An Aimsir Ceilteach
THE CELTIC TIME

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We are providing what may appear to be an unusually large space for the publication of letters dealing with an incidental article which appeared over two months ago in a monthly publication of restricted circulation.

Our reason for that is that the point which was raised, viz. the moral issue arising out of the fight—the use of physical force in particular — of a national movement against an imperialistic or Caesarian State, is one of concern to all our countries and one of a standing nature. It is more complex than some might be inclined to think, and anyone who is about to pass judgment in any particular case would need to be fully conversant with the facts, past and present, and to exercise great caution for fear that he might fail to appreciate them properly.

—The Editor.

Club na bhfear,
C.I.C.
Don Eagarthóir, 6/5/50
"Aimsir Cheilteach."

Seo litir a sheolas go dtí "Comhar." Ma's mian leat úsáid do bhaint as, tá cead agat agus fáilte.—M. O C.

A chara,

Tír Cheilteach agus Chaitilicéach seadh an Bríotáin; tír ata an-chombgurach duinn-ne o thaobh chine agus teangan agus cultura dhe. Ach ta Éireannaigh aineolach go maith fén Bríotáin agus níor cheart do Liam O'Briain cur leis an aineolas sin in eagran na Márta de "Chomhar".

Deir an t-Ollamh O'Briain go bhfuil glactha ag bunáite uile, nach mór, na mBríotáineach leis an bhFrainc. B'fheidir gur fíor an méid sin ach níl ann ach leath den fhírinne. Níor glacadh léis an bhFrainc go h-eolgasach agus go lántoilteannach, mar do dhein údaraísí na Fráince deimhin de gur choimcéaddh an gnáth Bhríotáineach aineolach ar stair, ar theanga agus ar cheartanna a thíre féin. Is cuma gur músclaigheadh an an chogaidh an fhaid a bhí na Gearmanaigh i gceannas sa sprid ing an gnáth dhúine i rith Bhríotáin agus an caoi ag na máistúnaidhthe páipéiri agus nuachtain do scaipeadh ar a suaimhreas. An dream beag úd de lucht innileachta, de lucht teanga-eolais agus eme-staideir a luadhainn an t-Ollamh, nílid chomh tada sin in aon chor ó chtúdhe na ndaoine.

Deir an t-Ollamh nach gcorróchadh se muintear na Bríotáine dá dteigeadh chuile dhúine den dream beagh sin go calma go dtí an guillotin ar son a dúire. Dar liom-sa is masla mór é do mhuinntear na Bríotáine a leithéid sin a rádh nó a chur i gcéó.

Cheapfá on Ollamh go bhfuil máistúnaidhthe uile na Bríotáine ag obair go mi-fhoighuach i gcóir airghe-amach—go bhfaifid ag tuóth le troid. Níl aon dabht na go bhfuil dul amú ceart air sa mheid sin. Tromlach na máistúnaidhthe—go h-airithe an "lucht teanga—eolais" a luadhann se—nílid ullamh páirt a ghlacadh in aon choimhlint armtha go foill. Caithfear an naisiún go léir do mhúsgadh agus do mhuineadh ar dtús.

Tuigeann an lucht uasal innileachta ád cad é mar oighreachi Cheilteach agus Chaitilicéach atá le sábháil sca. Tá an tuigsint agus an creideamh céadhna acu agus a bhí ag Mac Suibhne:

. . . . We stifle for self-development individually and as a nation. If we don't go forward we must go down . . . . If only a few are faithful found they must

(Continued at end col. 2)

"The Will Of The People"?

To the Editor,
"An Aimsir Cheilteach".
Dear Sir,

In the March issue of the Gaelic review "Comhar", Prof. William O'Briain, referring to Brittany in an article entitled 'Will of the People', writes that in his opinion, Breton Nationalists were not justified in their action against France, because, he said, the majority of the Bretons had accepted the French rule and would not be moved by the fact that young Bretons were ready to die bravely under the guillotine.

Does Prof. O'Briain really protess that right or wrong, good or evil, life or death—especially that of a nation for all times —ought to be subject to the loose opinion of a majority no matter how misinformed, at any particular period? If he does, he is turning his back on all men who are above materialistic conceptions, especially on those great Irishmen of the past whose famous writings have upheld contrary principles, and on those men who proclaimed the famous Arbroath Declaration of Independence of Scotland.

It is well known that France has suppressed the knowledge of anything national in Brittany by barring the teaching of it at all grades in the schools and obliterated it directly and indirectly in every way of life, not excluding the Press by any means, with the result that the mass of the Bretons have been cunningly deprived of the knowledge of their very origin, history, possibilities and problems of their country. Give them three years to be appraised of the facts fully - against 170 years of French denationalisation - then a plebiscite under unbiassed international supervision, and Prof. O'Briain would have to seriously consider revising his conclusions as to "the will of the people" there.

Even if we were to admit the principle of majority rule in such an issue for the sake of argument, it is evident that a minority of to-day might well become a majority to morrow and justify then what is unjustified to-day. Being no prophets, we cannot act to-day in accordance with the opinion of tomorrow. As "Buadh no Bas" wrote in "An Aimsir" (1947, No. 3, P. 7, col. 1). "The men of 1916 who, knowing they were acting in the real long-run interest of the people, hardly bothered to consult the mass of the uninformed (not to say uninspired) opinion. Had they done so, they would certainly have been ordered not to dare stage a Rising." Professor O'Briain writes that the 1916 Rising found its justification in the Clare election, the following year. Could the result of the Clare election not have been different if the English had acted more cynically? If, using some of the French ways, they had made no martyrs, smothered all publicity to the necessary minimum, distorted it in such a manner as to throw upon the rising discredit, contempt and ridicule; if they had spent more money to buy votes, and by careful mock trials and skilful propaganda, convicted the men of Easter Week for having committed atrocities and for being German agents? Nevertheless, the fighters of Easter Week would have felt justified in their action, since it is hardly conceivable that a man of character, moved by idealism, would willingly and consciously bestow his life, freedom, honour, family and property on a cause which would not appear to him as being justified beyond any doubt. And the more so when success appears to be highly doubtful as it was in the case of the Easter Rising or with the creation at the end of 1943 of a Breton nationalist formation within the frame of the German army—a condition imposed by the latter.

In the second instance, it is common knowledge that the standing position as well as the outcome of major developments carry with them the choice of a big section of any people. The "fait accompli" is a convincing argument for many. At present, the Bretons have no alternative to their acceptance of French rule—and one has to be prepared for a thin time if he does not at least appear to accept it. After the collapse of France in 1940 the membership of the Breton Nationalist Party grew about twentyfold within a year. After 1943 it shrank to a hard core and after the "liberation" of France, there was nobody left to approve publicly of it. Had the issue of war been different we know beyond doubt that a referendum organised by a Breton State would have resulted in "retrospective justification".

Finally, when in such light matters as the teaching of Breton (which, being an obvious case at issue for all Breton speakers, cannot easily be concealed from the masses) on which demands from the part of the majority have been disregarded all the time, what kind of regard national freedom —which to advocate is a criminal offence under the law—could we expect if and when supported by a majority? If the majority is overruled by one side, why should it be incumbent on the other side to submit blindly to it?

It is obvious that the consent and approval of the majority is a great comfort and a great satisfaction and make things easier for those who work and fight for what they know to be righteous cause, but the more valuable is their testimony if they are deprived of that sympathy.

