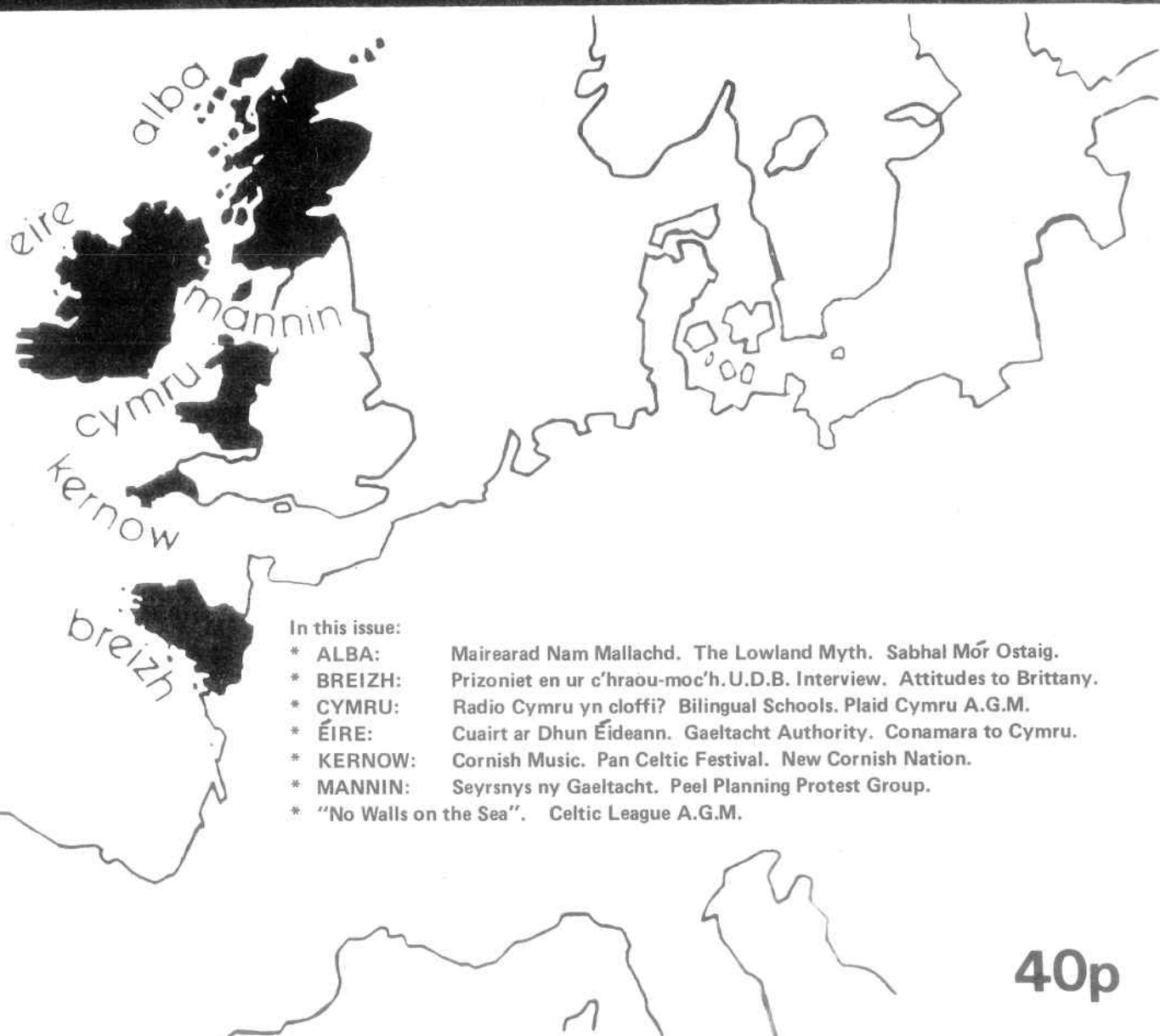


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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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40p

QUARTERLY PERIODICAL IN ENGLISH & IN CELTIC LANGUAGES
PUBLISHED BY THE "CELTIC LEAGUE"

ALBA

MAIREARAD NAM MALLACHD (1045 - 93 A.D.)

Gus an latha an diugh is urrainn duine sam bith faicinn an dearbh aite far an d'fhàinig Mairearad nam Mallachd air tìr 'san t-Earrach 1068, culthaobh bùth goireasan nan seòladairean aig bonn a' bhruaich ann an Casfaioleas (South Queensferry) faisg air Dun Èideann.

Thàinig ise, aois 23, le grunnan shearbhantan sìobhalta (civil servants), phearsannan-eaglais, dìthis uachdarain à Northumberland agus a bràthair sochaireach d'am b'ainm Edward Atheling, dìthis pheathraichean agus a màthair d'am b'ainm Agatha. Bha a' Bheurla an aon chànan a bha aca agus aig an àm ud bha a' Chàidhlig an aon chanain aig corr is 90% de na h-Albannaich agus cànan na Cuirte Rìoghail Albannach.

Dh'fhuadaich Uilleam Diuc Normandaidh iad à Sasunn an deidh Blàr Hastings ann an 1066 far an do thuit a h-athair d'am b'ainm Rìgh Harold le saighead 'na shùil. Chuir Uilleam an Fhraingeis an aite na Beurla ann an Sasunn ge leir. Aig an aon àm rinn e na h-uaislean Sasunnaich 'nan tràillean.

Ged a bha a bràthair cho sochaireach cho robh ise slack idir. Ged a bha ise naomh do na Sasunnaich agus do na Goill bha ise 'na uile-bheist duinn, oir rinn ise an grunnan a bha aice uachdarain na h-Albainn an aite nan Gaidheal.

Bha ise cruaidh fuar gun tòchd seolta seolta, daonnan a' mealladh nan Gaidheal. Thubhairt a sagart, Turgot, nach d'rinn ise fiamh-ghàire no gàire idir fad a beatha; fhuair Turgot a bhi 'na Aba ann an Durham ann an Sasunn 'nuair a bha e 'na bhodach.

Chunnaic ise gun robh rìgh na h-Albainn, Calum Ceann Mór, 'na dhuine coir ach caran beag sochaireach cuideachd. Cheannsaich Diuc Uilleam Sasunn agus a' chànan Shasunnach le cogadh ach cheannsaich ise Alba agus a' chanain Albannach le pòsadh. Phòs ise Rìgh Calum Ceann Mór agus bha sianar mhic aca le ainmeannan Sasunnaich, Edward, Ethelred, Edmund, Edgar, Alexander, David agus dìthis nigheannan le ainmeannan Sasunnach cuideachd, Maud (phòs i Henry I), an rìgh Sasunnach, agus Mary (phòs i Comte de Boulogne).

Cha do dh'ionnsaich Mairearad ar cànan Albannach riamh ged a bha i 'na ban-rìgh na h-Albainn bho 1070 'nuair an do phòs i Calum Ceann Mór gus an do chaochail iad ann an 1093. Dh'atharraich i cànan na Cuirte Rìoghail Albannach bho'n Ghàidhlig Albannach do'n Bheurla Shasunnach.

Mar a thubhairt sinn, bha Rìgh Calum Ceann Mór sochaireach coir ach bha ise 'na politician seòlta. Fhuair i lamh an uachdar air Calum le cleasan politiceach. Bha ise daonnan a' leigeil oirre gun robh i cho naomh, naomh a' deanamh ùrnuigh fad na h-oidhche a cheannsaich Calum agus esan gun fhois idir leatha. Bha ise a' leughaidh leabhraichean agus chuir ise mu sgaoil gun robh Calum caran beag gòrach agus esan gam pògadh agus a' cur oir agus seudan orra.

Bho'n a bha fios aice gun robh na màthraichean a' riaghaileadh nan teaghlaichean aca fhéin, bha Mairearad daonnan a' toirt aoidheachd 'sa Bheurla do na mnathain uasail agus a' deanamh a mach gun robh a' Bheurla fada na's fhearr na a' Ghàidhlig aca. Bha feadhain 'ga creidsinn bho'n a bha i cho mòrchuiseach. Chuir ise truinnséaran oir agus airgead air a' bhord rìoghail. Bha moran moran sheirbheisich aice (Sasunnaich, gu cinnteach gun fhacail Ghaidhlig 'nan ceann). Mar Eva Peron 'nar latha fhéin, bha ise 'na cealgair, daonnan a' ceannach aodaichean cosgail daor agus a' leigeil oirre aig an aon àm gun robh ise cho naomh, cho maith ris na daoine bochda - a' gabhail deircean chuca - a' nigheadh na casan aca - a' toirt cuirmean do na

bochd - a' toirt chuideachadh do na dìlleachdain. Mar sin cheannsaich ise Calum a bha an deidh sin aonarach gun chumhachd.

Ach bha ise daonnan a' magadh air a' Ghàidhlig, a' cumail sìos na h-Albannaich agus a' cuireadh Sasunnaich an aite nan Gaidheal. Bho nach robh a' Bheurla aig na searbhantan sìobhalta no aig na pearsannan-eaglais Albannaich, cho-éignich ise Calum Ceann Mór a bhi 'na eadar-theangadair aice. Ch'orduich ise an cànan air threigeadh a thionndadh ris a' Bheurla. Aig an aon àm dh'orduich i iad an eaglais Ghàidhlig air theigeadh agus a thionndadh ris an eaglais Shasunnach; ged a bha na Gaidheal aig an àm sin, corr is 90% de na h-Albannaich. Nach beist a bha innte!

Bha an t-Ard-Chis-mhaor na h-Albainn agus a sgioba a nis cho trang a' trusadh chisean troma air son Mairearad, gun do dh'ainmich iad dannsadh air "Gille Calum" ("Highland Fling" 'sa Bheurla).

Bha Calum bochd gu tric air falbh a' cogadh ri Uilleam Diuc Normandaidh agus a mhac Uilleam Rufus. Mu dheireadh thuit Calum Ceann Mór a' stri air beulaibh Caisteal Alnwick ann an Northumberland ann an 1093.

Chaochail Mairearad gu luath an deidh sin anns a' Chaisteal Mór Dhun Èideann.

Taing do Chalum cha do cheannsaich Diuc Uilleam Alba mar an do cheannsaich an Diuc Sasunn. Ach 'nuair a bha Calum air falbh, bha Mairearad a' deanamh cinnteach gum biodh a' Bheurla cànan riaghlaidh na h-Albainn, mar a tha i, duilich ri ràdh, gus an latha an diugh.

Is docha gum bi Parlamaid Albannach air choireigin againn an ath-bhliadhna. Feumaidh sinn saothreachadh air sgath na Gàidhlig agus feumaidh sinn feuchainn ri atharrachadh a' chron a rinn Mairearad nam Mallachd faisg air mìle bliadhna seo chaidh. Gilleasbuig Mac Mhuirich. [In this issue the effect of the Norman Conquest of England on the Scottish language has been examined. Next CARN it is hoped will examine the Conquest's effect on the English language in England. We may learn valuable lessons from the way the English language so brilliantly rose from the grave to become world menacing.]

● "Scottish Gaelic teacher currently engaged in putting together a Celtic studies course would like to co-operate with a teacher or teachers in each Celtic country in creating the inter-Celtic element of the course. I visualise it in three parts: modern, mediaeval and early, designed for 10 - 14 year old age group. Write to: Iain Macille Chiar, Ardsgoil Bhaile Chloichrigh, Baile Chloichrigh, Siorrachd Pheairt, Alba."

● Hugh MacDiarmid died in hospital on 9th September last. Readers of CARN will be saddened by this event, but inspired by his writing to work towards a society of humanity and justice.

● The Scottish branch of the League lost a faithful member with the death earlier in the year of the Rev. Alexander S. Barrowman, M.A., F.F.A. (Scot).

● The publisher Gordon Wright sent apologies for not being able to attend the A.G.M. Anyone interested in books of Scottish and Nationalist interest should contact him at 55 Marchmont Road, Edinburgh EH9 1HT, sending a small sum for postage and catalogue, and mentioning CARN.

TO OUR MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS

In most cases subscriptions to CARN will expire on receipt of the present issue. We hope everyone wishes to continue to receive our publication and will renew promptly for 1979. Please note the change in subscription rates.(p.24)

THE LOWLAND MYTH IN SCOTLAND - 2

How English Replaced Gaelic in the Lowlands and Southern Uplands

In the last issue of **CARN** I showed that Gaelic was widely spoken throughout Scotland before A.D.1100. In this issue I will show that the idea of what I call the Anglo-Scotch historians, that Gaelic was rapidly abandoned in the Lowlands after that date, is false. There were three stages in the destruction of Gaelic in the south and eastern Scotland, a process which took over 500 years before the language was confined beyond the "Highland Line".

1. The Norman Conquest - On the wholesale dispossession of the Anglo-Saxon nobility which followed the Battle of Hastings (1066), large numbers fled north to seek asylum at the court of Malcolm III Canmore (1058-93). (Those who know Shakespeare's "Macbeth" will remember him.) About 1070 Malcolm married one of them, an English princess called Margaret. She had an extremely arrogant, over-bearing character; she has since been canonised, perhaps as a patron-saint for all Anglo-Saxon colonisers, who have generally imitated her conduct. Before this time virtually every member of the House of Mac Alpin had a Gaelic name; all her eight children had English or other non-Gaelic names. Though she lived in Scotland for 23 years, she seems not to have learnt Gaelic; she addressed Scottish church councils on how the church should be reformed through an interpreter. "Reform" in this context meant getting rid of Celtic church practice and adopting English rules instead. The Anglo-Saxon refugees had become cuckoos in the nest and were taking over the Scottish government.

The Scots responded on the death of Malcolm by throwing out the Anglo-Saxon nobles, who then appealed for support to the Normans who had expelled them from England only 25 years earlier. William Rufus was happy to help, invaded Scotland in 1094 and 1097, expelled the Celtic King Donald Ban (1093-7), and installed one of Margaret's sons as a vassal king. (The situation wasn't helped by there being two rival Celtic claimants.) The status of the King of Scots after these events is shown by a Welsh chronicle, which mentions that one of Henry I's divisional commanders during his invasion of Wales in 1114 was "Alexander vab y Moelcolwm"; it does not trouble to add that the fellow was King of Scotland (1107-24).

The only way out of this humiliating position of dependance for these Anglo-Saxon Kings of Scotland were either to become Gaelic and gain the support of the mass of the Scottish people, or to become Norman and bring in their own French, Flemish and Anglo-Norman knights to hold the Scots down. They chose the second course, and Scottish history for the next 150 years is identical to that of Ireland and Wales at that time: bitter resistance against a savage Anglo-Norman assault on the Celtic society and culture of the mass of the people. Celtic monks were replaced by Anglo-Norman monasteries; Anglo-Normans were appointed to the bishoprics (of vital importance in the High Middle Age when the only intellectuals and civil servants were the clergy); towns with English or Flemish populations were established; and after each Gaelic rebellion against these developments, Gaelic landowners were dispossessed and immigrant knights were given their property so as to make the king yet more secure.

Scotia or Alba (Scotland north of the Forth) rebelled in 1124, 1128-34, 1142, 1160, 1181-87, 1211-12, 1215 and 1228-30, on nearly every occasion in favour of descendants of Malcolm Canmore by his first wife. The Earls of Galloway led rebellions in the south-west in 1160, 1174, and 1235 when Galloway was at last overwhelmed, and there



Approximate Proportion of Scotland's Population Speaking Gaelic.

1100	90%
1300	65%
1500	45%
1650	25%

Approximate Limit of the Gaelic Area.

+++++
++-+-
- - - - -

Important burghs founded in the Gaelic Area before 1300
Limit of the area where more than 50% spoke Gaelic in the 1870's

o Montrose

(E. G. Ravenstein - JNL., Royal Statistical Society - 1879)

was a final rising in Galloway in 1247. Walter of Coventry explains "the more recent kings of Scots profess themselves to be rather Frenchmen in race, manners, language and outlook; and after reducing the Scots to utter servitude they admit only Frenchmen to their friendship and service", as being the cause of the rebellions against Malcolm IV (1153-65) and William I (1165-1214).

It is important to realize that the Gaels resisting this process were not (in most cases) Highlanders. Until the Treaty of Perth (1266) the whole of the Hebrides and most of the north-western Highlands were under Norway (Sutherland got its otherwise extraordinary name because it was part of that country's southernmost province); so they only intervened against the Anglo-Norman tide under Somerled in 1154-56 and 1165. The kings established themselves strategically in Perth and Stirling so as to separate the Gaels of the northern Lowlands from those of the south. Only in 1160, when Fergus of Galloway and five earls from Scotia besieged Malcolm IV in Perth, did they manage to collaborate, and then the king was saved

by his Anglo-Norman mailed knights. Normally the king was able to use armies from Scotia to put down Galwegian rebellions and vice-versa, as when in 1187 Roland of Galloway's troops killed the Celtic claimant, Donald mac William, near Inverness.

The fiercest assault on Scottish society took place in Clydesdale, Ayrshire and Dumfries, where the bulk of the 240 castle mounds (or mottes) put up at this time are to be found; and around Strathmore, where in 1130 Angus, Earl of Moray, (Lady Macbeth's great-grandson), was killed at Stracathro, in 1186 a large number of Donald mac William's supporters were rounded up and butchered in Coupar Abbey, and in 1230 a little girl, the last of Donald's relatives, was beaten to death in Forfar market-place. Such was Anglo-Norman "civilization", the imposition of which on Scotland is still complacently described by Anglo-Scotch historians as "modernisation", a "modernisation" which also involved replacing the comparatively rational and humane procedure of Brehon Law by the brutalities of trial by ordeal or by battle.

The oppression was severe, but to what extent is the Sophisticated Version of the Lowland Myth, that it led to the replacement of the Gaelic population by English settlers or to the destruction of their language in the Lowlands, true?

