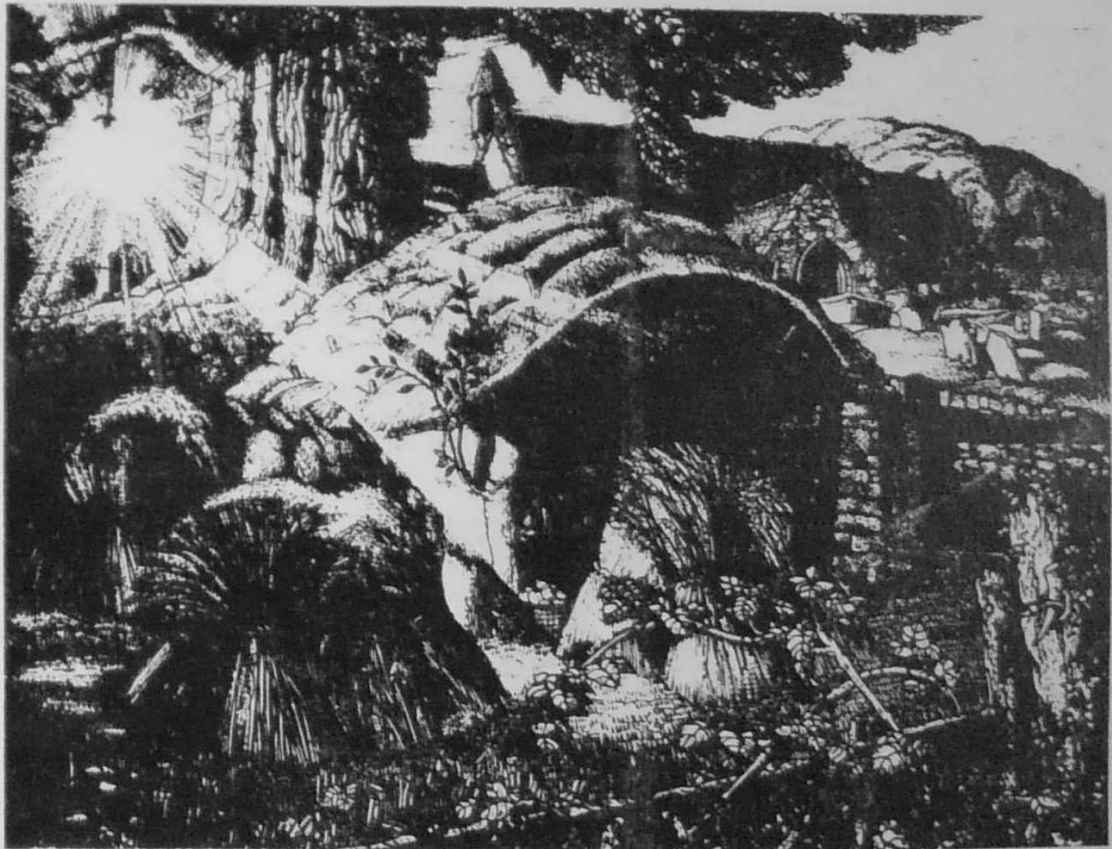


ketica

THE INTER-CELTIC QUARTERLY

Sean MacBride - Tynwald - Galloway - Irish Odyssey



VOLUME 1, NUMBER 1

WINTER, 1979-80

keltica

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EXECUTIVE EDITORS:

Kevin Dixon Gilligan
Ruth Hamilton Burke

ART DIRECTOR:

Margot Maria De Chatelaine

MANAGING EDITOR:

Mary Watson

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:

Cristóir Donnán
Barry Fall
Peter J. Garfall
Andy Nagy
Yann Plunier
Johann Wutscher

SOCIETY LOGO AND TYPOGRAPHY:

Patrick Collins

PUBLISHER:

Society of Inter-Celtic Arts and Culture

Printed by
ASMARÁ PRINTING COMPANY
Boston



KELTICA (ISSN 0192-1207) is published quarterly and entered as third-class matter at Boston, Mass. Subscriptions: one year — \$15, two years — \$25.00, single issue — \$4.50 (outside U.S.A. add \$5.00 per issue). Unsolicited manuscripts and art work are welcome, but must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Contributors should retain copies of their work. Unless prior copyright © is indicated, reproduction of material in *KELTICA* is permitted, provided the source is acknowledged and the journal's address is indicated. Address all communications to: *KELTICA*, 96 Marguerite Ave., Waltham, Mass. 02154, USA.

KELTICA is published and distributed by the Society of Inter-Celtic Arts and Culture, a non-profit, educational organization exempt from Federal income tax under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. Contributions to the Society, including subscriptions to *KELTICA*, may be considered tax-deductible.

Illustration Credits — Front Cover *Martin's Hovel* etching by Robin Tanner; 3 Patrick Collins; 16, 17, 25-28, 34, 42-44, 51, 61, 63, 65, 67, 71, 80, 85, 90 M.M. De Chatelaine; 17, 21 Amnesty International; 33 Leonard Baskin; 46 Irish National Museum, Dublin; 53 Marx National Museum, Douglas; 91 Jos Le Doare; 92 Black Jokers; 93 Kristin Eviy; 94 Peter J. Garfall; 95, 98 Book of Kells; 99 Plant Life Records; 105 Judith Townsend; Back Cover pen and ink by Ira Candiotti, untitled.

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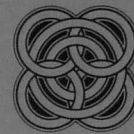
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SOCIETY OF INTER-CELTIC ARTS AND CULTURE

The Society of Inter-Celtic Arts and Culture is a non-profit, tax-exempt educational organization, working to promote greater awareness and understanding of Celtic civilization as a whole, and to encourage inter-Celtic activities and co-operative endeavors throughout the world.

The Society is an international organization which seeks to provide a focus of attention and activity for all groups and individuals concerned with Celtic civilization, through the establishment of permanent media for cultural and educational exchange between North America and Celtic Europe.

The Society asserts that Celtic civilization, ancient and contemporary, has not received consideration commensurate with its achievements, influence and extent. We therefore propose:

- To compile and publish an international directory of Celtic organizations, educational materials descriptive of Celtic civilization, and a quarterly inter-Celtic journal.
- To establish in North America a yearly festival of Celtic arts and culture, which will explore and present the various regional, historical and contemporary expressions of the Celtic heritage.
- To maintain permanently on the festival grounds, an archetypal Celtic village based on European archaeological sites, a gallery for the exhibition of Celtic arts and crafts, a center for the performing arts, and an institute for the study of ancient and modern Celtic culture.
- To promote through these and other activities the restoration of the Celtic languages and Celtic culture generally in the Celtic countries.

IRELAND/ÉIRE • SCOTLAND/ALBA • WALES/CYMRU • CORNWALL/ KERNOW • ISLE OF MAN/MANNIN • BRITTANY/BREIZH

NORTH AMERICA

WELSH SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA

Like William Penn himself, many of the early settlers of Pennsylvania were of Welsh origin or descent. In Philadelphia the Welsh were so numerous, in fact, that as late as 1730 local newspapers carried advertisements in Welsh.

Known originally as the Society of Ancient Britons, the Welsh Society of Philadelphia was one of the very first groups organized in the New World to provide advice and assistance to newly arrived countrymen. The Philadelphia Gazette gave notice of its foundation on St. David's Day, 1729: "We are informed that several Gentlemen and other Persons of Reputation, of the honorable Stock of ancient Bretons (sic), design to erect themselves into a Society, to meet together annually on the first day of March, or St. David's Day." Accordingly, the following week it was reported that "many Gentlemen and others of the ancient Bretons met, and walk'd in a regular Order with Leeks in their Hats to the Church, where was preach'd in the old British language (as it's said), an excellent Sermon . . ."

The commemoration of Dewi Sant has been observed on every succeeding March 1st by the Welsh Society of Philadelphia. Of late, the service in Welsh and English has drawn overflow crowds to the Arch Street Presbyterian Church, and has featured choirs and soloists of international stature. Since 1968 the Society has also conducted St. David's Day exercises at the Welsh plaque on the east facade of Philadelphia's City Hall. The plaque, which was designed and donated by the Welsh Society, is inscribed:

Perpetuating the Welsh heritage, and commemorating the vision and virtue of the following Welsh patriots in the founding of the City, Commonwealth and Nation. William Penn, 1644-1718, proclaimed freedom of religion, and planned New Wales, later named Pennsylvania. Thomas Jefferson, 1743-1826, third President of the United States, composed the Declaration of Independence. Robert Morris, 1734-1806, foremost financier of the American Revolution and signer of the Declaration of Independence. Gouverneur Morris, 1752-1816, wrote the final draft of the Constitution of the United States. John Marshall, 1755-1835, Chief Justice of the United States and father of American constitutional law.

For over 250 years the Welsh Society of Philadelphia has worked for the preservation of the Welsh heritage in North America. The Society assists immigrants to the United States from Wales, sponsors Welsh singing festivals (*Gymnfa Ganu*), holds discussions of Welsh history and culture, maintains archives, and annually bestows awards to outstanding Americans of Welsh descent.

Professor Edward G. Hartmann, a member of the Society and author of the definitive work, *Americans from Wales*, will soon be publishing a brief history of the organization. Additional information may be obtained from the Welsh Society of Philadelphia's Secretary, Daniel E. Williams, 450 Broadway, Camden, N.J., 08103.

To America's oldest Cymric and Celtic organization the Inter-Celtic Society extends a hearty *Llongyfarchiadau!*

AMERICAN SCOTTISH FOUNDATION

Founded in 1956, the American Scottish Foundation currently comprises over 6,000 members of Scottish descent united to build new bonds of friendship and co-operation between the Scottish and American people, to preserve the Scottish heritage, and to bring into one general national association as large a percentage as possible of the more than 22 million Americans of Scottish descent. The primary goal of the foundation is to establish Scotland House in New York City to serve as a cultural, educational, social and informational center for Scotland in the U.S., and as headquarters for members of the foundation.

The foundation participates in the annual Conference of Scottish Youth Leaders in the U.S., and sponsors Scotland Week, featuring the Scottish Ball, every Autumn; maintains a Speakers Bureau and Committees on Education, Medicine and Fashion; bestows the Sir William Wallace Award annually; and publishes the *Scotia News* ten times a year. The latter is chiefly a networking organ for Scottish-American social and cultural groups and clan societies, but regularly features an article on Scottish culture or history as well as Scottish language exercises. Inquiries concerning the foundation should be directed to: American Scottish Foundation, P.O. Box 537, Lenox Hill Station, NY 10021.

Cumann na Gaeilge i mBoston

As a result of the voluntary efforts of Boston's Irish Language Society, there are perhaps more people studying Irish in the Boston area than anywhere else in North America. In addition to a full range of Irish courses, from introductory to advanced levels, the *Cumann na Gaeilge* sponsors courses in Irish genealogy and history, Celtic literature, Scots Gaelic and Welsh; holds monthly meetings and luncheon circles; and assists in the production of Irish dance and music concerts, radio programs and religious services. Commencing this October, the society will contribute an Irish language page to the monthly *Boston Irish News*, and will conduct a series of slide-lectures on Irish life at Emmanuel College, Boston. Dues for membership in the *Cumann na Gaeilge* are \$10 for individuals and \$15.00 for couples.

Afternoon and evening Irish classes have begun in the following locations, but many are still open to new students: West Roxbury, Boston, Dorchester, South Boston, Norwood, Hingham, Brockton, Worcester, Burlington and Peabody. For further information call 326-3944, or write P.O. Box 164, Dedham, MA 02026.

GAELTACT

For the modest sum of one dollar a year Irish-language readers may subscribe to *Gaeltact*, a monthly four-page newsletter of history, literature and current events. *Gaeltact* was originally the newsletter of the New Orleans Gaelic Society, but under editor Sanford Etheridge, a Classics Professor at Tulane University, it has secured an international readership as the only all-Irish periodical currently published in North America. *Gaeltact*, Dept. of Classics, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA 70118.

IRISH FAMILY HISTORY SOCIETY

The Irish Family History Society is a non-profit, educational organization, founded in 1976 to promote the study of Irish genealogy and related Irish subjects. Membership is open to anyone interested in Irish genealogy and comprises some 250 individuals at present. Annual dues are \$5.00. The society maintains a substantial library at its headquarters in Newton, Mass., and publishes the "Irish Family History Newsletter," five times a year. Members also receive the "Newsletter of the Institute of Family History and Genealogy," covering genealogical news in eastern Massachusetts and New England. For members in eastern Massachusetts, the society holds regular meetings at the Waltham Public Library (Oct. 26th, Nov. 30th, Dec. 14th), the Lawrence Public Library (Oct. 5th, Dec. 7th) and at Stonehill College (Nov. 15th, Dec. 20th). All meetings begin at 7:00 p.m.

Recent society projects include an index to articles in Irish genealogical publications, research into Irish surnames and place names, and the compiling and indexing of ancestor charts and surname files of society members. Joseph M. Glynn, Jr., Director and Librarian of the society, has written a 100-page *Manual for Irish Genealogy*, which is available for \$11.00. Softbound copies of Edward MacLysaght's *Surnames of Ireland* may also be obtained from the Society for \$7.00. Mail orders must include \$1.00 per book for postage and handling (Mass. residents add 5% Sales Tax). Orders and inquiries should be addressed to the Irish Family History Society, 173 Tremont St., Newton, MA 02158. Tel: (617) 965-0939.

The society has sponsored many courses and lecture programs at area colleges and libraries, and will be offering "An Introduction to Irish Genealogy" this Fall at Rhode Island College. Nine classes will be held on Tuesday evenings from 7:00-9:30, commencing October 16th, conducted by Mr. Glynn. Students will learn how to trace their ancestors to their exact place of origin in

Ireland, even if emigration took place during the Great Famine of the 1840s. Irish church, census, court, land and civil records will be covered, as well as relevant nineteenth century New England records.

IRISH STUDIES AT STONEHILL COLLEGE

Stonehill College offers an inter-disciplinary minor in Irish Studies for undergraduate students, consisting of six courses (18 credits) with three courses in Irish Literature and three courses in Irish History or Social Science. In 1978 Stonehill started the Stonehill-University College Dublin Exchange Program, which is open both to Stonehill students and to students in other American colleges and universities who apply through Stonehill.

The following Irish Studies courses are offered in a two-year cycle: Anglo-Irish Literature, Irish Novel, James Joyce, Irish Dramatic Movement, Irish-American Literature, Irish Language and Mythology, History of Ireland, Irish Society and Irish Political Science. Brochures are available for Stonehill's Irish Studies Program and for the Stonehill-UCD Exchange Program. For further information contact: Frank Phelan, Director, Irish Studies, Stonehill College, Easton, MA 02356.

THE BRETONS IN CANADA

As a Breton saying goes: "*E-lac'h ma tremen an heol a dremen ar breizhad*/where the sun passes, Bretons also pass". It is not surprising, therefore, to find some Bretons in Canada. But what role have they played in its discovery? and what role have they played and are they still playing in its settlement? Finally what role can they play, as a group, or jointly with other Celts, on a short and a long term basis?

The first contribution of Bretons to Canada was in its discovery. We know that this country was officially discovered by the Breton, Jacques Cartier, in 1534; but what is less well known is that many other Bretons came before him, among them Coatanlem who met Christopher Columbus in 1484 and is said to have told him about the New World. Another contribution was made in 1511 when Jeanne de Castille sent Jean d'Agramonte to Brittany to recruit Breton pilots to sail westward, probably toward Newfoundland. One can also mention a map drawn by the Portuguese Fagundes and dated 1520, 14 years before the Jacques Cartier trip. On this map one can read "Cap Breton" and "Belle-Ide".

To me these three facts alone indicate that Bretons came to Canada before Jacques Cartier. The Breton Louis Kervran, goes much farther and claims that Celts came to North America 1000 years before Christopher Columbus, and he quotes to support his thesis, Norwegian Sagas written around 1180. These Sagas say that crossing the North Atlantic was common practice at that time and, what is more important for our purpose, that Celts already had established settlements in America.

The second contribution of Bretons to Canada has been in its settlement. Three large waves of migration can be easily identified. But if these migrations were important for Brittany, they do not appear that significant, numerically at least, for Canada. From 1534 to 1763 some Bretons came to New France. It seems that at the very beginning of the colony they



THE NORTH AMERICAN WELSH NEWSPAPER

Every month *Ninnau* publishes recent Welsh news from Canada, the United States and Wales, together with information on upcoming events. *Ninnau* also features commentaries on subjects of current interest and serves as a forum for individual expression regarding matters affecting the North American Welsh community.

The paper is in its fourth year of publication and has an established readership of over 3,000 people. It is produced by an editorial council comprising some sixty representatives from Welsh communities in Canada, the U.S., Wales and Patagonia. *Ninnau* also reciprocates with other Welsh periodicals in North America.

A one-year subscription to *Ninnau* costs \$6.00; six-month trial subscriptions are \$4.00. *Ninnau* Publications, 11 Post Terrace, Basking Ridge, NJ 07920.

formed a relatively high percentage of the immigrants since a study of the population indicates that, in 1628, of 153 persons whose origin is known, 25 were Bretons. But other studies covering the 17th century mention 4% and 3.3% of those who immigrated to New France as being Breton and 8% is quoted for the period of 1700 to 1770.

The percentage of Bretons was therefore small and the percentage of those who spoke Breton must have been still smaller since they have left little trace of their language or their culture. Even Breton craftsmen were scarce. There is a very small Breton influence on furniture and houses; nothing very important. Nevertheless, it is possible that Breton immigration during that period was more important than statistics show. In any case, popular tradition says so, for a lot of Quebecers claim that they are of Breton origin. Where does that conviction come from? I feel it has been inculcated in them by the many priests, nuns and friars who came to Quebec during the 19th and 20th centuries, or by the genealogical institutes, which did not hesitate to invent origins for those whose genealogical tree was incomplete.

Then what can we trust? Patronyms? These are useless. Girls changed their surnames when they got married and men often changed theirs too when they came here. Can we rely on written records of birth, marriages and death? Partly only, since many documents have been lost or destroyed by fire. I, myself, became interested in sales and work contracts as a possible source of information. By compiling them I confirmed two hypotheses which seem to me to be very plausible. The first was that very few immigrants bearing Breton names came to Canada. Secondly, I discovered a migratory phenomenon which has not yet been studied. This is that some Breton fishermen came to the Grand Banks of Newfoundland with their families, or a part of them. While men were fishing, women and children were landed ashore where they proceeded to smoke the fish, an operation which, for obvious reasons could not be done on board. What happened to those families? Have they left any descendants? As nobody has yet researched this field, we do not know how many of these early visitors stayed behind and became settlers.

If the number of Bretons who came to Canada during the period 1534-1763 is not very high, how can we explain it? The reading of work contracts are, on this score, very revealing. Settlers were looking mainly for coopers and carpenters. Coopers came from the French Vineyard regions (therefore outside Brittany) and carpenters from the area of origin of the settlers because the settlers wanted their homes in New France built like the ones they had left in their homeland.

This explanation obviously is only partial. Alan Heussaff has proposed a more global one.

"Perhaps the clearance of new land and the active sea trade provided the most enterprising of our compatriots with sufficient additional employment. Due to their autonomous status our people enjoyed a more liberal regime than the French, and hence perhaps a greater desire to stay in the home country."

Acadia also deserves a special mention, because Alexandre Leborgne, on his father's request, developed the Annapolis Valley by granting land to 45 Breton families bearing Celtic names. It is, as far as we know, one of the rare settlements in Canada in the 17th century which was made of families originating from lower Brittany.

From 1763 to 1867, under the English regime, and even until 1900, only a few French speaking emigrants came to Canada. Some of them were Bretons, who initially settled in St. Pierre & Miquelon; the remainder were missionaries. If the first ones have contributed to settlement in Canada, the second ones have only left Breton names to a few lakes, rivers or villages in areas populated by Indians or Eskimos.

We must wait for the period between 1900 and 1914 to observe a second migratory wave of Bretons to Canada. Indeed, from 1880 on the economic situation deteriorated seriously in Brittany. Numbers of Bretons began to emigrate, mainly to Paris. This alarmed the clergy, for many Bretons abandoned all religious practice when going to that large city. Therefore the clergy looked for means to rectify the situation by organizing Breton immigration to rural areas. When, around 1900, the French state entered into open conflict with the Catholic Church, some religious congregations, expelled from France, took refuge in Canada where they were to have an influence out of all proportion to their number; mainly in Quebec, where the Catholic Church benefitted from an extraordinary prestige, to a point where it was almost a theocratic province.

The coming of these congregations had another effect. Having been made aware by members of their congregations that land was available to immigrants on the Prairies, a few priests, mostly non-Bretons, began to organize the emigration of Bretons to Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan. By doing so they expected to achieve two objectives: to protect the

Catholic faith of the Bretons and to stop the expansion of Protestantism in Western Canada.

If some Breton place names still exist and if Canadians of Breton origin continue to form a relatively important part of the population, unfortunately almost nothing remains of their language and their culture. Much too isolated, they have quickly been assimilated either by the nearest Anglophone or Francophone community.

This wave of immigration stopped in 1910 when the French government decided to abandon its official anti-clerical policy. However in 1945 there was a resumption of Breton immigration based on economic rather than religious grounds and this we may regard as the third wave. In the absence of official statistics, some have put forward the figure of 10,000 people immigrating almost exclusively to Ontario and Quebec between 1945 and 1975. This figure seems realistic.

What remains to be seen, in order to complete our overall view of Breton influence in Canada, is the short and long term influence they might have in the future.

On a short term basis they can introduce to the public the notion of the Celtic origin of the great majority of the population of this country. This could be a useful contribution to Canada's unity. If the Celtic origin of the Irish, Scots, Welsh, Manx, Cornish and Bretons is well known then that of some Belgians, Swiss, Germans, Spanish and French is much less known. Interest in this common origin could perhaps be stimulated. One cannot rely on the French to encourage French-Canadians to discover their true origin and culture. For too long a time Frenchmen have turned their backs on their Celtic heritage. Obviously, they do not come from the Celtic insular branch and, for that reason, are not Celts in the same sense as Scots, Irish or Bretons; but their ancestors were continental Celts, whether they like it or not, since they are all descended from the Gauls. This basic make-up was not changed because a few Gaulish girls gave their favours to some Roman legionnaires.

But what is more important is the invaluable contribution that, on a long term basis, the Bretons, jointly with other Celts, could exert not only on Canada but on the Western World and even on the entire world. Celtic civilisation has been relentlessly attacked, defeated and ignored but contains values our modern world badly needs to counterbalance the ill-fated effects of civilisations which have replaced it, above all the Latin civilisation.

It is well known that people project in their gods the qualities they propose as an ideal to their descendants. And what did we inherit from Rome? Jupiter (etymologically the god of the yoke, the god of slavery), Mars (the god of war) and Janus. Those three gods are ill-fated, and perhaps Janus more than the two others, because Janus is the state, the monster that Celts would have been unable to invent, the one which must see everything and see to everything: alone he is the police and the administration. A people which places such gods at the head of their pantheon can only become, and I quote Pierre Lance, "an anti-nation, an anti-people, an anti-civilisation" and, in fact this is what we have become, after having endured that Latin civilisation for almost 2000 years.

I am not pleading for complete anarchy and the destruction of the state. The only point I want to stress is that the pendulum of Western civilization has moved for too long in the direction given to it by the Romans and it is time for the Celts to give it a push in the other direction, because Celtic civilization which is still alive contains all those values needed to fight the excess of interferences with individual freedom which overwhelms us. Even our weaknesses of the past are our strength today: the clan structure will oppose the oversized state, Celtic individualism will oppose over-powerful government.

The evolution of the world is governed by the interaction of existing civilizations. This is why cultures are so important. This is why Celtic culture has not only to be preserved but encouraged. To be able to influence events Celts must remain what they are because, and I quote again Pierre Lance,

"A man who negates his principal vocation, who forgets his ideal and the dreams of his adolescence prepares his own downfall. A nation which does not live in harmony with its myths of origin, slips into defeat, disorder and decadence. And this is also true for civilizations. The Western World can last only if it remains faithful to Prometheus."

— Yann Plunier

This paper was originally presented by Mr. Plunier, vice-president of the Canadian Celtic Congress, at the symposium "Canada and the Celtic Consciousness," University of Toronto, February 1978.

CAPE BRETON'S MAGAZINE

Even a casual look through any of the 23 issues of the bimonthly *Cape Breton's Magazine* will reveal how thoroughly the magazine lives up to its name. "Devoted to the History, Natural History and Future of Cape Breton Island," it is manifestly a publication of, by, and for the people. Virtually every 'Caper' with a trade or service to offer appears to advertise in it, while those with talents or ideas to share, or interesting stories to tell, real or imagined, can find an audience through its pages. It is a magazine of popular history and culture in the truest sense, written largely in the peoples' own words, be they Micmac, Scots Gaelic, Acadian French or English.

In the most recent issue Lubie Chiasson tells Acadian jokes, the MacDougalls and the Whittys reminisce on their families and their love and gift for singing, in a bilingual Micmac/English article Frank Doucette talks about the physical ruggedness of the Micmac Indians and the hardships they endured a generation ago, Lauchie MacLellan tells a long and original folk tale in Gaelic with an English translation by John Shaw, George MacEachern discusses the coming of the Trade Union Act of 1937, which he helped draft, Johnny MacInnes speaks of the history and methods of lobster fishing in Cape Breton, and Capt. John Parker tells how the Grand Narrows Bridge was built across the Barra Strait in the Bras d'or Lakes. The magazine regularly features articles on Cape Breton wildlife and has published a whole series of "How to . . ." pieces, ranging from the practical, "How to Make Snowshoes," to the domestic, "How to Make Spruce Beer," to the traditional, "How to Card and Spin," to the adventurous, "How to Make Alexander Graham Bell's Winged Cell Tetrahedron Kite" (Bell, though Scottish-born, lived most of his adult life in Baddeck, Cape Breton).

Cape Breton's Magazine is designed with a fine disregard for the formal and technical conventions of professional journalism. The copy is set with an ordinary typewriter on 10 x 14 newspaper stock, the advertisements are pasted in wherever they fit as are the articles, which are not indexed or divided into departments, few pages are numbered, columns are irregular, editorial and publishing information is sketchy and hard to locate; but far from being a drawback, this indifference to 'professional' considerations is a positive attraction. Life, seen whole in a given time and place, cannot be regimented into tidy departments of well-ordered pages with standardized columns and uniform type — and life, all life in Cape Breton, from the life of the raised bog to the life of the eel to the life of Lee Cremo, a Micmac who has become an outstanding Scottish fiddler, is precisely what *Cape Breton's Magazine* is about. The magazine's categorically unprofessional format perfectly suits its role as the voice of a diverse yet tightly-knit island community, which has preserved its historic character and cultural integrity largely because the sterile and dehumanizing aspects of 'professionalism' have counted for little in its common market of kinship and co-operation.

Remote as Cape Breton Island may be from the rest of Canada and the western world, the corrosive effects of the media, tourism, centralized government, and land-profiteering are steadily undermining the island's social, economic and cultural foundations. Families are breaking up — many to resettle in 'the Boston States', traditional livelihoods — fishing, farming, mining — are increasingly untenable, and Gaelic, the island's first language, like Micmac and Acadian, is declining rapidly, since many of the young, being mainlined into the media world, think it old-fashioned and unsophisticated. There is time enough, however, to reverse these trends, and *Cape Breton's Magazine* is playing a crucial part in maintaining the distinctive character of the island and its people. It fully supports the restoration of Gaelic, Micmac and Acadian, yet certainly the magazine's most valuable contribution to Cape Breton's future is the living testament which it provides of the island's past: the past, not as abstracted by the folklorist, historian or local museum, but as lived and recalled by the island's elders. Their pictures alone speak tomes about what words rarely touch: human dignity, spiritual beauty, inner strength, peace of mind, and so forth. One hopes that the way of life their words evoke, rooted firmly in one's land, family, work and pleasures — dancing, singing, storytelling, games, crafts and fairs — will elicit a response equal to the challenge of preserving it for the future. Few American communities can even remember what a heritage is, let alone attempt to preserve one; but, then, how many American communities have not shut up their most priceless 'traditions' in the prisons known as nursing homes?

Where memory's long, traditions linger, and life is immeasurably enriched. In recording for all time the memories of its people *Cape Breton's Magazine* offers hope that the island's future will be as worthy of preservation as its distinguished past.

A six-issue subscription costs \$6.00 in Canada, \$7.00 abroad. Collectors' Editions of issues 1-6, 7-12, and 13-18 are available for \$4.00, \$4.50 and \$5.50 respectively. Cape Breton's Magazine, Wreck Cove, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, Canada.

— R.D.G.

"The past has revealed to me how the future is built." — Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.

CANADIAN CELTIC CONGRESS/le Congres celtique du Canada

The Canadian Celtic Congress/le Congres celtique du Canada was formed in Montreal in 1967 as a temporary organization to promote a Celtic presence at Expo '67. In this it was successful to a degree and some Celtic activities did take place; without it there would have been none.

The founding members of the C.C.C. were well-known and outstanding members of the Montreal community amongst them being Doctor John Hughes, Liam Daly, Roger Moride, Kenneth McKenna, Frank Cox, Br. Plunket and Anthony Malcolm. Of these some are now deceased or have moved away and only Kenneth McKenna remains an active and, indeed, an enthusiastic member of the Congress. The original Breton member of the executive, Roger Moride, now makes his home and living in Toronto.

Thus the C.C.C. charter remained dormant for a few years until 1976. During that year a group of Celts got together in Montreal to protest the imprisonment of Bretons in France without trial and without charges having been laid. As a result of this experience those involved took the opportunity to retain their association for cultural activities under the banner of the Congress.

Since this time the Congress has succeeded in obtaining more than a hundred family memberships each year, and has put on monthly pan-Celtic *ceilidhean-nosweithiau llawen-festou-noz*, which have included the serving of Celtic foods and the demonstration of Celtic customs. In addition, an annual pan-Celtic concert and symposium has been held. There has also been very close and friendly liaison with the other Celtic national societies in Montreal. The Congress holds an annual banquet at a Breton restaurant, of which there are several in this city owned by C.C.C. members. Executive members have appeared on local radio and television several times and Congress exposure reached its peak this year in producing a half-hour program which was shown from coast to coast on national television on 15 July, entitled "The Canadian Celtic Congress".

The C.C.C. has members in other parts of Eastern Canada but Toronto is the only city other than Montreal where members have banded together to form an active branch and this year (1979) the Toronto branch put on a very successful pan-Celtic concert at Cedarbrae Collegiate in Scarborough. There is, however, a good chance that members in Ottawa might also form an active committee. The C.C.C. is provincially chartered but is in the process of obtaining an extra-provincial licence in order to better serve members outside Quebec in what would be, hopefully, largely autonomous groups – and this is, in fact, exactly what the Toronto branch has become.

The aim of the C.C.C. is one we would hope all Celts would embrace, namely to perpetuate the Celtic culture in Canada and to interest Canadians of Celtic and other origins in this culture. Membership is open to all and is, for 1979, \$5 per annum – family membership. Members receive *Kelt* – the C.C.C. bulletin produced monthly – as well as *Garn*, a quarterly magazine published in Ireland by the Celtic League in the six Celtic languages and English.

Montreal is, perhaps, unique as a meeting place of Celtic peoples; amongst its large Anglophone population are many Celts representing every Celtic nation in the British Isles whilst, at the same time, amongst the Francophone population are a great many Bretons. This representation is reflected in the membership of the Canadian Celtic Congress and, because both official languages are used in Montreal, the French/English situation presents no barrier to the association and the Congress can meet in a relaxed and harmonious atmosphere. In addition there is a good balance in the C.C.C. between those Celts born in Canada and those born in Europe. The future for the Canadian Celtic Congress looks good.

— Ron Stewart, President, C.C.C.

AR CUNTELLES KELTEK CANADA
CHOMHDHAIL CHEILTEACH NA CANADA
KENDAL'CH KELTIEK AR C'HANADA



CYNGRES CELTAIDD CANADA
CO-CHRUINNEACHADH NAN CEILTEACH AN CANADA
YN COHAGLYM CELTIACH NY CANADA

INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF MENACED LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

The International Association for the Defense of Menaced Languages and Cultures (Association Internationale pour le Defense des Langues et Cultures Menace – A.I.D.L.C.M.) was created through the joint efforts of some fifty Nordic professors and the well-known humanist, Prof. Pierre Naert. Greatly concerned by what was happening to a number of minority cultures and urged on by P. Naert's tireless dedication, these professors began meeting in the early '50s. A long document resulted from their sessions which was sent to UNESCO on September 17, 1962.

This document constitutes, in fact, the official foundation of the A.I.D.L.C.M. It states that "there is not a single official association devoted to the defense of minorities and natural peoples in general and to the preservation of their languages and cultures in particular" and affirms that "no people" have the right "to exterminate others, whether from a cultural or physical point of view. The defense of the languages of minorities and natural peoples is the basis upon which any protection of these categories of peoples must be established. The extermination of a language entails that of the culture of which the language is the expression."

At the 1st Congress of the A.I.D.L.C.M. held in Toulouse in July, 1964, Pierre Naert was appointed Secretary-General. Prof. Naert worked constantly to publicize and implement the aims of the Association and organized the 2nd Congress at Issime in July, 1967. Sadly, the nervous exhaustion caused by so many sacrifices obliged him to rest, and in June of 1971, aged 55, Pierre Naert died, after sending the Association a last letter full of hope and encouragement.

Through the resolve of the Italian section of the A.I.D.L.C.M., directed by a man of great energy and humanity, Piedmontese Professor Gustavo Buratti, the 3rd Congress took place in Zurich in 1969. The poet, Salvador Espriu Castello, and Jordi Costa Roca, a teacher, both from Catalonia, were elected Chairman and Secretary-General, respectively. Subsequent Congresses have been held in Klagenfurt/Celovec (1972), in Ustaritz (1974), and in Châtillon (1976).

In addition to the Secretary-General and the Chairman, the board is composed of four Vice-Chairmen, one Treasurer, one Legal Adviser, and Territorial Secretaries for the following countries: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Indonesia, Italy, Kurdistan, Mexico, Norway, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the U.S. and Venezuela. The Association is a legal entity in Coire, Switzerland, and its registered office is in Perpignan/Perpinya, Catalonia.

The statutes of the A.I.D.L.C.M. were set up in Issime (2nd Congress, 1967) and modified in Klagenfurt/Celovec (4th Congress, 1972) and are composed of 36 Articles, the first 4 of which clearly express the objectives of the Association:

The A.I.D.L.C.M. . . . aims at the defence and promotion of languages and cultures threatened with . . . decline, degeneration or extinction . . . It forbids for itself any

political or religious activity. Its purposes are exclusively cultural... It aims at... creating and extending, in all countries, public opinion in favour of threatened languages and cultures... a constant action with governments and international organizations in order to obtain the conditions for their survival and development.

The A.I.D.L.C.M., by refusing any particular political affiliation, constitutes a moral pressure group capable of intervening with dignity and efficiency throughout the whole world, and of exercising its influence on governments and international organizations.

The A.I.D.L.C.M. maintains by its existence, its functioning, its congresses, etc., a constant exchange of information between all the minorities whose cultures are threatened. The most important of the Society's activities are those involving direct intervention. These interventions are of three kinds:

- intervention through an international organization: UNESCO, Arab League, etc.
- intervention through a country's political organization: central or regional government, etc.
- intervention through individuals or agencies operating within the state: bishoprics, media, etc.

Another form of action used in particularly urgent and important cases is to dispatch a commission to the area affected, composed of persons conversant with its problems, who examine the situation and publish their conclusions. During the tragedy suffered by members of the Greek community in the Galabrese Aspromonte, a six-member A.I.D.L.C.M. Commission studied the situation from March 24 to April 1, 1975, then published an exhaustive report in three languages which helped greatly to clarify and publicize the problems of this unfortunate community.

When necessary, the A.I.D.L.C.M. can initiate, through its Secretary-General, extensive press campaigns or interventions involving all the members of the Association throughout the world. The ramifications of such concerted action are often considerable, for international public opinion is never mobilized in vain.

The A.I.D.L.C.M. also intends to gain the official recognition of the cultural rights of minorities. Towards this end it has drawn up and ratified the following *Charter of the Rights of Ethnic and Linguistic Minorities*.

A.I.D.L.C.M.

Charter of Rights for Minority Ethnic Communities and for Linguistic Minorities (*excerpts*)

- Art. I ■ All ethnic, linguistic or religious communities and their members enjoy the same rights in the respective state.
- No one shall be discriminated against, either in law or in fact, on the grounds of their belonging to a minority community.
- Any incitement to ethnic or racial hatred is a crime.
- Art. II ■ The state has the obligation to grant the status of legal moral personality to all autochthonous ethnic or linguistic communities.
- Art. III ■ When the minority ethnic community is grouped in a distinct, compact territory, it receives a territorial autonomy which implies, at the same time, competence in the cultural domain and in matters of public order.
- In the case of an ethnic community having become a minority in its traditional territory, or in the case of a dispersed ethnic community, an autonomy of a personal nature must be guaranteed. This implies full competence in the cultural sphere and an appropriate participation in the administration of public order.
- Art. IV ■ The minority ethnic community works out its public legal status freely within the framework of the constitution of the respective state.

- Art. V ■ Statutes of the minority community function outside state control and are administered solely by the courts and tribunals. The courts and tribunals will extend their jurisdiction only to questions of legality.
- The minority ethnic community freely organises the education and the cultural and professional development of its people. It administers autonomously the budget allocated for these purposes.
- It disposes freely of its own schools within the various areas of education, including those in which the teachers of various grades are trained.
- The equivalence of diplomas acquired in universities of the same language should be recognised without restriction.
- In nursery schools the teaching language is that of the ethnic minority. In the primary and secondary schools half of the courses at least will be held in the language of the minority ethnic community. The history and civilisation of the minority ethnic community and its regional economy shall be a compulsory part of the curriculum.
- The minority ethnic community organizes and administers its own social, cultural, medical, religious and athletic institutions, and supervises its own radio and television programming. In view of the disadvantages inherent in the situations of minority ethnic communities, it is desirable for the state to favor, through exceptional measures, the publication of books, the press, media, film and record industries, academies, museums and any other cultural manifestations of the minority ethnic community.
- Art. VI ■ Law and administration are conducted in the language of the minority ethnic community, or bi-lingually if the language of the state is spoken by a significant proportion of the populace residing in the territory of the minority ethnic community. The members of the minority ethnic community should be able to address administrative offices and high forums of jurisdiction of the state in their own language.
- Art. VII ■ The Civil Service of the minority ethnic community is reserved by priority for its members. The Civil Servants who do not belong to the minority ethnic community must be fluent in the language of the minority.
- In the Civil Service offices operating in the minority ethnic community's territory, the proportion of Civil Servants coming from this minority must correspond to the real proportion of the ethnic groups.
- Art. VIII ■ The minority ethnic community is represented in proportion to its numerical importance in all the elected assemblies within the actual state or for the purpose of international representation.
- Any minority ethnic community, regardless of its numerical importance, has the right to at least one representative in the state assemblies.
- Art. IX ■ The members of the minority ethnic community have the right to move about freely within the territory of the state, to settle freely and to leave the country at will.
- Civil Servants may not be transferred outside the territory of their community without their consent.
- The members of the minority ethnic community must complete their national service within the territory of their community and in units of their own language.
- Art. X ■ The members of the minority ethnic community and their public or private organizations may maintain cultural relations of any kind with peoples of the same language, living outside the respective state. They may also maintain relations of any kind with the authorities representing these populations.
- Art. XI ■ The persons and the organizations of the minority ethnic communities have the right of individual or collective petitioning and appeal to all state and international jurisdictions.
- Art. XII ■ The states must secure for members of their ethnic minorities employment within the ethnic minority communities, and must promote and develop the professional and economic activities of the communities.

- The development of the economy must not bring as a consequence the assimilation of the minority ethnic community by the population of another ethnic community.
- The organization and development of the tourist industry as well as the sale of land within the minority ethnic community shall be placed under the supervision of competent bodies of the minority ethnic community.

Art. XIII ■ The minority ethnic community grouped in a compact territory, situated on the land or maritime boundary of the respective state, has the right to dispose freely of itself, including the act of secession. The state must put at its disposal democratic procedures which would allow at any moment the exercise of the right of self-determination. This right is not submitted to legal prescription and the exercise of it can be repeated at the initiative of the populace itself. These operations are placed under international control and could be the object of an appeal to an international jurisdiction.

... Chatillon; July 25, 1976

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR GREAT BRITAIN
Mr. Eric PUTNAM
c/o Cornish Times
GB - LISKEARD/CORNWALL

IRISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Prof. LEARBHAIOS O'NUALLAIN
President, University College Galway
IRL. - GALWAY

OESTERREICHISCHER NATIONALER AUSSCHUSS
Prof. Friedrich ESTERBAUER
Institut für Politik und Öffentliches Recht
Innrain 80
A 6020 INNSBRUCK

NATIONAL CANADIAN COMMITTEE
COMITE NATIONAL CANADIEN
Mr. Y. PLUNIER
932 Pierre Viger
Boucherville - P.Q.
Tel: 655-0563

COMITE VOOR VLAAMS-BELGIE EN NEDERLAND
Jan DELOOF
Lindenlaan 25
B 8550 Zwevegem

DEUTSCHER NATIONALER AUSSCHUSS
Prof. Günther Grassman
Rothweg 36
D 8700 Würzburg

A.I.D.L.C.M.
c/o Marcel Texier, Gen. Sec.
8 Rue du Pas de Calais
78310 MAUREPAS - FRANCE

A language is like the shaft of a mine, for at the bottom of it there have been deposited all the fears, all the feelings, all the thoughts of generations. It is a pile, an ancient hoard, whither every passer-by has brought his gold or silver or leather coin . . . where a whole race has worked, body and soul, for hundreds and thousands of years. A language is the revelation of actual life, the manifestation of human thought, the all-holy instrument of civilizations, and the speaking instrument of dead and living societies. - Frederic Mistral, Provençal poet, leader of the Felibrige movement to restore Provençal vernacular as a literary language: 1877.

CELTIC LEAGUE

The constitution of the Celtic League states that its fundamental aim is "to contribute to the struggle of the six Celtic Nations to secure or win their political, cultural, social and economic freedom." This includes:

- (a) fostering co-operation between the Celtic peoples;
- (b) developing the consciousness of the special relationships and solidarity between them;
- (c) making their national struggles and achievements better known abroad;
- (d) encouraging acceptance of the need for a formal association of the Celtic nations, once two or more of them have attained independence;
- (e) advocating the use of the national resources of each Celtic country for the benefit of all of its people.

For these purposes the Celtic League publishes a quarterly periodical, *Carn*, covering contemporary issues and events in the Celtic countries, and featuring reviews and articles on Celtic culture, history and languages. The Celtic League's central office is in Dublin, and branch offices are maintained in each of the Celtic countries, England and the United States.

Since its foundation in 1961, the Celtic League has been perhaps the leading international organization in the world working to promote inter-Celtic solidarity and understanding. It has organized and participated in a wide variety of cultural, educational and political activities, while publishing a journal which, for years, provided the only international forum for discussing and acting upon the problems currently affecting the Celtic world.

At present, the Celtic League is especially concerned with the restoration of the Celtic languages to their former positions of pre-eminence in education, society and government: the establishment of comprehensive radio and television services for Celtic-speaking communities; preserving the social and linguistic integrity of Celtic-speaking areas; implementing economic programs to alleviate chronic unemployment and emigration, especially in rural areas; redressing violations of the fundamental human rights of political prisoners and detainees by French, British and Irish security forces.

The general aims and philosophy of the Celtic League are further elaborated hereafter by Alan Hessauff, General Secretary.

The Celtic League is primarily concerned with the cultural aspect of freedom (holding that freedom and culture are closely linked), and with the struggle to obtain conditions necessary to enable the Celtic countries to maintain and develop their national characteristics, in particular their languages, considered as essential elements of their identity.

