

# **AN BEALACH ROMHAINN**

LE

**PÁDRAIG Ó SNODAIGH**

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*Léacht a tugadh in Áras an Chonartha faoi bhráid  
Choiste na Cathrach, Baile Átha Cliath, mí Márta, 1974*

LE

**PÁDRAIG Ó SNODAIGH**

CLÓDHANNA TEO.,  
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH.



An Chéad Chló 1974

(Céadfhoilsithe i "Feasta", Bealtaine 1974)

*le ceannach go díreach ó*

Conradh na Gaeilge,  
6, Sráid Fhearchair,  
Baile Átha Cliath 2.

Clodóirí Leinster Leader  
An Nás, Co. Chill Dara

**"Conradh na Gaeilge (The Gaelic League) is the oldest and the farthest flung. It has branches throughout the country and overseas, and activities range from céilithe and lectures to classes, feiseanna and publishing."**

SIN A RAIBH DE THEIST ORAINN fiú sa dara eagrán de *Facts About Irish* agus ós é gur beag feis atá á reachtáil againn anois i gcomparáid fiú le líon feiseanna na dtríochaidí, abair, is léir gur rómholadh a bhí ansin—is é sin de réir téarmaí tagartha an údair, agus séard a bhí iontu sin is dócha ná tuairimí an phobail faoin gConradh.

Ciallaíonn sin ar ndóigh gur drochíomhá atá orainn dáiríre: iarsma, b'fhéidir, cumann sóisialta is caidrimh agus beagáinín beag den saol intleachtúil ag roinnt leis. Cad eile? Foras, ní gluaiseacht atá ionainn dá réir. Pointe uimhir a haon más ea ná go dteastaíonn "face-lift" ón íomhá agus go bhfuil neart agus beart na mball de dhíth leis an "face-lift" seo a chur trasna le héifeacht, le fuinneamh agus le buaine.

Ach ní hí seo an chéad am a raibh teist na spíonaithe orainn mar eagraíocht. Bhí port mar é ag an bPiarsach sa bhliain 1913 mar shampla agus i dtús 1914:

I have come to the conclusion that the Gaelic League, as the Gaelic League, is a spent force; and I am glad of it. I do not mean that no work remains for the Gaelic League, or that the Gaelic League is no longer equal to work; I mean that the vital work to be done in the new Ireland will be done not so much by the Gaelic League itself as by men and movements that have sprung from the Gaelic League or have received from the Gaelic League a new baptism and a new life of grace. The Gaelic League was no reed shaken by the wind, no mere *vox clamatis*: it was a prophet and more than a prophet. But it was not the Messiah. I do not know if the Messiah has yet come, and I am not sure that there will be any visible and personal Messiah in this redemption: the people itself will perhaps be its own Messiah, the people labouring, scourged, crowned with thorns, agonising and dying, to rise again immortal and impossible. For people

are divine and are the only things that can properly be spoken of under figures drawn from the divine epos.

If we do not believe in the divinity of our people we have had no business, or very little, all these years in the Gaelic League. In fact, if we had not believed in the divinity of our people, we should in all probability not have gone into the Gaelic League at all. We should have made our peace with the devil, and perhaps might have found him a very decent sort; for he liberally rewards with attorney generalships, bank balances, villa residences, and so forth, the great and the little who serve him well. Now, we did not turn our backs upon all these desirable things for the sake of *is* and *tá*. We did it for the sake of Ireland. In other words, we had one and all of us (at least, I had, and I hope that you all had) an ulterior motive in joining the Gaelic League. We never meant to be Gaelic Leaguers and nothing more than Gaelic Leaguers. We meant to do something for Ireland, each in his own way. Our Gaelic League time was to be our tutelage: we had first to learn to know Ireland, to read the lineaments of her face, to understand the accents of her voice; to re-possess ourselves, disinherited as we were, of her spirit and mind, re-enter into our mystical birthright. For this we went to school to the Gaelic League. It was a good school, and we love its name and will champion its fame throughout all the days of our later fighting and striving. But we do not propose to remain schoolboys for ever.

