

JOURNAL OF THE STATISTICAL AND SOCIAL INQUIRY SOCIETY OF IRELAND.

THE LANGUAGE REVIVALS IN FINLAND, NORWAY AND WALES.

By THEKLA J. BEERE, LL.B.

[Read before the Society on Thursday, January 23, 1930.]

In the course of my duties I have had occasion to collect a considerable amount of information relating to the Language Revivals in various European countries, and as the information is not being published officially, it has been suggested that it might prove of interest to this Society, particularly at the present time, when so much attention is being focussed on the revival of Gaelic in An Saorstát.

The countries covered in my inquiry were Finland, Norway, Wales, Scotland, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Austria-Hungary and Brittany. Since it is clearly impossible in the course of a short paper to deal at all adequately with more than a few of these, I have chosen the first three named countries. In my selection I have taken into account similarity with An Saorstát, as regards size and distribution of population and other circumstances and conditions which may specially affect the problems of language revival and of bilingualism.

Considerable difficulty arises in dealing with language movements, from the fact that much of the literature which is available to the foreigner is of a distinctly biassed character. Discretion is therefore necessary in the selection of material, and it has been my object in the preparation of this paper to treat the subject from an entirely impartial point of view, merely stating the facts as they appear in official reports and in other publications which would seem to be reliable sources of information. A Bibliography is appended to the end of the Paper.

My main purpose has been to show the practical measures which have been adopted for the restoration of the different languages and the degree of success with which these efforts have been met, and, by means of statistics in the cases of

Finland and Wales, to follow the progress of the languages over a period of years.

No attempt has been made to trace the relationship between language and nationalism, but those who wish to pursue this aspect of the question will find in existence a good deal of literature on the subject.*

The motives which inspired the language revivals in Finland, Norway and Wales were very different. In Finland the language was not by any means dead, but was used in the every-day speech of the majority of the people. It had, however, been supplanted by Swedish for all literary and official purposes, and the revival which began in the 19th century was, in reality, a struggle for racial and cultural supremacy. The restoration of Finnish to its rightful position has been so successful that in recent years we find the Swedish-speaking people asking for, and receiving, guarantees for the preservation of Swedish.

The Norwegian language agitation, or "Maalstraev" as it is called, is of a much more complicated nature. For over four hundred years Norway was united to Denmark and Danish became the literary and official language of the country. In the course of time Danish, as used in Norway, gradually developed Norwegian characteristics, it was spoken with the Norwegian intonation, and many words and idioms were adopted from the dialects, so that "Norwego-Danish" now differs considerably from pure Danish. In the rural districts the old Norwegian dialects were retained in the speech of the people, and though there were differences in the dialects, they were not sufficient to prevent intercourse. In the middle of the 19th century Ivar Aasen accomplished the task of unifying the dialects into a common standard literary form. Landsmaal or "country speech," as Aasen's language is called, was taken up as a political issue and was supported by the national democratic parties. Since 1885 it has been recognised as the second official and school language in Norway. It is at present the language of instruction in about one-third of the elementary rural schools, and some authors are using it, though the majority write in Norwego-Danish.

The restoration of the language in Wales was closely allied with the religious revival, but it has also been inspired by the Welshman's keen desire for the preservation of his national culture. Official measures for the restoration of the language have been of a passive rather than of a compulsory nature, and the maintenance of Welsh depends on

* See Bibliography: *Lessons from Modern Language Movements*. Liam P. O'Riain. Published by Connradh na Gaedhilge, etc.

the effective working of the programmes of the Welsh Board of Education, and on the personal wishes of the people, rather than on legislative action or political support.

Economic forces have been contending against the Welsh language. Many of those who receive their education in Wales have to earn their livelihood in England, and those who remain are perforce subject to such influences as the English Press, the influx of English-speaking immigrants and tourists, etc. The fact that, in the face of these influences, the actual number of Welsh-speaking persons has remained almost stationary for the past fifty years is in itself a testimony to the strength of the language in Wales.

FINLAND.

Finland, a small country with a population of three and a half millions has had to contend with many difficulties in its efforts to maintain and restore its language. Tossed like a shuttlecock between Sweden and Russia it has been influenced by both these countries, more especially by the former, and from time to time Finland's language and culture have been seriously endangered by the imposition of the language, laws and culture of both Sweden and Russia.

The Position Prior to 1809.

In 1157 the Swedes invaded Finland and from the twelfth century until 1809 the country was under Swedish domination. During the eighteenth century Finland became the battlefield for contending armies, and at different dates during the century portions of the country were ceded to Russia. This dismemberment of their country roused the latent national spirit of the Finns, though the movement, which at this time received its first inspiration, did not assume a real significance until many years later.

During the Swedish domination of the country, Swedish was the only official language, though many laws and orders were translated into Finnish. Legal records were kept in Swedish, while questions in Court were asked in Finnish—by means of an interpreter when the Judge was unable to speak the language.

Swedish was, during this period, the language of the educated; only the peasants spoke Finnish. Business was carried on by means of Swedish, and the literature of the country was written in that language. It was not till the end of the eighteenth century that Hendrik Porthan, a Finnish scholar, inspired a group to take up the study of Finnish history and philology.

At the same time it must be clearly understood that Finnish was not a dead language; it was spoken by a large majority of the people, and was recognised as the mother tongue of the Finns. There were, however, many dialects, no fixed language standard, and no literature—nothing, indeed, except the folk-lore and songs passed down verbally from one generation to another.

The Language Situation from 1809 to 1890.

In 1809 Finland entered the Russian Empire as a separate State, having the Tzar of Russia as Grand Duke. Pledges were made for the preservation of Finland's religion, laws and liberties, and we will later see in what measure some of these pledges were fulfilled.

The feeling of the Finnish people after the Russian Conquest in 1809 has been summed up thus: "We are not Swedes, we can never be Russians, we must be Finns." Animated by this spirit they set about the work of restoring their language to its rightful place, aiming to make it, at least, of equal importance with the Swedish tongue.

Swedish speakers contended that the introduction of Finnish into the schools would lower the educational standard and that it was not a suitable medium for official communication. The aristocracy and the administrative officials were all Swedes, or Finns who were Swedish speaking, so that the Finnish Renaissance—known as the Fenno-man Movement—was a class battle, as well as a cultural and racial struggle.