A. Immigration - The landowning class was less than 5% of the medieval population. About half the Scottish landowners survived: e.g. Marjory, Countess of Carrick, mother of Robert I (1306-29), was of pure Gaelic origins. The Anglo-Norman knights were militarily formidable, but their 240 mottes suggest an immigration of about 5,000 to 10,000 people counting their families, escorts and bailiffs. About 450 castle mottes were erected during this period in Wales, which has a smaller area than the Scottish Lowlands and Southern Uplands, but no-one suggests that Wales ceased to be Celtic as a result. The population of Scotland in the 13th century was perhaps 400,000.

More important was the establishment of burghs, towns with immigrant inhabitants living under English law, especially up the east coast. Many Scots went to live in them, but they had quickly to adopt English names and the English language. Towns were very small in mediaeval Scotland, as one realizes if one takes a walk round the largest, the Old Town in Edinburgh, and never contained more than 10% of the population.

As for peasant immigration there was virtually none. The Norman Conquest of England was not for the benefit of its Anglo-Saxon peasantry, who became rightless serfs tied to the land. It was not in the interests of their masters to let them seek better conditions in Scotland, though an occasional lord who owned land in both countries seems to have moved a village-full of them northwards. That accounts perhaps for the place-name "Ingliston" which occurs around Dumfries, which itself shows that the English were a small minority: in England one does not find such a place-name; instead one finds names like Wallingford or Camberwell where minorities of the previous inhabitants lived. The kings of Scotland might have liked to replace their inconvenient Gaelic subjects with Flemings, as Henry I of England had settled Pembrokeshire in Wales in 1108, but in the late 1140's the Slav defence along the Elbe broke down, the great German *Drang nach Osten* was under way, and only a mad Flemish peasant would have preferred the stony hills of Clydesdale or Fife to the rich fields of Saxony or Silesia.

Immigrants cannot have added more than 10% to the Scottish population by 1300, when the wars brought the process to a stop. This does not allow anyone to argue that the Lowlands became Anglo-Saxon in race, any more than England is Celtic because the English are probably 25% descended from their British predecessors or French be-

cause they were ruled by a French-speaking aristocracy for 200 years after 1066.

B. The Advance of the English Language - The conditions for the decline of Gaelic had been set up. In the 13th century the Anglo-Norman land-owners (except the greatest) abandoned French for English as their fellows in England were doing. With both rural and urban elites speaking English it gained prestige: throughout the Lowlands, and even in the Highlands, people adopted English names in the 13th century. In West Lothian, one of the few Scottish counties whose place-names have been properly studied (1), there are some English place-names dating from before 1200 but only in the east of the county. By 1300 they had spread to the whole of it, though one doubts whether Gaelic was quite dead even then. This shows that English was advancing among the common people in the Lowlands, scarcely that it was in general use.

Some aristocrats, even in the Lowlands, continued to use Gaelic. When the Irish poet, Muireadhach of Lissadill, went into exile in the 13th century, he went to Lennox (now the northern suburbs of Glasgow) to find noble patrons of his art. It surprises the Anglo-Scotch historians that at the enthronement of Alexander III (1249-86) his genealogy was recited by a sennachie in Gaelic. It shouldn't, considering that over two-thirds of his subjects spoke the language, but it is a general problem of Scottish historiography that it is obsessed with the top 10%, as is shown by those curious works, - clan histories. But by 1249 the royal government had modified its anti-Gaelic policy. England had only one Justiciar, a supreme judge and administrative official. In the 13th century Scotland took to having three, one for Scotia, one for Lothian (which also included the Borders, Clydesdale and sometimes Dumfries and Ayr), and one for Galloway (which sometimes included other parts of the south-west). They were needed because each region had its own laws. The anglicisation of Lothian was to continue, but Scotia and Galloway (except for the burghs) could keep their Celtic law and Gaelic speech.

It was as well for the future of Scotland, for it was from these regions that resistance to the English invasions (1296-1342) mainly came. William Wallace's first language may have been English, though he certainly must have spoken Gaelic to his Ayrshire tenants and to his almost 100% Gaelic-speaking army at Stirling Bridge. Robert Bruce was of an Anglo-Norman family but his upbringing and feelings were entirely Gaelic: he had a foster-brother in the old Celtic manner; and in 1326 he established his court at Cardross, Dumbarton, in Lennox, where he patronized Gaelic poetry (2). Every year the Scottish National Party celebrates the victory of this Gaelic king with his army which was three-quarters Gaelic-speaking over the army of Edward II on 23-24 June 1314 (3). How odd that not a word of the Gaelic language is to be heard during the celebrations at Bannockburn and many S. N. P. members seem to regard it with contempt!

How Gaelic was eliminated in the Lowlands and how this contempt arose, I will attempt to explain in my final article, which will deal with the remaining two stages of the process.

Notes:

(1) A. Macdonald "The Placenames of West Lothian" (1941). It is remarkable how little research has even been done on the history of Gaelic in the Lowlands. There is nothing like M. F. Wakelin's "Language and History in Cornwall" (1975) which uses the evidence of place-names and the modern English dialects to reconstruct the history of Cornish. The Scottish universities obviously regard it (for political reasons?) as an improper subject. The only Ph. D. thesis on it between 1900 and 1970 was done at Cam-

bridge: L. W. Sharp "The Expansion of the English Language in Scotland" (1926/7) (unpublished).

(2) How much English, I wonder, could Robert I speak? Accounts of, for instance, the murder of Comyn in which he speaks English are a late invention. He would probably have talked in French with Comyn, and almost certainly in Gaelic with his companions.

(3) G. W. S. Barrow "Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland" (1965). Barrow is a historian of Anglo-Scotch sympathies, who clearly started off, like me, believing the Lowland Myth. He still does his best to argue that the anglicised areas like Lothian made a large contribution during the Wars of Independence, but he is too professional and too honest to conceal the fact that the Gaels made a larger.

Ifan Lloyd.

SABHAL MÓR OSTAIG

From the first tentative steps taken in the Spring of 1973 to transform a semi-derelict woodworm infested farm steading into a Gaelic College, a great deal of water has passed under the bridge nor is it possible within the narrow confines of this article to give an adequately comprehensive picture of achievements to date, and these are not insignificant, or of the unremitting toil which has proved necessary in order to reach the present state of development. I well remember the cold January day in 1975 when I first set eyes on the building and thinking how well its appearance epitomised the state of my native language, sadly neglected, a relic of a by-gone age having seen better days, crumbling into ruin.

"But think of the challenge!" I was blithely told by the proprietor and I thought of the security of my promoted teaching post and departed having determined that the challenge was not for me to take up. The months passed and a growing conviction developed that there did indeed exist at Sabhal Mór Ostaig a unique opportunity to achieve something positive for Gaelic. A growing disenchantment with the inimical attitude of Service parents towards what little Gaelic was at the time taught in my school, Balivanich Primary, Benbecula, and the less than supportive posture of the Education Authority at the time, may well have been the decisive factor in my taking the irrevocable step. I advised the Chairman of Trustees of the Gaelic College (how pompous it sounds) that I had reconsidered and would like to take up the post of Fear Stiùiridh.

The die was cast. I was accepted and my family and I moved to Sleat in the south end of Skye to take up residence in the cottage which formerly served as the farmer's residence. It too had seen better days and it took considerable pressure and not a little acrimony to have the owner bring it up to tolerable standards.

My predecessor at Sabhal Mór Ostaig had been Dr. Gordon Barr who had spent a Sabbatical Year there having been engaged on research into the biochemistry of peat. To him is due a great deal of credit for his enthusiasm for Gaelic which he quickly acquired and for the indomitable work which he put in in overseeing the alterations which resulted in the former cow-shed area of the building becoming rather euphemistically known as the library which also doubled as the office, the creation of a common room/dining room, kitchen and toilet accommodation and a quite vast and in winter abominably cold, hall. The teaching accommodation was, to say the least, primitive, the rooms which had served mostly as grain storage areas, having been ravaged by voracious wood-worm to say nothing of the attention of unusually large rats.

This then was the embryonic Gaelic College, a not unimpressive building externally, its thick stone walls having stood up well to the ravages of time. Clearly the

funding of such a unique establishment was to be of crucial importance and a look at the state of the finances gave little ground for optimism. A fair collection of outstanding accounts lay on the table, several accompanied by threatening demand notices not to mention the imminent curtailment of the electricity supply and impending telephone disconnection unless payment was made forthwith. A frantic telephone call to the bank manager revealed that the account was not quite overdrawn nor was it particularly healthy. An international Charitable Trust which prefers to remain anonymous had made a grant of £9,000 over three years towards the salary of the Director and it was this sum, payable in instalments on production of satisfactory evidence of it being utilised judiciously, which was the principal source of income.

To justify its existence it was clear that a programme required to be devised and indeed the then Trustees had encapsulated in a brochure what the aims and objectives of the College were to be. The Committee of Trustees would form the governing body and would be known as Na h-Urrasairean. Their policy decisions would be implemented by am Fear Stiùiridh (the Director) and the College would function as a Charity. A Constitution had been drafted in Gaelic, some of the provisions of which I regarded with the utmost scepticism if it were ever to be acceptable to H. M. Inspector of Taxes. And so it was that a seemingly interminable exchange of correspondence ensued between the lawyers acting for the College and the Inspector of Taxes until eventually, in February of this year, the welcome news was received that the College did indeed constitute a charity. The faintest suggestion of any political motivation behind the aims and objectives of the College had to be completely expunged before it was finally decreed that charitable status should be conferred.

Since the idea of a Gaelic College was first mooted by a well-known landowner in Skye, the idea of a body of supporters was early recognised to be a prerequisite. And so it was that Caidreamh an t-Sabhail was instituted, a society of Friends of the Gaelic College having the constitutional right to elect from their number two of the twelve Urrasairean (Trustees) who form the governing body. All the Trustees must speak Gaelic and two-thirds of them must reside within the Gaelic-speaking areas.

It may be asked what is the *raison d'être* of Sabhal Mór Ostaig, Colaisde Gàidhlig. The great pity is that such an institution was not set up many years ago when the national economic climate was not quite as inimical as at present. While there are Departments of Celtic at three of our Scottish Universities there is no establishment whose sole purpose and intention is to promote and encourage education in Gaelic and its associated culture. This then is the formidable task which faces Sabhal Mór Ostaig, to face up to the neglect and positive discrimination against the language of past generations not to mention a less than supportive attitude by officialdom within the Highland Region of today. The College exists in order to affirm the right of a language of great antiquity to be implemented and extended, not exterminated through neglect and lack of positive encouragement.

It is to the everlasting credit of the Scottish Arts Council that an annual grant has been made to the College over the past three years towards the salary of a Sgrìobhadair (Writer) in Gaelic. Previous incumbents have been Catriona Montgomery and the renowned Dr. Sorley MacLean, the present holder being Aonghas MacNeacail, fittingly from Uig in Skye. While the post chiefly enables the Writer to concentrate on his own work, some time is also devoted to the educational activities of the College principally during Summer Schools. These have been a feature of the College since its inception with

students enrolled from not only this country but the Continent of Europe, the United States and Canada.

There is undoubtedly an upsurge of interest in the learning of Gaelic at the present time whatever may be the reason for this. It is crucial therefore that, if the increasing number of learners from within Britain and from further afield are to make progress in the language, an institution such as the Gaelic College must receive official support. This has at least been partially achieved in that the Scottish Education Department does now award an annual grant of just £5,000 towards administrative costs, chiefly the salary of the Director and Secretary. The total annual running costs are in the region of £30,000, about one third of which is derived from official sources. The remainder has to be raised by the College's own efforts, a truly time-consuming exercise which detracts the skelton staff from their main objectives. Nevertheless much is owed to those individuals and charitable trusts, the HDB and oil companies who have made generous grants to enable the College to survive thus far.

A recent and significant association has been formed with the Department of Continuing Education at Stirling University. Herein, one trusts, lies the hope for the future. Gaelic is years behind other languages taught in our schools when one looks at the provision, or rather lack of provision, of suitable audio/visual material.

Stirling University with its highly sophisticated teaching aids is more than willing to share these with the Gaelic College and it only remains to find the time and personnel to capitalise on this valuable resource.

Hopefully therefore the day is not too far distant when the dream of a truly Gaelic College, conducting all its affairs in Gaelic and using English only as a second language, may become a reality and why should not this be the case given the will and the eradication from the minds of Gaelic-speaking parents that Gaelic is a second-rate and potentially useless language, a gross distortion of the truth. It is time to shed this image and loudly proclaim that Gaelic is not a dying language but vibrant and expressive as any other, with its roots in antiquity and having a literature on a par with the best that the world has to offer.

Will you lend your support whether it be in cash or in kind and help to make the dream come true? Each new member of Caidreamh an t-Sabhail, subscribing a minimum of £3.00 per annum represents a step forward towards the goal of reaching at least a thousand. The present membership stands at five hundred and ninety-eight representing many nationalities. You may be assured that you will be cordially received at Sabhal Mór Ostaig and you are participating in a great venture for the furtherance of Gaelic. I have said little concerning the connection with our sister Celtic nations but herein too lies the potential for mutually rewarding exchanges, to date almost wholly untapped, but promising much for the future.

Farquhar MacLennan.

Fear Stiùridh, Sabhal Mór.

[Copies of CARN 24 in Scotland will contain a membership form for Caidreamh an t-Sabhail. Will readers in the other Celtic countries who wish to help contact Mr. Farquhar MacLennan - Director - Sabhal Mór Ostaig, An Teanga An t-Eilean - Sgitheanadh IY44 8RQ.]

AN COMUNN ALBANNACH: For a Gàidhlig Scotland. Join an Comunn Albannach and work for the restoration of the Scottish language. All enquiries and requests for information etc. are welcome. Write c/o A. Busby, 48 Summerhill Road, Glasgow G15 7JJ, Alba-Scotland.

BREIZH

PRIZONET EN UR C'HRAOU-MOC'H

Ar re a oa prizoniet en abeg d'o ferzh er stourm dre an armoù e Norzh-Iwerzhon, e gwir pe e gaou, o doa gounezet bezañ anavezet evel prizonidi politikel. Met e 1976 e voent lakaet e dere an dorfedourien voutin. Diouzhtu e nac'has darn eus ar vroadelourien an izeladur-se hag e nac'hjont ober anerioù toull-bac'h, evel kempenn o logelloù, ha gwiskañ lifre ar vac'hidi voutin. Ar pennadurezhioù ne blegjont ket. Evit kastizañ ar pennou-kalet e voe lamet tamm ha tamm diganto an nebeut a zihuedoù a c'hellent kaout, hag e voent lakaet en ur rannad eus an toull-bac'h anvet H-Block. Mont a reas koulskoude niver ar stourmerien war greskiñ, ha gouezet e voe en diavaez e peseurt stad spontus en em gavent. Pa voe klemmet a lavaras "prefed" bras ar Saozon e Norzh-Iwerzhon e oa torfedourien ha muntrerien eus an dud-se ha ma felle dezho chom e-kreiz o fank, dre o gwall hag o youl o-unan e oa. An darn vrasañ eus ar bobl e Breizh-Veur hag en Iwerzhon a stank o divskouarn hag a lez ar renerien-Stad da ober. Koulskoude e teu ur wech ar mare garmoù a-dreuz da vogerioù an didrouz hag an digasted. An Aotrou O Fiaich, Arc'heskob Ard Mhacha, goude bezañ bet aotreet da ober gweladenn d'an 30 Gouhere d'ar Rannad H, zo distroet ken fromet m'en deus ranket komz fraezh, hep damant d'ar yudadeg a zo savet kerkent e kamp ar bolitikerien hag ar renerien-gelaouenn saoz.

"Tost da 3000 prizoniad a zo bremañ e Norzh-Iwerzhon, emezañ, ha 1800 anezho e toull-bac'h ar Maze e Long Kesh. Aotreet on bet da welout un darn vat eus an 200 a zo eus arc'heskopti Ard Mhacha. Ma dever a arc'heskob e oa, ha fellout a rae din bezañ gouest da reiñ testenid d'ar Pab hag a zo gwall chalet gant doareoù an toull-bac'h-se.

Chomet on e-pad an deiz en toull-bac'h hag ez on bet sabatuet-mik gant an doareoù dizeneal am eus kavet er rannad H, e-lec'h ma'z eus 300 den karc'hariet. Ul loen ne vefe ket lezet da vevañ e seurt plegennoù. Degaset 'z eus bet soñj din aze eus ar c'hantañ a dud dic'houdor hag a glask repu e saniou-difankañ Kalkuta. Ar flaer hag al loustoni, e darn eus ar c'hellou, diwar ar restajoù-boued hag ar c'haoc'h strewet e-harz ar mogerioù, a oa heugus. E div anezho ne voen ket evit komz gant aon da c'hwedinn.

Eno n'eus na gweleoù na kadorioù na taolioù. Kousket a reont war vatarasennou a-rez al leur al leur ha merzet em eus e oa darn eus ar re-se gwall-c'hleb. N'o deus krez ebet en-dro d'o c'horf nemet ur pallenn, na levr na kelaouenn, netra da lenn nemet ar Bibl; netra evit skrivañ; na skingomz na skinwel; netra da ober evit en em zihuedinn pe embreger o spered. Prennet eo dorioù o logoù warno penn-da-benn an devezh koulz lavaret. Darn anezho a zo evelse abaoe ouzhpenn bloaz hanter.

Evit d'un den nac'h gwiskañ lifre an toull-bac'h ne dlefed ket mirout outañ a ober embregerezh-korf, kevredinn gant e genbrizonidi pe kaout kelou eus ar bed en diavaez. Ezhommm en deus eus an traoù-se evit e yec'hed-korf ha spered, n'int ket aotreoù a c'heller reiñ pe lemel evel goproù pe gastizoù. M'o lamer evit ur pennad hir, ne vern evit pe abeg, e reer gaou a dra-sur. Ret eo doujañ da zellezegezh ar prizoniad ne vern pe gredenn, liv pe doare-gwelout politikel a ve dezhañ, ne vern pe dorfed a damaller dezhañ. Kement-se a c'houlennfen ivez evit ar brizonidi lealourien nemet n'on ket evit lavarout e pe stad emaint pa n'on ket bet aotreet d'o gwelout.

