MICKIEWICZ, KSIEGI NARODU POLSKIEGO
AND THE STRUGGLE FOR IRISH INDEPENDENCE

Abstract. This article looks at the development of the Irish language translations of Adam Mickiewicz’s Księgi Narodu Polskiego i Pielgrzymstwa Polskiego which appeared between 1916-1920. It first traces some of the references in English to Poland, and the comparisons made between the situation that both Poland and Ireland found themselves in, that appeared in the Irish national— and nationalistic— press at that time. It looks at how a chance remark in a footnote to a newspaper article about Mickiewicz gave rise to not one, but two translations of the Księgi, by the same translator, Liam Ó Rinn (1886-1943), both based on French translations of the original Polish text. Each of these translations were to appear at a time of Irish national upheaval, namely the Easter Rising in 1916 and the Anglo-Irish War of Independence (1919-1921), and they had as their aim to encourage those fighting for Ireland’s freedom and language.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the last decade of the 19th century in Ireland the Celtic Revival got under way with the founding in 1893 of Conradh na Gaeilge ‘The Gaelic League’, whose aim it was to preserve and promote the Irish language in Ireland. For centuries, ever since the defeat of the native Gaelic order in 1603, the Irish language had been sidelined and marginalised, excluded from power and authority and from the spheres of commerce, business and education. The Great Famine in the 1840s, and the mass emigration that followed it, further reduced the number of speakers from approximately four million in the 1840s to just over 664,000 by 1891. With the founding of Conradh na Gaeilge, the Irish language was given a quasi-status of sorts that it had not had for centuries, and the League aimed to reverse the trend of centuries and encourage the Irish people to see their own language and ancient

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literature as something to be cherished and preserved. This movement coincided with the rise of the Irish nationalist movement and its wish for a free and independent Ireland, which would eventually lead to the Easter Rising in 1916. As such, these two movements, and their members, often overlapped, with the Irish language being frequently used in order to emphasise the differences between the Irish and the English; after all, if there was no difference between the two countries, then what right did the Irish have to demand independence? It was, therefore, all the better for the cause of independence if the Irish had not only their own distinct culture, as in the case of the founding of the Gaelic Athletic Association in 1884 to promote Gaelic football and hurling, but their own language too.

In was in these conditions that Poland and her national poet, Adam Mickiewicz, came to be used as a source of inspiration, and in particular his Księgi Narodu Polskiego i Pielgrzymstwa Polskiego, a text about Poland, a Catholic country, which had been absorbed by its much larger neighbours and had vanished from the political map of Europe, but which was struggling to regain her rightful place amongst the other nations of Europe. This theme clearly struck a chord with some Irish, not only those who were working for an independent Ireland, but also those who were fighting to keep the Irish language alive, and who were ideally hoping for a free and Irish-speaking Ireland. This resonance resulted in sections of Mickiewicz’s text appearing in English in 1914 and, two years later, the whole of the text being translated into Irish by Liam Ó Rinn (1886-1943). It would also appear that Mickiewicz’s text was felt to be so inspirational that the whole work, now reworked and re-edited, was re-issued as a book in 1920 during the Anglo-Irish War of Independence (1919-1921), under the new title of Leabhar na Polainne ‘The Book of Poland.’

2. IRISH FREEDOM, 1914

The Irish readership was first introduced to Mickiewicz in August 1914 when there appeared a short selection of paragraphs based upon his writings in the monthly nationalist newspaper Irish Freedom. The piece was written in English, and there were two parts, the first described as being from “The Book of the Polish Pilgrims,” and which had been ‘Translated from Mickiewicz,’ and the second as being ‘The Litany of Liberty’, but which had only been ‘Adapted from Mickiewicz.’ The article had been written by Giolla Eireann, a pseudonym used by the nationalist Aodh de Blácam (1890-1951) who had changed his name from the English Hugh Blackman to better show his nationalist and Gaelic credentials.
At the time this selection of passages from Mickiewicz appeared in *Irish Freedom*, Ireland was awaiting Home Rule and a chance to again have some say in conducting her own affairs, as a nation in her own right and not just as a part of the United Kingdom. The piece by Mickiewicz reflected this mood, calling on God to restore to dispossessed nations that which was rightfully theirs. De Blácam was to later state that he had come across Mickiewicz’s text in the British Museum and:

San Fhrainncís a léigheas an leabhar agus nuair bhí sé léite agam thall san Museum Breatnach, bhí mo chroidhe fré theine, agus dubhrais liom fhéin nach mbeinn sásta go bhfuighinn cóip dhamh fhéin agus go gcuirfhinn i n-úil do Ghaedhlaibh é.  

