

**Kendalc'h Keltiek Etrevroadel**  
**International Celtic Congress**

**LANDREGER, BREIZH**

18, 19, 20, 21 ha 22 a viz Eost 1962

**Danevellskridoù**  
**Transactions**

**PREDER**

Kaier 41-42

Du-Kerzu 1962



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KENDALC'H KELTIEK ETREVROADEL  
INTERNATIONAL CELTIC CONGRESS

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oOgOo

PREZEGENN AN OFERENN-BRED, 19 EOST 1962  
gant an Tad CHAPEL

Va breudeur ha va c'hoarezed kristen,

Bep bloaz, pa zigouezh an hañv, e vez gwelet ur bern tud o vont gant o hent da weladenniñ amañ hag ahont an traoù kaer krouet gant Doue pe savet a-hed ar c'hantvedoù gant tud an amzer dremenet. Ul lod mat anezho a zeu evelse da Vreizh. Estlamiñ a reont dirak kaerder hor bro: ar maeziou hag an traoniennoù didrouz gant ar c'herioù bihan skoachet e-touez ar gwez, ar Menez Arre hag ar Menezioù Du, an ilizoù hag ar chapelioù, ha dreist-holl ar mor, o flourañ goustadik an traezhioù gwenn hag ar bili, ar mor o vont gant al lanv betek don e-kreiz ar parkeier hag ar c'hoajou, pe, da zeiz ar wall-amzer o sailhat en e gounnar ouzh reier ha kerreg an aod.

Ya, brav-tre eo hor bro, hag ar re o deus bet an eurvad da vont da Iwerzhon pe da Gembre, da Vro-Skos, da Enez Vanav, pe da Gerne-Veur, a oar ervat n'o deus ket hor breudeur tra-mor da gaout avi ouzhomp er c'heñver-se. Bennozh 'ta d'an Aotrou Doue en deus roet d'ar Gelted un douar ken kaer.

Koulskoude piv a gredfe lavarout n'eus ket a vrvantez er bed nemet e kornog Europa ? Petra a vefe ul liorzha ha na greskfe enni nemet bleunioù heñvel-mik o liv hag o stumm. Hag-eñ e ve eürusoc'h an dud ma ve o daoulagad, o fenn, o c'horf a-bezh, o gwiskamant diouzh ur patrom nemetken ? Daoust ha n'eo ket anat da lenner ar Skritur Sakr en deus bet levezet an Aotrou Doue o krouiñ milionoù a draoù, a blant, a loened, a dud disheñvel a-grenn an eil diouzh egile, pep hini anezho o kanañ hervez e vod meuleudi Grouer ?

(1) Skrid ar brezegenn-mañ n'emaf ket ganeomp c'hoazh. Spi hon eus koulskoude e-c'hellimp hen embann deziz pe zeiz.  
We have not received yet the text of this lecture. We hope, however, to be able to publish it later on.

Tad Chapel

Ha se a zo ken gwir all war dachenn ar spered. Hervez kelennadurezh Sant Paol, bet klevet ganeomp bremañk, "Gras Doue a zo meur a zoare dezhi hag en Iliz meur a gefridi a zo, meur a labour a zo."

Gant gwir abeg 'ta e c'hellomp lavarout : "Va Doue me ho trugareka abalamour n'on ket evel ar re all. Va Doue me ho trugareka evit va zad ha va mamm, n'int ket tad ha mamm ar re all, me ho trugareka evit ar Vro hag ar bobl m'hoc'h eus va hadet enno : ar vro-se, gant an aer, an avel, ar mor hag an dremmweloù anezhi, ar bobl-se gant he boazioù, he yezh hag hec'h istor o deus roet furm d'am ene. Int a zo donezonoù kaer degemeret digant ho largentezh, int a zo ouzhpenn-se hentoù ha gwenojennoù d'ho kras da dizhout va c'halon ha va spered. Va Doue, ni ho trugareka abalamour n'omp ket evel ar re-all, ni ho trugareka da vezañ graet ac'hanomp Kelted."

Setu aze, avat, ur bedenn gaer, a c'hoarzh goap marteze unan bennak... Ur bedenn gaer a ya dres a-enep d'an Aviel a zo bet embannet deomp arak ar brezegenn. Ar Farizian aet d'an Templ da bediñ Doue a lavare ivez : va Doue me ho trugareka abalamour n'on ket evel ar re all; ha gouzout a rit pegen garv eo bet tamallet gant an Aotrou Krist ! - Gwir eo. Ar Farizian-se n'edo ket e gwirionez o veuliñ Doue, met o n'em veuliñ e-unan. Pa lavaromp ni e vennigomp an Aotrou Doue da vezañ graet Bretoned pe Kelted ac'hanomp, n'eo ket da lavarout en em lakaomp uheloc'h eget ar re all, en em gavomp gwelloc'h eget ar re all, evel izili ur ouenn dibabet o tisprizout ar re all hag oc'h ober fae warno.

Nann ! n'omp ket gwelloc'h eget ar re all. Ar pec'hed siwazh, a ra kement a reuz e Keltia hag e lec'h all. Doue n'eo ket adoret, karet, servijet evel ma tle bezañ. Fals-doueoù a ren war lod ac'hanomp, staget m'emañ o c'halon gant al lorc'h, ar gasoni, ar c'hadaliez, ar garantez direizh ouz an arc'hant. Bretoned ha Kelted e-leizh n'eo ket ken evito an Aviel lezenn-stur ha sklerijenn o buhez. Anavezet mat eo, a-hend-all, hor gwall-dechoù, leziregezh spered ha dizurzh, o deus c'hoariet ken fall en amzer dremenet hor broioù. Ni diskibien Hor Salver Jezus Krist, hon eus 'ta d'en em zistrobañ atav muioc'h-mui diouz rouejoù ar pec'hed, ni hon eus da ziwriziennañ an tehoù fall legadet deomp gant hor ouenn.

Diwallomp mat, padal. N'omp ket da ziwriziennañ war un dro kement a zegas-sev ha boued d'hor spered. War zigarez bezañ kristenien, n'eo ket ret en em nac'h hon-unan evel Bretoned.

Kemeromp adarré an Abostol Sant Paol er pennad a zo bet lennet deomp hag un tammig pelloc'h ivez en e lizher da Gorinthiz. Displegañ a ra dezho penaos korf an den, daoust dezhañ bezañ graet gant meur a ezel, a zo ur c'horf, unan hepken. Izili ha skianchoù ar c'horf o deus pep hini o labour da gas en-dro evit brasañ mad ar c'horf a-bezh. Scul yac'hoc'h e vezo al lagad, seul talvoudusoc'h e vezo d'an izili all. Ha ma teu da glañvaat an dorn pe an troad, deut mat e vezo 'michañs ar medisin gouest d'o fareañ.

Heñvel eo gant Hon Salver Jezus-Krist. Ar re vadezet a zo staget outañ ha maget gant e spered, evel an izili staget ouz ur c'horf a vez maget gant ar gwad anezhañ. Gant ma chomint unanet dre liamm ar garantez, gwell a se mar deo disheñvel ar gristenien, gwell a se ma 'z eus en o zouez re wenn, re zu, re velen, gwell a se ma'z eus Bretoned, Kelted, Germaned hag all. Ra chomo avat pep hini en e roud da vezañ talvoudus d'ar re all.

Setu aze menozioù ez oc'h boazet outo, c'hwil va breudeur deredet amañ da geñver ar C'hendalc'h Keltiek. Meur a hini en ho touez zoken en deus gouestlet e vuhez da bareañ spered damglav e genvroiz. Gouzout a rit ne c'hounezot war an hent se nag arc'hant, nag enorioù nag amzer da ziskuizhañ. Petra 'vern ! A-hed ar wech eo bet ar Kelted diouz tu ar Spered, ar Frankiz, ar Gaerder. N'o deus ket savet rouantelezhioù kreñv ha pinvidik war an douar. N'eus forzh ! O levezon war istor Europa a zo bet bras-kenañ, levezon ur goell eo bet peurvuiañ, levezon ar Spered.

Emañ bremañ an oferenn o vont da genderc'hel. An oferenn n'eo ket Babel : Babel, rouantelezh al lorc'h, ar gasoni hag an dizunvaniezh.

An oferenn a zo skeudenn an Douar Nevez emaeomp en hent etrezek ennañ, an Douar Nevez a zo bet diskuliet d'an Abostol Sant Yann : "Goude-se, emezañ, e welis ur mor a dud ne oa ket posubl o c'hontañ, tud eus pep bro, eus pep gouenn, eus pep pobl ha yezh, en o sav dirak Tron an Oan-Doue", hag

o youc'hal dezhañ en o levez.

Maget hant kentelioù an Aviel ha korf Hon Salver roet deomp er sakramant, poaniomp eta, va breudeur ker, enep al leziregezh hag an diseblanted, da zerc'hel bev ha yac'h ar vro gaer roet deomp gant Doue.

Ha poaniomp war un dro enep ar gasoni hag al lorc'h da chom unanet etrezomp-ni Bretoned ha Kelted, unanet gant holl bobloù Europa, unanet erfin gant holl broioù ar Bed, en Iliz hor mamm !

Evelse bezet graet

-°\_°-

My dear brethren,

Every year when summer comes, we see a host of people making their way to visit here and there the beautiful things created by God or wrought in the course of the ages by the people of times past. A good number of them come in this way to Brittany. They marvel at the beauty of our country : the quiet fields and valleys with the little towns hidden among the trees, the Arre Mountains and the Black Mountains, the churches and the chapels, and above all the sea, caressing gently the white sand and pebbles, the sea, penetrating at high tide deep into the fields and woods, or during a storm hurling itself in its rage against the rocks and reefs of the coast.

Yes, our country is very beautiful, and those who have had the good fortune to go to Ireland, Wales, Scotland, the Isle of Man or Cornwall, know well that our brothers across the sea have no need to envy us in this respect. Thanks be to God, then, that he has given the Celts such a beautiful part of the earth.

o o o

Yet who would dare to say that there is no beauty in the world save in Western Europe ? What would a garden be, in which there grew only flowers identical in shape and colour ? Would people really be happier, if their eyes, their heads, their whole bodies and their clothes were of one single pattern ? Is it not clear to the reader of the Scriptures that God took a delight in creating millions of things, plants, animals, people, completely different one from another, each of them singing in his own fashion the praise of his Creator ?

And this is just as true in the domain of the Spirit. According to the teaching of St Paul which we have just heard, the grace of God is diverse, and in the Church there are diversities of ministries and diversities of works.

o o o

It is with real justification, then, that we can say : "My God, I thank you that I am not as the rest of men." "My God, I thank you for my father and mother, who are not the father and mother of the rest of men; I thank you for the land and people in which you caused me to be born : this land, with its air, its wind, its sea and its horizons; this people, with its customs, its language and its history, which have formed my soul. These are lovely gifts received from your bounty; they are, moreover, ways and paths for your grace to reach my heart and my spirit. O God, we thank you that we are not as the rest of men, we thank you that you have made us Celts."

There, then, is a fine prayer that some one will perhaps laugh at. A fine prayer that goes clean contrary to the Gospel that was proclaimed to us before the sermon. The Pharisee who went up to the Temple to pray also said : "My God, I thank you that I am not as the rest of men", and you know how severely he was blamed by Our Lord. The point is this. That Pharisee was not really praising God, he was praising himself. When we say that we bless God for having made us Bretons or Celts, it is not to say that we set ourselves above other men, that we consider ourselves to be better than others, as members of a chosen race, despising others and holding them in contempt. No ! We are not better than the rest of men. Sin, alas, plays as much havoc in the Celtic countries as anywhere else. God is not worshipped, loved, or served as He ought to be. False gods rule some of us; our hearts are gripped by pride, hatred, lust, or the immoderate love of money. For many Bretons and Celts the Gospel is not the guiding rule nor the light of their lives. In any case, it is well known that our vices, spiritual sloth and disorderliness, played just as evil a role in the past of our countries. We disciples of our Saviour Jesus Christ have the task, then, of striving continually to free ourselves more and more from the snares of sin. We have to root out the vices bequeathed to us by our race.

Let us take care, however. We are not to root out at one fell swoop everything that gives vigour and nourishment to our spirit. On the claim that we are Christians, it is not necessary for us to deny ourselves as Bretons.

Let us hear again St Paul the Apostle in the chapter that was read to us, and a little further on also, in his letter to the Corinthians. He explains to them how the human body, although composed of many members, is one single body. The members and senses of the body have each of them their work to perform for the greater good of the body as a whole. The healthier the eye, the more useful it will be to the other members. And if the hand or the foot is ailing, the doctor capable of healing it will assuredly be welcome.

It is the same with our Saviour Jesus Christ. The baptised are joined to Him and nourished by His spirit just as the members joined to a

body are nourished by its blood. Provided that they remain united through the bond of charity, it is all the better if Christians are not alike, all the better if there be among them white people, black people, yellow people, all the better if there are Bretons, Celts, Germans and so forth. But let each remain in his due place so as to benefit the others.

There, then, are the ideas to which you are accustomed, you my brethren, who have come together here on the occasion of the Celtic Congress. Many in your midst have even dedicated their lives to healing the ailing spirit of their fellow countrymen. You know well that you will gain on that path neither wealth, nor honours, nor time to rest. What does it matter ! The Celts have always been on the side of the Spirit, of Freedom, of Beauty. They have not founded strong and wealthy kingdoms on this earth. Who cares ! Their influence on the history of Europe has been very great, the influence of a leaven most often, the influence of the Spirit.

Now the Mass is going to continue. The Mass is not Babel : Babel, the kingdom of pride and hate and disunity.

The Mass is an image of the New Earth towards which we are bound, the New Earth that was revealed to St John the Apostle. "After this," he says, "I saw a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and tribes, and peoples, and tongues, standing before the throne, and in the sight of the Lamb," and crying out to Him in their joy.

Nourished by the teachings of the Gospel and by the body of Our Saviour given to us in the Sacrament, let us strive then, my dear brethren, against laziness and indifference, to keep alive and healthy the beautiful country given to us by God.

And let us strive at the same time against hatred and pride so as to remain united among ourselves, Bretons and Celts united with all the peoples of Europe, united finally with all the countries of the world in the Church our Mother !

Amen.

-o-o-o-

(Tr. George Thompson)

## AR YEZH ER SKOLIOU

gant

O. Mac Uilis

Setu pemp bloaz ha tregont pe daou-ugent vloaz e kelenner an Iwerzhoneg evel danvez en hon holl skolioù, koulz lavarout.

Un dra tremenet eo bremañ an diaesterioù a gavemp da gentañ. Rouez e oa ar gelennerien varrek, al levrioù skol, hag ar gerioù a vicher.

Kelennet e vez Iwerzhoneg da nebeutañ ur wech bemdez e pep skol a resev arc'hant ar stad, kenkoulz er skolioù kentañ hag er skolioù etre, hag ar yezh a zo ret e pep arnodenn-stad.

Ar pezh a zo pouezusoc'h : en holl rannvroioù ma komzer Iwerzhoneg enno, an holl skolioù kentañ a gelemn an holl danveziñ dre an Iwerzhoneg hepken, ha bez e vez kavet ivez hevelep skolioù holl-iverzhoneg e lec'h ma komzer saozneg, ha dreist-holl pa vez goulennet gant un niver bihan a gerent er c'hêrioù.

An dispac'h-se n'eo ket bet graet hep diskar meur a skoilh, dreist-holl krouiñ ur strollad kelennerien ha skolaerien barrek da ober kement-se, hag an dra a c'houlennas meur a vloavezh.

Skolioù mistri a voe savet, hag ar pezh a zo pouezusoc'h, skolaioù ma c'helle ar vistri da zont aozañ enno un deskadurezh etre klok araok mont e-barzh ar skolioù-mistri.

An enor am eus da vezañ kelenner en unan eus ar skolaioù-se.

Ar skolidi a zeu e-barzh ar skolaioù-se dre kenstrivadegoù d'an oad a drizek pe pevarzek vloaz, hag e tremenont pevar bloaz e-touez tud ha ne gomzont nemet iwerzhoneg, ar saozneg o vezañ komzet hepken e-pad ar gentel saozneg.

Ar studierien a zo pañsionidi ha ne baeont nemet ne-

beut tra, pe zoken netra pa vez re baour o zud.

Eveljust ar skolajou-aozañ n'int tamm ebet ar skolajou nemeto ma vez kelennet enno dre an iwerzhoneg. En holl skolioù etre an Iwerzhon e vez tremenet al lodenn gentañ eus ar vachelouriezh war-dro c'hwezek vloaz hag al lodenn ziwezhañ da driec'h.

War-dro pemzek dre gant eus ar skolidi a glask kaout al lodenn gentañ a respont en iwerzhoneg hag a c'hounez 10% ouzhpenn war an notennoù resevet, evel gopr, mar deo mat a-walc'h o iwerzhoneg.

Kalz a skolidi a guita ar skol goude an arnodenn-se, met war-dro ur bempvedenn anezho a gendalc'h evit kaout ar vachelouriezh diwezhañ, daou vloaz war-lerc'h, hag en arnodenn-se, etre ar c'hard hag an drederenn anezho a respont en iwerzhoneg.

Kement-se ne gont ket ar re a respont war ul lodenn nemetken, eus an danvezioù en iwerzhoneg.

Al levrioù evit deskiñ iwerzhoneg er skolioù bihan hag er skolioù-etre a zo bras o niver hag un dibab ec'hon a c'heller ober, rak meur a di-embann levrioù a gav ur marc'had asur da seurt levrioù.

Niverus al levrioù evit ar jedoniezh, an istor, ar skiantoù, an douarniezh h.a. en iwerzhoneg, evit ar vachelouriezh gentañ.

Goude se avat, ar gelennerien dre an iwerzhoneg n'o deus ket un dibab ken aes hag ar skolidi a rank kemer notennoù en iwerzhoneg, savet gant ar mestr diwar levrioù saoznek.

Ar skolidi avat, a zo bremañ divyezhek penn-da-benn.

E tleer derc'hel soñj ez eo ar yezh iwerzhonek komzet hepken, gant war-dro pemp ha dek dre gant eus ar boblañs, el lec'hioù distro, el lodennoù paourañ hag ar muiañ war-lerc'hiet eus ar vro. Pezh a zo dleet da gantvedoù a zismegañs, pa ne lavarer ket heskinerezh. Ar rannyezhoù a greskas evel louzoù fall.

Daoust da se souezhus eo ez eus bet degaset er geriadur hag er yezhadur un unvaniezh bras a-walc'h. Ar gerioù ha teir pe beder gwezh muioù eus ar skolidi a guita ar anaoudegezh anezhañ.

En dek bloavezh diwezhañ ez eo bet reizhet doare-skrivañ ar yezh o tegas kemmoù hag aesamantoù bras a zo bet degemeret bremañ. Krog eo bremañ ur reizhañ hag un eeunañ eus ar yezhadur betek tizhout un derez tostoc'h ouzh ar ger komzet en holl rannyezhoù.

Diboell e vefe lavarout n'en deus ket kement-se roet meur a gudenn da zibunañ evit ar gelennerien. Al levrioù-skol kozh a zo en doare-skrivañ kozh ivez, ha gant an implij **bihan** a zo anezho n'int ket alies advoulet, hag ivez kelennerien gozh evel don a fazi alies. Alies e lakan levr ar skritur hag ar yezhadur nevez etre daouarn va skolidi ha klaoustre ne dapfent ket ac'hanon o faziañ, hag evel-se e teskomp a-gevret.

Kalz ac'hanoc'h a dle anaout ar rummad levrioù deskiñ an unan ar yezhoù, "Irish Self Taught" a zo unan mat embannet nevez 'zo, hag a ro bepred an doare-skrivañ kozh hag an hini nevez.

Betek bremañ em eus pledet hepken gant ar skolioù bihan hag etre, met bez ez eus un trede seurt a skolioù o kemer ul lec'h brasoc'h bras gant an amzer, lavarout a fell din : ar skolioù micherel.

Ar re-se a zegemer adal ar skolioù bihan, bugale na reont ket studioù etre, hag a gas anezho betek pevarzek vloaz. En tachennoù ma komzer iwerzhoneg e vez graet al labour dre an iwerzhoneg, met e pep lec'h e kendalc'her da zeskiñ an iwerzhoneg evel danvez-studi. Ar re vihanoc'h a zo bet ganimp warlene, o deus gwelet seurt skolioù e rannvro Connemara hag a ra ul labour spletus.

Hon holl skolioù meur, zoken hini Belfast, a ginnig deskadurezh ha doktorelezhioù en iwerzhoneg hag er yezhoù keltiek, ha Skol-veur Galway a ginnig doktorelezhioù war veur a zanvez graet dre an iwerzhoneg.

Ar skolioù uhel e Cork, Dulenn ha Galway e vez enno an iwerzhoneg evel danvez ret evit degemerout an Iwerzhoniz. Met, siwazh, aze al live a zo izel, ha re alies e tiskroger goude.

Koulskoude, anaout a ran studierien niverus, a vezegiezh, a ijinouriezh hag all, o deus ezhomm eus ur yezh evit o arnodenn, hag a gemer an iwerzhoneg, rak aze o deus miret un dilerc'h bennak abaoe o amzer-skol.

Roet am eus deoc'h un damskud eus an iwerzhoneg er gelennadurezh, ha spi am eus e pardonot din e vankoù niverus.

Ar skrid-mañ a zo bet savet e brezhoneg gant skoazell va c'heneil mat, an ao. Fañch Elies-Abeozen.

## IRISH AT SCHOOL

by O. MAC UILIS

Thirty five or forty years ago, Irish was taught as a subject in every school so to speak.

The teachers able to speak Irish were very rare and so were the books and the technical words.

Now, those difficulties we had at first are a thing of the past.

Irish is taught at least one time a day in all the schools which receive money from the state, be they primary or secondary schools and our language is necessary for all state exams.

What is more important : in each province where Irish is spoken, in all primary schools all the subjects are taught through Irish only, and there are all-irish schools of the same kind in the English speaking provinces, above all when they are asked for by a small number of parents in the towns.

This revolution was not without more than one difficulty. Above all we had to create a body of teachers and pupils able to speak Irish and this takes more than one year. Schools for teachers were created and what is more important, schools where the future teachers could find a good secondary instruction before going to the teachers-schools.

I have the honour of being teacher in one of these schools. The pupils come to these schools by competition at the age of 13 or 14, and they spend 4 years, among people who speak but Irish. English is spoken only during the English lesson. The students are boardus and they pay very little or nothing when their parents are too poor.

Of course this preparatory courses are not at all the only schools where everything is taught through Irish. In all secondary schools in Ireland one passes the first part of the school-learning certificate at about 16 and the last part at 18.

About 15% of the pupils who try to have the first part answer in Irish and so they add 10% to their marks if their Irish is good enough.

A good portion of the pupils leave school after this exam, but about one fifth of them go on to get the last one, two years afterwards. For this exam, between one fourth and one third of the pupils answer in Irish. In

this proportion we don't include those who answer in Irish for only part of the subjects.

The books to learn Irish in primary and secondary schools are very numerous and you can choose among them because many editors find a sure market with them. Many books for geometry, history, geography, sciences and so on, are found in Irish up to the first degree.

After that however, the teachers don't have so easy a choice and the pupils must take careful notes in Irish from the translation of English books.

But the pupils are now entirely bilingual. One must remember that Irish is the only language spoken by 5 to 10 per cent of the population, in remote places, in the poorest part and in the country; which is due to centuries of scorn and even of destruction: the dialects have grown like bad weeds.

But however it is very surprising to see the uniformity existing among dictionaries and grammars. Here is no more difficulty for rare words.

Three or four times more numerous are the pupils who leave school knowing Irish, than those who knew it before going to school.

In the last ten years the spelling of the words was changed. Everything simplified, and the grammar was corrected and simplified too to be somewhat nearer to the spoken dialects.

It would be silly to say that all these things have not brought many a problem about for the teachers. The old schoolbooks are written with the old spelling and it is difficult to have them edited again and the old teachers like me make many mistakes. Often I put the book in the hands of my pupils so that they don't catch me on the spot and we learn together.

Many of you must know the "Irish self Taught" which is not expensive and which always give the old and the new spelling.

Up to now I only spoke of Primary and Secondary Schools but there is a third kind of school which is developing more and more with the time. It is the technical colleges. These take the children after Primary school, so that they don't have to go through secondary schools and they study up to 14 years.

In the places where Irish is spoken the work is done through the medium of Irish but everywhere you go on learning Irish as a subject.

Those of you who were with me last year saw one of these schools in the Province of Connemara where a stupendous lot of work is done.

All the superior schools, even Belfast's offer courses and degrees in Irish and the Celtic languages. And Galway University offers degrees in more than one subject through Irish.

To enter the Universities of Cork, Dublin and Galway you must take Irish as a subject. But also, the level is very low and often Irish is

abandoned afterwards.

However I know quite a number of students in medicine or engineering or elsewhere who need one language for their exam and who take Irish because they have kept a certain knowledge of it from their school-days.

I have given you a small outlook on Irish in Education and I hope you will forget my numerous omissions.

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(Tr. Armel Karaod)

## KELENNADUREZH AR BREZHONEG

gant Ronan HUON

Goulennet ez eus bet diganin komz diwar-benn kelennadurezh ar brezhoneg hag hon Embannadurioù. N'am eus graet prezegenn ebet er C'hendalc'h met azzet am eus daou rentañ-kont didro hag eeun, hemañ hag unan hiroc'h ha kalz pouezusoc'h diwar-benn hon embannadurioù, hogen dre ziouer a amzer n'em eus ket gallet komz eus an embannadurioù.

R.H.

Hor yezh a zo komzet gant ur milion bennak a dud. Met, ez ofisiel, e Bro-C'hall, n'eus nemet ur bobl, ar C'halianed daoulagad glas ha blev melen - kement-se a veze kelennet en holl drevadennoù gall, zoken d'ar Vorianed. Hervez al lezenn n'eus nemet ur yezh, ar galleg (e gwirionez e vez komzet 6 yezh da vihanañ e Bro-C'hall) ur sevenadurezh, an hini roman. Klasket 'z eus bet, evel ma ouzoc'h, lazhañ ar yezhoù all e pep stumm (ar simbol, netaat ar privezioù h.a.). Meur a wech o deus kannaded Vreizh goulennet ma vije kelennet brezhoneg er skol. (1)

Ar c'houlennadeg gentañ a voe graet e 1870 gant ur gouizieg anvet De Gaulle. Goulennadegoù diniver a zeuas

(1) Nevez 'zo (Mae 1963) en deus respontet Ministr kentañ Bro-C'hall da unan anezho : "n'helle ket lakaat ar brezhoneg e diabarzh ar roll labour dre ma vefe ret kreskiñ roll labour ar sizhun pe gouestlañ nebeutoc'h a amzer d'an danvezioù ret, ar pezh a zo dic'hallus." Ne oa ket deut d'e spered, eveljust, lezel ar Vretoned da zibab etre o yezh o-unan hag al latin.

da heul, c'hwec'h anezho o vezañ kinniget gant kannaded, met ar gouarnamant a chomas diseblant. E 1925 Ministr an Deskadurezh a zisklerias : "evit unded Bro-C'hall e rank ar brezhoneg mont da get

Ar strolladoù a stourm evit kelennadurezh ar yezh o deus labourer alies war un dro gant Elzasiz, Kataloniz, Euskariz ha Flandreziz.

E 1951, e teuas difennourien ar yezhoù bihan a-benn da gaout ul lezenn, dre zegouez ha dirak ur parlamant diseblant, lezenn Deixonne.

Al lezenn-se a aotree e gwirionez ken nebeut ma n'eus bet morse tu da aozañ ur wir gelennadurezh eus ar yezh.

Skolioù kentañ. Ar skolaerien o deus ar gwir da implij ar yezh evit reiñ diskleriadurioù. Ar re a c'houlenn a c'hell deskiñ d'ar vugale lenn ha skrivañ un eur ar sizhun, evel danvez da zibab. Hogen, hepken evit ar vugale a zo en o bloavezh diwezhañ skol. N'hell ket ar yezh bezañ kemeret evel danvez-arnodenn. Al lezenn a zo heñvel er skolioù-mistri.

Bil derez (liseoù). Ar gwir ez eus da gelenn brezhoneg, un eur bep sizhun, d'ar skolidi a fell dezho, er-maez eus an eurioù-skol ha ma' z eus ur mestr a ginnig hen ober. Tu a zo da gemer ar brezhoneg er vachelouriezh met ne dalvez nemet evit kaout ur meneg.

Skol Veur. E Skol-Veur Roazhon e vez roet kentelioù war ar yezhoù keltiek. Graet e vezont e galleg eveljust. Evel ma' z eo bihan-tre niver ar studierien o deus desket skrivañ ha lenn o yezh ez eo bihan-tre ivez niver ar re a zo barrek da heuliañ ar c'hentelioù-se. A-wechoù ne vez den. Koulskoude bremañ e c'heller kemer ar Studioù Keltiek evel unan eus ar 5 sertifikad ret evit kaout an aotreegezh yezhoù bev.

Petra a vez graet e gwirionez. Diaes eo gouzout ar pezh a vez graet er skolioù. War a seblant, er bloaz tremenet ez eus bet kelennet brezhoneg e div skol vistri diwar zek (1 eur bep sizhun er bloavezh diwezhañ).

Skolioù kentañ. Diwar mil skol e vez lakaet ar vugale da labourat war ar brezhoneg, a-wechoù, e dek skol bennak,oc'h

implij levrigoù embannet gant ur strollad anvet Ar Palz. War-dro 500 skoliad a gemer perzh en ur genstrivadeg dre skrid e dibenn ar bloaz. Evit reiñ levrioù d'ar vugale e vez kestet bep bloaz war an hentoù.

Liseoù. Un daouzek klas bennak a vez heuliet gant un niver a skolidi a ya war goazañ buan dre ma tosta koulz an arnodennoù. E-leizh a ziaesterioù ez eus. Ar skolidi o deus re a labour, a oadoù disheñvel int, n'o deus ket ar memes anaoudegezh eus ar yezh ha rouez eo ar gelennerien varrek pe re sammet ez int endeo gant al labour. Kelennet e vez nebeutoc'h c'hoazh a vrezhoneg er skolioù kristen eget er skolioù stad nemet er skol a voe savet e Plouezeg gant an Ao. Kalvez. Skolioù prevez a zo bet savet e kêrioù 'zo gant tud a youl vat, ha bez ez eus teir skol dre lizher.

Ar C'hallaoued a ra ken nebeut ha ma c'hellont evit kelennadurezh ar yezh. Evito ar galleg a zo ur yezh kement a-us d'ar re all ma sonjont ez eo ur vadelezh rediañ an holl, zoken ar re ne fell ket dezho, da zeskiñ o yezh. Hag an holl a oar penaos prinsipoù bras ar Frankiz hag an Dispac'h Gall a zo graet evit ar broioù all. E 1960, en Aberystwyth, e oa ur C'hendalc'h eus an UNESCO war an diyezhegezh en deskadurezh. An dileuridi Gall, digor-tre d'ar c'hudennoù en diavaez da Vro-C'hall o devoe an tal da c'houlenn groñs ma ne vefe ket meneget er rentañ-kont diwezhañ, kudenn ar Vretoned a oa bet kaoz anezhañ e-kerz ar vretadeg. Evel ma ne fell d'an UNESCO kaout garempred nemet gant gouarnamant n'eus netra da c'hortoz diouzh an tu-se. Ret eo eta d'ar re o deus ur gouarnamant a ra war o zro pouezañ warnañ ha trugarekaat a reomp an holl re o deus betek-hen hon sikouret en hon stourm.

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## THE TEACHING OF BRETON

by Ronan HUON

I was asked to speak about breton teaching and publication. I did not deliver any lectures at the Congress but prepared two informal and plain accounts, this one about the teaching of Breton and a longer and much more important one about Breton Editions but the shortage of time did not allow me to give it.

R.H.

Breton is spoken by about one milion people. But in France, officially, there is only one people : the blue-eyed fair-haired Gauls - the same teaching was given in all French colonies, even to negroes. There is only one language, according to the law (in fact, six tongues, at least, are spoken in France), one civilisation, the latin one. It was attempted, as you know, to get rid of the other languages in many ways, the symbol (a clog), cleaning lavatories etc.. On many occasions all the Breton deputies asked for the teaching of Breton in schools (1).

The first petition was sent in 1870 by a scholar called de Gaulle. Countless petitions followed, among them six presented by all the deputies, but the French government ignored them. In 1925 the Minister of Education gave his reasons : "For the sake of the unity of France, the Breton language must disappear". The groups defending the language have been working together with such minorities as Alsace, The Basque Country, Catalonia, The Flemish etc.

In 1951, a Bill prepared by the Breton deputies passed unaware. It is the Deixonne law.

