

The Welsh Patagonian Connection: A Neglected Chapter in Australian Immigration History

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ABSTRACT

This article is an account of the history of Welsh migrants to Patagonia from 1865 to 1914, their motivations for emigrating, their experiences in Argentina, and the subsequent relocation of several hundred to the British dominions in the early twentieth century.

The focus in the first part of the article is on the nature of those who went from Patagonia to Australia between 1910 and 1915 and the migration of a group of Australians to Paraguay in the 1890s. The second half of the article examines the experiences of the Welsh Patagonians in Australia, their relationships with federal and state governments in the light of the intense rivalry to procure them as settlers, and their involvement in two New South Wales Royal Commissions concerning the operations of the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area.

The article concludes with a discussion on the degree to which a Welsh cultural heritage and identity has been preserved by these settlers in an assimilationist post-Federation Australia. Not only is this a unique double migration experience, but it calls into question immigration encouragement policies and official advertising material during this period, a history which parallels other land settlement schemes of both the pre- and post-war eras in Australia.

INTRODUCTION

The name Patagonia conjures a sense of mystery, adventure and intrigue. It has passed into popular culture through such novels as Paul Theroux's *The Old*

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Patagonian Express and Bruce Chatwin's *In Patagonia*. One reviewer of Chatwin's book referred to Patagonia as "a land of giants and outlaws, Magellan's dog-headed monsters, natives whose heads steam when they eat pudding... the uttermost part of the earth" (Chatwin, 1977: back cover).¹ Stereotypes abound. In the context of explaining racist beliefs in his book *Aboriginal Australians*, Richard Broome used the example of the stereotyping of Transylvanians as lazy, Callithumpians as unintelligent and *Patagonians as violent* [my emphasis] (Broome, 1982: 88). The perception of Patagonians and the land in which they live as violent and untamed is a common one. More relevant are two novels by Richard Llewellyn, sequels to his widely read *How Green was my Valley*, in particular *Up, into the Singing Mountain*, which recounts the story of the settlement in Patagonia of a group of Welsh nationalists. This is a fictional version of the first part of a unique double migration experience which is the subject of this article.

Patagonia spans the southern parts of both Argentina and Chile in South America. It is a land of extremes, as I found in 1995 while in search of killer whales, magellanic penguins, rugged mountain ranges, massive waterfalls and spectacular glaciers. On that trip, I also found the surviving Welsh Patagonian settlement in Chubut, on the coast of Southern Argentina, which dates from 1865. Some of those Welsh settlers later found their way to Australia between 1910 and 1915, the majority making their homes at Moora, a town north-west of Perth, Western Australia and Colando near Yanco in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area of New South Wales. A small group of families settled in Rochester and Bamawm in Victoria, while others went to Darwin in the Northern Territories and to Emerald in Queensland.

In briefly recounting the history of Welsh Patagonian migrants, this article examines a number of key issues: the reasons for their migration from Wales to Patagonia in the mid-nineteenth century; their subsequent remigration early this century to Australia, Canada or back to Wales; the particular nature of their migrations as "colonies"; their relationships with Australian federal and state governments in the light of intense rivalry to procure them as settlers; their experiences in Australia, especially on the land; and finally the question of the preservation of their Welsh cultural heritage and identity.

EMIGRATION FROM WALES TO PATAGONIA

The Welsh Patagonians were initially a pioneering group of 163 settlers who left Liverpool on the *Mimosa* on 24 May 1865 under the leadership of Michael Jones, a Welsh congregationalist minister and fervent nationalist.² In his authoritative study, *The Desert and the Dream*, Glyn Williams has provided detailed background information on the first settlers. Although their occupations varied, most originated from the South Wales coalfields or English urban

South America (southern)



areas. Several came from slate quarrying areas in North Wales (Williams, 1975: 23, 35). They left Wales to escape assimilation attempts and political oppression by the English and to maintain their own distinct language, culture and religion. It is said that in mid-nineteenth century Wales, children were beaten at school and adults fined in the streets if they were heard speaking Welsh (Perrottet, 1990: 54). While cultural preservation appears to be the primary motivation for relocation, poverty was also a factor; many hoped to better their economic circumstances, and in particular to obtain free agricultural land in Argentina (Williams, 1975: 35, 96-7).

Encouraged by the Argentine Government, the group colonized a strip of land in the lower Chubut Valley on the east coast of Patagonia. Towns were established along the river: Rawson, near the mouth, Trelew (the town of Lewis) and Gaiman, a red brick village reminiscent of Wales. The Welsh also settled further west in Sarmiento, in Santa Fe, and by the mid-1880s at Esquel and Trevelin (the place of the mill) in the Andes foothills, an area they called Cwm Hyfryd (Baur, 1954: 485-6; Williams, 1975: 118-142). During the border dispute between Argentina and Chile in the 1890s, it was the Welsh presence in the Andes which ensured that the area of Argentina is as extensive as it is today. The Welsh are given credit for “opening up” the “unconquered” lands of Patagonia to Argentina (Eurell quoting Roberts, 1994: 2).

As far as was possible, the Welsh in Patagonia maintained their national identity, values, morals and traditions, holding regular Welsh eisteddfods from 1875, musical evenings and sporting events, keeping their characteristic habits and cuisine, building churches and schools in their own architectural styles and circulating Welsh publications produced both in Wales and Patagonia (Virkel de Sandler and Gutierrez de Jones, 1994: 31-50; Williams, 1975: 186). The weekly newspaper, *Y Drafod*, became the voice of the colonists. The Welsh language was spoken freely in the home and on the street, taught in schools and sung in chapel services (Perrottet, 1990: 54). The chapel, the centre of the settlement, played a primary role in the life of the community, becoming, on occasion, council chamber, law court, school and even prison (Williams, 1975: 48, 189; du Toit, 1991: 82-3; Graham-Yooll, 1981: 177). Increasingly, however, younger generations identified with their new surroundings. As John Spears wrote in 1895:

The Welsh youngsters indeed have grown up to look with pride to the broad blue and white stripes of the flag under which they were born. They are children of the desert . . . ; and they speak of it with the soft vowels of Castilian, rather than the consonant of the Welsh (Spears, 1895: 181-2, cited in Baur, 1954: 491).

