LEAVING BRITTANY
EMIGRANTS and EXILES
The newsletter of the U.S. Branch of the International Committee for the Defense of the Breton Language is published quarterly. Contributions and ideas are welcome from all readers, and letters to the editor(s) will be printed upon request. Please see the back page for details on subscription and back issues.

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CONGRATULATIONS TO US!

The Internal Revenue Service of the U.S. Department of the Treasury has determined that the U.S. Corporation of the International Committee for the Defense of the Breton Language is exempt from Federal income tax under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Since our incorporation, October 20, 1981 as a non-profit organization by the State of Indiana (where I was living when the U.S. ICDBL was launched) the officers and board members have worked to put together an application for tax exempt status as a not-for-profit educational organization. Our application has been successful.

While this does not mean miraculous recovery for our ailing treasury, it does give us a certain legitimacy in the eyes of the federal government and opens some options for larger-scale fund raising in future years.

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For you it means that contributions to us (including dues) may be deducted when you file your income tax. So... now there is nothing to stop you big (and little) donors out there from being more generous. In order to continue to publish a high quality newsletter and hopefully improve on the physical quality a bit, we will need more contributions from you or more members and subscribers to help spread out our support base. Without an expansion of our financial support we will not be able to expand activities nor even keep up to the same level of production. The November newsletter is likely to be very thin... not because we have nothing to put in it, but because we cannot afford to duplicate and distribute it.

The expenses of the newsletter and all the behind-the-scenes work of keeping up with correspondence with members and interested individuals who contact us for information is funded from the tiny contributions of individuals like you. Your support is critical. We need more of it. The $7 and $5 dues barely cover the expenses of your individual membership. A lot of other work to prepare the newsletter and keep up to date on events in Brittany requires just a little bit more. We have been limited by finances which keep us operating on a "word of mouth" basis. As time goes on, we are becoming better known and able to fill a role as an educational organization to help Americans learn about the Breton language and Breton culture. It is time to expand—to launch new projects and get dead committees off the ground (what ever happened to the ICDBL committees?—anyone out there interested?).

I urge the membership to become more active, meet with other members in your area (I can give you addresses), or minimally, if you do not have the time to get involved in an active project, be just a bit more generous with financial support to give us the resources necessary to do our job of "promoting education in and about the Breton language". There is a lot of work to be done and we could do it... if...

Lois Kuter
Secretary-Treasurer
for the U.S. ICDBL

INTRODUCTION TO NEWSLETTER 7/8

It is indeed a great pleasure to introduce this double issue of the ICDBL Newsletter which brings Brittany "closer to home" for U.S. Branch members and newsletter subscribers. Those of you who have yourselves emigrated to the United States will find many familiar thoughts within these pages. Those of you who know emigration only second hand from parents, grandparents, or more distant ancestors, should be able to better understand some of the feelings emigrants from any country to the U.S. are likely to have.

I make no claims that this will give you all there is to know about Breton emigration—it is only a quick introduction. I hope that Breton/American relations will become a regular feature of the newsletter. Bretons are world travelers and they have touched our country too, playing a part in our history and helping to create our present and future.

Lois Kuter
General Editor
for the U.S. ICDBL Newsletter
BRETON EMIGRATION - A Background

Lois Kuter

Between 1900 and 1970 emigration has taken over 900,000 Bretons out of Brittany, a figure representing almost a fourth of the population of Brittany today (3.7 million). Western Brittany--inland portions of the Departments of Finistère and Morbihan especially--led the exodus with 250,000 and 150,000 emigrants respectively. In many areas of central western Brittany the population which has left almost equals that which has remained (Coray, Tregourez, Laz, Leuhan, Châteauneuf, Spezet, Saint Goazec, Lennon, Roudouallec, Gourin, Le Saint, Guiscriff and Langonnet as examples).

Why Bretons Leave

Economic factors are primarily behind emigration from Brittany. The poverty of the mid-19th century is reflected by the fact that one out of fifteen people in Brittany was a beggar or traveler, doing odd jobs here and there to get by. Also underlying emigration was a relatively high birth rate and lack of jobs or land to take up the population growth. Small farms were continually split into smaller tracts with inheritance and small artisan industries at the base of the economy in several areas of high emigration were foundering. Linen and weaving, mining, slate quarrying and small fishing enterprises were edged out by competition from other areas of France and Europe where capital had been more heavily invested for industrial development. The first large-scale emigration from Brittany was around 1850 in the linen producing area of Uzel, Quintin, Moncoutant and Loudeac, and then near Guingamp. Between 1838 and 1946 the population of the canton of Uzel had dropped from 13,887 to 5,446. By 1880 the slowdown in slate mining in the Menez Du ("Black Mountains") sent emigrants from Gourin, Langonnet, Leuhan, Saint Goazec and Coray especially to the United States and Canada. Crisis in the artisanal fishing and related canning industries also touched off an exodus of youth on all coasts of Brittany.

Emigration to Paris

The biggest center for Breton emigrants is Paris and its surrounding area with approximately 700-800,000 Bretons joining its population between 1900 and 1970. Many have settled in the Montparnasse quarter (14e) where several cultural centers are still very active today. Ti ar Bretoned (22 rue Delambre), for example, is the site for meetings of many emigrant clubs as well as for concerts, dances and evening classes in Breton language (and even Gaelic). While early organizations for Breton emigrants in Paris were aimed at helping new arrivals with housing jobs, finances, homesickness and loneliness, organizations today--like cultural groups in Brittany--serve as a milieu where Bretons can express and reinforce pride in their identity, learn more about their heritage and history, as well as keep up

* The source of information for this brief review of Breton emigration was primarily: "Les Bretons d'Amérique du Nord, d'Argentine et d'Australie" by Grégoire Le Clech (Annuaire des dix mille Bretons, 1971).
to date on and act to remedy social and economic problems on both a personal and Brittany-wide level. The train station in Montparnasse has received thousands of Bretons in search of work, but also serves as a link back to Brittany.

**Breton Emigration Overseas**

Emigration outside of France has brought Bretons especially to the United States and Canada as the following figures show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880-1970</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-1970</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-1970</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-1970</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>500</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>110,500</strong></td>
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Interestingly enough, the nature of emigration to the United States was a bit different from that to Canada, although both had their roots in economic problems in Brittany.

**Breton Emigration to Canada**

Emigration to Canada started quite early with some of the first settlers in the 16th century. Some scholars have proposed that there was a Celtic presence in North America a thousand years before Columbus. The first certain Breton arrival in Canada came with its "discovery" (after that by Indians and Eskimos) by the explorer Jacques Cartier in 1534. Although some Bretons settled in Canada in the 16th and 17th centuries there seems to be little evidence of any Breton cultural impact on the early architecture, language or crafts of Canada.

The most important period of Breton emigration to Canada comes only in the early 1900s. This coincides with the official separation of church and state in France and is tied primarily to missionary efforts to create a strong Catholic community in Canada. The strong position of the church in Quebec brought many settlers there and Montreal today has a Breton population of over 7,000. In the early 1900s Breton missionaries worked in rural Canada to convert Indians and Eskimos and also to establish Christian emigrant colonies. Viewing the exodus to Paris (1880-1911) as a particular threat to the maintenance of a good religious life, and spurred by the separation of church and state which threatened the strong public role of the Catholic Church in rural France, priests worked to divert Bretons as well as other peoples of France to Canadian settlements especially in the prairies of Manatoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Names of towns in this area such as Saint-Brieux and Gourin-City bear witness to these pioneers' origins. Despite the hardships of travel and the northern climate, the availability of free land was certainly an incentive to farmers accustomed to the overpopulated land of Brittany.

**Breton Emigration the U.S.**

Breton emigration to the U.S. was motivated by dollars in contrast to the religious motivations which often brought them to Canada.
In contrast to the rural settlements in Canada, Bretons came to the cities and often worked in industry in the U.S. The beginning of a large emigration to the U.S. can be dated to the recruitment of Bretons (especially from the area of Gourin and Roudouallec) in 1901 by Michelin for work first in the factories of Clermont-Ferrand with later transfer to Milltown, New Jersey. In a period of 10 years, approximately 3,000 Bretons had emigrated for work in Michelin factories for salaries often six times those in France. With the closing of the Michelin factories in 1928 these Bretons found work most often in other plants in New Jersey just west or south of New York City--artificial silk and nylon mills in Lodi and Paterson, chemical plants in Passaic, or steel mills in Trenton. The work in these mills and plants was very hard, but most emigrants had some only to earn enough money to establish a better life back in Brittany—as clearly expressed in the emigrant song "Potred Breiz Izel" in this newsletter.

With an estimated 15,000 emigrants, the most important center for Bretons in the U.S., still retaining a large community, is New York. Nine-tenths of the Bretons of New York work in the restaurant business—as chefs or waiters, bus-boys or owners of the restaurant. With about 30 Breton restaurants in New York, new emigrants were taken care of and started out at least with a dishwashing job until they could establish themselves in their new home. Names of these restaurants, primarily located in Manhattan between 50th and 60th Streets and 7th and 9th Avenues, may or may not reveal the fact that they are Breton owned and operated from their names: Le Cheval Blanc, La Champagne, La Fleur de Lys, Le Brittany du Jour, Le Café d'Argenteuil, Le Café des Sports, or La Grillade, to name just a few of the earliest and best known. The important role of Bretons in some of the best "French" restaurants of New York is a bit surprising considering the rural origins of most of these now successful entrepreneurs which did not at all prepare them for such work. Like other emigrants to the U.S. from all nations of the world, success can be credited in large part to hard work and determination.