I have often said (quoting, I think, Herbert Spencer) that education should be a preparation for complete living; and I say now that our Gaelic League education ought to have been a preparation for our complete living as Irish nationalists. In proportion as we have been faithful and diligent Gaelic Leaguers, our work as Irish nationalists (by which term I mean people who accept the ideal of, and work for, the realisation of an Irish nation, by whatever means) will be earnest and thorough, a valiant and worthy fighting, not the mere carrying out of a ritual. As to what your work as an Irish nationalist is to be, I cannot conjecture; I know what mine is to be, and would have you know yours and buckle yourself to it. And it may be (may, it is) that yours and mine will lead us to a common meeting-place, and that on a certain day we shall stand together, with many more beside us, ready for a greater adventure than any of us has yet had, a trial and a triumph to be endured and achieved in common.

That is what I meant when I said that our work henceforward must be done less and less through the

Gaelic League and more and more through the groups and individuals that have arisen, or are arising, out of the Gaelic League. There will be in the Ireland of the next few years a multitudinous activity of Freedom Clubs, Young Republican Parties, Labour Organisations, Socialist Groups, and what not; bewildering enterprises undertaken by sane persons and insane persons, by good men and bad men, many of them seemingly contradictory, some mutually destructive, yet all tending towards a common objective, and that objective: the Irish Revolution.

For if there is one thing that has become plainer than another it is that when the seven men met in O'Connell Street to found the Gaelic League, they were commencing, had there been a Liancourt there to make the epigram, not a revolt, but a revolution. The work of the Gaelic League, its appointed work, was that; and that work is done. To every generation its deed. The deed of the generation that has now reached middle life was the Gaelic League; the beginning of the Irish Revolution. Let our generation not shirk *its* deed, which is to accomplish the revolution.

I believe that the national movement of which the Gaelic League has been the soul has reached the point which O'Connell's movement had reached at the close of the series of monster meetings. Indeed, I believe that our movement reached that point a few years ago—say, at the conclusion of the fight for Essential Irish; and I said so at the time. The moment was ripe then for a new Young Ireland Party, with a forward policy; and we have lost much by our hesitation. I propose in all seriousness that we hesitate no longer—that we push on. I propose that we leave Conciliation Hall behind us and go into the Irish Confederation.

B'fhéidir go raibh an Piarsach chun tosaigh ar a lán dá chomhChonraitheoirí san am :

I urged much of this five or six years ago in addresses to the Ard-Chraobh: but the League was too busy with resolutions to think of revolution and the only resolution that a member of the League could not come to was the resolution to be a man. My fellow-Leaguers had not (and have not) apprehended that the thing which cannot defend itself, even though it may wear trousers, is no man.

Lean sé ar an bport sin i dtús 1914 nuair a bhí sé ar an ród a shín roimhe agus nuair a dhearbhaigh sé

I do not know who among the Gaelic Leaguers that have joined the Volunteers has been foolish enough to

suggest that he "cares for the language merely as a sort of stimulant in the fight for nationhood". Certainly not I, I have spent the best fifteen years of my life teaching and working for the idea that the language is an essential part of the nation. I have not modified my attitude in anything that I have recently said or written; I have only confessed (and not for the first time) that in the Gaelic League I have all along been working not for the language merely, but for the nation. I now go further, and say that anyone who has been working for the language merely (if there be any such) has never had the true Gaelic League spirit at all, and though in the Gaelic League has never really been of it. I protest that it was not philology, not folklore, not literature, we went into the Gaelic League to serve but: Ireland a Nation.

Agus sin é: an náisiún atá i gceist, iomlán an náisiúin—náisiún Fhiontáin Uí Leathlobhair. *Ireland her own and all therein, from the sod to the sky. The soil of Ireland for the people of Ireland.*

Cheap an Píarsach go raibh príomhobair an Chonartha thart: ach is mó casadh a bhí le tógáil ag cúis na Gaeilge agus ag cás na Gaeilge sna blianta i ndiaidh 1916. Ba luath i réim an tSaorstáit (agus ar a laghad ceathrar as gach cúigear sa státseirbhís tar éis babhtáil ó sheirbhís na hImpireachta), a raibh giota mar seo le léamh:

It would be well for the public to inquire how much the Irish language is used in in (*sic*) "Free State Government" Departments. Gossip is current to the effect that Irish is not welcome in these Departments to the extent that the staff of the Land Commission are strictly forbidden to sign their names in Irish! (*Sinn Féin*, 17 Bealtaine 1924)