As to the description of the Breton Nationalists as a small group of intellectuals and language scholars, this is proportionately devoid of truth. Prof. O'Briain's strong French leanings are well known, and while I do not want to cast doubts on his sincerity, it would be regrettable if he let them prejudice his sources of informations and lead him into rash and irresponsible pronouncements towards people who have to face, in their struggle, the powerful French propaganda machinery, holding in their bare hands the sole weapons of truth and justice.

—A Breton in Connaught.

(Continued from col. 1).

be the more steadfast for being but 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."

Is mise le meas,
MICHEAL O CAOIMH

"SEPARATION"

"It is a truism of philosophy and science that the world is a harmonious whole, and that with the increase of knowledge, laws can be discovered to explain the order and the unity of the universe. Accordingly, if we are to justify our own position as separatists, **we must show that it will restore us to a place ameng the nations, enable us to fulfil a national destiny,** a destiny which, through all our struggles, we ever believe is great, and waiting for us. That must be accepted if we are to get at the truth of the matter. —A great doctrine that dominates our lives, that lays down a rigid course of action, that involves self denial, hard struggles, endurance for years, and possible death, before the goal is reached—any such doctrine must be capable of having its truth demonstrated by the discovery of principles that govern and justify it. Otherwise we cannot yield it our allegiance. Let us to the examination then; we shall find it soul-stirring and inspiring. We must be prepared, however, to abandon many deeply rooted prejudices; if we are unwilling we must abandon the truth. But we will find courage in moving forward, and will triumph in the end, by keeping in mind at all times that the end of freedom is to realise the salvation and happiness of all people, to make the world, and not any selfish corner of it, a more beautiful dwelling-place for men."

—"A difficulty is the common error that a man's work for his country should be based on the assumption that it should bear full effect in his own time. This is most certainly false; for a man's life is counted by years, a nation by centuries, and as work for the nation should be directed to bringing her to full maturity in the coming time. **A man must be prepared to labour for an end that may be realised only in another generation . . . . .**

So it is with the nation; we must prepare the ground and sow the seed for the rich ripeness of maturity; and bearing in mind that the maturity of the nation will come, not in one generation but after many generations, we must be prepared to work in the knowledge that we prepare for a future that only other generations will enjoy. It does not mean that we shall work in loneliness, cheered by no vision of the Promised Land. We may even reach the Promised Land in our time, though we cannot explore all its great wonders; that will be the delight of ages."

"But that everyone should realise a duty to be high minded and honourable in action; to regard his fellow not as a man to be circumvented, but as a brother to be sympathised with and uplifted. Neither kingdom, republic, nor commune can regenerate us; it is in the beautiful mind and a great deal we shall find the charter of our freedom; and this is the philosophy that is most essential to preach . . . .

That we shall win our freedom I have no doubt; that we shall use it well I am not so certain, for see how sadly misused it is abroad through the world today. That should be our final consideration, and we should make this a resolution—our future history shall be more glorious than that of any contemporary state . . . .

We shall rouse the world from a wicked dream of material greed, of tyrannical power, of corrupt and callous politics to the wonder of a regenerated spirit, a new and beautiful dream; and we shall establish our state in a true freedom that will endure forever."

—Terence MacSwiney.
("Principles of Freedom")

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

By Sean Kelly.

The 99.66 vote in the House of Representatives to deny Marshall Plan aid to Britain as long as she maintains the partition of Ireland sent the story of the partition outrage screaming across the front page of every newspaper in America.

For three days, the American people on the whole were treated to a diet of news, editorials and cartoons in the newspapers and on radio and television, explaining that there is a shocking partition and what it's all about.

In a statement ignoring the word partition, Sir Basil Brooke Premier of Northern Ireland, asked the National Press Club and the world on April 11th to ignore "minor matters, which are of no consequence whatsoever."

The 200 newsmen and guests listening believed he referred to the partition of Ireland, which the House of Representatives tentatively voted 99 to 66 to bring to an end through the Marshall Plan.

A formal resolution asking the English to get out of the six counties of Ireland got its first hearing before Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives on April 28th and is likely to be reported favourably within a few weeks. So say committee members.

Pertinent section of the resolution, introduced by Representative John E. Fogarty, Democrat of Rhode Island, reads:

"It is the sense of this House of Representatives that the Republic of Ireland should embrace the entire territory of Ireland unless the clear majority of all of the people of Ireland, in a free plebiscite, determine and declare to the contrary."

Paul O'Dwyer, after returning from a trip to the West Coast during which he spoke in many cities in California and the mid-West, declared that in all his travels he found overwhelming support for the Irish freedom cause and great enthusiasm for the Fogarty Resolution

On May 6th, it is reported that the resolution continues to receive support as the House Foreign Committee studies it. Odds are great the committee will report the measure favourably by a heavy majority to the House floor, where it is promised speedy action. It may take until June for committee action. Fact no opponents appeared is influencing committee. Meanwhile, Senator Herbert Lehman of New York has placed an identical resolution before the Senate.

A warning that "an airborne invasion of Ireland" may come in any new war between the democracies and Russia is being sounded.

Brigadier Eric Dorman O'Gowan of Co. Fermanagh, ex-Chief of Staff to Gen. Auchinleck, is telling American audiences throughout America that only a united Ireland can meet such a situation.

Outlining the best and worst that could happen in a war, the former military man said Russia could be defeated East of the Rhine. But we must envision "a rapid, violent, long-range bombardment of the great centres of population in southernmost Britain, and this would include the complete neutralization of the port of London.

"In such circumstances an airborne invasion of Ireland would have to be expected. Now in order that a bad possible ase shall not become the worst possible case, in other words, that the "British Isles" shall not become the Phillipines of World War III, it is absolutely necessary to plan for this situation well ahead of its occurrence.

"One solution is that which may be in the minds of planners in Washington. This I will call the "Muddle Solution" in which after the event, Ireland as a whole is taken over by the Atlantic Powers.

Another solution, which is intelligent and democratic, would necessitate the creation of a political situation in which an integrated Ireland, responsive to a democratic government of all Ireland, could be brought into its proper place in Atlantic affairs as a consenting unit, capable of rendering efficient service to Western democracy."

Ireland's first Ambassador to the United States, John J. Hearne, has addressed the National Press Club, May 10th. This is one of the most famous forums in the world.

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THE DRIVE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Scottish Home Rule.

The "Irish Weekly," Belfast, writes in a leading article, April 29th issue:

"The Scottish National Assembly in Edinburgh has passed a resolution, with only one dissentient, calling for the sending of Commissioners to London to negotiate with British Ministers and leaders of the British Parliamentary Opposition for a grant of "Scottish Home Rule" and in the event of failure, to petition the King. This may seem presumptuous in the light of the recent British General Election, which showed the Scottish Nationalists as such to have no more force as a political party than ever they had. But if it should seem so there is the great success of the Covenant to justify it.

As many as 1,230,000 appended their signatures to the Covenant and thereby demonstrated their support for Scottish national autonomy: and this is, after all, what counts. The fact that the average Scot has not wavered in his loyalty to his party does not mean that he is in agreement with its attitude to his country."

"The New Covenanter", organ of the Scottish Convention, reports in its April issue that already 1,250,000 electors have signed the Covenant, and that given time, some 3,000,000 out of 3,500,000 will likely sign.

Commenting upon the steps to be taken to obtain the setting up of a Scottish Legislature in Edinburgh, it states:

"The present Secretary of State has made clear his willingness, in marked contradistinction to the attitude of his unfortunate predecessor, to pay due consideration to the claims of such a representative and authoritative body as the Assembly has now most certainly come to be.