While immigration had largely ceased by the first world war with the last sizeable group arriving in 1911 (Williams, 1975: 155, 185), the Welsh in Chubut were still a viable community in 1965 when they celebrated their



centenary. Indeed, the centenary stimulated a revival in Welsh nationalism, Welsh language and traditions such as chapel services and choral singing. Today, towns with a significant Welsh heritage still hold annual eisteddfods – a major one in Trelew in October, a junior one in Gaiman in August, while Dolavon and Trevelin each hold their own.

It has been common in migration theory to differentiate “push” and “pull” factors, a formulation first identified by Everett Lee in the 1960s (Lee, 1966 cited in du Toit, 1991: 77), and more recently to distinguish structural and agency factors. While the original motivation for the emigration of the Welsh to South America was nationalistic, in later years it became increasingly economic, the result of population pressure, unemployment and economic insecurity in their homeland. But why Argentina?

In the early history of the Argentine Republic, local thinkers and bureaucrats believed that European immigration would bring civilization and development to the country; there was also a social and economic rationale for immigration. The goal of the government was clearly to colonize the “empty south”³ in order to improve trade with the local Patagonians and confirm claims of sovereignty over land, the ownership of which was in dispute with neighbouring Chile (Graham-Yooll, 1981: 172). In the context of mid-nineteenth century racial ideas, it was hoped that Europeans, while “civilizing” the interior of the continent, would displace the indigenous Indian population and destroy the strength of the “gauchos” (those of either mixed Spanish and Indian background, or of Spanish background but born in Latin America and commonly called “creoles”).⁴ The latter would be either removed or forced to work in the interests of “national progress”. Domingo Sarmiento, president from 1868 to 1874, had plans to bring in farmers and artisans and distribute them on the fertile river banks. He wrote:

We can in three years, introduce 300,000 new settlers and drown in the waves of industry the creole rabble, inept, uncivil and coarse, which stops our attempts to civilize the nation (du Toit, 1991: 78).

Many attempts were made in the second half of the nineteenth century to attract such settlers to Argentina, especially from Britain and Germany.⁵ Consuls or immigration agents were appointed, sometimes receiving bonuses for immigrants who paid their own fares and actually arrived in the country (Langfield, 1990: 162-3).⁶ Other concessions can be gauged from the contract signed between the Welsh settlers and the Argentine Government in 1865; 50 square miles of land for every 200 families, four pieces of cannon for defence, 3,000 sheep, 200 horses and 50 cows on the assumption that 300-500 families would settle every year for the next ten years. They were to be self-governing and exempt from taxation and military service. At the end of the first year, in order to overcome financial difficulties, it was agreed that a monthly

grant of 145 pounds be paid by the Government until the colony was self-supporting. When the population of the colony reached 20,000, it was to be made a province of the Republic (Graham-Yooll, 1981: 172, 175, 178; Baur, 1954: 470-1).⁷

Argentine propaganda in Europe and elsewhere exhorted the agricultural and industrial potential of the country and opportunities for those with initiative. By 1890, the Argentine Government granted immigrants free passage to Buenos Aires, allowing communities to migrate and settle contiguously and to retain their own cultural traditions. As du Toit points out:

In every case where agricultural communities were established in Argentina, the government permitted groups of people from the same area and usually from the same genealogical background to immigrate together and live together.

There were no restrictions on residence, association, education, language or religion (du Toit, 1991: 81-2); powerful pull factors indeed.

Obviously these conditions were attractive to settlers who, like the Welsh, wanted to preserve their linguistic, religious and cultural autonomy. Between 1855 and 1915, a number of settlements were established, not all successfully. Ethnic enclaves characterized Northern and Central Argentina, among them Esperanza, the Swiss community; Colonia California, a progressive agricultural settlement; Colonia Baron Hirsh, one of several Jewish settlements; and Tres Arroyos, a Dutch settlement comprising members of the Reformed Church. The Welsh who settled further south in less hospitable surroundings in Chubut were joined in the province between 1902 and 1905 by Boers and British South Africans who established the Colonia Escalante and later Colonia Boer (du Toit, 1991: 79). Crofters from Scotland who came via the Falklands took up farms even further south, and the English established a colony named New Imperial in Chile. New colonies were still being set up after the first world war, while others ceased to exist (Graham-Yooll, 1981: 186).

The dilution of the discrete cultures of all these groups was only a matter of time, despite the fact that all were able to exist for a considerable period as cultural islands amidst Spanish speaking Catholics. The majority had sufficient numbers of both men and women to retain their identities and lifestyles, in general marrying within their communities. Indeed, Glyn Williams argues that the Welsh possessed an immensely strong internal cohesion based on values promoted through their religious institutions and writings which were at the basis of all their social interaction (Williams, 1975: 38). Anglo-Argentines throughout the country, and the Jewish community in Buenos Aires, still maintain a distinctive cultural identity. Agricultural settlements which have preserved a recognizable ethnic heritage are the Germans of Eldorado in Misiones province, Bulgarians and Yugoslavs of Roque Sáenz Peña in the

Chaco, and the Ukrainians of La Pampa. In each of these, numerical superiority within the settlements was a significant factor in the maintenance of social cohesion and is particularly important in explaining both the preservation of cultural heritage and the process of cultural assimilation for the Welsh in both Argentina and in Australia (Williams, 1975: 185).

In Patagonia

In many cases, the transfer to Argentina led not to greater prosperity for the Welsh but to substantial rural hardship and suffering on the part of the early migrants (Graham-Yooll, 1981: 177). Historians concur that this was due mainly to over-ambitious organizers and the land's unpredictable fertility (Williams, 1975: 38; Baur, 1954: 472). Many aspects of cooperative farming were used, especially in the more difficult times when resources were often pooled. While the first five years in Chubut were precarious, the settlements gradually became viable. The colony specialized in irrigation farming, the settlers actually digging extensive irrigation channels by hand. They grew wheat and lucerne largely for market in green condition. They also produced dairy products, established orchards and raised a variety of livestock, including sheep, cattle and horses. The fodder (four crops a year) was sent to Buenos Aires mostly as seed, and also widely marketed as hay (*The West Australian*, 9 November 1911).⁸ Economic conditions improved and the lengthening period spent together added to their sense of cohesiveness. A railway, seen as crucial for the economic expansion of the colony, was constructed after 1886 when 462 labourers were brought from Wales to help build the main line from the valley to Port Madryn (Williams, 1975: 82). For a time, a large degree of autonomy was achieved.