(1) Recently (May 1963) the Prime Minister replied to one of them saying that he could not include the Breton language into the normal time table because : "it would be necessary to increase the weekly time-table or to reduce the time allowed the compulsory subjects which is impossible". He did not fancy, of course, letting the bretons choose between their own tongue and latin.

It allowed, actually, so little that it was never possible to organize a real teaching of the language.

Primary Education. School-masters are allowed to use the language for explanations. Those who ask it may also teach the children reading and writing one hour a week as an optional subject. But it is allowed only for the pupils who are in their last year at school. If the pupils are too few the permission may be withdrawn. Breton cannot be taken as a subject in examinations. The law is the same in training-colleges.

Secondary Education (Grammar Schools). For the teaching of Breton one hour a week is allowed to the children who want it, and outside the official school time-table. It may be taken as an optional language by students taking matriculation, but the marks are not taken into account except for honours.

University. Lectures are given on Celtic languages at the University of Rennes. Those lectures are, of course, all given in French. Like the number of students who have learned to write and read their vernacular the number of those who follow those lectures is very small. Sometimes there are none. All the same it is now possible to take Celtic studies as one of the five diplomas necessary to get a teaching degree in languages.

It is difficult to know exactly what is done in schools. It seems that during the last year (1961) pupils have been able to follow Breton courses only in two training colleges (one hour a week during the last year).

Primary schools. - About ten schools out of one thousand teach Breton and use booklets issued by the group called the "Sickle" (Ar Falz). About five hundred pupils participate in a written competition organized at the end of the year. To give books to the children they make a collection in the streets every year.

Grammar Schools. Twelve courses or so are organized and are followed by a number of pupils which decreases quickly as the examinations draw near. The difficulties are numberless: the pupils have too much work, they are not the same age, they have not the same level of knowledge, the able teachers are scarce and overworked. In Catholic schools they still teach less Breton than in State schools except in the one that was created by Father Kalvez at Plouezeg. In some towns private courses have been organized. There are also three correspondence schools.

The French government does as little as possible for Breton teaching. For them French is a language so much above the others that they say it is an advantage and a favour to teach it even to those who don't want it.

As every body knows, the great principles of Liberty issued from the French Revolution are only good for exportation.

In 1960 there was a Congress of the UNESCO at Aberystwyth about bilingualism in Education. The French delegates, very open-minded on the problems of language outside France dared to demand that the case of the Bretons which had been raised in the course of the debates would not be mentioned at all in the final report. So, as UNESCO wants only to deal with established governments we cannot expect anything from that side as minorities have no government. Therefore those who want to help us must press their own government when they have one and we thank all those who have, up to now, helped us in our fight.

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(Tr. Ronan Huon)

## GAELIC IN EDUCATION

by Donald GRANT

Earlier this year an important book "Gaelic-speaking children in Highland Schools" was issued by the Bilingual Committee of the Scottish Council for Research in Education. Here we have set out in orderly detail the number of speakers at different ages in the schools of the Gaelic-speaking areas, along with circumstances of the home and community, the number of children whose father or mother, or both speak the language, and so on.

The facts, as set out in this book, show that the position is even worse than the figures of the 1961 census would lead us to expect. In primary schools, e.g., it is stated that, whereas in Harris the number of Gaelic-speaking children is 94% of the total, in Skye it is only 51% and in Mull 8%. On the mainland and in all the secondary schools the situation is even less favourable.

The authors of this survey advise all concerned with the preservation of Gaelic to pay particular attention to the Gaelic-speaking children in the Outer Hebrides, the last stronghold of the language. Other interested persons have since the appearance of this book repeated this injunction.

Although the researchers have set down the facts in a cool detached way without emotion, as researchers should, they end on a hopeful note. They are careful not to make any forecasts but they say that the history of other languages such as Welsh, Greek, Norse, and Afrikaans, shows that Gaelic need not die, if those who speak it are determined that it will not. Further they are now going to study the methods which are most likely to be successful in the schools where Gaelic is taught.

Donald Grant

Much has been made of the Inverness scheme which was introduced a few years ago. A supervisor of Gaelic teaching has been appointed and useful work is being done in introducing up-to-date methods and devising schemes of work. The language of the playground, however, remains English. Very often it is also the language of the home.

The Inverness Director of Education has said that the main obstacle is the apathy of parents. The important task, in his view, to which we can all subscribe, is to convince parents that a knowledge of Gaelic, far from being a hindrance to the learning of the all-important English, may even be an advantage to this end, if sufficient attention be given to proper timing and method. We support this view. This is not, I hope, a case of believing what we wish to be true. We have to support our views by evidence, because we have to face the fact that those who study bilingualism, as in America, for example, very often come out against it. It could be one of the tasks of Congress to find out the effects of bilingualism from the psychological point of view, and publicise them.

Parents' opinion of the value of Gaelic is indicated by the choice which is made when a pupil entering a Highland secondary school is offered, say, Gaelic or French. In the two Glasgow schools which offer Gaelic as a secondary subject, almost all those taking Gaelic come from homes where neither parent has any knowledge of the language. And this in the most Celtic city in the world.

Let me end, like the authors of the survey already referred to, on a brighter note. The pupils of one of these same schools, starting Gaelic from scratch, are able to make so much progress that in two successive years they have entered a team in our Gaelic Drama Festival. There is evidence of a demand for books. Just the other day I was informed that the fifth and last in the series of Gaelic school readers has been completed by the Dublin Printess, Browne and Nolan. The first three in the series were quickly sold out. Reprints of these were ordered and have already been supplied.

It is time to say then that more is now being done in primary schools for the language, more secondary schools are taking it up successfully, and evening classes are well patronised everywhere. Let the realists not quench our optimism. If they tell us that Gaelic will be dead by 1970, let us answer them by preparing our plans more carefully for 1963.

donald grant

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MODERN SCOTTISH GAELIC LITERATURE AND PUBLICATIONS

by T.M. MURCHISON

According to the late Professor W.J. Watson of the Celtic Chair in the University of Edinburgh, the Modern Period of Scottish Gaelic covers the last two and a half centuries, from about the year 1700 to the present day.

What I propose to do in this paper is to give, first, a brief survey, of the main features of Scottish Gaelic literature throughout this whole modern period, and, secondly, to deal in somewhat greater detail with the situation at the present time.

Two hundred and eleven years ago - in 1751 - there issued from the press the first original work in Scottish Gaelic ever printed. In the same year "many copies" of that work were burned by the common hangman in Edinburgh, so that copies of this first edition are very rare. The work was "Ais-eirigh na Seann Chanain Albannaich : no An Nuadh Oranaiche Gaidhealach" (The Resurrection of the Ancient Scottish Language, or the New Highland Songster), a collection of the original poems and songs of Alexander Macdonald ("Alasdair Mac Mhaighistir Alasdair"), one of the greatest of our Gaelic bards.

Macdonald's book was the first original Gaelic work to be printed, but it was not the first Gaelic book to be printed. A Gaelic book-shelf in 1751 would have contained less than a dozen small volumes, comprising the whole of Gaelic printed literature as at that date, and none of it was original material. There would be Bishop John Carswell's Gaelic translation of John Knox's Book of Common Prayer (1567), a translation of John Calvin's Catechism (1631), the Irish Gaelic Bible published

t. m. Murchison

by the Rev. Robert Kirk in Roman characters for the benefit of Scottish Gaels, a volume of the Metrical Psalms in Gaelic by the Synod of Argyll, and a similar volume by the Rev. Robert Kirk, the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms in Gaelic, a small Gaelic dictionary by Alexander Macdonald himself (published in 1741), and MacFarlane of Kilmelford's translation of Richard Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted" (1750).

Gaelic literature, however, has never at any time been represented entirely by the corpus of printed matter available at that particular time. Down through the centuries the vastly greater part of Gaelic literature has existed as an oral and unwritten tradition. Dr Samuel Johnson once opined that there was not in existence in his time a Gaelic manuscript a hundred years old. Actually, there were two great manuscripts in existence in his time - the Book of the Dean of Lismore (dating from the early 16th century) and the Fernaig Manuscript (dating from the second half of the 17th century), as well as many other manuscripts which have since come to light. Nevertheless, the vast bulk of Gaelic literature has not survived in printed or in manuscript form but as an oral tradition, transmitted from father to son and from mother to daughter.

The story of modern Gaelic literature from the early 18th century onwards has been characterised by these features :

- (1) A growing awareness of the value and importance of the traditional oral material and the effort to record and preserve as much as possible of it.
- (2) The development of Gaelic prose-writing, at first mainly in the form of translations from English, but, as time went on, showing a larger proportion of original work.
- (3) The blossoming of Gaelic poetry in the latter half of the 18th century and the continuing tradition of poetry-making right up to our own time.

With these three features I shall deal in turn.

#### ORAL MATERIAL

In the 18th century James Macpherson was not the only - and certainly not the most genuine - of the collectors of Gaelic traditional lore. In the 19th century we have the names of J.F. Campbell of Islay ("Iain Og Ile") and Alexander Carmichael heading a long list of eager collectors. In our century the work has continued even more energetically, mostly carried on by enthusiastic individuals like the late Kenneth Macleod and by John Dorne Campbell, but more recently taken up by such bodies as the Folklore Institute of Scotland, the Irish Folklore Commission, University Celtic Departments, and the School of Scottish Studies and the Linguistic Survey in Edinburgh. While much valuable material must have perished with the passing of the people in whose memories it reposed, nevertheless there exists today a very extensive body of traditional material, preserved in manuscript and on tape, while no small quantity has been published in print. From last century we have J.F. Campbell's "Teabhar na Feinne" (a volume of Fingalian ballads) and his four volumes of "West Highland Tales". This century we have the five sumptuous volumes of Carmichael's "Carmina Gadelica", along with two further volumes, "More West Highland Tales" (1940 and 1960), selected from the huge Campbell collection still unpublished. Kirkland C. Craig and J.L. Campbell and many others have, in book-form or in periodicals, made available to modern readers a considerable amount of this traditional oral lore.

It may be objected, of course, that **this** oral material is not, strictly speaking, modern literature, since, although first written or printed in our time, it goes back centuries. The fact, however, that it has survived, not by being embalmed in print in, say, the year 1700, but has been repeated and retold many times in each generation and is still to a large extent being retold in the Rocket Age, and in being retold is subtly and unconsciously modernised in idiom and vocabulary, entitles it to be regarded as a valuable part of our modern Gaelic literature.

This, indeed, is the richest part of our Gaelic literature - this vast body of folk-tale and anecdote,

by the Rev. Robert Kirk in Roman characters for the benefit of Scottish Gaels, a volume of the Metrical Psalms in Gaelic by the Synod of Argyll, and a similar volume by the Rev. Robert Kirk, the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms in Gaelic, a small Gaelic dictionary by Alexander Macdonald himself (published in 1741), and MacFarlane of Kilmelford's translation of Richard Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted" (1750).

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It may be objected, of course, that **this** oral material is not, strictly speaking, modern literature, since, although first written or printed in our time, it goes back centuries. The fact, however, that it has survived, not by being embalmed in print in, say, the year 1700, but has been repeated and retold many times in each generation and is still to a large extent being retold in the Rocket Age, and in being retold is subtly and unconsciously modernised in idiom and vocabulary, entitles it to be regarded as a valuable part of our modern Gaelic literature.

This, indeed, is the richest part of our Gaelic literature - this vast body of folk-tale and anecdote,

of anonymous authorship, passed on, subtly and unconsciously revised, from generation to generation, in castle hall and by cottage hearth, both by professional story-tellers and by ordinary folk relating what they had heard from those before them and often adding their own contribution. To listen hour after hour to a teller of the ancient tales, such as the late Duncan Macdonald of South Uist, is to be deeply impressed with the rich flavour of the Gaelic tongue - vigorous, expressive, copious - showing itself wholly adequate as a medium of communication, whether in the mundane affairs of daily life or in the service of the imagination and the soul.

#### PROSE-WRITING

Alongside the traditional "oral" prose of which I have just spoken, there is what I shall call "literary" prose. This is of known origin or authorship. It is for the most part the work of persons whose names are known and we know when each separate item first appeared. It is an entirely modern development, and is of two kinds - translated prose and original prose.

It may be said that, apart from one or two items, it was not until the time of Norman Macleod ("Caraid nan Gaidheal") early last century that there was any original prose-writing in modern Gaelic. (The Gaelic prose in the Book of Clanranald belongs to an earlier stage of the language).

But before original prose there was translation prose, beginning with Carswell's translation of Knox's Book of Common Prayer (1567), and continuing in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries with translations of the Scriptures and of many religious works by English authors, mostly Protestant but some Roman Catholic as well. More recently some non-religious English works have been translated into Scottish Gaelic. Among these may be mentioned a Gaelic translation by W.M. Morrison of Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar" in 1911; translations of Shakespeare's "Macbeth" and "Measure for Measure" by John MacCormick; R.L. Stevenson's "Kidnapped" and Neil Munro's "Lost Piobrach", both translated by Dr Archibald Macdonald; as well as Stevenson's "Treasure Island", translated by

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Jonathan and Donald Mackinnon of Nova Scotia, but still unpublished. In recent years quite a number of English plays have been translated into Gaelic, both for broadcasting purposes and for the use of the various Gaelic drama groups.

At its best, translated prose is true to the Gaelic idiom, but very often it has about it an English flavour ("blas na Beurla").

Original Gaelic prose is the latest development of all, and, by comparison with the other types of modern Gaelic literature, such as poetry, and oral and translated prose, it is - or was until this century - comparatively meagre. There was, of course, no need for original prose, in the modern sense of the word, until our own day. The old tales, told and retold by the firesides generation after generation provided all that was needed, and new anecdotes and tales were still being composed, although not committed to paper. If a man from the Isles went on a trip to Glasgow or to the Cattle Tryst at Falkirk, his journey there and back supplied him with enough material for discourse at ceilidhs for years to come, while sailors from the seven seas and soldiers from the foreign wars had their tales to tell. It was only when the old oral tradition began to weaken that the composing of new Gaelic prose on paper began to be taken up. It may be said to have begun with the Gaelic periodicals edited by Norman Macleod, and was greatly encouraged by these and the many other periodicals that have existed since. The Gaelic prose-writers of modern times form a formidable list from Norman Macleod onwards, and include such names as Donald Mackenzie, John Mackenzie, Henry Whyte, John Macfadyen, John MacCormick, Donald Mackinnon, Donald Lamont, Hector Macdougall, John MacRury, and John N. Macleod - not to mention living writers.

In the new prose the short story and the dialogue were at first the literary forms chiefly used. The longer original story or the novel was later in making its appearance. In fact, there are only three full-length original Gaelic novels, "An t-Ogha Mor" ("The Big Grandson") by Angus Robertson (1913), "Dhù Aluinn" by John MacCormick (1912), and "Cailin Sziathanach" ("A Sky Maiden") by James Macleod (1923).

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While there are a number of printed volumes of the prose-writings of individual authors and collections of prose, such as W.J. Watson's "Ros Gaidhlig" (Gaelic Prose) and, more recently, "Cricchan Ura" (a selection of articles from the Gaelic quarterly, "Gairm"), and "Am Peachd Gaidhealach" (published by An Comunn Gaidhealach), much of the original prose of modern Gaelic is scattered over magazines and newspapers, and not easily available.

#### POETRY

The late Dr Donal Lamont once wrote that "The bards are the supermen of this world. Compared with them, the soldier and the historian and the grammarian are only hewers of wood and drawers of water. Poetry is food for the mind as well as music for the ear." In the English speaking world poetry-making is the preserve of a few; among the Celts still it is an interest of the many.

Gaelic poetry and folk-song provide a rich heritage, falling into two main divisions, which we may roughly differentiate as the "professional" and the "amateur" or "popular."

The old classic poetry of many centuries down to the 17th century was the work of professional poets, a tradition going back into pre-Christian days to the schools of the druids. The monastic schools made their contribution and the Latin hymns left their mark on Celtic poetry. The professional bards were held in high esteem and were well rewarded. They were usually attached to noble families. They were men of substance, as well as men of learning, versed in lore and tradition, history and genealogy, and they also underwent a long and arduous training in language, phonetics, and metrics. In course of time very elaborate techniques were developed, and some three hundred metres were in use. Each verse of a poem was elaborated, polished, and embellished, like a page from the Book of Kells.

This professional poetry was addressed to an aristocratic audience - the aristocracy of birth and learning. You had to be learned in order to understand and appreciate the compositions of the professional bards. Their main task was to promote patriotism and clan morale and stimulate pride of race and family. Many of their compo-

sitions are eulogies and panegyrics, and many are laments for great men and the lauding of heroic deeds.

With the collapse of the Lordship of the Isles, the decline of the great ruling families, and the coming of new ways (in the period from the 15th to the 17th centuries), the old professional bardic caste lost favour and influence. Many samples of their work survive, but they require scholarly annotation to be appreciated by the average modern reader.

With the decline of the classic poetry, however, a poetry of the people rose to prominence, reaching its Golden Age in the latter half of the 18th century. In simpler but yet stately language, usually with a variety of strophic metres, the popular poetry arose from the midst of the people and was addressed to them. Alexander Macdonald and Duncan MacIntyre, William Ross and John MacCodrum, and Dugald Buchanan stand out. But these were but the mountain-peaks rising above numerous foot-hills of poetry, lesser bards of whom there were a great many, among all classes of the community, learned and unlearned, and in every district of the Highlands and Islands.

Almost every township even today has its bard, his fame perhaps only local, but his work nevertheless appreciated. Today, in Gaelic Scotland, the bards would seem, as in former ages, to be the most active and prolific of all. Year by year the National Mod sees the crowning of still another new Bard, and almost every year, despite the disincentives to publication which I shall mention later, a slim volume of Gaelic verse issues from the press. It would be invidious to try to select the "best" bard. In the orchestra of nature on an early summer morning each singing bird makes its own distinctive contribution, and so it is in the literary orchestra of the bards.

Much of our modern Gaelic poetry is conventional and derivative, however good of its kind some of it may be. The Gaels may have been radical in politics, but they are generally very conservative in everything else. One key to the understanding of Highland history may be found in the fact that Highlanders, having once adopted an idea or an institution or a custom, insist on holding

on to it - over-stubbornly, as their critics might say - long after the rest of the country has passed on to something new. Ways of life and time-honoured customs have survived longer in the Highlands and Islands than elsewhere, not merely or only because of isolation, but because the Highland people preferred it so.

This conservatism shows itself in the literature of the Gael. The old bardic poetry, using the same elaborate techniques, the same range of ideas, the same apparatus of vocabulary and phrase, continued to be produced for centuries with little change. When, with the collapse of the old political and social system, the poetry of the people came to the surface and concerned itself with new themes and new verse-patterns, it also, in its turn, became a well-established tradition which has persisted right up to our own day. Thus it is that by far the larger part of Gaelic poetry is derivative and imitative. Even the great bards took no pains to hide the fact that they borrowed verse-forms, ideas, images, and topics from others before them. The lesser bards, whose name is "Leigion", have been content to follow in the foot-steps of their masters in the art and to echo their masters' voices. Now and again, however, a new and significant voice is heard. If, to some ears, familiar with the ideas and cadences of the past, these new voices seem strange and strident, nevertheless they should be recognised for what they are - the unmistakable proof that Scottish Gaelic culture is not living on its past but has a creative potential today.

Those for whom certain types of modern poetry (whether in English or Gaelic or any language) are unintelligible, and, when intelligible, distasteful, need to be reminded of the words of Sir Maurice Bowra, Professor of Poetry at Oxford: "The poets' doom, he says, is that they must always create something new" and "poetry renews itself by changing its habits", breaking away from old conventions, inventing new ways of using words. "The history of poetry", he writes, "is a series of violent changes in which old standards are continually abandoned for new standards, which in their turn become old, and so the process goes on. Whenever a change comes, it alarms and horrifies the older generation, which has already formed

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its tastes and shrinks from any call to adjust them to new aims."

The pioneers of the new "break-through" in Gaelic poetry are, first, Sorley Maclean, whose volume, "Dain do Eimhir" appeared almost twenty years ago, in 1943. He has been followed by George Campbell Hay, whose three published volumes of poetry are: "Fuaran Sleibh" (1947), "Wind on Loch Fyne" (1948), and "O Na Ceithir Airdean" (1952). In 1951 appeared Derick Thomson's volume, "An Dealbh Briste", and two years ago Iain Smith's volume "Binn is Aran" (twenty poems and nine short stories). These four, who do not form a school and who differ in many ways from each other, represent the new Gaelic poetry, but this note of "newness" can also be found in other, less well-known poets of our time. Of all of them, in varying degree, it can be said, as Iain Smith has said of Sorley Maclean: "While assimilating a tradition, he invigorates it with fresh themes and fresh forms."

But the more conventional kind of Gaelic poetry also continues to be composed. In the last twenty years we have had volumes by Angus Robertson, Neil Ross, Neil Maclean, Christina Macleod, Calum Iain Macleod, and James Thomson, to mention only a few, while in 1953 Lachlan Mackinnon edited a volume of twenty-three of the compositions which won the Bardic Crown at the National Mod. From the small island of Bernera Harris, in the Hebrides, has come written the last few years three volumes of recent Gaelic verse by bards resident on the island, "Griasaiche Bhearnaraidh" (the poems of Allan Macleod), "Orain Chalum" (The poems of Malcolm MacAskill), and "An Ribheid Chiuil" (the poems of Iain Archie MacAskill).

Bernera also has had, and still has, a number of hymn-writers, and so have many other districts of Gaelic Scotland today.

Enough has been said to show that the Gaelic Muse is not yet dead, although too often, we must confess, the work she inspires may be of a trivial and ephemeral kind. In face of the depressing Census figures, which indicate how rapidly Scottish Gaelic is ceasing to be the spoken tongue of the people, it must not be forgotten that many people still compose poems and songs, still

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tell and write tales and plays, in the ancient tongue. Any language in which poets and seers still find a fit and apt embodiment for their thinking and feeling must still have some vigour in it.

The fact remains, however, that poets and storytellers need an audience and authors write with the hope that what they write will be read. I now turn to deal with the opportunities there are - or the lack of opportunity - for the publication of Gaelic prose and verse at the present time.

As already noted, despite the continuing decline in the number of Gaelic-speakers in Scotland, and despite the disincentives to publication which I shall mention, Gaelic literary activity still continues, and the body of Gaelic literature, oral, manuscript, and printed, is continually being added to.

From the author's point of view the two main features in the present situation are, firstly, a discouraging one, that the number of Gaelic-speakers is now reduced to under 77,000; and, secondly, an encouraging one, that a far higher proportion of the Gaelic community are now able to read and write Gaelic than has been the case for almost a century. This is due to the various steps taken, even if tardily, to provide for the teaching of Gaelic in schools, both primary and secondary, and in colleges and universities, as well as in adult education classes, while a considerable number of non-Gaels, young and old, apply themselves to the learning of the language.

It may be said quite categorically and without fear of contradiction that, whatever may be the case in Wales as regards Welsh or in Ireland as regards Irish, no one makes or can make a living by writing in Scottish Gaelic. A Gaelic author almost invariably has to pay for the production of his book (unless it is sponsored by one of the few bodies publishing Gaelic books). If he happens to be lucky enough to find a publisher to carry the cost of production - which is very unlikely - he need expect no royalties. In the production of a Gaelic book, while the printer, publisher, paper-maker, binder, and book-seller and all others concerned receive some remuneration, the person who writes it gets nothing at all. Payment for contributions published in newspapers and magazines is seldom made, and,

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if made, is meagre. The Gaelic Department of the British Broadcasting Corporation, however, pays generously for the material it uses.

What then, if any, are the ways in which a Gaelic writer may have his work published?

(1) There is the Gaelic Department of the B.B.C., which, since 1935, has done much to provide a public for Gaelic writers and which, as already stated, pays substantial fees for all material used. Stories (long and short), topical talks, plays, as well as songs and poems, are all grist to the broadcasting mill, but, since the time allotted to Gaelic broadcasting each week is comparatively brief, an average of little more than an hour or an hour and a half per week, the cope offered is limited.

(2) There are the literary competitions in connection with the annual National Mod of An Comunn Gaidhealach, as well as the literary competitions at the various provincial mods held each year. Prizes are offered at the National Mod for original poems, long and short stories, essays, and plays, with the Bardic Crown and Scroll for the best poem of the year. The winning entries are usually published in "An Gaidheal", and some are also broadcast on the radio.

(3) There are a few periodicals publishing Gaelic material. These are at present:

(a) "An Gaidheal" ("The Gael"), the official monthly Gaelic and English magazine of An Comunn Gaidhealach, which has been appearing regularly since its inception in 1905. It is heavily subsidised, as it has always been, by An Comunn.

(b) "Gairm", an all-Gaelic quarterly journal begun in 1952 with the aid of a £1,000 guarantee fund subscribed by the public, but run as a private venture by the founders and editors and largely dependent on the support of advertisers.

(c) "Scottish Gaelic Studies", published by the Celtic Department of Aberdeen University, since 1926, but appearing only intermittently and now only at its ninth volume. It is restricted to contributions in the field of Gaelic scholarship and has little appeal for the

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ordinary reader.

(d) The Gaelic Supplement of "Life and Work" (the monthly magazine of the Church of Scotland). This began in 1879, and in 1930 was amalgamated with the corresponding organ of the Free Church and United Free Church (which began in 1843). It runs to eight pages monthly and publishes religious material mostly, with an occasional contribution of more general interest. The monthly magazines of the Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Churches devote two to four pages of each issue to Gaelic material of a religious kind.

(e) "The Stornoway Gazette", a monthly newspaper, has a regular Gaelic Causerie, with other Gaelic items, in prose and verse, from time to time.

Brief Gaelic contributions occasionally appear in other newspapers and journals. The Gaelic Society of Inverness, founded in 1871, has published 39 volumes of its Transactions, adding a new volume every few years. These contain Gaelic contributions. The Gaelic Society of Glasgow has published five volumes of its Transactions, which also include Gaelic contributions. The Home Board of the Church of Scotland issues an average of four new Gaelic leaflets each year, for wide distribution. The Gaelic League of Scotland has published several items.

An interesting and encouraging feature is that quite a number of school magazines include Gaelic contributions by the pupils; as, for example, the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, and Lionel School in Lewis; Tarbert School, Harris; Dingwall Academy; Oban High School; Inverness Royal Academy; and Bellahouston Academy, Glasgow, while from Portree High School have come several numbers of an all-Gaelic school magazine, "An Cabairneach". The Glasgow University Ossianic Society (the Highland students' society) has published at irregular intervals several numbers of a Gaelic and English magazine, "Ossian".

When one comes to book-publication, the only two bodies regularly publishing Gaelic books are An Comunn Gaidhealach, which concerns itself mainly with educational books, and the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, which devotes itself to the scholarly editing and publication of Gaelic "classics" in prose and verse. An Comunn's most recent pu-

blications include the third revised edition of W.J. Watson's anthology of Gaelic poetry, "Bardachd Ghàidhlig" and a series of Gaelic reading-books adapted from an Irish series by Mr Donald Grant. The Gaelic Text Society's most recent volumes have been Angus Macleod's edition of Duncan Ban MacIntyre's Poems (1952), Lachlan Mackinnon's edition of Donald Mackinnon's Gaelic prose (1956), T.M. Murchison's edition of Donald Lamont's Gaelic Prose (1960), and R.L. Thomson's edition of the Gaelic version of Calvin's Catechism (1962).

Apart from these bodies, an author wishing to publish a book must make his own arrangements with the printer, pay the cost of production, arrange for the advertising and selling of his book, and lie out of his money for years until the edition is disposed of, which may not happen in his life-time. In these circumstances the surprising thing is not that so few Gaelic books issue from the press, but that any at all are published.

At rare intervals a society may decide to sponsor the publication of a book in which they have a special interest. Thus, for example, the Lewis and Harris Association has published John N. Macleod's collection of Lewis poetry ("Bardachd Leodhais"), the Tiree Association has published "Na Bàird Thiristeach" (Tiree Bards), edited by Hector Cameron, the Govan Branch of An Comunn Gaidhealach published Neil Maclean's "Orain agus Dàn", the Uist and Barra Association published Roderick MacKay's "Qiteagan a Tir nan O.", and the Islay Association published "Bàird Chille-Chomain".

Perhaps the greatest sponsor of Gaelic publications in the past quarter-century has been the Catherine McCaig Trust, which gives grants in aid of the publication of Gaelic books and which has thus encouraged the publication of most of the Gaelic books which have appeared in the past twenty-five years. It has also given grants to An Comunn Gaidhealach and the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society for several of their publications. The Carnegie Trust and the Royal Celtic Society have also on occasion given some help towards publishing Gaelic books.

However, once an author has managed to get his book printed and bound, and has paid for the production, his

difficulties are by no means over. If he sends out copies for review, he may wait months in vain for a review to appear, or even a mention of his book. The Gaelic Department of the B.B.C. and the Gaelic periodicals above-mentioned almost invariably notice all new Gaelic books published, but leading Scottish newspapers to which review copies are sent have on occasion taken the line that out of the scores of thousands of books appearing annually they can select only a few for review, and why select a Gaelic book which is of comparatively limited interest? It has been found easier to get an extended review of a Gaelic book in the Times Literary Supplement than in one of our leading Scottish dailies.

Apart from two or three booksellers, with a special interest in Gaelic publications, it is very difficult to get general booksellers to stock and display Gaelic books. The excuse is as before. With such vast numbers of new books pouring from the press continually, why sacrifice shelf-room and display-room for a Gaelic book, of limited appeal, which may lie on their hands for months and so become soiled and unsaleable.

It seems to me that, if Gaelic writing in prose and verse is to be encouraged to continue, then more energetic steps than hitherto must be taken to organise the whole matter of publishing and selling Gaelic books. Some nine years ago an attempt was made to bring together people and societies interested in this matter to formulate some practical scheme, but nothing came of it. This attempt was inspired by the reading of the Report of the Committee on Welsh Language Publishing issued in 1952. Whatever may have followed in Wales, it has not so far been found possible to devise any effective scheme in Scotland. And yet, in theory, the matter is simple enough. Granted that there are only 76,000 Gaelic-speakers in Scotland today, we may assume there are at least another 24,000 scattered through the rest of the world, including a considerable number in Nova Scotia. Is it not possible to devise some scheme whereby at least 3,000 persons, out of these 100,000 Gaelic speakers, could be induced to pledge themselves to pay threepence per day towards Gaelic publications? Threepence a day from 3,000 persons

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would amount to almost £14,000 a year. For this sum each person paying his threepence a day could be provided with one new volume from each of the three societies - the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, the Gaelic Society of Inverness, and the Gaelic Society of Glasgow - as well as a copy of "An Gaidheal" monthly and of "Gairm" quarterly, and, in addition, four new Gaelic "paper-backs" a year.

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## AL LENNEGEZH VREZHONEK A-VREMAH

gant MAODEZ GLANNDOUR

Krediñ a raen anavezout al Lennegezh vrezhonek a-vremañ : nemet pa'm eus kemeret va skriverezh evit duañ paper awalc'h evit un hanter-sur prezogenn, em eus santet nec'hamant hag un tamm mezevell. Neuze, petra ho pije graet nemet mont evel don d'am levracueg, da sachañ er-maez pikol studiadenñ Abeozen, Istor lennegezh an amzer-vremañ, ha lenn gant evezh ar pennadoù-se o tont ingal ha plaen da varn darvoudoù, tud hag oberoù. Ha me o soñjal : war-lerc'h Abeozen, petra c'hoazh lavarout a vije a-bouez, ha tu ebet d'ober un diverrañ, rak ne vije ken nemet ur roll sec'h-korn, ken digig ha relegoù an Ankoù.

Evelato e rankan komz deoc'h diwar-benn al Lennegezh vrezhonek a-vremañ, ha neuze pa n'hellan ket displegañ awalc'h petra eo, e klaskin lavarout da vihanañ penaos e welan anezhi ? N'on ket un istorour : plijout a rafe din hepken ho lakaat da santout petra hon eus kredet ober ha petra a fell dimp c'hoazh bevañ.

Al Lennegezh vodern e Breizh he deus bremañ hanter-vloaz, muioc'h pe nebeutoc'h. Kregiñ a ra gant daou dra o c'hoarvezout a-gevret er bloavezhioù etre penn kentañ ar c'hantved hag ar brezel 14, daou dra a seblant din bezañ kenstag : da gentañ ar yezh o n'em stummañ da vezañ ur benveg a zoare; d'an eil, ur spered nevez, digor war ar bed a-bezh ha war emdro al lennegezh er broioù estren.