Whether or not the Government will be willing to accede to the request of the Assembly, it seems highly probable that the Opposition, bound as it is by the recent speech in Edinburgh of its leader, cannot fail to treat this question as one of the highest importance and act accordingly.

In these circumstances it is clear that the present Government will be in a most difficult position should it refuse our request; accordingly it is very likely that the Cabinet will accede to our demands and appoint an all-party Committee to treat with the Commissioners of the Assembly . . . . . Scotland demands a Parliament with legislative powers over domestic affairs. On this our representatives cannot be expected to give ground.

If this principle is not freely conceded by the spokesmen from London, then the discussions must be concluded. The matter must then be taken to other courts.

Without departing in any way from Scottish constitutional practice the Assembly may then petition the king . . . . . and at the same time a direct approach to each Dominion Government urging their support will be a necessary corrollary.

Should all these attempts to secure our aims be thwarted, then only one course will be left to us. The inevitable final step must be the imposition of political sanctions."

Welsh Campaign to open in July.

JULY 1st has now been decided upon as the date of the Welsh National Conference to be held at Llandrindod, to consider launching a nationwide petition for self government.

The Conference, inspired by the successful Scottish Covenant, will be politically non-partisan and is being sponsored by Undeb Cymru Fydd (The New Wales Union). The purpose of the Conference and the proposed Petition will be to enable the Welsh nation to express its views on the general issue of self-government: an aim which has already received the official blessing of the Liberal, Nationalist and Communist Parties, all of which disagree considerably in the type of parliament they have in view. Differences of ultimate policy have been temporarily pushed into the background, in order to secure the necessary degree of solidarity to win some immediate measure of home-rule.

Meeting in Nefyn, Caernarvonshire, at the end of March, the North Wales Association of the Presbyterian Church of Wales passed by a large majority a resolution calling for the setting up of a Welsh parliament. Similar resolutions have been passed by smaller religious bodies in all parts of Wales.

Labour will not co-operate.

The official attitude of the Conservative party to the campaign has not yet been revealed, but the Party is at present committed to a rather vague Welsh policy involving the appointment of a 'Minister for Wales'. Although the Party as such will certainly not support the campaign, it is not as yet known whether Tory MPs and local Associations in Wales will co-operate or boycott the Conference and Petition.

The Labour Party, strongest of the political parties and now holding twenty-seven out of Wales's thirty-six parliamentary seats, has declared its uncompromising hostility to the move for Welsh self-government.

In a statement to the press, Mr. Cliff Prothero, secretary of the Welsh Regional Council of Labour, refers to the "frivolous demand for self-government" being sponsored by "an organisation known as Undeb Cymru Fydd", and makes it clear that "the Labour movement will not be represented at the Conference." In explanation, he adds that the Welsh Regional Council of Labour is "very pleased with the results of the General Election, when the overwhelming majority of the electorate in Wales endorsed the Labour Government's outstanding record of service to Wales," and this is taken as approval of the Government's action in setting up a "Council for Wales and Monmouthshire"

The future will show how the rank-and-file membership of the Labour Party take this latest volte-face on the part of their leaders. The Government's Welsh Advisory Council, given as a substitute for a Secretary of State, has never been approved by Welsh socialists. It was sharply attacked even by Labour Members of Parliament and turned down or accepted under protest by socialist-controlled councils: It was pushed through by Mr. Herbert Morrison and the Party's London policy-makers with the minimum of co-operation from Wales. As recently as 1945, an Official Labour Party statement, published by Mr. Cliff Prothero, stated that socialism would give Wales self-government; and this has been Labour policy—

(Continued at end column 3).

The Manx Freedom League.

"The Manx Freedom League" has recently issued a manifesto which states in substance:

"LET US GOVERN OURSELVES."

The People of the Isle of Man cannot afford to ignore the threat to their freedom resulting from the Government in England increasing control of the individual plans designed for a large industrial nation which are not likely to suit a small island community.

It means the application of fundamental changes designed in England with no regard for Manx interests, without a mandate from the Electorate. Tynwald, by approving the application of the British legislation to the Island, appear to assume the functions of a rubber stamp. Its assent was given to the National Health Scheme, the British Civil Aviation Act almost automatically. Nearly overnight the gift was voted of half a million pounds to the Exchequer and, but for public protest, Tynwald would not have withheld assent to the Contribution and Customs Union proposals of June, 1949.

The obstacles of Self Government.

The true explanation is to be found in the position occupied by the Lieut.-Governor, combining the functions of Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in the fragmentation of government work among a number of Boards not responsible to the House of Keys and not appointed to pursue any declared or common policy; these preclude the formation of a government and of a body at the Keys to offer a united challenge to legislation from Whitehall.

The remedies proposed.

The League's aims is to secure a revision of the present system so that candidates for election find themselves forced to declared policies based on principle, and that the power of government rests in the hands of those whose policy enjoys most support. This entails the conversion of the duties of the Lieut.-Governor to those of a constitutional ruler and the restoration to the Isle of Man of the powers of self government.

The League believes that the decline in the fishing industry, and in the agricultural production, the decay of the language and the disintegration of Manx tradition follow the failure to claim and exercise the right of self-government, and to the fact that key positions are invariably handed over to men who are strangers to Manx aspirations, history and tradition.

The time for the Isle of Man, it concludes, to assert its claim to freedom is now or never. Failure to support the League means that in a few years Manx will be reduced to the status of an English county.

(Any copy of the Manifesto can be got from Mr. W. G. Clarke, Saintsbury Grove Mt. Ramsey).

(Continued from column 2).

insofar as the Labour Party has had a Welsh policy—since the days of Keir Hardie. Today, the leaders of the Labour Party in Wales feel themselves strong enough to abandon the self-government prop.

It is expected that many socialists who put principle before strategy will ignore or evade the official ban, believing that socialism and democracy must involve self-government, for their own country as for others.

Will any Breton be Taught ?

The farcical show about the law in connection with the teaching of Breton referred to in our last issue, has not reflected the full measure of the French ability at double-crossing, as yet. Earlier, we reported that the Chamber of Deputies had passed a bill, in December; a ridiculous sham which pretended to authorise a very restricted non - compulsory teaching of Breton outside official time-tables, without any pay for the teachers and without the benefit in any exams for the pupils. But even that was too much. To quote Mr. L. Toulemont, who played a prominent part in the negotiations between the Union for the Defence of Breton and French authorities: "The University authorities have not given up their policy of assimilation nor their hostility to the very presence of Breton in the primary and normal schools". As the Educational authorities dare not go openly against the bill successfully carried in Parliament, and under the pressure of Breton demand and in the face of Celtic and, insofar as it is known, human, opinion, they had recourse to a despicable trick: when the Bill came from the Chamber to the "Council of the Republic" (Senate) for final agreement on the 7th March, these Educational Authorities, acting through the channel of the National Education Commission of the same "Council of the Republic", got the bill curtailed of seven articles out of the 12 it originally contained.

As the Breton members battled against this, it was withdrawn, sent to the commission again for further study, and put in a new form before the Council of the Republic, and reluctantly passed on the 23rd March. This new form means a further compression of the miserable tips allowed in the original bill. A new article was specially set in to emphasise that Breton tuition was absolutely and definitely non-compulsory. A stress was made upon the facts that no Breton course, in any school whatever, could ever be started without a special authorisation being granted for that particular course by the Rector of the University and that, under no plea whatever, could any Breton teaching be made during the official hours. Finally it was specified that the "certificates" granted by the University for Celtic studies could not qualify for the Licence degree (French M.A.) which actually means a pull back front the pre-war situation. Now, these amendments have to be sent back to and fully approved by the Chamber of Deputies before the bill can become law. Another occasion for the French to torpedo the proposals; there is no doubt that they will use it unscrupulously if they can get away with it.