Nó an nóta a mheabhraigh mí níos déanaí an macalla gránna tragóideach ar aonchás cúirte an Phiarsaigh nuair a ghabh an Garda McGill beirt as picéad ar spidéal Leitir Ceanainn cionn is gur thug siad ceartleaganacha a n-ainmneacha nuair a d'iarr sé a n-ainmneacha orthu. "The Guard then told them they would have to give their names in English." Dhiúltaigh siad. Gabhadh an bheirt ach níor gabhadh duine eile as an bpicéad céanna a thug an leagan béarlagraich a d'éiligh an Garda Síochána (*Sinn Féin*, 7 Meitheamh 1924). Caoga bliain níos déanaí tá macallaí chomh gránna fós le clos: agus orainn Conraitheoirí cuid mhór den

locht go bhfuil seo amhlaidh—measúlacht a roghnaíomar mar eagraíocht, ní réabhlóid: is é sin nuair nach ag iarraidh teacht as an uaigh a bhíomar: is léir briseach idéalachais na gluaiseachta náisiúnta sa titim thubaisteach i líon na gcrabhbh a lean an cogadh cathartha. Cloíodh go ródhocht le taobh pholaitiúil amháin agus, dar le hAnnraoi Ó Liatháin, níorbh aon chabhair don Chonradh é Arm na Poblachta agus Fianna Fáil sna tríochaidí a bheith i ngleic le chéile ag iarraidh ceannas an Chonartha a bhaint amach dóibh féin.

Filltear ar íomhá arís. Féach nóiméad ar an ngiota seo as polasaí pháirtí an Lucht Oibre—mar a socraíodh é sa bhliain 1969:

One of Labour's first priorities will be a major review of Government grants to organisations engaged in the revival movement. Some of these groups have degenerated into cultural "civil defence" forces preparing despairingly for an event which they firmly believe will never happen. They have become middle class "tea and sympathy" circles out of touch with the average citizen. A Labour Government will channel support towards the groups which believe that the language revival depends on the renewal of community life and the economic and cultural revival of the West and are willing to put their beliefs into action.

Arís is léir gur "long haul" ar bhealach amháin atá romhainn leis an nglún sin—cé gur féidir measaim an iomarca béime a chur in amanna ar fhadáltacht na hoibre (bealach amháin leis an nuíosach a ruaigeadh é seo—agus nílim ag moladh bréaginsint ná aon rud mar é) creidim gur féidir i bhfad níos mó a chur i gcrích níos luaithe ná mar a shamhláítear de ghnáth. Is fiú focail an Chadhanaigh a mheabhrú anseo—agus é ag plé daonáireamh na bliana 1851:

Is ionann sin is a rá gur féidir teanga a chur in áit teanga eile in achar is lú ná dhá fhichead bliain. Agus dar ndóigh is léir dúinn i gceairdeannaí d'Éirinn lenár linn féin an Béarla ina bhéal mór crinnteach ag ídiú na talún leis ar íne reatha. Silim gurb easpa smaointeachais a shamhlú nach foláir na céadta bliain leis an nGaeilge a thabhairt ar ais. Mara gcuirtear na ceapannaí faoin gcrannóg in aon ghlúin amháin ní dhéanfar go héag é. Oiread is an scolb níl bioraithe againn ó 1922. Is láthair fholamh easair fhalamh, Éire Ghaeilge-bhánaithe é an Daonáireamh is deireannaí. (*An Aisling*, lgh. 29, 30)

Mar sin ná bíodh dalladh mullóige orainn faoi mhéid na hoibre ach san am chéanna ná bíodh éadóchas sin na gcéadta bliain ag creimeadh ár meanman is ár gcasadh sa riocht go mb'fhíor amach anseo an cur síos sin orainn i bpolasáí pháirtí an Lucht Oibre. Ar ndóigh arís bhí an ceart ag Ó Cadhain nuair a dúirt sé áit eile :

I know that neither Fianna Fáil nor Labour will have anything to show in the future unless constant intelligent pressure and, at times, doses of prudently administered compulsion are brought to bear on them. Their answer to everything will be more and more commissions relegated to dead letter boxes, huge dumps of fish offals for revival land lubbers, if they do not see that there is sufficient courage and determination to change caterwauling into action. (*Irish Above Politics*, lch. 14)

Is dócha gurbh é sin an paimfléad ba ghéire dá chuid i gcoinne an Chonartha dála an scéil. Agus tá rud ag teacht chun tosaigh le tamall de bhlianta anuas gur minic a lorgáitear a bheannacht dó agus sin Gaeltachtachas. Baol amháin (agus arís orainne, san am atá imithe, cuid den locht) an Gaeltachtachas seo a gcaithfear aghaidh a thabhairt air go luath agus Ó Cadhain agus an Píarsach mar threoraithe againn :

