

CELTIC TOMORROW

by *Dr James Whetter*



Whagh Bro, Un Enef
Six Nations, One Soul

**A CELTIC TOMORROW -
ESSAYS IN CORNISH
NATIONALISM**

by Dr. James Whetter

Whegh bro · un enef

Six nations · one soul

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PREFACE

I would like to acknowledge with thanks the permission of the Editor of the Western Morning News to reproduce articles starting on pages 1 and 5 which were originally printed in that newspaper and the Editor of the Cornish Review to reproduce the article starting page 7 which appeared in the Spring 1970 issue of that journal. Other articles are from the Cornish Nation, the journal of Mebyon Kernow, of which I have been editor since 1970.

These essays, which I hope are some contribution to an understanding of the Cornish situation both past and present and may indicate ways in which we can go forward, were written during the period 1969 to 1973. As such they represent my necessarily changing views to the problems that face Kernow. Articles commencing on pages 16, 22, 29, 31, 33, 36, 47, 55, 58, 69, 71, 73, 75 and 81 were the leaders of Cornish Nation during these years and as a result there may be some repetition in them. Also there will be the I hope not-too-irritating use of the editorial "we" and "our". I trust the repetition will be borne with as I felt it important to reproduce the essays exactly as they appeared so that they can also be seen as the evolution of a writer's mind in the face of the changing situation of Kernow.

Regarding the future path of Kernow I think my views as to the social, cultural, political objectives have not varied a great deal. As I came into greater contact with Cornish problems it is in the economic sphere that my ideas have changed most. Above all I believe now it is important here to adopt essentially Cornish solutions, deep-seated in the structure of the economy. In farming, fishing, service trades etc. what may be termed the existing small capitalist structure I think should be aided to develop and prosper. National, i.e. Cornish, organisation should come in the way of co-operation between owner-occupiers in the marketing of products, the buying of goods needed. It is also obvious that in the exploitation of oil etc. in Cornish waters, minerals, china clay, we will not get very far without outside capital and big companies operating in these fields should be given encouragement. I see London-based state nationalisation as insidious to Cornish traditions as the operations of impersonal big business. There are spheres in which organisation should be on a national (Cornish) scale as in the existing set-up with the railways, roads, water supplies, sewerage, electricity, gas, planning etc. An innovation I would like to see is, in agreement with the other Celtic countries and the EEC, a major extension of territorial limits at sea so that all the neighbourhood of all our countries comes within the sovereignty of one or other Celtic nation. This would enable the oil, gas, mineral wealth of the respective coastal areas to accrue

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to each country and allow a properly planned development of fishing to the benefit of each nation's industry.

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Trelispen, Gorran. 12th.Nov.73

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CORNISH PRIDE AWAKES

The almost fanatical enthusiasm with which supporters followed their Rugby team to the county final at Redruth and the controversy that has been caused by the flying (or not flying, as the case may be) of St. Piran's flag on March 5 are just two of the many current manifestations of self-pride which has overtaken natives of the peninsula.

After centuries of submergence, the Cornish are at last rediscovering their Celtic identity. They would say they have only been sleeping and are now awaking.

One of the earliest of the modern rediscoverers of Cornwall's Celtic heritage was Henry Jenner, sometimes called the "Father of the Cornish revival". He was a librarian at the British Museum and by chance came across a piece of Cornish verse of the 15th century among the manuscripts.

In 1904 his "Handbook of the Cornish Language" was published, which was to inspire many others to work on this ancient culture. The same year Jenner persuaded the Celtic Congress then assembled at Caernarvon to accept Cornwall as a fellow member of the community of Celtic nations.

Language Classes

R. Morton Nance was another early pioneer and was the first to start classes in the language in 1920. Also that year the new spirit that was abroad among Cornish people bore fruit in the foundation of the first Old Cornwall Society, at St. Ives.

Since that date societies have sprung up in every village and town in the county; in 1947 there were 20, today 31. Most are vigorous, thriving institutions and sponsor a wide range of activities, lectures, social events, visits to ancient sites and historic buildings. They are organised into a Federation of Old Cornwall Societies which produces a twice-yearly journal of high repute and also publishes Cornish dictionaries and reprints of ancient texts.

The gaining of rapid and solid support by the Old Cornwall movement in the post-Great War years encouraged the organisers to found in 1928 their own Gorsedd, on the model of the already established Welsh Eisteddfod.

Grand Bard

The inauguration ceremony, conducted by the Archdruid of Wales, took place at Boscawen Un, St. Buryan, on September 21. The first Grand Bard of Cornwall was Henry Jenner, bardic name "Gwas Myghal" and on his death in 1934 he was succeeded by R. Morton Nance, "Mordon".

Meanwhile the progress of the Cornish Language continued. In 1929 R. Morton Nance's "Cornish for All" appeared. In 1934 came the first English-Cornish dictionary and in 1938 the Cornish-English. In 1939 there was published A.S.D. Smith's "Cornish Simplified" generally recognised as the best textbook for beginners to date.

Cornwall's acceptance into the community of Celtic nations was further shown by the holding of the Celtic Congress in 1932 at Truro. In 1933 was founded the first Cornish Youth Movement, Tyr ha Tavas (Land and language). The watchword of the society was "Service to Cornwall" and it especially sought to promote the revival of all that was native to the county, such as language, games and crafts.

Valuable Work

The threads of the Cornish revival were picked up again after the last war and progress continued in many fields. New editions of the dictionaries have been published and new works, A.S.D. Smith's "Tristan hag Ysolt", R. Morton Nance's "Cornish Sea-Words", P.A.S. Pool's "Cornish for Beginners", the historical works of A.L. Rowse, W.J. Rowe, L. Elliot-Binns, Aileen Fox, D.B. Barton, A.C. Todd, and others have deepened the Cornishman's appreciation of his heritage.

Journals devoted to purely Cornish subjects, such as "An Lef" (in Cornish), "New Cornwall" and "Cornish Magazine", have attracted wide followings, and in the archaeological field much valuable work has been done by the Cornish Archaeological Society supplementing that provided by older institutions.

The Old Cornwall movement and the Cornish Gorsedd have gone from strength to strength. The latter, after some early scoffings, has become an accepted and respected Cornish institution whose reward of Bardic honours for work for Cornwall and for proficiency in the language is much coveted.

On the death of R. Morton Nance in 1959 he was succeeded as Grand Bard by E.G.R. Hooper, "Talek", and he in turn gave way to the present holder of the office, G. Pawley White, "Gunwyn".

New Society

Though this Cornish revival was at first largely limited to the preservation of the heritage, after the last war some attention began to be paid to the contemporary problems of Cornwall. On January 6, 1951, at a meeting at Oates Hotel, Redruth (since demolished), there was formed a new society, "Mebyon Kernow" (Sons of Cornwall), which addressed itself

to the political and economic difficulties of modern Cornwall.

The early years were not easy, and support for the movement was only gained slowly. The first chairman of M.K. as it is affectionately termed by members, was Miss Helena Charles. She was succeeded by Major C.H. Beer and he, in 1960, by R.A. Dunstone.

It was in the early 60's that the party appears to have overcome the credibility gap, benefiting from the conterminous Celtic revivals in Wales and Scotland. Membership shot up into the thousands and the party began to be courted by local notabilia, local councils, M.P.s. and the mass media. It was "with it" to belong to M.K. Branches came to be set up at most Cornish towns. St. Just, Mount's Bay, Hayle, Helston, Camborne, Redruth, St. Day, Falmouth, Truro, St. Austell, Bodmin, Padstow, Launceston, Liskeard, Looe and Saltash. Successes began to be had in local government elections.

Colin Murley was elected County Councillor for St. Day and Lanner in 1967. Earlier, several members won seats on the then Padstow Urban Council. In 1968, Roger Holmes was elected to Liskeard Borough Council and many other councillors throughout the county are M.K. members, though because of the local tradition of not defining party alignments, they are officially designated as Independents.

The party continually presses for solutions to the county's problems and carefully worked out surveys have been made of the region's economic prospects and of educational plans. A sub-committee, the Cornwall Transport Committee, seeks greater co-ordination of the services available within the county.

When the overspill controversy was at its peak some months back, Mebyon Kernow, mobilised the obvious local antagonism and at Bodmin which was one of the towns most likely to have been affected, a petition of 2,000 signatures was raised.

Firm Voice

Regular meetings and an annual conference are held, and M.K. is developing an increasingly confident and firm voice on any issue that affects the well-being of the land. Membership has grown to 3,500, and, with new branches recently set up at Callington and Camelford, Mebyon Kernow is represented in 18 Cornish towns. In 1967, R.A. Dunstone was succeeded as chairman of the party by L. Truran. Now, the party is on the point of producing a policy document for self-government, and plans are being made to put forward at least two candidates in the forthcoming General Election.

Clearly things in Cornwall are on the move. As if to emphasise the Celtic connection, the Celtic Congress is again being held in the county at Easter in St. Ives. The furore that has surrounded the flying of St. Piran's flag suggests that that issue is by no means over, and it would appear that those who ignore the reality of the Cornish revival will do so at their peril.

Reprinted from "Western Morning News", 17th. March, 1969.



TOWARDS A UNITED EUROPE

The changes which have taken place in the French Government would seem to hold out more hope for progress towards a United Europe. Such progress would be welcome for the British and also for the small nations of Europe which have been struggling for their freedom for many years.

It could well be that with the gradual creation of a more united European State there would be some loosening of the bonds which have constrained the small nations since the coming into being, from the late Middle Ages onwards, of the strong national States of Western Europe, with rigidly defined boundaries.

Nationalist Trends

It is significant that the chief violence in post-war years within Western Europe States has been that of nationalist extremists dissatisfied with their country's position as part of a larger State, the Basques in Northern Spain, the Bretons in France, the Flemings and Walloons in Belgium, the German-speaking inhabitants of the Italian Tyrol, the Welsh in Great Britain.

The same restlessness has been felt among some of the inhabitants of Scotland and Cornwall, also Celtic bastions like Wales, but in their cases the use of force, has, happily, not been adopted.

As Prof. Bernard Crick has written in an article ("In Defence of Patriotism", "Observer" February 16), to be proud of one's community, one's nation is no bad thing. It is not much different from being proud of one's family, which few would deny as being important for the balance and harmony of the individual personality.

Among all people there is this desire to discover one's roots, to have a place, a geographical area which one can call home. Who wants to be deracine? For small ethnic groups, those which have a language and culture distinct from their neighbours, there is also this desire to have a homeland with strictly defined geographical limits.

In a United Europe it seems highly likely that such desires can be accommodated. However, it can hardly be expected that such States or nations will have political or economic independence. Though they may be treated as a unit, as all countries have learnt in the post-war years such independence is illusory: it is only by co-operating in both fields that peace and prosperity can be ensured.

Soviet States

A United Europe will demand as much if not more planning and organi-

sation as is now involved for these small nations within the particular countries which they find themselves. It is more in the world of emotions, in the sporting and cultural fields that national aspirations will be realised. Within their appointed boundaries each community can cultivate its own garden, garner its heritage, enjoy itself, at the same time having easier, happier, mutually-enriching contact with its neighbours.

One would hope that in time the numerous nations and communities at present subjugated within the Soviet Empire, all protestations to the contrary, the world's biggest colonialists, would also join in this confederation of European States - the hapless Czechs and Slovaks, the Baltic States who had their brief independence cut short by Stalin in 1940, the Ukrainians, the Tartars of the Crimea who were so cruelly ejected from their homeland at the end of the war.

When Danger Comes

As Prof. Crick stresses, the existence of healthy, self-confident local prides can only be to the enrichment of European and world culture as a whole. It is when these nationalisms become obsessive-paranoic even-and are directed against neighbours, seek to harm them and lessen their self-esteem that the danger comes, and that all the worst excesses of racism worked up by demagogues develop.

It is said that one of the reasons why Herr Straus, the German Finance Minister is so attached to the European idea is that he is a Bavarian and Bavarians are traditionally less attached to a German State than other members of the federation. Whatever be the reason, Britain can only welcome his support.

Meanwhile, other small nations and communities such as Bavaria have everything to hope for from the creation of a United Europe.

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CORNWALL INTO THE 21st CENTURY

"WHY CORNISH NATIONALISM?" (by Kenneth Gunnell, Cornish Review, No. 13). A clever-clever piece, I suppose what one might expect from a chess-playing Liberal. The usual with-it sexual metaphors-I do not suppose Cornish nationalists masturbate mentally or otherwise more or less than any other group-combined with the traditional townman's haughtiness towards country people (vide the reference to the garage foreman as "this worthy"; the quotation of the girl's remarks, followed by "sic"; the objection to the word "dinner" for the mid-day meal), this last, however, not at all what one would expect from a modern person. His view of the heights of culture in a society would seem to be a combination of the capability of garages to provide water, the ability of its residents to know what is an aubergine (I thought it was a sort of small French pub), their inability to distinguish between the sexes-the Cornish, like all good country people know, however, that there is a difference. I think Mr. Gunnell is ultra-sensitive to the name "Sons of Cornwall"; many women, in fact, find no difficulty in serving in Mebyon Kernow, and, surely, "Sons" is a generic term, which though in origin masculine here can apply to both sexes; in any case, if there is this movement towards "unisex" I do not suppose one of the sexes would mind serving in a party bearing the appellation of one of them.

In general, I found the article very shallow and frivolous, badly argued and put together. The example about dry-cleaning as showing Cornwall's likely economic dependence on Plymouth rather weak, one would think; and as for the nation's cultural and economic dependence on that city, this is the first I have heard of it-the place like Cornwall lacks a permanent theatre providing serious drama; its night-life is not known for its sophistication. Without any large towns, of course, we lack urban attractions in Cornwall, but I would have thought, with the daily and Sunday newspapers, radio and television, ample supplies of books and records, several thriving art clubs, this fact is not of such importance these days. The diligent Cornishman can enjoy a fairly deep and satisfying intellectual life. As for theatres, one should not forget that though Cornwall lacks a permanent one, in the Summer there is the Minack and at Piran Round, Bristol University Drama Department began in 1969 what I take will be an annual series of Cornish Miracle plays. To complete his cultural education, the Cornishman can benefit from occasional visits to the metropolis, these days only a few hours away.

Meeting folk, from the big towns on holiday in the summer, months one is often astonished by the feelings of relief they acknowledge once they

get into the softer, gentler climes of Cornwall, amid the beautiful sea and landscape, without the noise and clamour of urban life. Obviously the land is ideal for creative, cultural activity, and I would suspect that the proportion of writers, artists, workers in other cultural fields, is higher in Cornwall than in any other part of Britain. It amuses me how, whenever I talk to Englishmen on holiday here, if I mention that Cornwall is a Celtic country, they are quick to point out that their grandmother was Irish, great-grandfather was Scottish, father was half-Welsh etc. It is as if they are proud of having Celtic roots, a little ashamed of their Englishness, as if they appreciate that the English are the intruders, that Britain is at root a Celtic country. And, of course, there are plenty of reasons why they should feel this way. The place-names of that country frequently have Celtic roots; no doubt much Celtic blood does flow through the veins of its inhabitants, and throughout history individual Celts have made a considerable contribution to the growth of the institutions, to the arts and sciences of Britain.

We might look at some of Mr. Gunnell's more serious criticisms. Tourism is on the decline, he says. I would be interested to have his statistics. One would think that the exact opposite is the case, that tourism, in fact, is growing in Cornwall, and that future prospects for the industry are rosy. English and Continentals are coming to the country in increasing numbers. Both find it a beautiful country and the weather just right—many English I have talked to say they find it too hot in Southern Europe, and in any case, squawls and rainy periods are as common or commoner than in Cornwall. Both are intrigued by the individual history of the place, surviving in the place-names, the people themselves, their dialect, physique. English find it sufficiently different in atmosphere and culture from their native towns, and yet with enough features in common with their homes—in the way of food, beer, pubs, use of the English language, etc.—to make them feel at ease.

Preservation—yes, that is a key word. Does Mr. Gunnell think the world will be a better place when only one language is spoken, when all people have the same outlook, are khaki skinned, dress the same, when all knowledge of the individual languages and cultures which have made their contribution to world culture is eradicated. I think most people want a freer, more democratic society, where individuals can fulfil themselves, make their own contributions to society, be creative, enjoy themselves in the way they see fit—the last, of course, as long as in the process they do not harm other people. I would have thought it of value in the study of man and

his progress to have knowledge of the languages, the races, their physical characteristics, their cultural manifestations, the imprint they made on the world society of man. An individual naturally has pride, is interested in his own existence, his background; in the same way a community, a nation is interested in its own past. I would have thought self-love a necessary precondition of love of the rest of humanity. If one despises oneself, what chance is there that one will love others. The Cornish are proud of their Celtic origins, their history, their heritage, their little plot of land and the imprint their ancestors have made on it. Through neglect, sometimes one feels deliberately fostered, the modern Cornishman frequently has little knowledge of his Celtic past, the struggles of his race in early historic and pre-historic times, their long centuries of independence, their first efflorescence. He knows he is not quite English, feels a bit embarrassed about it, feels as though he is a second-class citizen. Surely it would be a good thing if the Cornish became more knowledgeable as to their Celtic origins, if they got to know their language, were able to lift up their heads, become confident and proud of themselves. The same thing applies to all nations, communities, races. When they know themselves, then they are better able to mix, have good relations with other groups. Let individual cultures, like individuals, thrive, barriers will break down and we will have a better, richer, more mature world society.

A second point Mr. Gunnell makes concerns "The kind of Westleyan bigotry" which the nationalists wish to preserve. It is true Methodism and the somewhat puritan attitudes associated with it have been a part of the recent Cornish past and have helped to mould the character of the present Cornishman. And also that, as a countryman, he is by nature conservative, slow to accept change. But a reading of history shows that the Methodist movement played an important part in tempering some of the crudities of Cornish society in the 18th and 19th centuries, helping to educate and civilise the masses. It was unfortunate, of course, that this education, based much on the scriptures, paid little attention to Cornish culture, Cornwall's Celtic past. But it did make its contribution. But society moves on, and obviously many of its tenets, relevant in their day, are now in conflict with modern developments in society. I expect the general view would be the desirability of maintaining the relevant features of Methodism, the encouragement of self-discipline, respect for law and order, learning and civilised standards, while those which are out-of-date, the puritanical outlook, the tendency to interfere in the lives of other individuals, in the way they want to live, take

their pleasures, should be discarded. In general, my feeling is that Mebyon Kernow adopts a sensible, pragmatic approach to the problems of Cornwall, and I do not see them defending aspects of Cornish society, outlooks not in tune with modern developments.