In the beginning of the 19th century the movement for the preservation of the Finnish language and folk-lore made but little progress, and it soon became obvious that the situation called for practical measures. In the first instance, a fit dialect had to be adopted as a standard, various grammatical problems had to be solved, and an enlarged vocabulary was urgently needed to meet the demands of the times. Legislative measures regarding the language were only very gradually adopted. About 1821 the University students asked for the establishment of a Finnish Professorship, but their demands were not acceded to. In 1824 an order was made that any clergyman who wanted to work in a Finnish parish must first pass an examination in that language.

In 1835 the language movement received its first great impetus by the publication of the "Kalevala," the great national Epic of Finland, composed of a collection of old Finnish folk-poetry, compiled by Elias Lönnrot. The

“Kalevala” is said to have done for the Finnish tongue what the “*Divina Commedia*” did for the Italian. When a Professorship of Finnish was eventually established at the University, over thirty years after the idea had first been mooted, Lönnrot was appointed to the Chair. It was not, however, till 1894 that all professors at the University had to know both languages, and even then they retained the right to deliver their lectures in the language of their choice.

Another name of importance at this time is that of Snellman, who taught that so long as the language of the schools and of the administration was Swedish, so long would it be impossible to raise the Finnish people. Snellman was responsible for the publication of the first Finnish newspaper, and he also published a Swedish paper for the educated classes in which he advocated a national culture and a national spirit.

In 1841 it was decided that Finnish should be taught as a subject in all elementary schools. In 1846 Snellman started the first elementary Finnish-speaking school. The first Finnish secondary school, even in the entirely Finnish districts, was not opened until 1858. Before this date, however, some enterprising persons had established private schools, which were so successful that they were later taken over by the State. A good deal of work was also done by travelling teachers. E. N. Setälä, Professor of the Finnish language at the University (see Bibliography) states that at this time experiments were instituted of teaching, both in Finnish and Swedish schools, certain subjects in the other language of the country, but it was found that the teaching of the subject itself suffered, so the experiments were discontinued.

It was decreed in 1850 that only writings on religious, edifying or economic subjects should be printed in Finnish. Whether this was or was not a retrograde step is a matter of opinion, but at any rate the censorship appears to have died a natural death.

In 1863 Alexander II. issued the following order: “Though the Swedish language will continue to remain the official language of the country, the Finnish language shall have the same rights as Swedish in cases directly concerning the Finnish-speaking population of the country; therefore, Finnish papers and documents shall hereafter be received without resistance by all Courts of Justice and Government Offices in Finland.” It was also decreed that after 1883—that is after a lapse of twenty years—the same principle was to be adopted in the issue of documents. Progress was made only slowly and reluctantly. Finnish was also allowed as an alternative to Swedish in the Diet, and in 1894 this

right was extended to include the Senate. In 1886 Finnish was allowed for official correspondence, and in 1887 it was ordered that the lower officials had to use the language of the district in question, but higher officials could choose their own language. When Government officials were unable to write the Finnish language sworn translations were attached. No alterations were made in the requirements for promotion of former officials, and on the whole changes were introduced very gradually.

The Language Situation after 1890.

The end of the Nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth was the period of the attempted "Russification" of the country. In 1899 Finnish political autonomy was rescinded by Imperial decree. The Russian language was introduced into the Administration, the University and the schools. Russian does not appear, however, to have taken any hold on the country, for from Table IV. we see that in 1905 there were only 4 newspapers or journals out of a total of 246 published in any language other than Swedish or Finnish, while the battle for the supremacy of Finnish was carried on with undiminished fervour.

In 1902 equal rights were given to Swedish and Finnish alike. The language law of this year is summarised by Mr. Setälä in "The Language Fight in Finland" as follows:—

"The official language shall be founded on the language of the parishes. The local officials have to use as their official language the language of the parish or parishes that belong to their district of work. If several parishes with different languages belong to the district, the language of the majority of parishes has to be used. If there are the same number of Finnish and Swedish parishes, the official himself has to decide 'taking into account the nature of the question,' which language is to be used. Anyhow, an individual parish and an individual member of the parish must always get the documents in the language of the parish in question. If a person has asked to get the documents in his individual case in another language than that of the parish, the records of the government office have to be written and given to him in the language he desires. The government offices that have to do with the whole country have to give documents in the language asked for by the persons concerned.

"About the language of communication between the government offices, it is prescribed that the higher official has to use the same language as the minor official has used in the same case, and that the higher official has to use, in his writings to the minor official, the same language as the latter one must use. The leaders of State schools, and the spokesmen of parishes with one language, and other officials have to use the language of the schools, or of the parishes in question, even if these were situated in districts where the other language

was spoken. In cases where the official has to do with the whole country or with an equal number of Finnish and Swedish parishes, he has to use the language he finds 'most suitable in the special case in question.' In board offices the members have the right to use in their discussions the language, Finnish or Swedish, which they find most convenient."

After the Russian revolution of 1905 the Russians were obliged to make concessions; Finland's Constitution was restored and a democratic Diet was formed. Even this did not end Finland's troubles, for in 1910 the Russians introduced legislation which practically abolished the authority of the Finnish Diet, though public opinion in Europe was on the side of Finland and considered that she had "a right to demand that the Russian Empire should respect her Constitution."

Representative government was restored after the Russian Revolution of 1917, and in 1919 Finland attained complete independence, and the Republic which was established was recognised by the Treaty of Peace with Soviet Russia in 1920.

The restoration of the Finnish language to its proper place must have been very successful indeed, for in the last 15 years we find the Swedish speakers actually demanding guarantees for the maintenance of their language. Considerable difficulty has been found in bringing the Finnish and Swedish-speaking groups together on the language question. In 1919 the Swedish-speaking people themselves were divided into two parties, the more extreme of which desired a self-governing body of Swedish districts. The moderate group did not wish for separation, but generally favoured a wider extension of local government, and a division of administrative and judicial areas according to language considerations. The Finns were ready to agree to equality, but would go no further. As a result of the disagreements the Swedish Ministers tendered their resignation, and in June, 1919, the Diet decided that the language situation should be settled according to the following provisions, which are also quoted from Mr. Setälä:—

"Finnish and Swedish are the national languages of the Republic.