But we in the Celtic League recognise the close interdependence between these aspects of freedom. There can be no political freedom without economic freedom, nor can our cultures and languages live in a debilitated economic climate. The cultural and social aspects are also interrelated: it is among the less well-off sectors of our population that our languages have survived, while the sectors which were relatively wealthy or influential have long ago abandoned them and failed to support their struggle for survival.

Many examples show that the efforts of Celtic language and cultural organizations are thwarted by emigration; and over-dependence on tourism in areas where it is the main source of revenue has harmful effects on the mentality of the people in these areas.

Giving a free rein to private enterprise is leading to a situation where whole stretches of the areas where Celtic languages are spoken are being bought by people who, irrespective of language, have the money: this is disrupting communities as well as accelerating the death of these languages. For this reason, and to prevent the displacement of the native population of the Celtic countries, the lands of these countries should be nationalised. "Unrestricted private ownership has resulted (in Ireland and Scotland in particular) in replacing people by cattle" (Economist Raymond Crotty, *Irish Times*, 20/9/76). The present economic system is characterized in Ireland by the fact that 5 percent of the population owns 71 percent of the country's assets; in Scotland it is 7 percent owning 84 percent. In Ireland the largest part of the industry is owned by foreign companies. The economic system has in recent years allowed the country's vast mineral wealth to pass into the hands of multi-nationals. It happens under self-government thus showing that political autonomy cannot be considered

sufficient: alone it does not constitute national freedom. In the Isle of Man, there is also political autonomy but it does not prevent ownership of the land being acquired by alien elements. The same can be said of Brittany.

It is known from language attitude surveys in Ireland and in Brittany that the majority of the population would like Irish and Breton to live and would agree to positive measures to that effect, but those in control are doing nothing to help. Decision-making should be brought closer to the people, not taken farther away as happens in the EEC.



General Secretary: Alan Heusaff
9, Br. Cnoc Sion, Baile Atha Cliath 9 Eire (Phone 373957)

ALBA: COMUNN CELTEACH • BREIZH: KEVRE KELTEK
CYMRU: UNDEB CELTAIDD • ÉIRE: CONRADH CELTEACH
KERNOW: KESUNYANS KELTEK • MANNIN: COMMEEYS CELTAGH

Pan-Celtic

Pan-Celtic is an international organization which is governed by an International Committee and by National Committees in each of the six Celtic countries. The headquarters of Pan-Celtic is in Killarney, where the Chief Executive co-ordinates the activities of the National Committees. Pan-Celtic is non-party political and non-sectarian. The aim of Pan-Celtic, as embodied in the Constitution adopted at the Annual General Meeting in Killarney in May 1973, is "to promote and strengthen Celtic languages, culture, music, song and sport and to encourage inter-Celtic tourism, trade, commerce and exchange of information."

In seeking to stimulate interest in the Celtic languages and culture, Pan-Celtic annually sponsors Pan-Celtic Week, during which peoples of the six Celtic nations come together to exchange views and ideas and to enjoy themselves in their common bond of music, song and sport.

In co-operation with the broadcasting authorities in each country, a national song contest is held, and viewers are asked to choose a song with original words and music in the Celtic language of that country to represent them at the Celtavision Song Contest in Killarney. For songs in the traditional style a Celtic Singing Competition is open to all singers and groups performing in the language of their country. The Choral competitions are among the prestige events of the festival, attracting the best choirs in the Celtic world. Dancing competitions also play a big part, as do the Pipe Band Competitions. Many sporting events are held during the Week, including a Hurling/Shinty match between Ireland and Scotland, and displays of Breton and Cornish wrestling.

Not everything during the Week is in the form of competitions. Very successful items are the National Nights, in which the evening's activities are conducted entirely by each nation's contingent. There are also many informal pan-Celtic ceilidhs, where Bretons, Scots, Manx, Irish, Cornish and Welsh come together to enjoy themselves on an evening.

For detailed lists of competitions, music, singing and sport, together with rules, regulations and details of prizes, write for a prospectus to:

NATIONAL PAN-CELTIC OFFICE
TOWN HALL,
KILLARNEY, IRELAND
Tel. 064-31633 Telex 6952

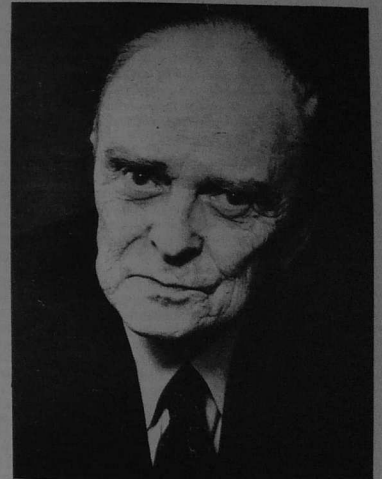
SEAN MACBRIDE

Few peoples in the western World have manifested a concern and involvement with the legal sphere of human culture as intense and pervasive as the Irish. The "due process of law" was articulated and institutionalized by the Irish 'brehon' codes over two millennia ago, which remained operative, in large part, up to the Tudor conquest. Thenceforth, Irish political, judicial and administrative energies were involved equally in the institutions of the British State and Empire, on the one hand, and in the four hundred year revolutionary and constitutional struggle to restore Irish freedom, on the other. Burke and Parnell, Castlereagh and O'Connell, represent complementary tendencies in the development of this tradition, which has its roots at the very bedrock of European civilization.

The most fundamental and, at once, the most universal considerations of justice could not, of necessity, be pursued within the framework either of British imperialist or Irish nationalist aspirations. But in the ruins of a world devastated by two wars, "to end all war," it became imperative for all nations to adopt statutes, procedures and institutions for the protection of universal human rights. Accordingly, on July 26, 1945, 51 nations, who had either declared war on Germany and Japan or had remained neutral, came together in the signing of the Charter of the United Nations. In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly: the first document of its kind to be unlimited both in scope and in geographical application. The following year, the Republic of Ireland was officially declared on Easter Monday.

Irish nationalist aspirations were partially realized as a concomitant of the steady disintegration of British colonialism during the first half of the twentieth century. Perhaps no country in Europe had been subjected for so long to a more absolute denial of basic rights and freedoms than Ireland. So it is, indeed, fitting that the new Irish nation should bring forth in Sean MacBride, a jurist, statesman and humanist, whose achievements in the field of international human rights are unsurpassed in our time; particularly as Sean's father, Major John MacBride, was among the fourteen leaders of the 1916 Easter Rebellion who were executed by the British government; and as Sean, himself, was a minister in the 1949 government which officially proclaimed the Republic.

I.R.A. Chief of Staff, newspaper man in France, delegate in the Twenties to anti-imperialist conferences along with other unknowns such as Pandit Nehru and Ho Chi Minh, secretary to Eamon de Valera, Ireland's most celebrated criminal lawyer, Foreign Minister of Ireland, co-founder of the Council of Europe, advisor on the foundation of the Organization of African Unity, co-founder and Chairman of Amnesty International, principal instigator of the European Convention on



Human Rights, Secretary General of the International Commission of Jurists, President of the International Peace Bureau, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Chairman of the World Peace Forces at Moscow, President of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, President of the UNESCO International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems — all of these are positions Sean MacBride held or still holds.

In recognition of this extraordinary record of activities and initiatives on behalf of world peace and justice which Sean MacBride has compiled over the last fifty years, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1974. In 1977, Amnesty International, a worldwide human rights organization that works on behalf of prisoners of conscience, was accorded the same honor while MacBride was presented the Lenin Peace Prize. When, in 1978, MacBride became the first recipient of the American Medal of Justice, which is to be annually awarded in "recognition of the highest attainments in the service of justice in the United States and abroad," it was said of him that: "No one better epitomizes the complex and rich meaning of justice in a modern, interdependent world; no one more embodies the vitality of Justice." An honor equal to these for MacBride, who is first and last dedicated to securing full freedom for his own country and people, is the Military Service Medal of Ireland which he received in 1935 for his heroic role in Ireland's War of Independence.

Born in 1904 of Maud Gonne and Major Sean MacBride, both active in the Irish nationalist movement, Sean was early committed to the cause of Irish freedom: a commitment later intensified by the execution of his father for his part in the Easter Rebellion, the subsequent persecution of his uncle Joseph MacBride, and his mother's lifelong campaigns against absentee landlordism, mass evictions of tenant farmers, and other abuses of British colonialism. Maud Gonne's advocacy of radical measures for resisting the English regime led repeatedly to her arrest and imprisonment, and, ultimately, to exile for herself and her son. When they secretly returned to Ireland from France in 1918, both were seized and imprisoned: a fate which Sean would suffer again in 1922 and in 1930.

Though born and bred in the heart and height of modern Ireland's most eventful epoch, MacBride's deep involvement in international affairs likewise developed from the circumstances and influences of his childhood. His earliest education was received in France, and though he was to learn Irish from Claud de Ceabhasa, his speech to this day is more markedly Gallic than Gaelic. Sean was occasionally tutored in Latin by Ezra Pound and was close to his English Protestant grandfather, Colonel Thomas Gonne, as well as his mother's constant suitor, W.B. Yeats. The poet treated Sean as a son, and wrote to Lady Gregory: "I did not think I liked little boys but I liked Sean." When in Ireland, MacBride still resides at Maud Gonne's Roebuck House. So many international figures in cultural and political life gathered here as guests of his mother's, from time to time, Roebuck House, itself, must have resembled a cosmopolitan U.N. of sorts.

After serving as occasional secretary to de Valera (himself, President of the League of Nations in 1933, 1938 and 1939), and as Irish correspondent to various European, American and South African newspapers, MacBride was called to the Bar in 1937. He became a Senior Counsel in a shorter period of time than any other living member of the Bar, and defended many sensational capital cases in Africa, Ireland and before international courts. In 1946, MacBride founded Clann na Poblachta (literally, "Children of the Republic"), perhaps the most promising and charismatic political party to appear in Ireland since the early days of de Valera's Fianna Fail. Within two years, Clann na Poblachta had gained ten seats in the Dail and, together with the conservative Fine Gael party and the Irish Labour party, succeeded in bringing down de Valera's government for the first time in sixteen years.

The new Coalition government appointed MacBride Minister for External Affairs in 1948, and his party took the lead in shaping and initiating social and economic reforms more radical than any proposed before and, quite possibly, since. Fianna Fail's strict adherence to laissez faire policies more relevant to Manchester than to Chonamara and the unavoidable wartime austerities had brought the Irish economy to a virtual standstill. The Interparty government immediately introduced elements of economic radicalism which have remained prominent throughout the entire period of the recovery and expansion of Irish economy. The Coalition's, then, revolutionary emphasis upon capital investment for home development was to become a fixture in succeeding governments. Irish savings, which had long been invested in England by Irish banks, were repatriated with the result that unemployment and emigration, which had been steadily rising for years, were reduced almost at once. For the first time since the Great Famine of 1847 the Irish population showed a slight increase in 1951. Subsequent devaluations of British sterling have confirmed the wisdom of repatriating foreign assets.

Clann na Poblachta, true to its Irish overtones, assumed the mantle of the more militant and uncompromising proponents of Irish republicanism. Somewhat fortuitously, the party's rapid ascent had coincided with a worldwide campaign

by de Valera to re-union Ireland. Although practical considerations alone could have kept Ireland out of World War II, Irish neutrality was first and foremost an expression of a long-conquered people's national will to conduct their affairs independently of their conqueror's. So long as the abiding symbol of subjugation, the border, remained, Ireland would remain neutral. The "partition means neutrality" position was emphatically reaffirmed in 1949, when MacBride, as Minister of External Affairs, defended Ireland's refusal to join NATO: "As long as partition lasts, any military alliance or commitment involving joint military action with the state responsible for partition must be quite out of the question."

Several weeks after MacBride issued this statement the last slight link with the British Crown was severed through the official Declaration of the Republic on Easter Monday, 1949. It had been hoped by MacBride and others that this action would favor the re-unification of the country but, in effect, it served rather to reinforce the lines of division: England countered swiftly with its own Ireland Act, stating that, in no event, would Northern Ireland cease to be part of the U.K. "without the consent of the government of Northern Ireland." The Declaration did, however, clarify the Republic's international status, thereby facilitating its participation in European congresses and the United Nations.

Far-reaching public health schemes were also introduced by the Interparty government, which, despite their positive merit and initial success, eventuated in the fall of the government, the collapse of Clann na Poblachta, and MacBride's political demise. In the 1940s, up to 4,000 people had been dying every year from TB. Money shortages and the people's reluctance to seek treatment for what was widely considered "a shameful affliction" aggravated the problem, but its root cause lay in an appalling lack of hospital facilities. The efforts of a young TB specialist, Dr. Noel Browne, to draw public attention to the problem were welcomed by MacBride, who recruited Dr. Browne for Clann na Poblachta and incorporated a comprehensive health service program into his party's political platform. When Browne was appointed Minister of Health by the Coalition government, the mass radiography clinics and hospital building program which he supervised were so successful that by 1957, TB-related deaths had dropped to 583.

Infant mortality, 55% higher in Ireland than in Britain, was the second great health problem which Browne set out to solve. In 1951, he introduced a mother and child health care plan which was to provide free maternity care for all mothers, regardless of means, and free child care to children up to the age of 16. Prompted perhaps by the fact that nearly all of Ireland's major hospitals were under clerical direction, Prime Minister Costello (Fine Gael) consulted the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin on the matter. Archbishop McQuaid considered Dr. Browne's proposal to be "immoral," primarily because it could lead to more radical and unconscionable measures for Irish Catholics, such as birth control. The Archbishop also averred that application of the mother and child plan without a means test ran counter to the principle of Catholic individualism, since it transferred to the State an obligation which belonged to the family and the individual. For minds less refined than the Reverend McQuaid's, his latter objection gave the cue for an anti-communist crusade. Leading members of the Irish Medical Association, an institution nearly as influential and unassailable in Ireland as the Catholic Church, decried the mother and child plan as the harbinger of state socialism — not to mention a declining practice.

In deference to the controversy thus precipitated, the Interparty government dropped Dr. Browne's plan, then attempted to drop Dr. Browne when he refused to yield on the central issue of free medical care and education for mothers. Browne, however, was and remains something of a political anomaly in Ireland: a politician of principle rather than personality. He did not submit to Prime Minister Costello's request that he step down. MacBride, himself, had to call for Browne's resignation, and he obtained it. Soon afterwards, the government went to the country, Clann na Poblachta was obliterated, and de Valera was returned to office. Within seven years of the mother and child fiasco, MacBride and his party had disappeared from the Irish political scene forever.

Strong third parties have been both infrequent and ephemeral in Irish politics. Had time allowed for a more reasoned and concerted application of their considerable talents, Clann na Poblachta might have been able to convert the traditionally vertical structure of Irish politics into a horizontal one. But for MacBride and his colleagues, it was clearly a case of too far too soon. As the mother and child affair made painfully clear, the party lacked internal organization and ideological cohesion. Either because of or in spite of his international experience, MacBride overestimated the importance of the 'clerical factor' in Irish politics. Dr. Noel Browne now believes that the Church was merely an unwitting, albeit essential, accessory in forwarding the interests of prominent members of the Irish medical establishment. Neither before nor after 1951 did the Church intervene directly in government matters, and when a health insurance plan similar to Dr. Browne's was passed into law two years later, there was little real opposition from any sector.

Had MacBride stood by Dr. Browne and weathered the storm, or had the new party preserved its independence of action by the proven Parnellite tactic of declining ministerial office, the disparate factions which had vaulted the party into sudden and short-lived power might have coalesced over time into a viable political force. As it turned out, the nationalists disaffected with de Valera, the socialists who felt Labour had repudiated Connolly, and, above all, the 'lost generation,' who had no voice among the older politicians quickly retreated from the common ground they had shared in Clann na Poblachta. Thenceforth, with the dubious exceptions of Sinn Fein and Irish Labour, no third party has succeeded in effectively interposing itself between Fine Gael and Fianna Fail; nor does the possibility seem likely in the near future.

By 1961, MacBride had failed in four successive attempts to recover his seat in the Dail, and many observers felt he had little recourse but to return to his law practice. However, throughout the 1950s MacBride had continued to be one of the most active sponsors and signatories of the European Convention of Human Rights. In 1954, he worked closely with Ghana's Premier Nkrumah in founding the Organization of African Unity, while during the Greek-Cypriot crisis of 1958, he served as special advisor to Archbishop Makarios after engineering his release from detention in Seychelles. No sooner had his political post mortem been pronounced than MacBride co-founded what were to become two of the leading bodies in the world for the defence of human rights. From 1963 to 1971 MacBride served as Secretary General of the International Commission of Jurists: a body of distinguished lawyers from many countries who have investigated thousands of human rights violations throughout the world. In 1961, he co-founded Amnesty International with Peter Benenson, a British barrister, and served as its International Chairman through 1974. Like the I.C.J., Amnesty investigates allegations of torture made by prisoners of conscience, and other infringements of human rights throughout the world. Both organizations rely heavily on public protest and moral force to effect changes in countries that torture. MacBride sums up the process: 'When a government denies basic human rights to its citizens, the entire world will know of it. Out of that publicity there result other sanctions - the cutting back or denial of military and other monies, international censure, etc.'

Amnesty International is a worldwide human rights movement which is independent of any government, political faction, ideology, economic interest, or religious creed. A.I. works for the release of men and women detained anywhere for their beliefs, color, sex, ethnic origin, language or religion, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence. Amnesty currently has some 170,000 members and supporters in 107 countries. Many are involved in one or another of the organization's 2,000 'adoption groups.' These groups are assigned prisoners from outside their respective countries, write them letters of support, send them material comforts when possible, and bombard the governments responsible for mistreating them with politely worded requests for their release. When dealing with the daily atrocities inflicted upon many of the world's 500,000 political prisoners, publicity may seem to be a rather feeble weapon. But since Amnesty initiated its publicity campaigns, investigative missions and published reports in 1961, more than 13,000 prisoners of conscience have been released (A.I. does not claim credit for the decision to release an imprisoned individual). As Ron Chernow observed in his article on Amnesty in *Quest*, "Torturers rarely take pride in their profession" (December, 1978).

From the outset of his career in law, Sean MacBride has championed the establishment of basic human rights and freedoms in Africa. Throughout the last decade he has devoted the greater part of his time to securing political autonomy for Namibia - formerly South West Africa - which for many years has been illegally occupied. In 1973, at the instigation of African governments, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously elected MacBride U.N. Commissioner for Namibia, with the rank of Assistant Secretary General. Since then, MacBride has worked constantly to make Namibia's freedom an international issue: an issue which, he has stressed, must be distinguished from the quite separate matter of apartheid in South Africa. As a result largely of MacBride's worldwide campaign, a truly representative government may soon be established in Namibia.

Since his retirement from Irish politics nearly twenty years ago, MacBride has undertaken missions to virtually every country in the world where prisoners are unlawfully detained and mistreated. Nevertheless, he has managed to remain active in Irish affairs and maintains a number of executive positions in Ireland, including: Vice-Chairman of the Irish Civil Liberties Association, member of the Council of the Irish School of Ecumenics, President of the Nuclear Safety Association, and Vice-Chairman of the Inland Waterways Association. He has been Chairman of the Irish Section of Amnesty International since 1961, and has sought repeatedly to help staunch the hemorrhage of Ulster through various initiatives.

MacBride's political downfall deprived Ireland of a leader whose abilities, experience and international stature could have prepared the Republic to deal effectively with Northern Ireland. But while Ireland lost a great statesman, the world gained a man whose contributions to universal justice and fellowship have rarely been equalled. Commencing with the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, some nineteen documents have been drafted for the protection of international human rights: the most important being the U.N. Convention on Civil and Political Rights, and the U.N. Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1965). No one has been more active in seeking ratification and implementation of these documents by governments throughout the world than Sean MacBride. Countries are terribly slow to agree to human rights documents. The United States, for example, has ratified only five of them; and although it took part in drafting the U.N. Conventions, the U.S. government appears no closer to ratifying them than it did in 1965.

Is all this 'paperwork' really doing anything? In considering a question which he must have asked himself a thousand times, MacBride replied:

I believe there is a children's fairy tale about an ugly troll named 'Rumpelstiltskin.' The only way to make the troll disappear is for one to learn his name and say it. I see all this 'paperwork,' as some call it, as our human way of saying 'Rumpelstiltskin' to human rights abuses. Only by continually defining what those human rights abuses are, will we be able to make them disappear.

No biography of this remarkable man has been attempted yet, nor is it likely to be for some time yet. In his 75th year, MacBride has the stamina of men half his age, and the wisdom, it seems, of a dozen lives lived with the fullest intensity. Worldwide recognition of his character and achievements has only recently been manifested on a grand scale; but in the hearts of countless oppressed peoples whom he has sought to help his name has, for years, been associated with justice and humanity, and shall be, so long as those words have meaning. It seems certain that posterity will take cognizance of this in identifying MacBride with Hammarskjöld, King, Gandhi and others of that rarest and noblest of human kind - the peacemakers.

- Kevin Dixon Gilligan



Sean MacBride on Human Rights in International Law

On March 16, 1979, Sean MacBride delivered an extemporaneous talk to the International Relations Council of Harvard University, on the status of human rights in international law. The Inter-Celtic Society met with Mr. MacBride at that time, and endeavoured unsuccessfully to interest the principal Boston newspapers in covering this important event. Mr. MacBride's talk appears here, together with several of the most significant questions which he answered thereafter.

In the course of human history many documents have appeared which were drawn up to defend various fundamental human rights and freedoms. In the main, these were directed towards protecting the individual from oppression by governments or the state. However, Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Communist Manifesto and similar documents were limited either in scope or in geographical application. The modern concept of human rights, which is of unlimited scope and application, was not fully elaborated until 1948, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was incorporated into the Charter of the United Nations. The Universal Declaration described the fundamental rights of humanity vis-a-vis their governments and indicated how these relationships might be translated into the process of international law. But it was only a declaration of intent. From 1948 to 1965, the procedural apparatus for lodging, investigating and adjudicating complaints was defined. In 1965, the United Nations unanimously adopted two documents providing for the implementation of principles enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: the Convention on Civil and Political Rights, and the Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. These Conventions gave the right to any nation to make a complaint and to have it investigated by an International Commission of the United Nations.

Long before the adoption of the two U.N. Conventions, the European countries formulated the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights. It was based upon the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and provided for the establishment of both a Commission of Human Rights and a Court of Human Rights. The Commission was empowered to receive complaints from anybody from the eighteen member states of the Council of Europe. In cases of special importance, the Commission, after investigating a complaint, could refer the case to the Court of Human Rights. This Court possessed supranational jurisdiction and its decisions were binding for all members of the Convention. The European Convention was formally adopted at the Council of Europe in 1950. Since that time, the Commission of Human Rights has investigated about 7,000 cases, at least 100 of which were very important for international human rights.

It was likewise felt by the United Nations that a system should be devised wherein complaints made by individuals, organizations or governments of violations of human rights could be investigated and acted upon. The protocol which finally authorized this step in 1965 has not been accepted by many countries, including the United States, although the original Conventions on Civil and Political Rights, and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights were unanimously approved by the General Assembly of the U.N. These Conventions did not become operative until they had been ratified by at least thirty governments, and a sufficient number was obtained only two years ago.

The United States, on the whole, has an ambivalent record in relation to human rights. As far as the people of the United States are concerned, they have always responded generously and courageously whenever infringements of human rights have been brought to their attention. The governments, on the other hand, have not always been dedicated to upholding human rights, or they have subordinated human rights to other considerations. After World War II, the U.S., under the leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt, assumed a major role in framing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Again, the U.S. took an active part in drafting the U.N. Conventions of 1965, yet fourteen years after those Conventions were unanimously adopted by the General Assembly the United States government has still failed to ratify them. This reflects a very short-sighted policy and places the U.S. in a most ambiguous situation when it talks of human rights. The Commission which will be organized to supervise the implementation of the two U.N. Conventions will be drawn only from those countries which have ratified them. The United States, therefore, will not be allowed to participate. Politically speaking, while President Carter's advocacy of the principles of human rights as part of his foreign policy is laudable, he surely is in a very weak position to advocate the implementation of these principles, when his own government refuses to ratify the U.N. Conventions drafted for this purpose.

Another criticism I would like to make concerning the United States policy on human rights is the ambivalence of the United States position as a consequence of its supporting governments which blatantly violate human rights. There are quite a number of instances. In Greece, for example, a military dictatorship was installed with the full backing of the U.S. several years ago: a government which violated every principle of human rights. Much the same thing occurred in Chile, in Iran, in San Salvador, and in many of the Latin American countries. By giving its military, political and financial support to governments which indulge in gross violations of human rights, the image of the United States in the world is constantly damaged; an image which has already suffered greatly through the Vietnam war. This situation should make the government of the United States all the more willing to ratify the U.N. protocol for the implementation of the 1965 Conventions on Human Rights. Failing this, the U.S. cannot expect to take an active part in the defence of human rights throughout the world.

Of all the repressive regimes which the United States has actively supported in recent times, none has been more universally deplored than that of South Africa. Its system of apartheid involves probably the most complete and fundamental denial of human rights in the world: denial of equality before the law, equality in education, equality in government: one must live and work where one is told and at jobs and wages determined by one's superiors. It would be difficult to conceive of a more systematic and wholesale violation of human rights. This has been recognized for years; indeed, the U.S. was one of the first nations to recognize this. In fact, the United States played a particularly important role in bringing cases before the International Court of Justice on behalf of Namibia. Ultimately, the Court ruled that South Africa had no rights in Namibia, and that its occupation of Namibia was in absolute violation of international law. Nevertheless, the U.S. continues to give its financial and military support to the South African regime. Of late, this relationship has taken on an extremely dangerous dimension.

Largely as a result of agreements made in July, 1976 between the South African Prime Minister and Dr. Kissinger, with General Alexander Haig in attendance, a compact of military co-operation was agreed upon. Despite the change in administrations since then, there is good reason to believe that this agreement is still in effect. Consequently, South Africa has developed the capacity to construct nuclear arms. It has become a nuclear power with the assistance, primarily, of West Germany which provided the technological know-how, and, to a lesser extent, of the U.S. The situation in South Africa contains many aspects which are of critical importance for the entire world. Firstly, you may remember that, after World War II, the Allies decided that Germany should not be permitted to develop nuclear weapons. But by utilizing South Africa, West Germany has now acquired a nuclear capacity itself. What is even more disturbing, certain figures prominent in the South African government have stated publicly that they will not hesitate to use nuclear weapons to maintain the security of the state. This attitude is quite common in South Africa where the prevailing mentality is not so very far removed from that which governed Nazi Germany. They are very determined.

I think it is possible that all the members of the Carter administration are not familiar with this situation. But it should not escape their notice any longer, since it has been thoroughly examined in a recently published book, *The Nuclear Axis*. This gives chapter and verse details of the close collaboration which has been built up between West Germany and South Africa, with the assistance of the United States, in the production of nuclear weapons.

This brings to mind a reference I read this morning in the *Boston Globe* to a letter written by the President of Harvard University, in which he rejected pleas made by the student body for the withdrawal of Harvard's investments in South Africa. For ten years now the U.N. has urged that all investments be withdrawn from South Africa, and I would like to put the position in this way. The apartheid regime existing in South Africa represents a complete negation of all human rights and all human justice. It is equivalent morally to the regime in Germany which was responsible for the extermination of six million Jews. Is it proper that a university should give its support to such a policy by investing funds in that government? In the letter written by President Bok, he contends that parties within and outside the university try repeatedly to use the institution as an instrument to influence events and to effect other controversies in the larger society. That is undoubtedly so. But isn't this precisely what has happened in this case? Hasn't the university, by investing in South Africa, used the institution as an instrument of political support for the South African regime? So then, the existing position is not one in which the university has been used. The university has actually given its financial support to a repressive government; much as if, in the 1930s, the university had invested money in institutions supporting the Hitler regime.

Another observation of the President's that rather disturbed me was that, if the university was to act in a principled fashion, it must seek to apply its standards consistently rather than on an ad hoc basis. But, surely, the moral standards of a university will not permit it to support a system of apartheid and racial discrimination so brutal that, in the course of the last two years, over 2,000 students have been massacred - shot down - in demonstrations. Surely, this is not an issue. Likewise, we know that something like 90 prisoners are alleged to have committed suicide inside police stations in Johannesburg and Pretoria. We know from the reports of independent investigators that torture is practiced, as a matter of course, in the prisons of South Africa. We know from the decisions of the International Court of Justice and the General Assembly of the United Nations that South Africa is illegally occupying Namibia. Surely, these are issues which the university with a respect for morality, and which presumably espouses the rule of law and order and human rights, should take into consideration.

The history of human rights legislation and its present status in international law are matters of such fundamental importance to everyone, that they should be learned in the ordinary course of one's studies. I was at Harvard in the 1950s to

participate in a conference of university directors. At that time, it was urged that a Chair of Human Rights be established at all major universities. I'm sorry to say that Harvard and many other universities have yet to take this step. Neither as individuals nor in our institutions have we reacted adequately yet to the facts of two World Wars: that countless cities were totally wiped out, that thousands of civilians were targets of military aggression, that six million Jews were gassed by the Nazis, and that, today, over seventy countries torture prisoners as an established part of their policies.

- Q: Undoubtedly, many nations would like to champion the cause of universal human rights, but often the pursuit of human rights and the pursuit of national interests run at cross purposes. How can nations reconcile these two pursuits?
- A: As I pointed out before, the United States has damaged its image greatly by supporting repressive regimes. Moreover, the result of its "national interest" policy in Iran was the overthrow of the Shah of Persia. The revolution in Iran is revealing on another point which should be emphasized. Public opinion has been far in advance of governments on human rights issues, and there has been a shift in the center of gravity of power from governments to the public sector. The first evidence of this was probably the Franco-Algerian War, which was stopped by France because of the public opinion against it. Again, the Vietnam war was stopped at its very height by public opinion. Now, in Iran, the people, without any outside help or encouragement or powerful organization, have overthrown one of the strongest and cruelest regimes in the world: a regime fully supported by the U.S. By allying itself with a government so manifestly unpopular, the United States entire foreign policy has come under suspicion.
- Q: How do you see the current status of human rights in Eastern Europe?
- A: Although there has been a very slight improvement lately, much remains to be done. The fact that Solzhenitsyn is here, that Sakharov can conduct a press conference in Moscow, and that dissidents can organize to a degree and issue statements represents a tremendous step forward. This couldn't happen twenty years ago. But we must go much further, and again, I think public opinion must have an impact on Eastern Europe.
- Q: Some observers think that divestiture in South Africa would only cause more hardships for the already oppressed. Have you considered whether more might be attained for human rights by working through the present system than by opposing it?
- A: Several committees have been set up to examine that possibility, and all have arrived at more or less the same conclusion: that nothing significant can be achieved for human rights in South Africa through the present system. The truth of the matter is simply this: South Africa presents an excellent investment prospect, since it is able to employ slave labor. The profit motive is precisely what attracts investments, which serve only to subsidize a form of slavery.
- Q: Some Irish-American groups would have us believe that the British government is systematically and deliberately torturing people and violating human rights in other ways in Northern Ireland. As a native of the Republic of Ireland, how do you respond to this?
- A: I usually don't intervene in Irish problems because I am no longer involved in politics. However, I believe that these allegations are well-founded. I know that the British government must be aware of these allegations, and I don't think that violations of human rights could take place in Northern Ireland if the British government did not want them to take place.

An article on Amnesty International's investigations into human rights violations in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland will be published in the next issue of Keltica.

BREIZH

BRITTANY

International Committee for the Defence of the Breton Language

On October 7, 1975, at the request of teachers throughout Brittany, all of the Breton cultural and political organizations and many professional associations organized a general demonstration in support of their demands for an active policy to maintain the Breton language.

In view of the urgent need for such a policy, and considering the many reasons justifying it, ranging from the irreparable cultural loss for humanity that the death of a language would entail, no matter how few people speak it, to the clearly expressed desire of so many Bretons that their language should have a place in their life; that it should be taught to their children and that the ways and means to this end should be made available, an International Committee for the Defence of the Breton Language was set up in Brussels the same day with the aim of:

- Supporting all the efforts being made in Brittany to this end;
- Informing international opinion about the need and urgency of defending Breton language and culture;
- Harnessing international opinion to persuade the French government that its policies with regard to the Breton language are (1) in conflict with the ideals of humanism, tolerance and respect for human rights which France prides itself on; and (2) in conflict with provisions for the protection of linguistic minorities which France has had inserted in international treaties.

This appeal is intended to inform international public opinion about the fate being prepared for the last Celtic language spoken on the European mainland.

About 1500 years ago, Breton was brought to the American peninsula by immigrants from across the Channel, mainly from Wales and Cornwall. It is still spoken by several hundred thousand Bretons, most of whom are native speakers. It is spoken mainly in rural areas west of a line from Saint Brieuc to Vannes.

Successive French Governments have tried to eliminate Breton by belittling it. The French State denied that Breton was a language by claiming that there were several dialects. Differences in pronunciation are, in fact, due to the absence of a Breton central authority laying down rules and standards for the language and providing for having the language taught. The language has thus evolved in different ways in different areas, but they all share a common vocabulary and syntax.

French would have undergone a similar development if there had not been a central authority which imposed systematic, standardized and compulsory education. It should be noted that despite these centuries-old centralizing tendencies, French itself shows considerable and well-known differences in syntax and pronunciation in different parts of the areas where French is spoken.

For several centuries, successive French Governments refused to allow Breton to be taught in school. Only a few

years ago, it was – and even today in some schools it is – forbidden to speak the language, not only in the classroom but also in the playground during break, on pain of humiliating punishment.

Of course, with the expansion of media which spread news widely and rapidly, the French Government, which is concerned about anything that may tarnish its reputation as a nation which respects human rights, has made some concessions – which are more apparent than real – to minority languages spoken in France.

In actual fact, the position at present is such that facilities for learning Breton are restricted and less than for any other foreign language. Thus, even in Breton-Speaking areas, the mother-tongue of the population is granted fewer facilities than any foreign language.

In no case is it taught at primary school, at the stage where children would derive most benefit from learning their mother-tongue. At secondary level, the Ministry of Education has granted a concession whereby Breton may, under certain conditions, be taught as an optional subject (*with the same status as pottery, chess or philately*). In actual fact, these Breton classes are very frequently held after the school buses taking other children home have left, so that children who attend such classes have to make their way home by their own devices.

For over a century, Breton communal and departmental councils have passed countless petitions, motions and resolutions in favour of the teaching of Breton.

In many ways the Bretons have shown their determination to preserve their language in the face of all opposition. The following are some examples:

1. many Bretons pay a kind of voluntary supplementary tax by registering for Breton courses provided by cultural organizations;
2. a survey carried out in early 1976 in the secondary schools of Central Brittany showed that 80% of the pupils wanted to be able to speak their own language, i.e. to be taught Breton properly;
3. on 25 September 1975, the Conseil Regional de Bretagne, i.e. the elected representatives of the people, *unanimously* requested the introduction of a minimum programme.

Inhabitants of countries where minority languages are treated in a way corresponding to the wishes of the population and in accordance with the cultural rights of man will realize how limited such a minimum programme is:

1. at all levels of the educational system in Brittany the teaching, in French, of Breton history and culture should be made compulsory (it should be noted that French curricula and textbooks disregard and try to obliterate every trace of the historic Breton identity);
2. the optional study of Breton should be extended to the first stage of secondary education (the fact that only optional study is requested shows how limited Breton aims are, but as even this is not always granted, it also shows to what degree Breton is oppressed);
3. Breton should be recognized as a subject for the baccalaureate (unbelievable as it may seem, Breton students may not take Breton as a subject, but they may take Polish, Chinese or Arabic. Breton is merely an "optional language", marks gained in which are not counted towards the result of an examination. To complete the process of ostracism, the French educational system does not provide for any degree or diploma in the Breton language and literature);
4. provide basic courses in Breton in primary schools where all the conditions required have been fulfilled (the fact that the language is not taught in primary schools clearly shows that the Government wishes to deprive the children of the language even if the parents want the language to be taught);

5. to provide teachers-training facilities in such a way that the interests of teachers and students are safeguarded (the Government's refusal adequately to train and pay teachers of Breton is governed by two objectives, both of which are deliberately harmful to the Breton language: to train as few teachers as possible, and to discredit, by way of ill-trained teachers, the very teaching of the Breton language).

The French Government responded to these limited and legitimate demands by instituting a commission of inquiry (under Mr. Bruch). This is the usual way to bury a problem and to gain time until the Breton language is past saving. . . . As such inquiries are arbitrary and confidential, the conclusions are not published even though the Conseil Regional de Bretagne expressly requested that the results be published.

On the national level, Mr. Le Penec on behalf of the French Socialist Party, put forward, in 1974, a draft law on the place of minority languages and cultures in France in education, including extra-mural courses, cultural affairs, and radio and television programmes. As the Government can decide what goes on to the agenda of the National Assembly, it refused to put this draft law before the elected representatives of the people and thus showed that it would not allow an open discussion on this subject. Similar proposals put forward by other political parties, such as the C.D.S., a member of the Government bloc, have suffered a similar fate.

As the facts outlined above have shown, the Breton language, which is excluded from local administrations, deprived of modern means of communication (it is allowed an hour per week on the radio and half an hour per week on television), the victim of systematic and petty measures to discourage its teaching in the schools, is at present in danger of dying at the hands of a Government which claims to be liberal. In this respect the United States set an example by treating French in Louisiana, which is an even smaller minority in the United States than Breton is in France, on an equal footing with English.

In view of the negative attitude of the French Government towards the wishes of the Breton people and their elected representatives on the local and national level, international public opinion has to be aroused in reaction against what is a blow against the human right to one's own language and culture. *This is the ultimate appeal*, as France has, in its partial ratification of the European Convention on Human Rights, ruled out individual and collective appeals.

In view of the organized linguistic intolerance involved, the International Committee for the Defence of the Breton Language requests all who share its views to act by joining the International Committee or its National Committees; informing their friends and acquaintances of this appeal; bringing the activities of the Committee to the attention of the press; writing to French embassies and consulates to express their concern.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR
THE DEFENCE OF THE BRETON LANGUAGE
c/o Claude Sterckx, Gen. Sec.
11-13 Parvis de Saint Gilles
B 1060 Bruxelles, BELGIQUE



Chapelle des Sept-Saints, Plouaret, Cotes-du-Nord, Brittany.
The present chapel replaces an earlier one built over a dolmen.

ROPARZ HEMON I.M.

Roparz Hemon was the leading figure in the Breton language struggle for almost 50 years. If Brittany manages to survive as a nation, it will be primarily thanks to him; without his work our language could hardly have struck root in the younger generations. He lived for it, sub-ordinating everything else to his will to rehabilitate it.

Before he came on the scene anyone who had learned to read Breton found little rewarding in its literature; it could boast a few excellent poems by Kalloc'h, and the spirited "gwerziou" of the Barzaz Breizh, but there was hardly anything in it to show that Bretons also had problems of an earthly nature. The language was still spoken by well over one million people but it was ill equipped to escape the death to which a French minister of education sentenced it so bluntly in 1925: "for the sake of French unity, Breton must disappear".

Defiantly Roparz Hemon, who had already started contributing to the nationalist *Breiz Atao*, issued his "first and last manifesto in French". He founded *Gwalarn*, meaning North-West, to provide Breton writers with an outlet and thus an incentive. (Breton writers, that is *writing in Breton*.) For his living, he taught English in a Brest lycée, but all his spare time was devoted to creative work, preparing handbooks for learners, and the day-to-day care of *Gwalarn*. He gathered around him several talented writers who shared his ambition to raise our literature above the French-oriented provincialism of the late 19th century "bards" with their praising ad nauseum of the lace-patterned church spires, the Breton women's coffees and the blooming heather and gorse. His revolutionary ideas were expressed in a series of essays which were later published under the title *Ur Breizhad oc'h adkavout Breizh* (A Breton rediscovers Brittany). He urged his contributors to turn away from the French models and acquaint themselves with the literatures of other peoples. They should express in a well polished language what they deeply experienced; that would be enough to qualify it as Breton literature. By 1944 he had published eight plays, three novels, a collection of short stories, an anthology of poems of his own, not mentioning numerous translations. Recurrent themes in his work were the incommunicability of mind, the interpenetration of reality and dream in our life, the determination to carry out a great task, if need be, alone. His shunning of beaten tracks awakened resentment and suspicion, he had to watch his subscribers' reactions lest *Gwalarn* should go broke. As only a very small percentage of the native speakers could read Breton, he tried ways to encourage them to do so. He introduced a scheme to distribute books to school children and published a supplement in simple Breton; they failed through lack of money. Following the model of Basic English introduced by R. Ogden, he established a list of 1200 words which were sufficient to carry out an ordinary conversation — he used it for textbooks, and short stories and novels which can be read even by learners, without having too often to consult the dictionary. Two such stories have just been published in *Skol* Nr. 64 (available from Y. Chariou, 16 Rue Berlioz, 22000 Saint-Brieuc—64 pp. 12 Fr.). For two years *Gwalarn* ran also a supplement in Esperanto. He was convinced that an artificial means of international communication was the best answer to the objection that Bretons could not do without French. He was opposed to bilingualism as a long term objective; most people, he believed, had no use for two languages in everyday life.

Drafted into the French army in 1939, he was taken prisoner in 1940 but released with other nationalists before Petain concluded an agreement with the Germans. The latter however backed the claims of Breton to be taught in the schools and used it on the radio which the French, beaten though they were, still opposed. For taking charge of Radio-Rennes, R. Hemon was later to be arraigned for collaboration, but he would not miss the chance; for the first time, news, stories, plays, could be broadcast in our language. He also immediately relaunched *Gwalarn*, soon added a weekly, initially bilingual paper *Arvor* to publicise the arguments in favour of Breton, and the monthly *Sterenn*, which devoted each of its issues to one single work, such as M. Glandour's long poem *Imram*, or the translation of *Macheth*. He took a leading part in the 1941 agreement



to unify the spelling of Breton, and in the setting up of a Breton Institute, of *Ar Framm Keltiek* (a confederation of the various cultural bodies), of the E. Ernod College of Celtic Studies.

In 1944, fearing a fate that had befallen many nationalists in recent months, he joined the more radical among them in their retreat to Germany. He returned in 1945 to face imprisonment. Protests were organised in the other Celtic countries. Finding nothing to substantiate their charges, the French sentenced him all the same to ten years of "national indignity". Good enough for a Breton who could not care for their honours! He left for Dublin and never returned while he lived.

In "Scoil an Leinn Cheiligh" he enjoyed enough security to carry on the struggle. His first post-war book was *La Langue Bretonne et ses Combats*, giving all the essential information about the language. For 30 years he hardly left the area between Burlington Road and Ranelagh, having no time to spare from his work. He wrote half a dozen detective stories, five novels, two plays, and two collections of short stories. These, as well as the many editions of his dictionaries and handbooks, were published in *Al Liamm*. His chief didactic work however is the Historical Dictionary which is almost completely published (by *Preder*); covering about 30 volumes. It provides those who wish to check how any Breton word was used throughout the centuries with an invaluable tool. From 1951 till 1970, he edited the monthly *Ar Bed Keltiek* (The Celtic World), giving a digest of news of what was happening throughout the world, articles on a great variety of topics, stories, songs, etc. Needless to say he was its main contributor; it enabled him to put his views across, and to continue exerting a restraining influence on the highly individualistic Bretons. However he encouraged other writers by publishing a course in journalism.

The research which he carried out for the Dublin School of Celtic Studies was published in five books in English. It has earned him an international reputation. But what must be his greatest honour is that he dedicated himself wholly to the mundane task of equipping our language for living, excelling the more elderly F. Vallee and Meven Mordiern in fitting it for modern expression and giving it the stimulus to create a truly national literature. He strove for simplicity, knowing how dreadfully handicapped his potential readers were by not being taught Breton. His style is criticised for lacking a Breton colour or flavour, his characters are ordinary people, but most of his writing is accessible to those who have acquired an elementary knowledge of the language. He abhorred the wasting of energies and scarce money caused by the futile squabbling about the 1941 spelling. He deplored equally the excessive attention directed to dialectal variations and the excessive purism which wanted to replace by Celtic-rooted neologisms all the words of French origin, however ancient their adoption.