By the turn of the century, descendants of the original Welsh pioneers numbered approximately four thousand. However, a combination of political, cultural and environmental factors at this time contributed to a desire to emigrate elsewhere. Not only had the original charismatic religious and nationalist leadership waned, but there was increasing concern about the Argentine Government's pressure on the Welsh community to integrate with the local community. The requirement in 1896 that children attend state schools in which the medium of instruction was Spanish, and the religious teaching Catholic, inevitably led to a dilution of the Welsh culture. The imposition of compulsory military service which obliged all adult males between the ages 18 and 35 to participate in military drill on Sundays was against their religious teachings. High taxes, general insecurity of life and property, and increased cattle rustling and banditry were additional reasons (Baur, 1954: 488). The "aggressive policy" of the Argentine army towards the native Indians led to the near annihilation of the latter and to retaliatory raids on the settlers. The breakdown in relations between settler and indigene, much regretted by the Welsh who sympathized with the Indians (especially the local Tehuelche people), further

alienated them from Argentine officials (Graham-Yooll, 1981: 185, quoting Williams, 1979).⁹

Markets were limited and unreliable and opportunities for the young increasingly restricted. Other reasons for discontent were poor communication with the rest of Argentina and general overcrowding. Chubut was a narrow valley (roughly 45 miles long by 6 miles wide) surrounded by desert; further migration could be neither contiguous nor under the same conditions (Baur, 1954: 488). Frequent devastation of farmlands by floods, especially severe between 1899 and 1902, affecting fences, crops and property, seriously undermined the settlers' morale (Williams, 1991: 47). Another main cause of growing dissatisfaction was the breaking up of the colony as originally constituted, owing to the selling of land by dissatisfied settlers and arrival in the area of Spaniards and Italians; and also other Britons, Scots and English into Patagonia (Perrottet, 1990: 54; Baur, 1954: 491).¹⁰

As discontent increased, groups and individuals made plans to relocate, this time, ironically, to a land under the British flag; not Wales but Canada or Australia, Dominions thought to be more liberal (Perrottet, 1990: 55; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 November 1911). The Transvaal in South Africa was also considered but generally not supported. In May 1902, 234 persons sailed on the *Orissa* to Canada via Liverpool (Williams, 1975: 150). The Canadian Government not only reserved a complete township for them at a place of their choice, (Salcoats, some 200 miles east of Saskatoon), but housed and supplied them for the first three months (Baur, 1954: 489).¹¹ While they did reasonably well there, the location and rigorous climate were unattractive to Welsh Patagonians with families.¹²

News of their emigration to Canada was not well received in Buenos Aires. In an effort to dissuade them from leaving the country, the Argentine Government relocated approximately 100 settlers in neighbouring areas of Chubut. Some moved north; although they believed that Argentina was a land of promise, they were satisfied that the line of progress was drawn well north of Chubut. Another group decided upon Australia but found it difficult to obtain fair prices for their land.¹³ Glyn Williams has suggested that those who emigrated to both Canada and Australia were later settlers to Chubut who had not yet taken up land, his evidence being that only two plots of land were sold within the valley between 1893 and 1906 (Williams, 1975: 150-1). This explanation may have applied to those who went to Patagonia to work on the railways and later went to Canada.¹⁴ It was not generally true, however, of those who went to Australia, several of whom had been in Patagonia for many years.¹⁵ In addition, those who went to Australia did so during and after 1910. Many were delayed by difficulties in selling their farms, indicating that they had "taken up" land in Patagonia, and were therefore expecting monetary recompense at the time of their departure.¹⁶ The question of land tenure and titles was a vexed one. In the

Andes, several families had been living on their land for many years on permits, unable to get deeds even after tendering purchase money and proof of compliance with the conditions of their occupation. Titles could be declared “irregular”, “incomplete” or “faulty” and someone else could buy the land, resulting in eviction.¹⁷

The history of Welsh settlements in Patagonia has been well documented by historians and historical geographers, many of them Welsh. Studies have also been made of their subsequent migration from Argentina to the Canadian Prairies.¹⁸ The history of the relocation of Welsh Patagonians to Australia, on the other hand, has been almost entirely neglected. The Welsh brought to Australia a distinctive identity, but owing to their relatively small numbers, they are frequently included under the general classification British (Hughes, 1988: 840-46). Published work on the Welsh in Australia is limited, and on Welsh Patagonians is virtually non-existent, save for a short article in *Geo Magazine* (Perrottet, 1990) and cursory references elsewhere. A recently published local history of the Moora district in Western Australia includes short sections on the Welsh Patagonian settlement there (Laurie, 1995). The primary aim of this part of the article therefore is to try to recover some aspects of this forgotten episode in Australian immigration.¹⁹

The experience of the Welsh Patagonians provides an interesting symmetry with William Lane’s attempt in 1893 to establish a socialist “utopian” colony of Australians near Asuncion in Paraguay. Although Lane and his followers were preparing to move from Australia to South America as early as 1889, and the Welsh Patagonians did not reach Australia until 1910, there are some significant links between the two colonies. Forty years apart, scouts for both colonies investigated the Rio Negro in Chubut and Neuquen as a suitable site for a settlement in Argentina; both rejected the area (Williams, 1975: 31-2; Souter, 1968: 33-4). The attraction was land grants followed by individual title after two years of occupancy. Prospectors for William Lane also visited the foothills of the Andes and rode east but found the area unsatisfactory. Timber was scarce, communication difficult and frosts severe. Although they did not go as far south as the Chubut Valley, they commented on reports of its desirability for agriculture.²⁰ In the event, they resumed their earlier correspondence with the Government of Paraguay, which was also anxious to attract settlers (Souter, 1968: 33-4).