I read the book in French and when I had read it in the British Museum my heart was on fire and I said to myself that I would not be happy until I had got a copy for myself and shown it to the Gaels.

The pieces by Mickiewicz that he chose to present in English were lines 447-479 of section II, and lines 1312-1340 of section XVII of the *Księgi Pielgrzymstwa Polskiego*, which he presented as his “Book of the Polish Pilgrims,” and the *Modlitwa Pielgrzyma* and *Litania Pielgrzym ska* which became “The Litany of Liberty”. His selection of paragraphs for his “Book of the Polish Pilgrims” were very neutral, containing no specific cultural or historical references that would have entailed any rewriting. They concerned themselves mainly with the question of the future of the Poles and Poland, one of several nations that had been conquered by others, and asking who would be like Lazarus and be the first to arise. As there was no actual direct mention of Poland or the Poles in these sections, the Irish reader could naturally read them and think of their own country, whose people had also been oppressed and scattered, and whose country was ruled by others.

However, both the prayer and the litany were very Polish specific, containing references to events in Poland and beyond, to Polish heroes and kings, so this indeed had to be ‘adapted’. Amongst these was the God of Polish heroes who metamorphosed into a God of Irish heroes: the plaintive cry in the prayer of

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1 As Irish Home Rule was the burning issue in British politics in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the Government in London introduced a bill in 1914 that would have given Ireland its own Parliament in Dublin with powers to deal with most national affairs. However, with the outbreak of the First World War the introduction of the bill was postponed until the conflict was finished.

2 L. Ó RINN (trans.). *Leabhar na Polainne*. Áth Cliath: An Comhlucht Éireannach um Thráchtáil Eadarnáisiúnta 1920, p. x. All translations from Irish and Polish are by the author of the paper.
“Boże Jagiellonów! Boże Sobieskich! Boże Kościuszków!” became the more relevant “God of Brian, God of Emmet, God of Davis” this holy trinity being Brian Bórú, Robert Emmet and Thomas Davis, all important figures in Ireland’s fights for freedom over the centuries.\(^3\) The Polish original also referred to Siberia, where thousands of Poles were exiled after the failed 1830 November uprising, and other places where Polish emigrants ended up. This would have been of no consequence to the Irish, so the passage was rewritten to refer to a vague ‘land of snow’ and to ‘torrid plains’ instead. Furthermore, in the *Litany*, Mickiewicz called on the very Polish saints of Stanisław, Kazimierz and Józafat. The Virgin Mary was also invoked, and was described as being queen of Poland and Lithuania. Again, none of this would have had much meaning for the Irish, so de Blácam replaced the Polish saints with Ireland’s patron saints, Patrick and Colum, and Irishised their attributes, transforming Mary, for example, into the ‘Queen of Ireland.’

And it was, of course, not enough to merely change the personae involved. There would be no point in Ireland in referring to slavery and oppression under the Austrians or the Prussians; better instead to make reference to ‘servitude to the English.’ Furthermore, in order to remind the Poles in exile of the brave, but ultimately vain attempts to keep Poland free and Catholic, and not to lose hope, Mickiewicz listed specific instances from Polish history, such as the Confederation of Bar, the Youths of Lithuania, the Poles executed in Kronstadt, and the massacres in Praga, Oszmiana and Fischau. De Blácam, in order to make the text relevant for his own readership, chose various events from Irish history, equally as emotional and evocative to the Irish nation as those in Poland were to the Poles, inserting references to Drogheda and Wexford, Vinegar Hill, Antrim and Connaught, all places that had been caught up in the 1798 United Irishmen rebellion.