Emigration as a Contemporary Problem in Brittany

The year 1911 marks a high point in Breton population with a figure of 3,272,000 which, after a decline of 270,000 between 1911 and 1946 started to climb again as the natural gain of births over deaths was aided by a slackened flow of emigrants. Today Brittany's population is climbing again slightly. It receives more immigrants than it loses by emigration, but a close look at this population reveals that those incoming are primarily of retirement age (many of them returning emigrants) while those leaving are young people between 20-24 as well as professionals and highly educated Bretons who cannot find comparable work in Brittany for their training.

A rural exodus continues, leaving towns in central Brittany with a high proportion of older people. A case in point is Landevenne which lost 100 inhabitants between 1968 and 1975—a population of 523 dropping to 423. With only 9 children in the grammar school and retired people making up the only incoming population, the town is
not likely to grow. Out of 10 new constructions in 1978, 8 were summer homes. Rural unemployment and the difficulty of keeping a small farm going continue to create Breton emigrants who leave to find work in the cities while tourists rent or buy their land. Today young Bretons are more willing to refuse emigration and one hears the slogan "Vivre au pays" often used to cheer on those who are determined to create a life for themselves in Brittany. But the economic problems which have sent Bretons to the United States and Canada in search of dollars to build their life back home in Brittany persist.

SOME BOOKS ON BRETON EMIGRATION

Elie Gautier (l'Abbé)


Two classic works on Breton emigration. Alone, or in collaboration with other scholars, l'Abbé Gautier researched both the causes and resulting social problems of emigration and applied his scholarship as the founder of Entr'aide Bretonne in 1951 in Paris. This organization still exists today to help Bretons find homes and jobs, giving not only economic aid, but spiritual and social support as well.


Excellent presentation of facts and figures as well as some of the personal experiences of Breton emigration. Especially good for emigration to the U.S. and Canada; only passing mention of emigration to Argentina and Australia.


A very readable book presenting the history of emigrants' travels through accounts of individuals and families. The stories are largely of those who came to Canada and the U.S., but one also finds information on Bretons in various African countries, the Caribbean, New Hebrides, Australia and Tahiti. Those looking for a neat and tidy outline or concise summary of Breton emigration will be disappointed. One comes away from the book with a "feel" for a variety of individual experiences--some good and some bad experiences. But, one can also come away from the book with a sense of having been bombarded with just one too many anecdote. The book is to be highly recommended despite what seems at times to be an overly "gossipy" style. It is a fascinating presentation of the variety of Breton emigrant experiences which conveys an understanding not so directly accessible in more "factual" style.


A short and personal perspective on the history of Bretons in Canada and the contributions by Bretons to Canadian culture.
Feuilles volants (best translated as "broadsheets") have long been used in Brittany as a media to express ideas on all subjects. The earliest copies found of these inexpensively printed song texts which were sung and then sold at markets, fairs, or public gatherings, date back to the second half of the 17th century. In the hey-day of the feuille volant as many as 1,500 sheets were printed and distributed. The songs dealt with all aspects of life: current events, politics, crimes, accidents, personal laments and praises, love, morality, life in the army, or religious themes such as the lives of Breton saints. The last known peddler of these songs sheets could be found at markets and fairs as late as the mid-1960's. Now non-printed media such as records, cassettes and radio as well as concerts, festivals and dances, serve as a means of expression for singers, adding to continued publication of song texts in books and magazines. The Breton singer continues to comment on the world around him or her. Thanks to collection and archive projects in Brittany, we are able to learn from singers about the past as well.

Working in cooperation with a dozen or so collection groups and cassette documentation projects (most of which are grouped within the Atelier Régional de Communication Orale (ARCOB)), Dastum has created an archive now holding over 30,000 song texts and variants.* Started in 1978 and indexed by computer this information bank has been extended to other aspects of popular culture. Thus, a tremendous amount of information, including texts from difficult-to-find rare manuscripts or from books only in collections far from Brittany, can be easily located by Bretons interested in their musical heritage.

The text which follows, "Potred Breiz-Isel en Americ" (reproduced at least than half the actual size of the feuille volant) was distributed for a small contribution at ARCOB's information stand at the 10th Anniversary festival of Dastum, November 1982. The song recounts the hard life of a Breton emigrant in Paterson, New Jersey, and was probably composed between 1910 and 1930.

The nylon and artificial silk mills of Paterson and Lodi, both west of New York, employed many Bretons in the first half of the 20th century. As described in the song, translated for our newsletter by Reun ar C'halan, the work was hard. Other Bretons returning to Brittany have also told of the difficult work conditions in the mills--extreme heat and 8 to 12 hours of work at a stretch with only a half hour break for a sandwich and coffee. But for Breton emigrants this work was only a means of earning dollars to pursue dreams back in Brittany. The relatively high pay compensated for the hard work. The song expresses perfectly the feelings of at least one Breton emigrant, the difficulties of life in the U.S., and reasons for leaving Brittany.

* See Newsletter 4/5 for discussion of Dastum (National Tape Archives of Brittany), and Newsletter 3 and 6 for notes on ARCOB and cassette collection projects in Brittany.
POTRED BREIZ-IZEL EN AMERIC

Channec breonesk var eun ten anavezet.