When the settlements at New Australia and Cosme failed, some Australians drifted from Paraguay to Argentina. Many settled in Rosario and Buenos Aires. One of these was the celebrated poet Mary Gilmore, who, with her baby son, travelled to Southern Patagonia where her husband, Billy, was working as a shearing instructor during 1898 in order to raise enough money to pay their fares home (Turner, 1987: 34). Eighteen years later, in October 1916, Mary Gilmore was entertained in Leeton (Australia) by approximately sixty Welsh

Patagonians who had come to try their luck in the Murrumbidgee district (*The Murrumbidgee Irrigator*, 13 October 1916; Perrottet, 1990: 53). Settlers from both South American colonies were attempting to migrate to Australia or return to Australia in the early twentieth century for similar reasons: compulsory military service, problems of land tenure and the laxity of administration and law enforcement in Paraguay and Argentina.²¹

A further connection between the Patagonian and Paraguayan experiences poses theoretical issues relating to the “colony” migration model as opposed to individual or “chain” migration, though without any common ideological base.²² While most emigration from Wales has been on an individual basis, there were several attempts in the nineteenth century to establish colonies overseas, of which the Patagonian experience is probably the best known. Earlier Welsh colonies established in Pennsylvania and Tennessee had failed. Such attempts to establish a cultural haven have been compared to those of the Amish people in the United States (Williams, 1975: 22-3; Perrottet, 1990: 56). The “colony model” also applies to the migration of Welsh Patagonians to Australia. As with other attempts, representatives or scouts were sent first to survey the conditions, sound out governments and make arrangements, but were not always representative of the “colony” as a whole.²³ The question of leadership or spokespeople for these colonies often arose, causing much friction within the groups over representation. Schisms over control, direction, and the underlying philosophy of the communities were as much a feature of the European and Boer colonies in Argentina as they were of the Australian and Welsh.

In essence, this form of migration can be clearly distinguished from “chain migration” where settlers, having reached their adopted country, then nominate or influence relatives and friends to follow (Price, 1963: 108-39). “Colony migration” constitutes migration *together* of a large group of settlers from one area, usually after designated individuals have gone ahead to select a suitable destination. Such colonies have generally been established in rural areas where land could be taken up, and are often associated with irrigation.²⁴ Both types of migration, “colony” and “chain”, can result in small enclaves of one nationality in a particular locality.

EMIGRATION FROM PATAGONIA TO AUSTRALIA

Despite the inherent problems associated with “colony” migration or ethnic enclaves perceived in Australia at the time, the various states and the Commonwealth (in its capacity as administrator of the Northern Territory after 1911) were in direct competition for prospective settlers from Patagonia. The Australian states were preparing for increased immigration just prior to the first world war and were vying with each other for these skilled and “desirable” British

irrigators with capital. Governments sent representatives, literature and offers of reimbursement of shipping fares, free rail travel and, most important, land.

In November 1911, the Reverend Owen C. Jones and W.J. Williams travelled from Patagonia to Australia to investigate land settlement (*The Argus*, Melbourne, 6, 7, 9 January, 26 September, 9 November 1911). Jones was interviewed on his arrival at Albany, Western Australia, and stated that his trip, “on behalf of the Welsh colony in Patagonia”, had been arranged with the Victorian Agent-General in London. He had sold his own land and travelled widely in the US and Canada without finding what he was looking for. He stated that:

Some 4,000 settlers were ready to betake themselves elsewhere under suitable conditions, that they would bring sizeable capital and irrigation skills to any state allowing their “Little Wales” in Australia. They would pave the way to the establishment of a colony of their own.

(*The West Australian*, 9 November, 1911; Perrottet, 1990: 55-6).²⁵

Jones sought holdings of about 40 acres for each adult male in an irrigation area where the settlers could continue to carry on the work to which they were accustomed. He professed to being so pleased with what he saw in Western Australia that if he was disappointed in Victoria, he would certainly open up negotiations with the Western Australian Government.²⁶

Before this mission could bear fruit, the first contingent of 42 Welsh Patagonians had already arrived in Western Australia (*The Midland Advertiser*, Western Australia, 9 December 1910). They had read in the press that land was available in the West and, having first returned to Wales, and obtained pamphlets from the Agent-General in London, they decided not to remain in Wales because the only occupation was coal mining and they wanted to escape that life.²⁷

The first land offered to the Welsh Patagonians by the Western Australian Government was not to their liking. They then obtained suitable blocks from the Midland Railway Company. The land finally occupied was at Round Hill, in the Berkshire Valley district, about twenty miles east of the town of Moora, north of Perth. The area became known as Gwalia Valley or Creslow but the name was later changed to Nardy to avoid confusion with Gwalia on the Western Australian goldfields. The settlers arrived in December 1911 and joined forces to clear the land, sink wells and build homes (Laurie, 1955: 116).²⁸ The early years were difficult; most families spoke only Welsh or Spanish, their first crop coincided with a year of drought, and development slowed with the outbreak of war,²⁹ followed by a succession of poor seasons. Although they were by no means inexperienced farmers, they struggled for some years under new conditions and without their capital from Argentina.³⁰

Locally, they were known as “the Welsh settlement”, retaining their language and customs by activities such as sports days and concerts.³¹

Prior to the outbreak of the first world war, both New South Wales and Victoria had ambitious plans for these potential Welsh Patagonian settlers. They were described as the “very stamp required for Victoria’s irrigation lands” (*Argus*, 6, 7 February 1912).³² Victoria sent a representative, R.B. Rees, a member of parliament, to Patagonia in 1912 to put forward the advantages of the state and offer assistance with passage costs. Rees was later arrested in Buenos Aires for trying to smuggle lucerne seed out of Argentina, but was rescued by the intervention of the British Consul. As a result of his expedition, some Welsh Patagonians settled in Victoria, others in Western Australia and at least 100 families, representing 400 persons, settled in the Burrinjuck area of New South Wales,³³ the result of some upstaging of Victorian Government officials by those of New South Wales (Perrottet, 1990: 56).

Thirteen farms were initially allocated to the Welsh at Colando, near Leeton, in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area (MIA) of New South Wales. The first group of seven left Chubut in August 1911, led by John J. Edwards. About 15 others followed in June 1913 and additional Welsh families from Western Australia, South Africa and Wales joined them in the district. Twenty-four others destined for Leeton also departed in early 1915, mostly from the small town of Dolavon, near Gaiman in Chubut. Several hundred had been ready to sell their farms and proceed to Australia but because of the war, the banks held up sales and shipping was difficult to arrange. On arrival in Yanco, they were greeted with sumptuous afternoon teas by their countrymen (or rather countrywomen) already there; a cultural tradition for which the Welsh are renowned. Although there was further competition for the settlers between the governments of Victoria and New South Wales, this group arrived in generally unfavourable circumstances. The proceedings of the first of two Royal Commissions into the operation of the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area were underway, and there were hostile feelings in the community at the time towards anyone who did not speak English. The local Lutheran church had recently been stoned and the new immigrants, who spoke only Welsh and Spanish, were suspected of being spies (Perrottet, 1990: 57). Another group of about 20 arrived in 1916, including some Spaniards. John Rowlands became spokesman and scribe for those in the Colando colony. Three of the Leeton group volunteered for war service, ironically fighting for the country from which their ancestors had fled; two were killed in France. Most of the Welsh Patagonians remained strong anti-conscriptionists throughout the war (Eurell, 1994: 3-7; Perrottet, 1990: 58).

