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History in the Thought of the Architects of Peace in Northern Ireland: Gerry Adams, John Hume, and David Trimble.

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Thesis Abstract

This thesis explores the historical imaginations exhibited by the key political architects of the Northern Ireland Peace Process: Gerry Adams, John Hume and David Trimble. It compares and contrasts ways in which each has engaged the ideological resource of history throughout their respective biographies, exploring the various visions of history, both Irish and otherwise, that have intrigued them, and the environments and experiences that moulded their view of the past. Exploiting a wide range of archival sources, along with original interviews and conversations with the 'peacemakers' themselves, it considers how Adams, Hume and Trimble learnt about history; how they subsequently imagined and wrote about it, and how they ultimately applied it within their influential political thinking. It is a study of the relationship between historical and political imagination, delivering fresh and revealing intellectual profiles of the 'peacemakers'. Significantly, it demonstrates how ideas and visions of history, commonly perceived as somehow to blame for conflict in Northern Ireland, were put to positive use by Adams, Hume and Trimble. It therefore considers how visions of history contributed to the ideological evolution of peace and political stability on the island.

Lay Summary of Thesis

This thesis looks at how three key political architects of the Northern Ireland Peace Process – Gerry Adams, John Hume and David Trimble – thought about history. Utilising a range of sources, along with conversations with these individuals, it considers how each 'peacemaker' learnt about history, how they subsequently imagined and wrote about it, and how they ultimately used their knowledge of history when developing their influential political ideas and strategies. It therefore demonstrates how ideas and visions of history contributed to the evolution of the Peace Process.

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This is to certify the work contained is entirely my own. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

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Contents

Thesis Abstract/Lay Summary 2

Acknowledgments 5

Introduction 6

Hume, History and Maynooth: The Early Intellectual Evolution of a 'Peacemaker', 1954-1964 53

Gerry Adams in Long Kesh: History and the Idea of the 'mini-Republic' 117

Pax quæritur bello: Mr. Trimble Goes to War 188

Conclusion 240

Bibliography 254

المنارة للاستشارات

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Introduction

History's 'obvious ideological usefulness' has intrigued Irish historians largely because it has troubled them.[1] This is understandable. Theodore Moody correctly observed the history of Ireland, 'is far from being wholly a history of conflict' − a statement which, close to twenty years after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in April 1998, rings true more than ever.[2] Yet most Irish historians have never lived Irish history wholly free from conflict on the island. The professionalised discipline of Irish history was constructed in the later 1930s in the wake of rebellion, revolution, and civil war in the country (not to mention a world war).[3] It was accomplished primarily by historians – Moody and Robert Dudley Edwards – who grew up with those conflicts, and who consequently evolved an admirable, if optimistic, vision of a mode of historical scholarship acting as an intellectual balsam for a wounded and divided society.[4] The Irish historical community was fated to evolve, however, against the backdrop of a tense détente between North and South on the island, not to mention a sullen cold war between the Catholic nationalist and Protestant Unionist communities in Northern Ireland, and,

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[1] See Ciaran Brady, "Constructive and Instrumental': The Dilemma of Ireland's First 'New Historians', in Ciaran Brady (ed.) *Interpreting Irish History: The Revisionist Debate in Ireland, 1938 1938-1994* (Dublin, 1994), p. 20.

[2] T.W. Moody, 'Irish History and Irish Mythology', in Brady (ed.) *Interpreting Irish History*, p. 86.

[3] The evolution of what might be broadly defined as the *Irish Historical Studies* school of Irish history has been much explored. See, of course, Brady's essay, "Constructive and Instrumental", and also Cormac Ó Gráda's, 'Making History in Ireland in the 1940s and 1950s: *The Saga of* The Great Famine', both in Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History*. See also D.G. Boyce and Alan O'Day, "Revisionism' and the 'Revisionist Controversy', in D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds), *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy* (London, 1996); Evi Gkotzaridis, *Trials of Irish History: Genesis and evolution of a reappraisal 1938-2000* (Oxon, 2006), especially pp. 3-44; Kevin Whelan, 'The Revisionist Debate in Ireland', *boundary 2* 31:1 (Spring 2004), esp. pp. 179-187.

[4] According to Ruth Dudley Edwards, her paternal grandmother 'hid guns in 1914…cheered on the 1916 rebellion…[and] instructed [her sons] to fight in the Civil War', whilst F.X. Martin claimed Moody watched from his back window as fires consumed Catholic populated streets in Belfast during riots in the city in 1913, and that this event 'seared itself into his [Moody's] memory'. See Gkotzaridis, *Trials of Irish History*, pp. 27-31. Edwards and Moody were consequently disturbed by the relationship between history, politics and conflict in Ireland. As Owen Dudley Edwards has explained, his father and Moody, 'wanted to shaped schools of history, the products of which future generations could read with intellectual but not political profit, and above all without being driven to bloodshed'.

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tragically, in the midst of the bitter and prolonged conflict that erupted there in the late 1960s.[5]

Consequently, Irish historians have tended to fixate on the ways in which visions and ideas of history have, in their view, precipitated and sustained conflict in Ireland. Instinctively they think in terms of the 'abuse of the past' or the 'uses and abuses' of history by Irish society, focusing, more often than not, on the ways in which readings of Irish history have been used to provoke, legitimise, or sustain violent inter-communal strife, especially in Northern Ireland.[6] For example, Ian McBride has contended the 'interpretation of the past has always been at the heart of national conflict' in Ireland.[7] Yet little, if any, thought has been given to the idea the interpretation of the past might also have been at the heart of national reconciliation on the island. In 2003 Roy Foster claimed Irish historians of his generation were, 'surprisingly − perhaps culpably − uninterested…in the historical forces behind what was unravelling in Northern Ireland'.[8] In 1988, however, he emphasised the 'carnage' there since 1969 had, 'brutally emphasised the power of ideas of history', suggesting history and peace were intimate enemies on the island.[9] Given the relatively peaceful and stable Northern Ireland existing today, surely it is now worth considering to what extent the evolution of peace has demonstrated the redemptive, healing power of ideas of history?

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[5] John Regan has quite rightly argued the influence of the Northern Ireland conflict upon Irish historiography is far from fully understood. See John M. Regan, 'Southern Irish Nationalism as a Historical Problem', *The Historical Journal*, 50, 1 (2007), p. 197.

[6] Alvin Jackson, 'Unionist History', in Brady (ed.) *Interpreting Irish History*, p. 253. Jackson opened his essay contending the, 'Irish, north and south, are as bound by their history as they are divided by it. Their abuse of the past has long been shared'. See also Ronan Fanning, "The Great Enchantment': Uses and Abuses of Modern Irish History' in Brady (ed.) *Interpreting Irish History*. At one point Fanning argued historians, 'must never forget that the ideologists, and not the mythologists, are their most dangerous enemies', p. 157. Thus Fanning presented the relationship between history and ideas as an inherently dangerous one.

[7] Ian McBride, 'Memory and national Identity in modern Ireland', in Ian McBride (ed.), *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 1.

[8] R.F. Foster, 'Something to Hate: Intimate Enmities in Irish History', *The Irish Review*, 30 (Spring-Summer, 2003), p. 3.

[9] Roy Foster, 'History and the Irish Question', in Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History*, p. 143.

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This study explores the historical imaginations exhibited by three key political architects of the Northern Ireland Peace Process: Gerry Adams, John Hume, and David Trimble. Importantly, all three have been keen students of history, albeit in their own different ways. They are also united by the fact each has engaged in the production of Irish history on more than one occasion, generating a small but significant body of easily accessible historical material (detailed below). Utilising these writings, alongside a range of new or hitherto neglected archival resources, plus interviews and contact with the 'peacemakers' themselves, this study compares and contrasts some of the ways in which Adams, Hume, and Trimble have engaged with the ideological resource of history; how they discovered and learnt about it, how they imagined and wrote about it, and how they utilised and applied visions of history within their influential strands of political thought. It delivers a range of original insights into each man's historical formation, exposing a set of important themes in their respective strands of historical thought.

Roy Foster has observed how the 'use of history by politicians and intellectuals' is something of a recurring theme in modern Irish history.[10] Alvin Jackson's scholarship on the evolution of Irish Unionism and the Home Rule era has precipitated a similar conclusion.[11] This study focuses upon Adams, Hume, and Trimble as a means of tracking that theme through the more recent Irish past. Not only does it explore each man's vision of history identifying, where possible, intellectual influences which shaped and informed these visions, it considers the relationship between the historical and political dimensions of their imaginations. It therefore demonstrates what has long been suspected by journalists, scholars, and by government officials whom Adams, Hume and Trimble interacted with throughout their lengthy and influential political careers; the importance

[10] Foster, 'History and the Irish Question', in Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History*, p. 122

[11] See Jackson, 'Unionist History', in Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History*. See also, Alvin Jackson, 'Unionist Myths, 1912-1985', *Past & Present*, 136 (August 1992), especially pp. 164-173; Alvin Jackson, *Home Rule: An Irish History* (London, 2003), especially pp. 320-328.

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of visions of history with regard the intellectual formation and political outlook of the Northern Ireland 'peacemakers'.

Jackson has also highlighted how there, 'has been little sustained effort to define Irish 'peacemakers' and 'reconcilers' as a historical theme', writers tending to, 'emphasise the militants and fundamentalists within both nationalist and Unionist traditions'.[12] The exception in this sense is, of course, Hume. According to Brian Harrison political 'centrists' tend to be overlooked as biographical subjects largely because they 'lack romance'.[13] Not so in the case of the former leader of the S.D.L.P., a figure authors have delighted in presenting as the personification of reason, rationality and political modernity in Northern Ireland, juxtaposing him against a backdrop of seemingly atavistic and irrational sectarian conflict.[14] Our understandings of Adams, Hume and Trimble and, moreover, each man's political evolution are quite limited, however. As shall be seen, in certain respects they are deeply problematic, particularly with respect to Adams and Hume. More to the point, relatively little is known about the nature and origins of each man's vision of history or, for that matter, the relationship between their visions of history and the influential strands of political thought they developed and articulated.

The so-called 'centrist' tradition with modern Irish political history has been little defined, and the scholarship on Adams, Hume, and Trimble is still very much in its infancy. Thus this study constructs revealing intellectual portraits of three important Irish 'peacemakers'. Irish historians have traditionally been preoccupied with the relationship

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[12] Jackson, *Home Rule*, p. 323. See also, Jackson, 'Unionist History', in Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History*, p. 262.

[13] Brian Harrison, 'The Centrist Theme in British Politics', in *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford, 1982), p. 360.

[14] See, of course, the three existing journalistic biographies of Hume: Barry White, *John Hume: Statesman of the Troubles* (Belfast, 1984); George Drower, *John Hume: Peacemaker* (London, 1995); Paul Routledge, *John Hume*: *A Biography* (London, 1998). White's and Drower's choices of titles are revealing in this sense.

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between history and conflict; this study delivers fresh insights into each individual intellectual evolution, observing how they have engaged and utilised the ideological resource of history, thereby exposing ways in which ideas and visions of history have been put to use in a positive and beneficial manner during the recent Irish past. To put it another way, how did visions of history– Irish and otherwise – influence and inform the political ideas and strategies developed by the 'peacemakers'? Crucially, to what extent did visions of history – so commonly perceived as precipitating and sustaining conflict in Northern Ireland – contribute to the ideological evolution of peace?

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There are broader historiographical reasons for exploring, in a comparative manner, the historical dimensions of each peacemaker's intellectual evolution. To begin with, Irish historians are increasingly thinking in comparative terms. As Niall Whelehan has observed, the nation-state framework has displayed a hardy resilience in modern Irish historiography.[15] The political individual has proved equally enduring as a basic framework for analysis, however.[16] This is of course particularly true with regard existing commentary upon the recent political history of Northern Ireland.[17] Recent studies have demonstrated the analytical possibilities and opportunities offered to Irish historians by

[15] Niall Whelehan, 'Playing with Scales: Transnational History and Modern Ireland' in Niall Whelehan (ed.), *Transnational Perspective on Modern Irish History* (Oxon, 2015), p. 7.
[16] Suffice to say much Irish historiography has focused primarily upon influential personalities. For example, Enda Delaney has drawn attention to three 'classics' of Irish historiography produced since the mid-twentieth century, all biographies of influential personalities, 'F.S.L. Lyons' masterpiece on Parnell, Oliver MacDonagh's beautifully written life of O'Connell, and R.F. Foster's equally stylish and probing of W.B. Yeats'. See Enda Delaney, 'Our Island Story? Towards a transnational history of late modern Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvii. 148 (November 2011), p. 605.
[17] See, for example, the three journalistic biographies of Hume detailed above. See also, Gerard Murray, *John Hume and the SDLP.: Impact and Survival in Northern Ireland* (Dublin, 1998); P.J. McLoughlin, *John Hume and the Revision of Irish Nationalism* (Manchester, 2011); David Sharrock and Mark Devenport, *Man of War, Man of Peace: The Unauthorised Biography of Gerry Adams* (Belfast, 1997); Henry McDonald, *Trimble* (London, 2000); and most appropriately in this sense, Dean Godson*, Himself Alone: David Trimble and the Ordeal of Unionism* (London, 2004).

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comparative history and biography.[18] More than ever authors are sensitive to themes and frameworks which link the lives and thinking of influential figures in the Irish past as they endeavour to get a greater sense of the cultural, intellectual and social environments which moulded such figures, as well as the 'high' political narratives they helped forge.[19] Sustained engagement with the ideological resource of history is a theme common to the intellectual biographies of Adams, Hume, and Trimble, thereby facilitating comparative analysis of these 'peacemakers'.

All this is not to say this study delivers a fully-fledged intellectual biography of the three men. It does not set out to track, in a comprehensive and comparative manner, each man's intellectual evolution from birth to the point at which they retired from politics, as Hume did in 2002, or to the present day, as in the case of Adams and Trimble, who both remain politically active. Such a study is too ambitious. It should be added it does not offer an exhaustive account of the visions of history that appear to have influenced each peacemaker's imagination. That would be labour intensive indeed.

The present study focuses, rather, upon significant dimensions of each man's historical formation, exposing and exploring certain key themes within their historical imaginations. Rather than tracking each man's intellectual biography from birth onwards, it hones in on important eras and environments in each of their intellectual evolution. In the case of Hume, it focuses on his experience of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, during the 1950s. In the case of Adams, the study surveys his intellectual evolution within Long Kesh Prison during the mid to late-1970s. It considers the influences then acting upon and informing each man's vision of history, reflecting upon the various ways in which

[18] Enda Delaney, *The Great Irish Famine: A History in Four Lives* (Dublin, 2012); Alvin Jackson, *The Two Unions: Ireland, Scotland and the Survival of the United Kingdom, 1707-2007* (Oxford, 2012)*;* R.F. Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923* (London, 2014).
[19] Enda Delaney has made a relatively similar point. See Enda Delaney, 'Modernity, the Past and Politics in Post-War Ireland', in Thomas E. Hachey (ed.) *Turning Points in Twentieth Century Irish History* (Dublin, 2011), p. 117.

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such visions appear to have informed and moulded their influential strands of political thought. Trimble's intellectual biography does not exhibit a Maynooth or Long Kesh as it were. As shall be seen, this study identifies and excavates a rather specific, albeit significant, theme within his historical and political thinking.

Irish historians and biographers have been genuinely curious as to how much history was known by their country's leading political figures, and, moreover, how these figures discovered and learnt any of the history they knew. According to Marianne Elliott Theobald Wolfe Tone's thinking was heavily influenced by the Trinity College Historical Society, whilst his friend and future fellow United Irishman, Thomas Addis Emmet, brother of Robert Emmet, claimed his discovery of Curry's *Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland* (1786) 'much changed' his life.[20] Enda Delaney was keen to flag John Mitchel's intellectual affinity with Thomas Carlyle's *The French Revolution: A History* (1807) and Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1788).[21]. Indeed, it is possible to identify three perspectives on the origins of Eamon De Valera's vision of Irish history, one positing the influence of the Christian Brothers, another stressing the influence of his parish priest, and the third pointing in the direction of the Chief's maternal grandmother.[22] Given the status of Adams, Hume and Trimble within Irish history – undoubtedly three of the most politically influential figures Ireland ever produced – consideration how each learnt about, wrote about, and used history, requires relatively little justification.