Meur a hini en deus klemmet ouzhin ez eo bet bazhatet, kunujennet, kastizet gwashoc'h (taolet e-barzh kelloù yen hep matarasenn zoken) goude bout klemmet;

lavaret ez eus bet din e vezont furchet er rannoù prevesañ eus o c'horf...

Souezhet on bet evit-se o welout e chome kalonek ar brizonidi. Anat eo diouzh o c'homzoù ez int mennet da gendec'hel da herzel hag e hañval ez eo gwelloc'h ganto me mervel eget asantñ da vout lakaet e renk torfedourien. An neb en deus an disterañ anaoudegezh eus istor Iwerzhon a oar pegen don eo intret, kement hag a denn d'o buhez hor bro. En digenvoud e stourmont ouzh an diskiantñ en ur zeskiñ iwerzhoneg. Un arouez e oa eus trec'h spered an den war un endro enebour klevout anezho o c'harmin eus an eil kell d'eben gerioù, bommoù ha pozioù iwerzhonek, pe gwelout ar re-mañ skrivet gant tammoù metal war ar mogerioù.

Ar pennadurezhioù a nac'h anzav ez eus ur rummad dibar eus ar brizonidi-se ha koulskoude kement tra en doare ma'z int bet barnet, kement hag a denn d'o buhez-familh ivez, e ziskouez ez int dishenvel. An holl anezho zo bet barnet e lezioù dibar, hep strollad-touidi; an darn vrasañ a-bel o deus sañset anzavet torfedoù dre gaer ha padal diskouezet eo bet gant Amnesty International ez eus abeg bras da ziskrediñ pa ouzer penaos eo bet graet an anzavadoù-se. Meur a hini zo yaouank-flamm, morse ne oa bet a dorfedourien en o familhoù daoust ma c'houzañv kalz anezho diwar gwallziforc'h el lodennañ tiez ha labour. Perak eo kresket niver ar brizonidi eus 500 da 3000 ma n'eo ket ur seurt prizonidi nevez a zo aze?

Kudenn ar brizonidi-se zo ur skoilh d'ar peoc'h. Magañ a ra droukrañs er brizonidi hag e-touez o zud nes ha mignoned... Had eneberezh eo evit an amzer da zont.

Da c'hortoz an diskoulm, e kav din e tleer reñ diouzhtu en-dro d'ar brizonidi tu da vevañ ur vuhez denel ha da virout o yec'hed korf ha spered."

Ar pennadurezhioù saoz ne blegint avat nemet ma sav mouezhioù e-leizh da c'houlenn outo ober eus ar brizonidi-se ur rummad dibar dishenvel diouzh torfedourien voutin. Ma n'oc'h ket diseblant, skrivit d'ar C'Hentañ Ministr Jim Callaghan, House of Commons, London. A. H. [Extracts of the Archbishop of Armagh's account of his visit to the H Block, Long Kesh. See also CARN 22.]

● A new L. P. by Alan Stivell: UN DEWEZH 'BARZH 'GÉR (A day at home) produced by Keltia III and distributed by CBS. It includes songs in Breton, Cornish (An Try Marrak), and Scottish (An Nighean Dhubh). The airs are nearly all traditional Breton ones or "mood" pieces imperceptibly linked with them. The traditional airs are beautiful, but thanks to the variety of accompanying instruments and to Stivell's arrangements they acquire a rich, magical, character. The Cornish song which is sung to a Breton tune takes one back centuries. The theme of "Ar wezenn Awalou" is a timeless lament inspired by the fall of an apple tree, while "Tabut Kemper" deals with a quite actual confrontation between farmers and CRS-police in Kan-ha-diskan form. The bilingual sleeve makes as little a concession as possible to French, but it would have helped to have the texts of the songs in print.

● The 26th Congress of the Federal Union of European Nationalities, meeting in Luxemburg on October 6-8 1978.
- noting with regret that Bretons numbering about 30 are once more in French jails, waiting for trial or already severely sentenced.
- aware that, if the deeds for which they are charged are illegal they find their motivation in the impossibility for the Breton people hitherto to express themselves fully and freely.
- expresses the wish that the authors of the aforementioned deeds be set free as soon as possible and that the French State should aim at reinforcing its security by putting an end to the deep causes of these acts rather than by using severity in repressing them.

INTERVIEW WITH A UDB REPRESENTATIVE - Part 2

7. It is sometimes alleged that the UDB is a rigid party, intolerant of internal divergence of opinion; this was demonstrated by expulsions notably in the Rennes and Paris branches of the party. What is your opinion of this?

If being rigid means to resolutely wish to arrive at solutions identified by us as important to the existence of a serious, effective and credible organisation in Brittany, capable of undertaking historical tasks, yes then we are rigid. For my part rigid suggests the militant, who is inaccessible to discussion, sectarian, blinkered and remote from the realities of life. Anyone familiar with the UDB from inside knows that it is not the latter. Occasionally (but not frequently) there have been expulsions from the UDB, when a member worked to undermine the party from inside or to misrepresent it outside, it was necessary to expel such a member. The UDB cannot accept that the party be used for objectives other than, or contrary to those of the UDB. (There are other organisations open to such people). There was also the case of the dissolution of sections of the party in 1970, in Rennes and Paris: at this time the party suffered a crisis when a considerable minority wished to transform the UDB into an ultra-revolutionary organisation of the extreme Left. These ideas were not compatible with majority opinion and it was necessary to settle the problem and it was effectively settled, and no longer arises. In conclusion it must be said that the most striking characteristic of the UDB is its democracy and not its rigidity.

8. Of what structures is the UDB composed? How does the party exercise democratic control in (a) the political education of its members, (b) finances.

The central organs of the UDB are the Congress, the Political Bureau and the Executive Committee. The Congress is the controlling body; it meets every two years and lays down the main political lines to be followed during the two-year period, prepared in agreement with the Political Bureau. The Congress prepares the reports of work accomplished, and elects new members to the PB. The PB meets every two months to examine all questions of policy and activity; each of its members is charged with a particular action, but none permanently. Any questions of special importance are referred to the Executive Committee. The latter body meets every two months. It comprises the 16 members of the PB and 24 representatives of the federations (2 for each of the 12 federations.) The active members belong to local branches, a number of which forms the federation. The federation is responsible for the implementation of party policy at local level, and participation in local events. The federation may intervene in party policy through the Executive Committee where it is represented.

The political education of members has a theoretical aspect, but is also free in so far as members are free to express their own views; eventually however these views will be further informed by political theory and technique.

9. The UDB has now been in existence for almost 15 years. Are the results of these years satisfactory? Has the party advanced towards the aims laid down by its founders?

The creation of a Left autonomiste party in Brittany during the '60's seemed absurd, a student joke. It is well to remember that in the context of 1964, to put forward the twin aims of social and national liberation of the Breton people was excessive. However the founders had the intelligence to appreciate that it was not excessive on a historical scale, and had the wisdom to propose immediate aims of a modest kind. Not only the founders, but the entire party has followed this path, except during 1968-70 after which it reverted to the original policy. The Party

Congress has been mindful of the fact that the national consciousness of the Breton people was not sufficiently awakened to justify political combat (in the electoral field); it was first necessary to arouse this consciousness. This distinguishes our struggle from many other nationalist struggles in Europe. Seen from a distance many of our attainments may appear very modest. The publication of a Breton political journal without financial support or permanent staff was the first objective realised, and also the publication of 'Pobl Vreizh' in the Breton language. The construction of a solid, democratic political organisation thus breaking the tradition of the Breton movement was achieved after the crisis of 1970, in spite of the loss of the militants. The progress of the UDB has little by little demonstrated the futility of all other experiments in Brittany. It has been clearly shown that the Breton struggle is a workers' struggle, a struggle of the Left. To emerge from the ghetto into the daylight and present itself as a worthwhile party these aims have been reached with success in municipal elections, TV appearances, etc.

From political combat one proceeds to the next step. We still have much to do; but let us say that the ground has been cleared; we have affirmed our presence. From now on the UDB should be a conquering party.

10. What future do you visualise for the UDB and Brittany following the elections of March '78 which brought the Right to power?

The disunity among the parties of the Common Programme during the six months prior to the elections led to the defeat of the Left. However in Brittany these parties incorporated in their electoral programmes, many of the ideas of the UDB in an effort to gain support among the Breton electorate. This tactic succeeded in the first round of the election. The dominant parties steamrolled the hopes of the UDB breakthrough all the more easily by virtue of the fact that the latter was practically forbidden on the mass media. Faced with this situation we propose to initiate a grand debate among our people in the coming years, leading to a Breton Autonomist, Socialist Programme (PASB), dealing with various facets of Breton life (exile, culture). We will endeavour also to respond better to the daily problems of the Breton workers through initiatives and mediation.

As to the immediate future of Brittany it finds itself largely in the hands of a Right Wing which has complete latitude to enforce solutions of the capitalist system which it represents, leading to political support for employers and monopolies. The Regional Council will remain powerless. In the economic field with a more advanced European Integration, Brittany will fulfil the role destined for her by the capitalist world; a varied zone devoted to tourism, the army and other installations unacceptable to the more populous regions. In the social domain we do not foresee any improvement in the general standard of living, or in the condition of workers, nor freedom of the unions. Finally in the cultural domain Giscard d'Estaing's Cultural Chart was no more than an electoral gimmick. For the Right it is the final step, and it will grant no further concessions. The situation in Brittany and of the Breton people is on the point of a dramatic evolution. It is therefore most important for the UDB to assert the necessity of its existence as an indispensable instrument of the decolonisation of our people.

[Interview given by an UDB spokesman to Mikael Baudu.]

● Preparations for the C. L. A. G. M., as well as for a lecture on Breton literature have left A. H. insufficient time to report the latest developments in Brittany.

WELSH AND ENGLISH APPROACHES TO BRITTANY

Crwydro Llydaw by Gwyn Griffiths (Christopher Davies, Abertawe 1977) £2.95 (paperback).

Too much concentration on La Tène culture and the Book of Kells has caused us to ignore the Golden Age of Breton Art between the 15th and 17th centuries, which flourished particularly in Breizh Izel and has an equal right to be considered Celtic art. Now that the "Crwydro" series of guide-books, which already cover Wales in some twenty volumes, has been extended to Brittany, the Welsh reader can learn of the Rayonnant and Flamboyant Gothic and just as flamboyant Renaissance churches, sculpture and wood-carving to be found, often in remote villages; and of the other aspects of Breton culture, religious processions, folk dances, cuising, folk-tales and costumes, of which Wales is so lacking, at least in comparison.

Earlier in this century a Welsh clergyman, trying to convert Brittany to Protestantism, could write: "What of their high feasts, the pardons as they are called? These are the *gwyliau mabsant* which were once the curse of Wales. Then the cafes are packed, even though its Sunday..." and go on to condemn "the Papist church" for this immorality. ("Cymru" 1926.) But Griffiths shows how much we can learn of our own past from Breton religion: the holy wells which were worshipped when the Celts first came to western Europe and remained popular in Wales until the 17th century; the ossuaries which, though much more beautifully decorated, were still used in Brittany in the early years of this century in exactly the same way as the cromlechs were used 5,000 years ago; and the calvaries which probably developed by christianising the worship offered to standing-stones. He is wrong, however, when he suggests that the cult of St. Anne was developed in Wales and Brittany from that of the Celtic goddess of Death (Ankou in Breton; Angau in Welsh). In fact her name and many details of her legend come from Hannah (I Samuel 1, 2) and her cult developed in the Greek Orthodox Church by the 6th century A.D.

The "Crwydro" series are not just guide-books. The writers give their personal experience and suggestions as well as discussing the cultural background. Griffiths suggests Welsh pop-song writers might seek inspiration in the Celtic music of the Bretons instead of copying English themes, as they do at present. He also shows how one should not copy from a fellow Celtic country by describing a "Fête Folklorique Druidique" he saw near An Oriant, with everything translated into French for gaping tourists. Brittany has enough genuine folk culture to treasure without importing fake folklore from Wales, and Breton poets have more urgent work than marching about in nightgowns. Wales has the long tradition of literature which Brittany lacks, and it might be worth studying. Paol Keinig, Anjela Duval and other modern Breton poets are quoted at length (unfortunately Breton pronunciation is not explained to the reader), but there is little sign of Celtic influence; except on Maodez Glanndour, who uses the internal rhyme of Breton poetry before the 17th century (as in the Welsh *Cynfeirdd* and in *cynghanedd lussg* today). Too many of the poets are translating the themes and style of Jacques Prévert or other recent French poets. (I know the intellectual snobs among Welsh poets copy English models but they are not so overwhelmingly dominant.)

Let us hope that this book will greatly increase Welsh interest in Brittany and consciousness of our ties. It can do nothing but good. For example, when I read about the legend of Peronnik and his cauldron of regeneration I thought how knowledge of Breton folk-tales might do much to deepen our understanding of the Mabinogion. Griffiths is excellent

on Breton culture including its modern literature, but no book is without its failings. This has two. It is generously illustrated with photographs, but this does not justify showing two pictures of exactly the same object on several occasions, e.g. the towers of Foujera Castle, the harbour at Benoded and the rocks of Beg ar Raz. Brittany is not lacking beautiful and interesting places pictures of which have been omitted, but the reader will have to remedy this curious choice by going there as soon as possible and taking a camera with him. The other failing of "Crwydro Llydaw" is that it is inaccurate about Breton history. For instance, one cannot contrast the Celtic Church in the 6th century with the Roman Church, especially on the issue of clerical celibacy, as it does; that is an invention of Welsh Protestant divines a thousand years later. Nor was the Parlement at Roazhon a Parliament in the English sense; it was the supreme law-court of Brittany. Brittany did have its own Parliament until 1790, but it was called les Etats (the Estates). There is thus still a place for a history of Brittany in Welsh, for there are other inaccuracies about more recent events, which I shall discuss below with Zeldin's history of France. France 1848-1945 by Theodore Zeldin (Oxford) Vol. I Ambition, Love and Politics (1973) Vol II Intellect, Taste and Anxiety (1977).

I do not expect many Celts to rush out and buy a work of more than 2,000 pages costing £21, but parts of it, especially the chapters at the beginning of Volume II, should interest everyone concerned with the fate of Brittany; and, as it is one of the most important books ever published on modern French history, it should be in any good library.

Unlike nearly every French historian, and most foreign ones, Zeldin knows that France is an artificial creation. Between the Retreat from Moscow (1812) and the Retreat from Algeria (1962) it suffered little but political, military and economic failures. Why didn't it dissolve into its component parts like Austria-Hungary? Zeldin argues that it was the triumph of French educational and cultural brain-washing which prevented this. Why didn't the Félibrige, founded by Mistral in 1854, have the success in Occitania which Catalan nationalism had over the border to the south? There were two causes:

- 1) It never got the support of economic forces because the upper classes of Occitania went on speaking French.
- 2) The Félibrige split in 1876 on a question of French politics (the restoration of the monarchy). In the same way the Union Democratique Bretonne (UDB) split from the Mouvement pour l'Organisation de la Bretagne in 1962-4, on an issue not connected with Brittany, but with Algeria!

Both reasons show the cultural dominance of Paris, and that even those opposed to Paris thought that only Parisian issues really mattered. In 1951 a public opinion poll showed that 64% of French "provincials" would prefer to live in Paris and 50% of them thought they were inferior human beings because they didn't!

Welsh nationalists know about the inferiority feelings of provincials, which, according to Zeldin, have held France together. Our intellectual leaders, Emrys ap Iwan, Saunders Lewis and Ambrose Bebb, have urged Welshmen to realize that England is not the home of all civilization and that we should cease to behave as its "provincials" and turn our attention to other lands, e.g. France. But the English emphasised their political competence, not their culture, so it is easier for us to ignore it than for a Breton poet or politician to ignore the Latin Quarter.

Zeldin also shows that tradition rules France, and that the numerous revolutions just reinforce the traditions.

For instance, the way that the bulk of the communes in the Sarthe department voted in 1956 was decided by which side the commune had fought for during the Chouannerie over 160 years before! What chance has the UDB of converting the right-wing Bretons to an alliance with Communists?

A nationalist party is in an especially poor position to ask people to spit on the ideals of their ancestors. Anyway, as Zeldin describes the Left in France is much more centralizing than in England, and the Welsh and Scots have vainly supported Left parties, which have promised Home Rule to them since the 1890's but did nothing until the Welsh and Scots started to take the Parnell line, the UDB policy seems bound to fail.

This brings me to the points on which Zeldin corrects the errors in "Crwydro Llydaw". Firstly it is wrong to say that there was any change of mind in Brittany, which led to it first supporting and then betraying the French Revolution. 65% of the Cahiers de Doléances (lists of grievances) submitted to the States-General in 1789 demanded the reversal of the centralizing policy of Louis XIV, greater autonomy for provinces and parishes, a federal government and the freedom of the Church. That programme the Bretons stuck to while the various assemblies, largely thanks to brutal intimidation by the Paris mob, voted the exact opposite: abolished the Estates of Brittany, looted and destroyed churches, and finally conscripted troops for aggressive war to conquer Belgium, at which point the Bretons rebelled. (The Breton, Yann Ber ar Mat has served over a year in gaol for refusing to accept this fraudulent, unilateral repeal of the treaty of 1532 as a ground for conscripting Bretons to the French army.)

