



# An Aimsir Cheilteach

## THE CELTIC TIME

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE CELTIC PEOPLES



THE ORGAN OF INFORMATION WITHIN THE CELTIC PEOPLES AND ABROAD. THE RALLYING ORGAN OF THE CELTS TO PROMOTE INTER-CELTIIC OUTLOOK & CO-OP.

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### THE LESSON FROM THE ELECTIONS

The weakening of the Labour strength and the relative gains of the Tories mean little to us. The Celtic peoples of these islands have just as little to expect from either of them.

What interests us more is the reaction of the Celtic electorate to the Nationalist candidates. In the Six-Counties, the result was a foregone conclusion; the lack of proportional representation, coupled with the gerrymandering worked out so as to give 10 seats to the two thirds of the electorate and 2 seats to the other third.

In Wales and perhaps more so in Scotland the result must have come as a disappointment to those Celts who pinned their hopes in quick and spectacular results. We must realise that up to now full national consciousness has been only the monopoly of an elite in Scotland and Wales and that the great masses of the people have only been recently approached. Secondly, the Election was to decide who was to govern Britain; the nationalist candidates were placed between two powerful magnets which drew the votes of those who, though nationalists, were not prepared to stand uncompromisingly on the question of principle. A purely national stand seemed to demand either the waste of a vote or the election of an M.P. who would have no positive influence on the selection of a Government.

Finally, the inter-Celtic outlook which should have been an important factor in several constituencies with a mixed Celtic electorate is still strange to the masses. The Irish electorate in the Clyde district and the Welsh one in Liverpool obviously failed to see their chance to vote for true friends. The absence of a Press—both local and Irish—with an inter-Celtic outlook and the lack of proper leadership and direction in that respect left them blind to the import of the new candidates' stand and blinded by comparative values within the frame of the old Labour v. Tory contest.

But this is not all. Quantitative success also depends on favourable circumstances which will provide the exploitation of these immediate interests mentioned above.

In Ireland, this was provided by the religious and land-grabbing persecution pursued through centuries by one country—England—against another—Ireland; this clear cut, undisguised standing attack hitting each individual of the great majority of the people kept up the spirit of nationality alive and afloat. In the other Celtic countries where this did not take place, at least not to the same extent nor for the same length of time, the national spirit became dull and obscure, out of touch with the realities which are palpable to the ordinary people. For the same reason, the economic or the linguistic problem in Ireland is not as live an issue to the masses of today as the political issue has been up to now, because they do not see or feel that it affects them directly and immediately.

During the long supremacy of our oppressors and rulers' civilisation, which is now in decay, little opportunity has been offered for the development of the national spirit. We are at the end of that era of Liberalism which has now to be propped up by continuous and active State intervention. The kind of Democracy which has been in operation during the last hundred years or more is getting more worn out every day. The means of exchange, money, has got so abused by its caretakers that it has become the main hindrance to the exchange and the distribution of goods. Justice delivered according to established codes has proved to be offensive to the conscience of upright men. This failure opens for our genius, for long unconscious and stopped in its evolution, to assert itself again in modern times. The difference between their standard and ours may not only be cultural, but moral; not only economic, but vocational; not only political, but social, not only concerned with the name under which Justice will be administered but the manner or even concept of its administration.

This would call for more than the mere taking over of an existing system; we shall need to be independent from the frame built by those who have ruled us up to now, bringing in new fundamental conceptions, the produce of a different nature no longer enclaved.

It will be the task of a creative elite which is getting larger, better educated in national and in Celtic realities long locked up starved, an elite more active each day through the work of the national movements. As this progress gets steadily more wholesome in its substance and its root again and blossoms, the national movements will be in a position to draw, or rather to absorb, the masses of our peoples which our rulers' decaying system will be less and less able to hold, and thus to lead them towards full national revival and real independence.

We must work and prepare to seize the place which we ought to regain. From our tottering shreds, for that we must set about developing the scope of our national entities together with the volume and efficiency of the material means at our disposal.

# "Basis of Freedom"

Why should we fight for freedom? Is it not strange, that it has become necessary to ask and answer this question? We have fought our fight for centuries, and contending parties still continue the struggle, but the real significance of the struggle and its true motive force are hardly at all understood, and there is a curious but logical result...

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I stand by this principle: ★  
★ no physical victory can ★  
★ compensate for spiritual ★  
★ surrender. Whatever side ★  
★ denies that, it is not my ★  
★ side. —Terence MacSwiney ★  
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WE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM—not for the vanity of the word, not to have a fine conceit of ourselves, not to be as bad,—or if we prefer to put it so—as big as our neighbours.

The inspiration is drawn from a deeper element of our being. We strive for self development individually and as a nation. If we don't go forward we must go down. It is a matter of life and death; it is our souls' salvation.

If the whole nation stands for it, we are happy; we shall be grandly victorious. If only a few are faithful found they must be the more steadfast for being a few. They stand for an individual right that is inalienable. A majority has no right to annul it, and no power to destroy it. Tyrannies may persecute, slay, or banish those who defend it; the thing is indestructible.

... "SO LONG AS THERE SHALL BE BUT ONE HUNDRED OF US REMAIN ALIVE WE WILL NEVER SUBJECT OURSELVES TO THE DOMINION OF THE FOREIGNER". FOR IT IS NOT CLORY, IT IS NOT THE RICHES, NEITHER IS IT HONOUR, BUT IT IS LIBERTY ALONE THAT WE FIGHT AND CONTEND FOR, WHICH NO HONEST MAN WILL LOSE BUT WITH HIS LIFE"

"English."  
—From the "Abroath Declaration" of Scotland, 6th April, 1320.