As to French opinion about the problem, the following excerpt from the paper "Le Monde", 2nd April issue, will give a fair idea of it. Let us explain that "Le Monde" is, in France, a respectable and ponderous publication similar in that respect to "The Times" in England and that the excerpt hereunder quoted is taken from a regular contributor's feature, M. R. Escarpit, and may be considered as in keeping with the general policy of the newspaper: "On sauve le breton, le basque, le catalan. Bientot on enseignera le sabir des soldats gallo-romains, la langue rocailleuse des Goths et des Francs, et le Celte de Vercingetorix Enfin, un jour, nous apprendrons au monde etonne—s'il nous comprend encore-qu'on enseigne a l'ecole primaire de Eyzies (a French village) les gragnements primordiaux de l'homme de Cro-Magnon."

These lines give an excellent idea of the capacity of the French high circles to understand the Breton question.

DAVOUR.

GASTON JEHANNIN

Gaston Jehannin a voe harzet en e vro- d'an deiz ma erruas an Amerikaned e Talensac ha ma savas a-ze kalon ar resistañserien—gant archerien Montfort-sur-Meu, un den anvet Cosson en o fenn. Evel just e voe skoet war an den, lakaet e di en arigrap, torret e arrebeuri ha goulloonderet e voutailhou: n'eus ket ar boan da lavarout. E Montfort, e lec'h ma voe kaset Jehannin hag e vab, e oa kalz plijadur gant ar C'Hallaoued: bazhataet e veze ar brizonidi, ar prizoniadezed troc'hed ar blev war o fenn ha devet ar blev etre o divesker gant kazetennoù peget an tan enno.

Eus Montfort, e voe kaset Jehannin, e vab atao da heul, da Monterfil, e lec'h ma oa o ren al "letanant" Oberthür. Ur c'houri all a oa eno: lakaet ar brizonidi ouzh ar voger, hag ober van fuzuilhañ anezho, gant arnoù karget a boultr hep boledoù. Eus Monterfil, ez erruas G.J. en diwezh e Roazhon, e komisariad ar straed Paris, e-lec'h ma voe bazhataet a-nevez. E vab, klañv ha bronduet, a voe neuze lezet da vont d'ar gêr.

E toullbac'h Jakez Kartier (Roazhon) e voe graet war-dro Gaston le Breiz Atao gant daou ward o anoiou Savin ha Gauthier. Ar re-ze a gemere plijadur o vont, bemnoz, o skein gant o 'chewing-gum' (bataresh kaoutchoug) war ar brizonidi diwisket (ur roched hepken o doa ar gwir da virout war o c'hein epad an noz). Seurt abadennoù, avat, ne pont d'ar warded nemet traou a netra. Evit "bezañ respontet en un doare diseven" da Savin, e voe taolet G.J. ar "mitard"

Continued at end column 5.

Jubilee Gorsedd in Brittany.

The fifty years anniversary of the foundation of the Bardic Gorsedd in Brittany was celebrated at Tregastel (Province of Treger) North Brittany, on Easter Monday. Delegates from Wales and Cornwall were present.

The traditional re-union of Arthur's Sword symbolising the meeting of the two parts of the Brithonic Celts, the Cymrus and the Bretons, took place.

The fraternity between the Brithonic peoples was exalted once more by the visiting and Breton bards.

The meeting ended by the singing of the National Anthem "Bro Gozh ma Zadou", in Breton, Welsh and Cornish.

(Continued from column 4).

(kell hep goulou) e-lec'h ma jomas 45 devezh. Bemdeiz e voe bazataet, hag a-hed an holl amzer se n'en doe nemet 16 predboued: biken ne erruas betek eunañ ar pakadou kaset gant e wreg. Pa zeuas G.J. er-maez eus ar "mitard", e oa torret un darn vras eus e zent, n'en doa ket nerzh tost da chom en e sav, ha ne c'helle ket mui konuz.

Neuze e voe barnet—da ugent bloavezh labour kalet. Da noz e varnadenn e skoas Savin spontus warnan "dre na oa ket kondaonet d'ar marv."

Peogwir ne oa, e gwirionez, karg ebet a-enep G.J. nemet bezañ bet ezel S.B.B. ha bruder an H.B. e tizhas e avokad, an Ao. Didier, gounit e frankiz. Re a draou a ouie G.J. a zivout madelezh tollou-bac'h Bro-C'hall avat. Mervel a reas en un doare misterius nebeut amzer araok an deiz merket evit e zieubidigezh!

Disonjet ne vezo ket ar merzher!

INTER-CELTIC CO-OPERATION IN ACTION.

The big anti-Partition demonstration held in Dun Laoghaire on Easter Sunday was the occasion of an inter-Celtic rally. The Scottish, Welsh and Irish flags floated side by side.

Mr. E. O'Mahony spoke on the Partition of Ireland and stated that the people who were in power in Washington, Westminster and Stormont were against the plain Irishman, Welshman and Scotsman. Mr. R. Wilkie, Scottish Nationalist, appealed for help from Ireland "who set an example to the Celtic peoples" for the Celtic nationalist movements in Scotland and Wales. He suggested that Ireland had a high duty towards the Celtic races who looked at her for guidance and inspiration.

The Welsh Republican Movement was represented by Mr. and Mrs. Tom Williams and Mr. Ithel Davies.

In his speech, Mr. Ithel Davies called for a closer union between the Celtic peoples, and emphasised the benefits that would come from co-operation.

"If the Celtic nations wish to survive," he said, "we must work together politically and economically, in order to ensure that England shall not continue to hold sway over nations outside her rightful boundaries."

He added that they must not forget their fellow Celts of Brittany who suffered under what was perhaps a more savage imperialism than any of the others

UNITY RALLY IN LONDON

The Anti-Partition of Ireland League in Britain is hoping to get a really big demonstration together in London about Whitsuntide and another in each of the centres where there is an Irish population before the summer has ended.

In Glasgow the Irish are giving great assistance in political organisation to the Scottish Home Rulers.

Liverpool — described laughingly by Welshmen as the capital of Wales—is also receiving good advice as to the organisation of the move for Welsh Home Rule from Irish old-timers.

Wales does not want to be cut in half—nor deos Scotland.

(Ulster Examiner).

WELSH-IRISH GATHERING

Mr. Gwynfor Evans, President of Plaid Cymru, spoke at the annual St. Patrick's night dinner held by the Irish Anti-Partition League in Cardiff. The guest-of-honour was Senator O'Hare, who spoke of Ireland's history of resistance through the centuries, and of the present mis-government of the six occupied counties.

Celtic Tragedy.

Borrow no tears from the dark lake-waves,
Though desire is for tears of the sea:
Though the land still smarts under Saxon feet,
Lament, clear-eyed, you free.
Though at Vinegar Hill and flat Saintfield
The Celtic lines thinned, faltered, reeled,
And Justice hung on a crooked tree.
For the Saxon has never yet closed the eyes
Of the Gael slain young or old;
In defeat his dreams crowd swift like sun
Across round Worlds eclipsed and cold.
And when he is laid beneath hewn stone,
Whether far-off or in lands once his own,
Each is an altar of offered gold.
Borrow no tears lest you of daylight
See only the hills this side of the night.

—Michael Gardner.

Education in Nationalism IV.