"The right of a Finnish citizen to use, at the law courts and in government offices, in his own case, his mother tongue, Finnish or Swedish, and to receive his documents in the same language, has to be guaranteed by law, taking care that the rights of the Finnish-speaking and the Swedish-speaking people are founded on the same principles. Laws and orders, as well as the propositions of the Government to the Diet, and the answers, motions and other written communications of the Diet are to be given in Finnish and in Swedish.

“ When re-arranging the borders of the administrative districts, care should be taken to make, as far as possible single language districts, either Finnish or Swedish, so that the minorities speaking the other language will be as small as possible.

“ The administration of parishes is to be founded on the self-government of citizens, as ordered by special laws. It is also ordered by law, in which way and how far the self-government of citizens should be applied to administrative districts, larger than parishes. When arranging the borders of these districts, the regulations of the previous clause should be followed.

“ The conscript belongs, if he does not himself utter another wish, to such a group where the men have the same mother tongue, Finnish or Swedish, as he himself, and he is to be instructed in the same language. The language of command in the Army is Finnish.”

A very remarkable publication entitled “ Finland, the Country, its People and Institutions, 1926,” has recently been translated into English at the request of the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This contains a most interesting article on the language situation by Arvi Grotenfelt, and includes an account of the legislation on this subject passed in 1920-22. The laws distinguish between unilingual and bilingual administrative areas, the latter being any commune with a minority of not less than 10% speaking the other national language. Public officers dealing with the whole country are bilingual. In unilingual areas documents are issued in the language of the area, though in Courts of Law and higher administration, translations must be appended if required. In bilingual areas documents are issued in the language of the persons concerned. In criminal cases the language of the defendant is used; in other cases that of the majority. In unilingual areas the internal language of public offices is that of the area. In bilingual areas the language of the majority is used in cases of general concern.

There are no bilingual statistics for Finland, but it is evident that in the towns nearly everyone must be bilingual. Persons in official positions, as we have seen, are required to know both languages (they often know English, German or French in addition), shop-keepers and all others dealing with the public require a knowledge of both Swedish and Finnish. Even the street signs are shown in both languages.

A knowledge of the two languages is required of University students and professors, though the students receive their tuition and are examined in their own mother-tongue. Professors must know both languages though they need only have a thorough knowledge of one. They are free to lecture usually in the language of their choice, since

linguistic considerations are not allowed to interfere with their scholastic work, but the teaching in each faculty must be so arranged that the proportion of Finnish to Swedish lectures may correspond to the proportion of students in such faculty speaking each language. Since 1928 a certain number of the existing professors are required to lecture in Swedish. It is interesting to note that the proportion of Finnish to Swedish students at the University is nearly 3 to 1. At the Technical University it is necessary for the students to know Finnish and Swedish as the lectures may be given in either language.

The following Tables speak for themselves and require little in the way of comment. From Table I. it will be seen that the proportion of the population who returned Finnish as their mother-tongue increased from 85.2 per cent. in 1880 to 88.7 per cent. in 1920. The improvement was more marked in Urban than in Rural Areas, the increase over the same period being from 57.8 per cent. to 75.7 per cent. in the former and from 87.8 per cent. to 91.2 per cent. in the latter.

Table II. shows that while the standard of education is higher among the Swedish speaking population, the Finns are rapidly gaining ground. This is borne out by Table III., which shows increases in the numbers attending Primary and Secondary Schools and Training Colleges for Primary School Teachers. The general standard of education, evidently, is not of a very high level, for in 1920 nearly one-third of the population over 15 years of age were unable to write.

From Table IV. we see that there have been steady increases in the numbers of Finnish newspapers, magazines, and reviews, and since 1910 a slight decline in the number of Swedish periodicals. A good deal of progress, however, has still to be made before the ratio between Finnish and Swedish periodicals (4 to 1) is anything like the ratio between the numbers of Finnish and Swedish speakers (8 to 1) as shown in Table I.

Table III — EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS, 1910-1927.

School Year	Pupils attending Primary Schools		Pupils attending Secondary Schools		Students attending Training Colleges for Primary Teachers	
	Finnish No	Swedish No	Finnish No	Swedish No.	Finnish No	Swedish No.
1910-11	149,913	24,845	17,438	6,925	907	182
1915-16	171,397	26,351	17,987	7,553	913	168
1920-21	224,970	36,338	23,379	9,132	788	127
1922-23	284,673	39,301	28,064	9,994	1,061	157
1923-24	284,983	38,573	30,350	10,056	1,207	193
1924-25	289,971	37,776	32,516	10,110	1,309	212
1925-26	290,415	36,747	34,568	10,075	1,376	238
1926-27	294,764	35,725	36,013	9,831	1,414	266

Table IV — NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS, 1886-1927.

Year	Newspapers		Reviews and Periodicals		Total Newspapers, Periodicals, etc				
	Fin-nish	Swe-dish	Fin-nish	Swe-dish	Fin-nish	Swe-dish	Fin-nish & Swe-dish	Other lan-guages	Total
1886...	29	22	24	19	53	41	—	—	94
1890...	36	25	40	32	76	57	—	—	133
1895...	41	27	53	39	94	66	3	—	163
1900...	56	28	89	49	145	77	6	—	228
1905...	59	25	94	55	153	80	9	4	246
1910...	98	30	164	76	262	106	6	6	380
1915...	93	23	181	80	274	103	7	7	391
1920...	103	25	135	68	238	93	11	3	345
1925...	124	25	222	66	346	91	44	8	489
1926...	134	27	236	64	370	91	50	5	516
1927...	153	26	245	72	398	98	58	6	560

NOTE—All the above Tables have been compiled from the *Statistisk Årsbok for Finland, 1928.*

NORWAY.

A short survey of the situation in Norway is enough to convince anyone that the "Irish-men in Scandinavia," as the Norwegians have been called, are facing a language problem at least as difficult as that which confronts us in An Saorstát.