The construction of the Burrinjuck Dam near Canberra commenced in 1906 and was completed in 1911. By 1912 a system of canals conveyed Murrumbidgee water for nearly 4,000 kilometres downstream to the dry plains of the Riverina where numerous 50 acre blocks had been mapped out to satisfy the Australian

ideal of closer egalitarian settlement, a type of “peasant utopia” which would replace the large holdings of the squattocracy (McHugh, 1991: 32). These blocks were taken up by miners from Broken Hill, returned soldiers, juvenile migrants brought out under the Dreadnought Scheme, Italians and Spaniards seeking to escape old Europe, and many others of diverse backgrounds. Henry Lawson, the Australian poet, described Leeton in 1916 as “the most cosmopolitan and democratic place” he had ever seen. Lured by glowing advertisements, the Patagonian Welsh joined others from city and country alike to grow peaches as large as one’s head and lucerne up to the chest, as photographed in the advertising brochures (McHugh, 1991: 29; Perrottet, 1990: 57). But as one descendant of the Welsh Patagonians has since remarked, “they must have been down on their hands and knees for that photo... there was nothing like that where we ended up” (Perrottet, 1990: 56).

Since Victoria had paid the fares of one group of Welsh Patagonians, immigration officials were furious that the settlers had been induced by a zealous agent of the New South Wales Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission to go instead to the MIA. The Victorian Minister for Lands, Hugh McKenzie, felt that New South Wales should compensate Victoria for the expenses of those who had abandoned the state in favour of New South Wales (*Argus*, 23 January, 23 July, 5 October 1912). In this regard, a reciprocal agreement existed between the Western Australian and New South Wales governments by which the amount of money advanced by either government was refunded by the state concerned when an assisted passenger decided to break his or her journey.³⁴ No such arrangement existed at the time with regard to South Australia, Victoria or Queensland. In the end, Victoria “received six pounds sterling for each of the Patagonian settlers seduced across the Murray (river)” (Perrottet, 1990: 56).

The Commonwealth Government, on behalf of the Northern Territory, was also keenly interested in the Welsh Patagonian settlers. Its aim was to settle the Territory with Europeans who would take up agriculture, and so every possible assistance and encouragement was extended to desirable settlers. Experimental demonstration farms had been set up on the Daly River in 1911 and prospective settlers offered free farm blocks of 150 to 300 hectares in the area (Donovan, 1984: 22-23). The Government therefore welcomed enquiries about settlement from the Welsh Patagonians, initially requesting 150. Robert Williams, an ex-civil servant from New Zealand and a Welshman by birth, volunteered to act as their agent, travelling through the Territory during 1912. His report strongly recommended the Territory

as a place of settlement for the Welsh Patagonians, and indeed for any British subjects desiring to enter into agricultural or pastoral pursuits under exceptionally favourable climatic and other conditions . . . Never in the whole history of British colonization have such inducements been held out to the white settler. Australia needs to people her vast spaces of the North. Her need is your opportunity.”

In 1913, the Commonwealth Government paid Williams' expenses to Buenos Aires and Chubut to try to persuade the Patagonians to settle in Northern Australia. On behalf of the Australian Government, Williams offered them perpetual leases on the Daly River blocks in reasonable proximity to each other, and advanced their fares to Darwin. His Northern Territory report was widely distributed in Argentina, printed in both English and Welsh. Williams wrote personal letters of introduction in 1913 for some dozen Welsh settlers proceeding to Australia from Chubut.³⁵

Despite the outbreak of war, some 220 immigrants from Chubut arrived in Darwin in July 1915. This led to public criticism of Federal immigration policy which seemed to be encouraging immigrants during wartime (*Argus*, 5 July 1915).³⁶ Local workers were concerned that immigrants were taking the jobs of Australian soldiers fighting overseas. A group of Maltese who arrived on the eve of the 1916 conscription referendum, and other immigrants who arrived during the war, were subjected to similar criticism (Langfield, 1991: 9-11; Australian Archives, A1, 20/5870). Hugh Mahon, Minister for External Affairs, tried to appease the situation in Parliament by arguing that the arrangements under which the Patagonians had arrived had been made under the previous Labour government and were the result of recruiting in Argentina by Victorian officials.³⁷ Mahon explained that the settlers had made preparations to emigrate which had been interrupted by the war and the Federal Government in 1915 had organized their passages to Australia.³⁸

Unfortunately for the Government, of those who arrived from Patagonia that year, only 28 were Welsh. The group also included 113 Spaniards, 45 Russians, 30 Italians, and one Argentinian, Frenchman, Serbian and Greek, reflecting the growing cultural and ethnic mix of the area whence they came.³⁹ The *British* component amongst the colonists was minimal in view of the previous emphasis on their Welsh character and their perceived desirability. For this reason, there was considerable opposition to their arrival in Australia (*Argus*, 5 July 1915).⁴⁰ Like the Maltese, they were less acceptable in racial terms than the expected all-British contingent, an interesting reaction in the case of the Maltese who *were* British subjects.

Although the Government intended to settle them ultimately on the land, in the short-term the men were transported inland to work on railway construction (*The Age*, Melbourne, 24 June 1915).⁴¹ Their fares to Australia were deducted from their wages on a monthly basis and land was set aside for them to take up at a later date.⁴² Overall, the cost to the Government of this scheme was 2,358 pounds (Donovan, 1984: 23). As with the Canadian experience of 1902, active recruiting associated with the migration of Welsh Patagonians by other government agents led to intense dissatisfaction in Patagonia. The Argentinian press viewed the situation as the poaching of their colonists by the British Empire.⁴³

The Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area soon ran into difficulties and two Royal Commissions were called. The first, under Commissioner A.C. Carmichael and held in 1915, was to enquire into all matters pertaining to the operation of the Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission; in particular to establish the suitability of the area for growing lucerne, the nature of the advertising material, and whether there had been corruption on the part of local administrators. The second, under Commissioner Judge Bevan, held in 1916-17, was to determine the level of compensation which should be paid to those settlers who had been allocated farms which were unsuitable for the purpose for which they had been advertised. Eleven Welsh Patagonians were among the complainants who gave evidence at the second Royal Commission,⁴⁴ arguing that they had been misled by immigration agents and publications, that they had requested land suitable for growing lucerne and it had proved otherwise, and that they had suffered significant loss.⁴⁵