Menegomp un nebeut darvoudoù evit resisaat an eil degouezh hag egile. War dachenn ar yezh evel benveg eo Vallée a gemero al labour-war e gont; ha tri reizhañ a zo d'ober : reizhañ ar reizhskrivadur, reizhañ ar yezhadur, reizhañ ar geriadur, a-benn krouiñ ur yezh unvan, barrek da zisplegañ n'eus forzh peseurt menoz; zoken ar re uhelañ.

maodez glannadour

El labour-se, goude ar brezel 14, e teuo ivez Meven Mor-diern, stag dija ouzh Vallée gant mignoniezh hag azaouez vrasañ; eñ a harpo, a vounto anezhañ war hent an dic'hallag, ha zoken an dilatin taerañ.

Ma c'hoarvez ur seurt kemm e buhez ar brezhoneg eo dre ma oa tarzhet war un dro ur spered nevez er vro. Betek-hen e rene ar rannvroelerezh, a oa moarvat karantez evit ar vro, met maoc'h c'hoazh karantez evit ar c'hornad-mañ kornad, an istim evit ar brezhoneg du-mañ, an hini anavezet nemetañ, hag an dispriz evit ar brezhoneg du-hont, dianav, hag a-wechoù digomprenus; ne veze klasket nemet mirout, skrivañ evit ar bobl, evit tud ar maeziou, peogwir eo int a rae c'hoazh gant ar brezhoneg. Ha setu ma strake ar rannvroelerezh gant nerzh menoziou nevez o sevel. Malmanch en devoa klasket adal 1905 skignañ anezho gant e gelaouenn Spered ar Vro; tra dibad e oa bet, met tamm ha tamm e oa bet gonezet ar re yaouank hag e 1911 en em stumme war dachenn ar politikerezh ar c'hentañ strollad emrener. Ur spered krouiñ a oa o vezañ ganet, unan a c'houlenne evit Breizh he flas e pep keñver e-touez broioù ar bed.

Adalek ar penn kentañ en em ziskouez eta hol lennegezh a-vremañ evel engouestlet. Gwir eo, en un doare bennek, e vez engouestlet ul lennegezh, zoken pa ne seblant ket bezañ. N'eo ket da lavarout koulskoude e rankfe bepred an dra-se bezañ anat-kaer e vefe ret d'un oberenn komz a dreuz hag a hed eus emrenezh, diouzh doare ar "Varzhed vrudet" a save barzhonegoù pe pezhioù-c'hoari evit randoniñ: Chomit er gêr, mirit ho koefoù ! Nann, al lennegezh ar muiañ engouestlet eo an hini na seblant ket bezañ. Malmanch a zo ur broadelour donoc'h ha taeroc'h eget Kalloc'h daoust d'an diavaezioù.

Met deut eo ar brezel 14. Maro eo Kalloc'h. Aet eo Malmanch da vevañ en e soñjoù, eñ ar Gurvan digomprenet gant Aziliz, hanter antreet dija en beurbadelezh.

Echu ar brezel, petra chom ? Emañ an tan o vont da luda. Ha setu ar burzhud o c'hoarvezout evit ar wech kentiwanañ a ra Gwalarn eus Breiz Atao. Lennegezh engouestlet: dilezel Kroaz ar Vretoned, a anavezo e Roparz Hemon, gant an taol sell kentañ, an den barrek da grouiñ hol lennegezh vrezhonek a-vremañ.

Nebeut a skrivagnerien endro dezhañ : Drezen, Abeozen, Kerrien, Riou, Yann-Bozen Jarl, ha tamm-ha-tamm reoù all o tont... Nebeut a lennerion : rankout a ran, a skrivo R. Hemon, gortoz ma paeo ar goumananterion o skodenn evit prenañ ur vantell c'hoañv.

Diaes eo lavarout penaos spered Gwalarn a zo bet evidomp ur gwir dieubidigezh : mont ermaez eus kement a oa bet desket dimp gant skol ar galleg, hag a oa evidomp un toull-bac'h, pe kambr an aezenn-vougañ, evit alanan aer fresk ar bed. Digeriñ ar prenestroù, gaoliata dreist an harzoù, bezañ dizoloerion, kavadeniñ an traoù tostañ hag an traoù pellañ, ar bed ha Breizh en ur mont-dont eus an eil d'egile. Bemañ dirak kizidigezh ar japanadez Sei Shonagon evit tañva gwelloc'h krenn-lavarioù ha divunadelloù hor bro. Anavezout erfin piv e oamp, diwar komz gant ar re all, diwar lenn mojennoù Iwerzhon ha Kembre. Evel-se levr R. Hemon, Ur breizhad oc'h adkavout Breizh a oa evidomp ur pare, ur feunteun a yaouankiz, kenkoulz ha troidigezhioù Abeozen eus danevelloù ar Mabinogion.

Komprenit mat petra a fell din lavarout : evit lenne-erion diaketus, e c'hellfe levr R. Hemon, Ur Breizhad oc'h adkavout Breizh, bezañ evel un distro d'ar vro goude bezañ ergerzhet dre ar bed. N'eo ket se. An emziviz etre Breizh hag ar bed eo an hini a oa.

Adlennit eil pennad al levr, Breizh hag ar bed : "Evit traoù ar spered, eme R. Hemon hon eus ezhomm eus ar Bed holl. Ul lezenn a gener hag a ro a stag kenetrezo holl bobloù ar Bed. Hag o teurel ur sell ouzh an istor e welomp n'en deus biskoazh sevenadur ebet kresket hep skor ar sevenadurioù all... Deomp d'ober un enklask dre ar Bed. Bez' hon eus en tu hont da harzoù Bro-C'hall, broioù ken kaer hag hi, pobloù skiantek hag oberiant, a zo o yezhoù ken pinvidik, o lennegezhioù hag o ijinoù kaer ken brav ha re Vro-C'hall, pobloù ken ampart hag ar C'hallaoued war bep seurt micher. Bez' ez eus pobloù furoc'h, desketoc'h, sevenaetoc'h eget ar C'hallaoued. Ha diwar an pobloù-se eo e tleomp kemer skouer... N'eus ket ul lec'h war an douar n'en deus ket ur gentel evidomp..."

Ha pep niverenn eus Gwalarn o tont betek ennomp a lakae da dremen war hon dremm ur bouilhad nevez eus avel ar frankiz.

Ha dont a ra an eil brezel-bed. Goude labour taer an bloavezhioù 40-44, setu diskaret ar Strollad Broadel; an emrenerion pe lazhet pe toullbac'het. Breizh dispennet, drailhaet. Ur bern tud o rankout mont d'ar broioù estren, o mouezh mouget, Gwalarn taget.

Ha setu an eil burzhud. Reoù yaouank o sevel endro, o krouiñ a bep tu kelc'hgelaouennoù nevez, roneoskrivet, pe moulet wellwazh, reoù yaouank a fell dezho stourm adarre daoust da bep tra. Hag ar strivadennoù o'n em unaniñ. Arzel Even, Per Denez, Ronan Huon, Youenn Olier, Kened, Tir-Na-Nog, Al Liamm.

Ur wech c'hoazh, lennegezh engouestlet ha diwar spered broadel. Ur wech c'hoazh ivez en em stollo ar skrivagnerion endro d'ur gelc'hgelaouenn. Ne c'hoarvez ket e Breizh pezh a zegouezh peurliesañ er broioù all : n'eo ket hol lennegezh tra embannerion pe vulerion o klask gonit arc'hant gant soñjoù pe kaozioù ar re all. Hol lennegezh a zo un dra a youl, un abostelerezh, ha ne vev nemet diwar donezonoù.

Ar gelaouenn nevez, Al Liamm, n'he devoa ken da grouiñ nag ur yezh lennegel, na zoken ur spered. Ar pezh o devoa ar re yaouank d'ober a oa derc'hel gant an hent.

Pa daolan ur sell ouzh labour Al Liamm e welan n'eus ket bet diroudennet diwar al luskad kentañ. Kendalc'het hon eus an emziviz etre Breizh hag ar bed, prederiet hon eus war skouer ar broioù bihan evel Israhel; hag ar paotr muzik en deus kendalc'het da veajiñ dre seizh mor ar bed, evit goude-se distreiñ d'ar gêr d'en em soñjal.

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Hiniennoù moarvat a lavar dezho o-unan emañ o ske-madakaat betek re, e tlefen komz eus kelaouennoù all evel Sav, e-pad ar brezel 40-44, evel Galv, evel War-du ar Pal, evel Brud bremañ. Hen gouzout a ran. Met derc'hel a ran d'ar pep pennañ. Ha taolit pled penaos e chom gwir ivez evit ar re-mañ ar pezh a lavaren diouzhtu : al lennegezh vrezhonek a-vremañ a zo tra ar c'helc'h-kelaouennoù; hon lennegezh a zifenn bepred menoz pe venoz; ha muioc'h a bolitikerezh a zo en disterañ niverenn eus Bleun-Brug eget e levrennoù tev Al Liamm.

N'hellan ket amañ, pa ne fell ket dimp re gargañ hon devezhioù-studi, mont war ar mumudoh, na sevel ur roll loreidi gant anvioù hor skrivagnerion. Aner e vefe. Rak pep unan ac'hanomp, hervez doug e spered hag e galon, a sav evitañ e-unan ur seurt renkadur, hag arabat kemer ar gontell dre al laonenn.

Talvoudusoc'h eo, a gav din, teurel ur sell war ar fûrmioù o deus kemeret oberoù hon lennegezh a-vremañ. Da skouer, peseurt lec'h a zo gant ar varzhoniezh, pe ar romantoù, pe ar studiadennoù hag all..

Lavaret ez eus bet meur a wech n'hon eus ket kalz a romantoù. Gwir eo. Ha dreist-holl n'hon eus ket romantoù o taolennañ reuzioù-ene evel ar romantoù gall. Nebeut a romantoù a garantez : lakaomp Hervelina Geraouell gant Abeozen. Zoken Itron Varia Garmez gant Drezen, daoust d'an istor a garantez a zo e-barzh, a zo kentoc'h ur romant darvoudoù. Hevelep tra evit levr Abherri : Evit ket ha netra. Darvoudoù a-wechoù skrijus, ha muioc'h c'hoazh spouronus, evel en Teir gwern Pembroke, pe er c'hontrol fentus : An ti satanazet.

Gant romant Priel e troomp dija war-du ur stum a blij dimp muioc'h : ar romant a faltazi, ha n'eo ket koulskoude faltazi, penn da benn, ar romant a rafen anezhañ aes awalc'h ar romant dreistgwirvoudel, mar n'eo ket re bonner ar ger evit un dra ken dilu : mont en tu-hont d'ar gorre evit tizhout ar gwirvoud don. E-touez ar seurt romantoù e tleomp renkañ Enez ar Rod gant Langleiz, met kenkoulz all ar re wellañ eus romantoù R. Hemon, adalek An Aotrou Bimbochet e Breizh betek Alanig an tri Roue, hag An tri Boulomig kalon aour. Ar pezh a zo souezhus eo e sellomp diouzhtu ouzh ar romantoù-se evel ouzh pennoberennoù. Hep mar ebet ez eus aze un dra bennak a ya gant hon temz-spered.

Perak n'hon eus ket muioc'h a romantoù hir ? Priz ar moulañ ? Marteze, met tu a vefe da liesskrivañ. An amzer ret evit sevel ur seurt oberenn ? Kenkou'z all. Met dreist-holl, a gav din, hon doug da lavarout berr ha berr ar pezh hon eus da lavarout. N'eo ket e vefe an doug-se un dra kozh en hol lennegezh; kentoc'h, an oterennoù a wechall a oa hir-spontus, gant klakennerezh ididemen...

Met levezonet omp bet holl gant skrivagnerion gentañ Gwalarn, gant Roparz Hemon e-unan, a blije dezhañ krennañ, displegañ berr. Perak implijout 300 pajenn evit lavarout ar pezh a c'hell bezañ danevellet gwelloc'h gant 30, ha zoken 10 pajenn hepken ? En aheg da se, hol lennegezh a-vremañ a zo tachenn dreist-par an Danevell, ur munud bennak o tont da vezañ sebezus, pe o tigeriñ dimp bedoù dianav, pe muioc'h c'hoazh o lakaat da sevel kudennoù betek ar re donañ, betek ar ster da reiñ d'ar vuhez, d'ar bed... Soñj am eus bezañ bet ken fromet a-wechoù o lenn danevelloù berr gant Roparz Hemon pe gant Abeozen, ma n'em eus c'hoant ebet ken da lenn romantoù hir, hag evit gwir, ne vraslennan ket bep bloaz unan anezho. Hag-eñ ne vefemp ket Japaniz Europa ? N'ouzon ket.

Un evezhiadenn all. Al lec'h a bouez kemeret en hol lennegezh gant ar c'hoariva. N'eo ket e vefe chomet kalz e Breizh en amzer vremañ. Rankout a ran lavarout zoken ne vez ken c'hoariet tamm ebet, n'eus ken a strolladoù c'hoari. Met c'hoariet ez eus bet gwechall. Hag un doug ez eo; un doara da zisplegañ hor menozioù. Pe e vo c'hoariet pe ne vo ket, n'eus forzh. Pe e c'hellfe bezañ laket war ul leuren, pe ne c'hellfe ket; n'eus forzh. Ne welan ket mat penaos e c'hellfe bezañ c'hoariet Nomenoe-oe, displeget gant ar Radio. Ha koulskoude ne welan ket penaos e c'hellfe J. Riou bezañ displeget ken bev ha ken brav e soñjoù a-hend-all. Nomenoe-oe ? Marteze, diwar-benn hor c'hoariva e tleomp ivez komz eus pezhioù dreistgwirvoudel a oa dija Gurvan gant Malmanch an hini kentañ anezho.

Muioc'h c'hoazh eget romantoù eo ur pezh c'hoari un dra bev evidomp. Lenn a ran bepred gant plijadur oberennoù Jarl Priel, ha fromañ a ran ganto; lenn a ran zoken gant dedenn pezhioù c'hoari Per Helias, e keit n'hellan ket gouzañv div bajenn eus komz-plaen e gontadennoù.

War dachenn ar c'hoariva, kalz a bezhioù berr ivez. Hor bro a zo hini ar chapelioù, ar manerioù bihan o vevañ enno tud gwirion. N'hon eus ket en hol lennegezh kalz a ilizoù-meur; moarvat n'eo ket ret.

Gortoz a rit e komzfen deoc'h eus ar varzhoniezh. Ar gudenn a oa dreist-holl krouiñ gwir varzhoniezh. Petra hon eus graet ? Studiet hag adstudiet hon eus holl, pennadoù R. Hemon evel Barzhoniezh, Stumm ar Varzhoniezh, en

e levr : Ur Breizhad oc'h adkavout Breizh. Ha penaos skrivañ, penaos gwerzaouiñ ? Aet eo pep unan hervez e galon, ha Kerverzhioù en deus kizellet ha rimiet e vein prizius, e keit ma save Langleiz gwerzennoù diub diouzh skouer Kalloc'h, e keit ma plije da R. Hemon implijout menterezh ar saozneg. Kement-se, evit gwir a zo nebeut a dra. Gwiskamant hepken. Ar pezh a zo talvoudusoc'h hag a vo da studiañ deiz pe zeiz en hol lennegezh, eo frammadur diabarzh hor gwellañ barzhonegoù. Merzet e vo neuze penaos hon eus krouet war an dachenn-se stummoù nevez, stummoù a zo marteze dimp-ni hon-unan, marteze heñvel ouzh reoù all, frammadurioù speredel a zo kalz skeudennusoc'h ha talvoudusoc'h eget klotennoù pe diabarzh pe diavaez, pe klotenn ebet. Kemerit da skouer ar Bedennerezh gant R. Hemon, pe An eur iskis gant M. Glanndour e niverennoù diwezhañ "Al Liamm".

Daou-ugent vloaz<sup>28</sup> c'helle Neven Mordiern skrivañ da Vallée : "Ar Vretoned a zo tud didalvez, n'o deus graet netra; n'eus en o yezh netra a bouez da lenn, hag evit ar skiantoù eo evel pa ne vije ket anezho."

Abaoe an amzer-se, Vallée ha Mordiern o-unan o deus labourer da sevel geriadur skiantel ar brezhoneg : tamma-ha-tamm eo deut ar yezh d'en em stummañ. Hiziv e savomp studiadennoù a bep seurt hep re a ziaesamant. Kelaouennoù nevez hon eus : Hor Yezh, Predet, Gwerin, Barr-Heol, ar Bed Keltiek, pep unan gant he stumm. Hag en em ziskouez a ra ar brezhoneg barrek da vont ingal gant endroerezh ar bed a-vremañ. Tud al lennegezh vodern e brezhoneg a zo bet war un dro tud a labour resis ha skiantel.

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Ha koulskoude e talc'h ar brezhoneg da gilañ, hag e chom hor yezh en arvar marvel. Nerzhioù ar stad gall a zalc'h da labourat a-enep dimp, ingal. Ar skolioù a bep liy a welc'h, a lisiv ar speredoù diouzh kement a zo brezhonek ha breizhat. An nerzhioù ekonomikel a venn stourm a-enep dimp. Hag evelato e talc'homp; hag hol lennegezh a-vremañ a zo ur burzhud. Ur burzhud a youl : kredet em eus a viskoazh e oa a-benn ar fin youl an dud a drec'he war pep tra. Gwalarn a zo aet war-raok gant youl Roparz Hemon. Ha trec'het en deus. Al Liamm a zo aet war-raok gant youl un nebeut reoù yaouank. Ha trec'het o deus. Perak ne drec'hfemp ket betek trec'hiñ da vat ? Dalc'homp.

## CONTEMPORARY BRETON LITERATURE

by Maodez GLANNDOUR

I used to think that I knew the Breton literature of today. Yet, when I took my typewriter to produce enough written material for a half hour's talk. I felt a certain difficulty and a little bewilderment. Now what would you have done but go as I did to my library to take down Abeozen's weighty study "The History of Contemporary Literature" and read carefully these chapters which flow so evenly and simply in their judgement of events, people and works. And I fell to thinking, after Abeozen, what still remains to be said that would be of importance. There is no possibility of making an abridgement, for it would only be a list as dry as dust and as fleshless as a skeleton.

However, I have to speak to you about contemporary Breton literature, and therefore, if I cannot explain sufficiently what it is, I shall try to say at least how I see it myself. I am not a historian. My sole aim is to convey to you what we believed we were doing and what we want to go on bringing to life.

Modern literature in Breton is now fifty years old more or less. It began with two things which happened together in the years between the beginning of this century and the war of 1914, two things which seem to me to be linked. First of all, the language being formed to be a suitable implement; secondly, a new spirit, opened out towards the whole world and towards literary development in foreign countries.

Let us mention a few facts to clarify both events. In the realm of the language as an instrument it was Vallée who was to take the work on himself, with three tasks of correction before him: he had to correct the spelling, to correct the grammar and to correct the vocabulary in order to create a unified language, capable of expressing any idea whatsoever, even the loftiest. To this task there was to come after the first World War Meven Mordiern, already linked to Vallée through friendship and the greatest veneration. He was to help Vallée and to push him along the way to purifying the language of French, and even of Latin elements in the most thorough-going manner.

If such a change in the life of Breton occurred, it was because suddenly a new spirit had sprung up in the land. Up till this point regionalism

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maodez glannour

had reigned supreme. It was certainly a love of country, but much more a love for this area or that : esteem for the Breton of one area, the only one known to the speaker, and scorn for the Breton of a different area, unknown and sometimes incomprehensible. The only aim was to preserve, to write for the people, that is, for the peasantry, because it was they who still spoke Breton. And then suddenly regionalism was shattered by the force of new ideas that were arising. Malmanch had tried as far back as 1903 to spread them through his periodical "Spered ar Vro". It had not lasted long, but little by little the young people had been won over, and in 1911 the first nationalist party in the political sphere was formed. A creative spirit was being born, a spirit that demanded for Brittany her due place among the nations of the world.

Thus, from the beginning, our contemporary literature shows itself to be committed. In fact, in a certain sense, a literature is generally committed, even when it does not appear to be so. However, that is not to say that this would require to be clearly evident, that it would be necessary for a work to be continually harping on about self-government after the fashion of those poets at the Gorsedd at the beginning of this century, who wrote poetry or plays to drivel on about staying at home and keeping on wearing your coiffe. No, the most committed literature is the one that does not seem to be committed at all. Despite appearances Malmanch is more deeply and more tenaciously nationalist than Kalloc'h.

But then came the First World War. Kalloc'h died. Malmanch went away to live in his memories, a Gurvan misunderstood by Aziliz, already halfway to eternity.

At the end of the war what remained ? The fire was dying down to ashes. But then a miracle happened for the first time, the presage of a second - "Gwalarn". Committed literature : "Gwalarn" sprang from "Breiz Atao". And Vallée, having been compelled to relinquish "Kroaz ar Vretoned", was to recognise in Roparz Hemon at the first glance a man capable of creating our Breton literature of today.

A handful of writers gathered round Hemon : Drezen, Abeozen, Kerrien, Riou, Yann-Eozen Jarl, and gradually others joined them. A handful of readers: "I have to wait for the subscribers to pay their money!" Roparz Hemon was to write, "before I can buy a coat for the winter."

It is difficult to express how the spirit of "Gwalarn" was a true liberation for us, a departure from all that had been taught us by the French schools, which were our prison or our gas-chamber, a breath of the fresh air of the whole world. Windows thrown open, frontiers crossed in giant's strides, the thrill of being discoverers, of exploring things far and near, the world and Brittany engaged in give and take. Wonder at the sensibility of the Japanese Sei Shonagon helped us to appreciate more the proverbs and riddles of

our own country. We learned at last to know who we were through dialogue with the others, through reading the fables of Ireland and Wales. Thus Roparz Hemon's book "A Breton Rediscovered Brittany" was for us a healing, a fountain of youth, just as were Abeozen's translations from the stories of the Mabinogion.

Do please understand exactly what I mean. To inattentive readers Hemon's book might seem to be a return to Brittany after a voyage across the world. It is not so. It is in fact a dialogue between Brittany and the world.

Read again the second chapter of the book "Brittany and the World". "In the things of the spirit", says Roparz Hemon, "we have need of the whole world. A law of give and take links all the peoples of the world together. A glance at history will show us that no civilisation ever grew without the help of other civilisations... Let us go on a search across the world. Beyond the frontiers of France we find countries as beautiful as she, intelligent and industrious peoples with languages as rich, with literatures and arts as splendid as those of France, peoples as expert as the French in every sort of craft. There are peoples more intelligent, more learned, more cultured than the French. And it is from those peoples that we ought to take our example.... There is no place on earth that does not have a lesson for us..."

And each number of "Gwalarn" that reached us blew a fresh gust of the wind of freedom across our brows.

Then came the Second World War. After the hard work of the years 1940-44, the Nationalist Party was cut down; the nationalists either killed or imprisoned. Brittany ravaged and bleeding. Many had to go abroad, their voices muted. "Gwalarn" stifled.

But then came the second miracle. Young people rising up again to create on every side new periodicals, duplicated or printed as occasion offered, young people who wanted to renew the struggle in spite of everything. And their efforts united Arzel Even, Per Denez, Ronan Huon, Youenn Olier, "Kened", "Tir-na-nog", "Al Liamm".

Once gain a literature committed and nationalist in spirit. Once again, too, the writers were to group themselves round a periodical. What generally happens in other countries does not happen in Brittany : our literature is not the property of publishers or printers seeking to make money out of the thoughts or the words of others. Our literature is an affair of the will, an apostolate, which only lives on gifts.

The new periodical "Al Liamm" had to create neither a literary language nor even a spirit. What the young men had to do was to keep on along the road already begun.

When I look at the work of "Al Liamm", I see that it has never

deviated from its first impulse. We have continued the dialogue between Brittany and the world, we have reflected on the example of such small countries as Israel, and the minstrel has carried on his journey across the seven seas, returning home afterwards to meditate.

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Of course, some will be saying to themselves that I am giving too summary a picture, that I ought to speak of other periodicals like "Sav" during the war years 1940-44, like "Galv", like "War-du ar Pal", like "Brud" today. I know this, but I have kept to the most important. And notice that what I was saying a moment ago remains true also for these latter: contemporary Breton literature is a matter of periodicals. Our literature is always defending one idea or another; and there is more politics in the thinnest number of "Blañ-Brug" than in the sturdy volumes of "Al Liamm".

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Here, where we do not want to overload our programme of study. I cannot go into details nor compose a roll of honour of our writers' names. It would be a hard task. For every one of us according to the bent of his spirit and heart composes such a list for himself. In any case, I do not want to set the cat among the pigeons.

It is more useful, I think, to take a look at the forms that our contemporary works of literature have taken. For example, what is the place of poetry, or novels, or non-fiction and so forth.

It has been said many a time that we have few novels. This is true. Especially it has been said that we have no psychological novels depicting the stresses of the soul like French novels. A few novels of love - for example, Abeozen's "Harvelina Geraouell". Even Drezen's "Our Lady of Caxmel", despite the love story in its pages, is more a novel narrating events. The same is true of Abherri's book "For Little or Nothing". At times the happenings described are gruesome, or rather frightening, as in Priel's "The Three-master 'Pembroke'"; at times funny, as in Jakez Riou's "The House Possessed by the Devil".

With Priel's novel we are already turning to a form which pleases us more, the novel of fantasy. Yet fantasy is not the wholly predominant feature of the novel that I would readily enough call surrealist, were that word not too heavy for a thing so delicate and subtle: the passage beyond the surface of things to reach the depths of reality. Among such novels we must place not only Langleiz's "The Isle of the Wheel" but also

the best of Roparz Hemon's novels, from "Mr. Bimbochet in Brittany" to "Alanig of the Three Kings" and "The Three Little Men with Hearts of Gold". What is surprising is that we immediately look on these novels as masterpieces. Undoubtedly there is something in them that suits our temperament.

Why do we not have more long novels? The cost of printing? Possibly; but we could duplicate instead. The time required to produce such a work? Yes, certainly. But especially, I think, it is due to our tendency to say what we have to say in as few words as possible. Not that this tendency could be said to be something of long-standing in our literature; indeed, the works of former times were dreadfully long-winded with interminable chatter. Rather, we have all been influenced by the first writers in "Gwalarn", by Hemon himself, who liked to prune and keep his words to a minimum. Why use three hundred pages to say what can be better said in thirty or even in ten? Because of this, our present-day literature is the realm of the short story, some moment or other bringing a surprise, or opening to us unknown worlds, or still more, posing questions even the most profound, even those concerning the meaning of life, of the universe. I recall having been so moved sometimes reading short stories by Hemon or Abeozen, that I have lost all desire to read long novels, and as a matter of fact I do not even skim through one every year. Could it not be that we are the Japanese of Europe? I wonder.

One other observation. The important place in our literature taken by the play. Not that it could be said to take a big place in Brittany today, I have to admit that no plays at all are produced, there are no theatre companies. But a certain amount of acting was done at one time. And there is still an inclination towards it as one way of expounding our ideas. Either the play will be acted or it will not; it is immaterial. Either it could be produced on the stage or it could not; it does not matter. I do not well see how "Nomenoe-oe" could be produced except on the wireless. Indeed I do not see how Jakez Riou could be produced in any case, so full of life and so beautiful are his thoughts. "Nomenoe-oe"? Perhaps while on the subject of the theatre, we ought to mention the surrealist plays of which Malmench's "Gurvan" was the first.

Even more than novels a play is a living thing for us. I always read with pleasure the works of Jarl Priel, and I am deeply moved by them. I even read with interest Pêr Halias's plays, though I cannot stand even two pages of the prose in which his stories are written.

In the field of the theatre we have also many short plays. Our country is one of chapels and of little manors with honest folk dwelling in them. We have not many cathedrals in our literature; indeed it is not necessary.

You are waiting for me to speak to you about poetry. The real problem was to create genuine poetry. What have we done so far? We have all studied

again and again Roparz Hemon's chapters on "Poetry" and "The Form of Poetry" in this book "A Breton Rediscovered Brittany". But how were we to write, how versify? Each of us has followed his bent; Kerverziou has chiselled and polished his precious jewels, while Langleiz composed free verse after the style of Kalloc'h and Roparz Hemon was satisfied with the metrics of English. This is, of course, of very little importance. A more important matter is more valuable and will have to be studied one day in our literature, is the internal structure of our best poetry. It will then be seen how we have created in this field new forms, forms which are perhaps peculiar to ourselves, perhaps similar to others, mental structures much more productive of imagery and more valuable than internal or external rhymes, or any rhyme at all, for that matter. Take for example "Ar Bed-ennerez" by Roparz Hemon, or "An eur isklis" by Maodez Glanndour in the latest numbers of "Al Liamm".

Forty years ago Mavan Mordiern could write to Vallée: "The Bretons are worthless folk; they have done nothing. In their own language they have nothing of importance to read. As for the sciences, it is as if they simply did not exist." Since that time Vallée and Mordiern themselves have worked to create the scientific vocabulary of Breton; gradually the language has been shaped. Today we write work of every sort without too much difficulty. We have new periodicals - "Hor Yezh", "Preder", "Gwerin", "Barr-Heol", "Ar Bed Keltiek", each with its own particular stamp on it. And the Breton language has shown itself capable of keeping up with the evolution of the modern world. Those who have created modern Breton literature have been people who were capable of producing at one and the same time accurate and scientific work.

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Yet despite this, Breton continues to retreat and our language remains in deadly peril. The forces of the French State continue to work steadily against us. The schools of whatever complexion warp us and brain-wash us of everything that is Breton in language or national feeling. Economic pressures work against us. And yet we go on. And our present-day literature is a miracle, a miracle of will-power. I have always believed that in the end it is the will of men and women that prevails over everything. "Gwalarn" went forward because of Roparz Hemon's will. And it won. "Al Liamm" went forward because of the will of a handful of young men. And they won. What then is to prevent us winning through to the final victory? Let us go boldly forward!

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(Tr. Per Denez)

maodez glanndour

## MODERN LITERATURE IN THE CELTIC LANGUAGES

by Rhiannon DAVIES JONES

Madam Chairman and Friends from the Celtic Countries

I feel greatly honoured to be asked to speak on behalf of Wales in this Congress, on the subject "Modern Literature in the Celtic Languages".

This is my first visit to the Celtic Congress and to Brittany. This visit to Brittany has been a two-fold pleasure. It was the late Mr Ambrose Bebb one time lecturer at Bangor Normal College who first introduced me to this enchanting land of Brittany. There was never a man who loved his country and revered his Celtic background as well as Mr Bebb. Just as J. Gwynn Jones opened wide the doors of Celtic poetry to us, Mr Ambrose Bebb through the medium of his prose added enchantment and colour to these far distant horizons in our civilization. Dreams fade, but not so first impressions. And thus, with "Tir-Na-N'Og" and Avalon Brittany will remain forever a land of eternal bliss.

"Draw dros y don mee bro dixon ned esy bwyn yn ei thir".

In 1949, an eminent Breton poet, then in exile in North Africa, visited North Wales. This was no other than Taldair. He came to tea, a Welsh tea. We conversed in Welsh and discussed the poems of J. Gwynn Jones. He presented us with his own composition of Breton Songs. This I have brought with me, and I consider it to be far superior to any British Passport that could bring me to Brittany.

The subject which I have to discuss covers a vast field and I shall only be able to cast a bird's eye-view as it were over that landscape. In the first place I shall deal with Welsh Newspapers and their influence upon Welsh life. The enemy of Wales is no longer at the door, but in doors. There is a Television set in almost every household. To view

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the Welsh programmes, I am told, you have either to rush over your lunch-hour or keep awake at an unearthly hour when the chimes of Big Ben have lulled Londoners to sleep. Not only can the enemy talk and mimic, but it also creeps warily in the point of our daily papers. Many of us read English daily papers. For my part, I read the Liverpool Daily Post which has at least a column "Wales Day to Day" and an added flavour of local gossip. An occasional advertisement is thrown in with the daily paper in the form of Stork Margarine Coupons and Washing Detergents. There are Football-Coupons to be filled in and we read of atomic stations and frightening reservoirs that export Welsh water to the English industrial towns.

But having pondered a little things cannot be too bad, because on Friday we have the Welsh weekly paper Y Cymro. This paper has the longest circulation in Wales to-day. I would like to pay tribute to the great work that has been done with regard to this weekly newspaper. It is a good-sized issue of about fourteen pages. Its pictorial aspect covers almost every function of importance in Welsh life such as the National Eisteddfod.

The Royal Welsh Show; Rallies, drowning of valleys and chapels and political article by a Member of Parliament, a regular and up-to-date criticism of Welsh books in poetry, prose and periodicals; treaties on religion, farmer's diary, crosswords, etc...