1. Breman pa z'eo dute ar goañ dieter ar laburio
Evel tremen va amner, a gampunan sonin.

2. N'eo ket na barz na belec, na ker nevand scrivagnour,
Mar tenn a faizia, me o ped d'ar sieux.

3. Da zibina drezhok, egh pez zo n'eo speter
Eus ar sles a ma hellin, egl evit bre cempered

4. Monet ríu digant va bant, a sellet an daou du
Koet a zïn gant daou son, eus'hi na kanin an tu

5. Pëb. lec'h ma veill a droug, dizeum an daou gozeg
Me en lavaro dixamant, va po ar wironio.

6. Dimeus potredBreiz-Izel, a gousin d'eo'h hirlo
Fere zo dute d'an Americ, da houind doliario

7. Kuitet a n'eo imp Breiz-Izel, kaññ bro zo er bed
Levi reomp en esperance, va vont'hout d'eguelle

8. Mes kalec eo ar vez, en amsar m'eo bremen
Ar brezz a zo kent ker, diser ar basamant

9. Ar beavaz a zo ken ker, ag an dillad iwe
Ma n'hell miir ou laborrec, sevel madeg e vugale

10. Kuitet a n'eo imp aegh', egl evit eur penned Amerz
Evit beva krasno'z, pa reompfont d'ar ger

11. Treuet a n'eo imp ar mor bre, egl vueir vartoced
Diskenned e New-York, branca ker zo er bed

12. Setu-ta ni diewonted, ebarz ar vro neve
Ebarz bro ar usinio, hanved an New-Jersey.

13. Da, gento lavaro d'eoc'h, egl drevo da veus
Da veus kan d'eo'h, va rëñ n'eo brez koññ

14. Revi a reomp assemblaz, egl d'ar soudard
Ol ren brez ar Riffian, egl m'eo imp hanved

15. N'heuellomp ket mont d'an hôtel, da treibul prico
Pe assemblaz ar handant, etre en douarren a droug

16. Pa n'eo imp deelt-man eus ar ger, da houind dolliaro
N'eo ket evit o disgum, ebarz ean caleulizin

17. Na zoeit ket d'an Americ, da plaak e plujadour
Amer eñ 'k goudh arkañ, a renkler bera foz

18. Besa fur a laborrec, kont an dez ar an noci
Eb hellou krouz avecho, eur manrou ar zoeit

19. Ober brel seurt laborrecou, re louz a gallekt
Laborrec skuiuz a d'horf, pe neanu d'ar isheul

20. Tremen gant eun tam bara eur ar miñin tre d'an noiz
Na pouz evit e lont, nemien gald ar barzado

21. Dimeus ar heira laouped, a gleopm hanolo
Salesmanblelt a craiz, a je dinnito

22. Mes n'eo mont ket d'an Americ, var zigarred poemen
Deut o remp d'a laborrec, a goudh gumeen.

23. Darn abanmp xo dizeum, neus grog a bugale
Soujti bars ar galand, ton da guillânt ane

24. Seblamant a ra d'emp, b'zou galokel brezo
An jour aºñ daoudeg, lauvr d'emp kephou

25. Klevet ron dold lavarett, e remp taud dirielt
Tud a zo garent ket o frantiñ, a memez tou kollet

26. Mes me a lavar ar honted, eo an dud kalanek
Eo a zo dute d'an Americ, da houind pedia

27. Da zedel da bugale, ral d'eo'z dassadurez
A n'eo zedel o'houtan, dimeus an dimeu

28. Rel d'eo'z dassadurez vade, eñ an tamig danvrez
A ral d'eo'z kales alouz, pe sañent er vrez

29. Laborare 'vit o pugale, kaññ tra zo er bed
Ag a ra d'eo'k nerz halon, pe vrez'h ankeñnet

30. Dever eur tda a famill, m'eo ket kemanez
Mie a brez an hini a ou, d'an lavaret din'me

31. Ag me a heullo a avia, ar sëulou m'eo hellin
Mag bepced eur avia nod, neus gret plujadur din

32. Pe a s'eo'z eus nevendig, 'm diangeto a filimil
Berne'h kavenott a Amer, a tremen o exili

33. Potred yannoana a zo'd lye, a viñ dimețed
Mag en dierj eñ danvrez, arg ma zant patlilet

34. Darn e ma o遏制zed, beped eur o portoz
A pa riztronfont d'ar ger, eñ 'fond o menez

35. Abalamour d'eun tam arhant, gozzened en Americ
Ar ré gor a vo kontant, vezg grit eun nezul

36. Fite an daou zen yannoana, a nêu beped n'eo garet
Ne o namen ean arhant, en d'ao garept

37. Kaññ ré all a zo dute h'ouz, da houind dolliaro
Evit karenf eur vooz'h, pe riztronfont d'ar dro

38. Ag n'eo ganske a renz, d'avet hir a amner
O soujil eñ bhpurdou, pe n'emzęnto er ger e

39. Me e ped potred yannoana, pere zo h'ouz 'no pro
Da thalo gant interes, darn dimeus e hontou.

40. A gound perz lemed, re kanved va tanne
Ar sav eur o la, guskeu e-sion

41. Houj pere zo attaked, gant kleved an dansou
Me e ped da zont aman, a z'eo'k houzou

42. Me e ped da zont aman, ean nevend bhaouezou
Da skizaire o twisker, dimez an ebzou

43. N' Diveaivoul ket eur breizh, a nêu gret eur dan
Digidar eus mine ar Lady, Abnecu nev KuitetFranç

44. Pa grog en 6 ar fantasula, da vont d'eur bol er ker
Pa n'ouezet ket speek engliz, neus neura da ober

45. Neure ztronfont d'ar ger, egl chasse dilated
A n'em gazont en 6 hamp, da soujil o mestrezed

46. Pere zo chomed e Breiz, an tu'all d'ar mor brez
Artiziere a z'ont ar bonher, da vont d'eo'z goutel h'ouz

47. Setz me mignaned, a zo fin d'an janson
Eur o klevet e b'zou, m'eo licazed

48. Kemal rañ eñ lavaret, ar wirizenn pen-dre-ben
Var an drog a vo ar riviñ, hervez e reloen

49. A breman lezan pe hini, da dema kozululon
Dimez an ell prepazou, scrivend en 'em janson

50. Komposed gant eur Breizh, a chom e Paterson
O katet hir e Amner, kontresit a gale

51. Evit nempast n'eo ziskieria, va hano n'orin ket
Lavaret rin seulament, ouen eur Breice-de-belout

52. Gamed e parañt Santañ, en 'eur ger va an huel
Desinted da voyaj, a vihanne n'eo havel

53. Eus an ell korn d'egle, meug goutel Breiz-Izel
A digozaned en Amerie, poulet gant an avel.

THE BOYS OF LOWER BRITTANY IN AMERICA
(A Breton Song on a Well-Known Melody)

1
Now that winter has come, jobs are scarce.
To pass the time, I write songs.

2
I am neither poet nor cleric, nor am I a writer
If I happen to make mistakes, please come to my help

3
To place before you what is on my mind
As clearly as I can in order to be understood

4
I'll go on my way, looking at each side
I'll strike with both hands, whenever I'll find the way

5
Wherever I see evil, on both sides,
I'll speak without fear, if it is the truth

6
About the boys of Lower Brittany I will talk to you today
Those who came to America to earn dollars

7
We left Lower Brittany, the most beautiful country in the world
We live in the hope of returning to see her

8
But life is hard in the times we are in now
Living is so expensive, the pay is low

9
The living is so expensive, and so is clothing
So that a working man cannot raise his children decently

10
It has been quite a while since we left our country,
So as to live more happily when we return home

11
We have crossed the wide sea like real sailors
And landed in the port of New York, the largest city in the world

12
And so we have arrived in the new land
In the country of factories, named New Jersey

13
First of all I will tell you about our way of life
About our way of doing things in the cheapest manner

14
We all live together like soldiers
Living like the Riffains*, the name we are called.

15
We cannot go to the hotel to eat our meals
Otherwise our money would melt between our fingers

16
If we have come so far away to earn dollars
It is not to spend them in hostleries

17
Don't come to America to look for fun
Here in order to earn money, one has to be sober

18
To be sober and to work, by day and by night as well,
Without sometimes being able to get a moment of rest

19
Doing all sorts of work, dirty and hard,
Work tiring for the body, or damaging to one's health

20
Manage with a piece of bread from morning till night
And you will have but the wine from the sky to swallow

21
From the most beautiful birds, we hear names
"Salesman bitch a crazy", and others from them

22
But we did not come to America in order to visit
We have come to work, and to make money

23
Some of us are married, have a wife and children
Think of the heartbreak, leaving them behind

24
We seem to see them still
With tears in their eyes, saying goodbye to us

25
I hear some people say we are debauchers
We don't love our family, we are lost people

26
But I say the contrary, it is the most courageous people
Who have come to America to earn something

27
To raise their children, to give them an education
To raise themselves from poverty

28
To give them a good education, and a little property
Which will be of help to them when they enter life

* Riffain: Riff, a mountainous province of Morocco. Its inhabitants were fierce warriors who long resisted all French attempts to occupy their land. The word "Riffain" refers to a hard life.
To work for your children, the most beautiful thing in the world
It gives you strength in your heart when you are distressed

The duty of the father of the family, it's not it,
I pray the one who knows better to let me know

And I will follow his advice, as best I can
For good counsel has always pleased me

There are a few who have their family with them
They find the time shorter, they spend in exile

There are also bachelors who would have married
Had they had the property before they went abroad

Some of them have girlfriends still awaiting them
And when they return home, they will carry out their plans

Thanks to a little money earned in America
The old ones will be happy, they will have their nest

Between two young people who always loved each other
There was only the money that came between them

Many others still have come to earn dollars
In order to get a household when they return home

And it is a comfort to them, when they find the time long,
To think of the pleasure when they find themselves at home

I pray the young men who are still in their country
To listen with interest to some of my words

And when you have read or sung my song
You will do as you wish, after thinking it over

You who are victims of the sickness of dancing
I pray you to come here, and you will find the cure

I pray you to come here for a few years
To rest your legs of the pleasures of the dances

I don't know a single Breton who might have danced a dance
With a Miss or a Lady since he left France

When they get the fancy to go to a ball in the city
If they don't "speak English", there is nothing to do

Then they return home like dogs with their tails cut off
And they shut themselves in their room thinking of their girls

Who have stayed in Brittany, on the other side of the ocean
Perhaps they will have the good fortune to return to see them

There, my friends, is the end of my song
Those who have heard it sung will be comforted

I think I have told the truth, the whole truth
About the good and the bad, according to my rule

And now I leave everyone to draw their conclusion
From all the words written in my song

Written by a Breton living in Paterson
And finding the time long, sad in his heart

So as not to declare myself, I will not say my name
I will say only that I am from Brie-de-l'Odet

Born in the parish of Sant Toz, in a town on the hill,
Destined to travel since I was small in my cradle

From one corner to the other, I have seen Lower Brittany
And I have come to America, pushed by the wind

A Breton in America

Translated into English by
another Breton in America,
Reun ar C'halan
AN INTRODUCTION TO YOUENN GWERNIG

L. Kuter

Youenn Gwernig came to the United States in 1957 at the age of 32. His reasons were not different from those of other Bretons who had preceded him or who followed later. With a sister already in New York, emigration seemed the best means to solve the difficult problem of earning a living. But there was also the problem of "feeling at home" at home—an uneasiness which was perhaps more subconscious than conscious. Although today Brittany seems alive with a youth determined to revive their heritage and create a new one of their own, in the early 1950's Bretons concerned about the future of their nation might well have felt disheartened. Some felt it would be better to feel like a stranger elsewhere.

Arriving in New York, Youenn Gwernig worked as a dishwasher and waiter, but most of his 12 years there were spent using his wood-working skills in a factory which reproduced Louis XV style furniture—a job of dull assembly line work and three hours of subway commuting each day. With the supplemental income of his wife Suzig who worked in the coat check of a bowling club, the Gwernigs were able to provide for three daughters—Annaig, Mari-Loeiza and Gwenola—and indulge in some of the taken for granted comforts of American life. But the money ran out when Suzig's mother (also in the U.S.) needed hospitalization and an operation. Without insurance, the bills piled up. In 1965 mother, daughter and granddaughters returned to Brittany while Youenn stayed behind to pay off the debts.

