establishing it, the History of Patagonia Clarifying its Suitability for the Settlement, the Discussion with Buenos Ayres about the Transference of the Land, a Draft Plan of the Organization of the Migration together with a Picture of Patagonia).

charge of organising the migration to Patagonia.<sup>19</sup> Although Hugh Hughes has been credited with producing a manual that resembles a scholarly work as far as the amount of sources consulted is concerned, he had never actually been to the region he described. As has already been mentioned, he was also later accused of leaving out from his publication all negative comments about Patagonia that were to be found in the sources he used for his research. While it is difficult to gauge the influence of the handbook, some authors have seen in the fact that there were several migrants from the Liverpool area in the first contingent in 1865 a clear sign that the booklet fulfilled its original purpose.<sup>20</sup>

### ***Y Brut: the First (Manuscript) Newspaper in Patagonia***

At a time when the colonists were struggling to survive and when the population had decreased to about 110 inhabitants living in 50 houses by 1868, it is remarkable that they found the will to devote time to apparently less vital matters like publishing a newspaper.<sup>21</sup> In a small community where any news must have spread quickly and where not everyone had an interest in literary matters, it is indeed significant that the need for publishing a newspaper should have arisen, and this in a remote and isolated corner of the country at a time when national newspapers published in Buenos Aires like *La Prensa* and the emblematic *La Nación* had yet to see the light of day.<sup>22</sup>

However, at least two factors account for the otherwise unexpected publication.

Firstly, when considering the prominent role that the press played in rallying support

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<sup>19</sup> Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 5.

<sup>20</sup> See, for instance, Gareth Alban Davies, 'Wales, Patagonia, and the Printed Word: the Missionary Role of the Press', *Llafur*, 6/4 (1995), 49.

<sup>21</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 18.

<sup>22</sup> The first edition of *La Prensa* appeared on 18 October 1869. The paper was edited by José C. Paz, an Argentine diplomat and politician. *La Nación* was founded on 4 January 1870 by Bartolomé Mitre, another key figure in Argentine politics who was president between 1862 and 1868. See David Rock, *Argentina 1516-1987: From Spanish colonization to the Falklands War and Alfonsín* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co., 1987), 125.

for causes and promoting campaigns, it is no wonder that the colonists went about to produce the first Welsh-language newspaper in South America. Secondly, the idea that must have been prominent in the minds of the leaders of the Patagonian venture that *y Wladfa* had to be a new start for the Welsh, expressed by the philologist Ioan Pedr in an article in the Welsh press in 1866: ‘Bydd y Wladychfa yn ddechreuad o newydd i ni fel Cenedl’ (*Y Wladfa* shall be a new beginning for us as a Nation).<sup>23</sup>

Credit for this feat must be given to Richard Jones Berwyn, an outstanding Welsh pioneer who is regarded as one of the four main figures in the history of the Welsh settlement in Patagonia together with the Rev. Abraham Matthews, Lewis Jones and Edwin Cynrig Roberts.<sup>24</sup> Richard Jones was born on 31 October 1837 in Glyndyfrdwy, near Llangollen, in the then county of Merioneth. An exceptional student in his native Wales, he was granted a scholarship to study in London in 1852. After having graduated as a licensed teacher in London in 1854, he returned to Wales for only two years, after which time he went back to London. In the capital city, he worked as a book-keeper, taught Welsh and organised literary and musical meetings. His fine tenor voice and his marked interest in music led him to write articles for publications in the field. In 1859 he worked as the editor of *Papur Llundain* and contributed to publications such as *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* and *Y Ddraig Goch*. In his zeal to find prospective emigrants, he travelled to the United States, the country where members of the Welsh community had advocated the idea of migrating to Patagonia. During the trip he felt attracted by the art of sailing and after doing the

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<sup>23</sup> *Y Fawr*, 8 March 1866. At the beginning, the name ‘Y Wladychfa’ was used to refer to the Welsh settlement in Patagonia. Eventually ‘Y Wladfa’ was adopted and is the name that is used today.

<sup>24</sup> A biography of R. J. Berwyn can be found in Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico*, iii (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 82-84. Further comments from one of his descendants can be found in Fred Green, *Pethau Patagonia* (Pen-y-groes: Cyhoeddiadau Mei, 1984), 12-19. A short biography concentrating on his role as a school teacher can be found in, Luis Feldman Josín, *La Obra Civilizadora del Maestro del Chubut* (Bahía Blanca: Martínez y Rodríguez, 1966).

necessary training he obtained a certificate as an able seaman.<sup>25</sup> He stayed in North America for two years before returning to Wales in 1865, where he joined the contingent that set sail aboard the *Mimosa*.

Once in Patagonia, he remained a prominent figure until his death in 1917. From the beginning he became Secretary of the ‘Cyngor y Wladfa’ (Council of y *Wladfa*), the ruling body organised by the settlers to govern the colony. History remembers him also as ‘the first teacher of Chubut’, since he was in charge of teaching children in the early years of the colony. However, although the official history credits Berwyn as the first teacher, Elvey MacDonald claims that the honour actually fell to the Rev. Lewis Humphreys, who already in 1865 started giving lessons to the children of the settlement in a precarious wooden building. Forced to return to Wales because of health related problems, Lewis Humphreys was succeeded by the Rev. Robert Meirion Williams in 1867. Finally, Berwyn started teaching in 1868.<sup>26</sup> The Argentine Government appointed him responsible for the Registry Office in 1867 to record all marriages, births and deaths, and later he was also in charge of recording the movement of ships in the port in Rawson. Berwyn is also credited with having the first paid job in the colony –he was appointed postmaster from 1871 until 1911. Because of his interest in analysing the weather conditions in Patagonia, Berwyn was in charge of the Meteorological Office in Rawson from 1879 until 1900. He was also interested in astronomy and produced yearly almanacs until 1905 which were valued in the colony and known as the ‘almanac Berwyn’, containing interesting facts and photographs of the settlement.

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<sup>25</sup> Although perhaps a minor detail in his biography, this anecdote exemplifies the scope of R. J. Berwyn’s interest and capabilities.

<sup>26</sup> See Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 92-3. For the ‘official version’, see Luis Feldman Josín, *La Obra Civilizadora del Maestro del Chubut* (Bahía Blanca: Martínez y Rodríguez, 1966).

As early as 1868, R. J. Berwyn undertook the task of publishing *Y Brut*, a handwritten newspaper that appeared on a monthly basis for a year.<sup>27</sup> According to Gareth Alban Davies, the choice of the title was ‘redolent of the belief that the Welsh were descendants of Brutus the Trojan, and used in medieval times to denote a history of the British people... signified the arrival in a new land, where a new history was being made and recorded’.<sup>28</sup> Readers had to pay twelve sheets of paper to receive *Y Brut*, which had to be passed on to another reader after two days.<sup>29</sup> There are some uncertainties with regard to the number of pages of *Y Brut* and its date of publication. Matthew Henry Jones claims that *Y Brut* was published until 1877, subsequently to be replaced by *Ein Breiniad*. He also mentions that the paper had 25 pages and not 24 as R. Bryn Williams had stated in *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa*. Gareth Alban Davies agrees on this slight difference, although he says that *Y Brut* appeared only for a year. It is extremely unfortunate that the originals that Richard Berwyn kept in his library –only one copy per issue– were lost during the floods in 1899.<sup>30</sup> It seems unlikely that there are any surviving copies, and this lack of primary sources explains the disagreements among the authors that have written about the paper. Fortunately, it is possible to find excerpts of the newspaper in the columns of *Y Drafod* in 1893, marking the twenty-

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<sup>27</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 19. See Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico*, iii (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 82; and Gareth Alban Davies, ‘The Welsh Press in Patagonia’ in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (ed.), *A Nation and its books. A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), 266.

<sup>28</sup> See Gareth Alban Davies, ‘The Welsh Press in Patagonia’ in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (ed.), *A Nation and its books. A history of the book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), 266. The idea that embellished myths and legends helped to shape the idea of the Welsh as a nation –as was the case with many other European nations– is discussed in Prys Morgan, ‘Keeping the Legends Alive’, in Tony Curtis (ed.), *Wales: the Imagined Nation. Studies in Cultural and National Identity* (Bridgend: Poetry Wales Press, 1986), 19–41.

<sup>29</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 123.

<sup>30</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 19.

fifth anniversary of the publication of the newspaper, including a list of the contents of the first edition of *Y Brut*.<sup>31</sup>

Different interpretations have been offered to account for the appearance of *Y Brut* in the Welsh settlement in 1868. R. Bryn Williams suggests that the paper was a means of entertainment for the colonists in their hardship and loneliness, as well as a vehicle to satisfy their creative impulses. In its pages, it is possible to find letters and articles dealing with practical matters, news from Wales and the settlement, and most importantly, accounts of the meetings held by the governing Council of *y Wladfa*. The fact that the colonists chronicled their daily existence in a paper that was not intended to be read in Wales makes R. Bryn Williams suggest that ‘mae yn amlwg mai ryw reddf lenyddol a roes fod iddo, a’r reddf honno gryfaf yn ei olygydd, R. J. Berwyn’ (it is evident that a literary instinct gave birth to the paper, an instinct that was strongest in Richard Jones Berwyn, the editor).<sup>32</sup>

However, Gareth Alban Davies offers a different interpretation: ‘The contents of the first number suggest that *Y Brut* attempted to bridge the gap between the leadership and the ordinary people, whilst offering news and an occasional topical column.’<sup>33</sup>

However, when having a closer look at the contents of the first number, published in Rawson on 28 January 1868 and taking into account the socio-political context of the settlement at that time, a complementary interpretation also warrants consideration.

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<sup>31</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 124.

<sup>32</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 19.

<sup>33</sup> Gareth Alban Davies, ‘The Welsh Press in Patagonia’ in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (eds.), *A Nation and its books. A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), 266.

After the second harvest had failed in 1866-1867, a majority of the colonists felt that it was high time to be relocated somewhere else, where conditions would be more benign for the establishment of a colony. Two possibilities were considered: lands in the province of Río Negro –to the north of Chubut– and in the province of Santa Fe to the north-west of Buenos Aires. While both options would have meant better overall conditions for the settlers, they would not have been granted a unified isolated territory, and the chances of getting a degree of autonomy and finding a haven to preserve their Welshness would have been non-existent.

The Rev. Abraham Matthews travelled to Buenos Aires at the beginning of 1867 to meet the national authorities responsible for the Welsh settlement in order to convey to them the desire of the colonists to be removed from the Chubut Valley. Upon his arrival in Buenos Aires, he had interviews with government officials that commended the land available in Santa Fe to the north west of Buenos Aires, where Governor Nicasio Oroño offered advantageous conditions to immigrants willing to settle in the province. Having visited the lands, Abraham Matthews was persuaded that Santa Fe was the ideal place to make a new start, and he went back to the Chubut Valley to submit the proposal to the colonists. The majority decided on going to Santa Fe, while some families preferred to go to Río Negro, and only a minority –including Richard Jones Berwyn and Edwyn Cynrig Roberts– still believed that staying in the Chubut Valley was the right choice.

Matthews then boarded a ship to Buenos Aires to communicate the decision to the Government and to ask for assistance, but in Carmen de Patagones he met with Lewis Jones, who was on his way to the Chubut Valley to convince the colonists to stay for

another year with Government aid. After persuading Matthews to give *y Wladfa* one more chance, both leaders sailed to Port Madryn, where the colonists had assembled with all their belongings after leaving the settlement and were ready to be transferred to a better destination. After discussing the new proposal on the beach that had seen them arrive in 1865, the colonists grudgingly accepted to give the Chubut Valley one more try, their unfavourable circumstances ameliorated by new supplies promised by the Government and the knowledge that the following year they would be transferred to a better environment. Nevertheless, once again, two years after their arrival, they would have to make their way again to the Valley, more experienced than in 1865, but still facing the task of starting again.<sup>34</sup> When they got to the Chubut Valley they found that, for reasons unknown to the colonists, the natives had burned down the houses that the Welsh had built.<sup>35</sup>

Thus when *Y Brut* was published at the beginning of January 1868, we find that the colony was deeply divided and on the brink of disintegrating because of the circumstances mentioned above. The contents of the first edition suggest that the paper had a clear purpose in this respect:

*‘Y Brut’*

‘Newyddur y Wladva Gymreig’ (Newspaper of the Welsh *Wladfa*)

‘Rhiv I’ (Number I) Trerawson<sup>36</sup> ‘Ionawr 1868’ (January 1868)

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<sup>34</sup> For an account of the plans to relocate *y Wladfa* see Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 125-138.

<sup>35</sup> Marcelo Gavirati proposes that burning the houses that the Welsh had built was not a sign of enmity from the native peoples but rather a usual practice, a preventive measure taken to avoid the spread of any infectious illnesses –and specifically in the case of European settlers, the natives were aware that they could carry illnesses that could be lethal. See Marcelo Gavirati, ‘El Contacto entre Galeses, Pampas y Tehuelches: la Conformación de un Modelo de Convivencia Pacífica en la Patagonia Central (1865-1885)’, unpublished PhD thesis (Universidad del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 2012), 208-209.

<sup>36</sup> Trerawson was the name that the settlers gave to the first town they founded in Patagonia. The name combines the word ‘tre’ (‘town’ in Welsh) with the surname of the Argentine Home Secretary at the time. See Chapter One, 29. The Argentinean authorities shortened the name of the town to ‘Rawson’.

‘Cynnwys y rhivyn’ (contents):

- ‘Anerchiad y Golygydd’ (Address by the editor)
- ‘At y gwladvawyr, gan Cadivor’ (To the colonists, by Cadivor Wood)
- ‘Llythyr oddi wrth M. D. Jones’ (A letter from M. D. Jones)
- ‘Sylwadau gwladvaol newydd, gan D. Williams’ (New comments about the colony, by D. Williams)
- ‘Cyvarchiad y Prwyad L. Jones’ (A salutation from the deputy Lewis Jones)<sup>37</sup>
- ‘Hanes pwyllgorau’ (A history of committees)
- ‘Newyddion’ (News)
- ‘Dal morloi’ (Seal hunting)<sup>38</sup>

At y gwladvawyr, gan Cadivor: Cadivor Wood was the Secretary of the ‘Cymdeithas Ymfudol’ (Immigration Society). This Immigration Society (also called ‘Cwmni Ymfudo’, Immigration Company) had been founded in January 1866 with the aim facilitating the migration of Welsh settlers to Patagonia.<sup>39</sup> Aware of the intentions of the settlers, Wood had travelled to Chubut to assess the situation. His interest clearly laid in the survival of the settlement.

Llythyr oddi wrth M. D. Jones: a letter from Michael D. Jones, one of the main investors and ideological leaders in the immigration project, was bound to encourage the settlers to persevere and stay.

Sylwadau gwladvaol newydd: David Williams ‘Oneida’ is described as a successful and wealthy farmer from the United States (he had emigrated from the county of

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Many towns and cities in Argentina founded after the country gained independence bear the name of prominent characters. In Chubut, for instance: Sarmiento, Gobernador Costa, Comodoro Rivadavia.

<sup>37</sup> Lewis Jones had been elected by the colonists to represent y *Wladfa* in Buenos Aires on 28 July 1867. See Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 139.

<sup>38</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 124.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 112-113.

Oneida in the state of New York), who had arrived with expensive agricultural machinery and who had expressed his absolute confidence in the colonising venture.<sup>40</sup> His comments must have injected new energy into the colony and he cannot have been in favour of leaving, since he had only recently arrived with his wife and daughter.

Cyvarchiad y Prwyad L. Jones: although Lewis Jones was living in Buenos Aires, he had remained in contact with the colony and was aware of its development. His words must have been along the lines of the previous contributors.

Dal morloi: during his trips to Carmen de Patagones or Buenos Aires, Edwin Cynrig Roberts had noticed that there were several colonies of elephant seals that could be hunted for their oil. He wrote to Michael D. Jones and the 'Cymdeithas Ymfudol' in January 1868 with a plan to start a factory that would reap commercial benefits.<sup>41</sup> Nothing came of the project, but it was another idea that clearly pointed to a brighter future for the Chubut settlement and a further reason for the colonists to stay.

Another example of the 'pro-*Wladfa*' role of *Y Brut* can be found in a reprint in an issue of *Y Drafod* in 1893.<sup>42</sup> The article by Berwyn was about the kinds of houses in which the colonists lived in the Chubut Valley. In another attempt to paint a favourable picture of the settlement, Berwyn comments that, given the chance to visit the settlements in the United States and Australia, there would be no doubt that the Welsh-Patagonians were more enterprising, and that the quality of the houses built in *y Wladfa* was far superior than those of the United States. The article then chronicles

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<sup>40</sup> Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 147.

<sup>41</sup> Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 144-145.

<sup>42</sup> *Y Drafod*, 12 October 1893. The date of the publication of the article in *Y Brut* is not given.

the developments in the field of house building and finishes by providing statistics and figures about the state of affairs in the colony after having made a new beginning in 1868.

Judging from the content of the first number and other articles reprinted in *Y Drafod*, *Y Brut* does not appear as an irrational enterprise carried out by a group of isolated pioneers in a reduced state intent on exercising their literary skills only. It is rather testimony to the importance attributed by the leaders of the settlement to the press as a medium to wage a campaign to secure the survival of the settlement against the prevailing defeatist mood. The appearance of *Y Brut* is then further evidence of the hardship and conflicts of the first years of *y Wladfa*, and it reveals the internal tensions and disagreement that developed among the Welsh when facing the adversity of Patagonia. The press, in this case, was used to promote a specific agenda and it must have been one of the influential factors that made the Welsh stay in Patagonia despite the less than ideal condition in which they were in the first years and the fact that the majority of the Welsh wanted to go somewhere else. It also helped to create the impression of an imagined and prosperous community that had the opportunity to develop and evolve to gain a considerable degree of success. In a word, a community that was there to stay.

### **A Second Milestone: *Ein Breiniad***

As we have seen, print culture was in many ways important for the development of the Welsh project in Patagonia, even before the actual migration took place. Given that printing and publishing played a prominent role in Lewis Jones' life, it is not surprising that, once the means were available, he tried to incorporate publishing as a

fundamental aspect of the settlement. During a trip to Buenos Aires in 1878, he bought a printing press that he took back to the Chubut Valley. According to Gareth Alban Davies it was Lewis Jones' connection with the editors of *The Buenos Aires Standard* that allowed him to buy that printing press.<sup>43</sup> At the end of 1865, Jones had moved to Buenos Aires after a severe split among the colonists who blamed him for their misfortunes. In the capital he found employment in *The Buenos Aires Standard*, a newspaper founded by the Irish brothers Michael George and Edward Thomas Mulhall that catered for the British community in Argentina.<sup>44</sup> The target audience of the newspaper was wealthy families with a pro-British political stance, so it serviced one sector of the Irish community in Argentina. The small landowners and railway administrators, labourers, later immigrants, cattle hands and low-rank railway employees felt more identified with the Catholic, nationalistic *The Southern Cross*, founded in 1875 by Patrick Joseph Dillon, a Catholic Irish priest settled in Argentina.<sup>45</sup> Some of the articles published in the *Standard* were also reproduced in *Y Drafod*.<sup>46</sup>

As soon as he installed the printing press, Lewis Jones started publishing a newspaper called *Ein Breiniad*, the first Welsh printed newspaper of Patagonia. The paper was launched on 21 September 1878 and it appeared on a weekly basis. The first series included six numbers and two appendixes –the regular numbers consisted of a single

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<sup>43</sup> Gareth Alban Davies, 'The Welsh Press in Patagonia' in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (ed.), *A Nation and its books. A history of the book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), 267.

<sup>44</sup> Oliver Marshall, *The English-Language Press in Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1996).

<sup>45</sup> These two social groups within the Irish-Argentine community were known as the 'Standard Group' and the 'Cross Group'. See Edmundo Murray, *Becoming Gauchos Ingleses. Diasporic Models in Irish-Argentine Literature* (Maryland: Maunsel & Co., 2009), 19-20.

<sup>46</sup> The *Standard* was published from 1861 until 1959. For more details see [http://www.ireland.com/ancestor/magazine/articles/ir\\_stham.htm](http://www.ireland.com/ancestor/magazine/articles/ir_stham.htm). See also Gareth Alban Davies, 'The Welsh Press in Patagonia', in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (eds.), *A Nation and its books. A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: Cambrian Printers, 1998), 267.

sheet printed on both sides, while the appendices were a sheet printed on one side only.<sup>47</sup> The second series consisted of six numbers and an appendix, which were not published as regularly as the first series. The first number of the second series appeared on 23 November 1878 and the last on 17 May 1879. A further three numbers that could be said to add a sort of coda to the first two series of *Ein Breiniad* were published in 1881 (22 October and 26 November) and in 1883 (a special Christmas edition).

A curious aspect is that the spelling convention used in *Ein Breiniad* is different from the one found in Welsh publications like the newspaper *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, the quarterly magazine *Y Traethodydd* or other publications servicing the Welsh diaspora in the United States (*Y Drych*) and Australia (*Yr Awstralydd*); ‘ff’ was replaced by ‘f’ and ‘f’ by ‘v’. The same convention would later appear in *Y Dravod*.<sup>48</sup> R. Bryn Williams explains that this innovation was the result of Lewis Jones using an old printing press with characters for the Spanish language.<sup>49</sup> Lewis Jones himself confirms this theory in a short paragraph in *Ein Breiniad* where he states that ‘ar y dechreu, gorrwodaeth argrafyddol a barodd i ni ddevyddio [sic] v’.<sup>50</sup> However, Gareth Alban Davies maintains that Lewis Jones was following an orthography that roughly conformed to medieval Welsh usage and in fact, that he was following ‘both William

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<sup>47</sup> The second number was the exception, as it included an extra page (‘Atodiad’). Also it should be mentioned that a fortnight instead of a week elapsed between the publication of numbers 6 and the final ‘Atodiad’ (Appendix) showing the results of a local election, due to the delay in counting the votes.

<sup>48</sup> This convention, which deviates from modern standard Welsh, disappeared when *Y Dravod* became *Y Drafod* in 1896, when Lewis Jones sold the printing office on 31 March 1896. See Glaniad <http://www.glaniad.com/index.php?lang=cy&subj=5758&id=34350&size=2&t=2>, consulted on 21 July 2012.

<sup>49</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 21. Contrary to R. Bryn Williams’s assertion, ‘x’ is not used in *Ein Breiniad* as a substitute for ‘ch’.

<sup>50</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 3 May 1879.

Owen Pughe's orthography and the idiosyncratic language that Pughe had forged for his *Dictionary*.<sup>51</sup>

In his preface to his chronicle of *y Wladva*, Lewis Jones warns the reader of his use of that particular orthography: 'Nid yw y newid hwn namyn doddi *v* yn lle *f*, vel ag i adael yr *ff* hyllig, a thrwy hynny vireinio peth ar olwg ein llythreniad' (This change means only that *v* replaces *f*, so as to avoid the unsightly *ff*, and thus the appearance of our lettering will be enhanced a bit).<sup>52</sup> The fact that he kept this convention even when publishing his book in Wales confirms that his choice did not only have to do with using a printing press with Spanish characters but rather with a personal choice that arose from conviction rather than necessity. Further evidence of this can be found perusing Lewis Jones' letters.<sup>53</sup> While those written before 1865 follow a convention closer to the standard used in Wales at the time, the written evidence from the Patagonian period shows that he had switched to the 'new' style after arriving in Patagonia. As early as 1868 Richard Jones Berwyn may have been using the same convention to write *Y Brut* – at least the columns of the paper reproduced in *Y Drafod* in 1893 follow the Patagonian convention. We can find the same spelling convention in his personal papers, as well as in official documents pertaining to the settlement.<sup>54</sup> The records kept by Berwyn for the years 1871-1872 are proof of this.<sup>55</sup> Also, a book that Berwyn prepared to teach Welsh to children in primary school printed in

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<sup>51</sup> Gareth Alban Davies, 'The Welsh Press in Patagonia', in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (ed.), *A Nation and its books. A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), 268-269.

<sup>52</sup> Lewis Jones, *Cymru Newydd. Hanes y Wladva Gymreig Tiriogaeth Chubut, yn y Weriniaeth Arianin, De Amerig* (Caernarvon: Cwmni'r Wasg Genedlaethol Gymreig, 1898), 4.

<sup>53</sup> Many of his personal letters and papers as well as R. J. Berwyn's can be found digitised on the trilingual website [www.glaniad.com](http://www.glaniad.com).

<sup>54</sup> In his early papers Berwyn even used 'x' for 'ch' like Michael D. Jones. However, later he changed his style and in the twentieth century he had opted for the standard written convention used in Wales.

<sup>55</sup> See 'Covnodion Ysgrivenydd y Wladva 1871-1872 gan R. J. Berwyn' on the Glaniad website, <http://www.glaniad.com/index.php?lang=cy&id=34404&t=2>

Patagonia followed the same convention in its two editions of 1878 and 1881, a decision that suggests that choosing this specific spelling convention was a intentional choice. If so, an alternative spelling convention becomes a trademark of a settlement that was intended to be a new beginning for a nation that, in the eyes of the leaders of the movement, had to escape oppression to make a new start as free, Welsh people.

According to R. Bryn Williams, *Ein Breiniad* did not have much literary value in and of itself, as it was mainly concerned with the pressing issues of the day, namely political and agricultural matters.<sup>56</sup> Presumably R. Bryn Williams was pointing to the fact that creative writing and the fine arts did not have a prominent place in the pages of the paper. However, it is precisely for its practical and political content that the paper is a valuable source to historians, since the columns of *Ein Breiniad* shed light on the main concerns of the Welsh community at the time. After all, Lewis Jones himself had stated that the paper was a ‘newyddur wythnosol bychan i wyntyllio y gwahaniaethau parthed iawn weinyddiad y Wladva, a’r gwingo rhag yr Ormes Swyddogol’ (‘a small weekly newspaper to ventilate the differences regarding the correct administration of y *Wladfa*, and the struggle against Official Oppresion’).<sup>57</sup>

The title echoed with biblical resonances, since in his chronicle of y *Wladfa* Lewis Jones quoted the apostle Paul from the Acts of Apostles 22:28 as saying ‘a minau a anwyd yn vreiniol’ (but I was born to it [*i.e.*, Roman citizenship]).<sup>58</sup> The biblical reference points to the fact that the apostle Paul had special privileges as a consequence of being a Roman citizen. The title was appropriate to what Lewis Jones

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<sup>56</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych, 1949), 21.

<sup>57</sup> Lewis Jones, *Cymru Newydd. Hanes y Wladva Gymreig Tiriogaeth Chubut, yn y Weriniaeth Arianin, De Amerig* (Caernarvon: Cwmni’r Wasg Genedlaethol Gymreig, 1898), 102.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 102. For the biblical reference see Acts 22:28.

was trying to do in the Patagonian context: on the one hand, a clear reference to the Bible pointed to the intrinsic religious values of the community that were a vital part of their Welsh identity; on the other hand, he was trying to draw a parallel with the apostle Paul by making the Welsh consider that they also had inherent privileges, and that those privileges were to be exercised in *y Wladfa*.<sup>59</sup> But in order for the political freedom to come true, action had to be taken, and the press was the vehicle chosen, in a typically nineteenth-century fashion, to raise awareness and to mobilize the community.

A content analysis of the paper provides an insight into several key aspects of the life in the Patagonian settlement when it was entering its period of consolidation and growth. In the light of the many transformations that the colony was experiencing, we can also explore the reasons behind the publication of the organ. Ever since the arrival of the national authorities in 1874, the Welsh had started experiencing mounting pressure from the Argentinean officials who were sent to the colony. According to the editor, the paper would wake the Welsh to fulfil their civic responsibilities and therefore defend their rights; this is clearly stated on the first page of the first number of *Ein Breiniad*:

Niver o vreinwyr y Wladva yn teimlo y dylid cyfroi y sevydlwyr i gymeryd dyddordeb yn yr Etholiad agosaol, ac nad oedd well cyvrwng i gyrhaedd yr amcan hwnw na thrwy y wasg, a danysgriviasant y swm rheidiol i ddigolledu y cyhoeddwr am len wythnosol vel hon am y pump neu chwech wythnos hyd yr Etholiad.<sup>60</sup>

(A number of citizens feel that the settlers should be encouraged to take an interest in the approaching Election, and that there was not a better means of fulfilling this aim than through the press, and they subscribed the necessary

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<sup>59</sup> See *Ein Breiniad*, September 1878. In the first page Lewis Jones explains that the Welsh had the right to govern themselves in the Patagonian settlement.

<sup>60</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 21 September 1878.

sum of money to compensate the publisher for a weekly publication like this for the five or six weeks until the Election)

In the crucial elections of 1878 the voters needed to elect eight or nine councillors, a secretary for the council and a magistrate. Several articles in the paper reflect a concern that the colonists should choose their representatives carefully to avoid falling into the state of apathy that was beginning to affect the political life of the settlement, evidence of which can be found in Aaron Jenkins's comments about the regular meetings of the council: 'y llynedd nid oedd y vath beth a chael eisteddiad haner y troion y galwyd, oherwydd esgeulusdra yr aelodau i ddod yno' ('last year we were not able to have session on half of the occasions that a meeting was called because of the negligence of the members who did not attend').<sup>61</sup>

In order to raise awareness about the elections, different kinds of articles were published in order to fulfil that aim. For instance, there were informative articles about the institutions in charge of governing the colony so that the voters would be fully aware of what type of people they were expected to elect. Lists with the names of the candidates of the two contending parties were also included in the columns of the paper. And more importantly there was also room to engage in debate about the best way forward.

The need to wake the settlers to their responsibilities also arose because of a supposed rift between the older settlers from 1865 and those who had joined the colony at a later stage when the Argentine Government had already sent representatives to bring

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<sup>61</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 21 September 1878.

the settlement into line with the national policy.<sup>62</sup> According to Lewis Jones, the newcomers –who had become the majority by 1878– specifically needed to become aware of the importance of self-government, since they had had no previous experience of it in Wales, while those who had arrived in the settlement before 1874 had had almost a decade of governing the settlement themselves.

Yr oedd y sevdwyr newydd, wrth gwrs, heb ddeall yn iawn y sevyllva, ac yn bobl ochelgar, heddychol; ond yr oedd yr “hen wladwawyr” wedi cynefino lleodru eu hunain, ac yn eiddigus am eu hawliau ac am eu gwlad, a phan gawsant cyn bo hir engraifft o’r swyddoga newydd oedd i vod arnynt... bu aruthr ganddynt.<sup>63</sup>

(The new settlers, of course, did not understand the situation correctly, and they were cautious, peaceful people. However, the ‘old settlers’ had got used to governing themselves, and were jealous of their rights and their country, and when they before long got an example of the new appointment of officials that would govern them... they were horrified.)

Further evidence of the lack of awareness or information about the Welsh local form of government in the settlement can be found in the second and third issues of the paper, where the ‘Cyvansoddiad y Wladva’ (Constitution of the Colony) is reproduced, since many of the settlers had never seen it.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, in the fifth edition of the paper, as the date of the elections was drawing nearer, a section was published enumerating the responsibilities of the Council ‘rhag ovn vod yr etholwyr heb ystyried pwysigrwydd gorchwylion y Cynghor maent ar vedr ddewis’ (in case the electors have not considered the importance of the tasks of the Council they are about to elect).<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Two large contingents arrived in 1874 (around 31 immigrants from the United States and 49 from Wales) and in 1875-1876 (over 500 immigrants from Wales). See Glyn Williams, *The Desert and the Dream: a Study of Welsh Colonization in Chubut, 1865-1915* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975), 72-74.

<sup>63</sup> Lewis Jones, *Cymru Newydd. Hanes y Wladva Gymreig Tiriogaeth Chubut, yn y Weriniaeth Arianin, De Amerig* (Caernarvon: Cwmni’r Wasg Genedlaethol Gymreig, 1898), 94.

<sup>64</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 28 September 1878 and 5 October 1878.

<sup>65</sup> ‘In case the voters have not considered the importance of the tasks of the Council they are about to elect’. *Ein Breiniad*, 19 October 1878.

The sometimes heated debates that can be read in the pages of the paper indicate that the first series of *Ein Breiniad* had an impact on the local Welsh community, since it acted as a forum to ventilate and analyse the main issues affecting it. The fact that the editor received several contributions that he was not able to publish due to space constraints –as was mentioned in a section from the editor to the contributors entitled ‘Ein Gohebwy’ (Our Correspondents)– also shows that the paper satisfied a dormant need for expression in the community. After the elections were over, the editor proposed that *Ein Breiniad* should continue to be published based on the success that the paper had achieved. According to Lewis Jones:

Wele ni ar ben y gwaith yr ymgemasom ag ev, o ddefroi y wlad i ddyddordeb yn yr Etholiad: a barnwn y gall cychwynwyr Ein Breiniad gyvarch eu gilydd, vod yr amcan hwnw wedi ei gyrhaedd yn drylwyr... y mae'r dravodaeth a gavwyd, am savle ac angenion y Wladva, yn ddysgyblaeth wleidyddol o'r vath oreu, ac yn sicr o adael ei hol arnom y rhawg. Gwahaniaethau ein gohebwy'r lawer yn eu syniadau parth yr amrywiol agweddau ar y Wladva vu dan sylw, a chyvleu y gwahaniaethau hyny i'r wlad yn ddealladwy vu swydd Ein Breiniad.<sup>66</sup>

(Here we are having finished the work we undertook of waking the colony to take an interest in the Election. We conclude that the founders of *Ein Breiniad* can salute each other that aim has been thoroughly fulfilled... the discussion about the position and the needs of y *Wladfa* is a political exercise of the best kind, and it will surely leave its mark upon us for a long time. Our correspondents differed greatly in their ideas about the various aspects of y *Wladfa* that were discussed. The role of *Ein Breiniad* was to express those differences to the community in an intelligible manner.)

Following the editorial line, in the same edition of the paper ‘Bob o’r Vuchas’, one of the columnists who would write frequently in *Ein Breiniad* reproducing an oral North Walian colloquial style, expressed his desire for the paper not to fold.

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<sup>66</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 26 October 1878.

Ydan nin mund i vuw heb bapur newudd, wsnosol ne visol, wedi cael blas arno vo vel hun? Ac os nad ydi hwn yn ddigon o vaint i bawb vedrud wsgwd i bryichia, ous dim posib i ni gael cwmpni i neud un mwu?... Does gynon ni ddim ond tipin moddion cyrvyddol [sic] ma yn dwad a ni at yn gilidd, a tydi pawb, nac yn agos, ddim yn dwad ono; ond caen ni glwt o bapur newudd, mi gieid [sic] gaval arnon ni i gid.<sup>67</sup>

(Are we going to live without a weekly or monthly newspaper after having had a taste of it like this? And if the size is not sufficient for everyone to be able to shake their arms, can it be possible to have a company make a bigger one?... We only have a few of religious meetings here that bring us together, and not everyone, nor close on everyone, comes to them. But if we got a shred of a newspaper, it would get hold of us all.)

The columnist may have already foreseen the appearance of other newspapers in y *Wladfa*. Although unfortunately the real identity of this columnist remains unknown, Lewis Jones himself could have used this character to express his wish for the paper to continue –the use of a North Walian dialect perhaps points in the direction of Lewis Jones as well, although many of the leaders of y *Wladfa* were originally from North Wales. Writing in dialect was a practice that was already found in the press in Wales and acquired a degree of popularity between the 1840s and the 1870s and editors themselves seem to have been the most adept producers, as in the case of the series ‘Llythyrau ’Rhen Ffarmwr’ (Letters of the Old Farmer) written by William Rees ‘Gwilym Hiraethog’ in the newspaper *Yr Amserau*.<sup>68</sup> Many of these contributions written in dialect in *Ein Breiniad* reflected the fact that they were supposed to have been written by less educated, common people, although sometimes they also reverted to standard Welsh.<sup>69</sup> They appeared in a column entitled ‘Llais y Wlad’ (the Voice of the Country) which served as a mirror of the opinion of ‘the man in the street’, as it were. Despite the colloquial tone and the sometimes simple

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<sup>67</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 26 October 1878.

<sup>68</sup> Aled Jones, ‘The Welsh Language and Journalism’, in Geraint H. Jenkins (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains, 1801-1911* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 398.

<sup>69</sup> North Walian: Bob o’r Vuchas, Pry Garw; South Walian: Dai Mab i Vam, Tanwr; Standard: Cyvlavareddwr, Crevyddwr, Nyniaw ab Caw

language of the column –in which the Rev. Michael D. Jones was even described as ‘hen vachgan’ (old boy)– vital issues were addressed in accordance with the aim of bringing those issues nearer to the readers through the degree of informality. The use of a more colloquial register would appeal to a number of readers, as was the case with ‘Llythrau ’Rhen Ffarmwr’, and thus, the aim of the press of reaching out and acting as a meeting point for the community would have been fulfilled more effectively while at the same time creating an atmosphere of community involvement by conveying the idea that every opinion counted. Aled Jones proposes that, although it is difficult to understand the editors’s motivations in including this genre, this could point to the possibility that newspaper text was read aloud to family and friends.<sup>70</sup>

It seems that the request for further numbers of *Ein Breiniad* was viewed favourably in the community, since the end of the electoral period did not lead to the demise of the paper. Notwithstanding the will of the editor and contributors to continue with their task, the sheer distance from Buenos Aires and the lack of regular communication with the outside world sometimes made publishing difficult, as can be seen in the front page of the first number of the second series of the paper:

Dymunir arnom gyhoeddi cyvres arall o’r Breiniad. Hyd nes y cafom y cyvlenwad o bapyr sydd wedi ei erchi o Buenos Ayres, nis gallwn ymrwymo i’w ddwyn allan ond yn achlysurol, vel y bo’r galw. Ond anvoned ein gohebwyd eu hysgrivau i mewn pan yn gyvleus.<sup>71</sup>

(The wish has been expressed that we publish another series of *Ein Breiniad*. Until we receive the supply of paper that we have ordered from Buenos Aires, we cannot commit ourselves to produce it but occasionally, according to demand. But our correspondents should send in their contributions whenever it is convenient.)

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<sup>70</sup> Aled Jones, ‘The Welsh Language and Journalism’, in Geraint H. Jenkins (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains, 1801-1911* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 399.

<sup>71</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 23 November 1878.

This may be one of the reasons why the second series was not published regularly, leaving months or even years pass between one number and the next. The fact that it is not mentioned that readers had paid their subscriptions in advance –as they had done to support the first series of the paper– indicates that lack of funding may have been another important reason for the irregularity and eventually the end of *Ein Breiniad*.

Between the elections in November 1878 and the final edition of the newspaper in 1883 ten issues were published. They contain a wealth of material that tells us a great deal about the circumstances surrounding the development of the Chubut settlement. The main event discussed in the appendix of the first series and the first two numbers of the second series was the outcome of the elections and its apparent invalidity due to irregularities.<sup>72</sup> These contentions were eventually refuted by the winning party, but the extensive debate displayed in the three numbers of the paper proves that dissention and differing points of view were not unknown in the small colony. The elections happened at a crucial moment in the history of *y Wladfa*. Ever since the colonists had settled in Patagonia, they had had to create the necessary institutions to govern themselves. The fact that all the administrative aspects of governing the settlement happened through the medium of Welsh and that all male residents above eighteen years of age were allowed to vote points to the importance of the Patagonian experiment.<sup>73</sup> The governing body consisted of a president of the council, a justice of

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<sup>72</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 9 November 1878, 23 November 1878, and 21 December 1878.

<sup>73</sup> Although R. Bryn Williams pointed in his volume *Y Wladfa* in 1962 that women had the right to vote in *y Wladfa* during the first years of the settlement, this has been recently contested by Fabio González, who did a careful examination of the first documents produced in *y Wladfa*. See Fabio Trevor González, 'Las Constituciones de Y Wladfa', in Comité Organizador (ed.), *Los Galeses en la Patagonia VI* (Puerto Madryn, 2014), forthcoming.

the peace, a secretary, a treasurer and twelve representatives.<sup>74</sup> In the 1878 elections a justice of the peace, a secretary and eight or nine representatives for the council were to be elected,<sup>75</sup> but there were also fundamental principles at stake: the officials sent by Buenos Aires refused to recognise the authorities elected by the Welsh unless the colonists complied with the laws of the Argentine Republic with regard to electing authorities and accepted a constitution drafted by the central government for all immigrant colonies in the country.

The benefits of complying with Argentine law were discussed at length in *Ein Breiniad*. The competitors for the post of justice of the peace were Lewis Jones and the Rev. David Lloyd Jones,<sup>76</sup> who won the elections with 76 votes against 73 for Lewis Jones.<sup>77</sup> While both candidates seem to have been in favour of having a closer link with the Argentine Government, in a letter to Michael D. Jones, the Rev. David Lloyd Jones accused Lewis Jones of trying to secure for himself the appointment from Buenos Aires.<sup>78</sup> Whatever the minutiae of the internal disagreement and bickering, the existence of *Ein Breiniad* and the nature of its content show that the settlers had achieved in a short time a certain degree of political maturity, since they had been able to organise their lives according to rules that they themselves had set, and any changes or improvements were the result of democratic debate.

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<sup>74</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 28 September 1878.

<sup>75</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 21 September 1878.

<sup>76</sup> Born in Denbighshire in 1832, David Lloyd Jones moved to Patagonia with his family in 1874, although he had been actively involved in the project even before 1865. He studied in London and in the Bala College where Michael D. Jones was the principal. In *y Wladfa* he became a prominent public figure and was a member of several governmental bodies and committees. He also preached in several chapels. He died in 1910 after a long illness. See Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico*, ii (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 161-162; and *Y Drafod*, 30 September 1910 and 21 October 1910.

<sup>77</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 9 November 1878.

<sup>78</sup> Bangor MS 7623.

Three months elapsed before the publication of the following edition of the paper at the end of March 1879 which contained articles concentrating on other issues like the agricultural and commercial development of the colony and a report of a trip to the south of Chubut by Lewis Jones.<sup>79</sup> The paper maintained its mainly political slant and it continued to play a sort of political educational role in the settlement, as a direct consequence of trying to fulfil its original aim of waking the colonists to fulfil their civic responsibilities by explaining, for instance, how the political institutions created by the settlers ought to work in view of the perceived ominous presence of the Buenos Aires' envoys.