It is also wrong to think that the Bretons suffered such fearful casualties in the 1914-18 War because they didn't understand French. Almost half the French army must have been in that situation, Zeldin would suggest, but there were not especially high casualties among the Basque, Provençal or patois speakers. I would be interested if readers of CARN have any ideas on this. I cannot help feeling that the Radical politicians in Paris were happier if right-wing voters got killed rather than their own constituents; one of their leaders, Clemenceau, had been Mayor of Montmartre in 1871 and had seen the slaughter Breton troops had done when they stormed Paris, (repaying earlier atrocities such as Carrier's massacres at Naoned), and Clemenceau never forgot old grudges.

Finally, Griffiths understates considerably the degree of Breton collaboration with the Germans in the 1939-45 War. He does not mention that after Michel Debauvais and Olier Mordrel, the leaders of Breizh Atao, had been put on trial in 1938 and the Parti National Breton banned in 1939, Debauvais and Mordrel went to Berlin and tried to recruit Breton prisoners to fight for Germany. It is fair to point out that at the time Nazi Germany had not shown its ferocity by setting up gas-chambers for Jews etc. and that they thought they would follow the policy of the Irish in 1916, not recognizing that Hitler was not the same as Wilhelm II, and it should also be realized that the French, who, as Zeldin points out, were distinguished for their lack of resistance to Nazism, ("the vast majority of French employers sided with the Vichy regime and ... hardly any of them were purged as collaborators," and as for the civil service "98% of those who served Vichy remained in state employment under the Fourth Republic"), used the Bretons as scapegoats for their own sins. The whole episode should serve as a warning to those Celts who hope for support from distant Communist or Muslim regimes, of whose nature and aims they know little, that they should take a long spoon to sup with the Devil. Griffiths quotes the Breton historian,

Arthur de la Broderie; from Gwizhurieig: "L'histoire est par excellence la science patriotique," and that means not just that we learn a proper pride in the cultural and other achievements of our predecessors, but also that we learn to avoid their mistakes. Ifan Lloyd.

CYMRU

Radio Cymru yn cloffi?

Byddai'r rhan fwyaf ohonom mae'n siwr yn croesawu â breichiau agored unrhyw ymgais gan yr awdurdodau darlledu yng Nghymru i gynyddu'r rhaglenni Saesneg a gynhyrchir yng Nghymru, ar y radio a'r teledu. Y gobaith yw fod hynny yn y pen draw yn arwain at gynydd yn yr ymdeimlad ymhlith y Cymry di-Gymraeg eu bod yn perthyn i genedl arbennig, i genedl wahanol. Ni allwn felly beidio â chroesawu'r ehangu mawr a fu yn hanes Radio Wales yn ddiweddar a dymuno pob llwyddiant iddynt yn y gwaith o gystadlu â Radio 1, 2, 3 a 4 am wrandawyr. Yn y De-Ddwyrain a'r Gogledd-Ddwyrain methiant i bob pwrpas fu ymgais y teledwyr i ddenu cynulleidfia Gymreig a gorau oll felly os gall y radio wneud rhywfaint o iawn am hynny.

Ond mae methiant Radio Cymru i symud ymlaen ar yr un raddfa yn destun pryder i bawb ohonom, gan gynnwys llawer iawn o staff Cymraeg y BBC ei hun hyd y gallwn ddeall. Y ffaith yw wrth gwrs fod Radio Wales yn cystadlu am gynulleidfia nid yn unig â rhaglenni radio Lloegr ond hefyd â rhaglenni Radio Cymraeg.

Flwyddyn yn ôl, pan ddatgelwyd y cynlluniau am yr ad-drefnu ym myd radio a'r ehangu mawr oedd yn yr arfaeth yn Saesneg, dywedwyd fod rhaglenni i ysgolion ar VHF yn rhwystr i unrhyw ehangu yn Gymraeg tan Hydref 1979. Gan fod ehangu Radio Wales wedi costio £500,000 mae'n amlwg fod yna reswm arainnol hefyd. Doedd yna ddim arian ar gael i Radio Cymru.

Ond, chwarae teg, penderfynwyd ehangu Radio Cymru o tua wyth awr yr wythnos flwyddyn yn gynt nag a fwriadwyd, fis Tachwedd diwethaf. Popeth yn iawn, ond mae'n amlwg erbyn hyn fod hynny wedi ei wneud o fewn yr un gyllideb i bob pwrpas ac heb fawr iawn o ychwanegiadau o ran staff. Y canlyniad yw ein bod yn cael rhaglenni rhad yn Gymraeg - rhaglenni recordiau hyd at syrffed - a dim hanner digon o ddramau ysgafn a rhaglenni o'r fath.

Mae yna raglenni o safon ar Radio Cymru, rhaglenni y gellid eu cymharu heb unrhyw gywilydd ag unrhyw wasanaeth radio drwy'r byd, ond does dim disgwyl i neb gynnal safon yn gyson heb yr arian a'r adnoddau sydd ar gael i bawb arall.

Does dim disgwyl 'chwaith i Radio Cymru gawd ei chynulleidfia heb wneud rhyw fath o ymdrech i hysbysebu'r gwasanaeth. Cyhoedduswyd tila ar y naw a gafodd rhaglenni newydd Radio Cymru ym mis Tachwedd o'i gymharu â Radio Wales. Roedd y gwasanaeth Saesneg yn ehangu mwy wrth gwrs ond roedd cynyddu rhaglenni radio Cymraeg o 8 awr yr wythnos hefyd yn gam go sylweddol.

Ond dim ond enghraifft yw hyn o ddiffyg mwy cyffredinol ym mheiriant cyhoedduswyd BBC Cymru. Mae Gogledd Cymry yn frith o geir gyda sticeri Radio City, un o ddinasoedd Lloegr. Does dim un sticer Radio Cymru i'w weld yn unlle, fel petai'r gwasanaeth ddim yn bod. Does dim hysbyseb byth yn y papurau wythnosol Cymraeg na'r papurau bro.

A, meddai swyddog o'r BBC, does gennym ni ddim hawl i hysbysebu fel hyn. Rwtch! Mae'r BBC yn gallu hysbysebu'n iawn pan maen nhw'n dewis - welsoch chi'r hysbysebion mawr yn y papurau lleol adeg y Radio Bro Saesneg? Pa wahaniaeth sydd mewn egwyddor rhwng hynny a hysbysebu mwy cyffredinol? Dim!

Y peryg mawr ar hyn o bryd yw mai gwasanaeth eilradd yw Radio Cymru yng ngolwg y BBC. Os hynny mae'n hawdd deall pryderon nifer o bobl. gan gynnwys

The 28 Breton political prisoners, of whom 21 have yet to be tried, were removed forcibly on October 31 by 120 "gardes mobiles" to the ill-reputed prison of Fresnes. Many were wounded in resisting this transfer. In Fresnes they suffer from the presence of vermin and severe restrictions of space, visiting time, communication with one another. The food is disgusting - (if they had money they could buy better from the canteen...). There is pressure to stop them speaking Breton in the visiting room.

18 of these men are married, 13 have young children. 3 wives are getting half pay pending the results of their husband's trials. (Will they get nothing afterwards?)

In all from July to September, the Skoazell Vreizh Aid Fund had received 33,400 F. Fr. in donations. This money is being used to help the prisoners and their families as well as paying part of the solicitors' fees. £24 received by Coiste Tacafochta na bPriosúnach mBriotánach is being forwarded to Skoazell Vreizh, (CCP 244-83 Rennes). Copies of the Coiste's 4 page statement rejecting on the French State the chief responsibility for F. L. B. violence and calling for the release of these prisoners is available from Pádraig Ó Cleirigh, f/c 127 Bóthar na Trá, Dumbach Trá, Baile Átha Cliath 4, Éire.

Latest news is that some of the prisoners will go on trial on November 28th.

NEWS FROM AUSTRALIA

Things have begun to move a little here in Sydney, where the Sydney University Celtic Society has been set up. The Society has been funded for the purpose of not only re-awakening Australians to their own origins, but also to help further the fight for Celtic, political, moral and spiritual independence. The first meeting was held at the University and was attended by some fifty people. Guest speaker was John Douglas Pringle, a well-known personality here in the journalistic and literary world. His talk was received with much appreciation, and then Brian Taylor, President, and Roderick Boyd, Secretary, gave a short address. We have also started language classes here at the University - Irish, run by Frank Deery, and Scottish, Gaelic, run by Reid Stewart. Soon we will have classes in Welsh - it is very difficult to find speakers here of Cornish, Manx or Breton. Next year we hope to hold Ceilidhs and filmshows, and would welcome help, ideas and suggestions. A letter of petition will soon be sent to one of the Australian Universities requesting the establishing of a Department of Celtic Studies. At the Celtic Society meeting last week, copies of CARN displayed aroused much interest, as did the pamphlets on Brittany. We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Celtic League, and hope that in times to come, we will be able to add our bit towards seeing the renaissance of a free, of a beautiful Keltia.

Sophie Masson for the Sydney University Celtic Society. (For any further information please write to: Sophie Masson, 26 Grosvenor St., Neutral Bay, Sydney NSW 2089, Australia.)

CELTIC LEAGUE BADGE: - the symbol of Celtic Unity, the Celtic Knot. Metal badge with knot (La Tène design) in silver, ringed in black and silver, on a green background. Available from national secretaries (addresses on p. 24). Price 75p, postage free but 10p extra air mail outside Europe.

staff Radio Cymru, am fod eu cynulleidfia'n edwino o ddydd i ddydd. A. G.

PABELL GELTAIDD YN YR EISTEDDFOD

Daeth Yr Undeb Celtaidd, Y Gyngres Geltaidd a Phwyllgor Cymru o'r Wyl Ban-Geltaidd at ei gilydd unwaith eto i drefnu Pabell Geltaidd yn yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol a gynhaliwyd yng Nghaerdydd fis Awst eleni. Heblaw gwerthu llyfrau Celtaidd yno a thynnu sylw at weithgareddau yn y gwahanol wledydd Celtaidd fe drefnwyd gyda chydweithrediad Pabell y Dysgwyr gyngerdd awyr-agored - "Croeso i'r Celtaid". Trefnwyd deiseb o dan abain cangen Cymru o'r Undeb Celtaidd yn mynegi pryder ynglŷn â hynt y nifer fawr o Lydawyr a arestiwyd yn Llydaw yn dilyn y ffrwydriadau diweddaraf. Mynegwyd cefnogaeth hefyd i ymdrechion cyffredinol pobl Llydaw i gadw eu hunaniaeth genedlaethol. Arwyddwyd y deiseb gan 586 o gefnogwyr ac fe'i cyflwynwyd i Lysgennad Ffrainc yn Llundain.

A Celtic Tent was organised once again at this year's National Eisteddfod. A petition supporting the Bretons in their struggle to preserve their national identity and expressing concern for those recently arrested was signed by 586 people.

Gŵyl Cymru Geltaidd

Cynhelir Gŵyl Geltaidd yn Aberystwyth Chwefror 23/24, 1979. Heblaw Fest Nos, Ceili a gweithgareddau eraill, fe gynhelir y rhagbroffion i ddewis y tîm a fydd yn cynrychioli Cymru yn yr Wyl Ban-Geltaidd yn Cill Àirne y flwyddyn nesaf. Gellir cael manylion a'r rhestr. Testunau oddi wrth Alun Thomas neu R. W. Dobson, Y Cyngor Llyfrau, Aberystwyth.

A Celtic Festival will be held in Aberystwyth February 23/24, 1979.

Caset Dysgu Llydaweg

Mae ailargraffiad Llydaweg i'r Cymro, Zonia Bowen, yn awr wedi'i gyhoeddi gan Lyfrau'r Faner, Y Bala sy'n cynnwys atodiad yn rhoi atebion i'r ymarferiadau. Gellir clywed yr atebion hyn ar gaset hefyd. Pris y llyfr yn £1.75 a phris y caset yw £1.50.

A second edition of Llydaweg i'r Cymro (Breton lessons through the medium of Welsh) has now been published together with a cassette.

'Y Faner' Editor Retires

Mrs. Jennie Eirian Davies, president of the Welsh-language W.I., Merched y Wawr, will take over as editor of 'Y Faner', the weekly paper which was rescued two years ago by Arts Council money.

The editor for the last two years has been Mr. Geraint Bowen, the Archdruid of Wales, and a familiar figure in Celtic circles. (His wife, Zonia Bowen, has recently published a Breton language course through the medium of Welsh.)

Geraint Bowen has always made his views on the future of Wales and the Welsh language quite clear. He was the guest speaker at the annual conference of Cymdeithas yr Iaith on October 28, and during his speech he declared his support for the actions which the society has taken. Damaging a language is worse than damaging a TV transmitter, he said.

He also made an impassioned plea for Celtic solidarity and co-operation in the struggle for our future. He read out a letter which he had received from Breton prisoners, calling for support from Wales.

Addysg Gymraeg: Cause for concern

A further three new bilingual secondary schools were established at the beginning of the school year in September: at Bangor, Caerfyrddin (Carmarthen), and Caerdydd (Cardiff). This brings the total number of such schools in Wales to 11 (this figure does not include schools in predominantly Welsh speaking areas which offer a number of subjects through the medium of Welsh but which are not official bilingual schools).

Nevertheless, although the demand for Welsh-medium education on all levels is steadily increasing, many people are very unhappy about the situation. One example is the demand by Cymdeithas yr Iaith in Gwynedd for secondary schools in Welsh speaking areas to be declared Welsh-medium schools, a call which was described by one leading member of the Education Authority as "childish".

Another example is the action taken by an anonymous group of people calling themselves "Mudiad Addysg Gymraeg i'r Cymry" (Movement for Welsh education for Welsh people). During October they painted slogans on the walls of three schools - the Aberystwyth and Ystalyfera bilingual schools and Ysgol y Gader, Dolgellau. The group are particularly worried about the tendency of pupils in the bilingual schools to converse in English and they accuse the teaching staff of lack of leadership. They called for the resignation of Ystalyfera headmaster because of his "complete apathy" towards the Welsh language.

The group say that they wish to remain anonymous because they disagree with movements such as Cymdeithas yr Iaith who give themselves up to the police.

Another development which is causing grave concern in Gwynedd is the failure of the Director of Education, Mr. Tecwyn Ellis, to withstand the demands in the Llandudno area by a small number of anti-Welsh parents, for Welsh to be made an optional subject.

As a compromise, Mr. Ellis promised the governors of John Bright's school at Llandudno, that parents could opt for a course of "Welsh studies" instead of Welsh as a second language.

Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru, the largest teachers union in Gwynedd, has already condemned this move, saying that once the door is opened it will be pushed wide open. Indeed, parents in Bangor have already demanded similar treatment and members of the so called 'Language Freedom Movement' in Aberystwyth and bound to join in.

Cymdeithas yr Iaith have called for Mr. Ellis's resignation and he is likely to be severely criticized in the next meeting of the Education Committee. A. C.

Dwyfor lead the way

Dwyfor District Council's language policy has been described by a Gwynedd councillor as 'Hitlerism!!'. Dwyfor's area contains the Llyn peninsula, Porthmadog and Pwllheli, and has adopted a Welsh-only policy regarding council meetings, minutes, etc. They have also advised other local authorities and public bodies that they will reply only to letters or notices which are in Welsh or bilingual. The majority of the councillors are Plaid Cymru members.

British Rail Victory

Following our report in the last issue concerning the controversial demonstration by Cymdeithas yr Iaith in the British Rail stand on the Eisteddfod field, we can now announce that British Rail have agreed to the society's demands. They have decided to adopt a full bilingual policy, and will go even further than the Bowen Committee on road signs recommended. If place names are similar in both languages (such as Barry/Y Barri) the Welsh form

only will be used. According to a British Rail official, the policy was in the pipeline long before the Cymdeithas demonstration!!

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Conference

In one evening and one day the Conference debated over 60 motions on a whole range of issues, and although the attendance was poor, a great deal of hard work had obviously gone into the formulation of so many policies. Motions passed by the Conference included:

* that the direct action campaign against the Government and broadcasting authorities should continue until all the promises were implemented and various conditions were met (this decision was reiterated following the Queen's Speech which contained no specific plan of action on the Welsh TV channel).

* that non-Welsh speakers should receive a letter if they settle in the Welsh speaking areas, encouraging them to learn the language and to support the language struggle. The tremendous influx of non-Welsh speakers to the traditional strongholds of the language has been a source of great worry in recent years.

* that the society should conduct a direct action campaign against holiday homes, estate agents and district councils. The words 'limited damage' in the original motion were rejected.

* that members should be persuaded to make work for the society the first priority and that local members should draw up 'language charters' to be presented to the relevant County Councils.

Chairman and Vice-Chairman Rhodri Williams and Wynfford James stood trial again on conspiracy charges at Carmarthen Crown Court on November 20. In July, the jury failed to agree on the same charges. Full report in next issue.

Radio Wales and Radio Cymru expand

The BBC have taken advantage of the general re-organization of wavelengths throughout Britain, to expand their English and Welsh language radio services in Wales. Before November 23 Radio Wales opted out of the Radio 4 English service on the medium wave at certain times of the day, and broadcast 20 hours a week. Radio Cymru, from January 1977 onwards, broadcast 32 hours a week on VHF, with some programmes also on the medium wave simultaneously. Radio 4 having been moved to the Long wave, Radio Wales now has a whole wavelength to itself and broadcasts over 50 hours a week, while Radio Cymru also has increased its output to 40 hours. Radio Cymru will expand further next October. Unfortunately, programmes for schools on VHF during the mornings and afternoons prevent any substantial increase in Welsh programmes at the moment. This obstacle will have to be overcome if the Welsh language service is to compete on equal terms with the English language service.