Yet Irish historians have tended to be, on the whole, curious as to what *Irish* history was known by influential figures; as to how such figures used and applied

[20] Marianne Elliott, *Wolfe Tone: Prophet of Irish Independence* (New Haven and London, 1989), p. 33.
[21] Delaney, *The Great Irish Famine*, p. 21.
[22] Seán O'Faolain, *The Life Story of Eamon De Valera* (Dublin and Cork, 1933), p. 18; Owen Dudley Edwards, *Éamón de Valera* (University of Wales Press, 1987), p. 30; Ó Gráda, 'Making History in Ireland in the 1940s and 1950s', in Brady (ed.) *Interpreting Irish History*, p. 284.

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readings of *Ireland's* past when evolving their political thinking. As shall be seen, however, a study of the visions of history developed by the 'peacemakers', especially the visions developed by Hume and Trimble, shifts the historian's gaze away from the island, to Britain and Continental Europe. This study does not merely consider how readings of Irish history informed the influential strands of political thought developed by the 'peacemakers', the influence of British and European history on their intellectual evolution is, by necessity, very much considered.

It is also true Irish history has traditionally been rather weak when it comes to the history of ideas. In 1978, F.S.L. Lyons claimed he was 'disturbed' by Irish historiography's 'poverty' in this respect.[23] More recently, Enda Delaney has observed how it is still the case few Irish historians have, 'ventured into the field of conceptually driven accounts of the recent Irish past'.[24] What is more, a good deal of existing commentary upon Northern Ireland is, for relatively obvious reasons, fundamentally events-based. This study is concerned, above all, with the evolution of thought. It seeks to broaden understandings of the influence of ideas within the recent Irish past. It considers how Adams, Hume, and Trimble conceptualised aspects of history, exploring the relationship between their visions of history, and their influential strands of political thought in order to develop understandings of each man's broader political evolution. That is not say it either neglects, or has failed to examine, a good deal of the relevant available governmental papers; the National Archives, the National Archives of Ireland, and the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland have each been mined in preparation for this study, even if the themes it eventually opted to explore have prevented this archival research from shining through in a more conspicuous manner.

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[23] F.S.L. Lyons, 'The Burden of Our History' in Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History*, p. 92.
[24] Delaney, 'Modernity, the Past and Politics in Post-War Ireland', in Hachey (ed.) *Turning Points in Twentieth Century Irish History*, p. 105.

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A historian who *has* ventured into the field of conceptually driven accounts of the recent Irish past is Richard Bourke. In his 2003 *Peace in Ireland: The War of Ideas*, he highlighted how 'insufficient attention is paid to the history of ideas in understanding the process of polarization' in Northern Ireland, despite it and many other modern conflicts involving, 'the mobilisation of principles and the organisation of ideological preferences'.[25] Importantly, he demonstrated how in the case of Northern Ireland, 'the relevant principles around which individuals were mobilised centred on ideas of democracy'.[26] Bourke therefore advanced an important and refreshing thesis on the origin of conflict in Northern Ireland, though few Irish historians have engaged with it.

As he has highlighted, commentators, particularly British officials, have tended to depict the conflict in Northern Ireland 'in terms of "tribalism," "atavism," "mysticism," and the like'.[27] For example, Edward Heath contented the 'tribal loathing' in Northern Ireland sprang, 'from an atavism which most of Europe discarded long ago'.[28] Similarly, at Stormont in May 2007, when the Northern Ireland Executive was reinstated with Ian Paisley as First Minister and Martin McGuinness as Deputy First Minster, Tony Blair claimed he felt 'Northern Ireland had just joined the rest of the world'.[29] Consequently this development in Irish history was almost made to resemble the moment when C.S. Lewis' Pevensie children tumbled back out of the wardrobe. As Arthur Aughey and Ian McBride have both highlighted, the idea the Northern Irish have remained 'stuck in a seventeenth-century rut' is a familiar but misleading trope in commentary on Northern Ireland.[30] According to Bourke, however, although the idea of democracy has been

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[25] Richard Bourke, *Peace in Ireland: The War of Ideas* (London, 2003), p. xv.
[26] Ibid., p. xv.
[27] Richard Bourke, 'Languages of Conflict and the Northern Ireland Troubles', *Journal of Modern History*, 83, 3 (September, 2011), p. 544.
[28] Edward Heath, *The Course of My Life* (London, 1998), p. 421.
[29] Tony Blair, *A Journey* (London, 2010), p. 199
[30] Arthur Aughey, *Under Siege: Ulster Unionism and the Anglo-Irish Agreement*, (London, 1989), p. 34; Ian McBride, *The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant Mythology*, (Dublin, 1997) p.79

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consistently championed as the solution to a seemingly atavistic or historically predetermined conflict in Northern Ireland, on the contrary, 'the dispute…was a product of modern Democracy'.[31] 'Democracy, in fact, was the root of the problem,' he has argued, 'yet the contestants mistook it for an easy solution'.[32]

Given this study treats with the history of ideas in Northern Ireland, particularly the development of Provisional republicanism during the mid to late-1970s, it naturally derives inspiration from Bourke's scholarship. This was also significant because it sought to account for the ideological evolution of peace in Northern Ireland. It need hardly be said understandings of the origins and course of the so-called 'Troubles' are highly developed. Interpretations of the historical origins of the current peace are much less so, even taking into account the unavailability of much of the relevant governmental documentation for the era of the Peace Process. In effect, this study inverts Bourke's thesis on the relationship between the idea democracy and the evolution of conflict in Northern Ireland. Whereas the idea of democracy has been perceived, according to Bourke, as the solution to a conflict the idea itself helped precipitate, here it is argued ideas of history, long perceived as somehow to blame for precipitating and sustaining conflict in Northern Ireland, informed the influential ideologies developed by the peacemakers.

Hume: A Mouthpiece for Northern Nationalism?

In a short biography written for the January 1970 edition of the Redemptorist publication *Reality*, which dubbed Hume Ireland's 'Man of the Year' for 1969, journalist Sean Breslin mused the impact of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, the National Seminary of Ireland and constituent college of the National University of Ireland, upon Hume's

[31] Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, p. xviii.
[32] Ibid., p. xxi. See also, Bourke, 'Languages of Conflict', *Journal of Modern History*, esp. pp. 576-578.

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political thinking was, 'a matter for more extensive and subtle treatment' than his article could accommodate.[33] Hitherto this task has not been accomplished. The ten year period stretching from September 1954, when Hume entered St. Patrick's to study French and Modern History, until September 1964, when he submitted his M.A. thesis in Modern History at the college, 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry, 1825-1850', is possibly the most important period in his intellectual biography.[34] Yet it has not received scholarly attention. Relatively little is known about the relationship between St. Patrick's College, Hume's vision of history, and the evolution of his influential political thinking.

That Hume's experience at Maynooth has gone unexplored is not wholly surprising. He has tended to be as guarded about his seminary education as Adams has been about dimensions of his own life. Hume's reflections upon his time at St. Patrick's have been consistently brief and unenlightening. Throughout his long political career he said little more than he studied to be a priest for three years but 'decided to give it up' feeling he 'wasn't suited' to the vocation.[35] It could well have been a mistake on the part of the reporter, but in an interview for the *Sunday Independent* in November 1968 Hume even appeared to claim he received his B.A. from University College Dublin, not St. Patrick's.[36] Of course, Hume's seminary education has never sat well with his status as an avowedly non-sectarian Irish peacemaker, mirroring, in a way, Trimble's immersion

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[33] Sean Breslin, 'John Hume: Reality's Man of the Year', *Reality*, xxiv. 1 (January 1970), p. 14.
[34] John Hume, 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry, 1825-1850', M.A. dissertation (National University of Ireland, 1964).
[35] Linen Hall Library, N.I.P.C., N.I.O. Press Cuttings Files: John Hume, vol. 1, 'Transcript of BBC Radio 4's *The World This Weekend* with John Hume, first broadcast 5 Oct. 1969': Asked by reporter David Jessop why he decided to leave Maynooth, Hume responded, 'I simply felt that I wasn't suited and I decided to return home'. See also John Hume, *Personal Views: Politics, Peace and Reconciliation in Ireland* (Dublin, 1996), p. 4: 'On leaving school, I studied for three years to be a priest, but eventually decided to give it up'.
[36] 'The Man Derry Listens To', *Sunday Independent*, 24 November 1968.

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in William Craig's Vanguard Unionist movement during the 1970s, and his later leadership of the Orange besieged during the Drumcree protests in 1995 and 1996.

In recent years Hume has been the subject of two major television documentaries. That produced by Irish journalist Miriam O'Callaghan for RTÉ in support of her claim Hume should be awarded the title of 'Ireland's Greatest' (an accolade he subsequently received) included a brief section on his studies in Maynooth.[37] In contrast, BBC Northern Ireland's *Hume* was obviously geared toward an audience much more Protestant and Unionist in composition.[38] It ignored Hume's relationship with St. Patrick's. This omission is telling and, indeed, ironic given *Hume* pushed the narrative access to education enabled its subject to escape from the Catholic ghetto of the Bogside, and to subsequently make his mark upon Irish history in a way figures from his father's generation never could.

The most recent, and according to Richard English, 'the best', contribution to the scholarship on Hume – P.J. McLoughlin's 2010 *John Hume and the Revision of Irish Nationalism* – contains no reference to its subject's undergraduate studies in Maynooth, or for that matter, to the M.A. thesis in Modern History Hume submitted at St. Patrick's in September 1964.[39] This despite McLoughlin claiming his monograph closely examined 'Hume's ideas and where they originated'.[40] McLoughlin's neglect of the substantial M.A. thesis is questionable given he took the publication by the *Irish Times* of Hume's influential article the 'The Northern Catholic' in May 1964, which the latter produced whilst simultaneously completing his history of Derry, as the starting point for

[37] RTÉ, *Ireland's Greatest: John Hume* (2010), available in four parts at www.youtube.com (last accessed 1 June 2016).
[38] BBC, *Hume* (2011), available in six parts at www.youtube.com (last accessed 1 June 2016).
[39] Richard English, 'History and Irish Nationalism', *Irish Historical Studies,* xxxvii. 147 (May 2011), p. 450; P.J. McLoughlin, *John Hume and the Revision of Irish Nationalism* (Manchester, 2011).
[40] McLoughlin, *John Hume and the Revision of Irish Nationalism*, p. xx.

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the study.[41] McLoughlin has claimed the article effectively constituted Hume's first public discussion of the idea of Irish unity.[42] Thus McLoughlin neglected the evident relationship between the ideological resource of history, and the strand of Irish nationalism Hume articulated in his article.

This oversight would be almost permissible if not for the fact Hume's history of Derry is easily obtainable, having been published – admittedly in edited form – by the Ulster Historical Society in 2002 as *Derry Beyond the Walls: Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry 1825-1850.*[43] Even if the thesis had not been published, it is not difficult to procure the original 1964 typescript which resides in the John Paul II Library at St. Patrick's College. It is arguably difficult *not* to perceive a relationship between the thought Hume articulated in 'The Northern Catholic' and the history he was then producing. At the beginning of the article he argued northern nationalists of his generation were principally concerned with the 'solution of social and economic problems', and he went on to attack the Nationalist Party for not having, 'produced one constitutive contribution of either the social or economic plane' in forty years.[44] Thus Hume was basically referencing the title of his M.A. thesis, illustrating a relationship between his studies in history and his political thinking. Why did McLoughlin not pursue this evident line of enquiry?

Importantly, McLoughlin rendered the M.A. thesis and, moreover, Hume's education in Maynooth incidental to his study. Rather than focusing on his relationship with St. Patrick's, McLoughlin accounted for the origins of Hume's early political

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[41] McLoughlin, *John Hume and the Revision of Irish Nationalism*, pp.10-12; John Hume, 'The Northern Catholic', *Irish Times*, 18&19 May 1964.
[42] P.J. McLoughlin, "…it's a United Ireland or Nothing'? John Hume and the Idea of Irish Unity, 1964-72, *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 21, 2 (June 2006), p. 158.
[43] John Hume, *Derry Beyond the Walls: Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry, 1825-1850* (Belfast, 2002).
[44] Hume, 'The Northern Catholic', *Irish Times*, 18 May, 1964.

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thinking, his so-called strand of 'revisionist' nationalism, by contextualising it. In order to understand the latter's political ideas and where they came from it was necessary, according to McLoughlin, 'to place Hume in his historical context, appreciating the changes in nationalist thinking, particularly in Northern Ireland, which pre-dated and informed his political thinking'.[45] Thus McLoughlin contended the political ideas evolved by National Unity, formed in 1959, and subsequently by the National Democratic Party, established in 1965, 'were hugely influential on Hume', as illustrated by the thinking the latter advanced in 'The Northern Catholic'.[46] As McLoughlin observed, National Unity advocated 'constructive political action' within Northern Ireland, believing social and economic problems were of more immediate importance to the northern nationalist community than the constitutional question.[47] Whilst maintaining the aspiration to Irish unity, National Unity, and subsequently the N.D.P., nevertheless spoke in favour of working Stormont in order to secure its reform, as opposed to merely abstaining from it as the Nationalist Party had traditionally tended to do.[48] These new groups believed the path to Irish unity lay in winning the trust and respect of the Unionist community, gradually winning its consent for constitutional change. According to McLoughlin, such thinking 'represented a clear departure from traditional nationalism, which depicted the British government as the chief impediment to Irish unity'.[49]

McLoughlin's take on the origins of Hume's political thinking was therefore very similar to that previously advanced by Gerard Murray in his 1998 *John Hume and the SDLP: Impact and Survival in Northern Ireland*.[50] He also contended Hume's strand of

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[45] McLoughlin, *John Hume and the Revision of Irish Nationalism*, p. xvii.
[46] Ibid., p. 10.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., p. 12.
[50] Gerard Murray, *John Hume and the SDLP: Impact and Survival in Northern* Ireland (Dublin, 1998), pp. xi-11.

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nationalist thought was largely, if not wholly, premised upon ideological and organisational precedents previously established by groups such as National Unity and the N.D.P.[51] For example, he contended the N.D.P.'s belief negotiated unity, 'of the island should take place within a European context' greatly inspired Hume, remaining a 'fundamental element' in his political philosophy.[52] Thus Murray concluded the 'new thinking of the NDP became the cornerstone of the earliest political philosophy and subsequent policy of the SDLP'.[53] His study was similarly devoid of any reference to Hume's undergraduate and postgraduate studies at St. Patrick's.

More recently, Sarah Campbell has also claimed that in order to, 're-evaluate and re-examine the emergence and formation of the S.D.L.P. and to determine what role it and party members played in the revision of Irish nationalist ideology, it is important to place the party in its historical context and appreciate the changes in nationalist thinking, notably in Northern Ireland, which pre-dated and helped to shape the S.D.L.P.'s inaugural statement of policies.'[54] She too has traced the evolution of the strand of so-called 'new nationalism' articulated by the S.D.L.P. in the early 1970s from the formation of National Unity in 1959, although her approach differed markedly from that adopted by Murray and McLoughlin given her determination to de-centre Hume from this narrative. Just like McLoughlin and Murray, however, Campbell also drew attention to Hume's 'The Northern Catholic', arguing the article was 'indicative of a revision of Nationalist perspectives' in Northern Ireland in the early to mid-1960s.[55] Consequently Murray, McLoughlin and Campbell have all basically adopted the perspective taken by Ian McAllister in his 1977 study of the S.D.L.P. where he argued, 'many of the objectives it

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[51] Murray, *John Hume and the SDLP*, pp. 4-5.
[52] Ibid., p. 5
[53] Gerard Murray, *John Hume and the SDLP*, p. 4.
[54] Sarah Campbell, 'New Nationalism? The S.D.L.P. and the creation of a socialist and labour party in Northern Ireland, 1969-75', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxviii. 151 (May 2013), p. 424.
[55] Ibid., p. 426.