3. *NATIONALITY*, 1915

Almost a year later, after the outbreak of the First World War and the postponement of Home Rule for Ireland, de Blácam wrote a much more extensive piece for the newspaper *Nationality* called “Poland’s Resurrection and its Prophet.”\(^4\) *Nationality* was another of the plethora of nationalistic-minded publica-

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\(^3\) Brian Bórú (941?-1014) was High King of Ireland who defeated the Vikings in the battle of Clontarf in Dublin in 1014, Robert Emmet (1778-1803) was executed for a failed uprising in 1803, and Thomas Davis (1814-1845) was a leading member of the nationalist revolutionary group *Young Ireland*.

\(^4\) *Nationality*, July 24, 1915.
tions that flourished in this period, its main goals being the promotion of Irish freedom, language and culture. Comparisons were frequently drawn in its pages between the plight of Ireland and the fate of other small nations, and news about Poland and her destiny appeared regularly in the newspaper as well, in articles with such stirring titles as “Poland Lives!,” “The Re-birth of Poland” and, in Irish, “Saoirse na Polainne” (‘The Freedom of Poland’). In some cases the articles blatantly — and, for the time that was in it, treasonously — sided with the Germans, who were at this time the enemy of the United Kingdom, of which Ireland was a (somewhat reluctant) member. A case in point is the report on 29th January 1915, in which the Germans were praised for agreeing to re-open Warsaw University and allow tuition in Polish:

[…] while the English Government is depriving Ireland of funds hitherto expended on education [and] at the moment it is seeking […] to complete the destruction of the Irish language.

Other articles noted the hypocrisy between Britain’s attitude to Poland and the Poles and her own attitude to Ireland and the Irish language, for example:

[…] Mr Asquith pictured the oppression of the Polish language in Polish Prussia and Messrs Dillon and O’Connor must have been harrowed to hear ‘that little Polish children had to learn to say their prayers in German.’ In this island little Irish children have to learn to say their prayers in English; a man replying in Irish to the questions of a policeman is fined or imprisoned in default of payment, and a judge sitting on the Bench in an Irish speaking district threatens to put in the dock any person speaking Irish in the court […] Will Mr Asquith deal with him as he suggests the Prussians should be dealt with for the offence he alleges against them in regard to the Polish language?5

Yet another article compared the fates of the two countries and concluded that, no matter what the ‘Hun’ or the Russians had ever inflicted on Poland, no-one had ever been as brutal as the English in their treatment of the Irish.6

In a somewhat lighter vein, a certain Sean O’Connor also translated some Polish poetry, namely “Poland’s Ode to Youth” on the 14th August, and followed this up on September 11th with renditions of ‘Thou Polish Mother,’ ‘Freedom and Right’ and ‘The Lessons of Exile,’ about which it was stated that “Readers of the recent article […] will be glad of these rough translations of Poland’s great National poems.” Unfortunately, it was not deemed necessary to inform the

5 Nationality, February 14, 1916.
6 Nationality, August 14, 1915.
readers from which language O’Connor had translated the poems or, indeed, who the authors were.

In “Poland’s Resurrection and its Prophet,” his article on Poland and Mickiewicz, de Blácam placed great emphasis on the ties between the two countries, saying:

The two countries are alike in manners, in ideas, in faith, and in misfortune. The same methods of oppression have been used against each. Almost the only difference between the two is that so far the island nation has been spared the horror of partition.

He mentioned the fact that, for most people the world over, ‘Poland’s story’ had been finished until the recent outbreak of hostilities when Russia, and later Germany and Austria, promised to restore a country of sorts to the Poles, an event, he said, “which Ireland will witness with joy.” He then turned his attention to the belief that had sustained the Poles through their darkest times, namely Mickiewicz and Messianism. He briefly stated that Mickiewicz had been compared to Pushkin amongst Slavic writers and then mentioned his ‘little booklets,’ i.e. “The Book of the Polish Nation” and “The Book of the Polish Pilgrims.” He praised these as being the Gospel of the Messianist movement, encompassing a national faith and philosophy, inspiring and comforting Poles far and wide. He once again linked Ireland and Poland, seeing in Mickiewicz a Polish equivalent of Thomas Davis, the Young Ireland revolutionary, and went on to quote Władysław Mickiewicz, Adam’s son, as saying:

The Book of the Pilgrims is full of meaning for all Europe, and should be studied especially by the Irish, who are already more numerous in the lands of their exile than on the soil of Ireland.