In spite of remaining true to its original aims, there was nevertheless a certain expansion in its scope. From the fourth issue of the second series onwards, there were constant references to an increasingly strained relationship with the Argentine Government and its delegates in the colony. In May 1879 a special issue of *Ein Breiniad* was published following the arrival of a new representative of the Argentine Government with two naval officers and ten soldiers. This new contingent was the embodiment of the government's intention to have a greater inherece in the Chubut settlement. Such was the importance given to this matter that an extra page was printed as an appendix so that the Lewis Jones could to inform the readers about the changes in greater detail:

Barnasom y wedd newydd bresenol ar weithrediadau y Llywodraeth at y Wladva, yn ddigon pwysig i roddi ger bron y wlad yn arbenig vel hyn hyny o wybodaeth savadwy allasom gael ar y mater. Bydd ein darllenwyr drwy hyn yn alluocach i furvio barn gywir am y sevyllva, na phe yn dybynu ar hwn a'r llall.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 22 March 1879.

<sup>80</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 17 May 1879.

(We considered that the current new way in which the Government is acting towards y *Wladfa* is important enough to present to the community in this manner [an appendix] the reliable information we may have on the matter. Our readers will then be more able to develop an informed opinion about the situation instead of relying on this and that)

A further clear example of this role of *Ein Breiniad* is the issue of October 1881, published more than two years after the previous one. This new edition is devoted entirely to preparing voters for a new forthcoming election of a committee to amend the constitution of the colony, a matter that had caused considerable anxiety three years previously.<sup>81</sup> The issue contains detailed information about the different governmental institutions of the settlement created by the colonists, as well as columns by some of the key figures of the colony explaining what the main responsibilities and aims of each governmental body should be.<sup>82</sup> As well as creating an awareness of the value of the institutions, the paper was trying to make people realise the importance of what they had to defend and preserve.

The pages of *Ein Breiniad* tell us a great deal about other matters indirectly connected to politics such as roads and community buildings, irrigation canals and the need to find new locations to establish further settlements. However, it is not surprising that education is the most prominent theme after politics. In a time of impending change for the settlement, the ability to educate their children through the medium of Welsh remained a fundamental concept even among those who were willing to let the Argentine Government have a higher degree of participation in the settlement's

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<sup>81</sup> The debate about amending the constitution can be found in *Ein Breiniad* in 1878 and 1879.

<sup>82</sup> The institutions described in the paper are 'Y Cyngor' (The Council), 'Yr Ynadaeth' (The Justice of the Peace), 'Y Llywyddiaeth' (The Presidency), 'Y Trysorydd' (The Treasurer) and 'Byrddau Lleol' (Regional Boards). See *Ein Breiniad* 22 October 1881.

government.<sup>83</sup> After all, securing the survival of the language was a key element in preserving the unique identity of the colony. Already in the second issue of the paper an advertisement can be read about the opening of a new school in Rawson in the charge of Mr Rees Thomas.<sup>84</sup> However, it seems that the existing educational provision was not sufficient to satisfy the needs of a settlement in which half of the population was under 15 years of age. A concerned reader asked ‘paham nad yw addysg yn cael y sylw ddylai?... ac nid gadael i’r plant hyn dyvu yn ddeiliaid tywyll ac anvuddiol’ (why does not education receive the attention it merits?... and not leave these children to grow as unenlightened and unproductive subjects?).<sup>85</sup> One of the reasons cited to explain this shortcoming in the settlement can be found in a column written by ‘Myrddyn’:

Un peth sy’n milwrio yn erbyn addysg yw y gwahanol opiniynau ethryb yr iaith briodol i ddysgu y plant ynddi. Myn rhai mai Saesnaeg, eraill Sbaeneg, eraill y Gymraeg – a’r plant yn tyvu i vyny heb addysg yn y byd.<sup>86</sup>

(A factor that militates against education is the different opinions regarding which is the appropriate language to use to teach the children. Some say it should be English, others Spanish, and others Welsh – and the children grow up without any education whatsoever.)

However, there seemed to be a general consensus that educating the children bilingually or trilingually would be the best option, as expressed by ‘Myrddyn’ in the same column:

Dysgwn y plant yn drwyadl yn y Gymraeg i ddechreu, vel y byddont yn Gymry o ran teimlad a moesau, ac wedi hyny Ysbaeneg, i’w galluogi i gymeryd rhan yn masnach a gwleidyddiaeth eu gwlad.

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<sup>83</sup> See *Ein Breiniad*, 21 December 1878. A speech by David Lloyd Jones, the newly elected president of the council, which was printed in the paper, comments on the importance of both ideas.

<sup>84</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 28 September 1878.

<sup>85</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 5 October 1878.

<sup>86</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 19 October 1878.

(Let's educate the children thoroughly in Welsh to start, so that they will be Welsh in their feelings and morals, and after that in Spanish, to allow them to take part in the commerce and politics of their country.)

The Rev. David Lloyd Jones shared these views in another edition of the paper:

Rhaid i ni gael addysg, ac yr wyv am i'r addysg hono vod yn Gymraeg; eithr yr wyv am i bob plentyn a addysgir yma allu ateb drosto ei hun yn Saesneg a Hispaeneg... Na ato Duw i ni anghovio ein iaith, ond na ato Duw hevyd i ni aberthu gwybodaeth er mwyn iaith.<sup>87</sup>

(We have to provide education, and I want that education to be in Welsh; but I want that every child that is educated here will be able to answer for himself in English and Spanish... God forbid that we forget our language, and God forbid also that we sacrifice knowledge for the sake of language.)

In the following year, a new chapter in the history of the relationship with the Central Government was inaugurated as the first national school was opened in a building previously used as a school in the area of Glyn Du. The teacher sent by Buenos Aires was Robert Powel 'Elaig', a Londoner of Welsh extraction who had learnt Welsh and Spanish.<sup>88</sup>

In the later editions of *Ein Breiniad* another theme is developed that shows that the settlement was already planning the next step forward. In March 1879 Lewis Jones published a report that he had sent to the Argentine Government describing the landscape that he had seen on a visit to the southern province of Santa Cruz. His description shows an interest in the possibility of starting a settlement in the south similar to the one in the Chubut Valley.<sup>89</sup> This need for expansion that characterises the period of explorations started by the Welsh settlers in the 1870s is confirmed by

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<sup>87</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 21 December 1878.

<sup>88</sup> See page 119 in this chapter for more information about Elaig.

<sup>89</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 22 March 1879.

two articles published in 1881.<sup>90</sup> One of them proposed exploring and settling new lands to the south west, in the vicinity of the Lake Colwapi,<sup>91</sup> and the other going west to settle in the Telsen Valley, some 120 miles to the north west of the Chubut Valley, which was believed to be able to hold 100 families.

Yn awr, nid cwmni chwilyrdol yn myned i basio yr amser hyd adeg hau ddylai hwn vod, eithr dyrnaid o ddyinion pendervynol, yn amenyddgar i aros am wobwr yr antur, ac yn ddigon doeth i osod i lawr seiliau amaethyddol hyd hyny.<sup>92</sup>

(Now, this should not be an inquisitive company going to pass the time until the sowing season, but a group of determined men, patiently waiting for the prize of the adventure, and wise enough to lay the agricultural foundations until then.)

Another announcement by Lewis Jones in the same edition invited settlers to join him in an exploratory trip to Lake Colwapi before Christmas. Two years later, in the next and last edition of the paper, a small announcement is included on the foundation of a ‘Cymdeithas Archwiliadol’ (Exploration Company) whose aim was to ‘vyned allan i archwilio’r wlad am vwnau a thir’ (go out to explore the territory for minerals and land).<sup>93</sup> This was the prelude to the Welsh experiencing the most well-known violent

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<sup>90</sup> For an account of the exploratory trips made by the Welsh pioneers see R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), chapter 10; and Glyn Williams, ‘Welsh Contributions to Exploration in Patagonia’, *The Geographical Journal*, 135/ 2 (1969), 213-227

<sup>91</sup> A slightly different Spanish version of this native name (Lago Colhué Huapi) remains the official name of the lake.

<sup>92</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 26 November 1881.

<sup>93</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, Christmas edition 1883.

incident with the native peoples in 1884<sup>94</sup> and to their reaching the westernmost parts of Chubut and to the subsequent gold fever that never yielded its expected results.<sup>95</sup>

Although *Ein Breiniad* has been described as a newspaper concerned mainly with political matters, some space was allocated to publishing pieces of creative writing. An analysis of the material shows that 24 poems were published in the ten editions of the paper between 28 September 1878 and 3 May 1879. Unfortunately most of the poets used pseudonyms –except for R. J. Berwyn. Therefore, trying to identify the authors is a difficult task, and only their political views can be identified.

All of the poems published in 1878 and some of those dating from the beginning of 1879 are concerned with politics and the elections. They were generally published as a witty or critical reflection on a matter debated in the previous edition of the paper, and the poems tended to pass judgement on an issue or an individual in an ironical tone. For instance, in response to a commentary written by Lewis Evans ‘Meudwy’ in October 1878 expressing his views regarding the best policies to govern the settlement a poem was published by ‘Pant-yr-Inn a’r Voel Gron’ in the following edition of *Ein Breiniad* mocking Meudwy’s idea of working closely with the Argentine Government to secure the survival of the colony.<sup>96</sup> Another interesting example can be found in the appendix to the first series, which contained the results of

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<sup>94</sup> The incident in the now-called ‘Valle de los Mártires’ (Valley of the Martyrs; ‘Dyffryn y Merthyron’ for Welsh speakers) in which three Welshmen were killed by roaming local tribes and only one –John Daniel Evans– survived can be found in many sources. A romanticised version is provided by Eluned Morgan, *Dringo’r Andes* (Y Fenni: Y Brodyr Owen, 1904). John Daniel Evans’s own version can be read in Paul Birt (ed.), *Bywyd a Gwaith John Daniel Evans, El Baqueano* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2004).

<sup>95</sup> Although the Welsh settlers were aware that there were gold fields in the Andean region already in the 1880s, it was only in the 1890s that the gold fever seized some individuals who founded a company by the name of The Welsh Patagonian Gold Field Syndicate, of which David Lloyd George was one of the shareholders. See R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 234-241.

<sup>96</sup> See *Ein Breiniad*, 19 and 26 October 1878.

the elections, where someone using the pseudonym ‘Ysbryd Twm o’r Nant’ (the Spirit of Twm o’r Nant)<sup>97</sup> wrote a poem entitled ‘Er cov a chadw’ (In Memory and Remembrance) in which he ridiculed the results of the election and therefore expressed his sympathy for the party that wanted them annulled.<sup>98</sup> The fact that the majority of the poems published in *Ein Breiniad* were concerned with political issues confirms that even the elements of creative writing were also aimed at promoting the main objective of the paper.

Of the remaining poems, five are on diverse subjects. Four are salutations to the newly-arrived Rev. William Casnodyn Rees, who landed in the Chubut Valley in 1879, where he would remain for 15 years, having been invited there by the Baptist congregation.<sup>99</sup> Others range from an ‘englyn’<sup>100</sup> to a ship and another to the moon, to a poem about finding inspiration, a piece about the craft of being a poet, and a lament about a bachelor’s life in Patagonia. Only one piece can be described as a love poem.

Religion always had an important role in the settlement’s life, and therefore it is not surprising to find three poems with religious overtones thanking God for a good harvest, a practice that has survived up to the present embodied in the yearly ‘cwrdd diolchgarwch’ (thanksgiving service) held in April.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Twm o’r Nant was the pseudonym of Thomas Edwards (1739–1810), a Welsh poet and writer of interludes. See Welsh Biography Online, <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-EDWA-THO-1739.html>, consulted 16 August 2012.

<sup>98</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 9 November 1878.

<sup>99</sup> ‘Cyvarchion i’r Parch. W. Rees (Casnodyn)’ (Salutation to the Rev W. Rees [Casnodyn]), *Ein Breiniad*, 5 April 1879.

<sup>100</sup> A traditional Welsh poem form.

<sup>101</sup> ‘I’r cynhauav 1879’ (To the harvest 1879), *Ein Breiniad*, 3 May 1879.

An interesting development is the fact that two poems – ‘Cerdd helwriaethol’ (Hunting poem) and ‘Colli vy nghwn’ (Loosing my dogs)– deal with the pioneers’ new life-style in Patagonia.<sup>102</sup> The poems vividly describe the exciting experience of hunting in the Patagonian way, which the Welsh settlers had learnt from the native peoples.<sup>103</sup> In the first poem we find the settlers on horseback with dogs and guns, venturing early in the morning to the ‘paith’ (the typical Patagonian flat plateau) in search of prey. They find an ‘estrys’ –the word they used to describe the rhea or Patagonian ostrich– and they manage to catch it after chasing it excitedly amid the rough vegetation of the Patagonian plains, a craft learned from the original peoples in the early years of hardship. After a day of hard work, the hunters camp in the open air before returning merrily to their homes pleased with the success of the hunting expedition. The second poem, in contrast, depicts the harshness of hunting since the dog belonging to the hunter dies of exhaustion trying to follow an ostrich. The hunter laments the fact that he cannot venture to the ‘paith’ to hunt without dogs. It seems that the poem was in fact the report of a real event, since Lewis Jones offers ‘Nimrod’,<sup>104</sup> the author of the poem, a hunting dog to replace the one he lost.

Although some of the poems could have been written in Wales as far as the subject matter is concerned, it is difficult to agree entirely with R. Bryn Williams when he says of the poetry from *y Wladfa* ‘y mae un peth siomedig iawn yn y canu hwn, sef diffyg gwreiddioldeb’ (There is one extremely disappointing aspect to this poetry,

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<sup>102</sup> *Ein Breiniad*, 19 April 1879 and 3 May 1879.

<sup>103</sup> For a description of the skills that the Welsh settlers learned from the native peoples see Marcelo Gavirati, ‘El Contacto entre Galeses, Pampas y Tehuelches: la Conformación de un Modelo de Convivencia Pacífica en la Patagonia Central (1865-1885)’, unpublished PhD thesis (Universidad del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 2012), 201-202.

<sup>104</sup> *Nimrod* was the name of Aaron Jenkins’s farm, so it is possible to speculate that he may have been the author of the poem. As seen in Chapter 1, Aaron Jenkins’s wife is credited with having discovered the benefits of irrigation in the Chubut Valley.

namely the lack of originality).<sup>105</sup> What we find in *Ein Breiniad* is in fact the first published expression of the development of a unique Welsh-Patagonian identity, since there are certain elements that give the poems a distinctively Patagonian flavour, and especially in the accounts of hunting in the ‘paith’. While hunting on horseback remained the realm of the privileged classes in Wales, for the Welsh Patagonian pioneers it was part of their everyday life.

But most importantly, the settlers were showing through poetry that for more than 13 years they had been engaging in political debate and building institutions that allowed them to attain a high degree of self government, a practical everyday reality that for many remained a far-flung dream in Wales. This is one of the earliest surviving records of what Fernando Williams describes as one of the roles of the Welsh-language press in Patagonia: these publications were a platform around which the idea of a public sphere was built, a forum of discussion in which the Welsh asserted their right to political autonomy by showcasing their knowledge about the territory.<sup>106</sup>

*Ein Breiniad* was the second Welsh newspaper published in the Chubut Valley ten years after its handwritten predecessor *Y Brut* had seen the light of day. Initially created with a specific purpose in mind, the newspaper aimed at stirring the Welsh community politically, so that all voters would take an interest in the forthcoming election and in political matters. This aim was achieved not only by providing an open forum where the colonists could express their opinions and engage in debate, but also by adopting an educational role with the publishing of articles, reports and documents

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<sup>105</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Awen Ariannin* (Llandybie: Llyfrau'r Dryw, 1960), 10.

<sup>106</sup> Fernando Williams, ‘Colonización, Espacio Público y Paisaje en el Valle del Chubut. La Gestión del Territorio Entre la Política y la Poética’, unpublished PhD thesis (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2011), chapter 2.

that informed the readers of their rights. It can be argued that *Ein Breiniad* had the deeper aim of strengthening the foundations of the Welsh settlement's autonomy. By making people aware of the importance of the institutions that the founding pioneers had created and by compelling the settlers to open their eyes in the face of the increasing and conflicting presence and influence of the Argentine authorities, the paper was trying to safeguard the ideal of the leaders of the immigration movement: building a New Wales in Patagonia, either as an independent entity or as an autonomous province within the Argentine Republic.

Since the political autonomy of the settlement was what was coming increasingly under threat, political matters take place of pride in the paper's columns, and news and non-political, social, religious and literary matters have a secondary role. This imbalance would be redressed from 1891 onwards in *Y Drafod*, a newspaper that contained a much wider range of articles and provided a richer perspective of the life of the Welsh Patagonian community up to the present.

## **Books**

Publishing in Welsh in Patagonia was not confined to newspapers. In fact Elvey MacDonald asserts that the first printed material published for the Welsh Colony in Chubut was a 'gwerslyfr' (textbook) for the primary school written by Richard Jones Berwyn and Thomas Pugh, Llandderfel, the first Welsh teacher to obtain a degree from the National School for Teacher in Paraná, in the northern province of Entre Ríos.<sup>107</sup> The need for such a book had been first mentioned on 25 December 1865 as it was the subject of one of the competitions for the first Eisteddfod in Patagonia held

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<sup>107</sup> Elvey MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 112.

on that day. Such a text would answer the needs of a settlement whose main language was Welsh and whose children needed to be educated in that language. However, the book was not published until 1878 in Buenos Aires and there followed a later revised and enlarged edition in 1881.<sup>108</sup> The book included lessons on vocabulary, poetry, proverbs, stories and a list of Welsh names for children.<sup>109</sup> R. Bryn Williams claims that this was the first Welsh book published in South America.<sup>110</sup> The importance of the ‘gwerslyfr’ lies in the context of the history of the Welsh language. At a time when education in Wales was monolingual in English in day schools, although not in Sunday schools, in Patagonia there was the freedom to experiment and create new teaching materials in Welsh. The appearance of the book also shows that although the need had been recognised in 1865, it was only in 1879 that the settlement had achieved the necessary degree of stability to concentrate on the field of education.<sup>111</sup> It may be, of course, that reinforcing the effectiveness of Welsh-medium education was another strategy of the leaders of *y Wladfa* to counteract the gradual advances of the Argentine Government: a thoroughly Welsh new generation of Patagonians would be better prepared to defend their mother tongue and their Welsh identity.

Following in the steps of Richard Jones Berwyn, the teacher Robert J. Powel ‘Elaig’ – who had been sent to *y Wladfa* by the Argentinean Government in March 1878– wrote and published a book to teach Spanish to children through the medium of Welsh. A Welshman brought up in London, Elaig worked for the Argentine embassy before

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<sup>108</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 11.

<sup>109</sup> The scanned pages of the book can be accessed at <http://www.glaniad.com/index.php?lang=cy&id=33866&t=2> Consulted on 11/02/2012.

<sup>110</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 125. Although Berwyn wrote another textbook that won a prize at a local eisteddfod in 1878 and another booklet about the fauna of Patagonia entitled *Hanesiaeth Naturiol y Wladfa: ei milod, adar a physg* (A Natural History of *y Wladfa*: its animals, birds and fish), they remained unpublished. See R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 11.

<sup>111</sup> Although the ‘gwerslyfr’ did not appear until 1879, Welsh children had received a basic education from the beginning.

emigrating to Argentina in 1875. After graduating as a National Teacher, he was hired by the Argentine Government to teach Spanish in the Welsh settlement in Chubut. It was probably the very nature of his mission together with the fact that he was a Catholic that did not make him an entirely acceptable character in the Chubut Valley. He is nevertheless credited with pioneering the idea of teaching children through their mother tongue – he believed that the books used in the national schools should be translated into Welsh, as well as the national constitution, for Welsh-Patagonians to know their rights and obligations in their new land. Elaig persuaded the government to support his proposal of writing a book in Welsh to teach the Chubut children Spanish. This book was published in Buenos Aires in 1880. He also wrote a booklet in Welsh, published in Chubut in 1881, including information about important dates in the history of South America between 1492 and 1818, a list of members of the Spanish Royal Family, and a list of units of measures used in Argentina.<sup>112</sup> Apparently Elaig never got to use these publications in the classroom, as he drowned in the Chubut River shortly after his books appeared. He also left behind an unfinished Welsh-Spanish dictionary.

Another early publisher in the Welsh settlement in Patagonia is William Hughes ‘Glan Caeron’, who emigrated to Patagonia in 1881 and became a prominent local figure as a farmer, teacher, postmaster, poet and editor. Glan Caeron –an outstanding character who won several chairs in the local eisteddfodau and who was at one point the editor of *Y Drafod* in the early twentieth century– published a series of articles

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<sup>112</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 155-158.

about the history of Argentina aimed at school children in several editions of that newspaper in 1891. These lectures were printed as a booklet in the same year.<sup>113</sup>

Even though Welsh books were published in Chubut, most of the publications read in the settlement were printed in Great Britain.<sup>114</sup> For many years, the links with Wales were strong, and the supply of Welsh books coming from Britain met the demands of the Welsh in Patagonia. After the Coop –the main importer of goods from Britain– went bankrupt in the early 1930s, the influx of written material in Welsh was reduced to a trickle. This happened at a time when the number of Welsh speakers was starting to decrease significantly. Thus, the unavailability of materials printed in Welsh contributed to the sense of crisis that pushed younger generations on the road to becoming monolingual in Spanish.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has provided an overview and analysis of the history of print culture in relation to the development of *y Wladfa*, paying specific attention to newspapers. In the case of those newspapers printed in Wales, they were media used by the leaders as a platform to generate interest in Welsh emigration to the Patagonian settlement and promote it. In the case of the newspapers produced in Patagonia, they served multiple functions such as securing the survival of the settlement, developing the political awareness of the settlers and encouraging them to participate actively in the political life of *y Wladfa*. In fulfilling this role, newspapers worked necessarily as a forum for debate. Given the difficulties experienced by the Welsh settlers in the first years in

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<sup>113</sup> William Hughes, *Hanes y Weriniaeth Ariannin. Gwerslyfr i Blant Ysgolion y Wladfa* (Chubut: Y Dravod, 1891). See R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 13.

<sup>114</sup> Gareth Alban Davies, 'The Welsh Press in Patagonia', in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (eds.), *A Nation and its books. A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), 272.

Patagonia, the appearance of newspapers also indicates the important role they played in Welsh-Patagonian society at the end of the nineteenth century and how they were used to pursue specific aims: in the case of *Y Brut*, the very survival of *y Wladfa*; in the case of *Ein Breiniad*, the preservation of a degree of self-government that was coming under threat. The newspapers also provide an insight into the evolution of the Welsh community in Patagonia in its early stages, and the dynamics of the socio-political changes they had to face.

The following chapter focuses on the first period of *Y Drafod*, the main and most long-lived newspaper in the Welsh community, from its foundation in 1891 until the beginning of the First World War in 1914 –a period during which the community witnessed landmark developments in the fields of politics and education at the local and national level and unexpected natural catastrophes that shook the foundations of *y Wladfa* threatening the survival of the settlement.

## **Chapter 4: Teacher, Preacher, Guardian and Saviour: *Y Drafod*, 1891–1913**

### **Introduction**

If *Y Brut* stands as the first effort to establish a newspaper in the early days of y *Wladfa*, and *Ein Breiniad* represents a ground-breaking development in the field of publishing through the medium of Welsh in Patagonia, then 17 January 1891 has to be considered perhaps the most important landmark in the history of Welsh print culture there. On that day, the first issue of *Y Drafod* was published by its owner and editor Lewis Jones –more than 120 years later, it remains the longest surviving newspaper in the Patagonian region and an example of how the Welsh Patagonian community has managed to maintain its cultural patrimony throughout the decades.

This chapter examines the development of *Y Drafod* from its inception until the beginning of the First World War, when there would be a major change in its content, and therefore, in its role in the community. The purpose of this chapter is to consider the aims of the paper from its beginnings, analyse its content, examine the changes it went through during the early years, and assess what its role and impact on the community was. I will start by describing the formal aspects of the paper: its format, number of pages, changes in style, interruptions in its publication and some basic information about the editors. I will then look at the aims of the paper at the outset and subsequently I will discuss the major themes that feature in its pages during this period, namely the identity of the Welsh-Patagonian community including its language and culture, its relationship with the Government and the surrounding

community and its links with the Welsh diaspora and the British world in order to understand better the role played by the paper in the Welsh-Patagonian context.

### **The beginnings<sup>1</sup>**

The first numbers of *Y Dravod*<sup>2</sup> were printed in an office next to Lewis Jones's house in Trelew. A typographer by the name of Edward Jones had been brought from Wales to work on the paper and a number of subscribers must have been secured before the newspaper appeared, since we read in the first number that arrangements had been made to distribute copies across the Valley. We do not know whether articles were commissioned beforehand at the beginning, but we know that in the early twentieth century at least, money was allocated to pay for contributions. However, publishing *Y Drafod* was not a lucrative enterprise. More often than not, complaints are found on the pages of the paper about the lack of the minimum number of subscribers for the venture to be profitable, and it would seem that *Y Drafod* barely made ends meet and often made a loss.<sup>3</sup>

The economic problems made Lewis Jones question himself as early as 1892 whether it was wise to carry on publishing the paper. In December of that year, a group of prominent Welsh Patagonians met to discuss the fate of the newspaper and it was decided that Lewis Jones would carry on with the task until the Coop was able to buy the newspaper and the machinery, since it was hoped that the company would be able to absorb any losses that the paper might incur better than an individual. However, by

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<sup>1</sup> Unless stated otherwise, most of the information for this section of the chapter was taken from Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico, i* (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 64.

<sup>2</sup> For practical purposes, from now onwards the name of the paper will be spelled with an 'f' (*Y Drafod*) in this thesis even in the early years when it was spelled with a 'v' (*Y Dravod*).

<sup>3</sup> The same problems were experienced by newspapers and periodicals in Wales as was seen in Chapter 2, 74.

April 1893 no further steps had been taken to remedy the problem, and publication of the newspaper ceased for two months. It started again but this time the directors were E. J. Williams ‘Mostyn’<sup>4</sup> and William Meloch Hughes<sup>5</sup> –Lewis Jones remained as editor. Although publication was resumed in June 1893, at the end of the year Lewis Jones had to travel to Buenos Aires due to health issues, and the printing machinery was moved to Plas Hedd, his farm near Rawson, the capital of the territory near the mouth of the Chubut River. From there, Eluned Morgan, Lewis Jones’s daughter, would carry on with the task of printing the paper. In March 1894 the offices were moved back to Trelew, where they would remain until 1933, when the printing press was moved to the neighbouring town of Gaiman. The Rev. Abraham Matthews took over the job of editor of *Y Drafod* after returning from his last trip to Wales in late 1894.<sup>6</sup> He carried on with those duties until his death in 1899, upon which Eluned Morgan became the editor.<sup>7</sup> According to a brief account of the history of the paper written by Eluned Morgan upon her becoming editor in 1899, after her first brief spell in charge of publishing it in 1893-1894 the paper was revived by ‘rhai ieuainc ac anghyfarwydd’ (young and inexperienced people). In March 1896, Lewis Jones was finally able to sell the printing equipment to ‘Cwmni Argraffu y Camwy’ (Chubut

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<sup>4</sup> Born in Durham, England in 1857, he was the son William Williams and Mary Jones from Flintshire, north Wales. When he was a child, the family moved back to Wales. After graduating as an engineer in 1880, the Rev. Michael D. Jones, who was a friend of the family, convinced him that he should emigrate to *y Wladfa* where he would be able to put his skills to good use. In Patagonia, he was prominent in the construction of the railway and the irrigation canals. He participated actively in the political life of the settlement and was president of the Gaiman, Trelew and Rawson councils. In 1911 he moved back to Wales with his family and died in Rhyl, north Wales, in 1932. See Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico, iv* (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 176-179.

<sup>5</sup> Born in Meloch, near Bala, north Wales, in 1860, William Meloch Hughes emigrated to *y Wladfa* in 1881. He was an active member of the Coop, a school teacher and a member of different governing bodies. He emigrated back to Wales in 1922, where he completed and published one of the canonical texts about the history of the settlement, William Meloch Hughes, *Ar Lannau'r Gamwy ym Mhatagonia* (Lerpwl: Gwasg y Brython, 1927). See Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico, iv* (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 52.

<sup>6</sup> Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/98447>, consulted on 20 July 2012.

<sup>7</sup> *Y Drafod*, 7 April 1899.

Printing Company, CAC), and from then onwards he would only be an occasional contributor to the paper.<sup>8</sup>

In Eluned's account, there is mention of the creation of the CAC. As that information must have been known to everyone in the community, she does not give any details since 'nid oes eisiau egluro dim ar hwn mi debygwn gan fod pawb oedd am fod yn "rhywun" yn rhanddalwyr yn y cwmni pwysig hwn!' (I suppose that there is no need to explain this since everyone who wanted to be "someone" was a shareholder in this important company!). The CAC was a company established with the aim of 'argraffu a chyhoeddi newyddion a chylchgronau' (printing and publishing news and magazines) and 'ymgymeryd a phob math o argraffwaith' (undertaking all kinds of printing jobs).<sup>9</sup> The shareholders became members of the society and had the right to attend the annual meetings during which a board of five members was elected for two years. The board was responsible for the administration of the society, whose main activity was publishing *Y Drafod*. Although the establishment of the CAC reveals an interest in giving a degree of formality and organization to publishing in the settlement as well as making sure that any economic difficulties would not hinder the continuity of the paper, the initial fervour gave way to a growing apathy. Eventually some of the annual meetings had to be postponed for lack of attendance, and the CAC ended up selling its shares and property to the Coop in 1908.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> A copy of the contract for this transaction can be found on the website Glaniad, <http://www.glaniad.com/index.php?lang=cy&subj=5706&id=34350&size=1&t=2> (consulted 25 July 2012). Also in *Y Drafod*, 20 March 1896 J. S. Williams writes 'dymunaf o'm calon longyfarch y Wladfa ar ail gychwyniad y Drafod' (I wish to congratulate sincerely y *Wladfa* on the second start of *Y Drafod*).

<sup>9</sup> *Y Drafod*, 30 October 1896.

<sup>10</sup> See *Y Drafod*, 27 March 1908.

Another indication that a new chapter in the history of the paper had started in 1896 is the fact that a new series began in February 1896. The publishing of a new series was probably directly connected to the fact that Lewis Jones was about to, or may have already sold the newspaper to the CAC. A clear indication of the end of the ‘Lewis Jones era’ was the fact that the spelling conventions changed. By January 1896 the paper had adopted the more modern, standard spelling common to other newspapers in Wales. The masthead kept the old spelling ‘Y Dravod’ until 5 June 1896, when it changed to ‘Y Drafod’, in line with the spelling changes adopted for the body of the paper some months before. It must be noted, however, that Lewis Jones continued using his spelling in his contributions to the paper even after 1896.<sup>11</sup>

Since Eluned Morgan spent long periods of time in Wales until she settled permanently in Patagonia in 1918, it is evident that a different editor must have taken the reins of the paper at some point.<sup>12</sup>

We find yet another series of the paper started at the end of 1902 due to the fact that Edward Jones, who had been the typographer from the beginning, decided to move to Choele Choel with a group Welsh families.<sup>13</sup> He was replaced by Llywelyn Roberts, a young man who had been working as an apprentice in the offices of *Y Drafod*. The only other major interruption would be in 1907, when *Y Drafod* was not published for eight months until a new printing machine was bought and installed, due to the

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<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, the series of six articles entitled ‘Yr Ormes’ (The Opression) published between 9 September 1898 and 7 April 1899.

<sup>12</sup> Eluned Morgan spent many years in Wales before she settled permanently in Patagonia: her first trip was between 1885 and mid-1888, when she attended Dr Williams’s School in Dolgellau; then from June 1896 until March 1898; from 1902 to 1904 and a shorter trip from 1905 until 1906; a further trip from March 1908 until Feb 1910 where she took the opportunity to visit Egypt and Palestine; and the final one from mid-1912 until the end of 1918. See Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico, i* (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 40.

<sup>13</sup> The emigration to Choele Choel is discussed in Chapter 1, 53.

previous one being beyond repair. While it is not clear who the editors were in the first decade of the twentieth century, it is certain that in 1912 the Rev. R. R. Jones became the editor of *Y Drafod* until his departure to Wales in 1919.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the difficulties and various changes that *Y Drafod* experienced in this first period, at least one thing remained unaltered: all those involved in producing the weekly newspaper of *y Wladfa* were among the main leaders in the field of the religion, politics and culture of the settlement: Lewis Jones, Abraham Matthews, R. J. Berwyn, David Lloyd Jones, William Meloch Hughes, E. J. Williams, Eluned Morgan. It was they who set the agenda for what the aim and message of *Y Drafod* was going to be and who sought to find the best way to fulfil that aim.

It is little wonder that during the period under consideration in this chapter *Y Drafod* underwent manifold difficulties, changing owners and restarting several times. As Aled Jones explains, establishing a newspaper in the nineteenth century involved considerable economic risks –in the 1820s, more than 50% of the papers launched in Wales failed within a year due to lack of advertisement income or insufficient readership.<sup>15</sup> In this aspect the Patagonian context was not dissimilar, but the problems were compounded due to the smaller number of potential readers and advertisers.

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<sup>14</sup> Although his becoming the editor is not mentioned in 1912, the date is provided in a farewell address printed in *Y Drafod*, 20/6/1919.

<sup>15</sup> Aled Jones, 'The Welsh Newspaper Press', in Hywel Teifi Edwards (ed.), *A Guide to Welsh Literature c. 1800-1900* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 8.

It is difficult to estimate how many copies were printed of each issue, since there is no information about this in the paper itself. However, an indication that publishing the paper was not a profitable venture can be found in a note to readers in 1891:

Pan orphenir y trevniadau, ymdrechir danvon sypynau o 20 neu 25 i vanau canolog pob ardal o'r man y gallo pob un ddanvon i'w cyrchu. Nid ydys yn cyvlogi dosbarthwyr, vel yn yr Hen Wlad, am y bydd y cylchrediad yn rhy gyvyng i ranu'r elw.<sup>16</sup>

(When all arrangements are completed, we shall endeavour to send bundles of 20 or 25 to central points in every district so that everyone can send to fetch them. We do not employ distributors, as in the Old Country, since the circulation will be too limited to share the profit.)

More specific data can be found in a report to the annual meeting of the CAC, written by Abraham Matthews, editor of the paper in 1898. He stressed the point that the paper needed more shareholders and readers to make it viable in the future. At the time, the subscribers only numbered 230, a figure that had been the average throughout the life of the paper up to that point. However, between 50 and 100 extra subscribers were needed if the economic stability of the paper were to be secured.<sup>17</sup> Although the call for more subscribers was a constant cry during these years, apparently it fell on deaf ears. By 1907 the number of subscribers reached 300, but it still fell short of the numbers needed for the paper to be truly profitable.<sup>18</sup> However, it would be misleading to believe that only the 230 or 300 subscribers read the paper on a weekly basis. As Aled Jones says of Welsh newspapers 'gwyddom fod copïau unigol o bapurau newydd yn cael eu darllen yn rheolaidd gan amryw o bobl' (we know that single copies of newspapers were regularly read by a number of people),<sup>19</sup> and it is likely that copies would have circulated among families and friends, thus

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<sup>16</sup> *Y Dravod*, 17 January 1891.

<sup>17</sup> *Y Drafod*, 25 February 1898.

<sup>18</sup> Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico*, i (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 45.

<sup>19</sup> Aled Jones, *Cymru a Hanes y Papur Newydd* (Bangor: Y Colegiwm Cymraeg, 1987), 15.

increasing the actual impact of the paper beyond the bare number of subscribers. The factor of literacy needs to be briefly mentioned as well. Although Wales enjoyed a high rate of literacy in the nineteenth century owing to the influence and the work of Sunday schools and the introduction of day schools, not every adult was able to read and write, and it is not uncommon to hear of newspapers being read aloud or letters being written on behalf of the senders and read to recipients, in the context of immigration and the Welsh diaspora overseas.<sup>20</sup>

But it should also be mentioned that because *Y Drafod* was part of an international network of Welsh newspapers, it was also sent to other Welsh speakers in different parts of the world. The statistics published by Richard Jones Berwyn, who was in charge of the post office in the Chubut Valley, show that for the year 1893 there were 269 items sent by post under the category of ‘newspapers’<sup>21</sup> –at that time *Y Drafod* was the only paper published in *y Wladfa*, which suggests that there were as many subscribers overseas as there were in *y Wladfa*. It was not uncommon for newspapers to circulate among ethnic networks, in a concrete example of transnationality.

Immigrants were sent copies of the local papers and denominational magazines from the old country, in the same manner that they sent papers and items back to their home countries.<sup>22</sup> The statistics for the Chubut Valley are also revealing in this aspect: in 1893, out of 6,419 items that arrived through the post office, 2,000 were

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<sup>20</sup> See, for instance, William D. Jones, ‘“Going Into Print”: Published Immigrant Letters, Webs of Personal Relations, and the Emergence of the Welsh Public Sphere’, in Bruce S. Elliot, David A. Gerber, Suzanne M. Sinke (ed.), *Letters Across Borders. The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), 182-183.

<sup>21</sup> Cited in Fernando Williams, ‘*Y Drafod*: Promoción y Circulación en la Conformación de los Saberes Sobre el Territorio’, *Registros*, 5/5 (2008), 127.

<sup>22</sup> William D. Jones, ‘“Going Into Print”: Published Immigrant Letters, Webs of Personal Relations, and the Emergence of the Welsh Public Sphere’, in Bruce S. Elliot, David A. Gerber, Suzanne M. Sinke (ed.), *Letters Across Borders. The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), 180-181.

newspapers –we can assume that they were either from Wales or from other countries where there was a Welsh, or perhaps British, presence.<sup>23</sup>

### **Aims of *Y Drafod***

From reading the first number it is not clear whether a specific event triggered in Lewis Jones the idea to found a newspaper as was the case with the 1878 elections and his previous brainchild *Ein Breiniad*.<sup>24</sup> With *Y Drafod* the aims of the owner and editor of the paper were of a different nature.

Wrth gychwyn y newyddur cyntav hwn yn y Wladfa, yr ydys yn teimlo dipyn yn bryderus ar iddo wasanaethu yn deilwng y neges o wareiddio a choethi sydd yn arbenig waith y wasg... Eithr penav amcan y Dravod vydd gwasgar y dylanwad darllen a meddylion drwy ein cymdeithasiad wladvaol hon. O ddifyg cyvleusdra cymundeb á'r byd, teimlo yr ydys er's blynyddau vod perygl i ni geulo ar ein sorod, heb hogi ein gilydd, a gloywi wynebau ein cyveillion; ac yn enwedig vod ein pobl ieuaingc heb gyvleusdra gwybod na thravod, tra yn agored i lawer o ddylanwadau mall ac anghaeth.<sup>25</sup>

(In starting this first newspaper yn y *Wladfa*, we are a little anxious that it should serve worthily the message of civilizing and refining, which is the special role of the press... But the main aim of *Y Dravod* will be to disseminate the influence of reading and thinking in this our colonial society. Because of our lack of contact with the world, we have felt for years that we run the risk of being complacent, without spurring one another on, and brightening the faces of our friends, and especially that our young people have no access to knowledge and debate, while being open to many destructive and corrupting influences.)

It was clear from the beginning that the editor's aim was not only to keep the community informed or to continue along the same avenue as his previous paper *Ein Breiniad*, but first and foremost to use the paper as a means to maintain a level of intellectual refinement that was perceived to be under threat in the Patagonian

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<sup>23</sup> Fernando Williams, '*Y Drafod*: Promoción y Circulación en la Conformación de los Saberes Sobre el Territorio', *Registros*, 5/5 (2008), 127.

<sup>24</sup> See Chapter 3, 105.

<sup>25</sup> *Y Dravod*, 17 January 1891.

context. Special emphasis was laid on bringing up the new generation with a set of skills that included fluency in written and spoken Welsh. The call for literacy in Welsh would be repeatedly heard on the pages of the paper for many years, although less often as language erosion affected the settlement.<sup>26</sup>

Hefyd mae yma lu mawr o fechgyn rhwng 15 a 25 oed rai ohonynt heb fedru ysgrifenu Cymraeg, nag un aeg arall ychwaith. Yn awr, onid oes ar Wladfa eisiau newyddur i ddysgu y rhai hyn i feddwl ac ysgrifenu drostynt eu hunain – mae eu sefyllfa gymdeithasol yn resynus i'r eithaf.<sup>27</sup>

(There is also here a large group of young boys between 15 and 25 years old, some of them are not able to write in Welsh or in any other language. Does not *y Wladfa* need a newspaper to teach these to think and write for themselves right now? – their social situation is extremely dire.)

Playing the role of complementing the little formal education that young people had through the medium of Welsh was explicitly expressed in the second number of the paper: ‘Beth debygid o’r awgrym ar i bobl ieuainc y Wladfa... gymeryd bob ei rivyn, a’u gwnïo at ei gilydd ddiwedd y vlwyddyn, oblegid amcenir y papur yn arbenig i’w haddysgu hwy’ (What do you think of the idea that the young people of *y Wladfa*... take each number and sew them together at the end of the year, because the paper is aimed especially to educate them).<sup>28</sup> Although the idea of using a newspaper as a source of instruction may seem foreign to us, that was not the case at the end of the nineteenth century. As we saw in Chapter 2, the distinctions between ‘high’ and ‘low’ forms of literary culture, came to be made in literary criticism only towards the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The last advocate of fluency in written and spoken Welsh in Patagonia that we can find in the paper was Evan Thomas, who was the owner and editor of *Y Drafod* from 1945 until his early death in 1952.

<sup>27</sup> *Y Drafod*, 20 March 1896.

<sup>28</sup> *Y Drafod*, 24 January 1891.

<sup>29</sup> Aled Jones, ‘The Welsh Newspaper Press’, in Hywel Teifi Edwards (ed.), *A Guide to Welsh Literature c. 1800-1900* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 1. See Chapter 2, 60.