We have not survived the centuries to be conquered now. But the profound significance of the struggle, of its deep spiritual appeal, of the imperative need for a motive force as lofty and beautiful, of the consciousness that worthy winning of freedom is a labour for human brotherhood; the significance of it all is seen in the obligation it imposes on everyone to be true, the majority notwithstanding.

He is called to a grave change who is called to resist the majority. But he will resist, knowing his victory will lead them to a deeper dream than they had ever known. He will fight for that ideal in obscurity, little heeded—in the open, misunderstood.

On luivire gaer har boia graost do' h'.

Mont a-gevret evit ar Gwir, Eneup d'ar bed, d'ar bed a-bezh. Eskell ganimp er mintin eklar.

Wat-lerc'h emañ deut an di-mantr.

Hon luivire gaer so net da get. I lasket ar bed kant ha kant, Ha m' lasket dindan an treid.

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★ The freedom of a nation ★  
★ carries with it the respon- ★  
★ sibility that it be no ★  
★ menace to the freedom of ★  
★ another nation . . . . . ★  
★ Freedom rightly consid- ★  
★ ered is not a mere setting ★  
★ up of a number of inde- ★  
★ pendent units. It makes ★  
★ for a harmony among ★  
★ nations and good fellow- ★  
★ ship on earth. ★  
★ —Terence MacSwiney ★  
★ \*\*\*\*\* ★

in humble places, still uncounted; in high places, seizing every vantage point, never crushed, never silent, never despairing, cheering a few comrades with hope for the morrow . . . . .

And should these few sink in the struggle the greatness of the ideal is proven in the last hour as they fall their country awakens to their dreams, and he who is inspired and sustained then is justified; justified against the whole race, he who once stood alone against them. In the hour he falls he is the saviour of his race.

—Terence MacSwiney.  
("Principles of Freedom")

**Kan Ar Re Drec'h et**

Met daoust da xaprisais an dud  
D' talanter, d'o sotonn,  
E skoud an nos, feul ha rest,  
E choum dinob' hor e'halon-ni.

Ha pa ve deut an eur lakset,  
Giant ur you'h' tuz e saving  
rao'h,  
Da gas har youl enep d'ar bed,  
Yei ur hanned er mintin yue'h!  
RHYE.

Under the yoke of the foreigner.

### The Murder of FR. Y. V. PERROT

P.P.

(Translation from our last issue).

Six years ago, Yann-Vari Perrot fell under shots of the French and during these six years nothing has been done to punish the good priest's murderers. If Yann-Vari Perrot had been guilty of anything, how should a pro-French paper like "Le Brotagne a Paris" come to publish a notice for the mass said for Fr. Perrot? If he was not guilty, why has no effort been made to bring the murderers to justice? The French are ashamed, so are the servants of the French, and they take refuge in silence . . . .

The following is a letter written by Y. V. Perrot in 1929, which shows that they had tried to suppress him even at that early stage:

Scrignas, 30th Oct. 1929.

Dear Sir,

I wish to send you my very best thanks and to say that if I have not done so before it is because I have been harassed without respite by the police during the last fortnight.

I have been accused of cutting the electric wires between St. Herbold and Huelgoat during the night of the 13th to the 14th of this month, and on the Sunday 15th, during vapours, my house and the church were searched by the police and I was cross-examined for an hour and a quarter.

While they were searching my house, another policeman on the square was saying to some people: "Do you know what kind of fellow you have there, as parish-priest? Well, the blood of your children is on his hands." One of my parishioners in spite of him being a "red" upon hearing such an accusation said: "that gendarme, one must admit, must have changed his mind about some one who has turned his mind" as they say at Scrignas. If I had not been well known by my parishioners among whom I have lived for nine years, an one need have been surprised if I had been killed and my house burnt that night by a handful of drunk men in anger.

On the following Friday, four policemen came again. My house was searched; they looked everywhere to find out if I was hiding a gun anywhere. They searched my papers for four hours and took away ten letters to try and find some excuse to have me thrown into jail.

They did the same thing to my secretary in Kastel-Paol. Very soon the war papers and against the Breton language here will be as bad as that against Basque in the Basque country."

This is why I have not been able to reply to you the moment I got your letter: I have been suffering too much mentally, and at heart. Y. V. PERROT.

The calamity hanging over our heads is dark in the extreme. May God and our old saints come to our help.

As soon as I know more, I will write to you again.

Very sincerely to you,  
Y. V. PERROT.

\*Evidently, Y. V. Perrot meant the part of the Basque country under France.

APCONAN.

UP AGAINST THE FOREIGN JUNGLE

"GROW MORE FOOD"

In Africa.

An area of over 2,000,000 acres is to be cleared—the original figure was 3,200,000 acres—for the production of ground nuts. This will involve the irrigation of deserts and semi-deserts and the removal of large tracts of thorn scrub and giant forest-trees. New ports, towns, roads, railways, hospitals and schools will be built. Expenditure will be something between twenty-five and fifty million pounds.

This new-land project is being well under way. As the outset, the planners knew only that the land in question was infested with tsetse fly, that parts of it were too arid to make cattle-rearing possible, and that substantial yields of nuts could not be expected for many years. They did not know how the cleared land would react to cultivation or how the various crops would affect the structure or fertility of the soil.

And in Scotland.

"Crofters forced to evacuate lands," "Kerrydart land-clearance rebuffed," "Moidart crofters still restless after forty years."