A. C.

MONUMENT FOR LLEWELYN II

A monument was unveiled to the memory of Llewelyn II, last Prince of Wales, on October 7th last. It is in the form of a beautifully inscribed stone over the Prince's grave in the ruins of the monastery at Abbey Cwm Hir near Rhayader. The unveiling was initiated by the Archdruid of Wales, Geraint Bowen who spoke about the significance of the occasion. In the absence through illness of Mr. R. O. F. Wynne, Professor Dewi Prys Thomas outlined the life and struggle of Llywelyn emphasising his role as a soldier in Wales' fight to defend its independence. Following the unveiling the Draig Goch and other banners were lowered and Piaras Ó Gréagáin played a lament on the

war pipes. Wreaths were laid on behalf of a number of organisations. The proceedings ended with the singing of the National Anthem. People from all over Wales were present in the graveyard for the ceremony which was presided over by Mr. Cliff Bere, the Treasurer of Cofiw, the organisation responsible for erecting the memorial stone. The Celtic League was represented by Micheál Mac Aonghusa. The event was followed by a tea in the village hall.

Llywelyn II was killed in a skirmish in Cilmeri in 1282. His death marks the end of Welsh independence until the time of Owain Glyndwr.

M. Mac A.

● Cofiw (Welsh National Commemoration Assoc.) has produced an illustrated poster calendar in Welsh and English, 15" x 20", depicting famous events in Welsh history, with details of Cofiw events. Price 50p + postage (10p surface mail), from G. Ap Gruffydd, 7 Coy Church Road, Bridgend, Glamorgan, Wales.

● CARN 21 - national reviews and 9 pages of poetry in Celtic Languages (with translations), also INDEX to CARN Nos. 1-20 available from the secretaries. (addresses p. 24)

PLAID CYMRU'S ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Plaid's Conference was held in Abertawe (Swansea) on 19-22 October. A motion proposing a plan for the preservation of the Welsh language by concentrating on teaching it in the Bro Gymraeg (Gwynedd, Dyfed and N.W. Powys) was passed. There were some doubts about the wisdom of this plan, but to have any practical proposals is a change on the situation in, for example, 1975, when the only motion set down for discussion by the Conference on Welsh, demanded greater use of the language in agricultural shows!

As "when a man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight it concentrates his mind wonderfully", so with the mind of a political party when it faces a general election within a few months and the polls are showing public opinion swinging against it. The Conference therefore avoided unpopular extremism: attacks on home-ownership and the family farm by partisans of nationalisation were heavily defeated, and it was decided not to make abortion on demand part of party policy.

It was also decided that Plaid will support the campaign for the Welsh Assembly in the coming referendum, despite opposition from Cwm Rhymni (see my article in CARN 22). More surprisingly some members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith are against the Assembly because they suspect that the English-speaking Welsh, who will inevitably dominate it, may be more unsympathetic to the Welsh language than the English in Westminster. This is very likely correct: for some years there has been a terrible lack of interest in Cymdeithas yr Iaith in persuading English-speaking Welshmen of the importance of reviving their language; and a yet more terrible lack of interest in the intellectual arguments to support such propaganda. For instance the English translation of Cynog Davies's Manifesto of the Cymdeithas (1972) has never been published (see Planet 26/27 for the text), though by now it needs to be brought up to date, both politically and intellectually. It is healthy that these members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith realise that this policy, or lack of one, is producing a problem. But do they propose to solve it by putting off any advance towards Welsh independence until Wales is 100% Welsh-speaking or, and this would be the more probably result, 100% English speaking?

Welsh Petticoat

A new Welsh-language magazine for women, 'Pais' (petticoat), has been a great success up to now. The first issue, launched at the National Eisteddfod in August, sold over 5,000 copies, and other issues have appeared regularly every month since then. The magazine is well produced and hopes to employ a team of six people under the Job Creation Scheme.

PLAID CYMRU'S "NON-PACT" WITH LABOUR

The headline of the September number of "Welsh Nation" declared that Plaid Cymru's three members of Parliament would on no account make a pact to support the Labour Government. The article went on to set out the precise terms on which the Plaid M. P.'s would vote in favour of the government. Just in case Prime Minister James Callaghan had missed that issue, the cover of the October number read: "JIM: We want action on Unemployment, The Language, Dust Disease."

On 1st November, with the Crown of State (the one with the Black Prince's Ruby in the front) on her head and a most incongruous pair of reading specs on her nose, Her Majesty read the Queen's Speech (which contains her government's, and not her, policy for the coming year). It contained proposals that more funds be granted for the Welsh Development Agency in order to promote industry, for bilingual education, and for slate quarrymen suffering from silicosis; and that the referendum on the Welsh Assembly be held on 1st March 1979.

I must make clear that there is no question of a pact having been made between Labour and Plaid Cymru. After the experience of the English Liberals who made a pact to keep Labour in office in March 1977, got nothing out of it and lost at least half their supporters in consequence, only madmen would make a formal agreement with the Labour Government. The explanation for what has happened must be that Mr. Callaghan has taken to reading "Welsh Nation", realised it contained some sensible ideas and decided to copy them into the Queen's Speech; and if for the next six months or so the Plaid M. P.'s are found to be voting to keep the government in office, it will only be because it has some excellent policies and it would be a pity to turn it out! This curious coincidence of aims, which we may call a "non-pact", is Plaid Cymru's greatest parliamentary coup so far.

The Wales Act - Forward to the Referendum

There could be no better day for the referendum than 1st March, which is evidently one of the conditions for the "non-pact": a new electoral register comes into force on 16th February, so only 1% of the voters registered will be dead (as opposed to 3% on the old register just before it goes out of use), an important consideration when 40% of those on the register have to vote in favour for the Act to go into effect; and the day happens to be St. David's Day, Wales's patron saint, which should persuade some of what we call "the St. David's Day Welshmen" (the ones who forget their nationality for the other 364) to vote for the Assembly.

Every such vote may well be needed. It's impossible to forecast how the campaign will go, but likely that most will vote the way their political leaders recommend, so the Tory voters will almost all vote against. The Labour ministers are recommending a Yes vote, for they can hardly damn their own legislation, but the Party as a whole will not be campaigning in favour of devolution as it will in Scotland, and many Labour voters, especially the 20% who are immigrants, will vote against.

This means that not more than about 55% of those voting will be voting Yes at best, which, if the other

hurdle (40%) is to be surmounted, would require that over 72% of those registered to vote, do so. As the turn-out in Wales at the last general election was 76.5%, and the turn-out in by-elections and local elections is usually high (often 60-70%), the turn-out on St. David's Day will probably be about 72% unless the weather is very bad.

So it all depends on getting that 55%, and preferably a few more, to vote Yes, which will only be achieved by a campaign emphasising how limited are the powers devolved by the Wales Act, for the Welsh are extremely timid of the deep, dangerous waters of freedom, and have no desire to put more than their toes in at present, however regrettable we may think this.

A Daily Newspaper in Welsh?

For the first time in history a daily newspaper has been published in Welsh. "Y Dinesydd", normally a monthly distributed in the Caerdydd area, appeared daily for the six days of the Eisteddfod. It sold about 3,000 copies, about a tenth the number which would make a permanent daily newspaper possible. The "papurau bro" (local newspapers in Welsh published by amateurs) are working to build up the number of ordinary people willing to read Welsh, which has tended to be restricted to the interests of chapel-goers and intellectuals until recently. At present they are all monthlies; soon, it is hoped, that some may appear weekly; then, a daily newspaper may be possible.

It would be good if some such method could be devised to build up an audience for the forthcoming TV service in Welsh. There is no doubt that the enemies of the language are hoping that, when it starts in 1982, it will be found that only 20,000 are watching it and it can be closed down at once.

Ifan Lloyd.

Y FANER GOCH

- THE WELSH SOCIALIST

A POPULAR NEWSPAPER FOR THE PEOPLE OF WALES, published by socialists and nationalists to fill the appalling gap in coverage of political, industrial and cultural affairs in Wales. This independent paper will be on sale from October. It will report the activities of trade unionists, political parties, students, community groups and other bodies. Articles will be welcome from all on the Left in Wales. The international scene will also receive close attention - especially where there are lessons to be learnt from events overseas.

THE PAPER STANDS FOR A WELSH SOCIALIST REPUBLIC and so its editorial attitude to current issues will be decided in the light of this central objective.

Send your donations to Harri Roberts, 30 Eversley Rd., Sgeti, Abertawe, (SWANSEA).

Offers of help in writing and selling the paper to Toni Rees, 21 Howard Gardens, Caerdydd, (CARDIFF).



At the A.G.M. in Edinburgh. (C.L. Flag in background)

ÉIRE

CUAIRT AR DHÚN ÉIDEANN

Mar dhuine ná fuil an méid sin desna tíortha ceilteacha feicthe aige, bhíos a' súil go mór leis an dturas so go hAlbain le haghaidh criunniú chinn bhliana an chonartha i nDún Éideann. Go mór-mhór, leis an gcaint seo fé "Phairlimint na hAlban" a bheith ag filleadh, bhíos ag iarraidh cúrsaí a mheas, mé féin. Ní raibh díomá orm.

Is cuimhin liom nuair a bhíos óg ag siúl síos Sráid Phádraig le sheana-mhathair go mbíodh scannradh an domhain orm ag breathnú suas ar na foirgnimh ársa - 's i gcásanna - galánta. Do bhrúinn ar láimh mo sheana-mhathair 's do chromainn mo cheann, ar eagla na heagla. I ndiaidh dom Dún Éideann d'fheiscint, tuigim go raibh an t-ádh liom i laethanta m'óige. O Ghaillimh go Split, ní fhaca riamh cathair chomh beag (?) lei sin leis an méid sin foirgnimh ársa, galánta. Iomha is ea í a bheith romham go deo aon uair a luaitear príomhchathair na hAlban. Dar ndó, má sheasann aon cheann desna foirgnimh sin amach, is é an Caisleán é. Tá greim aige ar chroí na cathrach, 's ar an gcathair ar fad, i gcaoi ná féadfadh, abair, B'leá Cliathach a thuiscint. Murab ionann 's Caisleán Duibhlinne tá Caisleán Dún Éideann i lár na cathrach. Filleann gach bóthar air. Istioíche nó sa ló, ar meisce no beo, ní féidir leis an stroinséir éaló uaidh, is cuma cá bhfuil a thriall. D'fhéadfá dul tríd 's timpeall na gcearnógamóra, ach, sa deireadh, déarfadh duine éigin 'sa chomhlúadar: "Ó, sin é an caisleán!" Bhuel, ar a laghad, ní fhéadfá dul ar strae!

Do réir mar a mífíodh an scéal domhsa, beartaíodh 's tógadh an chathair seo go cúramach. Tá an tseana-chathair taobh thiar den gcaisleán in airde, 's an ceann "nua" (200 bliadhain d'aois) ag síneadh amach roimis. Bhí an chrúnniu den Chonradh Cheilteach sa bhaile nua, in aice le Sráid Átha Cliath. Do réir Éideannaigh, Keith Scammell, ainmníodh roinnt desna sráideanna insa bhaile nua i gcuimhne ar an "Ríocht Aontaithe" (do thuigeadar ná mairfeadh an "aontacht"). Tá Sráid Naomh Dáithí, Sráid Naomh Seoirse 's Sr. N. Aindriú ann. Ach in ionad Sr. Naomh Pádraig (seans go raibh an creideamh mí-cheart aige!) tá Sráid Átha Cliath. Do mhínigh Keith dom gur ceantar 'caomhnaithe' abhí insa chathair ar fad, creid é nó ná creid! Is dócha go mbeidh an ché dearmadtha agus oifigí an Bhárdais ina seadchomharthaí náisiúnta sara mbeidh sé sin le rá fé Bhaile Átha Cliath!

Ach ní gá do chuid ama i nDún Éideann do chaitheamh ag breathnú ar fhoirgnimh ón dtaoibh amuigh, is féidir taithneamh do bhaint as áiteanna eile ón dtaoibh istigh. Tá Ostan an "West End" agus an "Thistle" (ceol íontach) go maith, 's tá tithe tábhairne eile ann (má bhíonn siad ar oscailt) go bhfuil craic 's cultúr le fáil iontu, ná fuil a n-ainmneacha agam (Bhuel, ní féidir leat cuimhneamh ar gach ní). Agus ag deireadh na h-óíche, is féidir drámaí, ól, bia, comrá, amhráin 's pé rud eile a choimeadfadh t'inneall ar siúl d'fháil insan Traverse Theatre Club.

Bhí na daoine cáirdiúil agus Albannach - iadsan a labhair liomsa, ar aon nós - ach ní foláir nó tá an "sort eile" ann leis, mar - is dócha ná féidir le gach rud a bheith sásúil - bhí barraíocht "jackanna" ar foluain ann. Bhíodar beagáinín stróiche ag an aimsir anso 's ansud - comhartha maith - ach do chothaíodar atmasféar lofa impiríalach a chuir isteach, b'fhéidir, ar ghnéithe níos taithneamhaí den gcathair. Ach dar ndó, is féidir an scéal san do leigheas. V. Uibh Eachach.

[The above article deals with a recent visit to Edinburgh for the AGM of the League. One of the most striking aspects of Edinburgh is its architecture and, of course, its dominating, in more ways than one, castle.]

A GAELTACHT AUTHORITY TO BE ESTABLISHED

The idea of establishing an Authority for the Gaeltacht (Irish speaking) areas is not a new one. It has been proposed frequently since the foundation of the Free State. In 1953, Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (the co-ordinating committee of the Irish-language voluntary organisations) published in pamphlet form its proposals for "A Board for the Gaeltacht" which it had proposed to the Taoiseach. In more recent years Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta (The Gaeltacht Civil Rights' Organisation) re-opened the debate on the desirability of establishing such an Authority. Conradh na Gaeilge issued a policy statement on this subject in September 1972 and urged that the Authority be given extensive powers.

It was envisaged that the Authority would be responsible for solving the main economic, social and cultural problems of the Gaeltacht and that to enable it to carry out those responsibilities it would:

1. be democratically constituted and be comprised of elected representatives of the public and of delegates from public organisations in the Gaeltacht;
2. give the Gaeltacht an opportunity to grow and develop in accordance with its own nature by giving the people of the Gaeltacht a real say in conducting their own affairs;
3. consolidate, protect and further the language and intrinsic culture of the Gaeltacht;
4. be the main planning, development and administrative Authority for the Gaeltacht and protect the Gaeltacht from unsuitable development and outside incursions;
5. be the educational Authority for the Gaeltacht;
6. have control over the buying and selling of land in Gaeltacht areas;
7. exercise as many as possible, of those powers which are exercised at present by the County Councils;
8. have sufficient legal powers and financial resources to achieve full employment in the Gaeltacht.

The Minister for the Gaeltacht has published his proposed Bill for the Authority. In view of the total failure of this Bill to give any sort of worthwhile powers to the Authority it is surprising that, to date, Conradh na Gaeilge is the only organisation that has publicly taken a stand against it. In a statement issued after the October meeting of its National Executive the Conradh said that as it considered that "the Bill as proposed would establish an Authority both deficient and substantially ineffective, we shall be organising a campaign, in co-operation with other organisations, to have an Authority established which shall have the power to tackle the many problems facing the Gaeltacht."

The function of the Authority is outlined as follows in the Bill itself:

"An tÚdaras shall encourage the preservation and extension of the use of Irish as a vernacular language in the Gaeltacht and shall ensure that Irish is used to the greatest extent possible in the performance by it and on its behalf of its functions." (Section, 8 (i)).

The Bill dissolves Gaeltarra Eireann, the Industrial Development Agency for the Gaeltacht, and transfers all personnel, assets and functions of Gaeltarra to the new Authority.

Section 9 (i) of the Bill can only be described as amazing. It must be unique and deserves to be quoted in full:

"For the purpose of promoting the economic, social, cultural, linguistic and physical developments of the Gaeltacht an tÚdaras shall have, in addition to the functions specified in this Act apart from this section, such powers as are conferred on it by order made by the Government."

So the Authority which, as the Minister for the Gaeltacht admitted in an interview on Radio na Gaeltachta, has no

powers (apart from those already being exercised by Gaeltarra Eireann) can be given powers from time to time if the Minister can wrest the necessary approval from the Government. Instead of being able to concentrate its energies on exercising its powers the Authority will have, first of all, to fight for them.

Since the ordinary powers of the local authorities in respect to planning, roads, sewerage etc. have not been given to the Authority, it would appear that the people of the Gaeltacht are to be regarded as second-class citizens who ought not be entrusted to run such services. Not only is that attitude insulting to the people of the Gaeltacht but it is dangerously so, in that the life and death struggle which is taking place at present in many Gaeltacht areas is completely ignored in the Bill. This struggle emanates from the refusal of County Councils and of An Bord Pleanála to take linguistic and cultural factors into consideration when dealing with applications for planning permission. This lack of control over planning matters is the most obvious defect of the proposed Authority.

The special educational requirements of Gaeltacht areas must also be recognised - a system ought be established whereby all Gaeltacht children shall be able to avail of first, second and third level education completely through Irish.

One of the other major questions which remains unanswered is whether the Government intends to redefine the official Gaeltacht areas before establishing the Authority. This issue is very important in that the Government conceded the demand of the language movement that the majority of the Authority's members be elected directly by the people of the Gaeltacht. Three electoral divisions which shall return seven members in all, are being established in the following Gaeltacht areas:

Dún na nGall (2 members) [Donegal]; Gaillimh, Maigh Eo, An Mhí (3 members) [Galway, Mayo, Meath]; Ciarraí, Corcaigh, Port Láirge (2 members) [Kerry, Cork, Waterford].

The Minister for the Gaeltacht shall himself nominate the Chairman and the other five members of the Authority. The population of the official Gaeltacht areas is approximately 65,000. There are quite a number of English-speaking areas which had been zoned as Gaeltacht areas in 1956. It is therefore estimated that the actual Gaeltacht population is about 30,000. Thus, unless the boundaries are redrawn Irish-speakers could form a minority of the electorate for the Gaeltacht Authority! It is a politically explosive question, however, because the redrawing of the boundaries will demonstrate all too clearly the failure of the Gaeltacht policies of previous Fianna Fáil governments. S. MacM. Seán Mac Mathúna.