I hope that his influence will remain strong enough to counter the anarchistic tendencies manifest in the present day movement. That only a few hundreds attended his funeral in Brest is proof enough of the deep alienation of the Breton people. Yet warm appreciations of his service to our country were published, not only in the issues of *Al Liamm* and *An Teodeg*, entirely devoted to him, but in numerous other publications, dailies and periodicals. Calls were raised that his name be given to streets and halls. That should be the least. The only important acknowledgement he would want is that an ever growing number of people would strive to speak Breton. He has provided them with the means to learn it.

— A. Heusaff

Reprinted from *Carn*, No. 25, Spring, 1979, with the kind permission of the Celtic League.

Celtic Wrestling

Breton wrestling, in Breton *gouren*, might be called Celtic wrestling since it is also practised in Cornwall and was known formerly in Wales. It goes so far back in time that it has been called the senior sport. During the Middle Ages it had a place in official gatherings. A chronicler records the presence of Breton wrestlers at a festival in honour of Hungarian envoys in Tours in 1456, when Brittany was still a free country. About fifty years later when the Duchess Ann was on a tour of Brittany, a display of Breton wrestling was given for her entertainment. During the reign of Francois I, Breton wrestlers were so famous that he brought them to his encounter with Henry VIII in Boulogne (1520) on the "Field of the Cloth of Gold": there they wrestled with Welshmen and won this, probably the first, inter-Celtic tournament.

According to a historian, the French King, challenged by his English colleague, knocked him down by means of a "tour de Bretagne", no doubt a "taol biz troad", a knock from the toe! Another chronicler mentions a contest between Breton and Cornish farmers in Chateaubriant (1551). As in tournaments of chivalry, the Breton wrestling matches began with a challenge. Until the end of the last century, before Cotonnec standardized the sport, the words were usually: "Chom ho sav! Me ya deoc'h" - stand your ground, I'm going for you! As the crowd gathered around the lists, the claimant to the title of champion would catch the stake, generally a wether (ar maout), and carrying it on his shoulders, would go around barefoot, shirtsleeved, his hair knotted up on top of his head, daring anyone to take him on. The wrestlers generally belonged to the rural population. Nowadays as a result of efforts to popularize it, wrestling has gained adepts among city workers, students and others. Many practise it just for sport but there is also a sense of duty towards Brittany, an obligation to maintain and even renew all the traditions of Brittany.

The Federation of the Friends of Breton Wrestling and Athletic Sports, F.A.L.S.A.B., was founded in 1930 in Kemperle by a surgeon, Charles Cotonnec. Its aim was to spread the practice of Breton wrestling. F.A.L.S.A.B., has the honour of having been the first to foster physical education in rural Brittany. It is no small matter of pride that this was done by true Bretons.

Before 1930, Breton wrestling survived in a rather degraded form. The catches were closely guarded secrets, transmitted from father to son, from local champion to novice. In a match, each "clan" supported its champion, sometimes passionately, as his victory or defeat reflected on all the members of his local community. The champion was wrestling for "his honour and that of his district."

Dr. Cotonnec transformed Breton wrestling, which formally was practised in a somewhat brutal and anarchical manner, into a great modern sport, by establishing a precise set of rules for it.

Formally a challenge could be issued and taken up by anyone. A man of over 200 lbs. could engage a teenager of 130 lbs. Dr. Cotonnec ruled that in future partners would be classified according to weight and age. A contest could go on indefinitely, to the point of exhaustion, unless one of the wrestlers succeeded in giving the other a *lamm-gein*, throwing him on the ground in such a way that the two shoulder-blades would touch it simultaneously, before any other part of the body. This still remains the "knock-out" of Breton wrestling, but Dr. Cotonnec ruled that victory could also be won by the addition of points. A point is won when one shoulder-blade touches the ground (*kostin*). The notion of fault (*fazi*) was also introduced: brutality, lack of combativity, systematic barrage, putting a hand or a knee on the ground, catching hold of one's partner's wrist, for instance, constitute faults, and three faults give a point to one's opponent. This convention made it possible to contest matches in rounds of 10 minutes duration.

Whereas formerly no specification existed regarding the kind of ground on which to wrestle, henceforth circular lists covered with sawdust were prescribed for contests in the open and wrestling carpets were allowed for indoor training. Finally, the wrestlers are to wear nothing but a shirt and black shorts without buckled belts.

Celtic wrestling is practiced standing *only*. This sets it apart from the other forms of wrestling (free-style, graeco-roman) which allow the contestants to fight in any position. It produces spectacular displays of strength and agility.

Following the standardizations introduced by Cotonnec, *gouren* became a great sport in its own right. But this was not enough for Cotonnec. He wanted the wrestlers to be imbued with a strong spirit of loyalty and brotherhood, and for that purpose he composed an oath to be pronounced at the beginning of each contest (translated into Cornish and adopted by Cornish wrestlers in 1928). The partners face one another, raise their hands and say:

M'hen tou da c'houren gant lealed
Hep treitouriezh na taol-fall abet
Evit va enor ha hini va bro.
En testeni eus va gwirieghez
Hag evit heuilh giz va zud kozh
Kinnig a ran d'am c'henvreur
Va dorn ha va jod.

I swear to wrestle loyally
Without treachery nor brutality
For my honor and that of my country.
In testimony of my truthfulness
And in accordance with my people's custom
I give my partner
My hand and my cheek.

Prior to 1930, Breton wrestling was limited to the triangle Lannion-Kemper-Henbont, with particular concentration in the area between Kemperle and Karaez. Today, F.A.L.S.A.B. has about 400 members and clubs in all areas of Brittany. It organizes on the Breton side the annual championships between Breton and Cornish wrestlers.

The years 1978-79 mark the fiftieth anniversary of inter-Celtic wrestling. In 1928, a Cornish team travelled to Kemperle to take part in a contest that was attended by some 10,000 people. The following year, a Breton team headed by Dr. Cotonnec journeyed to Pool to participate in the second inter-Celtic tournament. To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary the Cornish Wrestling Association sent a team to Lorient last August, while their Breton counterparts in F.A.L.S.A.B. will come to Cornwall to compete this September.

Charles Cotonnec gave a new life to Celtic wrestling in 1928, and it has flourished ever since. The spirit of Cornu-Breton wrestling is well expressed in the Cornish 'Gwarac whek yu gwarac teg' - Breton "C'hoari c'hwec eo c'hoaritek" - "Fair play is pleasant." Few athletic associations, in the practice of their sports, are as concerned with the spiritual as well as the physical training of their athletes, as the C.W.A. and La F.A.L.S.A.B.

For further information on Celtic wrestling:

La F.A.L.S.A.B.
c/o Charles Le Goff
1 Rue J. Renard
29200 BREST
Brittany, France

Cornish Wrestling Association
c/o Peter Tutthill
Lloyds Bank
Wadebridge
Cornwall, U.K.

Herve Konan
526 Lartigue
Laval, P.Q.
Canada

- M. Jaouen

Reprinted with supplementary information from the Celtic League Annual, Dublin, 1971.

Breton Periodicals

(Note: All addresses are in France unless otherwise noted.)

Under the column LANGUAGE

F - French only
B - Breton only
BF - Breton mostly
FB - French mostly

Under the column PERIODICITY

B - Bimonthly
M - Monthly
O - Occasional
Q - Quarterly
S - Semiannual

TITLE	LANGUAGE	ADDRESS	PERIODICITY	DESCRIPTION
AN AVEL	FB	Foyer ar Vro Bagan 29232 PLOUGUERNEAU	Q	Pre-Christian Brittany - Local Interest
AL LIAMM	B	16, Rue des fours a chaud 35400 ST-MALO	B	Language - Literature - History - Travel
AN TEODEG	B	12, Rue du 14 Juillet 93260 LES LILAS	Q	Periodical of the Dugeles-Breiz Association - Local Interest
AR FALZ	FB	Ru Kan ar Gwez 29245 PLOURIN-MORLAIX	B	Periodical of the Breton Teachers Association
ARMOR MAGAZINE	F	63, Av. Rochester - BP 198 35004 RENNES	M	Miscellaneous - For the General Public
AR SONER	FB	Lann-Longvez Plumeux pres de LORIENT, 56	Q	Breton traditional music review
BREIZH	FB	9 Av. du General de Gaulle 44500 LA BAULE	M	Periodical of Kendalc'h Association - Foremost cultural magazine

BRUD	B	14, Rue Breiz Izel 29200 BREST	O	Breton language
DASTUM	FB	8, Rue du Rouerque 29200 BREST	O	Breton music — periodical, tapes and records — oral traditions
DOUAR BREIZ	F	A. Kerhuél 22530 MUR DE BRETAGNE	M	Press information on Breton political affairs
EVID AR BREZHONEG	BF	Beg-Leguer 22300 LANNION	O	Elementary Breton language review
HOR YEZH	B	Yann Desbordes Place Peguy 29249 GUISSENY	O	Linguistic review
KAIEROU KENVREURIEZ	B	Job Seite Skoland Aod 29249 GUISSENY	S	Catholic review
OGAM	F	P. Le Roux B.P. 574 35000 RENNES	O	Celtic tradition
LE PEUPLE BRETON POBL VREIZH	F B	Université de Brest B.P. 304 29273	M	Organ of Breton Democratic Union Party (U.D.B.)
FREDER	B	10, Rue Ildore Louveau 35000 RENNES	M	Linguistic studies
SKOL	BF	Gwenole ar Menn 15 Allée des Fregates 22000 ST-BRIEUC	O	Education — Culture — Pedagogy
SKOL—VREIZH	BF	Run-Avel 29245 PLOURIN—MORLAIX	B	Educational materials — Breton history, culture — Celtic history
SKOL AN EMSAV	B	2 Rue de Bearn, Z.U.P. Kermoisan, 29200 KEMPER	O	Foremost Breton language review and association
SKRID	B	Faculté des Lettres Section Celtique de RENNES, 35000	O	Breton students literary journal from the University of Rennes
STUDI HAG OBER	B	Kerespez 22 LOUANNEC	O	Theology — Liturgy — Sacred texts
STUDI	BF	C.R.D.P. 92, Rue d'Antrain 35000 RENNES	Q	Education — Information — Regional studies
WANIG HA WENIG	B	Keraloret 29249 GUISSENY	O	Illustrated children's magazine

Breton Organizations

NAME	DESCRIPTION	ADDRESS
<i>GENERAL:</i>		
ADSAV 1532	Association for revival of 1532 Treaty uniting France and Brittany, which recognized Breton legal, administrative and economic autonomy.	c/o M. A. Kerhuél 9, Rue du Port 22530 MUR DE BRETAGNE
LA B.A.S.	Principal organization in the Breton traditional music revival.	c/o P. Montjarret Lann-Langovez Plumecus près de LORIENT, 56
BRETON PRISONERS SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE	For relief and release of political prisoners detained without charge or trial.	34 Gortan Achaidh na Fuiseoige Ath Glath 6 Eire
GWENN RANN	Pacifist association for Breton unity, cultural revival and environmental protection.	19 Avenue Lajannige 44500 LA BAULE
KENDALC'H	Largest cultural confederation in Brittany with 200 groups, 8000 members, theatre troupe, cultural centers.	Ti Kendalc'h St. Vincent'Oust 56350 ALLAIRE

INTER-CELTIC:

CELTIC LEAGUE

Breton branch

Mikael Baudu
1, Chemin des Peupliers
35600 REDON

DUBLIN BRETON CENTRE

Sez. S. Carion
7 Terenure Road W.
Dublin 6
Ireland

PAN-CELTIC

Breton branch

c/o Ms. M. Gahard
178 Rue du Belgique
56100 LORIENT

IRISH-MANX-BRETON

Exchange

An Ao. Y. Graff
Talboden, Baye
23 S. QUIMBERLE

CORNISH-SCOTTISH-BRETON

An Ao A. Raudé
Ti ar Feunteun
29224 DAOULAS

EDUCATIONAL:

DIWAN

Association supporting and staffing Breton
medium nursery schools.

c/o J. Ch. Boizec
Ment Treourpad, Gwirrmeal
29290 LOKOURAN-ST-REMAN

K.E.A.V.

Summer courses in Breton language.

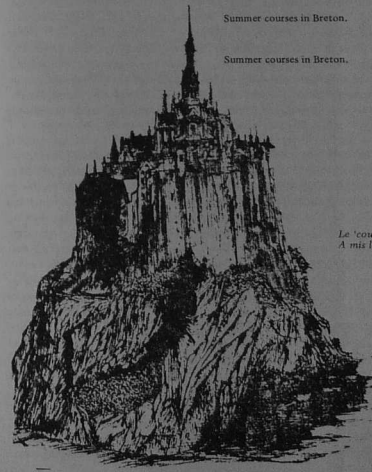
c/o Mme. V. de Bellaing
28 rue des 3 Freres La Goff
22.

Summer courses in Breton.

Summer courses in Breton.

An Ao. Ollivier
Glaxveenn, Lwiding
29238 BRIGNOGAN

Bernez Rouz
ar Veloneg, Ergac Gaheric
290000 QUIMPER



Le 'couesman' dans sa folie.
A mis le Mont en Normandie.

The 'curren' in its folly
placed the Mount in Normandy.

KERNOW

CORNWALL

THE KERNEWEK REVIVAL

The Cornish language, *Kernewek*, is a member of the Brythonic family and is, therefore, closely related to Welsh and Breton. Indeed, several medieval sources indicate that up to 1400 the three Brythonic languages were mutually comprehensible, to a degree. The earliest extant remains of Cornish consist of tenth century glosses, proper names from the *Domesday Book*, and a twelfth century vocabulary which is probably a translation of Aelfric's Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary. The bulk of ancient Cornish literature is made up of three medieval miracle plays: an early fifteenth century trilogy named *Ordinalia* – "The Creation of the World," "The Passion of Christ," and "The Resurrection of Our Lord," *Beunans Meriasek/The Life of St. Meriasek*, written in 1504, and *Guyreans an Bys/The Creation of the World*, dated 1611. These dramas compare favorably with the better known town-plays of York, Wakefield and Chester, and exhibit some singularly Cornish features; legends are drawn upon to a greater extent than in the English plays, events are frequently represented as having occurred in Cornish localities, and apocryphal narratives are nearly as extensive as biblical ones. Devotion to the religious drama seems to have been more fervent and widespread in Cornwall than elsewhere – a devotion which Edwin Norris, who first translated the *Ordinalia*, attributed to the peoples attachment to *Kernewek* "as the only surviving mark of their race."

Although Cornwall was ruled by Saxons since the mid-ninth century and by Normans after the Conquest, Saxon settlers were few in number and Normans never comprised more than one percent of the populace. Hence, the country remained Celtic in speech and culture throughout the Middle Ages, a peninsular appendage to Anglo-Norman England linked by the sea with Wales, Ireland and especially Brittany. John de Grandisson, greatest of the medieval bishops of Exeter, described the western half of his diocese, *i.e.*, western Cornwall, as being inhabited by a people speaking 'Breton.' Yet in 1602, another observer, Sir Richard Carew, stated prophetically "that in a few years the Cornish tongue will be by little and little abandoned." *Kernewek's* rapid and virtually total decline resulted from the consolidation of the English state and the emergence of English imperialism under the Tudors. Of all the Celtic borderlands Cornwall was the most susceptible to the process of centralization; it had long been ruled by absentee overlords, it was sparsely populated, and its geography presented no obstacles – mountains, bogs or ocean – to assimilation. Secondly, after Henry VIII found it more politic to be a reformer rather than a 'Defender of the Faith,' the English liturgy was introduced and vernacular usages, such as the miracle plays and the traditional saints' Lives were suppressed, thereby destroying the one common medium of expression which Cornish possessed. The language might still have survived had not Cornwall, with its numerous ports and sailors, been thrust simultaneously into the front line of England's New World explorations, commercial expansion, and the long naval war with Spain. Drake and Hawkins, those denizens of the Spanish fleet, began almost all of their expeditions from the Cornish coast, while Raleigh, Gilbert and Grenville, all men of Cornish blood, planted the first English colonies in America.

The Cornish people were far from supine in responding to these encroachments. In 1497, resentment at a heavy tax levied by Parliament for an invasion of Scotland touched off a general rebellion in Cornwall, led by a blacksmith, Myghal Josef, and a lawyer, Thomas Flamank, who argued that it was illegal to tax Cornwall for "a little str of the Scots, soon blown

over." Some 15,000 Cornish rebels marched to the outskirts of London, not to fight the King, they claimed, but to petition him. Greatly surprised, Henry Tudor recalled his Scottish army, whose horse and cannon made short work of rebels armed chiefly with bills and bows and arrows. Roughly 2,000 were slain, the ringleaders were hanged, drawn and quartered, and the rest sent home, where, nothing daunted, half of them were soon in revolt again under the Yorkist pretender, Perkin Warbeck. Once more the Cornish rebels marched, to Glastonbury, Exeter and Taunton, only to be deserted at the last by the hapless Warbeck. All Cornwall was fined heavily for their intransigence.

Another uprising broke out in 1549, when, in the effort to promote political and religious unity, the Act of Uniformity imposed the English Prayer Book upon all the King's subjects. The Cornish, already disturbed by the discontinuance of their miracle plays, objected that, since they could not understand English, the new liturgy was no better than a Christmas mumming. The Cornish joined forces with rebels in Devonshire, who likewise detested the religious reforms, and marched on Exeter, which again held out for the Crown and narrowly escaped a one-month siege. The rebels fought the King's troops to a standstill, only to be annihilated when the latter were reinforced by foreign mercenaries en route to yet another Scottish war. So severe were the subsequent reprisals – martial law, exemplary executions, land confiscations, priests hanged from their church towers – that few Cornish people ever again contemplated active resistance to anglicization.

With English the language of government, religion, commerce, education and law, and England more vital and ripe with opportunities for the enterprising gentry than ever before or since, it is scarcely a wonder that Cornish was nearly extinct within a few generations. *Kernewek* simply had no future, and a past but dimly remembered. It is said that the last Cornish sermon was preached in 1677, and that in 1788 the last monoglot Cornish speaker, Dolly Pentreath, was laid to rest. By Victorian times, most Cornish people were not only ignorant of their language; they were also unaware that *Kernewek* or *Kernow* had ever existed. History is nothing if not ironic, for no sooner was Cornwall's Celtic heritage all but forgotten than scholars set about reviving it. In 1859, Edwin Norris published the *Ordinalia* with an English translation, and Whitley Stokes followed with texts and translations of *Guyreans an Bys* in 1864 and *Beunans Meriasek* in 1872. In 1877, the first stirrings of a cultural revival were felt at a celebration of the centenary of the death of Dolly Pentreath. Two years later, the Royal Institute of Cornwall published an essay in *Kernewek* by John Bosen – the first original work in Cornish since the early eighteenth century. In the 1880s, Dr. F.W.P. Jago published his *Glossary of the Cornish Dialect and English-Cornish Dictionary*.

Cornwall's Celtic revival slowly gathered momentum, and in 1901 the Celtic-Cornish Society (*Cowethas Kelto-Kernewek*) was formed to promote the revival of spoken Cornish and to establish a Cornish Gorsedd. The one solid achievement of this short-lived society was the publication of Henry Jenner's *Handbook of the Cornish Language* in 1904. The *Handbook* contained many fragments of Cornish not previously published, but more importantly, it provided a framework for learning *Kernewek* as a living language. That Cornish is today written, read and spoken is largely to the credit of Jenner and his colleagues who learned Cornish by means of his *Handbook*. In the early 20s, they inaugurated the Old Cornwall Movement which led to the establishment of the Cornish Gorsedd in 1928 and the formation of some 40 Old Cornwall Societies to date. Together the Gorsedd and the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies set up language courses and published grammars, dictionaries and extracts from Cornish literature. In 1966, they co-founded the Cornish Language Board to supervise the linguistic functions of both bodies. The Board currently holds classes, examinations and competitions in *Kernewek* and is the principal publisher of language texts in Cornwall.

Modern Cornish literature also began with Jenner, the Gorsedd and the Old Cornwall Movement, and has kept pace with the *Kernewek* revival. As if to start where *Ordinalia* left off, Jenner, Robert Nance and many early writers were drawn to archaic religious themes, or like E. Chirgwin, cultivated a neo-Druidic pantheism. In the 30s and 40s, more original notes were struck in the nature lyrics of P.M. Nance, in Peggy Pollard's *Beunans Alysaryn* – a parody of the medieval miracle play, and in A.S.D. Smith's *Tristan hag Ysolt*. In 1952, E.G.R. Hooper began publishing *An Lef Kernewek*, which until recently was the only periodical written exclusively in Cornish. The 60s witnessed some significant departures from traditional themes and forms in the poetry of A. Snell and Richard Gendall, while N. Williams developed them more fully in his verse dramas, *The Conversion of St. Paul* and *Maylura* – a tragedy of the last independent king of Cornwall. Williams also wrote a satirical play on the nationalist movement entitled, *I'm Only Making Fun*. Of these three, Gendall is the only one still writing in *Kernewek*, and has recently written a number of lyrics for Cornwall's leading folk-singer, Brenda Wootton. Altogether there are upwards of thirty writers publishing in *Kernewek* at present.

Although more people are speaking and writing Cornish now than at any time in the last two centuries, the language

is just beginning to penetrate the public sector. Several theatre companies have staged successful productions of Cornish plays; traditional Cornish songs are regularly performed at folk clubs; *Yeth an Weryn* holds informal social meetings for Cornish speakers at local pubs; many shops and restaurants display Cornish signs and 'Kernow' now appears on border signs between Cornwall and England. However, excepting an occasional arts stipend or tourist board grant, funding for all aspects of the *Kernewek* revival has come from voluntary donations. On the whole, institutions have been indifferent, and, in a few instances, hostile. The leading paper in Cornwall refuses to run advertisements in Cornish; many banks will not cash cheques made out in Cornish; Cornwall has no separate radio or television service, and programming from England rarely touches upon Cornish culture; primary and secondary schools do not offer courses in *Kernewek* and teach little about Celtic Cornwall; Cornwall has no university of its own, and its Institute of Cornish Studies is controlled by Exeter University in Devonshire and is chronically short of funds.

Clearly then, the task of restoring *Kernewek* to something like full status will be a formidable one, particularly since prejudice to Kernow's Celtic past has been institutionalized for over four hundred years. But for those who look to a Celtic future there has been some encouraging signs of late. An increasing number of Cornish churches are holding *Kernewek* services at Christmas and on feast days of Cornish saints. At Redruth secondary school optional courses in *Kernewek* have been introduced, and its teachers have initiated a scheme for a paper in *Kernewek* to be offered in the Certificate of Secondary Education examination. Perhaps the most promising development in recent times was the election in 1976 of Richard Jenkin as Grand Bard of the Cornish Gorsedd. The previous Grand Bard, D.A. Trevanion, is the chairman of a Liberal Party constituency association, and has been critical of the Cornish nationalist movement. Mr. Jenkin, however, is chairman of *Mebyon Kernow*/Sons of Cornwall, the oldest and largest of Cornish nationalist parties. His election to the executive position of Kernow's foremost cultural organization betokens a growing awareness that cultural revival and political self-determination must go hand in hand: that, in the final analysis, to restore a nation's heritage, one must restore the nation itself.

— K.D.G.

GORSETH KERNOW

Since its foundation in 1928, the Cornish Gorsedd has sought to maintain and enhance Cornwall's Celtic heritage through organizing courses in the Cornish language and by encouraging the study and appreciation of Cornish literature, music, art and history. Gorseth Kernow is closely allied with, though independent of the Welsh and Breton Gorsedds, and maintains close ties with such bodies as the International Celtic Congress, the Royal Institution of Cornwall, the Cornish Music Festival, the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, and the Cornish Language Board — which it co-founded and co-directs. Unlike the Gorsedds of Wales and Brittany, Gorseth Kernow has neither Druids nor Ouates, conferring the title of Bard only, either in recognition of some manifestation of the Celtic spirit in work done for Cornwall or as won by evidence of high proficiency in the Cornish language. The Bardship of Cornwall has been conferred on nearly 700 individuals to date, including such internationally known figures as the historian A.L. Rowse, the composer Malcolm Arnold, and Douglas Hyde, founder of the Gaelic League and first President of the Republic of Ireland.

There is evidence of the persistence from earliest times amongst the Celtic people of a class of skilled musicians, singers, poets and men of literature, who were known by the name of "Bardd," from the Ancient Celtic word *Bardos*. These Bards, on occasion, met in assembly for ceremonies during which contests were held in music, poetry and literature, and the place at which such an assembly was held was known as a "Gorsedd," from the Ancient Celtic word *Uerensed* meaning "high seat" or "throne." It is recorded in one of the old Welsh Triads that there were three major gorsedds in the British Isles.

"*Tair Prif-gorsedd Beridd Ynys Prydain, Gorsedd Moel Meriw, Gorsedd Beigawen, Gorsedd Bryn Gwyddon.*" Three principal gorsedds of Britain: the gorsedd of Moel Meriw (at Caerleon), the gorsedd of Beigawen (at Boscawen in Cornwall), the gorsedd of Bryn Gwyddon (at Caer Caradog)." The Boscawen mentioned in the Triad is almost certainly that in the west of Cornwall which is now in the parish of Saint Buryan and known as *Boscawen 'n Un* (Boscawen on the Down), where there is a famous Bronze Age Stone Circle.

By ancient tradition the founder of the Bardic Order was a Bard called Taliesin who lived in the 6th century A.D. Although in fact there had been bards in Britain long before his time, Taliesin's poetry is amongst the oldest remaining bardic

recognition standing, and its members had clearly defined privileges in law. Membership of it implied freedom of status. The Grand Bard was eleventh in order of precedence at the royal court, and on his installation was presented with gifts from the king and queen. He was the head of the whole Bardic Order, and his symbol of authority was the great chair in which he sat. Unlike his modern successor he held office securely for his whole lifetime. Careful instruction was required to make a mature and accomplished bard, and this instruction was usually given by the senior bards. If a candidate passed the required tests, he was, on payment of 24 pence, admitted to the full privileges of the Order.

After the loss of independence of the Celts in Britain there was a slackening and partial disintegration of the whole bardic tradition, and the gorsedds passed out of existence. The bards however, remained in Wales, and some of them, such as Dafydd ap Gwilym (1340-70), a member of a noble family from West Wales, achieved great fame. In Cornwall however, the Bardic Order collapsed completely and such bards as remained by the 12th century were apparently of little note.

Two attempts were made in Wales in the Middle Ages to regulate the bards and distinguish them from the many who travelled about the country styling themselves as bards without actually being such. The first was the statute of Gruffydd ap Iwan which defined minutely the rights and duties of each of the three classes of bards which existed at the time, and later there was the statute of Queen Elizabeth I in 1568. Licences were granted by members of royal commissions to competent bards who had passed the required tests, authorising them to style themselves as bards and thus receive the privileges appertaining to that office. Even these measures did not however stem the decline.

In the 18th century there was a considerable revival of interest in Celtic history and literature and consequently in the Bardic Order. It was late in this century that the next great step in the history of the gorsedd occurred, when Edward Williams (1747-1826) who largely established the present code of gorsedd rules and ceremonies, held a revived gorsedd in 1792. It was, and still is, customary for bards to take a Celtic name on their installation, and Edward Williams is perhaps better known by his bardic name of Iolo Morganwg. He came from Glamorganshire and has been described as a versatile genius with an exceptionally wide knowledge of Celtic literature, antiquities and traditions. He was a very controversial person with a vivid imagination which, in his works, unfortunately often led him to distort historical fact. He was a fine poet, but often attributed his works to other poets, both real and imaginary, which later caused considerable confusion to literary historians. Unfortunately, as he sympathised with the leaders of the French Revolution (1789-93) the gorsedd in these years at the turn of the 19th century was suspect and its bards were identified with the French revolutionaries so that its future did not seem very secure.

Then in 1819 at Carmarthen in South Wales, the gorsedd was combined for the first time with one of the Welsh Eisteddfods, or music and poetry festivals, which had been held periodically in various places in Wales during the centuries since the first recorded one in 1176. The 8th centenary was celebrated at Cardigan in August 1976. The gorsedd of Wales, with its bards in their white, blue or green robes, according to which of the three bardic classes they belong, and the eisteddfod, now known as the Royal National Eisteddfod, have remained together ever since.

Between 1899 (in which year the Breton gorsedd was founded with Welsh support) and 1928, various Cornish men and women became bards of the gorsedds of Wales and Brittany, and a desire arose in Cornwall to re-establish the ancient Cornish gorsedd. The movement which took an early lead in this was the "Covechas Kelto-Kernewek" under its President Sir W.L. Salsbury-Trelawney, Bart, J.P. in 1901, but it was not until 1928 that the first revived Cornish gorsedd was arranged with the assistance of the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies. On Tuesday, August 7th, 1928, seven Cornishmen and a Cornishwoman were made Bards of the Welsh Gorsedd during National Eisteddfod Week at Treorchy in South Wales. That evening Robert Morton Nance, Canon J.S. Carah, Canon Gilbert Doble, Mrs. Annie Pool and J.H. Rowe met to discuss the ceremony of the first Cornish Gorsedd. They agreed that Henry Jenner should be the first Grand Bard of Cornwall, and also considered the names of several distinguished Cornishmen whom they felt should be invited to become Bards of Cornwall. They included A.K. Hamilton Jenkin, Canon Thomas Taylor, C.G. Henderson and John Tregarthen. The Gorsedd was duly held on Friday, September 21st at Boscawen 'n Un — its traditional site — under its Grand Bard Henry Jenner, M.A., F.S.A. (1848-1934), the inauguration being carried out by the Archdruid Pedrog, of the Welsh Gorsedd.

It has always been traditional for winning bards to be presented with some form of award at their musical and literary competitions. When bards competed at the Eisteddfods in the Middle Ages these awards were in the form of small silver brooches, a small silver chair for poetry, a small silver tongue for singing, and a small silver harp for music. Today winners of the competitions held by the Cornish Gorsedd are presented with the Mordon-Caradar Rosebowl for the finest

works, dating from 1400 years ago. In the reign of King Hywel Dda of Wales (A.D. 916-50), the Bardic Order was of poem or essay in the Cornish language, the Morris Cup for the finest poem in the English language, the Rosemary Cup for the best poem or story in Cornish dialect, the Lorgh Vras Cup for musical composition and the Gorsedd Shield for music. These awards are presented annually.

The ceremonial of the Cornish Open Gorsedd is basically that laid down by Edward Williams, except that a stone circle is not necessarily used, and is carried out exclusively in the Cornish language with some parts translated into English as required. After the procession to the gorsedd circle a speech of welcome to the Bards is spoken by the senior member of the Council of the District in which the ceremony is being held. The proceedings begin with the sounding of the horn "Corn Gwlas" as a symbolic call to the four points of the compass, and this is followed by the fine prayer composed by W.S. Gwynn Williams at Llangollen in 1924. After the Ceremony of Peace performed by the Grand Bard the Gorsedd is declared open. The Ceremony of Offering of Fruits of the Earth is made by the Lady of Cornwall, escorted by two young pages, all three being chosen annually for the part. This ceremony is very colourful because it is accompanied by groups of young dancers who perform to the music of the harp. There follows a commemoration of those bards who have died during the preceding year, and this is followed at once by the initiation of the new bards to symbolise the continuation of the existence of the Gorsedd. Each new bard is presented in turn to the Grand Bard who welcomes him to membership of the Gorsedd and bestows his bardic name upon him. Speeches are then made by the delegates of the other Celtic countries, and the awards are presented to the principal winners of the various annual gorsedd competitions. The ceremony is finally closed by an oath of fealty to Cornwall by the assembled bards and a call for peace, after which the procession from the circle takes place.

Each year the Gorsedd visits a different place in Cornwall, alternating usually between west, centre and east, this rule being broken only during World War II (1939-45) when it was held each year in the Royal Institution of Cornwall at Truro. On the day after the Gorsedd, which is a Sunday, the Service of Gwesperow (evensong) is held in the Cornish language, usually in the church of the parish where the Gorsedd ceremony has taken place.

Close co-operation exists between the Cornish Gorsedd and Gorsedds of Wales and Brittany with which official delegates are exchanged. These delegates speak as guests of honour during the annual open gorsedds. Also, in accordance with the decision of the gorsedd of Llangollen, members of each gorsedd are deemed honorary members of the other two, and when present may, if robed, take part in their ceremonial.

The aims of the Cornish Gorsedd, known officially as Gorsyth Bryth Kernow or Gorsyth Kernow, are to maintain the national Celtic spirit of Cornwall; to encourage the study of literature, art, music and history in Cornwall; to encourage the study and use of the Cornish language; to link Cornwall with the other Celtic countries; and to promote co-operation amongst those who work for the honour of Cornwall. Entry into the Gorsedd is by invitation, and is limited to those who are judged to be worthy on account of their work in the arts, literature, music, poetry, research in the field of history and archaeology or to those who have attained a high standard of proficiency, by examination, in the Cornish language. Occasionally invitations are issued to people who have achieved distinction in public life in Cornwall. Between September 1928 and September 1976, the Bardship of Cornwall was conferred upon 665 persons.

— William Morris (Haldreyn)

Reprinted from *The Gorsedd and its Bards in Britain*, published by Gorsyth Kernow: Peter Laws, Hon. Secretary, 2, Domington Road, Penzance, Kernow.



The awen is the symbol of the gorsedd. The three diverging lines are a representation of the name of God.

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BORLASE, WILLIAM (1695-1772) — Born in Penzance, Cornwall, and long time rector of Lidgevan Parish, he made extensive studies of the natural history and antiquities of Cornwall and the Scilly Isles and presented his collection of fossils and artifacts to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. In conducting his antiquarian research he recorded a number of folk customs, legends and beliefs and was one of the first antiquaries to speculate on the tribal and ritual associations of megalithic sites.

CAREW, SIR RICHARD (1555-1620) — Born in East Antony, Cornwall, he entered Oxford at the age of 11 where he was a classmate of Sir Philip Sydney's. For many years he held the offices of High-Sheriff and Treasurer of the Duchy of Cornwall. A true child of the Renaissance, he was well-versed in the classics and fluent in many European tongues, translating Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* into English in 1594. He was intimate with the leading antiquaries of the age — Spelman, Norden, Camden and Diddridge — and took a keen interest in the continental chronicles and the history, traditions and legends of Cornwall. His famous *Survey*, written in a fine vigorous style, presents an excellent portrait of Cornish society at the height of the Elizabethan period.

DOBLE/SAINTS OF CORNWALL — Celtic Christianity was rooted deeply in Cornwall, which, like Brittany, has a wealth of place names commemorating local saints. The Cornish saints were also folk heroes of sorts, and their hagiologies frequently incorporated elements of Celtic myth and folklore. Despite the near total conversion of Cornwall to Protestantism, memories of the saints and their shrines and holy places survived among Cornish people into modern times.

DU MAURIER, DAPHNE — Many of her historical novels are set in Cornwall where she has lived for many years. Her considerable narrative and descriptive talents place *Vanishing Cornwall* high above the pedestrian run of travel-lore. Her love for Cornwall is evident and her amalgam of folklore, history and autobiography is skillful and engrossing yet her analysis of Cornwall's critical social and economic difficulties is weak and misleading. Nowhere is the exploitative English connection even alluded to and her scanting of the cultural revival all but renders the vanishing act *fait accompli*. So many English tourists have deigned to patronize the 'delectable Duchy' after reading her work that, as one Cornish writer put it, "much of Kernow has vanished all the more swiftly." Nevertheless, the book provides a good general introduction to Cornwall and can be obtained most anywhere.

DUNSTAN/CORNISH SONG BOOK — Although Sharp, Baring-Gould and a few others had collected some melodies and lyrics in Cornwall as early as the 1890s, the richness, vitality and separateness of the Cornish folk music tradition were not recognized until Dunstan published his *Leyer Canow Kernewek* in 1929. This heritage was enhanced by the appearance of composer Ingilis Gundry's collection of Cornish folk songs, *Canow Kernow*, in 1966 and J. Worden's *Carolyow* in 1971.

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GRIGSON/SCILLY ISLES — Despite a total area of 6 square miles and a population of 2,000 this archipelago of five small islands and many islets 25 miles west of Land's End has inspired over a dozen histories. Several of the islands have been continuously inhabited since Neolithic times and have known Celtic saints, Vikings, medieval pirates, many garrisons and countless smugglers. During the English Civil Wars the Cornish Royalist, Sir Richard Grenville, used the Scillies as a base from which to harass Commonwealth ships, and Prince Charles (Charles II) found temporary sanctuary on St. Mary's in 1645. The islands were in the front lines throughout both World Wars, and in 1937 were the site of the Coronation celebrations of King George VI.

HAWKER, ROBERT STEPHEN (1804-1875) — Born in Devonshire, Hawker was for forty years vicar of Morwenston Parish on Cornwall's rugged and solitary northwest coast, where every rock and ruin is surrounded with its atmosphere of pagan or Christian legend. Such an environment was most congenial to one innately mystical and so markedly unconventional that casual observers sometimes thought him mad. Many of Hawker's numerous poems and ballads were suggested by Cornish legendary lore, especially that portion of it which deals with Christian history or could be made subservient to Christian mysticism. His work is characterized by a childlike humanity and an appreciation of the purely sensuous side of nature, and a simplicity and spontaneity of expression. He often worked with Arthurian themes, e.g. "The Quest of the Sangreal," and his "Song of the Western Men" (much admired by Dickens, MacAulay and Scott) was adopted as an unofficial national anthem and is now sung in a variety of ways.

HENDERSON, CHARLES (1900-1933) — A founding member of Gorsyth Kernow, Henderson was called "first of Cornish scholars" by one who currently holds that distinction: A.L. Rowse. His brilliant essays on Cornish history and culture were instrumental not only in furthering the Celtic revival in Cornwall but also in attracting a measure of international attention to Cornish life for the first time in many years. His early death was a tragedy of the greatest magnitude for all concerned with Cornish culture.

LARN/CORNISH SHIPWRECKS — The "boot" of Cornwall extends directly into Britain's western shipping lanes and its rugged shoreline affords little or no shelter during Atlantic gales. Before the days of supertankers more ships were wrecked along the Cornish coast than anywhere else in the British Isles. Larn's three volume work is well-written, copiously illustrated and exhaustive in its treatment of an important aspect of Cornish history. In the past, salvage from shipwrecks and their victims often meant the difference between subsistence and starvation for many inhabitants of coastal Cornwall. Although the poor considered the "rights of wreck" as their birthright, it required great ingenuity and alacrity on their part to defend it from equally predatory local lords who usually enforced their claims by armed retainers. Larn dispels the old and widely-circulated myth of deliberate "wrecking" of vessels by luring them onto the rocks, and provides ample testimony of the matchless skill and courage with which Cornwall's volunteer lifeboat crews have always distinguished themselves.

LAWS, PETER — For many years he has been a teacher in adult education programs in Cornwall, and is currently secretary of the Gorsedd. His books are readily available in North America from David & Charles Publishers, North Pomfret, Vermont.

LELAND, JOHN (1506-1552) — Librarian and chaplain to King Henry VIII, Leland received a novel commission in 1533 as the King's antiquary with power to search for relics, records and manuscripts in

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all the cathedrals, colleges and religious houses in Britain. From 1534 to 1542 he executed this task, travelling through Cornwall in 1538. Thereafter, he was occupied with compiling, among other things, a topography of England and the adjacent islands, an account of the British nobility, and a history of British antiquities. Leland never completed these great undertakings, being certified insane in March 1550 and dying shortly afterwards. His manuscripts were first edited in nine volumes by Thomas Hearne; scattered portions were re-edited by L.T. Smith in 1909.

MICHELL/THE OLD STONES OF LAND'S END — More megalithic structures are found on the western tip of Cornwall than any area of comparable size in Europe, excepting Carnac, Brittany. Michell is well-known for his original and compelling interpretations of pre-history. His comprehensive study of dolmens, menhirs, stone circles and passage graves at forty-four sites on Land's End presents the most convincing evidence yet advanced in support of the ley lines theory — straight lines on which megalithic sites, it is argued, were precisely aligned with each other over distances varying from a few miles to a few hundred.

PAYTON/AUSTRALIA'S LITTLE CORNWALL — "Wherever there's a whole in the ground you'll find a Cornishman at the bottom" which is to say that, wherever metals are mined 'Cousin Jacks' have settled. Silver, lead, copper and gold strikes attracted droves of Cornish miners to South Australia throughout the nineteenth century. Their origins, fortunes, descendants, and continuing traditions are the subjects of Payton's illustrated history.

PEARCE/THE KINGDOM OF DUMNONIA — An important work in a neglected area of that most inaptly named epoch: the Dark Ages. Place names, Latin and Ogam inscriptions, excavated sites and documentary evidence are discussed in relation to the Christianisation of Britain's southwestern peninsula, where Celt and Saxon mixed in a border zone for generations. Interrelated traditions involving the historical kingdom of Dumnonia, the Arthurian legends and the Lives of the Saints are critically considered, and the impact and consequences of the twelfth century Celtic revival are discussed.

POOL/THE PLACE NAMES OF WEST PENWITH — A gazetteer of the settlement names of the Land's End Peninsula with interpretations and a long introduction explaining the Cornish words found in the names. This is the first modern study of Cornish place names in any area larger than a parish. Pool is a past President of the Royal Institution of Cornwall.

QUILLER-COUCH, ARTHUR (1863-1944) — He published several volumes of poetry and critical pieces, and under the pen-name 'Q' wrote many stories, sketches and novels set in his native Cornwall. He is best known as the editor of the *Oxford Book of English Poetry* and several other anthologies in that series. From 1912 to his death he was a professor of English Literature at Cambridge University.

RAWE, DONALD — As director of Lodenek Press, he has published many long out-of-print works of Cornish literature. Rawe has written many plays on Cornish historical and religious themes and is director of the Cornish Theatre Group - Kernow Productions. *Padstow's Obby-Oss*, or *hobby-horse*, capers in the village streets every May Day to welcome in the Summer. Rawe explores connections of today's relatively tame ritual with other Beltaine/May Day practices and with kindred figures from Celtic mythology, e.g., Epona, the horse goddess.

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BRADFORD BARTON — Truro, Kernow, UK.

CORNISH LANGUAGE BOARD — c/o Ms. Joyce Foster, 39 Northfield Drive, Truro, Kernow, UK.

DAVID & CHARLES — North Pomfret, Vermont, 05053, USA — Newton Abbot, Kernow, UK.

HEADLAND PRINTERS — Bread St., Penzance, Kernow, UK.

LODENEK PRESS — 14/16 Market St., Padstow, Kernow, UK.

P.A.S. POOL — 37 Morrab Rd., Penzance, Kernow, UK.

OUTRIGGER PUBLISHERS — 1 Von Tempsky St., Hamilton, New Zealand.

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ROWSE, A.L. — Like Quiller-Couch, he was born in Cornwall and educated at Oxford. He is without question the leading Elizabethan scholar of our time — perhaps of all time; a three volume *Annotated Shakespeare* with over 4,000 illustrations is the most recent fruit of his intimacy with the period. In *Tudor Cornwall*, a model of social history, Rowse examined the impact of the Reformation on Cornwall and its subsequent transformation from a provincial adjunct to British history into one of its central arenas. Roughly one half of *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* is devoted to England's colonization of Celtic Britain and Ireland, while *The Cousin Jacks* offers a comprehensive account of the Cornish in North America.

WHETTER, DR. JAMES — He is founder and chairman of the Cornish nationalist Party and editor of the Party's quarterly magazine, *The Cornish Banner/An Baner Kernewek*. The latter is a well-designed and interesting publication which features book reviews, articles on contemporary Cornish affairs and Cornish history, CNP policy statements, and pieces dealing with oppressed minority cultures throughout the world.

RECORDINGS

CORNISH LANGUAGE BOARD — (lang.) See below.

CORNISH SUMMER SCHOOL — (lang.) c/o Ms. J.E. Petchey, 82 Cornish Crescent, Truro, Kernow, UK.