Perhaps one of the specific reasons Lewis Jones had in starting *Y Drafod* was to use the press to support the latest developments in the field of Welsh-medium education in *y Wladfa*. Inspired by her experiences in Wales as a pupil at the Dr Williams School for girls in Dolgellau (1885-1888), Eluned Morgan –Lewis Jones’s daughter– founded a similar institution in Trelew in 1890. The school opened its doors in a building that Lewis Jones had intended to be his house in Trelew –he resided in the countryside in the farm ‘Plas Hedd’ (Mansion of Peace) between Rawson and Trelew. Eluned herself was in charge of the school with the help of a cousin from Wales named Mair Ruffydd who spent five years in *y Wladfa*.<sup>30</sup> Although the school facilities were adequate and the fees reasonable, the venture came to an end due to Eluned Morgan having health problems and because of the lack of support from the colonists.<sup>31</sup>

Although *Y Drafod* would experience changes in structure, typography, spelling convention and content during this first period, the initial aim of making sure that the younger generations were and continued to be Welsh-speaking, close to their Welsh heritage and able to express themselves in Welsh, remained paramount. Upon taking the reins of *Y Drafod* as editor at the beginning of 1899, Eluned Morgan made it clear ‘Bydd gan y Drafod un neges arbenig o hyn allan, sef diddori ac addysgu y bobl ieuaingc...’ (*Y Drafod* will have one special message from now onwards, namely to entertain and educate young people).<sup>32</sup> The recurrent emphasis on complementing the education that the young Welsh-Patagonians received grew not out of the need to

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<sup>30</sup> See W. R. P. George, ‘Gyfaill Hoff...’ *Detholiad o Lythyrau Eluned Morgan* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1972), 38.

<sup>31</sup> Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico*, i (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 39; and W. R. P. George, ‘Gyfaill Hoff...’ *Detholiad o Lythyrau Eluned Morgan* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1972), 33

<sup>32</sup> *Y Drafod*, 14 April 1899.

counteract the hispanization that the Government had been encouraging since 1878 by sending Robert Powel ‘Elaig’ to teach Spanish,<sup>33</sup> since it was only in 1899 that the first national, Spanish monoglot teachers arrived in the Chubut Valley,<sup>34</sup> and it was not until 1913 that the National Government replaced all Welsh-speaking teachers in the Chubut Valley with monoglot Spanish-speakers.<sup>35</sup> The deficient education had more to do with the seasonal demands of farming –sometimes the young were so busy with farm work that they would neglect attending school regularly–<sup>36</sup> and the fact that there were not enough Welsh books available, as Eluned Morgan complained in her first editorial column in 1899.<sup>37</sup>

While the editors included in the pages of *Y Drafod* the official view as regards the role of the paper, readers also expressed theirs as to what that role should be. A reader under the pseudonym of ‘Disgybl’ (Disciple) wrote to *Y Drafod* in 1899, ‘Swydd flaenaf a phenaf newyddiadur ddylai fod gwasanaethu y cyhoedd.’ (The main and most important task of a newspaper should be to serve the public)<sup>38</sup> ‘Disgybl’ had a clear idea of what the needs of the readership in Patagonia were. And in fact, his/her comments show that the original aims of the paper were still valid almost a decade after it first appeared. This suggests that the paper was needed as much then as in the beginning.

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<sup>33</sup> See Chapter 3, 123-124.

<sup>34</sup> Geraldine Lublin, ‘Con la espada, con la pluma y la palabra: la política del estado argentino a través de la visión del maestro Eduardo Thames Alderete’, in Comité Organizador (ed.), *Los Galeses en la Patagonia II* (Puerto Madryn: CEHYS, 2006), 217-230. Up to 1899, all teachers in charge of the National Schools in the Chubut Valley were Welsh speakers.

<sup>35</sup> See *Y Drafod*, 18 April 1913.

<sup>36</sup> See *Y Drafod*, 20 March 1896. The records containing the reports written by National School Inspectors at the beginning of the twentieth century in several school in the Chubut Valley show that many children would finish primary school at 15 or 16 instead of 12 years old. The main reason for this delay was that they had to help in their farms and therefore miss school. This information can be found in the school records found in the school archive in the Chubut Valley (School N 100 Records, Gaiman; School N 21 Records, Drofa Gabets; School N 47 Records, Bethesda).

<sup>37</sup> *Y Drafod*, 14 April 1899.

<sup>38</sup> *Y Drafod*, 7 April 1899.

Yn bersonol, byddaf fi yn edrych i fyny ar y newyddiadur fel at athraw –un yn hyfforddi y darllenwyr ym mhob cyfeiriad, megis ag y bu beirdd Cymru unwaith yn dysgu y werin, a’r Prophwydi Hebraidd yn dysgu y bobl. Mae arnom ninau yn y *Wladfa* angen cael hyfforddiad, nid yn unig mae eisïau ein cyfarwyddo sut i ysgrifenu fel gohebwyrs i’r wasg, eithr y mae hefyd angen mawr am ein dysgu i feddwl drosom ein hunain, eisïau goleuo ac eangu ein syniadau.<sup>39</sup>

(Personally I look up to the newspaper as to a teacher –one that educates the reader in every direction, like the poets of Wales once taught the Welsh folk, and the Hebrew Prophets taught the people. We in y *Wladfa* need to receive instruction. We need not only to be guided as to how to write as correspondents to the press, but there is also a great need to teach us to think for ourselves, to illuminate and broaden our ideas.)

Although the paper served a range of purposes, Lewis Jones’s initial aim of casting a positive influence on the younger generation remained latent throughout the period analysed in this chapter, as can be seen at different times in the first two decades of its history.

Y mae dyfodol y *Wladfa* a’r to sydd yn codi yn ymddibynu ar y modd y bydd i ni roi cyfeiriad ym mywydau yr ieuenctid. Nid yw y pulpud a’r set fawr yn gylch digon eang i ni wneud yr hyn a ddisgwylir oddi wrthym, oblegid y mae dosbarth o’n cyd-ddynion a’n cyd-genedl, nas gellir eu cyraedd oddiyno – rhaid manteisio ar gyfrwng mwy cyffredinol – a’r “*Drafod*” yn y *Wladfa* yw y cyfrwng hwnnw... Gellir gwneud moddion gras o bapur newydd.<sup>40</sup>

(The future of y *Wladfa* and the rising generation depend on the way that we give direction to the lives of the young people. The pulpit and the deacons seat is not wide enough to do what is expected of us, because there’s a class of our fellow men and our kinsfolk that we cannot reach from there –we need to take advantage of a more general medium– and the *Drafod* in y *Wladfa* is that medium... A newspaper can be a means of grace.)

Despite the effort put into securing Welsh-medium literacy among the new generations, there seemed to be no evident positive results. At the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century there is a further example of the need to

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<sup>39</sup> *Y Drafod*, 7 April 1899.

<sup>40</sup> *Y Drafod*, 14 January 1910.

instruct the younger generation, especially since two decades after the founding of the paper a new reality was dawning on those in charge of the paper: the old generation of contributors was beginning to disappear, and there was not a new group of people taking over.

Da iawn fuasai genym dderbyn ysgrifau byrion oddiwrth ddarllenwyr y “Drafod”, yn enwedig ein pobl ieuainc... Y mae yr hen ysgrifenyddwyr yn darfod ac nid oes ysgrifenyddwyr ieuainc yn codi i lenwi lle eu tadau... Nac ofnwch ysgrifenu i’r “Drafod” am fod eich hysgrifau yn wallus mewn sillebiaeth, grammadeg, neu frawdogaeth – gwnawn yr hyn a allwn i’ch cynorthwyo...<sup>41</sup>

(It would be very good to receive short articles from readers of *Y Drafod*, especially our young people... The old writers are dying and there are not new ones appearing to fill the space left by their fathers... Do not be afraid to write to the *Drafod* because your contributions may be faulty in spelling, grammar, or syntax –we will do everything we can to help you.)

A timely warning indeed that shows anxiety about the dangers facing the Welsh language. Several factors were contributing to a gradual process that would undermine the strength of the Welsh community. In 1911 the last organised contingent from Wales had arrived in Patagonia. By 1912 more than ten years had passed since education was imparted through the medium of Spanish only –except for the haven provided by the Sunday schools and the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ (Intermediate School), where Welsh descendants continued to learn to read and write in Welsh. Immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds were starting to arrive in increasing numbers. The prospects were bleak for the Welsh language, and for many years to come this growing concern would be voiced on the pages of *Y Drafod*. Perhaps it was unrealistic to expect that a six-page weekly would turn the tide of language erosion, but if we think of Aled Jones’s statement that the press in the nineteenth century was believed to be a vehicle that was able to ‘sell’ a message to the audience, and also that

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<sup>41</sup> *Y Drafod*, 29 November 1912.

society was structured in such a way that it was impossible for any socio-political or religious campaign to make any progress without the active help of the press,<sup>42</sup> then it comes as no surprise that the emphasis was mostly put on involving and mobilising the younger generation, in the hope that the paper could act as a solid foundation for the bulwark the Welsh settlers needed to build as a protection against the impending changes.

Although *Y Drafod* had made it explicit in the first number that it had the younger generation as a main target, it is also true that it fulfilled more than one single role.

I rai pobl, ysywaeth, nid yw o un gwahaniaeth pa un a fydd genym newyddur ai peidio; ond i mi ac i lawer ereill, y mae cael dolen gydiol rhyngom a'n gilydd mor anheggor ag ydyw tywyniad yr haul... Mae arnom eisiau cyfrwng priodol i ddadleu ein hawliau yn wladol a chymdeithasol.<sup>43</sup>

(For some people, unfortunately, it makes no difference whether we have a newspaper or not. But for me and many others, having a link between us is as indispensable as the light of the sun... We need an appropriate medium to discuss our civil and social rights.)

The paper provided a space that the readers and the community in general could use to ventilate their concerns and engage in discussions about matters that affected the settlement, both in terms of its internal affairs and also in its relationship with 'y cylchynion' –a concept that could be loosely translated as 'the surroundings'–, a term used frequently in the paper to refer the Argentine community, including the representatives of the Government, as well as members of other ethnic groups. However, if we move beyond what the editors and readers expressed about the role of *Y Drafod* and look at the actual contents, it becomes evident that the paper fulfilled manifold roles in the community it serviced.

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<sup>42</sup> Aled Jones, *Press, Politics and Society. A History of Journalism in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), 152.

<sup>43</sup> *Y Drafod*, 20 March 1896.

### **A paper for all the community**

Since it was the only paper serving the whole, albeit small, community, the appeal of *Y Drafod* had to be as broad as possible. In terms of the general information it carried, the first number featured a section called ‘Newyddion Cyfredinol’ (General News) with news about Argentina and the rest of the world. There was another section called ‘Newyddion Lleol’ (Local News) with items about the Chubut Valley, the Welsh settlement in the Andean region, and other parts of the Territory of Chubut. A section under the heading ‘Y Lleodraeth’ (The Local Government) contained news about administrative matters in the Gaiman and Rawson districts. A section that would feature for decades in the paper was ‘Llongawl’ (Maritime), giving a list of all the ships that arrived or departed from Port Madryn. The section ‘Marchnad’ (Market) was also a regular feature, containing information about the price of cereals and cattle in the central market in Buenos Aires –fundamental information for a mainly agrarian community. In many of the following numbers in this period it was also possible to find sections like ‘Gohebwy’ (Correspondents), where contributors to the paper were able to air their views on different matters or send a report of a religious or cultural meeting in their district.

Not only was *Y Drafod* a varied newspaper because of the wide range of materials published, but also because of the trilingual nature of the publication. Welsh was the main language of the paper, and so it has remained until today, but even from the earliest periods there were sections in English and Spanish. Official statements concerning governmental policies were found either in Spanish or Welsh, or in Spanish only, especially if the communiqué emanated from the government offices in

Rawson. The yearly reports of the Coop also began to be published bilingually from 1905.<sup>44</sup> Certain articles were in English –some of them were original contributions sent to *Y Drafod* while other were reprints of English language papers like *The Buenos Aires Standard* and *The Southern Cross*<sup>45</sup> and even newspapers from Wales like the *South Wales Echo*. The articles from these sources tended to report on events about *y Wladfa*, like celebrations of important dates or news about the settlement in times of difficulties. The content of those articles did not provide new information to the readers of *Y Drafod*. They were mainly example of how the settlement was seen from the outside, and they also carried a message of support for *y Wladfa* in difficult times. Other contributions in English were of a different nature –for instance, the section ‘A pretty kettle of fish’, signed by a contributor under the pseudonym of ‘Vigilant’, containing comments in English about local politics.<sup>46</sup> ‘Vigilant’ was not the only contributor who wrote in English. Articles in English signed by ‘Marchog Gwyn’ (the White Knight) appeared in *Y Drafod* sporadically. ‘Marchog Gwyn’ was Thomas Benbow Phillips, a Welshman who had been brought up in Manchester and who had tried to establish the Welsh settlement of Nova Cambria in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, in south Brazil, in 1850. The experiment was short-lived and Phillips eventually settled in *y Wladfa* in 1885. Although he never learned Welsh fluently, he participated actively in the political and commercial development of the settlement.<sup>47</sup>

The use of English in the contributions sent by Thomas Benbow Phillips –as well as

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<sup>44</sup> *Y Drafod*, 2 June 1905.

<sup>45</sup> A strong connection existed with *The Buenos Aires Standard* at least from the time that Lewis Jones had worked in the offices of the paper from the end of 1865 until 1870. Although *The Southern Cross* was a newspaper founded in 1875 to service the Irish-Catholic community, some articles in which the Welsh-Patagonian community was mentioned also appeared reprinted in *Y Drafod*. See for instance 24 February 1899.

<sup>46</sup> The section appeared for the first time in *Y Drafod* on 5 May 1899, but as many other sections during the life of the paper, it proved ephemeral.

<sup>47</sup> Jorge L. Barzini, ‘La Misión de Thomas B. Phillips y Llwyd Ap Iwan a Londres’, in Comité Organizador (ed.), *Los Galeses en la Patagonia*, iii (Puerto Madryn: Fundación Ameghino y Asociación Punta Cuevas, 2008), 122-123.

those by ‘Vigilant’ – was the result of their lack of competence in written Welsh, and not a consequence of an editorial policy that promoted the English language in *Y Drafod*, at least at this stage.

The inclusion of sections in languages other than Welsh did not have to do with a change of priorities regarding the maintenance of Welsh but was rather for more practical reasons, like attracting a larger number of readers so that the paper could remain economically viable. In a report of a meeting of the CAC in 1898 the idea of increasing the amount of Spanish in the paper was presented as a way of securing more readers: ‘Hysbyswyd yn y cwrdd y ceid tua 25 o randalwyr newyddion ar yr amod fod tua y bedwaredd ran o’r newyddur at wasanaeth yr Hispaeneg’ (It was announced at the meeting that twenty five shareholders can be secured on condition that about a fourth of the paper be in Spanish).<sup>48</sup> However, the use of Spanish in the paper became more prominent almost a decade afterwards with the inauguration of a ‘Sección Castellana’ (Spanish Section), containing articles in Spanish only.<sup>49</sup> The articles were varied and dealt with local matters, local, national or international news, and miscellaneous items of general interest.<sup>50</sup> This section would grow progressively, taking up at times more than a page of the paper from the 1920s onwards.

Despite the trilingualism of *Y Drafod*, Welsh always remained the main language for articles, contributions, news and advertisements. The latter were found in each edition of the paper; many of them were of local shops, some others are of products and

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<sup>48</sup> *Y Drafod*, 25 February 1898.

<sup>49</sup> The first time this section appeared was 16 November 1907, although items in Spanish had been appearing in *Y Drafod* since the beginning.

<sup>50</sup> See, for instance, the three articles in the ‘Sección Castellana’ on 13 December 1907. One of them is a discussion about improving and extending the railway line in the Chubut Valley, another one is about the Spanish language and the third one about the end of the academic year in the primary schools of *Wladfa*.

others of doctors and lawyers. An interesting aspect of these advertisements is the fact that new vocabulary items were created to cater for the need of the advertisers. Hence a jeweller's became 'arianfa', a dentist's practice was an 'ymgynghorfa ddeintyddol' (most probably a direct translation of the Spanish version 'consultorio dental'), a bank was 'ariandy', a garage a 'gweithfa fodurol' (probably another translation from the Spanish 'taller mecánico') and a watch and clock shop was an 'oriadurfa'. Although the ads for the Coop and shops and services provided by Welsh speakers must have been in Welsh originally, some must have been translated from the Spanish as it was surely the case with those shop owners, doctors or lawyers with a non-Welsh surname.<sup>51</sup> As well as being curious and entertaining from a linguistic point of view, advertisements tell us a great deal about the fact that the Welsh language in Patagonia expanded its horizons, as Robert Owen Jones explains: 'Ym Mhatagonia cafodd y Gymraeg rwydd hant i ddatblygu ac ymaddasu yn ôl gofynion cymdeithas' (In Patagonia, the Welsh language had free reins to develop according to the needs of the community).<sup>52</sup> They also show that the Welsh were a social group with economic power, since it was deemed worth to translate Spanish-language advertisements into Welsh –which also points to the fact that members of the Welsh community did not have a solid command of Spanish or that they felt more comfortable with Welsh.

If the stated aims of *Y Drafod* were different from those of *Ein Breiniad*, there was also a marked difference when we analyse the contents of both publications. In order to achieve its aims, from the very start *Y Drafod* presented a surprisingly varied range of materials, considering its limited circulation and the lack of resources available to

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<sup>51</sup> Although many individuals who were not Welsh learned to speak Welsh and assimilated into the community in the early decades of *y Wladfa*, it is safe to assume that by the beginning of the twentieth century this was no longer the case especially in the urban centres like Trelew and Rawson.

<sup>52</sup> Robert Owen Jones, *Hir Oes i'r Iaith* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1997), 304.

publish it. The first edition of the paper is in fact a clear example of the direction the paper was going to take and the role it was going to play in the community for many years to come.

The editorial comment by Lewis Jones in the first number –mentioned earlier in this chapter– stated the purpose of publishing a newspaper in Welsh in Chubut. Anyone using the paper as a primary source for research will notice that most, if not all, of the editorials were never signed, nor would the name of the editor appear in any other part of the newspaper, making it difficult for any researcher to identify who was in charge of the paper at different periods. Letters from readers appeared in the first number and they would be a regular feature from then onwards. These letters could be either from local residents who wanted to ventilate a specific matter, or part of an on-going argument between different parties on a subject concerning the affairs of the settlement. In such cases, the paper worked as a real forum for debate to discuss various matters such as whether *y Wladfa* was a failure or a success,<sup>53</sup> what the best course of action was in the case of the perceived oppression from the Argentine authorities,<sup>54</sup> and how the settlement was supposed to deal with the effects of the devastating periodical floods.<sup>55</sup>

Sometimes letters from Wales bringing news and comments from the Old Country, or letters from the United States, with information about the Welsh community in North America, were published in the newspaper. Also, letters would be published from Welsh descendants from Australia or Canada, whose families had migrated from Patagonia. The Canada letters are an interesting example since they were written by

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<sup>53</sup> *Y Drafod*, 5 February 1897 and 30 April 1897.

<sup>54</sup> *Y Drafod*, 9 September 1898, 21 October 1898; 28 October 1898.

<sup>55</sup> *Y Drafod*, 18 August 1899; 22 September 1899; 17 November 1899; 24 November 1899.

immigrants who had left *y Wladfa* after the succession of floods in 1899, 1901 and 1902 –the largest contingent to leave the Patagonian settlement in search of a better place.<sup>56</sup> According to William Meloch Hughes in his chronicle of *y Wladfa*, the emigration to Canada was ‘ergyd gymdeithasol a chrefyddol drymaf a gafodd y Wladfa er adeg ei sylfaeniad’ (the greatest social and religious blow that *y Wladfa* experienced since its foundation).<sup>57</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising to see the first letter sent by the émigrés from aboard the *Orissa* off the coast of Brazil. Some of the activities organised to entertain the passengers give an idea of the identitarian spectrum of the travellers: in a concert is organised in the first days of the trip, the Welsh sang the Welsh National Anthem, ‘Men of Harlech’ and ‘God Save the King’. Another concert was being organised to celebrate the 25 May ‘o barch i Archentina’ (out of respect for Argentina), and the children were going to sing the Argentine National Anthem –fellow Argentine passengers were surprised to see that the children were able to read in Spanish and that they were actually trilingual.<sup>58</sup> Letters from Canada were the most prominent foreign letters to appear in *Y Drafod*. They fall in the category of immigrant letters as described by Bill Jones, insofar as they ‘represent the desire to maintain personal links and relationships with a wider circle of friends, former neighbors, and acquaintances and the notion of an international Welsh cultural and religious community.’<sup>59</sup> The letters were a manifestation of the bond between Patagonia and a Welsh international community, which can also be seen in the articles

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<sup>56</sup> Two hundred and thirty four Welsh-Patagonians emigrated in May 1902. Robert Owen Jones, ‘O Gymru i Saskatchewan drwy Batagonia’, in E. Wyn James and Bill Jones (ed.), *Michael D Jones a’i Wadfa Gymreig* (Llanrwst, 2009), 194.

<sup>57</sup> William Meloch Hughes, *Ar Lannau’r Gamwy ym Mhatagonia* (Lerpwl: Y Brython, 1927), 202.

<sup>58</sup> See *Y Drafod*, 25 July 1902. The significance of 25 May in Argentine history is explained in Chapter 1, 18.

<sup>59</sup> William D. Jones, ‘“Going Into Print”: Published Immigrant Letters, Webs of Personal Relations, and the Emergence of the Welsh Public Sphere’, in Bruce S. Elliot, David A. Gerber and Suzanne M. Sinke (ed.), *Letters Across Borders. The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (New York, 2006), 193.

from magazines and newspapers from Wales that appeared regularly in the columns of *Y Drafod*.

Despite the obvious differences because of the geographical and socio-cultural context in which it was created and developed, *Y Drafod* has much in common with its Welsh counterparts of the nineteenth century, according to Aled Jones's description of the contents of a typical newspaper in Wales:

Welsh newspapers... carried not only news items from Wales and beyond but also letters, poems, reviews, features, short stories, serialised novels, articles on music, art, the human and natural sciences, acres of religious exegesis and, of course, square miles of political comment, theory and analysis.<sup>60</sup>

Among the genres that exemplify the breadth of scope of the paper despite its limited audience and the scarcity of resources to publish it, was travel writing. On August 1896, an account was published by Griffith Puw of his trip to the city of Paraná in the northern province of Entre Ríos.<sup>61</sup> Griffith was an elder brother of Thomas Derfel Puw, the first Welsh-Patagonian to study at the 'Escuela Normal de Paraná' (Paraná Normal School)<sup>62</sup> – one of the centres where students obtained a degree as national primary school teachers, and therefore a cornerstone in the governmental scheme to 'argentinise' all children at an early age in the eventually highly successful attempt at building the nation in Argentina.<sup>63</sup> Griffith Puw included the following opening sentence at the beginning of his contribution: 'Efallai mai nid annyddorol i ieuenctid y Wladfa, fyddai cael gweled trwy golofnau y Drafod ychydig o hanes ein taith o Borth Madryn i Parana' (Perhaps it would not be uninteresting for the youth of y *Wladfa* to

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<sup>60</sup> Aled Jones, 'The Welsh Newspaper Press', in Hywel Teifi Edwards (ed.), *A Guide to Welsh Literature c. 1800-1900* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 1.

<sup>61</sup> *Y Drafod*, 21 August 1896.

<sup>62</sup> Albina Jones de Zampini, *Reunión de Familias en el Sur* (Gaiman: Edición del Autor, 1995), 205.

<sup>63</sup> Thomas Pugh was the first licensed teacher to be sent to Chubut by the National Government at the end of the 1870s. See R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1963), 158.

see in the columns of *Y Drafod* a little of the story of our trip from Porth Madryn to Paraná). Further examples of this genre can be found every now and then in the newspaper, like ‘Taith i’r Andes’ (A trip to the Andes) by Thomas Dalar Evans,<sup>64</sup> or at the international level, a report of a trip to Wales by a colonist named John Lewis<sup>65</sup> and letters from Dilys Berwyn –one of R. J. Berwyn’s daughter– about her trip to Wales.<sup>66</sup> While these contributions did not specifically contain news about the places described during the trip, they acted as a link with two key places for the Welsh-Patagonian community: the Andean region, where the second most important Welsh settlement in Patagonia would flourish, and Wales, the mother country. The chronicle by Dalar Evans was timely: in 1900 the colonists were broken-hearted after the big floods of the previous year, and channelling disenchanted colonists to a Welsh settlement in the Andes was more beneficial than the eventual migration to Choele Choele and Canada –thus, *Y Drafod* was sustaining the project of *y Wladfa*. However another factor comes into play when considering the reports of trips to other parts of Argentina or Wales. For a great number of colonists –especially young people– who were not able to travel, the articles served an educational purpose. They carried information about places that they perhaps would never see. As Aled Jones and Bill Jones comment about similar materials in *Y Drych*, not all the readers would have the opportunity or the inclination to visit distant places but nevertheless wanted to read about them.<sup>67</sup> This information was vital in the case of Wales, the Old Country that for the generations born in Patagonia would become an increasingly alien place.

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<sup>64</sup> *Y Drafod*, starting from 12 January 1900.

<sup>65</sup> *Y Drafod*, 9 April 1896.

<sup>66</sup> *Y Drafod*, starting from 26 September 1913.

<sup>67</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections. Y Drych & America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2001), 41.

From a different angle, in 1898 *Y Drafod* published the chronicle of a trip to Patagonia by a correspondent of the national newspaper *La Nación*.<sup>68</sup> The original articles had to be translated from Spanish into Welsh by Lewis Jones, who thought that it was worth making the articles available for the readers of *Y Drafod* since they contained ‘*gwirioneddau divrivol am y wlad sydd yn myned dan yr enw Patagonia a’r llywodraethiad sydd arni*’ (serious truths about the land called Patagonia and its government).<sup>69</sup> In the report we can find not only a description of the places visited by the correspondent but also comments on a number of interesting matters. There is praise for what the Welsh settlers achieved and criticism of the ineffectiveness of the local government which, according to the correspondent, hindered progress. The accusation would surely ring true among the Welsh settlers who had found it difficult to see eye to eye with the Argentine authorities, especially at the end of the 1890s when the obligatory military exercises on Sundays became one of the most serious grievances the colonists held against the Argentine government.

Creative writing played an important role in *Y Drafod* as well. Under the heading ‘*Barddoniaeth*’ (Poetry) there was a section containing poetry in Welsh by local authors,<sup>70</sup> many of them after having been awarded a prize at a local eisteddfod. Some of them commented on current affairs, mostly in a satirical way.<sup>71</sup> This allowed Welsh-Patagonian poets to see their work in print, but there were also works by poets from Wales. Thus, *Y Drafod* maintained and also promoted a certain type of culture.

In the field of prose and along the same line as newspapers in Wales, serialised novels

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<sup>68</sup> *Y Drafod*, starting from 29 July 1898.

<sup>69</sup> *Y Drafod*, 29 July 1898.

<sup>70</sup> In later editions, *Y Drafod* would include poems by non-Patagonian authors as well as translations into Welsh of works by renowned poets such as Goethe and Milton.

<sup>71</sup> For instance poems on the military exercises in *Y Drafod*, 6 November 1896 (in English), and 29 April 1898 (in Welsh), or a warning to those responsible for publishing the paper against the influenza epidemic on 15 October 1908.

were published in *Y Drafod*. The most notable example during this period was ‘Miriam y Gelli’ by Cynrol Jones in the second half of 1896. Cynrol Jones was the pseudonym of Robert Jones. Born in Blaenau Ffestiniog in north Wales in 1850, he emigrated to Patagonia in 1871. As well as the novel ‘Miriam y Gelli’, Cynrol Jones wrote stories for children –some were published in the magazine *Cymru’r Plant*. According to R. Bryn Williams, the stories for children were ingenious compared to those written in Wales. Cynrol Jones included situations, characters and animals that belonged to *y Wladfa*, and it is because of this contribution that he can be regarded as a pioneer in the field of children’s literature in Welsh.<sup>72</sup>

As well as publishing literary works, we can also find reviews of works published in Wales that could be of interest to the Welsh community –one evident example being a review of the book *Ar Dir a Môr* (Eluned Morgan) written by Arthur Hughes.<sup>73</sup> It is interesting to point out the degree of transnationality found in the pages of the paper even in the field of literature: Cynrol Jones was a Welshman who had emigrated to Patagonia, who published his Patagonian-flavoured stories in Welsh both in Patagonia and Wales; Eluned Morgan was a Welsh-Patagonian who wrote in Welsh, published her books in Wales, and one of his books was reviewed for *Y Drafod* by Arthur Hughes, a Welsh intellectual who had decided to settle in *y Wladfa* in the early twentieth century to improve his health. Such literary exchanges and contact via the vehicle of the press show that in spite of the geographical distance, *y Wladfa* fell

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<sup>72</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych, 1949), 45.

<sup>73</sup> *Y Drafod*, 10 October 1913. Biographical information about Arthur Hughes can be found in Chapter 5, 174.

neatly within the sphere of an international Welsh-language cultural network and that it's literary output was relevant to Wales –especially in the case of Eluned Morgan.<sup>74</sup>

The strong element of transnationality is not haphazard. From analysing this first period of *Y Drafod*, we can see that the paper supported and intended to strengthen the original idea of the leaders of the migratory movement to Patagonia, namely, creating a New Wales in South America where all things would be carried out through the medium of Welsh. It is no wonder that this was the case, since the founder and editor of the paper was Lewis Jones, one of the key figures in the history of the establishment of the settlement. In this sense, the paper went beyond Sally Miller's description of the role of the ethnic press for immigrants in the new homeland as an essential tool to recreate Old World societies in a microcosm, for the settlement in Chubut had pioneered in several fields that still remained to be explored in the mother country in terms of the use of Welsh in everyday life.<sup>75</sup> While in Wales the Welsh language was still far from being an official language, it had been *de facto* the official language of the colony in Chubut until the arrival of Argentine authorities and other migratory groups.<sup>76</sup> This was so much so that by 1891 the leaders of the Welsh community in Patagonia were looking back to the first decades of the settlement as a golden age that had to be revived and perpetuated. In terms of language and cultural vitality, it could be said that in some ways the tiny Patagonian experiment excelled what was available at the time in the Old Country due to the lack of restrictions against the language in its early days. Against this background, *Y Drafod* can be regarded as one of the unending efforts by Lewis Jones –although not the only one– to

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<sup>74</sup> An assessment of Eluned Morgan's contribution to Welsh literature can be found in Saunders Lewis, *Ysgrifau Dydd Mercher* (Llandysul: J. D. Lewis, 1945), 84-92.

<sup>75</sup> Sally M. Miller, *The Ethnic Press in the United States. A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), xix.

<sup>76</sup> See Chapter 1.

secure the survival and prosperity of the original dream, which was not only a recreation of the Old Country but also an attempt at building something new based on the original model.

The way they tried to maintain that dream was crystallised in a message which was conveyed in every issue of the paper in many different ways: the idea of preserving a certain type of Welshness that seemed desirable to the Patagonian intelligentsia. It was a kind of Welshness that was at the time also popular in certain circles in Wales and that was also promoted through newspapers imbued with the language, moral and values of Nonconformity.<sup>77</sup> In the case of *Y Drafod*, for instance, during the first year of its existence, there were warnings against what were perceived as threats from an outside, non-Welsh world, like dancing, horse racing and betting.<sup>78</sup> These warnings were not only a pre-emptive strike against a future problem among a generation that would purportedly embrace those undesirable habits, but also a reaction to the interest already taken by some members of the younger generation in these kinds of activities.

Therefore *Y Drafod* worked, according to Fernando Williams, as a social actor that constructed ‘esos diques que definen la comunidad’ (dams that defined the community) and made the newspaper ‘un bastión del proyecto colectivo’ (a bastion of the collective project).<sup>79</sup> The kind of protection the newspaper afforded in this early period made it impossible for the Welsh community to think of a symbiosis with the

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<sup>77</sup> Brynley F. Roberts, ‘Welsh Periodicals: a Survey’, in Laurel Brake; Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (ed.), *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 78.

<sup>78</sup> There is an article criticizing dancing and horse racing in *Y Drafod*, 30 April 1891. An interesting piece of creative writing is the Welsh poem entitled ‘Sapo’ (‘Toad’, *Y Drafod*, 2 April 1897), mocking the traditional Argentine countryside game of ‘Sapo’, in which the competitors tried from a distance to put a coin into the mouth of a figurine of a toad. Gambling and drinking were usually involved.

<sup>79</sup> Fernando Williams, *Entre el Desierto y el Jardín. Viaje, Literatura y Paisaje en la Colonia Galesa de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2010), 169.

wider Argentinean community that was being formed across the young republic. Several pages of the paper were devoted in this first period to warning against those things that should be avoided from the ‘y cylchynion’ –namely the Argentinean community– thus generating a real feeling of us vs. them. The main threats were those customs and practices that belonged to what was labelled the ‘Latin’ community. These included the consumption of alcohol, participating in carnival celebrations and dances, attending local ‘boliches’ (watering holes), engaging in traditional Argentine country games, and becoming involved in the increasingly popular football matches played mostly on Sundays.

The antagonism with the ‘Latin’ community manifested itself in a strong sense of anti-Catholicism that was a recurrent feature of the paper. However, anti-Catholicism was not fostered in Patagonia, but rather a feature carried from Wales. Anti-Catholicism in Wales intensified in the nineteenth century hand in hand with the awakening of national consciousness in which Nonconformity played a central role as the accepted pattern of social behaviour.<sup>80</sup> The antipathy to Rome occupied a central place in the religious and popular press where the Catholic Church would be described as ‘Y Bwystfil’ (The Beast) and ‘Y Butain’ (The Whore) and the Pope as ‘Yr Annghrist’ (The Antichrist).<sup>81</sup> The main difference was that, while Catholicism remained a minority religion in Wales, in Argentina it was the religion of the ethnic groups that would outnumber the Welsh in the twentieth century, as well as being the

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<sup>80</sup> Paul O’Leary, ‘A Tolerant Nation? Anti-Catholicism in Nineteenth century Wales’, in Davies R, R, and Geraint H. Jenkins, (ed.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 201; and Brynley F. Roberts, ‘Welsh Periodicals: a Survey’, in Laurel Brake; Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (ed.), *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 81.

<sup>81</sup> Paul O’Leary, ‘When was Anti-Catholicism? The Case of Nineteenth-Century and Twentieth-Century Wales’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 56/2, (2005), 310.

official religion of the state and one of the characteristics that defined the ‘Argentine being’ according to Argentine nationalists in the twentieth century.<sup>82</sup>

Although Spanish-language newspapers in Chubut would never be a source of competition in *Y Wladfa* since they serviced mainly the Spanish-speaking community, the appearance of *La Cruz del Sur* in 1905 published by Father Bernardo Vacchina, the head of the Catholic Salesian mission in Rawson was an example of the gradual but relentless changes that the Chubut Valley was experiencing. The paper had the aim of furthering the objectives of the Catholic mission, and also informing the readers about local, national and international news –many items had to do with news relating to the Catholic faith. Therefore, even though it is evident that *La Cruz del Sur* and *Y Draford* were not competing for the same market, the appearance of the Catholic weekly is proof that there was a growing number of Spanish-speaking, non-Protestant population in the region. This was confirmed by the appearance of the secular, Spanish-language weeklies *El Chubut* in 1907 and *El Imparcial* in 1908. The latter lasted for a year only and was then replaced by *El Avisador Comercial*, a weekly that together with *El Pueblo* were the main newspapers published in Trelew.<sup>83</sup>

Even if there is no evidence that the appearance of the Spanish-language newspapers reduced the number of subscribers of *Y Draford*, tensions between both organs arose because of religious matters. In October 1909, an article in the front page of *La Cruz del Sur* entitled ‘Catolicismo y Protestantismo Juzgados por sus Obras’ (Catholicism

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<sup>82</sup> Jean H. Delaney, ‘Imagining *El Ser Argentino*: Cultural Nationalism and Romantic Concepts of Nationhood in Early Twentieth-Century Argentina’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 34/3 (2002), 625-658.

<sup>83</sup> See Luis Feldman Josín, ‘Reseña Histórica del Periodismo en Chubut’, in *Cuadernos de Historia del Chubut*, (Trelew: Junta de Estudios Históricos del Chubut), 27-28. It is not known when *El Chubut* folded exactly.

and Protestantism Judged by their Works) criticised Protestantism for having failed to produce men virtuous enough to be saints.<sup>84</sup> In 1910 a column appeared in *Y Drafod* expressing condemnation of an article that had appeared in *La Cruz del Sur* stating that there was no proper church to praise God in Rawson.<sup>85</sup> A contributor using the pseudonym ‘Nadolig’ (Christmas) answered saying that there was already a chapel in Rawson. Although the aim of the article in *La Cruz del Sur* was to encourage the creation of a committee to raise funds to build a Catholic church, the bottom line for the Welsh community was that this was something more than a theological discussion. What the Catholic newspaper was doing was ignoring the presence of the Welsh and diminishing the value of their religious convictions –albeit with the same nonchalance that the Welsh newspapers disregarded Catholicism.

Even if there were tensions with the Catholic and ‘Latin’ elements in the community, *Y Drafod* does not show a complete antagonism or indifference towards the surrounding society. There were calls for some kind of, if not integration, at least participation or interaction with the Argentine community. As early as the end of the nineteenth century articles were proposing that there could exist a double identity that would somehow bridge the gap between the Welsh and the Argentines. A contributor who signed an article as E. J. W. proposed that a dichotomy need not be negative or unattainable. ‘Gellir bod yn Gymry-Archentaidd’ (It’s possible to be Welsh-Argentines), he said. E. J. W. is most probably Edward Jones Williams Mostyn, the Welsh engineer who emigrated to Patagonia in 1886 and who was involved in the construction of the railway line between Porth Madryn and the Chubut Valley.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> *La Cruz del Sur*, 10 October 1909.

<sup>85</sup> *Y Drafod*, 13 May 1910.

<sup>86</sup> See pg. 129 in this chapter.

While recognising the marked differences between the two cultures and the huge differences that separated both communities, he believed that maintaining a double identity was a solution for the Welsh in Patagonia:<sup>87</sup>

Y mae ein holl fywyd mor dra gwahanol i fywyd gorph mawr y Weriniaeth, fel y mae perygl i'n hieuenctid deimlo nas gallant fod yn gyflawn Archentiaid heb yn gyntaf beidio bod yn Gymry, ac... nas gall y Camwy fod yn Wladfa Gymreig, ac ar yr un pryd yn diriogaeth Archentaidd.’<sup>88</sup>

(Our whole lives are so very different from the main body of the Republic that there is the danger that our young people will feel that they cannot be fully Argentinean without first stopping being Welsh and... that the Chubut Valley cannot be a Welsh colony and at the same time Argentinean territory.)

William Hughes ‘Glan Caeron’, among others, also approved of a more participative approach in Welsh-Argentine relationships. He was in favour of joining in the Argentine national holidays with as much fervour as they celebrated the 28 July.<sup>89</sup> He could not see any reason why the Welsh should not join the Argentines in celebrating the key dates in Argentine history. This conciliatory approach may have been the result of Glan Caeron being not only a prominent poet who won the chair and crown of the Patagonian eisteddfod several times, as well as serving as archdruid of the Patagonian Gorsedd –in other words, the quintessence of the Welshman promoted by *Y Drafod*–, but also a teacher at some of the national government schools in the Chubut Valley who wrote a book in Welsh to teach schoolchildren the basics of Argentine history.<sup>90</sup> He also belonged to the group of Welshmen who were prominent

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<sup>87</sup> Although Argentina received a great number of immigrants from several ethno-cultural backgrounds, at the end of the nineteenth century, enough immigrants had not arrived to generate the kind of ethnic mosaic that can be seen in other provinces. In the first decades of the twentieth century the demographic picture would change rapidly with the arrival of migrants of different ethnicities.

<sup>88</sup> *Y Drafod*, 3 April 1896. For a study of his contribution to the Chubut colony see Kenneth Skinner, *Railway in the Desert* (Wolverhampton: Beechen Green Books, 1984).

<sup>89</sup> *Y Drafod*, 20 May 1898.

<sup>90</sup> Albina Jones de Zampini, *Reunión de Familias en el Sur* (Gaiman: Edición del Autor, 1995), 101.

in *y Wladfa* as go-betweens, who tried to smooth the relationship between the State and the Welsh farmers.<sup>91</sup>

It is interesting to note that, while in both the examples mentioned there was an open attitude to joining in the celebrations of Argentine society, it was from a detached point of view. It was always in a manner that stressed the differences and not the similarities: ‘we’ participate in ‘their’ celebrations. This should not come as a surprise, since it is fair to assume that many of the contributors to *Y Drafod* in the period analysed in this chapter were born in Wales, and even the Patagonian-born Welsh descendants had still not evidenced the end results of having fallen under the ‘argentinising’ apparatus of the National Government. It is also further proof that fusing into the wider Argentine society was not an aim that *Y Drafod* promoted actively and widely notwithstanding a few exceptions.

Even when there was a call to celebrate Argentine holidays, emphasis was put on celebrating them in what was considered a ‘proper’ way. ‘Dathlwyd yr wyl eleni yn Trelew, gwahoddwyd holl blant yr ysgol ddyddiol i de a bara brith... cyn ymwahanu canasant yr Emyn Cenedlaethol a darnau eraill... Dathlwyd mewn dull hollol Brydeinig yr wyl archentaidd “9 de Julio”’ (The holiday was celebrated this year in Trelew. All the children from the school were invited for tea and ‘bara brith’ [speckled bread]... before departing they sang the National Anthem and other pieces... The 9 July was celebrated in a thoroughly British style.)<sup>92</sup> The need to integrate was not without strong criticism, and if there were to be integration, it should happen under certain conditions that should not harm the Welshness the paper was trying to

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<sup>91</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 51; 60.

<sup>92</sup> *Y Drafod*, 30 July 1897. The ‘Emyn Cenedlaethol’ in this case is the Argentine National Anthem.

encourage. An unknown contributor to the paper voiced his disapproval of the fact that some Welsh Patagonians were attending the balls organised to celebrate Argentina's national holidays: 'Yr ydym yn byw yn y weriniaeth ac yn cael ein cysgodi gan ei baner, felly dylid ei pharchu, ond ar yr un pryd yr wyf yn bendant yn erbyn dathlu'r gwyliau drwg [*sic*] gyfryngau anaddas i'r dynion goreu fedrwn [*sic*] gymeryd rhan ynddynt.' (We live in the republic and we are protected by its flag, so we should respect it, but at the same time I am completely against celebrating holidays in a manner inappropriate for the best men that can take part in them.)<sup>93</sup>

The feeling of not wanting to taint the kind of Welshness the paper was trying to promote in the Patagonian society did not lead to an exclusion of the non-Welsh population from Welsh activities. In 1911 we find on the front page of *Y Drafod* an address by the Rev. Roberts given during the Gorsedd ceremony.<sup>94</sup> While he expressed his preference for using the 'Idioma del Paraiso',<sup>95</sup> he commented that he would use Spanish for the sake of all those attending the ceremony that did not speak Welsh, including the local authorities, like the governor of the province. It is difficult to gauge the degree of involvement of the non-Welsh speaking community in Welsh activities, but there is an indication that there was contact and participation in both directions.