One can tell Mr. Gunnell has not looked at the history of Cornwall or got the feel of the place or its character. For this is at root a Celtic country, one of the western-situated remnants of the great Celtic "empire" that from the 5th to the 2nd centuries B.C. dominated Europe. Physical remains which testify to this as follows: inland fortified camps, such as Castle-an-dinas, Castle Dore; cliff castles often with related fogous such as the Rumps and Dodman Point; memorials to early Celtic rulers, such as the Tristan stone on the road to Fowey; the Celtic crosses of 8th to 12th centuries, testifying to the individual character of Christianity in the western littoral of Europe; then we come to the place-names of Cornwall, the distinctive Celtic derivation of which is one of the first things that strikes the visitor as he crosses the Tamar; their difference from those of the east side testifies to the ancient racial and linguistic border that this forms; the numerous saints to the astonishing Celtic religious renaissance of the 5th and 6th centuries in which the Cornish played their part. Then we come to the surviving Cornish language and the literary remains, mostly miracle plays, that have come down to us. The language was widely spoken in Cornwall until the 17th century and in recent years there has been a modern revival. Finally, the people themselves, often of pure Celtic ancestry, with Celtic derived surnames, whose physical characteristics frequently mark them off from the English, the intonations of whose dialects reflect those of the Cornish language.

The fact is that of all the Celtic nations, despite the loss of the language, Cornwall is the most homogeneous. Partly, this is due to its easily comprehended geographical unity, partly to its small size and partly to the tenacity of its inhabitants. Cornwall has all the attributes of a nation; the only next thing is whether the Cornish people think they are. That they may not think so can only be put down to the English orientated education which has prevailed in the land since the Middle Ages. This, in general, has been anti-Celtic, against the culture of the ordinary folk. Understandable in some ways, because Celtic culture did not embody the ideas of the Renaissance, classical outlook, glorification of reason; nor did it have much connection with the requirements of training for commerce or business. Those who had such education in early modern times seem mostly

to have been the children of the gentry and merchant classes. With one or two honourable exceptions, members of these classes from this time seem to have turned their backs on the Cornish language and culture; aped their English counterparts across the border, ridiculed and scorned the native tongue and those using it. Clearly there was an element of class conflict in the decline of the vernacular culture in succeeding years.

Yet despite the decline of the language, it is surprising how much of the old way of life continued, a few Cornish words and phrases, the sing-song intonation in the way they spoke English, ancient sports and customs. In the 19th century, Methodism, apart from tapping the emotional strength of the Celt and the Cornishman's underlying antagonism to the class-conscious, conservative Anglican Church, seems to have had little reference to Celtic cultural traditions, certainly did nothing to foster or revive them. At the end of the century there came the establishment of state-organised elementary schools, serving the needs of the mass of the population. Both its English and local controllers appear to have been deliberately anti-Cornish, anti-working class culture. And the situation, despite the setting up of secondary schools, appears to have changed little in this century. Now perhaps not so much deliberately anti-Cornish as neglectful through ignorance, laziness and the use of teachers of English origin.

But do the Cornish people still think they are a nation? Despite these centuries of deliberate suppression of their culture and neglect, all the evidence points to the fact that in this century more and more people are becoming conscious of their difference, their Celtic ancestry, which marks them off from the people across the Tamar. We have the revival of the language, the growth in the number of and interest in the Old Cornwall Societies, the establishment of the Cornish Gorsyth in 1928, and Mebyon Kernow in 1951. And the truth is that these organisations are healthier, have greater following now than at any other time in this century. The explanation is probably that free primary and secondary education has given the chance to people of ordinary working class Cornish origins to fulfil themselves, give expression to their deeper beliefs. These people, unlike the merchants and gentry, did not betray their culture and ancestry. Cornish people themselves have a right, almost a duty, to be interested in the ancient culture and language, which has helped shape their land, themselves. But has such a culture a contribution to make to non-Cornish people?

I would say a definite yes. To start with, any language, any culture

of the human family, has its scientific interest. Part of the rich panoply that has gone up to make the world culture of today. But Celtic cultures in particular have aesthetic appeal, scripts, metalwork, sculptures, Celtic crosses, even their habitation and field patterns, every way in which they moulded the environment to suit their needs, have their beauties for us today, provide artistic inspiration in so many ways. Of the various Celtic languages, Cornish, I am assured, is one of the most attractive, softer and gentler than those of more northern climes. To learn to speak and read it is to come into contact with beautiful words, expressions, sounds. It is an aesthetic experience. The language, of course, also has its scientific interest, for linguists, and to provide the key to the place-names of the land. These are some of the reasons why non-Cornish may wish to learn it. Whether by getting to know the language, reading the history of Cornish society, looking at the physical remains that survive, one becomes conscious of the Celtic philosophy (unwritten, of course), ethos, way of life, appreciation of which may still have much to offer to modern man. The Celts were a country people, lived in unison with nature, the environment, appreciated the limitations of life, knew how to make the most of it. Failure in these spheres is undoubtedly at the root of many of the tensions of modern man. We have the almost hysteric craving to get into the country, the Celtic land, to practice the age-old Celtic pursuits, farming, fishing, ancient crafts. This conflict has perturbed many modern writers, lies at the root of much of the work of such a man as D.H. Lawrence.

So I would say the Cornish culture and language has much to offer to the modern man. Knowledge of it is a right and an enjoyable duty for Cornishmen. And clearly more and more Cornish people are becoming conscious that they are a nation, have all the characteristics of such. But is not nationalism out-of-date in this day and age? In general, one might say yes, but in Cornwall's case, through centuries of suppression and neglect, it is only right that Cornish people should assert their difference, their Celtic individuality. The breaking down of barriers, internationalism, world government, these are the way things are going. The Common Market, the move towards European unity, I welcome, as all these trends. In this last case, I feel it will tend to break up some of the artificial boundaries created from the Middle Ages onwards, when states, such as Britain, France, and Spain, were established, including within their boundaries smaller nations, weaker militarily, such as the diverse Celtic groups, the Basques. No country can be economically independent these days, and one does not

expect a future Cornwall to be any different in that respect. On the other hand, one looks forward to the time of a future Europe, when small nations, as well as large, are recognised for their individual cultural and linguistic contributions; inevitably, this will have to have some political basis. But if modern society is moving towards greater freedom, the granting to every individual the right to fulfil himself in the way he wants, take his pleasures in the way that he wants, in the same way it should only be just that communities that are conscious of their individuality, their nationhood, should have the same right to be equally free, fulfil themselves, garner their heritage, work as one. So Cornwall, Let the Cornish, who have had a raw deal in recent centuries, establish their nationhood; thereafter they will be the greatest cosmopolitans, internationalists.

Mr. Gunnell talks about Cornish nationalism being out-of-date in the 20th century. I hope above I have shown the reasons why I do not think this is the case. But we are not likely to get anything very satisfactory just from a critical review of Mr. Gunnell's piece. In the second section, therefore, I propose to indicate what I think should be the future lines of Cornwall's development. I would stress that this is a personal viewpoint.

II

Anyone who has read the history of the Cornish throughout the centuries must become aware that we are here dealing with a distinct people with very different cultural traditions, that the Tamar boundary is an historic, racial boundary. For the revival of the language and culture in this century, we have to thank such workers as Henry Jenner, R. Morton Nance, other leaders of the Old Cornwall movement and the Cornish Gorseth. But as R. Morton Nance has said: "One generation has set Cornwall on its feet. It is now for another to make it walk". It is up to us, the young Cornishmen of today, to repay our debt to our Celtic ancestry, to rebuild a Celtic nation of distinct culture and tradition. As I see it, we can list the aims of a nationalist movement in two categories (a) short term, those which can be achieved in the near future, say before 2000 A.D., having consideration for the realities of the present political situation; (b) long term desirable aims, which, however (in this thankfully democratic society to which we belong), will be unlikely of fulfilment in this present century, but which should be aims for the 21st. century.

I envisage (a) as follows:- 1. The teaching of the Cornish language in Cornish schools so that by the end of the century it is available to all school children and be by then the people's second language. Our main language, English, thankfully, is the world's international language.

2. The continual pressing for Cornwall to be treated like the other Celtic nations, Wales and Scotland, and to have the same sort of political relationship with the central government. With the likelihood of European co-operation increasing, we should strive for acceptance as an independent nation within a united European federation, eventually United Nations system.

3. More locally, the council or government which rules Cornwall should always be kept under one administration, should eradicate the use of the word "county" and in its place use "nation" and "national" in all contexts. Use should be made of St. Piran's flag, now clearly become the symbol of Cornish independence and more Celtic, virile badges and symbols adopted generally.

4. Work should continue towards the creation of a University of Cornwall which will probably develop out of expanded existing institutions within the land. The council or government of Cornwall should obviously have some say, over this institution, in the early stages at least.

5. Work should continue towards the building up of some unified means of communication, catering to the needs of the land as a whole, and not to those outside. A daily newspaper—perhaps a development of Cornish Nation, published by Mebyon Kernow—radio and television stations. Obviously, here again some control should be exercised by a unified national administration. The Post Office should come under local control and issue its own stamps.

Long-term aims (b):-1. Having a monarchy, an English one at that, is obviously anomalous. Cornwall, in the 21st. century, should become a republic, a member of a federation of other republics of a united Europe, in the United Nations. In this enlightened, democratic age, a generally socialist republic. The welfare state, free education—which gave the chance for the first time for members of the Cornish working class to express their personalities fully—the eradicating of elitism in society, the fairer distribution of wealth, these the products of British socialism, obviously very important to maintain. As also the rule of law, the British traditions of a free press and democratic government, in the development of all of which individual Celts have frequently played a major part.

2. The Church of England obviously anomalous. I suppose there is no harm in the occupants carrying on their religious positions, but the church buildings should be taken over by the council or government; (i) to preserve these as most valuable historical monuments; (ii) to open them up for public uses—a community centre, for music, drama, indoor leisure pursuits.

3. The mixed socialist-small capitalist economy is apparently what nations, both in the East and the West, are finding most viable, practicable. China clay quarrying, underground mining, should be taken over by the council or government. The estates of the big gentry also. Certainly all the Duchy of Cornwall properties. Some may say there is no precedent—but even today the "County" Council has quite a lot of property in the form of council smallholdings. These nationalised ventures would at last be run in the interests of Cornwall, of Cornish people as a whole. In the field of tourism, the government would play an important part in encouragement, improving facilities, etc.

4. The University, the language, culture, should thrive; the 21st. century should see the Cornish confident, extravert, producing fine works of art, technically inventive and proficient, engaged in valuable research projects, scientifically conducted.

In the long run, I believe all these objects can be achieved peacefully, thanks to the peaceful traditions, the democratic processes which are inherent in the British system—to which, I would stress, the Celts have made their contribution. These are then the aims of the Cornish today. My own feelings are that they should put their language first and foremost—the basis of their identity. I would say—Fear not scorn. Remember the words of Michael Blaunpyn or Cornubiensis in the 13th century: "Treachery will not conquer us; there is nothing which we will not overcome."



"KING ARTHUR IS NOT DEAD!"

With the change of government at Westminster the Maud proposals and the part of them that particularly affected us in Kernow namely the proposal to transfer part of the south-east of our land to an enlarged Plymouth Council, appear to be a dead duck. But there remain some alarming aspects of the proposals. That they should ever have been mooted is a sign of the weakness at this time of the Cornish nation. Through forgetfulness, laziness and downright betrayal the fact that Kernow is Celtic, has a separate identity from England is not so widely appreciated as it should be, has clearly not been properly put over. The remedy for this is for Mebyon Kernow and other bodies representing Cornish interests to improve their public relations, to keep plugging the point of Kernow's Celtic identity in British, European, world circles.

More immediately, after the scare of the Maud proposals "Cornwall County" Council should approach the British government and secure the drawing up of a document guaranteeing in perpetuity the River Tamar as the border between Kernow and England. Signatories to the document should be the British government, the "Cornwall County" Council and the leaders of Mebyon Kernow, representing the interests of the Cornish people. In the longer term the Council should work to secure a new status for Kernow, that of a member nation of a British federation - this is one of the aims of Mebyon Kernow.

Another alarming feature of the Maud proposals is that they in fact embody the expansionist aims of a rich and influential authority on the borders of Kernow, that is Plymouth City Council. The secretive and sinister manner in which the Plymouth Council made clear their plans for south-east Kernow - the Winstone Beacon airport scheme, the attempted take-over of the Mount Edgecumbe estates, the earlier plans for reservoirs - shows that we are here dealing with a formidable enemy. In the years ahead the stratagems of the Plymouth City Council - the Moloch across the Tamar - will have to be fought with great care and skill.

Mebyon Kernow is a non-violent and democratic movement in the best traditions of British political movements and we would never condone the use of force as a solution to Kernow's problems. But if Plymouth City Council persists in their expansionist policies in south-east Kernow, if the City Council by some law contrived at Westminster - which, by the way, we would not recognise - ever acquired possession of one yard of territory of the Tamar Mebyon Kernow would naturally feel sympathy for militants who

formed themselves into cells to disrupt and disorganise the administration of the occupied land

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'KING ARTHUR IS NOT DEAD!'

THE FUTURE OF MEBYON KERNOW AND OF KERNOW

Mebyon Kernow is an indigenous movement, a spontaneous reaction to the increasing pressure on the Cornish identity. It was formed by a group of far-sighted men and women in the western part of the land in 1951. It is an indigenous movement, a creation of people in Kernow, unlike all other political movements, indeed all other religious, intellectual and cultural movements which have influenced the progress of the Cornish people. It is a movement which Cornish people can be proud of, indeed with people are becoming increasingly proud of. It has a democratic organization, is in tune with modern developments and is capable of adapting itself to the swiftly changing world in which we are living. So Cornishmen and women it is your movement, join it and become active in it so that it reflects your aims and ideals.

An attractive feature to me of Mebyon Kernow is that the name is in the Cornish language. This brings home the point that the land has a language, a Celtic language. The fact that practically all the place names in the land have a Celtic derivation and likewise many of our own surnames is also evidence of this. Personally I feel that we should stop using the name "Cornwall" and for internal consumption at least refer to our land as "Kernow". The reason for this as follows - the "wall" part of Cornwall, like "Wales" derives from anglo-saxon "wealas" meaning "strangers", "foreigners". This name was given by the English to the Celtic peoples the Cornish and Welsh, who occupied the western parts of Britain. The Welsh were just "strangers"; we were the "Corn-" or "Cornish" "strangers". The "Corn" part is believed to derive from a Celtic word meaning corner or promontory - so we were promontory dwellers. I do not see why we should call ourselves "strangers" or "foreigners". So Kernow not Cornwall.

For some years Mebyon Kernow was a little scorned by an element in Kernow. Having been subjected for so long, so used to kowtowing to English people, so used to using, looking up to English cultural and intellectual systems it took a brave man to stand up and say we are Celtic, are different from the English, have our own culture, language, history, racial inheritance of which we can be proud. It was easy for the more timid amongst us to mock at the new movement - "Oh MK, they want home-rule" - suppressed giggle. The first supporters were brave men and women. I do not think the aim ever was home-rule as such. We recognise that we are an integral part of Britain. We have been for so long linked to England and the Celtic countries, our destinies have been for so long linked with theirs

over so many centuries and naturally we have come under the influence of the same religious, cultural, political movements that have overtaken Britain as a whole. Cornish men and women have died alongside their English friends, their Celtic cousins in numerous wars against various enemies abroad. Cornish people have played their part in the building up of the much admired political system, based on democratic rights, the freedom of the individual, the rule of law, which exists in Britain to-day and have made their contribution to the arts in Britain. We thus have a loyalty to a British federation of nation. What we seek to establish is our Celtic identity; we seek to become a member nation of a British federation - which is what in fact we are, though our position is not recognised in the constitution. A member nation in a British federation, alongside Eire, Mannin (Isle of Man), Alba (Scotland), Cymru (Wales) and England; a member nation in a European federation in which all nations which are conscious of their national identity are granted political recognition - this would in fact mean a redrawing of the map of Europe but in a mature Europe one would think that this would only be just and so, varied countries such as Breizh (Brittany), the Tartars of the Crimea, the Czechs and Slovaks, the Basques would at last have their Freedom.

In many ways Mebyon Kernow is a new movement although with deep roots. And some of the changes which it advocates may seem new since the essential Celtic identity of Kernow has been overlaid by many centuries of English cultural, political and intellectual domination. Though recognising the part played by developments in the recent past in all sorts of fields in making the present Cornishmen we have to seek out the essential Celtic characteristics of Kernow which should be preserved, enhanced. Our racial stock, our physique that is one inheritance. But when we come down to it our Celtic identity is finally, and definitively expressed in an inheritance much neglected in recent years, our language. And it is this which Mebyon Kernow is actively trying to promote - along with such respected organization as the Cornish Corseth and the Cornish Language Board. We believe it should be taught at all Cornish schools to all those who want to learn it. We do not believe that it should be the children's first language, that would be a step back in this day and age, English fortunately being or becoming the world's language. We do believe, however, that it should be the second language Cornish school children learn. As well as this we believe far great attention should be given in Cornish schools to the teaching of Cornish history; children should learn about the Celtic roots of

the land, the close association over millenia between Kernow and Breizh the Celtic renaissance in which Kernow shared, the long struggle against the Saxons which lasted until the early 10th century, the significance of Cornish placenames, details of the Cornish rebellions of the 15th and 16th centuries of Cornish culture, customs and sports, of the social and economic history of the land. At present the teaching of Cornish history in Cornish schools is totally inadequate and the children have no chance to learn their language. This should be rectified as soon as possible. This is an important matter and Mebyon Kernow is doing its bit in pressing for changes.

The movement has many similarities with the Labour movement of Britain as a whole. The Labour party has always had two wings—the working class—trade union side and intellectuals from all classes. Mebyon Kernow has its strength among the working folk of Kernow. These are the people who still retain Celtic characteristics though much diluted and changed—for instance, their Cornish dialect, derived from the way their ancestors spoke the Cornish language. Intellectuals—those who have thought and read about Kernow's individual history and who appreciate that Kernow is as different from England as is Cymru (Wales) or Alba (Scotland) and that the Tamar is as ancient a racial, historical border as are the Cheviots, Offa's Dyke. The Labour movement took a long time to gain acceptance in the early years, was subjected to much scorn, vicious attacks which the Tories are particularly capable of; but survived and in modern times has achieved office and passed legislation which has done much to modernise Britain, make it a more civilised, humane society to live in. Mebyon Kernow because it is based on basic truths of the Cornish situation, in short that we are and have been an exploited nation, evokes equal fury among the establishment, those whose interests lie in the maintenance of the present situation—though I cannot imagine a true Cornishman being satisfied with the present situation. The first weapon to hand is, of course, scorn, which naturally has a very devastating effect on individuals who have not had wide experience of the world, who have remained in their home towns and villages for practically all their lives; this is quickly followed by smear campaigns, the usual weapon of the jealous, the inferior. Under these attacks the main thing is to stand firm, retain the inner confidence that derives from the fact that Mebyon Kernow is based on basic truths of the Cornish situation. Like the Labour Party Mebyon Kernow will, as long as the Cornish keep united behind it, grow in strength until the time will arrive when the government of Kernow is in the hands of people who are working solely for the interests of the land, of the

people. Like that of the Labour Party Mebyon Kernow's policy is forward-looking, constructive and adaptable. It is no good getting committed by high sounding principles to courses of action which may well be impracticable at the time when we achieve office.

