

Cardiff Public Libraries

VISIT OF THE MEMBERS

ATTENDING THE

CELTIC CONGRESS

TO THE LIBRARY

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th, 1935.

NOTES ON THE MANUSCRIPTS, BOOKS, ETC.,
EXHIBITED.

1. Early Welsh Manuscripts.

The examples shown include:—Llyfr Aneirin, written about the year 1250, the earliest literary manuscript in Welsh; two Welsh versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain, 15th century; the Laws of Hywel Dda, 15th century; Poetry of William Llyn, c.1570, in his own autograph; Cywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym, written in the year 1574 by Sir Thomas Wiliems; Llyfr Simwnt Fychan, 16th century, containing poetry and pedigrees, etc.

2. Welsh Decorated Manuscripts.

The Book of Aneirin, shown in Case 1, is decorated and has large sectional initials alternately in red and green. John Jones, of Gelli Lyvdy, a notable penman, decorated many of his MSS. Among the examples shown is Llyfr Johannes Jones, o Vucheddeu Seintieu, 1604-10, Welsh grammars, 1605-10, and a pedigree book of the British Kings and Saints. These

have decorative initials in white on black, headings and ornaments.

MSS. of George Owen of Kemes including *The Taylors Cussion*, c.1601, and *Description of Milford Haven*, 1595, with illuminated title pages.

3. Pedigree Rolls.

A 15th century roll of the Blethyn family, made by the bard Dafydd Benwyn, the family of John Roberts, of Cardiff, traced from Kanhathwy, of the Herbert family, c.1600; Sir William Jones, of Castellmarch, pedigree drawn up in 1630 by John Cain; roll of the Kendrick family, with the principal coats of arms in gold, silver and colours; pedigree roll drawn up by Thomas Jones (Twm Shon Catti); etc.

4. Early Welsh Printed Books.

The rare works published by William Salesbury in London in 1547—A dictionary in *Englyshe and Welshe*—and 1567—*A Playne and a familiar Introduction*; *Y Drych Cristianogawl*, by Griffith Roberts the "Great Doctor of Milan," 1585; *Bardhoniaeth* Capten William Middleton, 1593; *Basilikon Doron*, 1604; the works of Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd, John Salisbury, Robert Llwyd, etc.

5—6. Early Welsh Bibles.

The first edition of the New Testament, 1567, mainly the work of William Salesbury; the first complete Bible, translated and edited by Bishop William Morgan, 1588; the revision edited by Bishop John Parry, 1620; a volume containing autograph letters of the translators and editors of the first and second Welsh Bibles; the first portable Bible known as "Beibl Midltwn," published in 1630 by Rowland Heilyn and Sir Thomas Middleton, the first Nonconformist version, 1647, etc.

7. Breton Bibles and Printed Books.

the first translation of the New Testament issued at Angouleme in 1827, translated by M. Le Gonidec, the sheets revised by the Rev. T. Price (Carnhunawc). The revision pre-

pared by Dr. John Jenkins, printed in 1847; the issue of 1866; and the re-revision by A. Llewellyn Jenkins and two Breton scholars, 1884.

A selection of printed works including:—Roparz' translation of Thomas à Kempis circa 1689; *Le Brigant's Elémens succints de la langue des Gomerites ou Bretons*, Strasbourg, 1779; P. F. Gregoire de Rostrenen's *Grammar*, Brest, 1795; *Grammar of Le Gonidec*, Paris, 1807; with his *Dictionary*, Angouleme, 1821, and the revised edition; works by J. Hingant, J. Loth, Hersart de la Villemarqué, Emile Ernault, Abbé Le Clerc; Publications of the Association Bretonne, etc.

8. Scottish Gaelic Bibles and Books.

The 1796 New Testament, a revision prepared by John Stuart of the first translation in 1767; the first edition of the Scriptures in Gaelic issued by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 1807.

An *Analysis of the Gaelic language*, by William Shaw, 1778; *A Collection of ancient and modern Gaelic poems and songs*, Perth, 1786; *Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary*, 1825; *Leabhar Na Feinne*; heroic Gaelic ballads, 1872; *Carmina Gadelica*, edited by Alexander Carmichael, Edinburgh, 1900; *The Macdonald collection of Gaelic poetry*, 1911; *Typographia Scoto-Gadelica*: or books printed in the Gaelic of Scotland by Donald Maclean, 1915; etc.

9. Irish Gaelic Manuscripts; Early Printed Books.

A collection of Irish poems, chiefly relating to the Geraldines, from a MS. made by a celebrated Munster poet in 1684; A transcript of the *Annals of Ireland*, made by Geoffrey Keating, dating from about 1725; *Collection of Ossianic tales*, with a number of poems by poets of the S. E. Ulster district, 1808-9.