By the time he got back to Brittany in 1969, the debts were paid and he was as poor as when he had left Brittany, but Youenn Gwernig had also become known and respected in Brittany as a Breton language poet. If the United States holds memories of long and hard work hours, it also holds memories as the place where he really started to write—and his writing was in Breton. During the years in New York Youenn Gwernig combed the Breton collection of the New York public library and sent for books from Brittany. The return mail carried his poems and stories to Al Liamm.*

Residence on Ryer Avenue in the Bronx introduced Youenn Gwernig to the unmelted pot of urban American cultures. We meet the people of his American experience in his songs, poems and stories. But, one of Gwernig's best known acquaintances in the U.S. was another Breton, Jack Kerouac, whose family (Le Eris de Kerouac) traces back to the Côtes-du-Nord before its arrival in the "New World" in the 18th century. Born in Lowell, Massachusetts, Kerouac was proud of both his Breton and Native American roots.**

Youenn Gwernig is not known in Brittany today, however, because he befriended a famous writer. He is known in his own right as a singer, poet, and wood sculptor, as well as defender of Breton freedom to be Breton. It was the desire to be Breton in Brittany as well as the desire to rejoin his family that took him back in 1969 to stay. A sense of freedom was immediate. In an article written in 1980 about Gwernig, Yvon Le Vaillant recounts how, at 6 a.m. on his
first morning back in the town of Huelgoat in the Arrez Mountains of central west Brittany, Youenn ran down to the lake bordering the town and yelled "No subway today!" Rassured by the echo of the lake he went back to bed.*** Since his return to Brittany, Youenn Gwernig has lived in a small village just outside Huelgoat—a singer, poet and sculptor who loves long walks in the wild countryside and forests of the area. He continues to sing and to write and to insist on the freedom to be Breton in Brittany.

The freedom to be a Celt is an important theme in all of Gwernig's writing. It was in the anonymity of American crowds and the greyness of New York City that he came to write down many of his thoughts about his own identity, his feelings for his native country, and the experience of emigration. We have two contributions to this special newsletter which present Youenn Gwernig to you. First, the poem "Harlu" ("Exile") which speaks for itself. This poem has appeared in the Breton language journal Al Liamm as well as in Yann-Ber Piriou's bilingual Breton/French collection of poetry, Défense de cracher par terre et de parler breton.**** Upon request, Youenn Gwernig has supplied us with an English translation for this newsletter.

The second presentation of Youenn Gwernig is by means of a review of his novel La Grande Tribu by another Breton emigrant, Hervé Thomas (who is also responsible for the cover of our newsletter). Much of La Grande Tribu was originally published in Breton in Al Liamm as a series of short stories. The review will tell you that Youenn Gwernig writes for many other emigrants who have crossed the sea to America.

Notes

* Al Liamm comes out every two months and is available by subscription c/o: Yann-Ber d'Haese, Pont Keryau, 29290 Pleyben Brittany (France). See the U.S. ICDBL Newsletter No. 2 for a description of this important Breton language publication.


HARLU

Tud harluet, meuriadou ha meuriadou
a-bed hento ar bed
tud harluet strewet tro-war-dro
kaset davet ar broioù estren
evel chatal,
tud harluet o hadañ en un douar eneb
ar greun a gresko d'ober ur vleunienn
hañval ouzh hini an estren,

DISPI hec'h ano
(met den ne ra van)
miziou ha bloavezhioù tremenet
ouzhpenn tregont
do heul ar pempet deiz, lonket,
"Krevet eo an diouganer
ha krevet mat, loñ la.
Krevet eo an diouganer
gant e sac'had!"
Ret eo sentin da benn ar Stad
se 'zo ur roll hag ul lezenn
a-berzh Doue hervez ar veleien;
tud, paourkaezhig tud,
ha gouzout a rit-hu petra fell d'an Aotrou?

EXILE

Exiles, tribes after tribes
treading the paths of the world,
people roaming all over
taken to foreign lands
as dumb cattle,
sowing in hostile soil
a seed that will blossom like the
foreigner's bloom

and named DESPAIR
(but who cares?)
fleeting months and years gone by
more than thirty
even the fifth day, gulped down,
"The prophet's conked out,
all washed up, lon la,
the prophet's conked out
all boozed up!"
One must obey the Chief of State
it's a law
a sacred law said the priests:
men, poor men,
how can you tell the Lord's design?

Aide-toi et le ciel t'aidera
(sikour a reont anezho o-unan, ar gisti)
Got mitt uns,
In God we trust,
ha ni?

Denig, denig,
na leñv ket war eskern da bobl
strewet tro-war- dro d'ar bed;
sentet he deus d'he mestr;
pobl kredus
pobl kreñv ha gwan war un dro
pobl harluet
er broioù estren
hag en he bro.

1963

Man, little man,
do not weep over the skeleton of your people
scattered all over the world:
they just obeyed the master
your credulous people
your people gone
to foreign countries
and exiled
on their own land.

1963
LA GRANDE TRIBU. Youenn Gwernig (Paris: Grasset, 1980)

Review by Hervé Thomas

Among all the reasons compelling a Breton to emigrate, there is one that stands out. Some of us who have emigrated are conscious of it, and for more of us it's all the way in the back of our minds. At one point we realize that the elements important to the realization of a harmonious and mentally and physically satisfying existence are not there. We have been denied the right to think that those elements are there.

Youenn Gwernig describes this in La Grande Tribu through the main character, Ange Rosso, a Breton emigrant to New York whose name comes from his Italian father who worked as a stone cutter in the quarries of western Brittany. Ange Rosso cannot forget the reasons that made him leave his nation. Not unlike Youenn Gwernig himself, he was a native Breton speaker, an accomplished piper, and a person directing his life according to the natural tendencies that make Celts behave, adapting their own cultural, emotional and physical capabilities to their natural surroundings. Ange Rosso has undoubtedly a Celtic atavism.

"The worst was the sudden transformation of mentalities... like, all of a sudden everybody was ashamed of what they used to be... I do not believe that I am one to put the bottom on the ball. I had even dreamed of a Breton Nation which would have found again its memory, its culture, its pride, in order to finally get hold of its history and open itself to the future. But not the future that was starting to develop under my very own eyes, and was coming to look more and more like a voluntary genocide. I was starting to look at myself as a remnant of a forgotten era, like a displaced person, and with all evidence as one who was rejected from his sphere. My wife, craving for modernism, left me because of my lack of social ambitions and my Celtic esoterism, predicting for me the dim future of ending up as an absolute derelict outcast. All of a sudden my entire nation seemed to feel like my wife. How soon was my nation going to leave me?" (pp. 182-183).

Ange Rosso felt then that he was lost in his own natural environment. Therefore, he took steps to evade the sights of destruction that his sensitivity exposed him to, and came to the United States. When one reads Gwernig's book, one is appalled by the traumatic experiences Ange had to face before he decided to make the move (the departure of his wife, the exodus of Bretons around him in search of jobs, and the loss of his best friend—almost a son to him—in the Algerian War). My purpose here, however, is not to describe those experiences in detail, but to help the reader be more aware of some of the thoughts and feelings that are part of the experience of Breton emigration.

For those of us who have emigrated, the fact that we did not have to deal with such tragic events does not mean that we were not aware of
the inadequacies inherent to the transformed nation in which we were
living. Some of us close to our roots tried to react against modern-
istic bureaucratic oppression by using clumsy methods, violent reac-
tions, and reckless behavior. Some of us tried to find a happy medi-
um between the modern presentations and the concrete elements inherent
to our culture, habits and emotions. But, deep down in our soul, we
knew that the principal elements which would contribute to our quest
for recognition, respect and acceptance by foreign powers and nations
(France and nations within France) were smothered by the invasion of
artificial ideas born out of modernistic greed and ancient drive for
the assertion of power over others.

The very young people in Brittany—those able to understand words—
have been listening to the older generations, and those generations
never fail to bring up stories about generations before, for it is
imbedded in their soul. But, by the time the young people get to
school they have already been exposed to a different world which of-
fers them few options—options which are only the sum of added con-
fusions. Although disenchanted by the thinking of some members of
the Breton Nation, Youenn Gwernig is clear about the options he feels
each Breton must face.

"It is the duty of our people to know whether they belong
to, and in, Brittany or not. If they are stupid enough
to let themselves be drawn into deep French waters or
other waters, it is not fair to ask the rest of the
world nations to try to correct the result of their
own listlessness ... (Page 264, in answer to a
situation where terrorism was presented to Ange Rosso
as a means of exposing Brittany to the rest of the world),

For those of us who have become conscious of our heritage before or
after leaving our nation, it is very easy to think and act as a mem-
ber of the Breton Nation. We cannot speculate about the outcome of
the thinking of the next generation and the generation after that.
However, we do feel that Brittany will never cease to exist as a
Celtic nation with its own identity.