Important in the progress of the movement are the branches. At the moment MK has 21 branches in Cornish towns and villages scattered fairly regularly throughout the land and over 3,000 members—by the way, about the same proportion to total population as Plaid Cymru in Cymru (Wales). It is important that Mebyon Kernow keeps in close contact with its grassroots support—its greatest strength—and it is important to have branches functioning in all Cornish communities. Mebyon Kernow is and should be seen to be the mouthpiece of ordinary Cornish folk. There is clearly scope for new branches to be formed, mainly in mid and east Kernow but also in some parts of the west. People willing to start branches and become active in the movement should contact officers or other members who will put them in touch with the right people. Branches once formed should I think hold monthly meetings and have a sort of discussion of local and national issues. Meetings should be conducted in the usual way of committee meetings. With local issues of unusual interest or importance branches can always pass resolutions for the National Executive to discuss and act upon. Branches should try to organise social activities, dances, jumble sales, bingo sessions etc. Young people should be encouraged to get interested—Yowynksys Kernow branches could well follow the formation of Mebyon Kernow branches. At Cornish schools it would be good to see among the older students the establishment of Y.K. clubs to discuss Kernow and her future, thrash out solutions to her problems with the honesty and high dealings of which young people are especially capable of. MK Branch Organisers should aim to become the intellectual leaders of the Cornish communities which they serve.

The achievement of Mebyon Kernow's aims in the years to come, the achievements of office will act as a catalyst to the Cornish spirit. All Cornish apart from the traitors of which every nation has a few, will receive an uplift to their morale; no longer will they be the underdog. Having found their identity they will be exuberant in their artistic creation, their technical inventiveness. They will be proud of being Cornish, of being Celtic in a Celtic land.

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WITH MEBYON KERNOW A NEW KERNOW ARISES!

The making of the eldest son of the King of England "Duke of Cornwall" (in the early Middle Ages), like his becoming Prince of Wales, was a sop to the Celts of the west. The Cornish and Welsh each with their own language, had a separate identity from the English and had had their own kings. They were now to be kidded that they had a sort of monarch at their head and still preserved some kind of independence. The distinction between Celtic Kernow and England was, however, maintained in documents of the time and regularly statesmen distinguished between "Anglia" and "Cornubia". The Cornish language was recognised as one of the four languages of Britain in the 16th century and attempts were made (unsuccessful unfortunately) to have the Prayer Book and the Bible translated into Cornish. In modern times with the decline of the power of the monarchy, and hence the Duchy, there is need for a new definition of Cornish nationhood. Mebyon Kernow presses for Kernow's obtaining a different constitutional position from that of an English county, for her recognition as a member nation of a British Federation.

Through the operations of the mass media, television, radio and the daily press, the infiltration of Kernow by non-Cornish people the Celtic identity of the land is under attack. It is no good now for the Cornish to sit on their backsides and hope that Kernow will somehow survive. With present trends unless the Cornish people take positive steps the identity of the place will undoubtedly go by the board, within 30 years the land will become little different from the creeping and characterless suburbia that is overtaking southern England. Unless the Cornish take positive steps ... To save Kernow, their identity they should give every support to, join, become active in the movement that represents the interests of Cornish people, i.e. Mebyon Kernow.

Mebyon Kernow is the mouthpiece of ordinary Cornish people. We see the immediate aims as the preservation of the national border of Kernow, the Tamar, the redefinition of the status of the land, the continual pressing for young Cornish people to have the chance to learn of their Celtic heritage, the history of their land, their language. At the same time we try and keep a watchful eye over all developments that are likely to affect Cornish interests, look after the interests of the Cornish people. We are a political movement and increasingly we shall be putting up candidates in elections. Therefore when you, as an elector, go to the polls remember that Tory, Labour and Liberal candidates, for all their occasional individual worth, owe ultimate loyalty to Westminster based organisations; that Mebyon Kernow's detailed

concern stops at the Tamar, that it is the only widely active political movement devoted to serving your interests alone.

With the victory of Mebyon Kernow it will be as if the land had been liberated. No longer need the Cornish be reserved, fearful of expressing their thoughts, feel they are second-class citizens. There will be a chance to create a new Kernow in which Cornish people can go forward as a self-conscious, self-confident nation glorying in their Celtic identity and individuality.

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REASONS FOR LEARNING THE CORNISH LANGUAGE

First, there is the simplistic reason. "This is Kernow, the country has a Celtic background – the placenames in general are Celtic, in contrast with the Saxon names the other side of the Tamar – and has a language with adequate grammars and dictionaries. I live here, so why not learn the language of the place?". But perhaps there need to be stronger reasons than this, because as a naturally spoken tongue it did die out and to learn it will bring no financial reward, nor will it provide the key to any job or profession.

But simply because the language is dead is no reason why people should not learn it. Latin and Greek are dead—admittedly both have richer literatures than Cornish – and are widely taught. Some criticism is made of the Cornish language because it is a modern creation. It is true through the work of Jenner, Morton Nance, A.S.D. Smith and others it has been systematised and modernised. "Unified Cornish" has been culled from the Middle Cornish period, when the literature is richest and before corruptions set in. Spelling and grammar have been systematised. This last, of course, also occurred with the English language from the 18th century.

To some degree it has planned aspects, but then so have many languages which are in use to-day. Some modern languages, such as Norwegian and Hebrew, are entirely artificial creations. Thus there need be few reservations in learning Unified Cornish on the score of its being dead and to some extent artificial.

For young agile minds (I am thinking of Cornish school children in this article) the learning of a language other than their first one provides a good intellectual training. The mastering of a new system and language structure makes for a more accurate and sensitive use of their first tongue. If the children are to learn a language for these purposes, why not that of their native land?

As well as this practical value, their contact with the Cornish language will be an aesthetic experience. It is a gentle, easy-flowing tongue with delightful sound and words. Think of such words as *cres*, meaning peace; *kerensa*, love; *lowena*, joy; *amma*, to kiss; *grassa*, to thank, dysquethes, to show; *bytegens*, however; *gothvos*, to know; *yowynk*, young; *mam*, mother; *porth*, cove; *avon*, river; *bara*, bread; *cader*, chair; *scovarn*, ear; *kegyn*, kitchen; *bolunjeth*, desire; *termyn*, time; *gwedhen*, tree; *tyack*, farmer.

There are such attractive expressions as *gwyn y vys*, literally white his world, meaning happy is he; *mylwell*, literally a thousand times better, meaning far better; *nans ys*, now it is, meaning ago; *war an ke*, on the

hedge, meaning unclaimed; *crakky conna*, break-neck, meaning steep. In the way of old English the Cornish would say in counting, *pymp-warn-ugans*, five and twenty. One soon discovers examples of the realism and dry humour of the Cornish. *Ny dal oy*, not worth an egg, means worthless; *my ny-synsaf* *anodho un faven gok*, I do not care an empty bean for him; nicknames for the thumb and fingers are – thumb, *crakky-lewen*, crack louse; first fingers, *lykky-soresyow*, lick leavings (food); second finger, *dybry-whygen*, eat the crumb of the loaf (the soft part); third finger, *degy-tegen*, carry toy; little finger, *ola-truan*, weep in misery; a phrase which can be used for stomach *sagh bos*, literally food sack. One is brought into contact with a delightful new world, the Cornish society that lived and thrived in the Cornish land some 500 years ago.

This points to a further reason. For historians concerned with the Cornish past, the society and culture before 1800, it would seem to me to be very desirable to learn the language to gain a full understanding. Obviously for the early period it would be essential in order to interpret the meanings of that valuable source, the Cornish place-names.

In a similar way for students of languages, learning it would be of value for a better understanding of the Celtic group of languages, their development and relationship and their place in the wider Indo-European group.

There are those who say there is no literature to justify the learning of the Cornish language. They would be gravely mistaken. Kernow possessed a fine and rich literature, though small in extent in comparison with the major languages of Western Europe. As well as the well-known Miracle Plays there is a quite extensive range of Cornish prose and verse produced by 16th & 17th century writers. In quality the Cornish Miracle Plays are generally recognised to be superior to most of the contemporary English cycles. Any doubts of this can hardly have survived the Bristol University Drama Department's brilliant production of the Ordinalia at Piran Round in 1969. Though produced in English Neville Denny was meticulous in preserving the feel and mood of the original and the naturalness and genuineness, the quality of this came over clearly to spectators. There is more than adequate literature for the study of Cornish up to advanced level.

The Celts of the early period were a people intensely aware of their environment. The meanings of Cornish place-names illustrate this. *Polsue*, a common farm name, means black pool; *Penhale*, head of the moor; *Penamaen*, rocky headland; *Menagwins*, white stone; *Tywardreath*, house on

the beach; Rescorla, sheepfold on the heath; Menhyr, long stone; Porthmellon, mill cove; Maker, old walls; Penheskin, head of the sedgemoor; Porthscatho, cove of boats; Carvossa, walled camp.

The names frequently give the impression of a people settling and opening up a new land (which is what in fact they were doing) and in many ways they have similarities with the names given to physical features and settlements by the men who opened up the American West in the last century.

For young people working out their philosophies of life the ethos of Celtic society is well worth examining. It contrasts greatly with the mechanised, urban life of modern societies to-day. To come into contact with an early society living in unison with Nature can reveal certain basic truths of existence, give reassurance to the modern young person. And the way to get at the philosophy of this early vigorous society is to learn the language they spoke, the words and expressions they used to apply to their environment, the hills, the valleys, the rivers, the little coves, their farmsteads with the little enclosed fields surrounding them, the monuments and relics of former inhabitants.

Finally there is here a more general issue. The world grows daily a smaller place. A materialist, proto-American sub-culture swamps the world. The identity of individual communities is under attack, is frequently in danger of being lost. For Kernow, like many other small cultures, this is a critical period.

One may well ask what does the Cornish identity consist of? What are the characteristics that make Kernow and its people different? I suppose first of all there are the physical characteristics of the land itself. Then there are all those features that attest to the overwhelming Celtic influence, the hill forts and cliff castles, Celtic crosses and other monuments, as well as less distinguishable features such as the pattern of fields and farm settlements, the hedges, the network of roads and lanes. Above all, there are the place-names which are very largely of Celtic derivation. These features of the land have a good chance of survival, at least in outline.

What of the people themselves. Their physical characteristics which vary in different parts of the land, are still detectable. Thus in the fishing villages it is noticeable how smaller, darker people are common. It is clear, however, that in the centuries too come, with the increasing settlement of English and others in the land and the movement away of many young Cornish who are unable to get jobs in the land, this difference will become blurred, may well be eventually lost.

The Cornish accent to-day frequently owes much to the way their ancestors spoke the language; inevitably with the infiltration of non-Cornish, the operation of the mass media, this will disappear. Temperamental characteristics such as the well-known Celtic stubbornness, the enjoyment of ordinary day-to-day life, the delight in the odd gamble or challenge, whose origins are buried deep in Cornish history, these also will undergo modification.

Occupations such as tin mining and fishing, which have marked off the Cornishman from people in other parts, have gone into decline and no longer employ a great number of the population. Today or in the future it seems unlikely that they will be a distinguishing feature of the Cornish scene.

As for religion, the success of Methodism certainly gave the land some distinguishing characteristics. But in this materialistic age this Church with ever decreasing membership seems unlikely to have any dynamic, inspirational effect in the years to come. So one concludes that the identity of the Cornish people themselves is likely to go under in the future.

But this is to forget the language. This, in fact, is the feature which links indissolubly, eternally the land of Kernow, its Celtic history, and the people, whose stock is still largely Celtic, whose accents reflect the way in which their ancestors spoke the mother tongue and whose surnames are also mainly locally derived. The language is the essence of Cornishry, and for young people it provides the key to the Cornish identity.

As has been well said, a land without a language is not a nation. The Cornish have a language, but it is far too little known. In my view it should become available to all children in Cornish schools; not compulsory, of course, that would spell its doom. Only by this means will the land and its people retain their Cornish identity.

In sum, the reasons for young people in Kernow to learn the language are:

- (i) Because they are in Kernow, and Kernow is a Celtic land with an existing language.
- (ii) To train their minds.
- (iii) For the aesthetic experience.
- (iv) For historians, to understand early Cornish society; for linguists, to understand the development of Celtic and other languages.
- (v) For the access which it gives to a fine and rich, though small, literature.
- (vi) For the access which it gives to a human and natural philosophy which has much to offer to people of this age.
- (vii) Finally, and most important, because the language is the summation of

the Cornish identity, the facet of Kernow and its people which will always distinguish them from the rest of the world, humanity. As young Cornish people get to know it, savour its intricacies and beauties they will gain reassurance and a new confidence.

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"AVODYEUGH, A VOSTORYON A'GAN BRO!"

As a solution to West Kernow's economic problems the recent "West Cornwall Study" advocates the creation of a new industrial nucleus, of a large new town, whose population it expects would be drawn largely from outside the land. The implementation of such a scheme would be a catastrophe for Kernow, culturally, socially and while helping further to destroy the character of the land would we believe provide no satisfactory solution to its economic problems. We do go along with the Study in its recommendations for an improvement in the communication of the land; the spine road from Penzance to Lanson and the section in Devon to Exeter should be vastly improved; bus and rail services should be maintained, improved where possible - if it is suggested to reduce the lines still in operation why could not the whole rail service, like the roads already are, be put in the charge of the "County Council"?; an airport should be established in central Kernow and efforts made to develop the ports.

Regarding the economy generally, and this applies to East as much as West Kernow - we believe the economy of the land should be planned as a whole existing industries should be encouraged to become more efficient. Thus fishing co-operatives should be given support, for both marketing the products of the industry and purchasing materials. In a similar way farming co-operatives could be established but we do not approve of further amalgamation of holdings. Young people wishing to go into either industry should have the opportunity to take training courses and long loans with low rates of interest should be made available to enable them to start. Mining and clay quarrying should be given encouragement and the tourist industry carefully developed. Relevant light industries should be encouraged in and round Cornish towns - that is, those that make use of traditional skills or which are the result of local initiative. Towns themselves should be aided to become better centres and have a better and wider range of cultural and recreational facilities. West Kernow would no doubt benefit from the establishment of a power station in the Hayle area and of a container port at Falmouth. Another aid here would be the creation of Unyversyta Kernow, "University of Cornwall", perhaps a development of existing institutions at Camborne.

But overspill is not acceptable. Already one Council, Bodmin, has seen fit to conclude an agreement with London whereby 2000 of that place are to be settled in the town over a period of 10 years. How such an infamous decision came to be made is not clear; the explanations we have heard are not at all satisfactory. Too many of these town councils pursue anti-Cornish

policies - one thinks of the opposition by such councils as Bude, Newquay and St. Ives, an individual worthy from Lanson, to the proposed setting up of a Cornish Tourist Board. The reasons for these attitudes are not far to seek. There are too many English on these councils who have no feeling, understanding of the particular identities of their towns and of Kernow as a whole. Their councils have come to be unrepresentative. Able, working Cornish are unable to spare the time or the money to serve on them and the councils end up as groups of philistine English hoteliers, cafe proprietors and the like. We would advise such councillors to become more observant, to read more widely, think deeper. They would then come to understand that Kernow is a Celtic land; that the Cornish are not English, never have been, never want to be.

As councillors they want to work to preserve the character of their particular town, to co-operate with organisations working for the Cornish cause and for a wider plan for Kernow as a whole, not simply for the narrow interests of their town, or the surrounding areas. If they are only able to think in terms of money, they may like to reflect that the preservation of the character of the land, the establishment of the Cornish identity in a more affirmative way constitutionally, can only be of benefit to the tourist industry. They should also appreciate that overspill is already causing bad feeling in the land and if further pursued will cause greater disharmony. So think, councillors, you may be putting a spark to a powder keg. Our recommendation to councillors and others who remain unsympathetic to Kernow, the Celtic identity of the land and its people, is, "With bones and money-bags depart!"

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SELF-UNDERSTANDING TO WORLD UNDERSTANDING

In the recent investigation into "What Cornish Youth Wants" 82.5% of students at Cornish secondary schools who answered said they had been taught little of Cornish history at their schools. Only 15 out of 391 thought they had been taught a "great deal". Asked if they would like to learn the Cornish language, 57.4% of girl students said they would like to, 46.6% of all students. These facts were put before the Primary and Secondary Education Sub-Committees of "Cornwall County" Council and in reply these expressed the view that "the schools are giving proper importance to Cornwall in the curriculum" !!! Either these Committees are living in a dream world or they are incapable of receiving scientific information and acting upon it. We call upon "Cornwall" Education Committee to remedy this appalling situation and to promote courses on Cornish history in all schools and make plans to see that the Cornish language is an available subject in all secondary schools.

It is well known that the trend in education is for students in secondary schools to be increasingly consulted about their curriculum, the running of their schools (thankfully and about time). It is obvious therefore that in due course Cornish history and language will be taught fully in Cornish schools. Why cannot we have imaginative and purposeful Education Committees to respond now to the desires of Cornish youth? In psychology it is appreciated that for an individual to have easy and mutually beneficial relations with other members of society self-knowledge, self-understanding is of paramount importance.

Similarly with communities, nations having distinct cultures and backgrounds, to have good and fruitful relations with other groups they should have a full understanding of their own identity and background. It is a disgraceful fact that young Cornish people to-day have no chance to gain such an understanding. A positive step by the Education Committee would be a great aid to inter-community, international understanding.

Teachers in Cornish schools themselves bear a considerable responsibility to encourage understanding and pride among students of the Celtic background of Kernow, their identity - pride, because has not every human being the right to be proud of his individuality, the individual background from which he is sprung. We appreciate that, these days especially, teaching is a difficult profession. Changes in teaching methods, introduction of new teaching aids, the shake-up of the whole educational system now occurring, make the need for re-adjustment, retraining frequent. But in Kernow in this age of trivialisation by the mass media, of the quiet suppression of individuality

and the individual's means of expression, with the consequent encouragement of feelings of the pointlessness of things, rootlessness, we would ask teachers in Kernow to play their part in promoting the Cornish identity. No doubt the problem is accentuated by the fact that so many of the teachers are of English extraction and themselves do not appreciate Kernow's unique heritage. (For their benefit we gave in the December issue of Cornish Nation a comprehensive book-list on Cornish history and language). It is known there are many Cornish-born teachers in England wishing to return to their homeland to teach. We hope the Education Committees give them every opportunity to do so.