While public money, machinery and man-power was being lavishly expended on the East African experiment, Scotland still had over two hundred communities without road communication, and many more where transport facilities and social amenities were almost totally lacking. Yet one quarter of the money poured into Tanganyika would have opened up for food production hundreds of thousands of acres of land proved to be capable of carrying vast herds of cattle and sheep, and of yielding crops of potatoes, oats, turnips, vegetables and timber.

The above pictures are indicative of the mentality of the rulers of Scotland—a crazily-unbalanced internationalism which manifests itself in every country in the world except their own. What brutal oppression and ruthless exploitation failed to do in the past—to exterminate the Gaelic way of life and replace colour by the dull grey mediocrity of "Britain"—was being achieved by studied neglect. More and more the national economy is being tilted to the "export drive" to support over-populated, bankrupt England; more and more the well-favoured areas are being over-developed for the sole purpose of pursuing the almighty dollar; and more and more the outlying districts are relapsing into picturesque deserts maintained by subsidies and pensions.

Clann Albainn Society.

Against such a background, it is hardly surprising that in the first two years of its existence, Clann Albainn has so little to show in the way of solid achievements. But, in spite of several serious setbacks, internal stresses, public apathy and governmental indifference, it has shown that the will to live still exists in Scotland and confounded the pessimists and defeatists who prophesied its early and inglorious demise.

Its foundation in March 1948 by a group of young Scots—in all their twenties—and the appeal to the public for support for land-settlement ventures, were hailed by many into derision. What could a handful of youngsters do where older and able men had failed? Yet, within six months, the Society had a membership of several hundreds, mostly in Scotland, but also in England, Wales, France, Italy, Canada, U.S.A., Egypt, India and several other countries, and many leading Scots had rallied to the banner, and a committee of experts on agricultural, forestry, law, resource-development and engineering had been formed. Members had

contacted many land-owners, surveyed several possible sites for the first attempt, and visited official and government departments to discover what official support could be expected.

All this was achieved by the unswerving loyalty, determination and selfless devotion of a small group of its members. What it meant in terms of labour, loss of income and sacrifice of leisure can only be assessed by anyone who has attempted similar huge projects handicapped by the lack of funds.

Why the Socraig Venture failed.

Of the possible sites surveyed, the one which opened up any possibility of an early start, was the Dunrobin area of Wester Ross. The decision to make the first attempt there was a bold stroke—but it had succeeded, a new page in the history of the Highlands would have been written. The area had all the possible drawbacks: at the time of the clearance, thecrofting population had been driven from the best agricultural and grazing lands, which had been incorporated in the vast estates or deer forests of alien landlords, and foresters to carve new homes for themselves on the thin, stony soil round the sea-coasts. Remoteness and lack of transport facilities—the single track road to serve the entire district, an ancient mail-bus and an occasional visit from a coastal steamer which lay off shore there being no pier or harbour facilities—combined with the fact that the trees had been destroyed, leaving no check on wind or water erosion, had made life virtually impossible for the crofters. The population had closed down to three of the schools out of four, and left only a handful of young people in the district, and altogether prospects looked very grim.

Paper plans for the salvation of the district were in existence, and Clann Albainn men had hoped that their arrival would supply the necessary impetus to bring them into effect. The National Parks Committee were considering the establishment of a park in the neighbouring deer forests, an ambitious scheme entailing new roads, new holding, land reclamation, afforestation, and facilities for tourists and visitors; the County Council had approved plans for a new stretch of road and two jetties to provide a ferry service to the remote Socraig peninsula; the Society for Research in Plant Propagation were carrying out experiments with complimentary grazing; a Swedish doctor hoped to introduce a herd of reindeer, the keeping of which was reported to be a better proposition than the rearing of sheep; and use of the landowners, improving his own estate, was enthusiastically advocating the re-occupation of the entire district.

In November, 1948, six young Clann Albainn pioneers moved into an empty house at Durnaken, put at their disposal by the district nurse, to start work on the twenty-one derelict crofts promised to the Society. Hopes for the future ran high. A new energy, more practical, and the attention of the enquiry was focussed on the question of land settlement. Several other Society members had meanwhile made arrangements to start work in different parts of the Highlands. Money was scarce and the Society had neither machinery nor livestock, but a start was being made after two hundred years of neglect and abandonment. Drains were dried, scrub cleared, and a few belts planted, and out of cultivation for half a century was ploughed and sown over, and a start was made on repairing ruined buildings in spite of short rations, almost complete rain and heavy gales.

Almost from the start, misfortune dogged the venture. The Compensation Acts of the Crofting Acts prevented the landowners from selling the Society land at all but three of the twenty-one crofts; the Treasury grant for the new road and jetties did not materialize; quarantine regulations blocked the entry to the country of the reindeer herd; opposition and influence in high places delayed the plan for the National Park, and officials could not find suitable building materials. On top of all this, the Society's funds did not permit of an enormous capital outlay, without which nothing could be achieved.

The end of the story makes dismal reading. The National Council, faced with these difficulties, were obliged to withdraw the pioneer team. The press harried the retreat with scornful epithets—"ill-vised preliminary venture", "mad dash to the glens" were some of the phrases they used. The whole business caused a deep rift in the ranks of the Society and after several prominent members had resigned, a new council was formed to consolidate the position and build up funds for future ventures.

What of the Future?

Now that the shouting and the recriminations have died down, it is possible to see the picture in the true perspective. The Western Ross project was not a complete failure. As a result of it, three families are now settled on holdings hitherto uncultivated and uncorked, and following agitation, the township of Badrloch now has a night telephone service in cases of emergency, and Badrloch is visited regularly by mobile cinema units. These are small beginnings, but because of them or similar developments, the future of the district is brighter than it has been at any time since the evictions disrupted the life of the Highlands.