The language controversy is probably more complicated in Norway than in any other European country. At an early date Norwegian decayed as a written language, and

though it survived in the speech of the people, it was broken up into many dialects. The written language based on these dialects, which is now one of the two official languages in the country, was not introduced until the middle of the last century. The other official language, which is also the principal literary language, is Norwego-Danish—that is, Danish spoken with the Norwegian pronunciation and intonation, and further Norwegianised by the inclusion of a number of Norwegian words and idioms.

Prior to 1814

From the fifteenth century until 1814 Norway was united to Denmark. Norwegian literary production had ceased by the fourteenth century, the language itself was split up into numerous dialects, and when there was a literary awakening in the sixteenth century the writings which were produced were written in Danish, while the Bible translation also helped to foster the growth of Danish throughout the land.

The country dialects were not influenced by the introduction of Danish, as were the dialects in the towns, so that a kind of lingual barrier was raised between town and country. There was no literature in the dialects and no efforts were made to develop a purely Norwegian language until many years later. From 1536 the official language was Danish, and this tongue was used in the Law Courts, Administration and Schools.

About the middle of the eighteenth century a gradual change in the character of the Danish language as spoken in Norway began to take place. While retaining the Danish form, the language diverged in pronunciation and became Norwegianised. This language which, at least in its spoken form, can best be described as hybrid, was later known as Riksmåal, and will be referred to by that name hereafter. Riksmåal spread gradually, especially among the officials and the more educated classes, but the lower classes, particularly the rural dwellers (who formed nearly three-quarters of the population) retained the dialects in their every-day speech. So firm a hold, however, did Danish take as the literary and official language of the country that Arne Garborg, a defender of the dialects, said: "Even to the farmers Danish was Holy Writ; Our Lord had talked Danish on Sinai and we should all talk Danish in Heaven."

During this period there was no University in Norway, and students who wished to continue their education had to go to Copenhagen, where they were obliged to pursue their studies in Danish. In 1811 a National University was founded in Christiania, and this was naturally a step of the greatest importance to Norway.

1814-1905.

In 1814 Norway was severed from Denmark and became an independent kingdom united with Sweden under the same King but with her own Constitution. This did much to awaken the country to national consciousness. The Constitution contained the following provisions regarding the official language, which, of course, at this time was the Norweco-Danish or Riksmaal. These provisions are of importance in that they protected Norway from a possible introduction of Swedish, which would have further complicated the situation.

Clause 33.—“ All reports on Norwegian affairs, as well as the despatches issued in connection therewith, must be written in the Norwegian language.”

Clause 47.—“ It shall be an invariable rule that the King during his minority be given sufficient instruction in the Norwegian language.”

Clause 81.—“ All laws are to be drawn up in the Norwegian language.”

Considerable influence was brought to bear by certain famous writers in the years which followed. In 1835 Wergeland published an essay “ Concerning a Reformation of the Norwegian Language,” in which he advocated the adoption of words from the dialects into the written language of the country. Moe and Absjornsen continued this work and Knudsen (1812-95) did much to introduce the orthographic changes required by Norwegian pronunciation and to replace foreign words by Norwegian ones.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century there arose a group who believed that these efforts to Norwegianise the Riksmaal could never produce a truly national language since the grammatical basis was Danish. The leader of this group was a peasant, Ivar Aasen (1813-96), and it is upon his writings that the new language, which he called “ Landsmaal ” (“ country speech ”), is built. Aasen studied the dialects of the people, and by a process of unifying them he constructed a written language which has become virtually a new medium of speech. In 1848 he published a grammar and in 1850 and 1853 he followed this with a Dictionary, and an essay in defence of his new language. He further assisted its growth by writing poems in Landsmaal, which are considered to be of decided merit, while other prominent writers and poets have since then used and further developed the language.

Opinions vary as to the actual worth of Landsmaal. The Official Publication for the Paris Exposition in 1900 says

that it is "an essentially artificial language which nobody speaks; it is based on antique western dialects, with occasional reference to the form of the old Norwegian. It is an idealised popular language, more antique in character than the dialects themselves." Bjornson and Ibsen scorned it, and the latter went so far as to satirise it. On the other hand, Leach in "Scandinavia of the Scandinavians," writes: "Aasen discovered there was a closer connection between the dialects than before supposed and a richer vocabulary, and that they were descended not from corrupt Danish but from old Norse. He constructed common forms and spellings, especially favouring the dialects of Western Norway, which lie nearest the old Norse, and incorporated, now and then, the form of the old language. 'He had shown,' says the poet Garborg, 'that the Norwegian tongue was still in existence. Yes, that it lived a richer and fresher life than anyone had dreamed. It was, indeed, the new Norway he had discovered on the sites of the old.'"

Landsmaal was taken up as a political issue by the Liberal Party and a language struggle, or "Maalstraev," as it is called, developed between the advocates of Riksmaal and of Landsmaal. In 1885 by a vote of 78 to 31 the Storting (Parliament) requested the Government "to adopt the necessary measures so that the people's language, as school and official language, be placed side by side with our ordinary written speech," and in 1892 the following law was framed for elementary schools:—

"The School Board (in each district) shall decide whether the readers and text books shall be composed in Landsmaal or the ordinary book-maal and in which of these languages the pupils' written exercises shall in general be composed, but the pupil must learn to read both languages."

Landsmaal was adopted as the principal language in many of the elementary schools, mostly in the West and Midlands, and also by a great many of the adult schools. In 1896 the study of Landsmaal was made obligatory in the "high" schools and in 1899 a Chair of Landsmaal was established at the University.

Up to 1899 there was very little organised opposition to the new language, as it was regarded in the nature of a transitory effort, but in this year, seeing that the movement was becoming significant, a Riksmaal Union was formed under the leadership of Bjornson, and we find the people divided into two camps, the one wishing to impose Landsmaal as the standard written language of the country, and

the other group wishing to reverse the laws which had already been passed making Landsmaal an official language and a subject in the schools, but at the same time wishing to Norwegianise the Riksmaal. H. G. Leach very aptly describes the position when he says: "The main difference between the two opposite camps may be expressed by saying that Aasen's followers stand for a revolution in literary language, whereas Bjornson's party stand for evolution."

Since 1905.