B. B. C. 3

Yes, that is what it can be called, the new second channel of the Irish State television service, RTE2. Readers of CARN will recall the campaign to ensure that the second television channel remained under Irish control and was not given over, as proposed by the then Minister, C. Cruise O'Brien, to a straight rebroadcasting of B. B. C. The campaign, spearheaded by Conradh na Gaeilge and the trade unions involved, was successful and on November 2nd RTE2 was inaugurated. However it was at best a pyrrhic victory as the programme content of the new channel leaves little to distinguish it from the BBC. In fact 80% of the programmes are taken from the two UK Networks and of course no attempt has been made to use the greater flexibility possible with a second channel to broadcast more Irish language programmes.

The opening was in Cork and the (all English) invitation to attend was rejected by Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, President of

An Conradh. The opening was picketed by Cork Members of Conradh. On Saturday 4th a group "Freagra" (Response) carried out a sit down at RTE headquarters. On the afternoon of the same day a public protest meeting was held in the centre of Dublin. The meeting was organised by An Conradh and about 400 people attended it. Unfortunately it did not receive the broad support it had solicited and the lack of attendance by other organisations involved in promoting Irish culture was notable.



"About half of the group on the Ffestiniog Railway platform"
CONAMARA TO CYMRU

The weekend of the 3-6 November saw the second visit of a group from the Conamara Gaeltacht to the Welsh speaking areas of North Wales. The first trip which occurred in November 1977 was highly successful from a linguistic and social point of view. This latest trip which lasted 3½ days consisted of 30 people from the Cois Fharraige and Corra na Móna Gaeltachtaí and was even more successful than the 1977 one.

The aim of these trips is to expose people from the Irish Gaeltachtaí to the social and linguistic situation in Wales with a view to:

- (i) reducing the sense of isolation which is endemic in Irish speaking areas under fierce pressure from English.
- (ii) demonstrating how a Celtic language can hold its own and thrive without apology in a modern milieu.
- (iii) fostering a sense of competitiveness which would make the Gaeltacht people more demanding of those people and organisations who are now pushing English on them.
- (iv) giving some basic information about the language situation in Wales.

The two trips so far have succeeded in achieving these aims - we have been impressed by Welsh resoluteness and progress and have returned as resolute.

Below is the diary of this year's trip together with some photographs outlining the highlights. It should be mentioned that the process is not a one way one and that a Welsh group plan to visit Conamara next April - any Welsh people interested in participating should contact Alwyn Gryffydd, Bangor.

Aoine, 3ú Samhain: Bus with its merry crew of 30 left An Spideál at 2 p.m. First watering stop was at Beal Átha na Slua at 3.30 p.m. From thence to Cionn Átha Gad at 5.30 p.m. where food was consumed by the hungry and pints by the thirsty.

The bus was safely on board the boat at 8 p.m. and a lively session of traditional music and song was soon under way upstairs in the bar. This session thrived until 12.15 a.m. when we landed at Caer Gybi. The singing bus rolled its way through the Welsh night and arrived at Pwllheli at 2 a.m. where the proprietor of the Crown had tea, sandwiches and an open bar in readiness for us.

Satharn, 4^ú Samhain: After breakfast we set off for Trawsfynydd to visit the Nuclear Power Station. Though well aware of Welsh grievances about English exploitation of their natural resources (which was described to the group) and of the general controversy surrounding the question of nuclear energy, we decided it would be worthwhile to visit such an installation and gain some appreciation of how it works. The array of technology on the outside was really impressive as was the amount of Welsh which could be heard in its midst.

From Trawsfynydd we headed for Portmadog where we spent the afternoon shopping. Those who weren't shopping watched the All Blacks snatch a victory from Ireland. At 5 p.m. we headed for Beddgelert, a beautiful village situated at the point where three valleys meet. Our main activity here was spent paying respect to the famous hound, Gelert, which was mistakenly killed by its master who thought he had attacked his child whereas in reality the dog had killed the real villain, a wolf.

At 10 p.m. that evening we had an O'fche Cheoil, where Welsh and Irish gathered together to compete in music and song. The Welsh won - but then they had been carefully organised beforehand. The night started with some beautiful harp music to be followed by two Welsh folk singers. Eventually all had their turn and the notes rang out until 3 a.m.

Dé Domhnach, 5^ú Samhain: The hardy few arose in time for mass in Welsh at 8.30 a.m. After breakfast the morning was spent getting acquainted with the local citizenry over pints of bitter, Guinness, light & brown ales.

After dinner we set off for a trip on the Ffestiniog Narrow Gauge Railway. This was a fantastic experience; the variety of scenery encountered on the trip was impressive - river scenery, mountain scenery, forest scenery, lake scenery & pastoral scenery at different stages of the trip.

At the end of the line, we set off on a trip to Bala, Dolgellau and Llangadfan. The spot at Frongoch where where the 1916 leaders were interned was saluted as we passed - though no memorial exists there to remind the English (or the Welsh) of its former infamy.

In Llangadfan, the Powys Welsh came to greet us and to mark their welcome with beautiful Welsh singing. Two girls who took part can speak a respectable amount of Irish - having spent 5 weeks in Spidéal earlier this summer. The atmosphere in the old Inn where we were entertained was terrific and this combined with the spirit and quality of the Welsh singing really crowned the entire occasion.

Dé Luain, 6^ú Samhain: British Rail couldn't accommodate us on the Dún Laoire route so we had to return via Abergwaun and Ros Lár. This gave us an excellent chance to see the South as well as the North as we travelled along Cardigan Bay through Aberystwyth and Aberteifi.

We eventually arrived back in Spidéal, after a stop in Cluain Meala, at 2 a.m. on Tuesday morning.

Bhí gach duine tuirseach ach sásta.

Seán Ó Drisceoil, An Spidéal.

AMNESTY CALL

In October Amnesty International called on the Dublin Government to reconsider its decision to reject most of the major recommendations of the Ó Briain Committee on safeguards for people in Garda custody. The Committee was set up a year ago to examine what additional safeguards were needed to protect people in Garda custody and also to protect the Gardaí from unfounded allegations. Amnesty made particular reference to the Committee recommendations about questioning of an arrested person and on the

presence of a solicitor. They believed access to a solicitor to be a fundamental right. They also argued that the recommendation for a "custodial guardian" if implemented would greatly enhance the effectiveness of any complaints procedure. The Ó Briain Committee recommended that "reliance on confessions and self-inculpatory statements should be lessened". Amnesty noted the Government did not comment on this issue and went on to say that it "believes that reliance on confessions and self-inculpatory statements is disturbing and would like to point out that in many systems of law a conviction cannot be based on a statement made in the presence of the police officer only (as opposed to a judicial or other outside authority), if that statement is later denied or withdrawn by an accused."

Amnesty claimed that continuation of the present procedure would "Maintain an incentive to obtain confessions and self-inculpatory statements, which, as experience shows, can easily lead to the use of undue mental and physical pressure."

MONEY, MONEY, MONEY

The proposed European Monetary System (EMS) and its implications for the Irish State and its economy continued to dominate the headlines in recent months.

In September Finance Minister Colley was reported as being optimistic that progress would be made on how the EEC could help less prosperous states such as Ireland meet the demands of the proposed system, and a figure of £650 million in aid transfers was mentioned as an illustration of the amount needed to enable Ireland to participate. Early in October the Central Bank introduced restrictions on loans for personal consumer spending over a six month period and announced credit curbs to be placed on house loans and on borrowing for speculation in land and property. It was stated by the Minister for Economic Planning and Development, Dr. O'Donoghue, that one of the main reasons for both the timing and extent of the bank credit squeeze was the possibility of an independent Irish £ by next January. This was in the context of preparations for the EMS. If the UK did not join the EMS and Ireland did, there would be a break with sterling and the Government did not desire a situation which the Irish £ might have to be devalued against the UK £. This meant that the balance of payments situation should be in a healthy condition and that inflation should be under control. Later in the same month the prospects of a link with sterling receded when it was reported that the British Cabinet was likely to support entry to the EMS (but might have difficulties in getting this through the House of Commons). Reports at the same time indicated that the Irish Government's intention to join the EMS seemed beyond doubt.

At the end of October the Central Bank informed all commercial banks that it would no longer provide them with price quotations for the value of the Irish pound against the dollar in forward exchange markets. This was interpreted as meaning that the Central Bank would no longer guarantee the parity of the Irish pound with sterling in the forward exchange markets and as an indication that the Central Bank was laying concrete plans in advance of a break in the link with sterling. A report published by London-based foreign exchange specialists at the same time predicted a break. In early November however, a team of economic experts (!) in Brussels adopted a report which fails to meet Ireland's request for £650 million extra aid over the next five years. This still did not dampen the enthusiasm of Mr. Colley who after talks with the West Germans said that he still hoped that with West German support a package of economic aid measures to enable Ireland to join the EMS could be worked out - and there the position stands at the time of writing.

Would the EMS actually benefit Ireland? There are

those who greatly doubt it. Mr. M. Mullen, General Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union has come out against membership and argued that: "it is naive to seriously expect that a meaningful transfer of resources will ever take place from the rich to the less well-off States in the EEC, in the light of our experience of the grossly inadequate social and regional policies of the past few years."

Mr. Mullen stated "The Government has attempted to gloss over the negative impact of a European Monetary System by appealing to Irish nationalism."

Mr. Mullen said that the ITGWU urged the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to give immediate and urgent attention to the whole issue of EMS and its consequences, ---" this was necessary "in order that the interests of the Irish working class may be defended."

He concluded: "We have had enough of the EEC over the past five years to know that it is basically hostile to the interests of the working class. To now contemplate a European Monetary System, as it is presently envisaged, is to add insult to injury."

"IT'S MORE THAN WORDS"

Bord na Gaeilge, the State Board with vague responsibilities towards the Irish language has launched an advertising campaign supposedly aimed at promoting the Irish language. These ads. take the form of some snatches of conversation in which one or both participants throw in a Goodbye, Hello, or perhaps a number in Irish. This is followed by an ad, jingle something like the title of this piece or "It's part of what we are", etc. It is difficult to believe that anybody could be serious about this farce. Do they really believe that even if the whole population of Ireland said "Slán go fóill" simultaneously the future of the language would be ensured? That about £150,000 should be spent on such tomfoolery when so many negative developments have taken place in recent years in relation to the language in the mass media, education, and other spheres makes matters worse. One can only be drawn to have serious doubts about any real role for Bord na Gaeilge other than that of putting up some sort of a show while in all the really vital areas where progress could be made the language is phased out or downgraded.

However one positive undertaking the Bord has been engaged in has been the setting up of a new professional Irish Theatre Group, "An Comhlacht Drámaíochta" in conjunction with the Arts Council. The group gave their first performance in early November at Eigse Rosmuc, in the Conamara Gaeltacht. The Eigse (Cultural Festival) was held to commemorate the Irish author and essayist, Pádraic Ó Conaire, who came from Galway and who died fifty years ago, and whose writings broke new ground in Irish literature. Appropriately enough the play performed was a dramatised version of one of his most famous works, "M'Asal Beag Dubh".

THE CELTIC LEAGUE AMERICAN BRANCH has been re-structured to include the concept of local chapters.

There is now a Greater New York Chapter and a Philadelphia Chapter. Members of the C.L. in other parts of the USA have expressed interest in forming similar groups. Those who would like information on joining a chapter of the American Branch or forming their own should contact the Branch Secretary Sheila Dwyer (address on p. 24).

For the purpose of a better co-ordination of Celtic League activity in the USA there will be many advantages in joining not only the Branch but one of its chapters. It has to be clear however that, as in other branch areas, a member is free to register with any secretary he/she may choose, in which case it is to him/her that the fee should be sent and from him/her that CARN will be received.

SYMPOSIUM AT MONTREAL

Celts of all persuasions turned out on Saturday, 28 October, for a well-attended symposium at McGill University, sponsored by the Canadian Celtic Congress and the Montreal Celtic Cultural Society, entitled "Celts Here and There/Les Celtes ici et là".

The programme, a comprehensive one, consisted of six presentations:

"The Wild Man in Gaelic Tradition" by Dr. Gordon MacLennan.
"Some Reflections on the Great War Pipe of the Gael" by Kenneth McKenna.

"Celtic Art and Crosses" by Prof. George Johnston.

"Canu Penillion" by Undeg and Iwan Edwards.

"The Irish Contribution to Quebec" by Robin Burns.

"Poesies et chansons pour un combat" by Yann Plunier with the contribution of Gwenael and Wanig and Herve Konan. (This latter demonstrated the struggle for survival of the Breton language.)

French translations were available for the first five and English translations for the last paper.

All lectures were of the highest quality with regard to presentation and content as witnessed by an attentive audience which stayed until the end of the symposium. Two of the lecturers travelled a considerable distance and all gave freely of their services.

Many participants adjourned to a Breton restaurant "Triskell" owned by CCC member, Ronan Lescoat, and the day ended with a very successful pan-Celtic ceilidh where the entertainment, as always, was given exclusively in the Celtic languages.

IRISH BOOK SHOP IN LONDON

If you live outside Ireland and are finding it difficult to obtain books on Ireland then try the Irish Democrat Book Centre. The shop is probably the best of its type in England or Wales, its stock covering Irish history, politics, culture, Gaelic, songbooks and novels in English and Irish. Situation: 283 Greys Inn Road, London WC1 (near to King's Cross Station). 'Phone (01) 837-4826. A book list is available for mail-order customers.

● Is London the best place for learning the Celtic languages part-time? In the nine miles between Marylebone and Catford there are five local authority institutes providing evening-classes in Welsh, three providing Irish, another three Scottish Gaelic, and one providing a solitary class in Cornish, - a total of over 25 classes altogether. Cornish was a new addition last year, but Scottish was offered by four institutes until this winter (let us hope that the decline has been caused by Scotsmen returning home where they can do their language more good). There are of course many other classes in the outer suburbs, but none, I believe, in Manx or Breton. Is there any centre where these are available as well?

Four may be quite enough languages for people who, we hope, are only temporary residents. It is unwise to try to learn two closely related languages such as Spanish and Italian, until one is fully mastered. No-one should try learning two P-Celtic (Brithonic) languages at the same time; and to attempt Irish and Scottish simultaneously would produce complete confusion, - if not a nervous breakdown!

CELTIC LEAGUE FLAGS: sizes 3' x 1½', or 6' x 3', as well as pennants 15" x 9", representing a Celtic knot (La Tène style), colour gold on green background, can be ordered directly from Prospect Design Ltd., Montague Lane, Dublin2, Eire.

KERNOW

DYLLANS ALBANEK NOWETH

Nans yu nebes mysyow y whruk dalleth dyllans noweth 'Alba Soisialach' (Alban Sosyalek). Towl an dastum-ma, scryfys in sawsnek, yu dhe ry gwel sosyalek Albanek dhe'n pyth a wher yn an pow-na. Yma skes ynter 'SNP' ha muvyans sosyalek mes yma whans dhe 'Alba Soisialach' a omjoyn an dheu. Y'n kensa dyllans yma scryvow adro dhe: yeth Albanek; an forth dhe'n referen; John Mac Lean ha dyllansow noweth erel. Y'n nessa dyllans a vyth scryvoy yn kever an stryf Ywerdhonek. Un dasssryf 45d. (lyther-doll synsys) a-dhyworth Box 5, 45 Niddry Street, Edinburgh, Alba/Scotland. B. R. W.

CORNISH GROUP

There has been much talk lately about a new group from Cornwall, BUCCA, who have recently completed a very successful summer making a tour of the Festivals and various Celtic gatherings which occur at this time of year.

Their appearances included the 'Festival des Cornemuses' in Lorient (Breizh), the Morgat Festival (Breizh), the Celtic Congress in Carmarthen (Cymru), the Pontardawe Festival (Cymru), and 'Yn Chruinnaght' Ramsey (Mannin), which, together with numerous radio performances by the group, has enabled many people to hear the music which would otherwise have remained in Museums and faded memories throughout Cornwall.

The group are the first, and as yet, the only performers to concentrate their attentions to the music of Cornwall, and do so on a miscellany of instruments including of course, the Celtic Harp, Bombarde, Fiddle, Croder Croghen (a sort of Bodhran), and a few tin whistles, as well as an Accordion, two Mandolins, a Mandola, Tenor and 5 string Banjo's, guitar, bones and a Zither.

The Group's presentation of Cornish music has obviously proved a popular formula, resulting in a flood of requests for their appearance, and for their records, although the Group have not actually recorded an album yet.

I certainly wish BUCCA luck with their future tours.
C. D.

CORNISH NATION

The latest Autumn edition of Mebyon Kernow's publication, 'Kenethel Gernewek' ('Cornish Nation') and the first under the new joint editorship of Julian Holmes and Peter Prior has a 'breath of fresh air blowing through it' in the form of an article putting the case for a Cornish Republic. The writer wonders how many people in the national movement have seriously considered the idea of a Republic even though the M. K. Policy Booklet assumes Kernow will be ruled as a Constitutional Monarchy. Another contributor looks at the possibilities of Kernow becoming less dependent on Westminster handouts presuming the approximately 400,000 people of Kernow at present receive more than they contribute. A new idea and hopefully a regular feature of the publication is an article (plus photograph) from MK's three prospective parliamentary candidates although one would hope future articles from them will be less cautious. Dr. Geraint Bowen gives a Welsh view of the Gorseth Kernow to the 'Nation' and it seems his "greatest enthusiasm was for the Noswyth Lowen" attended by a large number of young people on the evening of the Gorseth. In the Cornish section of CARN 22 the 'Nation' was criticized for its spasmodic appearance so now is the right time to give the new editors our best wishes and hope they will obtain the co-operation from the MK membership which is essential

if a success is to be made of the publication. 'Cornish Nation' from Trewolsta, Trewirgie, Redruth, for 25p each, plus post, or £1.50 (incl. post) for four issues. Contributions to the paper c/o 11 West St., Liskeard.