A current policy of the Education Committees which we view with considerable concern is the closing down of small, rural schools. These play an important part in the life of small communities, educational centres where the young child is taught in friendly and homely atmospheres. The Committees seem resolved to end such centres, strive to put everyone on a bus so that he or she spends much time in that neurosis-encouraging activity, so wasteful of time and energy, commuting by road. The young child is transported to larger and larger schools where anonymity reigns, individual attention to the pupil is increasingly absent. Of course, we welcome the moves towards comprehensive forms of education - as long as units are not too large. The establishment of the Grammar schools in the early part of this century was based on an elitist and class view of society; their extinction is to be applauded. In Kernow they have been one of the main vehicles of the anglicisation process. It is to be hoped with the setting up of comprehensive schools in the land a much freer form of education will develop, allowing full discussion of the individual background of the people of Kernow, their place in the world, recognition at last being given to their Celtic identity. Cornish youth are beautiful, intelligent, honest, proud of their Cornishness. Let us hope the people in charge of their education at the moment can respond to their wishes, as revealed in the Cornish Nation investigation, with vision and sympathy.

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NOW IS THE TIME TO RECTIFY THIS ANOMALY

The Crowther Commission on the Constitution posed to representatives of Mebyon Kernow the following questions when they met them at Exeter earlier in the summer:- What did Cornish people want? What would be the consequence if they achieved their wishes? What was the extent of the support for changes? Mebyon Kernow is the only widescale movement representing the interests of Cornish people as a whole. It is a democratic, moderate movement which pursues its objective by constitutional and non-violent means. (So that we can better put forward your viewpoint, write to the National Chairman or the editor of the Cornish Nation with your ideas, complaints, criticisms, comments etc. - Remember Mebyon Kernow mirrors the aims and hopes of Cornish people). In reply to the Crowther Commission we stated that we sought political recognition for Kernow as a member nation of a British federation. The fact that we are a nation should be written into the constitution and the Tamar border guaranteed by statute.

In a brilliantly argued paper presented to the Commission Christopher Bice detailed the unique Celtic background of Kernow, its individual history and told the story of its own Celtic language, now reviving amongst us. He showed how at the roots the English were closer to the Germans (for instance) than they were to the Cornish; their language likewise closer to the Teutonic than to the Celtic group of which Cornish is a part. In the Middle Ages the distinction between "Anglia" and "Cornubia" was appreciated and the establishment of the Duchy of "Cornwall" was in part recognition of the individual Celtic identity of the land.

The Cornish rebellions of the 15th and 16th century were an expression of the resentment of English exploitation. In modern times, the growth of the "Old Cornwall" movement, the establishment of the Cornish Gorsyth, the rise of the political movement, Mebyon Kernow, are evidence of the growing feeling of Cornish nationality.

The consequences of such recognition on Kernow would be manifold. First and foremost it would aid the preservation of the individual Cornish identity, are essentially Celtic identity, now under attack as a result of the infiltration of the land by non-Cornish and by the operation of the mass media. We are sure members of the Crowther Commission appreciate the importance in this age of "Battery cage" societies, of endless suburbias with the press, radio and television subjecting people to a welter of culturally neutral and generally philistine material, of preserving, enhancing national and regional identities. In Kernow's case as a result of such recognition there would be

all sorts of by-products. The stick-in-the-mud education authority would be given a prod to provide full courses on Cornish history in schools and to see that the Cornish language was taught to students who wished to learn it. It would encourage the establishment of a Cornish University, a valuable addition to the cultural institutions of the land which among other things could promote research into all aspect of Kernow's past, its history, its language. Radio, television and the press would pay fuller attention to the Cornish identity instead of putting over the image of south-west Britain as a unified "westcountry", "the west" or even worse "south-west England", blurring the fundamental distinction that exists between a Celtic land and Saxon or English land. The Post Office would no doubt treat Kernow as a separate entity and perhaps establish a Cornish National Post Office issuing its own stamps - a money-spinner here no doubt. For the tourist industry Kernow's political recognition as a Nation would be a shot-in-the-arm in all sorts of ways. As will be well realised many of these developments will have long-term social and economic benefits which will be of great value to an area with one of the highest rates of employment in Britain.

But perhaps the most important consequence would be in the field of the emotions, a very human one. The Cornish are not an English people; they are of Celtic origin. Their identity is often not respected by individuals and organisations in the land. Recognition would do much to appease the growing resentment of the present under-dog position, would do wonders for the Cornishman's spirit, his self-esteem, his morale. At last his true identity would have been established. No longer need he feel a second-class citizen. He would be Cornish in a Cornish land; not sub-English in pseudo-England.

The increasing membership of Mebyon Kernow and other movements working to preserve the Cornish identity attest to the growing feeling that this should be politically recognised. Mebyon Kernow now has over 3000 members and membership grows daily. Officers of the movement coming into contact with Cornish people from all walks of life are assured of the wide support and goodwill the movement has amongst them. They say - "M.K., yes that is good; at last, something is being done for Cornish people". There is every indication that the movement will continue to grow in the future and it has a lot of support among young people. A recent Cornish Nation investigation showed that despite their having been taught nothing of Cornish history or language or about the individual Celtic background of the land at their schools nearly 30% of students were supporters of Mebyon Kernow, about 30% were in favour of a change in Kernow's constitutional position. Transferred

to total population this would suggest over 100,000 of Kernow's 370,000 inhabitants are in favour of change. This trend of support and the desire for change, it should be stressed, is growing fast.

There are two main groups of Celtic people, the distinction being based on linguistic differences. There is the Goidelic-speaking group of Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man; there is the Brittonic-speaking groups of Wales, Brittany and Kernow. The Welsh and the Bretons are our closest relations. Wales already has a measure of recognition as a nation and the strong movements there suggest that in the near future that country will achieve a greater degree of self-government. Brittany though considerably larger in area and population than Kernow has little more political recognition within the French state than we have in the British. National consciousness is growing there and as our correspondent reported in the June issue, "Now, the situation is a little like a quiet sea before the tempest, when we look for the winds, or the momentous point of battle". Mebyon Kernow keeps in close contact with both nationalist movements and the Cornish Nation has correspondents in both Wales and Brittany. The progress and the success of the Cornish movement is linked closely with those of these countries. Mebyon Kernow works with the Celtic League which, as well as the Brittonic-speaking countries, includes Scotland, Isle of Man and Ireland (which, of course, has already achieved independence). Within Europe Mebyon Kernow is associated with the Federal Union of European Nationalities and the Conference of National and Regional Minorities both of which will clearly become more important organisations as the trends towards European unity and co-operation develop. It is obvious that if at this juncture the Crowther Commission fails to recommend a change in the political status of Kernow general disenchantment with the whole British political system will grow. The movement towards new groupings within Europe, of the Celtic countries, of the smaller nations will increasingly find favour.

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THE TWO NATIONS

The sacking of 900 men by "English" China Clays in the St. Austell area this Autumn adds still further to the grave unemployment situation in Kernow, already before this one of the black spots in Britain. Latest unemployment figures are an appalling indictment of this and previous governments' record in promoting industries in the land. It is a fact that unemployment in the Celtic nations, Kernow, Cymru and Alba, is higher than in any part of Britain. Partly this may be due to their westerly and remote situations but also it is a legacy of past English imperialist policies, the failure to promote manufacturing industries, the keeping of wage rates at low levels, the use of these lands mainly as sources of primary products, minerals, clay, coal, foodstuffs and the like. The resulting over-dependence on such industries makes these lands and their peoples particularly vulnerable in times of economic depression, as, for instance, we are experiencing now. To our function as supplier of raw materials we have in recent years acquired an additional one as summer playground for the wealthy English. As a provider of employment and source of wealth for Cornish people the tourist industry is proving somewhat capricious. Labour is employed in one mad rush in two months of the summer; much is brought in from England; many of the businesses are in the hands of English.

As things are the economic disparity of the "Two Nations", Kernow and Pow Saws (England) is likely to continue to grow in the future. Wage levels are unlikely to catch up with those in England, more and more young Cornish will have to leave the land to find employment, the coastal areas will increasingly be bought up by the English, Cornish farms will be taken over by newcomers and the land exploited for short-term profits while the heavy work, the economic drudgery will continue to be done by Cornish people living in the poorer housing districts. At the same time the profits of much of the tourist industry, the shares from extractive industries will continue to be transported across the border. The situation is amazing really considering how rich the land is in natural resources, china clay, minerals, agricultural land, fisheries, beautiful country and an ancient culture (as a tourist asset). The explanation why Cornish people do not benefit in any major way from these riches is that Kernow is the last of the English empire. The Cornish will continue to be filched of the wealth of their land until such time as control of the economy is in local hands.

In the short-term it is up to the Members of Parliament and the Cornish Council and other representative bodies to press with all their powers that

more aid be given to existing industries in the land. Transport and communications should be improved - certainly no reductions should be allowed (as is suggested in relation to the railways). Regarding small independent producers, such as farmers and fishermen, organisations to promote co-operative marketing and the buying of foodstuffs, fertilizers etc. in bulk should be given every aid, as also advice bureaux to cope with individual problems. Tourism should be carefully developed - here the work of the Cornish Tourist Board will be of great importance. Efforts should be made to extend the holiday season and to see that more Cornish become involved in labour and the running of businesses. The ownership of purely holiday property by people not living in Kernow should be stopped (such is a total loss as far as the land and its people is concerned). The bigger sites and enterprises in the industry would no doubt be better managed by the Tourist Board. Crafts and trades of Cornish provenance and producing high quality items for the tourist trade should be aided. More generally, companies both inside and outside the land should be encouraged to set up manufacturing industries. Care should be taken, however, to see that such have some local connection, perhaps use local materials or indigenous designs and art-work, or be the result of some local invention or initiative.

There is, however, only one long-term solution to our economic problems and that is when our present situation of being an English colony is terminated. Only when we have control of our own economy - in line, by the way with Labour party proposals for the economic devolution of powers - will it be planned with local needs and requirements in mind and a proper balance of extractive, manufacturing and other industry achieved. Freedom in economic matters like cultural, political freedom will only come about through our own efforts. We can, however, gain guidance, support and sustenance from our Celtic Brethren, in particular from our fellow Brittonic Celts, the Welsh and Bretons. Working together in the economic field as in the cultural and political field we can be of great aid to each other. We Cornish should seek liberation as a member nation of a Celtic federation, of a European, a world federation. The path to freedom is wrought with many hazards and dangers. But we have the will and is not our cause - the liberating of a nation - just?

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THE FUTURE OF MEBYON KERNOW and KERNOW . . . a Reassessment

It is best never to get into a rigid political stance (other rigid stances are approved); never say never; always be ready to change. That way you are able to move with the times, do not grow old. That I feel should be the position of Mebyon Kernow, the voice of the Cornish people. Keep reassessing, drive ourselves forever forward.

One looks at Kernow today. Where are the Cornish people? In general one would say the Cornish people are no longer in great numbers in the coastal areas. Many of the old fishing villages are now bereft of Cornish people; they have become the holiday homes of the English and are empty in the winter. Around the old villages are the scars of bungaloid development which accommodates largely English retired. The point is that Kernow is an economically depressed area in contrast with the centre and south of England; the wage rates in these places are far above levels in Kernow and hence the English are easily able to outbid the Cornish for desirable coastal properties.

A similar development is occurring in farming with knowing (and unfortunately wealthier) English buying up farms, pulling down hedges wholesale, discarding well-tried and traditional methods (to their perils), exploiting the land, amalgamating holdings and destroying community life. Having exploited as much as the land can take, they leave, with their money bags – and the hatred of the Cornish patriot. This is typical colonialist activity – on the small scale.

The situation is very wrong really. Kernow is extraordinarily rich in minerals, clay, agricultural land, fishing resources, its beautiful land a tremendous tourist asset as is obvious from what we see with the great growth of the tourist industry in recent years. The Cornish people have not benefited from this wealth, do not benefit from it in any major way today. The fact of the matter is the Cornish are increasingly becoming the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the English wealthy. Where are the Cornish to be found? A few may have held out in coastal areas, perhaps you will find some in the council houses at the top of the hill above the fishing villages. But in general the Cornish people are in the poorer housing districts in the interior of Kernow. If you want to find the Cornish that is where you should look. The situation will not change until there is a radical alteration in Kernow's political relationship with the British government as we recommended in the Cornish Nation of Vol. 2., No. 5, 1971.

What are the Cornish doing – apart that is from their daily work the heavy work, the chores that is their lot. One looks at the local newspapers.

The Cornish take part in rugger, soccer, cricket, bowls, swimming, rowing, motor rallies, horse racing, athletics, sports of all kinds. They take part in music festivals, bands, pop groups, singing, flower shows, keep pets, engage in every kind of recreational activity. They know how to enjoy themselves. The quick buck – well it may have appeal to some but in general they know money is nothing without loving friends and relations, everyday pleasures and enjoyments. The English of the big cities do not understand this. They are all a-rush to make the quick buck or sit at home and study their navels. Some engage in social activities but these are not deeply based in the life of a community. Such activities shine brightly for a time but often quickly wither. They usually contain some snobby element, some socially restrictive feature – the English are so class conscious. The trouble is they are unadaptable; their undiminishing nostalgia for the past – they can never forget that they once had an empire upon which the sun never set; they cannot forget Dunkirk. Perhaps it would have been better if they had been conquered in the last war. They would then have had to reassess their position which they seem incapable of doing now.

What are the English doing in our midst? They are in many of the businesses of our towns and villages, especially those in the coastal areas connected with the tourist industry. The principal characteristic of the Englishman's business is idolisation of the quick buck, money for money's sake. The Cornishman's shop is part of the total community, the gossip it purveys is dominated by loving kindness. An Englishman's shop in Kernow can be on the vast scale of the supermarket, anonymous and such as can be found in any part of the world. The smaller shop of the Englishman unless he has submerged his values in the loving kindness of the land is dedicated to profiteering, hard dealings and the gossip is of the unhappy, malicious kind.

What businesses are the Cornish still in? They are in the traditional ones, farming, fishing, quarrying, mining; some are shopkeepers and traders and are engaged in traditional crafts such as masonry, carpentry and similar enterprises. The Cornish are adaptable and small businesses which offer a challenge to individual initiative and skill such as engineering and garage businesses the Cornish have moved into with facility. In a way their interest in garages seems to have carried over from the blacksmiths shop and often in Cornish villages you find the garage on the site or near the now defunct smithy. The much heralded saviour of the Cornish economy, light industry, does not employ many Cornish people in management. Only involvement is for Cornish people to provide the work-force (largely Cornish women-folk).

And is not much of such work degrading. Who wanted to have a part in producing plastic egg cartons anyway?

When one comes to work out what the Cornish identity means one finds it means freedom to enjoy oneself as one sees fit - are not the Cornish so much more understanding of individual quirks and eccentricities. The Cornish enjoy themselves in their beautiful land, fulfil themselves as they are able. They sort out their local problems in their own way and time. They are kind and loving to each other. It is unfortunate that the English have considered this and their easygoing natures a sign of weakness and have taken, do take advantage of it. One feels that the Cornish are beginning to understand this and the English may well rue the day for their arrogant behaviour. The Cornishman's god is not Mammon. They live happy lives in unison with nature. It has taken acres of books, years of intellectual disquisition by millions of heads in thousands of cities to arrive at this conclusion, that that is the proper, the decent way to live. The Cornish knew it all the time.

Who are the representatives of the Cornish people? The voice of the Cornish people is Mebyon Kernow, the only widely organised political movement working for their interests in the land. The Cornish people know that the men and women active as officers in the movement are dedicated to their service; they may make the occasional mistakes in timing or strategy but they are doing their best with limited funds and energy to represent the Cornish people's interests. The "Cornwall County Council" can hardly be said to represent the Cornish people many of the councillors are returned unopposed and the few that are elected are so on polls of considerably less than half of the total electorate. The same is the case with town and district councils, members on them being elected mostly in polls of less than 50%. One thing about the coming reorganisation of local government it looks as if we shall no longer have to put up with the petty and parochial posturings of the town councils so many of which are dominated by English business people, vide the anti-Cornish policies of some regarding the setting up of the Cornish tourist board. So when you come down to it the only true representatives of Cornish people are Mebyon Kernow. Contact with ordinary Cornish folk soon confirms the goodwill and support the movement has among them. We speak with confidence and authority because we know we have the mass of Cornish people behind us, because we know we are the only political movement truly representing their interests. More branches of MK should be set up. Every Cornish community should have a branch in time.

Our identity, the ethos of loving-kindness, our unique Celtic culture. How do we preserve these under the virulent twin pressures of English infil-

tration and the dominating and suffocating English-controlled media, radio and television. The Cornish are individuals, like to work things out in their own way, enjoy themselves as they see fit. Organisation does not come easily to them. This has been their great difficulty in the past. But now the Cornish are beginning to realise if they do not get organised their identity, their culture will be destroyed. This is why Mebyon Kernow is getting increasing support. If Mebyon Kernow does not succeed in the next 20 or so years Kernow will be dead. Increasingly I am coming to the view that it is no good hoping that the English will help us preserve our identity. See their record regarding the police force, the polytechnic and university, the postage stamp. From the English we shall only get sops, financial aid for this and that, no real positive promotion of the Cornish identity. Is it true that the English only understand violence? Their imperialist record one regretfully says inclines one to that view. One hopes that for this once they will accede to our just demands without the necessity for recourse to that terrible expedient. But Cornishmen should realise that if a country, a nation is worth anything it is worth fighting for, dying for. They should appreciate that they are now fighting for their real lives, their identity which is their very soul.

Ideally the way to prevent further contamination by the quick-buck, class-conscious, materialist ethos of the English would be to have a sort of Berlin wall along the Tamar controlling our contacts with that people - hermetically sealing us from such. Naturally we do not want to deprive our young people and others access to idealistic international movements, world culture, music and sport. It is the debasing English influences we wish to stop. The wall is unlikely, however much it may be wished for by the Cornish. I feel Cornish people and Mebyon Kernow which will increasingly speak for them in the years ahead should cut down as much as possible contact with England, the London government. Increasingly, and the moves towards a united Europe may help here, we should have direct contact with the European government and world government in the form of the United Nations. The looking into European authority will in fact be a return to an earlier state of affairs. First, in the time of the Celtic domination of Europe, when Celtic tribes were spread throughout the length and breadth of the continent from Ireland to Turkey. When the Roman Empire came authority was vested in the rulers at Rome. During the period of independence and even following the English conquest until the end of the Middle Ages the dominance of matters ecclesiastical and the Holy Catholic Church based on that city meant that European influence and outlook were still to the fore. It was only with the

growth of the empire-building states of France and England that the Celtic countries had to endure a more restricted and parochial vision.

But increasingly we should develop our relations with our fellow Celtic nations, in particular our Brittonic cousins in Wales and Brittany. In all sorts of ways, cultural, sporting, political. In the cultural sphere we should see the agreement reached this September between the Welsh, Breton and Cornish Gorseddow as epochal and as a great inspiration to us in the political wing of the Cornish revival. We in Mebyon Kernow work continuously to strengthen the links between the Celtic nations. By such alliance we shall achieve great things which we could not in isolation. But we should remember that Kernow will only be saved through the efforts of the Cornish themselves - we cannot expect our Celtic cousins to do our work for us.