De Blácam quoted sections of the text, showing the essence of the Messianist movement, i.e. that Poland had to be sacrificed for the benefit and liberty of all other oppressed nationalities, but that she would arise again, and de Blácam claimed at the end that the war might prove that there was more to Mickiewicz than a dreamer, and that Poland would indeed arise again. He finished up by saying:

His [Mickiewicz’s] writings may therefore be commended to those who say that the time has come, not to advance, but to abate, if not abandon, Ireland’s national claims.

It was, however, actually one of de Blácam’s footnotes that caught the eye of one of his readers:
Even Jewish nationalists have found the “Book of the Pilgrims” excellent national propaganda, despite its Catholic symbolism and have done it into the national tongue. There is (strange to say!) no English translation, and the present quotations are adapted from Montalembert’s French version, which some Gaedhilgeoir [Irish speaker] should do into Irish.

And this challenge was accepted by Liam Ó Rinn.

4. NATIONALITY, 1916-1917

On February 19th 1916 an article appeared in Nationality in Irish from Ó Rinn. Ó Rinn was an Irish language activist working in the offices of Conradh na Gaeilge. He had already produced Irish translations of works as varied as Kropotkin’s Fields, Factories, Workshops, Plato’s Apology and some of Tolstoy’s short stories and, as such, he was more than up to the task of tackling an Irish translation of Mickiewicz. Ó Rinn wrote that he had been inspired by the piece written by de Blácam and that he had been in contact with a priest, a certain Father Clement from Loughrea, County Galway, who had also been working on an Irish translation of the self-same text from the French. He wrote that Father Clement had heard that Ó Rinn wanted to do a translation of the text and so had offered his own translated pieces to Ó Rinn, telling him to do what he could with them. This was a very good idea seeing as how Ó Rinn had neither French nor Polish. Father Clement, on the other hand, had French but, according to himself, not very good Irish. And so the first complete Irish language version of Mickiewicz’s Księgi Narodu Polskiego i Pielgrzymstwa Polskiego was a joint effort based on a French translation of the Polish original. And, unlike de Blácam’s first attempts in 1914 which required some ‘adaptation’ for the readership, this was a faithful rendition of the text, keeping all Polish references and allusions and involving no rewriting for the target audience.

From the following week, February 26th, until April 29th sections of Księgi Narodu Polskiego appeared each week, entitled Leabhar an Náisiúin Pholan- naigh ‘The Book of the Polish Nation’, accredited to both Ó Rinn and Father Clement, and ending with the enticing hint of Tuirleadh le teacht ‘More to come.’ In the meantime, on March 4th, a letter appeared in Nationality in English from de Blácam, this time in his old guise of Giolla Eireann, in which he modestly drew the reader’s attention to the ‘great importance’ of the work in hand. Indeed, he felt it to be such a major piece of literature that he not only urged everybody, no matter how bad their Irish, to read it, but that they should even cut it out and keep
it. His letter gave a very brief account of who Mickiewicz was and what he, and the Ksiegi, stood for: “the greatest figure in Polish literature [who] spoke to the enslaved and partitioned Polish Nation.” He again pointed out the importance of this to the Irish nation, saying:

Today the Ireland of the East has won admission of her nationhood and of her right to a place in Europe’s future from even the most reluctant. We shall therefore read the prophecies of Mickiewicz with a double interest, firstly, because we are seeing them fulfilled so far as his own nation is concerned, and secondly, because we yet await the fulfilment of those that concern ourselves.

And, as if to further emphasise the significance of Mickiewicz and his prophecies for the Irish nation, on April 22nd there also appeared a passage from Monica Gardner’s (1873-1941) newly published book Poland: A Study in National Idealism, about Mickiewicz and his importance to the Polish nation and which would, naturally, be of interest to the readers of Nationality, seeing as how the “[…] famous Book of the Polish Nation is now appearing in these columns translated into our own language.”