J. A. T.

PAN-CELTIC FESTIVAL

Although this year's Perranporth Pan-Celtic Festival held during the first week of October failed to seek prior publicity (in Kernow anyway), it seems the organisers were pleased at the interest taken in what was after all the first attempt at co-ordinating such an event in Kernow. [This first festival was organised by members of the Kernow Pan-Celtic (Killarney) Festival Committee but not officially by the Committee itself. Next year it is to be put together by the Committee.]

For information about the Kernow Pan-Celtic Festival and/or the group BUCCA write to Mervyn Davey, 'Cley Ylow', 13 Tresawla Court, Tolvaddon, nr. Camborne, Kernow.

PALORES ("The Cornish Chough")

A new and very professionally produced conservationist and pro-devolutionary (?) magazine has recently been published in Kernow. Named "The Cornish Chough" because, the leading article says, its purpose is to live up to its less well known name 'Fire Raven' and to light fires under those who would try to undermine what is best in Cornwall. The first issue contains articles on tin mining, the dangers of nuclear energy, sketches, cartoons and an interview with a political figure.

More Westminster Candidates?

Since the review of the Westminster political scene in CARN 23 several new prospective parliamentary candidates have joined the fray in Cornish constituencies. Another 'British' party The Ecology Party (little bit pro-devolutionary) have announced their man for the St. Ives area. In North Cornwall the Ecologists have made a pact with the Cornish Nationalist Party. The CNP who now have only one candidate (in Truro) are to urge members in North Cornwall to support The Ecology Party and they in turn will encourage support for the CNP in Truro.

I. T. W.

● Pieter Huisman, The Cornish Nationalist Party's European organiser represented the party at the conference of the Federal Union of European National Minorities (FUEN) held in Luxembourg in October. The conference dealt with the role of minorities in the Europe of the future and Mr. Huisman pressed home the point that Cornwall should form a single constituency in the forthcoming European Parliamentary elections. He also called for help in preserving Cornwall's cultural identity. He distributed CNP publicity material to delegates attending the conference, in particular the new Cornish stamps the party has just issued.

An Forth, a 24 page reneotyped magazine of political thought published by Mebyon Kernow twice a year. Available from Len Truran, Trewolsta, Trewirgie Hill, Redruth, Cornwall. In Nr. 3: M. K. and the Trade Unions; M. K. - the opposition party; Cornwall's Legal right to Internal Self-government; a.o. No Price given.

"AN WERYN" Kernow's radical magazine produced six times a year from 23 Basset Street, Redruth, Kernow. 20p each + post, or £1 for 6 issues. (£2.10 N. America) incl. post.

CORNISH MUSIC

Although many aspects of Cornish Culture and National identity have either held their own or, as in the case of Kernewek become much stronger since the opening years of this century, Cornish folk song and dance cannot be said to have thrived.

Some eighteen months ago various individuals involved in the Cornish movement began to feel that they should gather the apparently few fragments that remained and use it along side of the not inconsiderable number of songs composed since the beginning of the present revival. This rather arrogant assumption by people such as myself, that our forebearers totally neglected their own folk traditions in the face of two hundred years of anglicisation was fairly quickly brought into question; and it now seems that there is considerably more material available than was at first thought possible. For those of you that are research minded some of our sources are listed at the end of this article.

In working one's way through various collections, books and manuscripts a fascinating picture of Cornish folk song and dance emerges. The oldest form of music in Kernow seems likely to have been that used for street and processional dancing. The most well known and documented of which are those associated with Padstow's May Day festivities and of course the Helston flora. In fact different forms of the flora can be found right across Kernow as far north as Bude. Most principle towns and villages can boast to have had their own particular dance, such as St. Ives with it's 'guise dancing' or the recently revived Bodmin 'Riding'. In many cases I am afraid that we have little left but the tune and a few hints about the dance, e.g. the 'Cock Dance' of St. Just and St. Kevern's 'Ram Buck's Head'. These traditions are frequently associated with pagan ritual and feast which, considering that Kernow became Christianised at an early date, would suggest substantial antiquity.

Although carols have come to be associated with Christmas, strictly speaking the term applies to a lively dance tune that is customarily played or sung at any feast, Pagan or Christian. In Kernewek the word carolly implies "a round dance to sung music" and traditional Cornish carols are almost certainly the descendants of the street dances mentioned in the previous paragraph. There remains today a strong carol tradition in Kernow which still relies largely on oral transmission. Some towns such as Padstow and Redruth have collections of carols unique to them. This tradition has been richly augmented over the centuries by such prolific composers as Thomas Merritt. By looking over the older carols especially those that are (or were once) in triple time it is felt that the budding Cornish instrumentalist may find a source of dance tunes.

Before the reformation, anglicisation was limited in Kernow and strong linguistic and cultural links were maintained with Breizh. Small communities of Bretons lived along the south coast of Kernow and the Celtic they spoke would have been barely distinguishable from that of the native Cornish. It therefore comes as no surprise to find that some tunes of acknowledged antiquity seem to have a certain 'Awheseth yn Mytyn' and 'Dons Pluvak'.

Sadly we have but a handful of traditional songs passed down to us remaining in Kernewek. It is interesting to surmise just how many tunes lost their original Cornish words and acquired English ones as the number of Kernewek speakers declined. Certainly Cornish variants of well travelled British and Irish songs often have changed or badly fitting words to completely different tunes. Offsetting this dearth of material in Kernewek, language scholars

and enthusiasts were penning little ditties and folk songs as far back as the seventeenth century and continue to do so today. Some of the eighteenth century examples take the form of political comment like Tonkin's 'Ny vynnyn pe an mona sur' which comments on English taxation.

As far as the preservation of Folk Tradition is concerned Methodism was a very mixed blessing. Undoubtedly we lost a wealth of dance and song due to its attitude towards 'devil music'. Conversely some dances and many march tunes have been perpetuated through the medium of the 'Sunday School Treats'. It would seem that just as his distant ancestor compromised pagan beliefs with the Celtic church by making saints of his deities so the Wesleyan Cornishman made his dances respectable by incorporating them in the 'outing' that followed the Sunday Services. These tunes were played by the village band on any instrument that could be "played walking". A tradition of Cornish march music evolved which reached its peak during the turn of the century and now forms a substantial part of our instrumental music.

One of the dances that was associated with the Sunday School Treat is variously known as the 'Serpentine Walk' the 'snail creep' or the 'snake dance'. Anyone watching this long human chain snaking around and interweaving in spirals cannot help but see a link between the dance and Celtic art form.

Perhaps parallel to these 'Sunday School Treats' and geared towards less sober individuals was the Troyll which is effectively the Kernewek for ceilidh. Known in dialect as a troil or trall these were held in many Cornish fishing villages to celebrate a good catch of pilchards. The barrel would be rolled out together with fiddles, concertina's and the croder croghen (a kind of skin sieve forming the equivalent of a bodhran). The men would show off their skill at clog and broom dancing to such tunes as 'Porth-lystry' or the 'Taylors Hornepipe' to prove that they could hold their beer until they couldn't. These troylls also featured a "fishwives dance" which, in that it comprised solely of women, seems to be fairly unique.

Troylls continued to be held until just within living memory and it is certainly hoped that the idea can be revived and used as a platform for the songs and dances that are coming to light and as a medium for their perpetuation.

Mervyn Davey.

Sources:-- R. Dunstan, Lyver Canow Kernow, 1929 and Cornish Dialect and Folk Song 1932. Inglis Gundry, Canow Kernow 1966 and Now Carol We 1966. J. Worden, Carolyow Lodenek, 1971, Garnens, Gay by Fred Hammer (Efdss). Old Cornish Carols by Barnicot Old Cornwall Society journals, British Journal of Folk Song (Efdss) Various Mss in Redruth Local Studies Library and Truro Museum, and village pubs!

Lyver Mollothow, Lyver Bennothow, (Book of Curses, Book of Blessings), a collection of 12 drawings, using the most common Celtic patterns, by Pieter C. Huisman and Lucie Israel. In the foreword: "I have wanted to express my feelings of brotherhood with the Celtic nations". Captions are in Cornish, the foreword is bilingual. Published by CNP Publications, Treliſpen, Gorran, St-Austell, Cornwall. Price 60p post free. Cornish "postage" stamps are available from same address. These were designed by Pieter Huisman, when on his summer holiday in Cornwall, using the classic work on "Old Cornish Crosses" by Arthur G. Langdon.

THE CORNISH BANNER: organ of the Cornish National Party, quarterly, 40pp. Price 50p Subscription £2.50 (Overseas, airmail, £4.00). From: Treliſpen, Gorran, St. Austell, Cornwall. Articles outlining the Party's policies, about life in Cornwall, reviews, letters etc.

MANNIN

SEYRSNYS NY GAELTACHT

Some autonomy is proposed for the Irish Gaeltacht. But it is doubtful whether the people of the Gaeltacht will have much control of their destiny.

Ta arganys mooar er ve fo raad ayns Nerin rish tammylt nish mychione reiltys-hene da'n Ghaeltacht (ny da'n Ghaeltacht ta foast er mayrn). T'eh baghtal ry akin nagh vel ny coonseilyn-condae kiarail veg mychione yn chengey Yernagh. Dy jarroo, ta gombeenyn dy liooar er ny coonseilyn shoh nagh vod fuirraghtyn rish baase ny chengey. Goll rish Mannin, ta coonseilee higgiey da sleih milley yn cheer lesh thieyn ta goll er troggal ayns buill mee-chooie. Ny smessey na shen, ta baljyn beggiey goll er troggal kiart sy Ghaeltacht hene, ayns Conamara, myr sampleyr. Ta ny baljyn beggiey shoh goll er troggal da turryssee berchagh as da sleih berchagh elley ta laccal thieyn souree. Dy dooghyssagh, ta'n sleih shoh loayrt Baarle ny lomarcan, as gyn ourys ta ram jeu soiaaghey beg jeh Yernish. Myr ta fys ain ooilley, ta'n lehid jannoo assee mooar da'n chengey. Ta fys mie ec sleih ny Gaeltacht hannah dy vel reiltys ny hErin cur shirveish-beel da'n chengey. She yn red sjerree dy vel Baarleyryn ard-vooarlagh cheet dy chummal kiart ny mast-oc.

Mannagh vees pooar politickagh ec ny Gaelgeyrin hene, bee yn chengey brisht dy bollagh ayns sheeloghe. Ec y traa t'ayn, chan nel monney Gaelgeyrin dooghyssagh loayrt Yernish rish nyn baithchyn. Tra ta sleih elley briaht jeu cre'n fa nagh vel ad gynsaghey yn chengey ghooghyssagh rish ny paitchyn oc, ta ny Gaelgeyrin shoh freggyrt dy jean ny paitchyn gynsaghey Yernish dy liooar ayns ny scoillyn.

Tra va'n steat Yernagh currit er bun ny smoo na lieh-cheead blein er dy henney, heill ram Yernee (dy aggairagh) dy beagh staydys ard ec y chengey ayns tammylt beg. Agh cha row rieau pooar ny argid ny ooashlid kiantl lesh yn chengey sy lhing jeianagh. Ta Yernish foast coontit y ve myr chengey ny moght sy Ghaeltacht (as ny chengey jeh elite cheumooie jeh'n Ghaeltacht).

Dy beagh ny Gaelgeyrin ayns Conamara, Tir Chonaill as Ciarrai abyldy stiurey ny cooishyn oc hene, veagh caaeennagh ayn nagh voghe Yernish baase myr chengey vio yn phobble ayns ny buill shen. Mannagh veese pooar erbee oc, son shickyrys bee Yernish marroo roish foddey. Fy yerrey hoal, ta reiltys ny Poblaght er ghra dy der ad Udaras na Gaeltachta er bun. Shoh sorch dy reiltys ynyddagh da'n Ghaeltacht ta ny share na veg. Agh ta lught Chonradh na Gaelilge (yn Commeeys Gaelgagh) as sleih elley goaill aggle dy re crout reiltys t'ayn. Ta'n Commeeys gra nagh vel pooar dy liooar ec yn Udaras. Erskyn ooilley, cha bee pooar-plannal ec yn Udaras, as myr shen cha bee eh abyldy lhiettal ny fir verchagh ta troggal thieyn souree sy Ghaeltacht.

Red elley, cha nel reiltys Divlyn er ghra c'raad ta ny rheyynnyn-cheerey Gaeltacht! Ta Divlyn foast coontey paart jeh'n Ghoaltaght y ve ny Ghaeltacht, as myr shen bee ny Baarleyryn foast abyldy 'reayl cass er bolg ny Gaelgeyrin.

Brian Mac Stoyll.

In 1969 the dilapidated site changed ownership and planning permission for housing was sought. The Local Government Board (LGB) refused the application as the "area was a headland of high scenic significance". The Peel Town Commissioners were at that time desperate for new high class housing development and asked the LGB Planning Committee to review their decision. At review the Planning Committee agreed to the building of 18 dwellings and attached a number of conditions. For a number of technical reasons no development took place but planning consent was renewed at yearly intervals until 1976 when the LGB refused to renew it further.

In 1977 a fresh plan was submitted to which Peel Town Commissioners raised no objection but the LGB rejected as the development was too near the coast line. A further plan was submitted showing the houses the necessary 45 metres back. By this time there was a certain amount of objection to the whole idea in Peel. This opposition was conveyed to the Peel Town Commissioners which together with a newly elected member rejected the whole idea. The Local Government Board took no notice of this opposition and passed the plans. Peel Town Commissioners appealed against the decision to the Planning Appeals Tribunal and lost.

Public Opposition continued to rise and in September 1978 a petition signed by twenty ratepayers asking for a public meeting on the subject was collected by one of the Commissioners and presented to the Chairman at the monthly commissioners' meeting. At the same meeting a letter was read from Mec Vannin also opposing the scheme. In confused circumstances the Commissioners offered Mec Vannin a hall, free of charge, if they wished to organise a public meeting.

At this stage Peel Planning Protest Group was formed. The committee were all Peel Ratepayers, the chairman was a commissioner and the secretary a member of Mec Vannin. They set about organising the Public Meeting which was held on the 10th October 1978. Over 300 hundred people packed out the largest hall in Peel. Unfortunately but not surprisingly neither members of the LGB nor Members of the House of Keys (M.H.K.) involved with the decision were able to attend. The meeting was chaired by Mr. Eddie Lowey, MHK, who commented on the Island's oversized building trade and the need for stricter planning controls. Also on the platform was Sidney Cowin, chairman of the Society for the Preservation of the Manx Countryside. His most interesting point was that there may have been a legal fault in the planning procedures. The mood of the meeting was one of anger and the need for the fight to continue. The motion that 'no further building should take place on the headlands' was carried virtually unanimously.

Following the meeting legal advice was sought and although many points were felt to warrant further action it was decided that a legal action to upset the decision was unlikely to succeed as the original decisions were taken in secret. We continue to fight legally against specific plans as they come up, e.g. roads and sewers. We have not lost yet because at the time of writing (5.11. '78) the site is still undisturbed. The power of the local press and radio will continue to be used to keep people informed and in the meantime the local commissioners elections are being contested in a further attempt to continue the battle.

M.C. Hannah, H. Hannah.

PEEL PLANNING PROTEST GROUP

The Old Battery Site on Peel Headlands forms the northern point of Peel Bay and overlooks the old town of Peel, with its beaches and Castle. In years gone by this site was used as a Naval Training Battery and latterly as a Holiday Camp.

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The Fianna were a "warrior society" or "Guild", with entrance rules and rituals. The conditions of acceptance, and required skill levels, have been preserved for us. There were rules to free the entrant from civil and kin ties and protect from feuds arising from guild membership. No dowry could be claimed if a Fianna member married. Rules governed conduct while a member and imposed duties and fealties which could not, in honour, be ignored. These are the conditions from which stem, in part, the "legends" of chivalry; and why the Fianna are remembered and the essences of their code preserved to this day. A major section of the rules deals entirely with physical fitness and the skill levels necessary for acceptance into the Fianna. They cannot have applied in total at all levels of Celtic society. What they did was to perpetuate an elite warrior group- from which chiefs and kings made appointments to state advisor position, or armed force leadership. Men in the lower ranks had to be able to train and make a personal choice to attempt the tests to open the road to "advancement" ("fortune seeking"). For the sons of the nobles the route was somewhat easier than for a farmers son but he only took somewhat longer to "graduate". The noble had a slave as his armsbearer, and even the slave, in the end, could train and graduate. Looked at coldly the personal performance tests had to be designed to prove a range of skills and would tax the performance of the personell of the elite corps of any modern army. There has been a tendency to heroic exaggeration with some recorders of this tradition. For example, there can have been few better tests of skill in a late Bronze Age Society than that one man, in a shallow pit, with a shield and staff as aids should be able, successfully, to parry nine successive spear casts from a moderate range. The key word is "successive". That all nine in a volley be parried is one example of the tendency to heroic exaggeration. There were tests of evasive and tracking skill in wooded country. The tests were fair and passable. Failure meant rejection and a chance one day to try again, not death, in all cases (but accidents do happen, even today). When one recalls the modern demands for a high level of education, initiative, and ability, the Fianna rules of acceptance make sense, and the memorisation of the twelve books of poetry requirement fits the pattern. We are told that November to May was a closed season for Fianna work. From May to November they did whatever work the chief or king decided, and were paid "in kind" as laid down in the code. In the off season they hunted, feasted, visited and discussed the chances of battle between various "alliances"; and using the pedigree and fosterage data, evaluated the chances of success for the opposing sides, and where honour and kin ties decreed they should offer their support. They were a fit, disciplined, battle worthy fighting force. The graduate won the title of "champion", and a chance for a political future, even Ard-Ríship, given time.