The venture did more than anything else has done in recent years to draw attention to the urgent need for land settlement in the Highlands and increased transport facilities and recreational amenities; it exposed the power of the vested interests which are fighting to maintain their undisputed possession of good land for purposes of private amusement; and it proved beyond doubt that centralized Government by London-controlled political parties is incapable of meeting, and quite indifferent to, the needs of the inhabitants of the Celtic countries.

Scottish Convention has succeeded in welding together people and organisations of all shades of political opinion, on the question of self-government. It now remains for the Clann Albainn Society and similar organisations to do the same thing for land settlement. A National Assembly must be convened to discover means of combating encroachment on agricultural land by fighting services, housing or industrial interests and afforestation schemes, of putting into effect proposals to reclaim good land at present lying idle, and of increasing production of good, clean, well-grown food, and so reducing our dependence on the money-lenders of Wall Street. Scotland's greatest and most abiding assets are her land and her people, and as long as the one is allowed to become derelict and the other forced to emigrate, so long will her economy remain unbalanced and her chances of survival remote.

RONALD K. TAYLOR.

Comunn Impireachd Na H-Alba.

RUN - Craith-thlachdachaidh Quidhlig Albannach a dh'ath-sheach guth comrach as leith man Albannach anns gach rann de'n t-saighal chum dion nach-daranachaidh na h-Alban agus na h-impireachd; a dh'aisgeas air ais rian bunnachaidh Criosdaidh na h-Alban, agus modh nan Gaeligh; agus a sholaras do'n t-saighal Cuirbriann Dhiathachail.

Fear-ghairm—Calum Mac a' Phàrsach, Balmerino, Dumbury, Chestnort, Essex.

THE BRETON LANGUAGE AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. A FACE-SAVING TRICK.

(By our Breton correspondent.)

The Welsh newspaper "Y Faner", referring to a recent French law about Breton and other "Local dialects"—if you don't mind!—spoke of a revolutionary change in French policy. It will be our sad duty to dispel those illusions.

The new law holds down to this: Teachers can now be authorized to use Breton during their classes to explain the meaning of a French word or sentence; they are also authorized to teach Breton one hour a week outside classrooms, without being paid for that extra work. They must apply for the authorization, and it is a general understanding that those who apply will be black-listed. Breton is to be received as a non-compulsory and subsidiary matter (a much lower status than that of Indo-Chinese or Arabic) at the exam corresponding to "matric"; a scheme, just fine dust in some Breton and observers' candid eyes.

Protests against the French policy in Brittany, with regard to the language alone, have been the object of no less than thirteen demands made during the last four years for the teaching of the Breton language (a teaching within the meaning of the word, not a farce). From other Celtic countries they have also been numerous; let us mention only the Celtic Congress protests, the Welsh Delegation re-

Ar Brezhoneg Er Skol ?

D'ar gwener 30 a viz kerzu 1949, Konbr ar Gannaded a Vro-Chall he deus votet al lezenn a notre reizh kentelion brezhoneg er skoloù. Pep man eus deus bet tu da lenn testenad "Brezhoneg" ha da anout he dizezioù.

Ret e vo gortoz ur petrad brezhañ, da welout peserit stad a vo bet graet eus al lezenn nevez. Graet he deus trouz dja hag e raiñ e'hoaz. Ar rannvroelion dreist-holl a zo kalz a fouge enno eus un dra a predont ez eo foue o strivadeg hag a gouleannadeg. Pa he c'houlennet ket anout, ez eo stanket a genoù d'he dizezioù.

Hogen, ar gwir Brezhoneg ne festerit ket war stur ha talvoud eus al lezenn-se. Ma sant gouarnamant Bro-Chall damant, ar skoloù d'ar brezhoneg ez eo en abeg d'e vrud. Rak kudenn ar brezhoneg a zo bet kaset da anaoudegezh ar broñs al. Ma'z eo kemmet euzaleh hor mistri e-keñver hor yezh, ez eo kalz en abeg de euzaleh ha da c'houlennadeg hor brezhañer ar Broñs Keltiek treuz.

Bro-Chall ne c'helle ket ober pelloc'h skourvour ouz ar c'hlemmout a save a bep tu. Neze he deus aozet ur vrezhoneg e soñj sioulant ha dizezioù ar skoloù stardio-h'ardurioù a vez graet evit hor yezh broadel.

Den evit ne vevz touellet. Brezhañ e'ha ur t gouarnamant gall, hiziv evel kent, eo mougañ ar brezhoneg. Soñj hon eus e no bet votet, n'eus ket pell, gant Kuzul Bras ar Finistere ur prif 100,000 evit Skol dre Lizeher ar frer Visant Seite, ar brezhoneger anaouez. Soñj hon eus ivez a skrivet ar prelad Max Martin da Visant Seite da lavarout dezhañ a tiffene ar gouarnamant reiñ ar 100,000 eur.

Al lezenn nevez a ziskouez pezoñ gwidreza eus Bro-Chall en he dezoed-gober; eus un tu, al lezenn, graet dreist-holl da dreolioù ar stremion ha da dreolioù ar gouleannadeg; met a-dreioù al lezenn-se, ar gouarnamant a soñj e vo asoc'h reiñ taol ar mury d'hor yezh.