The early books include *Lucerna Fidelium*, by Franciscus O'Molloy, 1676, and his *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica*, 1677; *Christian doctrine* by Bonaventura O'Hussey, 1707; *The elements of the Irish language*, by Hugh MacCurtin, 1728, etc.

10. Irish Bibles.

The first edition of the Old Testament, made by William Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore, 1685; the second edition of the New

Testament, London, 1681, printed with a new fount of type especially cast; the pocket edition of 1690, revised for the Highlanders of Scotland by R. Kirke; the Bible of 1827, etc.

11. Manx Bibles and Books.

Manx New Testament, 1815, translated by W. Walker and J. Wilks; Yn Vible Casherick, issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1819.

A Dictionary of the Manx's language, by A. Cregeen, Douglas, 1835, and the new edition reprinted for the Manx Language Society, 1910; John Kelly's Manx dictionary, edited by W. Gill and J. T. Clarke—a Manx Society Publication, 1866; The outlines of the phonology of Manx Gaelic, by Sir John Rhys, 1894, etc.

12. Cornish.

Archaeologia Cornu—Britannica, by William Pryce, 1790; Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum: a dictionary by Robert Williams, printed at Llandoverly, 1865; The ancient language and the dialect of Cornwall, by F. W. P. Jago, 1882, and his English-Cornish dictionary, 1887; A handbook of the Cornish language by Henry Jenner, 1904; Cornish grammar and supplement to Some short stories, 1927, and Some short tales in Cornish by Hal Wyn, 1929 (typewritten).

The Ancient Cornish drama, edited and translated by Edwin Norris, 1859; Gwreans an bys, a Cornish mystery, 1864; and Beunans Meriasek, a Cornish drama, edited with translation by Whitley Stokes.

FREEDOM

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS:

As President of the first Congress of Celtic Youth convened at Garthewin, North Wales, I am happy to introduce the report of the conference which was attended by delegates from Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Brittany. There was, of course, complete agreement on the aims of all four nations, i.e., complete self-determination and full recognition of their national languages. A full report appears below. I would only wish to emphasize both the unanimity of aims and the divergence of views represented at the conference. In this latter respect it was realized that each nation had something to learn from the other to the benefit of all.

I trust that a union of the Celtic peoples such as this will go a long way towards winning for them the status which is their due, not for their own sakes only but so that they can make their full contribution to the spiritual and cultural development of their European inheritance and in the concert with all the peoples of this earth.

R.O.F. WYNNE

CONFERENCE REPORT.

The first Conference of the Celtic Youth Congress was held at Garthewin, near Abergele in North Wales, with four of the six Celtic countries represented as follows:-

Ireland: 5 delegates
Scotland: 4 delegates
Wales: 5 delegates
Brittany: 1 delegate

The Conference opened at 9.45 on the morning of Tuesday, March 30th, with Mr. R.O.F. Wynne (Wales) taking the chair in order to allow the conference Chairman, Ian Taylor (Scotland) to present the report of the Scottish Delegation. This also enabled Mr. Wynne, as owner of Garthewin and representative of the 'host' nation to officially welcome the delegates to Wales.

SCOTLAND 1965 :

The first part of the Scottish Report was given by Ian Taylor, who gave a brief summary of Scotland's history. This, he said, was a history of a nation which formed from many diversified origins its own distinctive national characteristics, and which resisted invasion and oppression throughout the centuries to eventually be subdued by peaceful means. But Scotland has remained a nation in spite of the 'Union' with England, and in spite of a crippling high rate of emigration... even third-generation Scots abroad retain the consciousness of their Scots nationality. The peaceful conquest of Scotland began with the Union of Crowns in 1603 and was finalised by the Act of Union with England in 1707. The Act of Union was a betrayal of their own people by a minority of Scottish lords - influenced no doubt by the large amount of English money which began suddenly to flow into Edinburgh at this time. It was not a Union of two nations on an equal basis - it demanded of Scotland incorporation into, rather than co-operation with, England, and it was carried out against the will of the vast majority of the Scottish people. However, the Scottish Kirk, and the Scottish legal and educational systems kept the consciousness of nationality alive in Scotland for 220 years, and in 1934 the Scottish National Party became the organ through which this nationalist feeling was given expression. The SNP demands complete self-government for Scotland and the right to membership of the UN, and today is a force to be reckoned with in Scottish politics, though its growth can be measured only really effectively since its fight in the Bridgeton by-election five years ago made such an impact on the Scottish people that its membership increased from 1,500 until it now stands at 20,000. Its growth is spread over the whole of Scotland so that it speaks now as a truly Nationalist party. No longer is it regarded as a joke - more and more publicity is being given to it and it has even forced some recognition, along with the Welsh Plaid Cymru, from the BBC.