Nationalism and its Enemies.

Cosmopolitics may be defined as the science which treats of the relation of different states and peoples with one another. Four systems of such relationship may be conceived: Tribalism, Caesarism, Imperialism, and Nationalism. Tribalism is a world-condition in which each tribe or people holds a minimum of intercourse with other tribes or peoples. Caesarism is a world-condition in which one people holds in vassalage all peoples within its ken, allowing only freedom of action to each as is compatible with its own well-being and supremacy. Imperialism is a world condition in which more than one people adopt a similar policy towards smaller groups of subject races. Nationalism is a world condition in which each state is self-governing and holds peaceful intercourse with its neighbours.

Under ideally perfect conditions international disputes would be settled by a unanimously chosen arbiter according to the principles of moral law accepted by all and interpreted by somebody who enjoys the confidence of all. Thus under Tribalism, peoples have independence but not inter-communication. Under Caesarism or Imperialism people have inter-communication, but not independence. Under Nationalism, peoples have both inter-communication and independence.

Needless to say, rarely if ever do we find Tribalism, Caesarism, Imperialism or Nationalism realised in full theoretic perfection. As in the case of geometric definitions, we must be satisfied in practice with rough approximations. Of course, these slight variations do not interfere with the utility of principles either in geometry or in history.

Unlike Caesarism, which ever causes cultural blight, nationalism always fathers civilisation. Contrasts, for instance, the combined achievements of all the huge unwieldy Caesarist empires of antiquity and their influence on human history with the achievements and influence of those little peoples, The Celts, Phoenicians, Greeks and Jews.

This present condition of unstable equilibrium cannot long continue. Imperialism, like heresy itself is, of its very nature, only a transient world condition. It will soon revert to one of the two permanent systems of Cosmopolitics: Caesarism or Nationalism, the earth being now too populous for Tribalism.

Caesarism is the easiest and the most obvious development. It is only natural that it should revive when the cause which killed it, namely, the Christian Church, is itself, to great extent, neutralised . . . . . Neo-Pagan effects, other than Caesarism, have come at the same time. There has arisen, despite a wonderful increase of production, a dehumanising of industry, a curtailment of freedom and an increase in poverty.

While a Caesarist state lasts there is no progress.

The succumbing of a native to a foreign language destroys native culture where it exists.

The unequal distribution of wealth seems to be an invariable accompaniment of Caesarism.

Mischievous and all as has been the perversion of religious, economic and cultural history, the perversion of political history is by far the most pernicious educational evil of our time . . . Historians set those same Caesarist States above the pioneer nations. Every increase in territory is regarded as an advance in civilisation. This is surely the lowest and most degrading of all cultural superstitions . . . . . Small wonder then if our classrooms are full of Juvenile Jingoes and our council chambers of imperial statesmen (the nits turning into lice), because, whilst punditts are paid princely salaries for teaching this dangerous nonsense, there can be no peace or happiness on earth.

Four national groups have influenced the course of history more than any other. These four Nationalist groups are the Hebrews, Celts, Phoenicians and Greeks" Each of these four has done incalculably more good to the human race than all those Caesarist States.

Celtic politics was, after Christianity, the chief element in mediaeval civilisation.

The small state wins everywhere and everytime, and would even seem to excel in proportion to its smallness.

If little Ireland was able to stand up to the great Caesarist bully—with the weapon of National Sinn Fein, why should not all Celtdom and even Christendom be able to stand up to the Caesarists with the much more powerful and terrible weapon of International Sinn Fein? Of this new weapon more anon.

A Political System.

Politics both national and international is the department of modern life which stands in sorest need of constructive thought.

Under parliamentary government, a majority of votes elects each legislator and a majority of these legislators determines the nature of legislation. Thus parliamentism is a species of bloodless warfare in which the stronger or most numerous side always wins. Instead of two armies we have two factions and instead of the spoils of war we have patronage, jobbery and party legislation. Hence it is rightly called "majority rule". There is here no more question of justice than there would be in a pitched battle. The more conscientious a deputy is, the more openly will he avow that he votes in the interests of his constituents. He does not even pretend to investigate any matter on its merits. Therefore parliamentism because of the party system which is of its essence a permanent fissure in the national consciousness.

If in theory, parliamentism is this crackbrained thing, in practice it becomes something still uglier. Political parties are financed and hence chosen and directed by small cliques of wealthy men who thus become the real rulers of the state. Hence parliamentism is simply plutocracy, the plutocrats being often foreigners.

Furthermore this parliamentary system reduces tyranny to a fine art. By carefully watching the ballot boxes, the money bags can determine with almost scientific accuracy how far public interest can be flouted in any desired direction without provoking a dangerous reaction.

It is deplorable that Ireland when she recently regained her freedom rejected her traditional Celtic Government system (elective monarchic and hierarchic), for the English parliamentism which has been so discredited elsewhere.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

"It is imperative for national progress that we modernise and make truly Christian and Caelic our imposed alien parliamentary system of Covernment. A single individual at the head of State affairs, strong enough to be independent of and dictate to all vested interests: that is the Caelic tradition."

Aiseirghe (Marta 1950)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Democracy or government by the people can exist only when legislation is controlled by one individual who is elected not by a mere party but with practical unanimity by the whole people. A democratic election can be conducted only by a veto vote eliminating undesirable candidates until the least objectionable remains.

(Continued on page 4).

Getting to know one another.

By Stephen J. Brown, S.J.,

One of the purposes, perhaps the principal purpose, of **Aimsir Cheilteach** I take to be the promotion of friendship between the Celtic peoples. That is surely a purpose with which no reasonable person can quarrel. **Aimsir Cheilteach** itself is doing much towards this laudable end, so much indeed, that it has probably aroused in its readers a desire for closer mutual knowledge of one another on the part of the Celtic peoples. This closer or fuller knowledge may be acquired in either or both of two ways viz. by actual personal visits to, and sojournings in, one another's countries, and through books about them. It is not every reader who can afford the time and the expense of travel abroad. But perhaps a larger number would manage to do so if their interest were aroused and stimulated by reading.

That is why I suggested to the Editor that he might care to print the titles (with a few notes) of books about Scotland, Wales, Brittany, and even Ireland, which from a Celtic point of view give a good account of those countries. The Editor having welcomed the idea, let me begin with Gaelic Scotland. From the mass of books about Scotland which have appeared in the course of the past few years, I select first without hesitation two books about Barra in the Outer Hebrides, because it is perhaps the most perfect example of a Gaeltacht, an island of about 2,000 inhabitants (formerly 2,600) which is entirely Gaelic speaking. The two books are:

Reflections of the Isle of Barra by Donald Buchanan (a native of the Island) (London: Sands, 1942).

The Book of Barra (London: Routledge, 1936) edited by John Lorne Campbell and written by various writers, including Compton Mackenzie on Catholic Barra. A very fine book, fully illustrated. Next I shall point to other books about the Western Isles.

The Islands of Scotland (London: Batsford, 1939) is by Hugh MacDiarmuid, a perfervid Scot. There are 89 photographs. The book includes the Orkneys and Shetlands which are not Gaelic speaking. "With earnestness, even with passion," says a reviewer, "the author exalts Gaelic culture, Gaelic speech, Gaelic music."

In **"Driftwood and Tangle"** (London: Macmillan, 1942) Miss Margaret Leigh, author of **Highland Homespun** paints a vivid and intimate picture of life on a farm in a remote, Catholic, Gaelic speaking glen of the Western Highlands and in Barra. She notes and deplores the decay of the old Gaelic way of life in the Highlands.