We know that the cause of the language, like the magpie's nest which goes by the name of Irish culture, is indivisible. (*Irish Above Politics*, lch. 6)

I challenge again the Irish psychology of the man who sets up the Gael and the Palesman as opposing forces, with conflicting outlooks. We are all Irish, Leinster reared or Connacht reared; your native Irish speaker of Iveragh or Erris is more fully in touch with the spiritual past of Ireland than your Wexfordman or your Kildareman, but your Wexfordman or your Kildareman has other Irish traditions which your Iveraghman or your Errisman has lost. It is a great thing to have heard in childhood the songs of a Tadhg Gaedhealach or to have seen a Raftery or a Colm Wallace; it is an equally great thing to have known old men who fought in Wexford in '98 or to have been nursed by a woman who made bullets for the Fenians. All such memories, old and new, are part of Irish history, and he who wants to segregate Irish history and Irish men into two sections—Irish speaking and English speaking—is not helping toward achieving Ireland a Nation. Am I a Palesman and is Lord O'Brien of Kilfenora a Gael? I propose that in future we reserve the term Palesman

for those who uphold the domination of the English in Ireland. I propose also that we substitute for the denominations Gael, Gall and Gall-Gael the common name of Irishman.

Aon áit a bhfuil an scoilteachas seo le sonrú ó na liobráláigh mar O'Brien nó Robb, ó fhrithathréimitheoirí mar Ó Cearnaigh agus BICO, nó ó mhuintir mhífhoighdeach, bhasctha na nGaeltachtaí éagsúla is ualach orainn a gcaithfear a bhaint : é a throid ar an mbonn intleachtúil agus agóidíúil fhaid is a bhaineann sé leis na liobráláigh (agus an Ghaeltacht mar a bheadh Caomhnú Indiach Rua acu) agus le bá, tuiscint, comhthuiscint, foighid, umhlaíocht agus comhoibriú fhaid a bhaineann sé le daoine ón nGaeltacht (agus ní fáis aon oíche atá i gceist agam anseo!).

Ach cén sort eagraíocht a thabharfaidh faoi seo? An saghas ar scríobh Ó Cadhain faoi a bhí mar scibirínn Gaelach d'Fhianna Fáil nó eagrais ciúin, cúlseomrach, buirgheoiseach i meon agus i ndearcadh, eagrais caithreamh aimsire is múinteoireachta—an saghas eagrais a shamhlaigh údair *Facts About Irish* a bheith ionainn?

Ar cheist na polaitíochta is dócha go bhfuil an ré sin thart go mba ghá d'Fhianna Fáil, ach go háirithe, bheith "soiléir" ag imeachtaí an Chonartha—ar mhaithe leis an bpáirtí atá i gceist agam. Níl a bheith ar scoil sa Chonradh i gceist anseo agus fiú sin léiríonn na figiúirí cé chomh beag is atá tábhacht an Chonartha i gcúlra pholaiteora an lá atá inniu ann. Nó breathnaí ar an ngiota seo as *The Irish Political Elite* le Al Cohan (B.Á.C., 1972, lgh. 59, 60) :

Members of the revolutionary elite had considerably different organisational commitments than do the members of the contemporary elite. Most significant of the organisations was the Gaelic League. It helped to create a concept of cultural nationalism that had been lacking in the earlier home rule movement. The Gaelic League acted as a magnet to the young nationalists interested in Ireland as a separate entity from the British. Patrick Pearse was a member of the Gaelic League as were the two charismatic leaders of the revolution, Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera.

It is worth noting that Gaelic League membership tended to precede revolutionary activity. Although the founders of the League disavowed the political trends

that eventually affected it, it became perhaps the chief socialising agent in the development of nationalist tendencies. While the continued existence of the Irish language may well be the result of Gaelic League activity, the most important by-product of the League may well have been the production of a generation of nationalists willing to fight for Ireland's independence. . . . over the years . . . It is obvious, however, that membership (of *Conradh na Gaeilge—P.Ó.S.*) it certainly has among members of the political elite. Among members of the revolutionary elite, some 69 per cent belonged at one time to the Gaelic League. The figure stands at the 15 per cent for members of the contemporary group. Reasons for the decline might be twofold: (1) the language issue is not as important as it was since it is taught in the schools, and, at least officially, its decline has been averted, and (2) the independence of Ireland is a reality, and the League is, therefore, no longer necessary functionally. Additionally, other more vigorous Irish language movements have replaced the earlier Legemony of the League.