Because Scotland, unlike Wales and Ireland, has more than one national language, the approach of the SNP is based chiefly on economic factors, though it stresses the need to keep Gaelic alive in the areas where it is still spoken. For this reason, the SNP aim at bringing out policies covering all aspects of government, with

local Government, Health and transport policies due out this year - a large part of these policies having been compiled by the student groups within the SNP.

The place of Direct Action in Scottish Nationalism was covered by Stewart Hamilton, who stated that the SNP's work alone is not enough to prevent the eventual destruction of Scotland's great traditions by English influence which is becoming stronger all the time. For this reason, actions were needed which would catch the imagination of the people and fire them into whole-hearted support for the nationalist movement. The stealing of the stone of Scone from Westminster Abbey by young Scottish nationalists was such an instance, when the intensity of the feeling aroused worried the English Government to such an extent that they appointed a Government Commission to inquire into the situation in Scotland.

The SNP's attitude to direct action is influenced by its need to win support for itself in parliamentary elections - for which reason it is chary of antagonising the people. However, the federation of student nationalists supports Direct Action to a greater extent than the SNP, not having the same need for care. There is a growing feeling in Scotland that Direct Action may eventually be essential, and considerable hope that in such an event support will be generally forthcoming.

Other instances of direct action in Scottish Nationalism have been the extensive use of pirate radio stations, and the blowing-up of pillar boxes bearing the letters E I I R (Elizabeth II of England), both of which have proved successful in their own way.

Here Ian Taylor briefly summed up the economic situation in Scotland by mentioning that since 1950 Scotland has had double the unemployment rate for the rest of the British Isles, due to the fact that all economic policies are designed in the first place to the benefit of the South of England. Scotland needs a series of inflationary budgets which will stimulate her economy, involving lower bank rates, lower income tax, etc..., rather than English stop-go policies. The policies of such as Dr. Beeching are ruining Scotland, yet the Scottish people can do nothing. The Tory MP for Fife actually refused to do anything about the extensive rail closures there. The Secretary of State for Scotland is of no use to Scotland though he is supposed to have executive control over every thing (except dangerous drugs, firearms and aliens!) but if this is the case he is no better than a dictator. And if not, then he is merely a puppet of the English Government. As things stand today, Scotland must be forever asking England for every thing - and very often all that happens is that yet another committee is set up to inquire into the situation' and waste yet more time and money.

Following the presentation of the report the Scottish delegation was bombarded by questions, chiefly from the Irish present, who were strongly in favour of some form of definite action taking place in Scotland before very long, and interested in the rumours of the setting up of a Scottish Liberation Army.

IRELAND 1965

The Irish Delegation followed the Scots, and began by mentioning some of Ireland's many revolts throughout the centuries, including the first to be instigated by the Republican movement, in 1798; Wolfe Tone's insurrection, Robert Emmett's ill-fated attempt; and the Easter Week rebellion of 1916, when the execution of the leaders by the English finally caused the Irish people to unite in the cause of nationalism. Ireland's inspiring record of continuous struggle against English oppression ended nominally in 1921 when a truce was called and five representatives sent by Dail Eireann to negotiate with London. The anti-climax of compromise followed when partition of the north was instituted. Irish Republicans were furious at this betrayal of their hopes and ideals of the Irish of 1916; Civil war broke out but ended in their defeat and the introduction by the Dail of co-ercion laws to deal with rebels. De Valera, once both an IRA and Sinn Fein supporter, abandoned both to form a new party, Fianna Fail, and took the majority of the Southern Irish people with him. Loyal Sinn Fein members, however, refused to recognize either the 26-County or the 6-County Parliaments, as legal, since the English had been instrumental in the setting-up of each.

Before the war, the Offences Against the State Act was brought in Southern Ireland and remains in force today, making ridiculous the claim that Ireland is a free country since under this act fanatically strict measures can be taken against anyone even if only suspected of anti-Government activities.

In 1956 the IRA began the campaign in the Six Counties, convinced of the impossibility of ending partition in any other way. This ended in 1962, after the setting up by the 26-County Government of a concentration camp where at one time nearly 1,000 suspects were interned without trial of any kind. Today partition continues, with feelings inflamed by the religious differences between Orangemen and Catholics; feelings non-existent until the 19th Century but since fostered by the English, their policy always having been to divide and conquer.

In Southern Ireland to day there are three main trends of opinion, represented by:

- 1° The republicans, who follow the old Sinn Fein tradition of complete Independence.
- 2° The homerulers, who compromised.
- 3° The large landowners, still very anglicized in outlook and attitude.

The republican movement includes:

- 1° Sinn Fein, a purely political movement.
- 2° The IRA, a much more militant organisation;
- 3° Fianna Eireann, the republican boy Scouts;
- 4° Cumann Na mBan (Womens Branch IRA);
- 5° Cumann Na gCailini :girl scouts;
- 6° Cumann Cabhrach (prisoners dependents help).