KERNOW PAN-CELTIC — (music) c/o Mervyn Davey, 'Cley Ylow,' 13 Tresawla Court, Tolvaſdon, nr. Camborne, Kernow, UK.

SENTINEL RECORDS — (music and lang.) Newlyn, nr. Penzance, Kernow, UK.



ÉIRE

IRELAND

CUMANN MERRIMAN

Cumann Merriman/The Merriman Society is named after Brian Merriman (1747-1805), author of the celebrated satirical poem *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche/The Midnight Court*. In some one thousand lines of rhymed couplets the Clare poet lampooned Irish puritanism with such licentious wit and vigor that Frank O'Connor's translation of *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* was banned for many years after its appearance in the early twentieth century. The spirit and substance of the whole can be sensed in a few pithy lines from a more recent rendition by David Marcus:

The court considered the country's crisis
And what do you think its main advice is —
That unless there's a spurt in procreation
We can bid goodbye to the Irish nation . . .

The aims of Cumann Merriman since its foundation in 1967 have been to promote interest in Brian Merriman, his work, the traditions of Thomond (Northwest Munster), in the Irish language, and in Irish and local history generally. Each year the Merriman Society conducts a week-long Summer School and publishes a work by a Gaelic writer. The most recent publication, *Éire-Meiricea*, is a collection of articles dealing with the relationship between Ireland and America as discussed at the 1976 Summer School which honored the American bi-centennial.

Ballyvaughan, on the edge of the Burren in Co. Clare, was the site of the 12th annual Summer School, which was held during the last week of August, 1979 being the centenary of the founding of the Land League, the theme of this year's school was *Tír agus Teallach/Land, Language and People*. Two seminars were held: one in English, "The Changing Landscape of Ireland," and one in Irish, "Tír agus Talamh sa Litríocht/Country and Land in Literature," while lectures were given on Michael Davitt, the founder of the Land League, on the rural village in Irish history, and on law and agrarian disorder. Other features included a bus tour of the 'Big Houses' in the area, art exhibits, and readings from their own works by the poets Thomas Kinsella and Liam O Murchu and the short-story writer Frank Phelan.

The Summer School was officially opened by William J. Shannon, U.S. Ambassador to Ireland, whose forebears came from County Clare and who has written extensively on the Irish in America. Claran MacMathuna, Chairman of Cumann Merriman, delivered the opening address in which he warned that the land for which so many generations of Irish people had fought was now threatened by "a new and deadlier weapon — the foreign check-book." Mr. MacMathuna continued: "The land of Ireland has always been inseparably tied up with the history of the consciousness of the Irish people. The land and landscape of Ireland are a precious heritage, and the Government and the people of this country are the trustees of this heritage. Let us hope that agricultural, industrial and other kinds of progress do not destroy or pollute our landscape and environment; the danger is very great."

Membership of Cumann Merriman is open to everybody on payment of an annual subscription (£3.00 or \$7.00) for which the member will receive information on Cumann Merriman activities and a copy of the current year's publication. Subscriptions are payable to: An Runai, 24 Pairc Atha na mBo, Baile Atha Cliath 7.

ERIUGENA

In 1976 a new Irish £5 note was introduced bearing a portrait of a man named Scotus; in September 1977 a special 12p postage stamp was issued bearing a portrait (very unlike the other) of a man named Eriugena. Both, however, refer to the same Irish ninth century philosopher-theologian, whose full name is Johannes Eriugena – John the Irishman. He is also known as Johannes Scottus (or Scotus) which, since 'Scottus' up to the eleventh century meant 'Irish', comes to the same thing. It is best, however, to refer to him as Eriugena (pronounced *Er-you-jen-ah*, with the stress accent on the *you*) because this avoids confusion of the Irish philosopher of the ninth century with Duns Scotus, who was a Scottish philosopher of the thirteenth.

The earliest work of Eriugena, possibly from around 840 AD, explains the meanings of over fifty Latin words by the use of Old Irish terms, but the question arises if he was lecturing to or writing then for an Irish audience at home or in his later habitat, Laon in France. We cannot know. We do know, however, that he was called Eriugena (born in Ireland) and was described by Prudentius of Troyes as having come from Ireland. So there is evidence of his being born in Ireland. The date of his birth is unknown. As however, we have works of his from about 840 and 850 AD and he is not reliably heard of after 877 we infer that he was born in the first quarter of the ninth century. We do not know if he received his basic education (especially his knowledge of Greek) in Ireland or in France or elsewhere. It is clear, nevertheless, that he *could* have got such an education in Ireland at that time.

By 850, Eriugena had arrived at the court of the Emperor, Charles the Bald, in or near Laon, north-east of Paris. There he was a master at the Palace School. His reputation for learning was great enough to win for him some important writing commissions – notably the Emperor's invitation to translate the works of Dionysius the Areopagite. Eriugena became well known in ecclesiastical circles, but we have no evidence that he was a cleric of any kind. He had Irish friends about him and had access to the Emperor – as a story tells us. The Emperor, sitting across a table from Eriugena, asked mockingly: "What separates a Scot from a sot?" "The table only!" rejoined Eriugena.

William of Malmesbury recounts that after the Emperor's death, Eriugena was brought first to Oxford and then to the Abbey of Malmesbury. There his pupils stabbed him to death with their sharp iron styles. He was buried in the great church of the Abbey and was honoured as saint and martyr. He had considerable influence on successors, especially on those interested in mysticism.

In the main, his earliest work was grammatical, gradually, however, veering towards the philosophical. By the time he had advanced into his greatest work, the *de divisione naturae*, his interest was overwhelmingly philosophical. It is important to realise that to Eriugena there was no strict separation between philosophy and theology: insofar as one might distinguish between them, one was a human search for truth, while the other was a divine revelation of ultimately the same truth – for the Creator was the unique origin of all truth. In general, then, Eriugena's method is to take the data of revelation and attempt to 'explain' them using every human resource. The approach is intensely intellectual. The scope, moreover, of his work is large and impressive. Consequently, Copleston's estimate of it in his *History of Philosophy* as "standing out like a lofty rock in the midst of a plain", seems just. Eriugena is the dominant intellectual figure between Augustine and Thomas Aquinas.

His theme is Creation: how created things proceed from and return to the Creator. He may have started out to view the matter in terms partly Aristotelian and partly Augustinian, but as soon as he became acquainted with the work of Dionysius the Areopagite and with the teachings of the Greek Fathers, he departed fairly radically from the traditional philosophical and theological speculation of the West. It must be remembered, however, that to Eriugena and his contemporaries Dionysius the Areopagite was the disciple of St. Paul mentioned in Acts xviii.34 and spoke with the infallible authority of St. Paul. In fact, the works attributed to Dionysius were probably written in the sixth century by a Syrian monk. It must be remembered too that Augustine, and Ambrose even more so, while frequently disassociating themselves from Neo-Platonism, which was the last pagan challenge to Christianity, on occasion appear to have accepted, to a surprising degree, many fundamental teachings of Neo-Platonism, especially in relation to the origin and destiny of the world. Nevertheless, for all his invocation of the authorities of Dionysius and Augustine, Eriugena's teachings, because of his being indicated as a source of certain later views held to be erroneous, and his work in general were condemned by Councils of

Vercelli in 1050 and of Rome in 1059 and finally by a Bull of Honorius III in 1225. Such condemnations, whether deserved or not, do not affect his standing as a philosopher.

How can one summarise very briefly Eriugena's thought or convey the character of his writing? His final thesis is that God is all things and all things are God, but he intends such a statement to imply participation, according to differing modes of being, and not pantheism. We cannot know *what* God is, only *that* he is. We can speak more truly of God negatively than affirmatively, but it is better to speak in terms of transcendence: it is better to say that God is not 'good', rather than that he is 'good', since goodness cannot be understood apart from badness; it is safest to say that God is 'beyond-goodness'. God, however, reveals himself in 'theophanies' or manifestations of himself, but he can never be seen.

God combines in himself both repose and movement. Procession of created things from God is in our minds only. In that procession incorporeal things become corporeal, and in the consequent regression of creatures to God, corporeal things become incorporeal again. The first 'created' things are the first causes of all other things intelligible and sensible: these first causes are goodness, essence, life, wisdom, truth, intelligence, reason, justice, peace and so on. They are formed in the Word of God in their contemplating and knowing that Word. Being is knowledge: "the knowledge of the things that are is the things that are". The first causes were created always. Creation and the Creator are inseparable, but the Creator rises above creation in his perpetuity.

Man's first condition, that of spiritual form, which is a spiritual body, is unchangeable. The material body is added from outside his nature and is both superfluous and changeable. This material body dissolves and does not persist. Thus the good and the evil will live forever, enjoying the spirituality and incorruptibility of body, the same glory of their nature, the same essence, the same eternity. But they will have differing fantasies – the good of God's theophanies, the evil of mortal things, false and varied according to their evil thoughts.

There we shall have to leave Eriugena. What has been said cannot do credit to the extraordinary subtlety and elevation of his thinking, the poetry (rather rhetorical) of his style and his generous humanity.

by John J. O'Meara

Dr. O'Meara, Secretary of the Eriugenan Society, is Professor of Latin at University College, Dublin. Author of several books and numerous articles on classical and philosophical themes, he is best known to international scholarship in Neo-Platonic and Augustinian studies, in which fields he is a recognised authority. His book, Eriugena, (Mercier Press, Cork, 1969) was published by the Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland.

Reprinted from *Ireland Today*, No. 920, 15 December 1977, with the kind permission of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Dublin.

PAGEANT OF PEARSE

Yes, I remember 1916! Although I was a child at the time I was quite clear about the issues involved in the Easter Rising.

Every evening during that momentous week, with a friend, I made my way to the Railway Station in our Kerry town to meet the passengers descending from the train from Dublin. Of each passenger I asked the same question "Who's winning in Dublin?"

Some of the travellers were grimly amused at my query and brushed me aside.

Then a tall Sergeant-Major of the British Army, an Irishman serving in France stopped short as I put the question. "O'Connell Street is a sheet of flame!" he said. Then as he strode away he added rather sadly, "And I'm on the wrong side, sonny."

The memory of that incident is being clarified once again for me as I write the Commemorative Pageant to mark the Centenary of the birth of Padraig Pearse.

Writing a pageant involves a completely different approach to that of writing a novel, a poem, a short

story or even a play to which it bears some resemblance. For one thing, the subject matter of a pageant is heroic and the trivial is completely out of place in it.

Researching the pageant, one must read widely, all the time on the alert for a scene or incident endowed with compressed heroic characteristics.

Padraig Pearse himself was a brilliant resolute but complex man with very many facets to his character. He was patriot, writer, editor, leader, family man, organizer, lawyer, business man, mystic, educator: he was also a rare mixture of idealism and practicality with the ability to bridge the fatal Celtic Chasm that so often lies between the dream and the deed.

But first, no matter how heroic the proportions of what I essay, I must establish him as a human being, caught, if one likes to put it that way, in the toils of superhuman events. One cannot establish rapport with a spirit: a character on stage often takes on verisimilitude only as a result of displaying human shortcomings, flaws and fears, and his heroism is measured by the style or manner of his confrontation with forces that tower above him. And let no one doubt for a moment that Pearse foresaw clearly the terrifying forces he had to challenge and his own ultimate fate.

Propaganda, I feel, would be a betrayal of Pearse the Idealist nor would he be served by an exercise in chauvinism. The events of his life speak for themselves. In its essence the Easter Rising was a poetic gesture conceived by a poetic few, poetically executed with the object of redeeming a people from bondage and humiliation — this deprivation existing even on the subsistence level.

How, then to compress the rich, scintillating, dramatic, violent and tranquil episodes in the life of this most unusual man who felt the confluence of Irish and English blood in his veins, into acceptable terms upon a stage with its limitations on space and time? I visualize components such as narration, tableau, mime, dance, poetry and balladry, colour change and choral comment, with the full use of offstage effects. And a team of the finest actors available.

I must however concentrate on Pearse himself since this commemoration is essentially his so that I cannot pay full tribute to all the participants in the Rising. As I see it, the first half of the pageant will deal with the boyhood of Pearse and the events leading up to Easter Week — the speech at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa, his visit to U.S. and Connemara, his work for the

Gaelic League, his association with Connolly, Clarke, McDonagh, Plunkett, O'Rahilly and the others. The second half will be set in the front hall of the G.P.O. from Monday to Saturday in that week that marked a turning point in the history of Ireland.

I am fortunate in having Martin Dempsey as producer, a man who has already produced two major pageants of mine — "Seachtar Fear: Seacht La" and "Remember Limerick" both with great success. Martin is a most resourceful and versatile man with a wide knowledge of music and I am looking forward eagerly to working with him again.

Meanwhile, I continue to search and sift in libraries and in memories. I don't know what it is I am seeking until I find it! As byproducts of research I have stumbled on some unexpected treasure.

I discover for instance that two sailors, one a Finn, the other a Swede, banged on the door of the G.P.O. during the fighting, and on being cautiously admitted, explained in broken English that they themselves belonged to small nations and would like to strike a blow for Irish freedom. They were given rifles and posted to the roof of the building.

I also recall a story told me by my good friend the late Eamon Dore of Limerick, one of the G.P.O. garrisons. It seems that the Volunteers when tunnelling through to adjoining buildings, broke into a room which held, in effect, a small waxwork display. Arriving later, on a tour of inspection, Pearse was astonished to find the waxwork figure of Napoleon winking at him. The Irish leader's wearied and smoke-darkened face creased into a smile when he realized that one of the garrison had impishly donned the Napoleonic uniform.

Small human incidents these amid the fire and flame of Easter Week. It is my rather daunting task to fuse them in a dignified and heroic unity.

— Dr. Bryan MacMahon

— Reprinted from *Comoradh*, newsletter of the Pearse Commemorative Committee, Vol. 1, No. 1.



Republican banner taken after Easter Week, 1916.

THE MANY-SIDED CHARACTER OF PEARSE

Pearse is most often remembered as the Revolutionary patriot but we must never forget that there were many other Pearses.

Pearse the Teacher deserves our closest attention, for not merely did he propound vague theories on education but he proceeded through the medium of St. Enda's College which he founded, to put them into successful practice.

Then there was Pearse the writer who was a pioneer in literature. He was one of the first who broke the convention of oral tale and tried to bring the Irish short story into the 20th Century.

Then there was Pearse the Orator, Pearse the Poet and Playwright, Pearse the Editor, Pearse the Linguist, Pearse the Private Man, Pearse the Mystic, Pearse the Organizer and Generator of Enthusiasm and Pearse the Business man and Artist.

In 1979, the Centenary Year of his birth it will be our task to discover and explore the several roles of this remarkable man.

It seems fair to say that Padraig Pearse was a most reluctant revolutionary and moved towards physical force only as a very last resort. He could not bear to inflict suffering on any living thing — this is evidenced all through his work. He was happiest in the playing fields of St. Enda's or among the crags of Connemara. His abhorrence of the needless shedding of blood is clearly set forth in his unequivocal statement "If a nation can achieve its freedom without bloodshed, it is its duty so to obtain it."

It was only when he despaired of justice in the national and social sense, when for instance the implementation of the Home Rule Bill was suspended, when the Irish language seemed about to be extinguished, when all traces of an idealistic native identity seemed on the point of being obliterated, that he took on a more decisive role.

*I turned my face
To the road before me
To the deed I would do
To the death I would die.*

Padraig Pearse's father, James, was born in Bloomsbury, England and had settled in Dublin as a monumental sculptor. James had a free-thinking father and a

Unitarian mother. He had heard Parnell declare "No man has the right to set a boundary to the march of a nation." Later James wrote a pamphlet on the Home Rule question. A widower with two children, he married Margaret Brady, a young girl from the County Meath — there were four children of the marriage of whom Patrick was the eldest. His only brother, Willie, was also executed after the Easter Rising.

From a Brady great-aunt, a former teacher, Patrick as a boy got a great deal of first-hand information about Irish History. She knew all about the Fenians and the Land League, the Young Ireland movement, the insurrections of '67 and '48 — she had even spoken to men who had been out in 1798 and who had made their final romantic and symbolic stand at Tara. Two ancestors of hers had died in 1798. She had lived through the Famine years and had conversed with friends of Tone and Emmet. She had a store of ballads which she sang in Irish and in English.

In Padraig she found a ready listener to her vivid tales. The picture of the boy conversing with his aunts is one that abides in Irish memory.

The patriots who influenced Pearse were Tone, Mitchel, Davis and Lalor. He always referred to them as his Ghosts. "The Ghosts of dead men have bequeathed a trust to us living men" he says. "The Ghosts of a nation sometimes ask very big things: and they must be appeased whatever the cost."

Tone laid down the principles of Irish separatism. His aim was "to unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of past dissensions, to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter".

Davis said that no matter what gifts were bestowed on Ireland she would never remain a province.

Lalor demanded "the right to raise up a free people — strong as well as free". He gave Ireland her battle cries.

Mitchel, a master of the English language expressed his desire for freedom in phrases that echoed the Apocalypse.

These were the four major Ghosts. Two others were Emmet and Parnell.

Out of all these Six, only one was a Catholic.

Nationalistic reasons apart, an insurrection in Ireland was inevitable on social grounds.

Dublin at this period was one of the most deprived cities in Europe. It has been portrayed as such in the works of O'Casey and Joyce.

100,000 people in the city lived in one room tenements.

The wages of a labouring man were 18/- per week.

One half of all the deaths in the Dublin of the period occurred in charitable institutions.

The west of Ireland was scourged by tuberculosis

which had its basis in malnutrition.

With busby and scarlet jacket the British Army recruiting sergeant, accompanied by a drummer, moved through the throngs. He offered glory, escape – and death, far far from Ireland.

The Easter Rising was as much a protest against these horrific conditions as it was against the extinction of Irish identity.

– Dr. Bryan McMahon

– Reprinted from *Comhaltas*, newsletter of Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann.

AGONY AT EASTER

The very presence of Pearse, his quiet, brooding, suffering dignity, his fearless, irrevocable, absolute commitment to his cause, wiped out all lesser considerations about him. In his face was etched the heavy, Christ-like responsibility he had taken upon himself for the men around him and for all Ireland. Despite his political inexperience, his military innocence, and his evident impracticality, he was the mystical heart that pumped blood into this rebellion, and he knew it. The fate of every human being around him bore down on him; he was relieved only by the knowledge that Ireland had actually risen once again in arms, had again punctuated her claim to freedom. The uprising would no doubt result in his death, but it would also vindicate his generation of Irishmen, and it would spark the coming generation to finish what was beginning here.

–Thomas Coffey

comhaltas
ceoltoiri
eireann



Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann was founded in 1951 at a time when native Irish music and culture had all but reached the point of no return. Today, largely through the efforts of this movement, Irish traditional music, song, and dance are enjoying a vitality never before experienced in modern Irish history.

Comhaltas is an international movement; it has 400 branches in Ireland, Britain, the U.S., Canada and Australia. It has 40 annual festivals, 400 classes teaching traditional music, 3 annual concert tours abroad, a radio program, a magazine, tutors, records, and numerous other projects. Its most recent achievement is *Culturlann na hEireann*, the Irish Cultural Institute at 32 Belgrave Square, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.

The *Culturlann* will help to further enhance Irish traditional culture by providing much-needed services and facilities for musicians and students of music. The upper level of the spacious Victorian building houses an extensive library of books and tapes, an instrument workshop, and a recording studio, while the downstairs area has been transformed into a traditional country kitchen, where musicians, dancers and singers perform in surroundings reminiscent of rural Ireland. Although guests are always welcome, one should try to visit during July or August, when in-house workshops are held by some of the finest musicians and singers in Ireland. At this time one can also attend performances of *Fomtraí*, a folk theater show in which common strands from Irish myth, legend and folklore are interwoven through music, dance, poetry and song.

With over 350 branches in Ireland, *Comhaltas* is engaged in an ongoing nationwide effort to expand and enhance its facilities. Counties Clare and Kerry, with 30 and 43 chapters respectively, have been very much to the forefront of the *Comhaltas* movement. Clare has become synonymous with Irish traditional music, and the same could be said of Kerry in regard to dancing. Both areas will soon have facilities similar to the *Culturlann*'s on a smaller scale.

In Ennis, Co. Clare, the *Cois na h-Abhainn* building, currently under construction, will provide a full, year-round program of music, singing, dancing and language classes. For its Kerry headquarters, *Comhaltas* is renovating an old two-story structure in Tralee. The upstairs is being converted into a theater, while the ground floor will accommodate the more informal sessions as well as a large selection of books, records, tapes and instruments. Traditional entertainment will be offered every night throughout the Summer, with the emphasis on education the rest of the year.

Every year some 500,000 people attend *Comhaltas* functions. The festival season begins the last weekend in May with the *Fleadh Nua* in Ennis, Co. Clare. Marching bands, *Ceili* bands, musicians and dancers of every age and description, balladeers and story-tellers, scores of floats, straw boys, wren boys and biddy boys outlandishly costumed – all commingle in a festive display of folk traditions that attracts both the purist and the tourist alike.

During the summer months, *Comhaltas* stages over 500 performances in Ireland. Many of these are concerts given by *Seisíon* groups throughout the country. Each group consists of nine performers with its own producer and program. By involving as many local people as possible, especially young persons, these *Seisíon* groups represent the depth and vitality of the *Comhaltas* movement. Many of these young performers go on to compete in the County and Provincial *Fleadhanna Cheoil* festivals, and the very best of them are selected for the All-Ireland *Fleadh Cheoil*.

The *Fleadh Cheoil* takes place the last weekend in August at a different venue each year. It is the grand exposition, World Cup, and Mardi Gras of Irish traditional music rolled into one. This three day "feast of music" has drawn upwards of 50,000 people in recent years, a goodly number of whom come armed with instruments and tape recorders. Not only is the *Fleadh Cheoil* Ireland's foremost traditional music festival, it is also quite possibly the world's largest and longest musical workshop. Most come to learn as well as listen, and one is apt to hear memorable music in the shops, streets and pubs as in the concert halls.

One of the more interesting aspects of the *Comhaltas* movement is its great success outside Ireland. That a cultural organization of this kind should flourish in its native land is understandable, but its progress in Britain, Australia, Canada and the U.S.A. is indicative of the intrinsic appeal and value of the *Comhaltas* movement. There are 30 branches in Britain, 15 in the U.S., 3 in Canada and 2 in Australia. Each group organizes weekly get-togethers, and most conduct classes for young musicians as well. These foreign groups have been instrumental in financing *Comhaltas* projects in Ireland, and have been especially supportive of *Culturlann na hEireann*. Every year, thousands of *Comhaltas* members and supporters from abroad compete in the *Fleadhanna Cheoil* and other events. Often they return home with prizes from these competitions.

Since 1971, the outstanding dancers, singers and musicians of *Comhaltas* have annually toured the United States, Canada, Australia and Britain. These concerts have been so well received in North America that the itinerary becomes more extensive every Autumn. In fact, a Spring tour of the West Coast is now a distinct possibility.

There are perhaps more people playing and listening to Irish traditional music these days than at any time in the last two hundred years; a generation ago, when *Comhaltas* was formed, the reverse was true. Without the efforts of *Comhaltas* and a few men of singular genius, such as Sean O'Riada and Ciaran MacMathuna, it would be difficult to conceive of an Irish traditional music revival – even survival would be questionable. Similar movements now manifesting themselves in the other Celtic countries would be equally inconceivable. Outside of Ireland, traditional Celtic music has yet to progress from survival to revival, and thence, to a new birth and flowering. Only in Brittany does any movement resembling *Comhaltas* exist. It is high time, indeed, that Cornwall, Scotland, Wales and Man follow the example of *Comhaltas* in Ireland; for time is running out.

For further information on *Comhaltas* write to any of the following:

– K.D.G.

IRELAND
C.C.E.
Belgrave Square
Monkstown, Co. Dublin

BRITAIN
Miss Mary Coghlan
91, Childwall Road
Liverpool L15 6UR

CANADA
Mr. Brian Breathnach
37 George Vanier
Ile Verte
Laval, P.Q. H7Y 1K1

UNITED STATES
Mr. Bill McEvoy
928 Hawkins Avenue
Long Island, NY 11755
(516) 588-3709

THE CIRCLE AND THE CROSS

This project is being sponsored by Earthwatch, a non-profit organization which offers anyone between the ages of 16 and 75 the opportunity to participate in field research. One may join Earthwatch for a year by making a \$15.00 tax deductible contribution, and may reserve a place on any expedition through an advance payment of \$150.00.

The history of Erin, known today as Ireland, is really the history of the Celts. As a non-literate, agrarian society, the Celts developed a highly complex religion based upon the power of the earth, as well as some of the richest oral poetry in the English language.

Geographical isolation has made Ireland unique. As Roman legions spread across Europe throughout the third century, conquering all in their path, Ireland was culturally unaffected. While barbarian tribes scourged the continent in the fourth and fifth centuries, pillaging and sacking, Ireland enjoyed the "Age of Saints" — a period of tranquility and learning. Because of this isolation, the Celtic religious heritage remained intact. When St. Patrick introduced Christianity in the fifth century, it was accepted because it complemented the highly structured, earth-centered religion of the Celts. The two religions did not blend — rather, they accommodated each other. The Festival of Beltaine, the Celtic celebration of May Day, is an example of such accommodation — to this day it remains unaffected by Christianity.

What is Irish and what is Catholic about the Irish-Catholic religion? What evidence can be found today that Celtic customs and folklore influence religious traditions in Ireland? Drs. Walter and Mary Brenneman of the University of Vermont need resourceful volunteers to help them conduct an informal survey of Irish customs and traditions. The soundings of this project will provide insights into the modern rural practices of an individualistic people who have strong ties to both folk heritage and formal religion.

Field conditions: This project needs curious and self-reliant volunteers willing to become roving investigators. A religion lives through its people, and it is to the people that volunteers will go. After four days of intensive training with the Brennemens, team members will travel in pairs, canvassing several rural counties (e.g. Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Clare, Limerick, Cork and Kerry). Teams will hike, bike, or use public transport, intermingling with Irish country folk on farmsteads, in libraries, at church, in pubs, and on the road. Questionnaires and other aids will be provided so that interviews will be collected along consistent, although unstructured, lines of inquiry.

Volunteers will be free to choose their own accommodations while on the road, rendezvousing periodically in guest houses to compare notes with the Brennemens and other team members at home base in Galway.

Time: April 21—May 10, 1980

Share of costs: \$775

For further information:

Earthwatch Expeditions
10 Juniper Road
Box 127
Belmont, Massachusetts 02178
(617) 489-3030

MANNNIN

ISLE OF MANN

TYNWALD

Tynwald is perhaps the singlemost distinctive element in Manx history, culture and tradition. It is, at once, a major archaeological and historical site: a ceremony of great antiquity observed almost continuously to the present day; and the name given to the nation's parliament.

The Tynwald Ceremony takes place every 5th of July (Old Midsummer Day) on Tynwald Hill at St. John's. At that time, every law which has been passed by the Manx Government during the preceding year is proclaimed in Manx and English by the Deemsters — the two chief justices of the Manx judiciary. Prior to World War I, no law could be enforced until it had been thus promulgated. Originally, the old laws were recited as well, disputes were settled, lawbreakers were punished, and, once the formal business of the assembly had been completed, *isby*, games, feasts and displays in the arts took place.

The word *Tynwald* is derived from the Norse Thing-vollr, meaning a place where a Thing or public assembly is held. Thing sites are generally situated in an open space far removed from villages or dwellings, and have been found throughout those areas of Ireland, Scotland and Britain settled by the Vikings. Although the Danish and Norwegian Parliaments are called respectively *Folketing* and *Storting*, not even in Scandinavia or Iceland have Thing sites remained in continuous use into modern times.

Tynwald Hill is an artificial mound built upon an open plateau at St. John's, and is said to contain earth from each of the island's seventeen parishes. It is 12 feet in height, circular in form, and has four terraces around it, at three-foot intervals. A Processional Way, 360 feet long, leads up to the base, which is 76 feet in diameter. The hill has never been excavated, but it may be the burial place of a Bronze Age chieftain. Several prehistoric funeral mounds survived on the same plateau until the early nineteenth century, and the remains of a Bronze Age tumulus are still visible on the edge of *Bollagh Vanurman*/the Road of Manannan, which skirts Tynwald Hill.

Both the Christian missionaries and the Norse marauders appropriated for their own purposes a site which had been sacred since the earliest settlement of the island. The plateau's central position, proximity to Peel harbour, and accessibility from all points made it an ideal place of religious and political convocation. For centuries the midsummer solstice was celebrated on Tynwald Hill with ritual fires, dances and fertility practices, long before a succession of sky-gods from Celtic Lugh to Christ to Norse Balder and Thor had their shrines and worshippers there. Well into the nineteenth century midsummer bonfires blazed upon the hilltops of *Ellan Vannin*, long after Lugh and Balder had been submerged into the collective unconscious of the Manx people. Not so long ago, Thor too was invoked by the straying traveller or the victim of the black arts through talismans made of the hammer-shaped bone taken from a sheep's tongue, and the cruciform *crosh-cuirn* made from his sacred tree, the mountain ash.

The hill which came to be called by the Manx *Cronk Keeill Eoin*/Hill of St. John's Church was also the site where the sovereignty of the ancient kingdom reposed and new rulers and their heirs were proclaimed. In Celtic Law, the heir

apparent, known as the *Tanist*, was presented to his people for approval during his predecessor's lifetime, thus assuring the succession. As in all the ancient Irish provinces and in Scotland's Gaelic kingdoms, the Manx *Tanist* stood with his foot in the hollow of the phallic 'stone of knowledge,' or 'crowning stone,' and pledged to govern his people well when he came of age. *Liath Fail*, 'the stone penis,' or 'member of Fergus,' still stands on the Hill of Tara, and a similar stone with a foot-shaped hollow was found at the Manx site of Castle Ward, near Douglas. The rite of *Tanistry* lived on at Tynwald into the fifteenth century. Upon obtaining the Lordship of Mann in 1392, Sir William Scrope appeared on Tynwald Hill with his heir, Sir Stephen Scrope, as his *Tanist*. In 1408, when the Scropes had been superseded by Sir John Stanley, the latter presented his son and heir at Tynwald.

The earliest description of the Tynwald Ceremony was written in 1417, at the request of the second Stanley Lord of Mann. The proceedings described in accordance with 'the Constitution of old time' have changed little since then. The British Sovereign's representative, the Lt.-Governor of Mann, attends a service in St. John's Church, then goes in procession to Tynwald Hill, the Sword of State carried before him, point upwards. He mounts the summit of the Hill and sits in a red velvet chair, facing eastwards, and is joined by members of the Legislative Council – Tynwald's upper house – and the Lord Bishop of Sodor and Mann – the head of the Manx Church; members of the House of Keys – the elected house of Tynwald – assemble on the second terrace; on the third stand the clergy, the High Bailiff, the Treasurer and municipal officials; on the fourth are the two Deemsters and the Captains of the Parishes – formerly heads of the parish militia. The assembled people of the island stand on the grass all around the Hill. As of old, the Court is 'fenced off' by the Senior Coroner, and while he no longer threatens the fractious with 'hanging and drawing,' he still calls upon all present to refrain from brawls, quarrels and other disturbances during the ceremony. Next, the Coroners – officials of the law courts – are sworn in, and the titles and abstracts of all laws passed the previous year are read in Manx and English by the Deemsters. The First Deemster then calls upon the Freemen of Mann to signify their assent, after which the procession reforms and returns to St. John's Church, where Keys, Council and Governor hold a meeting of the Tynwald Court for purely formal business.

Before the Stanleys arrived in 1405, Manx laws were transmitted orally by the Deemsters and interpreted by the twenty-four Keys. Keys may be a corruption of an early Celtic word, or *Kvid*, a Norse jury, but its English connotation is most apt for those landowners who formed a kind of 'council of elders' and helped the Deemsters to 'unlock' their 'breast-laws.' In Manx the Keys are called the *Kiare-as-feed* (the Four-and-twenty). It is unclear whether or not the ancient Keys had legislative as well as judicial powers, but during the period of Stanley rule they did not make laws and were rarely convened. Not until 1659 did the Keys begin to elect their own members, and even then they could be turned out of office by the Lord or his Governor. The legislative function was exercised by the Lord's Council, which consisted of the two Deemsters, the Lord Bishop and other officials appointed by the Lord or Governor. Neither Keys nor Council was in any way responsible to the common people, and neither body was free to act independently of the reigning Lord's dictates.

After the Revesting Act of 1765, whereby the Sovereignty of Mann reverted to the English Crown, numerous petitions for the reform of Tynwald were circulated, but a full century was to pass before they achieved a measure of success. The reform movement made little headway until the 1830s, when it came under the leadership of Robert Fargher, founder of the *Mona's Herald*, who was later joined in this endeavour by George Brown of the *I.O.M. Times*. Their attempts to secure an elected House of Keys became increasingly bound up with the struggle to achieve greater control over the island's finances. Despite widespread popular support, neither effort could elicit much sympathy from the privileged and well-to-do members of the Keys and Council. The British Home Office was equally unresponsive, stating on several occasions that the type of constitutional reform most likely to succeed was that of dissolving the Manx Tynwald and giving the island one member in British Parliament.

However, when Henry Brougham Loch was appointed Lt.-Governor in 1863 he was able to accomplish in three years what three generations of native Manx reformers had been powerless to achieve. Loch convinced both the British Home Office and the Manx Establishment that the island's prosperity depended on its gaining control over its own finances, and secondly, that this control should be exercised by a popularly elected House of Keys. In 1866, the joint problems of political and fiscal reform were temporarily resolved by Parliament's Isle of Man Customs and Harbours Act and by Tynwald's House of Keys Election Act. The former allocated a substantial percentage of the Customs Revenue collected in Mann for internal expenditure and development, while the latter provided that the Keys be elected by males over 21, widows and spinsters, who owned real estate valued over £8, or who paid over £12 rent annually. Initially, candidates for election had to own property valued at £100 or more per year, but in 1881 the qualification was reduced and in 1892 was abolished altogether.

Although the Keys had been transformed into a more democratic institution, its effective powers were severely constrained by the Lt.-Governor and the Legislative Council. Whenever the Council and the Keys met together in a Tynwald Court, a majority of the Council could block the passage of any bill introduced by the Keys. Furthermore, the Lt.-Governor, in addition to controlling the island's finances, had to approve any Act of Tynwald before it could become law. In response to reform resolutions presented by the Keys to the British Home Office, a Parliamentary Commission was set up in 1911 under Lord MacDonnell to investigate Tynwald. Shortly after World War I the major recommendations of the MacDonnell Commission were enacted in the Isle of Man Constitution Amendment Act. The Legislative Council was reformed from a strictly appointive body to include four elected members of the House of Keys on its ten member board. Subsequent amendments have increased the number of Keys on the Council to seven.

With the exception of putting a seven year term on the Lt.-Governor's formerly unlimited tenure of office, no comparable reform of the Manx Executive has taken place. Although several consultative committees have been set up between Tynwald and the Lt.-Governor's office, ultimate fiscal and political authority still rests with the latter, and, *ipso facto*, with Westminster, which appoints the Lt.-Governor. In effect, the Lt.-Governor functions as finance minister, home secretary, and minister of internal security for the island, and retains final veto power over all legislation.

At present, the principal functions of Tynwald are to levy taxes, to manage the national budget, and to administer defined departments of government – education, social and health services, housing, highways, harbours, fishing, forestry, agriculture, etc.

Several attempts to limit the prerogatives of the Lt.-Governor have been made in this century, most recently led by Charles Kerruish, Speaker of the House of Keys, and a leading advocate of Manx autonomy. In May 1972, a Select Committee of Tynwald narrowly defeated a proposal to drastically reduce the executive power of future governors. However, if the two Manx nationalist parties continue to gather support at a pace comparable to that which, in some fifteen years time, has given them the largest party constituencies on the island, it is unlikely that either the Lt.-Governor's special powers or Tynwald's subordination to the British Crown will be maintained much longer.

- K.D.G.



TYNWALD: 1774.

TYNWALD: AN HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT

The year 1979 has been chosen by the Isle of Man Government in which to celebrate the "Millennium" of Tynwald, and indubitably the climax of the year's activities in the Government's eyes will take place on 5th July when, in her capacity as Lord of Mann, the Queen is to preside over the open-air session of Tynwald, the Manx Parliament, on Tynwald Hill at St. John's, its annual meeting-place on this day from ancient custom. Some four years ago "evidence" indicating that Tynwald was founded in or around the year 979 by the Norsemen in Man emanated from certain quarters in the Government. The Tynwald Court was subsequently informed that its 1000th birthday would fall in 1979, and before seeking independent judgment on the historicity of this claim it agreed that it would hold Millennial celebrations in that year. Accordingly Tynwald authorised the mass production of "Millennium" insignia (on badges, T-shirts, car-stickers, silverware, etc.) bearing the dates 979-1979, with the implication that Tynwald was founded in 979. However, much controversy grew over the so-called "evidence", and the Government was asked to produce it. It could not; and after some debate and altercation, in which it was shown that no such evidence existed, the Government apparently withdrew its claim of around 979 as a foundation date for Tynwald. The Government now suggest that they are celebrating 1000 years of Tynwald Parliament. In this they are probably correct, since it can be shown from history that it is at least that if not more.

But it is also stated in the Government brochure that Tynwald "was founded by the Vikings", though no date is given. There is no evidence to support this, as I hope to show below, but it is apparent that the notion of a Norse foundation for Tynwald, which has been promulgated in Man for generations, and is at present being exploited by the Government to promote its Millennial celebrations, has its roots in 19th century English concepts of "empire" and superiority over other races, in which the Englishman is portrayed as the champion of "justice" and "mercy", who brought "civilization" to "barbaric" and "uncultured" peoples in places like Africa and Australia. In a Manx context we are led to believe that the Norsemen's mission to Man had a similar purpose, that they came as bearer of all that is good and just in mankind to "civilize" the Celtic Manx peasants, to bring them to a form of government which they had never experienced before, and in which they would all take part as free men, and to lead them along the road to cultural and administrative advancement. However, history can show that this is not the case, that much more of what happens at Tynwald, as in other forms of Manx life, probably has its roots in Celtic tradition and beyond, and that the Norse "influence" may be less significant than hitherto imagined.

Very little is known about the history of the Irish Sea area during the early Norse period particularly and any picture we do have is fragmentary and has been pieced together from the limited historical, archaeological and other evidence. But the story, as far as is known and agreed on by authorities of this period, seems to run thus: it is generally acknowledged among scholars that the first permanent Norse settlements in Man took place around 850, but not till 973 do we hear of individual Norse kings (i.e. of Norse extraction) with powerful fleets ruling in Man and the Isles. The first of such kings known to history was Magnus mac Aralt (son of Harald), a grandson of Sitric, Lord of Limerick and son of Ivar of Dublin (d.873) who founded the household of Ivar and whom some scholars now think probably came from the Hebrides. It is not known how long Magnus ruled in those parts but as his father died in 940 this may be a possible starting point. Irish sources say that he was killed by Brian Boru, the Irish High-King, in c.978 and succeeded by his brother Godred whom the annals and sagas imply was very powerful in the area of Man and the Isles at this time and who was killed in 989. He in turn was succeeded by his son Reginald who ruled till 1005. Thus it is apparent that so far Norse kings in Man and the Isles have come from the Limerick branch of the house of Ivar.

During the tenth century the fortunes of the Dublin Norse were good for more than fifty years by the strong king Olaf Cuaran, son of Sitric, especially after his final expulsion from York c.935, and all the sources are agreed that he held some considerable sway in the Irish Sea area at this period. We can therefore envisage Magnus and his successor, Godred Haraldsson, operating their fleets in Manx waters in the Dublin interest. The English king Eadgar (959-975) sought the co-operation of Magnus in 973 in securing his western flank while he was busy in England, and was evidently prepared to pay for it. The coin hoards found in Man of about this date suggest a non-too-insignificant payment made by Eadgar. But the fortunes of the Dubliners suffered a severe blow at the battle of Tara in 980 at the hands of the Irish, and again at Glenmama in 999, from which the Norse political dominance in Ireland never fully recovered. The power vacuum that resulted after the departure of the two strong kings Olaf Cuaran in 981 and Eadgar in 975 opened the way for expansion from another quarter. History records [c.982] the overrunning of Man and the Isles by Earl Sigurd of Orkney, and we can now picture Godred

employing his fleet in this area on Sigurd's behalf. This seems to have been the position till the battle of Clontarf near Dublin in 1014 in which contingents from Man and the Isles took part as well as Sigurd himself.

After the battle of Clontarf in which Sigurd and Brian Boru, the High-King of Ireland, were killed and the Manx and other Norse participants worsted, except the Dublin Norse under Sitric Silkbeard who seem to have escaped unscathed, archaeological evidence points to an increase in wealth for the Dubliners, and the coin and place-name testimony suggest that there was heavy Dublin involvement in Man, especially on the Northside, for forty or fifty years following Clontarf. The Irish annals record a variety of Irish princes with Dublin connections vying with each other for control of Man and Dublin. And it is apparent that during this period, till c.1070-5, Man was truly in the Dublin orbit. The Hebrides, however, were still under Orkney control, under the strong earl Thorfinn the Mighty, Sigurd's fourth son, who died in 1064-5. Dublin influence on Manx affairs appeared to have waned around 1075 - the Dubliners were now courting the favour of would-be High-Kings with a view to regaining their political dominance in Ireland - and in the Hebrides, Thorfinn's successors were not able to maintain the same control as their father. The ensuing vacuum was successfully exploited by Godred Crovan who in c.1079, mindful of the now changing circumstances in these parts and with legitimate claim to the Manx throne because of strong Hebridean and Dublin connections, wrested Man and the Isles by astute political manipulation from the sway of their previous overlords and united them once again. Godred Crovan's great achievement is that he founded a dynasty in Man which ruled the Sudreys for nearly two hundred years, till 1265, and he gave to Man an independence from other spheres of influence and ushered in halcyon days - the coin evidence suggests this - which it might be argued Man has not seen since.

The title of *righ Indse Gall* (king of the Insi Gall, or Hebrides and Man) which the Gaelic/Norse kings held would imply some sort of administrative arrangement for governing Man and the Isles, but there is no evidence at all to suggest what form these arrangements took, especially for the early period of Magnus and Godred, nor when such arrangements were first set up. As Magnus ruled prior to Godred, possibly for some time before, it is likely he would have had some machinery of government which Godred would inherit rather than create. Magnus is the first king of Man and the Isles known to history, but there may have been others unknown to us. In addition saga statements - the so-called "evidence" of 979 as a foundation date for Tynwald was based on such - relating to supposed historical events have to be treated critically, since it was not the prime object of saga writers to set out an accurate historical account. They can only be relied on if corroborated by independent sources, and scholars have been able to demonstrate the veracity of each of the sagas. Many of the saga-writers were Icelandic and the fairly close connection between the Hebrides and Iceland during the "Norse" period may encourage such writers to advocate a strong Norwegian involvement in Manx and Hebridean affairs, even when it can be shown that no such involvement probably existed. An example is the supposed expeditions of Harald Fairhair to these islands in the late 9th century, the evidence for which is exclusively Icelandic, but which modern research has been able to demonstrate probably never took place at all. Apart from the expeditions of Magnus Barelegs in 1098 and 1102, which may be considered exceptional, there is no evidence of any Norwegian entanglement in the Sudreys till the thirteenth century (the assistance from Norway given to Godred in c.1162 against Somerled was made at his request only after failing to get it from the king of Scotland). The implication is that the Hebrides and Man were left to their own devices and the Norwegian interference in their affairs in the thirteenth century was due to one man only - Hakon Hakonsson, the powerful Norwegian king (1217-63). And so it is misleading to suggest that the Hebrides and Man had any close links with Norway before the 13th century and the modern emphasis on this connection is spurious.

In addition it must be borne in mind that "Tynwald" is not exclusively a Norse institution but one common to both Celtic and Germanic peoples. The use of a mound (usually with some religious attachment) on which the king with his elders settled disputes and dispensed justice, among other things, is attested in Ireland and Scotland and was fairly universal in the Middle Ages.