Being experienced in irrigation techniques and lucerne production, one Welsh Patagonian, John J. Edwards, was seen in the early years of the MIA as a model for other settlers. He had achieved high yields, yet the group as a whole was defeated by the large clay pan (over most of the land) which could not absorb water. They were advised to change to fruit or vegetable growing, but several went into debt and were forced off their land. The Commissioners had not been impressed by the group:

The Patagonians are not energetic farm workers. None of them aspire to much and are satisfied just to move along. Under their working poor country must deteriorate.⁴⁶

Many were described as poor farmers, their methods being “distinctly Patagonian”. What exactly was meant by this was not explained. Although it was argued that they came on the advice of Edwards and those who arrived with him in 1913, and not on the advice of the Irrigation Commission, the Commissioners acknowledged that the farms were on inferior soil, in second or third class country. The evidence of intention was considered satisfactory because the Patagonians went in for lucerne production and that this had always been their objective. Together with 129 other settlers, they were awarded compensation on the condition that they surrender their farms. The experience of these Welsh Patagonians was not unlike that of many other immigrants who came to Australia under group settlement and closer settlement schemes in the first three decades of this century.

The preservation of Welsh cultural heritage and identity

Official Australian files on Welsh Patagonian settlement were closed in 1920. For some time, it was possible to dream of a “Little Wales” in the Leeton-Colando district. As in Patagonia, socials, singing, picnics and sports events

were organized, Welsh was spoken at home, chapel and Sunday schools were also conducted in the Welsh tongue. Ultimately, however, the experiment failed. Although the New South Wales Government retained interest in securing more settlers from Patagonia, letters home deterred any further immigration (Perrottet, 1990: 57). A proposal to translate MIA advertising literature into Welsh did not materialize because it was thought that the need no longer existed. By 1922, most Welsh Patagonians had left the Leeton-Colando area and settled in other areas (Perrottet, 1990: 58). Fifty years on, they were so well integrated into the general community to be hardly noticeable (McHugh, 1991:32). The Western Australian colony in Moora experienced a similar fate; success on the farms was limited owing to poor conditions, and most settlers were forced out of the area to seek alternative employment (Laurie, 1994: 117). By the mid-1920s the group had largely dispersed.⁴⁷ While pockets of Welsh Patagonian settlement can still be found in both areas, most of the families are now scattered throughout the country while some have returned either to Argentina or to Wales.

CONCLUSION

The close connection between immigration and land settlement policies in the first three decades of this century had varying consequences for immigrants to Australia. Special incentives were offered to British immigrants who were perceived as desirable if they agreed to settle on the land, but this did not always have the desired outcomes. The experience of Welsh Patagonians provides new insight into our understanding of the dislocation associated with immigration. Australia had never been monocultural prior to the second world war; even within the British context, there were significant differences in national and cultural identities. In the early years after their arrival, Welsh Patagonians consciously resisted assimilation, attempting in their new-found settlements to establish autonomous communities where they would preserve their Welsh heritage.

That they did this with limited success may be an inevitable outcome of the migration process – gradual adaptation and integration with the host society. On the other hand, other minority groups have long survived among the more dominant cultures in Australia. Several factors are specific to the Welsh Patagonian situation. First the numbers were very small (only a few hundred), with the family connections too close for intermarriage. Thus, single persons, as well as the second generation, generally married outside the communities. In addition, the two main communities were on different sides of a vast continent and had little or no communication with each other. Second, it appears that religious and linguistic factors were not primary in the migration to Australia as they had been in the migration from Wales to Patagonia. Chapels were not built on arrival; Baptist and other local ministers often gave the Sunday services.

While Welsh was spoken in the homes of the families for many years, education in the schools and later religious services were conducted in English. The timing of their arrival before and during the First World War was also significant when all things “foreign”, particularly languages, were suppressed. Above all, the disintegration of the “Colonies” came about through economic factors. The Welsh Patagonians had come primarily for land, to overcome the problems of land tenure in Argentina, but the quality of land taken up in Australia did not provide them with adequate incomes. This was especially so in Colando, but also in Moora, forcing them from the original settlements and their compatriots.

Individual families did not lose their Welsh identity. Indeed, many descendants of the Welsh Patagonians in Australia are intensely proud of their heritage although they no longer speak Welsh or Spanish or share a sense of community. This study of their migration and settlement experiences has important implications for other minority settlements in Australia, such as the Albanians in rural Western Australia, the “new Italy” settlement of Richmond River and the German dissident settlements. It is these particular cases which ultimately test the character and resilience of societies such as Australia which claim to be multicultural.

NOTES

1. *Uttermost Part of the Earth* is the title of E. Lucas Bridges’ book on Tierra del Fuego, originally published by Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1948 and reprinted several times.
2. Other writers (for example Bowen, 1966: 21; Chatwin, 1977: 23) give 153 as the figure although Williams is considered the most reliable source.
3. “Empty” here was used in the same sense as “empty spaces” was used in the Australian context; a context that completely ignores the presence of indigenous peoples.
4. Information supplied by an anonymous referee.
5. Great Britain had a general treaty of Commerce and Navigation with the Argentine dating from 1825, similar to that with Venezuela (1825) and Italy (1884). Under these agreements, “most favoured nation” treatment applied, including reciprocity in terms of immigration and other areas. Australian Archives (AA), CRS A6006/1.
6. This much-abused practice was also used in England by Australian immigration agents and was abolished only with the Joint Commonwealth and States immigration agreement in 1921.
7. While some of the terms of the original contract were not achieved, notably to bring 300-500 families each year, Chubut became a province of the republic in 1884.
8. This information in *The West Australian* was part of an interview with Owen C. Jones from Patagonia, who was passing through on his way to investigate land in Victoria as a possible settlement for his countrymen.
9. During the “Conquest of the Desert” 1879-1880, the Welsh did not take up arms