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held to be important were taken from precedents already established by other parties and groups'.[56]

Preoccupation with the wider history of northern nationalism since the close of the 1950s, and the tendency to present this history *as* Hume's own intellectual biography, has resulted in a historiographical situation whereby the Hume who produced 'The Northern Catholic' has been rendered a mere mouthpiece, albeit an articulate and influential mouthpiece, for a prevailing political discourse in Northern Ireland. For example, according to McLoughlin, in formulating the ideas he forwarded in 'The Northern Catholic', Hume drew upon a, 'pre-existing or at least incipient revisionism within northern nationalism', which accounts for the latter's progressive thinking upon key issues such as the constitutional question, the efficacy of nationalist attendance in Stormont, and his embrace of the principle of 'consent'.[57] In McLoughlin's view, Hume's strength stemmed not from his originality as a thinker, but from his ability to 'capture the spirit of change abroad in his community in the early to mid-1960s'; to 'speak for northern nationalists'; to eloquently convey 'the mood of the minority'.[58] In this analysis, as with those advanced by Murray and Campbell, Hume is presented as a conduit through which existing ideas passed and were amplified, as opposed to an ideological innovator. His political mind has been looked upon and utilised as a vehicle for exploring the wider evolution of northern nationalism since 1959.

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[56] Ian McAllister, *The Northern Ireland Social Democratic and Labour Party: Political Opposition in a Divided Society* (London, 1977), p. 34: 'In many ways the formation of the SDLP in 1970 was as much the consequence of a particular set of circumstances as of agreement among members of basic aims. It meant that many of the objectives it held…were taken from precedents already established…the idea that reunifcation could only come about by the consent of the majority in Northern Ireland came from National Unity…The belief in organised politics was a legacy of the National Democratic Party's efforts to reform the Nationalist Party, while the commitment to radical socio-economic reform was at least partly a consequences of the influence of the Republican Labour Party'. At one point in her article on 'new nationalism' Campbell reproduces this argument made by McAllister practically verbatim, illustrating how her approach to the history of northern nationalism since the late 1950s, and, moreover, the conclusions she has drawn via exploration of it, are very similar to his. See Campbell, 'New Nationalism?', *Irish Historical Studies*, p. 429.

[57] McLoughlin, *John Hume and the Revision of Irish Nationalism*, p. xvii.

[58] Ibid, p. 10

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This flawed perspective is now dominant and needs challenging. Apart from anything else, McLoughlin admitted Hume was not directly involved in either National Unity or the N.D.P.[59] That is not to say McLoughlin was incorrect to posit a link between Hume's early political thinking and pre-existing currents of thought within northern nationalism: cross-fertilization of ideas no doubt occurred. As Annabel Brett has highlighted, however, when studying the history of political thought there always exists the danger of 'submerging the author in discourse'.[60]

Hume's political evolution has basically been depicted by scholars of northern nationalism as a process of 'passive absorption' of ideas, rather than one inherently creative.[61] In seeking to account for the nature of Hume's early political thinking why focus predominantly upon political groupings he was *not* directly involved with, instead of analysing what he actually *was* doing in the early to mid-1960s, which was completing an M.A. in Modern History through St. Patrick's College? Why not also consider Hume's own intellectual biography, and thus his earlier undergraduate education in St. Patrick's? Indeed, why not consider the relationship between his strand of 'revisionist' or 'new' nationalism and his vision of history, especially his vision of the history of Derry which weighed heavy on his mind in 1964? Therefore, despite their limitations, there is a sense in which the three existing journalistic biographies of Hume, particularly the first of them produced by Barry White in 1984, retain an edge over the scholarship, given all three have offered rudimentary profiles of Hume the seminarian, and relatively brief and

[59] McLoughlin, *John Hume and the Revision of Irish Nationalism*, p. 10: 'Though he was not directly involved in either National Unity or the NDP, he clearly supported their reformist agenda'.
[60] Annabel Brett, 'What is Intellectual History Now?', in David Cannadine (ed.) *What is History Now?* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 123.
[61] Ibid.

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simplistic reflections on the relationship between his political thought and his postgraduate studies in history.[62]

It should be said by May 1964 Hume had already scripted and produced a short film *A City Solitary*, for a BBC Arts festival in the city.[63] The film depicted the history of Derry since the late 1600s and was basically a visual representation of the M.A. thesis he was then preparing, and the research he had done for it. It is replete with shots of Hume's finger pointing to nineteenth century advertisements for emigrant ships which he had identified in Derry's newspapers during the course of his archival research. *A City Solitary* was another important source Murray and McLoughlin both ignored in their studies of the development of Hume's political thinking since 1964, despite the existing journalistic biographies flagging the existence of the film.[64] Like the M.A. thesis itself, *A City Solitary* is also relatively easy to obtain via The Nerve Centre in Derry. More importantly, the opening shot of the film, a panorama of Derry taken from the Waterside area of the city, overlaid with a Biblical quote taken from Jeremias, 'How doth the City sit Solitary that was full of people', is arguably the best illustration of the trinity of intellectual influences which had moulded Hume's thinking up until that point; Derry and its history, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, and, of course, Catholicism.

It also needs emphasising McLoughlin and Campbell have urged Irish historians to consider the changes occurring within nationalist thinking *within* Northern Ireland during the late 1950s and 1960s, and how this process influenced Hume and other founding members of the S.D.L.P. Yet Hume attended university in the Republic of Ireland during the mid to late-1950s. Admittedly St. Patrick's was then a cloistered and rather world-renouncing institution. Nevertheless, it drew its student body and faculty from all over

[62] On Hume in Maynooth see White, *Statesman of the Troubles*, pp. 17-30.; Drower, *Man of Peace*, pp. 26-30, Routledge, *John Hume*, pp. 30-44.
[63] The Nerve Centre, John Hume and Terence McDonald, *A City Solitary* (1963).
[64] See, for example, White, *Statesman of the Troubles*, pp. 40-42.

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the country, and also Europe and North America. Moreover, in his history of the college Patrick Corish observed how throughout the 1950s St. Patrick's was neither totally immune from, nor totally unreceptive to, the consequences of Ireland's increasing engagement with the forces of modernity.[65] For example, seminarians were allowed access to the Irish dailies in January 1957, something strictly forbidden until this point.[66]

That in studies by Murray, McLoughlin, and Campbell, Hume seems to simply *appear* in Irish history in May 1964, more or less intellectually fully-formed, and articulating a relatively sophisticated political philosophy through a mature and well-written newspaper article has gone unquestioned. Whilst the scholarly drive to contextualise his political thinking and, by extension, the early philosophy of the S.D.L.P., is to be admired, it has yielded unsatisfactory results primarily because scholars have situated these political ideologies within an unduly contracted historical context. For one thing, the analytical frameworks developed by McLoughlin and Campbell are to a large extent partitionist. By ignoring his relationship with St. Patrick's College between 1954 and 1964 these scholars of have effectively partitioned Hume's thinking off from his intellectual provenance, at once distorting and limiting our understanding of his political evolution, almost like the way in which, as Hume contended in *A City Solitary*, Partition in 1920 effectively cut his city off from its natural Donegal hinterland, warping and damaging its traditional economy. Indeed, it is worth highlighting McLoughlin's presentation of 'The Northern Catholic' as Hume first public discussion of the idea of Irish unity is questionable. The history of Derry Hume advanced in *A City Solitary* was certainly an earlier public *reflection* on the constitutional question.

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[65] Patrick J. Corish, *Maynooth College, 1795-1995* (Dublin, 1995), p. 343.

[66] Corish, *Maynooth College,* p. 343.The papers supplied were the *Irish Independent* and the *Irish Press*. According to Corish on the first day that the papers were provided in the recreation rooms they were swiftly stolen, a seminarian believing they had been left there by mistake.

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It could well be Hume's intellectual relationship with Maynooth has been neglected because scholars such as Murray and McLoughlin deemed it evidentially inaccessible. Whilst understandable, this is not the case. True, this study has unearthed valuable new sources directly relating to Hume's studies in history at St. Patrick's from his personal papers at his home in Derry. Owing to illness Hume could not be interviewed, but his wife Patricia proved extremely co-operative, though she preferred not to engage in recorded interviews. Hume and his wife have traditionally been co-operative with scholars, however. No doubt Hume's own academic background is a factor in this respect, much like the way in which Trimble, being a former lecturer in Law, has tended to co-operate with researchers (this study being a case in point) even when, as in the case of Dean Godson, they were preparing studies presenting his political strategy and accomplishments in a less than positive light. For example, Hume's preparatory notes and planning for his history of Derry were once lent to a student researching a similar historical theme who never returned them.[67]

Furthermore, a read through any of the existing three journalistic biographies of Hume reveals he was taught history at St. Patrick's by Fr. Thomas Fee – Tomás Ó Fiaich – later Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All-Ireland. Consequently, the Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich Library and Archive in the City of Armagh is an obvious and, moreover, relatively convenient point of call for anyone researching Hume's intellectual biography. The catalogue for the archive can be accessed online and gaining access to Ó Fiaich papers, once housed in the Russell Library in St. Patrick's College, is a relatively straightforward affair. As a result, this study has been able to procure two sets of lecture notes, one set covering modern Irish history, the other modern European history, used by Ó Fiaich when lecturing Hume at St. Patrick's in the 1950s, along with documentation

[67] Personal knowledge.

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relating to Ó Fiaich's own historical training and career. A more detailed exploration of these materials resides, of course, in chapter one.

What of St. Patrick's College itself? As mentioned, Hume's M.A. thesis resides in the College's John Paul II Library, though it can be obtained without actually venturing to Maynooth. In fact, repeated ordering of the thesis in preparation for this study prompted the library staff to digitise the manuscript, so presumably it is now all the more easy to obtain. Given all of Ó Fiaich's papers reside in Armagh, one might consequently be forgiven for thinking there was little to be gained by visiting St. Patrick's itself. There was, of course. For one thing it was necessary to visit Maynooth merely in order to get a feel for the place and its history; to exercise the historical imagination; to lie under the College's great Yew Tree and walk it corridors as a means of getting into the mind of an undergraduate Hume. It was, after all, Robert Dudley Edwards, a figure who, as shall be seen, was involved in Ó Fiaich's historical training at University College Dublin during the late 1950s, who warned if the historian, 'failed to make contact with his material at every stage, he will ultimately be challenged for having failed in his historical duty'.[68]

Admittedly access to Hume's personal papers in Derry precipitated the discovery of his earliest published writings which appeared in the Easter 1956 edition of the St. Patrick's College magazine, *The Silhouette*. These important sources could have been arrived at via a different route, however. In his history of St. Patrick's College, Corish highlighted how issues of *The Silhouette*, housed in the Russell Library in St. Patrick's, grant unique insights into student culture within the cloistered world of the College during the 1950s.[69] Naturally this body of source material would demand attention in a study of Hume's seminary experience. In addition, Corish frequently utilised the St. Patrick's

[68] R. Dudley Edwards, 'An Agenda for Irish History, 1978-2018', in Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History*, p. 63.
[69] Corish, *Maynooth College*, pp. 339-341.

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College Calendar, its yearly syllabus, the back issues of which are also available for consultation in the Russell Library. Examination of these for the appropriate years during the 1950s has furnished this study with the broad outlines and content of Ó Fiaich's courses on Modern History, and moreover, the range of other subjects Hume studied whilst completing his B.A.

Evidentially then, the opportunity to cast light on Hume's experience at Maynooth has existed for some time. Theoretically the new sources deployed here were available to scholars such as Murray and McLoughlin if they had decided to pursue the Maynooth dimension of Hume's political evolution. Just like Campbell, however, Murray and McLoughlin were intrigued and ultimately absorbed, it would seem, by the S.D.L.P. party papers housed in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, consequently failing to explore other important lines of enquiry, and archival resources. That each scholar drew extensively upon these papers arguably accounts for the fundamental similarities between their studies. Significantly, the way in which the S.D.L.P. party papers have been mined by this trinity of scholars rendered this study determined to contribute to understandings of Hume's political thinking, and thus the broader ideological evolution of northern nationalism, via the discovery and excavation of other evidential holdings.

The first chapter of this thesis exploits these hitherto unutilised archival resources in order to correct the historiographical shortcomings exposed above. It is more than merely a response paper, however. It does its own thing, contributing a much needed portrait of an undergraduate Hume in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, during the mid-1950s. The chapter reveals, for the first time, what history the future 'peacemaker' learnt under Tomás Ó Fiaich, and considers how Hume's studies of the past in Maynooth informed and moulded his youthful historical imagination. It assesses how the environment of Maynooth and Hume's studies at the seminary, impacted upon his early

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intellectual evolution. What is more, it offers reflections upon the relationship between his undergraduate studies in history and the postgraduate thesis on the history Derry he ultimately produced under Ó Fiaich. Most importantly, it explores the relationship between Hume's vision of history and the influential strand of nationalist thought he articulated in 'The Northern Catholic'.

The (Historiographical) Picture of Gerry Adams

If the relationship between Hume's historical imagination and early political thinking has gone unexplored, the same can be said with regard his future fellow 'peacemaker', Gerry Adams. What is more, if the opportunity to explore the relationship between Hume's vision of history and his early political thinking political thinking has existed for some time, this is likewise true in the case of Adams. There exists a valuable and, again, relatively accessible body of sources which facilitates this analytical enterprise.

As shall be seen, Hume underwent a process of relatively intense intellectual evolution in Maynooth during the mid-1950s. Crucially, so did Adams roughly twenty years later, whilst confined within Long Kesh Prison, near Lisburn, Co. Antrim. Adams was interned within Long Kesh Prison on two occasions, briefly during the spring of 1972, and again between July 1973 and February 1977. After two failed escape attempts in 1973 he became a sentenced prisoner confined within Cage 11 of the prison. Here he resigned himself to mental as opposed to physical liberation, engaging in what he has described as an educational 'agenda' that saw him – as Irish republicans have traditionally tended to do in prison – reading up on Irish history and learning Irish.[70] As Richard English has observed, prison, 'has long been a major feature of IRA experience', with republicans frequently, 'pursuing programmes of study…[as a means of] self-

[70] Gerry Adams, *Before the Dawn: An Autobiography* (Dingle, 1996), p. 241.

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improvement, and a way of loosening the shackles and of gaining some degree of autonomy'.[71]

Adams' 'educational agenda' precipitated a series of prison writings, produced under the pen-name 'Brownie'. These writings were smuggled out and published by Danny Morrison, then editor of *Republican News*, the primary Provisional organ, between August 1975 and February 1977. Adams' 'Brownie' articles bequeath intellectual (sometimes even literal) portraits of the Provisional as a young man.[72] They allow one to gaze upon his evolving vision of history, its intellectual origins, and, moreover, the relationship between it and the influential mode of republicanism he articulated from behind the wire. As such the prison writings facilitate consideration of the important relationship between Adams' vision of history, his early political thinking, and the walled environment of Long Kesh Prison. The 'Brownie' articles provide an ideal starting point, in fact, for the process of constructing a more vibrant and detailed historiographical picture of Gerry Adams than the simplistic and sketchy black and white caricature currently in existence.

The 'Brownie' articles do not, however, constitute Adams' earliest entry print, as was assumed by Colm Keena and the literary critic Lachlan Whalen in the latter's close study of Provisional republican prison writing.[73] Importantly, Adams was contributing and, what is more, contributing history, to rough and ready republican publications before he ever set foot in Long Kesh. An article on the history of McRory Park and the G.A.A. in West Belfast which appeared in *The Tatler* in July 1971, a newssheet produced in

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[71] Richard English, *Armed Struggle: A History of the IRA* (London, 2003), p. 228.
[72] For example, Adams is depicted and named in the illustration provided by 'Flossie' for the 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams] article 'A Festive Backstab', *Republican News*, 25 Dec. 1976. The figure sitting at the desk writing in the illustration by 'Flossie' for the 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams] article 'The National Alternative', *Republican News*, 3 April 1976, also bears an uncanny resemblance to Adams.
[73] See Colm Keena, *Gerry Adams: A Biography* (Cork, 199); p. 64, Lachlan Whalen, *Contemporary Irish Republican Prison Writing: Writing and Resistance* (Basingstoke, 2007), p. 17.