From republican ranks come most of the keenest supporters of Irish language and cultural movements, including Gael Linn and the Gaelic League, the Irish Language Society. This is because republicans feel that the different aspects of a nation's life - economics, language, culture - cannot be divorced one from another, and that each is equally important to the life of the nation. For this reason they are as determined to see Ireland once again completely Irish speaking as they are to see it free from economic control by England.

The future of Ireland, as the republicans see it, is one of complete freedom from England. This means the border must go and that the present complete economic dependence of Ireland on England must cease. A co-operative movement is envisaged, which will be set up to encourage farmers to work on a co-operative basis and help them to intensify farming techniques and output and encourage people to remain on the land instead of emigrating in search of work abroad. This is vitally important since agriculture is Ireland's chief industry. The 26 Counties-government endeavours to stem emigration by encouraging foreign factories which will provide work, but instead these merely bring in outside labour and only add to the forces which continually threaten Irish culture and way of life. One of the greatest needs at present, also, is to educate Irish people into realising that there is more to freedom than just flying the tricolour. Republicans see Ireland's only hope of remaining Irish as lying in a 32-County co-operative republic, where everyone will be not only conscious, but proud, of being Irish, and where eventually Irish will be the first language of the people.

At this point, opportunity was given for questions and discussion, after which the Irish delegation summed up by emphasizing the following points:-

1° That Ireland, unlike Wales, Scotland and Brittany, has a long unbroken tradition of armed resistance to oppression and persecution, and that as long as the border and English occupation forces remain it seems unlikely that this tradition will be broken, since they remain there against the wishes of the vast majority of the Irish people, both north and South.

2° That true freedom is a question of attitude of mind, and that a wholly English-speaking Ireland can never be really free.

3° That true nationalists are guided by love of their own country rather than hatred for its oppressors - nationalism should not be based on a negative feeling.

4° Finally, the aims of Irish Republicans are a free, united, Irish speaking Ireland, democratically governed, and religiously free; where there would be equal educational facilities for all and where all people would be cherished equally.

Tuesday afternoon:- The first part was given over to a discussion on direct action, after the Scottish delegation had read a paper by Major F.A.C. Boothby entitled "Can we do it quietly?" Major Boothby gave as his belief that independence would never be won by constitutional means alone, but emphasized that freedom should be fought for on every possible front, with elections and any form of useful direct action having equal importance. He felt it was a mistake to concentrate only on elections as the SNP and Plaid Cymru tended to do, but that some show of force was necessary before public opinion could be swayed sufficiently to ensure support for the nationalist cause. He ended by saying "if you want freedom, go out and get it. It is there for the taking. I repeat, FOR THE TAKING. For you will have to take it. It will not be handed to you on a tray, all got up with thistles and leeks. ... Do not let people say 'we'll see how the next elections go'. It won't. If we have made up our minds to be free, the time to start doing something about it is today".

A lively discussion followed. All delegations had ideas on the forms of direct action which could and should be taken, and all gave instances of the success of direct methods in the past in their different nations. These included such things as the burning of the bombing school in Wales and the more recent agitation for official recognition of the Welsh language; the stealing of the stone of Scone from Westminster Abbey and the blowing-up of pillar-boxes which bore the letters E I I R were mentioned by the Scots; the Irish of course, were able to give numerous examples; in Brittany, the delegate mentioned the blowing up of 'monument de l'union' and offrench railways before the war by the terrorist group 'gwenn ha du'. It was unanimously felt the use of direct action in a nationalist movement is a good thing provided it is designed to catch the imagination of the people, whose support generally would be essential.

The direct action discussion was followed by Mr H.W.J Edwards of South Wales, the first guest speaker, who gave an interesting lecture entitled "what is a celtic nation?" He mentioned his dislike of those he termed "Celtomaniacs", whose view of nationalism tends to be narrow and parochial, and emphasized the need to recognize that each of the celtic nations springs from widely diversified origins, resulting to day in distinct variations within a nation. The extent of these variations is greater in some nations than in others- thus Wales is perhaps the most uniform and united of all, with one language only, while Scots are descended from such different origins as Gaels and Scandinavians, and have more than one language, since the broad Scots is more truly described as a language than a dialect. Mr Edwards ended by saying that one must guard against the tendency to build up a picture in ones own mind of what a nation, particularly a celtic nation, should be and dismissing anything that does not fit in with this picture.

Wenesday, march 31 . Morning:-

BRITTANY 1965 :-

The report was given by Loëiz Lullien.