Ar vrogarourie ne raint ket kalz a forzh eus an aotredur distroese. Kendere'he l raint evel aotredur o stourm evit o Bro hag o yezh, o finant, n'eo ket war aotredur pe harp gouarnamant Paris, met war a ubar o-man. KER-ROUARDON.

port, the Petition of the Friends of Breton Culture, a strong offer. If the pressure of Breton opinion could still be kept down, that of Celtic opinion could no longer be ignored; it was doing some definite harm to the "prestige" of France, so was it reported from London and Dublin too. The French, taught by a long political experience, made a clever move and set a trap for those who walk straight and do not crawl, to fall in. They decided to "authorize" Breton—officially—while at the same time to make use of their box-tricks to make the authorization inoperative. This had already happened with that already despotic body called the "Vichy Government", when Petain had to "authorize" Breton and the Rector of the French Academy in Brittany acted so cleverly that only 16 of the many thousands and teachers in Brittany eventually got to the point of making use of the authorization.

It is perfectly clear that the French aim in this case, is that of being able to tell foreigners whenever required—"France, an enemy of the Breton language? Nonsense; this is sheer propaganda used by the separatists. See, Breton is authorized in the schools, but what can we do, the Bretons don't even avail themselves of such facilities." The manoeuvre is already explained here.

The French policy remains remarkably continuous and the will to destroy the old language of the Breton nation stronger than ever: in this case a cunningly hypocritical trick has been resorted to, so as to deceive the external friends of Breton culture, the same wolf in lamb's clothing.

DAVOUR.

7th March.

After all the publicity the law authorizing Breton got through the Chamber of Deputies, the "Council of the Republic" (Senate) has decided to send it to the Special Commission for further study—and cold storage! (On the occasion, one of the Breton representatives spoke in Breton in the Assembly. Meantime, the teaching of Breton is still forbidden.)

"SAME HERE"

(From "Irish Industry") "In the 'Irish Times' for November 30th, 1949, appeared a report that the South African Minister for Posts and Telegraphs had commented severely on a criticism of the Afrikaans language which had been sent out from that country by a newspaper correspondent there. The words objected to by the Minister were 'Afrikaans is not even a language but merely an uneducated patois. It has no cultural value whatever and by clinging to Afrikaans as an alternative language, South Africans must always remain culturally behind other nations'.

—It has a familiar ring to us. —If we replace "Ireland" by "each of the Celtic countries" and "the Irish language" by "each of the Celtic languages" in the remainder of the text, it runs as follows:

"Precisely the same outlook on each of the Celtic languages was held and expressed by correspondents in their respective countries as well as by many natives who adopted the foreign outlook and mentality. . . . Not only the language but every other expression of the external marks of each Celtic country's separate nationalities received similar treatment. It has even extended to its economic life. . . ."

South Africa is now experiencing the same linguistic falsehoods which we have had to put up with for hundreds of years. She is, however, in a far better position to deal with those than we were for a long time. The Minister states that legal action is being taken against the slanderers."

MERLIN

Merlin by the Shore. What are thou doing, Merlin, wise Merlin? What art thou doing, there by the sea? I am awaiting the one of great power, The one to deliver my country and me!

Why dost thou so, Merlin, great Merlin? Thou and thy country will never be free. Thou by enchantment, she by her weakness. Chained are for ever, by changeless decree.

What dost thou now, Merlin, a Merlin? What dost thou now, down by the shore? I peer through the future, darkly discerning. Fear through its dimness; its half-open door.

What dost thou see, Merlin, a Merlin? What dost thou see, countart or pain? I see the promise of life yet returning.

As buds from the tree-stump shoot out once again. How will it come then, Merlin, a Merlin?

How will it come this fate you foretell? "By faith and by fire, by peace and by warning." By angels from heaven and devils from hell. When will it happen, Merlin, wise Merlin?

When will it happen, this breaking of chains? "Early or late, or never, may happen. Our people must choose, the promise to gain. What shall they do, Merlin, great Merlin?"

What shall they do, the promise to win? "Keep high their spirit, speak their own language, Have still their land, and honour their kin."



We have been shocked and deeply grieved by the tragic fate of eighty young Welshmen killed in the air crash in Glamorgan as they came back from the rugby final in Belfast where Wales conquered the triple-crown.

Cruinniu Ceilteach.

Thaird cruinniu sinntul idir-cheilteach le deana i g'Glaiste Oilgseile Biala Chlath nuair a labhair Oilannh Brezhanneach ann as Gaeilghe. Dub' iontach ann as Gaeilghe. Dub' iontach an rud e Gaeilghe bonnha na Oilannh J. E. Caerwyn Williams da chloisat agus a ag tabhairt leocla naid do'n Chuanann Lat-eirnia. Is ar Kate Roberts gearr-seocail Brezhanne a bhí se ag cannt ach dhein se tagairt do a hian ruda a bhainneann leis an idir-cheilteach.

Seo iad na pointi a geuireamur—na spois ar leith iontu—go d'geigheann mie-lina Eireann-shega ag triail ar ur Brezhanu Bhig len a geuid Brezhanneach d'ionnhaib, go bhfaid cursa sa Nua-Ghaeilghe, agus freastal math air, a stúid ag an Oilannh fein i g'Glaiste Oilgseile Bannor; agus, go dtuagaid-ne Brezhanuigh sunn annse slum na n'bhailteacha, na d'bhailteacha do chair ar fail doibh. —Obair fíúntach beadh an meid sin go leir go mbéidh torthaí fútha as amach annseo. Bith Dé go raibh air.