There was, however, an unplanned interruption in the publication of this ‘accurate and elegant’ translation, namely the Easter Rising in 1916. Some leaders of the Irish nationalist movement had decided they could not wait for the end of the War to, perhaps, achieve Home Rule, and therefore they decided to take advantage of the current political situation to strike at Britain while she was preoccupied with Germany. After a week of fighting the rebellion was defeated, the leaders rounded up, imprisoned, and some later executed. The newspaper Nationality was closed down and Ó Rinn himself, who took active part in the Rising along with his four brothers, ended up in jail. For various reasons, therefore, readers had to make do without the last section of Leabhar an Náisiúin Pholannaigh until February 17th of the following year when the paper was up and running again, although this time Ó Rinn alone was credited with the translation.

The translation continued through most of the year, becoming more and more sporadic as it went, until November when, on the 10th, the ‘Pilgrim’s Prayer’ was published, and on the 24th the final section, the ‘Litany,’ appeared. And so, by the end of November 1917 Mickiewicz’s valuable prophetic nationalistic work had been translated into Irish, and published as an inspiration to all those who aspired for Irish freedom and the casting off of the English yoke. But it seemed that de Blácam’s suggestion of cutting out and keeping the text, which he felt deserved to

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7 Nationality, April 22, 1916.
become a permanent part of Irish literature, had been taken to heart and, in 1920, the whole of **Księgi Narodu Polskiego i Pielgrzymstwa Polskiego** came out in book form, under the title **Leabhar na Polainne**.

5. **LEABHAR NA POLAINNE**, 1920

From the very beginning of the book Ó Rinn made it clear to whom he was dedicating it. The previous translation had appeared at a time of high national consciousness and pride in language and culture and had been interrupted by the Easter Rising. This edition, in turn, was coming out in the middle of the Anglo-Irish War of Independence, and so it is not surprising that Ó Rinn wrote *Don mhuintir atá ag troid agus ag obair ar son saoirse is teanga na hEireann an leabhar so* ‘This book is for those fighting and working for the freedom and for the language of Ireland.’

De Blácam provided a *Tionnscnamh* ‘Introduction’ to this edition of the text, in which he reiterated most of what he had written before in his various newspaper articles, giving a brief history of Mickiewicz and showing how the links between Poland and Ireland and their struggles for freedom seemed to echo each other. He gives an overall account on the importance of the topic of the book for the Irish nation, seeing them as being in a similar situation to the Poles, making several references to Poland and comparisons between the fate of the two nations. In the course of his introduction he likens the importance of the **Księgi** for the Polish nation to that of John Mitchel’s *Jail Journal* for the Irish. Mitchel was a member of the revolutionary group *Young Ireland* who, caught up in the general atmosphere of rebellion throughout Europe that had been spreading in the 1840s, tried to foment rebellion in Ireland in 1848. Mitchel was eventually exiled to Australia where he wrote his *Jail Journal*, advocating revolution and emotionally identifying the individual with the nation. De Blácam was therefore, to his Irish audience, linking Mickiewicz with Irish revolutionary fervour and the rights of peoples to defend themselves against outsiders and foreign interference.

De Blácam also linked the two countries by describing the flight of the Poles from Poland after the partitions as follows:

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8 Ó RINN, p. vi.
Díbirt Mhór a bhí ann, cosuíl le díbirt na nGaedheal i ndiaidh an Ghorta nó Scaipeadh na nEabhrach i ndiaidh scrios Iarúsalamí.

It was a great banishment, like the banishment of the Gaels after the Famine or the Dispersal of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem.

He thus linked both Ireland and Poland with religious prosecution and loss of homeland, both of them being Catholic countries, and the Jews who also suffered being dispossessed of their homeland and having to leave. This linking of the Irish and the Poles, as ‘races’ looking for their own country, was not the first time that this had happened. De Blácam quoted once again the reference to the Irish from Władysław Mickiewicz, and which he had already referred to in his article that had appeared in *Nationality* in July 1915. The quote, though, was this time supplied in Irish, thus adding emotion by drawing attention to the plight of the Irish in their own endangered language.