Brittany was an independent state until the 16th century when the treaty of 1532 brought about closer alliance with France, but it was not until the Revolution of 1789 that complete subjection came about. Under Napoleon, Brittany was divided into five "departements". In 1801 the first Association Bretonne was founded and demanded that Brittany be given back her rights according to the 1532 treaty. From then on different factions resisted french domination in Brittany continuously. In 1843 the second Association Bretonne was created, and suppressed in 1868 only to be re-constituted in 1873. In 1898 the union Regionaliste de Bretagne was set up and demanded a breton constitution. In 1901 a link with Wales was established when the Gorsedd of breton Bards, similar to the Welsh Gorsedd, came into being. Hand in Hand came a cultural and linguistic revival. In 1911 the first Nationalist party was founded. The first World War which followed was a tragedy for Brittany -one in 14 Bretons died, one in 5 breton soldiers. Nevertheless, in 1919 a second nationalist party was founded. When the 2nd World War began, Bretons turned to Germany for aid, and some enrolled in the german army; Goering promised self government to Brittany. (This was similar to the situation which prevailed to a lesser extent in Wales and Ireland). As a result of this, when the war ended Bretons were persecuted by the French. Arrests were made by the hundred and the nationalist movement annihilated. Today Brittany is officially non-existent, and its name is never officially used. Breton language and history are taught very little -the language is allowed a place on TV for one minute only every week; breton children may not be given breton names; the catholic church ignores the language in its services. The French aim at complete uniformity and the eventual extinction of all things breton, and are aided in this by the high rate of emigration -up to 20,000 leave britanny for France each year because of lack of work at home . However there are today movements in Brittany designed to preserve its language and culture which do good work , although their appeal to the ordinary people might be wider if they were less ' intellectual' . And in 1956 the Movement Pour l'Organisation de Bretgne was formed to fight on a political front . It as a moderate approach , but as the only such organisation is attracting a large membership , especially of young people born since the War . A more ' active ' minded wing is also developing , and the feeling is growing in Brittany all the time that the only way to get what one wants is to go after it oneself and " not to do is quietly " . As usual , the report was followed by discussions and questions , with a considerable amount of the latter , since of the four nations represented , Brittany was the one about which everyone knew least .

Wednesday afternoon:-

A paper by William Wolfe, J.P. on "Leadership" was read by the Scottish delegation. Mr Wolfe included the following points:
Successful nationalist movements have not followed a common pattern, but all require a "centre of Tension" in the form of a good leader.
A leader must be prepared to make fresh approaches to old problems and to exercise discipline as "a free gift from a free person". A clearly defined distant aim is not always as essential as an inspiring philosophy well presented, but a fairly clear pattern of relationships and activities is important.
Leaders can be roughly divided into four distinct types - a) Paternal b) Fraternal c) Power d) Influence.
The qualities of a leader are very important, but obviously must vary according to kind of living organisation a political or national party requires.
Mr Wolfe concluded by saying "Massive support ensures success for political and social movements. But it takes surprisingly few dedicated leaders to obtain that massive support".

General discussion then took place, and the following points were mentioned by the delegations:

Ireland :- In the past the need in Ireland was for military leaders only, but today there is a growing need for political leaders. The type of leader eventually to emerge will depend on the chances of freeing Ireland by constitutional means.

Wales :- The great need here is for a leader who understands the culture, history language and traditions of Wales as well as her economic situation. We must have philosophers as well as economists. Saunders Lewis was such a leader.

Brittany :- There is no leader in the sense of a 'figure-head' in Brittany today. MOB is run by a committee.

Scotland :- Here again there is a need for inspired, as well as 'level-headed' leadership.

xx

Thursday April 1st . Morning .

Wales 1965 :-

The Welsh Report was presented by Gaff Rhisiart and Geraint Jones, and began with a brief history of present-day Welsh nationalism.

The party generally recognised as the Welsh nationalist party - Plaid Cymru - was founded in 1925 during the Pwllheli National Eisteddfod. Its governing body is its Conference which has met annually since 1926 and to which the Executive Committee is responsible. There is a full-time staff of eight. It was in Caernarfon before the War that Plaid Cymru first fought an election, polling 629 votes. Since then it has fought every election, with a steady increase in the number of candidates and votes polled until the last General Election when Plaid votes fell from about 78,000 to 68,000, in spite of the fact that more seats were contested than ever before.

This is taken by many Welsh people as evidence of the Plaid's mistake in concentrating on elections to the exclusion of everything else. At the 1964 post-election Plaid Cymru Rally in Aberystwyth the failure was blamed on the TV and Radio ban on the party. However, it seems doubtful that this would account for more than 10,000 lost votes especially when similar conditions prevailed in Scotland where the SNP vote was increased. It is felt that today's Plaid Cymru has lost sight of the kind of freedom that was envisaged for Wales when it was first set up. To fight English Parliamentary Elections is to fight as an English Parliamentary Party and if a free Wales does result, it will be a nation of second-rate Englishmen. This would not be so if Plaid Cymru fought as a truly Welsh party, laying first emphasis on the language without which Wales would cease to be Welsh and therefore to exist as a nation. The Welsh language society - CYMDEITHAS yr Iaith Gymraeg - has recognised this vitally important fact and in campaigning for official status for the Welsh language is doing more at present to preserve Wales as a nation than is Plaid Cymru. Another more loosely knit organisation working on these lines is the Welsh Schools Movement, which wants the increased use of Welsh where it is most needed - in the schools - . There are also other cultural organisations in Wales, the largest being the youth movement Urdd Gobaith Cymru.