15% agus na cúiseanna mí-chruinn is dócha ó thaobh tábhachta de aige. Is é sin táimid imeallach—nó nílimid lárnach a thuilleadh don saol pholaitiúil sa chiall is leithne de. Orainn féin an locht ar bhealach amháin—is é sin as torthaí, as buanna na mblianta tosaigh tá an méid sin dul chun cinn déanta nach léir dúinn é go minic. Ach má táimid imeallach anois amhail foireann rugbaí brúite de shíor ar ais ag cosaínt a gcúl-líne féin níl de rogha acu más mian leo fanacht sa chluiche le seans buachana ag teacht as sin, teacht ar ais an bealach ar fad slat ar shlat. Bíodh sin mar mhanadh againn—an bealach uile ar ais agus tiocfam: níl dabht faoi sin ach luí isteach air.

Ach ní dhéanfar sin le heagras le hinstiúidí chaith-eamh aimsire, le cumainn snámha, le clubanna fichille agus mar sin de. Agus ar eagla míthuisceana ag an bpointe seo bíodh sé soiléir uaim nach bhfuil aon rud bunúsach agam i gcoinne na nithe seo—níl aon rian den phiúratánachas úd a bhíodh ag caitheamh anuas ar an gClub a bheith ann mar shampla, níl aon rian de sin ag roinnt liom, tá súil agam, agus amhail polaitoirí an lae inné a bhíodh ar n-úsáid, tá an eite sin don chuid is mó imithe as tionchar idé-eolaíochta sa Chonradh anois.

An pointe atá á bhéimíú anseo agam ná dearcadh, meon, an bealach a úsáidtear na hinstiúidí chaith-eamh aimsire, an áit sa saol sa chúis atá acu. Seirbhís don phobal i gcoitinne (mar fheiseanna, aeríochtanna &rl.) nó do phobal na Gaeilge ach go háirithe (cumainn snámha, fichille agus mar sin de) tá sin togha, ach níl sé iomlán ná baol air. Ní amháin nach bhfuil sé iomlán ach tá an baol mór gur féidir gur cúlú atá iontu. Sea cúlú! Braitheann sé ar an meon arís. "A Society on the Run" a thug Rona Fields ar an bpobal ó thuaidh le déanaí: an cur síos céanna a bhí ag Tomás Mac Donncha agus é ag trácht ar an gcultúr Gaelach agus pobal an chultúir sin a bheith ar a gcoimeád. Braitheann sé uile ar threo an reatha. Agus ag brath ar an treo tá úsáid agus tábhacht na n-instiúidí atá faoi chaibidil againn anseo le meas mar is ábhair athghléasaíthe, "transitional objects" (mar a thugann na síceolaíthe orthu) iad, ag réiteach an bhealaigh ó shuíomh amháin go suíomh eile, ó stáitse amháin go stáitse eile ar fad. Agus mar na tábhairní Gaelacha i Nua Eabhrac agus Chicago tig leo bheith mar thamhnaigh, mar oases, san idirthréimhse i dturas pobail i dtreo a chomhshamlaithe i gcultúr eile, nó más mian linn téarmaí míleata a úsáid is féidir gur tearmainn sealadacha iad ar an gcúlú.

Braitheann a lán ar an meon, ar ár meon. Má táimid ag coinneáil an chreidimh, más dílseacht an príomhspreagadh seans maith go dtuilltear an íomhá a thug doiciméad pholasaí pháirtí an Lucht Oibre orainn:

**Some of these groups have degenerated into cultural "civil defence" forces preparing despairingly for an event which they firmly believe will never happen. They have become middle class "tea and sympathy" circles out of touch with the average citizen.**

Cé gur as caidriúlacht bhruachbhailteach ag cur gothaí an tsóisalachais uirthi a d'eascair cuid éigin de sin thuas—ní chuige sin atáimid anseo ach chuige seo: is muid a thug an deis dóibh cur síos mar sin a dhéanamh—is é sin arís go bhfuil cuid mhaith éigin den fhírinne ann. Nó cuir mar seo é, tá an iomarca den rás-foirneachas ann—coinnigh an tóirse gan múchadh le go seachadófar ar lasadh é chuig an chéad ghlúin

eile (an tóirse agus ár bhfreagracht as gan an tóirse sin a úsáid le lasair na réabhlóide a adhaint lenár linn féin. Teipeachas, cúlú atá sa rás-foirneachas seo agus caithfear a bheith san airdeall faoi: táimid béasach agus cúthaileach ró-fhada.