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Andersontown by the Liam McParland Cumman of Sinn Féin during the early 1970s, was almost certainly written by a young Adams.[74] In his 1996 autobiography *Before the Dawn* Adams described how he helped produce and also wrote for *The Tatler* at that time.[75] Furthermore, the article in *The Tatler* was reproduced almost verbatim as paragraphs in Adams' first book *Falls Memories: A Belfast Life*, published by Steven McDonagh's Brandon Press in 1982, the year before Adams' became President of Sinn Féin. Indeed, the article from *The Tatler* was also more or less reproduced in Adams' 1991 *Who Fears to Speak…? The Story of Belfast and the 1916 Rising*.[76]

Adams has also claimed he was sending short letters, written under various pen-names (foreshadowing his later incarnation as 'Brownie' in the mid-1970s), to the *Irish Times* during the late 1960s.[77] Given his propensity to write, this is probably the case. Consequently, Adams' 'Brownie' phase should be viewed as just that; a *phase* in his evolution as a writer, certainly not the beginning of it. Moreover, the article in *The Tatler* indicates Adams was interested in, and had developed a vision of Irish history, especially of the history of West Belfast, before he entered Long Kesh. It is possible to view his article on McRory Park in *The Tatler* as a primitive draft of *Falls Memories* and *Who Fears to Speak…?* That said, the appearance of the first 'Brownie' article 'Inside Story' in *Republican News* on 16th August 1975 basically marks the moment Adams began generating his rather voluminous paper trail, and Whalen was right to suggest the prison writings foreshadow Adams' career as a published author.[78]

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[74] Linen Hall Library, N.I.P.C. [Northern Ireland Political Collection], 'Seaghan's Park' [anonymous], *The Tatler*, no. 17 (July 1971).
[75] Adams, *Before the Dawn*, p. 118.
[76] See Gerry Adams, *Falls Memories: A Belfast Life* (Dingle, 1994; 1st edn 1982), pp. 44-45; Gerry Adams, *Who Fears to Speak…?: Belfast and the Story of the 1916 Rising* (Belfast, 2001; 1st edn 1991), p. 16.
[77] Adams, *Before the Dawn*, p. 80.
[78] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Inside Story', *Republican News*, 16 Aug. 1975.

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The 'Brownie' articles and back-issues of *Republican News* can be accessed in the Linen Hall Library, Belfast, as part of its valuable and extensive Northern Ireland Political Collection (NIPC). Whilst they are relatively easy to procure, use of the 'Brownie' articles is not straightforward however. There has been debate as to whether Adams authored every one of the articles. Given certain of these, such as 'Active Republicanism', imply I.R.A. membership, Adams has, for obvious political reasons, claimed he was not the sole author of the series.[79] Nevertheless, in his 1996 autobiography *Before the Dawn* he reflected upon his 'Brownie' column admitting authorship of several 'Brownie' articles such as 'Inside Story', 'Active Abstentionism', 'Active Republicanism' and 'The National Alternative'.[80] At no point did he claim the column was a collective effort. Adams also published many of the 'Brownie' articles in edited form as *Cage 11* in 1990.[81]

According to the testimony of Brendan Hughes, Adams' one-time cage-mate and supporter in Cage 11, the 'Brownie' articles were 'totally Gerry's baby'.[82] Thus both men's statements as to the authorship of the articles are problematic. For one thing, many of the 'Brownie' articles are memorable owing to the quite excellent and frequently allegorical illustrations provided by 'Flossie'; one thinks of the depiction of a studious republican prisoner engrossed in a book which he provided for the article 'The Orange State'.[83] Furthermore, in the article 'A Week in the Life', 'Brownie' described seeing 'Flossie about doing the wee drawing for this page'.[84] Furthermore, in 'Exit Flossie, Enter

[79] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Active Republicanism', *Republican News*, 1 May 1976: 'God knows, maybe I won't fight again and it will be cast up at me'. According to David Sharrock and Mark Devenport when questioned by one of the authors on the issue Adams, 'maintained that the Brownie articles were not written solely by him but were the work of a number of prisoners'. See Sharrock and Devenport, *Man of War, Man of Peace*, p. 132.
[80] Adams, *Before the Dawn*, pp. 245-248.
[81] See Gerry Adams, *Cage 11* (Dingle, 2002; 1st edn 1990).
[82] Ed Moloney, *Voices from the Grave: Two Men's War in Ireland* (London, 2010), p. 197.
[83] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Orange State', *Republican News*, 11 Dec. 1976. This study has been unable to discover the identity of 'Flossie'.
[84] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'A Week in the Life', *Republican News*, 29 May 1976.

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Cosmo', which appeared in August 1976, not long before Adams' own release that coming spring, 'Brownie' described how for 'a whole year' he and 'Flossie', 'worked together, day in and day out. He drew the cartoons and I wrote about them. The tensions, sweat blood, and tears which preceded the finished articles became legendary in Long Kesh and the results of our labours filled many pages of *Republican News*'.[85] It would seem 'Flossie' has not been given due recognition for his contribution to the 'Brownie' series, either from Adams or Hughes.

The latter's statement with regards the origins of the 'Brownie' articles is also problematic as he came to vehemently oppose the so-called 'Adams leadership' when it opted for the Peace Process. Moreover, figures involved in the project whereby Hughes' memories of Long Kesh (memories which, of course, provide insights into Adams' prison experience) were recorded and ultimately published have been determined to prove Adams' I.R.A. membership, hence the desire to illustrate all the 'Brownie' articles were produced by the current President of Sinn Féin. As Ian McBride has observed, "dissident' republicans of the 1990s', such as Anthony McIntyre, who conducted the interviews with Hughes, have been loudly critical of Sinn Féin, whilst Ed Moloney's, 'anonymous sources include a disproportionate number of disgruntled militarists, cast aside as Adams and McGuiness steered the Provisionals towards compromise', militarists such as Hughes.[86]

It could well be one or two of the 'Brownie' articles were produced by prisoners other than Adams; or by the latter in conjunction with other prisoners. This study, however, adopts the perspective all the articles were mostly written by him. Controversial as this might be, it does seem to be the case. Until evidence comes to light conclusively

[85] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Exit Brownie: *Slan Libh*', *Republican News*, 19 Feb. 1977.
[86] Ian McBride, 'In the Shadow of Gunmen: Irish Historians and the IRA', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 46 (3), 2011, p. 709.

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proving otherwise, one may proceed on this basis. Admittedly, this assumption renders the process of writing upon the 'Brownie' articles somewhat more straightforward. Here 'Brownie' and Adams are used interchangeably to refer to the author of that column in *Republican News*.

Adams' prison experience is undoubtedly an extremely important phase in his intellectual evolution. Scholars of modern Irish republicanism are generally agreed the 'Brownie' articles demonstrate Adams' political thinking became more sophisticated in Long Kesh, subsequently influencing the political mentality and direction of the republican movement. According to Richard English the articles, 'reflect a process that has, one more than one occasion, occurred in Irish Republican thinking: experience of prison contributing significantly to the evolution of political thought'.[87] Likewise, Henry Patterson has highlighted how, during the mid to late-1970s, 'a strain of leftist republicanism was emerging [in Long Kesh], with Adams at it centre'.[88] Richard Bourke also observed how, 'the main impetus behind a programme of political rejuvenation [within the Provisional movement] came from inside the prison communities, with Gerry Adams prominent among principle exponents of change'.[89]

Much like the way in which scholarship on the evolution of northern nationalism and the S.D.L.P. has tended to trace the origins of the Peace Process and Good Friday Agreement back to the political ideas Hume advanced in 'The Northern Catholic' in 1964, there has likewise been a tendency to trace the origins of the Peace Process back to the mode of politicised Provisionalism Adams articulated in 'Active Abstentionism', and subsequent articles in which he advanced his mode of republican thought, such as 'The National Alternative'. As Richard Bourke has observed, standard 'accounts of the

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[87] English, *Armed Struggle*, p. 228.
[88] Henry Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion: A Political History of the IRA* (London, 1997), p. 184.
[89] Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, p. 165.

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trajectory of the Irish peace process trace its origins back to the key moment at which the Provisionals turned 'political'.[90]

For example, Lachlan Whalen has contended in articles such as the latter, 'Adams advocated a fusion of military and political action…[which began] a sea-change in Republican ideology that eventually [resulted] in the abandonment of electoral abstentionism, the Provisional IRA ceasefire, the Good Friday Agreement and the total decommissioning of PIRA weapons that took place in September 2005'.[91] According to Ed Moloney, Adams' idea of 'active abstentionism' was, 'just another way of encouraging political activity in an organization in which "politics" was considered to be a dirty word', and later found, 'tangible expression when Sinn Fein started to fight elections', leading inexorably to the movement's entry into the talks process in the 1990s.[92] So in terms of the literatures, 'Active Abstentionism' is to Adams and the republican movement what 'The Northern Catholic' is to Hume and northern nationalism. A key similarity between these articles has been missed by scholars and journalists, however. Both were produced by men simultaneously engaged in programmes of historical study– one formal, the other very informal – thus the political ideas both men advanced were to a large extent premised upon various visions of history.

There is a further parallel to be drawn between the way in which Murray, McLoughlin, and Campbell have depicted Hume's early political thinking as more or less a product of ideological and organisational developments within northern nationalism during the late 1950s and early 1960s, neglecting his own intellectual biography in the process, and the way in which the influential journalistic commentary upon Adams has presented the political ideas he advanced as 'Brownie' as largely indebted to the ideology

[90] Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, p. 382.
[91] Lachlan Whalen, *Contemporary Irish Republican Prison Writing*, p. 40.
[92] Ed Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA* (London, 2002), p. 151.

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developed and advanced by the left-wing republican leadership headed by Cathal Goulding during the 1960s.

For example, David Sharrock and Mark Devenport argued in Cage 11 Adams developed, 'his political thought reaching back to his experiences in the 'political' IRA of Cathal Goulding'.[93] Similarly, Moloney insisted Adams' idea of 'Active Abstentionism' was merely borrowed 'from his days as a Goulding republican'.[94] Henry Patterson has also drawn a line of descent, albeit in a much more sophisticated and convincing manner, between the strain of leftist Provisionalism Adams advanced from Cage 11 and that forged by the Goulding leadership during the 1960s.[95] That these relatively conspicuous historiographical trends have gone unnoticed attests to the way in which commentary upon on Adams, Hume, and the political movements they ultimately led – constitutional nationalism and republicanism – has evolved in relative isolation. True, Gerard Murray's and Jonathan Tonge's 2005 *Sinn Féin and the SDLP* was a step in the direction of a comparative study of the recent political history of Northern Ireland.[96] It basically offered two separate histories, presented in parallel, however, the authors making little effort made to tease out connections, let alone evolve sustained comparisons, between the histories of both parties, or for that matter, their respective historiographies.

Comparison of the existing commentary on the development of Adams' and Hume's political thinking also demonstrates how historians and political scientists have been inclined to present the late twentieth century histories of northern nationalism and republicanism as narratives of straightforward, relatively seamless, ideological evolution.

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[93] Sharrock and Devenport, *Man of War, Man of Peace*, p. 131.
[94] Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, p. 151.
[95] Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion*, pp. 181-186.
[96] See Gerard Murray and Jonathan Tonge, *Sinn Féin and the SDLP: From Alienation to Participation* (London, 2005).

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It would appear authors have found, in the vision of northern nationalism and republicanism evolving in a rather linear fashion, a useful and convenient organising mechanism. Arguably Hume's intellectual relationship with Maynooth has been dismissed precisely because it complicates that vision of northern nationalism evolving neatly and naturally *within* the context of Northern Ireland from National Unity in 1959, to the establishment of the N.D.P., to the formation of nationalist opposition to Stormont in the late 1960s, to the formation of the S.D.L.P. in the summer of 1970, political ideas naturally diffusing from one grouping to the next. It is also true both literatures have consequently undermined the originality of the strands of political thought developed by Hume and Adams, and thus the vibrancy of each man's political imagination. Authors have done so for very different reasons, however.

As touched on above, in the case of Hume there has been an entirely understandable drive, particularly evident in the work of McLoughlin and Campbell, to de-centre the Derryman with regard the history of the S.D.L.P. As McLoughlin has correctly observed, there has been, 'a tendency in commentary on the Northern Ireland problem to conflate the thinking of John Hume and the political ideology of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, implying the latter is merely the progeny of the former. This does a disservice to those who founded the party alongside Hume, and to the countless others who have contributed to the formulation of the SDLP policy over the years'.[97] The determination to dispense with the traditional Hume-centric, basically 'Great Man' man approach to the recent history of northern nationalism and the evolution of the S.D.L.P. is to be commended. Indeed, it very much complements the way in which

[97] McLoughlin, "…it's a United Ireland or Nothing'?', *Irish Political Studies*, p 157.

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Christopher Farrington sought to move the focus away from the elite leadership of Ulster Unionism within his analysis of that movement's relationship with the Peace Process.[98]

Yet this drive to de-centre Hume from accounts of the evolution of northern nationalism is undermined by the way which scholars seem apathetic toward the simplistic 'Great Man' perspective on the history of the conflict advanced in much of the existing journalistic commentary on Adams and the republican movement. As Ian McBride has rightly observed, in works such as Moloney's *A Secret History of the IRA*, 'Adams alone…appears as the mastermind directing the republican campaign at each significant turn'.[99] It is a perspective resembling that existing in the wake of the Second World War, when, as A.J.P. Taylor highlighted, 'critics made a great fuss about Hitler, attributing to him sole responsibility for the war or something near to it.'[100] Moloney has essentially done likewise, devoting his *A Secret History of the IRA*, basically an exposure of the alleged 'secret', militaristic dimensions of Adams' biography, to 'all the people who lost their lives in the Northern Ireland Troubles'.[101] The 'Great Man' perspective on Hitler does not wash anymore; historians of the Holocaust deem it highly ineffective, even offensive. This outmoded perspective on Adams needs challenging.

The tendency, on the part of authors, to present the strand of republicanism Adams articulated from Long Kesh as more or less a camouflaged version of the mode of politicised republicanism developed by the Goulding leadership undermines the President of Sinn Féin and his intellectual capacity. To begin with, by implying Adams managed to merely successfully re-brand and sell the mode of politicised republicanism evolved in the 1960s, authors insinuate the Goulding leadership, and subsequently the

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[98] See Christopher Farrington, *Ulster Unionism and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2006), p. 1.
[99] McBride, 'In the Shadow of Gunmen', *Journal of Contemporary History*, p. 702.
[100] A.J.P. Taylor, *Origins of the Second World War*, (Middlesex, 1964; 1st edn 1961), pp. 9-10.
[101] Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*. See Moloney's dedication [no pagination].

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Officials, were essentially right in their political diagnosis of Northern Ireland; were right in their belief republican politics as opposed to armed struggle could deliver a socially just republican united Ireland. The logical conclusion therefore, is the Provisional campaign since the mid-1970s (largely masterminded, of course, by Adams) was wrong and needless, and a large swathe of the 'Troubles' avoidable. It is important in this sense that, as Ian McBride has also highlighted, 'almost without exception, the most vociferous critics of the Provisionals come from the left of republicanism itself – from those who belonged to the Official IRA or its successor organization the Workers' Party', and who have been determined to exact, as McBride has put it, 'literary revenge'.[102]

It is also worth noting here the way in which scholarship has sought to impute consistency with regard the ideological evolution of northern nationalism and the political strategy of the S.D.L.P., presenting the Good Friday Agreement as a convincing vindication of Hume and his party's political approach. According to Adrian Guelke, a key strength of Murray's 1998 work on Hume and the S.D.L.P. was it challenged the notion the party had 'been inconsistent in its approach to the quest for a negotiated settlement'.[103] Likewise McLoughlin has argued although Hume's, 'efforts to revise Irish nationalist thinking were often compromised by the need to maintain political support' amongst a highly politicised Catholic nationalist community in Northern Ireland, nevertheless, 'Hume upheld certain key principles', such as his commitment to the 'principle of consent'.[104] Elsewhere McLoughlin has contended Hume 'never surrendered the ambition of Irish unity' and that, moreover, the latter's 'original position on Irish unity was vindicated' by the Good Friday Agreement.[105]

[102] McBride, 'In the Shadow of Gunmen', *Journal of Contemporary History*, p. 709.
[103] See preface by Adrian Guelke to Murray, *John Hume and the SDLP*, p. ix.
[104] McLoughlin, *John Hume and the Revision of Irish Nationalism*, pp. xviii-xx.
[105] McLoughlin, "…it's a United Ireland or Nothing'?', pp. 176-177.