However there is one major issue that is a milestone in the history of the relations between the Welsh in Patagonia and the Argentine Government that figures prominently in the pages of *Y Drafod* in this period. From 1896 until 1899 the paper

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<sup>93</sup> *Y Drafod*, 8 May 1898.

<sup>94</sup> *Y Drafod*, 24 November 1911. The first name of the Rev. Roberts is not given.

<sup>95</sup> This is a translation into Spanish of the expression 'Iaith y Nefoedd' (The Language of Heaven), one of the ways in which Welsh speakers refer to the Welsh language.

chronicles the comings and goings of a saga that created considerable tension between the colonists and the government. When it was made compulsory for all 18-year-old Argentine citizens to attend the regular ‘Guardia Nacional’<sup>96</sup> military training during the year, uproar was heard in the Welsh community since the day chosen for the military drilling was Sundays. The Welsh colonists and their Argentine-born descendants were not against the actual requirement, but because of their strict adherence to observing the Sabbath, they asked for the exercises to be held on another day of the week. It took a long time and considerable arguing before the dispute was finally settled in favour of the Welsh<sup>97</sup> –and the tug-of-war further soured the strained relationship between the colonists and the National Government. The different stages of the struggle to have Sundays free to worship can be followed in *Y Drafod*, which we find in this instance functioning as a vehicle of expression for the community and a forum for discussion of the best way forward to defend Welsh interests.

However, the Welshness promoted in *Y Drafod* was not exempt from a touch of Britishness. Queen Victoria’s Jubilee in 1897 generated many comments on the pages of the paper. Celebrations were organised in the colony to commemorate the occasion –including the idea of lighting of a beacon on one of the hills near Gaiman–<sup>98</sup> and a message was sent to London to congratulate the monarch. Medals were also sold in honour of the queen, and a festive mood seemed to have taken hold of the Valley according to the reports.<sup>99</sup> An outsider’s outlook on the monarchic traits of the Welsh can be found in a report written about the Welsh in *y Wladfa* by Governor Eugenio

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<sup>96</sup> See Chapter 1, 49, for an account of the origin and purpose of the ‘Guardia Nacional’ (National Guard).

<sup>97</sup> An account of the struggle between the Welsh settlers and the Governors of Chubut can be found in Chapter 1, 49-50.

<sup>98</sup> *Y Drafod*, 11 June 1897.

<sup>99</sup> The reports can be found in June and July 1897.

Tello in 1895: ‘El único retrato en marco que adorna el salón de algunos funcionarios públicos es el de la reina Victoria’ (The only picture hanging on the wall of some civil servants is that of Queen Victoria).<sup>100</sup> However, while there were monarchists among the Welsh in Patagonia in the same way that there were monarchists in Wales, there was also a dissenting voice in *Y Drafod* –perhaps expressing the feelings of a number of other readers– that criticised the attention that had been paid to the celebrations. ‘Gormod o helynt gydag ef’ (too much fuss about it), wrote a contributor under the pseudonym ‘Vox’.<sup>101</sup> In his opinion, those in favour of celebrating their Britishness so outspokenly were forgetting that they had had to leave Wales in order to achieve a better life and that not much had been done for Wales during Queen Victoria’s reign. However this interest in celebrating the Jubilee in fact tells us that in spite of the distance and the lack of fluid communication, *y Wladfa* nevertheless mirrored Wales in its reactions to the royal occasion. Dissenting voices were also heard in the press in Wales,<sup>102</sup> but on the whole monarchist and pro-imperial comments and pieces of creative writing were the norm.<sup>103</sup> A general interest in news of the Royal Family is evident in *Y Drafod*, and the death of Queen Victoria, the coronations of Edward VII and of George V received coverage in the Patagonian newspaper.<sup>104</sup> Clearly *Y Drafod* belonged not only to the network of the Welsh diaspora but also to the wider British world.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Cited in Clemente Dumrauf, *La Colonia Galesa de Chubut. Su Lucha por el Gobierno Propio* (Buenos Aires: Dunken, 2008), 216.

<sup>101</sup> *Y Drafod*, 17 September 1897.

<sup>102</sup> For instance, Thomas Gee. See Hywel Teifi Edwards and E. G. Millward, *Jiwibili y Fam Wen Fawr* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2002).

<sup>103</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, ‘Empire and the Welsh Press’, in Potter, Simon J. (ed.), *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain. Reporting the British Empire, c. 1857–1921* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 80.

<sup>104</sup> See *Y Drafod*, 22 February 1901; 25 July 1902 and 30 September 1911 respectively.

<sup>105</sup> The matter of Britishness in *y Wladfa* is discussed at length in Chapter 5.

Although lacking in jingoistic tones, a further example of the interest in British matters was the reports and the comments on the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). Conflicting points of views clashed on the pages of *Y Drafod*, some decidedly in favour of the British policy during the war, others finding a sense of empathy between the plight of the Welsh in Wales and Patagonia with that of the Boers at the hands of the British Empire.<sup>106</sup> Once again, *Y Drafod* mirrored similar debates in Wales, where although there was support for the campaign of the British forces, readiness to sympathise with the Boers was stronger than in other parts of Great Britain.<sup>107</sup> Whatever the stance taken by the readers, British matters were of interest to the colonist, as was further proved by the articles on the death of King Edward VII in 1910 and the invitation the following year to celebrate the coronation of King George V.<sup>108</sup>

Apart from defending and informing the Welsh community, the paper also served it in many other ways. One clear example of this is during the great floods of 1899, when most of the material efforts of the pioneers were swept away by the Chubut River in a matter of hours.<sup>109</sup> During this time of hardship, when many families had to go to live on the hills overlooking the valley in precarious lodgings in the middle of the winter, *Y Drafod* continued to be published since the offices were in a sector of Trelew that remained unaffected by the floods. During the following months, the paper served the community in three ways: firstly, as a transmitter of news, describing what the situation was like in different parts of the Valley after the floods ravaged most of the

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<sup>106</sup> The discussions about the Boer War can be found in the first quarter of 1900. See for instance *Y Drafod*, 5 January 1900; 16 February 1900; 2 March 1900.

<sup>107</sup> John Davies, *A History of Wales* (Penguin: London, 1993), 478.

<sup>108</sup> See *Y Drafod*, 24 June 1910 and 7 July 1911 respectively.

<sup>109</sup> See R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 259-261; William Meloch Hughes, *Ar Lannau'r Gamwy ym Mhatagonia* (Lerpwl: Y Brython, 1927), 176-186, 192-198, 209-225; and Eluned Morgan, *Dringo'r Andes* (Y Fenni: Y Brodyr Owen, 1904), Chapter 1.

colony.<sup>110</sup> Secondly, as a forum for discussion about what the best way forward was. ‘Bellach, gyfeillion, oni fyddai yn ddoeth ynom geisio cael ymgynghoriad pa lwybr i gymeryd?... Os oes gweledigaeth eglurach, traethwch, gyfeillion’ (Friends, wouldn’t it now be wise for us to have a consultation about the path to follow... If there’s a clearer vision, expound it, friends)<sup>111</sup>, wrote Daniel R. Evans two months after the floods, offering his point of view and asking the readers for theirs, therefore using the pages of *Y Drafod* as a tribune from which different voices could be heard. Thirdly, the paper acted as a link in a community that was not able to congregate easily in a single place due to the state of the roads. A contributor who used the pseudonym ‘Amaethwr’ (Farmer) praised the paper saying ‘Rhoddwn bob cefnogaeth i’r Drafod, er i ni allu deall syniadau ein gilydd. Nid oes rhyddid i gynnal cyfarfodydd cyhoeddus i’r perwyl, diolchwn am ryddid y wasg... Credaf, yn ddios, y byddai’n well i ni fyw heb siwgr yn ein te na cholli’r newyddur o’r wlad (Let’s give all our support to *Y Drafod* so that we can understand each other’s ideas. We are not free to hold public meetings for that purpose. Let us be thankful for the freedom of the press... I believe, without question, that it would be better for us to live without sugar in our tea than to lose the newspaper from the country).’<sup>112</sup>

## Conclusion

When we consider the first period in the history of *Y Drafod* up until 1913, we find that it was a transmitter of news at the local, national and international level serving the basic purpose of keeping the readers informed, at a time when access to other sources of information was scarce. We can also detect a strong sense of community in

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<sup>110</sup> Starting on 4 August 1899, there are many reports and all sort of items in Welsh, English and Spanish about the floods and its consequences in *Y Drafod*, up until the end of the year.

<sup>111</sup> *Y Drafod*, 22 September 1899.

<sup>112</sup> *Y Drafod*, 17 November 1899.

its pages. It was a paper for the Welsh community in *y Wladfa* in the Chubut Valley and its branches, published and delivered by members of the community, and also a paper that gladly received, and also asked for, contributions from the readers, especially those belonging to the new generation, since this was part of its *raison d'être*: ‘Byddwn ddiolchgar am bob ysgriv o ddyddordeb cyfredinol. Cymerwn boen i loywi ysgrivau pobl ieuainc anghyvarwydd y Wladva, ond iddynt hwythau beidio digio a móni.’ (We would be grateful for every article of general interest. We will strive to correct articles by the young inexperienced people of *y Wladfa*, as long as they do not become angry and sulk.)<sup>113</sup> In this sense the paper also worked as an ‘athraw’ (teacher) that was intended to support an education system through the medium of Welsh which by 1891 was beginning to show that it was not sufficient to guarantee an adequate oral and written fluency in Welsh for the younger generation – especially since the Argentine Government made Spanish the official language of education at the end of the nineteenth century. The mission of cultivating the readers was all the more pressing in a small community that was far from achieving the desired number of inhabitants that the leaders had dreamed about before 1865 and during the early period of the settlement.<sup>114</sup>

In the same way that *Y Drych*, its counterpart in North America, was positioned by its editors and publishers ‘in relation to the cultural processes of constructing and maintaining a Welsh national identity among a widely scattered and displaced ethnic

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<sup>113</sup> *Y Dravod*, 17 January 1891.

<sup>114</sup> The original plan of sending 30,000 emigrants to Patagonia to make sure a Welsh province could be established never materialised. See R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 286; and E. Pan Jones, *Oes a Gwaith y Prif Athraw y Parch. Michael Daniel Jones* (Bala: H. Evans, 1903), 189-190.

community’,<sup>115</sup> *Y Drafod* was also a guardian of a set of values and a distinct type of Welshness that seemed desirable to many of the editors, contributors and readers, in a less scattered, but considerably smaller community than the Welsh community in the United States. These values included cultural, social, political, religious and moral aspects that shaped the profile of the individual. However, if we embrace the idea that *Y Drych* could be considered ‘as a screen, a kind of cultural Ellis Island, through which successive waves of Welsh-speaking emigrants passed in their journey to become Americans’<sup>116</sup>, we find that *Y Drafod* worked almost in the opposite direction. At least in the period studied in this chapter, the paper did not offer any tickets for such a journey.

If the beginning of the First World War marked the start of a new period in world history, with some authors considering it the real end of the long nineteenth century and as well as the end of the *belle époque*,<sup>117</sup> *Y Drafod* would also reflect this in its content. For more than four years, the pages of the paper would be almost totally devoted to reporting on the war, playing a completely different role in the community and emphasizing a different set of values. In the following chapter we will study the nature of these major changes.

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<sup>115</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflection. Y Drych & America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2001), 53-54.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>117</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century 1914–1991* (London: Abacus, 1995).

## Chapter 5: All Quiet on the Western Front? *Y Drafod*, 1914–1919

In the previous chapter we focused on *Y Drafod* from its birth through the first two decades of its existence. This chapter focuses on a period during which the paper experienced profound changes in its content, especially during the first years of the First World War –a conflict that engulfed countries from every continent and the first major tragedy of the ‘short twentieth century’ that marked the end of the world created by the ‘long nineteenth century’.<sup>1</sup> Although Argentina adopted a ‘benevolent neutrality’ during the conflict which presumed the continuation of trade with traditional clients,<sup>2</sup> its consequences were nevertheless felt in the republic as they were, to different degrees, in most countries of the world. In the case of Argentina, the war was brought close to its territory when an important sea battle took place near the Patagonian coast,<sup>3</sup> but the main consequences of the conflict were felt in the field of the economy. Being a country that relied on exporting non-manufactured goods in exchange for manufactured ones, Argentina experienced a rise in the prices of most of its imports but at the same time a shortage of supplies that created inflation and a decrease in state revenues.<sup>4</sup> Although not a contender in the conflict, Argentina did not remain indifferent to the events that shook the world –it was home to sizeable British and German communities that maintained strong links with their respective ‘old countries’ and followed the development of the conflict with interest. In the

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<sup>1</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century 1914–1991* (London: Abacus, 1995), 6.

<sup>2</sup> Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 28.

<sup>3</sup> Robert K. Massie, *Castles of Steel. Britain, Germany and the Winning of the Great War at Sea* (New York: Ballantine, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> David Rock, *Argentina 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War and Alfonsín* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co., 1987), 77.

newspaper *Y Drafod* we can find some of the reactions to those events from the local perspective of the Welsh-Patagonian community.

Although the content of the paper focused considerably on reporting the First World War, *Y Drafod* managed to remain true to one of its original aims outlined in the previous chapter: it served as a vehicle for the readers to express themselves and a forum in which they were able to debate the burning issues of the day. These included local politics and elections, improvements that needed to be carried out in the settlement, and religious matters. Sometimes heated debates would continue over several issues of the paper.

However during the First World War, different aspects relating to the role played by Great Britain in the conflict gained such prominence that the basic nature, content and message of *Y Drafod* acquired a new dimension. The Welshness that the paper had tried to maintain was infused with a high dose of overarching Britishness that is striking, for if Britishness had been part of the identitarian mosaic of the Welsh colonists in Patagonia it had never before manifested itself with such strength in the press. In this aspect, the Welsh in *y Wladfa* were not alone. A similar process can be seen in *Y Drych*, the main newspaper of the Welsh community in North America.<sup>5</sup> Fifty years after the landing of the first settlers, the Welsh in Patagonia were clearly still tightly connected to an international network of Welshness and Britishness.

This chapter starts by looking at the formal aspects of *Y Drafod* in this period –its editors, its content, the regular columns and language use. The focus then moves to

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<sup>5</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections. Y Drych & America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2001), 47-54.

the First World War and its impact on the Welsh community in Patagonia, where a heightened sense of Britishness made it become part of the international network of the British Empire. Then, the implications of the appearance of *Y Gwerinwr* – a weekly published in the town of Gaiman – will be discussed before considering the state of *y Wladfa* in its fiftieth anniversary.

### ***Y Drafod* and the First World War**

Two different men were in charge of editing *Y Drafod* in this period. The first was the Rev R. R. Jones, from Flintshire, north Wales, who arrived in Patagonia contracted by Chapel Tabernacl, Trelew.<sup>6</sup> He edited the paper from 1912 until July 1919, when he returned to Wales. He also was active in the cultural life of the community, offering Welsh and English classes on top of his ministerial duties.<sup>7</sup> He was followed by William Hughes ‘Glan Caeron’, one of the prominent leaders of the settlement who was a successful farmer and school teacher.<sup>8</sup> He was also president of the Patagonian Gorsedd, and won a chair and crown at the local eisteddfod. His short-lived term as editor lasted barely a year due to him being appointed as a schoolteacher in the locality of Fofocahuel, in the Andean Region.<sup>9</sup> While R. R. Jones did not make explicit his aims upon assuming the role of editor,<sup>10</sup> whatever his plans, during his tenure he had to deal with the unexpected changes caused by the start of the armed

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<sup>6</sup> After the death of the most renowned religious ministers who lived permanently in *y Wladfa* (Abraham Matthews in 1899, David Lloyd Jones in 1910, John Caerenig Evans in 1913), the settlement started to depend on ministers who would come from Wales temporarily, as was the case with R. R. Jones.

<sup>7</sup> Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico* (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 183-184.

<sup>8</sup> See biographical information in Chapter 3, 124-125.

<sup>9</sup> Glan Caeron would work as a primary school teacher in Fofocahuel for nine months of the year from the beginning of September until the end of May or the beginning of June. In a letter he sent to Wales to Ellen Davies de Jones in June 1925 from Dolavon in the Chubut Valley he commented that he was about to retire the following year and that he would take the opportunity to visit Wales. However he died in Patagonia in 1926. See Mari Emlyn, *Llythyrau'r Wladfa 1865–1945* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2009), 264.

<sup>10</sup> While most editors would write a column greeting the readers and stating their aims upon taking office, no such column could be found in 1912 by the Rev. R. R. Jones.

conflict. In the case of Glan Caeron, in his first editorial he mentioned the basic founding principle: ‘Carwn yn fawr weled rhagor o’n pobl ieuanc yn ysgrifenni iddi’ (I would like to see more of our young people writing for it [*Y Drafod*]).<sup>11</sup> Like previous editors, he offered help with correcting grammatical mistakes and encouraged everyone to contribute to the paper. However, there was another aim that Glan Caeron had in mind: ‘Carwn allu gwneud ein newyddur... yn fwy o ddolen gydiol rhyngom ni Gymry gwasgaredig Archentina’ (I would like to be able to make our newspaper... more of a connecting link between us, the scattered Welsh people of Argentina.)

Among the original aims of the publication was the desire to spur the readers to sharpen their intellect. The paper advertised regularly various events that served this purpose. Literary meetings across the Chubut Valley were advertised periodically, and many times the programme of their competitions was made available on the pages of *Y Drafod* for participants to prepare themselves. ‘Cymanfaoedd canu’ (congregational hymn-singing festivals) were also advertised, sometimes including the hymns to be sung on the day, and the main annual festival, the *Eisteddfod y Wladfa*, always got ample advertising during this period. However not only did the events receive considerable attention in advance, but the paper would also include reports of those events. Pieces of creative writing were sometimes published, especially those works from the eisteddfod. This practice was not restricted to works created by local Patagonian authors. Works sent to competitions at the National Eisteddfod in Wales were also published in Argentina, reminding us of the strong links that still existed between both countries at this time.

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<sup>11</sup> *Y Drafod*, 4 July 1919.

If those items were published on an ‘as-and-when basis’, there were other sections of the paper that appeared more frequently. Although sometimes short lived, there were series of weekly columns that featured regularly, such as the ‘Colofn y Merched’ (Women’s Column) in 1914, which contained advice mainly on household matters. On a different level, ‘Y Golofn Farddol’ (the Bardic Column) was an open invitation to all local poets to send their work to appear in *Y Drafod*. The column was started in 1919 by Glan Caeron, but did not last long. It was later revived in 1921 by his successor Morgan Phillip Jones, but it was never a regular feature of the paper, showing perhaps that at this time *Y Drafod* did not concentrate on literary matters, or that local poets were not very prolific, or possibly, that the linguistic competence of the Welsh speakers was being gradually eroded.

This lack of regularity was also reflected in the frequency with which local correspondents sent their contributions. Traditionally, the newspaper relied on a number of official correspondents scattered across the Valley and in other Welsh settlements in Chubut –the Andean region and the southern settlement of Colwapi especially– and even in Buenos Aires, to provide local news and reports about regional cultural, political and religious activities. The identity of these people remains unknown; it is not known either whether they received any payment for their contributions, but it can be assumed that theirs was probably voluntary work. In every edition of the paper their reports appeared under a heading that was generally the name of the area that they represented. In the Chubut Valley, most of these areas were identified by the name of a chapel or of a geographical location, such as Moriah, Bryn Gwyn, Bryn Crwn, Treorcky or Tir Halen. The reports were generally prepared in

order to inform readers of how a particular commemoration had been celebrated, especially 28 July –the Festival of the Landing– and also other important dates from the local or even national calendar. Other events about which correspondents wrote frequently were the quarterly religious meetings that almost always included Sunday school exams. The lengthy reports gave details about the activities carried out during the meetings together with a list of the names of the pupils that sat the exams and sometimes the results as well. Once a year, the paper would publish one iconic document: the balance sheet of ‘Cwmni Masnachol y Camwy’ (the Chubut Mercantile Society). Also on a yearly basis ‘Cwmni Dyfrhau y Camwy’ (the Chubut Irrigation Society) would do the same. Both of these documents were published bilingually in Welsh and Spanish. *Y Drafod* was thus adhering to the practice of fostering on its pages the institutions from which the Welsh-Patagonian community derived its vitality, namely, the chapels, the cultural festivals and meetings and the companies that the colonists had founded.

Although *Y Drafod* remained a mainly Welsh-medium newspaper in this period, both Spanish and English were used as well. As in the period analysed in the previous chapter, Spanish was used in the paper for all official communications from the government in Rawson, most of them dealing with announcing new laws or transmitting information from the central government in Buenos Aires. Otherwise Spanish was used for advertising local elections and for the annual balance sheets of the Trelew and Gaiman councils, which were sometimes published bilingually. Despite the presence of Spanish –a language that was promoted eagerly by the government through primary schools– it remained a language that had not been mastered by all to the same level as Welsh. For example, in an issue of *Y Drafod* in

1916, Arthur Hughes –one of the prominent intellectuals in the history of *y Wladfa*–<sup>12</sup> commented that he was not ready to contribute articles in Spanish, citing two reasons: ‘Yn un peth, mae yma ddigon o bapurau Sbaeneg yn cael eu cyhoeddi yma; yn ail, nid wyf yn teimlo fy hunan yn ddigon hyddysg yn yr iaith Sbaeneg i allu ei hysgrifennu fel y dymunwn’ (To start with, there are enough Spanish-language papers being published here, and secondly I do not feel myself sufficiently proficient in Spanish to be able to write as I wish).<sup>13</sup> Greater space was given to the Spanish language when Glan Caeron became editor in mid-1919. From 11 July 1919 onwards there would appear an almost weekly ‘Sección Castellana’ (Spanish Section) with varied contents that included news, literature and articles of general interest. Although Glan Caeron was not the first editor to include such materials, the fact that he included more Spanish items in *Y Drafod* highlights his belief, as a primary school teacher, that a solid command of Spanish was indispensable.

However Spanish was not the only language that gained ground during the period analysed in this chapter. During the First World War the English-language content in *Y Drafod* increased –either extracts from other publications or contributions penned by local writers– prompting one reader to question the wisdom of this tendency.

Arthur Hughes, one of the contributors who could write both in Welsh and English, replied that the reason for using English was ‘... am fod yma lawer o Saeson sydd yn

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<sup>12</sup> Arthur Hughes (1878-1965) was born in London. His parents –Dr J. Hughes Jones and Annie Harriet Hughes, better known as ‘Gwyneth Vaughan’, the pseudonym she used as an author– were both Welsh, and eventually moved to Caernarfonshire, north Wales. He was educated in Wales, where he published two volumes on Welsh literature. In order to improve his frail health, Arthur Hughes moved to Patagonia aboard the steamer *Orita*, which carried the last organised contingent of Welsh emigrants to *y Wladfa* in 1911. For a short biography and some examples of his literary contributions, see Thomas Parry, ‘Arthur Hughes 1878–1965’, *Taliesin*, 38 (Gorffennaf 1979), 6-23.

<sup>13</sup> *Y Drafod*, 30 June 1916.

hoffi cael gair Gwladfaol yn eu hiaith eu hunan’ (because there are lots of English people here who like to read about *Y Wladfa* in their own language).<sup>14</sup>

As soon as the war started, the columns of *Y Drafod* became a showcase for news about the course of the war and a forum where many readers expressed their views about the situation through letters and creative writing. One of the main consequences of the war was a heightened sense of Britishness among the Welsh colonists, and a strengthening of the links with the wider British community in Argentina and Great Britain, as if the Patagonian settlement were another piece in the big mosaic of the British Empire worldwide. *Y Wladfa* does not deviate from the mood that was expressed in the Welsh press in the United States, where ‘the pages of *Y Drych*’ throughout the war years resounded with the warning that it would be to Wales’ perpetual shame if it left England, Scotland and Ireland to defend Britain and its civilization’.<sup>15</sup> Neither is it different from the mood that reigned in Wales, where the First World War –and eventually the Second World War as well– gave considerable impetus to the process of promoting Britishness in Wales,<sup>16</sup> and unceasing praise to ‘Britannia’ can be found in the Welsh-language press in Wales throughout the war years.<sup>17</sup>

In the Patagonian context, the idea of Pan-Britishness was clearly expressed by a contributor to *Y Drafod* in a letter asking for volunteers from the ‘British colony’ of Chubut to be ready to help Britain, so that Chubut could ‘make a name for herself in

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<sup>14</sup> *Y Drafod*, 30 June 1916.

<sup>15</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections. Y Drych & America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2001), 48.

<sup>16</sup> Gwynfor Evans, *Diwedd Prydeindod* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 1981), 101.

<sup>17</sup> Gerwyn Williams, *Y Rhwyg: Arolwg o Farddoniaeth Gymraeg ynghylch y Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1993), 5.

history with her loyalty to the British Empire'.<sup>18</sup> Arthur Hughes went even further in defining the Britishness of *y Wladfa* in a letter responding to accusations made against the Welsh in *La Nación*, the main Argentine national newspaper.<sup>19</sup> Arthur Hughes ventured to reply in Spanish<sup>20</sup> and in another number of *Y Drafod* also in English and declaring that:

For sheer downright persecution without the least call or necessity it would be hard to beat the malicious article published in a recent number of *La Nación* against the British Colony in Chubut... The Chubut colony is not, I believe, one of the least hard working and efficient of those in the Argentine, but is well to the front, as we should naturally expect, consisting as it does chiefly of members of the British race.<sup>21</sup>

There were also other clear markers that showed that a particular strand of Britishness was being cultivated in the Chubut Valley: celebrations of Empire Day took place in the Chubut Valley from 1914 onwards and during the 1920s, and special permission was granted by the Argentine Government for British subjects to display the British flag alongside the Argentine one on such celebrations.<sup>22</sup> The Empire Day celebrations were centred in Trelew, where there was an active British (Welsh and English)

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<sup>18</sup> *Y Drafod*, 16 October 1914. The letter was in English and signed by 'Briton'.

<sup>19</sup> In this particular case the criticism was against the emigration movement to Australia. An excerpt from the article published in *La Nación* can be read in *Y Drafod*, 11 June 1915 (in Spanish). This was not unprecedented. From the early days of the colony, many Argentine newspapers criticised the Welsh settlers for a number of reasons – frequently for allegedly not wanting to become fully Argentine citizens.

<sup>20</sup> *Y Drafod*, 18 June 1915. Although Arthur Hughes complained of his lack of fluency in Spanish in 1916 as we saw earlier in this chapter, by 1915 he was already writing contributions in Spanish. In a letter to his sister in London written in 1912 he explained that he was beginning to learn Spanish. The following year he was already citing from *Don Quixote* in Spanish. See Thomas Parry, 'Arthur Hughes 1878–1965', *Taliesin*, 38 (Gorffennaf 1979), 18. Perhaps Arthur Hughes's lack of fluency in Spanish was more the result of his perfectionism or a somewhat unfounded lack of confidence.

<sup>21</sup> *Y Drafod*, 25 June 1915. The letter was in English.

<sup>22</sup> *Y Drafod*, 19 May 1916. See also Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico*, iii (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 189.

community and an English-language school (St David's College) under the guidance of teachers sent from England.<sup>23</sup>

British ships continued their visits to Port Madryn. Sometimes the crew would pay a visit to the settlement in the Chubut Valley, as they had always done periodically since the establishment of *y Wladfa* in 1865. The sailors always received a warm welcome, were invited to 'asados' (Argentine barbecues) and concerts, and played games of cricket or football against a local team and sometimes invited the local people to visit the ship.<sup>24</sup> On the diplomatic level, the British Consul also paid visits to the settlement, doing so in 1915.<sup>25</sup> Frequent correspondence was maintained with the British Consul in Buenos Aires and with several dignitaries in London. Neither was the remoteness of the region a barrier for organizations such as the Patriotic League of Britons Overseas to exist in Chubut, or for local institutions such as a British Society to flourish as late as 1928 in Trelew.<sup>26</sup>

The first thing ... that strikes one in the Chubut territory is that one meets the O.S. [Overseas Society] emblem wherever one goes. It has now come to be looked upon as the hall mark of British citizenship, and untold confidence is placed in its wearer.<sup>27</sup>

Both the Patriotic League of Britons and the Overseas Club had been founded by Sir John Evelyn Wrench, an Irishman of boundless energy who devoted his life to promoting the British Empire.<sup>28</sup> The Patriotic League and the Overseas Club –which

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<sup>23</sup> For an account of the celebration of Empire Day, see *Y Drafod* 30 May 1919. A detailed history of the St David's College can be found in Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico*, iii (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 8-15.

<sup>24</sup> See for instance a report on the visit of HMS *Glasgow* to Port Madryn in *Y Drafod*, 13 February 1914.

<sup>25</sup> *Y Drafod*, 19 February 1915.

<sup>26</sup> Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico*, iii (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 13.

<sup>27</sup> *Y Drafod*, 14 May 1919.

<sup>28</sup> Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37031>, consulted on 28 July 2012.

were amalgamated into one institution in 1918– were conceived with the idea of uniting British subjects living in foreign lands that were part of the British Empire.<sup>29</sup> During the First World War, these institutions organised several campaigns to raise funds for the Allied troops.

Raising funds for the war effort also became widespread in the colony and several organizations became recipients of the money raised in Chubut, for instance the ‘Widows and Orphans’ Fund’, ‘Welsh Military Men Fund’, ‘Fund for Protestant Churches in France’, ‘Blinded Soldiers’ Children Fund’, ‘British Red Cross Fund’ and even a ‘Tobacco Fund’ to provide cigarettes for British and British Empire soldiers on the frontline.<sup>30</sup> In order to raise funds, various social activities were organised such as concerts, theatre performances and tea parties. In most of those occasions, the meetings would end by singing ‘God Save the King’, and the programme would include popular patriotic songs such as ‘Rule Britannia’ and ‘It’s a long way to Tipperary’, whose lyrics were printed in the pages of *Y Drafod*.<sup>31</sup> In one curious instance that added a touch of local colour to the help offered to Britain, Welsh farmers from the Chubut Valley and the Andean region offered to donate horses for the Cavalry Corps. A letter of thanks arrived from the British Consul in Buenos Aires explaining that due to the complexity of transporting the horses to Europe, they would gladly accept the equivalent in cash.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> See John Evelyn Wrench, *Struggle 1914–1920* (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1935).

<sup>30</sup> A comprehensive description of a meeting to raise funds for the Welsh military men and a list of donors can be found in *Y Drafod*, 25 January 1918. A letter of thanks from the Britons Overseas Club head office in London was printed in *Y Drafod*, 19 April 1918, thanking for the contributions made towards the Tobacco Fund.

<sup>31</sup> A translation of ‘God Save the King’ into Welsh by the Dean of Bangor was published in *Y Drafod*, 14 January 1916.

<sup>32</sup> *Y Drafod*, 15 April 1915.

As the examples above show, in many respects, y *Wladfa* –and Argentina in general– behaved as an outpost of the British Empire. The relationship was so close that Argentina can be grouped with those countries that belonged to the so called ‘informal empire’, namely, countries that depended on Britain mainly in the economic aspects but including close cultural ties. However Britain had no overt political or military role.<sup>33</sup> According to Alan Knight, ‘If India was the jewel in Britain’s imperial crown, Argentina was the prize possession within her informal empire. By 1914, Argentina stood alongside Canada, South Africa and Australia as a trade partner and recipient of British investment’<sup>34</sup>–the capital invested increased twentyfold between 1880 and 1913.<sup>35</sup> By the late 1920s, the British and Anglo-Argentine community,<sup>36</sup> at possibly 60,000 strong, became the largest group of British expatriates outside the British Empire with the exception of the United States.<sup>37</sup>

However, this identification with the British Empire was not readily accepted by all among the Welsh-Patagonians. At the end of 1918, a letter was sent by a Welshman – under the pseudonym of ‘Gwladfawr wedi gwylltio’ (A colonist who is angry)– to

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<sup>33</sup> Although the relationship was hardly symmetrical, it has to be stressed that in the case of the informal empire there was no fear or coercion in the interaction between Britain and, in this case, Argentina, but rather it was a case of mutual benefit. See Alan Knight, ‘Rethinking British Informal Empire in Latin America (Especially Argentina)’, in Matthew Brown (ed.), *Informal Empire in Latin America. Culture, Commerce and Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 47.

<sup>34</sup> Alan Knight, ‘Rethinking British Informal Empire in Latin America (Especially Argentina)’, in Matthew Brown (ed.), *Informal Empire in Latin America. Culture, Commerce and Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 35.

<sup>35</sup> Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 5.

<sup>36</sup> The British community in Argentina was made up of immigrants who had generally moved there to work in businesses run by British companies, like the railway. The term Anglo-Argentine community is generally used to refer to those descendants of British immigrants who had been born in Argentina but maintained a strong connection with Great Britain. See Florencia Cortés Conde, *Los Angloargentinos en Buenos Aires: Lengua, Identidad y Nación Antes y Después de Malvinas* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2007).

<sup>37</sup> David Rock, ‘The British in Argentina: From Informal Empire to Colonialism’, in Matthew Brown (ed.), *Informal Empire in Latin America. Culture, Commerce and Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 53.

express his weariness at having to contribute to the myriad funds that had been established to support the war effort.

Da chwi, Wladfawyr anwyl, gwnewch rywbeth yn y Wladfa gyda'ch arian. Gwnewch rywbeth i'r Wlad sydd wedi eich gwneud chwi. Pam y gadawsom ni yr Hen Wlad? Onid am fod y Sais yn gwrthod i ni fyw yn deilwng yno? ... "Charity begins at home". Mae yma yn y Wladfa ddigon o Groesau yn galw am help i'w cario, heb fyned i wledydd eraill i chwilio am danynt.<sup>38</sup>

(I beg you, dear inhabitants of y *Wladfa*, do something with your money in y *Wladfa*. Do something for the Land that has made you. Why did we leave the Old Country? Wasn't it because the English refused to let us live worthily there?... "Charity begins at home". There are in y *Wladfa* enough Crosses that call for help to be carried without going to other lands to look for them.)

An interesting exchange of letters appeared in the following seven issues of the paper in which 'Gwladfawr wedi gwylltio' (A colonist who is angry) was accused of being unpatriotic and ungrateful towards a country that had done much for the success of the Patagonian settlement. One contributor, signing himself 'Gwladfawr heb wylltio' (A colonist who is not angry), said: 'Yr ydw inna isio i "Gwladfawr wedi gwylltio" edrych i mewn i hanes y Wladfa, er mwyn iddo weld nad ydi John Bull ddim wedi bod mor ddi-drugaredd tuag at y Wladfa ag y mae ef yn ddweyd' (I want 'A colonist who is angry' to look into the history of y *Wladfa* so that he can see that John Bull has not been as unmerciful as he says).<sup>39</sup> Reflecting the prevailing mood in the pages of *Y Drafod* at that time, a contributor by the name of D. J. Williams also responded in a pro-British tone:

Ystyriaf fy hun, fel Cymro, yn rhan o John Bull, ac ar hyn o bryd yn rhan go bwysig, gan fod y Cymry mor flaenllaw yn yr Ymerodraeth... Nid wyf fi, fel engraifft, yn llai Cymro mewn gwaged a theimladau am fy mod yn Brydeiniwr...<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> *Y Drafod*, 14 October 1918.

<sup>39</sup> *Y Drafod*, 25 October 1918.

<sup>40</sup> *Y Drafod*, 25 October 1918.

(I consider myself, as a Welshman, a part of John Bull and, at the moment, a quite important part, since the Welsh people are so prominent in the Empire... I am, for example, not less Welsh in blood and sentiment because I am British...)

Although the prevailing mood was pro-British and anti-German and any expressions against this trend were criticised, it must be acknowledged that *Y Drafod* at least allowed for dissent.

Among the few dissident voices at the time was that of Arthur Hughes, who remained a loyal contributor to the paper until his death in 1965. Arthur Hughes was a pacifist who was able to analyse the conflict from a wider, more neutral perspective and believed that the human race as a whole ought to be blamed for not learning the lessons of history and engaging in another large-scale war. He went as far as praising the German nation for its achievements and for its thinkers and philosophers, who had contributed to Western civilization. At the same time, he condemned what he considered the hypocrisy of the Allies who had participated in acts of aggression comparable to any of those perpetrated by Germany, namely the ruthless British intervention in the Boer War or the Belgian atrocities in the African Congo under King Leopold.<sup>41</sup> ‘Na thybier fod ceisio gweled pethau drwy lygaid yr Almaen yn golygu bod yn wrth-Brydeinig. Ond ni all neb darllengar a meddylgar beidio gweled fod dwy ochr i’r cwestiwn’ (Do not assume that trying to see things through Germany’s eyes equals being anti-British. But no one who is well-read and thoughtful will fail to see that there are two sides to this matter), asserted Arthur Hughes in the columns of the paper not long after the war had started.<sup>42</sup> However, his condemnation

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<sup>41</sup> The same stance was taken by a writer under the pseudonym of R.H.R., whose identity remains unknown. *Y Drafod*, 20 November 1914 and 2 July 1915.

<sup>42</sup> *Y Drafod*, 4 December 1914.

of war in general and his avoidance of putting the blame on only one nation for the horrors of war did not go down well among the readers of *Y Drafod*.

Another dissonant voice that disapproved of the war and blamed both sides equally was to be heard in some of the letters of Laura Kathleen Hughes, Arthur Hughes's sister, which were published in *Y Drafod* although she lived in London at the time. Since she shared the pacifist views professed by her brother, her letters also came under heavy criticism. Eventually Arthur Hughes realised that his was the only voice in favour of his open-minded, pacifist views and decided to bring the debate to an end and did not contribute any further articles or letters on the subject of war. In fact, the general tendency in the paper was to create a polarisation between good and evil, in which Britain and her allies belonged to the former category and Germany to the latter. This attitude was accompanied by a sense of euphoria and triumphalism, especially at the beginning of the war, when the belief was that the war was going to be over in a short time with a decisive Allied victory. Condemnation of all kinds was heaped upon Germany and its people and its culture in general, and the call to annihilate the enemy was the norm. Once again, *Y Drafod* mirrored a situation that developed in the press in Wales, where articles and pieces of creative writing revolved around three main themes, namely: 'Y Caiser (Drwg), y milwr (Da) a David Lloyd George (Da)' (the Kaiser [Bad], the soldier [Good] and David Lloyd George [Good]).<sup>43</sup> The same tendencies were found in *Y Drych* in the United States.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Gerwyn Williams, *Y Rhwyg: Arolwg o Farddoniaeth Gymraeg ynghylch y Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1993), 45.

<sup>44</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections. Y Drych & America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2001), 47-48.

The deep sense of allegiance to king and country became manifest at different levels in many parts of the British world, including *y Wladfa*, and several British subjects residents in Patagonia enlisted as volunteers to fight in the war. While no lists of those who enlisted were published in *Y Drafod*, thanks to the letters received from the front line and published in the paper it is known that at least some of them were of Welsh descent, while others belonged to the wider British community in Argentina that also had branches in the territory of Chubut. The letters are valuable sources that tell the readers about the first-hand experiences of the soldiers in the battlefield. Most of the letters are from soldiers sent to the Dardanelles and the Gallipoli peninsula, although there were some from France as well.

Among the letters sent from the Middle East, one may note the case of Leonard Williams, a Welshman from Chubut –and grandson of David Williams ‘Oneida’<sup>45</sup> who had emigrated to Australia and joined the Army instead of settling in a rural area: ‘All Australians were rushing to offer their services for the old country, and my own ancient British blood would not let me stand aside, so I enlisted for Active Service about a month after getting to Queensland.’<sup>46</sup> While waiting in Egypt before being sent to the Dardanelles, Leonard met other Welshmen from Wales, who were amused at his ‘Argentine Welsh twang’. A further linguistic curiosity was the fact that he did not know much English. However, this disadvantage had been overcome rapidly at both the oral and written level, since his letter to *Y Drafod* was written in English: ‘You would be quite surprised to hear me speak English now, the boys can hardly believe that I could only speak a few words before leaving Argentina; learning it

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<sup>45</sup> David Williams ‘Oneida’ was the first settler to join *y Wladfa* from the United States. See Chapter 3, 98.

<sup>46</sup> *Y Drafod*, 21 April 1916. All the quotations from Leonard Williams come from a letter published in English in that issue of the paper.

seemed to come quite natural.’ (A similar case was that of Llewelyn Roberts, a Chubut Welshman who had been sent to France.<sup>47</sup> In the first letter to his father, published in the paper, he described his life in the trenches on the western front in impeccable Welsh; the second letter, though, was in English).<sup>48</sup> If Leonard Williams’s command of the English language was poor before he had a chance to hone his skills after joining his regiment, the opposite was true of his Spanish. After meeting a Canadian who spoke Spanish, Leonard writes to his parents ‘he can talk Spanish fairly well, so you can see that I feel quite at home’. Another chance to practice his Spanish came when he had to look after mules that were used for transport work. ‘You would laugh if you saw us taking the mules to water’, he wrote. ‘Up to now I get the better of the other boys, for as soon as I shout on the mules in Spanish they go to beat the band.’ Leonard Williams is an example that shows that some Welsh-Patagonians had already appropriated Spanish as a language with which they could feel at home. While his case might not be representative of all the young people of his generation, at least it is an indication that the hispanization of the younger generation by the combined actions of the primary school and the interaction with Spanish speakers in Chubut was proceeding at a solid pace. As a final thought, Leonard Williams encouraged his fellow Welsh-Argentineans to follow in his steps: ‘Before closing, I would like to ask my Welsh Patagonian cousins to come and help us strike a blow for British freedom and fair play for small nations.’

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<sup>47</sup> As we saw in Chapter 4, Llewelyn Roberts became printer of *Y Drafod* in 1902 to replace the previous printer who had emigrated to Choele Choel. It is not known whether he stayed in the job until he went to fight in France.

<sup>48</sup> *Y Drafod*, 19 May 1916 (Welsh) and 14 July 1916 (English). Less than a month later, *Y Drafod* (4 August 1916) published an excerpt from *The Chester Chronicle* stating that Llewelyn Roberts had died somewhere in France.