In 1905 Norway attained complete independence and from this date Landsmaal made rapid progress, all the school children were learning to read it, and in 1906 a Union of the societies for the promotion of Landsmaal was formed. In 1908 Landsmaal was enforced at the University by Royal Resolution and the students were allowed to submit their examination papers in either Riksmaal or Landsmaal.

By 1909 Landsmaal had been taken up as the medium of instruction by 125 out of 650 school districts, and over half the country parishes in Bergen adopted it, though not a single parish in Christiania. At the same time changes were taking place in Riksmaal, and in 1907 a move of great importance was made, when the voiceless consonants p, t and k were reinstated instead of b, d and g. In 1917 further steps were taken to make the spelling and the pronunciation conform. This new spelling has met with considerable opposition, and the "Norway Year Book, 1924," states that it is little used except in the schools and in official communications. At the same time changes were made in Landsmaal, and a good many words which had been pronounced alike in the two languages were given the same form of spelling. Revisions were also made in the official orthography of town and district names in order to do away with the Danish forms.

At present Landsmaal is the chief language in about 2,000 of the 6,000 elementary schools in rural districts. These 2,000 rural districts have a population of about 430,000, the whole population of the rural districts amounting to 1,980,000. Students may use Landsmaal in the Secondary Schools, but it is only used as the principal language in a few of the State schools and in some of the private or corporation secondary schools. Some statutes have been promulgated in Landsmaal and it is customary to publish Acts of Parliament in both languages, while several hundred district authorities have asked that the central administration and the Government officials use Landsmaal in their written communications to them.

What is going to happen in the future is difficult to predict. The business men, professors and professional men are in favour of Riksmåal. Politicians, teachers, and the country people champion Landsmåal. To the outsider it appears that while Landsmåal and Riksmåal are apparently rivals in the country they are in reality aiming at the same objective—that of giving Norway a truly national language. It seems probable, as has been suggested by several writers, that the two languages will become welded into one standard Norwegian language. Every year Riksmåal is drawing closer to the old Norse by the introduction of the new spelling on the one hand, and by the increasing use of words taken from the rich vocabulary of the dialects on the other. At the same time Landsmåal is far from being a common medium of speech; it lacks a modern vocabulary and so has constantly to borrow from Riksmåal. The complete assimilation of the two languages into a truly Norwegian national language must, of course, be an extremely slow process.

WALES.

The manner in which the Welsh people have retained their language, notwithstanding the pressure of the English language at their gates is little short of a miracle. The beginning of the 16th century, which witnessed the final incorporation of Wales with England, was marked by a systematic attack on the Welsh language. In 1535 it was provided by statute that* “From henceforth no person or persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language shall have or enjoy any Manner Office or Fees within this Realm of England, Wales or other the King’s Dominion upon pain of forfeiting the same Office or Fees unless he or they use and exercise the English Speech or Language.” It was also enacted that Oaths, Affidavits and Verdicts should be in English and that proceedings in all Courts of Law should be conducted in the English tongue, while no provision was made for interpretation.

The immediate result of these decrees was that many of the better class people learnt English in order to obtain Government positions, and the Welsh language, suddenly bereft of the influence of the more educated, had a hard struggle to keep alive. Many Welshmen were themselves of opinion that their native tongue should be allowed to die, and various efforts, such as the publication of the Welsh

* 27 Henry VIII. Cap. 26.

Dictionary of 1547, aimed rather to help the people to a knowledge of English than to assist them in the study of their own language.

An Act of 1563,* which ordered the translation of the Bible and Prayer Book into Welsh, also ordered that copies should be furnished to the Churches in English, so that the Welsh people could study the two together, and thus learn the English tongue more quickly.

In 1630 a popular edition of the Bible reached the hands of the people. Welsh had been deteriorating rapidly, and this translation, which was written in the finest literary language, may almost be said to have saved the Welsh tongue. The people seized on it with avidity and soon became one of the greatest Bible-reading peoples in the world. A literature, largely of a religious character, began to appear. Between the years 1546-1660 there were, according to Rowland's Bibliography, 77 books published in Welsh, and of these a very large number were on religious topics. The people were now aroused to a consciousness of their own language, but much had still to be done, for any education that there was at this time was purely English. The Monasteries, which had been the free schools of the poor, were dissolved at the time of the Reformation and their places were taken by the English Grammar Schools, which only catered for the better class children. Many Welsh students passed on from these schools to Oxford and Cambridge and thus became entirely separated from the old Welsh tradition.

During the eighteenth century the Sunday Schools proved a very powerful force for the preservation of the language. Welsh Sunday Schools differed from those in England and elsewhere, in that they taught adults as well as children. They were primarily of a religious character, but since the pupils were illiterate, the first necessity was to teach them to read the Bible. Two names which will always be remembered in connection with this work are those of Griffith Jones and Thomas Charles of Bala. Griffith Jones was most successful with his Circulating Schools. By 1739 he had trained fifty teachers in his method, and by 1760 over 3,000 schools had been established and over 150,000 students were taught to read the Bible in their own language. After these Circulating Schools had ceased to function, Thomas Charles established day-schools with itinerant teachers who stayed for six or nine months in each place and taught the children to read the Scriptures in Welsh.

* 5 Eliz. Cap. 28.

The first printing press in Wales was set up by Isaac Carter in 1718. Previous to this most of the Welsh books had been printed in England. After this many other printing presses were established all over the country and an increasing number of publications were issued from the Welsh Press. The number of Welsh books published between 1700-1800 is stated to have been 1,293.

A general improvement in the language situation was maintained and gradually literary coteries and societies were formed. In 1751 the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, a society for the preservation of the Welsh language and history, was founded in London—further reference to the work of the Society will be made later. The Society of Gwyneddigion, founded in London in 1771, gave prizes for poetry and singing, and unofficial *Eisteddfodau* (the forerunners of the National *Eisteddfod*, which was not established until 1858) became a popular feature of literary life in Wales.

1800-1907.

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw a considerable extension in the use of the Welsh language, for it had become the language of religion. It had not yet, however, found a place in the educational system of the country. The spirit of those whose aim it was to restore the language may be expressed in the words of Thomas Davis, which are quoted in a publication issued by the Welsh Department of the Board of Education:—"Even should the effort to save the national language fail, by the attempt we will rescue its old literature and hand down to our descendants proofs that we had a language as fit for love, and war, and business, and pleasure, as the world ever knew, and that we had not the spirit and nationality to preserve it."