By now readers may have given up hope for a succinct review of La
Grande Tribu. Nevertheless, the above comments are necessary to ex-
pose readers to the true reasons of Breton denial of their own iden-
tity when at home and when travelling to find smaller communities of
their own in which they can act as Bretons, speaking Breton, and in
which they will gain a sort of experience that will be appreciated
the day they are back where they belong. Emigration is not an easy
choice for any of us; but as soon as we choose to leave, we end up
being with individuals from our own nation seeking the warmth that
was lacking in our own surroundings at the time we left. We do find
it instantly as soon as we meet other Bretons in places where we can
relate to each other. As people belonging in the same place—Brittany
—all of a sudden we are aware of our own identity. Those who never
spoke Breton try to find every excuse to come up with a few words,
even though when they were within the French State boundaries their
Breton accent marked them as idiotic "Ploucs" and, out of shame and
insecurity, they denied their own identity.
Youenn Gwernig's book is a pure rendition of Breton (Celtic) attitudes toward life, its realities, determined thoughts, and a certain way of looking around and living one's life rather than letting it simply go by unnoticed. His presentation of Ange Rosso's experiences (and through them, some of his own) are expressed in a typically Celtic manner, with Breton wit, irony, optimism vs. pessimism, and a fatalistic sense of humor which stresses the importance of living and expressing oneself within the boundaries of actual realities. Youenn Gwernig's sense of humor tends to be very subtle, but very understandable for those who are prepared for it; for others it may be taken as a bitter satire of the world in which we are living. Youenn Gwernig is never confused about issues, values, and forces. His attitude cannot be simplistic. He expresses this thoughts with a true understanding of the difficulties of communicating with concerned but ignorant individuals. It is poetic, realistic, humorous, sad, and a pure definition of a Celtic way of dealing with adversity. The whole story is written with an ironic undertone. Gwernig has rendered in a foreign language (French) the particular style in which a Breton speaker expresses himself. He has described with rare accuracy the life of every Breton in New York, for the form is the same for each one of us—only the details are different.

His book is more than a novel. It is a reflection in an excellent literary style of the life, soul and hopes of a real Breton.

Bibliography and Discography of works by Youenn Gwernig:

Poetry collections:

An Toull en nor (le trou dans la porte). Locmaria-Berrien:

An diri dir/Stairs of Steel/Escaliers d'acier. Locmaria-

Novel:

La Grande tribu. Paris: Grasset, 1980. (To be translated
into English? - rumors of possibility)

Youenn Gwernig regularly contributes to various Breton language publications, most regularly Al Liamm.

Records:

Ni hon unan. Arfolk MK2. 45 rpm.

Distro ar Gelted (return of the Celts). Arfolk SB309, 1974
E kreiz an noz. Velia 223 0045. 1977

Youenn Gwernig. Production People, 1980.
ORGANISATION DES BRETONS EMIGRES (O.B.E.)

L. Kuter

The O.B.E. (Organization of Breton Emigrants) was founded in 1970 in the spirit of Morvan Lebesque's statement: "La Bretagne n'est pas un bloc racial, mais une conscience et un volonté d'être".* In fact, this organization is a federation of several dozen Breton organizations as well as individuals (primarily in France and Belgium) working to build ties between Bretons dispersed throughout the world and to strengthen links between emigrants and Brittany.

Since its beginnings the OBE has stated its objectives as follows:

- Defense of the Breton language; creation of courses in emigrant communities, support of Diwan (especially through support of a Diwan school in Paris); promotion of Breton language literature and publications.

- Defense of Breton culture, traditions and virtues through support of the language, but also in giving people a sense of pride in music, dance, and costumes which express the Breton culture.

- Refusal to accept the French government's administrative amputation of the Department of Loire-Atlantique from the rest of Brittany. Active protest of this arbitrary division of Brittany.

- Protest against arbitrary jailing of Breton militants and detention without trial in contradiction to international declarations of human rights. The O.B.E. has condemned the violent tactics sometimes chosen by Breton militants but also the violence perpetrated by the French State on Bretons.

- Support of the families of Bretons victimized by the central government's arbitrary jailing of protesters through aid to Skoazell Vreizh (an organization to financially aid political prisoners' families).

- Emphasis on the need to face up to the roots of Breton problems in political and economic realms. Use of the talents and skills if Breton emigrants to change the economic and political order for a better world, not only for Bretons but for all minorities and oppressed peoples.

At its last general assembly in December 1982, a theme of action was chosen for 1983 to add to the ambitious projects and aims presented above: the return of Breton culture to Brittany. In Brittany, as in many colonized parts of the world, some of the most beautiful art, furniture, costumes and other material expressions of culture have found their way to collector's walls or museums outside of Brittany --often with the complicity of the people themselves who had learned
to despise their own "backward" culture in preference to the "modern" culture brought by outsiders and presented to them in schools and the dominant media. As Bretons recognize the beauty of their own heritage, they seek to bring it to life again in Brittany, and to stop the sale of their heritage. Along the same lines the O.B.E. will continue and intensify its efforts to help youth especially who want to do so, return to Brittany to find work and live there.

Anyone interested in further information concerning this organisation is invited to contact its General Secretary:**

Jean Cévaer
55, square de Camargue
78310 Maurepas FRANCE

* "Brittany is not a racial block, but a conscience and a will to be." Morvan Lebeque is well known in Brittany for his book Comment peut-on être breton? - Essai sur la démocratie français. (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1970). For Breton emigrants as well as some who never left Brittany, this book is often cited as a trigger in a rediscovery of Breton identity.

** I could supply interested persons with some preliminary information (in French).

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BISKOZH KEMENDALL

Yann Plunier* (translated from French by John Callahan)

To celebrate the 450th anniversary of the discovery of Canada by Jacques Cartier, festivals are going to be held in Gaspe and Winnipeg. Yes, you read that correctly. There will be a festival in Winnipeg. There is also talk of a trans-Atlantic race between Quebec and St. Malo. You are aware that festivals will take place in Gaspe, but you are ignoring the fact that festivals will also be held in Winnipeg. Why in Winnipeg, you ask yourself? The answer is simple: the grandfather of the mayor of Winnipeg is originally from St. Malo and a descendant of Jacques Cartier. That should be sufficient enough reason to hold festivals in both cities, shouldn't it? If you find this reasoning ridiculous, you can reassure yourself, because in reality there will be nothing in Winnipeg.

In contrast, something equally ridiculous is getting underway in France with the consent, at least tacitly, of the governments of Canada and Quebec. In the name of my Breton compatriots in Canada, I would like to denounce this action here and now!

The Jacques Cartier exposition, which the Quebec Museum is in the process of preparing, will first be presented in Quebec, and then,
at the end of 1984, it will be transported to the Vendée section of France to the city of La Rochelle. As we say in Breton, BISKOAZH KEMENDALL, which roughly translates to "it's not possible." However, even though the mayor of La Rochelle is not Breton, he has the advantage of being a member of the government, and he has used his position to attract this exposition, which should have taken place in St. Malo, to his city. This is an embezzlement of heritage.

This is curious, but we, as Bretons and owing to our Celtic logic, would never think of hijacking an exposition on Samuel de Champlain, who was born in Brouage in the Vendée, to St. Malo in Brittany. But, everyone has his heritage.

Certain people would like to believe that this adoption of Jacques Cartier by the Vendée is strictly a matter of internal French politics, but this is just not so. This adoption was granted with the consent, at least tacitly, of the Canadian government and the government of Quebec. The latter agreed to transport the exposition, which has been entrusted to the Quebec museum, to La Rochelle, and the former by giving $1.6 million to the Quebec Corporation 1534-1983, is in part responsible for financing this exposition.

Even if this were an issue of internal French politics, couldn't we demand that our governments practice their own principles of non-interference and non-indifference? So, politicians, don't be indifferent.

The Bretons in Canada are enraged. After having been stripped practically all of their culture, and any objects which testify to the fact that there is a Breton culture, once again Brittany is being stripped of a part of her heritage by men who have made a name for themselves. Politicians of Ottawa and Quebec, we have only one demand. Don't be an accomplice to this crime!

* This article was originally printed in Le Devoir (Montreal), April 28, 1983.

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...and Bretons in American history...

WHAT ABOUT US?

Hervé Thomas

It seems that the average American who despises the pretentious snobbery he considers characteristic of the French, and who associates the word "French" with frivolity, arrogance, adornment, etc., all the way down to kinky sex, still has a soft spot in his heart for one man - "Lafayette" - and think of him as "The Frenchman" who saved America.
The legendary Marquis has indeed been a part of American history, and to my own amazement, very little has been said about his Celtic ancestry. Maybe going back as far as his mother would have been too difficult—she was a Breton speaker from a fine noble Breton family. Plenty can be said about his father, who was not all that "French", but that's another story.

Lafayette came here as a representative of the French state, made a name for himself and went back where his desires took him and took with him the everlasting gratitude of the American people.

Nobody would want to dim the spotlight on the old Marquis. On the contrary, one is proud of his accomplishments if one is honest in one's quest for model freedom fighters. However, there was another Breton who was more important than Lafayette. Why was this "Real McCoy" ignored?

I can see all of our readers looking at this and wondering whether the writer has gone cuckoo or whether there is something that Americans have not been grateful for or of which they are not aware.

Well, let me bring to your attention:

ARMAND TUFIN MARQUIS DE LA ROUERIE  
a/k/a "Colonel Armand"

He was a real Breton. Why was he ignored?