In Ireland the *oenach* (later *anach*), which was presided over by the tribal king, had the combined functions of the political assembly, market fair and an occasion for general meritment. Games and horseracing were an integral part of the *oenach*; it is probable that this aspect had funerary origins, and that the "fair" was held on the site of an ancient tribal ceremony. At the *oenach* the king could promulgate certain specific emergency measures, e.g. in time of plague, defeat or foreign invasion, but the customary law was adopted by the people and merely confirmed by the king who "pledged" his subjects to its observance. Parallels to the Manx Tynwald ceremony can be seen here. When in early Ireland new kings were inaugurated a ritual was conducted commonly on a hill, in which the new king received a "long white rod", symbol of his protective role over the people [the Manx word *ree*, Irish *ri*, Latin *rex*, Sanskrit *raja*="king" has its roots in **reg*="to stretch".

indicating that the tribal king stretched out his arm, or the long white rod of kingship, as a symbol of protection]. This ritual survives in the inauguration of the King's deputy (lieutenant-governor) in the presentation (by one of the *deemsters*) of the staff of government (formerly a long white rod) at Castle Rushen (formerly at Tynwald Hill). Another feature of the Tynwald Ceremony which probably has its origins in Gaelic tradition, if not earlier, is the pavilion erected on the hill, which could be viewed as representative of a temporary ritual house, woven of white-peeled rods, where the Irish kings used to receive the acknowledgement of their vassals. Roger de Hovedon describes how the Irish kings built a palace of wattle-work for Henry II during his visit to Dublin during the winter of 1172-3.

Though the Irish *oenach* has close parallels in its features to the Scandinavian and Icelandic *thing*, and the notion of the royal heir seated upon his forebears grave-mound to establish claim to his rightful inheritance has its roots also in Norse tradition, nevertheless, since it is known that the Gaels came to Man probably from Ireland in the 5th/6th centuries, A.D., we could postulate that an institution like the *oenach*, for which the Norse word is *thingvollr*, i.e. Tynwald, existed in Man possibly since that time, and that when the Norse came they would recognise in the *oenach* something very similar to their *thing*, i.e. that Tynwald was probably not founded by the Vikings, but re-christened by them. It is interesting to note that in Manx the names for Tynwald and Tynwald Hill, i.e. *yn feailley*, "the fair" (cf. *oenach*) and *Cronk Keeill Eoin*, "St. John's Hill", bear no relation to the Norse, and who is to say which is the older? It is not suggested that the Norse borrowed their *thing* from the Irish, or the Manx their *feailley* from the Norse, but that they all owe their origins to remoter traditions and practices. A Biblical parallel to the promulgation of laws at a gathering of the people can be found in Nehemiah, ch. 8.

Another facet of the Tynwald Ceremony owing its origins to the distant past, long before the arrival of the Norsemen, is the strewing of rushes, symbolising the rent owed to Manannan, the eponymous god of the Island. His association in Celtic tradition as the god of the sea, god of the waters above the earth and under it, god of fertility and crops, god of the rushes and the swamps (cf. the significance of the rushes in Manx tradition) originates in old Middle Eastern traditions. The strewing of rushes may have been a feature of the *oenach* in Man before the advent of the Norsemen.

Any administrative arrangements existing in a Hebridean and Manx dimension under the Limerick kings would almost certainly not be in operation after Clontarf, when Man and the Hebrides were firmly under the control of Dublin and Orkney respectively. Godred Crovan's arrival in Man in c.1079 is important in that he gave a united Man and the Isles an independence not previously enjoyed since before c. 960 when the coin evidence suggests that Man, at any rate, kept out of the politics of her neighbours. Both Magnus and Godred Haraldsson would not be ruling with the same independence, as we have seen, as that of Crovan and his successors, and this is the whole point. Godred Crovan, to whom the Island owes its special constitutional position, gave to Man a new "golden age" and an era of prosperity and apparent self-sufficiency, according to coin testimony. It must be remembered that Godred Crovan had important connections both in Dublin and the Hebrides for him to be acceptable in Man. He was probably descended, not from Godred Haraldsson and the Limerick branch, but in a direct line from Olaf Cuaran of Dublin, as the Welsh genealogies, (which give the Crovan dynasty considerable prominence because of later connections between the Manx and Welsh kings - King Reginald (1188-1226) was probably grandfather to Llywelyn (1246-1282), the last king in effect to Gwynedd), seem to demonstrate. Godred Crovan was very likely a Gaelic speaker, and probably spoke Norse also. One short piece of evidence (Welsh) we do have for the 12th century in Man suggests that the every day speech of the Manx people was Gaelic and not Norse, though Norse would likely be used as a language of administration, in the same way as English was used thereafter from the 14th/15th centuries onwards, though the ordinary people spoke Manx and were largely uninfluenced by English till the mid 19th century.

It happens that 1979 is the 900th anniversary of the commencement of the rule of Godred Crovan, a personage of historical importance to the Isle of Man, and perhaps it is he we should be celebrating with equal vigour. The Government may well be entitled to celebrate a "Thousand years of Tynwald", but they would in all probability be equally as accurate in celebrating 1500 years of "Tynwald" or "Oenach" or "Feailley", or call it what you will. But it seems clear that much of the surviving ritual of the present day Tynwald Ceremony probably owes less to Norse influence than to Celtic tradition.

— George Broderick

The Queen's University of Belfast, 1979.
Originally published by Mec Vannin.

Yn Chruinnacht

Yn Chruinnacht ("The Assembly" in Manx) is an inter-Celtic festival held each year in Ramsey, Mannin, featuring over 100 competitions and exhibitions in literature, arts, crafts, music, song and dance. Participants come from the Celtic countries and elsewhere to compete in classes during the last week of July; handicraft competitions take place during the previous week.

Miss Mona Douglas, President of the organizing committee, writes: "Competitive gatherings for the presentation of work in the arts and also in various crafts seem to be characteristic of the Celtic peoples. The Welsh National *Eisteddfod* is probably the best known of these to the general public, but we also have the Highland *Mod* in Scotland, the *Oireachtas* and the Pan Celtic Week in Ireland, and the Cornish *Gorsedd* of the Bards. Until the establishment of the original *Chruinnacht* in the earlier years of this century Mannin had no equivalent festival, and the only competitive gatherings held were the Fine Arts and Industrial Guild and the Manx Music Festival, which was to some extent the child of the Guild and which still functions and is often spoken of by part of the original name: The Guild. Smaller competitive events run by churches and chapels adopted the Welsh name, *Eisteddfod*. The founding of *Yn Chruinnacht* resulted in this name gradually taking the place of *Eisteddfod* for these small events also, and in this connection it is still used frequently.

"In its original form *Yn Chruinnacht* was mainly the idea of the late William Cubbon, one-time Douglas Librarian and later the founder and Librarian of the Manx national reference library in the Manx Museum; but it was organized by *Yn Cheshaght Ghailkagh* (Manx Language Society) and the World Manx Association working in co-operation, Mr. Cubbon being Honorary Treasurer of both bodies. Organisation was carried on largely through the *Ellan Vannin* magazine, issued to all Manx schools and supported by Manx Societies abroad as well as by hundred of subscribers within the island. It was a purely Manx one-day festival held in the Villa Marina on Hollantide Day, was very popular and well supported by both competitors and the general public, and it flourished until the outbreak of the Second World War when, like many other things, it ceased to function.

"There have been one or two abortive attempts to revive it in recent years, but this is the second to come to fruition, and the organising committee hope that it is once again becoming an annual national event. That depends upon the general Manx public, and more particularly upon competitors, active supporters and voluntary workers in the Manx tradition in the arts, many of who have already given generous support to this first festival.

"*Yn Chruinnacht* in its present form shows two main differences from the original one: it has been expanded into a nine-day summer festival, and it places far greater emphasis upon the Manx Gaelic language and the traditional arts as used today in both education and public events. The first has been made possible through the support and co-operation of the Manx Government and the Ramsey Town Commissioners and also through the almost incredible expansion during the past decade of general interest in the Manx language and culture, and Manx participation in Inter-Celtic festivals such as Pan-Celtic Week in Killarney, Eire, the Royal Welsh National *Eisteddfod* and the Lorient Celtic Festival in Brittany, to all of which we have cause to be grateful for their encouragement of our Manx national cultural efforts."

Regrettably, *KELTICA* went to press before the results of *Yn Chruinnacht 1979* were made known. Additional information on *Yn Chruinnacht* may be obtained from the Secretary, Mrs. Fenella Bazin, Ellan Rhenne, Ballaugh, Kirk Michael, I.O.M., Britain.

Miss Mona Douglas, Prof. M.d'O., Acad. Int di Pontzen, has played a leading role in the revival of Manx traditional culture for many years.



TRADITIONAL MANX FOLK MUSIC

Like their Gaelic cousins in Scotland and Ireland, the Manx possess a rich heritage of traditional folk song and music which has enjoyed a tremendous revival over the last decade. However, in Mann, as in Wales, there is also a great body of popular sacred music – unparalleled in Scotland or Ireland – known as *Carvalyn Gailckagh*, or Manx Carols.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Methodism spread through Mann, which favored the replacement of secular folk songs by *Carvalyn*, or carols, with religious content. The oldest Manx carols date from the early 1700s, and were composed originally for the Christmas season and sung in parish churches every *Oie l'Voirey*, or St. Mary's (Christmas) Eve. But with the encouragement of Methodist preachers *Carvalyn* were soon being sung year-round in the churches and chapels of Mann, often by persons who had "versified" some Biblical story to a tune of their own choosing. These carols were generally of great length – some in excess of sixty verses – and devotional in nature, exhorting sinners to forswear their wicked ways in preparing for the Day of Judgement.

Many of the Manx words used in the *carvalyn* and secular songs are of scholarly interest because of their antiquity. When the great Cornish writer and linguist George Borrow, who, in addition to his well-known familiarity with gypsy culture and the Romany tongue, was also fluent in Welsh and Gaelic, visited Mann in 1855, he observed that: "Many of these songs have been handed down, by writing, to the present time. Some of them possess considerable merit, and a printed collection of them would be a curious addition to the literature of Europe. . . The *carvals* are preserved in uncouth looking, smoke-stained volumes, in low farm houses and cottages, situated in mountain gills and glens. They constitute the genuine literature of Ellan Vannin."

The tradition of *carval* singing at all services was abandoned in most Manx parishes by the end of the nineteenth century, but caroling at Christmastide continued, particularly in the north of the Island, up to a few years ago. The principal collection of *Carvalyn Gailckagh* was published in 1891 by J.C. Fargher and A.W. Moore, entitled *Carvalyn Gailckagh*.

The secular folk song and music tradition is, of course, of far greater antiquity, and is, at root, an outgrowth of the ancient Irish stock. The first collections were made during the romantic "Ossianic" craze engendered by MacPherson and his followers in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Some fifty complete songs in Manx have survived in various manuscripts from that period: the oldest being "*Fin as Oshin*" – the only surviving piece of *Fiannaicht* in Manx, "The Manannan Ballad" – which recounts the history of *Ellan Vannin* from pagan times to c. 1500 when it was probably composed, and "*Bause Illiam Dhone*" ("Brown William") – a ballad commemorating William Christian, Mann's greatest patriot, from the late seventeenth century.

The first major collection of Manx music, as distinct from lyrics, consists of some ninety psalm tunes collected in the early 1800s by a Cumbrian music teacher named Sheperd. In 1820, the first collection of secular tunes appeared in J. Barrow's *Manx Melodies*, which contains thirteen tunes with English words. Twenty ballads and two melodies were published in Volumes I and II of William Harrison's *Mona Miscellanies* in 1869 and 1873. Most of the lyrics and tunes appearing in these publications were later reprinted in the two foremost collections of Manx secular music and song compiled by Dr. John Clague and A.W. Moore, respectively.

In 1896, Moore, Speaker of the House of Keys and author of the biographical *Manx Worthies*, published his collection of seventy four traditional songs – forty of which have airs associated with them – gathered from manuscript, printed and oral sources.

The major repository of Manx traditional music is the Clague collection. Dr. Clague, a musician himself, gathered much material on his medical rounds, some of which had never been collected before. He was assisted in the north by W.H. Gill, who published their joint collections in *Manx National Songs* (1896) and *Manx National Music* (1909). The former contains some fifty airs with English words, not necessarily related to the original Manx; while the latter comprises about 120 tunes with numerous variants collected from different sources. Like the traditional tunes collected in Ireland and Scotland at this time, many of the airs in these books are harmonized to "meet the tastes of the general public." Roughly 125 airs from the Clague collection, with words when possible, appeared in the *Journal of the (English) Folk Song Society*, Vol. VII, Nos. 28-30, in 1923-26.

In 1928, 1929 and 1957, Miss Mona Douglas published booklets containing twelve folk songs apiece with Manx and English words. About ten of these songs she collected from oral sources. Miss Douglas has yet to publish more than a dozen songs, both tunes and words, which have not appeared in earlier collections.

CLAIRE CLENNELL

The singing of secular Manx folk songs continued well into the twentieth century, but by World War II had all but died out. However, since 1968, Claire Clennell, with the technical assistance of her husband Jack and the expert tuition of Miss Mona Douglas in Manx Gaelic, has recorded over fifty *Carvalyn Gailckagh* and traditional Manx folk songs on three records.

The first two albums, *Fair Maid of Mann* and *Manx Carols for All Seasons* were produced by the Clennells themselves, and include booklets giving the Manx Gaelic lyrics and excellent English translations by Mr. Douglas Fargher. *Fair Maid of Mann* features seventeen unaccompanied folk songs and four *carvalyn*. As one might expect, the folk songs deal with common Celtic themes: the fairy-folk, the sea, rural life, and "love's bitter mystery." Work songs, such as "The Spinning Wheel Song" – "Spin, wheel, spin/Turn, wheel, turn/And every leaf upon the trees/Spin above my head!" – Historical ballads: "Bause Illiam Dhone", and lullabies are especially noteworthy. "Little Red Bird – Ushag Veg Ruy", the most widely known and loved Manx lullaby, is both an exquisite lyric and a fine example of Celtic nature poetry: the greatest glory of Celtic literature for over 1000 years.

Ushag veg ruy ny moanee doo,
moanee doo, moanee doo,
Ushag veg ruy ny moanee doo,
C'raad chaddil oo riy: 'syn oie?

Nagh chaddil mish riy: er baare y crouw. . .
Lesh flaghey tuitym er dagh cheu,
As ogh! my chadley cha treih!

Ushag veg ruy. . .

Nagh chaddil mish riy: er baare yn dress. . .
Tra va'n gheay sheidey v'eh ymmyrkey lesh
As ogh! my chadley cha treih.

Ushag veg ruy. . .

O chaddil mish riy: eddyr daa ghuillag. . .
Myr cadley yn oikan er keeagh y vummig,
As O! my chadley cha kiune!

Little red bird of the lonely moor,
lonely moor, lonely moor,
Little red bird of the lonely moor,
O where did you sleep in the night?

Out on a gorse-bush dark and wide. . .
Swift rain was falling on every side,
O hard was my sleep in the night!

Little red bird. . .

Did I not sleep on the swaying briar. . .
Tossing about as the wind rose higher,
O little I slept last night!

Little red bird. . .

Wrapped in two leaves I lay at ease. . .
As sleeps the young babe on its mother's knees,
O sweet was my sleep last night!

In *Manx Carols for All Seasons*, Ms. Clennell sings eighteen unaccompanied *carvalyn* which, for all the righteous fervor of the Methodist fundamentalism that inspired them, are nonetheless characterized by a Celtic exuberance of wordplay and imagery that frequently risks the absurd to attain the sublime:

Methodists I saw the daughter of Zion sitting
On the crown of the hill playing on the music of paradise,
With the price of joy my heart was royal,
And I would give for it all the ore of the earth as a pledge.

"Before There Were the Heavens – Roish My Row Flaunys" is perhaps as sophisticated a piece of cosmogony as has ever been rendered in popular folk song, and seems to have more of Johannes Eriugena about it than John "whom Jesus loved":

For all time, he was God,
And from himself took beginnings,
Beginning everything,
And a sure foundation for every place,
Before there was a part – filled from the whole,
With God and with his glorious power.

Claire Clennell has just released a new album for Emerald Records (Decca) of Northern Ireland, entitled *The Enchanted Isle-Melodies for a Millenium*, which features unaccompanied Manx traditional songs, six of Claire's own compositions, and several accompanied Manx folk songs in English, including the famous "Ellan Vannin." All of her recordings may be obtained directly from the Clennells, Dreemskerry, 9 Devonshire Road, Douglas, I.O.M., Britain.

We are indebted to the Clennells and to Shorys y Creayric (See "The Manx Song and Music Tradition, *Carn*, No. 26) for much of the information given in this article. All translations quoted are under Copyright by Mr. Faragher.

EARLY DAYS IN THE ISLE OF MAN

What left perhaps the strongest impression on my mind were the many proofs that the church belonged to the people, and that there were times when they could almost go the length of turning the parson out of it. One of these was Christmas Eve, when it was the custom of the parishioners to hold a service by themselves. The service was called *Oiel Verree*, the Eve of Mary, and consisted of the singing of "carvals," some of them sacred and often shockingly crude in their literary colouring, but most of them secular and sometimes profane in both senses. I daresay the original aim of the *Oiel Verree* was to deepen the spiritual life of the people by means of the only old poetic literature the island possessed, but in my early days it was made an excuse for scenes that were often more amusing than reverential.

We all took candles to church, I remember, and held them lighted in our hands, as we sat in the pews, while the carol singers, generally two abreast, walked down the central aisle, beginning at the porch and facing the altar, and taking a step forward at the conclusion of every verse. The carols most in favour were those that gave the raciest paraphrase of incidents in the Old Testament, and one that consisted of a running commentary on all the bad women in the Bible was especially popular. By way of punctuating the points of such productions we threw dried peas and sometimes our candles at the performers, with results that were not always an honour to the parish church. Naturally, the clergy were not usually favourable to the annual service, as it used to be performed, and being powerless to abolish a time-honoured custom, they made angry protests. I remember one such protest that came like a boomerang when it was aimed at a half-witted carval singer, named Billy Corkill. Old Billy and I were going to *Oiel Verree* when he met the parson, a testy person, coming out of the church.

"Mind you behave yourselves tonight," said the parson, "and don't turn my church into a bear garden."

"The church is the people's, I'm thinkin'," said Billy.

"The people are as impudent as goats," said the parson, whereupon Billy, without turning a hair, quietly replied:

"Aw, well, you are the shepherd, so just make sheeps of them."

from *My Story*, by Hall Caine

ALBA

SCOTLAND

AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH

With over 6,000 members *An Comunn Gaidhealach* – The Highland Association is the largest organization in Scotland promoting Gaelic language and culture. It is one of the oldest as well, being founded in 1891. Through its secretariat, based in Inverness, Stornoway and Glasgow, and a network of Area Councils *An Comunn* works to implement aims which have remained constant since being formulated in 1891.

- The Teaching and Use of the Gaelic Language
- The Study and Cultivation of Gaelic Literature and Music
- The Social and Economic Welfare of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland

An Comunn has always worked closely with Celtic organizations in other countries, and was, in fact, formed to set up a competitive cultural festival based on the Welsh Bisteddfoed. Accordingly, the Provincial and National Moid were instituted in the 1890s and have provided a focus for Scottish Gaelic culture ever since. Much of the revenue from the *Moid* and related activities has been used to support native Gaelic crafts and industries of the Highlands and the Hebrides.

As an educational pressure group and publishing agency *An Comunn* has been the traditional leader of the language-loyalty movement. Apart from having no official or legal status whatsoever, Gaelic was recognized neither as a subject of study nor as a medium of instruction in the national schools until 1918, when *An Comunn* and other groups agitated successfully for the inclusion of a mandatory Gaelic clause in the Education Act. However, the clause was so brief and vague that Gaelic continued to be employed in the classroom only when necessity dictated its use. Once pupils had acquired a basic competency in English, Gaelic was discarded and could be studied only as a minor subject in a few secondary schools.

In 1936, *An Comunn* conducted the first major study of the educational system in the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd*. The ensuing report, based on questionnaires circulated to schools, administrators and parents, revealed how thoroughly degraded in status Gaelic had become. The "English-only" system of education incorporated in the first Education Act of 1872 had succeeded in convincing most parents and teachers that Gaelic was "a handicap to success", "a sign of inferiority", "a waste of time". *An Comunn's* report concluded with some twenty recommendations urging improvements in the teaching, status, and use of the language at all educational levels. For over twenty years these recommendations were ignored. The first Gaelic-medium education scheme was introduced in 1958; by then, Gaelic monolingualism had been obliterated. From roughly 250,000 in 1900 Gaelic-speakers had dwindled to 80,000 by 1960.

The urgency of the Scottish situation and the success of other minority language movements, particularly in Wales, led to the adoption of stronger measures by *An Comunn* in the 60s. The new spirit of radicalism was reflected in a pamphlet published by the association in 1969, "Gaelic is...":

Whilst the position of Gaelic has greatly improved in education, its place in public life is still to be deplored. Officialdom and the English-speaking world generally behave as if it does not exist as a language in its own right. It is not officially recognised nor is its legal position defined. The Gael, because of long years of brainwashing and official opposition, now tends to accept this situation without question A great responsibility rests with those who have the power to set a public example but who continue to default.

Greater financial support from government and private sectors enabled *An Comunn* to appoint a professional director and a full time public relations officer in 1965. In 1970, a deputy director was appointed for the Western Isles, and *Club Leabhar* — the Highland Book Club — began operations. *Club Leabhar* publishes Gaelic, bi-lingual and English works of fiction and non-fiction by Scottish authors. On average, six titles are issued each year, mostly in inexpensive paperback editions. In addition, *An Comunn* endeavors to obtain any Gaelic or English book on Celtic subjects for its members.

In 1972, *An Comunn* set up a Western Isles Regional Council, the transactions of which are conducted entirely in Gaelic. Throughout the 70s, the Gaelic *Moid* have been increasingly forthright on language issues. The 1973 National *Mod* was dubbed the "Militant *Mod*" by the Press after several *An Comunn* representatives spoke out on Gaelic issues and called for the immediate adoption of a basic program of recognition and promotion of Gaelic. The following Spring, in the all-Gaelic quarterly, *Gairm*, *An Comunn* president Ruairidh MacKinnon indicted many individuals and groups whose activities *An Comunn* considers inimical to the language-loyalty movement. Thenceforth, *An Comunn* has on occasion endorsed economic sanctions and boycotts against those in the *Gaidhealtachd* who are obstructing efforts to restore and advance the language. Moreover, working parties in every Gaelic-speaking school district have been pressing educational authorities to implement comprehensive bi-lingual programs for native- and non-Gaelic speakers alike.

An Comunn has simultaneously stepped up its own educational activities: through increased enrollment in its Summer School (including students from the Continent and North America), seminars and mini-courses throughout Scotland, Gaelic pre-schools and play groups, junior learner scholarships, *Acair* — a new publishing organization producing educational materials, and at its Inverness headquarters, sixteenth century Abertarff House, an ongoing exhibition of Gaelic culture in Scotland from the Iron Age to the present. On an international level, *An Comunn* has had great success of late with the first ever Gaelic correspondence course: *Gaidhlig Bheo*. The course comprises six tapes and four texts for beginners, and is being produced in conjunction with the National Extension College, Cambridge. The College reports that the course has received a tremendous response from North America.

An Comunn is equally involved in securing improved media service for the *Gaidhealtachd*. Over the years, they have drawn attention to the near collapse of BBC Gaelic television and have pressed for extended local radio services in the geographically isolated western islands. *An Comunn* is presently carrying out an intensive study of Gaelic radio and television broadcasting which aims to provide a widely acceptable campaign blue-print for upgrading and expanding media facilities and programming.

At the Parliamentary level, *An Comunn* has called for political parties to declare on Gaelic policy, and has enlisted over fifty MPs in its Gaelic lobby. Among the recent recruits is William Whitelaw, Scottish landowner and former Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, who gave assurances of Conservative support for the aims of the association. Mr. Whitelaw, who recently was appointed Home Secretary by the new Conservative government, is on record as saying that "If the Tories think they can keep Scotland in the Union against the will of the Scottish people then they have a shock coming." Another MP supportive of *An Comunn's* Gaelic policy, Russell Johnson, recently requested EEC support for the Gaelic language in a debate before the European Assembly. *An Comunn* hopes to create a European Assembly Gaelic lobby as well, combining where appropriate with other language groups in Europe to campaign for minority cultures.



Had there been no Gaelic there would have been no country calling itself Scotland today. There might have been a Pietland, a Daneland or more likely an extended England. For centuries Scots and Gaelic were synonymous. If Gaelic is allowed to die, then Scotland's original and historic identity will be lost. If Gaelic is to survive the State must support it. There must be a better place for it in education and there must be adequate radio and television. It is the paramount duty of *An Comunn*, its committees and members to work for this at all times.

— "Cuirtiltìr," *An Comunn Gaidhealach*, Abertarff House, Inverness IV1 1EU

HUGH MACDIARMID

Born Christopher Murray Grieve at Langholm, Dumfriesshire in the border country, the poet first wrote in English, which in light of his anglicized education and the prevailing provincialism of vernacular writing, appeared to him "an immensely superior medium of expression." But in 1922, Grieve discovered the unique expressive qualities of his "couthie mither-tongue," underwent a Saul-to-Paul metamorphosis into Hugh MacDiarmid, and commenced writing the most memorable *Lallans* poetry since Robert Burns. Like Burns, MacDiarmid fused a variety of modern dialects and archaic vernacular expressions into a "synthetic Scots," which he employed in the lyrics of *Sangschaw* (1925) and *Penny Wheep* (1926) and in the 3000 line poem-sequence *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (1926). Thus began the most important movement in Scottish literature since the eighteenth century.

Brimful of "the red-roaring life of Burns, Fergusson, old Scotland generally," *A Drunk Man* broke upon MacDiarmid's conservative and Calvinistic country with, in David Daiches' words, "all the shock of a childbirth in church." It occupies a position in Scottish history analogous to Joyce's *Ulysses* in Ireland, and is no less significant a contribution to world literature than the latter. By turns, tragic and satiric, lyrical and ribald, profound and absurd, the drunk man's monologue on the divided nature of Scotland, man, and all created things — symbolized in the thistle — is animated by the poet's longing to liberate Scotland "from its Geneva prison-house" through "a reckless assault upon all the conventions of dull respectability." *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* has been hailed by many critics as the finest *Lallans* poem of all time; more than any other work of modern literature it has changed Scotland and the way people see it.

Since 1923, MacDiarmid had urged Nietzsche's "Become what you are" as a slogan of the Scottish literary renaissance, and the command to "be yourself!" recurs throughout *A Drunk Man*. Believing that individual self-realization could be pursued only within a self-governing state, MacDiarmid took part in forming the National Party of Scotland in 1927-8. This led to his close involvement with Ruairidh Erskine of Marr, who had been active in the Scottish Home Rule Association since 1892, and was currently the leading spokesman of the Gaelic revival. In his political essays published in *Albyn* (1927) and in Erskine's *Pictish Review* (1927-8), MacDiarmid presented the "Gaelic Idea" as a dynamic factor essential to the Scottish nationalist movement, and insisted on the study and restoration of the Gaelic language.

With *To Circumjack Cencrastus* in 1930, MacDiarmid pushed beyond a purely Scottish revival to a pan-Celtic vision rooted in Gaelic. In Scotland, he maintained, the national consciousness found its truest expression in Gaelic, since, unlike Scots, it had not been contaminated by "the wandering abscess of the English influence." In Europe, the Gaelic, or Celtic Idea of the West was formerly and could again be one of the fourfold Ideas supporting European culture: making a "parallelogram o' forces" with the Russian Idea of the East, the Classical Idea of the South and the Teutonic Idea of the North. In "Lament

The work of Mr. Hugh M'Diarmid . . . is particularly interesting because he is, I think, the first Scottish writer who has addressed himself to the question of the extendability . . . of the vernacular to embrace the whole range of modern culture. — C.M. Grieve, Ed., *The Scottish Chapbook*, October 1922.

(Scots) is an inchoate Marcel Proust — a Doestoevskian debris of ideas — an inexhaustible quarry of subtle and significant sound. — C.M. Grieve, Ed., *The Scottish Chapbook*, March 1923.

Mars is braw in crammasy¹
Venus in a green silk gown,
The auld mune shak's her gowden feathers,
Their starry ilk's a whisen o' blesthers,²
Name for thee a thochtie spairn,³
Earth, thou bonnie brookit bairn!³
— But greet⁴ an' in your tears ye'll drown
The haill clanjamfriest⁵ — "The Bonnie
Brookit Bairn," *Sangschaw*, 1925.

1 crimson 2 a pack of nonsense
3 neglected child 4 weep
5 whole lot

I'll ha'e nae hauf-way house, but aye be whaur
Extremes meet — it's the only way I ken
To dodge the curst conceit o' being richt
That damns the vast majority o' men.

Contempt o' ilka goal.
O' ilka goal — save ane alane;
To be yourself, whatever that may be.
— *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*

The Scottish Renaissance movement is even more concerned with the revival of Gaelic than of Scots. . . . The movement cannot manifest its full stature and move freely, save within that framework of a Scotland become once again a nation in every sense of the term. — *Albyn: or Scotland and the Future*, 1927.

for the Great Music," his finest poem since *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, MacDiarmid sought to reveal the underlying unity of the Scots and Gaelic elements of Scotland through the medium of the *Ceol Mor*, the classical music of the Great Highland Bagpipe. Through the rhythms of the *piobaireachd* the poet becomes instinct with that high Celtic culture whose passing seems as imminent as that of the intricate art of the *piobach*. He castigates Scotland's "degenerate sons" who "have no use for the great music," and lashes out at those "denationalised Scots" who prate of 'internationalism, not nationalism': as if one could be had without the other. Just as realization of others is a corollary of self-realization, so too internationalism must follow from a shared sense of national identity.

Behind the pseudo-internationalism of the Anglo-Scots MacDiarmid desecrated the face of the Auld Enemy – English Imperialism. To counter it he advocated a "Celtic Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." The young Grieve had been an active member of the Fabian Society, and was later elected Parish and Town Councillor and J.P. in Montrose as an Independent Socialist. In 1931, he emerged as a fully committed communist poet with the publication of *First Hymn to Lenin and other poems*. Throughout his long public life (he stood unsuccessfully as a SNP parliamentary candidate in 1945, 1950 and 1964) MacDiarmid was often pressed to explain how he could simultaneously espouse nationalism and communism. In 1945, he reconciled the apparent contradiction through his belief that the U.S.S.R. encourages minority languages and cultures and grants autonomy to the smaller republics within the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, he was expelled by the Scottish Nationalist Party in 1934, evidently for his communist leanings; whereupon he joined the Communist Party only to be expelled in 1938 for "nationalist deviation." Eventually, he was readmitted by both parties and remained a republican nationalist to the end.

MacDiarmid's communism, like Pound's fascism, had a broad aesthetic basis. To one who described himself as "a sardonic lover in the routh o' contraries," dialectical materialism was but the "world-historical" manifestation of the principle of creative opposition which he considered the first and final condition of all existence. Complementarity is perhaps the foremost unitary symbol in MacDiarmid's work, and virtually every formulation of it from Heraclitus to wave and particle physics finds expression in one or another of his poems. Several times he quoted Lenin's statement that a true Communist must "work over in his consciousness the whole inheritance of human knowledge." Without such discipline neither poem nor state could be well-made. MacDiarmid strove mightily to observe this precept and was contemptuous of those who did not: "innumerable meat without minds." In seeking to restore "the good Europeanism of our medieval ancestors" to his profoundly anti-intellectual and parochial culture, MacDiarmid larded his poetry with translations from the whole range of European literature and allusions to contemporary science and philosophy.

Lucky Poet (1943) confirmed his conversion to "a Communist poetry . . . a poetry of today, not of the past." Although he continued to publish occasional translations from the Gaelic and short lyrics in *Lallans*, the great bulk of his remaining work was composed in English. The Communist poet, like the Gaelic *fil* must encompass all knowledge – both the facts and the essences of life. In his massive "world-view" epics which culminated in *In Memoriam James Joyce* (1955) and *The Kind of Poetry I Want* (1961),

For what mess of pottage, what Southern
filth,
What lack of intricacy, fineness, impossible
achievement,
Have we bartered this birthright, for what
hurdy-gurdy
Exchanged this incomparable instrument?
I am companioned by an irrecoverable
past,
By a mystical sense of such a destiny
foregone . . .
Time out of mind . . . Oh, Alba, my son,
my son! – "Lament for the Great
Music," *Stony Limits*, 1934.

The significance of recent developments in
Scottish poetry has been . . . the long-
overdue coming-together and intensified
anglophobia of the younger and more radical
Irish, Welsh, Cornish, and Scottish poets
. . . most of them intensely concerned with
. . . bridging the gulfs that have been allowed
to develop between poetry and the people.
– Introduction to *The Golden Treasury of
Scottish Poetry*, 1940.

Sae here, twixt poetry and politics,
There's nae doot in the en'.
Poetry includes that and I'd be
The greatest poo'er amang men.
– *Second Hymn to Lenin*, 1932.

I write as a Scottish Communist . . . Scottish
separation is part of the process of
England's Imperial disintegration and is a
help towards the ultimate triumph of the
workers of the world. – article in *The
Modern Scot*, 1936.

The empty hand of my brother man,
The humanity no culture has reached, the
mob.
Intelligensia, our impossible and impera-
tive job!
It is a frenzied and chaotic age . . .
How shall we set ourselves against it . . .
Be ourselves without interruption . . .
It will be ever increasingly necessary to find
In the interests of all mankind
Men capable of rejecting it that all other
men
Think, as a stone remains
Essential to the world, inseparable from it,
And rejects all other life yet.
Great work cannot be combined with
surrender to the crowd.

MacDiarmid cultivated a "poetry of wisdom" rather than beauty; "a poetry which fully understands/That the age of technology is a necessary fact." It is a discursive poetry of encyclopedic proportions, wherein prosody, form, and diction are shaped more by considerations of organic, scientific and technical exactitude than of poetic verisimilitude: "A protest, invaluable to science itself/Against the exclusion of value/From the essence of matter of fact." MacDiarmid relies heavily on the method of analogy to relate fact and theory to human experience and imagination. At its best, as in "On a Raised Beach," this approach succeeds in assimilating a whole textbookful of abstruse geological terms into a stark and powerful evocation of what for the poet is the metaphysical as well as the physical ground and measure of all being: the world of stones, "which are to the Earth as to the sunlight/Is the naked sun which is for no man's sight."

In the final analysis, much of MacDiarmid's work over the last forty years constitutes a kind of anti-poetry, or, at least, it bears no more resemblance to poetry in a conventional sense than *Finnegan's Wake* does to the conventional novel. Yet it is surely deserving of serious consideration by artists and scientists alike, whose growing polarization MacDiarmid linked directly to the widening gulf between consciousness and the unconscious in the human collective. It was his reiterated belief that nothing short of a psychological revolution can prevent mankind from annihilating itself, and he looked upon his "poems of knowledge" in this regard as consciousness-raising exercises which could help bring about a "mutation in the 'soul' of man."

Even with reference to Scotland alone any attempt to sum up the achievement of Hugh MacDiarmid in a few pages is like trying "to put an ocean in a mutchkin," as Alexander Scott would say. As a poet, journalist, educator and political figure, he has almost singlehandedly restored a sense of common cultural identity to Scotland. By sheer force of creative will he has taken a nation which, sixty years ago, was culturally and politically on its knees and has raised it to its feet. Whether or not Scotland will now be able to advance as a nation in command of its own destiny will depend, to a great extent, on how faithfully MacDiarmid's countrymen follow his lead.

Some critics contend that he deserted the literary renaissance which his *Lallans* poetry and support of Gaelic had engendered, yet by the time MacDiarmid turned to "a Communist poetry" a second generation of vernacular poets were establishing themselves, and for the first time since the Reformation Scottish Gaelic poets, such as Sorley MacLean and George Campbell Hay, were gaining national and, later, international recognition. When MacDiarmid introduced his "Gaelic Idea" and published "Lament for the Great Music" the only attitude more prevalent in Scotland than apathy towards Gaelic was antipathy. On the international level one could not speak of any attitude whatsoever, since ignorance precludes both thought and feeling. Both at home and abroad MacDiarmid's work has done much to rectify this situation. He has been and shall ever be an inspiration to the whole Celtic world and to all who love Scotland. He is indeed, as his fellow poet Alexander Scott says: "the greatest of all Scots makars, and one of the great poets of the world."

– Criostoir Donnan

All is lithogenesis – or locha,
Carpollite fruit of the forbidden tree,
Stones blacker than any in the Caaba,
Cream-coloured caen-stone, chatoyant
pieces . . .
I study you glost and gloss, but have
No cadrams to adjust you with, and turn
again
From optik to haptik and like a blind man
run
My fingers over you, aris by artis burr by
burr . . .
This is no heap of broken images,
Let men find the faith that build mountains
Before they seek the faith that moves them . . .
These stones go through Man, straight to
God, if there is one . . . Only in them
If in anything, can His creations confront
Him.
– "On a Raised Beach," *Stony Limits*.

The point where science and art can meet,
For there are two kinds of knowledge,
Knowing about things and knowing things,
Scientific data and aesthetic realisation,
And I seek their perfect fusion in my work.
– *In Memoriam James Joyce*.

I see my Scotland now, a puzzle
Passing the normal of her sex, going erect
Unscathed through fire, keeping her virtue
Where temptation works with violence,
walking bravely,
Offering loyalty and demanding respect.
– "A Vision of Scotland," 1964.

Nae man o' movement's worth a damn
unless
The movement 'ud gang on without him if
He de'ed the morn . . . – "Depth and the
Chthonian Image," *Scots Unbound and
other poems*, 1932.

. . . The mind creates only to destroy;
Amid the desolation language rises, and
towers
Above the ruins . . .
Our spirit is of a being
Indestructible . . .
It is like the sun which seems to set to our
earthly eyes
But in reality shines on unceasingly . . .
Not to one country or race, but to
humanity.
Not to this age but to all time,
As your piobrocha that reached to Eternity . . .
– "Lament for the Great Music," 1934.

Galloway

The district of Galloway comprises the counties of Kircudbright and Wigton on Scotland's southwesternmost peninsula. With the Firth of Clyde commencing on its western shore, the Solway Firth on its southern side, and the Southern Uplands rising along its eastern border, it is one of the most compact, clearly-defined and distinctive regions in Scotland. It is also one of the most remote and little-known. For centuries the district was virtually islanded by the rivers and undrained fens of the Nithsdale valley arcing southward from Ayr to Dumfries. To this day Galwegians retain the qualities of self-reliant islandfolk with their own customs, speech and allegiances.

The district is sparsely populated and rural in character, forestry and farming forming the principal occupations. The higher rainfall of the west coast gives the rolling farmlands of Galloway a lush greenness rare in Scotland. Huge herds of black and red Ayrshires and hornless Galloway "belties" — black beasts with a snow white band about their middles — provide a goodly proportion of Scotland's dairy products as well as some of the best breedstock in the world. The Blackface sheep so common in the Highlands also originated here. Along the coasts great quantities of potatoes are grown, and one may still catch a glimpse of colorful "howkers" — mainly itinerant Irish laborers — scooping out "praties" from the rich red earth.

Set down cheek by jowl with these fine farmlands, patterned with dykes of local whinstone and whitewashed cottages, are the wildest hills in southern Scotland. Even in the Highlands one would be hard put to find a place less frequented by man than central Galloway. No matter where one enters this 200 square mile tract the metamorphosis of pastoral lowlands into mountain wilderness is startlingly abrupt. Ascending from the Clyde and Solway shores is a series of high bleak moors, tangled hills and deep glens, pocked with tarns and corries, which culminates in the granite mass of the Merrick — the highest mountain south of Ben Lomond. On its northern rim the Merrick overlooks the peaks of the Isle of Arran, while to the south one might dimly make out the east coast of Ulster and the Isle of Man. All about the base of the Merrick are lochs whose names make music: Doon, Enoch, Dow and Aran, Dee, Moan and Trool.

Loch Trool lies at the head of the lovely Cree valley, its thickly wooded shores rising gradually into a cirque of rugged hills. Here in this secluded spot it is surprising to come upon an immense boulder balanced on a plinth with the following inscription:

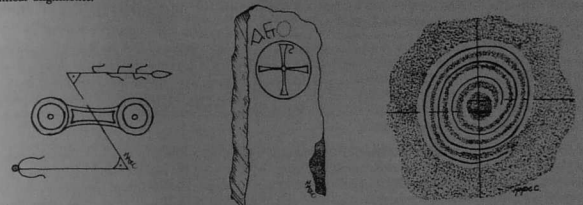
In Loyal Remembrance
of
Robert Bruce
King of the Scots

whose victory in this glen over an English
force in March 1307 opened the campaign of
independence which he brought to a decisive
close at Bannockburn on the 24th June 1314.

Glen Trool can with justice be called "the cradle of Scottish independence." Indeed, it is little short of miraculous that it did not become its grave. Galloway had long been ruled by the Comyns and the Balliols, the Bruce's chief rivals for the Scottish crown. In early 1306, Bruce murdered Red John Comyn in the Greyfriars Kirk at Dumfries. At Scone on Palm Sunday Bruce raised the Royal Standard and had himself crowned King of Scots. A few months later he was heavily defeated by an English army at Methven, and had spent the winter of 1306-7 in hiding. The following spring two of his brothers who had landed in Galloway were caught and killed, and either through treachery or mistake the Bruce, himself, with 300 Highlanders was drawn to the one area in Scotland which detested his cause. Bruce, a native of neighboring Dumfries, made straight for Glen Trool where he deployed his men on some cliffs above a narrow pass. Some 800 pursuers tracked them down, but were utterly routed when Bruce and his Highlanders let fly a furious hail of rocks, logs and boulders from above.

It would be difficult to envision a more remote setting for the Bruce Memorial or the action it commemorates, yet very few places in Galloway fail to evoke historical or cultural associations of some kind. Since the eighteenth century the district has been a backwater: untravelled, unnoticed, undeveloped. But from its earliest inhabitation to the Act of Union in 1707, much that has shaped the national being and destiny of Scotland has been born, bred or harbored in Galloway.

Although, in recent times, geography has isolated Galloway, its close proximity to Ireland, the Inner Hebrides, Cumberland-Strathclyde and the Isle of Man made the region a major cultural crossroads in every age from the Mesolithic to the Medieval. Like the peninsula of Land's End in Cornwall and Finistere in Brittany, Galloway was an important focal point of megalithic society. The county of Wigton in southwestern Galloway is, in fact, one of the richest archaeological zones in Scotland. Standing stones, passage graves, hill forts, stone circles and artifacts of many kinds are found in profusion, especially along the Solway coast. Several of the stone circles and menhirs have been positioned, characteristically, to indicate astronomical alignments.



Left: Pictish double-disc with Z-rod at vitrified fort of Trusty's Hill, Gatehouse of Fleet, Arkcudbrightshire. Center: Sixth century memorial to Vaventius and Mavorius, Whithorn, Wigtonshire (Latin inscription not shown). Right: Megalithic spiral at Knock, Wigtonshire.

The name *Galloway* is an ancient Celtic one meaning "land of the stranger Gaels" (Gall/stranger + Gaidheal or Gwyddel/Gael). To grasp the spirit of the place and the people one might well begin by pondering the enigma implicit in "stranger Gaels." What kind of strangers? Strangers to the Gael? from the Gael? than the Gael? A cursory glance through a Galloway phone book provides a leading clue: McGuffog, McSkimming, McClumpha, McCrindle. Though they sound like inventions of J.M. Barrie, these are common surnames of "the fremit (strange, not akin) Scot o' Galloway," believed by some to be descended from the mysterious Picts.