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# Wales & the General Election

The General Election in which the socialists lost more than fifty seats in England, has left Wales very much as it found her. Insofar as there have been changes at all, they have been in the opposite direction to the trend in England; for in the new parliament the socialists hold two more Welsh seats than previously, and Conservative representation has dropped by one. Despite the wholesale collapse of their campaign in England, in Wales the Liberals held their ground in most constituencies, and lost only one seat. As a result, Welsh members form the majority of the handful of Liberals now left in the House of Commons.

The total socialist poll in Wales was rather more than twice that of the Tories, which under the present electoral system gives them an overwhelming majority of seats. Out of the thirty-six members who sit for Welsh constituencies in the new parliament, twenty seven are socialists, five are Liberals and four Conservatives.

Over the whole of Britain the contest was fought between the two main parties, on the issue as to whether or not Mr. Attlee's government should be allowed to carry on with its policy of nationalisation and increasing state-control. Thus, those who hoped that the results would show in an unmistakable manner the growing determination of the Welsh people to govern themselves were disappointed. Five of the candidates elected to parliament (the Liberals) are committed to a policy of Welsh self-government, but it is difficult to estimate in what way, if any, this fact affected their vote. Out of seven candidates put in the field by Plaid Cymru, six lost their deposit, as did also one independent Welsh Nationalist and the only Welsh Republican candidate.

In Wales then, as in Scotland, the demand for self-government appears to have had comparatively little effect on the votes cast. Indeed, the voting may more truly be described as a plebiscite than an election, since the programmes and even the popularity of individual candidates appear to have had no effect on the size of the vote in any constituency. It has been truly said that the candidates in every constituency were Mr. Attlee and Mr. Churchill.

It is probable, however, that all the nationalist candidates were well aware of the difficulty of not the impossibility, of persuading voters to regard the election as something more than a trial of strength between two big English parties. Their difficulties were increased by the

refusal of the BBC to allow nationalist speakers to broadcast, while during the campaign Labour and Tory spokesmen were allowed to spread their propaganda by wireless in the homes of the Welsh people. All in all, perhaps, for devoted much of their spare to the conflict between these two parties. But probably the most decisive factor was that Wales is still living in the post-war boom, which has brought a greater degree of prosperity to the industrial areas than they have known for many years; while the dollar shortage, which has meant reduced food imports, has led the government to subsidise British agriculture heavily and thus bring a new prosperity to the Welsh countryside. Although these changes actually occurred during the war, and continue as a result of temporary post-war conditions, the Labour government naturally claims responsibility for them; and the people of Wales, comparing their present prosperity with pre-war poverty, decided that whatever might be their views on self-government, the immediate problem was to prevent a Conservative government returning to power.

It is probable that the majority of nationalist candidates will have good cause for satisfaction with their campaign, if not with their vote. The majority of seats contested were in industrialised areas, some of them almost completely anglicised; but they succeeded in awakening a keen interest in Welsh affairs, and their meetings were well attended. The old antagonism and prejudice against which the pioneers of nationalism had to battle has largely been cleared away. The election campaign has made hundreds of thousands of Welsh men and women think seriously about the issue of self-government. The problem now remains as to how this newly-awakened opinion can be made effective, and Plaid Cymru has long understood that it cannot be done in a General Election. By-elections, which can be fought on Welsh issues, offer more fruitful ground.

Of great importance is the decision of the New Wales Union to call a national inter-party conference to consider launching a Petition to demand Welsh self-government. Merely signing a petition will not, of course, win self-government; but it will be a valuable means of testing the views of the nation. But the tens of thousands of Welshmen who regarded this General Election as a battle between Mr. Attlee and Mr. Churchill, will vote whole-heartedly in favour of Welsh self-government when given the chance.

# DISTRIBUTION OF MONEY

## Minister's Statement

Mr. Sean MacBride, speaking in Cork on the 11th March, stated in part:

"I feel the banks have acted throughout in the capacity of moneylenders and have at all times disregarded completely the national interest and have failed to appreciate that by reason of the privileged position which they occupy, a position which they received from the people, they have a corresponding duty to make credits available when required for national development at home.

There was an occasion a few months ago when the banks refused to make a loan available to the Corporation of Dublin for the building of houses. They agreed only to make available half the amount required, and some outrageous terms. After governmental intervention, they finally agreed to make the money available. But the banks, if they had any sense of responsibility should have made this money available without Government pressure and unless the banks realise they have responsibilities to the community they will find that ultimately the Parliament of the country and the Government, whatever Government it may be, will be compelled to take action to make them realise that they have responsibilities to the people of the country."

**SOUND MONEY**

The following comment was made on the substance of the quotation published in our last issue about the use of sound money with the help of a proper ratio of silver, by one well versed in the cause of the economic crisis in which the world was involved:

The question of Binetism has been thrashed out and discarded a long time ago. It would be disastrous to bring silver in as a currency yard measure. By raising the world price for gold to say £25 per fine ounce, plus the big gold coin into circulation, and legal payment calling for a percentage to be paid in gold on any payment of £10 or more, by the closing down of the printing machine, it would not be long before paper currency recovered its purchasing power, and the workers' payroll would obtain fair and proper value in goods for payments made. With gold at £25 per ounce and a stabilised currency, we could prevent a rise in working costs and consequent inflation in commodity prices lower grade gold bearing ore in great quantities could be mined and the world's gold output immeasurably increased.

With the expression "Wales and Monmouthshire," implying that the latter is an English county; this legal fiction will be used to prevent a Welsh Government from raising more than 12 pence. But Wales will not be free until the Red Dragon flies over thirteen counties.

In Scotland the attempt will be made to detach the lowlands, on the ground that the inhabitants are of a different stock from the Highlanders—the six-county strategem again.