There appears monthly, within this Paper also, a woman's magazine which is highly successful. The success of Y Cymro is due largely to its popular appeal to a wide range of readers. An additional asset is that it has its finger as it were on the pulse of the nation and touches where it throbs the most. Thrice during the past 6 months, Wales has suffered a severe blow in the death of three outstanding characters in the field of scholarship and literature. The first came with the passing of Robert Lloyd known as Llywd o'r Bryn, of the district of Bala in the Merionethshire hills, a man of many parts, a farmer by occupation an able and witty comperer at Eisteddfodau, a story-teller, a radio and television artist, a prose-writer, a critic, a chapel-deacon, in fact an embodiment of everything truly Welsh. On such occasions the Cymro excels and

thus was his passing depicted - Llywd o'r Bryn seated on a trester at harvest-time, and rake-in-hand, a pipe in his mouth. Llywd o'r Bryn in his Sunday-suit, deep in conversation on the National Eisteddfod Field; Llywd o'r Bryn borne along in his coffin in the deep snow to his burial place. That was January. In May, there passed away Robert Owen of Croesor, known to us by the endearing name of Bob Owen - small of stature, dark beady eyes penetrating behind an over-abundance of thick eye-lashes, a maze of facts and ideas, a self-taught historian, a collector of books, a genealogist and the greatest authority ever on the emigration of Welshmen to America. Bob Owen is said to have recorded the name of 40,000 emigrants to America between 1760 and 1860. The thousands of books and periodicals and manuscripts which he has collected will eventually find resting place in the National Library of Wales and presumably at the University College Libraries. He once gave me the interesting task of testing his ability in the "Biography of Eminent Welshmen from earliest times to 1940". It is a volume of over a thousand pages and not once did he fail out.

Once again Y Cymro came to the fore with a unique and rare picture of Bob Owen and Llywd o'r Bryn together with reminiscences of this intensely vivacious personality by his contemporary and colleague Dr Thomas Richards, late librarian of the University College of North Wales, Bangor. Again the death of Dr Thomas Richards before the end of June this year, has bereft Wales of one of her foremost historians and an authority on the Puritan hot. in Wales.

I shall well remember him as a Sunday School teacher over a group of students, a man profound and witty. Again, his long strides through the College Library his gown flowing behind him like eagle's wings, casting a piercing eye over his spectacles and silencing or rather departing a talkative student from the precincts of the Library, with his snappish monosyllabic "Out".

I have quoted at length from the lives of these three men, as I would like to impress upon you that they represented what was the richest and fullest and noblest in our Welsh life. But even with their passing, a certain richness lives on. Someone in his reminiscences, aptly quoted from the lives of Wylan Thomas :

"Though they sink through the sea they shall rise again;  
And death shall have no dominion".

Y Faner as a weekly paper has more of a political bias, it is a more truly literary paper catering as it were for the elite in the literary world. The healthy indication of the lively literary set-up of Y Faner, is the controversial attitude of many of its articles and letters. I would almost venture to say that some of the letters that have appeared in Y Faner of late are a little too extreme and personal! One writer who contributes under the pseudonym of Daniel often finds himself in the lion's den, mainly his own fault. The circulation of Y Faner is as would be expected considerably smaller than that of Y Cymro. In addition, we have a few political papers together with the publication of religious and denominational papers and periodicals. In spite of the lowering of Church membership, these periodicals still maintain a high standard in their literary as well as their religious approach. It is indeed to be marvelled at, that so many periodicals are able to survive in Wales today against terrific odds.

#### What of Literary Criticism in Wales to-day?

To be a writer in a small country such as Wales has both its advantages and disadvantages. Living within the confines of a less populated area, an older writer, with a well-established pen, has a reputation that no law of the Medes and Persians can change. We often fail to differentiate between a critic and a writer, for it does not always follow that a talent hending itself easily to the creative stream, is also capable of sound literary criticism. We have a number of people in Wales to-day who dabble in both. A mere stroke of the pen, by a prejudiced or shall we say, an incompetent critic can mar for life a literary career, I could quote more than one instance where this has happened.

The National Eisteddfod has in this field, offered considerable service to would-be writers. Entering a competition under a pseudonym has a two-fold advantage in that it protects the good name of the competitor, whilst offering at the same time a free range to the adjudicator. Mr J. Gwelym Jones, one of our foremost play-wrights, has in one book, acknowledged his constant debt to such adjudications offered by the National Eisteddfod.

Each year the National Eisteddfod Council publishes

a book of adjudications and winning compositions. This is one of the most popular books of the year and the most talked of. Every year Literary groups tear to pieces the Ode, the Pryddest, the Sonnet, the Lyric, the Short Story, and woe-betide the author of the Englyr. This book kindles such a flame of interest that it is well nigh Christmas time before the last embers die out! A few years back, a competitor bearing the pseudonym Herbert, caused a great deal of amusement in the literary camp. He was too clever to be anything other than a literary scamp for he would meander his way into many competitions. Whether he represented one person or many I am not able to say. His pseudonym became a cause of hilarious laughter in the Literary tent.

Some very refreshing and somewhat controversial approach is to be found in the quarterly magazine Y Genhinen (The Leek). A contributor who terms himself Sodlau Segur (literally translated rather ironically into "idle heels") is in fact a very lively and controversial writer who strikes deeply where the cap fits. In the current issue of Y Genhinen Sodlau Segur defends himself vehemently against an opponent who terms himself Sodlau Prysor (Industrious Heels!)

"Woe to me" bemoans Sodlau Segur, that I meddled in the exteed soup of Commercial Television. The example came back to life and bit my finger. You would take Sodlau Prysor for a cow-boy in the Texas for he spurs on his horse across the Prairie firsyng six bullets at any one target that may come within sight.

Much controversy arose not so long back over the formation of a literary body that terms itself The Academy. But all is very quiet on the Western Front just now, and the would-be critics are reconciled. Perhaps this quotation from Sodlau Segur in the Genhinen will throw some light upon the first reaction to the founding of the Academy.

The Academy has arrived. Let us hope that it will not be long until we have six such Academies. As I have said before everything is to be said in favour of an Academy, provided people should not be carried away with the idea that this is the one and only Academy. Having said that, Sodlau Segur gives the Academy its blessing, although I tend to be dubious of his remarks. Under such conditions I do not think that it is the business of those of us who are not literary men to interfere until it in any way.

However good his resolution, Sodlau Segur, time and again has a finger in the pie ! He asks again what might have a handful of "literati" to produce yet another periodical in a country whose every existing periodical is fighting for its life ? Would it not be wiser for this group to enrich existing periodicals with their literary contributions ? He asks whether it be the egotitic attitude of the Academy that urged it to publish a periodical where such wearisome topics as religion, politics and economics dare not intrude !

In spite of Sodlau Segur's gentle irony, the 3 volumes of Taliesin already published by the Academy and edited by Mr D. Gwenallt Jones of Aberystwyth University College, have been widely acclaimed. His periodical, called after the bard Taliesin and following in the trail of the Llenor, the one-time literary periodical patronised by the Welsh Colleges, has a two-fold aim.

Whilst maintaining the standard of Scholarship its intention is to maintain the interest of readers generally. The scope of Taliesin is wider than that of its predecessor Y Llenor. Translations from Breton and French have been most exhilarating. I refer particularly to the translation of La Symphonie Pastorale by André Gide. The remarks by the Editor of Taliesin that the Short Story is not as popular today in Wales as of yore brings us to the realm of pure literature.

After all, a periodical gives only a bird's eye view of a vast landscape; whilst the Short story or any other form of creative art, focuses the eye upon one aspect of that vast landscape as at presents itself to the individual mind.

Looking over the adjudication of the Short Story Competition over a number of years, in the National Eisteddfod booklet I found that Dr Kate Roberts in 1959 - she is the recognised authority on this form of creative art in Wales - maintained that stories which she had classified within the first Division were far superior to stories she had adjudicated in previous years. She emphasises the present trend Short Story writers towards a more specific way of expression and compactness of style.

From this point of view, it is interesting to compare two collections of Short Stories, one being Storïau Heddiw

edited by J.H.P. Williams in the 1930 'S and the other Storïau'r Deffro edited by the Rev. Delwyn Fflowc Elis and published by Flaid Cymru in 1959.

I have had occasion to study the first collection during the past years as it was included in the Examination Syllabus. It would be incorrect to say that it is a collection of stories by amateur writers, but in many instances the Welsh Short Story as represented in this collection is in the process of development. Some of the stories in this collection are obviously steeped in the Romanticism of the last century; there is an excess of sentiment; what is meant to be tragic becomes grotesque; the plot in some instances follows the pattern of the traditional prodigal son returning home and yet within this collection there are some excellent stories e.e. Dr Kate Roberts, "Y Gollod" (The Loss) which shows a restraint and precision of style; the excellent characterisation in D.H. Williams, "Blwyddyn Lwyddiamus". Then is 1959 with the publishing of Storïau'r Deffro (The Stories of the Awakening one critic said : "This is not the work of apprentices, each one of the 12 story-writers has mastered the art of Short-Story writing". Whether that statement be an exaggeration or not remains yet to be seen. The scope of the story have covers a wide fields; a few are humorous, some aim at creating an atmosphere, while a few plunge into humour through and man's response to his environment.

It must be admitted that these is a tendency amongst those who have mastered the art of story writing to say that this medium has reached its peak. Yet, I read recently in John O'London's Literary Magazine, that the Short Story as a medium is again coming to its own. Might we not be tempted to ask whether the reference to a lack of short stories in Wales to-day as quoted by an editor of "Taliesin" is due not to a lack of initiative but to a fear of the critics ! Speaking as a teacher, I have noticed during the past year or so, a definite trend towards Short Story writing among school pupils. Some of them write extremely well. We have travelled a long way from the hum-drum days of the auto-biography. I am unable to offer any exploration as to this new enthusiasm. They are encouraged to compete in the Urdd National Eisteddfod but even than I am bound to admit that it is something deeper. A few months back,

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a fifth form girl who was asked to prepare a ten-minute radio talk, wrote instead what amounted to a short novel in diary form!

What of the novel? This most difficult and intricate medium of the creative art, is still comparatively young in Wales. It was not until the end of the last century that the Welsh novel was established by a tailor-preacher by the name of Daniel Owen. There had been a few unsuccessful previous attempts, but Daniel Owen was in no way a child of tradition and some would maintain to-day that no writer since has written with such ease and wealth of characterisation. Dr Kate Roberts, our foremost writer, has found difficulty with this medium, for she is firstly a short story writer. This is especially noticeable in her latest novel "Y Byw Sy'n Cysgu" (The Live ones are sleep). Is maintain the continuity of the story, Dr Kate Roberts, to all intents and proposes has overcome this short-coming by introducing a diary at the end of a chapter. His device, whereby the chief character keeps a diary, helps to bridge the gap between the chapters. The most prolific and popular in the fields of the novel is a comparatively young artist, the Rev. Islwyn Fove Elis - probably the only "free-lance writer in Wales to-day".

Over a short period of years, he has written six novels, edited a political magazine, contested a Parliamentary seat, written Radio and Television Programmes.

A certain group representing the older generation of writers has come down heavily in recent years on the younger generation of writers accusing them of corrupting the Welsh idiom. I quote from one such criticism published in Y Faner on the novel Haf Creulon (J. Glyne Davies). "With the exception of one character, the rest are spineless, altho" (the critic adds) "it might be argued that it was the author's primary object to present the spineless generation of our period. All the characters indulge in some form of sin, but are lacking in moral standards". The critic credits the author with having at least a sense of style which is again lacking in young authors of to-day and having a mind of his own. He is advised to return to his native district and remain there for a long time - work permitting - for

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only an intimate association with his own environment will discipline his ideas and mode of expression.

Hence the attitude of the old to the new, the old who were nurtured in a monoglot Welsh Society in the period before the last World War, steeped in the culture of agricultural and quarrying-district, where Welsh was the language of the Pulpit, of children's magazines, of weekly newspapers, and when the child of the quarrywar was as acquainted with the names of slates as the farmer's boy was with the terms of the sail. This reminds me of the 14 and 15 bards who used to compare their patrons to the oak tree. And thus the oak became a symbol of strength, of durability and generosity. In fact it represented the pattern of nobility in the Golden Age of Welsh Poesy. To-day the oak-tree is being uprooted; the leaves are withered. But its branches are not entirely bare, for a few leaves appear in season and act of season and young birds still sing within it. An allegorical way of speaking perhaps but in our University Colleges to-day, lectures are given on creative art. This inspires a more correct vocabulary a purer idiom and a more polished style. At least two students have published novels within the last couple of years, a rare occurrence in the history of our culture. Individual countries organise their own novel competitions and County Libraries have reported of late an increase in demand for Welsh novels.

A rather destitute sort of cry has been heard of late from the Drama field, for I quote from Mr John Ellis Williams' excellent new book on three contemporary Dramatists.

"The last fifty years in Wales has seen the constant development of this list. The dramatists in Wales are far better at their craft than ever before... The Welsh Drama has never been healthier and yet it is dying on its feet."

The reason for this is the decline in the number of drama companies. Between the two Wars there were 12 such companies within a particular radius of 20 miles. To-day, one remains, breathing as it were its last breath. The author then wrote one new play a year. 350 companies through the whole of Wales would be eagerly awaiting for its publication. A thousand copies should be published for £ 25. Within 3 months it paid for itself. To-day, it costs £ 100 to publish one drama and it takes 10 years to sell a 1 000 copies. A gruelling thought!

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Yet the standard of the Drama in Wales is higher than ever before from the point of view of composition, acting, staging and production. At least 2 barns have been converted into theatres; on the Eisteddfod field, the drama is no longer considered the cinderella of the arts; although the term cropped up at Llanelli this year, up and down the country Drama festivals are being held. The book, I referred to, by Mr J. Ellis Williams, treats upon the work of three eminent playwrights. An innovation in the Welsh Drama is to be found in a play, "The Man from the Land of Us" by Huw Lloyd Eds, a Grammar School Teacher. The chief character is Job of the Old Testament, but he has a modern outlook in his wrestling with the Church, Militarism, and the intricate pattern of our age. He does not loose his faith in the Eternal Purpose of God. The most interesting characteristic of this play is that in addition to the set characters we have in the background - Satan, The Voice of God and The Messenger. These three are not essential to the play and yet their mere presence enriches it. Satan introduces the play in the manner of the Greek Chorus. The two foremost playwrights are Mr J. Gwilyn Jones and Mr Saunders Lewis. Mr Jones is an excellent play producer and critic. As he writes he is aware of every movement on the stage. The appeal here is more to the eye. This approach is psychological and concentrated on the cultured middle class. This approach has been quite revolutionary in the history of Welsh Drama in plot, style and purpose. Someone has said that what Ibsen has done for the Norwegian Drama, J. Gwilyn Jones has done for the Welsh Drama. But whereas in Ibsen's plays the theme centres around a main character, in Mr Jones' plays, we might have 3 or 4 characters re-acting to one central theme. This diffusion over a wide area, does not allow such a deep analyses of one particular character as one might find in Ibsen's plays. A few of Mr Jones' plays have been translated into English and televised.

In Mr Jones' plays the characters are always at variance with themselves; it is the internal battle of man and the inner man. "Y Tad a'r Mab" is his masterpiece. Mr Jones here has mastered the art of a terse dialect often bearing an allegorical flavour. His characters are less introspective and the quotation from William Archer has been aptly applied as to the success of this play. "To observe and portray human character is the aim and the end of all serious

drama. Mr Jones is intensely critical, has a passion for imagery and satire. The last cat he threw amongst pigeon.. was his withholding of the prize in the full-length drama competition at Llanelli. Commenting on the presentation of a new Welsh Version of "Charley's hunt" by the London Welsh Company, he said, "I do not think a force should win a prize in the National Eisteddfod play-writing competition."

Now to turn to the greatest genius of the second half of the 20 in Wales. I refer to Mr Saunders Lewis. I quote from an essay "Sketches for a Portrait" by M. Mansell Jones, which is a portraiture of Mr Lewis.

"It was an autumn term in the twenties... It was at University College, Cardiff. He had come to speak on contemporary Welsh drama... As the lecture was to be given in English, the largest class-room had been secured. It was already full when I walked a small figur, I watch him sideways as he strides to the platform to begin with that air of seriousness without pose; that distinctive manner devoid of mannerism, that freedom from effort to impress, while making his points with an impressive precision - traits that were to become familiar in the sequel."

Thus the writer proceeds to describe him as a critic: "On myself and doubtless on many another in that audience a spell was at work. I must know them man with ideas of his own and the courage to give them point, tact fully balancing traits and authors approved or disapproved... Until the coming of the Third Programme this example remained for me almost a unique specimen of public critical method, conducted with that degree of bias in sympathy or repudiation without which there can be no discrimination, yet devoid of animus, the treatment being adjusted to each experiment..."

Here is a quotation from Mr S. Lewis' article in "Cwrs y Byd" in Y Faner for July 1947, which depicts him as a man of resolution, who facing the crisis of his country, was no afraid to go to prison for his principles:

"We do not know at all whether there will be a song or fine arts or any value set on spiritual things in the twenty-first century in Europe. But this insecurity, this perplexity, that is the test, life is putting to us in our nationhood. To face this is life to us; to face this is to participate in the crisis of our whole civilisation in this

our day. Let us not grieve because of it nor break our hearts because there has been no day like this our day. It is good to be alive to-day to defend civilisation and to do a good turn of work in the vineyard of Wales. Referring back to Mr John Ellis Williams' book on Three Contemporary playwrights, the author ventures the opinion that though he loves Wales intensely, Mr Lewis is not a Welshman; he is of the nobility and not of the people. Mastered in an English city of Welsh parentage, where the language of the hearth was Pulpit Welsh, steeped in the classics of the old Welsh writers as he was in Latin and French literature; maintaining that the literature of Wales in its purest streams was derived from the richest fountains of learning in Europe; a disciple of Plato's philosophy that every living thing, is born of God and returns likewise to God; a man who could have lived with ease and revelled in the pageant of the Church in the middle Ages; entranced by the polished idiom of the Court, for thus would his Blodeuwedd and Siwan speak; as zealous as Dafydd Nanmor was for the pedigree of the House of Iywyn, far was not the nobleman the oak tree of great solidity, extending its branches in its marriages with other noble houses, a patron of the bards, given to generosity and a table none could excel. This was the pattern of nobility.

Unlike Mr John G. Jones, in whose plays the appeal is more to the eye, Mr Lewis' appeal is to the ear and as an artist he is sensitive to rhythm and to the music of words.

Again whereas Ibsen and his English School at the turn of the century turned to a satirical treatment of the contemporary age, but Mr Saunders Lewis derived his inspiration from the folklore and literature of the past. One could speak at great length about the numerous plays of Mr Lewis: The Eve of St John 1921; Gwaed yr Uchelwyr 1922; Doctor Brac Amig 1940; Blodeuwedd, 1922-48; Eisteddfod Bodran 1950; Gan Bwyll 1952; Siwan 1954; Gynerwch bhi Sigant? 1955; Brad 1958; Esther 1958-59. This is how Mr J. Ellis Williams closes the chapter on Mr Saunders Lewis:

England has had its Shakespeare; Norway its Ibsen, France its Molière and new Wales has its Saunders Lewis.

But the Greatest of Welsh arts, the Poetic art, has survived the centuries. Even in the latter half of our century the Order of Bards is regarded with a certain amount

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of awe and trepidation; the Crynghanedd (Strict Metre); the 24 metres of Dafydd ab Edward still remain the knowledge of the chosen few, where the Gentiles may not enter!

With the dawn of the 20, Welsh poets sang as never before; the first children of the newly born Welsh University, when the whole Celtic field was laid open before us, when scholarship was wedded to the Muse. At the beginning of the 2nd half of our century, those giants of the Muse are no more. To-day we live on the fringes of past greatness and the dream of J. Gwyn Jones is still with us when he describes the forest of Broceliande.

Mr Gwyn Williams in his "Introduction to Welsh Poetry" stresses the importance of the bard in contemporary Wales. The criterion in the poetic world is to win the Eisteddfod Chair or failing that, the Crown; hence the bard becomes a demi-god. So many of these chaired poets sink to oblivion once this much high coveted honour is reached.

Referring to a collection of poems by Mr G.R. Jones in recent years, Mr Saunders Lewis says that this collection truly represents the trend of Welsh Poetry in mid-20<sup>s</sup>, for it represents the work of a poet who has mastered the bardic craft and stands indebted to the giant poets of the early past of the 20, for it is traditional poetry. It is true to say that the classical approach to Welsh Poetry is as weighty to-day, as in the days of the Princes and of the 14 and 15 poets. It might be argued that this exactness and correctness of Cynghanedd (Alliteration) and Metre tends to curb the vision of Poesy, and yet the art is pursued as ardently and meticulously in present day Wales as in the days of the Court Bard. Such an ovation was recently given to a schoolboy seventeen years old who was the chaired bard in this year's Welsh League of Youth Eisteddfod. This youth had mastered the Cynghanedd at the age of ten, instructed by Llywd o'r Bryn whose death in January of this year I referred to earlier. Of this youth-poet the following remarks were made:

"He is prone to stay up all night or to get up at the crack of dawn as the spirit of the Muse moves him. Already he has filled 4 exercise books with poems in the strict metre and with lyrics... He has a haunting vocabulary and shows mastery of the bardic craft."

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Perhaps even more remarkable was the chairing of yet another young poet, a nineteen year-old student, at one of the great provincial Eisteddfodau. Cynan, the new Archdruid, in his adjudication prophesied that this youth would soon be wearing national poetic honours. Shall we say then that the standard is good; that the emphasis is more upon the Art than on the Muse; on craftsmanship rather than inspiration which was equally true of the Augustan writers in eighteenth century Wales. Yet if we listen carefully we might hear an occasional word of protest and of encouragement, for not all the prophets are dead, but so many of their prophecies are uttered in the wilderness. Any deviation from the traditional, at once becomes obscure and difficult. As Mr R. Gerallt Jones, said recently in his book of criticism, it is very difficult to assess the value of contemporary work. The visibility is too close; a book condemned to-day can become the classic of to-morrow. Mr Jones sees the need as never before for an enlightened criticism based upon the whole background of literature in Europe throughout the centuries.

The rebel school of poets like Mr Waldo Williams, Mr Bob. Jones, Alun Llywelyn Williams, E. Bowen, Gwenallt Jones, have turned the scales in favour of a meditative approach to the Muse, where the poet at once probes into the very nature of things, delving and analysing. Mr R. Gerallt Jones maintains that this is foreign to the Welsh tradition and more akin to Eastern poetry, the Italian Renaissance; 17<sup>e</sup> England and 18<sup>e</sup> France, Germany. It is the literature of the mind rather than of the senses. Mr Jones, further, tries to explain the reason for this revolutionary trend in that man, under the stress of two world wars, the great advancement in the world of psychology and the probing into the subconscious mind, the growth of materialism and the consequent attitude towards the nature of man and the universe. The poet can no longer afford to seek escapism within the pleasant graves of Romanticism; he can no longer claim to proclaim the truth. All he can do, is to probe into his own mind modestly and humbly in search of the truth and the reader is at will to accept or reject.

There are many aspects of the literary world in Wales to-day that one could treat upon. There is enormous industry

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to be found. I wonder whether we are a nation of people fighting for its very existence. At the moment the pulse of the nation is beating pretty highly. We have just emerged from a record National Eisteddfod of recent times. This was held at Llanelli where we had a chaired bard, a crowned bard and a prose-medallist - all highly praised. For the music lovers there was a wealth of song, for the play-goers, the theatre; and for the midnight revellers a volume of hymn singing that resounded through the valleys. This indeed was a patent drug that for at least one week of the year makes us forget the canker that is eating into our very flesh; the lukaemia that is poisoning the blood and the polio that is paralysing the very soul.

Mr Saunders Lewis, in a Radio Talk, not so long ago prophesied an early death to our language. Perhaps, such a challenge has not been uttered since the Owain Glyndwr rebellion. But if we should die, I think it is most important that we should die victoriously.

This brings to my mind a far-away corner in the solace of the Merionethshire hills, close to the Iryweryn Reservoir. There, besides an old mill, stands the statue of the old Welsh ballad-singer Bob Tai'Pelin, erected to his memory by ardent Welshmen of our generation. A couple of weeks back, at the height of the tourist season this statue was desecrated and the plaque removed. And this is the kind of thing that is happening in Wales to-day; but so far the torturing of the flesh has served to quicken a spirit that is livelier and keener than ever before.

Very soon, I shall be again passing over the Migneint Mountain, past the old mill and the statue and I shall thank God to be alive at such a period in our existence. I wonder if I may dare intrude upon the words of the English poet Wordsworth when he said:

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive".

The day is far spent and as the shades of evening gather upon our culture, it is our prayer that the closing of the day be such that:

"With the setting of the sun it were very heaven to be alive."

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R. davies jones

IRISH LITERATURE IN THE LANGUAGE

by Donn S. PIATT

(Synopsis)

A great change for the better has come in the whole position of Irish as a literary and scientific language, not only since the Irish State took shape in 1919, but in the years since 1949. This growth does not mean that the literary best of the period before 1920, when we had a most excellent writer of fiction, Padraic O Conaire, has been surpassed, but it does mean that literary Irish, in rather marked contrast with the necessarily much slower progress in changing the spoken language, has already become the medium of a large elite, and is rapidly becoming the main language of progressive thought in Ireland.

This progress which has become pronounced since the formation of the three Irish Book Clubs - as Club-Leabhar, Club-Leabhar na nOg and F.A.S. the religious book club, is directly due to the creation of an extensive and highly educated Irish-reading public, University men, Lawyers, Civil Servants, who speak Irish, read Irish books and periodicals attend Irish plays, and send their children to be educated in the schools and colleges where Irish is the language not only of the classroom but of the playground: most of these schools and colleges being the schools and colleges catering for children of the growing Irish-speaking professional class whose very existence is due to the Revolution of 1916-21.

Since 1949, four new publishing firms devoted to books in Irish have come into being, at a time when publishing in English in Ireland is in a serious decline. These are Sairseal agus Oill, An Clochomhar, F.N.T. and Clo Morainn. Circulation of magazines and periodicals has risen to eight times what it was in the twenties. Lecturing at the Celtic Congress in Bangor in 1949, I was able to make up practically my whole lecture from the Catalogue of An Gum, Government Publications - mostly fiction suitable for children, little adult literature, nothing controversial.

Now apart from excellent, modern and fully adult poetry by authors such as Sean O Riordain, Maire Mhac an tSaoi, Eoghan O Tuairisc, Tomas Toibin and many others - apart from the creative prose of Mairtin O Cadhain, Liam O Flatharta, Eoghan O Tuairisc, Mairtin O Direain, we have highly controversial political books such as Earnan de Blaghd's "Briseadh na Teorann", Tarlach

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O hUids "Ar Thoir Mo Shealbha", Brendan Behan's great and controversial play "An Giall", "The Hostage" which caused a sensation when played in English in London and New York was written and first produced in Irish. Other writers in the news at present are Sean O Tuama for "An Gra in Amhrain na nDacine" a most wonderful book of scholarship written in a manner readable by all : Eoghan O Tuairisc's "L'Attaque" dealing with the French landing in the West of Ireland in 1798; and the poet Mairtin O Di-rean's (from the Aran Islands) first prose work "Feamsinn Bhealtaine".

-o-o-o-

(Tr. Donn S. Piatt)

Donn S. Piatt

THE PLACE OF WELSH IN CONTEMPORARY WELSH SOCIETY

by Victor JOHN

Mr Llywydd, Annwyl Gyd. Geltiaid,

Da gentañ me garfe trugarekaat va breudeur Breizhiz evit o degemer mat.  
 Setu ar wech kentañ din da vezañ en ho pro, met hoc'h asuriñ a ran, spi am eus da zont amañ adarre.  
 Trugarez... ha bennozh warnoc'h e-pad ho stourm evit derc'hel d'ho yezh, d'ho sevenadurezh ha d'hoc'h hengounioù, daoust d'an diaesterioù.  
 Kerzhet, Breizhiz va breudeur, kerzhet,  
 Kerzhet gant fe !

My Breton friends probably thought I made my introductory remarks in Welsh; actually it was my first public attempt in Breton, and for my atrocious accent I crave their pardon. When next the Congress visits Brittany I hope that I will have sufficient mastery to give a complete address in Breton. As it is, you now have to suffer my peculiar and - if I may say so - seldom used English accent.  
 This pamphlet by Mr Saunders Lewis was the script of this year's Welsh Radio Lecture. Its title is "Tynged yr Iaith" (The Fate of The Welsh Language) and it states in no uncertain terms, that Welsh will be dead by the middle of next century unless the Welsh people of this generation make the fight for its survival the be-all and end-all of all political activity.  
 He was condemned and castigated by many of my countrymen for being an out-and-out pessimist who had completely and conveniently ignored the other side of the picture, the signs of a renewed enthusiasm and interest in the

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language, especially in the anglicised areas. Actually Mr Saunders Lewis' lecture was nothing more than a challenge to the nation; an objective appraisal of the situation and a brave plea that all Welsh people of whatever political party or creed should form an united front now at such a critical period in the history of the language. The Welsh language during its long life has known many crises, but none as threatenning and overwhelming as the present one.

This paper will, perhaps, give you some idea of what it is like to-day to be a Welsh-speaking Welshman in Wales in the second half of the 20th century.

I make no apologies for stating the obvious; truth is not always hidden. Welsh society to-day, like so many other Western societies, is dangerously infected by the disease of materialism; or, if I may mix my metaphors, the gospel of the affluent society, of "keeping up with the Joneses", has spread to all levels of this society. As the survival of a culture and a language are of no great importance, and is indeed alien to such a gospel, the task of making the Welsh nation realise how vital and immediate it is to defend its heritage is made all the more difficult. Especially as the low standards of so much of what has been called "transatlantic canned culture" are being insidiously enforced through the mass-media of our times. Fifty years ago and less, it was possible for a Welshman to speak Welsh as his first language even though born and lived in Liverpool or London. A cultured Welsh family in exile had only to shut their front-door on the English world outside, and so create an island of Welshness. Many, of course, did. But to-day the most out-of-the-way farmstead in the mountains of Wales has that alien, English world on its hearth and the medium of the T.V. set. One should not be romantic and yearn for what has been, to try to turn the clock back, but rather use the T.V., radio, the Press and other social media to foster the native culture. What actually is being done in Wales to-day therefore in these media with this end in view?

or John

Official Status

First of all, has the language an official status in Wales, is it an equal of English in Welsh society? The answer is tragically and emphatically NO. It is true that a heartening victory was gained recently when it was ruled by English judges that nomination forms in local elections could be submitted in Welsh. And this in spite of the Act of Union of England and Wales in 1536 and an act of 1732 that recognised English as the only official language of the British Isles. One is also permitted to use the Welsh language in the law courts, but an interpreter must be in court, and all the evidence must be recorded in English. In fact although the language is not debarred or persecuted, it is only tolerated and in truth has not the dignity of an officially recognised language in Wales itself. However much we in Wales like to delude ourselves, until the lang. achieves this status, it will only be the patois of a minority, interesting, perhaps, but a nuisance. And to many of our elected representatives and local government officials, this is exactly what it is. As Mr Saunders Lewis points out, our masters the Civil Servants in Whitehall, London, are, if not over-enthusiastic, quite reasonable in their attitude to the language; it is the local government that is often so blindly and stupidly against the language in certain areas of Wales. For instance, a month or so ago it was proposed in the Education Committee of Denbighshire, North Wales - a bilingual country - that 50% of the staff in each primary school should be Welsh speaking. This in any enlightened country would seem reasonable, but the proposal lead to an indignant outburst by one of the esteemed members "This", he declaimed, "was the vicious policy of apartheid creeping into the county's education". And it is to unfortunate men such as this that the people of Denbighshire and many other parts of Wales entrust the future of the language. The only appropriate remark here is the Breton " Taol an diaoul er mor", which politely translated would be : "Throw the blighter into the sea".

Welsh, then, to all intents and purposes has no real official status, although its use is not debarred, a subtle difference which deeply affects its prestige and standing. An all-party movement is now afoot to press for

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for its official recognition by the English Parliament, and if it is successful and Welsh people make most of its new status, then Mr Saunders Lewis warning and challenge will have not been in vain.

#### THE MASS MEDIA

##### Television

As I mentioned earlier, television and the other mass-media of the mid-(20 have made more of an impact on the Welsh language than almost any other factor during its long history. At present two channels operate in Wales - one the B.B.C.'s and the other operated by a commercial company called T.W.W. - Television Wales and The West. As the latter's name implies, Wales has to share both these channels with the West of England, which irritates both the Welsh and the West Saxons. The B.B.C. channel televises for approximately 50 hours per week on its channel and devotes on an average 3 hours per week to the 3/4 of a million Welsh speakers. That is to say, a minority of a 1/3 of the population of Wales is only given 1/16 of the television time available. BUT, even this does not give the true picture as all the Welsh programmes are transmitted at the most inconvenient times : at lunchtime, when most people, including the children and young people, are away from home and at anytime between 23 hours and midnight. A Welsh-speaking Welshman is easily recognised these days by the dark circles under his eyes and his general air of lassitude. This was evidently apparent to the recent Government Commission on Television - the Pilkington Committee - who did recommend more fair-play for the Welsh language programmes and we can only hope that the separate Welsh Channel promised for 1963-1964 will carry out its recommendations. The other channel, the commercial T.W.W., transmits roughly five hours per week of Welsh language programmes, but again at most inconvenient times, from 16.20 to 17 hours Monday to Friday and at 18.15 hours on Sundays when most (I hope !) Welsh speakers are at church.