WAS IT: Because at the age of 17 he left Brittany for Paris, (he was born in Fougères on April 14, 1751) and entered the French Guards with the title of an ensign ... because his old uncle, the Count of Belinay made a point of introducing him to the evil pleasures available in Paris ... because he thrived on the disorder and the wild entertainment so appealing to his free spirit? The whole spectrum of gymnastics was there for his delight. So, Armand became a socially acceptable "Bad Boy" with lots of mistresses and duels to keep him in sound physical shape. If he came close to being put on the gallows, it was the chance a gentleman had to take in those days in order to escape boredom. No problems there, so ...

WAS IT: Because in 1777 Armand was drawn to the war in America? With his own money, he set sail from Nantes to the new world—three years before the Rochambeau expedition set sail from there. Armand landed there all right...on foot! His ship was sunk by an English frigate and he had to swim ashore. Once in America, he bought, out of his own funds, a commission to command and pay a troop of militiamen. For six years, he and his men, all newly landed Bretons, helped to organize the local patriots and defeat the occupying English troops in all sorts of ambushes and hard-nosed attacks that, at the time, made him notorious throughout the colonies. Because of this, Armand was made a full Colonel by George Washington on May 10, 1778. You'll find him at Washington's side facing Cornwallis during the Brandywine Battle and then again taking part in the Battles of Germantown, Whitemarsh, Monmouth and Camden.
In 1780 he was sent by the Congress to fetch supplies and seek help from the King of France. Upon his arrival, he was decorated by the King. He was successful in his mission and on June 23, 1781 he left from Brest with three vessels full of supplies. While in France, he borrowed 50,000 pounds ("livres") on his own and donated it to Congress upon his return. He then resumed his campaign and was beside Lafayette in the Siege of Yorktown.

By decision of the Congress, Armand became a Brigadeer General and received the Cross of Cincinnatus with the command of an American cavalry troop. He was then 32 years old.

OR WAS IT: Because after the Versailles Treaty (November 1778) Armand resigned from his position in Philadelphia and returned to Brittany, landing in May 1784. This Breton—the one who is asking the "why's"—will let you hang on as far as the outcome of Armand's life on the European soil is concerned. I do not yet know the answers, and some of them are rather unpleasant.

The purpose of this quick article has been to bring "Colonel Armand" to the attention of our readers. The writer of this article would very much like to learn more about him* and would appreciate hearing from readers with any information they may have.

* for an eventual publication about Armand de la Rouerie.

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AMERICAN ARTISTS AND BRITTANY

"Gypsies of Life: American Artists in Brittany and Normandy" is the name of a show currently at the National Museum of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. (through August 14th). This show was originally organized by David Sellen for the Phoenix Art Museum and was previously at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. The exhibit at the Smithsonian has over 100 paintings done between 1860 and 1910 by American Artists based in Pont-Aven in Brittany and Giverny in Normandy. Artists in Brittany included Robert Wylie, Thomas Hovenden, James A. McNeill Whistler, Clement Nye Swift, John Singer Sargent, William Louis Picknell and Daniel Ridgeway Knight.

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BRETONS IN THE U.S.

We would like to include a regular feature on Breton/American relations and Bretons in the U.S. (past and present). Contributions and ideas would be very welcome. What would you like to know? Do you have news of Breton organizations or clubs in the United States, or of Breton speakers who might be willing to help learners in the U.S. with conversational skills? There is a large community of Bretons on the West coast...any news from that part of the U.S.?
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS FOR THE C.A.P.E.S. FOR BRETON

A letter campaign by U.S. university professors in support of Breton was launched in Spring of this year, coordinated by Lenora Timm at the University of California in Davis. Approximately 70 academics teaching at U.S. institutions were asked to sign a letter (the text of which follows) addressed to President Francois Mitterand, urging him to create a C.A.P.E.S. (a certificate to teach) for the Breton language. Response to the call for signatures was good: over 50 signed letters were returned and then sent, en masse, to President Mitterand in late May. Many respondents included separate words of encouragement for this project. Whether or not our efforts will have any impact is, of course, impossible to judge; at least they should be noticed by someone at some level in the Palais de l'Elysée.

University and geographical spread among the respondents was impressive: over 30 institutions were represented, from Hawaii to Massachusetts. Many thanks to those reading this newsletter who took the time to sign and return the letters.

Lenora Timm

Letter text:

"With this letter I join other professors in American Universities in urging your government to initiate the actions necessary for the creation of a C.A.P.E.S. (certificat d'Ap-titude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second Degré) for the Breton language.

The future of the Breton language now depends on an effective program in the schools so that all students desiring to learn this language have the opportunity to do so. For the 1982-83 school year, the desire to learn Breton on the part of an estimated 50,000 young people was far from met; approximately 80% had no possibility of enrolling in a course. The distribution of hours (equivalent to 12 teaching posts) to instructors already teaching Breton--instructors who in most cases have never had specific training in the teaching of Breton--did little to alleviate the need for qualified Breton teachers. Thus, we feel strongly that the creation of a C.A.P.E.S. for Breton is a vital aspect of your government's expressed ambition to end once and for all the centuries of neglect and downright repression of this ancient language.

While we applaud your stated intentions to sustain and promote the diverse cultural traditions within France, we urge you strongly to suit action to word. The creation of a teaching certificate in Breton would not only help ensure the future vitality of the Breton language, it would also constitute an important achievement in the domain of human rights."
DIWAN

Laurie O'Keefe Fadave

After months of negotiations, Diwan, the Breton language schools association, and the French Ministry of National Education have reached a tentative agreement.

In February of this year, Mr. André Lavanant, President of Diwan, and Mr. Paul Rollin, a representative of the Minister of National Education, agreed upon a three-year transitional phase, during which time the Ministry of National Education will grant Diwan a contractual subsidy enabling Diwan to pay some of its enormous deficit. The Ministry would also take charge of salaries for Diwan teachers holding required degrees for substitute teachers (the baccalaureat). In order to receive these funds, Diwan would be required to develop a curriculum framework under the pedagogical and financial supervision of the Ministry. The opening of new schools and the division of existing classes would be subject to the "School Charter for Regional Languages and Cultures" and, therefore, would need the approval of Departmental officials (equivalent of U.S. State-level officials) and the Ministry of National Education. (Most basically in terms of location of new Diwan classes where bilingual classes, newly initiated by the Ministry of National Education, are not already in place in the school system). Should Diwan choose to open schools outside the guidelines in the "School Charter" those schools would not be subject to the charter's mandates and would receive no aid from the State.

At the end of the three-year transitional period a decision will be made to either maintain Diwan in its current private status or to integrate it into the French National Education System. Although Diwan has signed an initial agreement with the Ministry of Education, details are still being worked out. The financial burden of giving Breton children a future in their own language increases. In view of the need and demand for Breton language education Diwan has asked the state to share some of the burden of providing it—through incorporation of Diwan into the school system. The three-year agreement is a step towards an incorporation which means important benefits financially and also perhaps in terms of mutually beneficial exchanges of expertise between public school teachers and Diwan teachers. On the one hand Diwan can receive pedagogical resources and training which may aid them in their specific tasks, while on the other hand efforts to incorporate more bilingual Breton/French programs in the public schools can benefit from the experience of Diwan teachers. The potential for a fruitful cooperation is there. The potential for problems has also been recognized. Just what impact can State control have on the Diwan program, and what kind of a "price" will Diwan have to pay for State support? You can bet that these questions have been asked and will continue to be asked by Diwan officers and directors, teachers and parents.
It is obvious to all that the three-year accord brings some badly needed financial support to Diwan. Most of its funds have come from donations gleened by the tireless work of Diwan teachers, parents and friends at the festou noz and other cultural activities. Its staff is under- or barely-paid. And the demand for Breton-medium instruction for school-age children is growing rapidly. Diwan needs a reliable source of funding to keep up its current efforts, let alone to expand, which they want and need to do. The government accord will help in a big expansion of classes for the Fall of 1983; 14 new classes will be opened. These will be 8 pre-school classes (adding to 9 already in existence) and 6 primary school level classes (to add to 4 already in place). This gives a total of 27 pre-school classes and 10 primary school classes for Diwan in September.

The benefits of the three-year trial agreement seem to outweigh the risks of state support. But, the work of individuals to help fund Diwan is still critical. Although government aid offers some temporary relief to financial problems, the development of Diwan still counts on private donations. If Bretons are to have the option of education through the medium of Breton, not only at the pre-school and primary school level, but also at secondary and university levels, fund-raising efforts must continue. Diwan has been hobbled by a financial burden. The accord signed with the Ministry of National Education has loosened the hobbles, but has not removed them. YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS ARE STILL NEEDED.

For aid to classes, for teachers' salaries not covered by the new accord (7 at least), the development of special classroom materials, or the operation of Oaled Diwan (the Breton-medium cultural center) send checks to:

Diwan
Treglonou
29214 Lannilis
Brittany (France)

(make checks out to "Diwan"

or

an international money order

Laurie O'Keefe Fadave
Diwan/U.S. ICDEL
P.O. Box 171
Camp Meeker, CA 95419

Trugarez deoc'h a-berzh ar vugale vretoned. Thank you on behalf of the Breton children.