Ach más é meon lucht úsáidte an chaitheamh aimsire, más é meon airm ag dul chun tosaigh, nó meon treallchogaithe ag glacadh scíste, nó fiú oibritheoirí ag teacht le chéile tar éis babhta gníomhaíochta i bhfeachtas éigin, rud eile ar fad atá ann: meon buachana seachas meon dílseachta, meon an dóchais seachas meon an chreidimh, meon (más ceadmhach dom meafar ó thús ré na Críostaíochta a úsáid) meon na n-aspal tar éis na Cincise thar meon na n-aspal san idirlinn ó Aoine an Chéasta go teacht an Spioraid Naoimh. Na daoine céanna an dtuigeann tú, an treallamh céanna: ach dearcadh difriúil ar fad. Dearnadh a bhí réidh tabhairt faoin domhain a thógáil ar son an chreidimh a bhí anois ina dhóchas. Bíodh an caitheamh aimsire ann, má sea, agus a thuilleadh de: ach ná bíodh sé mar phríomhaidhm, mar phríomhchuspóir, mar phríomhdhualgas againn sa Chonradh. Más é gur féidir linn nithe mar iad a thosú agus a sheachadadh chuig dream a reachtáilte is é is fearr b'fhéidir—tíg linn díospóireacht fhiúntach a bheith againn faoi seo. Cinnte caithfear an domhan Éireann seo a ghaelú gach aon slí le go mbeidh an Ghaeilge mar mheán nádúrtha i ngach uile chuid dár saol: ach ná bíodh siad mar aragail iar-Aoineach do mhionlach na gceartchreidmheach mar a bhí pobal Chríost roimh an Chincís—bíodh siad mar phointí fáis, mar ghléasanna troda, mar thuartha dóchais, mar áit os comhair an phobail dúinn: mar ní sna cúlseomraí is mó is dual dúinn a bheith a thuilleadh ach ar mhórbhealaí an phobail.

Gné eile dár gcuid oibre le fada ná na ranganna Gaeilge. Baol arís anseo, baol iad a bheith mar chríoch iontu féin (agus an caitheamh aimsireachas atá taobh thiar de chuid den fhreastal orthu agus an t-ábharachas—cleachtadh d'fhonn scrúdú a fháil nó mar sin de) agus baol a bheith curtha as dóchas de bharr teip nó mí-éifeacht ár n-iarrachtaí. Nílimid oilte go leor chuige:

tuigim go gcaithfidimid an bearna a líonadh; ach caithfear amach anseo féachaint leis an gcaighdeán a fheabhsú nó le freastal ar chuid den éileamh a fháil ó institiúidí an stáit. Arís ná bímis ródhocht anseo ach bímis níos éifeachtaí ina mbun. Asta faigheann daoine a gcéadbhlaiseadh, iontu cuirtear an chéad síol go minic, uathu tagann baill nua. Craobhscaoileadh, agus earcaíocht agus oiliúint—sin agus cur leis an saol Gaelach tábhacht na rang. Dá bhrí sin is gá go mbeadh siad níos fearr ná riamh, ag dul i bhfeabhas in aghaidh na bliana, ag úsáid na mbealaí is nua nuair is féidir (agus á lorg ón státchóras nuair nach féidir). Rómhínic a chuala féin gearán ó eachtrannaigh ach go háirithe, a raibh taitheí fhoghlaím teangacha acu, nach raibh ár gcuid modhanna múinte sásúil go leor. Ach fágaimis sin mar cheist ag an bpointe seo.

Cad eile a dúradh fúinn i *Facts About Irish*—sea, publishing. Ár n-irisí: *Feasta*, i sáinn airgid; *An tUlltach*, gur mó i bhfad a dhíolaíocht sna scoileanna; *Rose*, gur róbbheag ar fad a dhíolaíocht; *Nasc*, nach dtagann amach minic go leor; agus *Ardán* gur annamh a fheictear i lámha Conraitheora é le tamall anuas. Irisí den scoth ó thaobh ábhair de go minic. “Clódhanna” i mbun gnó arís — tuar dóchais de réir Uí Chadhain sa léacht sin a thug sé agus atá anois foilsithe i *The Gaelic League Idea*. Cosúil leis na ranganna, muid ag líonadh bearnaí. Is mó saghas ábhair atá á fhoilsiú againn agus is mó réimse den saol atá á chlúdach againn agus is mór an dul chun cinn atá déanta againn.