Another consequence of the First World War in the Welsh community in Chubut was to turn David Lloyd George, the only Welshman to become prime minister of the United Kingdom, into a modern hero, an example to follow, and the living proof that Welshmen were also called to a great destiny. Gerwyn Williams states that with the arrival of David Lloyd George in Downing Street ‘dangoswyd i’r byd... fod y Cymry’n genedl mor fucheddol a galluog â gweddill trigolion Prydain Fawr a dangoswyd i’r Cymry nad oedd dim yn anghyson rhwng Cymreictod a Phrydeindod’ (The world was shown that the Welsh were a nation as virtuous and capable as the rest of the inhabitants of Great Britain and the Welsh were shown that there were no inconsistencies between Welshness and Britishness).<sup>49</sup> At a time when the Welsh community in Chubut was still strong but was at the same time revisiting its original aims and realising that it was entering a phase of decline in terms of successfully maintaining its language and culture, the figure of Lloyd George served as a model and an incentive for all the Welsh and their descendants to preserve their identity. So much was the admiration towards Lloyd George that a present was sent to him from the Welsh Patagonian community: a framed picture containing an address in Welsh and Spanish, with a picture of Patagonia in the middle, and the Argentine and British flags.<sup>50</sup> This admiration for the first Welsh Prime Minister of the United Kingdom had an earlier origin in Patagonia, and in fact there was a mutual friendship that dated back to the late nineteenth century, when Lloyd George had proclaimed *y Wladfa* to be a ‘Cymru fach dros y môr’.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, in 1910 he sent a desk as a present for the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ (Intermediate School) that had been inaugurated by Eluned

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<sup>49</sup> Gerwyn Williams, *Y Rhwyg. Arolwg o Farddoniaeth Gymraeg ynghylch y Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1993), 7.

<sup>50</sup> *Y Drafod*, 6 April 1917.

<sup>51</sup> Carlos Brebbia, *Patagonia, a Forgotten Land. From Magellan to Perón* (Southampton: Wessex Institute of Technology Press, 2007), 162.

Morgan in Gaiman to provide secondary education –the first institution of its kind in Patagonia.<sup>52</sup>

Several poems appeared on the pages of the paper praising Lloyd George, one of them raising him to the status of a saviour sent from heaven.<sup>53</sup> For the Welsh community in the United States, Lloyd George also became a hero and a symbol of the coming of age of the Welsh nation.<sup>54</sup> In Wales, Lloyd George had achieved god-like status for his role as a chancellor of the exchequer (1908-1915), but ‘as the leading figure in the war effort, he was to become, in the eyes of many Welshmen, even more deified’.<sup>55</sup>

### **Confronting a new enemy: the weekly *Y Gwerinwr/ El Demócrata***<sup>56</sup>

It seems that the figure of a strong, successful Welshman was needed as an example in the Patagonian settlement, since a sense of impending decline was manifesting itself in the pages of the paper.

Bu amser pryd y teimlwn ein bod fel cenedl yn elfen ffurfiol yma, ond ysywaeth gyda threigliad amser, gorfod inni gredu mai elfen doddawl ydym... mentraf yn ostyngedig ddweyd mai byw gormod yn y gorffennol ydym ninnau yn y Wladfa. Cyfeirio at gewri y gorffennol heb fagu cewri yn y presennol mewn byd nac eglwys.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> See LIGC 23659E. The letter thanking David Lloyd George for the desk is dated 14 October 1910. According to the website Glaniad, the desk was sent in 1906, when the school was inaugurated. See <http://www.glaniad.com/index.php?lang=en&id=36016&t=2>, consulted on 20 July April 2012.

<sup>53</sup> For example ‘Diolch i Dduw am Lloyd George’, *Y Drafod*, 23 March 1917. See also 10 March 1916; 19 May 1916; 23 March 1917; 25 May 1917.

<sup>54</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections. Y Drych & America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2001), 51-52.

<sup>55</sup> Emyr Price, *David Lloyd George* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 197.

<sup>56</sup> Although this weekly did not give as much space to articles in Spanish as Welsh-language contributions, its name was bilingual from the beginning. The Welsh name only will be used when discussing this newspaper in this thesis.

<sup>57</sup> *Y Drafod*, 15 October 1920. The contribution was signed by ‘Tychichus’. The concept of being a formative element rather than a melting element had been formulated by the Rev. Michael D. Jones when describing the kind of settlement that he wished to create for Welsh emigrants. See E. Wyn James, ‘Michael D. Jones and his Visit to Patagonia in 1882’, in Comité Organizador (ed.), *Los Galeses en la Patagonia V* (Puerto Madryn: Fundación Ameghino, 2012), [forthcoming].

(There was a time when we felt that we were as a nation a formative element here, but unfortunately with the passing of time we had to believe that we are a melting element... I humbly dare to say that we live too much in the past in y *Wladfa*. We point to the giants of the past without breeding giants in the present in world or church.)

It is perhaps as a reaction to this sense of lacking a clear road map to secure the future of y *Wladfa* that a new weekly newspaper was founded in 1914. Already at the end of 1913 and the beginning of 1914, a committee headed by Dafydd Rhys Jones<sup>58</sup> circulated a letter commenting on the idea of founding a new organ that would service the community. This triggered an exchange with *Y Drafod*, which overtly condemned the idea. D. Rhys Jones replied by saying that the response of *Y Drafod* towards the project ‘yn brawf fod y dyb yn bodoli mai monopoly [sic] o eiddo ryw ychydig yw’r hawl i dorri tir newydd’ (is proof that the idea exists that breaking new ground is the monopoly of a few).<sup>59</sup> D. Rhys Jones also accused *Y Drafod* of ‘diffyg ymdriniaeth briodol ar faterion gwladfaol’ (a lack of appropriate treatment of the settlement’s matters).<sup>60</sup> Despite the inflammatory rhetoric, when the first number of *Y Gwerinwr* appeared 1 August 1914, the editorial stressed that ‘nid drygu ein cydoesydd –Y Drafod– yw ein hamcan’ (it’s not our aim to damage our contemporary *Y Drafod*) and that its wish was that both newspapers would not be ‘yn arweinwyr ar ddau lu gelynnol, eithr yn gydymgeiswyr ar yr anrhydedd o wneud y mwyaf o les i drigolion y Wladfa, drwy eu hamddiffyn, eu diddori a’u goleuo’ (leaders of two enemy groups

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<sup>58</sup> Dafydd Rhys Jones was the son of David Jones ‘Maes Comet’ and Rachel Williams ‘Maen Gwyn’. His father had arrived in Chubut aboard the *Mimosa* in 1865 and his mother was the daughter of one of the settlers who had relocated in Patagonia after having tried their luck in the colony founded by Thomas Benbow Phillips in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil (see R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Priysgol Cymru, 1962), 7-11). When the ‘Ysgol Ganoraddol’ (Intermediate School) opened its doors in Gaiman in 1906, Dafydd Rhys was the first teacher and headmaster. He was later replaced by Mr E. T. Edmunds in 1915. See *Y Drafod*, 31 January 1930. Biographical data can be found in Albina Jones de Zampini, *Reunión de Familias en el Sur* (Gaiman: Edición del Autor, 1995), 123.

<sup>59</sup> *Y Drafod*, 13 February 1914.

<sup>60</sup> *Y Drafod*, 13 February 1914.

but joint candidates for the honour of bringing the most benefit to the inhabitants of y *Wladfa* by defending, entertaining and illuminating them).<sup>61</sup> In the same column reference was made to the importance of religion and the Bible and the need to stimulate the younger generation to progress –in other words, the tone of the newspaper was not dissimilar to *Y Drafod*'s.

However, there were several differences between both weeklies. The first editorial of *Y Gwerinwr* was complemented by a shorter column in Spanish stating that the aims of the paper were to provide a space where contributors could express themselves democratically and without any kinds of restrictions –mention was made of the fact that people of different ethnicities and languages were in charge of producing the paper, reflecting the new social and linguistic reality in y *Wladfa*. Another difference was the length of the paper: *Y Gwerinwr* had only four pages while *Y Drafod*, traditionally a six-page weekly, upped the ante and became an eight-page weekly in July 1914.

As far as its content is concerned, both newspapers were similar. However, *Y Gwerinwr* included fewer items on the war and concentrated more on the kind of materials that were frequent in *Y Drafod* before the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>62</sup> However, as Gareth Alban Davies argues, the tone of the articles was different. For instance, more space was given to anti-war contributors like Arthur Hughes and another who used the pseudonym 'B'.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> *Y Gwerinwr*, 1 August 1914.

<sup>62</sup> Chapter 4 discusses the contents of *Y Drafod* up until 1913.

<sup>63</sup> Gareth Alban Davies, 'The Welsh Press in Patagonia' in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (ed.), *A Nation and its books. A history of the book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), 271.

However the main difference lay in the very *raison d'être* of *Y Gwerinwr* as a democratic platform open to all. According to its editor D. Rhys Jones, *Y Drafod* was in the hands of the leadership of the Coop, and therefore it had become the voice of an elitist group that accepted no criticism. 'Pe na byddai ond *y Drafod* yn unig, ni fyddai gan y wlad... gyfrwng priodol er adolygu gweithredoedd y cwmni' (If there were only *y Drafod*, the country... would not have an adequate medium to review the actions of the company), wrote a contributor under the pseudonym 'E. O.'<sup>64</sup> He/She also referred to the rumour that articles containing criticism of the Coop were not accepted and published by *Y Drafod*, and therefore a new medium was needed to ventilate those fundamental issues to the development of *y Wladfa*, since the Coop remained the mainstay of the Welsh-dominated economy of the Chubut Valley. A further element that justified having a second Welsh-language newspaper was the fact that by 1914 there were two main political and commercial centres for the Welsh community in the Chubut Valley: Trelew and Gaiman.<sup>65</sup> While *Y Drafod* was felt to represent Trelew, 'E.O.' argued that it was reasonable that Gaiman and its area of influence had its own newspaper.

Although it is true that the publication of more than one newspaper shows that 'y Wladfa... yn llawn ysbryd anturus yn llenyddol hefyd, a bod yno lawer o ddawn ac egni meddyliol' (*y Wladfa*... was full of the adventurous spirit in literary matters as well, and that there was lots of talent and mental energy there) according to R. Bryn Williams,<sup>66</sup> the appearance of *Y Gwerinwr* signals the fact that there were dissenting voices that were clamouring to be heard and that perceived those in charge of producing *Y Drafod* as 'dictators' who tried to control the destiny of the settlement. It

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<sup>64</sup> *Y Gwerinwr*, 20 February 1915.

<sup>65</sup> Rawson was the main administrative centre with a predominantly non-Welsh population.

<sup>66</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 24.

is also a reminder of how important the press in the lives of the colonists was to further their aims and also of how careful researchers have to be when using the press as a primary source. Newspapers can offer only a glimpse of the complexities of the surrounding reality, as Aled Jones pointed out, and they are a reflection of an individual's or a group of people's particular agenda.<sup>67</sup>

*Y Gwerinwr* folded at the end of 1916.<sup>68</sup> No reasons were given in the paper for the decision to stop publishing it. In 1918 William Meloch Hughes sent some old numbers of the paper to the Cardiff Central Library explaining that *Y Gwerinwr* had folded due to lack of paper –the shortage of paper may have been one of the consequences of the First World War. Lack of support could have been another reason, as Gareth Alban Davies proposes,<sup>69</sup> or perhaps the inability to compete with the resources that the Coop had to publish *Y Drafod*. Whatever the reasons, *Y Gwerinwr* was able in its short existence to raise a voice that sang with a different tune at a time when Britishness and the events of the war seemed to have diverted the community's attention from a series of changes that were underway.<sup>70</sup>

### ***Y Wladfa*, its Jubilee and a reflection on its course**

An opportunity to evaluate the status of *y Wladfa*, its aims and its probable future came with the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation in 1915, the 'Jiwbili y Wladfa'.

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<sup>67</sup> See Chapter 2, 69.

<sup>68</sup> The last number was published 2 December 1916.

<sup>69</sup> Gareth Alban Davies, 'The Welsh Press in Patagonia', in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (ed.), *A Nation and its books. A history of the book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), 271

<sup>70</sup> The editor Dafydd Rhys Jones would move to Wales, where he would marry twice and have an only daughter of his first marriage. His name is mentioned in a letter in 1938 from Eluned Morgan in Gaiman to the Rev. Nantlais Williams in Wales: '... y Br. David Rhys Jones sy'n brifathro yn Ysbyty Ystwyth ers blynyddoedd... mae yn fawr ei barch yn y fro honno ers blynyddoedd, ac yn gryn dipyn o gerddor.' (Mr David Rhys Jones has been headmaster in Ysbyty Ystwyth for years... he is well respected in that area, and he is a remarkable musician). See Dafydd Ifans (ed.), *Tyred Drosodd. Gohebiaeth Eluned Morgan a Nantlais* (Pen-y-Bont ar Ogwr: Gwasg Efengylaidd Cymru, 1977), 142.

But even the programme for the celebration of the Day of the Landing –the main celebration in the Welsh-Patagonian calendar– showed signs of an assimilation that was not desirable to some: ‘Ni chynwys ddim, hyd y cofiaf, ond rhywbeth tebyg ag y ceir yn wastadol yn y gwyliau Spaenig, –rhyw saethu at y nôd, rhedegfeydd ceffylau, a rhyw ’nialwch gwag fel yna’ (It included nothing, as far as I remember, but something similar to what can always be seen in Spanish festivities<sup>71</sup> –some shooting competitions, horse races, and some empty rubbish like that).<sup>72</sup> However, it is no wonder that after fifty years of living in Patagonia the settlement should have been influenced by an ever-increasing non-Welsh, multi-ethnic community, and vice versa. Jubilee celebrations were also held in Port Madryn, a town that had never been particularly Welsh. The report in *Y Drafod* described the event as follows:

Dyma’r tro cyntaf i Wyl y Glaniad gael ei chydnabod yn y lle hwn, gyda baner yr Ardrafnæth Brydeinig yn chwifio, ac yr oedd baneri yn chwifio uwchben yr holl stordai ac adeiladau y Llywodraeth... Gobeithiwn y bydd i ni ei chadw i fyny yn y dyfodol, a rhagori os gellir ar yr hyn wnaed dydd Mercher diwethaf.<sup>73</sup>

(This is the first time that the Day of the Landing is celebrated in this place, with the British flag waving, and flags were waving above all the stores and Government buildings... We hope that this will be kept in the future, and that it will excel what was done last Wednesday.)

The celebrations in Port Madryn also included a big ‘asado’ (Argentine barbecue), playing music with mandolins and guitars, and dancing ‘Jota’, a traditional dance from northern Spain. The main official celebrations were held in the towns of Rawson and Trelew, and included the participation of the community and local authorities. There were bilingual addresses in Welsh and Spanish, the singing of the Argentine

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<sup>71</sup> The word ‘Spanish’ refers to the Argentine, Spanish-speaking community.

<sup>72</sup> *Y Drafod*, 23 July 1915. The author of this contribution is not known.

<sup>73</sup> *Y Drafod*, 30 July 1915. The report is not signed by the author, who may have been a correspondent who lived in Port Madryn or who may have been in the area at the time of the celebration.

and Welsh anthems, football games, horse races, fireworks and Welsh-Patagonian teas and concerts.

The Jubilee became an opportunity for looking back and evaluating the original aims of the immigration movement. The following year the reflective mood had not disappeared.

Yr hyn yr amcenid ato oedd cael gwlad wag, heb fod o dan lywodraeth dalaethol – tiriogaeth heb ei phoblogi, lle y gallai y Cymry sefydlu a llywodraethu eu hunain, a ffurfio a pharhau eu harferion cenedlaethol a bod yn elfen ffurfiol yn lle elfen doddol yn eu gwlad fabwysiedig... Ond erbyn hyn mae ei pherygl hefyd yn fawr oddiwrth ddylanwad bywyd cenedloedd eraill. Tybed all Cymry'r Wladfa gadw eu bywyd crefyddol yn ddigon cryf, hoyw, ac iach i wrthsefyll a gorchfygu dylanwadau anghrefyddol sydd yn eu hamgylchu ac yn dylifo i mewn o Wledydd ereill.<sup>74</sup>

(The aim was to get an empty land without being under a state government –an unpopulated territory where the Welsh could settle and govern themselves and form and continue their national customs and be a formative element instead of a melting element in their adopted land... But now the danger from the influence of the life of other nations is great. I wonder whether the Welsh in y *Wladfa* will be able to maintain their religious life strongly, lively and healthily enough to withstand and vanquish the irreligious influences that surround them and flow in from other countries)

These questions were not easy to answer. Two years after the Jubilee, the same worries resurfaced again as to whether y *Wladfa* could remain Welsh in essence:

Ar drothwy y ddeuddegfed flwyddyn a deugain o oed y Wladfa, nid anfuddiol yw i ni ofyn gyda deigr yn y llais, yn ddwys a myfyrgar, – Pa un ai diwygio neu ddirywio yr ydym fel cenedl yn y wlad bellenig hon? Yr ydym ym mhell o Gymru o ran gwlad, ac o ran dylanwadau dyrchafol Protestaniaeth, a chawn ein hunan ynghanol dylanwadau y Babaeth ddefosiynol ond arwynebol, a materoliaeth ddienaidd... Dichon mai breuddwyd ddisail yw Gwladfa *Gymreig* mewn unrhyw wlad, heb son am wlad fel hon sydd mor llawn o nodweddion gwrth-Gymreig.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> *Y Drafod*, 28 July 1916. The author of this contribution is Ellen Hughes. No details or further contributions were found under this name. The theme of the formative element vs. the melting one was already mentioned in this chapter in footnote 57.

<sup>75</sup> *Y Drafod*, 20 July 1917. The author of this contribution is unknown.

(On the verge of the fifty-second birthday of *y Wladfa* it is not unbeneficial for us to ask with a tear in our voice, profoundly and pensively, whether we as a nation are reviving or deteriorating in this far away land. We are far from Wales physically, and in terms of the elevating influence of Protestantism, and we find ourselves in the midst of the influence of devotional but superficial Catholicism, and soulless materialism... Perhaps a *Welsh* colony is a groundless dream in any land, let alone a country like this that is so full of Anti-Welsh traits.)

Slowly but continuously, the celebrations of Argentinean national holidays were being given more space in *Y Drafod* or were beginning to be celebrated in places where they had been apparently ignored or were only minor events. In 1916, a note of salutation to the Argentine nation was included in *Y Drafod* along with a picture of the national shield, one of the cherished symbols of the country.<sup>76</sup> In the same year, an address given in commemoration of Independence Day by a member of the Ministry of Education was published in the paper, in Spanish.<sup>77</sup> Although these celebrations could appear as a mere marker of an important date in national history, they were also a tool used by the National Government in its attempt to create an Argentine nation.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, the fact that these commemorations were beginning to be a regular feature in the calendar of celebrations in the Valley means that the area was progressively and relentlessly falling within the area of influence of the National Government and its policies.

Despite the fact that some sectors of the Welsh community in Patagonia actively resisted the pull to become integrated into the wider society as patriotic, Spanish-speaking Argentineans, there was a group of people who believed that the Welsh

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<sup>76</sup> *Y Drafod*, 26 May 1916.

<sup>77</sup> *Y Drafod*, 28 July 1916.

<sup>78</sup> For a discussion on education as an agent of the creation of the Argentine nation in Welsh Patagonia, see Walter Ariel Brooks, 'Polisiâu Addysg, Iaith a Hunaniaeth yn Y Wladfa (1900–1946)', *Y Traethodydd* (Hydref 2008), 232-250.

element could nevertheless make a contribution which would enrich Argentine society.

Amcan sefydlwyr yr wyl ydoedd magu ysbryd gwladgarol at Archentina... Y ffordd gyffredinol trwy y wlad yn ol a wn i, ydyw cig rhost, neu “asado”, rhedeg ceffylau a’r “sortija”, ac yn y nos ceir gwestfa (banquet) fawreddog... Rhagora y dull Cymreig o gynnal gwyl yn anrheithiol ar y dull hwn, a byddai yn lles dirfawr i’r wlad ei mabwysiadu... A all yr “asado” gystadlu a’r te? Heblaw y ceir cystadleuaethau diniwed a chwaraeon iachusol, ac yn yr hwyr ceir cyfarfod cerddorol a llenyddol a dyma le campus i draethu am ystyr yr wyl...<sup>79</sup>

(The aim of the founders of the festival was to nurse a patriotic feeling towards Argentina... The usual way throughout the country from what I know is roast meat, or ‘asado’, horse races and ‘sortija’,<sup>80</sup> and in the evening a fine banquet... The Welsh manner of celebrating this festival is superior and it would be of enormous benefit for the country to adopt it... Can the ‘asado’ compete with tea? Besides, there are harmless competitions and healthy games, and in the evening there are musical and literary meetings and this provides an excellent opportunity to discuss the meaning of the festival...)

This attitude indicates that some individuals were beginning to think of participating in Argentine society while at the same time keeping Welshness alive –probably as the only way to maintain a degree of Welshness, since the dream of establishing an independent all-Welsh province was no longer a possibility. The theme for the category ‘Traethawd’ (Essay) in the 1918 eisteddfod in *y Wladfa* enquired about which elements that characterised the Welsh could make a contribution to Argentine society.<sup>81</sup> The winning essay, reproduced in *Y Drafod*, suggested that values like ‘diwydrwydd’ (diligence) and ‘cydweithrediad’ (cooperation) had characterised the Welsh in their pioneering experience in *y Wladfa*, and that these could be incorporated into Argentina, a new country that had received migrants from all over the world and

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<sup>79</sup> *Y Drafod*, 18 April 1919. The author used the pseudonym ‘Camwy’ (Chubut).

<sup>80</sup> ‘Sortija’ (ring) is a traditional game of the Argentine gauchos in which a man on horseback tries to get a ring that is hanging from a piece of string tied to a tree while riding past at full speed.

<sup>81</sup> The theme of the competition was ‘Lle yr elfen Gymreig yn y bywyd Archentaidd’ (The place of the Welsh element in Argentine life).

that would eventually be ‘un o’r gweriniaethau mwyaf pwysig y byd’ (one of the most important republics in the world).<sup>82</sup>

In the same way that during the First World War many claimed that it was possible to be strongly British and at the same time Welsh, now some were beginning to feel that it was feasible to be members of the Argentine nation and also to feel proudly Welsh. A clear example of this integrationist attitude can be found in the poem ‘Yr Archentwr Cymreig’ (The Welsh-Argentinean) that won the chair at Eisteddfod y Wladfa in 1919.

#### Yr Archentwr Cymreig

Myfi ydwyf fab i wir gymro gwerinol,  
Yn Neheu’r Amerig y siglwyd fy nghryd;  
A balch wyf o’r baner a’r gwlad, Archentina  
Mi garaf y ddwy a’r holl galon o hyd.  
Pe croeswn y moroedd i barthau estronol  
Neu grwydro gororau pellenig fy ngwlad  
Ni fydd i’r anghofio y Wladfa a’i hanes  
Fy nghartref yw’r Camwy fro hyfryd ddifrad.

Pe gelwid amdanaf i ymladd dros ryddid  
O dan ein hoff faner, ymdeithiwn yn hy,  
Yn gadarn a ffyddiog yn rhengau y dewrion  
Nad ofnont un gelyn er cymaint ei lu.  
Bob amser mi gofiau fy Nuw a fy mhobl,  
A charaf fy ngwlad yn angerddol bob pryd,  
Ymdrechaf hyd angau fyw’n deilwng Archentwr  
Archentwr Cymreig ffyddlon fyddaf o hyd.<sup>83</sup>

(I am the son of a true peasant Welsh man  
My cradle was rocked in South America;  
And I am proud of my flag and my country, Argentina  
I shall always love both with my heart.  
If I crossed the seas to foreign places  
Or wandered the distant borders of my country

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<sup>82</sup> See *Y Drafod*, 28 February 1919 and 7 March 1919.

<sup>83</sup> *Y Drafod*, 26 December 1919. The author is noted as ‘X’.

I will never forget y *Wladfa* and her history  
My home is the Chubut Valley, a pleasant faithful country.

If I were called to fight for freedom  
Under our beloved flag, I would march boldly,  
Firm and faithful in the ranks of the brave  
Who do not fear the enemy regardless of their number.  
I always remember my God and my people,  
And I love my country passionately every time,  
I will strive until death to live a worthy Argentinean  
A faithful Welsh Argentinean I shall always be.)

However, not all members of the Welsh community were content with the idea of becoming Argentine citizens, and many saw any degree of integration as a threat to maintaining their Welshness. Constant warnings were voiced in *Y Drafod* asking the younger generations to treasure their cultural patrimony and to remember the efforts made by their forefathers to save it. However, it seems that despite the warnings against turning their backs on their forefathers' cultural and linguistic inheritance, some Welsh descendants were already taking an interest in playing football for instance, even on Sundays, as is traditional in Argentina. In a meeting in Bethel Chapel, Gaiman, one of the attendees raised his voice to complain.

... protestiodd un person yn gyhoeddus... yn erbyn diofalwch ein anrhydeddus Gyngor yn caniatáu i liaws o fechgynach difeddwl ac anystyriol, i chwareu pel droed yn y Plaza ar y Suliau.... Sul ar ol Sul, a hynny gan rai Cymry, ie, Cymry, rai ohonynt fagwyd yn yr Eglwys ac yn yr Ysgol Sul...<sup>84</sup>

(... one person protested publicly... against the carelessness of our honourable Council in allowing a multitude of unmindful and inconsiderate boys to play football in the Square on Sundays... Sunday after Sunday, and this by some of the Welsh, yes, Welsh, some of them brought up in Church and Sunday School...)

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<sup>84</sup> *Y Drafod*, 29 June 1917. The report is signed 'Gohebydd' (Correspondent).

Other less formal celebrations pertaining to the ‘Latin’ community such as dances and the yearly carnival festival in February were harshly criticised on the pages of *Y Drafod*, and members of the Welsh community were actively discouraged from participating in those events. ‘Pethau eraill sydd yn cynyddu’n arw yma ydyw dawnsfeydd (balls)....pethau Satanaidd ydynt, ac y maent yn cynyddu’n gyflym yn y Wladfa’ (Other things that are becoming very popular here are the balls... they are Satanic, and they are rapidly increasing in number in y *Wladfa*.), wrote a contributor to the paper. Such meetings were described as ‘magwrfa anfoesoldeb ac annuwioldeb’ (a breeding ground for immorality and ungodliness).<sup>85</sup> Carnival celebrations were also condemned. These generally included parades of people in costumes, adorned cars and carts, and balls every night for a whole week. Once again *Y Drafod* disapproved of this behaviour and discouraged the Welsh from participating.

Ie, dyma wythnos y *carnaval*, wythnos y bydd dynion wrthi am y goreu yn gwneud eu hunain yn ffyliaid.... Chwi Gymry’r Camwy, pa faint o’ch arian sydd wedi eu soddi yn y ffolineb hwn? Os oes yna sent, dylech chi gywilyddio o ddyfnderoedd eich enaid.<sup>86</sup>

(Yes, this is carnival week, a week when men will be doing their best to make fools of themselves... You Welsh people of the Chubut Valley, how much of your money has been wasted in this foolishness? If you’ve spent a cent, you should be ashamed from the depths of your soul.)

Another aspect that was connected to the ‘Latin’ culture and that received criticism in the pages of *Y Drafod* was the practice of frequenting ‘boliches’ (country taverns).

For instance, in 1915, the closing of a ‘boliche’ in the area of Bethesda, to the west of Gaiman, provoked a favourable comment from a reader of the paper. However, soon

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<sup>85</sup> *Y Drafod*, 1 June 1917.

<sup>86</sup> *Y Drafod*, 15 February 1918. This contribution was signed by ‘Gohebydd’ (Correspondent).

afterwards the opening of a new tavern in a nearby area proved that the demand for such venues had not waned.

Tra yn llawenhau fod y gelyn wedi encilio o un ardal, mae genym er hyny i ofidio ei fod wedi pabellu mewn ardal arall. Os cauwyd drws *Bolichi* a agorwyd yn ardal Bethesda, fe agorwyd drws un arall yn ardal Brynchrwn; ac yn wir, fe'i cedwir yn agored ar Sul, gwyl a gwaith.<sup>87</sup>

(While we rejoice that the enemy has retreated from one district, we nevertheless grieve that it has encamped in another district. If the doors of the *Bolichi* in the Bethesda area were shut down, another door was opened in the Brynchrwn area; and indeed, it's kept open on Sundays, holidays and working days.)

A fortnight later, another tavern was opened, and more criticism appeared in *Y Drafod*, this time specifically directed towards some members of the Welsh community:

Mae *Bolichi* newydd gael ei agor y tu allan dipyn i Bont y Gaiman... Onid ydyw yn gywilydd o beth hefyd, fod dynion sydd yn Gymry – os teilwng ydynt o'r enw... yn rhentu eu tai i'r fath amcanion isel ac annuwiol... Gresyn na chaem afael yn un o ynau y Germans i chwythu y ffauau dinystriol hyn i ebergofiant.<sup>88</sup>

(A *Bolichi* has been recently opened a bit further away from the Gaiman Bridge... Isn't it also shameful that men who are Welsh, if they are worthy of the name... rent out their houses for such low and ungodly aims... It is a pity that we cannot get hold of a German gun to blow these destructive dens to oblivion.)

By 1917, further complaints appeared in the paper, showing that the number of taverns was progressively increasing,<sup>89</sup> and this in spite of the fact that the temperance movement organized activities to promote its aims. 'Cymanfaoedd canu' (congregational hymn-singing festivals) were held with regularity from 1914 onwards

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<sup>87</sup> *Y Drafod*, 9 July 1915.

<sup>88</sup> *Y Drafod*, 23 July 1915. While the name of this contributor is not known, it is evident that the rhetoric of war had made a profound impression on him/her.

<sup>89</sup> *Y Drafod*, 1 June 1917.

to promote temperance among Welsh-Patagonians, since it was considered one of the virtues that ought to be upheld by real Welshmen.<sup>90</sup>

Despite the resistance to adopting 'Latin' customs, contact with the surrounding community was not forbidden, but it seems that at this time contact had to be channelled through the filter of Patagonian Welshness. Proof of this is the establishment of a Missionary Society to evangelize the 'Latin' element in the colony in 1918.<sup>91</sup> The ambition of converting the local population to Protestantism had been an aim of many religious leaders connected to *y Wladfa* since the early days of the settlement. In fact the Rev. David Lloyd Jones –a key player in the institutional development of the settlement– had been sent there in 1874 with the purpose of promoting the aims of 'Cymdeithas Genhadol Patagonia' (the Missionary Society of Patagonia). However, for a number of reasons the enterprise was not successful.<sup>92</sup> In 1914 the Protestant churches in the Chubut Valley were considering the possibility of allocating funds to pay for the services of the Rev. W. Roberts to preach among the 'Latin' element, but the proposal was discarded as being too onerous.<sup>93</sup> It was only in 1918 that the movement appeared to succeed with the arrival of Mr S. Arias Castro, a member of the Salvation Army who, once in the Chubut Valley, decided to devote himself to missionary work with the support of 'Cymdeithas Genhadol y Camwy' (the Missionary Society of the Chubut Valley). In a year and a half of hard labour, he managed to establish a congregation that worshipped through the medium of Spanish.

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<sup>90</sup> *Y Drafod*, 6 April 1917.

<sup>91</sup> *Y Drafod*, 22 August 1919.

<sup>92</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 146-147.

<sup>93</sup> *Y Drafod*, 11 September 1914.

The missionary work received the support of members of the Welsh community, who also participated in the services.<sup>94</sup>

On the Welsh-speaking religious front, things seemed to be flourishing in the Chubut Valley in the period under consideration –according to the pages of *Y Drafod*. There were frequent and numerous reports sent by regional correspondents that showed that quarterly meetings and Sunday school exams were held regularly across the Chubut Valley, as well as meetings of ‘Undeb yr Ysgolion Sul’ (the Sunday-School Union). In fact, the Sunday school in Chubut was more than a place where religious instruction was imparted to the attendees, although this was its main aim. A contributor to *Y Drafod* explained that the Sunday school played an important role in the preservation of the Welsh language in Patagonia as well.

Rhaid ini ddefnyddio'r Ysgol Sul i ddysgu'r Gymraeg i'r to sydd yn codi, onide bydd gennym yn fuan genhedlaeth o Gymry yn siarad Cymraeg o rhyw fath efallai, heb allu ei darllen na'i hysgrifennu. Y mae engreiffiau o hyn yn cynhyddu gyda chyflymder brawychus yn ein mysg yn ddiweddar.<sup>95</sup>

(We need to use the Sunday School to teach Welsh to the new generation that's growing, or we will soon have a generation of Welsh people that speak some kind of Welsh perhaps but who cannot read or write it. Examples of this are growing in our midst in number with terrifying speed of late.)

Language and religion were thus part and parcel of Patagonian Welshness, and the survival of both was for the time being intimately connected. These were the same ideals preached by the Rev. Michael D. Jones when dreaming of a place where the Welsh could live independently. It was not an exclusive feature of *y Wladfa* though.

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<sup>94</sup> For reports on the work and progress of the missionary movement among the Spanish speaking population see *Y Drafod*, 7 June 1918; 12 July 1918; 30 August 1918 and 22 August 1919.

<sup>95</sup> *Y Drafod*, 16 July 1920. The author of this contribution is not known.

The same ethos was present in the pages of *Y Drych* for the Welsh community in North America.<sup>96</sup>

‘Cyfarfodydd pregethu’ (preaching meetings) were also a regular feature, and they were advertised in *Y Drafod*. Visits by preachers from Wales were also advertised and social meetings would be held to welcome them, and to bid them farewell on their return to Wales. ‘Undeb yr Eglwysi Rhyddion’ (the Union of Free Churches) would also hold regular meetings and was active in this period promoting its aim of ‘Uno Eglwysi Efengylaidd y Wladfa yn Undeb’ (Uniting the Evangelical Churches of y *Wladfa* in a Union).<sup>97</sup>

However, there were also frequent articles discussing decline in religious life in Wales itself, especially among the younger generation. This poses the basic question of whether the religious leaders expected the younger generation of Welsh Patagonians to maintain the values of Welshness when those very values were beginning to disappear in Wales itself, and indeed whether it was possible to expect that the younger generation would adhere to a set of receding values that had more to do with their forefathers’ experience of Welshness than theirs, brought up as they were in an increasingly multicultural environment.

The prospects were not always promising in the case of Welsh-medium education. The language of primary school education was Spanish by law, and all Welsh-Patagonian children were obliged to complete their formal education up to sixth grade after which there were not many options available. Compulsory education affected all

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<sup>96</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections. Y Drych & America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2001), Chapter 4.

<sup>97</sup> *Y Drafod*, 19 January 1917.

children between the ages of 6 and 12. However a close look at the records of some of the primary schools in the Chubut Valley shows that in many cases children above 13 were unable to finish primary school or had to stop attending classes since they were required to help with farm work, especially in the busier seasons –a situation that was criticised by school inspectors in their reports.<sup>98</sup> For those of Welsh background who managed to complete their primary instruction at the national Spanish-medium schools, there was the possibility of attending the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ (Intermediate School), inaugurated in 1906 to provide a trilingual secondary education in Welsh, English and Spanish. Despite the apparent difficulties that the Patagonian Welsh had to surmount to maintain their Welshness, the secondary school seemed to flourish, especially with the arrival of Mr E. T. Edmunds – eventually joined by his wife – a new headmaster from Wales who he took charge of the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ in 1916.<sup>99</sup> For many years, Mr Edmunds would work tirelessly, educating generations of Welsh Patagonian children who benefited from a comprehensive instruction. Things would eventually change with the opening of the Trelew National College in May 1924, which provided a free five-year secondary education at the end of which the students got a diploma recognised by the National Department of Education, which was not the case with the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ in Gaiman.

However, many parents were still happy to pay the fee to send their children to receive a three-year secondary education in the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ in Gaiman. Even though the school was not able to extend official certificates to the students, the education imparted was of the highest level, and many of the former students went on

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<sup>98</sup> Records from three schools in the Chubut Valley were consulted, namely Escuela 100, Gaiman; Escuela 21 Drofa Gabets; Escuela 47 Bethesda. The same problem already existed in previous decades as discussed in Chapter 4, 139.

<sup>99</sup> *Y Drafod*, 17 March 1916.

to occupy important positions at the administrative and governmental level in Chubut and Argentina. This feat was achieved through the hard work of individuals who were convinced of the importance of providing a Welsh-medium education to Welsh descendants, like the headmaster Mr Edmunds and Eluned Morgan, the founder of the school in 1906. However the influence of the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ was necessarily limited on account that a fee had to be paid and for many students who lived far from Gaiman, in the rural areas, it was difficult to actually get to the ‘Ysgol’ or pay the extra cost of being a boarding student.

Eluned Morgan and her niece Mair ap Iwan returned from Wales in 1918 after Mair got a BA in Cardiff University and after travelling between Europe and America ceased to be a perilous enterprise with the end of the First World War. In the section ‘Nodion’ (Notes) in *Y Drafod* we find the following comment by an unknown contributor that says a lot about the state of Welsh in the community:

Ni wyddom oll fod yr Eluned yn golsyn eirias dros gadw y Gymraeg yn bur a byw yn y Wladfa. Ac yn awr, chwi blant Cymry’r Camwy, sy’n plebran yr Sbaeneg yn ddi-daw ddi-dor ar hyd ystrydoedd y trefi, gwyliwch rhag i’r Eluned eich clywed, neu gwae chwi fydd hi, gellwch fentro.<sup>100</sup>

(We all know that Eluned is a red-hot ember in favour of keeping the Welsh language pure and alive in y *Wladfa*. And now, you children of the Chubut Valley, who speak in Spanish constantly and uninterruptedly along the streets of the towns, be careful that Eluned does not hear you, or woe betide you, you can be sure.)

Upon her return, Eluned became a tireless worker for promoting Welsh-language culture in general. Hand in hand with her work on the religious front, she devoted considerable energy to securing a future for the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’. In a series of letters published in *Y Drafod* in 1919, Eluned encouraged young parents in the

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<sup>100</sup> *Y Drafod*, 11 October 1918.

settlement to think about the education of their children, and organised a one-day conference to discuss the matter. Her efforts were rewarded soon after and by the end of the year, the school building was being extended to provide better facilities for the students.<sup>101</sup> However, it would not take long for Eluned to collide against the inertia of the local community in a time a great economic difficulties and socio-cultural changes during which the preservation of the Welsh language and the original ideals of *y Wladfa* were not at the fore.<sup>102</sup>

## Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how the content and the tone of *Y Drafod* changed dramatically with the outbreak of the First World War. Although a degree of Britishness was a component of the identitarian palette of the Welsh in Patagonia, the distinctive feeling of a being a worthy component in the machinery of the British Empire rose to unprecedented heights. *Y Wladfa* was not alone in experiencing this phenomenon: in Wales itself, and in the Welsh diaspora in the United States, the same process of fusion with the idea of fighting on the side of the British Empire to destroy the forces of evil was witnessed in the press.

The sense of belonging to a world-wide British community was especially important in Argentina. Britain, as the main foreign investor since the end of the nineteenth century when the country had embarked on a process of modernization, was one of the models to follow for the Argentine elite. Nurturing a strong link with the Empire might have been a way for the Welsh to fight the isolation imposed by the lack of

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<sup>101</sup> *Y Drafod*, 26 September 1919; 3 October 1919; 24 October 1919; 5 December 1919.

<sup>102</sup> The disappointment and heartache of Eluned's while witnessing the spiritual and cultural deterioration of the Welsh community in Patagonia can be clearly seen in the epistolary exchange with the Rev. Nantlais Williams during the 1920s and 1930s. See Dafydd Ifans (ed.), *Tyred Drosodd. Gohebiaeth Eluned Morgan a Nantlais* (Pen-y-Bont ar Ogwr: Gwasg Efengylaidd Cymru, 1977).

contact with the Old Country and also strengthen the community perceived under threat because of the growing number of non-Welsh immigrants and the increasing power of the Spanish language and Catholicism.

If concentrating on the war distracted the Welsh from seeing to the problems that were breeding under the surface, the appearance of *Y Gwerinwr* –a competitor for *Y Drafod*– acted as a reminder that debate was needed to secure the best possible future for the Welsh institutions in *y Wladfa*. *Y Gwerinwr* illustrated the importance given to the press as a medium for achieving those aims, and indicated the existence of a different point of view among members of the Welsh community. The weekly newspaper proved a challenge to the hegemony of *Y Drafod* and what was perceived as the impregnable ideas of the establishment.

Notwithstanding the richness of the Welsh-language press, during the period considered in this chapter it became evident that the Welsh were assimilating into the wider Patagonian/Argentinean community. The celebrations of the Jubilee of *y Wladfa* provided the opportunity to assess the state of the settlement and the vitality of the original dream of the Welsh pioneers, only to realise that Argentinean customs and the Spanish language were infiltrating the increasingly porous barrier of Welsh identity, especially among the younger generations.

The following chapter will analyse the response of *Y Drafod* to a time of profound economic, social and political crisis in Argentina in the post-war years that proved especially harsh for the Patagonian region as the Welsh community moved gradually from assimilation to outright integration into Argentinean society.

## Chapter 6: The Long and Winding Downward Road: *Y Drafod*, 1920–1933

During the years of the Great War *Y Drafod* experienced radical changes in its content, focusing at times almost exclusively on information pertaining to the conflict and taking an especially marked pro-British stance that had not featured in the paper before –although the Welsh Patagonian community had always been in contact with the British community in Argentina and in the home country. Such was the identification with the struggle led by Great Britain and the Allies against the Central Powers that local matters occupied a secondary place during the period considered in the previous chapter. However, under the surface there were changes underway in the settlement in terms of a weakening in Welsh-language activities and culture that feature prominently in the pages of the paper in the decade following the war.<sup>1</sup>

It is during the 1920s that we find in the Patagonian Welsh press the outcome of a process that had been brewing in the previous decade and even before –the gradual weakening of the Welsh community in Patagonia and the consequent demise of the dream of the original leaders of the movement of founding a New Wales in South America as a result of a number of factors. Coupled with the difficulties that Argentina’s economy experienced during the decade –which had a specially harmful impact on Patagonia–,<sup>2</sup> the loss of contact with Wales during the First World War and afterwards, the changes in demography in the region due to the increasing numbers of immigrants of different nationalities plus the staunch and effective policies of the National Government to instil a feeling of patriotism among the foreign population –

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<sup>1</sup> A deeper analysis of *Y Drafod* during the First World War can be found in the preceding chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2005), 334-335.

especially the children— it is no wonder that the social, cultural, linguistic and identitarian profile of the community was bound to experience changes. If the fortunes of *Y Drafod* did not look as grim as its counterpart in North America –Aled Jones and Bill Jones comment that ‘after 1920 the writing was on the wall for *Y Drych*’<sup>3</sup> a distinctive sense of gloom invaded the pages of the Patagonian paper. During this fascinating period in the history of *y Wladfa*, we see *Y Drafod* maintaining its role as a multi-task organ, adapting to the changing reality but without compromising its founding principles as a defender of the particular strand of Welshness it wanted to promote in Patagonia.