Ronald Segal in "The Struggle against History". (Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1971) has some interesting things to say about the present world situation and future prospects. His work is not without weakness - he seems to have intellectualised himself away from some realities of human living. The reality and continuing validity of family loyalties, kinsfolk loyalties, nationalism, tribalism call it what you will. Also he does not seem to appreciate that the Welsh, the Cornish situation is as much a colonial situation as that which exists or has existed in Algeria, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia and in other places he cites as examples. In 1960 he says thinkers of both left and right agreed that revolution in any major country seemed to be an anachronistic impossibility. But today the revolutionary impulse is again to the fore. The reason - the repudiation, morally rather than materially motivated, of the inhumanity, divisiveness and sheer purposelessness of the way we are forced to lead our lives under the existing order. By the existing order he means the Stalinist perversion of socialism as well as modern capitalism, with its corporate businesses and multi-national companies. He observes the common human inspiration against both dehumanising systems in the revolts in Paris or Prague among students or among ghetto blacks. People, he announces, rebel as people. His ideas for a future state - he insists at all levels on the rotation of office in short non-repeatable terms. The idea is to erect obstacles against both the concentration and perpetuation of power. After half a century's experience of how socialism can become just another hierarchy of rulers and ruled the author tries to show concretely how "Power to the people" could be made more than a slogan. Intellectually he sees the necessity for a counterpart to the Marxist analysis of society, "dialectical materialism" in "dialectical idealism". The future would be one of permanent

revolution, of constantly fluid and infinitely varied renovation of human relationships.

What message has this for the Cornish situation. People, the feelings of people, Cornish people these are what count. Not machines, intellectualised concepts of how to do things, Mammon, the cheapest way of doing things. The Cornish people's way of life is being threatened by the dehumanised way of life of the English megalopolis which Whitehall bureaucrats are trying to force on us. We have no big cities. Our way of life is well-tryed, is the way of life of our ancestors, in unison with nature. We fight for that, for our freedom from the English cultural incubus; we fight to be allowed to give full expression to our unique identity. Man is not an abstract being circulating in the ether. Man is flesh and blood, an individual product of his racial and cultural inheritance. Whose physical characteristics are the result of his ancestry. He lives in a real material land, whose present conditions are the result of geological, meteorological and historical factors. Man is emotional, is attached to his land, his kinsfolk, those like him. Man is not simply a computerisable digit. He loves, feels, hates, needs recognition of his individuality, seeks to prove himself psychologically, physically, sexually, competes. We are Cornish in a Cornish land. Now has come the time in the face of the steam-rolling megalopolis, the suffocating embrace of the English orientated media to establish our identity positively. And that means the young people of Kernow. Our fight fits in with Segal's struggle against history. For as we establish our identity - denied to us now in any form of political recognition - we can evolve our society freely, continuously. "The future - one of permanent revolution, of constantly fluid and infinitely varied renovation of human relationships".

So we should keep options open about the future structure of our society. What the English do in England is their business. If they want to retain their bureaucratic capitalist system with its centralising tendencies, class structure, big multi-national companies with their outside loyalties, the monarchy thrown in, that is up to them. The immediate issue for us is the establishment of our identity politically. Every support should be given to the movement representing the real interests of the Cornish people, the voice of Kernow, Mebyon Kernow. Contacts with the English, the London government should be reduced as much as possible. We should work for the alliance of the Brittonic nations, for pan-Celtic unity. Through unity we shall achieve much for our respective nations. All should have national recognition on the European, the world stage. Our own nationhood established we shall take part in the world family of nations freely and confidently. Continuously

develop and evolve in a freer, more humane world .

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CORNISH SURNAMES

Naturally there are many people with English surnames who have Cornish blood in them since some surnames were acquired as late as the 18th, 19th centuries when the Cornish language had become disused. People with Cornish surnames are practically bound to be of Cornish stock, may be of almost pure Cornish ancestry. Cornish surnames can be subdivided as to derivation in four main ways. (1) There are those that derive from placenames, farm names of today:- Tregaskes, Tregunna, Treglown, Trelease, Treleven, Treloar, Tremaine, Trenwith, Tresidder, Trethewey, Trethowan, Trevanion, Trevithivk, Trewavas, Trewin, Trudgian, Truran. The first element is Cornish, "Tre", meaning township or clan settlement; the second is often a personal name or is descriptive. Other placenames have also given Cornish people beautiful surnames:- Andrewartha, the upper farmstead, Angear, the earth-work, Angille, the wood, Argall, a retreat, Benallick, broom-brake, Buzza, dwellings, Chegwin, white house, Chenoweth, new house, Gwavas, winter dwelling, Keigwin, white hedge, Kellow, groves, Laity, milk-house, Meneer, long stone, Nancollas, valley of the hazel-trees, Nankivell, valley of the horse, Penhaligon, head of the willows, Penma, summits, hill-tops, Polkinghorne, pool of Kenhorn, personal name meaning iron chief., Rescorla, heath of the sheepfold, Retallick, steep hill-spur, Rosevear, big heath, Rosewarne, swampy heath, Roskilly, heath or hill-spur with copse, Roskrow, moor or heath of the hut, Roskrughe, heath with mound or barrow, Vellanoweth, the new mill. (2) Some surnames are patronymics, that is derive from the first name of the father or ancestor. Thus James, Peter, Harry, Phillip, Gilbert, Thomas, Arthur, John, Matthew, Francis, Dunstan, Andrew, Martin, William, Robert, Jeffery. Sometimes these are in the English possessive form and have an "s" termination. As will be noted many of these names are from Christian and biblical sources which is understandable considering that Kernow had been within the orbit of the Christian Church for 1000 years when surnames came to be widely adopted. Use of such names was common throughout Christian Europe. Some Celtic or distinctively Cornish names do survive though in cases there is doubt whether they come from the name of the ancestor or the name of the parish whose saint's name it was (and hence be in category 1):- Tangye, Curnow, Elvin, Keverne, Maddern, Penryn, Gluyas, Veale (Myghal), Vague, Mallet, Key, Allen, Sampson, Biddick (Budoek), Dennis, Harvey, Jose, Gwennap. Characteristic of the Cornish is the use of pet-forms of diminutives of personal names:- Bemett (Benedick), Rowe, (Ralph), Davey (David), Tom (Thomas), Hocking and

Hawken (Harrykin), Tonkin (Thomaskin), Rawlin (Radulf), Nicholls (Nicholas), Eddy (Edward), Jory (George). Uniquely Cornish is the use of "o" and "a" endings with some Christian names. These are probably to be equated with the use of "ap" at the beginning of some Welsh surnames. "O" in Irish one and "Mac" in Scottish. The Cornish form may derive from "a", of, or "map", son and meaning "son of". Possibly "o" endings came from Cornish plural from "-ow" and be related to the English possessive form "-s". Examples: Jago and Jacka (James), Vercoe (Mark), Clemo (Clement), Kitto (Kit or Christopher), Daddow (David), Matta (Matthew), Pascoe (Pascas), Henna (Henry), Rodda (Roderick), Bennetto (Benedict), Sando (Alexander), and perhaps Dustow. (3) A few Cornish surnames are occupational, thus Angove, smith, Tyack, farmer, Whetter, tin blower or smelter, Sayer and Sarah, carpenter. But since surnames came in at a fairly late date some occupations would be in English rather than Cornish forms. (4) Some surnames are descriptive: Gwin, Angwin, white, Angell, brown, Glass, blue, Couch, red, Teague, fair, Coad, old, Vian, little, Moyle, bald, Andain, perhaps "The man", i.e. the leader but the second element may be a lost descriptive epithet. Like placenames the spellings of Cornish surnames can vary a lot and the way your own surname is spelt may well be quite different from the examples given above. Cornish translations are the well-known ones and it could be that further research will modify some given here. Obviously only a small selection of Cornish surnames has been listed. The pattern of derivation should, however, be clear and you should be able to place your own surname accordingly. It is a subject upon which little scientific work has yet been done - another task for the recently established Institute of Cornish Studies.

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TOWARDS A CELTIC FEDERATION

The Irish problem is part of the Celtic problem. It is complicated in northern Ireland by community and religious divisions. Mebyon Kernow has sent letters to the British Home Secretary, the Prime Ministers of Eire and Northern Ireland deploring the violence being committed by both sides and calling on them to initiate a conference in which all parties involved would be represented, to negotiate together a new settlement which would have the support of the mass of Irish people, due safeguards being given to minority groups. It is our fervent hope that in the very near future peace and unity will once again be restored to this ancient Celtic land.

But the Irish is only one of the Celtic problems. There are also the Cornish, the Breton, the Welsh, the Manx, the Scottish problems. Why should not all these Celtic people have their freedom? If we are living in a more humane, democratic world why should not people of distinct identities, cultures, language, race be free to fulfil themselves as they wish? Is not that just and right? Whosoever denies that Kernow is a nation has been deceived by the English-orientated education that operates, has not read his history, is not observant. We envisage Kernow along with the other still unfree Celtic nations gaining self-government before the end of this century, the formation of a Celtic Federation of Nations, of Eire, Scotland, Wales, Kernow, Isle of Man, Brittany.

The latter would be a loose structure, something like the Scandinavian Union, in which the constituent member states would have complete internal autonomy. All would have recognition at European and world levels. Especially in the early stages of self-government and Federal institutions, along, we hope, with the European government, the United Nations, France and England, would assist the individual nations to establish themselves, get on their feet. Mebyon Kernow is a democratic, non-violent movement and aims to achieve its objectives by constitutional means, by gradual process, established procedures. We abhor violence and any suggestion of the break down of law and order.

Internally, we envisage the building of a new and model society, which would be the envy of the world. British traditions of the rule of law, a free press, free speech would be strictly maintained. Mebyon Kernow is not committed to any political ideology. In the typical Cornish way we shall take the best from all ideologies, what is most suitable for the Cornish situation. We keep an open mind on all issues. Plan to be ready to change, all the time. Forever go forward. Having gained our freedom we shall build a

model society, a fully participating democracy in which every individual will have the opportunity to fulfil himself according to the dictates of his individual being, as he wishes, while at the same time making his individual contribution to the society and economy of which he is a part. The last could change quite a lot during the course of his life. There will be no discrimination against individuals for any reason, no exploitation of man by man. Selfish and materialist standards and values have become much ingrained in our present system and the education of the young would be very important in developing higher ideals. Young people would have the opportunity to discuss all issues and help make improvements to all aspects of life. The democracy would be built on existing loyalties, families, kin-groups, Cornish communities. Mebyon Kernow branches very important here and no doubt English Residents' Associates, house-owners' associations and the like would have their role to play. Also trade unions, farmers' unions, trade associations etc. Local government would be based on real, natural bonds, groups with common social and economic interests. Naturally to start with the administration, society and the economy would carry on much as before self-government. Improvements would be made gradually, democratically. Private property would be respected but we would envisage that in time the largest enterprises would be nationalised and run in the interests of the whole of Cornish society, not for the benefit of shareholders in England and other parts. Such nationalisation would, however, be carried out strictly according to international law.

Above all, the new society would be a Cornish, a Celtic society. Young people would have a full education as to the Celtic background, the history of their land. The Cornish language would be the second language they learned and would be taught at all educational establishments. Depending on its progress in time the language may have a more important part to play. Self-governing Kernow would seek to have friendly relations with all peoples of the world, but naturally closest relations will be had with the peoples with whom we have blood-ties, linguistic and cultural ties, our Celtic brothers in Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Isle of Man and Ireland.

Following the solution of the Irish problem which we hope will be in the not-too-distant future we would urge the British, Irish and French governments to call a round-table conference at which as well as themselves, representatives of the nationalist movements of the Celtic nations (Mebyon Kernow for Kernow) would be present. The aim of the conference would be the establishment of a Celtic Federation of nations. Special links may be

maintained with the English and French governments but the relations of member states would thereafter be through normal diplomatic procedures, through the European association, the United Nations. We shall now work for the holding of such a conference. In Cornish Nation we propose in a series of articles to examine all aspects of society and the economy of Kernow, survey the present position, trace the course of likely development in the future, suggest what might be the impact of self-government before the end of the century, developments after that. For the first article the editor examines higher education in Kernow, in particular the present "Cornwall" Technical College in "Towards a Cornish University". Cornish people everywhere are invited to submit similar articles on any institution, or aspect of society or economy in Kernow with the basic premiss, however, that Kernow will achieve self-government before the end of the century.

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THE PAGAN CELTS -

a review of Anne Ross's book, "Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts", (Batsford/Putnam 1970).

There is only one reference to Kernow in this book and that relates to the Brittonic language - "It was the language of Britain during the Roman period, later it became divided up into Cornish (now extinct as a spoken language although there is a strong movement to revive it), Welsh and Breton". This sparsity of reference is understandable in view of the fact that the particular Cornish Celtic identity only became clear in the post-Roman period - Professor Jackson in his monumental study, "Language and History in Early Britain" shows that Cornish as a separate language begins to be distinguishable from the mid-6th century A.D. Though she does draw on some source material from later times Anne Ross's book deals with pagan Celtic society as it existed in pre-Roman times and in the Roman period. And she deals with the whole of Celtic society spread as the Celts then were over most of Europe from Ireland to Turkey and of which Kernow was only a small part. In her book she describes their appearance, their social organisation, their religion and art in the period when they were at their most extravert, most confident, their "Heroic period". May not a careful reading of this well-researched and soundly based description be an aid to the understanding of the character of the Cornish as revealed in history and their representatives today.

We have to rely largely on classical writers for descriptions of the appearance of the Celts. To them the Celts were a fine looking people, tall and with muscular bodies, mostly with fair and brown hair. Sculptures and later Irish traditions show that Celts had long, pear-shaped heads, "a face broad above narrow below", with narrow slit-like mouths. The Celts paid great attention to their hair, though styles varied according to changes in fashion, time and place and the individual's role in society. According to Diodorus Siculus some of the Celtic men wore short beards; others shaved off the beard but had full moustaches. Both men and women wore their hair long; warriors frequently bleached and thickened it so that it stood out. Strabo said Celtic skin was "very moist and white" - this no doubt in contrast with the swarthier complexions of the Romans. Both men and women were very conscious of their physiques; young men keeping their bodies trim and scorning those with pot-bellies. According to Diodorus Siculus they had deep-sounding and very harsh voices.

Contact with the East and their great use of the horse for peaceful

and warlike activity were factors which led them to wear trousers. Other dress consisted of knee-length tunics caught in at the waist with a girdle. Over tunics were worn striped and checked and many-coloured cloaks fastened with a brooch. Strabo tells of their love of decoration. "They wear ornaments of gold, torques on their necks and bracelets on their arms and wrists, while people of high rank wear dyed garments besprinkled with gold". Archeological evidence fully attests to the Celtic passion for personal decoration, and many brooches, finger-rings, ankle-rings, necklets and elaborate metal belts have been found.

Though much given to personal decoration and display their living quarters appear to have been fairly crude, either circular or rectangular dwellings made of materials to hand, stone, turf, wood, thatch. A hole in the centre of the roof let out the smoke from the fire. The Celts were great eaters of meat, especially pork, and this they cooked in cauldrons. They also ate fish and bread was used in small quantities by the nobles. Classical writers comment on the great capacity of the Celts for strong liquor. Ale (Gaulish "corma"; Cornish "corel") made from malted barley, and sometimes other grains was popular. Also mead (Cornish for "Drunk", "medhow", derives from the same root) and imported wine. Similar festivals to those in early Irish tradition, Imbale on 1st February, Beltaine 1st May, Lughnasa 1st August, Samain 1st November, were probably held throughout the Celtic world. They were associated with important dates in the agricultural calendar. At such feasts and similar gatherings those present sat in a circle on dried grass, according to a classical writer, and had their meals served up on wooden tables raised slightly above the ground. After the food, more drink and entertainment by singing, the music of harps and pipes, recitals of poetry and tales - these frequently took the form of eulogies of the chieftain's career. Nobles with time on their hands were much given to hunting, athletics and games, some not dissimilar to Cornish hurling.

Of course, there was a difference in the life of warriors, nobles and the chieftain's entourage and the lower orders. The latter toiled in the fields in the simple peasant life, the nature of which changed little in the millennia to follow. The position of some was clearly little better than that of slaves. Their dwellings of the crudest. Yet despite their lack of possessions the humbler members of the community seem to have shared with their social superiors a deep reverence for the arts, for intellect and learning and for the gods and the ritual attendant upon them. They participated in their tribal capacity in the great ritual gatherings and the vital sacrifices upon which the well-being of the people depended. 51

1447) In pagan Celtic societies it seems war was regarded as the norm, and highly desirable; and fighting and success in single combat were right and proper for the young warrior. Strabo again, "The whole race is madly fond of war, high-spirited and quick to battle, but otherwise straightforward and not of an evil character". Warriors frequently fought naked and without body protection of any kind. Some were brave to the point of foolhardiness, rushing wildly on the enemy and sacrificing their lives; others weakened the overall assault by displays of faint-heartedness. Their lack of efficient organisation and staying power as a group were constant hindrances to permanent victory and the consolidation of gains. Their vanity made them unbearable in victory and completely downcast in defeat. In this fluid era the Celts were liable to move their abode on the slightest provocation, migrating in bands with all their battle array, or setting out with all their households when displaced by a stronger enemy. Within their own ranks on account of their excess drinking, fighting between individuals was liable to break out in the course of festivity and revelry. Many tales in the early literature are based on this motif, i.e. feasting, over-indulgence in drinking and the ensuing squabble, followed by bloodshed and ultimately involving the whole tribe. These tales also bring out another trait, the Celts' fear of satire and scorn.

Barbaric and crude though social intercourse must have been there were strong feelings of honourable conduct and "the fitness of things"; there was the belief in the supernatural power of the true utterance. But just as the truth was considered as vital, magical force, so was the concept of taboos. Violation of one's taboos could lead to serious consequences and even to death. It is clear that religion and superstition played a fundamental role in the everyday life of the Celts. Magic, superstition and the great host of gods and goddesses with their requirements from man and the benefits they bestowed in return for gifts and proper propitiation, are everywhere present. Sometimes gods were menacing, always dangerous, when offended, vengeful and without mercy. Groves of oaks formed holy places (the name of the high priests, "druids", is believed to derive from the Celtic word for oak - in Cornish it is "derowen"). Also sacred were standing stones. For the Celts the otherworld was as real as the tangible physical world as their grave goods show.

Although their language was to a late date unwritten the Celts always had a strong natural feeling for learning and intellectual exercise. It is an aspect of their temperament that has always amazed and intrigued

outsiders to find such a marked contrast between their rough and ready domestic arrangements and the refinement in their use of language and appreciation of linguistic subtlety. Bards and poets whose training took years were held in high esteem. It was a completely oral tradition and there is little evidence of improvisation in the literature. Even in a present-day Gaelic speaking gathering, any change in a single word by the story-teller is noticed and commented on by the avid listeners, as familiar with the tale as the teller himself. Neither poetry, history, religious precepts, genealogies or their laws did they commit to writing. It is clear the Celts were unwilling that their traditional lore and learning should be available to blasphemous outsiders. According to Diodorus Siculus the Celts in conversation used "very few words and speak in riddles, for the most part hinting at things and leaving a great deal to be understood. They frequently exaggerate, with the aim of extolling themselves and diminishing the status of others... they are quick of mind and with good natural ability for learning".