The internal political effects and consequences of the existence of the Ancient Fianna on the politics of the Celtic world, and the role of the accolade holders, the "Champions" has only been poorly, if ever, explored. In a society of castes, rank and slavery their influence was central, and enormous. The Sociology of it is fascinating. Totally missed has been their influence on maritime matters. It can only be the Fianna who organised and supervised the naval side of political affairs, before the Veneti came and ultimately widened their scope and role; probably by setting in train two processes: first, the building of a type of larger, hard-shelled vessel, along side the "Brendan" type vessel, and providing a

series of adventurous ways to employ it (as a fleet venture), and the Fianna, for "profit" and revenge. Before the Veneti exiles came, in England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, the Celtic peoples used the sea for travel and trade. They moved armed forces to support alliances, or raid enemies, by sea, but the battles, mainly, were fought ashore. That world was remote from the civilisation that was Rome and more "arcadian". Then in ten years Caesar conquered Gaul and the effects began to close the gap between the level of development in these Islands and what it had been in Gaul and the Veneti catalyst produced a change in Irish Seas, creating a New Model Celtic seapower, emerging to haunt Rome. The reasons for hate multiplied when Caesar invaded Britain in an effort to kill the threat, secure his territory and destroy the menace from the unconquered remainder of the Celtic world. That menace had obsessed him. He mentions in "De Bello Gallico" that the Gaulish Confederations had support from the sea. It came from various places on the coasts he could not reach then, and also we can be sure, from across the channel. It is far from certain, at that stage, that any came from Ireland, or Wales, but not impossible. This is why he had to build a fleet and defeat the Veneti at sea. It could not end there; Caesar knew they would strike back from across the Channel. That fact, more than a desire to expand Rome's sway, forced him to build a barge fleet and launch the first invasion of Britain. His military intelligence was poor, but he soon realised he had to try anew, and try to conquer all Britain. Rome never succeeded in doing that, the job was too big for the available resources. To hold their gains they needed to build a Wall, then another. They could build no walls on the sea. The Roman fleet was given the task of defending the sea link with Britain and the Colonists. It could also try to protect the Biscay trade route, but the seas were too wide. The raids and the "illegal" (non taxable) trading went on, and for a long time.

It is not possible to say whether the system of naval operations evolved directly from the Veneti influx, but there probably was a style or method of oversea travel native to the Irish seas, related to, but of an earlier model to the Veneti's own. This they adapted and encouraged to evolve by example and tuition. We can also work out what this early form was; and it became the "weekend venture", really a one to five days voyage capable of placing a smallish party ashore almost anywhere from the Outer Hebrides to Cornwall or Brittany. To facilitate groups from far away, nature provided a chain of Island stepping stones all the way to Spain.

Under Veneti Tutelage, the Fianna "champions" became "commodores", and the profit and adventure voyages became longer, went farther afield using the new larger wooden hulls we postulate. The venture could last from one to three months, and everyone got home (who survived the excitement) before winter set in. In time, and in a few cases, the whole sailing season could be profitably spent in travel from Ireland to the Hebrides to Shetlands and on to Norway, or South to Mannin, Mona, Cornwall, The Scilly Isles (a key location), Ushant, Belle Isle, Noirmoutier and the Isles de Yeu, de Re and d'Oréron, in the old Veneti territory. Here also began possible contact (and intelligence nets) with disaffected types from Spain; and from the Scilly Isles to the Solent, contact and intelligence from the German Seas and the chance to plan much bigger, longer duration, operations in the future as the net of staging bases and holding areas developed. In time, the Veneti were not needed, and their descendants merged into the populations of those original havens they found refuge in.

There was no shortage of such places, for one, Howth Head, figures on one of the oldest maps from antiquity, known to the original Phoenician Explorers.

The final point to touch on is that there is no problem in showing how such ships were manned. We know that in the latter history of the Dalriada Kingdom certain groups of habitation provided a crew of rowers for each of the Kingdom's Galleys. Let us now look at the clearly preserved consequences of the growth of such a sea power and an Irish sea "fleet capability" once it had matured, becomes second nature.

There are two points to make; few "experts" bothered to codify the laws of naval strategy to Mahan did last century but the Caesar types, and the champions, know all this by vocal preservation, skill, training and common sense, (even in 54 B. C.)!

We moderns, with our memories of Locarno and the Washington Naval Conference Series, and the "magic" of that 5/3/1 "ratio", are only coming now to the understanding of what occurred AFTER 54 B. C. Land pressure and seaborne harassment and seizure of supplies cut the lifelines, Legio II Augusta, the last, withdrew from Kent about 406/7 A. D.

At the Convention of Drumceat in 575 A. D., tradition has it that:-

On Naval Matters:

"The High Contracting Parties are agreed, as follows: Subsequent upon the Ard Re's agreement to waive the Dalriad tributes; The responsibility of the (now independent) Dalriad Kingdom is limited to Aiding The Ard Re' in war, but they can limit their expeditions to those which could be supported by the Dalriad High King and the men of Erin, generally. the Ard Re' agrees to support him in any such venture he has to undertake. In such forays the tribute and land gains each party wins, remain theirs. The Dalriad High King retains control of his own war and merchant Fleet. The Contracting parties will assist the journeyings of each others nationals and convey and protect goods and trade in each direction over the very important shortest sea crossing from "Erin" to "Alba", etc., etc.

(These clauses were obviously to protect a prosperous inter-mainlands trade, and reduce the menace of "piracy" in the Irish Sea. That short sea route is equally important in 1978/80.)

That's it, in modern jargon. There was a Church Convention as well, and a major part of the discussions was concerned with social progress (limiting the power of the greedy bards). The Princes of the Church chaired these discussions, in furtherance of the Church's aim to spread light and order and reduce feuding between Nobles. The Church's diplomatic triumph was repeated in Whitby, between two Northumbrian Kings, by St. Dunstan; and also in Scotland, repeating St. Columba's work.

The Geographical make-up of the Dalriad Kingdom was rather unique, with a foot on each mainland, Eire and Alba. The Southern Bastion; in Julius Caesars time, was Mannin. The Northern Bastion probably was Skye, though it is possible that (Skye) island group and out to the Hebrides was a separate, allied Kingdom. The sea linked the archipelago, held these Kingdoms together, and the cement was fleet strength. The Hub of the wheel of their sea power was Rathlin. Without control of Rathlin the mainland areas tend to go separate ways, with control each half backs up and reinforces the other. The sea space provides the Breastplate, as only one mainland portion can be surprised, the Kingdom Rallies from the other to counter attack. This 'secret' may hold the key to why "North" contenders so often became Irish Ard Re'.

There were also before we pass on, several other sites where Celtic or Irish sea power could base itself, Howth, Cork, Kerry, The Shannon, Galway Bay or Clew Bay and in Tir-connail and on Innishowen and The Foyle and in Wexford, plus Mannin, Mona, & The Cymric peninsulas. But none provided the "Strategic Trap" that was Dalriada. I seriously doubt it could be equalled in the Eastern Med. Archipelagos. (Rhodes gave Rome trouble, but lacked the tactical Base, and so was isolated in the end. In modern history, the Galleys of Lorne sprang "the trap" on an English fleet.)

In dim "prehistory" the "Island Trap" stood off the "Clasis Britanniae" and baffled the Roman Admiral, who retreated. Let us look at that quickly. History says it was a major Voyage of Exploration (Reconnaissance). It was not. It was "End Game" for Rome in the clearing of the Scottish Highlands of "Enemy". Legio II Adutrix was moved to Inchtuthil in A. D. 83. The fleet sailed from the Tay in A. D. 83 and had to have a "useful" military force aboard, so the Romans used every keel they had. They were after tactical surprise and a classic nutcracker campaign, won by a seaborne landing from out of "the Blue" of the North via the Minch, land the force at a beachhead on Loch Linnhe or about Oban, and grind the Celtic force between two Roman ones, wiping out the black mark of their defeat at Pinnata Castra in the previous fighting. Remembering the fate of the Veneti, the Fianna Champions relied upon bluff and deception, for which the Celts were so famous in war. At the crunch, the Roman Admiral was unsettled by what he could not see, hidden behind the myriad Islands. He could win a sea battle with the lighter, faster Celtic craft, which tailed along behind his fleet, he could also see some larger craft from the Veneti tradition. They were remembered. He could land the troops and find the enemy at his throat, and loose his fleet. He accepted the stand off, cancelled the landing and ran south to safe waters, below Mannin, 1000 miles from the Tay. The Nutcracker plan was postponed, the "Reconnaissance news" read well in Rome. The conditions never came right again. The postponement was "for ever". The Legionary Toast was never drunk in Tara of the Kings. The Roman fleet from then on concentrated on protecting the Dover Calais Route, and the land war went on. There are no Walls on the Sea, and only rarely could a Roman land force spread the Shield Wall before the Seaborne Raid groups. As in Gaul, the Britain of Rome was changing, lost to the Celtic world. In those days, war was discontinuous, and the "actions" intermittent. A fair span of years had to pass before the political adaptation forced on the men of Eire and Alba threw up the next development. The arrival on the High Chair of one who could extend the war on Rome to the continent again, by organising the major overseas operations. Tradition gives this to Niall and Dathi, history knows for fact that the Celtic Sea Raiders took the war to France and Southern England and so faced the Roman Command with a larger version of the insoluble strategic problem they were failing to solve in Britain. Perhaps the tales are really true. Irish and Scotch forces fighting in sight of the Juras, after sailing up the Loire. If not true, then the same strategic result could have been achieved by raids on Southern England. The supply jugular of the Roman Colony in Britain was cut. The province withered away. The locals took over again. It matters not a lot where Niall or Dathi actually died, one certainly died "overseas". It took almost half a millenium but the Veneti and Gaul were avenged. West Rome collapsed. In Irish waters, local politics became top priority. St. Patrick had reached Ireland long ago (432 A. D.) Time moved on, except for trade voyaging, the network of raid

bases and staging posts was abandoned. The fleets supported various King contenders.

The next chapter was opening, The Vikings exploded seaward. Their ships were better now, their system, however, was not ALL their own, it followed on in natural fashion, building on the previous major sea power, which was now quiescent, its major goal achieved. The Viking raiders destroyed the Veneti descended wooden hulled capital ships at their moorings, in dawn raids from the sea, many they captured intact, devoted to their own use, and worked to destruction, for they knew these were the core of opposition. The "Brendan" type hulls were not a menace, so these survived and replacements were permitted. The Vikings, also, largely used ships to move force and fought ashore, but by the end of that new era also, they were fighting fleet actions in the Norse waters, against Vikings. They too, had "King-Contenders". It took several centuries before their major land force and fleet was defeated and destroyed at Clontarf; but we are entering recorder History.

Before summing up the overview, I should point to the fact that the Viking lords, like Irish ones before them, had problems with keeping the young men occupied. When a King contender of those days began his attempt to win a throne there was no problem with the young men, tasks could be found for all. For some few years after a throne was won the ritual of "progressing" to receive the loyal submissions of his new subjects and of paying off the list of i. o. u.'s kept his supporters happy. Then, with that done, some could be occupied with fortifying sites and controlling territory, the rest became a problem, unless tasks could be found overseas they would join new contenders for the throne. North of the Roman Frontier, in Celtic or German lands, this "period" can be pinpointed for every identifiable over king, the "Raid Window", through which was launched the overseas ventures. One single factor seems missing in the "German" zones. By the time of the Vikings, the warrior guild of the Fianna does not seem to exist in the Germanic world. It had become obsolete long ago.

Wherever the Vikings established overseas bases, they inherited the sea communications net and organised the new fiefdom to pay its way. Sea men themselves, they were inclined to reorganise, not kill, the sea commerce. They kept it alive in Irish waters, and in time, in these waters, after the Vikings were gone, an Indian Summer of sea power emerged, far less potent than of old yet with its highlights. This is the period of the Lords of the Isles, the Unification of Scottish throne and for example, Bruces' 33 galley and 300 people expedition from Rathlin to retake Turnberry Castle and his old Earldom of Carrick. Somewhat earlier we find, in Ireland a major Munster land and sea force in Dundalk Bay, destroying Sitric and his Kingdom. This is the Indian Summer of Celtic sea power and a period of defensive, fragmented, "local-offensive" sea power. It became also, the period of the joint action by Norse and Celtic alliances against the latest invader, the Normans.

For too long the significance of it all has been lost due to the tendency of the modern historian to treat the Viking period as a separate unity, not the last few chapters of a long epoch going back to the most early of times and prehistory, which it really is. The story of the fight against the Normans is the story of a period of transition, the beginning of modern history in these Islands, it is not the concern of this article.

CELTIC LEAGUE A. G. M.

The Annual General Meeting of the Celtic League was held in Edinburgh on November 4th-5th. It was attended by thirty members of which half were from Scotland. There were delegates from all branches except from Wales and

Cornwall (whose secretaries could not travel due to personal circumstances), but it may be pointed out that four of the participants were Cornish. Reports were presented on behalf of six branches, as well as by the Secretary General from which a considerable increase in membership and subscribers appeared as compared to previous years. There is no doubt that there is a widespread interest in the Celtic League and many readers continue to express satisfaction with the contents of **CARN**. This is gratifying to those of us who have to devote most of their free time to the work involved. The great difficulty facing our organisation is that of finding enough people to share this work. We were able to record a good financial position but in view of a recent stiff increase in costs the meeting found it necessary to raise the annual membership fee/subscription to £3.00 (to take effect immediately). John Hulme, a Cornishman, was elected treasurer.

A number of resolutions were adopted, they are given below.

Great credit is due to our Scottish branch secretary for the care she took of practical arrangements such as snacks and accommodation, which ensured that all participants had a pleasant time in Edinburgh. The Saturday night "céilí" was particularly enjoyable.

CELTIC LEAGUE A. G. M. - RESOLUTIONS

1. The Celtic League urges people of any Celtic country, or of Celtic descent, who may now be living in one of the Celtic countries within the U. K. state to vote in the forthcoming General Election in that country for the Nationalist candidates standing in the election.
2. That other branches of the Celtic League should, if asked, give help to the Scottish branch in supporting and furthering the work of Sabhal Mór.
3. The Celtic League calls on all Scottish political parties to use more than the occasional Gaelic phrase in their publicity and political material with a view to making the Scottish people more aware of their Celtic heritage.
4. The Celtic League disapproves of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the European Assembly Elections that Cornwall and Plymouth be joined in one Euro-Assembly Constituency, and calls for separate representation for Cornwall on the basis contained in Schedule 2 of the European Assembly Elections Bill that the electorates of the Euro-constituencies would be "as near the electoral quota as is reasonably practicable having regard, where appropriate, to special geographical considerations," and also on the basis of its historic non-English identity.
5. The Celtic League protests against the decision of the French Government to treat the whole of French territory as one constituency for the forthcoming European Assembly elections, thereby denying Brittany the right to elect its own representatives, and draws attention to the fact that France is the only member of the European Community to have one constituency for these elections.
6. The Celtic League views with concern the decline of the Irish language as a school subject in the educational system of the Irish state. This decline has been documented in the "Black Paper on Irish Education", co-published by the Irish branch of the League earlier this year and further substantiated by additional evidence. The Celtic League calls on the Dublin Government and Department of Education to take immediate steps to improve radically the situation to ensure that Irish is properly taught in the schools by fully-trained teachers using efficient and modern methods, with the emphasis on the spoken language.

7. The Celtic League expresses strong disapproval of the treatment worked out by Irish authorities to Irish speakers as evinced during the past year in the cases of P. O. Mianáin and Tomás Ó Monacháin which clearly show the lack of civil rights suffered by Irish speakers. The League supports the demand put forward by Conradh na Gaeilge for the introduction of a Bill of Rights for the Irish language as a measure of immediate necessity but would submit that what is required from the Government is not just a Bill of Rights for a minority but a sincere, effective and amply-funded policy of revival of the Irish Language as a normal means of communication throughout Ireland.
8. The Celtic League supports the demand of the prisoners in the H-Blocks at Long Kesh for political status. The League, while emphasising that this in no way implies even indirect sanction of the means and methods of those imprisoned would point out that a political motive underlies their actions and that this was in fact recognised by successive Westminster Governments who, until recent years, granted political status. The conditions under which they now exist can only be termed degrading and constitute a grave health hazard. We therefore add our voice to the many already raised in Ireland, both North and South, calling for the granting of special status and an end to the present inhumane treatment.
9. The Celtic League views with dismay the proliferation of pirate commercial radio stations in the Irish state and the orchestrated campaign by monied interests to pressurise the Government to issue commercial licences. We firmly support in principle the idea of local community radio stations but strongly feel that such radio stations should remain under the control of the local communities. We therefore oppose the issuing of commercial broadcasting licences and call on the Irish Government to press ahead with plans for local community radio stations.
10. The Celtic League views with amazement the fact that the Manx Language is not being generally taught during normal teaching hours but as a "club" activity outside school hours. We believe that in those schools where teachers are available our national language should become a part of the national school curriculum as a necessary part of the education of Manx children.
11. The Celtic League considers that the 1979 Millennium celebrations planned by Tynwald are a distortion of history, a waste of public money, and a tourist gimmick. The Manx Government has chosen to ignore the evidence of experts in this field of Manx history which casts serious doubt on the authenticity of the Millennium, there being no evidence to suggest that Tynwald was established in 979 or at any other given date. Whilst wishing to avoid a backstabbing anti-millennium smear campaign this Celtic League A. G. M. will support the Manx branch in an effort to make their nationalist organizations aware of the non-historicity of the "millennium".
12. That each of the Celtic countries win to a position such that their own language is the only language of instruction employed in their whole national territory, and that the particular Celtic language takes the place of the English language throughout its entire national territory.

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MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are entitled to membership. The membership fee (entitling to CARN) and the subscription rates are £3.00 for Ireland and Britain; 25FF (or equivalent) for Brittany and Continental Europe in general; £3.50 (or equivalent for non-European countries (this includes airmailing). For information about the Celtic League and An Ere Keltiek, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries:

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