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In contrast, much commentary on the republican movement under the 'Adams leadership' has been at pains to emphasise the various ideological and strategic about turns it has been forced to make, not least with regard the Provisionals' initial embrace of armed struggle and rejection of partitionist politics. For example, Kevin Rafter has argued Adams led, 'Irish republicanism into the biggest compromises, U-turns and concessions in its near century-old history'.[106] Similarly, according to Brian Feeney, 'despite republican claims to have remained constant and unchanging, in the century since its foundation Sinn Féin has morphed into completely different forms, some unrecognisable from its predecessors'.[107] Henry McDonald's 2008 *Gunsmoke and Mirrors: How Sinn Féin Dressed up Defeat as Victory* is case in point.[108] The latter work is also a good example of the way in which figures hailing from the Official hinterland have been extremely critical of the republican movement under Adams, deeming it to have needlessly spilt blood: 'the armed campaign was utterly unnecessary, unwanted, and even from the vantage point of the early 1970s, completely counter-productive'.[109] So one literature stresses ideological consistency, the other celebrates inconsistency. That said, by doing so the latter body of commentary imputes – whether consciously or unconsciously – a fair degree of ideological consistency to the republican movement since the 1960s.

By contending Adams' merely borrowed most of his key political ideas, such as 'Active Abstentionism', from his days as a Goulding republican in the mid to late-1960s, commentators seek to downplay the former's intellectual capacity. Again, that is not to say cross-fertilisation of ideas did not occur. This is certainly not a study of the evidently

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[106] Kevin Rafter, *Sinn Fein, 1905-2005: In The Shadow of Gunmen* (Dublin, 2005), p. 4.
[107] Brian Feeney, *Sinn Fein: A Hundred Turbulent Years* (Dublin, 2002), p. 12.
[108] See Henry McDonald, *Gunsmoke and Mirrors: How Sinn Féin Dressed Up Defeat as Victory* (Dublin, 2008).
[109] Ibid, p. x.

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complex relationship between the strand of Provisionalism Adams articulated from Long Kesh, and the mode of republicanism developed by the Goulding leadership. Furthermore, it does not explore the 'Brownie' articles with a view to understanding how Adams sought to empower and sell his own mode of politicised Provisionalism at the expense of its Official competitor, or, for that matter, how Adams articulated his own mode of Provisionalism as means of disempowering and displacing the original, largely anti-political, leadership of the Provisional movement during the mid-1970s. As Andrew Sanders has highlighted, whilst in Cage 11 Adams was basically writing against the backdrop of, 'the split that never was for the Provisional IRA', when a new leadership emerged around the future President of Sinn Féin, usurping the existing Dublin-based leadership that, owing to its decision to call a ceasefire in 1975, 'was perceived to be out of touch with the realities of the northern campaign'.[110] Indeed, Whalen has argued Adams' 'rise to prominence with the Provisional movement came about in part because of his success in the war of words played out in Republican periodicals'.[111]

Here the focus is on Adams' historical formation in Cage 11; on the relationship between his evolving vision of history and the development of his political thinking within that environment. There is to be no extended treatment of the relationship between Adams' mode of Provisionalism and the thinking advanced by the Goulding leadership although there are obvious manifestations of it. For example, as shall be seen, the culture of education and debate Adams evolved in Long Kesh was informed by various visions of Irish history, but his thinking in this respect surely owed much to his involvement in the Wolfe Tone Societies developed by the Goulding leadership in 1964 as forums for radical and reflexive republican debate.[112]

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[110] Andrew Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy* (Edinburgh, 2011), p. 77.
[111] Whalen, *Contemporary Irish Republican Prison Writing*, p.17.
[112] On the evolution and purpose of the Wolfe Tone Societies see English, *Armed Struggle*, pp. 85-91.

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Much like in the case of the scholarship on Hume, however, by implying Adams simply drew upon, and only slightly modified, pre-existing strands of republican thought in his early political writings, the man is consequently presented as not being capable of evolving his own political philosophy, only of absorbing, modifying, and redeploying ideas already extant. Much like Hume, Adams has been stripped of an intellectual biography. This is seen to be supplied by the history of the republican movement itself. There is certainly a sense in which, to employ a concept developed by Roy Foster, Adams' biography has tended to be utilised as a microcosmic history of the republican movement and the republican movement as a scaled-up biography of him.[113] Moloney's *A Secret History of the IRA* is a prime example.

Indeed, most of the existing scholarly analyses of Adams' prison writings are subsumed with studies concerned with the broader history of modern Irish republicanism, such as Patterson's *The Politics of Illusion: A Political History of the IRA*, English's *Armed Struggle: A History of the IRA*, and Bourke's *Peace in Ireland.* Ian McBride is quite right, English *has* demonstrated a 'sophisticated culture of political, social and cultural debate, especially amongst paramilitary prisoners', thus illustrating Provisional thinking has undergone a complex evolution since the early 1970s.[114] The latter has, not, however, furnished us with a similar treatment of Adams' own equally complex ideological evolution. Hitherto, scholars such as Patterson and English, and journalists such as Moloney, have typically considered the 'Brownie' articles, particularly articles such as 'Active Abstentionism', 'The National Alternative' and 'The Republic: A Reality', in order to demonstrate *what* exactly Adams was arguing, and how his arguments related to earlier developments in republican thought, and how they ultimately influenced the subsequent development of the republican movement. Whalen

[113] R.F. Foster, *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making it all up in Ireland* (London, 2001), p. xi.
[114] McBride, 'The Shadow of Gunmen', *Journal of Contemporary History*, p. 701.

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subjected the majority of Adams' prison writings to close examination in his monograph on Provisional prison writing, expertly theorising both the republican prison experience, and the production of prison literature. Valuable as Whalen's work on Adams' prison writings is – this study has naturally utilised it extensively – as a literary critic he was instinctively concerned with what the young Provisional was *doing* by engaging in the production of prison writing, such as attempting to both subvert and evade the prison's disciplinary regime. Whalen was, of course, primarily interested in the relationship between writing and resistance, not between Adams' political thinking and the ideological resource of history.

It can be argued the only person to have considered *why* Adams thought the way he did in Cage 11; to have studied what the latter was actually reading in the prison, and thus the intellectual influences then moulding his political thinking, is Richard Bourke. Yet he focused primarily upon Adams' thinking on the ideas of democracy and imperialism. Consequently, this study seeks to do for Adams' intellectual relationship with ideas of history what Bourke did for the former's relationship with the idea of democracy and imperialism. It might even be contended Bourke's determination to present the Northern Ireland conflict as a fundamentally modern one; as a civil war precipitated by conflicting interpretations of the quintessentially modern idea of democracy, perhaps distracted him somewhat from, or prevented him from exploring, the significant historical dimensions of the republican thought Adams articulated from Long Kesh.

Fearghal McGarry has observed how 'an awareness of history, and its uses, has long been a notable characteristic of modern Irish Republicanism', with the modern-day movement displaying a, 'marked preoccupation with the past…[and deriving] much of

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its strength from history'.[115] Yet relatively little is known about the ways in which arguably the most important republican in Irish history used and applied visions of the past whilst developing and advancing his own influential republican vision. The second chapter of this study consequently considers Adams' engagement with the ideological resource of history whilst in Long Kesh, examining how visions of history informed the influential mode of republicanism he articulated as 'Brownie'. What of Adams' historical imagination in the mid to late-1970s? What visions of Irish history intrigued and fascinated him and why? Where did he get these visions of history from and how did they inform and influence his political thinking? Moreover, what is the relationship, if any, between Adams' vision of history, his vision of a future Irish republic, and the walled environment of Long Kesh Prison?

There is a need for a more scholarly, and, above all, believable depiction of the Provisional ideologue's early intellectual evolution. The man has aged; times have changed, yet the historiographical picture of Gerry Adams curiously remains more or less the same. And yet he still awaits his Basil Hallward as it were. Chapter two evolves a more sophisticated intellectual picture of Gerry Adams.

Trimble: The militant 'peacemaker'

Just like Adams Trimble's political biography and thinking has yet to be subjected to sustained scholarly analysis in the way Hume's has been at the hands of Murray and McLoughlin. Much like the President of Sinn Féin, the former leader of the U.U.P. remains a remote and little understood personality, despite the existence of valuable journalistic biographies. This may well have something to do with the way in which, as Alvin Jackson has observed, 'Trimble and Trimblite Unionism [has] demanded a more

[115] Fearghal McGarry, 'Introduction' to Fearghal McGarry (ed.), *Republicanism in Modern Ireland* (London, 2003), p. 1.

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sophisticated interpretative framework than has generally been applied to his movement and leadership'.[116] It could also be authors have simply found the cerebral and typically difficult and contradictory Trimble unappealing as a subject. Trimble, the 'angry face of Unionism', has arguably upheld that tradition in modern Ireland whereby political centrists have tended to be, as Jackson has also observed, 'unusually intense, angular or volatile personalities'.[117] It might also be worth suggesting that since the collapse of Trimblite Unionism in 2005 authors have found its architect relatively unappealing because they perceive him as something of a 'loser' in Irish history; as an influential leader ultimately 'worsted in the game'.[118] Suffice to say, if Adams continues to be deemed untouchable by scholars, Trimble, for whatever reason, remains relatively untouched.

Unlike Adams, however, Trimble has been perceived and depicted as a formidable intellectual force. For instance, Dean Godson contended, 'Trimble has a far more formidable pure intellect than Adams'.[119] There is a point of similarity between here between Hume and the former leader of the U.U.P, given journalistic commentary on both men has tended to emphasise, even exaggerate, their subjects' intellectual prowess, Barry White insisting Hume's method was simply to, 'think more…and to put more ideas down on paper than any other politician of his generation'.[120] It is also interesting to observe how the scholarship on the evolution of the S.D.L.P. has been increasingly inclined to take Hume's mind out of that history, whereas scholars of Ulster Unionism such as Jackson have found Trimble's mind quite fascinating.

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[116] Alvin Jackson, 'Divided Hearts, united states: historians, the union and unionists', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvi. 148 (May 2009), p. 419.
[117] See Frank Millar, *David Trimble: The Price of Peace* (Dublin, 2008; 1ST ed 2004), pp. 7-12; Jackson, *Home Rule*, p. 323.
[118] See Ciaran Brady, 'Introduction: Historians and Losers', in Ciaran Brady (ed.), *Worsted in the Game: Losers in Irish History* (Dublin, 1989), pp. 1-8.
[119] Dean Godson, *Himself Alone: David Trimble and the Ordeal of Unionism* (London, 2005) p. 399.
[120] White, *Statesman of the Troubles*, p. 272.

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Furthermore, the presentation of Trimble as a highly educated leading Unionist, as – in Christopher Farrington's analysis – both promoter and product of an 'intellectual turn' within Ulster Unionism during the mid to late 1990s, rather resembles the traditional depiction of Hume as, again, a highly educated and articulate leading Catholic nationalist who was both product and promoter of something like an progressive 'intellectual turn' within his own movement throughout the 1960s and early 1970s.[121] There is definitely a sense in which both men have been depicted as the personification of political modernity in Northern Ireland, commentators such as Frank Millar keen to present Trimble as the 'Unionist moderniser', for example, Moreover, whereas authors have endeavoured to demonstrate Adams' duplicitous nature, there has been a countervailing tendency to imply Hume's and Trimble's academic credentials have equated to moral and political integrity. 'Consistency and honesty are his hallmarks', wrote journalist John Kelly in an extended profile of the S.D.L.P. leader in the *Sunday Press* in November 1984.[122] During the referendum campaign in the early summer of 1998 Trimble's P.R. manager Steven King likewise contended that, owing to his academic background and training, the leader of the U.U.P. was instinctively inclined to be honest with voters.[123]

It can be argued in many ways Trimble has been held-up and marketed as an Orange Hume: sympathetic onlookers viewing the former's activities during the so-called 'sieges' of Drumcree in 1995 and 1996 not as indicative of right-wing or hard-line tendencies, but as admirable evidence of the strength of his ideological convictions, and just how passionately he cared for the plight of his community. Arguably Drumcree has been to Trimble's political identity what involvement in civil rights protests was to Hume's. The images of the latter marching forcefully into a solid wall of R.U.C. officers

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[121] See Farrington, *Ulster Unionism and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland*, pp. 14-24.
[122] *Sunday Press*, 18 November 1984.
[123] See 'Northern Ireland: Profile of Ulster Unionist leader David Trimble, *AP* (Associated Press) *Archive* available at www.youtube.com (last accessed 1 June 2016).

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at Drumcree in July 1995, and pointing his finger at officers from the graveyard of the church in 1996 mirror, in a sense, the classic images of Hume being restrained by police in Waterloo Place in Derry in April 1969, or of him drenched in purple dye in August 1971. Whilst such images endeared both men to a large section of their own side of the community, they simultaneously engendered a deep sense of suspicion, even loathing in the other.

And just as in the cases of Adams and Hume, Trimble's vision of history has yet to be explored, this despite his passion for study of the past having been relatively conspicuous. For one thing he has described how seventeenth century history was his favourite subject whilst completing his A-levels at Bangor Grammar School during the early 1960s.[124] In his published conversations with journalist Frank Millar he explained he was 'keenly interested' in history.[125] During an interview conducted for BBC Radio in 2005 Trimble informed journalist John Humphries history was his 'hobby'.[126] Martin Mansergh, political advisor on Northern Ireland to successive Taoiseachs has described the former leader of the U.U.P. and Nobel Laureate as 'very conscious of history'.[127] Furthermore, according to Jackson, a 'strong sense of historical precedent' is one of Trimble's 'intellectual hallmarks'.[128]

As is also the case with Adams and Hume, Trimble's vision of history has yet to be explored despite the existence of an important and, once again, easily accessible body of sources facilitating this analytical enterprise in the form of the historical writings he produced for the Ulster Society – 'for the Preservation of Ulster-British Heritage and

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[124] Henry McDonald, *Trimble* (London, 2000), pp. 16-17.
[125] Millar, *The Price of Peace*, p. 31.
[126] Transcript of BBC Radio's 'On the Ropes', available at the website of David Trimble www.davidtrimble.org (last accessed 1 June 2010).
[127] Martin Mansergh, *The Legacy of History for Making Peace in Ireland: Lectures and Commemorative Addresses* (Cork, 2003), p. 28; Jackson, *Home Rule*, p. 309.
[128] Jackson, *Home Rule*, p. 309.

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Culture – during the early to mid-1990s. Thus there exists the opportunity to develop understandings of this complex and influential 'peacemaker' by examining his historical writings in order to explore his vision of history and consider the way in which it has informed his political thought and strategy.

Significantly, much of the history Trimble has produced through the Ulster Society can be classed as military history. His historical offerings have tended to focus upon and evaluate the strategies and tactics deployed by competing forces during decisive moments of conflict in Irish history, frequently revealing a keen student of military history and strategy; someone intimate with and evidently fascinated by, the reality and rules of military engagement. His 1992 Ulster Society pamphlet *The Easter Rebellion of 1916* is a prime example.[129] Whatever else might be said of the piece, it provided a relatively detailed military history of that important engagement between republicans and British forces in Dublin. For example, Trimble explained how by, 'the Thursday morning, the British were concentrating on the GPO and during that day, drove in the Republican outposts around it'.[130] 'By the Saturday morning,' he continued, 'it was realised that the position of the handful of men in Moore Street was hopeless and a nurse was sent out with a white flag and an offer to negotiate with the British commander'.[131] According to Trimble, the 'offer was abruptly rejected and the Republicans leaders told that unconditional surrender was their only option'.[132]

Similarly, Trimble's pamphlet *The Foundation of Northern Ireland*, published by the Ulster Society in 1991, can be viewed as a case study in political warfare.[133] 'The Covenant and the Volunteers were essential to demonstrate Ulster's will and Ulster's

[129] See David Trimble, *The Easter Rebellion of 1916* (Lurgan, 1992).
[130] Ibid., p. 19.
[131] Ibid., p. 20.
[132] Ibid.
[133] See David Trimble, *The Foundation of Northern Ireland* (Lurgan, 1991), pp. 19-20.