The standards of most of the programmes on both channels are fairly good on the whole, and they range from news and features to literary discussions, quiz games and, of course, musical programmes of all kinds. Occasionally a drama

is televised and recently a six-part drama serial was presented by the B.B.C. and was very well received indeed. In fact these programmes have proved that the Welsh language can and has met the challenge of television. This is one of the reasons why the advent of a 3rd channel for West and North Wales alone next month is awaited so eagerly. This is the Commercial Television Company called Wales Television, formed in the main with the money of people who really care about our language and culture. This company has promised to transmit at least 1 hour per night in Welsh when it is functioning properly next year, and these programmes are promised at reasonable times in the evening. To sum up then at this point, and if my arithmetic is correct, there will be about twelve to fifteen hours of Welsh Television programmes every week in 1963 which most, but not all of Welsh speaking Wales will be able to receive. The pity of it all however is that there will be no co-ordination between these channels, as the setting up of an Independent Welsh Broadcasting Authority, which could accomplish this, has been refused. Be that as it may, things certainly look more hopeful now in the television field, although we should never underestimate the terrific influence of the non-stop stream of English and American programmes on our culture. Welsh programmes of necessity have to be of as high a standard as the best of these, and with our limited resources, this is a formidable task.

##### Radio

In the field of sound-radio, where the B.B.C. has a monopoly, approximately 9½ to 10 hours per week of broadcasts in Welsh Home Service, and many of these programmes are at a convenient time in the evenings. They are of all types - news, discussions, talks, stories, dramas and so on while 1 hour and 20 minutes per week is given to programmes for Welsh-speaking children. But - and this is a very big but - in this television age sound-radio has lost most of its audience and its influence has greatly declined. With the advent of the transistor, the old fashioned steam radio furnishes more and more merely the background music to our modern hurried way-of-life and is so used by the mass of the people of Wales. The Welsh language programmes

are, unfortunately, only listened to now by the people who are sincerely interested in the language - the already converted, as it were - and so this medium has lost much of its efficacy in the battle for the survival of the language.

#### Press

The Press, of course, in spite of the allure of T.V. still wields great influence on society and, in Wales, we have two national weekly newspapers written in the Welsh language: "Baner ac Amserau Cymru" (The Banner and Times of Wales) and "Y Cymro" (The Welshman). There are no daily Welsh language papers, unfortunately, although the "Western Mail" which claims to be the national daily newspaper of Wales, publishes three or four articles per week in Welsh. The circulation of the first of the weekly papers, "Baner ac Amserau Cymru" - is only a few thousand, perhaps because it is in the main literary and "highbrow". The other, "Y Cymro" sells about 25,000 copies which is rather good considering the difficulties it has to overcome. Its success is due to its sensible, independent outlook, its homely chatty style and to the energy and ability of its enthusiastic staff. A number of weekly local papers such as "Yr Herald Gymraeg" (The Welsh Herald), "Herald Môn" (Anglesey Herald), "Y Clo-riannydd", are also published in Welsh, but these are mostly parochial in outlook and deal with local affairs. The Welsh Nationalist Party publishes a monthly newspaper, "Y Ddraig Goch" (The Red Dragon) but this is mainly political and propagandist in content. At a conservative estimate therefore approximately 50,000 copies of newspapers are bought weekly printed in the Welsh language; or 1 copy per 15 persons who can speak Welsh, or so it would seem. But this is misleading as most Welshmen who care for the language buy the two main weeklies and their Welsh local paper, so the ratio is nearer to 1 copy per 50 or 60 Welsh-speakers, which, to say the least is rather disheartening. Apparently the masses prefer the flamboyancy, the gossipy slickness of the English press such as "The Daily Mirror" or "The Daily Express". One quite absurd feature, by the way, of one Welsh paper is that most of the advertisements are in English. The explanation according to the editors is that the advertisers will not agree to their advertisements appearing in Welsh,

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and as advertising brings in such a substantial part of their income, they have to bow the knee and accept them in English. Apparently it is thought that "Beer is best" would not be understood by a Welshman in his native tongue! I have no doubt that when people who have learnt Welsh buy our national papers they must think that schizophrenia must be a natural and national condition of the Welsh.

There are at present five national magazines of general interest published regularly in Welsh. (These are apart from the periodicals published by the various Welsh religious bodies, some half dozen, and some of which are of a high literary standard). These five are "Y Genhinen" (The Leek), "Taliesin", "Yr Arloeswr" (The Pioneer), "Llenfer" (The Hight Beaver), and "Triban". In the main these are literary and cultural magazines which cater for most tastes - from the popular and not-so-high-brow "Y Genhinen" and "Llenfer" to the scholarly and erudite publication of the Welsh Academy "Taliesin". "Yr Arloeswr" is the magazine of the "avant-garde" in Welsh letters which explains perhaps why its publication is so irregular. "Triban" published by Flaid Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist Party, deals chiefly with the economy of Wales and as such has a very limited and special public.

The children and youth of Wales are cared for through the efforts of Urdd Gobaith Cymru - the Welsh League of Youth - who publish 2 magazines monthly: "Cymraeg" and "Cymru", the former for young children and learners of Welsh, the latter for children and young people whose first language is Welsh. Apparently the sale of the first, "Cymraeg" keeps the other out-of-debt. A Welsh comic is also published monthly by a non-profit making company for very young children which, in spite of the brave efforts of the people involved, lacks the allure, the slickness of English and American ones.

A very successful humorous and light magazine for young people is also published quarterly by the Welsh League of Youth called "Blodau'r Ffair" (The Flowers of the Fair) and is, I venture to say, of a much higher quality than the pulp-magazines favoured by teenagers in the anglicised areas of Wales.

To finish with the world of publishing, just one word only on the publication of Welsh Books as my compatriot, Mrs Rhiannon Jones Davies will be dealing at length with contem-

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porary Welsh literature. Many more books are being published in Welsh now than when I was a boy, from 70 to 80 per annum composed with a many of them are for children and young people. Most of them are as attractively produced as English books and although not all are masterpieces, they are extremely readable. But the average sale per book is only in the region of 3 to 4 thousand copies, with some notable exceptions. An analysis of the books published last year show that novels (of the popular variety), thrillers, school-books of all kinds, anthologies, poetry-books, biographies, memoirs, travel-books and dramas were the mainstay of the Welsh publishing firms. Much of the credit for this output is due to the work of Welsh Joint Education Committee's Book Panel and to a number of Counties' Welsh Books Societies who encourage the writing of books and arrange publication. And although only a few thousand copies of most books are bought, it must be remembered that they reach many thousands more through the County Library Service. It is quite probable that one copy of a book is read by hundreds, although for the author's sake it's a pity more of them did not buy this copies. You see only one writer, Mrs Islwyn Ffowc Elis, earns his living by writing in Welsh; most of our authors are part-time writers will all the disadvantages that this entails.

#### BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION

I have touched on the economics of publishing, but what part does Welsh play in the Welsh Economy and Business life in general? Very little indeed. In the heavily industrialised areas, commercially Welsh is non-existent. Even in the Welsh-speaking areas, English is the language of business and commerce. It often happens that you can chat about your financial and business problems with the manager of your bank in Welsh, you can even find directors, managers and supervisors in factories, coal-mines, stores and commercial firms who are fluent Welsh speakers. But when it is a matter of business transactions, of something official in black-and-white, Welsh has no commercial sanction, has not the "status", if that is the correct word, for dealing with finance, commerce and technology. And this even although it has been shown that the language is fully capable of adapting

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itself to this most important aspect of modern society. A few weeks ago the Industrial Association of Wales declared bluntly that it saw no use whatsoever in teaching Welsh in the schools and that the money so spent would be better employed teaching Russian or another foreign tongue. This is materialism, of course, at its worst and symptomatic of the low sense of values that so many businessmen have. Many of us challenge this attitude and hitherto no cheque I have written in Welsh to a business firm in Wales has ever been returned. There is surely a moral there somewhere.

#### Administration

Mr Saunders Lewis pointed out in his Radio Lecture that if you write a letter in Welsh to the Ministres in Whitehall London or to the Welsh Office in Cardiff, you will most probably receive a reply in Welsh. On the other hand, if such a letter were sent to an office of Local Government, in most cases the reply would be in English. This graphically illustrates the position of Welsh in the field of government administration, for the higher administration prodded by ardent Welshmen and by far seeing and highly-placed Welsh Civil Servants and indeed by one Scotsman, Mr Blaise Gilhe, the Head of the Welsh Civil Service who has learnt Welsh, respect the native language. Through their efforts a number of Government publications are issued in Welsh, especially those of the Ministry of Education; the Highway Code has its Welsh counterpart; the Anti-Hitler Campaign and the Safety First Organisation have Welsh posters and pamphlets and even the Welsh Gas Board explodes now and again into Welsh. The Income Tax Authority issues explanatory leaflets in both languages (although after reading both versions I still feel I am being cheated), and the Post Office does the same; one can address ones letters now in Welsh without fear that they will eventually arrive in Vladivostok. The Arts Council publishes bilingual literature on Art, Music and Drama and the Welsh Tourist Board has even brought out paper table napkins in Welsh!

But, on the other hand, we have the appalling spectacle of a predominantly Welsh-speaking area of Wales re-

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fusing to point rate-forms in the vernacular, and even taking the furniture from the house of a patriotic Welsh couple, Mr and Mrs Trefor Beasley time-and-time again, because they refused to pay their rates until they were demanded in Welsh. After a long-drawn-out and bitter struggle, the Beasleys finally won. It is only through tenacity such as theirs that we can hope to see Welsh accepted as the language of Administration throughout Welsh-speaking and indeed eventually the whole of Wales. Let me hasten to add that there are a number of local government councils who are not so blind and stupid as the one to which I referred, and in West and North Wales council business is transacted and minutes kept in Welsh. In short, there is no consistency in the use of Welsh in the administrative field at all, and sad to say, it is only too apparent that much of the fault for this is due to the indifference of the Welsh people themselves. As in so many other fields, the patient can heal himself, but is too lethargic to do so.

#### NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

My country rightly prides itself on its national institutions: The National Library, the National Museum, the National Folk Museum and the like. In these the language is given its proper place by being of equal status with English. All the same English is the language most often used when the courts and councils of these bodies meet, although no objection is made when a member prefers to use the vernacular. The transactions are always printed ironically in English. Indeed the only institution that conducts all its proceedings in Welsh, and publishes its transactions in the language is the National Bisteddfod, and, after all, this is only logical as its "raison d'être" is the fostering of the language and the culture associated with it. Much bitterness has been caused by the "all-Welsh" rule of the Bisteddfod, but now I believe the animosity is slowly dying as more and more non-Welsh speaking people realise the essential part the Bisteddfod has to play in preserving our indigenous culture.

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#### UNIVERSITY

I have not mentioned one particular institution: the University of Wales - because I would be encroaching on Mrs Eluned Bebb's special field of study education. So I will content myself by merely quoting a recent comment. I quote "The University of Wales is more responsible than any other institution for the fact that Welsh to-day is unable to give a complete picture of all aspects of the civilised life of society. The policy of the University of Wales is the anglicising policy of the Act of Union of 1536..... and Welsh-speaking Wales is content with this, I inquote.

There are Departments of Welsh Language and Literature in the constituent colleges of this University, there are brilliant and academic Welshmen on its academic staff. But, as an institution it is alien, if not opposed, to the Welsh language; it has the outlook of an English Provincial University. And this outlook is reflected to a certain extent in our whole educational system because so many of the people concerned are products of such a university. How far their attitude and influence has been successfully opposed, will be made abundantly clear, I am sure in Mrs Bebb's paper on education.

#### RELIGION

One of the bulwarks of the Welsh language in the past was its religion. Just as the Church in Brittany and Ireland was the custodian of the heritage, so, too, were the chapels of Wales. To-day religion is in decline; churches and chapels are empty or have a pitiful few in their congregations. Bingo has replaced the Bible. The religious and moral problems involved - and they are tremendous - lie outside the scope of this paper, but the implications from the viewpoint of the language are only too sadly obvious. For in the grey chapels of Wales, the Welsh language had all the aura and prestige of a major tongue: the great thoughts and utterances of the divinely-inspired men of the Early Church, which framed so of much of Western thought and civilisation, were expressed in the native tongue. The deepest feelings of the soul was voiced in "Y Gymraeg" and the psychological

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importance of this cannot be overemphasised. How could one feel that Welsh was inferior if one heard, week after week, the wonder of divine-revelation being expressed through its medium? It is no exaggeration to state that the chapels not only conditioned the Welsh mind in a religious sense, but did so tonguistically too. Much of the cultural life of Welsh-speaking Wales revolved around the chapels too, and for very many years they provided, with their little competitive evenings, their choirs, their singing festivals, their literary and debating societies, their concerts and their children's societies, much of the cultural fare of ordinary Welsh people. Not all of it has disappeared, but the signs of decay are only too apparent. This kind of culture may have produced bigotry, even a parochial narrow mindedness but I assert that when it disappears from a locality, nothing better takes its place. The vacuum so formed is soon filled by the superficial so called "entertainments" that characterise the proletariat in so many Western European countries in the mid-20th century. It is not without significance, I think, that most of the people who are fighting for the Welsh language are, in the main, practising Christians. Perhaps this is why, in spite of many fits of depression and melancholy, that I feel optimistic enough to believe that we will succeed.

POLITICS

Optimism, feigned or otherwise, is essential in the political field and if you were to listen to the speeches in an election in Welsh Wales, you could be persuaded that all could be put right with the nation and the language in a very short time.

There are 36 parliamentary seats in Wales and it is an advantage to be able to speak Welsh if you are contesting roughly half of these seats, in these areas. There are four major political parties: The Conservatives, The Socialists, The Liberals and Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist Party. These 4 parties publish addresses by the candidates in Welsh during election time in the Welsh speaking areas, but it is only the Nationalists who regularly publish political pamphlets in the Welsh language. The other parties pay a lip-service and although many of their members may

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be sincere in their desire to safeguard all our inheritance, it seems to me that as long as they are affiliated to English parties whose headquarters are in London, their views cannot be of very great significance. However, at election time, the safeguarding of the language figures large and, according to Nationalists, this is due largely to their intervention. They maintain that they have forced the other parties to formulate some sort of policy for Wales, as separate from England, and have made the survival of the language a political issue. If this is so, then in spite of their lack of success hitherto in elections, the Nationalists have justified their intervention.

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

This brief survey of the social life of my country and of the place of Welsh in that life, would not complete without reference to the use of the language in leisure activities, as in common with the other peoples of Europe, the Welsh to-day have more-and-more leisure time. The traditional leisure activities - local eisteddfodau, poetic contests, noswesthiau llawen (merry evenings), singing festivals, drama groups and so on are still quite popular and in recent years, the "trumpath dawns", a folk-dancing night has increasingly found favour with young people, even in the anglicised areas. All these activities, of course, have Welsh as their medium. But in Sport and Athletics, the usual language is English although courses are held for Youth headers and young people in the major sports in Welsh, and a handbook of the technical terms in sport has been prepared in Welsh by the University of Wales. These are used in the Welsh language Schools and in two teacher's training Colleges. But as far as the ordinary man in the street or in the countryside is concerned, the natural technical terms when discussing soccer, rugby, cricket and athletics are English, even if the conversation itself is in Welsh! There are excellent sports programmes in Welsh on the B.B.C. and they have a good following especially among the younger generation. Because of this and because of the work of the Urdd, which lays great emphasis on outdoor activities, young people

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are much more accustomed to the Welsh terms. Dewi Bebb, the son of Mrs Eluned Bebb, the outstanding Welsh wing-threequarter who is at present touring with the British Lions, is, I know, as completely, if not more, at home discussing rugby in Welsh as he is in English. He, of course, is a product of a good Welsh-home and the Urdd movement. As regards other leisure-time activities, I need only add that English innovations such as bingo, ten-pin bowling, motor-cycle scrambles, and so on are conducted entirely in the tongue of the innovators. It is of some consolation perhaps that these activities are most popular in the anglicised areas of Wales.

ATTITUDE OF ORDINARY PEOPLE

As I draw to the close of this paper I suppose it is only too apparent to you all how haphazard and untidy the pattern of the social usages of Welsh is. And this is equally as discernible in the attitude of Welsh people themselves to their language. It is dangerous to generalise, but permissible perhaps in an address such as this, so, with this in mind, I assert that there are four main groups in our society to-day. First, you have a minority who demand that the Welsh language be allowed to die, and that as quickly as possible as it is a curse on Welsh life. Their most vociferous and unintelligent spokesman is a Member of Parliament, Mr I.R. Thomas of Rhondda West. He is a most interesting specimen of a Welshman who has lost his roots and is bitterly envious of those who have not. Although he is an intriguing psychological study, fortunately his type is disappearing as more and more Welshmen realise that an irreplaceable treasure is slipping from their grasp. Next you have the main body of Welsh people who feel no anomosity to the language and who utter remarks such as, I quote "I may not be Welsh-speaking, but I'm as good a Welshman as you are" or "I wish I had the time to learn Welsh BUT..." These are the real problem in Wales - they are the people we have to shake from their inertia and complacency to become militant and agitate for a truly bilingual education and future for their children, if not for themselves. As it is so many of them now are indifferent, unheeding and ignorant of the true facts. The third group are Welsh-speaking

Victor John

Welsh people who for reasons of snobbery, social-climbing or for mistaken educational reasons, refuse to speak Welsh to their children and even to other Welsh people. This group is now small, thank heavens, and becoming smaller. Lastly there is the considerable group of people - both Welsh and English-speaking - who believe in the future and worth of the language and who are willing to sacrifice both time and money to ensure its survival. It is this group that strives to give Welsh its rightful place in the society of to-day and to give to the children of Wales an education worthy of their heritage. Perhaps I may be forgiven a note of pride when I say that it is not only a privilege to work with such people, but is most inspiring and a wonderful antidote to much of the greyness and drabness of modern civilisation. The future surely belongs to people such as these, if life is to become once more rich and meaningful.

My paper, sir, has been a mass of facts and figures and deliberately so. I could have theorised and philosophised, but it is about time we in Wales faced facts, that we took stock. But midst all these statistics, is there a pattern, a motif, a meaning? Perhaps it is this: that the problems of a minority language in a bilingual country cannot be over-simplified, cannot be solved quickly by some miraculous formula; the complexities of modern life, the trends of modern thinking and behaviour all add to the difficulties that face such a language. But, given the will and the courage of people who really and sincerely believe in the future of that language, and then these problems are not insurmountable. Let no one deceive himself that the task will be easy; it is bound to be prolonged, but the goal will be worth all the strife: to preserve and foster one of Europe's most ancient tongues, a tongue which in its literature and its culture keeps alive the ideals and dreams, the joys and sorrows of a Celtic race.

-o-o-

Victor John

## SOCIAL AND OFFICIAL POSITION OF CORNISH

by Richard JENKIN

Cornish has no official position. It is not oppressed nor forbidden, it is just ignored. The official view is that what is officially ignored does not, in fact, exist. This reminds me of what the English poet wrote :

Yesterday upon the stair,  
I met a man who wasn't there  
He wasn't there again to-day  
Oh, how I wish he'd go away.

However, there has been some improvement in its social position in recent years. The ordinary Cornish people, often without the intention of learning Cornish, are proud the language exists and give a certain amount of respect to those who know it. Occasionally one is asked by some civic dignitary for a few appropriate phrases in Cornish which he can use in an official speech. When the Queen-Mother of England visited Cornwall last year to officially open the New Tamar Road Bridge even the Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall used a few sentences in Cornish to greet her. No one has recorded how the Queen-Mother received the greeting ! It is considered natural that the Chief Guide, visiting the Guides of Cornwall, should be greeted by a few sentences in Cornish learnt by heart by the smallest Brownie. An English firm recently arranged to have its new factory in Cornwall opened with a speech in Cornish. The Treasurer of several Cornish societies always gives Cornish names to the various bank accounts. This causes some consternation at the London head-office, but as he is himself a bank-manager the difficulties are smoothed away. Associations as diverse as the Federation of Old Cornwall

Richard Jenkin

Societies, the Cornish Wrestling Association and Camborne Rugby Club have mottos in Cornish. One is always being asked to suggest suitable names in Cornish for houses, such as Chy an Gwel, Chy an Mor, Peswar Gwyns and so on.

But it is still not possible to fill in a form, or make an official declaration in Cornish. For official purposes, the language does not exist. But perhaps, now that the Cornish Education Authority has been brought to recognise its existence and to start one evening class in Cornish this attitude may slowly alter. But we need many more Cornish speakers, or rather Cornish users, before we progress very far in official recognition.

- o o -

Richard Jenkin

THE POSITION OF IRISH  
IN THE SOCIAL AND OFFICIAL LIFE

by Liam DAIBHIS

I must ask your indulgence because I am not the speaker who is on the programme for to-day. Unfortunately, Conchubhar Mag Uidhir, whom most of you know, has been unable to be present. And I have been asked at very short notice to speak on this subject.

I have tried to put together just the bare essentials of the position of Irish in the social and official life of Ireland to-day. I am certain I have not done the job too well. I'll ask your indulgence again.

I'll take the official position of Irish first. As most of you know, both Irish and English are legally official languages in Ireland. The constitution of the state and all our laws are written in both languages. The law provides however that in the event of a conflict of interpretation between the two versions, the Irish version prevails. And to that extent therefore the Irish language takes precedence officially.

It is also declared government policy to foster the use of Irish and to revive it as the vernacular language throughout the country. Irish is of course taught in all the primary schools and is taught in virtually all the other schools. And it is a necessary subject for almost all public examinations.

I think you probably have heard in this Congress and in previous congresses a considerable amount about the use of Irish and I won't elaborate on the subject, but I'll go on to tell you that all official documents of all kinds, from census questionnaires to income tax returns and so on are made available in a bilingual form or in separate Irish and English versions.

Liam Daibhis

A knowledge of the Irish language is normally required for appointment as a state official, as a teacher, as a policeman, and so on... On the other hand, it must be said that no Irish language qualification is required for membership of the Irish Parliament. And it must be said also that the Parliamentary debates are very largely conducted in English and in fact that most public business is conducted in English.

Although you can transact most business with your bank, with the post office, with the larger public bodies and the larger business houses in Irish if you want to, you must take the initiative usually. You have little encouragement to do your business in Irish. English is usually offered first.

In social life English continues to be the common vernacular throughout most of the country. And the threat to the Gaeltachta, i.e. the Irish speaking areas is graver than ever largely because emigration from the Gaeltachta is extremely heavy. Unfortunately the emigration from the Gaeltachta is not so much to the cities where it could be beneficial to the spread of Irish but the emigration is very largely to Britain and to America. And those Irish peoples are lost to the country.

Now it's true that an ever growing proportion of the people have learnt Irish at school. But in general they don't use the language after they leave school. The daily newspapers are mainly in English. They have Irish columns, but generally these Irish columns are not about news and their parts of the paper that interest the vast majority of the people are entirely in English.

You have seen there is a fair volume of Irish publication available and more people are reading Irish than formerly. But they are still quite a small minority. The large volume of popular reading, those books and periodicals, is in English as are most of the advertisements.

The radio in Ireland is in a special position because although it is not directly operated by the state, it is indirectly subjected to its policy because the radio authority is a state appointed body, so Irish is used more on the radio than in any other media of mass communication.

Our Television service is still in its infancy, so it would be fairer to leave out reference to it in this

context at the present time.

On the subject of radio of course, it will be understood that we get good radio reception and in many areas good Television reception from the BBC stations and from Radio Luxembourg and we have also of course films and modern music and dancing and the other world wide crazes and passions of modern life to contend with in trying to preserve Irish culture and the Irish language.

There are some encouraging features. I think Irish is being better taught in the schools than ever before. Post-primary education is expanding. It's expanding quite steadily and in some ways quite spectacularly. There are more pupils attending secondary schools and in the other forms of post-primary education, in the technical schools they are going even faster. The result is that more and more young people of over 14 years of age are receiving schooling and Irish is included in that schooling as a subject.

In post-primary schools, both secondary and vocational schools, there is now a greater emphasis on oral Irish, and that I think will bear very significant fruit in a few years' time.

The Gaelic League and the other language organisations are continuing their steady, patient work. I think the Oireachtas, the annual Gaelic festival, is probably the most obvious achievement in recent years. They have brought the Oireachtas to the level now of a most important national festival and it has taken a very big place in social life, it creates quite a stir, and for Dublin at any rate the Oireachtas is really a very big week in the year.

The numbers of children who go to the Gaeltacht to improve their Irish are growing year by year. Gael-Linn, which is a voluntary organisation, is playing a big part in this development with the support of the Government. Gael-Linn is also using modern means of mass communication to counteract the English influences. Gael-Linn produces films, newsreels in Irish and also gramophone records of the best of Irish native music and recordings of songs in the modern idiom in Irish. Jazz in Irish in fact. And so on. These things are, particularly the modern music, difficult for me, at any rate, to assess, but I would be very inte-

rested to see whether tis experimentig - and I'm sure that is what it is- is catching the imagination of the tennager, the younger generation. It will be very interesting to see if this experimentig succeeds.

It is also worthy of note that nowadays very many people in Ireland who use only English as their vernacular can read some Irish and to the extent that public advertisements and notices, street signs and so on are now either in Irish or bilingual. People are quite familiar with the sight of written Irish and they're also much more familiar than they realise with the sound of Irish.

There is a various produce of Irish official titles and terms. For example almost all our state bodies are known by their Irish title exclusively and businessmen who will tell you : "Oh, I don't know any Irish", will be talking quite freely about Bord na Mona, Bord Failte, that is to say the Turf Board and the Irish Tourist development board and so on. They are using all these Irish terms and titles quite freely and in everyday conversation and they don't realise the extent to which they are using Irish.

The radio brings spoken Irish into every home and much of it is understood. People who do not profess to be Irish speakers, well, you ask them in your house, or you are visiting them, and there the news come forth in Irish and they can follow it. It's is extraordinary, I think, how there is a subconscious knowledge of Irish. In most people it would not take a great effort to reach the state where they could become quite able of expressing themselves in Irish.

I think it is worth mentioning also that there are organisations working in the country which, although they are not language organisations have serious national objections and that they are growing strongly. It must be mentioned by the way that most of these organisations have given themselves Irish names - names like Muintir na Teara, etc). These organisations are very strong, particularly in rural districts, and they are helping to counteract foreign cultural influences, and they are using Irish to some extent in their business and in their social contacts.

I won't detain you any longer. As they say, I have tried to sketch very briefly the position of Irish both

officially and socially. It's difficult to sum up. It could be said that we reached the stage where a really worth while expansion of the use of Irish in social life in Ireland is quite possible in the near future. But the odds against us are always considerable.

We have very many people with good will, we have had for many years now a state policy directed towards that end. We have not succeeded in anything like as well as we would have thought. And we seem to have quite a long way to go.

-o°o-

## AR BREZHONEG ER GEVREDIGEZH

gant

Yann SICARD-BREKILIEN

Pevar c'hant vloaz 'zo e lavared edo ar brezoneg war-nes mont da get...

Daou c'hant vloaz 'zo e lavared c'hoaz edo war-nes mont da get...

Kant vloaz o deus tremenet abaoe ma c'houlenne Fañch an Uhel, en e varzoneg "Bepred Breizad" : "Hon yez karet a dle mervel ?" hag hanter-kant abaoe ma skrive Yann-Ber Kalloc'h, en e varzoneg "Dihunamb" : "Ema yez hun tadeh e veriel"...

Ar brezoneg avat a vez komzet atao, ha n'eo ket hepken gant ar re goz.

\*

Padal eo kemmet meur a dra. Araok ar brezel diwezhañ ne oa e Breiz-Izel nemet ar brezoneg a oa komzet war ar maez, a oa klevet en ilizou, tra ma komze ar vourc'hizien galleg etrezo. Hirio an deiz, an darn vuia eus ar Vreiziz a oar galleg, met muioc'h-mui anezo a zo lorc'h enno o laret ez int diou-yezek.

Er gevredigez a-vremañ ez eus eus an diou-yezegez eur gwir asoup evit meur a zen, douget d'an aested, d'an ampled ha d'an dalvoudegez.

Kalz tud 'zo hag a gav dezo e vefe aesoc'h an darempredou etre annezidi an tamm douar-mañ ma vefe komzet dre-holl an hevelep yez; met neuze e klev ar re o deus c'hoaz eur galon e-barz o bruched, n'heller ket diwiska eur yez bet desket war varlenn e vamm e-giz ma tiwisker eun dilhad pa vez kemmet ar c'hiz.

Damveiza a reont he deus pep pobl hec'h ene dezi hec'h-unan.

\*

Yann sicard-brekilien

Eun asoup eo an diou-yezegez er gevredigez-bremañ, ya... hogen daoust ha ne chom ket diou-yezezk ar C'hanada, Bro-Velgia, an Adij-Uhel, Madagaskar hag ar stadoù nevez eus Afrika, Bro-Indez ha republikou Bro-Rusi, koulz hag hor Bro-iou keltiek ?

N'eo nemet skoueriou : e gwirionez, tost d'an hanter eus ar bed a gomz diou yez keit-ha-keir... pe muioc'h c'hoaz evel Bro-Suis.

\*

N'eo ket enep da aozadur spered ar mab-den ober gant lies yez : anat eo pa soñjer e rae ergentaou pep den desket gant al latin koulz ha gant e yez c'hinidig.

\*

Koulskoude, pa vez komzet diou yez en eur vro, n'int ket atao lakaet kement-ha-kement, ha neuze an hini c'hounid-  
usa evit an deskadurez, ar c'henwerz ha pleustrerez ar bur-  
eviou a drec'h tamm ha tamm war eben.

Setu pe a c'hoarvez gant ar brezoneg lezet er-maez eus ar skoliou hag eus ar mererezh.

\*

Bez e c'hellfec'h eta en em c'houlenn peseurt plas a chom d'ar brezoneg e kevredigez hon amzer tuet da veva a vara hepken.

Pleustri a raimp war-se evit pep rann eus ar gevred-  
erien-douar. ha kregi a raimp gant al labour-

\*

War ar maez, daou-ugent vloaz' zo, e oa brezoneg e teske ar vugale komz, er c'havell.

War'o seiz vloaz e krogent da zeski galleg er skol. Evit dont da dud desket e oa dao dezo ober gant ar galleg hepken, hag ar Vreiziz evel ar Gelted all a zo anezo tud youlek a c'houiziegez.

Ar re a zo chomet war ar maez goude o skolachou o deus kendalc'het da gomz brezoneg ouz ar re goz, met o deus desket galleg d'o bugale.

Arabat labeza anezo en abeg da se : ar skol an hini a zo kablus.

Ar re o deus poaniet er skol evit deski galleg a fell dezo ma vo aesoc'h ar studi evit o'bugale. O kestal evit ar brezoneg em eus klevet lies mamm o laret : "Ne rin netra evit ar brezoneg, gant kement-all a boan am eus bet me o teski galleg."

Hirio eta e komz ar vugale galleg a-vihanik, ha prezeg a reont galleg etrezo.

Eur glac'har eo gwelet e-giz-se ar re vihan oc'h ober gant eur yez n'eo ket hini o hendadou, n'eo ket hini o ene !

\*

Kredia a c'hellfed eta e vefe barnet ar brezoneg d'ar maro. N'eo ket avat.

Dont a reont ar vugale d'e zeski memes tra, en eur glevet o zud o tiviz gant ar re goz, pe o vrezonekaat etrezo. Rak brezonekaat a reont etrezo pa vennont chom hep beza komprenet gant ar re vihan, hag eveljust ar re vihan a glask a gement-all o c'hompren. Deskiñ a reont ar vugale brezoneg ivez gant al labourerien er parkeier.

Chom a ran atao souezet o welet pegen mat hag aes e kompren ar vugale hag ar re yaouank ar peziou-c'hoari e brezoneg hag ar goncherien en abadennou pe er beilhadegou.

\*

Rak eun dra nevez a zo c'hoaz. Kalz re yaouank o deus arvestet ouz ar beilhadegou, festou-noz hag abadennou kan ha diskan, e brezoneg penn da benn. Lod anezo o deus kavet er skol kelennerien a zouj ar brezoneg - ar re a zo izili eus Kuzul ar Brezhoneg, eus ar Bleun-Brug, eus Ar Falz, a ra prezegennoù diwar ar yezou keltiek, a lak o skolidi da gemer perz e kenstrivadegou e brezoneg.