Next I shall mention **The Catholic Church in Scotland in Modern Times** (London: Burns Oates, 1938) by Peter F. Anson. This is where we Irish come in. For though the Faith survived in remote glens in various parts of the Highlands, it is the Irish in Glasgow and elsewhere who now form the solid nucleus of the Church in Scotland. Wonderful indeed is the story of the revival as here related. What of the language itself? Irishmen would do well to read Mr. John Lorne Campbell's little book **Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life** (Edinburgh: W. and A. K. Johnston 1945). In 1931 it appears, the percentage of Gaelic speakers in Scotland was only two. This state of things, he maintains, is not consistent with the position of Gaelic as the original national language of Scotland.

(To be continued).

GALLOWAY

Galloway is the name of one of the old provinces of Scotland. It comprises Wigtonshire and Kirkcudbrightshire together with parts of Dumfries-shire and Ayrshire. It is that part of Scotland which is nearest to Ireland and the Isle of Man. Anyone who stands on a good vantage point on the Cumbrian shore of the Solway, such as the Brows at Maryport, on a day of good visibility, can see almost the whole of the southern coast of Galloway stretching away westwards until the further headlands merge into the sea and sky. Such a view makes one realise vividly that here is the route that led the early tribes to within sight of Ireland. One has but to follow the northern coast of the Solway to the Mull of Galloway to be in sight of the green hills of Erin across Sruth na Maoile, and resting like a cloud on the sea to the southward is seen Ellan Vannin.

This south-western 'province is one of the most Gaelic and Celtic of all Scotland, a fact well attested by its placenames. These placenames are not of any ancient type, but are descriptive in easily understood vernacular Gaelic, like 'Allfornought', i.e. Ail Fornocht; or 'Barsolus', (Barr Soluis), or Kirminnoch' (Ceathramh meadhonach) or 'Armnannoch' (Earran na Mannach). An interesting name is 'Belgaverie', in New Luce. This would be 'Baile Geamhraidh' in Scottish Gaelic, but the Galloway name suggests rather the Irish 'Baile Geimhradh'.

The Latinised name of this province is 'Galwedia', and this may be compared with 'Argadia', the Latinised form of Oirear Gaidhil or Argyle.

Galloway, by changing the **Gh** sound to **w**, and omitting the last **l**, as is usual in Scots, comes to us from Gall Ghaedhil. The change of **Gh** to a **w** sound occurs even in Gaelic, for in "Sgéal Sheaghain", as published in "Cruach Chonaill", we find "do mhona is do mhornán" where we usually find "do dhonas is do dhothairne." **Dh** and **Ch** have the same sound.

These Gall Ghaedhil, or Foreign Gaels, are mentioned first in the year 852 A.D., when Aedh, king of Aileach, gave battle to their fleet. Maelsechlainn was High King of Ireland at that time and this Aedh was a rival who waged war against him with the help of the Norsemen. The Gall-Ghaedhil were the allies of the High King, Maelsechlainn. They are mentioned again as helping the High King in 856 A.D. Aedh is recorded as having defeated them in Tyrone in the same year.

In 857 the Norsemen defeated the Gall-Ghaedhil in Munster. These records show us the Gall Ghaedhil as coming to Ireland in ships to fight for Maelsechlainn against Aedh and the Norsemen.

Feilire Oengusa, for April 17, has this note on St. Donnán of Eigg. "Téit iarum Donnán cona tuinntib in Gallgaidelu ocus Cendtiri ina comar immuigh". (Aldasain, is a rock between Gall Ghaedhil and Kintyre, opposite to them outside, i.e. in the sea). This is Creag Ealasaid, or Ealasaid a' Chuain, Ailsa Crag, also known as "Paddy's Milestone."

In the year 1034 A.D. Suibne son of Cinaeth, king of the Gall-Ghaedhil died. Rollant Mac Uchtraigh, king of the Gall Ghaedhil, died in 1199, and his successor, the last to be styled king, Ailin mac Uchtraigh, died in 1234 A.D.

In these records, as Skene long ago pointed out to a heedless generation, the term Gall-Ghaedhil denotes the territory, not the people, and denotes Galloway, mentioned above, is commemorated in the placename 'Dalnacallen', in the parish of Glencairn, Dumfriesshire. The name is the Gaelic 'Dail Mac Ailin."

The Kings of the Gall-Ghaedhil are mentioned in "Acallamh na Senorach", where they are made contemporaries of Fionn Mac Cumhaill. This indicates that at the time of the compilation of the Acallamh the Gaels of Erin recognised Galloway as a province of Gaeldom.

Though like many others of the Children of the Gael, the descendants of the Gall-Ghaedhil have lost their Gaelic, their ancestry and their history prove them to be Gaels and Celts, and that Gaelic is their ancestral speech. Indeed it is scarcely yet forgotten completely, for in place-names and in words in common use such as **Rinns** and **Machars** it is still living on the lips of the people, and we can hope that the old speech of the Gall-Ghaedhil may yet be revived by the "Wild Scots o' Gallowa'," wild because they refused to submit to English kings.

Tomas Mac Neacail.

ORAN FEIN-RIAGHLAIDH.

Air Fonn:- "Failte Dhuit"

Seisd:-
Fáilte do na cinnich uasal
D'an bu dual a bhi treun;
Nuair a ni na Gaidheil ghuasad
Bheir iad buaidh 's na h-uile ceum.

Rann:-
Failte air feadh na Gaidhealtachd,
Failte do mo dhúthaich fein—;
An fháilte chuirinn thar nan cuaintean,
Soraidh bhuam do thir nan geug

Cumaibh-sa mu'n cuairt a' chuibhle,
Leis na puincean agaibh fein,
'S bheir sibh parlamaid à Sasunn
'S gheibh sibh laghan ceart d'a réir.

Rachaibh gualainn ri gualainn
'S bheir sibh buaidh air luchd an fheidh;
'S cuiridh sibh na tourists dhachaidh,
'S gheibh sibh na srathan dhuibh fhein.

'S gheibh sibh rithist air ais na frithean
A bha aig bhur sinnsear fein,
'S theid gach fear ann mach le ghunna
'S cha bhi cunnart dha no beud.

Gheibh na Gaidheal mar bu chóir dhaibh
Cothrom sealg air cróic an fheidh;
'S marbhaidh iad bradain 's ruadh-chearc
'S cha chuir uachdaran orr' eis.

Gheibh sibh achaidhean is roeointean
Gheibh sibh caoraich agus spréidh;
'S cha tig siorra mu Fheill Mhartainn,
A thogail a' mháil 'n a dheidh.

Soraidh bhuam do Sgire Ghearr-Loch
Tir nan armunn 's nam fear treun;
Taobh Loch-iubh an Ioubhar Asdail,
'S ann a dh'araicheadh mi fhein.

Chaidh an dan laghach so a dh'fheuilseachadh anns a' bhliadhna 1916, ann an paipear-naigheachd ris an abrar 'Greetings,' ann am Port Hood, ann anan Canada.

—T. MacN.

Wales wants to control her own Broadcasting.

An uncommon degree of agreement has been reached in Wales in support of the demand for an independent Welsh Broadcasting Corporation.

The whole issue of the future of broadcasting in Britain—which is at present a State monopoly with a certain degree of administrative devolution to local "regions", among which are included the nations of Wales and Scotland—is now under consideration, and the Beveridge Commission appointed for the purpose has received evidence from the Welsh members of Parliament and other national bodies criticising the inadequacy of present arrangements from the Welsh point of view.