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means to resist,' he argued, 'providing the backdrop for the political manoeuvres and negotiations in which the decisions were actually made'. As he contended in the pamphlet's conclusion, 'due regard has not been paid to the full measure of his [Craig's] and Carson's achievements, if the political context is not added to their fight against Dublin rule'.[134]

Trimble's foreword to the Ulster Society's 1996 re-issue of C.D. Milligan's *The Walls of Derry: Their Building, Defending and Preserving* is another case in point.[135] It also reveals Trimble's interest in military history and strategy. Significantly, it also illustrates he has been a student of seventeenth century siege warfare. For example, he observed how the, 'repulse of the Jacobite attempts to gain Windmill Hill on 6 May and 4 June were perhaps decisive…After their failure at the Windmill Hill the Jacobites turned their attentions to the Butcher's Gate, which because of boggy ground could not easily be bombarded at close range.'[136] Indeed, Trimble's intimacy with the military history of the siege of Derry, and with the broader history of seventeenth century warfare, is well evidenced by one of the footnotes he provided for his foreword to Milligan's history of the walls of Derry. Here Trimble explained most, 'of the artillery fire at the city during the siege was of a longer range indirect mortar fire directed at buildings inside the walls rather than at the walls themselves'.[137] 'It did considerable damage to those buildings and inflicted many causalities,' he explained, 'but had no impact on the defences themselves'.[138]

It is not just in Trimble's history one detects a student of military history, however. Crucially, there has been a distinctly militant quality about Trimble's political

[134] Trimble, *The Foundation of Northern Ireland*, pp. 31-32.
[135] Cecil Davis Milligan, *The Walls of Derry: Their Building, Defending and Preserving: Parts I & II*, (Lurgan, 1996), Foreword by David Trimble M.P., pp. vii-xiv.
[136] Milligan, *The Walls of Derry*, pp. x-xi.
[137] Ibid., p. 239.
[138] Milligan, *The Walls of Derry*, p. 239.

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thought and the vocabulary he uses to depict it. Whilst speaking to the Young Unionists Conference in October 1998, Trimble claimed he had frequently found political inspiration in the saying, 'no plan survives contact with the enemy'.[139] According to Trimble, 'one must remember that a plan is merely the tactics that are used to achieve an objective…if the plan does not survive contact with the enemy, then the plan should be modified, if necessary to keep the objective in view.'[140] That he should have pointed to his embrace of this militant phrase or mode of thought within that particular talk is significant, not least because it gives a good indication of how he viewed the republican movement. What is more, Trimble has described his speech to the Young Unionists as 'off the cuff' and 'coming from the heart', explaining if 'anyone wants to know why I have charted the course I have followed since becoming leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, they need look no further. They will find answers in this speech'.[141]

The militant quality of Trimble's political imagination is also well illustrated by a speech entitled 'As It Is' which he delivered to the Ulster Unionist Council Conference in the spring of 2002.[142] By way of conclusion he argued, it 'has been said that war is a continuation of politics by other means'. 'In Northern Ireland today,' he went on, 'that is reversed. Politics are a continuation of the so-called war by other means. We cannot run away from the political struggle.'[143] During the speech he also explained how his colleague Michael McGimpsey was well aware that within post-Agreement Northern Ireland 'culture' was 'going to be a political battleground'.[144]

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[139] David Trimble, 'Engaging Reality': Speech to the Young Unionist Conference, October 3rd 1998', available at the website of David Trimble, www.davidtrimble.org (last accessed 1 June 2016).
[140] Ibid.
[141] Trimble, 'Introduction' to David Trimble, *To Raise Up a New Northern Ireland: Speeches and Articles, 1998-2001* (Belfast, 2001), available at the website of David Trimble, www.davidtrimble.org (last accessed 1 June 2016).
[142] Trimble, '"As It is"- Ulster Unionist Council Conference 2000', available at the website of David Trimble, www.davidtrimble.org (last accessed 1 June 2016).
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.

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According to Henry McDonald, Trimble's enthusiasm for the Ulster Society established in September 1985, shortly before the introduction of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, owed much to the latter's belief that culture was becoming, as he phrased it, a 'new battleground' in Northern Ireland.[145] For example, one member of the Society claimed that largely as a result of Trimble's influence, the Society effectively became a 'cultural front in the war against republicanism'.[146] McDonald also pointed out how some of Trimble's critics within the U.U.P 'accused the Ulster Society of becoming 'Trimble's Militant tendency', on the same lines as the Labour Party's Militant wing in the 1980s'.[147] Importantly, Trimble's view of both politics and culture as virtually battlefields in Northern Ireland attests to the militant tendency within his own political imagination. Moreover, McDonald's commentary precipitates the idea Trimble's historical offerings published through the Ulster Society were attempts at continuing military and political conflict by other means

Of course, the militant quality to Trimble's imagination deserves examination because of his position as a celebrated peacemaker in Irish history. This is a paradox worthy of attention. His historical literacy with regards seventeenth century siege warfare and its rules of engagement, as illustrated by his Foreword to Milligan's history, is particularly intriguing given, as Ian McBride has demonstrated, the sheer influence of the vision of the siege of Derry upon Ulster Protestant imagination and mythology.[148] As has been seen, consideration of Trimble naturally conjures visions of the so-called 'sieges' of Drumcree in July 1995 and 1996.[149] Moreover, in McDonald contended his subject's biography and political outlook was defined by a 'sense of siege'. As he argued, 'David

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[145] McDonald, *Trimble*, p. 85.
[146] Ibid, p. 86.
[147] Ibid, p. 85.
[148] See Ian McBride, *The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant Mythology* (Dublin, 1997).
[149] On the Drumcree protests in 1995 and 1996 see Chris Ryder and Vincent Kearney, *Drumcree: The Orange Order's Last Stand* (London, 2001), especially pp. 93-175.

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Trimble grew up in a psychological atmosphere dominated by an ever present state of siege'.[150]

There is also the consequent centrality of the siege analogy within Unionist political imagination. For example, augmenting Trimble's Foreword to Milligan's history of the walls of Derry is Peter Robinson's 1988 *Their Cry was "No Surrender": An Account of the Siege of Londonderry 1688-1689*.[151] Of course. both accounts of the siege reflect contemporary political concerns. Trimble's was undoubtedly informed by his experience at Drumcree the previous year. Most likely the decision on the part of the Ulster Society to re-issue Milligan's history was precipitated by that more contemporary 'siege'. Similarly, Robinson's history was a full-blooded response to the Anglo-Irish Agreement of November 1985, which was effectively imposed upon Ulster Unionists, dedicated as the history was to 'all those whose answer to Ulster's enemies is still – "No Surrender".[152] Consequently, it can be argued Robinson cast James Molyneaux as Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Lundy, the military governor of the city during the early part of the siege (that the former was himself a military man aided the construction of the symmetry) whilst Rev. George Walker played Rev. Ian Paisley.[153] A key difference between these two histories of the siege, however, is that, importantly, Robinson's does not deal with, or more accurately, is not very much interested in, the actual military history of it. That, however, is precisely what interested Trimble.

The siege analogy has also informed scholarly analyses of Ulster Unionism, such as Arthur Aughey's *Under Siege: Ulster Unionism and the Anglo-Irish Agreement* and (if only in a rather cosmetic sense) Bryan Follis' *A State Under Siege: The Establishment*

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[150] McDonald, *Trimble*, p. 8.
[151] McBride, *The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant Mythology*, especially pp- 77-82. Peter Robinson, *Their Cry was "No Surrender": An Account of the Siege of Londonderry, 1688-1689* (Belfast, 1988).
[152] Ibid., see Robinson's dedication [no pagination].
[153] Robinson, *Their Cry was "No Surrender"*, see pp. 78-100.

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of Northern Ireland 1920-1925.[154] Richard Bourke also invoked the siege analogy whilst exploring Ulster Unionism's engagement with the idea of democracy.[155] Moreover, Christopher Farrington contended Trimble's 'rationale for engaging in the 1996-98 talks was that Unionism needed to transcend its siege mentality'.[156] Yet the ways in which the vision of the siege of Derry, along with broader visions of the history of warfare, have informed Trimble's political imagination demand further attention, not least because in the city of Derry and its history, Hume and Trimble share a common intellectual hinterland. A question worth asking, in fact, is to what extent have both men tended to look upon Northern Ireland and its politics through the lens of that iconic historic city? Moreover, one suspects Trimble's thinking with regard Unionism's 'siege mentality' was not as straightforward, or indeed, as pacifistic as Farrington has assumed.

Chapter three examines Trimble's interest in the history of warfare and military strategy, thereby exploring the militant theme within his imagination. It considers his interest in military history, particularly his interest the rules of siege warfare as practiced during the seventeenth century. Exploration of the militant dimensions of Trimble imagination also allows for consideration of another question of some historiographical significance, however: whether Trimble, as opposed to Adams, actually represents Northern Ireland's quintessential 'man of war, man of peace'.

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[154] Arthur Aughey, *Under Siege: Ulster Unionism and the Anglo-Irish Agreement* (Belfast, 1989); Bryan A. Follis, *A State under Siege: The Establishment of Northern Ireland, 1920-1925* (Oxford, 1995). One would expect, given Follis' choice of title for the monograph, some consideration of the origins and influence of the siege analogy within Ulster Unionist political imagination. This was lacking, however, Follis merely assuming it would seem, that his readership was already aware of the existence of a 'siege mentality' amongst the Unionist population of Northern Ireland. In fact, the word 'siege' does not actually appear either in his introduction or conclusion.
[155] Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, see ch. x, 'Siege'.
[156] Farrington, *Ulster Unionism and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland*, p. 47.

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Hume, History and Maynooth:

The Early Intellectual Evolution of a 'Peacemaker', 1954-1964.

> Catherine was making efforts for peace and there was now a body growing in France favouring a more moderate view. This was the *Politiques*, a Catholic party…They sought compromise. These men valued the unity of the nation more than religion and this pressure brought about the Peace of St. Germain in Aug. 1570. We note here a step further towards complete toleration.[1]

> …the Anglo Irish were becoming alarmed at the prospect of further Plantations and they were trying to convince the administration that though Catholics, they were loyal, and should therefore have certain privileges…[2]

> Don Quixote is typical Spanish C16 character. Courageous, idealistic, adventurous, but very impractical, no patience and choosing what offered hope of easy way, despising intrigue, taking line of chivalry, preferring noble failure to common place success…So Spain had remained an unworldly sort of country and people (like us).[3]

> Development outside the walls marked the end of the old prejudice that it was not respectable to live there. This is probably due to commercial pressure for space but it is also possible that after thirty years of the Act of Union considerable security had grown in the minds of the townspeople with regard living outside the walls. Their defensive mentality was beginning to disappear.[4]

Introduction

Many works of history adorn John Hume's bookshelf at his home in Derry; texts such as F.S.L. Lyons' *Charles Stewart Parnell*, Oliver McDonagh's *O'Connell: The Life of Daniel O'Connell, 1775-1847*, and Marianne Elliott's *Wolfe Tone: Prophet of Irish Independence*.[5] What is perhaps particularly significant, however, is it holds an aged copy

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[1] Private Possession, Notebook of John Hume for the course 'European History (Modern)' taken by Hume at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, during the academic year 1956/57 [no pagination].
[2] Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich Library and Archive, Tomás Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, Lecture Notes for the course 'Modern Irish History, 1485-1780', p. 40/A.
[3] Private Possession, Notebook of John Hume for the course 'European History (Modern)'.
[4] John Hume, 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry, 1825-1850', M.A. Dissertation (National University of Ireland 1964).
[5] See F.S.L Lyon's, *Charles Stewart Parnell* (London, 1977); Oliver MacDonagh, *O'Connell: The Life of Daniel O'Connell* (London, 1991); Marianne Elliott, *Wolfe Tone: Prophet of Irish Independence* (New Haven and London, 1989).

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of C.P. Meehan's 1868 *The Fate and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell*.[6] Presumably it has been in Hume's possession since the autumn of 1956, when he began studying seventeenth century Irish history under Fr. Thomas James Fee − Tomás Ó Fiaich − at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, as part of a joint Honours B.A. Degree in French and Modern History between 1954 and 1958. Meehan's text on the earls of Ulster was recommended reading for Ó Fiaich's course 'Modern Irish History, 1485-1780' which Hume took at honours between 1955 and 1957.[7] In the reading list he supplied for the course, Ó Fiaich described Meehan's work as 'imaginative and flamboyant', explaining the author had published many 'orig[inal] doc[uments] and writes strongly from [the] Irish view[point]'.[8]

Hume's edition of Meehan's history sits near a copy of *Ulster at the Crossroads*, a collection of Terence O'Neill's speeches edited by John Cole, probably the same text Hume used producing a review of the book for the *Irish Times*, published on 28th October 1969.[9] Its 'main value will be to historians in terms of easing the burden of their research,' Hume argued, going on to contend the historical community would one day, 'look favourably on O'Neill [as a]…force for change in Northern Ireland.'[10] There is a arguably a link then, between Meehan's text and the collection of O'Neill's speeches: Hume's review of latter was evidently the work of a former student of history.

That Meehan's history still resides in Hume's personal library is a testament to the way in which his undergraduate studies in history impacted upon him during his time at

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[6] C.P. Meehan, *The Fate and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell; Their Flight from Ireland, Their Vicissitudes Abroad and Their Death in Exile* (Dublin, 1868).
[7] Ó Fiaich's Honours course 'Modern Irish History: 1485-1780' was spread over two years. The first covered the period from 1485 until 1603, presumably from the accession of Henry VII as King of England until the defeat of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and the end of the Nine Years War.[7] Ó Fiaich's lectures notes for this first year of the course cannot be located either in the Russell Library at St. Patrick's, or in the Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich Memorial Library and Archive.
[8] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1485-1780', p. 1.
[9] 'Terence O'Neill Speaks', *Irish Times*, 28 Oct. 1969. See also Terence O'Neill, *Ulster at the Crossroads* (London, 1969).
[10] Ibid.

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St. Patrick's College during the mid-1950s. Whilst his books on Parnell, O'Connell, and Tone reflect his interest in, and intellectual relationship with, Irish history, an intellectual relationship cemented in Maynooth, they nevertheless represent a later phase of Irish historiography, being texts he collected after completing his B.A. examinations in the summer of 1958, and deciding to 'cut' from the path to ordination, returning to Derry to teach Irish history and French in the city's Christian Brothers' Technical School. Meehan's text, however, was one which he held in his hands as a youthful seminarian and student of history.

The text therefore links Hume's experience at St. Patrick's with his life in his native city. He probably felt quiet at home during the second year of Ó Fiaich's honours course on Ireland, which began by considering events in 1603, or perhaps even rather homesick. This history was not merely Ulster-centric; many of the key events Ó Fiaich dealt with had occurred in the north-west region where Hume had grown up. The story of the flight of the earls of Ulster was more or less local history to him, as was Ó Fiaich's treatment of the Plantation of Ulster, during which he devoted a lecture to the 'Londoner's Plantation of Derry'.[11] Hume's native city had already taught him a good deal of that history – he is said to have arrived at St. Patrick's in September 1954 already possessing an, 'encyclopaedic knowledge of Derry and its history'.[12] Exactly what history he received at St. Columb's College in the early 1950s remains unclear, but given his later historical interests and the nature of his political thinking, it is likely Derry gave him his earliest lessons in history. Ó Fiaich was, in a sense, merely taking over from the walled city as Hume's history teacher.

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[11] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', pp. 23-24.
[12] Robert 'Bertie' Watson, Interviewed by the author, Armagh, 20 April, 2011. Watson also entered St. Patrick's in September 1954 to study Philosophy.

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How many times had the latter walked the walls of Derry before he was lectured on their origins by Ó Fiaich in Maynooth? How many times had Hume seen the Apprentice Boys walk them, acting out the moment when the city's gates were slammed in the face of the approaching forces of James VII & II in 1689, marking the beginning of the siege – the history of which Ó Fiaich turned to later in the course? How many times had he seen Lieutenant Colonel Lundy, 'the traitor', burnt in effigy in the Diamond, or at least watched from the Bogside as the smoke rose from the loyalist ceremony before he arrived at St. Patrick's on the evening of the 21st September 1954?

Such visions of history shaped Hume's historical imagination before he departed his city for Maynooth. Perhaps on studying Meehan's account of the flight of the earls of Ulster he even came to perceive something of a parallel between himself and O'Neill and O'Donnell. In deciding to enter the College Hume had also been forced to depart from his beloved Ulster. Moreover, by resolving to enter the priesthood he had consigned himself to another way of life, to what was effectively a different world within Ireland itself. It can be argued his decision to 'cut' from the path to ordination in 1958 illustrates that, much like the exiled earls on the Continent, Hume ultimately longed to return home, and to the way of life he had previously known.