This chapter explores the pervasive and growing pessimism that was manifest in *Y Drafod* as a result of a deep economic crisis that shook the once solid foundations of *y Wladfa*. A range of factors will be analysed such as demographic changes, Argentine nationalism, conflicting identities and language erosion to explore how the Welsh-Patagonians reacted to the upheavals of the 1920s and 1930s and what role Welsh-language newspapers played at a community level amid the turmoil of these fateful years.

### **Pessimism and changes**

As we saw in the previous chapter, William Hughes ‘Glan Caeron’ took the reins as editor of *Y Drafod* in July 1919, but barely a year later he had to resign from this position to work as a teacher in a school in the Andean region.<sup>4</sup> In his stead, Morgan

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<sup>3</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections. Y Drych & America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: GWasg Gomer, 2001), 78.

<sup>4</sup> See *Y Drafod*, 9 September 1920.

Philip Jones became the new editor.<sup>5</sup> He had been born and brought up in Cwmaman, south Wales, but in 1874, when he was seven years old, his family migrated from Wales to Patagonia. Although he did not have much formal education, he participated actively in the cultural and religious life of *y Wladfa* as editor of *Y Drafod*, as Archdruid of the Patagonian Gorsedd after the death of Glan Caeron in 1926, and as a deacon and preceptor of Gaiman Chapel.<sup>6</sup>

Not unlike previous editors, Morgan Ph. Jones intended to start a column for women and one for children, once again targeting the younger readers who were expected to be the Welsh speakers of the future. Despite the difficulties and the almost constant complaints that we find during this decade about the lack of interest of the younger generation in maintaining their Welshness, several contributors to *Y Drafod* still felt that there was a battle to fight and did not wish to betray the original aim of the founder, Lewis Jones, of using the paper in a crusade to maintain a distinct Welsh heritage. In a parallel but highly imbalanced way in terms of resources and overall impact, *Y Drafod* was doing what the National Government intended to do with the education system: use it as a weapon to convey a message to those who were most likely to accept it readily – children of school age.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, the children's column never came to life, and it is an example of how the ambitious plans of the editors many times ended up being impractical due to lack of support or resources.

However, although *Y Drafod* was able to maintain the original aim of contributing to the intellectual development of the new generations through the medium of Welsh and

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<sup>5</sup> *Y Drafod*, 24 September 1920; 1 October 1920; 8 October 1920.

<sup>6</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Awen Ariannin* (Llandybie: Llyfrau'r Dryw, 1960), 28.

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter 4.

providing a forum of discussion for the community, the 1920s started with a pessimism that would not disappear in the following decades. Repeated complaints were heard about language erosion amongst the young, a lack of interest in religion hand in hand with a growing interest in the ‘Latin’ way of life and the economic problems affecting Patagonia and, as a consequence, the Coop. In order to find a solution for all these problems –as we shall see in this chapter– *Y Drafod* worked as a forum of debate and asked the community to get involved with ideas to find a solution for the malaise.

Whatever the efforts made by those in charge of producing *Y Drafod*, no initiative seemed to be strong enough to counteract the growing tendencies detrimental to the maintenance of a specific Welshness in Chubut, as an editorial in 1921 made explicit: ‘gweler... y bobl ieuanc a’r canol oed fel yn gollwng eu gafael o “addysg ac athrawiaeth” yr aelwyd a’r capel, wrth ddyfod i gyffryrddiad a’r cylchynion sydd ag arferion a thueddiadau at ymarferion is-raddol’ (The young and the middle-aged seem as if they are losing their hold on the “nurture and admonition”<sup>8</sup> of the home and chapel as they come into contact with the periphery who have customs which tend towards inferior practices).<sup>9</sup> The ‘inferior practices’ of the non-Welsh members of society that this contributor was referring to were those that went against the ethos of Nonconformity such as sports, taverns and drinking, and gambling –the same features against which the Welsh-language press in Wales stood towards the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The phrase comes from Ephesians 6:4.

<sup>9</sup> *Y Drafod*, 14 January 1921.

<sup>10</sup> John Rhys and David Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People. Chapters on their Origin, History, Laws, Language, Literature and Characteristics* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900), 609.

That Welsh descendants developed an interest in the practices of their ‘Latin’ neighbours comes as no surprise when one considers the fact that the Welsh community had become a minority group by the 1920s.<sup>11</sup> In a letter to Helen Davies, a Welsh woman who had spent her childhood years in *y Wladfa* at the end of the nineteenth century before returning to Wales,<sup>12</sup> William Hughes ‘Glan Caeron’ wrote:

Pe talech ymweliad ac yma yn awr chwi welech fod y lle wedi newid yn fawr rhagor yr hyn ydoedd yn eich amser chwi, daw’r tren i fyny yn ddyddiol o Drelew am Dolavon; ac o Ddolavon i Ddol y Plu a’r tren i fyny ddwywaith yr wythnos, a cheir hefyd tren dyddiol o Drelew i Rawson, ond y syndod mwyaf a welech fyddai fod y mwyafrif o’r teithwyr yn hispaeniaid ac italiaid.<sup>13</sup>

(If you paid a visit to us now you would see that the place has changed considerably since the time when you lived here. The train comes up daily from Trelew to Dolavon, and from Dolavon to Dol y Plu<sup>14</sup> twice a week, and there is also a daily train from Trelew to Rawson, but the greatest surprise for you would be to see that the majority of the travellers are Spaniards and Italians.)

The fact that the ‘Latin’ population was growing rapidly was voiced as a major concern repeatedly in *Y Drafod*.<sup>15</sup> However, not all Welsh descendants saw assimilation as a threat that had to be avoided. For the 25 May celebration in 1923, a Welsh household raised the Argentine flag outside the house, prompting comments by a contributor to the paper who signed as ‘Gwiliwr’ (Observer) who was not sure whether the flag was a symbol of respect to Argentina or merely a display of lack of

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<sup>11</sup> *Y Drafod*, 21 September 1923.

<sup>12</sup> The memories of her time in Patagonia were collected by Ellen’s daughter in law and published in two volumes, namely *Nel Fach y Bwcs* and *Ffarwél Archentina*. In 2007 both were published in a single volume. See Marged Lloyd Jones, *O Drelew i Drefach* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> Mari Emlyn, *Llythyrâu’r Wladfa 1865–1945* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2009), 263.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Dol y Plu’ (Meadow of the Feathers) or ‘Dyffryn y Plu’ (Valley of the Feathers) was one of the places the Welsh named during their early explorations on the road from the Chubut Valley to the Andes following the Native trails. Dol y Plu was officially founded in 1921 and it was the last stop to be constructed of the railroad from the Atlantic to the Andes –this project was never completed. Currently, the small village 181 kilometres distant from Trelew is known by its name in Spanish, ‘Las Plumas’ (The Feathers), a partial translation of the Welsh toponymic. See Rodolfo Casamiquela, *Toponimia de los Galeses en Chubut* (Comodoro Rivadavia: Editorial Universitaria de la Patagonia, 2000), 15.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, *Y Drafod*, 27 July 1923; 7 September 1923; 28 September 1923.

Welshness.<sup>16</sup> In the same year, a discussion developed in the columns of the paper between ‘Gwir Gymro’ (True Welshman) and ‘Gwir Arianinwr’ (True Argentinean). On the one hand, ‘Gwir Gymro’ criticised openly those Welsh-Patagonians who did not teach Welsh to their children and branded them as ‘Bradychwyr y Gymraeg’ (Traitors of the Welsh language). While he was not against Welsh descendants learning Spanish, he believed that neglecting the Welsh language left the younger generation open to corrupting influences –an echo of the ideas of Michael D. Jones and also the original aims of *Y Drafod*– since they would not be able to attend chapel services in Welsh and would therefore be an easy prey to Catholicism. On the other hand, ‘Gwir Arianinwr’ defended those who spoke Spanish, since ‘y mae pob gwir Archentwr yn sicr o ymfalchio ac ymffrostio yn ei iaith’ (every true Argentinean is certain to take pride in his language and rejoice in it). While it is not known to which generation the two contributors belonged, the bottom line is that there was already a division within the Welsh-Patagonian community between those who felt Welsh first and foremost and those who, perhaps influenced by the primary school system and the nationalistic messages that the government employed to create the Argentine nation, felt that they were Argentineans of Welsh descent.

There are further examples that show that some Welsh-Patagonians felt affinity with the idea of belonging to the Argentine Republic and that they considered it their new home. Reporting on a visit to the Welsh-Patagonian communities at the beginning of the 1920s, the Rev. John Lewis from Aberaman, south Wales, commented that some settlers in the Andean region were content with their Patagonian life to the point of saying ‘Nis gallaf fi feddwl... am ddim byd gwell nag a geir yn y Wladfa, ac nid wyf

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<sup>16</sup> *Y Drafod*, 23 March 1923.

yn meddwl fod eisiau dim byd gwell.’ (I cannot think... of anything better than what is here in *y Wladfa*, and I don’t think that one needs anything better).<sup>17</sup> For the Rev. John Lewis, such expressions were characteristic of narrow-minded people who had not been able to travel widely, a feature that John Lewis ranked among the negative aspects of *y Wladfa* together with the presence of a greater number of Spanish speakers and a weakening Welshness.

It is in the 1920s that we can see a breach developing between, on the one hand, the expectations of some of the community leaders and also Welsh people from Wales whose opinions about the fate of *y Wladfa* appeared in *Y Drafod*, and on the other, the Welsh-Patagonians who embraced a certain dual Argentine-Welsh identity. In an article from Wales signed by ‘Cemlyn’,<sup>18</sup> criticism was heaped onto *y Wladfa* as a settlement where a sense of decay reigned and where Welshness was under the threat of the Spanish and Italian way of life.<sup>19</sup> A reply to the article was published by David Iâl Jones, one of the prominent figures of *y Wladfa* in the early twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> ‘Mae’r Wladfa yn rhan o Weriniaeth Arianin’ (*Y Wladfa* is part of the Argentine Republic), he said, ‘ac os yw ei meibion a’i merched am fod o wasanaeth i’w gwlad, rhaid iddynt feistroli ei hiaith, deall ei harferion a bod yn gyfarwydd a tharddiad a

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<sup>17</sup> *Y Drafod*, 2 November 1923.

<sup>18</sup> It is not known whether the article had been published in Wales or if it was only published in *Y Drafod*.

<sup>19</sup> *Y Drafod*, 29 January 1926.

<sup>20</sup> The son of John Eryrys Jones and Ann Harrison, David Iâl Jones was born in Llanarmon-yn-Iâl, north Wales, in 1883. When he was three years old, the whole family moved to Patagonia aboard the *Vesta*, the ship that took most of the workers contracted to build the railway line between Port Madryn and the Chubut Valley. David Iâl grew up in Patagonia but the family moved to Canada with the large Patagonian contingent in 1902. After having failed to secure a degree of prosperity in Canada, the family emigrated back to Wales in 1904. David Iâl got married in Wales, had two children and pursued studies at the Carmarthen Theological College, but he was forced to emigrate to Patagonia in 1910 to look after six orphaned nephews. His family joined him in 1912. In *y Wladfa*, he was well-known for his talent for poetry and for his role as secretary of the Gaiman Council and mainly for being the general supervisor of the Irrigation Society. He was a regular contributor to *Y Drafod* and *Y Gwerinwr*, and he would sign his contributions with his middle name only: ‘Iâl’. See Valmai Jones, *Atgofion am y Wladfa* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1985), 39.

chwrs ei diwylliant’ (and if her sons and daughters want to be of service to their country, they have to master her language and understand her traditions, and be familiar with the origin and development of her culture).<sup>21</sup> Even if Iâl did not mention what role Welshness was supposed to play in the future of *y Wladfa* or to what degree it should be maintained, it is evident that he believed that assimilation was a desirable aim.

No matter how comfortable Welsh-Patagonians may have felt in their home in South America, the situation in the 1920s was particularly difficult as far as the economy was concerned. According to David Rock, the instability of the war years lasted until 1924, with a profound crisis in 1921 that led to unemployment and a decline in imports and state revenue.<sup>22</sup> Argentine producers were negatively affected by the inability to sell their produce in an international market that did not have the resources to engage in international trade after the end of the First World War.<sup>23</sup> The Patagonian territories were particularly affected since the conflict had revealed ‘la debilidad estructural de la economía regional, por su dependencia absoluta de la explotación primaria de recursos materiales frágiles’ (the structural weakness of the regional economy, due to its complete dependence on the primary exploitation of fragile material resources).<sup>24</sup> As far as the quality of the agricultural produce was concerned, the Welsh Patagonians were still excelling at least at the national level, winning medals in agricultural exhibitions in other places in Argentina like Rosario, one of the

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<sup>21</sup> *Y Drafod*, 12 March 1926.

<sup>22</sup> David Rock, *Argentina 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War and Alfonsín* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1987), 196.

<sup>23</sup> Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2005), 336.

<sup>24</sup> Horacio Osvaldo Ibarra and Carlos Alberto Hernández, *Estado, Economía y Sociedad. Trelew y su Hinterland. 1889–1999* (Trelew: UNPSJB, 1999), 10.

key centres of the rich Argentine pampas.<sup>25</sup> Also improvements in the field of agriculture were periodically discussed in *Y Drafod*, not only by the farmers themselves but also by agronomists from Buenos Aires,<sup>26</sup> showing that despite the ongoing crisis and sense of decline, the farmers had not given up in hope of improving the situation. Meetings were also organised to discuss the situation. Environmental problems posed another difficulty, since poor harvests in the Chubut Valley coincided with higher market prices between the end of the 1910s and the first half of the 1920s and as a consequence the Welsh farmers were not able to profit from those advantages. Natural factors also complicated the difficult situation when successive plagues affected the settlement severely in the same period. Furthermore, by the 1920s, the original 100-hectare farms had been subdivided between members of the usually large Welsh-Patagonian families, and the farmers had no spare land to leave fallow; and to make matters worse, soil salinization began to affect large sections of the valley leaving some farms unproductive,<sup>27</sup> so much so that by 1926 the income of the Welsh farmers had dropped to half its pre-war level.<sup>28</sup> The impact of the crisis also affected greatly the stability of the Coop. Although 1907 and 1909 had been the most successful years in the history of the company, a decade afterwards it was starting to face dire times from which it would never recover.

### **A New Editor**

Economic problems were cited as the alleged reasons for the editor being made redundant in 1926. Morgan Ph. Jones was sacked by the directorate of the Coop,

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<sup>25</sup> *Y Drafod*, 6 November 1925.

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, *Y Drafod*, 22 August 1925; 9 April 1926; 15 October 1926; 22 October 1926; 5 November 1926.

<sup>27</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 134-135.

<sup>28</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 136.

owners of the paper since 1908, under the following statement: ‘Yn wyneb y ffaith fod colled parhaus ynglyn a’r Drafod eu bod yn gwneud i ffwrdd a’ch gwasaneth fel Golygydd’ (In the face of the fact that there are permanent losses with *Y Drafod* they [the Board of the Coop] are obliged to do without your services as editor).<sup>29</sup> Since the reason for making the decision was lack of funding, one would think that the paper was about to fold because of economic difficulties. However, *Y Drafod* was published without interruption for the remainder of the decade. In an obituary published in the newspaper *Y Gwilydydd* after Morgan Ph. Jones’s death,<sup>30</sup> different reasons were given for the sacking of the editor. Morgan Ph. Jones is described as a courageous individual of strong convictions who did not hesitate in defending his point of view. This aspect of his personality made him clash with the owners of *Y Drafod*, who were also the directors of the Coop. Morgan Ph. Jones believed that the administrators felt that they themselves were the company, in the same manner that the absolutist king Louis XIV of France had said ‘L’Etat, c’est moi’ (I am the Estate).<sup>31</sup> Criticising their attitude meant that Morgan Ph. Jones lost his job, a powerful indication that *Y Drafod*, as can be expected of the newspapers and the press in general,<sup>32</sup> responded to certain interests that were associated with the Welsh establishment in *y Wladfa*, and although *Y Drafod* was supposed to work as a forum of debate, the censorship imposed by the owners of the paper meant certain restrictions existed. The same restrictions had encouraged D. Rhys Jones to found *Y Gwerinwr* in 1914: the paper was, among other things, a means of challenging the views of the establishment of *y Wladfa*.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> *Y Drafod*, 26 February 1926.

<sup>30</sup> *Y Gwilydydd* will be discussed later on in this chapter.

<sup>31</sup> Morgan Ph. Jones’s obituary can be read in *Y Gwilydydd*, 7 December 1933 and 14 December 1933

<sup>32</sup> Xabier Giró, ‘Periódicos y Construcción Nacional’, *Zer*, 12 (2002), 1-15.

<sup>33</sup> For a discussion of the role of *Y Gwerinwr* see Chapter 5.

On 27 August 1926 Richard Nichols was appointed as the new editor of *Y Drafod*.<sup>34</sup> He was the son of John Nichols and Leticia Davies, who emigrated to Patagonia in 1875 from Crickhowell, south Wales. Richard Nichols played an active role in the life of *y Wladfa* as a teacher in the rural areas of Bryn Gwyn and Treorcky in the Chubut Valley, as justice of the peace, as secretary of the Coop and as editor of *Y Drafod*. In his first editorial, Richard Nichols outlined the direction he wanted to give the paper, as was customary for most of the editors of *Y Drafod*.<sup>35</sup> His aims were almost a replica of the ones held by the previous editor: maintaining a column for women, one for poetry and trying to start a column for children –as was the case with the previous editor, the children’s column never materialised. Even if there were no significant additions to the content of *Y Drafod* in this period, at least it did not lose any of its features. The newspaper continued to be used as a ‘bwrdd cyfnewidfa’ (exchange board) where everyone, at least in theory, was welcome to express their opinion about the best way forward for the settlement. The invitation to partake in the exchange of opinions was open to the older, experienced colonists as well as the younger ones: ‘Da chwi henafgwyr parchus y Wladfa, sydd wedi dal pwys a gwres y dydd, rhowch inni air o’ch profiad a mynegwch i ni eich breuddwydion gwladfaol’ (I beg you, old and venerable men of *y Wladfa*, who have borne the burden and heat of the day,<sup>36</sup> write to us about your experience and express your dreams for the settlement). The younger Welsh-Patagonians were invited to send their contributions as well, but by then the call had a tinge of desperation: ‘A’r sawl sydd eto heb ddechrau ysgrifennu, rhowch i ni eich meddyliau ar bapur, pe bae ond un frawddeg yn cynnwys un

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<sup>34</sup> See Albina Jones de Zampini, *Reunión de Familias en el Sur* (Gaiman: Edición del Autor, 1995), 183.

<sup>35</sup> *Y Drafod*, 27 August 1926. Although Richard Nichols did not sign the editorial, in an article tracing the history of *Y Drafod* published on 17 January 1943 his name was mentioned as the successor of Morgan Ph. Jones.

<sup>36</sup> The phrase comes from the Gospel of Matthew 20:12.

meddylddrych, bydd yn bleser gennym eu cyhoeddi' (And the ones who have not yet started to write, send us your thoughts on paper, even if it is one sentence containing one idea, it will be a pleasure for us to publish it).

No matter how low the expectations were when asking for contributions from the new generations, their putting pencil to paper to write in Welsh was not going to be an easy endeavour. The reports of the quarterly meetings of the Sunday school mentioned that spelling mistakes were too frequent among the younger generation and that even reading in Welsh was a skill that they had not mastered. 'Gwyddom am fechgyn a merched mewn oed sy' wedi cael eu magu o'u mebyd yn yr ysgol Sul ac eto'n darllen adnoddau o'r Beibl mor ddisynwyr a phe baent yn darllen heb ei atalnodi' (We know of boys and girls who have been brought up in the Sunday school since they were children but still read verses from the Bible as senselessly as if they were reading without punctuation).<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, if writing and reading in Welsh proved a difficult task for younger Welsh-Patagonians, by the mid-1920s there were warnings that for some individuals understanding even the oral formal register used in the Welsh chapels was problematic. 'Dywedir wrthym nad yw ieuenctid y Wladfa heddyw yn deall digon o iaith, fel ag i ddeall pregeth Gymraeg' (We are told that the youth of y *Wladfa* today does not understand enough Welsh as to understand a sermon in Welsh), wrote a correspondent from the Bryn Crwn area, and subsequently blamed the parents for the lack of interest in making sure that the children acquired fluency in Welsh.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> *Y Drafod*, 3 April 1925.

<sup>38</sup> *Y Drafod*, 14 August 1925. Joshua Fishman has proposed an 8-point scale to diagnose how far the process of language loss has affected a community. One of the characteristics of the process of language loss is precisely the loss of the formal registers of a language because of the socio-cultural dislocation experienced by the community, which leads eventually to complete language loss unless steps are taken to remedy the problem. See Joshua Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift. Theoretical and*

From the early days of the colony the Welsh had relied on education to strengthen the vitality of the Welsh language in Patagonia. Although a major blow had been given to the Welsh schools when national legislation was passed to make the use of Spanish in the classroom compulsory across Argentina at the end of the nineteenth century, Welsh had remained strong at the community level. However, by the 1920s there was already a generation of children that had been educated through the medium of Spanish in primary school, and who were by then parents themselves. Not only had they learned the language in their early years, but they had also incorporated the nationalistic rituals that the government used to generate feelings of patriotism among the younger generations.<sup>39</sup> Although primary school education must not have made all Welsh descendants turn their back on their heritage, it is a factor that cannot be overlooked when reading *Y Drafod* and finding references to the adoption of the Spanish language and ‘Latin’ customs, and a general lack of interest in religion and education, both pillars of Patagonian Welshness.

Even though primary education was conducted through the medium of Spanish only, by the beginning of the twentieth century the idea of founding an ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ (Intermediate School) that provided secondary education through the medium of Welsh had been successfully championed by Eluned Morgan.<sup>40</sup> In spite of the success of the school, at least two factors hindered its work. Firstly, the opening of an official secondary school in Trelew in 1924: the ‘Colegio Nacional’ (National College) was

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*Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1991), 87-114.

<sup>39</sup> See Chapter 1 and 4 for a discussion of the role of education in ‘argentinising’ immigrants.

<sup>40</sup> The foundation of the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ is discussed in Chapter 1, 37.

the first Spanish-language secondary school in the then Territory of Chubut.<sup>41</sup> As already mentioned, despite the excellence of the instruction imparted at the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’, the certificates issued at the end of the three years did not have official recognition, and also while those attending the Welsh school had to pay a fee, the ‘Colegio Nacional’ in Trelew was free. And secondly, a generalised lack of interest in the future of the school that manifested itself, for instance, in the low attendance rate at the meetings organised by Eluned Morgan to discuss matters related to Welsh medium education. By 1926, in an article by Eluned Morgan commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the school, she complained that the initial interest and energy were gone.<sup>42</sup> The economic crisis had also affected the school, since there had been a decrease in the number of students towards the end of the decade.

If the Welsh language was losing ground in *y Wladfa* irreversibly, Spanish was on the rise even on the pages of *Y Drafod*. Already at the end of the nineteenth century, a ‘Sección Castellana’ (Spanish Column) had been included in the paper with the aim of selling more copies and ensuring the economic viability of *Y Drafod*.<sup>43</sup> With Richard Nichols as editor, however, the purpose of the column was of a completely different nature: ‘Esta sección tiene por objeto difundir el uso del castellano, tan necesario para las relaciones actuales de la vida’ (The aim of this column is to spread the use of Spanish, so necessary for current social interactions).<sup>44</sup> The column had an educational purpose which fell neatly into the general aims of *Y Drafod*, with the caveat that the instruction provided for the younger generations was now in Spanish

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<sup>41</sup> For a detailed history of the Colegio Nacional, see Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico*, iv (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 7-19.

<sup>42</sup> *Y Drafod*, 12 March 1926.

<sup>43</sup> See Chapter 4, 145.

<sup>44</sup> *Y Drafod*, 12 March 1926.

only and not in Welsh as in the first period of the paper. By the 1920s, it seemed that contributors to *Y Drafod* had realised that Spanish could be something else other than an enemy that displaced the Welsh language. It began to be perceived as a tool with which the Welsh community would be able to defend its interests more effectively, and the lack of fluency in Spanish came to be seen as ‘anfantaio o ddatblygiad y Wladfa am na feddem y moddion i gyfleu ein cwynion, na gallu amddiffyn ein hawliau...’ (a disadvantage for the development of *y Wladfa* since we do not have the means to express our complaints, or the capability to defend our rights).<sup>45</sup>

### **A Double Identity?**

The ‘Sección Castellana’ that started under Richard Nichols’s editorship was also slightly different in terms of its content compared to previous incarnations. The column was written by Professor Orestes Trespailhié, who was a teacher at the National Secondary School in Trelew and who was in charge of teaching Spanish to the students at the ‘Ysgol Ganolraddol’ in Gaiman. The content of the ‘Sección Castellana’ was varied. Generally there was local or national news, reports of visits by government officials, and items and anecdotes that carried a moral tone. The rising nationalistic tendencies of the time were also reflected in the writings of Orestes Trespailhié –the love for the motherland and the pride of being Argentinean were a recurrent theme. Trespailhié was clearly a wheel in the machinery of nation building that had gained impetus in the second decade of the twentieth century. Therefore, his column in *Y Drafod* furthered the nationalistic Argentinean policies that targeted immigrants and their descendants. Undoubtedly profound changes had taken place if *Y Drafod* accepted contributions that would have been anathema in the earlier stages.

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<sup>45</sup> *Y Drafod*, 4 September 1925.

If Argentine patriotism was against ethnic communities preserving their original identity, language and culture, in Trespailhié's column it is possible to see an example of how the possibility of tension and conflict was diffused and the Welsh were incorporated smoothly into the historiography of Patagonia. In the 'Sección Castellana', Trespailhié started publishing a brief history of the beginnings of the migration movement to Patagonia.<sup>46</sup> While the historical data was provided by Arthur Roberts –a Welsh-Patagonian national teacher who had a distinguished career in the field of Spanish-medium education– Trespailhié conferred the traits of the nationalistic discourse that was prevalent among national teachers. In the account of the historical facts of the Welsh colonization of Patagonia from an Argentine perspective, Trespailhié thanked the settlers for having pioneered the land and for having brought the 'civilization' that defeated 'barbarism', the two concepts that had been used to guide the founders of modern Argentina. At the same time, he was positioning the Welsh within the frame of the discourse of twentieth-century Argentine nationalism, by which Argentina was a country and a nation that had always existed and into which newcomers were welcome to incorporate themselves.<sup>47</sup> In a clear example of paradigm shifting in the history of *Y Drafod*, the newspaper that had for decades strived to define an 'us' as opposed to a 'them' that encompassed the non-Welsh, non-Protestant population, was finally allowing 'y cylchynion' –the periphery– to write their own version of the history of the settlement. In the new version of the history the elements of inter-community tension and the quest for independence or self-government were absent.

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<sup>46</sup> See *Y Drafod*, 2 April 1926; 9 April 1926.

<sup>47</sup> See Luis Alberto Romero (ed.), *La Argentina en la Escuela. La Idea de Nación en los Textos Escolares* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2004).

A conflicting point of view can be observed at this stage when comparing the perceptions of the Welsh community with those of the Argentine ‘Latin’ element. While among the Welsh some voices were raised asking for varying degrees of assimilation, the Argentine element saw the settlers and their descendants as effectively integrated –having merged with the Argentinean community and losing their original identity in the process. So much so that before the celebrations of 28 July in 1926 Professor Trepailhié asked in his ‘Sección Castellana’ for a monument to be built to honour the memory of the Welsh who ‘marcaron la ruta del progreso... convirtieron el erial en vergel... y pisaron el dominio del indio’ (opened up the road to progress... transformed the wilderness into a garden... and trod on the dominions of the indians).<sup>48</sup> For Trespailhié the Welsh community was part of the history of Argentina to be consecrated in marble along with the revered national heroes that lined the quasi-religious pantheon created by the nationalistic discourse of patriotic primary school education. Furthermore, in the same issue of *Y Drafod*, Trespailhié ranked the ‘Gŵyl y Glaniad’ (Festival of the Landing) among the most important Argentinean celebrations:

El 28 de julio, debe tener para todos los pobladores del Chubut, el mismo significado que para los argentinos tiene el 25 de Mayo. Pues esta fecha nos recuerda, la data en que el Territorio comienza [*sic.*] a ser considerado parte integrante del Mundo Civilizado.<sup>49</sup>

(28 July must have for the inhabitants of Chubut the same meaning that 25 May has for all Argentineans. That day reminds us that the Territory began to be considered an integral part of the Civilised World.)

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<sup>48</sup> *Y Drafod*, 23 July 1926.

<sup>49</sup> *Y Drafod*, 23 July 1926.

Along the same lines, in 1925 –the sixtieth-anniversary of the landing of the *Mimosa* contingent– a poem in Spanish by Dardo Abásolo Suarez<sup>50</sup> entitled ‘Himno a la Colonización Galesa’ (Anthem to the Welsh Colonization) praised the Welsh for having settled in Patagonia.<sup>51</sup> In the poem, the Welsh are referred to as ‘los titanes’ (the titans), ‘los colosos del esfuerzo’ (the hard-working giants), ‘los valientes’ (the brave) and ‘los héroes más modernos’ (the most modern heroes). As well as praising the physical strength and bravery of the Welsh, the author uses the concept of the wild desert replaced by the civilised garden –an image that corresponds with the dichotomy of civilization versus barbarism– that Fernando Williams explored with relation to European immigrant colonies in Argentina.<sup>52</sup> Hence, the Welsh arrive in Patagonia in order to ‘domar la ingratitude de nuestras pampas’ (to tame the ingratitude of our pampas), and they are the ones who ‘emprendieron la conquista del desierto’ (undertook the conquest of the desert), a clear reference that leaves the Welsh somehow as co-participants of the campaign led by General Julio Argentino Roca to dispossess the native peoples of the land.<sup>53</sup> The poem conforms with the classification made by Sebastián Sayago of Patagonian short stories in which the region is depicted as a vast and desolate space with a hostile climate where the main characters are white European men who bring civilization and order as opposed to the primitiveness and violence of the original peoples.<sup>54</sup>

Son los bravos centinelas avanzados  
Que en amargos momentos de amenaza

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<sup>50</sup> No biographical information has been found about this contributor.

<sup>51</sup> *Y Drafod*, 1 August 1925.

<sup>52</sup> Fernando Williams, *Entre el Desierto y el Jardín. Viaje, Literatura y Paisaje en la Colonia Galesa de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2010).

<sup>53</sup> See Chapter 1, 42-43.

<sup>54</sup> Sebastián Sayago, ‘La Patagonia Representada. Un registro de los efectos de sentido de las narraciones literarias de la Revista Argentina Austral’, unpublished degree thesis (Universidad Nacional de la Patagonia San Juan Bosco, 1996).

Imprimieron el sello argentinista  
En la faz virginal de estas comarcas  
Y sentaron los cimientos vigorosos  
De conjunción espléndida de razas  
¡Que hoy entonan el himno del trabajo  
En el dulce bregar de sus jornadas!

(They are the brave advanced guardians  
Who, in bitter times of threat  
Stamped the Argentinean hallmark  
On the virgin face of these regions  
And laid the solid foundations  
Of a splendid combination of races  
That sing today the anthem of work  
In the sweet struggle of their workday)

While many studies of the Welsh colonization in Patagonia propose that the relationship of the Welsh with the native population in Argentina was unique because non-violence and friendship prevailed,<sup>55</sup> in the poem the Welsh are described as part of the campaign to incorporate the southern regions to the republic. The conflict between the Argentine State and the Welsh community does not feature in the poem either –the Welsh are presented not as a threat to the unity of the Argentine nation but rather as the actual bearers of Argentine identity to the distant corners of the country.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> See R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 110; and Susana Bandieri, *Historia de la Patagonia* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2005), 192. An alternative view that explores the complexities of the relationship and challenges the veracity of the perpetual friendship can be found in Geraldine Lublin, 'Fred Green a'r Cyfeillgarwch Parhaol rhwng y Cymry a Brodorion Patagonia', *Taliesin*, 133 (Gwanwyn 2008), 81-92; Glyn Williams, 'Welsh Settlers and Native Americans in Patagonia', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 11/1 (1979), 41-66, and Marcelo Gavirati, 'El Contacto entre Galeses, Pampas y Tehuelches: la Conformación de un Modelo de Convivencia Pacífica en la Patagonia Central (1865-1885)', unpublished PhD thesis (Universidad del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 2012). For a specific analysis of the interaction of the Welsh with the original peoples and Chileans in the Andean region see Brígida Baeza, *Fronteras e Identidades en Patagonia Central* (Rosario, 2009).

<sup>56</sup> The conflicts between the Welsh settlers and the State apparatus have been discussed in Chapter 1 as part of the historical context and in Chapters 3 and 4 with regard to the role played by newspapers in such conflicts.

If the Argentine community was finally singing the praises of the Welsh and thanking them for having helped to bring the region into the fold of the Argentine Republic, it was mainly because the Welsh were starting to be perceived less as a threat to the national Argentine being and more as a contributing community to the purported ‘crisol de razas’ (melting pot) that Argentina became.<sup>57</sup> From the point of view of the Welsh-Patagonians –a community that was experiencing a sense of decline– the poem may have been received as a breath of fresh air. After all, it transmitted a sense of admiration for the feat performed by the pioneers from people who did not belong to the ethnic community. Such a poem should have instilled a feeling of much needed pride in being Welsh, but it may have triggered two different reactions. On the one hand, it may have worked as a spur to maintain a heritage that was valued even by outsiders; on the other, it could have sounded as another call to finally integrate fully into Argentina.

The Welsh community was torn between these two directions and the confusion, or the desire, to please both the Argentine and the Welsh parties would come to the surface in key occasions like the celebrations of the Landing. Every 28 July provided an opportunity to reflect on the history of the settlement and raise the increasingly awkward question about the future of *y Wladfa*. In the editorial column in 1927 the tensions between the conflicting identities manifested itself in a paragraph that contains a high degree of identitarian bi-polarity.

Ar ysgwyddau eu disgynyddion yr erys y cyfrifoldeb o lywio datblygiad  
presenol y Wladfa... ni ddylem fod yn ddall a diystyr o’r problemau newydd y

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<sup>57</sup> For a discussion of how the Argentine case can be included in the category of melting pot but with its own unique traits see Fernando Devoto, *Historia de la Inmigración en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2002), 319-323.

bydd yn rhaid i ni fel Gwladfa ymgodymu a hwy, os am gadw ein hunanbarch a'n delfrydau cenedlaethol, ac fe ddylem wneud hynny o barch i goffadwriaeth ac er mwyn aberth yr arloeswyr Cymreig ddaeth a gwareiddiad dros y don i anialdir Patagonia; fel arwydd ein bod yn gwerthfawrogi tynerwch ac haelfrydedd y Llywodraeth Arianin a ganiataodd drwy ei deddfau rhyddfrydig bob rhyddid cymdeithasol ar yr aelwyd i gadw ein hiaith a'n delfrydau, rhyddid crefyddol i addoli Duw yn ol ein tueddiadau a'n credo... "Viva la Republica Argentina".<sup>58</sup>

(On the shoulders of their descendants rests the responsibility of steering the current development of *y Wladfa*... we should not be blind and disregard the new problems that we will have to face as a settlement if we want to keep our self-respect and our national ideals, and we should do that out of respect to the memory and for the sacrifice of the Welsh pioneers that brought civilization across the sea to the Patagonian desert; as a sign that we value the tenderness and generosity of the Argentine Government that allowed us through its liberal legislation every social freedom to keep our language and our ideals in our homes, religious freedom to worship God according to our tendencies and creed... 'Long live the Argentine Republic')

In this emotionally charged paragraph, the editor was trying to combine the respect for the Welsh heritage that had come down from the pioneers with the faithfulness that was expected of true Argentinean citizens. This praiseworthy idea would only work in theory, since in practice Argentinean nationalism asked for absolute and uncompromising allegiance to a single identity.

Another example of the cultural bridge that *Y Drafod* tried to build between the Welsh and Argentinean identities can be found at the beginning of 1926 in a piece of writing in Welsh that got a prize in a local eisteddfod in 1925 –the subject matter was 'Tri o arwyr y Weriniaeth Ariannin' (Three heroes of the Argentine Republic), and it called for a biographical sketch and a discussion of the contributions of three Argentinean historical figures. The competition was aimed specifically at young people. It is interesting to note that the subject matter –Argentine historical heroes– was precisely the kind of subject matter that the national schools curriculum emphasised in order to

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<sup>58</sup> *Y Drafod*, 29 July 1927.

generate feelings of patriotism. Therefore the competition looks like an uneasy marriage of interests: in order to attract the Welsh-speaking youngsters to participate, a subject matter was chosen that was close to their experience, but it was precisely the kind of doctrine that was undermining their adherence to their Welsh heritage. The fact that there was a specific competition for young people also suggests that they were still able to write in Welsh –at least some of them– and that the organisers of the eisteddfod were using the event as another way of promoting fluency in written Welsh.

In the pages of *Y Drafod* in this period it is possible to see that a number of activities were organised to keep the Welsh language and culture alive. Literary meetings were held regularly across the Valley in preparation for the annual eisteddfod that took place at some point between October and December. These included similar competitions to the eisteddfod like reciting, singing and composing poetry. Although these meetings were aimed at adults, there was also a range of activities for children as well, although these revolved mainly around the Sunday school. The quarterly meetings of the Sunday schools, where exams were taken to children according to their age group, appeared in the reports sent by local contributors, and the meetings included singing, reciting and writing in Welsh –skills that were paramount for competing in an eisteddfod.<sup>59</sup> Further impetus was gained with the foundation in 1929 of the ‘Cymdeithas Pobl Ieuanc y Gaiman’ (Youth Society of Gaiman) under the leadership of the Rev. Alun Garner, who had arrived in Patagonia at the end of 1928 to service Bethel Chapel in Gaiman and Nazareth Chapel in Drofa Dulog, a rural

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<sup>59</sup> See for instance *Y Drafod*, 29 July 1921; 6 July 1923; 29 May 1925; 13 January 1928; 10 February 1928.

district between Trelew and Gaiman.<sup>60</sup> However, as Eluned Morgan complained in her letters to her friend the Rev. W. Nantlais Williams in Wales, Alun Garner and other ministers were sent from Wales for five years only, a period of time deemed insufficient in Eluned's opinion to become acquainted with the Patagonian environment and the needs of an increasingly Spanish-speaking population which included Welsh descendants.

Nid yw danfon dynion yma am bum mlynedd o fawr werth i'r Wladfa, cymer ddwy flynedd lawn iddynt ddod i nabod y bobl a deall y wlad, gan fod popeth mor hollol wahanol, a phan y byddant yn *dechrau* gweithio mewn gwirionedd daw eu hamser i ben a daw rhywun newydd yma i ail ddechrau'r cyfan wedyn.<sup>61</sup>

(Sending men here for five years is not of great help for *y Wladfa*, it takes two full years for them to get to know the people and understand this land, since everything is so different, and when actually they *start* working their time is over and someone else will be sent to start from scratch.)

It was the work carried out by the Sunday schools and the visiting religious ministers that generated the conditions for the first 'Eisteddfod y Plant' (Youth Eisteddfod) to be held in Gaiman in 1929. It garnered considerable success according to the correspondent in charge of reporting on the event, who said that 'roedd yno gynulliad niferus –mwy o lawer nag a allai'r hen Gapel ei gynwys' (there was a multitude there –more people than what the old Chapel can hold).<sup>62</sup> The Youth Eisteddfod would continue to be celebrated in the following decades, even during the period when the main eisteddfod was not celebrated between 1950 and 1965. Credit must be given to the driving forces behind the manifestations of Welsh culture in this period –generally they were religious ministers. In an age when most of the religious ministers were sent from Wales to service the Welsh chapels in *y Wladfa*, their fresh input was vital

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<sup>60</sup> Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico*, iv (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 116.

<sup>61</sup> Dafydd Ifans (ed.), *Tyred Drosodd. Gohebiaeth Eluned Morgan a Nantlais* (Pen-y-Bont ar Ogwr: Gwasg Efengylaidd Cymru, 1977), 83.

<sup>62</sup> *Y Drafod*, 18 October 1929.

to inject new ideas into the communities that struggled under the burden of the economic crisis and increasing Argentinean cultural influence,<sup>63</sup> although Eluned Morgan was convinced that it took many years for the ministers to understand the mentality of the people and get used to the new environment, so that spending a five-year period servicing the chapels in *y Wladfa* was not enough to achieve what was needed.<sup>64</sup>

Despite the manifold activities and reports found in *Y Drafod*, the gloomy mood never disappeared completely from the paper. This mood is evidenced –to cite one example– in a reprint of a poem that had been written by John Eryrys Jones in 1887.<sup>65</sup> While it was not uncommon for *Y Drafod* to reproduce materials that had been published previously –serving as a kind of memory archive of the history of the community– the purpose in this case was not only to pay a visit to the historical record but to show the stark contrast between the situation of the colony in the past and in its current condition during the 1920s. The poem by John Eryrys Jones praised the colony and the early pioneers, but the editor in 1928 used the poem to show how much things had deteriorated, and that nothing in the content of the poem was relevant anymore.<sup>66</sup> In the poem, *y Wladfa* is described as a place of freedom where the Welsh did not have to pay rent for the land they occupied and worked or tithes to the Anglican Church, two of the reasons that were behind the original idea of

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<sup>63</sup> Some of the renowned ministers that arrived in *y Wladfa* during the 1920s and 1930s were Rev. John Washington Jones (1921), Rev. Ben Davies (1923), Rev. W. Wynn Williams (1925), Rev. Robert John Jones (1927), Rev. Alun Garner (1928), Rev. Meirion Williams (1929) and Rev. E. R. Williams (1930). See Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico, iii* (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 167 and Matthew Henry Jones, *Trelew. Un Desafío Patagónico, iv* (Rawson: El Regional, 1997), 35; 90-91; 116; 130; 140.

<sup>64</sup> Dafydd Ifans (ed.), *Tyred Drosodd. Gohebiaeth Eluned Morgan a Nantlais* (Pen-y-Bont ar Ogwr: Gwasg Efengylaidd Cymru, 1977), 95.