Discussion followed as usual, when several present spoke in support of Plaid Cymru. While it was generally admitted that the last election had dealt the party a severe blow, it was pointed out that the new appointment of a Secretary of State for Wales was due to pressure by the Plaid. None knew better than the Scots present, of course, how little such an appointment was worth, but at least it is the first tacit recognition by the English of Welsh nationhood since the Act of Union in 1536 made Wales part of England officially. It was also made clear that without the

emergence of the Plaid as a national organisation, there would have been nothing else in Wales to keep alive the consciousness of Welsh nationality through the past 40 years.

XX

Thursday afternoon.

The second guest speaker was Dr. Dafydd Alun Jones, who has twice fought as Plaid Cymru candidate in the Dar-bigh constituency. As a psychiatrist, he dealt chiefly with the effect on the minds of the Welsh people of insidious English propaganda - one of Wales' greatest enemies and the hardest to fight. Among other things he mentioned:

What is happening in Wales - the swallowing-up of a small nation by a larger neighbour - is happening the world over. Often it is not done so painlessly or unobtrusively as is the case here, but when this is so the small nation concerned has a far better opportunity of freeing itself, since the people will react much more violently in the face of actual oppression.

Every political or nationalist movement needs "cranks" to start with - they are the truly dedicated members without whom little be done.

This involves the question of leadership. Many will say it is useless to have a "reasonable" or a "nice" man as a leader - "perhaps we need someone who will be prepared to stand up and say that the English eat babies".

Nationalist movements in the past have made use of several methods of winning support, such as constant repetition of a theme in advertising campaigns; the use of small groups within a nation as scapegoats to coalesce the rest of the nation; and the use of "melodramatic" techniques at political meetings, such as marching, rhythmic chanting, etc... These are, of course, gimmicks, but often they can win more support than a logical case reasonably presented... probably due to the state of 'mass hypnosis' they tend to produce. Dr. Jones considered English newspapers and TV one of the greatest threats to the 'Welsh mind' because they tend to identify success with all things English.

Several delegates had questions for Dr. Jones - the Irish being particularly interested in Plaid Cymru's reasons for disassociating itself from any sort of Direct Action which takes place in Wales. Dr. Jones replied that while the Plaid was perhaps too careful of its public image, it was important to remember that a recognized constitutional party was an integral part of any nationalist movement. He added that a militant organisation of 100 people prepared to take any action in the name of freedom could probably do more in one year than Plaid Cymru had in forty, but that as no such organisation had appeared we must continue to fight for freedom the slow way.

There was some discussion on the statement by one of the Welsh delegation that Plaid Cymru had betrayed the Welsh language by not using it as the chief weapon in its campaign for freedom. Dr. Jones pointed out that to do so could lose support for the language in certain quarters, since a large number of people support the language movement who do not agree with Plaid Cymru's aims for Home Rule. It was generally felt that there should be more co-operation between Plaid Cymru and the Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg on an equal basis.

XX

Formation of a Celtic Youth Congress :-

This was discussed during sessions on Wednesday and Thursday. A constitution was drawn up and approved unanimously, and the following elected to office on the Executive Committee for one year:

Mr R. D. F. Wynne	(Wales)	President
Mr. Ian W. Taylor	(Scotland)	Chairman
Mr. Sean O Cionnaith	(Ireland)	Secretary-General
Mr Loeiz Lullien	(Brittany)	Publications organiser
Miss Menna Wynne	(Wales)	Assistant-Secretary

An executive meeting was held immediately when it was decided to hold the next executive meeting in Dublin in September, and that the 1966 conference will be in Ireland - that year being the 30th Anniversary of the Easter Week Rising.

The Conference closed at 5 p.m. on Thursday April 1st, and the evening given over to what is known in Scotland and Ireland as a Crilich and in Wales and Brittany as a Noson Llawen... this being official as opposed to similar unofficial functions which took place every evening during the Conference.

XX



Y GYNGRES GELTAIDD
CAERDYDD

1935



BANQUET

AT THE

PARK HOTEL, CARDIFF

Thursday, 12th September, 1935



Chairman:

JOHN ROWLAND, Esq., C.B., C.B.E., M.V.O., J.P.