And yet, having rejected his chosen vocation and answered Derry's call in 1958, he still felt the pull both to Maynooth and, moreover, to history. His subsequent decision to embark upon a postgraduate M.A. Degree in Modern History under the supervision of Ó Fiaich proves as much. It also demonstrates the mutual respect and admiration that had evolved between teacher and student during Hume's undergraduate years at the College. The latter was actually Ó Fiaich's first postgraduate student, the former thanking 'Father Fee' at the beginning of the M.A. thesis 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry, 1825-1850' he submitted at the college in September 1964, almost exactly ten

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years after he had first arrived there, 'both for the enthusiasm for history which he gave me as a teacher and his advice and guidance as thesis supervisor'.[13]

Relatively little is known about Hume's experience of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth between September 1954 and September 1964. Still less is known about the way St. Patrick's, and particularly Hume's studies in history at the College, moulded the influential strand of political thinking he later articulated in 'The Northern Catholic' and subsequently as a founding member of the S.D.L.P. More specifically, how were the political ideas which Hume advanced in that *Irish Times* article related to the history of Derry he was simultaneously completing? Indeed, a question which also needs asking is how did Hume's undergraduate studies at St. Patrick's influence his M.A. thesis? Drawing upon a wealth of original sources, including his earliest published writings, this discussion offers a much needed portrait of Hume in Maynooth. It explores the early intellectual evolution of the future 'peacemaker', focusing predominantly upon the era in which he was merely a young seminarian, 'constrained a little about the knees by the folds of his first soutane'.[14]

Hume Learns History

John Hume's copy of Meehan's *The Fate and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill* stands as a constant visual reminder in his home of his seminary education in Maynooth and of his intellectual provenance. In a sense the text is symbolic of his relationship with Irish history, the institution where he studied it, and his close relationship with the figure who taught it to him. Not only was Hume Ó Fiaich's first postgraduate student, he was amongst the first students the latter ever taught. Hume arrived at the college in September

[13] John Hume, 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry 1825-1850', M.A. Dissertation, (National University of Ireland, 1964).
[14] Description of a typical first year student at St. Patrick's, or 'Chubs' as they were known, offered by Neil Kevin. See Neil Kevin, *I Remember Maynooth* (Dublin, 1945), p. 20.

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1954, the first year it was possible for B.A. students to study Modern History. Previously seminarians only studied this subject in a sustained manner on entering Divinity, after completion of the B.A., and the taking up the study of Ecclesiastical History, the subject in which Patrick Corish had been appointed Professor in October 1947.[15] According to the latter's history of St. Patrick's College, this had been a 'notable lacuna in Maynooth courses' until Ó Fiaich was appointed the college's first lecturer in Modern History on 13th October 1953.[16]

Born in Anamar, near Cullyhana and Crossmaglen in South Armagh, Ó Fiaich was himself a former student of St. Patrick's.[17] The fact he was a fellow northerner may account, at least partly, for the reason why he was to become one of Hume's favourite teachers at the College. He gained a First Class Honours Degree in Celtic Studies from St. Patrick's in 1943.[18] He subsequently departed the College, however, owing to illness. He was subsequently ordained in July 1948 at St. Peter's College, Wexford. Hume likewise failed to sit his final B.A. examinations in the summer 1957 owing to a stomach illness, and was forced to complete them the following year, subsequently choosing to leave the College and return to Derry.[19] A seminarian taking ill was perceived as an indication they were ultimately going to 'cut' from the path to ordination. It is quite possible Hume found Ó Fiaich a reassuring mentor during his illness in 1957, given the former seems to have experienced a similar crisis at a relatively similar stage in own journey to the priesthood. This might likewise account for the way in which Ó Fiaich was ultimately willing to supervise Hume's postgraduate studies. Perhaps he saw something

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[15] St. Patrick's College, Russell Library, *Maynooth College Calendar for the Year 1964-1965*, Appendix III, 'Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Deans, Professors and Other Officials', p. 270.
[16] Patrick Corish, *Maynooth College, 1795-1995* (Dublin, 1995), p. 349. See also, *Maynooth College Calendar for the Year 1964-1965*, Appendix III, p. 275.
[17] Ó Fiaich Papers, Box 1/7, 'Certified copy of birth certificate of Thomas James Fee, 3 Nov. 1923'.
[18] Ó Fiaich Papers, Box 1/6, 'Documents Appended to the Application of Rev. Thomas Fee, M.A., Lic. Hist. Sc., for the Lectureship in Modern History at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth' [1953].
[19] See Barry White, *John Hume: Statesman of the Troubles* (Belfast, 1984), p. 27.

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of himself in an ailing Hume in 1957, interpreting the latter's illness, not as indicative of academic or intellectual inability, but as a physical manifestation of a young man's doubts about a demanding vocation.

Ó Fiaich subsequently attained a First Class M.A. in Early Irish History at University College Dublin in 1950, producing a thesis *The Kingdom of Airgialla and its Sub-Kingdoms* under the supervision of Aubrey Gwynn, then Professor Medieval History at the College, and Professor John Ryan.[20] Gwynn and Robert Dudley Edwards, then Professor of Medieval Irish History at U.C.D., later recommended Ó Fiaich for the lectureship in Modern Irish History at St. Patrick's in 1953. 'Father Thomas Fee is well qualified for the lectureship', wrote Dudley Edwards.[21] In the latter's view Ó Fiaich's work on the early diocese of Armagh had shown him to be, 'possessed of an unusual capacity for reconstructing past events'.[22] Ó Fiaich was therefore very much connected with what might be thought of as the *Irish Historical Studies* school of Irish history, a point reinforced by the way in which in his lectures on Irish history he frequently referred his students to history produced by the journal's founders, Dudley Edwards and T.W. Moody. For example, lecturing on the Plantation of Ulster Ó Fiaich advised Hume to read Moody's *The Londonderry Plantation 1609-41*, a work one expects the latter to have engaged with given his keen interest in the history of his city.[23]

Before returning to St. Patrick's to teach Ó Fiaich attained the Licentiate in Historical Sciences '*avec plus grande distinction*' at the College of St. Anthony at the

[20] Ó Fiaich Papers, Box 1/6, 'Documents Appended to the Application of Rev. Thomas Fee, M.A., Lic. Hist. Sc., for the Lectureship in Modern History at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth' [1953].
[21] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP2/20, 'Letters of Recommendation appending to the application for Lectureship in Mod. History, Maynooth, 1953'.
[22] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP2/20, 'Letters of Recommendation appending to the application for Lectureship in Modern History, Maynooth, 1953'. See letter of recommendation by R. Dudley Edwards, 11 Sept. 1953.
[23] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 23. See also *T.W. Moody, The Londonderry Plantation 1609-41: The City of London and the Plantation of Ulster* (London, 1939).

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Catholic University of Louvain between 1950 and 1952.[24] Hume was lectured on the history of the College by Ó Fiaich when, roughly half-way through his treatment of seventeenth century Irish history, the latter broke the chronological flow of his course in order to examine 'Irish Scholars and Soldiers abroad', surveying the, 'various Irish Colleges founded in Cont. countries [in order to] see something of the work accomplished by them'.[25] With regard Louvain, Ó Fiaich explained the College of St. Anthony had been founded by the Franciscans in 1606 and ultimately became the centre of both the, 'Irish historical movement…[and] Irish Literary movement…[printing] books for Caths. in Irish'.[26] He was also keen to point out how the three Colleges in Louvain – St. Anthony's, the secular College, and the Dominican College – 'gave to Ireland over 30 Bishops and 300 priests'.[27]

In order to gain the Licentiate in Historical Sciences Ó Fiaich took a wide range of courses such as 'Société et institutions de l' antique classique', 'Société et institutions du moyen âge ass temps modernes', 'Histoire contemporaine', 'Notions de critique historique', and 'Excerises sur des questions d'histoire'.[28] Ó Fiaich's notebook for the latter course reveals the training in historical theory and methodology he received in Louvain.[29] 'Professor de Meyer' opened the course by encouraging his students to consider whether history was 'an inductive science like maths…or a deductive science like philosophy?'. He went on to explain it, 'is not an inductive science but neither is it simply a deductive science. It is a science of indirect observation – one learns the facts

[24] Ó Fiaich Papers, Box 1/6, 'Documents Appended to the Application of Rev. Thomas Fee, M.A., Lic. Hist. Sc., for the Lectureship in Modern History at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth' [1953].
[25] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', pp. 55-66.
[26] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 61.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP2/20, 'Letters of Recommendation appending to the application for Lectureship in Modern History, Maynooth, 1953'. See letter of recommendation provided by Prof. Leopold Genicot of the Catholic University of Louvain, 7 Sept. 1953.
[29] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP5/14, Notebook of Ó Fiaich for the course 'Critque Historique & Exercises Pratiques' taught by Prof. De Meyer during the academic year 1950-51. [no pagination].

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through intermediary of witnesses'.[30] Later de Meyer explained how historians, must attempt to discover the relations of cause and effect between the events [they] study'. According to Ó Fiaich's notebook he went on

> Be careful not to reason too much, however, independent of events. Always necessary to verify each stage of reasoning from facts. Be careful to distinguish between different kinds of causes, between cause and occasion…La philos. of history seeks to discover profound causes of historical events. Hist. proper concerns its self with immediate causes. Some causes may be inherent to men, others external. To these we apply the principle of unity and identity of human nature.[31]

Subsequently taking his students through 'Les Procedes de la Critique' de Meyer outlined various modes of historical argument and their strengths and weakness. 'Argument *a priori*' he described as, 'very weak and dangerous in history e.g. basing oneself on authors' sanctity, truthfulness…If based on metaphysical laws, sound'.[32] He similarly warned against the use of 'Retrospective argument': 'Consists of what we know of state of institution at one time to describe its state at another time. Very dangerous. Applicable only to institutions which evolve very gradually'. 'Argument by Analogy' 'must to be used prudently' according to de Meyer, whilst a 'Historical Hypothesis' 'is a useful way of making progress'.[33] In order to be valid, however, a hypothesis must 'explain <u>all</u> the facts and not be based on *a priori* ideas; must not contradict any historical fact; be already well established…[or] be the sole explanation possible'.[34] Ó Fiaich's was also instructed on how to construct and use fiches in order to compile sound bibliographies, how to authenticate and analyse documents, and how to construct a historical text.

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP5/14, Notebook of Ó Fiaich for the course 'Critque Historique & Exercises Pratiques' taught by Prof. De Meyer during the academic year 1950-51. [no pagination].
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.

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Ó Fiaich would have already been proficient in historical method and theory given his training at U.C.D between 1948 and 1950, and he passed on such knowledge and skills when schooling Hume in Modern History. The *Maynooth College Calendar for the Year 1956-1957* reveals alongside teaching European and Irish history, Ó Fiaich also provided his students with an 'Introduction to Auxiliary Sciences of History, Paleography, Chronology, Diplomatics, Bibliography and Historical Method'. [35] Consequently, the history departments at U.C.D. AND Louvain can be said to have impacted, in a way, upon Hume's historical formation at St. Patrick's. Hume therefore had a good understanding of historical method and theory even before embarking upon postgraduate research under Ó Fiaich during the early 1960s. In fact, it IS worth noting how the M.A. thesis he ultimately produced under Ó Fiaich in 1964 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry*'* where he assessed how and why his city had expanded beyond its defensive walls during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, very much resembled a course Ó Fiaich took for the Licentiate in Historical Sciences between 1951-1952, 'The Origins and Growth of Medieval Towns with Special Reference to Louvain'.[36]

Thus Meehan's text on the earls of Ulster is also symbolic of the nature of Hume's historical education at St. Patrick's and his history teacher: a history written by a Catholic priest about an event which demonstrated the close link between Ireland and Europe. Meehan was inspired to begin the lengthy researches which informed his book whilst studying at the Irish College at Rome – the history of which Hume was lectured on by both Ó Fiaich and Corish – and discovering the neglected graves of Hugh O'Neill and

[35] St. Patrick's College, Russell Library, *Maynooth College Calendar for the Year 1956-1957*, p. 97.
[36] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP5/14, Notebook of Ó Fiaich for the course 'Societé et Institutions du Moyen Age II: The Origins and Growth of Medieval Towns with Special Reference to Louvain', taught by Prof. Van der Essen during the academic year 1951-52. [no pagination]

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Hugh O'Donnell in the Church of San Pietro in Montorio.[37] In 1609 Tadhg Ó Cainaín had settled down in Rome to write his chronicle of his company's journey across France, Flanders and Italy, a work which would come to fascinate Ó Fiaich. The latter displayed a keen interest in the history of the Irish in Europe, as evidenced in part by his determination to educate his students on 'Irish Soldiers and Scholars abroad', by which, of course, he meant Europe. Indeed, a key feature of Ó 'Fiaich's career as a historian was his determination to further understandings the journey of the earls of Ulster across the Continent. He had barely arrived in Louvain in October 1950 when he wrote home to his father informing him he had discovered the graves of 'two sisters of Red Hugh O'Donnell'.[38]

Ó Fiaich began the second year of his course on 'Modern Irish History' by demonstrating why the earls were forced to flee Ireland. Despite 'his attempts to live as a loyal citizen…[O'Neill] was being constantly watched and injured in various ways', he explained.[39] 'The same…indignities were suffered by Rory O'Donnell,' he added.[40] Ó Fiaich was also keen to demonstrate to his students how they could, 'follow every mile' of the earls' journey 'from this [Rathmullen] to Rome in the pages of…Ó Cianaín'.[41] So by the end of 1957 Hume had, in a sense, travelled to Amiens, Arras, Douai, Louvain, Milan, Assisi and Rome, also visiting the various Irish Colleges in Spain, Portugal, France, Italy and the Spanish Netherlands, exploring Catholic Europe even whilst confined within Maynooth.

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[37] Meehan, *The Fates and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. v. See also Linde Lummy and James Quinn 'C.P. [Charles Patrick] Meehan', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, pp. 467-468.
[38] Kevin McMahon (ed.), *Tomás Ó Fiaich's Letters from Louvain* (Cullyhana, 1994), pp. 6-7.
[39] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 61.
[40] Ibid., p. 61.
[41] Ibid.

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It was not only early modern Irish history Hume studied under Ó Fiaich, however. During his first year at St. Patrick's the latter taught him 'European History: 1789-1871', alongside 'Ireland: The Nineteenth Century'.[42] As is the case with the lecture notes for the first year of his Honours course 'Modern Irish History 1485-1780', Ó Fiaich's notes for both of these first year or 'First Arts' courses cannot be located, either in the Russell Library at St. Patrick's College, or the in Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich Library and Archive. Presumably Ó Fiaich's course on Ireland began with the 1798 rebellion and the passing of the Act of Union finishing with, one assumes, either the fall of Parnell, or the Home Rule crisis, maybe even with Partition in 1920, Ó Fiaich perhaps treating the nineteenth century as a 'long' one. Unfortunately, until the lectures for these courses are located one cannot comment with any real authority upon the way in which Hume received nineteenth Irish history from Ó Fiaich, or how this history might have influenced his later political thinking. Suffice to say the notes would make fascinating reading.

What of Ó Fiaich's first year course on 'European history: 1789-1871'? It most likely covered the period from the French Revolution until the unification of Germany under Otto von Bismarck, the 'Iron Chancellor', in 1871, no doubt also covering the prior unification of Italy in 1861. Perhaps Ó Fiaich's treatment of these historical topics had some bearing upon on Hume's subsequent thinking on Irish unity. Bismarck successfully forced Prussian supremacy on the Germanic territories throughout the 1860s, and whilst rejecting his use of force, as presumably both did, Ó Fiaich and Hume might have drawn some inspiration from the precedent of German unification with regards the prospect of Irish unity given Bismarck managed to unify the Germanic territories despite linguistic, and more importantly, religious differences. Moreover, as Hume would be made well aware of whilst taking Ó Fiaich's honours course 'European History: 1453-1789',

[42] St. Patrick's College, Russell Library, *Maynooth College Calendar for the Year 1954-1955*, p. 74.