<sup>65</sup> Some information about John Eryrys Jones can be found in footnote 20 in this chapter.

<sup>66</sup> *Y Drafod*, February 1928.

establishing the settlement in the Chubut Valley. In 1887 –barely a year after having arrived in Patagonia– John Eryrys Jones was able to say that ‘Datblygiad sydd yn amlwg ar bopeth. Pwy a wad?’ (Development is visible in everything. Who can deny it?). His piece of advice for the Welsh in Patagonia was that ‘Chwychi yr hen wladfawyr, a mintai’r “Vesta”<sup>67</sup> fawr, priodwch gyda’ch gilydd yn undeb cryf yn awr’ (You, the old settlers and the crowd of the big *Vesta*, marry among yourselves in a strong union now).<sup>68</sup> If any of the readers followed the advice given by John Eryrys Jones, very soon they would be replaced by a generation that from 1930 onwards deviated from the original endogamic marriage patterns. According to the statistics from the Gaiman Registry Office, while the majority of the population was of Welsh descent at the beginning of the twentieth century and all marriages were within the ethnic community, by 1930 the percentage of non-Welsh marriages had increased because of the inflow of migrants –although all the marriages were still endogamic, the Welsh accounted for 50 per cent of the marriages that year. Exogamic marriages increased during the 1930s, coupled with the increasing number of inhabitants of other ethnic groups.<sup>69</sup> Many studies in the field of sociolinguistics have demonstrated the negative impact of exogamic marriages on language maintenance,<sup>70</sup> and the swift change in marriage patterns in the 1920s can be considered both as a factor and as a consequence of the crisis that affected the cohesion of the community in the period

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<sup>67</sup> The *Vesta* was a steamship that carried a group of 465 Welsh people and materials for the construction of the railway line between Port Madryn and the Chubut Valley. John Eryrys Jones and his family arrived aboard the *Vesta* on 28 July 1886, twenty-one years after the day that the first settlers landed in Patagonia. See Albina Jones de Zampini, *Cien Atuendos y un Sombrero* (Gaiman: Edición del Autor, 1991), 85.

<sup>68</sup> *Y Drafod*, 10 February 1928.

<sup>69</sup> See Walter Ariel Brooks, ‘Algunas Consideraciones Sobre los Patrones de Casamiento en el Valle del Chubut 1900–1960’, in Comité Organizador (ed.), *Los Galeses en la Patagonia II* (Puerto Madryn: Fundación Ameghino, 2006). See Appendix 4.

<sup>70</sup> See for instance René Appel and Peter Muysken, *Language Contact and Bilingualism* (Bristol: Edward Arnold, 1987), and Howard Giles, *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations* (London: Academic Press, 1977).

considered in his chapter: the growing number of non-Welsh inhabitants in the Chubut Valley, the effects of Spanish-medium education and the economic crisis.

As a final remark on the views expressed by the reprinted poem, the editor of *Y Drafod* commented: ‘Prin y meddaf yr un syniadau heddiw’ (I hardly share the same ideas now), signalling that there was a huge gap between the social reality of *y Wladfa* then and thirty years previous. However, looking back was a frequent exercise on which *Y Drafod* indulged since the beginning as we have seen in previous chapters. In the 1920s and 1930s the paper continued to be a live archive of the history of the settlement.<sup>71</sup> ‘Credwn mai mantais fyddai cael mwy o hanes gorffennol y Wladfa ar dudalennau y Drafod’ (I believe that it would be an advantage to have more of the history of *y Wladfa* on the pages of *Y Drafod*), commented the editor in 1926. He suggested that historical chronicles could have a beneficial effect on the morale of the settlement: ‘Mae’n wir bod anawsterau’n perthyn i bob cyfnod o’r bywyd gwladfaol: ond beth yw y rhai sydd gennym ni heddiw i ymladd a hwy o’u cymharu ag anawsterau blynyddoedd cyntaf y sefydliad hwn’ (It is true that difficulties belonged to every stage of the settlement’s life: but what are the ones we face today compared with the difficulties of the first years of this settlement).<sup>72</sup>

Still reeling drunk from the rise in Britishness during the First World War, *y Wladfa* continued to foster links with the British Empire in the 1920s and 1930s. Two visits to Argentina by Edward, the Prince of Wales and future Edward VIII, in 1925 and again in 1931 with his brother George featured heavily in the columns of *Y Drafod* as the settlers strove to invite the Prince to visit the Welsh settlement in Patagonia. Both

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<sup>71</sup> See for instance the chronicles by Thomas Jones ‘Glan Camwy’ in July and August 1928, and the memories of Hugh Griffiths in 1929.

<sup>72</sup> *Y Drafod*, 1 October 1926.

attempts were unsuccessful, but an album with photographs and a message saluting the Prince was compiled and it was handed to him in person by a delegation from Patagonia in the 1925 and 1931 visits. Another outburst of Britishness came with the foundation of a British Society in Trelew in 1928. However, the manifestation of loyalty to the British Empire had a more practical aim in this particular case. On the front page of *Y Drafod*, a long article in English explained that the purpose of the society was ‘to foster British interests and ideals, to foment the interests and well-being of Britons and their descendants in Argentina, to bring together British subjects resident in the Republic’.<sup>73</sup> By founding a branch of the society in Trelew –the central office in Buenos Aires had been established in 1924– the promoters of the idea were hoping that:

It will endeavour... to have the wholehearted help of the powerful and influential Central Committee in Buenos Aires...it will bring our Community interests to the notice of the British Communities in Buenos Aires and other parts of the Republic and thereby foster co-operation...it will make the importance of the Valley better known to Britishers throughout the Republic, which will help our commerce.<sup>74</sup>

The Britishness displayed towards the end of the 1920s had an explicit purpose that can be related to the dire situation that the Welsh-Patagonians were facing because of the economic crisis. Although the transatlantic links had been weakened by the First World War and the end of organised immigration in 1911, on the pages of *Y Drafod* we can see that the paper still connected with, and belonged to, an international British network. Maintaining and strengthening the links with the British Empire was a clever move considering that the British community in Argentina was the most

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<sup>73</sup> *Y Drafod*, 4 May 1928.

<sup>74</sup> *Y Drafod*, 4 May 1928.

powerful and influential one despite its comparatively small size.<sup>75</sup> However, no matter how beneficial the protection of the British community could have been, the reality was that the Welsh in the Chubut Valley were difficult to classify. They were not able to fit in either with the wealthy and urban merchant class of Buenos Aires or with the rural, Patagonian ‘estancia’ (large ranch) owners,<sup>76</sup> and were therefore open to enduring the hardship of the crisis without the benefits of having the solidarity of a peer group.

### **Beginning of the end**

At the end of the 1920s, the economic problems grew worse, and the impact of the Wall Street crisis in 1929 was felt in Patagonia well into the 1930s. In 1935, Colonel José María Sarobe published a volume analysing the problems the Patagonian region faced and what could be done to overcome them. Sarobe’s work was the result of his experiences of living in Patagonia since 1910 while carrying out military duties. His work is considered as one of the best essays written in the 1930s about the situation of the southern territories.<sup>77</sup> When referring to the economy he pointed out that:

Llegaron los años 1928 a 1933, en que los frutos del país sufren una completa desvalorización. Los depósitos de la Capital Federal están abarrotados por la producción de los años anteriores y se ofrecen en la playas del Sur precios tan irrisorios que no compensan los gastos de explotación y los de transporte desde el interior hasta el litoral.<sup>78</sup>

(In the years 1928 to 1933 the produce of the country was completely devalued. The warehouses in the Capital are crammed with the produce from previous years and in the Patagonian ports the prices that are offered are so

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<sup>75</sup> John P. Bailey and Sibila Seibert, ‘Inmigración y relaciones étnicas. Los Ingleses en la Argentina’, *Desarrollo Económico*, 18/72 (1979), 542-543.

<sup>76</sup> Mateo Martinic Beros, ‘La Participación de Capitales Británicos en el Desarrollo Económico del Territorio de Magallanes (1880–1920)’, *Historia*, 35 (2002), 299-321.

<sup>77</sup> Daniel Cabral Marques, ‘El Estado Argentino y la argentinización de la Patagonia: Diagnósticos, balances, propuestas y resistencias en el clivaje de los años 30’, *Cuartas Jornadas de la Historia de la Patagonia*, Santa Rosa, 20-22 de septiembre de 2010,

<http://4asjornadas.rhdg.com.ar/Ponencias/mesa%2024/Marques.pdf>, Consulted on 2 August 2012.

<sup>78</sup> José María Sarobe, *La Patagonia y sus Problemas* (Buenos Aires: López, 1935), 111.

derisory that they do not compensate for the cost of producing and transporting them from inland to the coastline.)

The dire situation affected profoundly the Coop, one of the keystones of *y Wladfa*, not only because it was a traditional institution that gave the community prestige and influence but also because it was a source of credit for the Welsh farmers.<sup>79</sup> Such was its importance that in an article in 1926 a contributor to the paper commented that the end of the Coop would imply the end of *y Wladfa* as well.<sup>80</sup> A brief look at the main developments in the 1920s and 1930s shows that the writing was on the wall for the company. At the beginning of the decade, the Coop sold its vessels to raise capital for a diversification of activities, but the adverse international economic environment stalled any hope of growth. By 1923 the society was selling its goods at a price which was ten to fifteen percent higher than other commercial houses and the Rawson branch had to be closed down. In 1928 the large ‘estancia’ Mimosa in the Andean region was sold at a loss to cancel the growing debt. The following year the Comodoro Rivadavia branch was closed down as well and in 1931 and 1932 the Puerto Madryn and Esquel branches followed suit.<sup>81</sup> Whether the Coop was under the strain of the economic crisis that was affecting the whole of Argentina, or whether it was being mismanaged as some contributors to the paper suggested, is a matter of debate. The reality was that the Coop was on a downward slope with no signs of improving.

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<sup>79</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991).

<sup>80</sup> *Y Drafod*, 22 October 1926.

<sup>81</sup> A description of the decline of the Coop can be read in Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 136-143; and Jorge Luis Barzini, ‘La Compañía Mercantil del Chubut’, in Comité Organizador (ed.), *Los Galeses en la Patagonia II* (Puerto Madryn: fundación Ameghino, 2004), 143-166

With hindsight, Irma Hughes de Jones, editor of *Y Drafod* from 1953 until her death in 2003, wrote in the 1980s that the Coop going bankrupt in the early 1930s had meant that the original dream of the pioneers was only then effectively over.

Yr oedd y ‘Coop’ wedi mynd â’i ben iddo ers blynyddoedd a difetha amgylchiadau teuluoedd y Wladfa... Yr oedd y bobl wedi colli eu hymddiried yn y rhai a ddewiswyd ganddynt fel y rhai cymhwysaf i edrych ar ôl eu buddiannau, ac felly yr oedd yn rhaid edrych i gyfeiriadau eraill. Nid oedd hyn yn cael ei ddweud na’i gyhoeddi, efallai, ond ’roedd yn hofran yn yr awyrgylch... A’r ieuenctid yn ei deimlo yn fwy na neb... Yr oedd y cyfle euraidd wedi myned heibio am byth, y breuddwyd o Wladfa Gymreig wedi ei lwyr ddryllio drwy danseilio ei sylfeini economaidd, a hanes yr arloesi i gymryd ei le o hyn allan yn daclus fel *una colonización más* ymysg llaweroedd eraill ar hyd a lled y weriniaeth.<sup>82</sup>

(The Coop had crumbled years ago and destroyed the conditions of the families in y *Wladfa*... People had lost their trust in those chosen by them as the most competent to look after their interests, and therefore one had to look in a different direction. This was not said or published, perhaps, but it was hanging in the air... and the young people felt it more than anyone... the golden opportunity had gone forever, the dream of a Welsh settlement completely shattered by undermining its economic foundations, and the history of the pioneering took its place neatly from then onwards as ‘one more colonization’ among many others across the republic.)

It was perhaps the impending sense of doom that prompted some members of the community to start the newspaper *Y Gwilydydd* in 1929. The editor was James Williams,<sup>83</sup> and in the first number of the paper he expressed his objectives,<sup>84</sup> which resembled those of *Y Drafod*: special emphasis was placed on receiving contributions from young people so that they would be able to develop their intellect, language skills and maintain their Welsh heritage. Other important services the newspaper intended to provide were articles for farmers discussing ideas on how to endure the crisis and news from correspondents in other parts of the Chubut Territory and in

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<sup>82</sup> Irma Hughes de Jones, ‘Flor de Ceibo’, in R. Bryn Williams (ed.), *Atgofion o Batagonia* (Llandysul, 1980), 21

<sup>83</sup> No biographical data are available for James Williams.

<sup>84</sup> *Y Gwilydydd*, 12 August 1929.

Buenos Aires. However there are some indications that suggest that *Y Gwilyedydd* was following on the footsteps of its predecessor *Y Gwerinwr* in trying to provide an alternative means of expression for those who were not content with the way the Welsh establishment was handling the administration of the Coop. ‘Bydd *Y Gwilyedydd* yn barod i amddiffyn buddiannau cyhoeddus y Wladfa os bydd prawfion digonol eu bod nhw yn cael eu camddefnyddio’ (*Y Gwilyedydd* will be ready to defend the public interest of *y Wladfa* if there is sufficient evidence that it has been mishandled), proposed the editor in the first issue, and he also launched a verbal attack on ‘other publications’. He may have well been referring to *Y Drafod* when he said: ‘Ceisiwn bob amser roddi mwy o wirionedd a synnwyr cyffredin nag a geir yn aml mewn cyhoeddiadau ereill, sydd heb ddim ond eu sychter a’u diflaster i gynnal eu honiad fel cyhoeddiadau dwfn ac athronyddol’ (We will always strive to provide more truth and common sense than is often to be found in some other publications, that only have their dryness and boredom to uphold their claim that they are deep and philosophical publications).<sup>85</sup>

As far as content is concerned, *Y Gwilyedydd* was similar to *Y Drafod*, although articles in Spanish and English of general interest were more frequent. Reports of football matches, of international boxing matches and athletics were also found in English.<sup>86</sup> In this aspect, the paper offered an alternative, lighter angle to the information that could have appealed to the Chubut readers. However, the paper eventually folded short of celebrating a decade of uninterrupted publishing. The last issue of *Y Gwilyedydd* was published 15 December 1938. No reasons were given for the abrupt demise of the paper, but economic factors or lack of support may provide a

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<sup>85</sup> *Y Gwilyedydd*, 12 August 1929.

<sup>86</sup> *Y Gwilyedydd*, 19 August 1929.

plausible explanation. The publication of *Y Gwiliedydd* shows that *y Wladfa* was not only ‘yn llawn ysbryd anturus yn llenyddol... a bod yno lawer o ddawn ac egni meddyliol’ (full of an adventurous literary spirit ... and that there was lots of talent and mental energy there),<sup>87</sup> but also that there was a sector within the Welsh-Patagonian community that did not feel that *Y Drafod* represented them fairly. In 1929, those responsible for publishing *Y Gwiliedydd* may have felt that a wider, uncensored debate was needed to steer *y Wladfa* out of the economic, cultural, linguistic and religious crisis it was experiencing. The timing was adequate, since the settlement was on the brink of facing tremendous changes that would have profound consequences in the short and long term.

The crisis that destroyed the Coop had a direct impact on the future of *Y Drafod*, since the society was the owner of the paper. The newspaper, as was the case many times in its history, was running at a loss, and it was the backing of the Coop that kept it alive. In 1933, *Y Drafod* was sold to two individuals who intended to carry on publishing it as a private venture.<sup>88</sup> By 24 March 1933 the paper’s offices had been moved from Trelew to Gaiman, and there was a major change in its content: the Spanish articles were dropped in favour of Welsh ones only. The Spanish items found their way onto the pages of *El Mentor* (The Mentor), a Spanish-language paper founded by those in charge of publishing *Y Drafod*. In the editorial column of the first number of *Y Drafod* printed in the Gaiman offices the editor explained the reasons behind the founding of the Spanish-language partner: ‘teimlem, pan fyddai angen adolygu ysgrifau, gwyntyllu syniadau a chyhoeddi erthyglau ar faterion o bwys, mai prin iawn oedd ein

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<sup>87</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 24.

<sup>88</sup> Jorge Luis Barzini, ‘La Compañía Mercantil del Chubut’, in Comité Organizador (ed.), *Los Galeses en la Patagonia II* (Puerto Madryn: fundación Ameghino, 2004), 159. The names of the two individuals are not known. In spite of the changes, Richard Nichols carried on as editor of the paper until 1935.

gofod, i wneud chwarae teg a'r gwahanol faterion heb i hynny dolli gormod ar adran y Gymraeg' (we felt that, when we needed to review essays, ventilate ideas and publish articles on important matters, the space was rather scarce to treat the various matters fairly without curtailing too much from the Welsh-language section).<sup>89</sup> It is striking that lack of space is mentioned as a problem when it was common at that stage for the editors to beg the readers to send contributions, especially those among the younger generations. An extreme example of the paucity of the content of *Y Drafod* can be found in the edition of 11 October 1929, where five and a half of the eight pages of the paper were occupied by advertisements. One page is entirely in Welsh –it contains a 'Colofn Ddiwinyddol' (Theological Column), a report of a meeting by a correspondent from Gaiman, and the obituaries of two colonists. Another page is taken up mostly by the 'Sección Castellana' and includes three announcements of meetings in Welsh, and the remaining half page contains communiqués by the Trelew Council. While not all editions of *Y Drafod* were so poor in terms of content, this was the prevailing pattern towards the end of the 1920s.

Two other important reasons were provided for the founding of the exclusively Spanish-language *El Mentor*: 'Disgwyliwn hefyd y try'r anturiaeth y moddion i ennill mwy o gefnogaeth a chynorthwy ein cymdogion Ladinaidd [*sic.*]' (We expect that the enterprise will provide the means to win more support and assistance from our Latin neighbours). The final reason had a clear linguistic purpose: 'Gall plant aelwydydd Cymraeg y Wladfa sydd ar hyn o bryd yn derbyn addysg yn yr Ysgolion Cenedlaethol fanteisio ar y newyddur.... i ymglyfarwyddo yn y ddwy iaith, a dyletswydd y rhieni ymestyn pob cyfleusterau posibl i'w plant' (the children of Welsh homes of y *Wladfa*

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<sup>89</sup> *Y Drafod*, 24 March 1933.

who are currently being educated in the National Schools can take advantage of the newspaper... to familiarise themselves with both languages, and it is a responsibility of the parents to give every possible opportunity to their children). Those in charge of producing *Y Drafod* and its alter ego *El Mentor* were still adhering to the principles set by Lewis Jones forty years in advance. However, it was a sign of the times that in this case the kind of culture, refinement and intellectual debate that the papers were trying to promote had a strong Spanish-language component.

## **Conclusions**

In this chapter we have seen the gradual but progressive decline of the Welsh community, its institutions and its cultural heritage evidenced in the pages of *Y Drafod*. Although the concern about the survival of the Welsh language would be voiced more desperately towards the end of the 1930s, it is in the 1920s, when the Welsh community, still in the wake of the slumber of the post-war years, felt the impact of a process that had been in the making for decades: the incorporation of Welsh descendants into the wider Argentine community. The undercurrents of change that had been brewing increasingly stronger in the 1910s –with the growth of nationalism inspired in pan-Hispanism and Catholicism– manifested themselves in the 1920s in the newspaper. A myriad of socio-political, cultural and demographic changes had altered the essence of *y Wladfa* generating, among other things, internal fissures in the Welsh community as a result of the conflicting views as to which road to follow in the face of a deep and long-lasting crisis. The bankruptcy of the Coop –owners of *Y Drafod* and the economic backbone of *y Wladfa*– meant that the prestige and real power of the Welsh-Patagonian community had been destroyed beyond repair.

Unless an unexpected turn of events would alter the course of history dramatically, the Welsh in Patagonia were fighting a lost battle. *Y Drafod* was slowly beginning to become what Irma Hughes de Jones, the editor from 1953 until 2003, said her task was: maintaining the newspaper was a tribute to the sacrifices made by the forefathers,<sup>90</sup> in the same way that in the case of *Y Drych* in North America ‘sentimentality largely accounted for its continuance’ after the 1920s.<sup>91</sup> It is perhaps this particular resilience of the first Welsh pioneers, transmitted across generations, that has contributed to the survival of *Y Drafod* until now.

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<sup>90</sup> Speech given by Irma Hughes de Jones in 1968 in the ceremony to commemorate the centenary of the founding of *Y Brut*. See Irma Hughes de Jones, ‘Crónica de la celebración del centenario del periódico *Y Brut*’, in *Cuadernos Históricos del Chubut II*, (Rawson, 1968). See Conclusions, 246.

<sup>91</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections. Y Drych & America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2001), 80.

## Conclusions

Fierce debates appeared on the pages of *Y Drafod* in the 1930s and the following decades lamenting the decadence of younger generations and their abandonment of the language. Painstaking efforts were made to salvage the language from drowning in the sea of Spanish generated by the national education system and the growing presence of Spanish-speaking neighbours. The paper continued to promote activities through the medium of Welsh: ‘cymanfaoedd canu’ (congregational hymn-singing festivals) were regularly advertised in its pages, and also the eisteddfodau received considerable attention every year. The programmes were printed in advance and once the eisteddfod was over, a detailed list of those who had been victorious in different competitions was printed, as well as the ‘beirniadaethau’ (adjudications) for the most important competitions. Smaller, local eisteddfodau (known as ‘cyrddau llenyddol’: literary meetings) were also publicised and received coverage by local correspondents. In short, *Y Drafod* strove earnestly to fulfil its original aim of promoting Welsh culture in Patagonia and creating an atmosphere conducive to the intellectual enlightenment of the settlers. As the socio-cultural nature of the settlement changed, it became ever more important in the struggle to preserve the legacy and the dream of the Welsh pioneers, at least on paper. The real impact of a newspaper is always difficult to gauge, but it can be assumed that the younger generations, increasingly fluent in informal-oral Welsh only, did not directly benefit from the political, cultural and religious debates that speckled the pages of *Y Drafod* until 1952.

It is Evan Thomas's period as editor of *Y Drafod* (1945-1952) that embodies this time of demise and transformations that were affecting the Welsh community. Brought up a bilingual speaker, Thomas had to make an effort to master written Welsh.<sup>1</sup> In his provocative writings he displayed the contradictions of his time, calling for reviving the language and the traditions while at the same time encouraging full integration into the Argentinean society.<sup>2</sup> The reality is that by the time that Evan Thomas died in 1952, most of the Welsh speakers had decided not to transmit the language to the younger generation and, as a result, most youngsters had leaned towards the Argentinean mainstream society and values.<sup>3</sup>

During what could be considered the second stage of *Y Drafod* –after the death of Evan Thomas– if we analyse the history of the paper from its beginnings until nowadays, it was the element of intellectual debate which had been the primal idea behind the founding of the paper that was notoriously absent, except for a sporadic enlightened contribution by the scholar Arthur Hughes or the reprint of an article from the *Drafod*'s golden age. This lack of intellectual debate was not the result of editorial policy but, sadly, evidence that the majority of the Welsh descendants had abandoned the Welsh language as their main means of expression. Although the Welsh language would continue to be spoken, the on-going process of language erosion that it was undergoing meant that the higher registers were being lost, and that Welsh was increasingly confined to being a spoken language only<sup>4</sup> –a process that is experienced by most immigrant communities that settle in a country where another language other

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<sup>1</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Rhyddiaith y Wladfa* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1949), 30.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, *Y Drafod* 29 March 1940; 13 April 1945; 21 September 1946.

<sup>3</sup> R. Bryn Williams, *Y Wladfa* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1962), 295.

<sup>4</sup> Although the formal language was maintained in the chapels, chapel attendance had decreased sharply by the 1950s, especially among the younger generations who welcomed the arrival of Spanish speaking missionaries of the Methodist Church in that very decade. For more details, see Alberto Abdala and Matthew Henry Jones, *Capillas del Valle* (Trelew: Comisión del Centenario, 1965).

than theirs is the main language.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the newspapers that service that immigrant community in its mother tongue tend to disappear when language change becomes the norm among younger generations.<sup>6</sup>

Given the dwindling number of readers, credit must be given to Irma Hughes's tenacity in continuing to publish *Y Drafod* in the second half of the twentieth century and into the twenty first century. In a meeting organised in 1968 by the provincial authorities to commemorate the centenary of the publication of *Y Brut*, the first newspaper in Chubut, Irma Hughes had the chance to express her aim in publishing *Y*

*Drafod*:

Se nos ha preguntado alguna vez qué es lo que nos hace persistir con tanto afán en una tarea que parecería, en cierto modo, hasta carente de sentido puesto que el castellano constituye hoy el idioma de nuestro diario vivir. A lo cual tengo que contestar que habiendo sido criada en un hogar donde existía un amor casi rayano en el fanatismo hacia la Argentina y todo lo argentino, donde se nos presentaba de continuo como ejemplo a los próceres argentinos y como guía a la Constitución Nacional, sin excluir por ello en ningún momento a las tradiciones galesas y la herencia cultural traída desde Gales a estas tierras, me he hecho el deber de procurar mantener vivo a toda costa a todo lo cual es adaptable al sentir argentino a fin de enriquecer a nuestra patria con este aporte celta.<sup>7</sup>

(We have been asked what makes us persist with so much effort with a task that may look somehow pointless, as Spanish is our daily language nowadays. I have to answer that I have been brought up in a home where we loved Argentina and Argentine traditions almost fanatically, and where the national heroes and the National Constitution were set as examples. Nevertheless, the Welsh traditions and the cultural heritage brought from Wales were never excluded, and I have taken it onto myself to try to keep alive everything that

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<sup>5</sup> Joshua Fishman, *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1989), 206.

<sup>6</sup> See Sally M. Miller (ed.), *The Ethnic Press in the United States. A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987) for an account of the death of ethnic papers in many immigrant communities in the United States. However, an interesting exception was *Bien*, a Danish newspaper that found a formula to survive by including information about the motherland, other Danish-American colonies and the United States and its citizens. Thus, the paper avoided competing with the big newspapers that covered American and world news adequately. See Marion Tuttle Marzolf, 'The Danish Press', in Sally M. Miller (ed.), *The Ethnic Press in the United States* (New York, 1987), 59-69. *Y Drafod* followed a similar policy.

<sup>7</sup> See Irma Hughes de Jones, 'Crónica de la celebración del centenario del periódico *Y Brut*', in *Cuadernos Históricos del Chubut II*, (Rawson, 1968).

may be adapted to the Argentinean being in order to enrich our homeland with our Celtic contribution.)

Bearing in mind the linguistic competence of the prospective readers and potential contributors, it is no wonder that Irma's *Drafod* differs so much in its aim and its content from the previous incarnations of that Welsh Patagonian periodical. During the late 1970s and 1980s, the newspaper became mainly a literary journal, reproducing in its pages the literary works that had won prizes at the local eisteddfodau, local news concerning the Welsh community and local events. In a way reminiscent of the plight of *Y Drafod* in its early days, Irma Hughes repeatedly asked for contributions in Welsh from voluntary correspondents from the different areas of the Valley about any matter that could be of interest, but her pleas went unanswered almost without exception. By that time, the paper had moved closer to being a bilingual publication, as many of the literary eisteddfod works or information columns were in Spanish.

Nevertheless, an unforeseen Welsh language revival experienced in the 1990s changed the nature of *Y Drafod* once again. It was during that decade that volunteers from Wales ventured to Chubut to teach Welsh to an ever-growing number of learners of all ages who believed it was worth reviving or learning about the language and culture of their forefathers.<sup>8</sup> This increasing interest led to the implementation of the Welsh Teaching Programme, funded by the British Council and the Welsh Assembly.<sup>9</sup> The input from Wales coupled with the response from the local community led to a renewed interest and a burgeoning Welsh scene in Patagonia.

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<sup>8</sup> *Y Drafod* in the early 1990s is probably the best source to show the growing interest in Welsh matters in Chubut .

<sup>9</sup> For more information about the nature of the project, its aims and results, the annual reports can be accessed in <http://www.britishcouncil.org/wales-education-welsh-language-project.htm>

The number of tourists and visitors from Wales, as well as film crews from S4C, increased significantly every year. Exchange students started coming every summer to Wales to learn or refine their command of Welsh. In short, the Welsh language and heritage seemed relevant to an increasing number of people, even to many who were not of Welsh origin.

The excitement generated by these momentous developments is reflected in *Y Drafod*. A sense of hope pervades the pages of the paper towards the end of the twentieth century. After all, the doomed ideals for which Irma Hughes had kept on toiling for almost fifty years seemed to have come to life again.<sup>10</sup> As a consequence, there arose the need to adapt *Y Drafod* to the new reality. There would still be space for the eisteddfod writings but there was a considerable amount of fresh information to fill several pages of the paper: accounts of visitors from Wales, meetings in the chapels, books being published either in Welsh or Spanish about *y Wladfa*, writings by learners and a strong element of transnationality resulting from the fluid contact with Wales.<sup>11</sup> It seemed that *Y Drafod* was experiencing a well-earned revival that would reward Irma Hughes for her exertions. However, the number of issues per annum did not increase, and regularity continues to be a problem. However, in spite of its many shortcomings, *Y Drafod* remains a symbol of the resilience of the Patagonian Welsh community. Every edition is awaited eagerly by readers on both sides of the Atlantic. Because of the language erosion process –that was not reversed with the renewed

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<sup>10</sup> Irma Hughes de Jones died in April 2003. In the following month she would have celebrated fifty years as editor of *Y Drafod*.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, in 1990, the column ‘*Gair o Walia*’ with news from Wales, for which Valmai Jones –a Patagonian expat in Wales– had been responsible was revived by Gwilym Roberts, a Cardiff Welsh tutor, under the title ‘*Gair o’r Hen Wlad*’. The column has been written lately by Elvira Austin, herself a Patagonian who settled in Wales in the 1970s.

interest of the 1990s– the paper services a global community instead of a local group as it did in its origins and for most the part of its existence.

In Chapter 3 we saw how print culture had been a constituent element of the Patagonian venture from its early beginnings. The press, which had been used in the United States and in Wales to discuss channelling Welsh emigration to a single destination, was employed by the promoters of Patagonia –also complemented by publishing a book and delivering lectures across the country– as a means to attract the necessary number of immigrants to realise their dream. Once in Patagonia, publishing played a prominent role in securing the success of the settlement amid the hardship of the early years, and it prodded the settlers to take interest and responsibility for their political rights at a time when the conditions in *y Wladfa* were changing due to the Argentine State gaining increasing control of the southern territories. The appearance of print culture in the settlement is also a reminder of the importance assigned to the press as a vehicle for ventilating matters that affected the community.

Chapter 4 chronicled and assessed the foundation and the development of *Y Drafod* in the Chubut Valley in its first two decades of existence. Although born with explicit cultural aims in mind and, according to the editor, targeting the younger generations in particular, the paper soon became a multi-task organ that promoted a specific strain of Welshness that was deemed desirable and that was validated and almost sacralised by the memory of the efforts of the pioneers to settle in remote Patagonia in order to preserve their identity. The newspaper became a teacher that passed on this knowledge to the younger generations as if from some sort of journalistic pulpit and, in so doing, it became a guardian of everything that was worth maintaining, the saviour of the Welshness that was increasingly under threat. *Y Drafod* also became

also a literary fortress that protected and segregated the Welsh-Patagonians from the polluting effects of the ‘surroundings’, helping to create a situation of ‘us vs. them’ that was not found to the same degree in the North American or Australian Welsh diaspora, where integrating into the new society –although retaining some degree of Welshness– was seen as a desirable aim. In fulfilling this ambitious task, *Y Drafod* found support from a network of Welsh publications from Wales and from the Welsh diaspora that made the settlers members of an imagined transcontinental community. Their fight to retain their identity became then not the lunatic endeavour of a small group of outcasts but the conjunct effort of a nation scattered across the globe. The appearance of the Spanish-language press in the Chubut Valley during this period was a clear sign of the advent of a new era in the twentieth century. A growing Spanish-speaking community needed a periodical publication that would cater for their needs.

In Chapter 5 we saw how the beginning of the First World War brought momentous changes to *Y Drafod* and the Welsh-Patagonian community. The content of the paper focused heavily on news about the conflict, almost to the point of completely neglecting reporting local events, at least for the first three years. In terms of the struggle for preserving the kind of Welshness that *Y Drafod* promoted, the war years were paradoxically the calm before the storm. It was as if the winds of change had gradually eroded the foundations of *y Wladfa* while the Welsh-Patagonians were busy looking towards Europe. However, the almost obsessive reporting of the conflict in the early years can also be read as an attempt to clutch to a homeland that was beginning to become increasingly removed: in 1911 the last organised contingent had arrived from Wales and in 1914 communications with the old country came to a complete standstill. At the same time, a heightened sense of belonging to the British

Empire became prevalent –if Britishness had been to varying degrees a component of the mosaic of Welsh-Patagonian identity, the First World War brought it to the forefront, and the dissenting voices remained a minority. Playing the British card also gave the Welsh the status that came with having a strong connection with the British Empire.<sup>12</sup> Despite the efforts of *Y Drafod* to promote Britishness and Welshness, towards the end of the decade, the first signs of a nascent double Welsh-Argentine identity were already visible on the pages of the paper. We also saw how the Welsh community manifested its vitality and plurality of opinion with the creation of a competitor for *Y Drafod*. Although the experiment was short lived compared with the longevity of *Y Drafod*, the appearance of *Y Gwerinwr* bears testimony to the fact that the settlement had a plurality of voices that needed to find channels of expression.

Chapter 6 covered the beginning of the end of the dream of a distinctively Welsh settlement in Patagonia. With the conclusion of a war that had brought the Welsh Patagonians closer to feeling part of the world-wide British Empire, the increasing number of immigrants of different nationalities that settled in Chubut, the death of the older generation of pioneers born in Wales, the pervasive economic crises of the 1920s coupled with the world-wide impact of the Wall Street crash in 1929 and its repercussion in the early 1930s, the coming into adulthood of new generations of Welsh-Patagonians educated through the nationalistic Argentine primary school system and the increasing nationalistic overtones that Argentine political life displayed, *y Wladfa* found it gradually more difficult to kindle the fire that had inspired the original leaders to found the colony and sustain its peculiarities. *Y Drafod* swam courageously against the stream, kept calm and carried on, but the contributors

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<sup>12</sup>See Matthew (ed.), *Informal Empire in Latin America. Culture, Commerce and Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008).

became fewer, the younger generations were turning their back on their Welsh heritage and the road to cultural erosion became a one-way lane. However the will and determination of the pioneers and the strength of their ideals were factors that sustained the paper through the difficult times. In fact, it is almost miraculous that the paper appeared at all, and credit must be given to the vision, commitment and even stubbornness of the editors and contributors for keeping *Y Drafod* alive.

It must be said that the period in the history of the Welsh press in *y Wladfa* from the beginnings of the settlement up until the mid-1930s can be seen from at least two opposite sides. On the one hand, the history of *Y Drafod* in particular may be read as a sad but brave chronicle of resilience against cultural and identitarian erosion, transformations and inevitable demise. However on the other hand, from the point of view of Argentina, the same events can be analysed as a further example of the success of the Argentine Government in incorporating into its fold a myriad of peoples whose contribution was paramount in the process of nation building that yielded as a result modern Argentina.

Regrettably the scope of a doctoral thesis does not allow for exploring the issues and complexities that arise from studying the history of *Y Drafod* from the 1930s until the present. Such an ambitious research project would surely uncover more about how the Welsh ethnic press evolved throughout the decades and into the twenty-first century servicing an ethnic community that has by now veered away from the path leading to the complete loss of its sense of Welshness and looks eagerly towards celebrating the sesquicentennial of the landing of the first contingent of Welsh settlers in Patagonia.

# Appendix 1: Front covers of printed Welsh-Patagonian newspapers

Ein Breiniad, 21 September 1878

# EIN BREINIAD

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**Rhiv 1.                      Dydd Sadwrn, Medi 21, 1878.**

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### Hysbysiaidau.

**GWYL CYMDEITHAS LENYDDOL TRERAWSON**  
TESTYN YCHWANEGOL.  
28.—Am ganu yr Alaw "Y daigrn olaf" Gwobr 2a. 6c, gan Br. H. H. Hughes, Hendre, gan yr hwn y gellir cael copi o'r alaw.

**50,000 O VRICS.**

CYNYGR Saith o Wartheg am wneyd haner can' mil o vrics yn yr amrwd, h.y., heb eu llosgi. I vod yn barod erbyn y Nadoig.  
Ymgyner ag L. Jones, Plas Heddwch.

**EIN GOHEBWYR.**

CHWARELWR.—Ysgrivenydd y Cynghor all roddi adroddiad o weithrediau y Cynghor am y tymhor sydd yn terwynu, yn gystal a phresenoldeb yr aelodau. Puriion peth vyddai cael yr olaf beth bynag.

UN HEB EI DAL.—Nid ydym yn gwybod a gaed cyrffon y Fos Vawr eto gan yr Arolgydd ai peidio. Tua £400 gallein ni dybio yw cyfrivoldeb y Wladva ar y gwaith hwnw.

**OS GWELWCH YN DDA.**

Os bydd rhywun o gwr uchaw y Sevyddiad (o'r Gaiman yn neilldu) yn Nherawson voren Sadwrn, teimlen yn ddiolchgar ped elent a'r 4 neu 5 appyn i'r Dosbarthwyr ar eu fordd. Byddant i'w cael gan Br. Robt. F. Jones, yn yr Ystordy.

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### EIN BREINIAD.

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**EGLURHAD.**

Niver o vreinwyr y Wladva yn teimlo y dyldd cyfroi y sevyddwyr i gymeryd dyddordeb yn yr Etholiad agosaol, ac nad oedd well cywrwg i gyrhaedd yr amcan hwnw na thrwy y wasg, a danysgriviasant y swm rheidiol i ddi-golledu y cyhoeddwr am len wythnosol vel hon am y pump neu chwech wythnos hyd yr Etholiad. Y pris i bawb ond y tanysgrivwyr ydd zair o'nios yr un, a nodir Dosbarthwyr yn mhob ardal, gan y rhai y byddant i'w cael yn ystod pob dydd Sadwrn.

Gwahoddir gohebiaethau oddiwrth bawb yn ddiwahaniaeth yn nghylch llywodraethiaf y Wladva, a'r Etholiad agosaol; ond disgwyli'r i bawb vod yn vyr, gan y gwelir mai cywyng yw y lle. Wrth gwrs, nid ydym gyfrivol am olygiadau y gohebwyr.

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**BLOEDD CORN GWLAD.**

Ymysgwydd y Wladva! Ai dibris genym ein Breiniad—insele ein dyndod gwladol? Pa mor chwithig bynag yw y vywolaeth yma, ragor yr hyn bortreadodd llawer iddynt eu hunain wrth gychwyn, y mae ein rhyddvrein- iad (a'n hiechyd) yn gafaeliad trwydd. Gwylter na vo i'n hir gynevodod a

GWASANAETHU ein gwneyd yn ddibris o'r vrait a'r gallu i LYWODRAETHU. Y mae i ni vilodd lawer o vrodyr yn Hen Wlad ein Tadau yn dyheu am ryw lais yn llywodraethiad eu gwlad—ond yn over; a phe cawsent, y maent mor ychydig yn y pentwr aruthrol vel na vyddai eu llef ond main, main ar y goreu. Ein cevnderwydd, y Gwyddelod, a geisiant yn ddyval uno eu gwaedd hwy am Hunanlywodraeth—ac y maent hwy lawer luosocach cenedl na nynt—ond gwawdir y waedd vel ysgrach anhywaeth, an-nheilwng o unrhyw sylw angen na doddi bysodd yn y clustiau rhagddi. Eithr'ninan yma ydym oll yn vreinio. Nid ynnig nynt sydd i ddyweyd pa rodd a phwy i'n llywodraethu, ond nynt hevyd sydd i lywodraethu. Ai bachi o beth hyn genych, chwí wehel-yth breinwyr Hywel Dda? Tebycach o lawer mai heb lawn synio yn ei gylch yr ydych, oherwydd hir bylu ein syniadaeth wleidyddol gan wasgveun amgylchiadau yn Nghymru yn llyngau pobpeth iddynt eu hunain. Er's canrifoedd y mae ein cenedl ni heb ymarver dim a'r ddawn wleidyddol, am nad oedd ganddi wlad. Eithr wele genym ni Wlad yn awr, a rhaid ymysgwyd ati o ddivriv i'w gwleidyddia.

Ymesgusodir, meddir i ni, drwy ddyweyd—

- 1.—Vod y Wladva yn rhy vechan eto i wneuthur trevniadau Gwlad ar ei chlyver.
- 2.—Ei bod mor newydd vel y gellir dygmod heb nemawr ddim trevniadau.
- 3.—Ein bod oll mor amhroviadol o drevnu a gweinyddu gwleidyddiaeth, vel nad oes obaith y gwnaem lun yn y byd ohoni.

Dyna yn union y rhesymau sydd genym ninan dros roddi y vloedd hon i ddadebru y wlad. Pan y mae y Wladva yn vechan y mae hawdd ei chyvlunio i gyvudren; a thra y mae ei breinwyr yn ychydig y mae banllaw rob us yn bwysig. Os na wneir trevniadau mewn gwlad newydd, ve dyv arverion gwyrngam yn eu lle y rhaid eu diwreiddio yn y man, ac velly beri vod y gwaith yn anhaws vil o weithiau y pryd hwnw. Ac os ydym amhroviadol, yr addysg gymhwysav o bob peth i'n gloywi ydyw travod ein hamgylchiadau gwleidyddol yn llawn dyddordeb, gan ein bod yn hollol ymwybyddus ac ymdeimladwy ohonynt.

Tra y mae ein Gwlad eto heb ym-wyniau angerddol pleidiau gwleidyddol yn cydyndrechu, gadewch i ni gydymgodi yn wladgar i drevnu ein ty,—modd y bo genym dderbynu ddyogel i wasgedigion cywyngderau yr Hen Wlad, ac y gadawom i'r cenedlaethau o Wladvawyr a ddal ar ein hol achos i vendithio ein henwau vel sylvaenwyr eu Gwlad a'u Breiniau.

### Hysbysion Swyddol.

**YSGRIVENYDD A RHESTRYDD Y WLADVA.**

—AT YR ETHOLWR.