It is estimated that 70% of Welsh local authorities have passed resolutions demanding that an independent Welsh Broadcasting Corporation be set up.

The same demand has been made by Welsh Members of Parliament of all Parties in a Memorandum presented to the Beveridge Commission in April.

"The present provisions for broadcasting in Wales are most inadequate," they state. "Much of the broadcasting of the Welsh Region is no more related to Wales than to, say, the people of Lancashire and Durham. We are forced to accept this as inevitable as long as ultimate control is vested in the remote and somewhat alien centre—London."

A Memorandum prepared by Plaid Cymru (Welsh Nationalist Party) was presented to the Beveridge Commission by Mr. Gwynfor Evans, president of the Party, and Mr. J. E. Jones, its Organising Secretary. This Memorandum also makes the demand for self-government in broadcasting.

After referring to the strong influence which the BBC has had in destroying the language and culture of Wales, the nationalist Memorandum deals extensively with the economic aspects of the claim for a Welsh Broadcasting Corporation.

At present, it states, only two-thirds of the money paid by licence-holders is spent on broadcasting: the remaining third is taken by the Government. This is compared with the position in Norway, as an example of a small self-governing nation. There the total income from licenses is £695,000 and of this £632,000 is spent on broadcasting. In Wales, nearly £600,000 is paid each year for licenses, which means that a Welsh Broadcasting Corporation could have more than four times the income available for broadcasting in Ireland, for instance. At present probably no more than £200,000 is spent on broadcasting in Wales, although the BBC will not divulge the detailed figures.

Further evidence in support of Welsh self-government "on the air" is to be presented to the Beveridge Commission by Undeb Cymru Fydd, the national cultural body which, as reported elsewhere in this issue, is sponsoring the national campaign for a Parliament for Wales.

No Capital for Wales!

Asked in the House of Commons by Mr. David Llewellyn, a Conservative Member of Parliament for Cardiff, whether the government will now accord official recognition to Cardiff as capital of Wales, Mr. Attlee replied in the negative.

EDUCATION IN NATIONALISM IV.

(Continued from page 3).

The lowest political unit will be the church area or parish. The Parish Prefect will be its elected ruler . . . The Parish Prefects who have themselves been elected by veto vote will proceed to elect similarly from their own number the County Chief. Likewise these County Chiefs will elect one of themselves as National "Monarch." But in the new world we may no longer stop here. The National Monarchs could likewise appoint a sub-regional ruler. So too, for regional rulers and sub-continental rulers, and finally a World Arbiter.

When a ruler is chosen for a higher rank in the political hierarchy his electors meet immediately to fill the vacated position.

If any ruler from Parish Prefect to World Arbiter is confronted with a difficult situation, he will summon his electors to conference with him; but as an advisory body only, for the ruler's word will ever be final.

The tendency will be to devolve power to the minor rulers and the smaller areas. Thus the parish will become much more self governing. The county also will get greater powers, and may, perhaps, in many ways, replace the old national government. Our counties will be the size of the city states of ancient Greece and of mediaeval Italy. This appears to be the ideal extent for separate governments, for never in history were the achievements of these two groups equalled.

Parishes will finance county government and counties national government. So too for sub-regional, regional, sub-continental, and world governments.

Every ruler from Parish Prefect to World Arbiter will step out as manager, removable at will, the ablest civil-servant available to supervise all administration and legislation in his area. Each manager will take expert advice; for instance, the National Manager might consult the three most experienced members of each government department. He will also be in constant communication with the leading men of the various industrial guilds.

Every ruler through his manager will ordinarily have absolute power over legislation and administration in his area, but he may be recalled by a practically unanimous vote of his electors (say 90%).

Standing apart from the regular hierarchy like the Hansa of the Middle Ages, any group can elect a representative by veto vote to look after some common interest, for instance a group of parishes, or a group of counties, County Chief or national monarch respectively supervising his activities. Other nations may look to Ireland, the founder of National Sinn Fein to guide them in this vast extension of Griffith's mighty concept.

WILLIAM FERRIS
(from the "Story of Man")

TRATHNONA.

Nuair' rithann dubh le bán is liath,
Nuair thuiteann drúcht ar bhainsigh féir,
Nuair' fhileann cuach chun suain i gcoin,—
Filim féin abhaile.

Nuair' leagann grian le Gé a drom,
Nuair' lasann Dia an réaltanrang,
Nuair' fhanann iasc go seinh i nabhainn,—
Filim féin abhaile.

Nuair a leanann fread a mودhaire caoin,
Nuair a sealann beith a bhirtheach-laoi,
Nuair a beagtar cénáit 'na fod i ndig,—
Filim féin abhaile.

PADRAIG O MORAIN.

ASSERTING ITSELF.

The increased attention generally given by the Press in Ireland to the interceltic cause or to matters concerning other Celtic countries unmistakably shows that the interest which they muster is growing. That everyone does not think or feel alike about those questions is granted, but the fact that they are discussed prove that they cannot be any longer ignored.

The inter-Celtic meeting at Bun Ianghaire on Easter Mon., was the subject of extensive reports.

The "Irish Independent".

In March, the "Irish Independent" published an interview with a Breton refugee from French persecution and settled at Bray, about his work in Celtic art and his views on national questions; this drew a reply in the same paper from a Frenchman who tried to pour in some of the French stock-in-trade about Brittany, affecting for the benefit of the Irish public a debonnaire tone — unusual for his kin when dealing with Breton men or things; this was followed by a short but pointed Breton reply.

"Indiu"

Is oth linn a radh gur foilsiodh alt nimhneach, frithCheilteach in 'Indiu' (14/4/50). Fuair sé treagra cumasach sa chead eagran eile in a dhiaidh sin.

A long article in the weekly Gaelic paper "Indiu" strongly criticised inter-Celtic action on the main plea that it was diverting time and efforts which could be more efficiently spent on matters of cultural interest. The article was very poor both with regard to information, views and judgment. It gave an impression of thickness, heaviness, short vision; lacking in idealism and faulty in its eagerness for realism; un-Celtic and un-Irish in spirit and make-up. It was replied to in the following issue of "Indiu" and far more could be said about it for the benefit of the writer, who may have purposely written this clumsy piece to provoke the right reaction in the readers' minds.

"Comhar"

We are publishing elsewhere in this issue two replies to an article published in "Comhar", the Gaelic students' monthly, on the 1916 insurrection and which partly referred to Brittany.

For those of us who suffer from an inferiority complex.

"I am not a Celt, but I have the deepest interest in the Celts and their tradition and history and would like to support them. I also think that they may be destined for a great future."

(From an English correspondent).

"LAND TENURE"

The quotation "We declare...." under the headline **"Land Tenure"** which appeared in our last issue (page 4, col. 2) should have been signed with the name of the original publishers of the quotation: "International Conference for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade."

This was allowed to slip off when going to press.

MANX SURNAMES

"Dyfed" writes from Wales: "The list of Cornish surnames still to be found in the Old Duchy, proved so interesting that I hope to see a similar list as regards Ellin Vannin sent in to "An Aimsir" by a Manx patriot. I have read that half the population of the Island is now English, chiefly from Lancashire, but trust that is incorrect and that in country districts, the Celt still remains."

Informations concerning this will be given in our next issue. Meantime, we can reassure our reader that the position is not quite as bad as what she read with regard to the proportion of English resident population in the island.

Bretons in the Far East.

That everyone has a right to express his opinions is one of the articles of the "Charta of human rights" signed by the French delegates at the Palais de Chaillot in Dec. 1948.