- against the natives and the latter often surrendered to them in preference to the Argentines (Baur, 1954: 477).
10. *The Midland Advertiser* (Western Australia), 9 December 1910; *The West Australian*, 9 November 1911; Letter from Robert Williams to Dr J.A. Gilruth, Administrator, 26 August 1913, p.2, Department of External Affairs, File of Papers, "Welsh Colonists from the Argentine", Australian Archives, Canberra, A3, NT 14/7396 (Roll 14).
 11. Glyn Williams later gives 259 as the number who sailed to Canada in 1902, adding that they were very low status newcomers who had failed to secure farmland (Williams, 1991: 47).
 12. Some later went back to Wales or returned to Patagonia. The others remained in Manitoba (Williams, 1975: 150-51).
 13. *Y Drafod*, (Argentina) 7 July 1911, tells of 12 persons from Chubut, all Argentines by birth, who had resolved to go to Australia as a result of the general malaise in Chubut, unfavourable conditions, especially inadequate government.
 14. The Australian representative mentioned by Williams also came at a date later than indicated.
 15. For example, David Humphries, who arrived in Moora, Western Australia, in 1911, had been in South America for 24 years according to an interview published in *The Midland Advertiser*, 9 December 1910; Edwin Jones, who in 1996 still lives in Leeton, is the great grandson of Thomas Morgan Jones one of the earliest migrants from Wales to Patagonia; and Thomas Thomas, the father of Samuel John Thomas, who has several descendants in Australia, travelled to Patagonia on the *Mimosa* in 1865.
 16. There were some who may have been unable to take up land as revealed in an interview in 1983 by Jean Broad with Mrs McClemens, daughter of Mrs Lillian Ellis, nee Humphries, from the Welsh Settlement in the Moora District in Western Australia. Notes available from Mrs Tegai Roberts, Gaiman Welsh History Museum, Argentina.
 17. Letter from Robert Williams to Dr J.A. Gilruth, Administrator, 26 August 1913, p.2, Department of External Affairs, File of Papers, "Welsh Colonists from the Argentine", Australian Archives, Canberra, A3, NT 14/7396 (Roll 14).
 18. For example, R. Bryn Williams, Glyn Williams, Lewis Jones, John Baur, Owen Dyfnallt, Brian du Toit and Emrys Bowen, among others. Lewis Thomas has researched the migration to Canada.
 19. I am currently conducting a Deakin University funded oral history project on Welsh Patagonians and their descendants in Australia in the context of their migration experiences and the preservation of cultural heritage. My co-researcher is Peta Roberts who has published a genealogical index of all those who migrated from Wales to Chubut, Argentina from 1865 to 1900 (Roberts, 1994), and who is of Welsh Patagonian descent.
 20. Information supplied by Gavin Souter.
 21. See letter from Sgd William A.C. Barrington, to the Marquess of Lansdowne, K.G., 12 September 1901, Department of External Affairs, "Australian Immigration into Paraguay", Australian Archives, Canberra, A8 02/221/1.
 22. A lesser known similarity was that while the utopian socialists were teetotal, the Welsh were nearly so. The Indians' demand for alcohol caused one of the first crises at Chubut. In order to get a better deal, the Welsh reluctantly included alcohol in their trade (Graham-Yooll, 1981: 175).

23. The final choice of land for the Welsh in Patagonia had been the responsibility of Lewis Jones, who became the first governor of the colony (Graham-Yooll, 1981: 172).
24. Metcalf (1995) explores the history of some of these colonies in Australia.
25. The article was reproduced in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of the same date. Jones gave the impression that he represented the entire colony in Chubut; this apparently was not the case, according to Tegai Roberts of the Welsh Historical Museum, Gaiman, Chubut, Argentina.
26. Jones later secured land in Brookdale in Western Australia and commenced farming in 1913. An office for the Welsh Patagonian colony was established in Perth. *Argus*, 8 May 1913, p.6.
27. Interview by Jean Broad in 1983 with Mrs McClemens, daughter of Mrs Lillian Ellis, nee Humphries, from the Welsh Settlement in the Moora District. Notes available from Mrs Tegai Roberts, Gaiman Welsh History Museum, Argentina.
28. The names of the settlers were Evans, Owens, Hughes, Griffiths, Roberts and Humphries (or Humphrys). They were accompanied by another family named Squence who migrated directly from Wales (Laurie, 1995: 116).
29. Interview by Jean Broad in 1983 with Mrs McClemens, daughter of Mrs Lillian Ellis, nee Humphries, from the Welsh Settlement in the Moora District. Notes available from Mrs Tegai Roberts, Gaiman Welsh History Museum, Argentina.
30. One of the Welsh families was in particular distress in 1914, with a benefit concert held to assist (*Moora Herald and Midland Districts Advocate*, 17, 28 April, 26 June, 6 October 1914).
31. *The Moora Herald and Midland Districts Advocate*, 7 August 1914 describes a typical Welsh sports day at Gwalia Valley, ending in the evening with a concert, with several competitions judged and prizes awarded.
32. Not all agreed with this view, however. See despatch from Sir Reginald Tower, His Majesty's Minister in Buenos Aires, 24 June 1915, Colonial Office Records (COR), Australian Joint Copying Project (AJCP), CO/418, Reel No. 4240, Piece No. 140, pp. 262-81.
33. An officer of the Western Australian Immigration Department, Mr I. Crawcour, stated in 1912, however, that a clause existed in the assisted passage agreement for that state that the immigrant would remain in Western Australia for at least 12 months from the date of arrival. *Argus*, 18 July 1912.
34. Robert Williams, *Report on the Northern Territory of Australia*, based upon one month's inspection of the country, during September 1912, on behalf of the Welsh Settlers of Patagonia, together with extracts from various official Reports as indicated, published under the authority of Hon. Patrick McMahon Glynn, MP, Minister for External Affairs, pp. 4, 16, cited in Department of External Affairs, File of Papers, "Welsh Colonists for Northern Territory from Patagonia", AA, Canberra, Series No. A3/1, Item NT 1913/11163. The report was also published as *Bulletin of the Northern Territory*, Number 9, September 1913, Department of External Affairs, Melbourne.
35. Despatches from Sir Reginald Tower, 13 June, 16 December 1913, 3 March 1914, COR, AJCP, CO/418, Reel No. 4221, Piece Nos 118-19 and Reel No. 4230, Piece No. 129, pp. 119-20. Department of External Affairs, File of Papers, "Names of Welsh Settlers from Argentina Going to Northern Territory", AA, Canberra, Series No: A3/1, Item No: NT 1913/10691 (housed under NT 1913/10759, Roll 8). Atlee Hunt, Secretary, External Affairs, to Williams, 21 April 1913, Department of