Neuze e komprenont ar yaouankizou n'eo ket yez o zadou eun harz ouz ar sevenidigez met, er c'hontrol, eur binvidigez.

Setu perak, deut d'an oad gour ha labourerien douar d'o zro, e vezont gwelet oc'h en em lakaat da gomz brezoneg bemdez, e-giz ar re gosa.

Ne gomzint ket brezoneg ouz o bugale, nag ouz an dud e karg, met brezonekaat a raint e-pad al labour, er foariou, hag etrezo er ger.

\*

Spisoc'h c'hoaz eo an traou gant ar voraerien. Ganto eo ar galleg yez ar merc'hed hag ar brezoneg yez ar wazed. Ya... Ar merc'hed a fell dezo beva e-giz an itronezed eus ar c'heriou bras - hag an itronezed, war a gredont, ne gomzont ket brezoneg.

Setu perak ne vez klevet er ger nemet galleg.

E-touez ar besketaer, eo, er ger, ar vestrez a ra lezennou d'an holl. Met kerkent hag aet er-maez eus an ti, pa n'emaint ken dindan daoulagad o hini goz, e fell d'an ezezh diskouez int digabestr ha ne reont nemet o fenn o-unan... ha prezeg a reont brezoneg.

Ar baotred, pa'z eont da voused, en em voaz d'ober gant ar brezoneg ivez war vourz.

Ar plac'hed er c'hontrol, anezo kanfardezed ha pomp-inned, a gendalc'h da c'hallekaat.

\*

Bez' ez eus c'hoaz e Breiz-Izel tud ha n'ouzont ket galleg. Tud koz eveljust nemet eun hini bennak chomet hep mont d'ar skol daoust d'al lezennou. Pet 'zo anezo ? N'ouzer ket. Enklask ebet n'eo bet graet war ar poent-se, rak ar Mererezh ne embannfe ket pet den e Frañs na gompren ket galleg.

N'ouzer ket kennebeut pet Breizad a zo diou-yezek. Evit doare e tle ar vrezonegerien beza etre eun ha daou vilion.

Evit d'an darn vuia eus ar Vreiziz beza gouest da c'hallekaat, ne gav ket din e vefe ar bobl tost da zilezel ar brezoneg.

\*

Met penaos emañ an traou gant ar vourc'hizien ?

Evito, anat eo ne gomzont ket brezoneg etrezo, nemet unan bennak kalonek eus an Emsao sevenadurel breizek, niver-usoc'h-niverusa evit lavaret gwir rak meur a zen yaouank a heuilh kentelioù brezoneg ha kampou brezonegerien, goude beza darempredet ar c'helic'hiou korollerien, ar bagadou biniaerien pe ar festou noz.

Hogen n'eo awalc'h evit ma vefe anat c'hoaz d'ar bobl eo ar brezoneg eur yez evit an dud desket ivez.

\*

Gwir eo e komz kalz medisined, notered hag advokaded brezoneg ouz o c'huzulidi dalc'het en o galleg.

Hogen tuet eo ar guzulidi-se da gredi ez eo evit en em lakaat dindan o diraez, dindan o meizerezh.

Ouzpenn-se n'hell ket diellou an noter - na teul ofisiel all ebet, - beza skrivet e brezoneg.

Ar roue Fransez kenta an hini en doa, er bloaz pemzek kant nao ha tregont gourc'hemennet ma vo skrivet pep tra ofisiel e galleg dindan boan evit an den e karg da veza taolet en toull-bac'h. Emañ c'hoaz al lezenn-se o talvoud...

Bez' e c'heller eta displega e destamant d'an noter, dirak an testou, e brezoneg, met an noter a zo ret dezah e lakaat dre skrid e galleg.

Eur c'hontrad dindan sin prevez, er c'hontrol, a c'hell beza skrivet e n'eus forz pe yez.

Er burevioù hag en tiez-barm e teu peurliesha an dud dalc'het en o galleg a-gevret gant eur mab pe eun niz dezo a zispleg o afer.

N'eus e Breiz-Izel nemet eur barner war zaouezeg a zo gouest da gompren brezoneg.

Pa'z eus eus ar breujou, breujou sivil, e c'hell ar barner goulenmata pep hini en e yez ma komz ar yez-se.

Pa vez breujou-kastiza avat e tle heñvel eur jubennour, rak artikl pevar c'hant ha seiz Roll-lezennou Prosez-adur-Kastiza a c'hourc'hemenn ma vo eur jubennour evit trei respontou an tamallad na gomz ket mat galleg, hag a zifenn ma vefe ar barner e-unan a rafe evit jubennour.

\*

Pa fell d'eun den desket diviz e brezoneg gant tud eus ar bobl, eo alies chifet ar re-se rak kavout a ra dezo e ra ganto tud diouizieq, ha n'ouzont ket galleg. Gwell eo mont da genta e galleg, hag a-benn eur pennad mont e brezonek... E-giz-se e reer plijadur dezo.

\*

Lec'h ar brezoneg er vuhez kevredigezel a ya war zisteraat.

E derou ar c'hantved-mañ e veze skrivet e brezoneg meur a gelennadurezh digant ar gouarnamant evel : "Ar mod da zioual kear euz ar c'hleñvejoù stagus" embannet e naontek-kant hag unan.

Araok ar brezel diweza e veze embannet e brezoneg meur a skritell evit ar votadegoù.

Bremañ n'eo ken graet. Lammet eo ivez ar skritelloù e-giz an hini a gaved e Lez-Varn Kemper : "Difennet mad eo crachet ha taolet traou louz, plusk kistin, bars sall da bourmen, didan boan da vez laket dustu meaz".

\*

Pez a zo doaniusoc'h eo ma ne vez mui klevet nemet galleg e kalz ilizou ma veze, dek vloaz 'zo, prezeget ha kanet hepken e brezoneg enno.

N'eus evit-se nemet digareziou fall. Ar relijion, evit chom beo, a dle komz d'ar feizidi yez o ene, ha n'eo ket ober diouz pacted Pariz... ha pa vefe aesoc'h.

N'eo mui graet neb lec'h tamm katekiz ebet e brezoneg, ha rouez bras eo deut da veza ar parrojoù ma vez klevet prezegennou brezonek. N'eus kantikou brezonek nemet eur wech an amzer.

\*

Koulskoude ne dro ket pep tra da fall. Laret a raen deoc'h ez eus muioc'h-mui a dud e Breiz a zo lorc'h enno o tiskleria ez int diou-yezek.

E-touez an dud e karg, dre skouer, ne weler ken mibien kouerien o nac'h gouzout brezoneg rak aon da veza lakaet gouezidi diseven. Eun enor eo bremañ beza brezoneger.

Alies zoken e weler izili eur c'homision mererezh bennak o vont a-greiz-holl e brezoneg, rener, sekretour hag all.

Kement-se am eus gwelet meur a wech, nevez 'zo, e komisionou remembrement hag e komisionou Sikour kevredadel edon o ren. Kavet 'm eus eno kalz tud a oa tomm ouz ar brezoneg.

War va meno eo bet ar brezoneg en argoll bras er bloaveziou tremenet, met kroget en deus an avel da drei eun tammig, dre ijin an Emsao sevenadurel breizek. Ma vije graet hor gounid eus an avel a-du-se e hellje kavout hor yez eul lec'h brasa er gevredigez a-vremañ.

\*

Sur on e vije kalz tud hag o dije plijadur bras o lenn war ar mogeriou skritelloù e brezoneg ha war ar c'hazetennou pennadou e brezoneg.

Gwir eo e komz an dud diwar ar maez brezoneg er ger

met galleg en o bodadennou, en o c'hendalc'hioù. Hini ebet n'en deus kredet ober eur brezegenn e brezoneg. Pegen efedus avat, e vije evito ma vije graet. Nebeut a dra avat a vefe ret evit o lakaat d'hen ober.

Nebeut a dra, m'hen tou... Daoust ha n'eus ket c'hoaz en o zouez tud a sav gwerziou e brezoneg evit kana ar c'hel-eier ? Ar Pichon dre skouer. An dud-se a vefe gouest d'ober prezegennou a blijfe d'ar re all.

Gwelet em eus nevezig 'zo eun dra am lak leun a fi-ziañs : ne oa nemet eul ludueg pri-livet, met eul ludueg moulet warni e brezoneg : "Pelec'h ema va arhant ? evel da hini e Kredit Agrikul Penn ar Bed, Kemper."

Pacted ar C'hredit Agrikul a anavez mat o ostizien. Ma reont dre ar brezoneg eo dre ma'z eo ar brezoneg mat da zougen ar berz... dre ma'z eo ret hirio ober plas d'ar brezoneg.

A-bouez bras eo er gevredigez a-vremañ ar yezhou e-giz ar brezoneg hag ar yezhou keltiek all, hag ivez an eus-kareg, an oksitaneg, ar flandrezeg.

An dud a-vremañ o deus kroget da gompren n'eus ket war an douar nemet ar sevenadur latin, nemet yez Boileau ha Racine.

An holl sevenadurioù o deus o zalvoudegez, evel ma vez ret en eul laz-kana kaout mouezioù a bep seurt.

Diazez ar sevenadur eo ar yez. En eur bed a goll tamm ha tamm e liested, en eur bed aet da unliou hag unton, eo ret ma chomo yezou liesdoare.

Ret eo evit ma viro an dud o fersonelez. Ret eo evit ma chomimp hep trei da emfiñverien, da "robotou" !

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## BRETON LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY

by Y. SICARD-BREKILIEN

Four hundred years ago, Breton was said to be disappearing...  
 Hundred years ago Fanch an Uhel asked in a poem "Breton for ever"  
 is our dear language to die ? and fifty years ago Yann-Ber Kalloc'h wrote  
 in his poem "Aweke" : "Our Father's language is dying..." But Breton is  
 always spoken and not only by the Old.

However many things have changed. Before world war II only Breton  
 was spoken in Breizh-Izel (the Western part of Brittany) in the country  
 and in churches; but the middle class in the towns spoke French.

To-day the greater part of the Bretons know French but more and more  
 of them are proud to say they are bilingual.

In our society bilingualism is a stumbling stone to many a man who is  
 concerned with efficiency. Many people thinks would be easier if everybody  
 spoke the same language in Brittany, but then those who still have a heart  
 protest : you cannot forget a language you have learnt on your mother's  
 knee the same as you change clothes as fashion changes.

For the country indeed has its own heart and Soul.

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Yes, bilingualism is the stumbling stone of our society. But countries  
 like Canada, Belgium, Madagascar and the new states of Africa, India and  
 the Soviet Republic have remained bilingual just as our celtic countries.

These are but examples : in reality nearly half the people of the  
 world speak two languages side by side.

It is not against the information of the human spirit to do with  
 more than one language : it is evident when one thinks of ancient times  
 when all learned people spoke latin as well as their native tongues.

However when two languages are spoken side by side in a country,  
 they are not always put on the same level and then the more successful one  
 in education, trade and administration kills the other little by little.

This is what happens for Breton which is put outside of the schools  
 and the administration.

But you can ask yourselves what sort of place remains for Breton in the society of our time which live on bread only. We will study this, for each class of Society one after the other and we will begin with the country people.

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On the country side, forty years ago the children spoke Breton from the cradle. When they were seven they began to learn French at school - to become learned, they had to do only with French and like all Kelts Bretons are people who like to have a certain education.

Those who stayed in the country after their school-time went on speaking Breton - to the old but they taught French to their children. You should not judge them to severly - it is the school which is responsible ! Their learning of French was so painful that they wanted it easy for their children.

Collecting money for our Breton editions I heard numerous mothers saying : "I will not give anything for Breton considering the troubles I had to learn French."

To-day then, children speak French from infancy and they go on speaking French between them. It is a pity to see the little ones doing with a language which is not that of their fore fathers, which is not that of their soul!

One could then think that Breton is condemned to death. But it is not so .

Children learn Breton indeed by hearing their parents speaking with the Old or talking between them. For <sup>the</sup> Parents speak Breton when they don't want the children to understand what they say, and of course the children are trying to understand anyway. The children also learn Breton with the workers in the fields.

I am always very surprised to see how good and easy to understand the Breton of these young boys and girls is in the theaterplays and the tales they give in the feast evenings. These feast-evenings are a new things, they are in Breton through and through an these young people of the country have seen like them.

Their teachers at school were often members of associations like Kuzul Ar Brezhoneg, Ar Bleun-Brug, Ar Falz, and they give Breton lessons to them and speak of the Celtic Countries to make them take part to the inter-schools competitions in Breton.

Then, these young people understand that the language of their fathers is no impediment for them, but a true richness.

That is why when they become men and women working in the country in their turn, they begin speaking Breton everyday like the Old. They will not speak Breton to their children nor to strangers but they will do it

when they work, or in the markets and at home.

The things are still stranger with Sailors. For them French is the language of Women and Breton is the language of the Male. Women want to be fashionable and to live like the ladies in the big towns and those, think, do not speak Breton. That is why only French is heard at home, because for a sailor his wife makes the law at home, but as soon as he is out of the house, when he is not under the eyes of his "Old One", the male wants to show he is free and he can do what he wants do that he speaks Breton.

The young boys when they begin on a boat take the habit of speaking Breton like the others; the girls on the contrary go on speaking French.

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There are still in Brittany people who don't know French at all. Old people of course or perhaps one or two who did not go to school in spite of the law. How many of them ? No one knows. No one ever studied that, and the results would not be published : everybody in France do speak French !

No one knows either, how many Bretons are bilingual. I think they must be between one or two millions. Though the greatest part of Bretons can speak French, I don't think we are near to abandon our language.

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But how are the things with the Middle Class ? For them it is evident that they don't speak Breton, only a few of them do, who are members of the Breton Movement. Those are more and more numerous everyday to say the truth, for many a young man goes to Breton lessons and Breton-speaking camps after making acquaintance with the Celtic circles of dancers and pipers.

But it is not enough for the people to be aware that Breton is a language for learned people too.

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It is true that numerous doctors and lawyers and advocates speak Breton to their patients who are not very fluent in their French. But those think they take pity on them and abase them.

And then the lawyer's books and papers are not to be written in Breton. King François first , in 1539 prescribed that all official papers should be written in French or else the administrator would be sent jail. This law is always efficient.

You can give your will to the lawyer in front of your witness in Breton but he must write it in French. A contract in the contrary may be written in any language you like. In the police-stations and the courts of Justice, people who can't speak French often take a nephew or a niece with them to explain their affair for.

In Breizh-izel there is but one judge on twelve who can understand Breton.

When there is a trial, if it is a civil court, the judge can ask the questions in any language he can speak, but in the criminal courts, the 407 item of the code of the Law prescribes that there must be an interpreter when the party doesnot speak good French and that the interpreter can never be the judge.

When an educated man wants to speak Breton with country people, these are often resentful because they think he considers them as illiterate who can't speak French. So that this man must first speak French to them and after a time he can use Breton.

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The place of Breton in public life is ever lessening. At the beginning of the century many writings of the authorities were written in Breton for instance : "How to avoid catching diseases", in 1901.

Before last war many advertisements elections were written in Breton. And now, you don't see them anymore; the same for labels like this one found in the Prison of Quimper : "Do not spit nor put anything dirty chestnut peels, or anything else, in the hall sender penalty of being immediately cast out".

What is much sadder is that you hear but French in the churches where ten years ago only Breton was heard. There are but bad excuses for this state of things. Religion when true and alive, mus speak to Men the language of their soul, and not copy what is done in Paris even if it is easier to do.

No Catechism in Breton and very rarely preaching and hymns.

However everthing is not so bad : More and more people are proud to be bilingual. And among the administration people for instance you don't see any more sons of country people who say they can't speak Breton because they are afraid of being considered as illiterate savages. Now it is an honour to be able to talke in Breton.

Often indeed you see people of some administrative commission , secretaries, managers, and so on, doing with Breton.

This I have seen more than once : not so long ago in the Remembring Commissions and in the Commissions of Social Helps I managed. There I found many people who liked Our language very much.

v. sicard-brekilien

For me, I think Breton was in great danger in the last twenty years, but the wind has turned round a little with the help of the Breton Cultural associations. If we were using this wind a little more, Breton would have a much greater place in Our modern society.

Many people would like to read on the walls advertisements in Breton and in the newspapers items in Breton. I know that country people speak French in their meetings and no one dared to do his speech in Breton, but surely it would have been very efficient and they don't need much to do it; very little in fact. Are there not among them people who compose songs in Breton to sing the news ? Ar Pichon for instance. Those could make speeches who would be enjoyed by the others.

Not long ago I saw something which filled my heart with confidence : It was but an Ash-tray in ceramic and there was written in Breton on it : "Where is my money ? - Like yours in the Agricultural Credit, Quimper, Finistère".

The people in the Agricultural Credit know their clients very well. If they use Breton it is because Breton pays.

Language like Breton, and other Celtic languages, and Flemish, and Occitan are very important in our world.

Our contemporaries begin to understand that there is something else in the world outside the latin culture, and the language of Boileau and Racine.

All the civilisations have their value like all different voices in a chorus. The foundation of a civilization is its language. In a world which looses little by little its variety, which runs towards uniformity we must keep our language or we will loose our personality, we will become automatic machines

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(Tr. Armel Keraod)

v. sicard-brekilien

MOVEMENTS WORKING FOR THE GAELIC LANGUAGE  
IN SCOTLAND

by Jaim A. MAC RATH

Education

In many schools in Scotland the Gaelic language may be studied up to University Entrance standard. In recent years there has been a demand that Gaelic be taught in towns and cities outside the Highland area, and as a result it can now be studied by pupils of schools in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Greenock, all situated in the lowlands. In the Western Isles most children do not learn English until they reach the age of five and start attending school. From then their education is carried on through the medium of English. A scheme that is welcome and is long overdue has been commenced in Inverness-shire, whereby in Gaelic-speaking areas the language to be used as the vehicle of instruction is Gaelic. It is believed that the children concerned will be all the better from receiving their education through their native tongue. This scheme is to be adopted in Ross-shire soon.

In evening-classes in many areas Gaelic is taught, and it is a popular subject with adult learners.

Literature

Papers given in Gaelic to various learned societies are collected and published in book form. An Comunn Gaidhealach (The Highland Society) publishes a monthly magazine, "An Gaidheal", and subsidises the publication of standard texts and new books for schools. This is just one of the useful things done by An Comunn Gaidhealach, which includes among its aims and objects the preservation and advancement of the Gaelic language, its music and its traditions.

J. a. mac rath

A quarterly magazine, "Gairm", is very successful and various Highland papers carry Gaelic supplements and articles. It should be noted that some of our most gifted Scottish poets are Gaelic speakers and write their poems in Gaelic.

An Comunn Gaidhealach (The Highland Society)

An Comunn Gaidhealach has its head-quarters in Glasgow and has branches throughout Scotland, holding regular meetings either for social purposes or for raising funds for the cause. In Glasgow Gaels have a fine new building of their own, the Highlanders' Institute, which serves as a meeting-place for Highlanders resident in, or visiting the city. On most nights of the week one can have a choice of "ceilidhs", as the more informal Gaelic concerts are called. Highlanders have a great love for the songs of their homeland and readily join in choruses, of which they know hundreds. Exiles from the Highlands and Islands have also their own societies, confined to people from their own area or island. These meet frequently to maintain the bonds of kinship and friendship that link the exiles in an alien land. At their annual concerts the audience often exceeds a thousand in number.

Parties of pipers and Gaelic singers frequently tour the Highlands, adding variety to the entertainment provided by the local inhabitants and helping to maintain interest and pride in their native language and culture.

An Comunn Gaidhealach organises provincial Gaelic "mods", i.e. occasions when the adults and the children of an area can compete against each other in oral, literary, singing (solo and choral), and instrumental competitions. One of the most publicised events in the Scottish year is the National Mod, which, held in a different town each year, attracts scores of choirs and hundreds of competitors, as well as large audiences. Lasting for most of a week, it comprises oral, literary, arts and crafts, singing, and instrumental competitions. A test in fluency in the speaking of Gaelic must be passed in the main competitions.

An Comunn sends singing teachers to any remote area where the children and the adults require assistance in preparing to compete as soloists or in choirs at their

provincial mod. Some twenty of these mods are held each year.

As a result of An Comunn's efforts the standard of singing in rural districts of the Highlands has improved considerably in recent years and an interest in their own native culture has been roused in the minds of our folk. But for these efforts many highlanders would have little appreciation of their national heritage, but would be overwhelmed by the flood of rubbish emanating from "pop" records, radio, and T.V.

Radio and Television

Fortunately, we do have a Gaelic Department in Scottish B.B.C., and so we have regular Gaelic programmes. There is a B.B.C. Gaelic Choir, which performs regularly on radio and T.V. Plays, talks and musical programmes, as well as religious services and news bulletins, provide most of the Gaelic Department's material, and they are looked forward to eagerly by Highlanders. Television is slowly reaching out to the western isles. This is not an unmixed blessing, but it is our duty to see that the programmes concerned with American cowboys and English crooners are counter-balanced by others more typical of the best traditions of our race.

Church

The Highland churches form a bastion in defence of the Gaelic tongue, and Gaelic services are conducted every Sunday in many places where the language is the native tongue of the people.

The Edinburgh International Festival

As a result of pressure by us Gaels on the organisers of the annual International Festival of Music and the Arts which is held at Edinburgh in the autumn, a place has been found for our music in the programmes, and two Gaelic concerts are given, thus enabling us to display some of our native culture to visitors from all over the world.

MOVEMENTS WORKING FOR THE GAELIC LANGUAGE  
IN IRELAND

by Maire BHREATHNACH

Almost every aspect of Irish life is now catered for by some Gaelic organisation. The main ones are :

The Gaelic League founded in 1893 by Dubhglas de h-Ide, and still going strong. Branches throughout the country organise Irish classes, Irish dancing classes, céiliúithe, lectures, drama presentations and other cultural and recreational activities.

The annual Gaelic League festival, Oireachtas na Gaeilge, is a great cultural and social occasion with competitions for new literature and music, and for the traditional singing, music and story-telling. The Oireachtas drama competitions now constitute a separate festival. So great is Irish interest in the drama, that a National Drama Council has been constituted of representatives from the Gaelic League, Comhdhail Naisiunta na Gaeilge, Gael-Linn etc. to assist the production of plays in Irish.

Comhdhail Naisiunta na Gaeilge, founded in 1943 to co-ordinate and assist the work of the Gaelic organisations generally, has a Government grant - £ 17,500 this year. Some of the organisations which it assists with secretarial or organising services, or with financial help are :

The Schools Drama League. About five hundred plays presented at twenty local festivals. Final competitions in Dublin for the best teams.

The Society of Priests, who are doing special work this year, promoting a competition for the most Gaelic town.

The Society of Irish Writers.

The Irish-speaking Families Society, recently founded to promote social gatherings of Irish-speaking families

Maire bhreathnach

and to work for education through Irish for Irish-speaking children.

The Irish-speaking Golf Club and other recreational clubs.

The Realt, a Catholic religious society. The Protestants also have a religious society and hold religious services in Irish regularly.

Fas - a Catholic Book Club.

Comhdhail Naisiunta na Gaeilge also does work of its own. It founded the valuable Book Club which assures 2,000 readers for any worth-while book published in Irish and a Junior Book Club as well. It sends travelling organisers through the country selling Irish books and publications. It organises courses in Irish drama production for student teachers and others. It assists Irish folk-schools and Irish summer courses of various kinds. It helps to obtain Government grants for Irish papers.

Gaelic League: "Inniu" run by the Inter-University Comhcaidreamh; "Inniu" the Irish weekly; and various monthly periodicals.

In 1953 Gael-Linn was founded under the auspices of the Comhcaidreamh, the inter-university Irish association. It set out to raise finances through a football pool on Irish football and hurling. With the money so obtained Gael-Linn has done the following:

Films. You saw "Mise Eire" last night. 180,000 people have seen "Mise Eire" and felt the personal contact with history that it gives. Another film of the same type covers the years 1918-1921, and a third is in the course of preparation.

Gael-Linn provides a weekly news-film with Irish commentary for the commercial cinemas. This costs £ 42,000 a year of which the Irish Government gives £ 20,000. Two films on Irish football and hurling are in the course of preparation.

Gramophone records. I have brought a selection which are on show - traditional and modern Irish music and singing teaching records etc.

Theatre. Gael-Linn maintains a permanent small theatre in Dublin and gives financial assistance to the local Irish drama festivals held by the Gaelic League and other organisations.

Radio. There is a Gael-Linn radio programme every week.

There is a Gael-Linn Cabaret which provides an entertainment of Irish music and song, which is in great demand by hotels catering for tourists. This gives tourists a taste of Irish culture.

Industry. To check emigration from the Gaeltacht, Gael-Linn has promoted employment in the Gaeltacht:

Donegal Gaeltacht: Gael-Linn owns a salmon fishery which is reserved for the local fishermen. It has established a wood-working industry and is working a pilot farm.

Connemara: Boats on hire-purchase have been provided for lobster and sea-fishing. A small quick-freeze factory for fish, vegetables and rabbits was built and is in operation. Local farmers grow vegetables and are being induced to rear rabbits.

Kerry and Cork: Bees, assistance to hotel projects. Between all these projects there are over two hundred native Irish-speakers working at home who would otherwise have emigrated.

The tourist season in the Gaeltacht now lasts all the year round. About one thousand children this year will spend a school, and living with the Gaeltacht children. This is worth about £ 30,000 to the Gaeltacht. The Government pays at least half the cost. The parents pay a share also, and Gael-Linn looks after the rest.

Gael-Linn has a secondary school in the Mayo Gaeltacht where the children had no opportunities of post-primary education. We have with us at this Congress one of the teachers - Mairéad Uí

Gael-Linn also promotes debates in Irish between the secondary schools. There is a good entry.

This by no means exhausts the list of organisations. I would love to talk to you about Comhaltas Ceoltoirí Éireann, a wonderful association of Irish musicians which sprang up spontaneously and spread like wild-fire.

30.000 fiddling, dancing, piping, singing in halls, houses, streets at their local festivals ! The Gaelic Athletic Association, that gives pride of place to Irish, and made it a condition of permission to televise Irish games that half of the commentary should be in Irish. Coiste na bPaisti which began the work of sending large numbers of children to the Gaeltacht for the summer holidays and continues this work. The Fanaithe - the Irish-speaking hikers. Cara - a free-lance revival movement. There is no end to the list. But I must not close without reference to a very important organisation - the Irish Government - which, since its establishment, has given financial help and personal support to the Irish revival organisations.

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ire Shreathnach

MOVEMENTS WORKING FOR CORNISH

by Richard JENKIN

In Cornwall there are 3 movements working for the language as part of their wider aims, whether cultural or political. There are The Gorsedd of Cornwall, The Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, and Mebyon Kernow (Sons of Cornwall). These 3 societies divide the field of linguistic action between them.

In Cornwall the Gorsedd is concerned with the academic side of the language. It honours those who study the language as well as those who work in the fields of literature, history, archeology, art; music, folklore and so on. It holds examinations in Cornish and this year it has brought into operation a new-style examination in 3 grades : Elementary, Intermediate, and Advanced; which has raised considerably the standard of knowledge required to enter the Gorsedd as a Bard by Examination. This new venture has been admirably supported in this first year, and out of the dozen or so who entered this year - two passed the Elementary, two the Intermediate and 3 the Advanced grade. It is hoped that the graded examinations will provide a stimulus and objective for the various language classes.

The Examinations Board of the Gorsedd is also charged with the duty of deciding on the admission of neologisms to Cornish. Thus it may in time become a kind of Cornish "Academy".

The Gorsedd encourages the use of Cornish by including among its annual competitions sections for Cornish prose and Cornish verse. In addition, the Gorsedd, in its public ceremonies and its church service in Cornish, takes a leading part in the public use of Cornish.

Richard Jenkin

Apart from the church service in Cornish and the Orders of Ceremonies of the Gorsedd, the Gorsedd has not, as yet, itself published any Cornish books or texts. This work has been left to the Publications Committee of the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies. This organisation and individuals, for example Caradar, Talek, Peter Pool, Richard Gendall, have published all the books and texts that are available to the modern Cornish student. The contribution of the Publications Committee has been very great; the major part of it being the printing of Mordon's Cornish-English and English-Cornish dictionaries - essential for students - and the extracts from the classic texts of Middle Cornish. The Federation has also made two gramophone records of spoken Cornish which can help in standardising pronunciations. Apart from Mordon's grammar and reading book - "Cornish for All" and his "LyverPymp Marthus Seleven" the other grammars exercises and reading matter have been published by individuals. The Federation also, of course, supports the use of Cornish in ceremonies such as "Crying the Neck" and the "Tansys Golowan" or St John's Eve Fives, which are organised by various Old Cornwall Societies as part of their folk-lore work. Many Old Cornwall Societies have presented copies of Our Lord's Prayer in Cornish to Parish Churches.

The third society working for the language as one part of its wider aims, - "Mebyon Kernow", has for its field the popularising of the language among the ordinary Cornish people. It is not expected that, at this time, great members will learn Cornish, but it is hoped that by continually putting Cornish before the eyes of the people they will learn to recognise it and be proud of it and even become familiar with a few phrases. For this purpose Mebyon Kernow has produced annually over the last 8 years a bi-lingual Cornish Calendar-Lyver Dedhyow ha Golyow - which reaches many more than those actively interested in learning Cornish. The same purpose is served by the bilingual Christmas cards which are produced both by Mebyon Kernow and by the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies. Mebyon Kernow has also produced a beautifully designed paper napkin with illustrations hemed in Cornish and English which has been very popular with the people; over 100,000 already have been sold.

Mebyon Kernow also took the initiative in demanding from the Local Education Authority the first evening class in Cornish in Cornwall to be financed by official sources. Before this, the London Cornish Association had persuaded the London Education Authority to finance a class in Cornish there, but all the classes in Cornwall had been voluntary and without official support. Now we have a precedent which should enable us to open more classes with official finance.

It must not be supposed that these societies work in isolation. The most active members of one society are invariably members of two and sometimes all three, so that without official co-ordination they work well together.

The Cornish Branch of the Celtic Congress, which includes members of these 3 societies, if, of course, a partizan of Cornish, though its activities are mainly directed towards inter-Celtic relations. It uses Cornish wherever it can. Two years ago there was a little lottery in aid of the Branch funds in which the tickets were printed in Cornish and English. In addition to raising funds this helped to spread interest in Cornish and in the Celtic Congress among the people.

As for publications, the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies invariably includes a poem or story in Cornish, or an article about Cornish in its journal "Old Cornwall" published twice a year. The other Societies do not have journals but Talek who edits "An Lef Kernewek", which is wholly in Cornish, is Grand Bard of Cornwall and a Vice-President of the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies and Richard Gendall, who edits "Hedhyu", a paper for those learning Cornish, is a Bard and a member of Mebyon Kernow.

The efforts of all these movements are backed up as strongly as possible by the English language magazine of Cornwall : "New Cornwall".

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Richard Jenkin

Richard Jenkin

AN EMSAV O LABOURAT EVIT AR BREZHONEG

gant ABANNA

Peadra zo evidon da vezañ nec'het. War-lerc'h Ronan Huon, Maodez Glanndour, hag ar mintin-mañ Yann Sicard-Brekilien, ne chom ket kalz da lavarout diwar-benn an Emsav, an Emsav o labourat evit ar brezhoneg da nebeutañ. Stourm evit lakaat ar yezh er skol a zo mat, ha tregont vloaz 'zo tost da vat eo krog ar seurt stourm. Ken talv-oudus all e vez skrivañ hag embann brezhoneg; daoust da niver bihan al lenneerien, eo niveruzik ar skrivagnerien; brav eo ober lennegezh. Ken dellidek all eo ober bruderezh en-dro d'ar yezh, dedenn paotred yaouank da studi ar brezhoneg dre hent ar folklor; ha neb a lavar n'eo ket enorus mont da gestal war ar straed evit ar brezhoneg n'anavez ket enkreiz ar renerien kelaouennoù brezhonek 'pa zegouezh ganto ar faturennoù. Met kement-se a zo bet lavaret gant va zri c'heneil araozon. Hag evidon-me, a-benn ar fin en em gavan dieupoc'h a se da ziskleriañ ar gudenn en un doare all.

E-lec'h komz eus ar pezh a zo, e fell din komz eus an doare da gompren ar pezh a zo.