In 1846-47 a Commission of three was appointed "to inquire into the state of education in the Principality of Wales, especially into the means afforded to the labouring classes of acquiring a knowledge of the English tongue." The Commission found that the diversity between the language in which the school books were written and the mother-tongue of the children presented enormous difficulties and that a teacher to be effective would require to be bilingual.

The only Welsh Grammar School at this time where Welsh was declared to be the language of the school was the Welsh Institution in Llandovery, founded in 1847 by Thomas Phillips. The Trust Deed stated that "the Welsh language shall be taught exclusively during one hour

every school day, and be the sole medium of communication in the school, and shall be used at all other convenient periods as the language of the school." Unfortunately this definite intention was later ignored.

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw a determined fight for the recognition of Welsh in the schools.

Considerable interest had already been aroused in the subject, though the goal at this time was not how best to teach Welsh, but how best to give the Welsh people a knowledge of the English tongue. The necessity for specially equipped teachers was recognised, and Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who was Secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, pushed a progressive policy for efficient bilingual teaching in the schools. Unfortunately, he had to resign for reasons of health. Welsh disappeared from the schools and Training Colleges, and we find no mention of it at all in the Education Code of 1861.

In 1884 the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion sent out a questionnaire to the heads of Schools requesting an answer to the question: "Do you consider that advantage would result from the introduction of the Welsh Language as a specific subject into the course of Elementary Education in Wales"? Opinions differed widely, as may be seen from the following examples of replies received from Anglesey, a county in which over 90 per cent. of the inhabitants were Welsh-speaking at this date. "Yes, decidedly, the Welsh language ought to be a 'specific subject.' (a) The ground work of instruction would be more pure. In Welsh-speaking districts the most intelligent scholars are those who were taught the English language through the medium of the Welsh. (b) It would be a great boon to the children in order to aid them to understand the English language. (c) It would create in their minds when leaving school a thorough love for higher education in science and literature." Opposed to this we have another reply:—"No. For (1) Parents would not stand for it. (2) Welsh is amply cared for by our Sunday Schools and literary meetings. (3) I cannot see the utility of the proposal. (4) Our schools are Welshy enough as it is. (5) After eight years' experience, I find the best plan is to use the Welsh language as sparingly as possible. Of course, we all love the old tongue, but school-life is not a matter of sentiment, but a serious preparation for the battle of life. (6) I am certain if you succeed few teachers would care to teach it, as it would seriously interfere with other more important work." Yet another wrote:—"Welsh is very nice in London, but our cry in Anglesey and Carnarvonshire is 'more English.'"

The sympathy of the teachers seems to have been fairly evenly divided. Many of them realised the value of Welsh, but, as a good number were Englishmen, or Welshmen who had little knowledge of their own language, and as the majority were busily engaged in preparing their pupils for Extern examinations in which Welsh played no part, it was only to be expected that Welsh should receive but half-hearted support from the teachers. The result of the questionnaire was that of the 622 replies received, 336 were classified as affirmatives, 254 as negative, and 32 as neutral. At the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod in 1887 several interesting papers were read, among them being "The Place of the Welsh Language in Elementary Education in Wales," by Mr. Beriah Gwynfe Evans, Secretary to the Society for Utilising the Welsh Language, a Society which had been formed a few years previously with the object of promoting a method of education by which everyone in Wales would be bilingual.

As a result of the findings of a Royal Commission which was appointed in 1886 to inquire into the working of the Education Acts, the Code provided that bilingual reading books and copy-books could be used in all standards, and translations from Welsh to English could be accepted instead of English composition. Grants were given for the successful teaching of Welsh, and the teaching of Welsh history and geography was encouraged. In 1890 Welsh was made a specific optional subject of instruction, and in 1893 it was provided, for the first time, that certain subjects could be taught in that language in the Welsh-speaking districts. In 1889 secondary schools were established all over the country, and in 1895 the Welsh Board was created to examine and inspect these Intermediate Schools. In the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889,* express reference was made to the Welsh language and literature and Welsh was included in the curriculum of many of the Intermediate Schools in Wales. The Welsh Board examined pupils in Welsh and some of the Local Authorities adopted schemes for the teaching of Welsh when they took over the responsibility for educational provision in 1902. The Colleges which had been federated into a University by Charter in 1893 also began to take an active interest in the study of Welsh.

Welsh literary production had increased steadily during this period. Mr. E. G. Ravenstein, in the course of his paper on the "Celtic Languages in the British Isles," which was read before the Statistical Society, London, in 1879, writes:—

* 52 & 53 Vict. Cap. 40. Sect. 20.

“ They (the Welsh) have a literature, newspapers and periodicals, one of which, the ‘ Trysofar Plant ’ or ‘ Children’s Treasury,’ has a circulation of 43,000. Their literature is on the increase, and the Welsh language is more the subject of careful study than it ever was.”

A great number of books were published during the century. According to Mr. Thomas Ashton’s lists, which refer to the years 1801-1895, they numbered 11,613, of which 8,424 were written in Welsh.

Since 1907

The year 1907 was of importance to the cause of the Welsh language and literature for two reasons, the first being the foundation by Royal Charter of the National Library of Wales, and the second the establishment of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education.

Appended to the Education Code for 1907 we find the following words, which may be taken as descriptive of the attitude of the Board to Welsh in education:—

“ The Board of Education wish that every Welsh teacher should realise the educational value of the Welsh language and of its literature, which, from its wealth of romance and lyric, is peculiarly adapted to the education of the young.”

Certain regulations regarding the teaching of Welsh were included in the Codes for Welsh Schools in 1907 and 1908. The specific provisions of the 1908 Code, which relate to the position of Welsh, are as follows:—

- “ (1) The appended Regulations shall apply to Public Elementary Schools in Wales (including Monmouthshire), with the additions following:—
- (a) The curriculum should, as a rule, include the Welsh language, the teaching of which should follow generally the lines indicated (in an article not quoted here).
 - (b) Any of the subjects of the curriculum may (where the local circumstances make it desirable) be taught in Welsh, but it is not necessary that the Welsh language should be taught in every school or in every class.
 - (c) Where Welsh is the mother-tongue of the infants, that language should be the medium of instruction in their Classes.
 - (d) Provision should also be made for the teaching in every school of Welsh History and the Geography of Wales, and Welsh literature should also be included in the curriculum of Higher Elementary Schools.”