Tá liosta teideal Chlódhanna méadaithe go mór agus an díolaíocht méadaithe faoi thrí le blianta beaga anuas. Is follas gur mó agus gur léire an dul chun cinn a bheidh ar siúl leis an bhfuinneamh nua atá faoi na foilseacháin. Tá foilseacháin suntasacha ag Comhaltas Uladh, ag an Oireachtas agus ag craobhacha aonar-ánacha, Craobh na Cásca ach go háirithe a bhfuil foilseacháin an-tábhachtacha ó thaobh fealsúnachta de curtha ar fáil acu.

Ach, agus seo an ach—ach ar furasta a dhíbirt measaim—ach tá teidil i measc paimfléid nó leabhráin

Chlódhanna nár díoladh mórán níos mó ná cúpla céad cóip go dtí seo: rud a léiríonn nach bhfuil fiú dílseacht don eagrais ag mórchuid den bhallraíocht.

An saghas Conartha atá de dhíth, an saghas a gcaithfear a athchumadh, shamhlóinn go mbeadh bunús na ballraíochta ar bís chun an chéad fhoilseachán eile a léamh ar a laghad (ach sin déanta bheadh staid i bhfad níos sásúla ag na foilseacháin, agus ag an eagraíocht trí chéile, agus ag an gcúis os comhair an phobail fosta).

Tá mo dhóthain leideanna tugtha thuas is dócha le go mbeadh sé soiléir go bhfuil i bhfad níos mó gníomhaíochta de dhíth ó bhallraíocht na gluaiseachta—gníomhaíocht phoiblí ach go háirithe sna blianta atá díreach romhainn. Caithfear ár n-acmhainn a scrúdú go géar féachaint conas is fearr is féidir na fórsaí, na buanna éagsúla atá againn sa bhallraíocht a úsáid. Caithfear rud beo láithreach a dhéanamh as cás agus as cúis na Gaeilge i meon phobal an Bhéarla sa tír seo. Agus is é an Conradh an phríomhuirlis chuige sin. Bíodh sé le rá fúinn: beidh sé le rá fúinn: sin an áit a bhfuil sé ag tarlú agus ní tea and sympathy atá i gceist.

Is dócha gur bhain sé siar de chuid againn ar an bhfeachtas canbhasála an oiread daoine a dúirt linn gurbh ionadh leo Conradh na Gaeilge a bheith ann fós. Léirigh sin cé chomh fada as tadhall is a bhíomar imithe. Ach is é an feachtas canbhasála an t-éacht is mó, an gníomh is fearr, an ghníomhaíocht is mó tairbhe, an ócáid is mó a chuir cuma ghluaiseachta ar an gConradh athuair le blianta fada. Ní thaitníonn sé le daoine áirithe, ach más amhlaidh téadh siad i mbun an chaithreamh aimsire agus ligidís saor chun oibre go poiblí na daoine sin ar minic an iomarca dualgaisí rúnaíochta, comhfhreagrais &c. orthu le go mbeadh siad amuigh áit ar mhó a dtionchar más iad an saghas atá in intinn iad. Ach b'fhéidir nach cóir dóibh sin a bhfuil náire orthu dul os comhair an phobail agus a dhiúltaíonn dul dá bharr sin, b'fhéidir nach cóir dóibhsean fanacht sa Chonradh ar chor ar bith: seans gur "séanairí" iad agus iad ár mbac, go háirithe má bhíonn bréagfhealsúnacht sin na measúlachta á húsáid mar leathscéal

na leisce acu is ag cur as do bhaill eile dá bharr.

Ní gníomhaíocht ar son gníomhaíochta atá i gceist anseo—cé gur fearr an ghníomhaíocht ná suan na "select brethren", na "saved" gan soiscéal (ní soiscéal go scaipeadh). Tá na bunphrionsabail leagtha síos le sé nó seacht de bhlianta anois. Tá a fhios againn ó thaobh na hidé-eolaíochta de cá bhfuil ár dtriall: nó ba chóir go mbeadh a fhios againn faoi seo dá mba go raibh spéis bhunúsach againn sa ghluaiseacht.