And the Irish reader of the text would have come across a mention of the Irish themselves, making the text all the more pertinent to them. Mickiewicz, in one of the parables he tells in *Księgi Pielgrzymstwa Polskiego*, mentions the Irish in the context of the Poles. The parable in which the Irish appear concerns a father who sends his three eldest sons out into the world and warns them to behave, but they do not listen to him and end up borrowing money from a pawnbroker and drinking away their inheritance. They eventually end up in prison where they die. However, the father tells his three youngest sons to behave in the world and they obey him, and everything turns out well and good, the moral of the story being that you should listen to, and obey, your father, and not rebel and go against his authority. But who are the father and the sons and the pawnbroker who loaned the elder brothers the money?

Otóż Kościół Chrześcijański był owym Ojcem, a dziećmi starszymi byli Francuzi i Anglicy, i Niemcy; a pieniądzem dobry byt i sława światowa, a lichwiarz był dżabłem; a młodszymi braćmi Polacy i Irlandczycy i Belgowie, i inne narody wierzące.

And look, the Christian Church was the father, and the older children are the French and the English and the Germans; and the money is the good life and world fame and the devil is the pawnbroker; and the younger brothers are the Poles and the Irish and the Belgians and other peoples who believed.

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9 Ó RINN, p. xii.

Towards the end of his *Tionnscnamh* de Blácam pointed out that Mickiewicz’s vision had mostly come true by 1920, since Poland was once again a free nation. But de Blácam knew that Mickiewicz himself would not have been satisfied with freedom only for Poland, because he went on to show that Mickiewicz had an interest in Ireland’s struggle for freedom as well, and he would not have been content until both Ireland and Poland were free:

Bhí dúil mhór aige i nEirinn. Nuair fuair sé bás, fuarhas leabhar ar oscailt ar a bhórd – an rud deireannach do léigh sé – agus goidé bhí ann ach cionn de scribhinní na “nGaedeal Og.”

He had a great interest in Ireland. When he died a book was found open on his table – the last thing he read – and it was one of the writings by the “Young Irelanders.”

At the very end, de Blácam linked the countries one final time by referring to Ireland’s own long pilgrimage and search for freedom, an echo of Poland’s own long journey:

Ach níl “áit faoi ‘n ghréin,”mar adeirtear, faighte ag Êirinn fós […] Ach beidh. […] Beidh deire go luath leis an oiliethreacht ró-fhada seo ag clanna Gaedheal, agus do bhféidir nach fada go bhfeicfimid Eire Ur ag teacht ar an dtalamh […]

But Ireland has not yet got “a place in the sun” as they say […] But she will […] There will soon be an end to the too-long pilgrimage of the Gaels, and maybe it’s not long now before we will see a New Ireland coming into the world […]

6. CONCLUSION

De Blácam’s ‘prophecy’ would eventually come true, as did Mickiewicz’s for Poland. The text of Mickiewicz’s *Księgi Narodu Polskiego i Pielgrzymstwa Polskiego* clearly struck a chord with both de Blácam and Ó Rinn: a text written in Poland’s darkest hour by her national poet, promising that she would once again arise and take her place amongst the nations of Europe clearly had resonance for those who felt that Ireland should also arise and take charge once again of her
own affairs. The fact that Poland was a Catholic country dismembered at the hands of those of other religions also rang true for those of Catholic Ireland who had lost out to Protestant Britain. And if such a text was to be translated into the Irish language, so much the better. Having a different religion or culture might give one a basis to claim independence from Britain, but what better claim is there than to have one’s own language? This was clearly the motivation behind the translation, with Ó Rinn dedicating the book to those fighting for the freedom and language of Ireland, concepts which he and de Blácam clearly saw to be linked. And even though Ó Rinn’s translation seems to have been well received as a text, it was never reprinted after 1920. It might be said to have done its duty, much as the original Polish had done and, after the independence of both Poland and Ireland, there was no need for such a call to arms.

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I WALKA O NIEPODLEGŁOŚĆ IRLANDII

Streszczenie


Strečcil Mark Ó Fionnán
Key words: Liam Ó Rinn, Adam Mickiewicz, Księgi Narodu Polskiego i Pielgrzymstwa Polskiego, Leabhar na Polainne.

Słowa kluczowe: Liam Ó Rinn, Adam Mickiewicz, Księgi Narodu Polskiego i Pielgrzymstwa Polskiego, Leabhar na Polainne.