They were an essentially tribal, non-urban people and though their laws may have been elaborate and well-classified (unwritten, of course) they never developed a strong and lasting political system. Such can only, no doubt, be built up from stable and fixed urban centres. This has always been their main failing and accounts for their subsequent defeats at the hands of the, for a time, more dynamic Teutons, the better politically organised Romans. Living in the midst of Nature they reacted with all the capriciousness of nature, their own, that of the surrounding material world. Though their lives may have been barbaric and many of their practices cruel that but reflected the character of the material world, "nature red in tooth and claw". But their lives were lived out in unison with nature; they delighted in material living and loved beauty.

By Celtic art we mean in essence that developed in the La Tene phase of Celtic society (i.e. from about 5th century B.C.; the name derived from votive deposits found at Le Tene in Switzerland). Various influences were at work in its creation, oriental, classical (following the setting up of the Greek trading station at Massilia-i.e. Marseilles), the indigenous art forms of Bronze Age Europe. Celtic artists turned these into a composite and remarkably subtle whole by reason of their own particular genius. The figures of animals and birds (which they venerated) figured prominently. Also the human head - this was seen as being the essence of the human personality; in battles victors carried home the severed heads of defeated enemies as trophies. Some work was carried out in durable stone, many

designs on objects of leather, bone and wood - the wooden pillars and woodwork of their dwellings must have given scope for elaborate carving; but it is in the metalwork of these artists that the full flowering of the style can be witnessed. There were regional differences, of course. While basically a decorative art it cannot be separated from the religion and magic which must underlie many of the typical motifs. In the creations naturalism gives way to fantasy, the straightforward motif becomes sheer flowing and complex design. Celtic art is miraculous in its utter intensity and amazing variety. The designs are fluid, sweeping and without a clear beginning or end. As Anne Ross says, "In their art style then we come very close to the essence of the Celtic temperament. It reflects the tortuous and subtle nature of their thought processes; the complexities of their language; it makes manifest the complicated, shifting, oblique nature of their religious attitudes. In short, Celtic art is an impressive summing up of all that is fundamental and distinctive in the spiritual life of the Celts".

The unity and harmony with nature perhaps provides the key to the strength of the Celts. Loyalty to the family, the tribe, respect for their ancestors. Such a strength and confidence that eludes purely urban dwellers especially in these modern times. Perhaps it is this strength that explains the long memories of the Celtic peoples, the fact that of political movements in Britain and France it is the Celtic nationalist movements alone which are today growing in influence and support. Though the savagery and brutalities of this early pagan Celtic culture are obviously not to be imitated, are there not aspects which could well provide inspiration, answers for people living to-day? Are not some of the traits discernible among the Celts today, the Cornish, also to be found in these, their remote ancestors? And may it not be worthwhile for us to try and rediscover, enhance some of these characteristics which if not part of our explicit persona are still buried deep within us; recapture their confidence, their valour, their exuberance, their delight in material living; at the same time, remembering that their defects may be ours, try to counteract and rectify these.

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THE INSULT THAT IS CORNISH SCHOOLS AND CORNISH LIBRARIES

The fact of the matter is that if Cornish schools and their staffs disappeared overnight it would not make one iota of difference to the Cornish identity. In fact the reverse, for whatever form of education took their place might well have in it aspects sympathetic to the identity. In few schools is anything taught about Cornish history and despite the considerable revival in the Cornish language in recent years not the slightest efforts has been made to promote it in schools. From school teachers (significantly, no doubt, a large proportion of these are English) come the reply - well there are few books to use. That is a lazy answer, an English answer. If only the effort were made there are plenty of books from which teaching material could be culled. School staffs should work on a programme of producing syllabi for teaching Cornish history and the Cornish language; eventually examinations at "O" and "A" levels should be devised in schools in both subjects. May it not then be a good idea that subsequently only teachers with "A" level passes in the two subjects be employed in schools. For if they know nothing of the background of the land and the people they are teaching an immediate gap of sympathy arises between staffs and students.

As it is poor students have to suffer endless imbecilities from English teachers who are unsympathetic to the Cornish identity and intend remaining so. The current anti-Cornish attitudes in schools also extends to the field of sports. We wonder how many schools organised collections for the Cornish Wrestling Association's fund to bring over Breton wrestlers this summer. No need to wonder. The answer is none. And, of course, no schools promote this fine, athletic sport which is practised only in Kernow and Brittany. That is a complete disgrace.

In 1970 "Cornish Nation" devised a questionnaire to ascertain the hopes and aspirations of students at secondary schools. Less than a quarter of the schools co-operated in that worthwhile work. It was largely through the help of some sympathetic teachers and lecturers that it was the success that it was. The results of the questionnaire revealed, of course that little was being taught in the schools on Cornish history, nothing of the Cornish language and such local sports as Cornish wrestling were practically unknown. Also that there was a deep and unsatisfied longing among students to know of their "roots", their cultural heritage. In 1971 MK Publications launched a youth magazine, "Kernow", for students at colleges and secondary schools, an open forum where they could express their views freely on all issues. This has not received the slightest support from Cornish schools

as it should and only continues to be printed through the determined efforts of a small group of students. This year MK Publications published a scholarly and authoritative booklet, "The Celtic Background of Kernow" which has received wide acclamation on the radio and in the local press. Staff and students consulted feel it would be of great use in Cornish schools. A University lecturer wrote - "It certainly is an interesting production and I should have thought might be used quite a bit". A Cornish schoolboy - "Celtic Background would provide supermaterial for 'general studies' lessons in the upper years of 'senior' schools or even act as a course of true Cornish history for younger pupils". A copy of "Celtic Background" was circulated to all secondary schools in the land (50 in all) inviting them to purchase copies, a reduction being allowed for a bulk order. To date only a single copy has been purchased. Bodmin County Secondary School returned both booklet and circular. In the latter the description of the booklet as "scholarly" was asterisked and alongside was written "joke?". At the bottom the asterisk was repeated and beside it written, "Who says?". If this disrespectful, moronic sort of attitude is general among teachers it is no wonder Cornish schools are becoming increasingly divorced from the Cornish identity, from the Cornish people whose children they are supposed to be educating. We can assure the staff of Bodmin County Secondary School that the historical sections of "Celtic Background" are solidly based on reliable sources, the text being written by a trained historian and as numerous favourable reviews show the use of the word "scholarly" to describe it would be generally approved. "Cornish Nation" itself, with its wide coverage of the Cornish scene today, its stimulating articles, its unrivalled series on Cornish industries would, of course, provide excellent material for sixth-form discussion groups. But how many schools take it for their senior pupils? We expect none; certainly no schools subscribe. Apparently a magazine produced wholly by Cornish talents is unsuitable for Cornish schools. No doubt students are fed on dosage of anaemic, uninspired English-produced material which pays not the slightest attention to the unique Cornish identity, the Celtic background.

The same sad attitudes prevail in the Cornish library service. Last year we circulated a free copy of "Cornish Nation" to all Cornish branch libraries - more than 25 in number. As a result only two bothered to reply and take up subscriptions. In fact far more libraries take "Cornish Nation" outside Kernow than inside. As well as the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin, Edinburgh, Leicester, the London School of Economics,

libraries at Exeter and Plymouth subscribe as well as institutions on the continent, in America, Australia. Apparently "Cornish Nation" is good enough for the libraries of the main English Universities but not good enough for Cornish libraries. No doubt libraries use up their ample funds on English-orientated periodicals whose relevance to the Cornish scene is minimal. Of course, the principal reason for this policy is the number of English people employed in the libraries.

We would suggest to staffs of both Cornish schools and libraries that they have a total re-think of their policies towards the Cornish identity, the Celtic background. That they give wholehearted support to movements to promote the identity, positive encouragement to productions, booklets, magazines produced by Cornish talents. The alternative to a radical change of policy is the increasing divorce of these institutions from Cornish feelings, a growing polarisation of things Cornish and English. Cornish people realise that most of the institutions in the land are operated in the English interest, to put over the English view-point. That there is a conspiracy of silence embracing the principal media, commercial organisations being worked by the English-orientated, if not English, establishments in Kernow against the Cornish identity, the movement active in promoting it, Mebyon Kernow. There is certain to come a time when the Cornish will no longer tolerate the continued submergence of their identity in this way. With these thoughts in mind we trust the staffs of Cornish schools and libraries will work to make their institutions truly Cornish, work for understanding and harmony between Cornish and English instead of being (as they are at the moment) accessories to the breakdown of the relationship. We in Mebyon Kernow aver that this conspiracy will be broken and Kernow will become a land whole-heartedly Cornish, not pseudo-England, a proud Cornish nation again.

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THE CORNISH PEOPLE HAVE TWO CHOICES

The over-riding aim of any political movement which seeks to gain the support of all sensible and good people must be the universal brotherhood of man. That must be the over-riding aim of Mebyon Kernow. That said, in a just and humane world it should also be the right of all communities, nations conscious of their individuality to fulfil themselves according to the dictates of their beings. At root Kernow is a Celtic land, the Cornish are a Celtic people. Their culture though considerably anglicised in recent centuries retains in various aspects Celtic qualities and flavour: the Cornish language is a Celtic language and though it has suffered decline in the last three centuries it survives in placenames, surnames and the way in which Cornish speak English—moreover in recent years it is undergoing a remarkable revival: the Cornish people who still make up the largest proportion of the population in Kernow are largely Celtic in that great unknowable, whose power it is so difficult to calculate, blood. Cornish people have a right to seek fulfilment, have fulfilment as Celts, establish their Celtic identity. Make their land a truly Celtic land. Any English or other individual or group who in any way works to discourage or prevent this fulfilment is unjust, inhumane, evil.

The Cornish people have two choices before them. Either they can sit back, take their pleasures and watch the gradual submergence of their own identity, the identity of the land. Submerged under the anglo-American sub-culture, the materialist ethos of Western societies where more worth is attached to money than to individual life and welfare; submerged under the characterless, rootless society of megalopolis, endless suburbia in which so many humans now live throughout the world. The Cornish identity in the form of the placenames, language, archeological and historical relics may be preserved as a sort of museum piece for the titivation of English and other tourists and retireds. The second choice required positive action by Cornish people. Must get up off their backsides and make Kernow a really living Celtic land again. Get at essential Celtic characteristics, preserve, enhance these. See that the language is widely spoken again and develop the individual Cornish culture in music, art, sport, dress, body styles etc. Name their children with Cornish names. See that young Cornish people have a full education as to Cornish history and are taught the Cornish language. Preserve existing archeological and historical relics and buildings. See that subsequent buildings while taking advantage of modern building techniques and developments have some relevance to local styles, use local

materials where this is possible. In the economic field pursue traditional economic activities, farming, fishing, mining, quarrying, etc., care being taken not to depart from traditional techniques and organisation where this is unnecessary though at the same time modernising where this fits in with traditional patterns. New initiatives in this sphere as in the others obviously to be taken up where suitable. Politically work to achieve internal self-government so that Cornish society, economy can be developed in a Cornish way by Cornish people. Work to achieve political recognition of Kernow at all levels so that the world knows we are a nation, a proud Celtic nation with a unique history and heritage. In regard to the ethos of Cornish society preserve and promote the loving-kindness ethos that pervades Cornish communities (an ethos that contrasts with the don't-want-to-know, selfish, materialist ethos, that seems to characterise so much of life in the large towns in England and other parts). At the same time continually assimilating new and more idealistic ways of running society, ways of behaving to each other. The aim, an even better society, aiming for the heights, for perfection. So that every individual gains fulfilment according to the dictates of his being. This second choice must be the objective of Mebyon Kernow. Cornish people who make that choice should give every support to the movement, become active in it so that it gains strength, achieves these aims, and reflects their own particular viewpoint. Mebyon Kernow, Kernow, the Cornish homeland, Celtic, a model society.

Obviously not a movement of inhumanity. The fact that English people and others live here has to be accepted. Equally fulfilment, fully participating but they like the world must recognise that this is not England, is Kernow, a Celtic land and that the Cornish are a Celtic people. Action or words against Cornish self-fulfilment is tantamount to treasonable activity by aliens. To achieve their aims the Cornish people, their voice Mebyon Kernow, will have to be vigorously nationalistic. Only when the Cornish have achieved political recognition as a nation, internal self-government, their other aims can the Cornish relax, subsume their efforts in greater internationalism. Of course many English decry nationalism today, say it is out of date. One reason for this perhaps is that their own nationality is becoming so vague and amorphous. They do not know who they are, what they are. Their nationalism is at their convenience. Earlier in this century in the wars against Germany British nationalism was promoted with great fervour. Fight for the King and country. Your country needs you. Those sporty women with their white feathers. Thousands of young Cornishmen lie

buried in foreign soils fighting for English capitalist interests. The slaughter of the First World War which had no relevance to the interests of Kernow or Cornish people is attested by the list of names on War memorials in every parish in the land. Now they decry nationalism – after so many of our sons have died to promote the interests of their big businesses. Well, now we have our say. We are a nation and to achieve our rights, our aims we shall be vigorously, ruthlessly nationalistic.

It is ironic, of course, that one of the factors that has served to encourage Cornish nationalism is the creeping spread of the battery-cage society on our doorstep, the magolopolis in embryo, Plymouth. The ambitions of its misguided City Council has done much to unite Cornishmen and the fight to preserve the Tamar border has added strength and credibility to Mebyon Kernow, the Cornish nationalist movement. You talk to the natural Cornish patriot, speaking with spirit and part seriousness – “Yes, we’ll blow up the Tamar bridge”. They know the source of the virus that threatens our land. A virus both of the battery-cage society and, through the operations of big businesses and bureaucratic establishments, of economic and political domination. Alderman Foster and the Cornish Council, are, of course, to be congratulated on their fight to preserve the border which with the rebuff of Plymouth Council’s grandiose schemes is now settled for the foreseeable future. There are spheres in which we would like to see the Council far more vigorous in promoting the Cornish interests but the Tamar border victory can be seen as largely their triumph and for that Cornish people everywhere must be eternally grateful. The Cornish Council’s efforts contrast with the often anti-Cornish policies pursued by many of the local councils on which there are frequently a large number of English. These councils work to preserve the status quo, their own powers; inaction appears to be their watchword; promote the uninvited, sordid world of the capitalist ethic, ignore idealistic movements such as Mebyon Kernow. Indeed we in Mebyon Kernow find the departments of the central government are far more understanding of Cornish problems and our own efforts to look after Cornish interests and promote the identity, vide the wise decision of the present government to recognise the permanence of the Cornish boundary at the Tamar. As a result of the fight against Plymouth Council over the border in which we in Mebyon Kernow played no mean rôle and our efforts in other fields Cornish people and others increasingly see the movement as that which gives hope for the future. The movement which can provide an alternative government to that which exists today. Shortly Mebyon Kernow should form a

shadow cabinet to supervise all aspects of local administration in preparation for the day of self-government. For their aid in helping to promote that happy event we would like to thank the Plymouth Council.

It has been estimated that throughout the world there are more than 10 million people of Cornish blood. In many ways we see the creation of self-governing Kernow as rather like the creation of Israel. Kernow the Cornish homeland for Cornish people throughout the world as Israel is for the Jews. The form this self-government takes, well, that is to be worked out in the future. Maybe there will be a special relationship with England, perhaps it will be part of a Celtic federation. No need to plan the details at this stage. The thing is to work for our objectives, general recognition of our nationhood, work for Kernow to be governed by Cornish people in a Cornish way, the second choice. We are determined to achieve victory. There are now coming together a growing number of young and idealistic Cornish people dedicated to Mebyon Kernow and the achievement of its aims.

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THE CORNISH PHYSIQUE

The experience of the Hitler era has made "race" a taboo word in civilised circles since. This seems a pity because that peoples of the world have differing physical characteristics is obvious enough and scientifically conducted research into such differences, their impact on people's outlooks, behaviour 'one would think they can only be of benefit to humanity. Just as there are major physical differences between peoples, black, yellow, white skinned races for instance, so there are less distinctive differences. Though of course, there has been considerable inter-breeding in Britain the Celtic peoples can often be distinguished from their English neighbours. Certainly many Cornish people have distinctive physical traits. At the outset perhaps I should make it clear that I am not a trained anthropologist, sociologist, psychologist and largely because little scientific research has been carried out on the subject my comments and conclusions may be rated as pure speculation, inspired guess work. If as a result of this article someone is encouraged to carry out more scientific investigation I shall be well pleased.

From personal observation I seem to discern three main types of Cornishman. First are the tallish, well-built individuals, brown hair, sometimes blondish, fair skins, generally blue eyes, oval, pear-shaped heads. Farmers, countryfolk in central and eastern Kernow. Second stocky, solidly built men and women with large round heads, often with receding foreheads. Farmers often also - in pockets through the land. Third, black haired men and women, short to middling stature, swarthy complexions, sometimes slight of build. Blue and brown eyes. Localised in fishing villages around the coast of Kernow and forming quite a large proportion of the population in west Kernow.

My interpretation of these differences. Kernow a Celtic land as is well known. Between 5th and 1st centuries B.C., the Celtic peoples who had their origins in the south German-Austrian area spread throughout Europe and settled in places as far apart as Ireland, Britain, France, Italy, the Balkans and Turkey. Left their imprint on all these areas. They were a dynamic people with whom the use of the horse, iron, farming of a mixed variety were developed in a new way. From the 1st century B.C., their hegemony in Europe (which never was politically well-organised) began to be reduced by the Teutons - of whom the English are a later sub-group - in the north. The early centuries A.D. saw, of course, the Roman occupation of much of Europe but their empire in turn succumbed in the fourth and fifth centuries,

largely owing to Teutonic pressure from the north. Teutons poured into France, Britain other parts of western Europe so that by the 8th century the only Celtic areas retaining their independence were by and large Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Kernow, and Brittany.

The Roman occupation of Britain largely a military occupation and seems to have had little effect on the make-up of the population. Roman civilisation, culture, literature, art reached high peaks and from that source we have some descriptions of the Celts, both graphic and literary. The Celts were remarkable to Mediterranean eyes for their height, their skin, muscularity, blue eyes and blonde hair. Of course these characteristics were relative to the physique and pigmentation of the Mediterranean observer and were no doubt those of the more noticeable elements in Celtic society, the chieftains and freeman warriors. Classical sculptures show the Celts as having tall, loose-limbed muscular bodies, with round or medium heads and wavy or curly hair. The native, La Tene art, though somewhat stylised shows the Celt as having pear-shaped heads with prominent eyes; triangular noses, emphasised eyebrows and narrow slit mouths. This description is confirmed by later Irish traditions in which the head of the typical Celt was said to be "broad above, narrow below". In physique as in several other things the long-head Celts clearly had similarities with the Teutons and there were borderlands of Teutonised Celts and Celticised Teutons who could hardly be distinguished. One would think, however, this would be mainly in the centre and north of Europe and would not affect western Britain. The evidence of the excavation of Celtic burial grounds suggests that the Celtic population was made up of both long and round-headed subjects. The round heads would seem to represent the older established populations of the Bronze Age in the north Alpine zone while the long heads, which there is some reason to think formed the more aristocratic element, were evidently derived from a more central European population that had expanded westwards. It would seem these expansionist Celts, the long-heads fit in fairly well with the first type of Cornishman described above.