Gluaiseacht a bhí i gceist ag an bPiarsach nuair a scríobh sé:

One Mr. Justice Boyd sneered at the Irish language from the Bench in Belfast a few weeks ago; one would have thought that there were enough Gaels in Belfast to prevent the fellow from being heard in his own court the next day until he had apologised.

nó arís

I want a missionary, a herald, an Irish-speaking John the Baptist, one who would go through the Irish West and speak trumpet-toned of nationality to the people in the villages. I would not have him speak of Gaelic Leagues, or of fees for Irish or of Bilingual Programmes, or of Essential Irish in Universities: I would have him speak of Tone and Mitchel and the Hawk of the Hill and of all men dead or in exile for love of the Gael; all in Irish.

nó arís eile (sliochtanna iad seo uile as *From a Hermitage*)

You are a member of the Gaelic League, a friend and colleague writes to the press to point out that you are selling the League to the Liberals and that your reward will be a title. This is not a damned lie: it is his way of hinting that you ought to be a little more strenuous, to smite a little harder and a little oftener, to keep up perpetually a sort of beserked rage or *riastradh* in the way of the old heroes. It is his crude inartistic, modern version of playing Laegh to your Cuchulainn. The bravest hero of the Gaels had to endure being called "a little fairy phantom" by his charioteer. Were he fighting at the ford today he would be called a "Do-Nothing". When Cuchulainn was reviled by Laegh he did not turn round and fell him. He fought on the harder against the foe of his country.

Inár linn féin nach macalla nó forbairt ar smaointe seo an Phiarsaigh a bhí in Ó Cadhain (fiú é féin a umhlú go "Laegh" achas amanna!). Breathnaí an

plean atá aige do úsáid na Gaeilge sa pholaitíocht in *Irish Above Politics*—gníomh atá níos indéanta anois ná mar a bhí deich mbliana ó shin nuair a scríobh Máirtín an plean i dtús báire; agus a bhuíochas sin don oiliúint atá á dhéanamh ó 1966 i leith (1941, Craobh na hAiséirí—comóradh na Cásca pointe tús feabhais agus fáis freisin a bhac an Cogadh Domhanda ar ndóigh ach nár bheag de rian a d'fhág ar an bpobal).

Nó mar a deir Ó Cadhain i n*Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge: Gluaiseacht ar Strae*:

Mar a fheicim an chuid seo den saothar, is éiliú ar chearta cathartha do lucht na Gaeltachta agus do lucht na Gaeilge go forleathan a bhéas ann.

Aontaím leis agus aontaím leis fosta go bhfuil, go mbeidh gnéithe éagsúla leis an bhFeachtas Cearta: go mbeidh “friotaíocht fheidhmiúil” ann agus go mbeidh “easumhlaíocht shíochánta” de dhíth fosta, agus caithfidh, beidh, Conradh na Gaeilge chun tosaigh sna hagóidí seo ar son an fheachtais:

Bíodh an Ghaeilge ag stiúra na Réabhlóide, ar an gcaoi seo bíodh an Ghaeilge ar na smaointe is forásaí in Éirinn: is ionann agus slánú na Gaeilge.

Sí an Ghaeilge athghabháil na hÉireann agus is í athghabháil na hÉireann slánú na Gaeilge.

Sí teanga na muintire a shlánós an mhuintir. Mar sin, an áit is tréine an agóid bíodh an póistéara Gaeilge le feiceáil agus an gháir Ghaeilge le cloisteáil. An áit is tréine an dúshlán in aghaidh an rachmais, in aghaidh na héagóra, ar son na bhfann agus na mbocht, bíodh fáinne Gaeilge an Choirnéil le feiceáil . . .

Labhair sé faoi bhaile mór suainleasa taobh amuigh den ardchathair. Ritheamar rún ag Ardfheis fá dtaobh de, ach is as alt i bPobal agus ag daoine nach bhfuil againn a thuilleadh atá pé rud beag de phlé air sin ar siúl faoi láthair: arís ná bímisne ag diúltú don dúshlán. Ní dhiúltófar amach anseo tá súil agam. Anuraidh freisin thairg an tUachtarán cinnireacht áirithe i gcás na teilifíse: oiread agus duine amháin ní bhfuair sé go bhfios dom dul san agóid áirithe sin leis; feicfear i mbliana agus ní duine ach slóite a mbeifear ag súil leis i dtús ré nua sa ghluaiseacht seo chun athréimithe na Gaeilge, gluaiseacht a bheidh ina gluaiseacht athuair, mar táimid ann anois ní chun sealaíochta ach chun buachana.●

*Paimfléid eile ar fáil ó Chonradh na Gaeilge*

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