Gymrodyr Breiniol.—Gwybyddus yw vod tymhor vy ngwasanaeth vel Ysgrivenydd y Wladva ar derynnu. Ar ddynesiad etholiadau blaenorol yr oeddwn droion yn goddev vy ngosod, a phryd arall yn ymgeis eilchwyl am y swydd. Eleni, rhag bod nebun mewn amrynsedd, hysbysais amryw ar lavar eisoes, a chymerav yn awr gyvle mwy cyhoeddus, i roddi ar ddeall vy mod yn ymddihatu yn hollol o'r swydd ar hyn o bryd.

Ymhellach: Ddeudeng mlynedd a haner yn ol etholwyr vi yn Rhestrydd a Threngolydd y Wladva, am ysbaid amhenodol, ac yr vwy wedi dal y swyddau hyn hyd heddyw. Ond yn awr yr vwy yn eu rhoddi yn llaw yr etholwyr yr un modd a'r swydd arall.

Ond er vy mod yn ymneilldu o'r swyddau uchod, nid vwy yn encilio o wasanaeth cyhoeddus y Wladva. Yr vwy yn cynyg vy hun yn aelod i'r Cynghor, ac yn govyn am bleidlais y breinwyr i hyn yn yr Etholiad dyddol. Hyderav nad oes angen i mi nodi unrhyw varn na syniadau, gan vy mod yn dal rhyw swydd na'i gil-ydd yn ddivwlch er y dydd y sevyddwyd y Wladva. Bydded yr hyn a vu yn ernes o'r hyn a vydd.

Ydwyv, yr eiddoch yn ddfuanf,  
R. J. BERWYN.

Perllanhelyg,  
Medi 18, 1878.

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### Llais y Wlad.

**BETH DDYLIWN I O HONI III.**

Anwl gyveillion.—Dyma ni wedi caul math o bapur newudd or diwadd hie. Ac wir gollia i y buid o mor hwnw i ni a chlypanad o de, ac yn llawar iachach na straton clwyddog vel sudd yn mund drwr wlad ma, neuwedig ar amsar pwusig vel su arnon ni rwan. Ron i yn mund i'r Geuman rwsnos dwytha ar newudd vod Hong wedi colli yn rhwla tua Santa Crwa, ond roudi y stori wedi mund o mlaun i vod tair wedi mund yn ddarna; a phan on i yn cochwn yr oudd us or dynion lla yn caul i enwi yn Ynad, ond erbun i mi gyradd Geuman y dan mwua yn y wlad odd o. Vel na ma pob peth, yn chwaddo vel casag eira. Ma rhen Luvr yn deud vod y clwyddog yn mund or diwadd i goullo i galwdd i hun. Mau arna i ova y byddwa nina wedi mund mor bell a hynv sna chawn ni rwbath tebig i hwn i'w britho miswn du a gwun, ac ono mi gym-rwn ovol beth i ddeud ar ol pobol, ac ou blaena nhw hevud.

Vel y deudis i or blaen am y dwnoda pwusig su ar yn gwartha ni rwan—dyma on in veddwl, y Tholiad ma. Ma hwn yn bwusig iawn i ni gid. Eru gawn ni yn y Cynghor. Pwu fitiach vod no, a phwu na ddylsa vod no. Gydwch i ni ddewis dynion iawn, yn lle rhw labwstiad o dynion von wasgd vel coudan pan yn deud rhwbath, rhag ovni i bod nhwn grous i deimlad rhwun Sna ddywiswn ni ddynton iawn i'r Cynghor ni vyddwn, yn gneud sbort or Cynghor, ac

# Y DRAFFOD

## NEWYDDUR Y WLADVA.

Rhiv. I.

Diwrnod Sadwrn, Ionawr 17, 1891.

### Newyddion Cyfredinol.

**Y WERNIAETH.**—Aneamwyth a dyrys yw sefyllfa wleidyddol. Yr oedd y Gyd-gynghorfa yn eiddoedd yn y briddinas, ar afael arbennig, i drefnu yn gyvassoeddol se gyrrer y cywngwyl a mae'r Llywodraeth yn gadael dan hen y llyso yw aglyd. Cwtegodd y Werniaeth \$18,000,000 ar y cretiau ganatasa y Gyd-gynghorfa, ond se wydd wedi hynny nae gellid talu fordd heb sbwnegu y cyllid drwy ragor o ddrath; ac i ganiatu hynny y galwyd y seneddwy'r yn aglyd i cistodid arbennig—oblegid heb gryncholiwyr y boll nae gellir tretha. Heblaw trymha trath gwnoedd a ddyddid neodwol, a myglu, cynygir codi treth ar alverion y wlad—gwian, crwyn, gwer (eithro ydan). Trethir hefyd gwrw a gwirod waer yw y wlad, oeddynt o'r blaen yn rhydd. Codir y cant ar arian adewr ar log mewn banciau heblaw yr un Cenedl-asthol. Tollir ewmniau jawrol tramor yn drwm. Trymheir amryw drwyddedau, yn heau'r rhai a wneolent a chwinnant cryvion tramor.

Wrth orya y caniatid i oedd y bechianu ariannol uchod, mynegir yr Arglydd yn ei gendawri y fygurau diwrol canlynol:—

Dyled y Genedl	159,385,106 (aur)
Teletthau (heb gyrrer)	78,405,418
Buenos Ayres	130,000,000
Buenos Ayres, tua	130,000,000
385,690,524	
Y mae llog yr uchod, y naill rai gyda'u gilydd, yn gwyn danfon heb mis—	
Dyled y Genedl	888,000
Teletthau	440,800
Buenos Ayres	427,000
Aur 1,785,800	
Er mis Awst diwdddar y mae'r Llywodraeth Genedlaethol wedi danvon i Ewrop ar gyfer yr uchod o chynorthwyo i reilffyrdd—	
Rfnoedd	21,535,000 sef 77,988,400
France	4,350,000 sef 970,000
Papur	1,000,000 sef 150,000
Cyrrivir y cyllid am y vlyddyn vel y canlyn:—	
Tollau ar wnyddau	333,405,000
chwangol mewnau	4,881,000
Trethoedd, treyddedau, &c.	20,735,000
Papur 49,114,000	
Tra yr oedd y treuliau ganatasa y Seneid yn	
37,853,277	
Gweddill P. 1,269,722	
Eithir yr oedd genym i'w talu mewn aur yn chwangol	
Llog y dyled	10,850,000
Rasidlydd	3,429,510
Aur 14,143,510	

Gan fod sefyllfa ariannol y Llywodraeth vel uchod, nid gwiw digwyll lai na od cyrrer masnach o ddrwg i washt na hynny. Yn y trysyllid diwrol uchod, nid rhydded yw sefyllfa wleidyddol lawn mor gwnoedd, yth er chywngwyl milwrol Gorpheav (oblegid dyna ynoedd hwnw, er i'r dinas-yddion rthro i mewn pan agorodd y wdddar), y mae aneamwythder parhaus yn y rhyddia: yr awddroddau heb deimio ymddiried yn y awddroddion a'r milwyr, ac yn se cywngwyl a danvon o le i le. Yr oedd ariany awddroddion wedi se cywngwyl i vynu yn ddiweddar.

Agwrn y gynen, wrth gwra, yw. Pwy wneir yn Arlywydd nesaf? Er vod agos i ddwy vlynedd eto, cyn adeg yr etholiad, aiaos mae yn amser dechreu tyra yn y llysoau, a'r pleidiau yn ceisio ymfurvio. Yn y Werniaeth bresenol y mae'r Arlywydd a'r Ffrwyddog yn perthyn i'r blaidd oedd mewn awddrodd, tra y mae y lleid yn perthyn i amryw gwa-bleidiau ydan yn mae a'u gilydd i gaeio codi y Werniaeth o'r pwl, ond heb gywngwyl a'u gilydd eto pwy rydd eu dyn. Mae yr un gymyngwa a ddyg ymddiried yn y rhan vlydd o'r taleithiau, yn cawodig yn mhalaeth vawr B. Ayres. Yn y briddinas y mae plaid gwr wedi enwi y Cadridog Mitre vel eu hmyngwylid—y cyn-Arlywydd o 1861—7: y mae eue ei hun yn Ewrob ar wib, a dywed na sair os na chytina yr amrywioel bleidiau ar ei enw. Mae y gymundid mawr, yr Undeb Breithiol, yn galw cynulleid o'r gwahano dalothiau i Roario y mis hwn, i gaeio o'd i ddeall-terwasth ar y mater, rhag cynhyrre y wlad yn ormodol drwy y syyngder sydd arni yn awr.

**CADULLAS BUENOS AYRES.**—Meth o vlliau arian ar droedid yw y rhai hyn, wedi eu meichiau gan y Dalseth. Rhodidid allan vllwiau ar vllwiau, naechwyn ar droedid yn y Dalseth, yn ol prisiad penoddyr i'r perwyl; yna elai yr echwynyrr a'r biliau hyn i'r vachnad arian i'w gwerthu yn ol y pris a gadd; ac vel yr oedd yr ymddiried yn llethau, costyngai y \$100 nes o'r diwedd vod ond gwerth \$35, tra yr oedd yr echwynyrr i dalu llog ar \$100. Ond gwelwyd cyn hir vod prisiad i'w uchel wedi ei roddi ar y tiroedd, vel yr oedd well gan yr echwynyrr adeil gwertha y tiroedd na thali y llogau. Canlyniad hyn ydoedd i'r Dalseth, orvod talu y llogau y meichiasid drostynt; ond gan ei bod hithau yn methu talu ei fordd, yr oedd raid cyllunio rhyw wared-igaeth, nes y denai i'w tiroedd a ddellid o rwy werth marchandol eto. Y mae Ddeddwy'r y Dalseth yn awr newydd gmeradwyo cyn-llun ryweth tebyg i hyn; Newid y biliau doleri papur cynwoidiol presenol am rai aur, ond—100 o'r rhai newydd am 200 o'r hen rai, se 84 am 200 o'r rhai diwdddar; adeg y rhwedd mwy yn y prisiad cyrrivir i'r vel hyn gtravrod y 296,702,000 sredd ddyledus gyda 150,275,836 \$ AUR. Pwy rydd yn y golled o'r gwahaniaeth? neu pwy sydd ar eu henill? Y bancwyr Glyn, Mills & Co, Lludain, sydd yn crygu bod yn gyrrivrol i gario hwn allan, a chan mai gan arianwyr Ewrob y delir awmp mawr y cedelwod hyn, tebyg eu bod hwy yn vodd-lawn: ond y mae chwyrnu a chyvarth y B. Ayres, am na roddasid arnynt bris i!

**ARGARON CORDOVA YN TOBI.**—Yr 18eg o Ragyr; ychydig cyn hanner nos, gwnaeth wlaw taranau trwm yn ninas Cordova, yr hyn a barodd i ddwy o gronyddid dwr y drev dori, ac i'r dyroedd cronodig rthro ar y ddinas anofodus pan oedd agos yr oll o'r trigolion yn nghwsg. Cyrrivir vod trosgant wedi boddi: gan vraw yn blant, ac vel mae 'a hawdd meddwl, lu mawr well eu hanaw, a'u hysgwyl o ran lochyd; a chyrrivir y golled ar eiddo yn vllwiau lawer. Nid oes gyrrivir am y ddamwain ond mai rhyw wan oedd yr argarcon. Adroddir am ddygwyddion truanasid, ac o'r tu well, wared-igaethau rhydded; a chryn wrodded o du at ddyg.

**CHILL.**—Cythrybius yw gwleidyddiaeth y Werniaeth hynnyngwyl hon. Y mae mwy-avrit dan dy y Gyd-gynghorfa yn arbyn yr Arlywydd a'r Werniaeth, se wedi gomedeo pasio cyllid na threulieb am y vlyddyn hon. Oherwydd hynny mae'r Arlywydd wedi cyhoeddi ei bendersvyniad o vrydd yn mlaen wrth rai y llynedd, a phleidiol galw y Gyd-gynghorfa. Ddiwedd y vlyddyn aeth yr Arlywydd am daih i ddalenbarth y wlad, a phan dychwalai i'r briddinas (Santiago), hwtwyd a husiwyd ev gan y torveydd; rhai o'i swyddwyr a vvariasant allan yn y dorv ddau neu dri o salodan Ty y Gryncholiwyr, gan eu hgywth a'u hgylltu: parodd hyn gyfnoa therysgo; yn yr helynt, seethwyd ya vawr vab i'w o'r seneddwyrr, a'r diwedd yn i'r Llywodraeth gyhoeddi gwaharddiad llym rhag cynal un math o gtravrodidd nac arddangosiadau. Newyddion o Mendosa a vryngant i 12 o Francod gythaedd yno oddi lwnt i'r Andes, mewn cyvter truanasid. Collasant ddau o'u cyndeithion, a'u holl guld, yn ahymerst- oedd y bylchau.

**UNOL DALEITHAU.**—Newyddion o Dakota i'r 17eg o Ragyr, a vryngant am drwg rhwng yr awddroddau a'r hen benneth lliaddid enwog Sitting Bull, yn mha un y lladdwyd y penath a'i vab, ac eraill o'r Indiaid, ac y lladdwyd pedwar o vllwyr yr awddroddau. Eiddoch yn vryngwylid unwaith eto y mae'r ymgiprys rhwng yr Unol Daleithau a Phrydain yn nghylch pygodvredd yn Behring's Straits. Dywedir vod Blaine yn parotio adroddiad cryv i'r Gyd-gynghorfa. Yr oedd crym vawr yn y Taleithau o vrn i'r Indiaid codi yr gyfredinol, ond ddaid y democrataid nad oedd yr oll ond cast i dynu ariw y wlad oddiar y cyfro yn nghylch nesur McKinley.

**PRYDAIN.**—Diwedd y vlyddyn yr oedd ystoriadid ceithin o eira a gwyn ddau yr holl wlad. Collwyd llawer awn o longau cartrefrol yr arvodir.—Mae y Blaid Wyddelig raneidig (oblegid auvri buchedd Parnell) mewn ymgiprys chwerrw. Ar adeg etholiad Kilkenny, aethai Michael Davitt yno i wrthwyrth Parnell; a bu drwg yn rhai o'r cryddau, anawydd M. Davitt yn doat, a lluchwyd caich i lygad Parnell vel yn ovnir mai lled-ddall rydd am weddill ei oes. Ymddengys vod Prydain wedi eilio yn ei o Mancealand, yn Africa, a honid gan y Portwgeid, o'r hyn y mae pobl Lisbon yn dra gorolledus. Gwladodd llysgonad Portwgal gyda brenhines Prydain i ddatbla y cydweled.

**GWELLYANT DR. KOCH O'R DANVORDEGARTH.**—Y mae adroddiasau calonogol o'r Almaen am eiddithau y dargawyddiad hwn. Eddydd Dr. Leyden am y 127 o achosion dan ei oval ev yn Berlin eu bod heb un yn gwelid, ac y gallai sicrhau vod 4 wedi eu llwy- waredu o bob arwyddion. Bu un achos o vawroaeth wrth vrech, ac ymddengys yn awr vod yn rhaid bod yn ovnau am gyrrivir gwaeid a chalon y sawl ryddys yn vrech. ERIC PASHA.—Y mae Major Weisman, rhaglaw yr Almaen yn Africa, yn danvon gair ei vod wedi gortod galw Emin Pasha yn ol o'r berweddwydd, am ei vod yn gom- eidd awddroddau i'w orchymnion, a threy hwyr lysteirio y trevniadau gyda Mr. Stokes amweithioedd Prydain.

# Y GWERINWR (El Demócrata)

NEWYDDIADUR ANNIBYNNOL WYTHNOSOL GWLADFAOL.

RHEF 1.

(Undeb - Rhyddid - Goddefgarwch.)

SADWRN, AWST 1, 1914.

## Cddiar Fryniâu'r Gaiman. (Gan Yr Bryr Glas.)

Dema Wyl y Glaniad drosodd unwaith eto yn gwneyd rhif y gwyliâu fenny bellach, yn bedwardeg naw. Faint eto a gschwir? Amser yn unig i' ll brofi, ond wrth ein drws ni y cywedd y cyfrifoldeb am eu parhad. Yr oeddwn yn siarad a mi fy hun wrth ddod adre (doedd neb arall yno yn ddigon call i'w gymeryd i fywy). Pe byddai pawb mor genediglar, i bob dydd o'r fwyddyn ag yr ydym ar yr wythfed ar hugain o Orffennaf, gallai yr wpryd cymreig, gan ei gryfder, os a blodeuo, yn Argentina, ddyddioedd y cyfrif.

Torodd gwawr Gwyl y Glaniad, mewn rhwyg amnerol - wn i ddim a wddent ryw beth i fywy yna am y finta gyntaf a'i pendio. Pa un bynnag, yr oedd eu homelau yn aur i gyd; a'r peth synnodd fi oedd, pan ddisynnodd pelydrau cyntaf'r Faul ar yr Ien ddear yna, ei bod yn cyfranogion yn helaeth o'r un gwrid ag ael y cwmwl. Nis gwn i ydyw yr haul mor garedig wrth'r hen ddear yna ag wrth y nefoedd bob amser, ond felly yr oedd heddw.

Er fod y tywydd wedi bod yn anffafnol yr wythnosau diweddar yma, fel ag i luddias gyd-farfwyddiad pobl Siomwyd ni i'r ochr oreu. Cafwyd chwarenton, te, cyngherdd, a hwy. Bu yma ornestau celyd, mewn saethu, cicio pel, bwyta, areithio, adrodd a chanu. Bu llanciau Bryn Gwyn a'r Gaiman yn rhedeg yn galed ar ol y bêl, a'r Gaiman a orfu. Cafwyd ymdrechfa arall cydhwng "experts" Trelew a'r Gaiman, a throdd y Trelewiaid eu wynebau adref yn orchfygdedig y tro hwn. Dichon fod colln yn aml mor effertiol i wneyd dynion o honom ag ennill. Cafwyd te rhagorol yng nghapel y Gaiman, a gallem feddwl fod pawb yn mwynhau y danteithion a baratoisid.

Yn yr hwyr caed cyngerdd Br. D. R. Jones wrth y llyw, a'r Br. William J. Hughes yr unig Hen Wladfawr yn y cyfarfod ar y "bont" - atechyd wedi atal y Parch. Tudur Evans i lanw ei le fel arweinydd. Cyfeiriodd yr arweinydd at y flaith, a sicrhaf fod cydymuniad pob un yno a'r Parchedig. Edmygwn y gred sydd gan A. y

G. ym mhosisbilrwydd y Wladfa. Cwnaeth amryw sylwadau i'r cyfeiriad yn ystod y cyfarfod, ac ni chaem fyned adre ganddo, heb lymd a'r sylw yma gyda ni: "Nad yw y dyffryn ar hyn o bryd mor hardd ag y gallem ei wneyd," ac awgrymodd ffordd syml i ni i'w harddu, pe plannem ddim ond dau neu dri o brennau bob tymor, gwaith a gymbellai y plant i'w wneyd.

I ddechreu cafwyd cân agoriadol (Dwthyh bach melyn fy nhad) gan Miss Elizabeth Ann Williams. Yna daeth tro y cae'rydd, ond ni fynnai godi, a chwarae teg iddo gan mai cae'rydd y ceisiwyd ganddo fod. Adroddiad (Cyfoda a gweithia), Miss Ellen Jones; canwyddau wa'r, Miss Mary Vaughan; adroddiad (Y mlwr), R. Edwin Roberts; adroddiad (Morgan Pugh), Geraint Wyn Walters. Yn dilyn cafwyd araith yn llawn o cân a symwyr (pethau ha cheir gyda'i gilydd bob amser), gan y Dr. Ithel J. Berwyn. "Aeth a mi ar wib drwy hanes sefydlu Patagonia, a chwawom gip-drem ar gymeniadau amlycaf y Wladfa. Mawrhai eu gwroldeb, a gwnaeth gyfeiriad grymus at Mrs. Jones. Bod Iwan, yr hon a wagaodd ei chofrau, ac a offrymodd waed ei mab - y diweddar Llwyd ap Iwan, ar yr allor wladfaol. Dywedai nas gallem fel Cymry fforddio colli ein hunaniaeth, heb helyd gollu ein cenadwri." Rhyw dameidiau fel yna i aros i chwi ei chael i gyd. Teimlem yn fwy o wladfawyr o lawer wedi gwrando arno. Adroddiad, Sarah Jones; Enwau'r rhai sydd yn fyw o'r finta gyntaf gan D. R. J.; adroddiad (Chwedl arwrol), Robert E. Roberts. Hoffwn weled yr adroddwr hwn yn cymeryd ychydig o drafferth gyda'r gwaith, gan y credwn y gall wneyd adroddwr campus, Excelsior. Cân yr Ial; yna trodd yr Ial yn ol i'n hannereh. Cwynai yn enbyd na fusai wedi cael amser i wneyd araith deilwng o ddyheadau uchaf yr Hen Wladfawyr! Pwysleisiai ar ini ddod i adnabod eu rhinweddau er eu dilyn, a'u diffygion fel y gallem eu gadael. Dywedai fod y Wladfa yn ddyledus am yr hyn yw i ymdrechion y finta gyntaf!! Bu agos imi gredau ei fod yn fardd pan aeth i gyffelybu y dyffryn i "berl mewn ysbwrn," a siwodd y bydd yn rhad adgyfodi

dellyddau yr Hen sefydlwyr, i wneyd y Wladfa yr hyn ddylai fod. Cân (Yr hensimdd fawr), Fawg, ac atganiadau drwy orfod, bennillion telyn. Gresyn fel y sylwodd yr arweinydd fod cymaint esgeuluso ar y gangen ddidderol hon o gerddoriaeth. Hyderwn y bydd hyn yn fywyddiddi. Tua'r adeg yma dyweddodd yr arweinydd, o ie, ar ol i lal ganu "Llongau Madog," mudiogsgnyddion y Madog hwnnw oedd yr hen Indiaid! hwy'rach, os ca hantdden, y cymer ati i gadarnlâu y gosodiad. Paswyd y diolchiadau arferol, ac aeth pawb adref ag adar. "Hen wlad fy nhadau," dan arweiniad lal, yn "ringio" yn eu clustiau.

## TERFYN AR Y TYWALLT GWAED YM MEXICO.

Yn ol y newyddion diweddaraf y mae lle i obeithio y ceir heddwch ym Mexico, wedi agos ddwy flynedd o ryfel gartrefol gwaeddyd. Y mae creulonderau a'r erchylliderau a gylawnydd, gyda'r rhai mwyaf dycrynyllyd yn hanes y byd, a bu'r gartrefol ochr cynddrwg a'r llall mewn adwy eidd-dra. Y mwyaf llwyddiannus o gadfridogion y gwrthryfelwyr (a gylenant eu hunain yn amddiffylwyr y cyfansoddiad) a fu Villa, yr hwn oedd lofrudd a charnleidr ar ffio rhag ddaledd y ddedd, cyn torri allan o'r gwrthryfel cyntaf pan yrrwyd Diaz o awdurdod ac y gosodwyd Madero yn arlywydd yn ei le. Y mae Carranza, prif arweinydd y gwrthryfelwyr, yn ol pob hanes, yn ddyw rhagorol. Er y tymor hir o heddwch a gaed dan lywodraethiad Diaz, dywedir fod agos un rhan o dair o'r bobl yn gaethion mewn popeth ond mewn enw, ac mai gwella eu sefyllfa hwy oedd amcan Madero pe cawsai fyw. Fel y gwyyddys, cymerwyd ef yn garchaor a llofruddiwyd ef gan Huerta, yr hwn a gymerodd yr arlywyddiaeth iddo ei hun. Tyngodd Carranza a Villa y mynnent ddial gwaed Madero, a llwyddasant yn ol pob tebyg, canys y mae Huerta wedi ymddiswyddo ac ar ffio o'i wlad. Cyhoeddwr y bydd i Carranza apelio am gael Huerta yn ol o ba wlad bynnag yr ei iddi, a'i osod ar ei brawf fel llofrudd. Er llwyddo o'r gwrthryfelwyr ar hyn o bryd, amheuir a ga'r wlad heddwch

# Y Gwilydydd

NEWYDDIADUR WYTHNOSOL ANNIBYNNOL

Rhif 1

TRELEW, Dydd Llun, Awst 12, 1929

Blwyddyn 1

## AT Y GWLADFAWYR

AR gais llu o gyfeillion a chyd oeswyr, y mae gennym y pleser o gyflwyno'r cyhoeddiad hwn i ddarlennwyr y Wladfa'n gyffredinol. Ymgymrw'n a'r gorchwyl yn bennaf, er rhoddi cyfle i'r bobol ieuainc ddatblygu eu galluoedd yn gyhoeddus, a thrwy hynny gadw mewn cof "bethau da" a gwreiddiol hen gewri Cymreig y Wladfa, ac sydd erbyn heddiw bron wedi mynd i dir anghol, heb olynwyr iddynt.

Yr ydym yn galw sylw ein llenorion, beirdd a cherddorion ieuainc at y pwysigrwydd o gadw'r iaith yn fyw, ynghyda llenori, barddoni, &c., yn iaith ein gwlad enedigol hefyd.

Bydd yn bleser gennym roddi colofnau o ofod y newyddur at wasanaeth yr amaethwyr, er mwyn iddynt drin materion amaethyddiaeth, a'r modd goreu i wella a datblygu'r tiroedd sydd wedi rhydedg allan o ansawdd.

Pris Y GWILIEDYDD:

Am flwyddyn	\$ 8.00
" chwemis	5.00
" dri mis	3.00
Y rhifyn	0.20
O'i rifyn	0.30

Byddwn yn sefydlu gohebywyr arbennig ym Mro Hydref, Esquel, Dolavon, Gaiman, Porth Madryn, Rawson, Comodoro Rivadavia ac yn y Briffddinas.

Ni ddychwelir copïau ysgrifau a bydd yn orfodol iddynt fod wedi eu llawnodi'n gyfrinachol os yn bwriadu eu cyhoeddi dan ffug enw.

Ni chodir tal am hysbysiau a fyddant yn dal cysylltiad ag eglwysir Wladfa.

Bydd prisiau arbennig ar gyfer cyhoeddi rhaglenni CyRDDau Llenyddol Cystadieul, &c., &c.

Bydd Y GWILIEDYDD yn barod i amddiffyn buddiannau cyhoeddus y Wladfa os bydd prawfion

digonol eu bod yn cael eu camddefnyddio, ond gwneud hynny y tu mewn i derfynau rheswm.

Nid ydym yn honni i gynhwysiad y newyddur fod yn gynnwys cryf, ond iddo fod yn iach a llesol. Gwarantwn na niweidir y neb a'i darlennno. Ceisw'n bob amser roddi mwy o wirionedd a synwyr cyffredin nag a geir yn amlym mewn cyhoeddiadau ereill, sydd heb ddim ond eu sychter a'u diflaster i gynnal eu honiad fel cyhoeddiadau dwfn ac athronyddol.

## GAN NAD YDYM WEDI ENWI

GOLYGYDD TERFYNNOL, CYFEIRIER

POB GOHEBIAETH, HYD RYBUDD

PELLACH, I:

A. B. C.  
CALLE MORENO 211  
TRELEW—CHUBUT

TEITHWYR.—Ar y 5 cyfisol, ymadawodd y Bwyr. David M. Humphreys ac Aithur M. Pugh am y Briffddinas, gyda'r «Comodoro Rivadavia». Y cyntaf yn myned ar ymweliad a thalaeth Santa Fe, a'r olaf am adferiad i'w ieuchyd. Dymunwn i'r ddau daith blesurus.

Dydd Mawrth diweddfaf, y 6 cyf. o San Antonio, Br. Ioan Rowlands a'i ferch, Mrs. Thomas G. Williams a'i mab bychan a'i chwaer, Miss Lili Hughes, Choelie Choel. Byr fu eu hymweliad oherwydd prysurdeb gwaith, a dychwelasant bore ddydd Gwener. Yr olli yn edrych yn dda ac mewn llawn iechyd.

Ar y 3 cyfisol, gyda'r José Menendez, cyrhaeddodd Mrs. T. N. Tappen a'i dau blant yn o'r Briffddinas, wedi bod yno am dro.

MARW.—Prudd gennym orfod cofnodi marwolaeth y brawd David Oliver, Ebenezer, Dyffryn Uchaf, yn ein rhifyn cyntaf a fu farw ar y 26 o Orffennaf diweddfaf, yn 49 mlwydd oed. Daerwyd ei weddillion yn mynwent Dolavon y dydd canlynol. Derbyniad y teulu a'r perthynasau oll ein cydymdeimlad llwyrfa.

## Ymweliad

Gan Ymwelwr.

Y mae tipyn o amser er pan fu'm ar ymweliad ar dref hon o'r blaen. Wedi cyrraedd y Sadwrn diweddfaf a myned o gwmpas ychydig fusnes, cyfarfyddais ag un o hen frodyr mwyaf donabyddus y lle, cefais agwre ag ef, ac adroddodd ychydig o haes yr helyntion diweddfaf. Yn eu pith soniai am Gyngor Trelew, eu bod mewn eisteddiad yn ddiweddar wedi trafod mater symud y gamlas sy'n rhydedg trwy'r dref hon, i rhywle anghysbell. Ped feily, byddarn ofynol lleolir gamlas ar gawdd o ddwy fydr neu ragor er mwyn cadw lefel i'w awr i'r hyn y mae heddiw, ac nid hyrny'n unig, beth am gwestiwn y dispo'w'r i'r hen gwamp druan fynd iddo? Anodd yw lleolir gamlas ar well gwaelod na'r un y mae arno'n bresanol.

Ysyaeth iddynt drin materion ereill ag sydd mwy o alwad amdanant at wasanaeth y rhanbarth ar cyhoed, megis: gorffen yr hospital, gofalu am ffyrdd da, astud

## Fferyllfa "Nueva"

C. CAMUSSO

Y CYPLENWAD GOREU AC A WERTHA RATAF.

× × TRELEW × ×

Ior modd gorsu i dreinio carthion y dref, &c., a gadael i'r hen gamlas am yspaid eto, gan fod yna werth micoedd o ddoeri ar gnydau yn dibynnu ar ei bodolaeth a'i rhywddineb i gario'r hylif gwerthfawr i'r tiroedd.

Gwnawch rywbeth o fudd i'r rhanbarth, ychydig ond yn dda, ac nid caisio symud hanner y greadigaeth er mwyn gwneud enw politicaidd i bwrpas amherthynasol a datblygiad y rhanbarth.

Ystyr bodolaeth Cyngor yw: amddiffyn a threfnu buddiannau'r Lleodraeth yn y modd goreu a mwyaf: elwgar i drigolion y rhanbarth a'r cyhoeddi yn gyffredinol (Fomentar); gselw'r ef mewn manau ereill yn Comision de Fomentos, a'r cyflisiad sydd genlym ar hyn o bryd yw Pwyilgor Amddiffynnol.

I'w barhau

## YMGYNGHORFA DEINTYD

Bagnatti a Camusso

~~~~~

Arbennig mewn gwneud danneud

parhaol o Celuloide

TRELEW, gyfocwrog a Fferyll

× × "NUEVA" × ×

Gweinyddir y "Nueva" ar

ddyddiau Martis a Taw yn

o 10 hys...

Y "COMMON SENSE" AR

"GENERAL"

Mewn eglwys...

oedd yn trin y mater...

**Appendix 2: Editors**



Richard Jones Berwyn, editor of *Y Brut*, the first manuscript newspaper in y *Wladfa*



Lewis Jones, founder and editor of *Ein Breiniad* and *Y Drafod*

### Appendix 3: Population in the Chubut Valley

| <b>Population in the Gaiman District<sup>13</sup></b> |                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>Year</b>                                           | <b>Population</b> |
| 1865                                                  | 163               |
| 1879                                                  | 778               |
| 1882                                                  | 1286              |
| 1884                                                  | 1600              |
| 1887                                                  | 1900              |
| 1891                                                  | 2125              |
| 1895                                                  | 3050*             |

\* The non-Welsh population in the Chubut Valley at this time represented 13% of the total (165 Italians, 103 Chileans, 40 Spaniards, 190 non-Welsh Argentineans).<sup>14</sup>

| <b>Population in the Lower Chubut Valley - 1915<sup>15</sup></b> |               |             |               |             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| <b>Ethnicity</b>                                                 | <b>Rawson</b> | <b>%</b>    | <b>Gaiman</b> | <b>%</b>    |
| <b>Argentinean*</b>                                              | 3,840         | 37.2        | 2,180         | 21.2        |
| <b>Welsh</b>                                                     | 355           | 3.3         | 574           | 5.6         |
| <b>Spanish</b>                                                   | 1,509         | 14.7        | 588           | 5.5         |
| <b>Italian</b>                                                   | 698           | 7.8         | 135           | 1.3         |
| <b>Chilean</b>                                                   | 172           | 1.6         | 183           | 1.8         |
|                                                                  | <b>6574</b>   | <b>64.6</b> | <b>3660</b>   | <b>35.4</b> |

\*A high percentage of the Argentine born population must have been Welsh descendants, although the exact number of Patagonian-Welsh is not known.

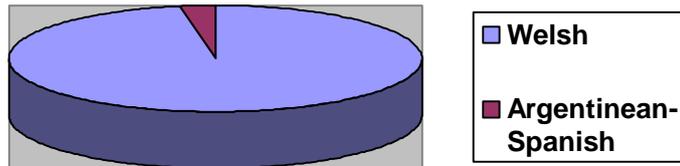
<sup>13</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Welsh in Patagonia. The State and the Ethnic Community* (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 1991), 95

<sup>14</sup> Glyn Williams, *The Desert and the Dream: a Study of Welsh Colonization in Chubut, 1865-1915* (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 1975), 149.

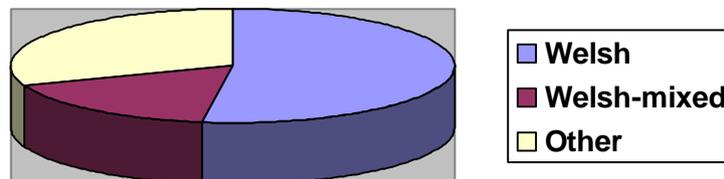
<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

**Appendix 4:** Marriage patterns in the Gaiman district, Chubut Valley

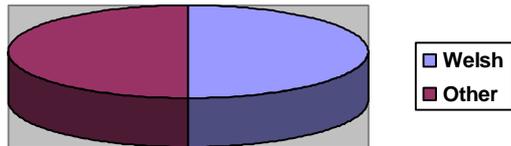
**1900**



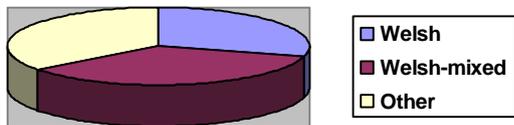
**1915**



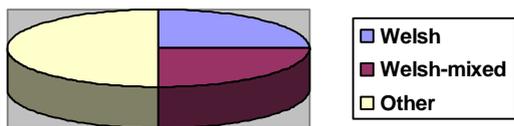
1930



1935



1940



## Appendix 5: Maps

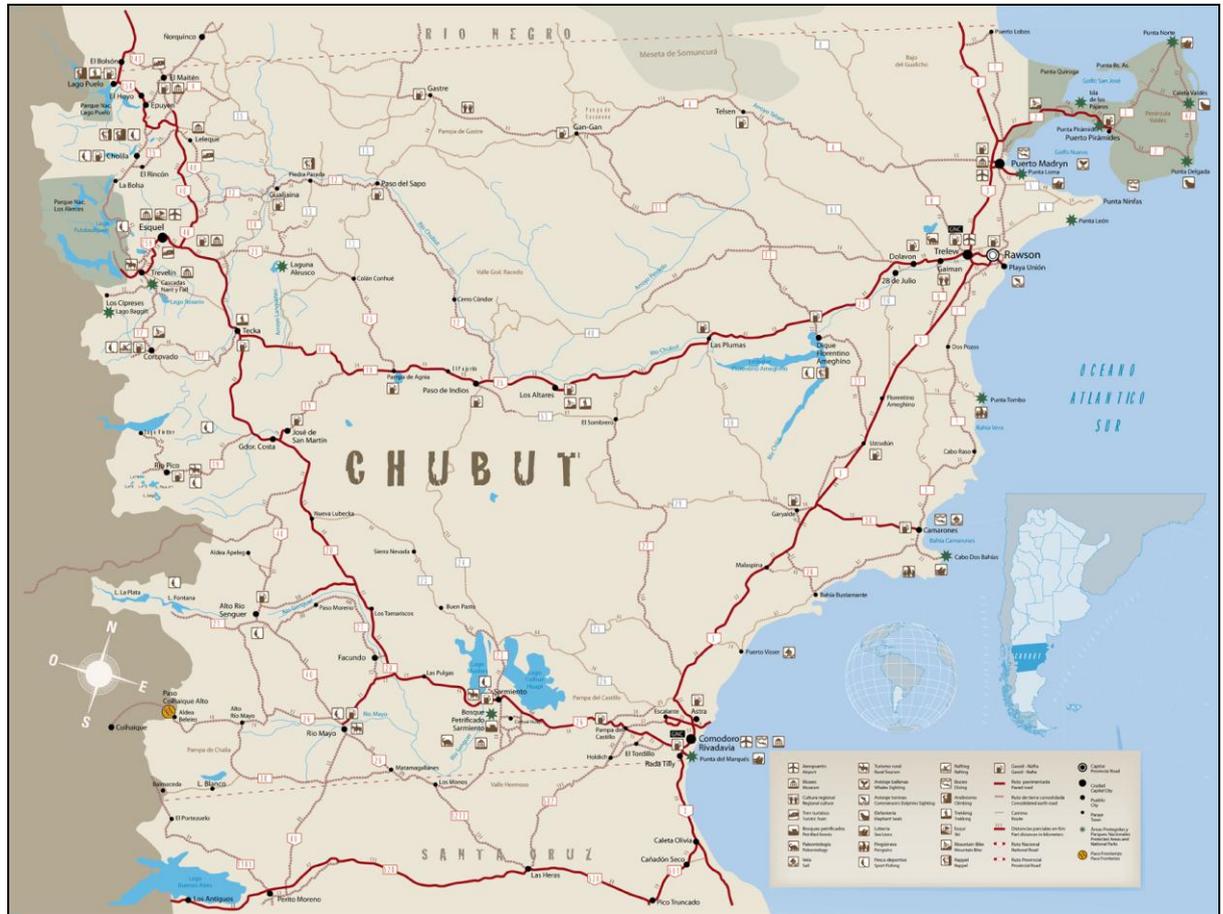
### Argentina



Source:

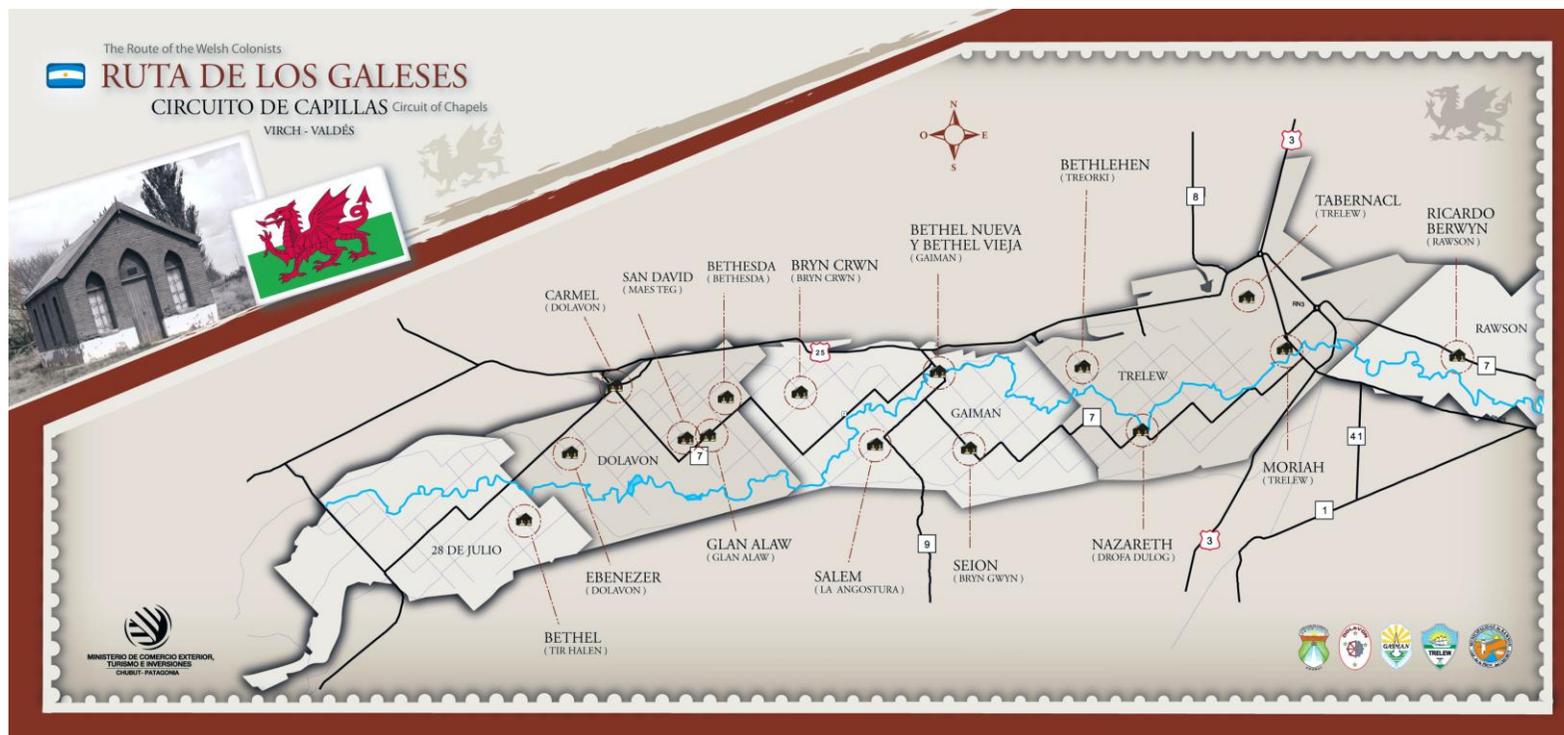
[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map\\_of\\_Argentina\\_with\\_provinces\\_names\\_en.png](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Argentina_with_provinces_names_en.png), accessed on 24 March 2013.

## The province of Chubut



Source: Ministry of Tourism, Chubut Province

## Y Wladfa – Chubut Valley districts, towns and the Welsh chapels



Source: Ministry of Tourism, Chubut Province

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