Of the pre-Celtic inhabitants of Kernow one of the most important elements were the Bronze Age peoples. Aileen Fox describes them thus - "a race of powerfully built, short men and women, with round heads and prominent brow-ridges". Kernow often conservative in traditions and society. The configuration of the land promoted this and encouraged the tenacity of the inhabitants. No doubt many Bronze Age and pre-Celtic inhabitants survived in the land. These would be my second category of Cornishmen.

Surnames may help here. "Vian" meaning "little" may have been a description given by taller Celts of shorter, stockier neighbours. It may be an old wives' tale but the reason given me once for there being so many red-haired people in some areas was that they were the result of the inter-breeding of Celt and Bronze Age types. The Cornish surname "Couch" - "red" would of course refer to such.

From the 1st century B.C. Kernow was settled by another distinctive Celtic group coming by sea. Their distinctive archeological remains are the promontory fort, the fogou, cordoned ware pottery. Professor Thomas in his article "The character and origins of Roman Dumnonia", Council for British Archaeology Report 7, suggests the newcomers were Veneti Celts. These were great seamen and traders and were important intermediaries in the tin trade between Kernow and the Mediterranean. Their base was southern Armorica, present day south Brittany and, testifying to their occupation of the land, as in Kernow, important archeological remains are promontory forts and fogous. Promontory forts appear to have been harbours of refuge for nearby settlements of people, living both by the sea and inland. This was a time it should be remembered of competition for land, tribal warfare. The number of promontory forts in Kernow, their frequently large size suggest that this 1st century immigration involved considerable numbers of people. Professor Thomas suggests that the names for the land, Kernow, "Cornwall" derive from these people's tribal name, the "Cornovii". The "Corn" - part referring in fact to their characteristic harbour of refuge, the promontory fort. If this was so it would suggest these Veneti Celts as I might term them were the predominant element in the population, the most distinctive. In 56 B.C. the Romans defeated the Veneti Celts of Armorica in a major sea battle. This ended their involvement in the tin trade and their contacts with their brethren who had settled in Kernow. It is my suggestion that the Veneti Celts with their contacts in the Mediterranean may well have been swarthier, darker, stockier than the traditional Celtic type. That my third category of Cornishman are these Veneti Celts. Mostly to be found in the west and in coastal villages, many being fishermen, seafarers, engaged in sea trades. Tribes named Cornovii are to be found in other parts and, though these are not necessarily connected, characteristic Veneti Celt archeological remains are to be found in some other areas bordering the Irish Channel. Also in some parts, notably south Wales there are people of similar dark characteristics to the Veneti Celts in Kernow and it could well be that this Celtic group also colonised other places off the Irish Channel. According to

Irish tradition there were dark-haired elements in early Irish society, members of the aristocratic warrior class. Perhaps they were also related.

I do not pretend the following is an exhaustive survey of historical references to Cornish physical characteristics. They are the most well-known ones, the ones I have happened to come across. After the battle of Blackheath in 1497 it was noted that the arrows gathered afterwards were a full yard in length "so strong and mighty a bow the Cornishmen were said to draw". Ignorance may have led the Londoners to have exaggerated the physical strength of the Cornish. But that they were a sturdy and muscular country people must have been clear. The chief writers and historians of Kernow seem to have had little to say about Cornish physical characteristics and Richard Carew only refers to the "huge" size of pre-Celtic inhabitants the basis for which statement is not known. Paintings and memorials - slate funeral monuments and the like - of the period tend to be rather stylized though the long head element in the population (upper strata?) seem to have been mostly depicted. The Cornish giant called Payne and painted by Kneller looks a characteristic round-head type. There is a nice little description of Cornish women by Celia Fiennes visiting St. Austell in 1695 - "I must say they are as comely sort of women as I have seen anywhere tho' in ordinary dress, good black eyes and crafty enough and very neat". The theme of a beautiful sensitive-eyed people is in line with the earlier description of their Celtic ancestors, later writers' descriptions and present-day observation. Borlase in 1750 has little to say other than that the Cornish are "usually of middle stature, healthy, strong and active". An early 19th century writer reported that "the women of Cornwall are handsome, but not particularly fresh coloured. They are modest, open and unaffected in manner". Of Cornish miners in California this was written in the 1870s - "The Cornish miner is of a quiet disposition, although very headstrong ... Generally speaking he is satisfied to be working for others, but insists on being paid promptly for his services and does not care for engagement in mining on his own account. They are mostly stalwart, good-looking fellows, dress better than any other class of miners and are very fond of women. They also appear more clannish than any other foreigners and a majority of them are very good singers. When they visit a saloon they generally arrange themselves around a table, call for a pot of ale or porter and pass the time away in anecdote and song". Their liking for fine clothes was commented on by another writer of the time and perhaps this reflects the early Celt's vanity of his person. Their clannishness, though not quite a physical

characteristic of the individual rather a behavioural quality of the people as a whole, was remarked upon by American writer, Stevenson - "A racial difference older and more original than that of Babel, keeps this close esoteric family apart from neighbouring Englishmen"; he pictured the emigrants, "one reading the New Testament all day long through steel spectacles, and the rest discussing privately the secrets of their old-world, mysterious race".

The physical sturdiness of the Cornish was noted by Polwhele - "It is affirmed that a regiment of Cornish Militia, when at Chatham camp, stood on more ground than any other militia of the same number of men", further he pronounced the Cornish were "short, and thick, with legs too slight for their bodies". In the above comment clearly some conflict of opinion but owing to their Bronze Age and Celtic background undoubtedly many Cornish were sturdier, more muscular than their English neighbours. Canon Hammond in his "A Cornish Parish - An Account of St. Austell", 1897 has some interesting views of his own on the Cornish. As well as mentioning temperamental characteristics, "a certain lethargy" (perhaps related to what I have heard sharp English term "manyana") he observed "as to the facial characteristics of the country I am quite clear, though I might find it difficult to describe them exactly. All that I can say is that the prevailing type is distinctly less Saxon and more Spanish-looking than that of the shires. I think that our features less marked, less rugged, more classic: in short, I seem to trace here in a modified degree - and this is only what we might expect - the features which one discovers in Wales in a marked degree". A contemporary of Canon Hammond Canon Rogers was full of praise for the physical beauty of the Cornish. He noted areal differences, in particular a "St. Austell type". No doubt this is correct and deriving from this tribal background Cornish people in different parts of the land have differing physical characteristics. Another writer of this period (the reference I am afraid I have mislaid) said that the dour and dark features of the Cornish reminded him most of the Breton which considering the close contacts over the millennia, the migrations of peoples between the two lands is understandable. Present-day observations - well, these are probably best left to the three categories I suggested earlier until scientific work is carried out on the subject.

The physical basis of personality. It is obvious that the physical make-up of an individual is basic in the development of his individual personality. It is astonishing therefore so little scientific research has been carried out on the differing physical characteristics of human beings, the effect of such on their outlooks and temperaments. If we are better to

understand the human being, his problems clearly such research is vitally necessary. Some work has been done on bloodgroups in Britain and I understand differences are noticeable in the western parts of the British Isles, including Kernow, which may reflect the occupation of these lands by predominantly Celtic peoples. I feel the Celtic people have deep-seated physical differences from other racial groups and that this affects their emotional outlooks. No doubt also their own languages both reflected and developed such outlooks. The Celtic peoples seem to have thinner skins than the English, are more in tune with nature. A kind of unconscious electrical assonance with the material world; unconsciously they know what is right to do, how to behave, to live. Environment factors may be important here, the characteristics of the lands they occupy, climate, also the fact that they are largely country peoples. Even so I still feel there is this distinguishing physical background that affects. I call it Celtic sensitivity myself and feel that often you can tell the Celts, the Cornish by their eyes, warm, sensitive and penetrating.

What is there in all this for the Cornish living today and in the future? Undoubtedly part of the identity of the Cornish people, along with their surnames, is their physical characteristics. Very important part I would have thought. It should be appreciated that the people in ultimo who will be the most tenacious in preserving, promoting the identity will be those of Cornish blood. That continued dilution of Cornish stock by interbreeding with English and others may well over the years weaken the resolve to maintain the differences. Though I believe in the sphere of numbers of population there may well have to be government control in the future I am not, of course, advocating any government regulation here, the promotion of any sort of Cornish stock breeding programme. Self-governing Kernow I believe should be a free and open society, a fully participating democracy and any sort of direction in that field would be totally abhorrent. People should be able to find their mates freely, in the natural way. However, especially until self-government is achieved and Kernow has world recognition as a nation Cornish peoples may well bear in mind the above reflections. In any case intermarriage among the Cornish happens naturally now and may well continue to do so. Differing cultural backgrounds operate here. Also no doubt important are these deep-seated physical differences. This common sensitivity which means that a Cornish man and woman can be on the same wavelength, have an unconscious understanding which a Cornish and non-Cornish person does not reach. With the flood of English, both tourist and resident, into the land

a certain amount of segregation between Cornish and non-Cornish seems to be occurring in communities, social activities. Until our aims are achieved I feel such segregation should be encouraged.

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SELF-UNDERSTANDING TO WORLD UNDERSTANDING

HOW TO SAVE THE IDENTITY

Cornish identity, Kernow, the Cornish homeland – all these are under attack. Of that there is no doubt. We know the reasons. The infiltration of the land by the English. The construction of buildings, estates that are characterless in style, the same as could be built in suburbia anywhere in the world. Radio, television, the press pouring out stuff that has no relevance to the identity, does not recognise our unique identity, the Celtic background. Then there is the insult that is Cornish schools. These sad institutions inculcate Cornish youth with a moronic, stereotyped, education the same as could be obtained in any part of England. Pay little attention to our unique history; in no way promote our own beautiful language. Cornish schools are a disgrace, are in general anti-Cornish and vehicles of the anglicisation process, tools of English imperialism.

The aims in short of Mebyon Kernow, the Cornish nationalist movement, are, one, to preserve, enhance the identity of Kernow, a unique Celtic identity, two, to look after the interests of Cornish people. We do what the Cornish people want. Try to do, shall we say. We do our best but we are still an amateur organisation run by members in their spare time. But we are growing and developing. So, one way to help save the identity is to join Mebyon Kernow, become active in it, see that it represents your views, make it more efficient and more powerful.

Who are the people who will fight for Kernow, the Cornish homeland. They are the Cornish people, who can be distinguished by their individual physical characteristics, their surnames, the family links. It is a question of blood-ties. It is important until our goal is achieved – when the Cornish peoples are fulfilling themselves as Celts – that people of Cornish stock strictly maintain consciousness of their individuality. That English and others who come into our midst are recognised for what they are, are not Cornish, can never become such. Today we note how the Cornish in general keep separate from the newcomers in recreations, social activities etc. A sort of separate development is occurring. Until our goal is achieved this is to be encouraged. The other way – continued dilution of Cornish stock, erosion of the Cornish ethos – is Kernow-death. There is one thing about the infiltration of the land by English, young and old, the raping of our coasts and towns by English speculators it is promoting the separation, the polarisation of things, people, Cornish and English. In fact promotes confrontation. It will be through a critical situation developing that a breakthrough can be sparked off which will fundamentally alter Kernow's status,

afford the opportunity to save the Cornish identity.

For have no doubt it the only way to save the Cornish identity will be through a breakthrough being made in the political status of Kernow, a breakthrough that will have ramifications in the economic and social sphere of necessity. Breakthrough in the next thirty years, our only hope. Breakthrough will be made through alliance with our Celtic brothers in Scotland, Wales, Isle of Man, Eire and Brittany. The more we can build up contacts with our brothers, the more we can develop this alliance the better. The end-product with the achievement of breakthrough will be a Celtic Federation of Nations which will have world recognition. The structure of the Federation, the relationship of the individual members are, of course, things to be worked out in the future. As Hywel Daffydd and Eoin Ó Nuainín so rightly stress full independence will not be achieved unless economic power is also obtained for the Celtic nations. The Federation should consist of republics with co-operative socialist systems. Always the balance between extremes as in all things. So, to save the identity we need breakthrough, the establishment of a Celtic Federation.

"Alba, Breizh, Cymru, Eire, Kernow, Mannin-whagh bro, un enef" "Scotland, Brittany, Wales, Ireland, Cornwall, Isle of Man - six nations, one soul".

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THE DESTRUCTION OF A PEOPLE, OF A NATION

On the juke-box the other day, "Indian Reservation" played. The destruction, demoralisation of a people, the Red Indians in the United States, was told of. A young Cornishman commented, "That is like us". How true. One sees the flood into the land of English who care nothing of Cornish culture and values, are contemptuous of such (they are able to flood in because of the power of money in the present system); one sees the death of Cornish communities, the scarring of the land with vast suburbia-type estates the same as could be built in any part; rural life is being destroyed because small farmers are failing (the power of money again); the Cornish people whose land this is are becoming limited to the poorer housing districts and are doing the menial tasks (serfs in their own land); schools, press, radio and TV betray Kernow and her people by in no way promoting the Cornish language, Cornish culture, the identity - these institutions should be encouraging Cornish people to be proud of their unique identity, but they do not: they want us to become part of the English moronic mass.

Have no doubt about it the destruction of Kernow, the demoralisation of Cornish people is deliberate. Deliberate policy of English imperialism. For instance the Devon and 'Cornwall' police authority deliberately makes Cornish police serve in Devon, send the English police to Kernow. The reason - to destroy the Cornish people's sense of community. The press, radio and television will not allow the publication or transmission of pro-Cornish statements, views. As Cornish people are increasingly becoming aware, the only medium in which their true feelings and views are expressed is this magazine, Cornish Nation, the voice of the Cornish people. Overtly overspill has been abandoned as a policy by all but one of the Cornish councils. But overspill is occurring on a vast scale through the deliberate policy of English firms that are becoming established here, the "light industry" schemes which are supposed to provide solutions to the problems of the Cornish people. This is deliberate English colonisation as a result of the economic system that operates. (Here by the way, is an answer to our correspondent, Mr. Monks, who criticised the leader in the last Cornish Nation, Kernow, Cornish people will not be free unless they have control of their economic resources. Economic imperialism is perhaps, the most nefarious type of imperialism. To maintain the Cornish economy, promote its prosperity, that of the Cornish people engaged in the same, a co-operative socialist solution is the only way - of course, these are only words, the policy may be called

co-operative conservatism when it occurs. Regarding his other point about the Celtic federation, we are sure Eire and Brittany to name but two of the Celtic nations would never submit to the rule of the English monarchy. Kernow has to be in line with our fellow Celtic nations. The Cornish nationalist movement Mebyon Kernow as well as having the mass support of Cornish people must also have the support of other Celtic nationalist movements, have credibility in their eyes).

The number of newcomers into Kernow is becoming too great. Some way must be found to put a stop to this continued migration. As one way to help Mebyon Kernow advocates the Cornish Council and district councils to inject massive capital into their council house building programmes. See that there is a regular ratio of council houses to private houses in communities so that they do not lose their Cornishness. Especially big programmes of council house building need to be carried out in coastal districts which already have an uncomfortably high proportion of English. In future, by the way, councils should see that council houses are well-designed, fit in with local traditions, building characteristics and not be, as at present, an architectural disgrace, but good examples worthy of imitation by private house builders. O.K. we accept that some of the newcomers are here to stay. But these must realise that they should fit in with local traditions and customs. There are certain minimum requirements that they should be prepared to accept. They should accept that Kernow is a Celtic nation, has a right to self-government and will one day become a member nation of a Celtic federation, have representation at the United Nations as an independent country. They should accept that at schools their children will be taught the Cornish language as a second language, will be taught fully about Cornish history with the role of English imperialism regarding Kernow fully dealt with for what it is. Unless English people assimilate, adopt Cornish ways there will become an increasing division in the land. Division of communities. And the danger is that if too many English come here there may come a time when the Cornish solution, the Mebyon Kernow solution, to Kernow's problems will not be backed by a democratic vote. The Cornish people are determined that Kernow, a Celtic nation, will not die. Rather they would die themselves.

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TIME IS RUNNING OUT . . .

Despite the efforts of many brave men and women the struggle for the Cornish identity makes but little progress. The economic situation of Kernow remains appalling, bearing all the traditional hall-marks of that at the exploited colony. The main industries in the hands of outsiders and given over to the production of primary products, foodstuffs, raw materials; a high unemployment rate with the more skilled young people being forced to leave their native land through lack of prospects locally; cultural imperialism with no effort being made in the schools or mass media, press, radio and television to promote pride in the Cornish identity, the beautiful language, the unique history of the Cornish people. This characteristic colonial situation is now being exacerbated through the operations of two comparatively modern phenomena, the tourist industry and the immigration into the land of English. Uncontrolled tourism is reducing the coastal areas into replicas of the mass tourist centres of England, vide the disgusting scene that is Newquay, and converting what were busy little Cornish villages round the coast into dead communities in the winter. Through having higher wage rates English move into the land in increasing numbers, buy up the most desirable properties, both on the coast and inland. To cater for this influx upcountry developers buy up huge blocks of land at inflated prices and erect on the same characterless housing estates. If you want to find the Cornish now you should go to the poorer housing districts inland, in particular to the council house estates. The situation of the Cornish people is deteriorating so rapidly that a correspondent gave the Cornish identity, its existence as a living reality but three years before being forever submerged under the English capitalist colossus, its Anglo-American sub-culture.

It is thus at a critical time that a new Cornish Council operating under a new system, whose benefits for Kernow and Cornish people are problematical to say the least, yet to be proved, has been elected. "Elected" is probably the wrong word for 37 out of 79 of the new councillors were returned unopposed and the remainder became councillors mostly in polls of around a third of the total electorate, such is the understandable cynicism Cornish people have regarding their local administrators. The sort of immediately rectifying programme which this Council should adopt in the present critical situation was outlined by Dr. James Whetter Vice-Chairman of Mebyon Kernow who was narrowly defeated in the St. Austell South division. "1. I would have tried to introduce a bye-law banning 'second homes' and the use of

of houses suitable for permanent residence for holiday letting. Compulsory purchase if necessary. 2. Encouraged a massive injection of capital into the council house building programme. Seen that a regular ratio of council houses to private dwellings was maintained in Cornish communities. Also improved architectural standards of council houses. Regarding people living in council houses seen that their views and complaints were promptly and respectfully attended to. 'Every human being has a right to a place in the sun'. 3. Planning policy re all kinds of development more strict, just and consistent. The object being to retain the character and identity of the land and its particular parts. 4. Public transport system improved, if necessary subsidised. Use could be made perhaps of smaller buses. Railways - if any further reductions intended by British Rail - perhaps they could be taken over by the Council. 5. Tourist industry carefully controlled through the planning department; 'Cornwall' Tourist Board. Aim for quality and to retain Cornish characteristics. 6. Aid in some way to be given to Cornish small farmers. 7. Education - see that every school became equipped to teach the Cornish language to students as their second language. Also to teach the history of the Cornish people. 8. Set up a committee to liaise with the Bretons (our closest relatives) and establish links in all fields, political, legal, educational, cultural, sporting".