- External Affairs, File of Papers, “Welsh Colonists from the Argentine”, AA, Canberra, A3, NT 14/7396 (Roll 14). During mid-1914, Hunt expected at least 260 settlers.
36. In February 1923, their arrival was still a sensitive issue as indicated by a question in Parliament to Mr Deane relating to their arrival during the war, the cost incurred and what became of them. Prime Minister’s Department, Correspondence Files, Multi-Number Series, First System, “Immigration Restrictions. Admission of Patagonians”, Australian Archives, Canberra, CRS A457, Item No: V401/2/72.
 37. *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates (CPD)*, House of Representatives, 30 June 1915, vol. LXXVII, p.4452; Senate, 27 September 1916, vol. LXXX, p.8975.
 38. Despatches from A. Bonar Law to R. Monro Ferguson, 4, 28 June 1915, Prime Minister’s Department, Correspondence Files, Annual Single Number Series, “Immigration: Welsh Community in Chubut to Australia, 1915”, AA, CRS A2, item 15/2250.
 39. Glyn Williams states that by 1915, the Welsh only made up 40 per cent of the Lower Chubut Valley’s total population (Williams, 1991: 47).
 40. Criticism came notably from James Page, member for Maranoa, in view of the failures of government experimental farms in the Northern Territory, and from Senator Newland of South Australia on racial grounds.
 41. See also *CPD*, Senate, 22 July 1915, vol. LXXVIII, p.5241; 29 July 1915, p.5449; 2 September 1915, p.6645; 8 September 1915, pp. 6677-78. Senator Newland of South Australia blamed the “incompetent foreigners” for the cost of the North-South Railway and stated that if Australia wanted to people the Northern Territory, the Patagonians should be discouraged while “people of our own race” should be settled there (27 September 1916, vol. LXXX, p.8975).
 42. A later source revealed that few of the immigrants actually remained in the Northern Territory; most settled in other states. See Letter from Norman Makin to Deane, 1 February 1923 and reply, Prime Minister’s Department, Correspondence Files, Multi-Number Series, First System, “Immigration Restrictions. Admission of Patagonians”, AA, CRS A457, item V401/2/72.
 43. See *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), 18 April 1915, and *La Union*, a German propaganda newspaper published in Spanish in despatches from Sir Reginald Tower, His Majesty’s Minister in Buenos Aires, forwarded from the Foreign Office, 26 May 1915, 18 June 1915, 24 June 1915, 22 July 1915, COR, AJCP, CO/418, Reel No. 4240, Piece No. 140, pp. 224-312, 348.
 44. Premier’s Office NSW, Sydney, 21 July 1916, Royal Commission – Lucerne Growing on MI Areas 1916, Accession No. AK 21, 17/517 16/6047 Part 11, Department of Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission Files, NSW State Archives, Kingswood.
 45. Complaints about advertising related mostly to a publication called “Facts about the Murrumbidgee Irrigation areas” issued on behalf of the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Trust by the Immigration and Tourist Bureau.
 46. Royal Commission – Lucerne Growing on MI areas 1916, Accession No. AK 21, 17/518 16/6047 Part 111, Department of Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission Files, NSW State Archives, Kingswood.
 47. From an undated letter from Jean Broad (Moora Historical Society) to Gladys Amey.

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LA CONNEXION GALLOISE DE PATAGONIE :
UN CHAPITRE NEGLIGE DE L'HISTOIRE
DE L'IMMIGRATION AUSTRALIENNE

Cet article rend compte du parcours des Gallois qui ont immigré en Patagonie de 1865 à 1914, des raisons qui les y ont poussés, des expériences qu'ils ont vécues en Argentine, et de la réinstallation ultérieure de plusieurs centaines d'entre eux dans les dominions britanniques au début du vingtième siècle.

Dans la première partie de son article, l'auteur s'intéresse plus particulièrement aux migrants qui ont quitté la Patagonie pour l'Australie entre 1910 et 1915 et à la migration d'un groupe d'Australiens au Paraguay dans les années 1890. Dans la seconde partie, elle examine les expériences vécues par les Patagonsiens gallois en Australie, leurs rapports avec le gouvernement fédéral et les gouvernements des Etats compte tenu de l'intense rivalité dont ils faisaient l'objet comme colons, et la part prise par eux dans deux commissions royales de la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud dans le cadre des opérations menées dans la zone d'irrigation de Murrumbidgee.

Pour conclure, l'auteur s'interroge sur la mesure dans laquelle l'identité et l'héritage culturels gallois ont été préservés par ces colons dans l'Australie assimilationniste issue de la fédération des Etats. Il s'agit non seulement de l'étude d'un cas unique d'expérience migratoire double, mais aussi d'une mise en question des politiques d'encouragement à l'immigration et de la propagande officielle durant cette période, à mettre en parallèle avec d'autres schémas de colonisation avant et après la guerre en Australie.

LA CONEXION GALES-PATAGONIA:
UN CAPITULO DESCUIDADO DE LA HISTORIA
DE LA INMIGRACION AUSTRALIANA

Este artículo da cuenta de la historia de los migrantes galeses a Patagonia desde 1865 hasta 1914, los motivos que les han impulsado a emigrar, sus experiencias en Argentina y la ulterior reinstalación a principios del siglo XX de centenares de ellos en dominios británicos.

La primera parte del artículo está dedicada sobre todo a las características de los que pasaron de Patagonia a Australia entre 1910 y 1915, así como de la migración de un grupo de australianos a Paraguay en los años 1890. La segunda mitad examina las experiencias de los patagones galeses en Australia, sus relaciones con los Gobiernos federal y estatal a la luz de la intensa rivalidad para que se estableciesen como colonizadores, y su intervención en las dos Reales

Comisiones de Nueva Gales del Sur en lo que respecta a la operación de la zona de irrigación Murrumbidgee.

El artículo concluye con una discusión sobre el grado en el que, en una Australia posfederal asimilacionista, estos colonos han preservado su identidad y su herencia cultural galesa. Esta experiencia de doble migración no sólo es única sino que además pone en tela de juicio las políticas de fomento de la inmigración y los materiales publicitarios oficiales de ese período, historia que cursa paralelamente a la de otros planes de asentamientos realizados en Australia antes y después de la guerra.