Menu

HORS D'OEUVRE VARIOUS



CONSOMME YVETTE
CREAM OF TOMATO



FRIED FILLET OF SOLE
TARTARE SAUCE



BRAISED OX TONGUE
FLORENTINE



ROAST SURREY CHICKEN

BREAD SAUCE

GAME CHIPS

FRENCH BEANS

BAKED POTATOES



PEACH MELBA

WAFERS



COFFEE

Toast List

"THE KING" - - - THE CHAIRMAN

GREETINGS—

THE CHAIRMAN welcomes "OUR GUESTS"

Responses—

WALES - - THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS
(DR. G. HARTWELL JONES.)

SCOTLAND - - HECTOR MACDOUGALL, Esq.

CORNWALL - - F. MORTON NANCE, Esq.

IRELAND - - PROFESSOR O'MÁILLE.

ISLE OF MAN - - J. J. KNEEN, Esq.

BRITTANY - - DR. PAUL DIVERRES.

"THE LORD MAYOR AND
CITY OF CARDIFF" - MONSIEUR MODRATH.

Response by THE LORD MAYOR OF CARDIFF
(ALD. JOHN DONOVAN, C.B.E., J.P.)

*Proceedings from 9.5 p.m. to 9.45 p.m. will be broadcast by
the B.B.C. from the Western Regional Station.*

MUSIC.

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LE CONGRES CELTIQUE DE CARDIFF

Après la Bretagne en 1933 et l'Irlande en 1934, c'est au Pays de Galles que revenait, en 1935, l'honneur de recevoir les délégués des six pays celtiques qui s'assemblent chaque année dans un congrès annuel source féconde de rapprochement et de compréhension entre des nations securs. Cette assemblée périodique offre, non seulement par elle-même un grand intérêt, mais elle permet encore de rassembler les personnalités qui dans leurs pays respectifs s'efforcent de maintenir intactes et de fortifier les traditions celtiques, gardiennes de notre race et de notre culture. Chacun peut ainsi se rendre compte des méthodes utilisées et des résultats obtenus dans des contrées où se posent des problèmes à peu près semblables à ceux qu'il doit résoudre, car la vie de toutes les nations celtiques, à notre époque, se résume en une perpétuelle lutte pour la sauvegarde de leur langue, de leur culture et de leur nationalité.

La prise de contact avec les Celtes d'outre-mer à Cardiff fut, cette année pour la délégation bretonne, du plus grand intérêt. Le pays de Galles, lui a donné le spectacle d'un peuple ardent, tenace, qui a su conquérir des libertés essentielles qu'il ne se laissera plus ravir. Autant de leçons pour nous, Bretons, et autant de raisons de faire un triste parallèle entre l'esprit des deux Grands Etats dont nous dépendons : la France et l'Angleterre.

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Les séances du Congrès se tenaient à l'Université de Caerdydd (Cardiff) à quelques pas du Musée National du Pays de Galles, en face de l'emplacement que les Gallois réservent pour la construction de leur futur parlement. Sur les monuments figurent de nombreuses inscriptions en langue galloise et à l'intérieur du Musée, tous les imprimés sont bilingues, à quand les inscriptions bilingues sur nos édifices publics à Rennes ou même seulement à Guingamp et à Morlaix ?

Ainsi, dès le premier contact, la langue galloise s'affirme vivante, non seulement tolérées, mais encore respectées dans son existence de langue officielle. Et avec quelle fierté ceux qui la parlent nous disent : " Je parle Kemraeg ! " Cela aussi bien chez la vendeuse de magasin ou la servante de bar que parmi les plus hautes classes de la population. Que nous veillâ loin de nos ridicules petits bourgeois bretons qui préfèrent parler un français petit-nègre plutôt que la splendide langue bretonne ! il n'est plus qu'en Bretagne qu'il existe encore de ces phénomènes archéologiques qui se refusent à croire à l'excellence du bilinguisme et au progrès qu'il représente.

La Bretagne est pourtant, avec le Pays de Galles, le pays où la langue nationale est encore la plus vivante. On mesure encore mieux l'indifférence coupable de bien des bretonnants lorsqu'on se rend compte des efforts parfois surhumains, des sacrifices considérables que les autres nations celtiques s'imposent pour maintenir et développer leur langage ori-

ginal. Un Irlandais, John Cameron, étudiant devant le congrès le problème du gaélique, après avoir fait ressortir que celui-ci est surtout parlé par les gens pauvres des comtés de l'Ouest, espère que le gouvernement s'efforcera de donner à ceux-ci plus d'aisance pour leur laisser le loisir d'étudier et de se perfectionner dans leur langue nationale qu'il voudrait voir devenir celle de toute l'Irlande. Que dire aussi des efforts touchants de Merton Nance et de ses disciples qui s'efforcent de faire revivre le cornique disparu, on le sait, au siècle dernier.

Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas seulement la question des langues celtiques qui fit l'objet des abondants travaux au congrès : on étudia aussi des questions économiques et culturelles plus spéciales à l'un ou l'autre des pays celtiques. La délégation bretonne qui était cette année composée de J. BOUILLE, F. Debeauvais, O. Merdrac, V. Marchal, P. Le Diverres, Yann Fouéré, M. le Teiser, se signala par plusieurs interventions intéressantes dans les différents problèmes de langue, d'histoire et des relations futures entre les peuples celtiques. Signalons surtout la conférence ~~amixaxia~~ de J. BOUILLE sur l'Art Breton moderne et le discours de P. LE DIVERRES au banquet de clôture du congrès où s'affirma, dans une manifestation émouvante, la solidarité des différents peuples celtiques et leur communauté de race et d'idéal.

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C'est dans cette communauté d'aspirations et d'inquiétudes dans cette volonté de survivre dont les peuples celtiques sont également animés, que réside d'ailleurs la plus chère leçon du Congrès. Entre Irlande, Galles, Ecosse, Cornwall, Bretagne, on peut relever à des degrés divers, les mêmes étapes d'une même lutte. De l'observation des résultats obtenus en Galles, la Bretagne peut tirer de féconds enseignements.

Il existe bien un mouvement national gallois assez puissant qui réclame la liberté politique en faveur de son pays, mais le peuple de Galles s'est surtout efforcé jusqu'ici de maintenir intact son patrimoine moral et spirituel en défendant avec opiniâtreté, sa langue et sa culture. Et déjà que de résultats obtenus grâce à de grandes associations comme l'U.R.D., grâce à la campagne incessante en faveur de la langue menée sans relâche par toute l'élite du pays où de nombreuses familles s'imposent de parler gallois. La langue à tous les degrés dans les écoles des régions où elle domine. Cette règle s'applique même au anglicisants de naissance. Un commissaire spécial sorte de ministre de l'Éducation s'occupe exclusivement pour le pays de Galles des questions d'enseignement.

Que de chemin déjà parcouru grâce sans doute à l'opiniâtreté de vues et à la compréhension dont a toujours fait preuve le gouvernement anglais vis à vis de ces problèmes culturels ! Il suffit de démentir à celui-ci le bien fondé d'une cause son intérêt matériel et moral pour que justice lui soit rendue. Aussi pouvons-nous un peu plaider les circonstances atténuantes pour la Bretagne qui n'a jamais trouvé devant elle quelques chose d'analogue à ce vieux libéralisme. Bien des paroles qui furent prononcées là-bas vis à vis de l'Angleterre, auraient été considérées chez nous, vis à vis de la France comme une rébellion ouverte.

La France, pays des principes immuables et intangibles a puisé dans la tradition latine et césarienne qui fut toujours la tendance de tous ses gouvernements, l'amour immodéré de la centralisation et d'uniformité. Pas de règles souples, pas de diversité, mais des constitutions rigides et figées. Pays de droit écrit qui s'est toujours refusé à reconnaître la supériorité de la coutume et de la tradition locale. Les Français s'imaginent de venir faire légiférer pour l'universel et, sans même songer à leur ridicule, ils appliqueraient gravement, s'ils le pouvaient, aux Asiatiques comme aux noirs, la même forme du même gouvernement, sans réfléchir que les lois sont faites pour les peuples et non les peuples pour les lois.

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C'est pour cela que le gouvernement français ne peut pas encore se figurer que nous voulons que les écoles bretonnes, qui sont payées par les parents bretons, soient faites pour le peuple breton, que nous voulons y introduire un système d'enseignement logique correspondant à nos besoins réels.

C'est une véritable stupéfaction pour les étrangers de toutes les parties du monde, lorsqu'on leur révèle la question, de voir que la France refuse encore à plus d'un million de ses nationaux l'exercice d'un droit dont elle s'est pourtant fait le champion à la tribune de la S.D.N. Et cette stupéfaction pourrait fort bien jouer contre elle un jour. Sur la proposition de la délégation bretonne le congrès celtique international de Cardiff a tenu à se adresser à l'unanimité au gouvernement français l'enseignement du breton dans les écoles de Basse-Bretagne. Ce vœu qui a été transmis au consul de France viendra apporter l'appui de l'opinion de tous les peuples celtiques à l'impérieuse volonté du peuple breton qui chaque jour se manifeste plus pressante, plus active. Revendication essentielle qu'il faut que nous obtenions et sur laquelle ont déjà pris parti les représentants directs de plus de 260.000 Bretons bretonnants. Revendication maximale élémentaire que d'ici peu il deviendra impossible de ne plus entendre.

Evit ar Brezeneg er Skol, da viken !

Yann Kerberie

Janvier 1936.