The new Cornish Council is not a democratically based assembly, has no popular mandate, of that there is no doubt. They have, however, a duty, a responsibility to the Cornish people. In their four years of office the measure of how well they match up to this responsibility will be shown by the progress they make in promoting a programme such as the above. If they make but little progress in their period of office they will deserve the detestation of all Cornish people, should retire en bloc and make way for a Mebyon Kernow Council. Mebyon Kernow should take up power in the name of the Cornish people.

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"ENGLISH go HOME"

Such was the heading of a recent review of an article that appeared in the last issue of this journal. It should be made clear that the views expressed in the article were those of the individual contributor and did not represent opinions expressed in this column. However, there can be little doubt that the social and economic situation which the difference in English and Cornish incomes is causing, the influx into the land of English people, and their settlement here, is giving rise to considerable anti-English feeling among ordinary Cornish people. This feeling is completely justified and all the efforts of the authorities should be put into remedying the situation (a) by eradicating wage differences between Kernow and England. (Should not all democratic and humane governments, by the way, be working for general wage equalisation, all citizens to be paid the same wage as of right and the eventual abandonment of money as a factor in human relationships, society in general). (b) by preventing further settlement of English in Kernow.

Living in Kernow in the summer one cannot but be aware of the influx of English and others into our beautiful land on a temporary basis, to create the holiday industry, and of the problems and pressures which this puts on our facilities and resources. However, this tourist influx though it may have links with the settlement of English in the land must be kept separate in our minds and as regards future planning. Having priority over the tourist industry must always be the preservation and enhancement of the identity of the land, an essentially Celtic identity. Also we must achieve a well-balanced economy, with farming, fishing, mining, quarrying and other industries (including manufacturing) playing their part. At the moment there is an unhealthy dependence on tourism in the economy and it is making serious inroads on aspects of the identity. Apart from the changes it is causing to our coastal towns and villages the need to cater for the added road traffic has led to considerable road works, with road widening schemes, road reconstruction the building of new roads. Frequently such schemes have involved the demolition of the characteristic Cornish hedges. Now, Cornish hedges and the field pattern are an aspect of the identity of the land. They should be vigilantly safeguarded unless there are well-proved reasons for modification - and these should be carefully carried out and be of a minor nature, not affecting their character in a particular area in a major way. This, of course, is only one aspect of the identity being threatened by the unregulated expansion of the tourist industry.

The tourist industry like other industries should be carefully controlled

and regulated, not be allowed to develop in a free-for-all fashion, as it does in the present capitalist set-up. The means to control it now is through the planning departments and the Cornish Tourist Board. The latter is a most important establishment and should be given a great deal more funds and power – and quickly. The objects should be to aim for a quality tourist industry, preserving and enhancing the identity while at the same time providing adequate facilities for holidaymakers who come to enjoy the beauties that our land affords. Instead, however, of importing English foodstuffs, drink, goods that tourists require the Tourist Board should see that such are produced locally from indigenous resources. Thus the Board may promote and run factories producing pottery, souvenirs of tin, copper, serpentine and other local stone, shells, fabrics, drink and foodstuffs and have shops to sell the same. Also the Board could run its own campsites, recreation areas etc, sponsor genuine Cornish functions. As a means of raising funds and at the same time in order to exercise some control over the influx of tourists may it not be a good idea to introduce a bye-law charging an admission fee for those entering Kernow for holidays. Perhaps a system of entry permits could be instituted and if the Board felt existing facilities could no longer cope the "Full" sign might be put up at border points. Undoubtedly some drastic solutions such as these will have to be adopted in the future. Saturation point with all its concomitant discomforts for permanent resident and tourist alike we know has already been reached in certain areas in the peak of the season. With the construction of the M5 motorway the situation is bound to become even worse.

"Man is flesh and blood, an individual product of his racial and cultural inheritance. Whose physical characteristics are the result of his ancestry. He lives in a real material land, whose present conditions are the result of geological, meteorological and historical factors. Man is attached to his land, his kinsfolk, those like him". Kernow is the homeland of the Cornish people. To attempt to destroy the bonds that link a people, as individuals and as a national unit, with their culture, with their homeland, is inhumane, in fact is to work towards an insane world, for world destruction. Crucial in this preservation of national identities is a clear demarcation of borders. A study of placenames west and east of the Tamar gives clear evidence that this represents a very real border between two peoples, Celts and Saxons. Border-blurring in any sphere should be resisted totally. Rather the river Tamar as a national, cultural border between two peoples should be established in the political field more strictly, should receive recognition by

all nations, in world circles. Similarly greater care should be taken in the names for peoples and their land. Thus the expression "Great Britain" is meaningless and its use, like the adjective "British", should be avoided. What is termed the "United Kingdom", peoples and their lands are the Cornish in Kernow, the Welsh in Cymru, the Manx in Mannin, the Irish in Éire (only the north now, of course) the Scottish in Alba, the English in England. These are the terms that should be used to apply to these lands and peoples. For Cornish people who have moved outside of their homeland (thus there are numerous Cornish in Plymouth and west Devon) their first loyalty must be to Kernow and they should never forget that they are living in a land of an essentially alien culture and people. A great number of English people have come to settle in Kernow in recent years. They are able to do so largely because of the unfair and unjust economic situation, the wages differential already referred to. By some means further additional English settlement must be prevented. If the English are so much enamoured of the south-west they should settle amongst their own kith and kin, the ancestors of the west Saxons, that is the Devonians. If the English influx continues at the present rate the very existence of Kernow, the Cornish homeland is under threat as a cultural, national entity. Can only serve to inflame anti-English feeling.

Kernow bys vyken.

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SPEECH TO THE STROLLAD AR VRO CONGRESS 27th May, 1973

"As Professor Frank Thompson said in the Annual Volume of the Celtic League, 1972 "In terms of their culture and language the 16 million peoples of the six Celtic Countries of Europe are faced with an ever-increasing threat of assimilation". The six Celtic Countries, Scotland, Ireland, Isle of Man, Wales, Kernow and Brittany. The condition of these countries bears all the hall-marks of colonial oppression and exploitation, in the case of the first five, by England, in the last, by France. In all six countries we find the main industries are given over to the production of primary products, foodstuffs, raw materials; in all Celtic countries there is high unemployment higher than in the exploiting nation; the more skilled young people are having to emigrate to other parts because of the lack of opportunities locally; cultural assimilation is occurring because of the stranglehold on the mass media, the press, radio, TV by the colonial powers, the fact that neither here nor in schools is the local language and culture promoted. In Kernow and in Wales - I do not know how far this applies to Brittany - these developments are re-inforced because of growing immigration into the land of English people (in Brittany's case, of course, French people) both old and young, and also on account of the pernicious effects of the tourist industry where-by English people are buying second homes which remain empty for most of the year, or investing in houses for letting out to visitors which similarly remain empty for the greater part of the year. The English are able to do this because of the higher wage rates that prevail in that country. In Kernow the results of this are that Cornish people are becoming practically limited to the poorer housing districts inland and on the coast villages and towns are becoming practically dead in the winter,

To counter these results of colonisation the Celtic peoples in their countries need to develop strong political movements which have the mass support of their peoples. It is good to see that in all Celtic countries nationalist movements are gaining in strength. Mebyon Kernow in Kernow (which sees as its basic aims, 1. To preserve, enhance the identity of Kernow, a basic Celtic identity. 2. To look after the interests of the Cornish people). In Brittany good to see the formation and growth of Strollad ar Vro. It is important I feel that these see as their basic objective, the achievement of political power in their respective countries. Anything short of this is just playing around. And time is running out, National movements, like Mebyon Kernow should have a broad political base, embrace a wide range of political views. The priority is the achievement of political power.

To dispute what its political structure should be before the achievement of power is stupidity. After the achievement of political power is the time to argue about political structure, for the respective regimes. The nationalist movements will achieve political power more easily through co-operation. Every support therefore wants to be given to co-ordinating movements such as the Celtic League. Nationalist movements went to develop ever closer contacts with their counterparts in other Celtic countries. In fact may not a basic objective of such movements be the working for the establishment of a Celtic Federation of the six Celtic Countries. Certainly the best hope of progress is unity.

As a start to co-operation between Celtic nationalist movements, I would like to see ever closer and stronger links being forged between Mebyon Kernow and Strollad ar Vro. These links can start by personal contact of leaders, correspondence between them, exchange of publications and meetings such as this where members of one movement are represented at the meetings of the other; subsequently we could aim for joint press releases, joint representations to the colonial powers, the Common Market executive, the United Nations on the common problems of Brittany and Kernow, the simultaneous announcement of the formation of shadow governments, in time we trust the simultaneous achievement of political power by Strollad ar Vro and Mebyon Kernow.

The reasons why I would like to see extra-special close ties being developed between the Breton and Cornish nationalist movements are as follows: Though in population and area Brittany is considerably larger than Kernow the Breton people in fact derive largely from immigrants from the south-west Britain in the 5th to 6th centuries. A.D. Through blood, of all the Celtic peoples Bretons and Cornish are most closely related to each other. Breton-Cornish contacts remained very close up until the Reformation. Contacts continued though and we find such things as Breton-Cornish wrestling tournaments taking place today. Similarly in culture and language Brittany and Kernow are very close - in fact in the early Middle Ages Breton and Cornish were indistinguishable. Today Bretons are regularly represented at the Cornish Gorsyth and Cornish at the Breton Gorsyth. Despite their difference in size the political position of the Bretons and the Cornish is very similar. They have little or no political recognition within their respective states. This is unlike Scotland which has its Act of Union with England, has its own Laws, educational system, Secretary of State, or Wales which like Scotland is recognised as a nation in sporting matters, has its Prince of Wales, Secretary of State, Isle of Man which has its own

parliament and a considerable degree of independence. Kernow is treated as just another English county. Brittany is divided up into departments like France and is administered with no differentiation by the centralist bureaucratic regime based on Paris. The build up of really close ties between Cornish and Breton nationalist movements would transform their respective struggles into international issues, because they are subject to different colonial powers, i.e. England and France. As a result Mebyon Kernow and Strollad ar Vro could increasingly put their case to extra-national authorities, the Common Market executive, the United Nations, and for that matter to other nations.

As a start to collaboration between Celtic countries, the achievement of political power by all their respective nationalist movements, I would urge Strollad ar Vro to develop ever closer links with Mebyon Kernow. Time is running out. I would urge alliance now. Through unity to victory".

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Dr. Yanne Flouere, Chairman S.A.V., Jean le Calvez, President S.A.V., Dr. James Whetter, Vice-Chairman Mebyon Kernow., Monsieur Gullay and Mme. Barberry at the Strollad ar Vro Congress.

A CELTIC TOMORROW

The Cornish people are a Celtic people. They have a right to fulfil themselves as an individual Celtic nation, as Cornish. Kernow is the homeland of the Cornish people; it has a right to be recognised as such at all levels. The Cornish people have a right to have full and deep relations with their Celtic brothers, the Scottish, the Irish, the Manx, the Welsh, the Bretons. In the present set-up the Cornish culture and identity is in no way encouraged by the establishment institutions. The greatest culprits are the schools where there is no organised effort to promote pride in the Cornish identity, have full courses in the history of Cornish people, teach the Cornish language. In supposed inferior countries such as Finland, Denmark, West Germany the authorities go to considerable trouble and expense to encourage minority cultures vide for instance the case of the Lapps in Finland as detailed by Pekka Aikio in this issue. Even in Australia the government, though belatedly, is giving aid to the Aborigines. But such is the paranoic possessiveness of the English they are not able to promote the Cornish identity. Their chief emotional reaction appears to be scorn. And surely this is a sign of weakness in them, not strength.

It is obvious that the Cornish will only obtain fulfilment through their own efforts. The chief vehicles of such efforts are at the moment the Old Cornwall Societies, the Cornish Gorsyth, the Cornish Language Board and the political movement Mebyon Kernow. The Cornish will the more easily obtain freedom through alliance with our Celtic brothers, under the umbrella of a European authority, a world authority. Mebyon Kernow is active in promoting links with the other Celtic nations and this magazine, for instance, has correspondents in the other five countries. A real breakthrough in obtaining European recognition has been made by Mebyon Kernow with the proposed setting up of a Bureau at Brussels in conjunction with the Welsh, the Bretons, the Basques, the Alsations to represent the interests of their respective peoples. How do we see the technical processes by which Kernow will obtain her freedom? The Cornish Council increasingly becomes of the same mind as Mebyon Kernow through the election to the Council of members and Mebyon Kernow sympathisers. Links grow with nationalist movements and representative institutions in the other Celtic countries, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Isle of Man, Brittany. So that in time a Celtic Federation is formed as already envisaged by (and now in the embryonic form of) the Celtic League. At the same time direct links with the European and world authorities grow and those with English institutions, in every

field, are reduced. So that in the end we find we have a Celtic federation of the six countries in existence under the umbrella of European and world authorities. Direct contacts between the Celtic countries and their former imperialist overlords at minimal levels.

The struggle of the Cornish people is a human struggle. Part of the world-wide struggle to create institutions that will develop humanity not destroy it, that will allow nations, individual humans to fulfil themselves according to their natures. Ivan Illich in his recent work, "Tools for Conviviality", (Calder and Boyers), stresses that what he calls "tools" (denoting both technological inventions and the social and political institutions that use them) at present dominate rather than serve human life. He indicates six different ways in which our present tools frustrate our humanity: "Overgrowth" which leads to the biological degradation of the environment; "Radical monopoly" imposing consumption of a standard product or service; "Overprogramming" involving overdependence on specialist expertise; "Polarisation" the growing sense of helplessness and deprivation of any form of individual participation created by large-scale organisation of all kinds; "Obsolescence" so that all this apparatus generates a pace of change which deprives people of the 'right to tradition': he views with alarm the destructive effects of losing roots in the past; "Frustration" arising from the conflict between what people value and what they experience in their lives: such may be deeply if dimly felt but is obscured, when political and economic decisions are made, by addiction to growth. This addiction must be conquered and Illich considers the politics of the future must primarily be concerned not with allocating and maximising the means of production, but with 'the design criteria for tools' that will allow a more convivial society. The struggle of the Cornish people, like that of the other Celtic peoples, involves not only the overthrow of defunct and bankrupt imperialist authority but is part of the general human struggle to control, master the dehumanising forces that now direct much of the political and economic power in the world.

The situation of free Kernow, of a liberated Cornish people what will it be like? At the outset the social and economic situation obviously will not be greatly different from that which prevails at the moment. The structure that evolves should be a compound of idealistic, humanising movements as that in which Illich is engaged, the existing structure with continual reference back to indigenous Cornish and ancient Celtic forms and ways of doing things. A tripartite marriage of real existing structure, modern

idealistic, humanistic movements, essential Cornish and Celtic characteristics. Obviously the second and third have much in common, the putting of human life first while the third is obviously maintained in the first through its very existence in Kernow.

Let us look at the case of wholesale land nationalisation as advocated by the Socialists. Such a concept would appear to be the product of a townie mind, a mind brought up in battery-cage society, suburbia. It is alien to Cornish, Celtic traditions. Farming the backbone of rural life. The working farmer has a close relationship with his land. An emotional, spiritual relationship. It may well be right that such be legally, political recognised in terms of established property rights. Property an ancient institution that puts into legal form a farmer's relationship to his land, gives him political security. The same may also apply to other rural trades and crafts and in the fishing industry to a fisherman and his boat and equipment. On the other hand there would appear to be no place for absentee landlords who milk working farmers of a proportion of their profits by way of rents. The objective should rather be a community of working farmers owning their own farms. National organisation should come more in the form of co-operatives for the purposes of marketing produce, promoting the introduction of better techniques and generally aiding farmers with their problems. National co-operation in other trades and crafts - notably fishing; in the latter with the promotion of a major extension of fishing limits a carefully controlled and husbanded industry may be established, Cornish-based and exploited which would be of benefit to all. In towns there may be a case for a sort of communal ownership of property - well, this already exists as regards council housing. This may prevent developments occurring alien to local and Cornish traditions, and arising from extraneous sources and having no relevance to such. With regards to large-scale extractive industries such as metal ore mining, china clay quarrying, exploitation of oil and gas in Cornish waters obviously indigenous capital is insufficient to promote such. It is good, of course, to see as in china clay quarrying the growth of big locally-based firms. In all of such however, in recognition that ultimate ownership of resources underground and at sea within Cornish territorial limits belongs by right to the Cornish nation an agreed percentage of the value of materials obtained should be paid by exploiting firms to the governing authority in Kernow. With regard to secondary industries financial incentives should be given to encourage their introduction and development. Of course, these are just ideas as to the way things might go with self-

governing Kernow. The objects we see are to get the balance between deep-rooted Cornish traditions, efficient practice while seeing that the human being, the quality of life for him is put first; at the same time the sovereignty of Kernow within agreed limits being respected and recognised.

A free and democratic Kernow. A free press where freedom of the individual is respected. Respect for formal legal and political processes should be nurtured. A society in which individual human beings can fulfil themselves according to the dictates of their beings. In society as in the economy it would be a marriage of deep-rooted Cornish and Celtic traditions and continually evolving modern idealistic movements. As the new director of the L.S.E. Professor Ralf Dahrendorf outlines – “the genuinely liberal society is one that creates institutions to reflect and ‘rationally regulate’ conflict” (recognising such as an inevitable factor in human society, a factor which has great value as a motive force for change). “The rationality of the liberal attitude to conflict comes ultimately from the fact that it alone does justice to the creativity of social antagonisms as motive forces for change . . . Conflict is liberty because by conflict alone the multitude and incompatibility of human interests and desires find adequate expression in a world of notorious uncertainty”. Aim for a model society. But always rooted in Cornish, Celtic traditions. The best guarantor of that – deep-bonds with our Celtic brothers. Ever deeper the links so that by cross-fertilisation processes essential Celtic characteristics in all our countries are enhanced, grow more pronounced. – Our Celtic languages and cultures. The anchor of Celtic Federation. Under the aegis of European, world authority. In all fields economic, social, legal, financial, political, cultural, sporting let our links with European, world authorities grow. So by natural process those with the imperialist authorities wither away. Kernow, a Celtic people, recognised throughout the world, the Cornish nation. Kernow the homeland of the Cornish people. Realisation through alliance with our fellow Celts. Alba, Breizh, Cymru, Eire, Kernow, Mannin. Whegh bro, un enef. Six nations, one soul. Avorow keltek. A Celtic tomorrow.

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WHEGH BRO



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