When these things happen, where are we Welsh and Scots to look for aid but to free Ireland, God grant that when the time comes our sister Eire will be completely free and able to place all her energies at our disposal.

I must not divert your attention further from the immediate task which confronts us, so let me appeal in all loyal Welshmen and Scots to give full support to our Irish brethren. Let the motto of the Welsh Party become the rallying cry of all Celts—*Rhyddid a Chydweithred*—Freedom and Co-operation!

**ADDRESS BY MR. O. BROWNE.**

Addressing an election meeting in Greenock Mr. Oliver Browne, who had among his four opponents Mr. Hector McNeil, the British Labour Minister of State, said the Labour Government gave as an example of

## Association's Claims

In a publication issued by the "Irish National Monetary Reform Association" one can read such things as:

"Mr. Eccles, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Banking Board of U.S.A. has publicly stated: 'The Banks can create and destroy money—Bank Credit is money.'"

Shortage of money in the pockets of the people, deliberately brought about by the money-changers, is the cause of all hunger, poverty and unrest. The people are being entertained to every sort of deceptive device to keep their minds off the main issue, and made to state theories are being engineered and peddled off by the intelligentsia of this Christian and Catholic country.

While the plain worker and farmer are being warned of the dangers of Communism, they are never told of the cause. These two classes see with their own eyes that they could produce from land and industry ten times the present output; yet, because of "money shortage," they can never produce more, not even consume half of what they presently produce. Let us give up this fierce deception on the people. They now know it is deception and an attempt to "drive the fool further." Why not tell them they are the real victims of the "Money Powers"—that this is the root cause and their present victimisation the direct effect. The fight from the land corrodes the very air we breathe. During these eighteen years some said it was all God's will; others that the people had changed; others still a change of Government. But there were just a mere handful who held it was "money shortage."

To speak of the preservation of democratic institutions is but mere sham and pretence, because democracy as we know it for the past number of years never was even asked to hand over to anyone its fundamental rights and powers, viz. its power over the life and death of the people—Money.

Our Association denies that the "Money Powers"—the Bankers—ever got this Power over money creation from the Irish people. They have grabbed this power behind their backs. But they have never legally nor morally the power, much less the right, to challenge the rights of the Irish people, and declare that the right and the power over the creation of all money alone resides in the Irish people.

When we have our own Government functioning with monetary control in our hands—

1. We shall want no money, no gold nor silver, not even lead.

2. Just like the Banks for the past 100 years, all we shall require is plenty of ink, plenty of paper, and plenty of pens—with men behind the pens deriving their authority from the Irish people, and issuing all money on the basis of production and consumption.

constructive statesmanship, their withdrawal from India and Burma. If that was true was it not equally true that their continued interference in Wales, Scotland and Ireland was a policy of destructive folly.

Wherever the English had interfered in the affairs of another country they had invariably produced misery and ruin, and united against them all whom they could not buy what greater absurdity had been committed by any people than the partition of Ireland. A line drawn with so little judgment that it actually cut in two the bedroom of Mr. Murray, of Derrylin, so that he slept with his head under President Sean T. O'Kelly and his feet under Sir Basil Brooke. His heart was in the Republic but his stomach was on the wrong side of the Border.

In Greenock, said Mr. Brown, he represented the alliance of Celtic peoples against the common enemy of their culture and indeed of their very existence. His plea would prove that the policy of divide and rule would be more effective in Belfast, Glasgow and Cardiff than it had been in Delhi.

# THE FIGHT for IRISH UNITY IN THE U.S.A.

By Sean O'Kelly.

Washington—United States Congressmen struck out sharply on Feb. 20th against an assertion that an Irishman from the South is a fascist in Ulster. They vehemently disapproved. Unionist attacks upon Sean MacBride, Ireland's Minister of External Affairs, who was told he didn't belong in Ulster, when he went there last week in behalf of two anti-partition candidates.

Three Congressmen, representing the West Coast, the East Coast, and inner United States, expressed a fervent hope that Ireland would be united in the near future, removing a threat of violence, and bringing a better economic structure to the nation.

They spoke after news dispatches reached the United States explaining the excitement when Mr. MacBride went into Ulster.

Puzzling question in America as well as in Ulster is what kind of reception will be given Sir Basil Brooke, when he comes to the United States in April.

Although he has all the resources of the British Embassy at his command, and already has sent his advance men here to line up a good greeting, there is uncertainty.

It is by no means sure that Sir Basil will be invited to the White House. It is uncertain that Lady Basil will be invited to speak before all the women's groups she wishes to address; it is by no means certain that the effect of the visit will not be to arouse Irish Americans to the injustices of partition in the little country from which so many of them came.

Mayor O'Dwyer has announced that he shall not receive him.

While few Americans want violence or outright insurrection, the Unionist great—they merely want a sane and peaceful unity in Ireland—there are fierce things brewing. The American Irish Minute Men, under Judge Matthew Troy, are laying plans to have 10,000 hostile Americans meet Sir Basil.

The weapon of the minute men is picketing, and presumably that's all they would do upon Sir Basil's arrival; they have picketed the British Consulate for a year expressing their displeasure with the unjust, uneconomic, unchristian, partition.

In a historic address before 200 highest Cabinet, Judiciary, Congressional and State Department officials in Washington on the 27th Feb., Minister Sean Nunan, who sailed the next day to Ireland after 30 years in America, called upon America to help in abolishing the "intamorous border" between Northern and Southern Ireland.