Diouzh ar sell kentañ emañ an holl e Breizh a-du gant ar brezhoneg : pep bloaz e vez aozet gant bennozh ar gouarnamant gall, an eskibien ha kement pennadurezh "reoliek" a zo e Breizh, ur gest evit ar brezhoneg. Ma seller ouzh ar seurt keñt evel ouzh ur referendum, e ranker anv emañ ar muiañniver groñs a-du gant ar brezhoneg. Piv e Breizh n'en deus ket diskouezet c'hoazh e vennozhioù war ar poent-se o tiyalc'hañ e bezh moneiz da zeiz ar gest evit ar brezhoneg ? Zoken prefed Kemper, emezañ, n'on ket aet da welout, en deus lakaet e brof war blad ar gesterien ouzh

son ar biniaou. Hag holl gannaded Vreizh bodet en Oriant, daou viz 'zo, daoust ha n'o deus ket mouezhiet a-du gant mellad an danvez lezenn-stur a-zivout difenn ar brezhoneg ? Ken e ranker tennañ ar c'hlozadur iskiis, sabatus-mañ: emañ ar yezh o kilañ seul vuanoc'h ma pleder muiooc'h ganti.

Rak pobl Vreizh, gwerin Vreizh, eviti da reiñ he gwenneg evit ar brezhoneg, a chom dirak he yezh evel al lovr dirak e gleñved : holl sent ar baradoz a bedfe laouen da vezañ disammet eus ar walenn hudur-se. A drugarez Doue emaoamp en amzer burzhudoù ar Skiant, ha kavet ez eus bet a-benn ar fin ar remed, ar vaksin da wareziñ ar vugale ouzh an droug. Bennozh d'ar skolioù gall, d'ar radio ha d'ar skinwell gall, e koazh buan ur marzh niver ar sujidi tizhet e-touez ar vugale; hag an arbennigourien a jed ne vo ket mui a vugale vrezhonegerien a-benn 1970.

E gwir, evel ar vertuz e vez ar brezhoneg e Breizh : an holl a sav a-du ganti, a gemer warno an ardoezioù anezhi, kuit d'he fleustrin. Pe, eme Lao-Tseu, ne gomzer morse muioc'h eus ar vertuz eget ur wezh kollet anezhi.

Koulskoude n'eus ket a voged hep tan. Aotreet e vezer da gredifi ez eus, tu bennak, ouzhpenn ar re a ra trouz endro d'ar vertuz, tud vertuzius da vat; hag ivez un emsav gwirion eus ar brezhoneg. Lavarout a ran un emsav eus ar yezh, n'eo ket un emsav evit ar yezh. Ar yezh n'eo ket ur pal ma kerzher war-du ennañ. Ar yezh, hag ul lu eo bezañ rediet d'hel lavarout, a vez unan eus boutinañ traoù ar pemdez. Un dra ken naturel ha tennañ an anal, - un dra ken diziouerius ivez.

Ha setu an emsav nemetañ a c'heller meizañ evit ar yezh; ur gevredigezh oc'h ober ganti war ar pemdez, diazezet enni war ar pemdez, o stourm davit ur bern palioù milbell diouzh ar yezh, met dre hent ar yezh.

Ar yezh n'eo ket ur rakvoud, met diazezet, ha korfeskern, ha gwad, hag anal an danvoudelezh (subjektivelezh). Ar yezh ne vez rakvoud nemet d'ar yezhourien... ha da Vreizh-izeliz c'hallegerien eus kreiz an ugentvet kantved.

Ar pal da dizhout n'eo ket difenn ar yezh. Difennerien ar yezh, ar re a ra anv eus difenn ar yezh n'int nemet touellerien. Petra a zifennont evit gwir ? Ur mennozh. Ar mennozh ez eus c'hoazh e goueled maezioù Breizh-Izel tud chomet er-

maez a-walc'h eus red ha darempred ar bed modern evit bezañ dalc'het d'ar brezhoneg, pe evit d'ar brezhoneg bezañ dalc'het outo. Hag o fal eo e chomo ar pellañ gwellañ ar seurt tud er-maez eus red ha darempred ar bed evit brasañ mad ar brezhoneg a zrailhont. Ur pal euzhus, digar, eo. N'eus den a vije gwashoc'h egeto troc'het diouzh hentoù ha luskoù gwirion ar bobl.

Bremañ e vo goulnet moarvat : seurt emsav ar yezh, daoust ha bez' ez eus anezhañ e gwirionez ? Daoust ha bez' ez eus en tu all da drouz ar gesterien, da safar ar c'hallegerien en-dro d'ar brezhoneg a gred e zifenn en ur ser gant ar c'hoefoù hag ar botoù koad, daoust ha bout zo un dra bennak e Breizh a-vremañ da reiñ e chansoù d'ar brezhoneg en dazont ?

Bez' ez eus. Hag ar pezh a zo, UN DEN an hini eo. An den-se a ran anezhañ AN DEN BREIZHAT NEVEZ. N'eo ket eus an ensavadurioù, eus ar Stad, nag eus netra e c'hell dont silvidigezh ar brezhoneg, met eus ur seurt nevez a dud.

Kollet eo bet ar brezhoneg mil bloaz 'zo pa grogas uhelidi Vreizh da sellout yezh ha doare-buhez an estren evel gwelloc'h eget o yezh hag o doare-buhez. Da heul, e voe kollet pep tra, da gentañ sked ar mennozh breizhat er bed, neuze ar galloud politikel breizhat en Europa, neuze ar frankiz keodedel breizhat er vro, an nerzh ar boellerezhel, ha da heul, an emskiant breizhat, ha betek al lorc'h denel e-unan. Ne chom hiziv an deiz dirazomp nemet ur chatal, un danvez kenwerzh evit an estren, ur vengleus a soudardied-c'hopr pe zic'hopr hag a c'histi a'n div reizh, ma vez deut naturel dezho bezañ gwerzhet ha prenet, ha kavout atav re ger ar priz, ken bras eo an dispriç o deus outo e-unan.

Hag e komzer outo eus difenn ar brezhoneg ? Ur gasterezh ouzhpenn ar re all ? Ya.

Ne stourmer ket evit ur yezh. Pa'z a ur bobl d'ar stad a vreinadurezh m'emañ pobl Vreizh, n'eo ket he lakaat da stourm hag a cheñcho netra. Boas e vez Breizhiz da stourm a-gleiz hag a-zehou er bed, evit an holl gaozioù a c'heller ijinat.

Un den nevez nemetken a c'hell bezañ silvidigezh Vreizh. Hag hel lavarout a ran, bez ez eus anezhañ, n'eus ket ouzhpenn hanter kant vloaz 'zo eo bet ganet ar seurt tud nevez e Breizh.

Pelec'h emaint ?

Bewezh ma teu ur paotr yaouank da verzout ar gaou-  
ierezh, ar meneziad gaouierezh m'emañ o vevañ warnañ; be-  
wezh ma tistaol gant heug ar stummadur a zo bet lakaet  
dezhañ a-berzh an estren, ez eus un den nevez hadet e Breizh.  
Stourm Breizh en ugentvet kantved a zo da gentañ penn, stourm  
ar wirionez.

Bewezh ma teu ur paotr yaouank e Breizh da verzout  
ez eus ennañ kalon a-walc'h evit disteurel dre an holl  
hentoù al liammoù kevredigezhel, keodedel, tiegezhel, a stag  
anezhañ ouzh ar gevredigezh estren, ar geoded estren, an  
tiegezh estren, estrenast a hual anezhañ, ez eus un den  
nevez o sevel e Breizh. Stourm Breizh en ugentvet kantved  
a zo da gentañ penn stourm ar frankiz.

Bewezh ma teu ur paotr yaouank e Breizh da stagañ  
e vuhez, da gemer warni, da euvriñ, da lonkañ marmañ  
kement a ra danvez Breizh, ene Breizh, mel Breizh, ar bre-  
zhoneg da gentañ penn, e c'heller lavarout eo ganet un den  
nevez e Breizh. Stourm Breizh en ugentvet kantved a zo war  
un dro stourm ar wirionez, stourm ar frankiz, stourm ar  
yezh.

Rak hor yezh a zo enni hag enni nemetken hor gwir-  
ionez hag hor frankiz. Hini ebet eus an teir ne c'hell mont  
hep an div all.

Ha komzet em eus eus an Emsav a labour evit ar yezh ?  
N'em eus ket treset an istor anezhañ. Met se zo bet  
graet, dec'h hag ar mintin-mañ, gant tud ampartoc'h egedon.  
N'em eus ket meneget penaos en em lec'hie ar seurt  
emsav e-keñver ar gevredigezh vreizhat, e-keñver ar gevre-  
digezh c'hall, penaos emañ o stignañ dre berzh emsav an  
tiegezhioù brezhoneger, ur gevredigezh vreizhat nevez, a-  
nezhi maen-sichenn ar Stad Vrezhon.

Merket em eus hepken ar stign, an andon, ar penn-  
kentañ eus pep tra : an den breizhat nevez.

Ra vezo un den breizhat nevez hag ar peurrest, kevre-  
digezh vreizhat, Stad Vrezhon, frankiz keodedel, nerzh ar-  
boellerezhel, galloud politikel, en ur ger hor plas er bed,  
a vo roet dimp dreist ar marc'had.

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THE MOVEMENT WORKING FOR BRETON

by ABANNA

I have sufficient reason to be worried. After Ronan HUDON, Maodez  
GLANNDOUR, and this morning, Yann SICARD-BREKILIEN, little remains to be  
said about the Breton Movement, at least about the Movement working for  
the Breton language. It is an excellent thing to work to have Breton  
taught in the schools, and about thirty years ago such a struggle began.  
It is equally useful to write and publish Breton; despite the small number  
of readers, writers are quite numerous; it is a splendid thing to produce  
works of literature. It is equally meritorious to make propaganda in favour  
of the language, to attract young people to study Breton by rousing their  
interest in piping and dancing. And anybody who says that it is not an  
honourable occupation to go street-collecting for Breton simply does not  
know the apprehension of the directors of Breton periodicals when the bills  
arrive. But all that has already been said by my three friends before me.  
As a result, I find myself more at liberty to deal with the problem in  
another way.

Instead of talking about the way things are, I want to talk about  
how to understand the way things are.

At first glance everybody in Brittany is in favour of Breton. Every  
year a collection is taken up on behalf of the language with the blessing  
of the French government, the bishops and all the "establishment" in  
Brittany. If one looks on this collection as a referendum, one is obliged  
to admit that there is a huge majority in favour of Breton. Who in Brit-  
tany has not already shown his opinion on this point by opening his purse  
on the day appointed for this collection ? It is said - though I have not  
been to see ! - that even the Prefect of Quimper has placed his offering  
on the collectors' plate to the sound of the bagpipes. And did not all  
the deputies of Brittany, meeting in Lorient two months ago, vote in favour  
of the paragraph concerning the defence of Breton contained in the projec-  
ted planning law ?

Yet one is obliged to draw this strange and astonishing conclusion,  
that the more attention is paid to the language, the quicker it loses ground.

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For although the people, the common folk of Brittany, give a penny or two for Breton, their attitude to their language remains like that of lepers towards their disease. They would gladly pray all the saints in Heaven to be relieved of this obscene malady. But thanks be to God, we are living in the age of the miracles of science, and the definitive remedy has been found, the vaccine to inoculate the children against the scourge. Thanks to the French schools and to the French radio and television, the number of child victims is dropping with miraculous speed, and the experts calculate that there will be no more Breton-speaking children by 1970.

In fact, Breton in Brittany is like virtue: everybody is in favour of it and accepts its outward symbols as long as they do not have to practise it. Or, as Leo-Tse has it, virtue is never more talked about than when it has been lost.

However, there is no smoke without fire. One may well believe that somewhere or other, besides the people who make a great deal of fuss about virtue, there are people who are truly virtuous: and, similarly, that there does exist a real revival of Breton. I say, a revival of the language, not a revival on behalf of the language. The language is not the goal towards which we are marching. Language - it is ridiculous to have to say it - is one of the commonest things of everyday life. A thing as natural as breathing - as indispensable too!

There is only one conceivable revival for the language: a society using it daily, based on its daily use, working towards a host of aims far removed from the language but through the medium of the language.

Language is not an object, but the foundation, the flesh and bones, the life-blood and the breath of subjective existence. Language is only an object to the linguist - and to the French-speaking inhabitants of Lower Brittany in the middle of the twentieth century.

The goal to be attained is not the defence of the language. The defenders of the language, those who talk of defending the language, are only deceivers. What are they in fact defending? An idea. The idea that there still exist in the depths of the Lower Breton countryside people who have remained sufficiently apart from contact with the modern world as to hold on to Breton, or rather, for Breton to hold on to them. And the aim of those would-be defenders is that, as far as possible, such people should remain out of touch with the world for the greater good of the Breton language which they murder daily, on their lips. It is a horrible, ugly aim. There is nobody less in contact than they are with the real ways and the real impetus of the people.

I will now assuredly be asked: does such a language movement really

exist? Is there another side to the noise of the street-collectors, to the fuss of the French-speakers on behalf of the Breton which they have the effrontery to defend in the same breath as coiffes and sabots? Is there anything at all in contemporary Brittany to give the Breton language a chance for the future?

Yes, there is. And it is this. It is a MAN. This man I call THE NEW BRETON MAN.

It is not from institutions, nor from the State, nor from any mere thing that the salvation of Breton can come, but from a new sort of people. Breton was lost a thousand years ago when the nobles of Brittany began to consider the language and the way of life of foreigners as better than their language and way of life. As a result everything was lost: first the light of Breton thought in the world, then Breton political power in Europe, then Breton civic liberty in Brittany, then economic strength, and consequently Breton self-consciousness, and even individual self-respect itself. Today we are faced only with cattle, an object of commerce for the foreigner, a mine of mercenary or even unpaid soldiers and of prostitutes of both sexes, who now accept it as natural to be bought and sold, and to find the price always too high, so great is their contempt for themselves.

And people talk to them of defending Breton? Another sort of prostitution to add to the rest! That is all.

There is no question of fighting for a language. When a people has sunk to the state of rottenness that the people of Brittany are in, it is not making them fight that will change anything. The Bretons are used to fighting all over the world for every imaginable cause.

Only a new man can be the salvation of Brittany. And I will say this, he does exist. Within the last fifty years such new men have been born in Brittany.

Where are they?

Every time a young man comes to notice the lies, the mountain of deceit on which he is living, every time he rejects with horror the formation that was given him by the foreigner, a new man is conceived in Brittany. Brittany's struggle in the twentieth century is first of all the struggle for truth.

Every time a young man in Brittany comes to notice that there is in himself enough courage to reject in every possible way the social, civic, and family ties that bind him to the foreign society, to the foreign polity, to the foreign family, with himself a stranger and an exile, there is a new man arising in Brittany. Brittany's struggle in the twentieth century is first of all the struggle for freedom.

Every time that a young man in Brittany comes to start his life,

to lay hold on it, to absorb, to swallow hungrily everything that constitutes the substance of Brittany, the soul of Brittany, the marrow of Brittany, the Breton language in the first place, it can be said that a new man has been born in Brittany. Brittany's struggle in the twentieth century is at once the struggle for truth, the struggle for freedom, the struggle for the language.

For it is in the language and in it alone that our truth and our freedom exist. None of the three can dispense with the other two.

Have I really spoken about the Movement that is working for the language?

I have not traced its history. But this has been done yesterday and this morning by people more qualified than I.

I have not mentioned how such a movement is situated in relation to Breton society, or in relation to French society, nor how through the movement of Breton-speaking families a new Breton society is being constructed whose foundation-stone is the Breton State.

I have mentioned only the framework, the source, the fountain-head of everything: the new Breton man.

Let there once be a new Breton man, and all the rest, Breton society, the Breton State, civic liberty, economic strength, political power, in a word, our place in the world, will be added unto us.

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(Tr. George Thompson)

## CELTIC COUNTRIES AND THE COMMON MARKET

by Liam O BUACHALLA

I must first apologise for being here at all. I think the Irish delegation could have found somebody much more suitable than I am to address you on this subject. I suffer from a number of handicaps, one of the main is that I happen to be a professional economist. Economists are not by the ordinary rules permitted to build castles in the air. They must keep their feet on the ground all the time, and I envy very much the speakers who will follow me because of the lovely pictures they will be able to outline for you. My second handicap is that I have somewhat close and long associations with politics, and I think it is generally agreed that politicians are not the best people to discuss matters of this kind. My third handicap is that I should have viewed this matter from the point of view of the cultural development of a Celtic people. Not being a very cultured person myself, I feel and you'll feel that I am severely handicapped in that field.

Now the title of the discussion is: Celtic countries and the Common Market. And the only Celtic country for which I could speak is Ireland and there is a great difficulty in talking about Ireland and the Common Market for the simple reason that Ireland is not in the Common Market yet. And we have no idea what conditions will be imposed on us, if any. We have no idea what the negotiations will take. We have no idea what the final outcome of our application for membership will be.

So I propose to look at the matter in a general way from four or five angles as they appear to an Irishman.

Firstly, and I make no apology for saying this, man's first duty to-day is to save himself from utter

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destruction. I think it is against that background that every word and every thought must be considered. We Irish are not merely Europeans, we have always been Europeans, but we are world citizens. No race has a greater influence through the world than the Irish race. Among all peoples, white, black and yellow, our people have been working. And so we are concerned for the fate of man everywhere. And any movement, cultural, economic or political, that tends to ensure the well-being of man everywhere will have the backing of the Irish people. We look at the Common Market as just one facet of a great movement, the welfare of man throughout the world. That is a challenge, and that challenge has been thrown down in the first place to Europe. And Europe has taken up the challenge. Politically, it is obvious what is happening. Economically, in the economic field, it is not quite so obvious. In unity lies strength and inversely in this unity lies weakness. And economically one may say that the world is very divided. We have at the moment some five or six economic blocks. We have the European community, and still the shadow at least of the outer seven. We have an African block, we have a Communist block, and we have a South American, a Latin block. And although there is a tendency on the part of the American block to throw in his lot with Europe, it still remains another economic block. The whole idea of each of these blocks is to ensure its own particular well-being. And it could very well be that unless they approach this goal of economic well-being with the utmost care, we could land ourselves into a war which might be for us not as destructive, not as full of suffering as a military war, but nevertheless could be a war that would break the people everywhere.

As you say, there is need for unity. And there is need for unity in Europe itself. We believe that, as the Reverend Chairman has indicated, that there is no use in trying to hold back this movement towards unity. This movement towards economic unity is there since first man began to act in accordance with reason. We want to see Europe unified, and we will do all in our power to assist in that unity, for reasons I have given. But from a selfish point of view I think (anything I say here will be my own personal view), I think that it is in the best inte-

rest of our people, that this unity of Europe should be brought about and that we would be part and parcel of the movement. It is accepted everywhere that hardly in the world has any nation made a greater stand for the rights of man, for freedom of conscience, for political freedom than the Irish. I think that this fight is matched only for determination and gallantry by the fight that we have made to secure the economic development of our country and the social well-being of our people. We want that to continue, we would be sorry that anything should happen to prevent our continuing with this good work and consequently we do show some anxiety as to what the terms for our entry to the Community are likely to be. In matters of importance, matters of gravity, I always feel happy when men show anxiety, when men show some element of fear. I don't think that a man can be truly brave unless somewhere he feels this idea of fear. If that were not true, then every fool that walks the road would be a brave man. And I feel happy when I hear people at home express anxiety as to the future, because they are thinking about these matters and when the decision comes to be made, they will make it in the full realisation of what they are doing.

We want as a Celtic people... Needless to say we are concerned very much for the fate of our farmers, the Irish-speaking community in Ireland are all farmers, I say it here just as I would say it at home: the backbone of our country is the farmer. Then so, my first concern is for the well-being of the farmer. I insist on this just as, if the Bretons will forgive me mentioning it, France is faced with the same problem that her agricultural population has not fallen sufficiently in the years that are gone. France's problem to-day is that relatively she has too many farmers. As we get richer, as we get better off, we don't buy more farmer's produce. The tendency indeed is that the better off we become, the less we feel ourselves dependent on the farmer. And the Irish problem is that we are producing far more food than we require for our own needs. That is not to say that we are producing more food than the world needs. That is a matter to be decided. I mention to you the world's picture: think

of it in these terms : there are three thousand millions people on this earth. The population of the world is increasing at the rate of fifty millions a year. Fifty millions a year is a small percentage of 3 thousand millions. Ten years for a young man is a very long time. But when you get on a bit, ten years is a very short time for the rest of us. In ten years time, we will have another 500 millions mouths to feed. If medical services are developed in Asia, in India, in China, etc.. the the span of life can almost be doubled, which is going to add to the problems of the politicians the problem of feeding those teeming millions. Of these three thousand millions at the moment, hardly one in four enjoys a standard of living comparable to what we enjoy in Ireland, which means that approximately 2 thousand 250 million people are there they prey of forces of evil and disruption. And so, as I say, there may be a local surplus in Britany, a local surplus in Ireland, and a local surplus in the United States, but that is one of the things we hope will flow through this world movement towards unity, that those teeming millions will get the advantages of what those who have surpluses can make available to them.

Our problem, normally... My concern is with the treaty of Rome. It is an interesting thing to record to the Celts who are not Bretons that the Treaty of Rome is not available in the English language. There is no official translation of it at any rate. The lesson : it is amazing, as the Reverend chairman pointed out, that such phenomenal success should have been achieved by the Six without the English language ? And that means, that, if it went, the sky would not fall...

Now the problem as it affects Ireland is that of finding a market for our own surplus produce. The chairman has indicated that the Treaty of Rome sets out the means and the methods by which the economic development will be assured. Among these ends is the bettering of the position of the farmers everywhere. If the rules of the Common Market are applied, say to Britain, then that is to our decided advantage.

Well, we are a small country, we are not a poor country but our resources are not as flush as we would

like then to be. Much against Britain, there are many things we would like to do but we cannot do. We help our farmers to the extent of only some 30 to 35 million pounds a year. Spread over all kinds of surpluses. In subsidies alone the British farmer gets somewhere in the region of 300 million pounds a year, that is something less than a thousand pounds per farm.

Now, in what way is the Irishman interested in that ? In this way. If Britain goes into the Common Market and the rules are applied, obviously they should be to our advantage. If the prop, or the subsidy, is taken away, then clearly we will have a very decided advantage on that market or on any other market in which props of the same type are put up.

What is happening is this. Because of this very substantial aids to the English farmer, to the British farmer, the British farmer is able to sell somewhere round cost of production or less than cost of production on occasions and he can still make a gain. Now, the effect of that is this : that the prices of all agricultural produce on the British market must be regulated by the level of prices charged by the British farmer. And so, we, in Ireland, and the people in Denmar and elsewhere must sell at the same price that is ruling on the British market. And people say : "How can this be done ?" Surely the British chancellor is not a fool that he would pay away such enormous sums of money. Is he getting anything for it ? He is. And he is getting it in this way. Britain must import enormous quantities of foodstuffs of agricultural produce of all kinds. I will not wear you with the figures and the percentages. But she must import enormous quantities of all kinds of foodstuffs. There can't be two prices for the same commodity on the same market at any given time and so it is the British price that regulates the prices of all the produce with the result that the urban dweller in Great Britain has a very decided advantage and the British public, the urban public in particular, is getting its foodstuffs and agricultural produce at prices far below what they really are worth on the outside market. And if Britain had to pay a full economic price for what she is importing, then it would be a very serious matter and so to pay 300 million a year as subsidies to the farmer in Britain is no more

than a means to bring in a cheaper price. That is our particular interest in this from the selfish economic point of view; and so what will happen as a consequence of our application for membership I don't know. I can sympathise with the British government in the problem that it has to face. Just as I can sympathise with the French government in the problem that it has to face. What is going to be the solution, I don't know. At home we have been generating a considerable industrial expansion. You'll be glad to know that we have now reached the position in Ireland where technical skill is short. Our problem in Ireland now is to get men of technical experience, with the results that our industries are now calling the emigrants home. And already the stream home has begun to flow.

We will have to be careful to see that this industrial development and expansion is not interfered with. It may be, I don't know, it may be that there will be casualties in the way. There is no reason why there should be many casualties. As it has been explained very often, there is no reason why the small in an industry should not come together and pool their resources, pool their reserves pool their experiences and pool the market. When we think of great American corporations as for instance General Motors, the ordinary man thinks of an enormous factory, where thousands and thousands of men work under the same roof. It is not true. General Motors is a cooperative in its own way of some thirty or forty thousand individual producers. And it seems to me quite impossible that our woollen manufacturers, dyers, and so on, that all the different industries we have should not be able to come together and organise themselves on something of a cooperative basis and, in consequence, avoid undue casualties.

I have said enough about Ireland and economics. I feel there is only one more point I would like to refer to, Mr Chairman, and then I will sit down.

I talked about the world, I talked about Europe, very briefly, and I talked about Ireland. First about the cultural future of the Celtic nations. I see no earthly reason why we could not have a very high degree of economic and political world cooperation and at the same time a very high degree of cultural independence.

That was the matter debated yesterday evening, the fate of small languages of small peoples. Time and again I have said at home, at Feiseanna and so on very much the same thing. To me, civilisation is like a great painting. Every colour, every shade, and every line is essential to its completeness. You may slash the picture, you'll surely lose something. You can slash it again and you'll surely lose something. You then go on slashing and patching until eventually you'll have nothing left but the frame. And so the loss of even a patois to me would be a great world loss. For I don't see why any language should be eliminated, because of our desire to ensure the well-being of men everywhere. To destroy a culture, a national culture, to destroy a national entity is utterly inconsistent with the terms "the well-being of man everywhere".

And I'll say a word of the future. You all saw the other evening the picture "The Man of Aran". Forget about Mickleen and about Maggie. Just think of those roaring, howling, churning seas of the West coast of Ireland. There you have Europe and the world as it is to-day. Think of the frail craft the curragh riding those seas. Think of three brave men, manning six oars, each oar representing a Celtic nation. And through their courage, through their determination and through their patience, riding those seas and eventually getting that curragh ashore and coming safe themselves. That, it seems to me, is very much the position with regard to the future. The sea is churning, it is howling, it is roaring. The civilisation of the Celtic nations is represented by that frail craft. The oars are the six small Celtic nations. We man these oars. If we are courageous, if we have faith in ourselves, if we have faith in the great Creator that guides the sun, then, there is no earthly reason why we should not ride this storm in the best interest of world civilisation as well as in our own best interest.

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Liam o Buachalla

Liam o Buachalla

THE CELTIC COUNTRIES AND THE COMMON MARKET  
THE GAELIC-SPEAKING AREAS OF SCOTLAND

by William HUME

Unfortunately I have been unable to find any publication about the Common Market which contains any reference to the probable effect which it may have on the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland. In particular I could find no express reference in the Government Report (the Tothill Report as it is called) in spite of a careful reading of that Report.

As I live in the City of Glasgow and, like Saint Erwan or Saint Yves, am a lawyer for poor men, I had no time or money to go to find out on the spot what people in the Gaelic-speaking areas are thinking, so I wrote to various authorities for guidance.

I was told by Mr J.S. Grant, of the Stornoway Gazette, that he was afraid that he could not be of very much help. He himself had found that everybody seemed to be completely in the dark. Nothing authoritative had appeared in any northern newspaper, so far as he knew. The Federation of Crofters Unions took the view that Britain's entry into the Common Market would be disastrous for the Gaelic speaking areas, and they opposed it utterly. On the other hand, Sir Robert Urquhart, the Chairman of the Crofters' Commission, said at the opening of the Annual Show of the Kilmuir and District Crofters' Club in the Island of Skye on 21st July that, although some people feared that if Britain joined the Common Market the whole of Scotland would be left out on a limb to wither, as the Lowlands have left the Highlands these 200 years, he himself had no fear about the Common Market, he was confident that the people in the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland could face competition when they had to : the problem of the

William Hume

political future of Britain is a vastly complicated one; the Gaelic people would do well to put their faith in their leaders, who can draw upon experience and expert knowledge second to none in any country in the world, and they would do their best for the Gaelic people. I myself was told, since I arrived in Brittany, by a Breton of great experience, and one for whom I have the highest regard, that in his opinion Great Britain has good leaders and can have confidence in them as far as the question of entering the Common Market is concerned.

To return to the helpful and able Editor of the Stornoway Gazette, he told me that he had a discussion some time ago with some European journalists, and they thought that the effect of E.E.C. should not be adverse on the Gaelic speaking areas of Scotland; their reason for this opinion was the provision contained in the Treaty of Rome for giving special concessions to such areas: entry into the Common Market might entail a change of methods: it would certainly entail a flexible outlook on the part of the crofters, and of course the crofters are the backbone of the Gaelicspeaking peoples of Scotland. Mr J.S. Grant concluded by emphasising that meantime the whole situation was shrouded in mystery. My gratitude to Mr Grant for his assistance must here be expressed.

In view of Mr Grant's reference to the Chairman of the Crofters' Commission, I took the liberty of writing to my friend and colleague in the law, Mr D.J. MacCuish, the Secretary of the Crofters' Commission, and he told me that the Commission had not made a study of the Common Market in relation to crofting, but he very kindly referred me to some helpful publications and in addition sent me a full copy of Sir Robert Urquhart's speech. I have it with me and it can be seen by anyone who wishes to see it. I think however that I have told you about the only part of it that relates to the Common Market.

The City of Glasgow is very fortunate in a great many respects, as those of you who know it are aware, and I hope that those of you who have not yet visited that great city will do so when an opportunity comes your way. After the welcome and many kindnesses we have received in

Brittany this year and in the other Celtic countries in recent years, you can be assured of a warm welcome in Scotland and by no means least in Glasgow.

One of the many amenities in Glasgow is a remarkably efficient and helpful municipal library organisation, so I did not hesitate to call upon the City Librarian for help, and he gave it most willingly. He wrote me a very full letter and looked out and had ready for me, when I called at the Mitchell Library, a number of books and newspaper articles on the Common Market and its probable effect on Scotland. The Mitchell Library is the principal library in Glasgow and those of you who have attended Celtic Congresses in Glasgow will remember visiting it and receiving hospitality from the City and seeing book displays there.

The City Librarian referred me to The Scottish Council (Development and Industry) but unfortunately that body could not help me in a positive manner. They did help me, however, by confirming the lack of published reference to the probable effect on the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland of the entry of Great Britain into the Common Market.

I had not the time nor the opportunity to consult all the authorities mentioned by the City Librarian, but I think I should state them at this point. First of all, he recorded the fact that eight weekly programmes had been produced and televised by Scottish Television between 27th October and 15th December, 1961, and an edited transcript is available, published in 1962. The third of a series of five articles in "The Scotsman" newspaper on the Scottish economy had dealt with Scottish problems over E.E.C. and appeared on 29th June 1962.

The City Librarian made available to me the Toothill Report and two articles in The Glasgow Herald newspaper of 25th October, 1961, and I should like to refer to these now.

The toothill Report is the result of the Inquiry by the Scottish Council (Development and Industry) into the Scottish economy 1960-1961 and was published in 1961. It contains a number of references to the Common Market which I can give to anyone who is interested. Representatives of the Toothill committee visited the Common Market countries. They found that while Scottish industrial production

rose by 32% between 1948 and 1960 it rose by 55% between 1954 and 1960. They are of the opinion that more intense competition faced Scotland whether Great Britain entered the Common Market or not. Joining would mean larger rewards of success but more certain penalties of failure. Production and salesmanship must be more efficient. Rapid development of European markets necessitates British development of Scotland, efficient air services being particularly essential. British manufacturers would become increasingly interested in assistance available in Europe, and European manufacturers in assistance available in Britain. Such assistance would consist of things like deferred terms for purchase of land and buildings or renting instead of purchasing; willingness of landowners to accept uneconomic rent; building grants; improvement grants; grants for settling key-workers; and loans for working capital and other purposes.

Perhaps it is not unworthy of mention that the Tothill Committee acknowledged indebtedness to the Secretariats of the Common Market countries for information willingly given.

The article in The Glasgow Herald to which I wish to refer is by Mr George Y. Mackie of Ballinshoe (pronounced "Benchie") Kirriemuir in the County of Angus, a partner in a large farming concern operating near Fort William, Vice-Chairman of the Scottish Liberal Party and prospective Liberal Candidate for the Counties of Caithness and Sutherland. As I have said, it appeared on 25th October, 1961, so there has been time for Mr Mackie to change his views. I regret to say however that I have not written to ask him if he has changed them. Here is a summary of his article:

The Common Market plan for agriculture fulfils the conditions necessary for economic security. The Treaty of Rome states that it aims to raise the standard of living of agricultural producers by amalgamating small family farms into economic units and improving marketing; to bring social welfare and wages up to same level in all countries; to maintain an economic level of prices by a variable level on imports; and to keep up internal prices by support of buying (e.g. by commodity commissions) Mr Mackie states 5 practical reasons for joining the

Common Market some or all of which may not seem adequate or even valid to some of you. At any rate, here they are:

1. The Common Market plan is better than the British subsidy scheme;
2. Common Market farmers constitute a larger and more influential political factor than British farmers;
3. British units being bigger than units in Europe favours British farmers in competition;
4. Britain will not become a dumping ground for European surpluses: E.g. Commodity commission will have to maintain prices at the target figure: Not to join would invite dumping by countries enjoying the benefit of commodity commission.
5. Surpluses can be taken out of usual trade channels and used to feed underfed parts of the world.