The position of Welsh in the Secondary Schools is contained in the following extract from the Regulations for Secondary Schools (Wales):—

“ The curriculum must provide instruction in the English Language and Literature, at least one Language other than English, Geography, History, Mathematics, Science and Drawing. In districts where Welsh is spoken, the language, or one of the languages other than English, should be Welsh. Any of the subjects of the curriculum may (where the local circumstances make it desirable) be taught, partly or wholly, in Welsh.”

It was also required that provision be made in Training Colleges in Wales for the teaching of Welsh, and in 1909 Welsh was included as a subject for the Teachers' Certificate of the Board. As a result of these efforts there has been a considerable increase in the study of Welsh in the Schools. For instance, the proportion of students taking Welsh as a subject in the School Certificate Examination increased from 25 per cent. in 1908 to 41 per cent. in 1925. There was also an increase, though not so marked, in the number of Students presenting Welsh as a subject at the Higher Examinations. According to a recent Memorandum of the Central Welsh Board, 28 per cent. of the pupils attending Secondary Schools come from homes in which Welsh is habitually spoken and 46 per cent. are receiving Welsh lessons at School.

In 1925 a Commission was appointed “ To inquire into the position occupied by Welsh (Language and Literature) in the educational system of Wales, and to advise how its study might best be promoted in educational institutions and classes of all types, regard being had to (i) the requirements of a liberal education; (ii) the needs of business, the professions and public services; (iii) the relations of Welsh to English and other studies.” In its Report, “ Welsh in Education and Life,” the Commission lays special stress on the different types of teaching necessary in Welsh-speaking districts, in mixed districts, and in districts where English predominates, while the need for highly equipped teachers and suitable Welsh text-books is emphasised.

As regards Welsh in Public Life, the Commission was of opinion that there are now sufficient instances of the use of Welsh by Government Departments to prove that there is no statutory disability, and a knowledge of Welsh is coming to be recognised as a valuable qualification for Public Service. In the Courts of Law, interpretation is now done efficiently, and evidence is accepted in Welsh if so desired, though in certain cases the individual has to meet the ex-

penses of translation. The Oath, however, if taken in Welsh, has to be made through an interpreter.

Mention has already been made of the work done by the Cymmrodorion Society, but, in addition, there are in nearly every town in Wales many other Societies which have done their work for the Welsh language. In 1913 the Welsh Societies formed themselves into a Union for the purpose of stimulating the existing Societies, forming new ones, and of exerting a greater influence for the furtherance of their aims on a national basis. Dramatic performances and singing festivals have been encouraged in order to interest the young people, and a Welsh Summer School was formed at Llanwrtyd for persons wishing to learn Welsh, or for those wanting advanced work in literature and history. Special attention is given to modern methods of language teaching.

Among the present difficulties which the language has to face are the growing influence of the English Press and the increasing use of the Wireless with its English programmes. The Welsh Periodical Press has always been a power in the country, for Welsh journalism has been of a high standard. At present there are approximately 20 weekly and 12 monthly papers in Welsh, as well as a number of other periodicals, but the English "dailies" are proving themselves serious rivals. As regards Broadcasting Programmes, it is gratifying to find expressions of appreciation for the Welsh programmes which were given for several years from the Dublin Station.

Table I. shows the number of persons able to speak Welsh in 1801, 1841, 1871 and decennially from 1891 to 1921. The figures for 1801, 1841 and 1871 are estimates made respectively by Mr. Thomas Darlington, Sir Thomas Phillips, and Mr. E. G. Ravenstein; the two former are quoted from "The Welsh People" by Rhys & Brynmor.

Table I.—POPULATION ABLE TO SPEAK WELSH, 1801-1921.

Language	1801 E	1841 E	1871 E	1891 C	1901 C	1911 C	1921 C
Able to speak Welsh ...	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Proportion able to speak Welsh	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	80.0	67.0	66.2	54.0	49.9	43.5	37.1

NOTE:—E—estimate.
C—census.

The manner in which Mr. Ravenstein arrived at the figure for 1871 is interesting. Since no language statistics were available for Wales prior to 1891, he had to procure all the information himself. He, therefore, sent out circulars addressed to registrars of births, clergymen, school masters, and others likely to have a knowledge of the linguistic conditions in their neighbourhood, and from the replies which he received he made estimates of the numbers of persons able to speak Welsh only, or able to speak both Welsh and English, in each county in Wales and in Monmouthshire. All statistics in this paper relating to 1871 have been based on the information contained in Mr. Ravenstein's paper.

It will be observed from Table I. that while the total number able to speak Welsh has remained almost stationary for the last 50 years, the population of the country has increased by nearly 90 per cent., so that the percentage of those able to speak Welsh has declined from 66.2 per cent. to 37.1 per cent.

When an inquiry as to language spoken in Wales was first included in the Census in 1891 the limit of age adopted was 2 years and over. This unfortunately does not coincide with the ages which were prescribed in the later Censuses (3 years and over), so that exact comparisons cannot be made. No definite rules are laid down as regards the degree of proficiency in either language which justifies a person in claiming ability to speak it. The General Report of the 1911 Census states that the evidence appears to favour the view that scholastic instruction in either language is taken into account in the returns made, for the proportion of bilinguals increases very rapidly in the school age, and then more slowly to a maximum between the ages of 45-65. The Report further says: "It is at least probable that some ability to speak both languages is in many cases not acknowledged in the Census returns when only one language is in common use, but it is not obvious from the figures whether the consequent exaggeration of the monoglot population is greater among persons returned as able to speak 'English only' or among those returned as able to speak 'Welsh only.'"

Table II. gives the language by age distribution at the last three Censuses—these particulars were not available prior to 1901.