Occasion for the address was a farewell dinner for a committee of 17 Senators, 17 House members, three members of President Truman's Cabinet, White House aides, and John M. Costello, Washington representative of the American League for an Undivided Ireland.

A vigorous pledge that Americans would lend their support toward removing the border between Ulster and the rest of Ireland was expressed by one after another of the hundreds attending.

Among those at the head table was John D. Hickerson, assistant secretary of State of the United States.

The eloquent tributes turned into a plodder of full American support in the drive to wipe out the border when General Hurley who is not a Catholic, advised the Minister to tell Ireland: "We're with you to the hilt" in the partition fight. "Those of us of Irish ancestry will be riding at your stirrup from the first jump to the end of the trail."

This pledge of support is regardless which party controls Ireland, he said.

He denounced the "unjust intrusion" of Britain in Ireland's affairs. A member of the English-Speaking Union who disagrees with the British on this question, the general said the American people "who support Britain generously in war and in peace" cannot understand her effort to maintain an "unassum-

able and fictitious demerity in Ireland."

The applause was loud and long.

Representative John E. Fogarty, Democrat of Rhode Island, carried the theme further. He asked the Minister to carry to Ireland this message—"This government of ours wants the border eliminated."

Chief Justice Vinson: Ireland is a land of people of "character and worth," whose immigrants "made our country great," and "the hope of civilization."

It has just been demonstrated in a debate over a television network programme that when the facts are out, the American people are four square behind a united Ireland.

Before the debate, the audience, students at American University, Washington, D.C., were asked their opinion on three questions about the Irish partition. After the programme, they were asked again.

The case for a truncated Ireland never had a chance. But after the debate, the audience, voting by an electrical machine, voted 90 per cent in favour of a free, united Ireland. That is the practical physical limit the machine can register. It means practical unanimity.

Here's the box score:

Before Debate: After Debate:

Ireland should remain divided — 37% 10%

United Ireland should remain divided — 39% 17%

Britain's strategic position would be improved by a United Ireland — 78% 80%

Never in the history of the programme, had the machines registered as high as 90% in favour of any side of any issue which had been discussed on the programme, according to Dr. N. A. Baily, moderator of the programme, and a university faculty member. The programme was on the air early in March.

## Welsh Cultural Activities in the U.S.A.

On December 15th the cymric Chorus gave another distinguished programme of distinctive carols and Welsh airs in New York. When the ladies of the chorus appeared in their National costume, so colourful with white flechas and red cloaks the audience, the largest ever gathered in the spacious club rooms, greeted them with applause. The singing of the choir delighted everyone, but it was the traditional Welsh airs, specially arranged for them by their conductor, Prof. Rhys Morgan, which called for encores. Mrs. Iur Thomas was at the Piano accompanying in her inimitable manner. Many enquiries were made for recordings of these Welsh airs and the Music Committee is seriously thinking of placing them on the market.

The Master of the ceremonies presented the Earl of Derby to the audience, apparently understood the language and music of his native Wales, judging by their show of appreciation. Of course, music is a universal language understood by all, and how sweet it sounds to the listener far away from home, when it accents bring back childhood memories.

On Christmas Day the Cymric Chorus again gave a programme of carols of the Welsh Church. Such gatherings as these are invaluable in helping to keep the Welsh informed of Welsh activities and in maintaining something of the best of their native traditions in New York City where is a great opportunity for the Welsh to demonstrate the truth of the Welsh parable of the storks, where in their strength is found in union. One can dream of an "Eglwys y Cymru" in New York, a church where the bond of language and common interests invites welcome to regard to doctrine.

The dates are already on schedule for performances at "Elijah"—one at Flushing, N.Y., and the other at The Welsh Presbyterian Church, New York City, in May.

# ELECTION FEATURES

ADDRESS BY MR. J. F. ROBERTS

The problem which is the subject of this meeting is but one aspect of a much wider problem, that of the subjection of the Celtic nations generally. Belonging to the same race as the Irish are the Scots, Manx, Welsh, Cornish and Bretons, nine of them a free nation but all in varying degrees striving for national recognition.

The Bretons are at present suffering intense persecution at the hands of the French, on the excuse of punishment for pro-German activities during the war, and the Manx and Cornish have territories and numbers too small for them to hope for anything except membership of a Celtic federation in the future. What then, of Wales and Scotland?

In recent months the English press has been unable any longer to suppress the startling news that an organisation called the Scottish Convention has obtained over one million signatures for Home Rule, and that the number of signatures increases daily. It is now known, too, that a similar national referendum is to be undertaken in Wales.

The English political parties have long been aware of the desire of the Welsh and Scots to control their own destinies, and so each such party pays lip-

# ELECTION FEATURES

service to the principal of Home Rule in some measure. However the people of Wales & Scotland have heard such promises before, so they are turning in ever-increasing numbers to the nationalist parties. They realise that English rights of numbers place Welsh and Scottish Members of Parliament in a permanent minority at Westminster.

I am proud to be a member of Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist Party, whose aims are, first: Dominion status for Wales, which will give us full freedom to decide our own future; and second, the establishment of a Welsh-speaking co-operative state on Christian Democratic lines. I am proud, too, to be a member of the Anti-Partition of Ireland League, proud to be wearing a tricolour ribbon; and honoured at being with men who were out in 1916 and 1922, to appeal to my comrades and my Scottish friends.

Ireland's struggle is our struggle, because we have a common enemy and a common aim. A little reflection will show that the age-old English principle of "Divide and Conquer," which resulted in the tearing away of six of Ireland's counties, will inevitably be applied to Wales and Scotland when they too force England to relax her grip. You will all be fami-