AN HERE - A Publishing Company for Breton Language Children's Books
Lois Kuter

In the Spring of 1983 several Diwan teachers decided to establish a badly needed publishing company for Breton language materials for children. Its President, Martial Menard, describes the aims of An Here ("the harvest") in a letter to members of the Diwan Board of directors as follows:
"It has as its goal the publication of books for children schooled in our language. The majority of these children are found in the Diwan schools, even though there are other children who know how to read and write Breton. This publishing company was created by people who work for Diwan--teachers--but it is open to all and we hope for the collaboration of other persons...."

Obviously, the availability of books and other reading materials is critical in learning to read and write a language. Yet, books in Breton for children are almost non-existent...understandable given the extremely limited place Breton has had in the educational system in Brittany. The aim of French education has been to teach children to read and write (and speak) French. Breton was at best tolerated as part of a quaint oral tradition. The few experimental classes of pre-Diwan days where children learned to read and write Breton have used for the most part hand-prepared materials developed by conscientious individuals for a handful of children. A more massive production of high quality materials for children in Breton is long overdue.

But, like all Breton language enterprises, a lack of financing places a block in the path of things. Let's hear some ideas from newsletter readers as to how we might help in this very important project. Do you have ideas for fund-raising projects here in the U.S.? What resources (besides cash) might be available here to support An Here? Does anyone out there have experience in the realm of childrens publications or classroom materials which might be helpful? Anyone want to do some research in this area? Send your ideas to Laurie Fadave (P.O. Box 171, Camp Meeker, CA 95419) or to myself.

A check would of course be very welcome to An Here. If you can help them out with any size donation or if you are interested in more information on their future publications, please contact:

Martial Menard  
President of "An Here"  
17, hent Kerdrezeg  
29000 Kemper  
Breizh (via France)
NEWS OF CELTIC LANGUAGES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Anne Habermehl

Since this issue is about emigration let me begin by recommending a fine book about the Welsh: this is *Americans from Wales*, by Professor Edward Hartmann of Suffolk University, Boston. It is a thorough, scholarly documentation of the Welsh emigrations to America. Hard cover, 291 pages, it is available from Octagon Books, 19 Union Square West, New York, NY 10003.

Because I live on the edge of Rochester, NY, I am hearing periodically about Rochester's six sister cities, one of which is Rennes, Brittany. A salute to each of the six in turn (the others are Wurzburg, Germany; Caltena, Italy; Rahovitz, Israel; Krakow, Poland; and Bamako, Mali) was held in June in Rochester with cultural and historical exhibits, food, dance and songs at a main downtown plaza. Next year will be Rochester's 150th birthday, and there will be further festivities involving the six sister cities.

Margot Maria de Chatelaine writes about a new Celtic group that is being formed. It is called "Institute of Celtic Studies East," address: 21 Greenlay Street, Nashua, NH 03063. This is an offshoot of a California parent, and will work with the Inter-Celtic Society in its activities. One project underway is a calendar to be put out internationally in 1984. For more information on the calendar, contact Arthur W. Ketchen at the above address or call (603) 880-3706.

"Suas Leis an ngAeilge" (Up with the Gaelic) is the motto of the New York Gaelic Society, Inc., founded in New York in 1878 for the purpose of spreading the Irish language. This information is from Robert Kennedy of 130 Park Ave., Williston Park, NY 11596, in a letter written on St. Swithin's Day, last year. This is where he got his own start in Irish in 1934. Robert, by the way, is a very entertaining and informative correspondent, and I hear from him periodically. He is more than willing to be helpful in matters of learning Irish.

On the musical front, a harp organization has just come to my attention: this is The Scottish Harp Society of America, which can be reached by writing Christina Tourin, R.D.2, Waterbury, VT 05676 or calling (802) 244-8141. Members will receive information on Scottish traditional harp music, a newsletter, affiliation with the Scottish Clarsach Society of Scotland, etc.

I have begun to give some thought to the founding of a Welsh Harp Society of America, and would be interested in hearing from anyone out there interested in being a charter member. My address is 3925 North Main, Marion, NY 14505.

One fine publication for folk harpers is *Folk Harp Journal*, P.O. Box 161, Mount Laguna, CA 92048. It is a quarterly magazine devoted to all kinds of folk harping, and Celtic harping gets a good share of attention, as it should (!).
This issue's recipe, KOUIGN AMANN (Butter Cake) is a delicious--and rich--specialty of Douarnenez. The recipe comes to us courtesy of Per Denez (with a little help from Julia Child and Company's brioches recipe (pp. 222-223)).

Begin by making the dough (the trickiest part!):

2 packages dry active yeast dissolved in
½ cup warm water

½ lb. butter melted in a saucepan with
½ cup milk

7 cups all-purpose flour
1 tb. salt
3 tb. sugar
8 large eggs

Measure 5 of the cups of flour (reserving 2 cups for later use) into a mixing bowl. Add salt, sugar, melted butter and milk, and eggs. Blend together. Mixture should be just warm to the touch; if too hot, wait several minutes before adding yeast. Beat at moderate speed for 2 to 3 minutes, gradually adding 2 additional cups flour. Mix dough until it is elastic enough to retract back into shape when a piece is pinched away from the mass. Turn dough out onto a lightly floured board; let rest 2 minutes, then knead vigorously by hand for a minute or two until smooth. Place dough in a clean 8-quart bowl or divide into 2 bowls. Cover with plastic wrap and towel and let sit until tripled in size (roughly three hours). Turn it out onto a slightly floured board. Pat into rectangle and fold in 3. Repeat and return to cleaned bowl. Cover and let rise again, this time to double in size (roughly 1 ½ to 2 hours). You may let the dough rise this second time overnight in a refrigerator. If so, let it come to room temperature before continuing with recipe.

2 cups powdered sugar
2 lbs. softened butter (that's right) sweetened-to-taste
with hazelnut (or almond) extract

Gently fold sugar and sweetened butter into dough. Do not knead. Fold in half, roll gently with lightly-floured rolling pin; fold in half again; roll again; fold in half a third time. Place either on a lightly buttered cookie sheet or round it out, and place it in a lightly buttered pie plate (metal or pyrex). Cook in hot oven (400°) for approximately 45 minutes. Watch it carefully, lest it burn! Remove from oven golden brown. Cool slightly and dust with powdered sugar.
THE BRETON CONNECTION

Jennifer Parks

We have received the following note from Lynda Hayden:

I have a Celtic shop specializing in Scottish, Irish, and Welsh goods. I'm interested in carrying Breton goods. Does anyone have ideas about what things I might stock, and where I can get them?

Please send any information you might have to the General Editor or to me. Anyone else interested in information we are able to gather on this subject is also invited to write to us.

U.S. BRANCH NEWS

Lois Kuter

It has been quite a while since I put out a call for nominations for officers and Board of Director positions (6 of them). In our by-laws we have agreed to hold elections every two years. It has been more than that since our last election. Although our present people are doing a good job, it is time to give others the chance to take a more active role. Don't be shy.

We are calling for self-nominations since serving in any of these positions is a voluntary act...you know best whether you can do it and want to do it. However, if you wish to nominate someone else, please feel free to do so and we will ask that person if he or she would be willing to run as a candidate.

Following are descriptions of the duties and responsibilities of the officers and board members. Don't be intimidated by these--you would be surprised what you know and what you can do if you want to. None of the current officers or board members are professionally trained for the work they have done with the U.S. ICDEL. These are not superhuman tasks.

Also included is a form for self-nomination. Please mail this back to me no later than September 15 if you wish to be placed on the ballot. Note: You may nominate yourself for an office and a place on the board. Six board candidates with the highest number of votes will be chosen. Winners of the president and Secretary-Treasurer positions will be automatically dropped from the count. Candidates should be members of the U.S. Branch of the ICDEL.
Elections - ICDBL Branch Officers and board members . . . cont'd.

President

The President of the U.S. ICDBL is the active leader of the organization and its chief representative in an international network including other ICDBL branches, international-level and U.S.-based language and cultural organizations, as well as individuals and organizations in Brittany who maintain a contact with us. The President should be familiar with all aspects of the U.S. Branch—committees, the newsletter, and other projects. Like the board members (described below), he/she guides policies and activities of the U.S. Branch. Obviously, a strong knowledge of issues central to the persistence of the Breton language and the state of Breton language activities in Brittany is highly desirable. A knowledge of some Breton is ideal, but not essential to the basic functions of the office. However, a knowledge of some French is necessary (or quick access to a translator) since the President must be able to respond (sometimes very quickly) to correspondence from a variety of overseas organizations and from an increasing number of individuals and organizations in Brittany who contact us for help or for information on our activities. Language competence, or access to someone with the necessary competence, is thus an important element of the President's task of representing the U.S. Branch. This is not a super-human role (even though it sounds formidable) and does not require a huge time investment. It does require a strong desire to stay informed about the ICDBL, Brittany, and the Breton language.

Note: The need for language skills depends on the language chosen by correspondents. Thus far, most correspondence we receive from Brittany has been in French, although writers may prefer to use Breton if they know that their correspondence can be dealt with in that language. Many Bretons and other Europeans know English, but by no means all. Fluency in both French and Breton would be ideal for all candidates, but a rare qualification. Lack of language skills can be compensated for by the use of translators, but this can bog down communication.