The Picts could aptly be described as "stranger Gaels." Of their origins, race, language and history little is certain; yet so much has been conjectured that more than one critic has despaired of the "morbid Pictomania" endemic to Scottish archaeology. Ulster, Scythia, Gaul and Biscay are but a few of the possible places of origin advanced against the conventional aboriginal view. Like the continental Celts, the "painted people" left no historical literature save what outsiders set down, no writing but for epigraphic fragments and a list of kings. If not Celts themselves, they intermarried with Gaels and Britons, spoke a Celtic language, and employed a variety of Celtic ogam in their heretofore indecipherable inscriptions.

The notion that Galloway was the last stronghold of the Picts has long been popular among Galwegians, but archaeologists who hold to the hard facts are skeptical.¹ During the Roman period, the Picts were confined to the area north of the Antonine Wall constructed along the Firth-Clyde line. To the south, on either side of Hadrian's Wall, dwelled a number of Brythonic tribes, many of whom had been pushed northward from heavily Romanized central and southeastern Britain. Although Galloway was in the middle of the Romano-Brythonic "pale" established by Hadrian and extended by Antoninus Pius, the Romans were content to merely scout the region and built no permanent outposts there. Had they established military camps in Galloway we would, of course, know what peoples had settled there.

When Ptolemy undertook the first geographical survey of Britain and Ireland in the mid-second century A.D., he designated the Galloway area as the home of the *Novantae*, "the Newcomers." To the immediate north, in modern Argyllshire, he placed the *Creones*. T.C. Lethbridge speculated that these two tribes were Pictish and had migrated from the Highlands and Islands, where they had settled shortly after Caesar's invasion of Britain two centuries before. Lethbridge

¹ The traditional interpretation of *Gall-Gaidheal* ascribes it to the mixed Norse-Gaelic communities which developed on the western coasts and islands of Scotland after the Viking invasions from the eighth century onwards.

interpreted *Creones* as a latinization of *Cruithni*, the Gaelic name for the Picts, whom he linked up with the Biscayan *Pictones*. He also observed that a tribe of southern Picts, known locally as "Croonies," had survived in Galloway until very recently.

The southwestern coast of Galloway lies closer to Ireland and the Isle of Man than any other point in mainland Britain, and commands the entrance to the North Channel connecting the Irish Sea with the North Atlantic. Thus, from Celtic and Roman times through the Middle Ages, Galloway attracted an inordinate number of invaders, malcontents and adventurers. Even after all the tribal, feudal, dynastic and sectarian contests had been played out, the Galloway coasts continued to afford shelter to smugglers for years to come.

When the Gaels, Britons, Picts and other northern tribes weren't fighting each other they often directed their attention to the Roman billets between the Forth and the Solway. When they joined forces the combined assaults were usually devastating. By the end of the second century the steadily weakening garrisons had been driven back to the original frontier established by Hadrian between Carlisle and Newcastle. The Picts were the most persistent and formidable of the insurgents, and several times they allied with the subject Strathclyde Britons who, in true Jacobite fashion, seemed more adept at plotting rather than executing rebellions.

The Picts may have come to Galloway as a result of such a confederacy. Alternately, since it is known that the Picts were established in Ulster as well, they may have settled along the main route to Northern Ireland at some point in their comings and goings across the Irish Sea. If, in fact, the *Novantae* were recent arrivals from Ireland or Northern Scotland, then "newcomers" was perhaps the best Ptolemy could do to describe them, since the Romans had very little direct contact with either area.

By the fourth century Roman Britain was confronted with more ominous dangers than the proverbial border depredations. Saxon and Anglian marauders began plundering the defenseless coasts of Gaul and eastern Britain, while *Scotti* from Ireland raided the west coast from Wales up to Argyll. In 367, a massive invasion of Picts and Scots, joined by Germanic sea-raiders, permanently damaged the more prosperous districts of Britain. Within a few years, Roman civil and military control was withdrawn from the north and west, and by 410 the entire island had been abandoned.

Throughout the fifth and sixth centuries, while Britons and Saxons contested the southern part of the island, Angles and Scots established kingdoms in Northumbria and Argyll, respectively. The Scottish colonists, the Ulster Dal Riada, had undoubtedly encountered Pictish peoples in Ireland. In Scotland, Dal Riada gradually gained control of their Pictish neighbors to the north and east, not so much by force of arms as by intermarriage and the missionary activity of St. Columba and his successors. In 843, Kenneth MacAlpine, King of Scots, defended his hereditary claim to the Pictish throne and made himself king of the whole of Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde. Gaelic culture and speech spread so quickly thereafter that, within a century, Alba had been transformed for all time into Scotland. Simultaneously, the Angles and Saxons were converting much of Celtic Britain into England.

Galloway, however, remained Galloway: an independent kingdom ruled by native Lords, or Princes. Not until the reign of Malcolm III (1057-1093) did Galloway profess any allegiance to the Scottish crown. However, the process of Anglo-Normanization initiated by Malcolm and his English wife, Queen Margaret, was more strongly resisted in Galloway than anywhere in southern Scotland. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Galwegian princes were in a state of more or less permanent insurrection against the central monarchy. Prince Fergus rebelled no less than five times: twice in the reign of David II (1124-53) and three times against Malcolm IV (1153-65). Fergus was widely travelled in England, Wales and Ireland and introduced many innovations into the church organization of Galloway. At Dundrennan (*Dun-nan-draighnean*/Hill of the Hawthorns), in 1142, he founded an abbey for Cistercian monks from Rievaulx in Yorkshire, to which he retired after his last campaign against Malcolm the Maiden.

The struggle against the Anglo-Norman party was carried on by the sons of Fergus in the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214). William, after inaugurating the "Auld Alliance" with France, launched a disastrous invasion of England in 1174, during which he was taken prisoner and forced to sign the humiliating Treaty of Falaise. By this document Northumbria was ceded forever to England, the English Primate assumed control of the Scottish Church, Scotland was placed under feudal subjection to England, and the chief castles of southern Scotland were garrisoned by English troops. Shortly thereafter, the sons of Fergus raised a general insurrection in the southwest, massacring with particular gusto the Anglo-Norman garrisons which had been stationed there.

It is evident from contemporary historical sources that Galloway was not only politically independent but also ethnically distinct from the Scottish nation. For example, the original charter of Melrose Abbey in 1144 is addressed to "the Normans, English, Scots and Galwegians of the whole realm." In the thirteenth century, England had only one Justiciar - the chief judge and administrator - whereas Scotland had three: one each for Lothian, Scotia and Galloway. Each district had its own legal and political system, Galloway's and Scotia's remaining Celtic until the suppression of Celtic law in 1426. In 1138, David I assembled a motley army drawn from each of Scotland's major ethnic groups to face the forces of the northern English barons. According to a contemporary chronicler, Richard of Hexham, the Scottish army was composed of "Normans, Germans, English, Northumbrians, Cumbrians, men of Teviotdale and Lothian, Picts who are commonly called Galwegians, and Scots." The Sassenach Richard, at least, seemed certain he kened "the fermit Scot o' Galloway."

Alan, last of the independent Princes of Galloway was also Constable of Scotland and perhaps the most powerful noble in the two kingdoms. He built a navy and successfully invaded the Isle of Man, then under Viking rule, but died before he could complete the conquest. Unfortunately, Alan left no male heir. After his death in 1234, another rebellion was occasioned over the succession which was subdued by the Scottish King, Alexander II. Thenceforth, Galloway came to be regarded as part of Scotland.

Alan had three daughters who married Anglo-Norman nobles, including Devorgilla who married John Balliol in 1233. In effect, the union of the two houses enfeoffed the entire district of Galloway to the Balliol family, since Alan willed the eastern half to Devorgilla and the Balliols held title to the western part. John Balliol was one of the wealthiest barons of his time, owning twenty knights fees in England and extensive properties in France. Devorgilla also inherited many estates in Scotland and England, including a castle that would one day loom darkly in Scottish history - Fotheringay. John Balliol held the Regency of Scotland during the minority of Alexander III and his son John was King from 1292-1296, yet posterity remembers the Balliols not so much for their great wealth and power as for an act which must have seemed of little significance to them: the founding of Balliol College, Oxford, by Devorgilla.

In 1332, urged on by Edward the III, a number of Scottish nobles, who had lost their lands for siding with the English against Bruce, attempted to depose Bruce's son David II and place John Balliol's son Edward on the throne. After an initial victory at Dupplin Moor, Edward and his supporters were driven out of the country by a force under Archibald Douglas, brother of the famous Black Douglas, James, who was Bruce's chief lieutenant. James' successor, the second Earl of Douglas, was made Warden of the Marches and Lord of Galloway by David II.

The Douglasses were the most powerful family in southern Scotland. They terrorized the countryside on both sides of the Border with their incessant raiding and warfare with their great rivals, the Percys of Northumberland. The Percy-Douglas conflict culminated in 1388 in the major battle of Otterburn, or Chevy Chase as it was later known. Here, in the light of a new moon, the second Earl of Douglas was slain, with three spears in his body and a battle axe in his skull. His natural son Archibald the Grim inherited the Lordship of Galloway, "because he took great trouble to purge the country of English blood." On a little island in the Dee he erected Threave Castle, whose eight foot thick walls stand to this day, scarred with the marks of cannonade and assault. Over the doorway of the castle keep is a projecting stone, known as "the gallowes knob." It is said that "Blac Archibalde" used to boast "that it never lacked a tassle."

No Scottish monarch could be secure in his reign without the support of the Douglasses. Moreover, as an English MP observed when considering the proposal of James I to unite the English and Scottish crowns: "The Scots have not suffered above two kings to die in their beds these two hundred years."² In 1437, James I was stabbed to death in the presence of his Queen, and his six year old son came to the throne as James II. The fifth Earl of Douglas, his Regent and next heir to the throne, died in 1439, leaving two young sons. The Regency passed to Sir William Crichton, who summoned the young Douglasses to dinner with the little King where he murdered them both. While the vast Douglas estates were divided up by the Crown, the eighth Earl of Douglas plotted his revenge in the Western Isles and Galloway. In 1452, however, he foolishly accepted another dinner invitation from James II, whereupon the King murdered him after Douglas had "resisted his gentle persuasion." Three years later, James II defeated and executed three of the dead man's brothers at the battle of Arkinholm, while a fourth fled to England. Threave Castle in Galloway was the last fortress to hold out for the Black Douglasses; but as legend has it, the King required the services of the gargantuan cannon "Mons Meg" to reduce it.

² Between 1406 and the reign of James the VI and I, Scotland had six monarchs. Only one, in fact, James V, died in his sleep. James I and James III were assassinated; James II and IV died in battle; Mary Queen of Scots fled to England in 1568 and was executed there in 1587.

With the breaking of the Douglases, Galloway passed to the Crown, and but for a few spectacular incidents remained quietly in the background of Scottish life.

Comyn, Balliol, Bruce and Douglas: their histories are the history of southern Scotland in the Middle Ages. But of all the great destinies that have taken shape in Galloway, none was more fateful than that of a fugitive's who found refuge there for a night and a day. Twelve days after escaping from eleven months' captivity at Lochleven, her army routed the previous morning at Langside, Mary Stuart fled like a hunted beast to the Galloway highlands.

The first day she rides sixty miles with a handful of followers. For the next two, they hide in glens and caves, moving only by night. The horses are turned loose as they are spent, the bridges destroyed once crossed; her head is shaved and she wears a dark wig. The third day she reaches the limits of her realm at Dundrennan Abbey, near the town of Kircudbright on the Solway Firth. Lord Herries, her guide through the wilderness, implores her to stay, or failing that, to make her way to Spain or France where friends and relatives would be sure to receive her. But her mind is fixed on the dream of friendship with her English cousin. Had not Elizabeth encouraged her in the dark days at Lochleven: "You can at any time count on the Queen of England as a true friend"?

Her last night in Scotland Mary writes to Elizabeth of her defeat at Langside: "I am now forced out of my kingdom, and driven to such straits that, next to God, I have no hope but in your goodness."

The following morning, May 16, 1568, she embarks for England in a fishing-smack, confident that she will soon return with a victorious army. She has heard Mass and received the Lord Abbot's blessing. As the boat casts off, the Archbishop of St. Andrews plunges into the water, seizes the gunwale with both hands, and implores his Queen to stay. But the blue hills of Cumberland beckon brightly across the Solway Firth, a brisk wind fills the sails. Not yet 25, she has lost two kingdoms, buried two husbands, been twice imprisoned, known two weeks of freedom in the last eleven months. She will not turn back; her "affectionate sister" will succour her. The day is wild. For four hours they work against wind and tide. Finally, the boat breaks free and reaches the little port of Worthington at nightfall.

Could she have foreseen the long bitter road that would lead her from Carlisle to Fotheringay she might well have followed the example of Fergus, Prince of Galloway, who had built the abbey on "the hill of thorn-bushes," and turned away from the endless battles of court and state. But Fergus was an old man, a veteran who had defended his kingdom from the Sassenach and Norman, and had sons who would fight to keep it free. Mary had only her youth, its pride and its folly, and more than her share of the characteristic Stuart hopefulness. She thought her life could begin again beyond the Solway, and never dreamed that in leaving Dundrennan she left Scotland forever.

Destruction not deliverance awaited her in England, where, mindful of Mary's claim to the English crown, Elizabeth promptly imprisoned her. "Strike or be stricken" was Elizabeth's motto. "Strike or be stricken."

"As a lovely mead despoiled of its flowers, as a picture deprived of its colours, as the heavens in the absence of the stars, the sea of its waves, a ship of its sails, a palace of royal pomp, or a ring bereft of its precious pearl — thus will France grieve, bereft of her ornament, losing that royalty which was her flower, her colour, her beauty. Ha! Scotland! I would that thou might wander like Delos on the face of the sea, or sink to its profoundest depths, so that the sails of thy bright Queen, vainly striving to seek her realm, might suddenly turn and bear her back to her fair Duchy of Touraine." — Pierre de Ronsard on Mary Stuart's return to Scotland, August 1561.

End, Part I

Part II of *Galloway* will deal with the cultural life and outstanding characters of the district. Among the topics discussed will be early Christianity, the abbeys of Galloway, witchcraft, the Covenanters, "Old Mortality," Billy Marshall — King of the Gypsies, MacTaggart's *Gallovidian Encyclopedia*, Kirkcudbright, John Paul Jones, and Alexander Murray.

— Criostoir Donnan

CYMRU

WALES

CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG AND THE STATUS OF WELSH

Before Mercian and Northumbrian aggression had confined the Welsh nation to its historical boundaries, all of Britain west of a line running roughly from the Firth of Forth to Exeter was still Celtic territory, and, with the exception of a few districts, spoke the Brythonic tongue, from which Welsh developed during the fifth and sixth centuries. During the early medieval period, when most modern tongues were viewed as crude vernaculars and Latin was the language of continental culture, Welsh was spoken by nobles and commoners alike. It was the language of government, law and administration; it was spoken and studied in the bardic and monastic schools; and by the seventh century it had attained literary form in the sophisticated epigrammatic verse known as *englynion* and in the heroic poetry attributed to Aneurin and Taliesin. Under the bardic system Welsh poets were graded both according to social rank and to degrees of proficiency, and the modes of song proper to each grade were precisely defined. The upper grades, the bards of the court, composed exquisite verse of great formal complexity in praise of their patron lords, and of God and the saints. The lower grades, the court entertainers and wandering bards, were restricted to satire, ribaldry and the spoken tale. Many of the latter were eventually reduced to writing in the *Mabinogion*, a cycle of mythological tales which represents the first work of literary prose in Welsh.

Welsh was deprived of its absolute hegemony in government and law when Edward I completed the Norman Conquest of Wales in 1282. Although French became the language of officialdom in those parts of Wales ruled directly by the King, *i.e.*, the 'principality,' many of the Norman barons adopted Welsh culture and speech and "took the men of song unto them," in the words of the Statute of Gruffydd ap Cynan. With the passing of the native princes the older modes and conventions of Welsh poetry were perforce abandoned. Under Norman patronage a new kind of literature developed, simpler in language and enlivened by influences from the continent. Its greatest exponent was Dafydd ap Gwilym, who, like his contemporary Chaucer in England, is regarded in Wales as the father of modern poetry. A master of both the ancient bardic modes and the lyrical forms popularized by the troubadours and the French trouveres, Dafydd also created his own conventions. He retained the traditional metres of the bards, but he discarded their deliberately archaic diction and wrote in the ordinary language of his educated countrymen. He thus established the standards of modern Welsh. His immediate successors followed his example, and when, after the Reformation, a new Welsh prose language was formed, it was based on the standard language of the bards as stabilized by Dafydd ap Gwilym.

A largely Welsh army won the battle of Bosworth in 1485, which secured the English throne for a king who boasted of his Welsh descent. Henry Tudor named his first son Arthur and flew the Welsh flag over the Tower of London, yet Welsh culture was nearly annihilated by the Tudors, who dissolved the Welsh monasteries, suppressed the Welsh language, and induced the Welsh aristocracy to emigrate to England. The cornerstone of Tudor policy was the Act incorporating Wales into England in 1536 which abolished the separate political identity of Wales and deprived the Welsh language of all legal and official status. Its chief instrument was the English educational system. Once fluency in English became a prerequisite for social advancement or any kind of career, the Welsh nobles sent their sons to English schools and withdrew their patronage from the bards. In 1585, Gruffydd Roberts complained that "the greater part of the nobility neither can read nor write Welsh ... and others neglect and despise the Welsh tongue." The Tudors were well on the way towards extirpating the language

when they made the mistake of authorizing the translation of the Scriptures and the Anglican Book of Common Prayer into Welsh. Where all other measures had debased the language the Welsh Bible gave it a religious prestige and established it as the language of worship in the Anglican Church and later among Nonconformist congregations. The banning of the other Celtic languages from the official church was an important factor in their much more rapid decay.

The Welsh Bible also saved the language as a literary medium. Following its appearance in 1588, a steady stream of theological works were translated into Welsh and several Welsh grammars and dictionaries were published. By 1700, a literary renaissance was under way motivated largely by antiquarian interests. Edward Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* (1707), the first scholarly study of the Celtic languages, inspired Theophilus Evans to write a history of Wales in 1716 which was far from scholarly, but which restored a sense of the country's heritage to many Welsh people. The nation's vast store of folk song was drawn upon for the first time by Welsh poets in love poems, hymns and moral verses, written, after the English fashion, in free metres. The unfree metres and alliteration peculiar to Wales were later revived by Goronwy Owen, the greatest Welsh poet after Dafydd ap Gwilym. A classical school of poetry was formed around Owen, which was associated with the London Welsh community and with the establishment of learned societies to encourage the study and writing of Welsh literature. The direct result of the activities of the London Welshmen was the revival of the *cisteddfodau*, or bardic competitions, held periodically in different parts of Wales, at which chairs were awarded for poems composed in the unfree metres. Through Goronwy Owen and his successors, the *cisteddfodic* bards, the archaic modes of heroic poetry have been perpetuated in a manner which is perhaps unparalleled in any other literature.

The literary renaissance was accompanied by a tremendous spiritual and educational awakening in Wales inspired by the Methodist Movement. The Methodists preached wherever and whenever they could to the great mass of poor and unlettered people whom the official church had ignored. Faith not reason brought salvation, they believed, and the fervor with which they exhorted the faithful appealed strongly to the Welsh, who cared little for the rationalism of the Dissenting creeds and less for the formality of the Anglican Church. Through their emphasis on Bible study and devotional exercises the Methodists became early advocates of popular education. They were supported in this pursuit by Griffith Jones, rector of Llanddowror, who set out to provide his countrymen with the rudiments of religious instruction through a system of Circulating Schools. Moving from parish to parish every three months, these free schools were open to everyone and taught reading through the medium of the Welsh Bible. When Jones died in 1761, over 150,000 persons — nearly a third of the population of Wales — had learned to read Welsh through the Circulating Schools. Not only had Jones kept the Welsh language alive, he had also made Wales one of the first literate nations in the world. The tradition of popular education was maintained by the Methodist preacher Thomas Charles, under whose leadership the Welsh Sunday Schools became a nationwide network of small free schools for children and adults.

By the early 1800s, Welsh was in a stronger position than at any time since the Act of Union. The spontaneous desire for learning of the Welsh people had revived the language, but again its survival was threatened by English educational reform. In 1847, a Parliamentary Commission published a three volume report on the state of education in Wales. The Commissioners (monoglot Englishmen) drew up a terrible indictment against the Welsh-speaking nation, stating that Welsh "distorts the truth," that Welsh-speakers were "almost universally immoral" and that ignorance of English kept the Welsh people isolated, backward and "incapable of rising above the ranks of the working class." The 'Treason of the Blue Books' led in 1870 to the establishment of elementary schools in Wales, at which attendance was compulsory and the use of Welsh forbidden, even at play. 'Welsh Not' placards were hung on the backs of children overheard using Welsh, which they could remove only by catching other linguistic transgressors (the tally-stick and the *symbolle* served the same purpose in the state schools in Ireland and Brittany, respectively). The position of Welsh was further undermined by radical socio-economic changes. As Wales rapidly became industrialized over half of its people were drawn to the South Wales coalfield. They were joined towards the end of the century by thousands of English immigrants who thoroughly Anglicized the industrial districts within a few generations. With Welsh excluded from all government institutions and public life generally, the English had no reason to take up the language while the Welsh had good reason to drop it, particularly if they were hopeful of "rising above the ranks of the working class." Small wonder, then, that in a nation which was ninety percent Welsh-speaking in 1850, Welsh had become a minority language by the early 1900s.

Welsh language groups were formed from the late nineteenth century onwards, and eventually they succeeded in winning a foothold for Welsh in the educational system. Following the creation of a separate Welsh Department of the Board of Education in 1907, Welsh gained acceptance as a subject of study in schools throughout Wales and as a teaching medium for young children in the predominantly Welsh-speaking areas. The first major political attempt to secure official status for

the language took place in 1938, when the Welsh Language Petition was presented to the London Government. Put forward by the Union of Welsh Language Societies, the Petition called for immediate legislation to "give Welsh the same rights as English in all aspects of the administration of the law and public service in Wales." 500,000 signatures were gathered by the summer of 1939, and had not World War II brought the Petition to a complete standstill an estimated eighty percent of the adult population of Wales would have signed it. Westminster responded to the Language Petition with the Welsh Courts Act of 1942, which provided for the use of Welsh in administering oaths and, under certain conditions, in giving evidence. For Parliament in wartime it was a unanimous act; in Wales, already drained of 500,000 citizens by the inter-war depression, it was viewed by many as an opportunistic piece of trivialization, which the 'war effort' rendered immune to criticism.

The retreat of the language continued apace. In 1930, Welsh was the language of thirty-seven percent of the people; in 1950, of thirty percent. At present, that figure is twenty percent and falling.

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg and the Present Crisis

While witnessing the rapid decline of Welsh, the twentieth century has seen an even greater literary renaissance than the eighteenth. An abundance of books have been published in many fields and in nearly every department of literature work has been produced which may bear comparison with similar work in any country in Europe. Yet, until recently, there has been no intimation of a spiritual awakening comparable to that which paralleled the eighteenth century literary revival. In the 1950s, only one family in Wales was prepared to defy the law for the sake of the language. The seven year struggle and prosecution of the Beasley family, who sought a rate demand in Welsh, was presented as a pattern for "The Fate of the Language" by Saunders Lewis in the BBC Wales Annual Radio Lecture of 1962. Lewis, the greatest Welsh writer of this century, a founder of the Welsh Nationalist Party and the acknowledged leader of Welsh Wales, now returned to active politics after a twenty year interval with a stern and pointed message: "I take it for granted that if present trends continue Welsh will cease to be a living language early in the twenty-first century." Lewis then outlined a campaign to compel the authorities to grant Welsh parity of status with English: "It will be nothing less than a revolution to restore the Welsh language in Wales today. Success is only possible through revolutionary methods. . . . It should be made immediately impossible for the business of local and central government to continue without using Welsh. . . . This is not a policy for individuals, here and there. . . . It is a policy for a movement."

Almost overnight that movement coalesced as young Welsh-speakers came together to form *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (the Welsh Language Society). Like Lewis they believed that winning recognition for Welsh as an official and administrative language was essential to its survival. As Welsh citizens they claimed the right to use Welsh in dealing with the authorities governing Wales, and they began to challenge them directly. From the courts they demanded that bilingual summonses be issued: from the highway authorities, that English road signs be replaced with non-verbal or bilingual ones; from the Post Office, that the Welsh forms of place names be observed; from the telephone service, that bilingual operators be available at all times; and, from every department of government in Wales, that all official forms and documents be published bilingually. Demonstrations, petitions and acts of civil disobedience accompanied the society's campaigns, and each achieved a measure of success. Although they drew much criticism for their revolutionary methods and eventually prison sentences as well, their sincerity, self-discipline and total commitment to maintaining the language assured them of widespread support. "They are characteristic of a long tradition of dissent," the novelist Emyr Humphreys wrote. "The Welsh tradition which created Welsh nonconformity and indeed Welsh socialism has found a new outlet." When the government report on *The Legal Status of the Welsh Language* was published in 1965 it was indeed *Cymdeithas* that had made an impact. The report was the work of Sir David Hughes Parry, a distinguished academic lawyer and administrator and a native Welsh-speaker, and was commissioned in response to Saunders Lewis' broadcast and the activities of *Cymdeithas*. It acknowledged the importance of official status for the language and advised that the 'principle of equal validity' be made statutory at once. The Secretary of State for Wales publicly accepted the major recommendations of the Hughes Parry report. However, when the Welsh Language Act was passed in 1967 Hughes Parry himself protested: "The government has not announced that Welsh has equal validity. What it has done is to give the right to speak it in the courts. The latter is not equal to the former." Once again Westminster had answered the call for immediate action and comprehensive reform with passive legislation and minimal concessions.

The more the government has temporized the more militant and uncompromising *Cymdeithas* has grown. Campaigns involving serious offences against the law have become a matter of course. The basic standpoint of the society is stated in *Manifesto Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (pub. 1972; rev. and trans. in *Planet* No. 26/27, 1974):

That to break the law in order to secure justice, after the authorities have refused to respond to polite requests (as has happened time after time), is not only just, it is a duty . . . It is also just to refuse to co-operate with the administration of government when it does not give [the] language its due recognition, and to cause deliberate inconvenience to the government organizations which deny it proper status . . . Neither have we any doubt that the destruction of property, under special circumstances, is consistent with these principles [when] it is absolutely certain that no harm or danger will be caused to life . . . Such status as Welsh has today has been won by the use or threatened use of illegal methods in the campaigns of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith*.

Illegal methods have been used systematically throughout the society's Road Signs campaign. Viewing the thousands of English road signs in Wales as the most "ubiquitous proclamation of the superiority of the English language," *Cymdeithas* removed or obliterated so many of them that a special government committee on Welsh road signs was set up. English signs have subsequently been replaced in a few areas yet the great majority remain. Removing them would be too costly or would cause safety hazards, the authorities claim; so *Cymdeithas* continues to remove the signs themselves. A related campaign against British Rail resulted in the adoption of a full bilingual policy by the latter, but only after their exhibition at the 1978 National Eisteddfod had been demolished by members of *Cymdeithas*. The society has also prevailed upon several English-based chain stores in Wales to use bilingual signs and continues to put pressure on thy many firms which have refused.

In conjunction with their direct action campaigns against specific targets *Cymdeithas* has sent petitions, language charters and deputations to every county and district council in Wales, urging them to apply the principle of bilingualism to their proceedings and to accord paramount status to the well-being of the language in their planning policies. In the anglicized areas councillors have often been indifferent and sometimes hostile to these initiatives, but *Cymdeithas* has induced a significant number of councils to establish working committees on the languages. In Gwynedd (the northwest of Wales), where Welsh speakers comprise two-thirds of the populace, the County Council recently adopted a bilingual policy in its meetings and documents, and has installed simultaneous translation equipment in the Council Chamber. Dwyfor, one of the District Councils within the County of Gwynedd, has gone a step further by making Welsh the official language of the Council in meetings, documents, correspondence and in dealings with other public authorities. Restoring Welsh to the business of government in Gwynedd is but a process of normalization and should encourage councils in other Welsh-speaking areas to follow suit. Yet it is a revolutionary process, nonetheless. English has always been the official language of local government in Wales, and non-Welsh speakers are now present on virtually every government council in the country. To deal with this development, *Cymdeithas* has recommended that local councils, as well as the courts, acquire simultaneous translation sets as part of their permanent equipment. However, if the growing involvement of non-Welsh speakers in community affairs is not to further supplant Welsh as the public language, then the linguistic inferiority complex endemic among Welsh-speakers must be eradicated. Many native speakers neither expect nor encourage newcomers to learn Welsh and do not scruple to speak English for their benefit. In political meetings, in local councils and committees, and in public gatherings of every description, proceedings are switched from Welsh to English for the convenience of non-Welsh-speakers with little or no protest. *Cymdeithas*, therefore, is as much concerned with creating a new spirit of pride among Welsh-speakers as with wringing concessions from reluctant authorities. The language cannot be legislated into renewed life — a fact emphasized by Dafydd Walters in his article, "Language and the Law": "Without positive discrimination in favor of Welsh at the official level, as well as a willingness to insist on using the language at the popular level, as Saunders Lewis urged, the language will die despite the Welsh Language Act and its like." (*Planet* No. 47, 1979)

No campaign of *Cymdeithas* has aroused more controversy or led to more serious lawbreaking than their ten-year battle for the establishment of a Welsh television channel. Every member has been fined, arrested, or prosecuted because of it; for it has been seen, quite literally, as a battle to the death. With Welsh all but excluded from television, and television the most potent cultural influence in Wales, not even official status would maintain the language for long. "Through television the values and modes of the Anglo-American world are propagated, even in countries where the native language is strong and enjoys full status and prestige . . . Its effect on a defenceless minority culture and an unrecognized language like Welsh [is] lethal, especially in rural areas where depopulation has over the years weakened the patterns and institutions of traditional culture." (*Manifesto Cymdeithas*) Since English television came to rural Wales, followed by a tidal wave of tourists, pensioners and holiday-homemakers, Welsh has declined in many communities to the point where it is no longer the majority language — and that is the point of no return. For no language can be said to be living if it is not somewhere the first spoken language of the community. The late Welsh philosopher, J.R. Jones, wrote: "It is because of this living language, in the

restricted foothold that remains to it, that *we are a People*. If it were to be lost completely we would lose our last remaining means of knowing what people we are. Every inch of it therefore is beyond price and is not negotiable." The survival of the separate identity of Wales, *Cymdeithas* agrees, is bound up entirely with the survival of Welsh as a living language. And Welsh Wales cannot survive, *Cymdeithas* argues, with its language debarred from television. Thus, the urgency of their Welsh television campaign and their determination to use any means within the limits of non-violence to win it. They have refused, en masse, to pay their television licenses; they have drafted and circulated petitions; they have staged sit-ins, hunger-strikes, protest marches and demonstrations; and, as Westminster has invariably pled poverty or had more pressing problems to consider, they have broken into transmitting stations, damaged equipment and disrupted broadcasts throughout Wales. However unpopular some of their actions may have appeared, the society has succeeded in bringing about a consensus on broadcasting in Wales; and every committee, official or unofficial, which has considered the issue has agreed that a comprehensive Welsh television service must be created without delay. In 1974, the government accepted the proposal for a Welsh channel and approved a detailed plan the following year for its establishment. In 1976, the government announced that the expense of setting up *Sianel Gymraeg* and financing its programming (roughly £22 million) could not be borne until the British economic picture had brightened somewhat. The economic crisis notwithstanding, the government at the same time spent £31 on foreign broadcasting services. In 1978, while the chairman and vice-chairman of *Cymdeithas* awaited trial for conspiring to destroy broadcasting equipment, the government revealed that *Sianel Gymraeg* would begin broadcasting in 1982 for 21 hours a week on a new, nationwide fourth channel network. However, the Conservative Government which was voted in last May has thoroughly revised this arrangement. Contrary to the recommendations of a whole series of government reports, the Welsh Language Council and *Cymdeithas*, the new administration has decided to split Welsh language broadcasting between two channels: BBC 2 and the new fourth channel. The Labour Government's provision for a Welsh Language Television Council to administer *Sianel Gymraeg* has also been rejected. The Independent Broadcasting Authority will be in charge of the fourth channel: a commercial network whose advertisers will see to it that Welsh programs are relegated to the 4 p.m. — 7 p.m. period, so as to reserve the peak viewing hours for Anglo-American entertainment shows. Moreover, if the I.B.A. concentrates on erecting 17 transmitters throughout Britain simultaneously, instead of giving priority to Wales, it could be 1985 before fourth channel transmitters are in operation for the Welsh-speaking audience. Thus, the campaign which appeared to come to a successful conclusion in 1978 must be carried on by *Cymdeithas*. Both the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State have refused to discuss the fate of *Sianel Gymraeg* with representatives of *Cymdeithas*, and one must wonder with Ned Thomas of *Planet* if the feeling of betrayal among those who have sacrificed so much to secure the Welsh television channel will one day erupt in "that violent confrontation of unheeding authority and desperate rebel which is so familiar elsewhere."

While placing the greatest emphasis on preserving the bond between land and language, *Cymdeithas* believes that Welsh must win new ground in order to hold the ground it still has. Just as the knowledge that Welsh remains the first spoken language in many areas serves as the strongest incentive for non-Welsh speakers to learn the language, so too the Welsh-speaking communities are strengthened by the knowledge that in the anglicized areas thousands of people have learned Welsh and Welsh-medium schools have been established. Thus, the society wages its campaigns on two fronts, committed equally to maintaining Welsh in its traditional strongholds and to reviving it in the land it has lost. Nevertheless, to paraphrase Saunders Lewis, the home front must be defended at all costs: "To defend a language is to defend a society, homes and families. Wales today cannot afford the destruction of the homes of the language. They are fragile and few." Remoteness from the English-speaking world enabled these homes to survive, until television beamed it right into their living rooms. Simultaneously, English families began arriving in rural Wales — some for a week, some for a season and many to stay for good. Neither factor alone would have endangered the Welsh-speaking communities; but undermined, at the same moment, from within and without, they have rapidly disintegrated. In the past, newcomers were readily assimilated into these communities, which for all practical purposes were monolingual. If one wished to take part in community life, it behooved one to master the language. Television has destroyed that inducement by insuring that the native society is thoroughly bilingual. Given the habitual readiness of the Welsh-speakers to use English, as a courtesy, and the aversion of English-speakers to using anything but, as a principle, anglicization has generally been the rule wherever the latter have settled. By today, English children are present in every school in the Welsh-speaking districts, and in some they form a clear majority of the students. Even in Gwynedd, which has the highest proportion of Welsh-speakers of Wales' eight counties, the majority of children now entering school are non-Welsh speaking. In 1967, the Cardiganshire Education Committee reported "disturbing evidence that primary schools often have to modify their character and medium of instruction because of a minority of non-Welsh speaking children." With a majority, English is certain to become the chief teaching-medium. Some schools have gone so far as to permit parents to withdraw their children from Welsh classes. In such an environment English-speakers rarely

become fluent in Welsh (under seven percent according to a 1974 survey), while Welsh speakers invariably begin speaking English to each other since they must speak it to so many of their peers.

For over a century the young have been leaving the Welsh-speaking communities. The virtual disappearance of traditional rural industries such as tanning, weaving and smithwork, the death of the North Wales slate industry which once employed 17,000 men, and the steady decline in agricultural employment through farm mergers and mechanization have matched of late by an influx of retired, inactive people from the urban areas. The North Wales coast has become so heavily populated with English pensioners that it has been dubbed 'Costa Geriatrica.' The growing traffic in holiday homes has further eroded the social and economic foundations of the Welsh-speaking communities. In many villages the majority of homes are now summer residences for English visitors. Altogether, so many 'homes of the language' have been transformed into second, permanent or retirement homes for English incomers that the familiar process of depopulation is fast becoming an exchange of populations. *Cymdeithas* has responded to this crisis with a direct action campaign against the holiday home market, and has demanded that local councils acquire such homes by compulsory purchase and rent them to local people. They have also organized seminars and conferences to consider ways of creating new work opportunities, and have joined with groups like *Haul i Waith*/Right to Work in pressing for small-scale industrial developments and co-operative ventures in areas of high unemployment. In the County of Dyfed (the southwest of Wales), the Ceredigion District Council has agreed to buy vacant houses in several villages and to rent them locally, rather than allow them to be auctioned off as holiday homes. However, many local councils are prevented from implementing their own housing policies by a national government which consistently allocates large sums of money for building new houses in 'growth centres' and only nominal amounts for purchasing and renovating older houses in rural areas. When weighed against the national interest the claims of local communities often count for little. Over the objections of *Cymdeithas* and the local and district councils, the Greater London Council recently purchased forty-two houses for English pensioners in the Dinbych region of North Wales — a part of 'Costa Geriatrica' already afflicted with acute job and housing shortages. Moreover, national interest continues to insure that the standard of living in the Welsh rural districts is among the lowest and its unemployment rate among the highest in the United Kingdom: for it is precisely these areas which have suffered most from recent cutbacks in public spending. In examining 'The Welsh Condition' for *The Spectator* Emyr Humphreys remarked:

In spite of the fact that there now exists a Secretary of State for Wales in the Cabinet, government policy seems consistently bent on economic and social measures that will accelerate the process of obliterating every trace of Welshness in order to turn the country into a convenient recreation area for the great English conurbations, leaving what is left of Welsh industry to be tacked on to those planner's dreams called Severnside in the south and extended Merseyside in the north. Can the objective observer wonder when the Welsh say they feel themselves threatened?

Apparently, the Welsh do not yet feel threatened enough to take even a tentative step towards self-government. Last March, they voted four-to-one against devolution, and in the general election held two months later they cast more votes than ever before for the Conservatives, who are opposed to any form of government decentralization. The new Conservative administration has, in short order, dismantled *Sianel Gymaneg*, reduced Welsh industrial subsidies by a third, called for the elimination of compulsory Welsh language courses from the schools of Gwynedd County, and has replaced the Welsh Language Council — an advisory body of Welsh citizens to the Secretary of State for Wales — with a standing committee of the English Parliament on Welsh affairs. Whereas the former had repeatedly recommended the adoption of linguistic policies similar to those advocated by *Cymdeithas*, the latter will be bound to serve the interests of its Conservative majority irrespective of the interests of Welsh Wales. With Westminster as indifferent as ever to the demands of its Welsh-speaking constituents and the hope for a devolved Welsh Assembly deferred indefinitely, a sustained effort must be made by the nationalist and language movements in collaboration with local government councils to prevent the further decay of the Welsh-speaking communities. Both *Cymdeithas* and Plaid Cymru — the Welsh Nationalist Party — have been increasingly active in organizing co-operative societies and housing associations throughout rural Wales, and the recent revival of the village of Llanaelhaearn in South Caernarfonshire, Gwynedd, has revealed how much can be achieved through local initiative alone. In 1970, attempts were made to close Llanaelhaearn's school and chapel; hundreds of Welsh rural communities have been thus centralized out of existence. Both closures were fought off by the villagers, who set up a Welsh-medium nursery school as well. Several cultural groups were formed thereafter, including a Villagers' Society which has been pressing local authorities to provide new housing and a social center for the community and to legislate against holiday homes. To keep the young

from leaving Llanaelhaearn to find employment elsewhere a village co-operative was established in 1973, modelled after the Cape Clear Co-operative in West Cork, Ireland. Its founder, Dr. Carl Clowes, has since led a successful campaign to convert the deserted village of Nant Gwrtheyrn nearby into an educational center for Welsh learners.

Important as official status and self-government may be, they will not guarantee the survival of Welsh, let alone revive it as the nation's major vernacular. Ireland has had self-government since the early twentieth century, yet if the handful of Irish-speaking communities that survive continue to deteriorate while the Dublin government stands idly by, the Irish language will be deadlier than Latin by the twenty-first century. That which Saunders Lewis appealed for and which *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* has sought to bring about is a revolution from within Welsh Wales, such as has occurred in Llanaelhaearn, not a devolution of administrative powers from Westminster, such as the Welsh Assembly would have incorporated. 'The fate of the language' rests ultimately with those who speak it. Only their determination to be heard, in the schools, in the courts, in the government councils, through the public media, and in their own communities, can prevent the London government from completing the process of anglicization which began with the relegation of Welsh under the Tudors.

Until the Welsh language passes out of existence, the best of every generation who speak it will go on fighting in one way or another, not because of some narrow obsession, not because they are incapable of feeling themselves part of a wider world-community, but because you cannot set out to contribute to this wider community or take part in the world's moral struggles and accept on your own doorstep a situation which denies your own identity as a Welsh-speaker and the value of the centuries which lie behind you. —
— *The Welsh Extremist*, Ned Thomas

Tra mor yn fwr i'w bur boff bau While the sea is a wall to the pure loved land
O bydded i'w ben iaith barbau O may the ancient language live on.

— K.D.G.

— from the National Anthem of Wales —

EDUCATION IN WALES: THE WORST IN EUROPE?

In 1790 Rev. W. Williams (Pantycelyn) wrote that about a third of the Welsh people were unable to read. As he was appealing for funds at the time in order to establish more schools, he is unlikely to have underestimated the number of illiterates. At that time, when the Welsh were almost entirely Welsh-speakers, their level of literacy was among the highest on earth, far higher than that of France, higher than that of England or the newly formed United States (if Negro slaves are taken into account); and surpassed only by Scotland and one or two other Northern European countries.

Today, though we concentrate in *Cars* on Welsh-language education, only 11 out of some 260 government maintained secondary schools in Wales are bilingual, and 90% of children are educated as English children with 'ambell i leson yn Welsh, chwarae teg, am fod Cymro bach oeddw'n i' — *Dafydd Iwan* (an occasional Welsh lesson as window-dressing). Any illusions we might have had, that high Welsh education standards had survived for long after their translation into English, were demolished by statistics published in October, which showed that, while 16.5% of English children leave school without passing any subject at 'O' level or C.S.E., the figure in Wales is 26.5%. Nor is this due to concentrating on the academic child, which used to be the complaint about education in Wales, for the results at 'A' level are also deficient.

For those readers unacquainted with the English education system, which for these purposes includes Wales and Cornwall, I had better explain that 'A' level (the Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education — G.C.E.) is an exam, taken at about the age of 18, similar to the French Baccalaureat: a pass in three subjects gets one into university. 'O' level (the Ordinary Level of the G.C.E.) is taken at about 16, as is the less academic G.S.E. (Certificate of Secondary Education), roughly equivalent to the French Brevet Elementaire du Premier Cycle. Those unable to pass a single subject at 'O' level or G.S.E. are regarded by employers, including the government, as unfit for training in any skill. Thus the woeful education standards explain why, according to John Osmond in 'Greating Conflict' (1977), the proportion of young people taking jobs requiring no training at all is 50% higher in Wales than the British average, and a quarter of overseas firms

established in Wales have expressed disappointment at the quality of their work-force or the difficulty of finding, in areas of high unemployment, adequate staff.

What is the explanation? Is it that emigration owing to continuous economic neglect and depression since 1920 has removed those of superior intelligence to London or overseas, leaving large numbers of those genetically incapable of profiting from education? That is unlikely for the two English regions worst affected by depression don't have results much worse than their national average: Northumberland and Durham - 16.8% leaving without any "O" level or G.S.E. pass; Lancashire and Cheshire - 17%.

What is more, it is not rural Welsh-speaking Wales, which has suffered the worst emigration, which has the worst results. Five of the eight counties have results in the bracket 18.4% (Powys) to 23% (Gwynedd), not significantly worse than the average in the English West Midlands (19.5%) or London (19.2%). It is in the three counties of the South Welsh Coalfield, Wales's main industrial area containing half her population, that the educational standards are abysmal: in Gwent 27.9% leave without any certificate, in West Glamorgan 28.9% and in Mid Glamorgan 38%.