That does not apply, of course, to Breton Nationalists, and not to be aware of this restriction, might have brought some inconvenience to the secretary of the Breton Association in Saigon (French Indo-China). A soldier in the French expeditionary forces, he had indulged in non-political activities in the breton colony there and got the criminal idea of publishing the protest sent about Brittany by the Celtic Congress of Bangor to the Meeting of Strassburg in the monthly duplicated sheet. He has now been sent to one of the most dangerous outposts of South Annam and it is hoped that some kind of an accident will soon put an end to his undesirable activities.

If you demand that Breton be taught . . .

Because it is part of France's values:

You are laughed at (and you deserve it) as a reactionary who is walking backwards . . . .

Because it is right that children be taught in their own language:

You are viewed with suspicion and curtly told that French is THE language of all Frenchmen whose duty and interests it is to learn. . . . . .

Because it is the language of Breton nation which ought not to be let die:

Then, you are reminded of the punishments provided for those who air views in sympathy with the secession of a part of the French territory.

BRETON COURSES IN DUBLIN.

Press reports about "Cromh-Choiste na b-Preimhin" as to its being an Irish-Breton association were not correct. It is a Gaelic Society and it has lately opened a course of Breton lessons.

A FEW CELTIC EVENTS.

May 25/27: Glasgow Mod.
May 27/June 3: Isle of Man Drama Festival, Douglas.
July 5: Tynwald ceremony, 1000 year-old open air parliament, Isle of Man.
July 8: Pardon Locronan (S. W. Brittany).
July 26: Pardon Stez. Anna Wened (St. Anne d'Auray),
Aug.—Welsh Nat. Eisteddfod.
Aug. 4/7: Congress of the Bleun Brug at Kastel Paol (St. Pold de Leon).
Aug. 5: Pardon Huelgoat.
Aug. 15: Pardon Ar Folgoet (N. W. Brittany).
Aug. 15/Sept. 8: Pardon an Dreinded, Rumengol (W.)
Aug. 26: Pardon St. Ann Palud (S.W.)
Aug. 28/Sept. 3: Inter-celtic Congress, Truro, Cornwall.
"The historical connections between the Celts".
Dramatic plays,
Cornish, Welsh, Irish.
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Dyna oedd un o benderfyniadau pwysicaf Pwyllgor Gwaith y Blaid pan gyfarfu yn Aberystwyth wedi'r Pasg. Yr oedd y benderfyniad yn ganlyniad i drafodaeth galonogol a buddiol ar wersi'r Etholiad Cyffredinol.

Yr oedd pawb yn gytun bod y Blaid wedi llwyddo i wneud argraff ddofn ar nifer helaeth o'r etholwyr, ac adroddwyd bod nifer da o aelodau newydd wedi ymuno ymhob etholaeth lle safodd ymgeisydd cenedlaethol, a bod nifer o ganghennau newydd eisoes wedi eu sefydlu.

Dywedodd un o'r ymgeiswyr, Mr. Kitchener Davies (Gorllewin Rhondda) fod rhagfarnau cryfion o hyd yn erbyn y Blaid —rhagfarnau a feithrinir yn awchus gan elynion Cymru. Ond yr oedd y rhagfarnau hyn cael eu graddol ddileu, ac erbyn hyn cai'r Blaid dderbyniad gwell ymhobman nag erioed yn ei hanes.

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ARRANE ASHOONAGH DY MANNIN.

O Hailleo nyn ghooie
O Chliegeen ny o'bwaaie
Ry gheddyn er ooir aalin Yee,
Ta dt'Ardstoyl Reill-Thie
Myr Baarool er ny hoie
Dy reayll shin ayns seyrsnys as shee.

Tra Gorree yn Dane
Haink er Haie ec y Lhane,
Son Ree Mannin v'he er ny reih;
'S va creenaght veih Heose
Er ny chur huggey neose
Dy reill harrin lesh cairys as graih.

Ren nyn ayryn g'imraa,
Va Nooghyn shenn traa
Yn Sushtal dy Hee fockley magh.
Shegin yeearree peccoil
Myr far aileyn Vaal
Ve er ny chur mow son dy bragh.

Vec ooasle yn Theihll
Ayns creoighys tooilleil
Ta traaue oour as faarkey, Gow cree—
Ny jarrood yn fer mie
Ta coadey 'n lught-thie
Reu tooilleil liorish Logh Galilee.

D'eiyr yn sterrm noon as noal
Yn baatey beg moal,
Fo-hârey hug Eh geay as keayn.
Troold ooilley nyn ghaue
Ta'n Saualtagh ec laue
Dy choadey nyn Vannin veg veen.

Lhig dorrinyn brâ,
Troggal seose nyn goraa,
As brishey magh ayns ard arrane;
Ta nyn groink aalin glass,
Yn vooir cummal ass,
As coadey lught-thie as shioltane.

Nyn Ellan fo-hee,
Cha boir noidyn ee,
Dy bishee nyn eeastyn as grain;
Nee'n Chiarn shin y reayll
Voish strieughyn yntheihll,
As croonnagh lesh shee'n ain . . . . .

Ligh dooin boggoil bee
Lesh annym as cree
As croghey er gialdyn yn Chiarn;
Dy vodmayd dagh oor,
Treishteil er e phoaar,
Dagh olk ass nyn annueenyn 'hayrn.

SINN FEIN.

The inhabitants of Lewis and Harris, one of the outer Hebridean islands, had petitioned the London Government for years to make the neighbouring island of Berneray accessible at all times by constructing a causeway between the two islands. Tired of official neglect, the islanders have decided in despair to raise the funds by means of concerts etc. . . . . .

Children's Corner.

A prize of 1/- will be posted to any child up to 12 years old who will point out the three glaring incorrections contained in a letter received at this office which stated that someone "at Quimper, France, wanted an English newspaper, "The Celtic Times", published in Wales, at Cork."

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MANX NATIONAL ANTHEM.

(Translation)

O Land of our birth,
O gem of God's earth,
O Island so strong and so fair;
Built firm as Barrool
(Manx mountain)
Thy throne of Home Rule
Makes us free as thy sweet mountain air.

When Arry the Dane,
In Mannin did reign,
'Twas said he had come from above;
For wisdom from Heav'n
To him had been giv'n
To rule us with justice and love.

Our fathers have told
How Saints came of old
Proclaiming the Gospel of Peace;
That sinful desires
Like Galse Baal fires,
Must die ere our troubles can cease.

Ye sons of the soil,
In hardship and toil,
That plough both the land and the sea,
Take heart while you can,
And think of the Man
Who toiled by the Lake Galilee.

When fierce tempests smote
That frail little boat,
They ceased at His gentle command;
Despite all our fear,
The Saviour is near
To safeguard our dear Fatherland.

Let storm-winds rejoice,
And lift up their voice,
No danger our homes can befall;
Our green hills and rocks
Encircle our flocks,
And keep out the sea like a wall

Our Island, thus blest,
No foe can molest;
Our grain and our fish shall increase;
From battle and sword
Protecteth the Lord,
And crowneth our Nation with peace.

Then let us rejoice
With heart, soul and voice,
And in the Lord's promise confide;
That each single hour
We trust in His Power
No evil our souls can betide.

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Words by W. H. Gill and J. J. Kneen.

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In the course of a conversation between a well known Irish public man of high moral standing and a Minister of State in Dublin some time ago, the Broken nationalist cause was incidentally mentioned.

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"If they have not," replied the other, "their children or their grandchildren may get it."

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