TABLE II.—WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Proportion per 1,000 of the Population aged 3 years and upwards at certain age groups returned as able to speak English only, Welsh only and both English and Welsh, 1901, 1911 and 1921.

Age group	Speaking English only			Speaking Welsh only			Speaking both Welsh and English			Other languages or no statement		
	1901	1911	1921	1901	1911	1921	1901	1911	1921	1901	1911	1921
3-5	567	590	653	158	130	112	272	174	155	3	106	80
5-9		590	659		97	78		265	216		48	47
10-14		570	638		60	47		337	275		33	40
15-24	517	571	617	104	46	36	374	360	309	5	23	38
25-44	487	542	596	126	62	42	382	378	327	5	18	35
45-64	412	457	515	199	126	83	387	403	366	2	14	36
65+	355	386	441	296	224	166	347	378	353	2	12	40
TOTAL	498	537	589	151	85	63	348	350	308	3	28	40

It will be seen that persons able to speak English only are more frequent in the earlier age groups, especially between the ages 15-24; monoglot Welsh speakers at the two extremes of life, and bilinguals between the ages 45-64. The proportion of monoglot English decreases with advancing years, while the bilinguals increase up to the older ages. The minimum point for those speaking Welsh only is between the ages 15-24.

In the general Report of the Census, 1921, an interesting comparison is made between the numbers in the different language groups at the several age periods in 1921 with the survivors of the corresponding numbers enumerated at ages ten years younger in 1911. The calculations are not precise, since they had, of necessity, to be based on the survivorship as shown by the total population of England and Wales in the same age-groups. Calculations are, of course, impossible for the ages below 15. The results given are shown in Table III., and it will be seen that in the age-group 15-25 those speaking Welsh only are less than half of the survivors who were stated to be able to speak Welsh only at ages 5-15 in 1911.

Table III.—POPULATION (IN THOUSANDS OF PERSONS) IN VARIOUS LANGUAGE AND AGE-GROUPS COMPARED WITH EXPECTED SURVIVORS FROM CORRESPONDING GROUPS IN 1911 AT AGES 10 YEARS YOUNGER.

	AGE IN 1921			
	15-25	25-45	45-65	65+
ENGLISH ONLY:				
Expected survivors				
from 1911	274	413	241	59
Actual	294	452	244	61
WELSH ONLY:				
Expected survivors				
from 1911	38	37	40	26
Actual	17	32	39	23
BOTH ENGLISH & WELSH				
Expected survivors				
from 1911	141	272	186	53
Actual	147	248	173	49

In the age-group 25-45 there was a loss of 14 per cent. only in the Welsh monoglots as compared with 55 per cent. in the earlier age-group. Since most of these losses would be transferred to the bilingual class, the loss amongst the bilinguals between 25-45 would be about 11 per cent. It would appear from the excess of actual over survivors in the English-speaking section that a good number drop the Welsh language and become transferred to the English section.

From Table IV. it will be observed that the proportion speaking Welsh is much higher in the Western than in the Eastern Counties and that the position has been well maintained in these counties, especially in Anglesey, Merioneth and Cardigan.

Table IV.—PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS ABLE TO SPEAK WELSH IN EACH COUNTY IN WALES AND IN MONMOUTHSHIRE IN 1871, 1891, 1901, 1911 AND 1921.

COUNTY	1871 E	1891 C	1901 C	1911 C	1921 C
	%	%	%	%	%
Anglesey	93.1	92.6	91.7	88.7	84.9
Brecon	66.6	37.6	45.9	41.5	37.2
Cardigan	95.5	94.9	93.0	89.6	82.1
Carmarthen	94.0	89.0	90.4	84.9	82.4
Carnarvon	92.9	89.0	89.6	85.6	75.0
Denbigh	77.1	65.0	61.9	56.7	48.4
Flint	69.9	67.4	49.1	42.2	32.7
Glamorgan	68.2	48.9	43.5	38.1	31.6
Merioneth	94.4	93.5	93.7	90.3	82.1
Monmouth	28.9	15.2	13.0	9.6	6.4
Montgomery	43.9	50.1	47.5	44.8	42.3
Pembroke	35.6	31.3	34.4	32.4	30.3
Radnor	4.0	6.1	6.2	5.4	6.3
TOTAL	66.2	54.0	49.9	43.5	37.1
TOTAL (excluding Monmouth)	72.1	61.1	56.2	50.0	43.3

NOTE:—E=Estimate.
C=Census.

Bibliography.

- Statistisk Årsbok för Finland, 1928.
- The Language Fight in Finland, by E. N. Setälä (Prof. of the Finnish Language and Literature at the University, Member of the Diet, former Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Education).
- Finland and the Finns. Arthur Reade.
- The New Eastern Europe. Ralph Butler.
- The Resurrected Nations. Isaac Don Levine.
- Finland To-day. Frank Fox.
- Finland; The Country, its People and Institutions. Published in Helsingfors, 1926.
- Norway and its People. John Bowden.
- "Norway and the Norwegians." C. F. Keary.
- The Constitution of Norway. H. L. Braekstad.
- Norway: Official Publication for the Paris Exposition of 1900.
- The Norway Year Book, 1924. Ed. S. C. Hammer.
- Norway. Gathorne Hardy.
- Scandinavia of the Scandinavians. H. G. Leach. (American Scandinavian Foundation.)
- Census of England and Wales. General Tables 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921. General Reports 1911, 1921.
- The Making of Modern Wales. M. L. Williams.
- The Welsh People. Rhys and Brynmor.
- Celtic Languages in the British Isles. E. G. Ravenstein. (Read before the Statistical Society, London, April, 1879.)
- The Proceedings of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, 1887.
- Enquiry as to the introduction of Welsh into Elementary Education in Wales. Cymmrodorion Society, 1887.
- Board of Education, Welsh Department. Accounts and Papers, 1907 and 1908. Command Nos. 3604, 3608 and 4170.
- A Nation, and its Books. Issued by the Welsh Department of the Board of Education, 1916.
- Welsh in Education and Life, 1927. Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to inquire into the Position of the Welsh Language.
- The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe. Leon Dominian. American Geographical Society.
- Lessons from Modern Language Movements. Liam P. O'Riain.
- The Encyclopædia Britannica. Fourteenth edition.