Secretary-Treasurer

This is the real "work" position of the U.S. Branch in that the Secretary-Treasurer has the responsibility of keeping accurate and detailed records of the organization and all its activities and financial transactions. He/she maintains a record of official correspondence of the Branch (whether of his/her initiative or not) and serves as the major liaison between other branches of the ICDBL, other organizations in contact with the ICDBL (in the U.S., Brittany, or elsewhere) and within the U.S. Branch. Due to the dispersion of U.S. Branch members a critical task of the Secretary-Treasurer is to keep communication lines open between officers, board members and all other members. He/she is responsible for keeping records on membership and dues and official documents and policies of the U.S. Branch (Articles of Incorporation, by-laws, etc.) A financial report is
(Secretary-Treasurer - cont'd.)

prepared at least two times yearly, or more often if needed or requested by the President or Board. The Board is consulted for all expenditures over $200 before authorization is given for this amount of treasury funds to be spent in any one transaction. The Secretary-Treasurer is responsible for the preparation of an annual report for all members of the U.S. Branch and the Executive Committee based in Brussels, Belgium. An annual report is also prepared for the Indiana Secretary of State each year (under whom we are incorporated). Because of the central role as correspondent for the U.S. Branch (shared with the President) the Secretary-Treasurer should ideally have some knowledge of Breton and a good knowledge of French; or, in the absence of these a means of quickly contacting a competent translator. The job of Secretary-Treasurer is time-consuming and requires a strong sense of organization and ability to keep communication going with a variety and quantity of individuals within and outside the United States. The ability to respond quickly to requests for information and to keep regular communication going with the President and board members is critical.

Board of Directors

The 6 members of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Branch are responsible for guiding policies and overseeing projects. During these first years of our existence the Board has also been responsible for contributing to the drafting of Articles of Incorporation, By-Laws, and the application for IRS tax-exemption. They will continue to be responsible for overseeing revisions to the Articles and By-Laws as needed (a responsibility of members as well), and for refinements in our policies and procedures. All major projects, such as the newsletter, yearly reports and special publications (such as the fact-finding report) are subject to final approval by the Board.

The decision and policy-making role of Board members requires them to have a good knowledge of contemporary Brittany and issues related to the health of the Breton language. As is the case with the officers a knowledge of Breton is ideal and a knowledge of French extremely useful given the quantity of information transmitted to us in that language. Efforts to get translations of materials can replace language skills.

Because the Board acts as a consultant and judge before U.S. Branch projects get off the ground and before publications (and sometimes correspondence) are finalized, the ability to respond quickly to request for advice or approval is very important if activities are not to be unnecessarily delayed for weeks or even months. Anyone allergic to letter-writing should not consider a position on the Board unless they are willing to make long distance calls instead (at their own expense). Board membership does not require a tremendous commitment of time, but it does require a willingness and serious effort to remain in contact with officers, fellow board members and U.S. Branch members.
THE ICDBL

The ICDBL was set up the fall of 1975 to support the repeated demands of teachers and the people of Brittany that their language be recognized at long, last, taught, and accepted as a fact of daily life by French officials and institutions. This Committee was established and operates today on a volunteer basis primarily by non-Bretons who in this way show that, while the future of the Breton language may not directly concern them, they consider it to be a cause meriting their support. The ICDBL is concerned with the defence of cultural rights; it is non-political, and open to all regardless of race, religion, or heritage. Branches of the ICDBL have been established in Canada, France, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, England, Wales, Ireland, and Australia. The United States Branch was officially incorporated as a not-for-profit organization on October 23, 1981.

NEWSLETTER OF THE U.S. ICDBL

Published quarterly (February, May, August, November), this 20-25 page newsletter is designed to inform readers in the U.S. and abroad about the Breton language and the work of Bretons to support it. Regular features include:
- news of Breton language and cultural organizations
- a column in Breton
- short book reviews and bibliographical notes
- notes on Breton language learning materials
- news of other Celtic languages and organizations in the U.S.
- news of European and international groups to defend Breton and other national and regional languages
- a recipe column
- an information exchange column
- various notes and articles on ICDBL activities.

The aim of the newsletter is to be both a source of and a guide to information about the Breton language and culture.

Subscription for 1983 (starting with the February issue (Number 6) is $5.00 for the U.S. and Canada; $6 overseas (surface mail); $7 overseas (A.O. Printed Matter rate). Note: Subscription is included in membership dues. Address all inquiries or subscription requests to the General Editor:

Lois Kuter
143 Plymouth Road
Plymouth Meeting, PA 19462 USA

Back issues of the newsletter are available as follows: (prices include postage)
No. 1 $1.00
No. 2 $2.00
No. 3 $2.00
No. 4/5 $4.00

THE ICDBL - U.S. BRANCH

The U.S. Branch of the ICDBL is a non-profit educational organization, exempt from federal income tax under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. All contributions to the U.S. ICDBL including membership dues and subscription to the newsletter may be considered tax deductible.

Officers: Robin Brändín Mackay, President
Lois Kuter, Secretary-Treasurer

Board of Directors:
- Laurie O’Keefe Fodave
- Christine Renée C. Forster
- René Galard (Reun ar Ch’alan)
- John S. Hennessey, Jr.
- Dennis King
- Lenora A. Timm

With the primary aim of promoting education in and about the Breton language, the U.S. ICDBL has initiated the following activities: a bibliography project, the development of informational packages about the Breton language and culture for use by individuals or in U.S. classrooms, work to make Breton books and journals better known and more accessible in the U.S., and participation in festivals and conferences.

MEMBERSHIP

Members of the U.S. ICDBL receive the newsletter automatically for the year of their membership. Two membership categories exist:

Voting Members have the right to cast one vote for their membership on all issues brought to vote. Groups or several individuals may hold a membership in common. Dues for 1983: $7.00.

Non-Voting Members have no voting rights but are welcome and encouraged to be active in all Branch activities. This category is primarily for those who would like to show support, but do not want decision-making responsibilities. Dues for 1983: $3.00.

Those wishing to join the U.S. ICDBL are invited to contact the Branch Secretary:

Lois Kuter
143 Plymouth Road
Plymouth Meeting, PA 19462

Persons living outside the U.S. are urged to join ICDBL Branches existant in their location. The U.S. Branch Newsletter is available to non-members through subscription.

For membership in the Canadian Branch of the ICDBL contact:
Yann Plumier
932 Pierre Viger
Boucherville, P.Q.
J4B 3W2 CANADA
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INTRODUCING A SPECIAL NEWSLETTER:

LEAVING BRITTANY -- EMIGRANTS AND EXILES

Newsletter 7/8, May/August 1983

of the

U.S. Branch of the
International Committee for the Defense of
the Breton Language

It is said of one experience that it is one of the most agonizing possible... that of having to leave the soil of your country forever, of turning your back on your heritage, being torn away by the roots from your familiar land. I have not suffered that experience. But I know of an experience equally agonizing, and more irreversible (for you could return to your home), and that is the experience of knowing, not that you are leaving your country, but that your country is leaving you, is ceasing to exist under your very feet, being sucked away from you, as it were by a consuming, swallowing wind, into the hands and the possession of another country and civilization.

Cynog Davies, 1973

Thus a Welshman speaks of emigration... within his own land. The same could have been written by a Breton.

The International Committee for the Defense of the Breton Language (Kuzul Etrevrooadel Evit Kendalc'h ar Brezhoneg) was founded in 1975 because non-Bretons were concerned with the departure of the Breton language from Brittany. While sometimes it is easy to be optimistic in view of Bretons' determination and hard work to remain Breton, there is cause for pessimism and need for windbreaks. This has been the reason for continued work of the ICDBL and the focus of the quarterly newsletter of the U.S. Branch of this organization.

The May/August 1983 newsletter is a bit different. This double issue centers on the topic of Breton emigration, particularly to North America—why do Bretons leave Brittany, where do they go, and what do they find? Besides regular features, the May/August newsletter includes a background article on Breton emigration, a note on the Organisation des Bretons Emigrés, reviews of Youenn Gwernig's La Grande tribu and books on Breton emigration, poetry and a Breton emigrant song, and a note on the 450th anniversary celebration of the discovery of Canada by a Breton.

Subscription the the U.S. Branch ICDBL Newsletter is $5 each year (4 issues) for the U.S. and Canada; $6 overseas surface mail; $7 overseas airmail printed matter rate. Membership in the U.S. ICDBL includes subscription to the newsletter: $7 for voting members or $5 for non-voting members. Send all inquiries, requests for subscription or membership to:

Lois Kuter, Secretary-Treasurer or for Canada: Yann Plunier
U.S. ICDBL
143 Plymouth Road
Plymouth Meeting, PA 19462 U.S.A.
Canadian ICDBL
932 Pierre Viger
Boucherville, PQ J4B 3W2
CANADA

Newsletter 7/8, May/August 1983, "Leaving Brittany – Emigrants and Exiles" is available for the cost of $3.00 per issue (including postage).