For more than fifty years this area of Wales has been ruled by the Labour Party, more or less as a one party state, and it has systematically used the education service for political corruption. As long ago as the summer of 1933, the poet-politician, W.J. Gruffydd, wrote in "Y Llenor": "Corruption is rampant in some councils"; and 42 years later the socialist magazine, *Rebecca* No. 6, stated "everyone knows that the price of a headmastership is a year's wages." Everyone who has lived in South Wales also knows that there are generous reductions on that price, if you happen to be an enthusiastic Labour Party militant or a relative of a councillor on the Education Committee, and that the same principles (or lack of them) apply in disposing of all other jobs, down to school caretaker.

The veil is not often lifted to reveal the putrid mass of incompetence, favouritism and dishonesty which has resulted; but anyone who wants detailed examples of the extraordinary relations between Labour education administrators and teachers, and the utter demoralisation of the many good teachers who remain in the system, should read *Rebecca* No. 8 (Corruption Supplement) on events at Trallwng Infants School, Pontypridd, Mid Glamorgan and Greenfield Secondary School, Treceilyn (Newbridge), Gwent in 1976. It reaches the point that the older pupils in a major secondary school in Abertawe (Swansea), West Glamorgan, imitating their elders and, supposedly, betters, charge the younger ones protection money before allowing them to attend school (*Western Mail* 21 October 1978). Not surprisingly truancy is common; not everyone can afford these "School fees". In January 1974 it was found that absenteeism in Welsh schools was 44% higher than in England (*Absenteeism in the Schools of Wales* - Welsh Education Office 1975).

One of the reasons for the enthusiasm for Welsh-language education and why, whenever parents have been given a free choice between English and Welsh language education for their children in Mid Glamorgan, the majority have chosen Welsh (in 1977 out of 160 primary-school entrants in Treorci, Y Rhondda, only ten chose the English school), must, to be frank, be the far superior standards of the Welsh schools. These have not been affected by the general corruption, and in consequence Labour M.P.'s like Neil Kinnock accuse them of being "elitist"! This is not the only reason for the demand for Welsh language education: in South Glamorgan too, which has two-party government and a tolerable education system (only 19.6% leaving school without a certificate), the majority of parents have been choosing Welsh schooling, when offered the choice: and there patriotism is certainly the main motive.

In case any readers think that England's own education is of a high standard, I must explain that it isn't: for instance, while over 20% of young French people attend the Grandes Ecoles or university, only 8% in Britain go to university; in U.S.A. 40% go to college, but in Britain only 13% get any further education; with whichever advanced industrial country comparisons are made, it turns out that England educates only a third or half as many to an equal professional and academic level, and it is even behind many Communist countries. This is at least consolation for us Celts, for it means that England's social and economic decline is more or less guaranteed to continue for the next twenty years, which period we should use to make our nations independent. But it means that the 90% of Welsh children taught in English are doubly disadvantaged: they are doing badly in an already inferior system. To answer the question which is the title of this article: no, Wales doesn't have quite the worst education in Europe, but between her and that dubious distinction stand only a few countries such as Portugal and two or three in the Near East, like Albania!

It is a gloomy contrast with the situation in Pantycelyn's day, when the Welsh were among the most educated and, in consequence, in the forefront of the Industrial Revolution: in 1809, between Abertawe and the Mumbles, the first

passenger railway in the world was opened. It was horse-drawn, but already the Cornishman, Trevithick, had made the first experiments with a steam locomotive on rails at Merthyr Tydfil in 1804. (George Stephenson's achievement was simply to put the two together.) South Wales was the obvious place for such developments: it was one of the only places on earth whose workmen could produce the necessary iron rails. Without them indeed the British Empire would not have lasted for long, since at Merthyr they cast the bulk of the cannon for Nelson's fleet, Wellington's army and many of the continental armies which destroyed Napoleon.

Today we deceive ourselves that all is well with the English-speaking descendants of those Welsh-speaking workmen of 1800, when we argue that the value added per man employed in Wales is slightly higher than the English figure (leaving aside the great relative decline of English industry in the period). So it is; but that is only because capital investment in Wales has been much higher than in England, thanks to government grants and the tax concessions given to private companies investing in the "development areas", of which Wales is one. In terms of output per man per unit of capital employed, Wales is far behind, because of poor education and training.

It is a terrible comment on the supposed benefits to be gained by teaching in an "international language", which led to ramming the English language down the throats of Welsh children for 150 years; a policy, which has not only been a social and cultural tragedy, but is well on the way to producing an educational and economic catastrophe. Since England is unlikely to continue to subsidise investment in Welsh industry if we become independent, it is a matter of urgency that Welsh-language education, with its superior standards of competence and honesty, be expanded as fast as possible.

- Ifan Lloyd

Reprinted from *Carn* No. 25, Spring 1979,
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In August, 1979, *Planet - the Welsh Internationalist* published its fiftieth and final issue. Begun in 1970 with the assistance of the Welsh Arts Council, the magazine provided an important forum for cultural and political dialogue during one of the most crucial decades in modern Welsh history: a decade of resurgent Welsh nationalism manifested chiefly through the language restoration and political devolution movements. *Planet* furthered both movements by giving frequent and cogent expression to their aims and motivations. In reviewing the proposals of the Inter-Celtic Society *Planet's* managing editor, Ned Thomas, described the magazine's governing philosophy: "The tone of your statement of aims is very much in accord with what *Planet* has tried to stand for - strong and even militant assertion of cultural identity combined with real (rather than big nation) internationalism."

In *Planet*, national cultural identity was asserted through a full spectrum of articles on contemporary Wales and Welsh history and through reviews of, and original works by, modern Welsh writers. The magazine's international perspective was focused primarily upon third world and European minority cultures, e.g., Jamaican, Gypsy, Kurdish, Corsican, Finnish, Catalan, Flemish, Lusitanian and Basque, and was given a distinctly inter-Celtic dimension as well, through numerous articles on Scotland, Ireland and Brittany and occasional ones on Mann and Cornwall.

The calibre of writing in *Planet* was consistently high and was complemented by the magazine's tasteful and simple design. Publication has ceased not as a result of financial or other problems, but so that its editors may begin a new magazine which they hope will reach a wider audience, and which we hope will expand upon *Planet's* germane preoccupations. Although issues 1-27 are now out-of-print, sets of *Planet's* 28-50 (August 1975 - August 1979) are currently available for \$25.00.

Celtica

ODYSSEY OF THE IRISH
Documented by Blood Group and Craniometric Analysis

— Albert E. Casey, M.D. and Eleanor L. Downey-Prince, A.B., B.S.

This paper 1) reviews the annals of Ireland, Georgia (USSR), Greece, and Rome piecing together history pertinent to the migrations of the Irish, confirming by carbon-dating, biological-dating, and pollen analysis when such reports are known; and 2) uses the genetic information directly reflected in blood groups, physical and cranial measurements for determining the pre-history of the Irish. The blood groups and physical measurements of the living, and cranial measurements of the dead, worldwide, are believed to reflect the genetic spoor of ancient migrations.

PART I ANNALS OF IRELAND, GEORGIA (USSR), GREECE AND ROME

The indigenous Irish, according to their annals, are Caucasians (from Thrace), Boeotian Danaans (Mycenaean Greeks prior to Cadmus), Gaedhil (mercenary Caucasians in Egypt, settlers in Crete, Gothia, and northwest Spain and Portugal before coming to Ireland), and Fomorians (men of the sea living along the Irish coasts long before the Thracians, Danaans and Gaedhil came).

Irish Migrations from Published Annals:

The annals of Ireland, the Caucasus, Rome and Greece were searched for information on the migrations of the Irish people. The colonization of the western Caucasus and Georgia by Hercules from the advanced civilization of Andalusia seemed to trigger an expansion of the Indo-Aryan peoples. The settlement of Thrace, Byblos and Sumer from the Caucasus were important events.

The use of Caucasian mercenaries within Egypt followed by Caucasian settlement of Mycenaean Greece and Crete produced a fusion of the Pelasgian with the Caucasian cultures. Some 450 years of advances in civilization ensued.

The conquest of Egypt, Crete and Greece by Cadmus, c1950 BC, and his settlements at Tanagra in Boeotia was an important event in Irish history. Displaced learned and skilled Boeotians (Tuatha de Danaan to the Irish, Mycenaean Greeks before Cadmus to Thucydides, Irish Bronze and Bell Beaker folk to the archaeologist and anthropologist) settled in Ireland via Gothia, southern Sweden and Scotland, and introduced the most advanced civilization in western Europe for 400 years.

The Caucasian mercenaries in Egypt and Crete, called the Gaedhil, became, after Cadmus, Goths along the Vistula in Poland for 300 years (the colony remained). Some returned to Egypt as mercenaries but had settled along the Minho and Duero Rivers in Spain and Portugal before the sons of Milidh settled in Ireland as the Gaedhil, c1500 BC.

Hercules Colonizes the Caucasus c3450 BC:

Hercules, wearing a golden cup on his belt, and bringing horses and a chariot, colonized the western Caucasus in the area of Aea on the Rioni River, c3450 BC, with Gaelic people from Andalusia. They came 2,600 miles by boat (another Gaelic voyage in the Mediterranean, c1800 BC, listed three boats tied together in tandem, and four such units "with 14 couples and six unwived hirelings" in each; travel was close to shore with stops for food, water and recuperation). The colony in the Caucasus prospered, adding cultivation of cereals, cattle and sheep farming to their advanced Andalusian culture. By 2500 BC an Adighe chieftain at Maykop had 50 gold bulls in his tomb, signifying approximately 2,500 cows and perhaps an equal number of calves and yearlings (Hermitage Museum, Leningrad).

The proof that the Hercules colony was Gaelic is in the blood groups, physical and cranial measurements of the paleo-caucasians, ancient and present (Adighe, Circassians, Esthoniens, Abkhazians, Adzharians and Gurians), who are genetically identical with the Cork-Kerry Irish, although separated 2,800 miles in space and 4,300 years in time. Both the Cork-Kerry Irish and the paleocaucasians are unique in the world in having 44 per 1,000,000 males live past 100 years of age.

The early peoples of Andalusia were similarly long-lived, and a king was cited as being 148 years of age. Strabo states that the people of Andalusia had an advanced civilization with a written alphabet and annals dating from 6000 BC.

Spread of Caucasians into Europe, North Africa, and Western Asia, c3450-1500 BC:

Large Caucasians with battle axes, either on horses or in chariots, were invincible. Their settlements on the sparsely settled areas of Europe and western Asia were limited only by their rate of multiplication. Doubling their population every generation, as did the British colonists in North America, the Hercules colony spread in all directions. This is borne out by Greek, Roman, Georgian, Irish, and other annals, and by the evidence stored in the blood groups, physical and cranial measurements of living and dead peoples.

The carbon-dating, pollen analyses, and excavations of the archaeologist, deciphering by the epigraphist, and biological dating (37.5 years from birth of father to birth of son who succeeded in the well-preserved lineages of Irish kings) have added chronology and many additional facts. Biometrical analysis of the observations of the hematologist and the anthropologist, using sta-tens, has added a new method for correlating genetic likenesses and differences.

The Hercules colony spread: west and northwest (Scythians, Cimmericians, Hungarians, Albanians); north and northeast (Getae, Goths, Finns, Esthoniens); east (Massagetae of Kazakhstan, Medea, Persia and Kirghiz); south and southeast (Sumer, Armenia, Assyria, Indus River); south and southwest (Byblos, Thrace, Greece, Crete, Egypt). Sumer was settled c3100 BC by people with crania like the English.

Thrace and Byblos Settled, c3250-3050 BC and Three Early Colonizations of Ireland:

Thrace (source of copper) was settled from the Caucasus c3250 BC ± 150 BC. Zalmoxis of Thrace, "the first man to proclaim the immortality of the soul," wrote Herodotus, and organizer of athletic contests (later developing into the Olympic games) is credited with founding Byblos (carbon-dated c3050 BC), the oldest continuously inhabited city in the world. At first the culture was copper, later bronze. Early inscriptions on stones have 16 of the 26 letters of the ogham alphabet. The missing letters are N, NG, PH, F, G, R, E, I, and X. Perhaps Hercules brought only 16 letters from Andalusia. Irish annals credit Fenius Farsaidh, King of Scythia, with inventing an alphabet, c2350 BC, which he taught to the Assyrians and which his son, Nial, took to Egypt and taught to the Egyptians. Perhaps Fenius added the missing letters. The writing of Sumer was cuneiform and that of Egypt pictorial. Neither was alphabetical. Paper (papyrus) was developed in Byblos (book).

From Mygdonia in Thrace, three abortive attempts to settle Ireland were made: a) by boat via Sicily by Parthalon, c2700 BC, with clearing of certain plains for wheat, barley, and cattle farming; first bronze in Clonsast bog, county Offaly, is carbon-dated c2525±150 BC; b) Nemed came from Thrace by the Black Sea, Dnieper and Vistula Rivers, and Baltic Sea to Ireland c2350 BC. Nemed cleared 15 plains and built two forts. Of Nemed's descendants, 30 males were expelled from Ireland, c2125 BC; six settled in Scotland, twelve in Danaan Boeotia, and twelve in Thrace; c2100 BC, Fir Bolgs escaped from Thrace in leather boats and settled Ireland. The author has seen such boats still in use off the Atlantic coasts of county Kerry.

Danaans Colonize Ireland after Conquest of Mycenaean Greece by Cadmus:

Georgian, Greek and Irish annals indicate that Greece, including Crete, was settled by people from Caucasus, mostly by way

of Thrace. Mycena was founded c2350 BC and the first queen was Danae. The megalithic ruins of Mycena are duplicated by similar ruins in Cork and Kerry. Greece and Crete had about 450 continuous years of growth and prosperity; gold, silver and bronze, pottery, sea commerce, dairy-farming. All Greeks before Cadmus were called Danaans.

Cadmus, from Byblos, bringing Phoenician shapes to the 26-letter Ogham alphabet, conquered Egypt, Crete, and Greece, c1900 BC, and settled at Tanagra in Boeotia; the area was called Cadmeis thereafter. The Danaans fled in four directions.

The ruling Danaans from Crete, called Gaedhil, fled to Gothia and will be discussed later. Other Cretans founded Miletus, across the Aegean Sea, later rivaling Athens as the center of Greek civilization.

Some Boeotian Danaans took refuge in the mountains of Attica and founded Athens, later the cultural center of Greek civilization and the zenith of achievement in science, philosophy, art, and literature for the Celtic or Caucasian people in the ancient world. The figurines of Neanderthal and European Upper Paleolithic man culminated in the sculpture of Phidias.

Another group of Boeotian Danaans, in a variety of trades and professions such as dairy and cereal farmers, gold and silversmiths, and schoolmasters, made the first substantial colonization of Ireland. The migrating Danaans had the old linear shapes of the 26-letter Ogham or earliest Ionian alphabet and not the new shapes by Cadmus. During their trip by boat they paused two years in Thrace, then continued to Gothia on the Vistula via the Black Sea, and by the Baltic to Norway. In Norway they spent 45 years establishing schools in four towns. Numerous Druid circles and gallauns remain there today.

Leaving Norway, the Danaans spent seven years in Scotland before settling permanently in Ireland, c1850 BC. Here they established the most advanced civilization in western Europe. The shorter northern route to Ireland via the Baltic was apparently equipped with way stations, suggesting that the Mycenaeans had been mining copper in central Ireland and gold and silver in the Killarney area for some time prior to settlement.

From Boeotia (land of cattle) and Euboea (land of fine cattle), for the next 3,700 years, 80 percent of the industry of the Cork-Kerry area was dairying and cattle raising, wool (ten percent), cereal farming and fishing. Gold and silversmiths (until the gold and silver mines near Killarney were exhausted) produced some of the finest ornaments on record in Europe. A working, artificial hand of silver was constructed for a chieftain.

From the outskirts of Knocknagree, situated to the south and west, the tallest mountains in Ireland form the figure of a sleeping woman, "The Paps of Danu" (Danae was the first queen of Mycena), where ceremonies were held on May Day and Halloween (Beltaine/Samain). The May ceremony consisted of prayers for the fertility of man, cattle, and sheep. Once in May, approximately 3,700 years later, the author counted 20-30 votive offerings on the ledge near Danae's altar on one of the Paps which, according to a cousin, were carefully deposited by childless Irish wives. About 90 percent of Ogham writing extant in the world is within 100 miles of Knocknagree, and more megalithic structures than at Mycena.

The Danaans instituted the 20-year system of education for the brightest youths in the community to produce the physicians, judges, archivists (who held the highest esteem in the kingdom), schoolmasters, poets and priests. The archivists produced the most comprehensive set of annals of any Gaelic or Indo-Aryan race except their kinsfolk, the Athenian Greeks. However, the Greek annals were neither annual nor official.

The tradition of scholarship ingrained into the Irish populace was not lost after the Boeotian Danaans were ousted from the kingship of Ireland by the Gaedhil c1480 BC. A small Jesuit school in Alabama, attended mostly by boys of French, Italian, and German ancestry, had five celibate professors, including the college president, who were born within ten miles of Knocknagree, the birthplace of the author's father. The policy of sending the bright Irish boys and girls to be educated for a life of celibacy as teachers in Catholic schools and in colonies throughout the world has existed for 1,500 years. Only a highly inbred race could produce such a product for so long. Five distant female cousins from the same area became Mother Superiors and two were heads of world orders of nuns. It would appear that teachers have long been Ireland's principal export.

The Gaedhil in Egypt, Crete, Gothia, Spain and Ireland:

De Vries and Weterbold carbon-date the funerary ship of Sesostris III, the greatest pharaoh of Egypt, c2355 BC. He left slaves

in the Caucasus after an expedition to the Black Sea. The slaves multiplied and Aea (the site of Hercules' colony) had disappeared 1,900 years later. Herodotus reported that the area was populated by "black-skinned people with woolly hair, originally brought by Sesostris III." Irish annals state that Niul, s/o Fenius Farsaidh of Scythia (70 generations before Odill Olus, AD 134, King of Southern Ireland) taught his father's alphabet to the Pharaoh in Egypt, married the Pharaoh's daughter, and was commander-in-chief of the Egyptian armies. At 37.5 years from father to son in the known southern Irish lineages Niul would have taken the alphabet to Egypt c2353 BC. The annals also state that many generations of Caucasian mercenaries were established at Camp Circuit in the northeast corner of Egypt, east of the Nile, to protect Egypt from Assyria and Sumer. More likely the wealthy Caucasian mercenaries brought the slaves to Aea rather than Sesostris, if slaves were brought c2550 BC, the slaves would have overpopulated the capital area on the Rioni River in approximately 200 years (as in Washington, D.C.). The white Caucasians scattered: a) into the Caucasus mountains where their descendants remain, and b) to Crete and Mycenaean Greece c2350 BC (the date of the founding of Mycena).

In Irish lineages, Gaedheil Glas, s/o Niul by Pharaoh's daughter, was buried in Egypt. Easru, gs/o Gaedheil, and Sru, s/o Easru, both born in Camp Circuit, settled in Crete c2340 BC. There were seven generations of the Gaedhil (posterity of Gaedheil Glas) in Crete, c2340-2077 BC, by the lineages; one generation in Scythia (Agnomon, s/o Tat), nine generations in Gothia, on both sides of the Vistula in Poland, c2077-1740 BC. Tacitus observed that the language spoken in Gothia was that of the British Isles.

Bratha, s/o of Deaghaidh, born in Gothia, settled by boat (via Crete-Sicily), a colony in northwest Spain/Portugal, on the Duero and Minho Rivers, c1703 BC. He was king of Galicia and the first king of Spain. The Duchy of Braganza in Portugal was named for Bratha. Castile, formerly known as Bilgia, was named for Brogan or Brigus, s/o Bratha. Galamb or Milidh, ggs/o Bratha, married Seang, d/o the King of Scythia. Milidh brought mercenaries to Egypt and was commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army of Pharaoh Nectonbus in the war against Ethiopia.

Eibhear the Fair (Heber), and his two brothers, sons of Milidh by Seang, invaded and colonized Ireland c1550 BC. They took over the leadership of Ireland from their kindred, the learned Boeotian Danaans. Eibhear and his descendants, father to son, ruled southern Ireland, and many times all of Ireland, for 2,450 years (until the last O'Keefe, 901 AD), the longest dynasty in human history. In order to have a vigorous and able son to succeed him, each king was encouraged to have children by more than one woman. The ablest military leader was to succeed.

The strong military and civil government of Rome for 800 years preserved the status quo of Greek civilization but permitted no social experimentation or new advances. In a similar manner, the Gaedhil, during 2,450 years of military rule in Ireland, preserved the status quo of the learned Boeotian Danaans, but encouraged no inventions or other advances. Ogham writing was still being used on tombstones in county Kerry as late as 1600 AD, 3,500 years after it had been replaced in Greece.

PART II

IRISH ANCESTRY, MIGRATIONS AND PREHISTORY TRACED BY BLOOD GROUPS AND PHYSICAL AND CRANIAL MEASUREMENTS

The physical and cranial measurements were on adult males worldwide and the blood groups were on both men and women. To compare 126 living with 105 cranial peoples, 14 cranial measurements common to both were used. The following models were employed: 1) living Irish from counties Cork and Kerry (CK1); 2) six living Irish groups were inter-correlated with six cranial Irish groups, three from the period c600 AD to c1000 BC; 3) five Irish Megalithic and 24 Irish Bronze crania for the period c1000 BC to c2750 BC; 4) an Irish Norse group settling in Ireland c900 AD, unchanged by prior settlement in France and England.

Heavily relied upon as sources of comparative data were three compilations: a) blood groups on 721 living, physical measurements on 1,084 living and 263 dead peoples worldwide; b) blood groups on peoples worldwide; and c) physical measurements on peoples and crania worldwide. The publications of more than 1,000 authors were cited.

Used in the analyses were 11-18 standard physical measurements from 426 living peoples, 14 cranial measurements from 263 dead peoples and 18 blood groups from 721 peoples. Care was taken to include, when possible, multiple samples on each peoples, each by a different author, representing all inhabited areas of the globe.

It has been found in several prior studies that the percentage correlations for the blood group and pigment data almost exactly paralleled the correlations for skeletal factors alone. This gives us confidence that most comparisons of ancient and prehistoric man with the living by cranial data alone approach that which might have been obtained had pigment and blood groups on these ancient peoples also been available.

The Cork-Kerry Irish (CKI):

Of the 426 living peoples examined the 50 most closely related by blood groups and physical measurements with the Cork-Kerry Irish are, in descending order: 16 Irish, five Scots, two Icelandic, four Norse, 11 west Caucasian, four Albanians, two Sioux; Danes, Dutch, Frisians, Swiss, Finns, Welsh, Germans, and French. The 31-34 factors (13-16 blood groups and 18 physical measurements) make this living material more reliable than the 6-14 cranial measurements available for the dead peoples. Each living people and each individual carry the sum total of their ancestral history and prehistory in their genes. Some 200 gene determinations on all peoples worldwide should extend our knowledge of prehistory far beyond that offered by any other method.

Irish Megalithic, c2700 BC:

Of the 241 living and dead peoples in the study, 20 of 22 Irish groups were among the 55 most closely related cranially to the Irish Megalithic. The living northern Scots and 12/19 Scandinavian and Baltic peoples were also highly related to the Irish Megalithic, as were six of the ten peoples of the western Caucasus and Georgia.

Two of the three Upper Paleolithic groups – European c20,000 BC and Algerian c10,000 BC – were significantly related to the Irish Megalithic. Except for the European Upper Paleolithic, from which they seem to descend, and the Estonian Bronze, no other cranial peoples among 116 in the rest of the world were closely related to the Irish megalithic.

Jordanes, historian of the Goths, relates that the Goths came from the British Isles via Scandinavia and Lithuania in their trek to the Black Sea and the Caucasus. From the distribution of the Irish Megalithic it would appear that treks by the Northern route to and from Ireland and the Caucasus may have occurred periodically from 3000 BC or earlier as well as Partholon's voyage via the Mediterranean Sea from Thrace, radio-carbon dated Offaly bog at 2750 BC.

Irish Bronze Age Crania, c2500-1250 BC:

Mean values of cranial measurements on the 24 adult males from the Irish Bronze Age had the highest correlation (96.4 percent) with mean values of nine crania of Bell Beaker people from near Worms on the Rhine River, c1500 BC. Each group



PEOPLE MOST RELATED CRANIALLY AND BY BLOOD GROUPS WITH THE LIVING CORK-KERRY IRISH
Other Irish living and ancient, No. Scots, Viking Norse, western Caucasians, Sioux, Icelanders, Estonians, Baltic Finns, Mt. Ghegs, W. Walsers, Danes, Dutch Frisians.

was more closely related cranially with each other than with any of the 240 other peoples in the study. Both Irish Bronze and Bell Beaker were closely related to the Etruscans, Greeks (Iron Age and Mycenaean), La Tene of Bohemia, Scottish Bronze, Swedish Neolithic, Cyprus Bronze, Gallo-Roman-Marne, Barcelona Jews, Tiszaderz of Hungary, British Iron, Scythians, Old Slavic of Bohemia, and Basques I and II. Dutch archaeologists report probings of the Rhine River by Bell Beaker peoples from the British Isles between 1900 BC and 1550 BC.

The Irish Bronze were, in the Irish annals, called Tuatha de Danaan and came by boat from Boeotia in Mycenaean Greece. The correlation of the Irish Bronze crania with the Andalusians, Basques of Spain, Barcelona Jews, and peoples of the western Caucasus, the Greeks, Swedish, Iron and Neolithic, and the Scottish Bronze recapitulates completely the Irish Odyssey from Hercules of Andalusia settling in the Caucasus, the Caucasians settling Mycenaean Greece and the flight after Cadmus via Norway and Scotland to Ireland. The data clarify and confirm the validity of the Irish annals about the flight from Boeotia.

Fomorians in Irish Ancestry:

Irish annals record that Fomorians, or "Men of the Sea," were established along the Irish coasts opposing the three early colonizations by farmers, dairymen and warriors from Thrace (Partholon, Nemed, and Fírbolg). First agriculture (clearing of the plains by Partholon) is estimated to have occurred 2900±300 BC by comparative history, pollen analyses and carbon-dating. Other Thracian and Caucasian farmers, cattlemen, and warriors coming to settle in the Greek archipelago and Crete c2350 BC encountered "Men of the Sea" inhabiting the coasts and islands (Pelagians in Greek, the language once identical with Irish Gaelic).

The pre-agricultural, seafaring Fomorians may be classed with indigenous Mediterranean, Danubian, and Amerindian peoples. The Ticuso crania from the Duero River in Spain, called Cro-Magnon by Verneau, c20,000 BC, correlate highly with those of American, Mediterranean Pelagian, and Danubian indigenes. The Ticuso peoples were pioneers in navigation, exploration, sea commerce (salt, fish, timber, stone, pottery, minerals, etc.) and megalithic construction. Obsidian, mined on the island of Melos, c7000 BC, has been discovered in Franchitís Cave, Peloponnesus. A stone village on the Danube, c7500 BC, had human heads carved in stone as on Easter Island. The Ticuso peoples were not significantly associated with farming, cattle, horses, metals, warfare, or writing.

Six adult male crania from Ireland, labeled "Raised Beach" by archaeologists, have mean cranial values correlating significantly with Ticuso peoples. Scattered crania and blood group profiles in counties Cork and Kerry also reveal marked correspondences, and coal-black hair, typical of Amerindians is not uncommon.

The authors are from the Memorial Institute of Pathology, Department of Pathology, U. of Alabama in Birmingham, The Medical Center, and the Eye Foundation Hospital, Birmingham, Alabama. This edited version of "Odyssey of the Irish" appears by kind permission of the authors and the *Alabama Journal of Medical Sciences*, in which it was originally published (Vol. XV, No. 1). For the complete text with tables, charts and references readers should consult the latter or Volume 6, Part 2 (1979) of the *Epigraphic Society's Occasional Publications*.



PREHISTORIC SKULLS

Experts have found from the skull of a Bronze Age man dating from about 1800 BC, that he survived a massive blow to the head without doctors or antiseptics. The cranium was found during excavations on the Lower Rhine some time ago. The unusual thing about the find were the signs of serious injuries to the skull. Intrigued, the finder passed it on to Tübingen anthropologist Dr. Alfred Czarnetzki for his opinion. Czarnetzki is a senior university lecturer and director of the Institute of Anthropology and Human Genetics at Tübingen University. His institute has 7,200 skeletons and parts of skeletons in its collection, the largest collection in Germany. Czarnetzki diagnosed an injury, caused by a left-handed sword or axe blow, which had healed well. The instrument penetrated 31 mm into the skull and took a piece of bone with it when pulled out. The scar is 55 mm long. According to the diagnosis, the Bronze Age man survived the blow and probably did not catch an infection.

Anomalies in prehistoric skulls, which are extremely valuable objects for research, are comparatively rare. The Tübingen anthropological collection contains unique examples of such anomalies. These include two early Stone Age skulls of a couple (possibly married) from Sorsum, near Hildesheim. The skulls, found in a megalithic stone grave, had both undergone "medical treatment." Scientists easily diagnosed trepanning of the skull in the man's case which probably occurred without any kind of anaesthetic. The woman's skull had been operated on and had healed.

The art of these Stone Age medicine men is truly astonishing. In Niedertiefenbach, near Limburg, the skull of a 14- to 18-year-old youth was discovered in a neolithic *allee couverte*. The young man had obviously had a serious accident in which his skull was broken but it healed well. The Celtic merchant of about 400 BC whose skull was found on the old Württemberg trade route near Oberndorf on the Neckar may have been attacked by highwaymen and battered to death with a blunt instrument. The forehead is completely smashed in. The artificially deformed skull of a young Alemannian from Weingarten in Württemberg is another extreme rarity. Finally the collection contains two mummy's heads from Abukir in Egypt, both 3,000 years old. One has a gold mask, the other is "blond."

The main attraction in this highly significant collection of skulls is the skull of the oldest homo sapiens in Germany (Stetten I). It was found in the Vogelherd cave near Ulm and is 40,000 years old. It is not in the same category as the above skulls, which had all suffered violent injuries, but Dr. Czarnetzki says the possibility cannot be ruled out that it too was subjected to cultic or cannibalistic practices and partially destroyed by the extraction of the brain.

Reprinted from *Der Tagesspiegel*, 19 September 1978)

CELTIC CHIEFTAIN

Early in 1978, farmers in the village of Hochdorf, West Germany, 10 miles northwest of Stuttgart, began plowing up stones which were obviously of great antiquity. A local woman whose hobby is archaeology, after seeing what the farmers had unearthed, immediately contacted the Office for Ancient Monuments in Stuttgart. Archaeologists were dispatched to investigate the site and have since uncovered the collapsed remnant of a burial mound nearly 200 feet wide, containing a wealth of gold and bronze artifacts and the mummified body of a Celtic chieftain who died around 550 B.C. German archaeologists have described the grave as "the find of the century."

The burial chamber is in excellent condition due to the foresight and ingenuity of its architects, who seem to have designed it with a view both to posterity and to foiling prospective grave-robbers. Alternate layers of wood and rock were laid across the underground mausoleum so that if the timber were disturbed, 15 tons of rocks would be dislodged, sealing up the grave and its would-be plunderers forever. Once the wood rotted, as has occurred, the same result would be obtained. Consequently, the chamber has been rendered virtually air-tight, the chieftain's entire body has been preserved, and only the four-wheeled wooden chariot has been damaged by the caved-in rocks. Adelheid Linden, curator of the Stuttgart Office for Ancient Monuments, described the grave as the best-preserved Celtic burial chamber ever discovered in continental Europe.

The chieftain stood over 6 feet tall, was powerfully built and had died between the ages of 30 and 40. Encircling his neck was a serpentine torc, or collar, of gold. Other personal ornaments lay beside him: an intricately decorated arm bangle, bronze eating utensils, several snake-shaped brooches, gold shoe fittings, a quiver and arrowheads of iron and bronze, a ceremonial gold dagger, and an iron drinking horn which the excavation leader, Jorg Biel of the Baden-Württemberg state antiquities services, believes is the oldest found so far in this part of Europe. At the chieftain's feet was a heavy bronze vessel, over three feet in diameter, resting on a figurine of a lion. Archaeologists think the latter are of Etruscan origin and that they may have been brought to the chieftain's tribe in southwestern Germany by traders or envoys from the Italian peninsula.

Archaeologists were surprised that the axle of the funerary chariot, from such an early period, was made of iron, as were its spoked wheels. The chariot was equipped with a yoke of bronze and wood, bronze chains, and a wooden harness with well-preserved leather blinkers. The chieftain's body reposed on a wheeled bronze couch placed atop the chariot. The bath-shaped couch was adorned with geometric patterns and was supported by eight bronze pallbearers, each 12 inches high.

More digging is planned at the tomb, which is extraordinary for the richness and number of its artifacts. The grave's location in southwestern Germany places it in the midst of what might be called the original heartland of Celtic civilization. The Celts first emerged as a distinct people between the upper Danube and the Rhone valley during the Hallstatt era (ca. 700-450 B.C.), and virtually every region in Bavaria and Württemberg has a burial mound or 'Celtic fort.' The immediate significance of last year's discovery, in view of the technical sophistication of the burial chamber itself and the wealth, variety and quality of the grave goods, is the evidence it presents for a much more highly evolved Celtic Hallstatt society with extensive trading contacts than archaeologists had hitherto thought possible at such an early date.

We regret having only this all-too-brief report to offer at present and hope to examine the chieftain's burial at length in a forthcoming issue of *KELTICA*.

WORLD HERITAGE SITES

Twelve cultural and natural sites in seven countries have become the first locations to be included on a World Heritage List, setting them aside for preservation for mankind. The selection was made at a meeting of the World Heritage Committee held in Washington DC last September. The committee consists of experts from 15 of the Unesco Member States among the 40 which have so far adhered to the World Heritage Convention of 1972.

In placing sites on the list, the first of its kind ever drawn up, the committee ensures that special steps will be taken to preserve them from neglect or decay. The sites accepted for listing include: L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Park and Nahanni National Park, Canada; the historic city of Quito and Galapagos Island, Ecuador; the rock churches of Lalibela and Simien National Park, Ethiopia; Aachen Cathedral, West Germany; the historic area of Cracow and the carved chambers of the Wieliczka Salt Mines, Poland; Goree Island, Senegal; Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, and Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, U.S.A.

Every government party to the 1972 Convention may propose universally important sites for inclusion on the list.



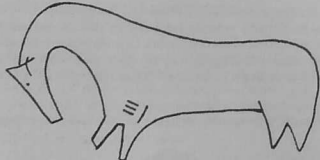
The Epigraphic Society

Since its foundation in 1972 by Dr. Barry Fell, Professor Emeritus of Harvard University, membership in the Epigraphic Society has grown to include some 700 individuals and institutions of learning in all 50 United States and 30 countries overseas. The Society holds no meetings but serves instead as a publishing center for papers contributed by members engaged in the discovery or decipherment of ancient inscriptions. Thus far, the Society has published nearly 3,000 pages of material dealing with ancient explorations and cultural diffusions, archaeology, anthropology, linguistics and epigraphy.

Epigraphy, the translation of inscriptions engraved on rocks, steles, tablets, etc., is based upon the far more recondite science of deciphering archaic signs, symbols and hieroglyphs. Hitherto, epigraphy and deciphering have been confined almost wholly to Europe, Asia, and North Africa. With the aid of the Rosetta Stone, the French Egyptologist Champollion deciphered the Egyptian hieroglyphs in the early nineteenth century, and in the 1860s Sir Henry Rawlinson deciphered Persian cuneiform script. In Crete, the English linguist Michael Ventris deciphered the ancient Mycenaean script known as Minoan Linear B shortly before his tragically early death in 1956. Over the last decade, Dr. Fell has brought forth decipherments, interpretations and translations of virtually every inscribed language of the ancient Mediterranean peoples.

Dr. Fell's earliest decipherments were of archaic Maori inscriptions. These revealed the descent of the Maori and Polynesian cultures from Mesopotamia by way of North Africa over a 3,000 year period. In researching the evolution of the Maori language Fell translated many inscriptions from the Mediterranean area which were to provide a foundation for his subsequent work. Decipherments of Phoenician, Egyptian, Libyan, Etruscan and Iberian inscriptions followed in rapid succession. In 1977, his decipherment of the Minoan language of the second millenium B.C., Linear A, was hailed by Dr. Linus Brunner, the world's foremost authority on Semitic and Indo-European etymology, as the solution of "the last great enigma of antiquity."

In 1976, Fell's *America B.C.* presented evidence for the exploration and settlement of America by nearly every seafaring people of the ancient western world, based on decipherments of hundreds of American inscriptions. Although most American archaeologists remain sceptical, to say the least, scholars from the Mediterranean countries who have studied Fell's theories have been of one accord in attesting their essential validity. Insofar as Fell's harshest critics have, by and large, dismissed his case without troubling to examine the evidence, and, more damningly, have sometimes pronounced sentence with the endorsements of the highest courts of received opinion, e.g. the Smithsonian Institute, the Peabody Museum, et al., Dr. Brunner's assessment of his fellow linguist's findings should be set in the balance: "In matters of decipherment he is a great master. I think . . . he will go down as one of the great decipherers of all time . . . Every historian must be thankful."



Horse petroglyph, Cimarron cliffs, North America (Farley, *OPES* vol 3, no 69, 1976).

The inferred decipherment:

≡ | H - n, Egyptian h - n, "swift, going speedily" (Faulkner, *M. Egyptian Dictionary*, p. 171).

Since 1976, countless new sites, inscriptions and artifacts have been discovered throughout America. *Saga America*, to be published this Autumn, reviews this new material and deals as extensively with the period Anno Domini and western America as its predecessor did with B.C. and the East. Like *America B.C.*, *Saga America* features several chapters on the Celtic peoples in North America, and continues with Fell's groundbreaking decipherments and translations of Celtic ogam inscriptions. Ancient maps, calendars, pictographs and related visual and literary materials help elaborate the picture of life in the original American colonies which was sketched in *America B.C.* A third volume of Fell's, as yet untitled, will concentrate on the cultural and social life of the Celts in North America.

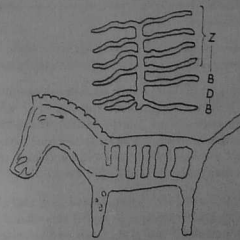
Saga America also presents the latest developments in what may well become Dr. Fell's most important area of research: the study of linguistic and cultural affinities between the Old World and the Amerindians. In what is surely one of the most revolutionary developments in the study of western prehistory, Fell has demonstrated that hundreds of Amerindian dialects contain elements of archaic Greek, Coptic, Semitic, Basque, Celtic and other languages. Of course, conventional archaeologists, confined in their Bering Strait-jackets will continue to consign such notions to the lunatic fringe for years to come. Long ago they thought they'd rounded up the last of the wild 'Welsh Indians,' scions of Madoc of Gwynedd; but as time and Fell will not doubt tell, the prince from Wales was a tenderfoot to the old New World's pioneers.

EPIGRAPHIC SOCIETY: OCCASIONAL PUBLICATIONS

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vol 3 (two parts)	US 12.00	(Mainly American, Bicentennial issue)
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Vertical ogam decipherment: Z - B - D - B
(Arabic: zeb [rij] dabba) "painted ass," zebra.

This petroglyph from Transvaal, accompanied by an ogam descriptive comment in Libyan Arabic, is one of a series of ancient African inscriptions that make use of the ogam consonantal alphabet. Ogam consonants, or "ogam without vowels" occurs in the oldest Irish inscriptions, on the mainland of Europe, in Africa and in North America. It was first recorded from Ireland by the poet Eoghan Ruaibh Uí Shuilleabhain (1748-84), and noted by the Irish lexicographer Padraig Dinneen in 1901 and 1927, and was subsequently overlooked until American examples were recognized in 1975. English archaeologists deny the existence of any kind of ogam other than the one variety studied in the nineteenth century.

ARTS

HJC.C

Book Review:

THE HORSE OF PRIDE
(Life in a Breton Village)
Pierre-Jakez Helias
translated by June Guicharnaud
Yale University Press. Illus. \$15.00

When I went to Brittany in May 1976 the "HORSE OF PRIDE", in its French version, had already sold 400,000 copies, and it was still selling well. When I asked my brother, who still lives in Brittany, how he could explain such a success, he said: "At last the French have a book of ethnology in which they can study us as they would study an Amazonian tribe!" As time goes by, I am becoming more and more convinced that his judgment was right.

Since then the number of copies in French has exceeded 700,000, and its recent English translation seems also to be a great literary success in the U.S.A.

As an ethnological study of people living in a given Breton village at the turn of the twentieth century, this book is excellent. It is easy to read and is full of interesting details and comments. But non-Breton readers should be warned of its limitations, which have been defined neither by the author nor the publisher, or, at least, have never been defined sufficiently. This has unfortunately led many readers I have met to believe that Brittany is a backward country, and that the way of life in Brittany in 1979 is the same as described in the book. It would be good to attract tourists to Brittany, but it would be very disappointing for such tourists who would never find what they had been led to expect. What is worse, Bretons would be considered as members of a nation which accepts a social status, very well described in the book, which is still theirs under the French State. However, today, Bretons are not resting horses; they are kicking horses.

If I have criticisms they are not of the book itself, but I will not hesitate to address some criticisms to the author. Although I believe any writer has the privilege to look at his subject from whatever angle he chooses, I deplore three things.

Firstly, after admitting that he and his compatriots were alienated people in their own country, he does not push his reflections to their logical conclusions; he does not establish a diagnosis and, *a fortiori*, he suggests no remedies. "I do not teach," he writes, "I tell." He leaves the impression that if Alain Le Goff his grandfather, was a "horse of pride", he and his descendants are "resting horses". I suggest as evidence of this fact that the author has been able to accept, without being shocked, that, in the course of his studies, he had to write a thesis on "Vitruve" and another on "The Delphic Periegesis of Pausanias," while at the same time he would have never been allowed to write a thesis about his own Celtic Breton culture!

My second criticism of the author is that, after having lived in Brittany all his life, after having spent a great part of his time writing in the Breton language, or writing in French about Bretons, he has been unable to realize that what he describes as a conflict between rural and urban civilizations is also, if not more so, a conflict between the Celtic civilization of

which he had been deprived at school and the Latin civilization which his grandparents, parents and he, himself, had to experience in their daily life.

But the main criticism I have of P.J. Helias is his not having been for his people the leader he could have been, given his knowledge of the Breton language and culture and the prominent positions he has occupied either on the French radio or in the French school system. Had he accepted that role, he would not now be so pessimistic about the future of the Breton language, and that language would not now be threatened with extinction.

— Yann Plunier

Mr. Plunier is currently chairman of the Canadian National Committee for the Defense of the Breton Language and vice-president of the Canadian Celtic Congress, which he co-founded and directed for many years. He has organized and directed many educational, cultural and folkloric societies in his native Brittany and in Canada.



A Breton storyteller fifty years ago.

English Morris Dances

Morris dancing derives from ancient ceremonies in celebration of the seasons, especially the solstices, that were continued in small communities through the centuries until Medieval times. A variety of characters such as the fool, the hobby horse and the man/woman were magical figures associated with the dancing, and they now serve as further entertainment for the audience. By the Nineteenth Century, the term "Morris" described a variety of dance types done by English rustics. Unfortunately, scholars of that period either ignored or were unaware of these native traditions and hence failed to record anything of their substance.

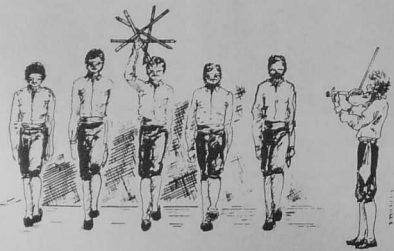
The Industrial Revolution radically altered the life-ways of the English countryside with the result of near total abandonment of most Morris traditions. By the time interest was rekindled at the turn of the century (primarily through the efforts of the folk musicologist Cecil Sharp) only a few Morris teams survived to perform the dances. This situation necessitated the reconstruction of many dances from the memories of the few surviving Morris men.

Morris dancers typically performed in their own town with occasional forays to neighboring villages to enliven seasonal events with music, color and ritual. Such activities were customary in the villages of the English Midlands. Changed social circumstances prevent duplication of that setting, or of the awe felt by the peasant onlookers, but there are now several hundred Morris teams in England and more than a dozen in America, each carrying on the tradition in its own way.