Mr Mackie expresses the view however that if Britain joins the Common Market more organising of production and marketing will be essential.

His conclusion is that Britain should not be so afraid of the necessary changes that events should be allowed to swamp her. He says that if she is ready she can thrive in the Common Market.

My conclusion may be of little interest to you or to anyone else but I must conclude somehow and perhaps the sooner the better, so here goes:

One day when I was wondering how in the world I could begin to talk to you, the monthly pep-letter arrived from a firm of Stockbrokers in London, and in it I found two paragraphs which I said to myself I might use to conclude my talk. The writer is, I understand, a native of the North of Scotland, although he lives in London. He says that amidst our political excitements attention has been distracted from the very nebulous but utterly important subject of the Common Market. This must be the most important subject that has arisen since the War and perhaps in some ways in this century. Like all important things in human affairs, such as religion, it is incapable of scientific proof or disproof, and as a result is

a good breeding ground for all false prejudices which may be stirred by the mischievous; like Beaverbrook, by those who prefer not to think or take any step into the unknown, or equally by the Communist members of our society whose Muscovite masters do not wish to see another major political power in Europe. Sooner or later a larger political unit in Europe is inevitable, and however distasteful, looking nostalgically backwards, this may be, the sooner it comes the better for the world's health, and to this we would add the health of the older members of the Commonwealth to whom alone our connections are really precious. On the decisions to be taken, the present Government's publicity, as on all other economic matters; seems to have been deplorable.

I hope you will agree that my paper has contained no first-hand information and still less, if possible, original thought or opinion, but it seems to me clear that the position is extremely obscure and the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland, like the rest of Great Britain, should keep an open mind as well as an open heart to the European countries and, like the office-bearers and committees of the various branches of the Celtic Congress work like ants and organise their production and marketing with the greatest possible efficiency.

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- THE COMMON MARKET -  
THE POSSIBLE EFFECTS ON THE CELTIC NATIONS  
AND CORNWALL IN PARTICULAR  
by Audrey RANDLE HUMPHREIS

The President of the Common Market :  
"We are not in Business, we are in politics"

It is very much in the balance whether the Common Market countries will become a united states of Europe. Hither, selling his soul for such a union, held it by force, and never conquered Britain. We do not want to hand Europe, and certainly not Britain, on a platter to a future unscrupulous dictator. The Common Market, with 170 million, as big a unit as the USA or Soviet Russia, could grow extremely powerful we can but pray that that power is not abused.

Such a large organisation can only form a policy to benefit the majority. It cannot be concerned with minor issues, nevertheless the minority concerned are vital and may spell disaster. Highland crofters and Cornish flowers for example. Large organisations are without heart and soul. This is not good, especially for the Celt who, having a high regard for the abstract qualities of life, is not so concerned with economic prosperity and material gains. There is little scope, too, for an individual to remain individual. I am sure the Celtic nations must not lose their individualism in any Common Market. What I would like to see is the Celtic nations in their own Common Market, with a strong forward policy for fostering and keeping the arts in the foreground. Something slipping into the background of life to-day but should be of as much vital concern to us as any economic questions.

INDUSTRY and EMPLOYMENT - This is no new question of discussion in Cornwall. We have a limited scope, with the usual facilities - hospitals, schools, administrative posts, etc., but no big towns and no universities. Many wanting advancement and those with unusual occupations, seek employment out of Cornwall. Industrially, there is employment for a few qualified scientists and only a limited number of skilled workers. Under the Common Market there will be free movement of labour within the Market. It seems to me to make little difference whether a Cornishman finds employment in Birmingham, Malay, or under the new scheme, say Milan. It is that he is not in Cornwall that is the vital issue. The Common Market cannot be expected to employ unskilled labour and those physically or mentally handicapped who need special placement. The geographical position of Cornwall is a drawback to industrial development and the Common Market cannot alter this.

T I N - The revival of the tin trade is a very new venture and the future is uncertain. If the industry can be revived, it will help economics in Cornwall enormously. We should have a monopoly in the Common Market and doubtless all will be done to foster and help the industry.

CHINA CLAY - This is found no where else in the Common Market, except Brittany and there used for pottery only. As Cornish china clay is used for production from cups to face powder and even bi-products for tinsel flitters, we shan't experience difficulty in this direction.

F I S H - The Cornish fish industry is in competition with the towns on the East Coast, Yarmouth etc..., who have bigger harbours, great trawls, canning factories and equipment and can easily export abroad and deliver fish to the big towns. We have a dearth of pilchards around our shores. Our fish industry is already in a perilous state and I can't see that entry into the Common Market will improve it.

AGRICULTURE and FARMING - Britain generally is battling with agreement over agriculture. At present it is subsidized and loss borne by the Exchequer. Under the new system

of tariffs price maintenance will be borne by the consumer. Big cattle and wheat producers expect good prices. Cornish farmers are concerned with milk, eggs, chicken for consumption and pigs, all in over-production in Britain and the Continent. Britain has to solve this whether in isolation or in association with the Continent.

What, I think, Cornwall has to worry about most is the future of her soft fruit, vegetables and horticulture. There are a number of market gardeners, producing strawberries, lettuces, tomatoes, possibly also anemones and violets, and on a bigger scale, those who grow early potatoes, broccoli, violets, anemones and daffodils. These find a ready sale locally, in London and the big towns, being early, can beat the English market. They cannot beat the Italian market, and with a flood of cheap, early Italian produce into England and Cornwall, we shall be in a very sorry state, especially the Scilly Isles.

(A synopsis of the paper given at the Celtic Congress in Brittany - August 1962.)

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## BRITTANY IN THE COMMON MARKET

by A.J. RAUDE

The life of the Celtic nations for the next hundred years is likely to be economically determined by the entry of Britain, followed by Ireland, into the Common Market. While, at present, only one Celtic country, Brittany, is enclosed in the customs frontiers of this market, the entry of Britain and Ireland would subject all of us to the same economic regulations. We assume that this revolution in the economic basis of Western Europe is unavoidable, and the problems raised thereby should be considered carefully.

Glancing back to the start of the Common Market of the "Six", we should remind ourselves that no objection, no opposition to the economic union, was voiced in Brittany. Why so? For two reasons: first, it was felt that France, as an economic unit, was either too big or too small; too big, for it contained too many different countries, the economic lives of which were contradictory and in competition, to allow for a harmonious development of all, particularly within the fetters of an utterly centralised state, making it practically impossible to initiate regional undertakings; the framework was too small, moreover, to outweigh the competition of the regions by the importance of a wide economic market like that of the United States or the Soviet Union. Breton vegetable growers look with a friendly eye on the German consumers; so does the fresh and tinned fish business. On the other hand, we did not object to the economic union, since it does not make any difference to us whether the economic control panel is settled in Paris, Brussels, Luxemburg, or Strassburg; we rather welcome any move which tends to force the state pattern out of its present immobilism, thus opening the way to an evolution which we endeavour to harness to our benefit.

While we were thus positively minded towards the opening of the Common Market, we were not unaware of the big hazards involved. It was evident from the start that the new economic currents could not make their way without eroding the soil, washing off old ways and sweeping away outworn structures. This implied that we could expect as a backlash some sort of crisis in Brittany itself, making more acute a situation which was critical anyway. Such is the case at present, and we greet and welcome this

A.J. Raude

crisis as a challenge for the Breton people to take into its own hands the control of its fate.

I assume that our Breton position should appeal to insular Celts, now that they are facing the same problems. However, we also bear in mind that the troubles may be still more acute in the industrial areas of Wales and Scotland than in Brittany. The severe crisis in the ship-yards of the Nantes area may be the advance picture of what we may expect in South Wales, on the Clyde and in Belfast. A revolution is pending; some wish to stave it off (see Mr Eilian Jones' article, "Baner ac Amserau Cymru" ), but this would be a hopeless fight. If England has asked for admission into the Common Market, dragging with her Scotland, Wales, Cornwall and Northern Ireland, this is for the quite good reason that in world business a clash of competition was unavoidable between United Europe and Britain, and that Britain could not win in such a contest. The choice was between decay and integration with either Europe or America. The English government decided in favour of Europe, and it was a wise step. The integration of British industry within the European framework opens possibilities for conversion of industry, while a hopeless competition drive would have brought only uncompensated ruin.

But we should now turn to the main problem for all but one of us in this intricate question. Ireland, with the benefit of a government, will not have much difficulty in settling most matters to the satisfaction of Irish nationals. On the contrary, all negotiations leading to the Economic Union Treaty have taken place without the intervention of Breton representatives, and Breton interests were completely out of question in the minds of the French negotiators during the first stages of negotiations leading to the Treaty of Rome. This was no longer so in the Brussels negotiations, leading to the Farming Union Agreement, where the French minister negotiated with the Breton peasants' pitch-forks in his back, which accounts for much of its pugnacity. On the other hand, as prospects now are, Welsh, Scottish and Cornish interests will be in the care of the English government. What we may expect is quite obvious to all of you, I suppose.

#### The Breton economic pattern

It is well known that there is no local government in the French State. The administrative unit is the department, at the head of which is the prefect, the executive manager, representing most ministers of the Paris government at the local level. All powers, police and administration are in his hands: the German *gauleiters* were nothing more than replicas of the French prefects, as established by the dictator Napoleone Buonaparte.

Brittany was divided into five French departments. However, if the size of the department was well measured for the time of horse-coaches, it appeared in the course of time that the department was too small an area

for administrative purposes, so that every administration created new "regions" by grouping several departments. But hardly two administrations choose the same grouping of departments, so that military regions, post office regions, economic regions, judiciary regions are all different. As regards Brittany, it has been split between two economic regions: one with Rennes, comprising four Breton departments, while the fifth Breton department, that with Nantes, is attached to a fancy "Region of the Loire Valley", being thus separated from Brittany, much as Monmouth is from Wales or Ulster from Ireland. Economic regions are now of prominent importance since they are the unit and the frame for state economic and industrial planning.

The establishment of the four-department economic Brittany as a planning unit was accepted by the well known C.E.L.I.S., or "Joint Committee for the Furthering of Breton Interests", under the guidance of a foreign economist, M. Philipponneau, supported by M. Ploven. The reason for their acceptance seems to be that, in order to get a maximum of state help in the economic development of the country, they felt it necessary to show it as utterly underdeveloped as possible. The Nantes department being far more industrial than the other four, the statistical survey of Brittany looked far less desperate in the complete five-department Brittany than in the Brittany of the four departments.

However clever this reasoning may appear at first sight, it was actually superficial and silly, for a beggar will get perhaps a piece of hard bread and nothing more, while a rich estate-owner will easily find capital to invest for a common benefit.

Furthermore, it was shown by studies at the European level that the 20 French economic regions were actually too small, and that they should be cut to a dozen wider units. In the case of Brittany, the real economic area is headed by Nantes and comprises a sixth department, that of the Vendée, which has always been under Breton influence and followed the lead of Nantes.

The statistical survey of economic geography puts forward three towns in Brittany: Nantes (300.000 inhabitants), Brest (140.000), and Rennes (150.000). Nantes, the capital of independent Brittany, is the only town on the European scale, whose situation favours relations with the centre of Europe by by-passing Paris. It is a really living, original metropolis, able to counterbalance the desert-making influence of Paris. Brest, at the western point of Europe, looks at the British and Irish islands, as well as at North America. Rennes, on the contrary, established as provincial capital by the French Louis XIV, depends on its position between Brest and Paris. It does not act as a life-dispensing metropolis, but as a mere relay of Parisian influence.

The present pattern of economic planning in Brittany is therefore utterly unsound. Our economic development can only grow along a Nantes-Brest

axis. This implies that the present rail and road network must be reorientated with this in mind.

If we want to start economic development on a sound basis in Brittany, we will have to scrap a few bad counsellors and refuse any discussion of plans that are not centred on our real metropolis, the town of Nantes.

#### Farming

The whole economic life of Brittany still depends on its agriculture. What is the present situation of farming in our country?

The only sound base of Breton farming is the soil, its sole sound asset is the climate. Any non-initiated person travelling through rural Brittany will be deceived by a appearance of prosperity, growing mechanisation, and the evidence of profit-paying work. However, if you look under the surface for anything to be accounted a sure asset in the future, you will find nothing.

Wheat and cereal growing is challenged by American and Paris-belt competitors. Vegetable farming will meet increasing competition from Italy and from south of France, where huge investments are renewing the agricultural pattern. Seed potatoes bring in at present a major part of Breton income. But the decrease in potato consumption, the uncertainty about the North African market make it certain that a decrease in production must be foreseen.

Cattle-breeding is being mismanaged by uneducated farmers: excellent local breeds of cattle, connected racially, the one with Ayrshire and Welsh Black cattle, the other with Guernsey cattle, have been neglected and are more and more replaced by Norman, French, or Holstein cattle. Horse breeding is rapidly decaying: the once renowned Breton breeds, related to the Welsh cobs, have been misbred into heavy artillery horses for the use of the French Army. Pork production is important: Large White pigs are the most frequently met in Brittany. Egg and chicken production has enormously increased in the last few years, making Brittany one of the first producers in Europe. Here also, no Breton breed of hen has emerged up till now. The Breton farmer is at present a feeder and multiplier of vegetable or animal products which have had their origin in other countries. This situation is quite unsound in view of a saturated market where quality and guarantee of origin will be commercial necessities.

As regards the organisation of Breton farmers, we see that, although Brittany has been pioneering cooperative organisations in the French state, and still possesses one of the most important cooperative unions on the Continent, the farmers are not moved by cooperative spirit and deliberately further competition between cooperative unions and small and big marketing. Small local cooperative unions are often competing with the general union. Recently an attempt is being made by Paris agents to unite all the petty

local unions into one network, closely knit by financial ties and tightly bound to Paris offices.

The very active and decided Union of Farmers is still divided along the French departmental pattern, that is, five sections for Brittany, and the leaders in all the departments are not all equally clear-minded. Although consultation at the Breton level is taking place, the unity of aim and action is not yet guaranteed.

I have used the words "still" and "not yet". For although I have painted a very dark picture of our situation, I do not consider it at any rate a desperate one. We are challenged by hard facts. I am confident that for each of the points I named before, there is a dynamic answer to the problem. We are bound to face economic and social realities and to surmount them, or to disappear as a nation. But it is also clear that only by assessing ourselves as a nation will we find the answer to our problems. I am accustomed to pointing out with humour that the extension of Norman cattle in Brittany fits exactly with a map showing the recent expansion of the pétanque, or Mediterranean bowling. I intend to show thereby that the light-headed acceptance of foreign ways, foreign ideas, foreign fashions, is leading our people to forget their personality, and so not only to lose face, but also to general bankruptcy.

We are challenged. All farmers in Europe are challenged today, but the emergency is greater for small nations where farmers are the main keepers of an ancient tradition. We have very much ground for fearing that, far from promoting our interests, the Parisian offices are aiming to get rid of the Breton problem by reducing drastically the number of Breton farmers.

For this and other reasons, we must look at every law and regulation issued by Paris as a two-edged tool, one edge purporting to satisfy our demands, the other one aiming at serving Parisian bureaucrats. Such is Pisan's Complementary Law.

This law about agricultural institutions is the very, very clever work of a very, very clever man. It presents itself as satisfying peasant claims concerning the most acute problems at the present time. Actually it is far more than that; it is an attempt by the Paris ministry of Agriculture to compensate for the powers it has delegated, or is bound to delegate, to the European institutions, or lost in the liberalising of European agricultural policy, by gaining new powers of control over agricultural institutions.

In this respect, many clauses of this law are mere reactionary moves intended to renew the grip of the centralised administration on agricultural structures, which otherwise are tending to move forward to a regional organisation, fitting into the framework of economic Europe.

### The Planning Law

You will probably expect me to say a few words about the demanded Planning Law for Brittany, that has been widely publicised. You know that, under the impulse of peasant agitation, the Movement for the Organisation of Brittany launched a campaign for such a planning law. The plan was drawn up by the C.E.L.L.S. after questioning interested Chambers of Commerce, Workers' and Farmers' Unions, etc; The result is the mountain giving birth to a mouse.

First of all, it is unsound at ground level, since it covers only a four-department Brittany. Secondly, it is a mere begging list, stating how much money we intend to get from each of the Paris ministries, utterly short-sighted, since in no case does it get to the root of the evils from which we are suffering in order to demand a lasting remedy, which should be an institutional one. It is for me completely incomprehensible how such an uninspired text can have been approved in a general atmosphere of self-complacency at the general meeting of the C.E.L.L.S. in Lorient last June.

Even in the details of the demands the short-sightedness is amazing. When demanding an increase of Breton radio programmes, it neglects the fact that new broadcasting stations for ultra-short waves will begin transmitting in Brittany in a few months, and that these are the best-fitted for local broadcasting. There is no word at all about the second TV channel. When discussing railway tariffs, it neglects the fact that the newly introduced French regulations will certainly be rediscussed before long at the European level, so that any sound claim on our part should be supported by the comparison with the respective situations in Holland and Denmark. It should have been stated that Breton delegates from our Chamber of Commerce would take part in the forthcoming negotiations at European level.

On the whole, the demanded planning law is out of proportion to our present needs, and it is to be hoped that in the future more competent planners will concern themselves with drawing up our demands. Such as it, the Planning Law is due to sink into oblivion when sufficient office dust in the coming months has rendered its contents out of date. Outdated it already is in its agricultural proposals, covered as they are by the new Pisani agrarian law.

### Industry

Some progress has been made by way of industrialisation. Some factories have been built or will be established in Brittany. In Brest, Lorient, St Brieuc, the prospects are not too bad, but in comparison with the existing man-power, the actual number of new jobs to be opened up in the country in the next two years is appallingly small. Our stormy protests will certainly have as a result that French state planning will favour in the next few years a limited development of industry in our country. This limited

development will be widely publicised by the domesticated press in order to avoid social clashes, while government offices will try to solve the Breton problem by silently quickening the pace of Breton emigration. In official French governmental views Brittany is overpopulated. We believe, of course, the contrary. While Brittany counts at present less than three million inhabitants, a normally industrial and active Brittany could see double this number.

But of course a Brittany with six million people would have quite a different weight in European politics, and this does not fit in with French planning.

In particular, the weight of organised labour in an industrial Brittany would rapidly become too great to allow the continuation of the present politics. In a mainly agricultural Brittany farmers' unions are the effective motor of Breton dynamics. Workers' unions are limited to a few towns, and their activity may still be checked by the French central union offices. But with increasing industrialisation, factories being almost only branches of foreign firms, the workers are bound to feel that their top management rests in foreign hands. Workers' delegates can only meet the top bosses in Paris, so there will be a demand that Breton works should be also Breton-controlled. In order to avoid this danger, French planning will certainly not favour more than a limited development of industry in Brittany, unless we force them to.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, I would of course make practical proposals to further Celtic cooperation in the future Common Market, in order to strengthen each other's position.

In the agricultural field, basically I suggest that regular relations should be established between Farmers' Unions on the one hand, and between agricultural cooperative unions on the other, in order to exchange experience and to study common problems.

Further I would suggest that the Scottish breeders of Ayrshire cattle get in touch with breeders of the Breton Gwenn ha Du cattle in order to promote the integration of both breeds and regain the ground lost by our Celtic breed in Brittany. Similarly I would suggest that the breeders of Welsh Black cattle could find in Brittany a market for selected bulls as an answer to the Breton need for beef cattle.

In the same way, Welsh and Cornish chicken breeders should try to introduce their home breeds into the important Breton market. Thus, facing the fact that milk, meat, and egg production is being more and more industrially conducted, and that artificial insemination of cattle reduces the number of bulls, thereby creating the danger of consanguinity in small breeds, we could find an answer to this problem by Celtic cooperation.

In the industrial field, Celtic cooperation could hardly take place at the management level, since the management of big firms is too largely foreign. Conversely we should try to further relations at the trade union level. I venture to think that, by studying common problems, workers' delegates would face the evidence that similar situations generate similar problems and make necessary an identical and common answer to the challenge.

In the field of the fishing and canning industry, the Braton expansion towards the south (North and West Africa) is likely to be checked by the severing of bonds with these countries. It is quite possible that in a Common Market Braton industrialists would turn to Cornwall, Wales and Ireland with a view to establishing canning factories. This possibility should be considered by you in order to ascertain if this should be furthered or not.

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(Tr. A.J. Raude)

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A.J. Raude

Lady Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,

I am extremely happy to be present at this Congress once more, and I do hope that any ideas that I put forward will have some fruitful bearing.

Cooperation involves at least two factors, but in this paper we are dealing with six factors, taking them alphabetically : Alba, Brittany, Cornwall, Ireland, Isle of Man and Wales, and the purpose is to examine what these countries can offer and how thus we can cooperate with the resources at our disposal. It would be readily agreed that personal contact is the ideal method to get to know a nation or a country and to get to know the Gaelic language, the Highlanders, the Highlands, their traditional customs, a visit to Scotland would amplify a knowledge already acquired. There's ample opportunity for travel, especially for the young, for we have an excellently equipped hostel accomodation, good camping and caravanning sites, and new roads through superb scenery. There are the added attractions of poney-trapping, climbing, winter sports, fishing, water-skiing, and all these activities may be enjoyed among the most beautiful scenery nature has got in any land. An Comunn has its own holiday home, a holiday house which is a memorial to our service men who fell in the last war.

Friendships and pensfriendships is a means of netting too people. And to Cornwall goes the honour of instituting this interesting correspondence, some years ago; the friendships could be strong factor in cooperation, giving rise to a great variety of bright ideas which, enforced in the Congress,

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Mrs Dunlop

could perhaps be developed. So much so for the personal contact, which I consider the most important item in our cooperation.

The next important factor is publications of various kinds. This has been dealt with by other speakers at various congresses, but I would ask the nations to consider seriously the proposal made some years ago, namely the publication of an international song-book containing the songs of the six nations with a key to pronunciation.

Since 1947 and before then I have listened at various congresses to excellent lectures which have been extremely interesting and thought-provoking. The lecturers obviously burdened much midnight hours on the preparation of their subjects, but once the session was over the members unfortunately could not carry all the subject matter of all these papers. So I would suggest that the Congress should cooperate in publishing a selection of lectures so that the transactions of the various congresses may be had in a permanent form.

We all in Alba have been cooperating in the publication of text-books with our friends in Eire. This is the outcome of an excellent display Eire arranged at the Dublin congress. This brings me to a practical point of view from the housewife's angle. Exchange of recipes. Firstly I would love to take home recipes of all the meals of which I have partaken, as they were so delicious. Housewives in each of the nations could contribute. In Alba in return we would be glad to give out our typical recipes, such as preparation and cooking of venison, crowdie, mealy puddings, fish dishes, home curing of ham, not to mention porridge and the haggis.

Those who were present at Aberystwyth will remember that the gifted artist, Mr George A. Bain lectured on Celtic art. He traced this art form back to earliest times. We know that Eire has done noble work in this ancient design form, using it as media on various textures: marble, metal, and the national costume. Beside the design, I like the colour, expressing a form which is unique and pleasing to the eye, and I want to show you this. I think that is very lovely. That is a product of Ireland. I bought this last year at the Congress and I may say it has been very, very much admired. I noted that Breton native art has incorporated the triskel and the trumpet motive so well known in Ireland and Scotland. I think I am correct however in saying that Breton art form

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is unknown in Alba and I am sure we would be glad to get an opportunity to purchase these designs even in the form of transfers or articles traced ready for sewing.

But art-forms and designs will only be perpetuated if they are applied to firm media. Egyptians and Greek designs are still with us because they were applied to architecture, temples, tombs of the heroes. Our Celtic designs have been copied and adapted from ancient churches, crosses and tombs. I'd just like to show you this. These are three examples from the crosses of Iona. Now we really see how our Celtic designs really do lend themselves to applications on jewellery as well as other articles.

There are many lovely houses round this district, some with a small conventional design about the door and if this device had been in the native art, I think the houses would have been more distinctive and would have given the opportunity to the Bretons to perpetuate a little of their lovely art.

There are many other means of cooperation which must be considered. The drama, with competitors from all our nations, an Interceltic Mod during the Congress; but how this could be carried out and how prizes awarded I leave to greater brain than mine. Perhaps this idea is anticoperative and must disrupt us entirely !!!

Technology. We are living in an age of new scientific discoveries. New names for materials, machines and various other developments are necessary. And here we could cooperate in a new vocabulary. The same perhaps could apply for sport.

We meet here annually at the Congress and I do think that we should cooperate to form a time-table. I respect fully, and very respectfully, make the following suggestion. Firstly that when subjects are suggested the secretary of the organising programme should set a time-limit of say ten, twenty, minutes for each speaker. Secondly that the General Meeting should be held early in the day and that various secretaries should deal only with the transactions of their branches since the previous Congress. This would prevent overlapping and save time.

There are many other points which suggest themselves: an important one is that of a lingua franca, of some Celtic esperanto which would awake attraction and save our diffi-

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culties of translation.

I'm sure that there are very brilliant ideas somewhere in your minds and if this very inadequate paper of mine on such a very important subject has given rise to some of them, then I feel I have not spoken in vain.

Madam Chairman, ladies and Gentlemen, I conclude by thanking you for giving me a patient hearing.

-o°-

UR-BANNIEL KENKELTIEK

gant

Per GERAUD-KERAOD

Kudenn ar banniel etrekeltiek ne c'hell ket bezañ disrannet eus istor ar bannieloù all dre ar bed. E-mesk an holl arouezioù-brezel bet anavezet er bed kozh, unan a zo da lakaat da orin holl bannieloù ar C'hornog : LABARON al luoz roman. Anavezet eo bremañ ez eo LABARUM an impalaer Kustentin keltiek e anv : LABARON, arouez al Lavar pe al Logos (en unan eus niverennoù diwezhañ "Ogam" ez eus komz a se). Anv arouez Kl-Ro : X ha P kevredet, e oa anavezet, enta, gant ar Gelted kent 310.

Banniel Alban zo heñvel ouzh al LABARON. Displeget e vez e darzhriad evel hini labaron Kustentin : an abostol Sant Andrev en doa komzet eus an neñv d'ar roue Angus ha lavaret : "Sell ouzh arouez ar C'hrist en oabl, ha laka anezhañ da vont dirazout en arbenn d'az enebourion". Alese ar groaz wenn war un dachenn c'hlas. Diskouezet eo bet zoken en un niverenn gozh eus ar "Revue Celtique" penaos ez eus da glask orin ar groaz geltiek end-eeun e Ki-Ro al Labaron (o vezañ m'eo bet treset abred-kenañ ar Ro (P) evel ur c'hlec'h en-dro da greizenn ar groaz).

Hiziv n'eus a gement nemet ar groaz geltiek a vefe ledan a-walc'h he brud da dalvezout evel diazez d'ur banniel etrekeltiek. (Merzet eo bet an dra-se gant ar CELTIC LEAGUE da skouer). Daoust hag e talv ar boan frammata en-dro dezhi ur c'henbanniel pe "ur c'hevuluman" ("pavois" e galleg) o tennañ un dra bennak eus an arouezinti anavezet e pep unan eus ar broioù keltiek ?

An UNION JACK a zo an anavezetañ eus an hevelep bannieloù kevrennek. Warnañ ar groaz X wenn a venn aroueziañ Bro-Skos hag ar groaz X ruz : Iwerzhon. Anvet eo bet a-weizhiadoù an hini ruz "kroaz Sant-Padrig" (e gwirionez e

vije arouez unan eus koskorzhioù meur Iwerzhon : dibabet eo bet ergentaou ar groaz-se da arouez gant strollad faskourion iwerzhonat renet gant O'Duffy). Fa glasker avat lakaat hon holl groazioù a-gevret : kroaz wenn Kernow, kroaz Vreizh, kroazioù Alban hag Iwerzhon, petra a zeu da vezañ nemet un arouez heñvel-mik ouzh ar banniel saoz pa lamer kelc'h ar groaz hag al livioù.

Koulskoude, rankout a reomp dero'hel soñj eus kement-mañ : er Grenn-Amzer, pa veze ar groaz du arouez ar Groazourion a Vreizh, ez eo bet dalc'hmat ar groaz wenn arouez kevun holl Groazourion an inizi predenek, n'eo ket hepken ar Saizon o-unan met an Iwerzhoniz, ar Skosiz, ar Gembreiz hag ar Gernowiz. Kalz diwezhatoc'h eo e voe kemeret da vanniel saoz ar groaz ruz digant ar C'hallaoued (war un dro gant flourdiliz ar rouantelezh). Netra ken enta nemet ur groaz wenn ha du a c'hellfe talvezout da arouez istorel eus an holl Gelted a stourmas a-gevret er Groazadeg gveizhall.

Kinnig a rajen sevel ar groaz geltiek gwenn ha du-se war un dachenn gwer-c'hlas, liv Iwerzhon ha Kembre, na petra 'ta.

Hevelep banniel a zo bet savet meur a weizh e Breizh gant strolladoù zo a-hed an hanter-gantved tremenet. Lakaet eo bet peurliesañ an triskell en e greiz (gwelout da skouer ouzh "HOR STOURN EVIT BREIZH" embannet e galleg gant ar P.N.B. e 1942, pajenn 17). N'eo ket anavezet avat an triskell evel arouez vroadel gant Kelted Tramor nemet dindan stumm teirc'har enez Manav. An tresadennoù simpl a zo bepred ar re wellañ... Mar fell deomp avat lakaat un dra bennak e kreiz ar groaz geltiek e vefe gwelloc'h d'am soñj ober gant an triskell boutin (pe c'hoazh gant teirc'har Manav) eget gant steredenn-c'hwec'h skourr Sion...enskrivet e-barzh un hegzagon, evel m'eo bet kinniget din. Rak deomp-ni d'an nebeutañ, Kelted an Douar-Bras, hevelep ardamez a zegas soñj diouzhtu eus traoù anavezet mat ha n'o deus man da welout gant ar c'hwec'h bro geltiek.

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## AN INTERCELTIC FLAG

by P. GIRAUD-KERAD

The problem of a celtic flag cannot be separated from the history of the other flags in the world.

Among all the war-emblems known in the ancient times, the Labaron of the Roman army is at the origin of all the flags of Western Europe. Now it is known that the Labaron of the emperor Constantine is a celtic name : Labaron, the sign of the Word or Verb or Logos (is one of the last issues of Ogami this problem is spoken of). The sign Ki-Ro : X and P intermingled was known by the Celts before 310.

The flag of Scotland is exactly alike to the Labaron. His origin is explained like that of the Labaron of Constantine : the Apostle Saint Andrew spoke from the sky to King Angus and said : "Look at the sign of Christ in the sky and put it in front of you to meet yours enemies".

This is the why of the white cross on a blue ground. In an old issue of the "Celtic Review" we find how one has to look for the origin of the Celtic Cross, simply in the Ki-Ro of the Labaron (because at first the Ro (P) was drawn like a circle round the middle of the cross).

To-day there is but the Celtic cross which has a fame broad enough to be the foundation of an interceltic flag. (This has been seen by the "Celtic League" for instance). Is it worth the while to build around it, a sort of Jack common to all ? A Jack which would take a known symbol of each celtic country ?

The "Union Jack" is the most famous of that sort of Community flag. On it, the white cross represents Scotland and the red cross Ireland. This last one is sometimes known under the name of "Saint Padraig cross", (in fact it would be the flag of one of the big Clans of Ireland, choosed long ago to be the emblem of a group of Irish fascists lead by O'Duffy. When you try then to put all our crosses together : the white cross of Cornwall, the Breton cross, the crosses of Scotland and Ireland, except for the circle of the cross and the colours, this comes to be very much alike to the Union Jack, which is a little annoying.

However we can remember this : in the Middle Ages, as the black cross was the emblem of the Breton Crusaders, the white cross always was the common

emblem of all the crusaders of Great Britain. It is but some time afterwards that the red cross of the French was taken by the English as a flag (at the same time with the Pomp of the French Court). So that only a black and white cross can be the historical and traditional emblem of all celts who fought together in the Crusades of yore.

I would then propose this black and white cross on a bluish-green ground : the Colour of Ireland and Wales.

Celtic Flags like this one were planned more than once in Brittany in the last half-century. In general they put the triskell that is to say the "three legs" of Man in the middle (see the issue of "Mor Stourm evit Breizh" edited in French by the P.N.B. in 1943, page 17). But the "Triskell" is not known as a national symbol by the Celts on the other side of the sea except in the shape of the three legs of Man. The simple drawings are always the best, I think, to put the ordinary "Triskell" (or else the three legs of Man) than the six-branched star of the Jews in an Hexagon (like the flag someone offered me). For us at least Celts of the continent, this emblem suggests things well known which have nothing to do with the six Celtic Countries.

\* \* \* \*

(Tr. Armel Geraod)