As mentioned earlier, Morris was a term suggesting several types of dancing. However, today it most usually refers to handkerchief and stick dances originating in the Cotswold Hills. Sword Dancing, both Rapper and Longsword, form other traditions. In these dances the performers are linked to one another by sword-like implements, some of which are adaptations of coal mining and fishing tools. Dancing outdoors is preferred for Cotswold Morris, but a good wooden floor or platform is essential for Rapper performances.

Originally, Morris teams had both a name and a style identified with their own village, Headington Quarry, for example. Revival teams, such as the Black Jokers, often do dances in the tradition of several Cotswold villages and choose their own names. "Black Joker" is the name of a dance in the style of the Bledington tradition. We also do North Country Rapper Dances, as in the illustration below. Our regalia is typical of general Morris attire but includes elements which are unique, such as the Joker medallion on the baldric. We dance primarily to music of a pipe and tabor, the original Morris instrument, but we sometimes make use of the more recent fiddle or concertina as well.

Morris and other folk dance traditions, including social dance forms, continue to thrive. Perhaps you would like to join these activities or let the Black Jokers share the Morris luck. We enjoy dancing for people, though we must meet expenses in the traditional way of collecting a "bag" from the onlookers or through an honorarium. Information is available from our Squire, Howard Lasnik (address below). We would like all to feel that dancing lifts the heart and wields a magic.



FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

BLACK JOKERS

Squire, Howard Lasnik
22 Swan Place
Arlington, Mass. 02174

646-7515

JOYCE SOCIETY - BLOOMSDAY MEMORIAL

Readers and admirers of James Joyce and his work might wish to contact the James Joyce Society, 41 West 47th Street, New York, NY 10036 (212) 757-0367. The Society seeks to make available Joycean interpretations and commentaries by inviting Joyce scholars to give addresses, and promotes the presentation of Joyce's work in all media. Activity within the membership is stimulated through the presentation of papers, discussions and periodic publications of material.

Ever since the publication of *Ulysses*, June 16 has been designated Bloomsday. On that date in 1904, Leopold Bloom - Irish Jew, salesman, cuckold, sonless father - perambulated Dublin and environs. June 16, 1979 marked the 75th anniversary of Bloomsday, and to commemorate the occasion, a full-length reading of *Ulysses* took place at the Bloomsday Book Shop in New York City. The reading continued nonstop for nearly 40 hours and involved 40 readers. The entire event was broadcast live on noncommercial radio WBAI-FM.

All hail the new Bloomusalem!

Poets oft have sung in rhyme
Of music sweet their praise divine.
Let them hymn it nine times nine,
Dearer far than song or wine,
You are mine. The world is mine.

IRISH BOOK CENTER

The Irish Book Center is one of the largest mail-order businesses in North America dealing exclusively with Irish publications. The following catalogues describing the hundreds of titles available may be obtained upon application to The Irish Book Center, 245 West 104th Street, New York, NY 10025, (212) 866-0309:

- General Book List: Literature, Criticism, Drama, Poetry, Folklore, Myth, Biography, History, Miscellaneous
- General Subjects Supplement
- History and Historical Biography Supplement
- Literature Supplement
- Folklore, Fairy Tales and Mythology Supplement
- Music and Song Books Supplement
- Children's Books Supplement
- Irish Language Books Supplement

Two titles of particular interest are the Sackville Library Reprint Series edition of *Old Celtic Romances* by P.W. Joyce, and *Dublin from Downing Street*, by Sir John Peck. Sir John was Britain's ambassador to Ireland during the turbulent years of 1969-72. His entertaining autobiography offers both a perceptive account of the historical events which precipitated the Ulster crisis and some challenging proposals for its solution.



THREE GEESE IN FLIGHT BOOKS

The Three Geese in Flight Book Shop and Mail Order Service specializes in Celtic mythology, history and poetry; faerie and fantasy literature, and children's books. What makes it particularly valuable is its emphasis on rare, imported, out-of-print and special editions. Three Geese in Flight also carries a small selection of art works and records, as well as the Breton-French periodical *Ogam*: a review of Breton Celtic traditions.

The proprietor, Mr. Sam Wenger, a teacher of Celtic mythology, has produced a well written catalogue which is available upon request from Three Geese in Flight Books, Route 212, Shady, NY 12479, (914) 679-8787.

Among the titles currently in stock Mr. Wenger lists the following difficult to obtain books:

- Holy Wells of Cornwall, A. Lane Davies. Photos. P.B. \$2.95
- Women of the Celts, Jean Markale. Trans. fr. French. H.C. \$17.95
- The Celtic Heritage in Hungary, Miklos Szabo. illus. \$7.98
- The Wind in the Pines, ed. G. Maine (Celtic poetry) illus. \$35.00
- The British Folklorists, Richard Dorson. 1968. \$15.00
- Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail, Alfred Nutt. 1965. \$15.00
- A History of the Celtic Church, Rev. J. MacClannahan. 1962. \$35.00
- Lyra Celtica, ed. Eliz. Sharp. 1896. \$35.00
- Gorschestion Beirdd Cymru, ed. Rhys Jones. 1880. \$28.00
- Breton Folktales, R. Souppault. 1971. \$12.00

DENNIS ROONEY: CELTIC CRAFTSMAN



Belfast-born Dennis Rooney has been wood-carving for only six years, but already he has established himself as one of the foremost artists in Canada in his field. Dennis, 30, began making Celtic crosses and Irish harps shortly after emigrating from the Short Strand, Belfast to Vancouver in 1971. "It was coming to Canada that made me appreciate the whole Celtic heritage," said Dennis, who now lives in Rexdale, Ontario.

Among his many fine pieces to date are an 18" mahogany Penal Cross, based on a fourth century A.D. Irish model, a beautifully hand-carved and finished spinning wheel, and a variety of functional items — cups, bowls, tankards, etc. — fashioned from fine woods and pewter.

Describing himself as 'A romantic Celt . . . trying to turn back the historical clock,' Rooney uses only hand-tools in a workshop devoid of electricity and other refinements of the mass-production age. "I do not consider myself an artist, but a common craftsman, so abundant before the advent of industrialization . . . When I see 2,000 year old works of art crafted with meagre tools, I realize how much we have lost. What I am trying to do is to recapture a little of that lost skill."

EUROPEAN FOLK MUSIC AND BALLADS COURSE

Starting Tuesday October 9, 5-7 p.m., the Boston Museum of Fine Arts will be offering a course in the Introduction to Folk Songs and Ballads of Europe, with emphasis on The British Isles and America. The course will include discussions, lectures, listening to recordings, workshops with musicians who will play and discuss their material and there will be folk music concerts for those interested.

The course will include a brief survey of ballad scholarship, general characteristics of folk music and a comparison to other forms of music — primitive, popular and composed art music. Folk music in its cultural setting, the structure of ballads, theories of ballad origin, supernatural ballads as archaic survivals, the cycle of oral transmission and composition, ballad themes, nature of folk tunes, ballad migration and variants, and an appreciative understanding of the Folk aesthetic.

For further information write the Fine Arts Museum, Department of Musical Instruments, 465 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass. 02115, or call 267-9300, ext. 340.

Instructor: Peter Johnson
B.A. in Folklore, Princeton University

WELSH-AMERICAN HERITAGE MUSEUM

A small red brick church in Oak Hill, Ohio has been converted into the Welsh-American Heritage Museum. The former Congregational Church, constructed in 1868, houses many important historical documents and displays illustrative of the Welsh-American experience in the midwestern States.

The museum is located in the midst of the low wooded hill region of Jackson and Gallia counties, where many Welsh people settled in the early nineteenth century. A few miles from the museum is a neat, white frame church with the name "Nebo" inscribed above its double doors. Just over the hills from the Welsh church one comes upon a well-kept cemetery with the name "Tyn Rhos" engraved on its wrought-iron archway.

During the last weekend in September, the Central South Association of Welsh Congregational Churches holds its annual Gymanfa Ganu at one of these three sites — alternating between Tyn Rhos and Nebo Churches and the Welsh-American Heritage Museum. This year's Gymanfa will be the 107th, making it one of the oldest in the United States.

AISSLING GALLERIES CENTENNIAL MEDALLION

Aisling Galleries, the first gallery in New York to specialize exclusively in Irish art, is commemorating the centennial of Patrick Pearse's birth with the casting of a bronze medallion, sculpted by the Irish artist, Seamus O'Brien. According to gallery director Thomas F. Mason, the bonded bronze on micarta medallion commemorates not only Pearse as a patriot, but in the no less important roles of poet, teacher, writer and leader of his people.

The Pearse Centennial Medallion may be obtained from Aisling Galleries, 716 Madison Avenue, New York, 10021. (212) 752-7691.

CAIRDE CHEOIL

Every Saturday from 10 p.m. to 3 a.m., *Cairde Cheoil* presents traditional Irish music, singing and dancing by some of the finest artists in the New York city area. These after-hours sessions are held at Wilde's Irish Ale House, 70 East 56th Street, between Park and Madison Avenues. Admission is free of charge.

Cairde Cheoil also publishes an informative monthly newsletter, previewing Irish cultural events in and around New York City.



LIVING FOLK CONCERTS

Living Folk Concerts is a non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation, perpetuation and enjoyment of folk music in all its forms. These concerts are held at the First Congregational Church, 11 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA, at 8:00 P.M. The Fall 1979 concerts scheduled to date are as follows:

Nov. 23	— Clannad
Dec. 2	— Jean Ritchie
Dec. 8	— Celtic Christmas Concert: Killmoolis Ceilidh Band

Admission is \$4.00 for all concerts except Clannad, which is \$4.50. For further information call Audrey Drummond, (617) 352-6595.

FRANKIE ARMSTRONG IN CONCERT: First Congregational Church, Cambridge, MA

Frankie Armstrong possesses one of the most powerful and emotional voices in the British folk world. Often moving from angrily strong to vulnerably soft within the same song, she sings ballads that obviously mean a lot to her, be they traditional or recently composed. On Sunday evening, August 5, Frankie sang nearly two hours worth of emotionally charged songs to a delighted Cambridge, Massachusetts audience.

Frankie is very active in political and social affairs, having worked many years with drug addicts, and in the women's rights movement. Almost every song she performed had as its theme women overcoming or dealing with their plight as second or third class citizens in society. Traditional songs, such as "The Outlandish Knight," and "The Female Drummer," were just as relevant and powerful as contemporary songs like "Help All the Women Boys," and "Nothing Between Us."

"I Took Fair Rosie By the Hand," written by Di Williams and based on a children's song, tells the true story of a poor mistreated woman in a mental institution who is eventually lobotomized. It was hauntingly sung by Frankie with important audience participation in the choruses.

Another favorite song, and one which sums up Frankie's attitude towards music in general was "Women of My Land." She wrote the lyrics herself, setting them to a medieval Danish tune that was "so beautiful, I couldn't resist writing something to it." Celebrating the nameless women of the past who created the present, its chorus runs "And now I try to sing your songs and hope to understand who I am and who you were, Women of my Land."

On the humorous side were "Ooh, Ahh, What a Death to Die," an ode to the Hollywood macho-males and their women who love to be crushed, and "The Devil and the Farmer's Wife," a traditional song about a hot-tempered old woman who is so tough even the devils in Hell can't stand her. Altering the original Irish version's ending, she sings "This proves that the women are better than men, they can go down to hell and come straight back again." However, she was quick to point out afterwards that "I do not believe that women are better than men, but I don't believe that men are better than women either."

— Andy Nagy

FOLK MUSIC SOCIETY OF IRELAND

Anyone interested in studying Irish folk music will receive valuable assistance from Ireland's leading folk music society. Located in the heart of Ireland's strongest traditional music area, the Society publishes occasional reports, transcriptions and comments on Irish folk music for its members. Annual dues are \$5.00 and should be sent to the Society's treasurer, Tom Munnely, Flag Road, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare, Ireland.

ALAN STIVELL JAILED

Cuairtúir, the newsletter of *An Comunn Gaidhealach*, carried the following item in its March 1979 issue: "Gwynfor Evans MP for Wales has protested to the French embassy in London concerning French justice and Breton prisoners. It is reported that Alan Stivell, the internationally famous Celtic folk singer, was arrested to prevent his appearance at a concert in aid of prisoners' families."



Innisfree/Green Linnet is a small record company devoted primarily to Irish traditional folk music, both instrumental and vocal. The company came into being largely through a three year effort to record the definitive performance of Seamus Ennis: one of Ireland's premier pipers and storytellers of this century. *Seamus Ennis: 40 Years of Irish Piping*, a 2 LP set, includes both original recordings and selections edited and reprocessed from old and rare sources by Patrick Sky.

A complete list of Innisfree's recordings is given below.

- SIF 1000 SEAMUS ENNIS: 40 Years of Irish Piping (two LP-set)
- SIF 1001 PETER BELLAMY - First American solo album by one of England's finest singers. Many of these songs are from Peter's native East Anglia.
- SIF 1002 PETER BELLAMY: Barrack-Room Ballads of Rudyard Kipling
- SIF 1003 DEBBY McCLATCHY with the Red Clay Ramblers - a collection of gold rush tunes and good time songs by a spirited young singer and string band.
- SIF 1004 SAILING INTO WALPOLE'S MARSH - A sampler from the young Irish musicians, Maeve Donnelly-fiddle, Eddie Clark-harmonica, Sean Corcoran and Mairead Ni Dhomhnaill-vocals.
- SIF 1005 SINGING MEN OF ULSTER: Liam Andrews, Colin and Cathal O'Boyle, Packie Byrne, Robert Cinnamond, Frank Donnelly, Johnny Doherty and Paddy Tunney - Irish traditional songs from the North from the Hamilton and Boyle Collection.
- SIF 1006 THE FEATHERED MAIDEN AND OTHER BALLADS: Bill Shute and Lisa Null
- SIF 1007 ROY BERKELEY WITH TIM WOODBRIDGE - old time tunes with strings.
- SIF 1008 TOMMY RECK: IRISH PIPER: The Stone in the Field - a great piper's only solo LP
- SIF 1009 IRISH MUSIC: THE LIVING TRADITION: The Martin Mulvihill School of Irish Music - 3 Ceil Bands and several soloists, ages 9 to 19.
- SIF 1010 MICK MOLONEY WITH EUGENE O'DONNELL - songs and dance tunes by a brilliant young Irish-American musician and a great Derry fiddler.
- SIF 1011 JOHN WRIGHT AND CATHERINE PERRIER: Traditional music of France, Ireland and England. First joint effort by two of France's best known folk artists.
- SIF 1012 MARTIN MULVIHILL WITH MICK MOLONEY: Traditional Irish Fiddling from Limerick
- SIF 1013 BILLY NOVICK AND GUY VAN DUSER: The New Pennywhistle Album
- SIF 1014 TIM LYONS: Easter Snow - Traditional Irish Songs unaccompanied.
- SIF 1015 EUGENE O'DONNELL WITH MICK MOLONEY: Slow Airs and Set Dances.
- SIF 1016 THE IRISH TRADITION: The Corner House - Brendan Mulvihill-fiddle, Andy O'Brien-guitar, vocals, Billy McComiskey-accordion.

Forthcoming releases by Innisfree include, *BRENDAN MULVIHILL: The Flax in Bloom*; *FATHER CHARLES COEN*, a solo album by an all-Ireland Champion singer; *MICK MOLONEY*, a tenor banjo and mandolin album; *EDDIE CLARKE AND JOE RYAN*, Irish traditional music on fiddle and harmonica; and *SEAN NOS SINGING*, recorded in the Midwestern States by Mick Moloney.

All albums are \$6.00 postpaid, except SIF 1000 which is \$12.00, and may be ordered from Innisfree, Inc., 70 Turner Hill Road, New Canaan, CT 06840.

Philo Records Incorporated

Several years ago, Philo Records transformed an old Vermont barn into a modern recording studio. Since then, they have become one of the leading 'alternative' recording companies in North America. Philo encourages the artist to assume full creative control of his or her album. The record is as conceived by the artist. Moreover, Philo will replace any album or tape returned as worn out or damaged, as long as the work is still in print, for \$3.50.

Philo records a wide variety of folk and blues artists from Canada, Europe and the U.S., but for Celtic music enthusiasts the following selections from the Philo Catalogue will be of special interest. Mail orders (\$7.00 per album) may be sent to The Barn, No. Ferrisburg, VT 05473.



- PH 1026 THE BOYS OF THE LOUGH: Live at Passim's
- PH 1031 THE BOYS OF THE LOUGH: Lochaber No More
- PH 1042 THE BOYS OF THE LOUGH: The Piper's Broken Finger
- PH 1051 THE BOYS OF THE LOUGH: Good Friends - Good Music
- PH 1037 JEAN REDPATH: The Songs of Robert Burns
- PH 1054 JEAN REDPATH: Song of the Seals
- PH 2015 JEAN REDPATH
- PH 2001 JEAN CARIGNAN (Irish, Scottish and French Canadian Fiddle Music)
- PH 2018 JEAN CARIGNAN: Music of Coleman, Skinner and Morrison
- PH 1002 CRAIG MORTON: Them Liverpool Judies (Sea-shanties and ballads)
- PH 1005 OWEN MacBRIDE (Irish Songs and ballads)
- PH 1014 FRISCELLA HERDMAN: The Water Lily (contemporary and traditional ballads)
- PH 1025 DAVID O'DOCHERTY: Pennywhistle Tunes
- PH 1058 WINNIE WINSTON: Steel Wool (Celtic music performed on pedal steel guitar)
- PH 2004 JOE HEANEY: Come All Ye Gallant Irishmen
- PH 2005 JOHN MCGREEVY AND SEAMUS COOLEY (Irish flute and fiddle music)
- PH 2019 TOM ANDERSON AND ALY BAIN: The Silver Bow (Shetland Isles fiddle music)

Ar Log - Dingle's Records DIN-305

For years, the Welsh have tended to ignore their traditional music in favor of elaborate hymns or English and American songs. Through outside efforts to obliterate their heritage, their folk music was almost lost. Now, within the past few years, strong nationalist movements and an Englishman named Mick Terns have been reviving interest in the native music of Wales. Strange, beautiful, and majestic music has been recovered and happily is being brought to the public via a growing number of newly formed groups.

One of the best of these is the group Ar Log (Welsh for "On Hire"). Ar Log's instrumentation alone is worthy of note: among the four group members, they play three varieties of harp, as well as fiddle, guitar, mandolin, flute, recorder, and percussion. All four sing.

Their first record was released last fall on the small Dingle's label in England. (Their address is: Dingle's Records, 322 Whitechurch Lane, Canon's Park, Edgware, Middlesex, England.)

Ar Log's record gives an excellent introduction to the great beauty of traditional Welsh music through songs, fiddle tunes and harp tunes. All of the songs are sung in Welsh. Especially impressive are the songs "Tra Bo Dau" (Whilst There Are Two), "Y Gwew Fach" (Dear Cuckoo), and the instrumentals "Dainy Davy" and "Ffidl Ffadl."

The Welsh still have a long way to go before they are as comfortable with their traditional music as the Irish and English are, but Ar Log have made an excellent start.

Robin Williamson "A Gling at the Kindling" – Flying Fish

To become a writer of Celtic song that is contemporary, but as timeless as the old songs, is very difficult indeed, and has only been achieved by few. Since the 1960's, Robin Williamson, Richard Thompson, and Barry Dransfield have had the most success in this vein. Sadly, Dransfield's recent compositions can only be heard by those who see him in concert, as either he or his record companies have chosen lately to record only his traditional side. Richard Thompson's songs can be found on the many records he has recorded either alone, with his wife Linda, or in the early days of Fairport Convention. Robin Williamson has been exploring the realm, off and on, for the past fourteen years, as part of the Incredible String Band, and as leader of Robin Williamson and his Merry Band.

Robin's new album, *A Gling at the Kindling*, is perhaps the crowning achievement of his long and varied career, and quite possibly the finest example of this type of songwriting. The third album he has done with the Merry Band, it is the first one in which he has so fully devoted himself to developing Celtic musical traditions. *Journey's Edge* (1977) seemed to be bent on attaining commercial success and reestablishing Robin's name after a three year recording absence. "*American Stonehenge*" (1978) was more of a group album, but many of the songs had an aura of bitterness and a studied dissonance pervading them. Although both were excellent and successful albums, neither accurately represented the sound that he and the Merry Band have achieved live. Paradoxically, *A Gling at the Kindling* is the first Merry Band record to fully capture the warmth and beauty of the music as performed in concert. But it is surprisingly less of a group album than either *American Stonehenge* or *Journey's Edge*. For while Sylvia Woods, Chris Caswell, and Jerry McMillan add as much, if not more, instrumentally as they did in the past, they don't add any vocals at all on this record. Their singing was an integral part of the Merry Band in concert and on past records, and their absence here seems to indicate that *A Gling at the Kindling* is meant to be more of a Robin Williamson solo record. Only in one instance is this really noticeable and regrettable; the chorus to "The Poacher's Song" sounded fuller in concert with the Merry Band's harmonies. It's surprisingly stark on the album where it need not have been.

Certainly Robin's writing has never been better. "By Weary Well," "Me & the Mad Girl," and the musical setting of the old English poem "The Woodcutter's Song" are among the finest songs of his career.

Musically, the Merry Band sounds better than ever. They are a strong and very melodic unit, producing an amazingly full sound from basically harp, flute, fiddle, and mandocello or guitar. The Merry Band paints pictures in the air like no other band, creating images and colors as vividly as Robin's writing at its most poetic. "Five Denials on Merlin's Grave" is the ultimate combination of the two. Not since the days of *The Wee Tam*, *The Big Huge*, and *I Looked Up*, have Robin's lyrics been so powerfully imagistic, yet strong and purposeful. Emotionally and dramatically spoken by Robin, the poem is emphasized and illustrated on nearly a dozen different instruments by Robin and the Merry Band. Sometimes reminiscent of Alan Stivell's accompaniment to Breton poems, sometimes of the Incredible String Band's "Creation," it is far more developed and ultimately more successful than either. In recalling images and characters from past songs ("Eyes Like Leaves," "Noah's Brother") and combining mythological characters with the history and prehistory of the Celtic world and Robin's own musings, "Five Denials on Merlin's Grave" is nothing short of astonishing.

The earthy and spryly humorous "The Poacher's Song" which follows seems at first out of place. But the ethereal harp introduction which bridges the two, and the first lines, "Wake up Jamie strike a light/For while you were lying dreamin'", carefully and gently bring the listener back to earth before finishing the album with an "Oh, aye, oh, aye, bid the man good morning."

(Five Denials on Merlin's Grave is now available in book form, illustrated by Janet Williamson, with complete annotation and background information on all the points covered in the poem relating to the history and myths of ancient Britain and the Celtic peoples. Copies are being sold exclusively through Pig's Whistler Music, P.O. Box 27522, Los Angeles, CA 90027, at \$3.75 per copy and \$4.75 in Canada.)



The Tannahill Weavers – Plant Life Records PLR 017

The past few years have seen the development of a new breed of groups playing Scottish traditional music. Taking their cue from Irish groups such as Planxty and the Bothy Band, they have added modern, rock influenced rhythms to the songs and pipe tunes from their homeland and have come up with a new and very exciting sound.

The Tannahill Weavers are perhaps the leading exponents of this modern traditional music. In 1977 they were the opening band on Steeleye Span's farewell tour, and invariably they stole the show from the electric folk-rockers. The past couple of years have seen them rapidly become the most popular concert band in the Netherlands, and they headline many festivals throughout Holland and Germany.

Their third album has just been released, the second one to feature the talents of young Alan MacLeod on Highland Bagpipes. Other groups have not dared to use these pipes because of their loudness and tuning difficulties. But the Tannahills have overcome these problems, making them a unique and exhilarating group to see and hear.

Although their previous records, *Are Ye Sleeping Maggie*, and *The Old Woman's Dance*, were both excellent lps, the new one, titled simply, *The Tannahill Weavers*, is their best. Both sides begin with electrifying pipe medleys. Side one continues with the old Scots drinking song "Jock Stewart." Next, and especially good is "Tae the Weavers Gin Ye Gang," sung in broad Scots and featuring the Tannahill's other main asset: their intricate harmonies. The mournful medley "Farewell to Finlary/Heather Island" finishes side one.

Side two features "The Merchant's Son," one of Tannahill's best songs, a slow sentimental instrumental, "Ned of the Hills," a revised and superior version of "The Gypsy Laddie" which was on their first record, and finally "Lady Mary Anne," a song written by Robert Burns that features some lovely guitar and bouzouki harmonizing.

Along with Alan MacLeod on bagpipes, the group consists of Roy Gullane on tenor banjo and lead vocals, Michael Ward on fiddle, Hudson Swan on bouzouki, and Phil Smillie on flute. Although all five are excellent musicians, Mike Ware (who, along with MacLeod came from the fine, but defunct, group Alba) deserves special mention for his fiddling.

From the gorgeous silver Celtic buckle on the cover of the album, to the wry humor on the back, to the music inside, I highly recommend this record.



Tim Lyons "Easter Snow" – Innisfree/Green Linnet SIF 1014 Eugene O'Donnell "Slow Airs & Set Dances" – Innisfree/Green Linnet SIF 1015

Innisfree/Green Linnet is one of the best American labels devoted to recording Irish traditional music. One recent release from Green Linnet is *Easter Snow* by Tim Lyons. Tim first came to my attention when he was singing with the fine Irish group De Danann. He is one of the finest singers of Irish songs that you could ever hear. His gentle voice is charged with emotion, both sorrowful and humorous. He is in perfect control of it as he embellishes the songs with ornamentations, never going off key or cluttering the melody. Although Lyons is also a fine accordion player, *Easter Snow* is an album of entirely unaccompanied singing. Humorous songs, such as "Mike Sullivan's Clock" and "The Humours of Whiskey" predominate, but it is in the sad slow songs that Lyons excels, especially in "The Bantry Girl's Lament" and "The Streets of Deery." There is also some liling, or mouth music, in "Miss Walsh," a jig sung without words. Lyons has since left De Danann and is now performing solo.

Another recent Innisfree release is by fiddle player Eugene O'Donnell, entitled *Slow Airs & Set Dances*. O'Donnell's playing is beautifully accompanied on guitar, mandolin, and bouzouki, by fellow Irish-born Philadelphian, Mick Moloney. The album hasn't a fast tune on it, which is a welcome change from the breakneck speeds generally preferred by Irish musicians. Slow airs prevail with jigs and hornpipes played in slow set dance tempos. However, on some O'Donnell's early classical training gets in the way and threatens to turn them into schmalz.

INTERVIEW

The Clancy Brothers

Few musical groups can match the Clancy Brothers in longevity. After twenty years in the music business they have become something of an institution. The original group was formed in the late 1950s, when Tom and Paddy Clancy were joined in America by Liam, their younger brother, and Tommy Makem. The mastery of audience rapport which has become a hallmark of their performances owes much to the extensive theatrical training which Tom and Paddy had previously received. Both, in fact, had been drawn to the United States to pursue acting careers.

Paddy's work in legitimate theater began with the Cleveland Playhouse, after which he acted both in and off Broadway in plays by Yeats, Synge and O'Casey. During this time, recording companies specializing in folk music, such as Elektra and Folkways, called upon Paddy to edit and arrange Irish songs and, before long, were putting him in charge of recording sessions. This experience led directly to the formation of the Clancy Brothers, for Pat soon had the wherewithal to launch his own record company under the Tradition label. While signing such top folk-singers as Odetta, Josh White, Oscar Brand, Carolyn Hester, and a fellow by the name of Makem, the Clancys and the latter formed their own group and began touring and recording.

Tom Clancy received his first training in theater with English Shakespearian touring companies and in the Abbey theater repertory plays that toured Ireland. Arriving in the U.S. in the early 1950s, he became part of the off-Broadway movement as director and actor in O'Casey's "The Plough and the Stars," and appeared on Broadway in Dylan Thomas's "Under Milkwood," in Shaw's "St. Joan" with Siobhan McKenna, and in the Orson Welles production of "King Lear." Tom acted seven parts in the original production of O'Neill's "A Touch of the Poet" with Helen Hayes and later toured with Miss Hayes in "The Cherry Orchard." He has acted in many O'Neill plays, most recently with Jason Robards and Colleen Dewhurst in "A Moon for the Misbegotten," and was musical director for the N.E.T. Theatre in America's production of "A Touch of the Poet." Tom has also won critical acclaim for his readings and interpretations of Yeats, Joyce and other Irish writers.

Given the many talents and interests of the Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem, it is more to be wondered at that the original group lasted so long than that it eventually broke up. Liam Clancy and Tommy Makem took separate musical paths several years ago, but recently came together again to record two fine albums and a very successful concert series for ETV.

Bobby Clancy had been a solo artist for many years before joining the Clancy Brothers in the early '70s. He has released many albums on his own and with his sister Peg, has performed often at Irish music festivals, and has hosted a variety of radio and TV programs in Ireland, Canada and England.

The newest member of the Clancy Brothers group is, in fact, a Clancy nephew, Robbie O'Connell. Having previously played in groups in Ireland and England, Robbie came to the U.S. in 1971 and immediately gravitated to the Irish clubs in

and around Boston. After working solo for a time, Robbie was joined by his wife in a group called the Munster Cloak which played extensively on the New England circuit. The current Clancy Brothers group regularly features several of his compositions.

Purists may grumble that the Clancys watered down the genuine Irish flavor of their songs to suit tastes less pure and discriminating, little minding that, not so long ago, audiences outside the Republic were more prepared to recognize George M. Cohen as a great composer of Irish music than Turlough O'Carolan. Critics of this persuasion tend also to gloss over the fact that nearly one-third of all records sold in Ireland in the 1960s were made by the Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem. So much for sops for emigrant sentiments.

For all the bantering, ebullience and emotionalism in their performances, the Clancys suffer no taint of 'stage Irishness.' Rather, they are Irishmen, like many, born to the stage, with a singular genius to move, to amuse and to entertain. They have toured all the major English-speaking countries of the world many times over, have recorded more than thirty albums for Tradition, Columbia and Vanguard, while their record of twenty-five Carnegie Hall appearances was compiled in the days when performers could not buy that stage — as is now the case — but earned it through the excellence of their art. For many listeners, a Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem album or concert provided a first contact with Irish culture. Though Joyce, Behan and Synge, not to mention the Irish language, may have been little known to their audiences, the group made it a point to introduce them in memorable fashion.

For years the Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem were virtually the only Irish musical group to play regularly outside Ireland and Great Britain. Now, dozens of Irish bands and soloists tour the continent and North America. Since, undoubtedly, the Chieftains will soon command as great an audience as the Clancys have, it seems only a matter of a generation or two before the great O'Carolan gains acclaim as deservedly universal. In the current resurgence of interest in traditional Irish music it has become fashionable for some to disparage the roles of Tommy Makem and the Clancy Brothers in its revival; but there is much to be said for the view that the new wave of traditionally-schooled musicians would have stood little chance of finding foreign shores, had not the Clancys and Tommy Makem cleared the way through a century old sargasso of shamrocks and shillelachs.

— K.D.G.

The following interview with the Clancy Brothers was conducted for Keltica by Kevin Dixon Gilligan and Ruth Hamilton Burke.

B — Bobby Clancy
P — Paddy Clancy

R — Robbie O'Connell
T — Tom Clancy

- Q. Generally speaking, how has the group been received in American cities with large Irish-American communities?
- T. Boston has always been a great place to play; but all the lovely old halls we used to perform in have been torn down. It seems like every time we did a concert in one we wrecked it.
- P. When the Irish came to America, they were often so busy just surviving and establishing themselves that many of them had to drop their Irish traditions and characteristics. In doing so they adopted a kind of imitation of Irish culture, such as Irish-American music: "I'll Take You Home Again Kathleen," "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling" and the like. This outgrowth or hybrid of what was originally Irish culture grew on and on; and there were new generations of Irish-Americans who grew up thinking that this was the real and only Irish culture. When we started playing here many of them had never heard the kind of Irish music we were doing. Some people even resented it and would shout up to us, "Why don't you sing a real Irish song like 'Danny Boy'." It was quite a shock for us as well as them. Of course, a certain number of Irish songs remained popular with Irish-Americans, but they tended to be sentimental things like Thomas Moore's Irish melodies. They weren't folk songs.
- Q. What kind of response do you get when you sing in Gaelic?
- T. I think many people here enjoy our singing in Gaelic. Americans in general seem to be amazed at the fact that other languages exist beside their own.

- P. True, a certain number really enjoy the Gaelic; but there's another element who feel put out if you sing in any language other than their own. We have always done Gaelic songs in our performances, but there is a definite language barrier. So many people in America never dreamed that Ireland has its own language.
- Q. May one properly describe the music you play as Celtic, or is that too broad a term? Would Gaelic or Irish be more appropriate?
- P. Celtic would be a much broader term than Gaelic, since the Celts were spread far and wide for a long time.
- R. Celtic is probably a more realistic term though; so much of the folk music of England and Scotland and Ireland, and even Europe, is blended together. Yet there still is a strong tradition of Gaelic music which has always been separate from the rest.
- Q. Despite the divisions of politics, religion and history, artists from the Celtic countries have always managed to get together. Many contemporary Celtic musicians are drawing on a wide variety of sources for their material. The Breton Alan Stivell, for example, has performed and recorded music from all of the Celtic countries.
- B. Stivell is an incredible musician. He's a fine singer and plays practically every instrument in Celtic folk music. He's very popular in Ireland and plays there often.
- Q. In the not-too-distant future, the *Inter Celtic Society* plans to hold a Celtic arts and culture festival here in America, featuring all the performing arts, workshops and exhibits.
- T. We've been doing the mixed media bit in our own way for many years now. We often do some poetry and dancing and drama in addition to our singing, all in one night. What you're proposing sounds something like the Irish *Fleadh Ceoil* festival. It's the biggest gathering of folk singers and musicians and dancers in the country. Performers come from all over Ireland and outside Ireland, and there are workshops and *ceilidhs* and competitions and all kinds of informal get-togethers. It's run by a very well-organized committee during the last weekend of August. We were at one held in Ennis, County Clare in 1977 that drew over 60,000 people.
- Q. Are the sources of the group's material pretty diverse? Do you use songs which you've heard in the country pubs or at *Fleadh Ceoil*, or do you draw from traditional collections, like O'Neill's or Child's?
- R. Originally, Bobby and Liam collected a lot of material out in the country; but lately we've been relying on the established repertoire of the group with a few additions. "Lannigan's Ball" is a new one for us. It was collected in the late 1950s by Seamus Ennis from Elizabeth Cronin. I heard it on a Robin Roberts album which Paddy had recorded for the Tradition label. We cleaned it up a little bit, threw in a few "rowdle-dee-dows," which is what Paddy's mother used to do, and that was that.
- Q. When you do your arranging, do you stick pretty closely to the original tune and lyrics?
- R. It really depends on the piece. Some of these songs tend to be a bit maudlin or sentimental, in which case we change the words and try to make them more palatable. Sometimes a really good song will be marred by a few inappropriate lines. But in folk music one needn't feel any allegiance to a particular author; you just go ahead and adapt songs to suit your own style and taste.
- Q. There seems to be quite a marked dichotomy in musical taste in Ireland: a distinct traditional music audience and a pop mainstream crowd who have little or nothing in common. Many young people tend to gravitate towards show bands, C&W, and the pop music from England and America.
- T. Yes, there's a very definite line of demarcation. I don't know exactly what it should be attributed to. You can't put it down to the separation of the city and the country any more.
- P. I see it this way. There have always been these two streams running almost parallel: on the one hand, the stream of traditional music, and on the other, the current fashionable brand of popular music. At one time it was jazz music, at another it was rock n' roll, and now it happens to be C&W. At any given time, the young people will adopt a particular style of pop music and the language and attitudes and behavior that go with it. It's a sort of trendy, cult

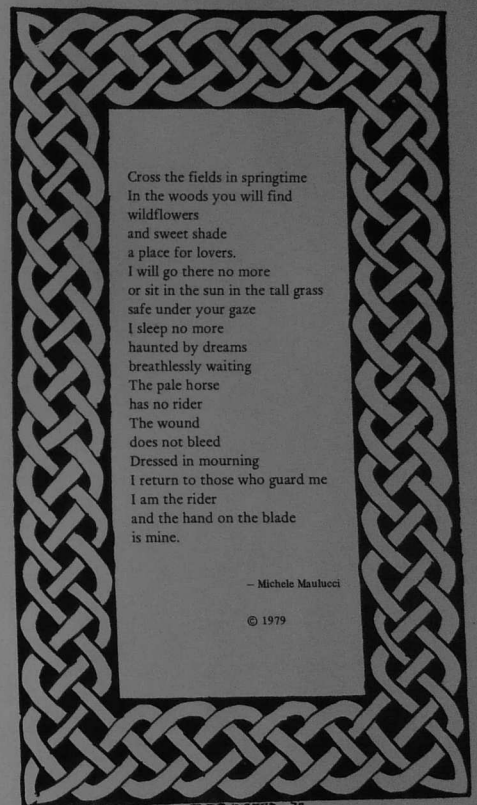
thing that they can identify with, especially when they're dancing. But after they've matured a bit and had their first real affair they usually settle back comfortably into their own culture.

When Tommy and I were young the big bands were very popular and the dances were the big social event for everyone — as they still are in much of Ireland. We just tuned into whatever was popular on the radio and got involved in it because it seemed like the fashionable thing to do. It made you look like you were with it and the girls were with you, and it's the same thing today. They're singing and listening to C&W for that same social and sexual ritualistic reason. But the traditional music has always been there. When we were young it was much further in the background; it's come forward tremendously, of late.

- B. Also, there's always been a strong attraction to C&W in Ireland because of America. When the Irish who had emigrated returned to Ireland they often brought back C&W music with them, since that was the American music which they had found easiest to identify with. Now, of course, it's all over the radio and television and the young people like it for that reason.
- Q. So the media has had quite an impact on Irish music and cultural life in general. Do Irish people have a tendency, as they do here, to simply turn on the TV or radio for entertainment and stimulation?
- P. To a great extent, I'm afraid. But many pubs in Ireland will not have televisions, and there still is a lot of homemade entertainment. You can go into quite a few pubs where the local people sing without any fuss or prompting.
- R. But Paddy, a lot of pubs have TVs now that didn't a few years ago. It's definitely increasing.
- P. But the point I'm making is that you'll never find anyone singing for the hell of it in American bars — they'd probably get bounced if they even tried. But in many Irish pubs people still get up and sing their best songs, and call out for their favorites, and everyone does a "parting piece" before they go. You just don't get that here or many other places, for that matter. But at least you still get it in Ireland.
- R. What Paddy was saying about the two streams of music — the popular and the traditional — running side by side is very true. I grew up on Irish music and American music at the same time, and played a lot of both. But when I came over here to sing I became aware that people didn't want to hear me singing American songs; they wanted to hear the Irish tunes. This seemed very strange to me, because I'd never run into anything like that at home. Now I've come to the point where I can't understand people like Van Morrison and Rory Gallagher singing black, American music, when they're both white Irishmen. I find something strained or affected in that. Maybe I'm being narrow-minded, but this is one of my hang-ups at the moment.
- Despite all the inroads of the media, I think that traditional Irish music is stronger than ever. More people are aware of and appreciate true folk music and are attempting to get back to the real basics. In the '40s and '50s you had what were called "ceili bands": a sort of Irish traditional pop group, with drums, piano and bass. It was strictly dance music and the feeling was taken out of it entirely. It was nothing but simple rhythm with no attempt to interpret the melodies themselves. I couldn't enjoy it at all, and I know it put a lot of people from my generation off that kind of music, which, unfortunately, was seen as a kind of traditional Irish music. I only started to enjoy Irish traditional music with the Chieftains, on the instrumental side, and groups like Planxty and the Bothy Band, who sang ballads as well. For a lot of young people, nowadays, it's respectable to listen to real Irish music because the people who play it don't have suits and ties and short haircuts. All kinds of social barriers have broken down. I have friends, now, who'll try and find some old-timer singing in a pub or by the roadside so they can learn a song or two. And they'll just get up and sing in the pubs or at parties with no guitar or accompaniment of any kind. Ten years ago, no young person would dream of getting up and singing like that. You had to have a guitar or something else in your hands, even if you couldn't play it. Meanwhile, in France, Holland, Germany and other European countries, traditional Irish music has become very popular. Groups that are hardly known in Ireland go over to the continent and play to huge audiences; when they come back to Ireland and play in the pubs, nobody knows who they are.
- Q. Is it still the case that many Irish artists and entertainers are forced to re-locate in England or the States in order to make a living?
- P. Yes, I'm afraid we've always been up to our ass in entertainers. We have a small population in a small country, where

there's singing and dancing in all the pubs and all sorts of places. No entertainer can hope to make a decent living if he or she stays in Ireland exclusively. There's simply too much competition. When so many entertainers are willing to work for a few quid a night you have to get out to make money.

- Q. Do you think the traditional music revival in Ireland has hit its peak, or will it get bigger?
- R. I think it can still grow and will, but it may never be really big in a pop sense. Like jazz in America it doesn't come in for a lot of media promotion and exposure, but it's always been much stronger than pop music because the people who play and listen to it don't change every two or three years. It's a very tightly-knit group. And no matter how differently various musicians interpret and present traditional folk, the forms remain pretty much the same. There must be a hundred different versions of "Gypsy Rover" by now, so one can never speak of a "definitive version" of any folk song. That's the beauty of folk: it's so open-ended that only its forms and some of its performers are truly "definitive." What's more — and this is why traditional music will always have a strong following, regardless of its size — folk styles don't change that quickly; whereas, in the pop mainstream, "here today and gone tomorrow" has always been the rule, and people's tastes change accordingly.
- Q. For over a decade now, many performers have been fusing traditional folk melodies and lyrics with other styles of music, sometimes using electric instruments: groups such as Horslips, Steeleye Span and Fairport Convention, to name a few. As folk artists, primarily, do you feel that this is to the advantage or to the detriment of folk music?
- T. There's certainly nothing new in fusing different forms of music. Some of the classical composers used all kinds of folk themes in their compositions.
- R. I Like Steeleye Span the best, especially the acoustic and a *cappella* songs they've done. I think they were good enough so that they didn't really need that over-produced rock sound, but apparently they wanted to move out into a broader circle and capture a larger audience. Horslips also seems to be on that tack now. Their early music was almost entirely acoustic and folk-oriented, but their latest albums sound more like Jethro Tull than Irish traditional. In all their records they use a traditional Irish melody as a kind of leit-motif; but generally I find the original tunes are much more interesting. I feel that folk music is meant to be stark and unorchestrated. With folk-rock, you can blend the two only so long before you're forced to favor one or the other. For a while there were many legitimate fusion groups like Fairport Convention, but nearly all of them split up so that their members could take different musical directions.
- The whole folk thing has opened up so much in the last ten years. People have become much more aware of the musical side of it. Not so long ago, folk was regarded as simple peasant music, but now people are exploring the subtleties of it. Artists like Nic Jones and Martin Carthy are going back to the ancient Greek modes and the pre-chromatic scale. There's certainly no limit on how far it can go.
- P. It doesn't really matter if folk musicians use electric instruments or acoustic ones. What matters is how artistically successful they are in arranging and presenting the material they're working with. Folk music is a highly interpretive art. It has to be a moving, living thing. You can't freeze it in any one style or form or period. It has to evolve continuously, and in evolving it must keep in touch with people and hopefully inspire or improve them in some way. I'm sure there was a time when some purists thought that playing a fiddle with folk songs was some kind of sacrilege. But time is the great editor, both of material and of performers.



The publishers of *Kelica* are especially grateful to the following individuals for their support and assistance: John and Mary Gilligan, Barry and Rene Fell, David Burke, Seamus Finn, Liam Murphy, Brooke and Kara Enji, Alan Heusaff, Peter Johnson, Yann Plumier, Peter Laws, The Hon. John W. McCormack, Noel Rice, John Brennan, Jr., Glenn Bard, Tommy Makem, Wendy Newton.