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Bismarck managed to unify a territory ravaged in the mid-1600s by intense sectarian warfare in the form of the Thirty Years War.

It would be relatively unsurprising to learn, if the lectures notes could be located, Ó Fiaich honed in on the examples of Italian and German unification whilst also teaching late nineteenth century Irish history. Did he seek to enlighten his students as to why unity was ultimately forged in these European countries, but nineteenth century Irish history precipitated partition of the country? At any rate, Hume certainly learnt his Irish history in a comparative manner; within a broader European framework. Importantly, however, the examples of German and Italian unification, relatively violent though they were, might just have inspired Hume in the sense they were historical examples which would have confirmed his belief Irish unity was not wholly unachievable.

The evolution of unity and peace in Europe was a dominant theme in Ó Fiaich's honours course 'European History: 1453-1789' Hume took alongside 'Modern Irish History: 1485-1780'. Ó Fiaich's notes for the second year of the former course, in which he took up, 'the internal political history of the new nation states and their external relations with each other', reside in the Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich Library and Archive.[43] The course began with a consideration of Spain's rise to supremacy in Europe around the time of the birth of Charles V in 1500, and his subsequent accession to the title of Holy Roman Emperor in 1519. Ó Fiaich then turned to the problems posed to Charles by the Lutheran revolt in his Germanic territories, and thence to the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands against Hapsburg Imperialism.

The course was divided into three basic sections: the ascendency of Spain from 1500 until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659 when, as Ó Fiaich put it, 'France became [the] definite masters'; the ascendency of France between the late 1600s until 1713 and

[43] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, Lectures notes for the course 'European History, 1453-1789', p. 1.

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the Peace Utrecht, and France's subsequent decline up to 1789. Thus Ó Fiaich traced the titanic struggle for supremacy between the kings of Spain and France throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their grim consequences for Europe. As he put it at the beginning of the course:

> Unfortunately the relations were anything but happy and the 3 cent[uries] from [the] end of the 15th until the end of the 18th witnessed a continuous succession of European Wars; wars which were fought often by armies of mercenary soldiers not for causes or principles but at the whim of an absolute monarch because of dynastic rivalries and above all for a certain intangible thing that would nowadays be called the Balance of Power.[44]

At the very beginning of the course Ó Fiaich how during previous year's course they had, 'dealt with the four great revolutions which marked the border between the medieval world and the mod. world around the yr. 1500'.

> The political revolution, which replaced the federation of a great no. of small decentralised communities that made up the Christian Commonwealth by a small no. of large powerful absolute states. The religious revolution, which replaced a single unified Western Christendom by one split into sections and constantly diving into sub-sections. The economic revolution…and the intellectual revolution.[45]

Thus Hume was well-schooled, as you would expect given he attended a Catholic seminary, in the history of the Reformation and its political and religious consequences. Thomas Hennessey has argued Hume has never fully understood the Protestant Unionist community in Northern Ireland.[46] Perhaps so, but he certainly understood the *history* of Protestantism in Europe and Ireland.

The title of Ó Fiaich's course 'European History: 1453-1789' seemed to indicate it would conclude with another more in-depth treatment of the French Revolution than that delivered in his first year course on European history. He never reached the Revolution,

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[44] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'European History, 1453-1789', p. 1.
[45] Ibid.
[46] According to Hennessey, Hume's 'major failing was, and remained, his inability to grasp the Unionist resistance to reaching Agreement…[he] consistently saw Unionism in simple terms'. See Thomas Hennessey, *The Northern Ireland Peace Process: Ending the Troubles*? (Dublin, 2000), p. 19.

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however. He left a battered France at the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, switching attention to the eighteenth century histories of the powers that had defeated her, Britain and Prussia. It is worth emphasising Ó Fiaich also surveyed the history of Britain from 1500-1789. The latter therefore left Maynooth well versed in British, European and Irish history. Brief and hurried treatments of Spain, Portugal, Russia, and Eastern Europe in the eighteenth century concluded Ó Fiaich's political narrative, and the course petered-out with a sweeping account of the cultural history of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Access to Hume's personal papers in Derry has yielded a notebook of Hume's from Maynooth, a Browne and Nolan Student's Manuscript Book, in which he transcribed Ó Fiaich's lectures for 'European History: 1453-1789'.[47] It is a fascinating and valuable historical relic, granting as it does a unique insight into the historical formation of one of Ireland's most important political figures. The notebook allows one to explore the influence of European as opposed to merely Irish history upon his intellectual evolution. What is more, comparison of the set of lectures notes for the course which reside in Armagh with Hume's transcription of them confirms the former are indeed the notes Ó Fiaich used when delivering the course for the first time during the academic year beginning in 1956. For example, Hume transcribed Ó Fiaich's commentary on Spain c. 1500 thus: 'What factors made for the growth of importance of Spain? A) It was just now that she achieved her internal unity, as early as some and earlier than most…Some kind of internal unity is first point'.[48] Consequently one can also assume the lecture notes for the second year of the course 'Modern Irish History: 1485-

[47] Notebook of John Hume for the course 'European History (Modern)'.
[48] Ibid.

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1603', which reside in the same file in Armagh as the lecture notes for 'European History: 1453-1789' are those Ó Fiaich used when teaching Hume.[49]

What of Hume's notebook itself? What does it say of the young student of history? The handwriting is, on the whole, neat and legible – Hume usually writing in blue pen. It increasingly descends, however, as the year goes by. One can visualise a refreshed and attentive Hume in September 1956 becoming ever more tired as the second semester wore on, or simply struggling to keep up with Ó Fiaich's lectures. Much like his student, in fact, Ó Fiaich's own notes for both honours courses start out relatively legible and coherent, becoming at times chaotic and unintelligible towards the end.

The way in which the notebook is adorned with, and contains, many sets of revision notes and sketches is also intriguing. Flicking through the notebook one can almost visualise a young Hume distractedly doodling or hurriedly jotting down historical facts at the command of his teacher. For example, transcribing Ó Fiaich's lectures on the English Civil War Hume wrote at the top of one page, 'Long Parl – Parl was stronger now as it had more money + towns + strong leaders Pym, Hampden, Cromwell'. A few pages later he put down some bullet points on 'Faults of Parl'.[50] 'No religious toleration,' he noted, 'seized lands of defeated to solve financial problems, tried to disband army without paying arrears in pay'.[51] On the inside of the front cover is written several hurried bullet points on the 'Difficulties Facing Charles V' of Spain. The theme of unity recurs. 'Each single dominions lacked unity,' he wrote, 'e.g. Netherlands'; 'Dynasticity of Empire – no one gov., different customs and laws'.[52]

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[49] Despite being in the same file Ó Fiaich's lecture notes on 'Modern Irish History 1485-1780' are not listed in the archive's catalogue, perhaps because the first page of the notes on Irish history is headed 'Modern European History 1453-1789' on which Ó Fiaich has written a general bibliography for that course. Incidentally, there are two dates written at the top of that page, 1954 and 1957, again confirming the notes which reside in the Ó Fiaich Library and Archive are those Ó Fiaich used when lecturing Hume.
[50] Notebook of John Hume for the course 'European History (Modern)'.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Notebook of John Hume for the course 'European History (Modern)'.

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A loose page in the notebook also details briefly the reasons for the supremacy of Spain in Europe in the early 1500s, the first point reading '[Internal] Unity had been achieved'.[53] The page also has 'Revision!' written on it some twenty three times. At the bottom of it Hume has also drawn a bald headed man with 'Revision Make [sic] you bald' written beside it.[54] Evidently he was stressed about his studies, stress which no doubt contributing to the illness he suffered at the end of his final year, causing him to miss his exams. There is also a loose page of revision notes detailing the 'Grievances of Spain under Charles' and another headed, 'A German Nation in C16: Why not?'.[55] Point number six in the latter sheet of notes reads, 'Rise of Protestantism [underlined several times]: Split the one element that would have led to unity – the union of selfless, proud patriotic knights and Charles. They looked upon Luther as German [underlined], thereby ridding them of papal influence. If all had accepted [Protestantism] –success'.[56]

Another loose page features hurried revision notes on James I, the 'Peacemaker king'. Further illustrating Ó Fiaich's preoccupation with the theme of unity in history the first two points in Hume's revision notes on James read, 'Unity of Church/Peace at home and abroad', the final reads, '30 Years War. He [James] wanted peace with Spain and refused to aid Elector Frederick, Protestant'.[57] The back of the page has an essay plan written in French, seemingly on French poetry, one section headed 'L' Imitation des Antiques'.[58] Moreover, the sheet itself bears the imprint *The Silhouette*.[59] A brief look through the back catalogue of *The Silhouette*, the only student magazine at St. Patrick's at the time, and which is housed in Russell Library in Maynooth reveals Hume was one

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[53] Notebook of John Hume for the course 'European History (Modern)'.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

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of the four associate editors for the summer 1957 edition, though he did not himself contribute any written material to that particular issue.[60] As shall be seen, he had previously contributed two pieces, both historical in nature, to the Easter 1956 edition of the magazine.

The Idea of Unity in Ó Fiaich's European History

Ó Fiaich's preoccupation with the theme unity, territorial and otherwise, in his European history is already apparent from the consideration of Hume's notebook. Importantly, it is evident from Ó Fiaich's first lecture for the course:

> Certain factors contributed to help Spain towards dominant position in Europe at beginning of C16th. I) She had achieved internal unity at an earlier stage than other European countries…In one generation the whole of the Iberian Peninsula had been brought under unified rule…Despite separatist tendencies Spain by 1500 had achieved internal unity and its overthrow of Moslems at a time when they were to become a threat again to Christian Europe made Spain the natural champion to defend Christianity.[61]

It is also clear from the very outset of his course Ó Fiaich was advancing the idea of an inherent relationship between territorial unity and progress in history; between territorial unity and the evolution of modernity. This idea is reinforced by his point about 'the political revolution' replacing, 'the federation of a great no. of small decentralised communities that made up the Christian Commonwealth by a small no. of large powerful absolute states' and how this revolution effectively differentiated the medieval from the modern world. In addition, on page two of his notes for the course Hume has written, 'Charles' Empire surrounded France and it is now that French-Hapsburg rivalry begins (200 yrs war). France had achieved unity under Louis XI who established strong centralised monarchy'.[62]

[60] St. Patrick's College, Russell Library, *The Silhouette*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Summer, 1957), p. 3
[61] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'European History, 1453-1789', p. 3
[62] Notebook of John Hume for the course 'European History (Modern)'.

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The word 'unity' crops up again and again in Ó Fiaich's treatment of the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands against Charles' son Philip II:

> Up to C15 Netherlands had been a group of small duchies…but towards end of C15 they started to get some sort of unity under Burgundy…Philip's predecessors had tried to make Netherlands more united…Charles V established some national councils which showed some attempt at unity.[63]

Ó Fiaich explained it was Philip's attempt to impose both political and religious uniformity on the Spanish Netherlands in the later 1500s, disrespecting its tradition of decentralised government, and the Calvinist population in the Northern Provinces, which precipitated revolt against Spanish rule.

> One factor was [the] character of Philip; his outlook on political autonomy, obstinately demanding political obedience from a people never used to such…Also Calvinism was ripe in the North and was very fanatical…resting on self-government, election of churchmen by people, separation of Church and state.[64]

It can be argued Ó Fiaich presented the Spanish Netherlands in the later 1500s almost as an inverted version of Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He was keen to demonstrate how the seven mainly Calvinist Northern Provinces that came to be strongly opposed to Hapsburg rule, formed the Union of Utrecht in 1579. Thus the North partitioned itself from the ten Southern, and mainly Catholic, provinces which remained loyal to the Spanish Crown, subsequently evolving into the Dutch Republic in 1581. There evolved a 'Calvinist north and Catholic South', Hume noted:

> Calvinists had seized control in N. cities and led another iconoclastic campaign. Catholics wondered was their religion safe in a united Netherlands. So national unity which had been growing collapses…First sign comes with Catholic confederation of Southern states.[65]

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[63] Notebook of John Hume for 'European History (Modern)'.
[64] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'European History, 1453-1789', p. 43.
[65] Notebook of John Hume for 'European History (Modern)'.

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In making the point about Catholics fearing for their religious liberty in a united Netherlands Ó Fiaich was surely invoking the history of Ireland and the way in which Ulster Protestants had opposed Home Rule fearing it would be 'Rome Rule', leading to Partition. Vindicating this interpretation is the way in which, in his own lecture notes, Ó Fiaich has written in, 'mod. times', Philip would have 'attempted to solve it by granting Netherlands a large measure of political autonomy – Home Rule, Dominion Status – but such ideas were foreign to C16'.[66]

This is also a good example of the way in which Ó Fiaich's history educated Hume on various constitutional forms and possibilities, some of which he would later experiment with in his political thinking. For example, on the Union of Utrecht Hume has written, 'it was the first Federal Constitution of mod. times. The states remained nominally independent of each other, each's consent needed for important measures'.[67] Reinforcing the idea Ó Fiaich's treatment of the Spanish Netherlands was in many ways a commentary upon Irish history is the fact that at the top of the page in Ó Fiaich's notes where he dealt with the Union of Utrecht is written 'PARTITION 1579' underlined several times.[68] The page begins with the statement, 'The ideal of a United Netherlands foundered on the hostility between Caths. and Calvinists, on southern nobility's hankering for Spain…Only William kept the ideal [of a united Netherlands] alive'.

What is more, Ó Fiaich seemed to present William the Silent as a Dutch Edward Carson; as a figure determined to forge an independent yet unified Netherlands but who ultimately had to settle for a partitioned country, similar to the way in which Carson wanted to maintain a united Ireland under the Union, yet ultimately had to reconcile

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[66] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'European History, 1453-1789', p. 41.
[67] Notebook of John Hume for 'European History (Modern)'.
[68] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'European History, 1453-1789', p. 56.

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himself to Partition.[69] As Hume wrote, '[William's] task at home was to form a unity of 17 provinces and lead them vs. Spain…He didn't form unity…the 7 Northern Provinces [were] ultimately freed from Spain…events ruled him rather than him ruling events'.[70] At the bottom of the page dealing with the Union of Utrecht Ó Fiaich has written: 'William, with his scheme for a much wider Union, did not approve very enthusiastically of Union of Utrecht at first. He certainly did not think it was going to mean permanent Partition'.[71] No doubt it delighted Ó Fiaich to demonstrate to a Derryman such as Hume how William the Silent of the House of Orange was both a Unionist and a republican, and what is more, a Catholic.

If, as seems to be the case, Ó Fiaich's treatment of the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands is something of a commentary upon the evolution of Northern Ireland, then it is worth noting he celebrated both William and, by implication, Carson owing, to both men's determination to maintain the unity of their respective countries. It is perhaps unsurprising Hume subsequently had so much faith in the idea of Irish unity given Ó Fiaich's history consistently posited a relationship between national unity, progress, and modernity. Hume always viewed reunification as a means of Ireland attaining political and economic modernity. It is also unsurprising, therefore, Hume believed achieving true Irish unity meant more than merely removing a line on a map, a key component of his so-called 'revisionist' or 'new' nationalism.

For example, in the case of Spain Ó Fiaich contended her rise to supremacy owed much to her achieving territorial unity; to the way in which as Hume noted, both Charles and Philip were concerned with, 'breaking down barriers to uniformity, whether religious

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[69] See J.C. Beckett, 'Carson – Unionist and Rebel', in J.C. Beckett, *Confrontations: Studies in Irish History* (London, 1972).
[70] Notebook of John Hume for 'European History (Modern)'.
[71] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'European History, 1453-1789', p. 56.

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or territorial barriers'.[72] That said, Ó Fiaich also sought to demonstrate how Philip in particular effectively precipitated the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands because of his attempt to simply impose religious and political uniformity. In Ó Fiaich's eyes by doing so Philip literally divided the country. Ó Fiaich was also keen to point out by seeking to consolidate national unity by expelling the remaining Moors in the county in order to achieve national unity, Philip II of Spain lost a 'hardworking, intelligent, and active' section of her population.[73] Ó Fiaich made a similar point when dealing with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. 'Important point in history of France', Hume noted, 'as a lot of Hugenots, workers and artisans, emigrated from France…bringing their skill in in textile industry or military knowledge. It is really a result of revocation that Hugenot colonies grew up in Ireland …gave great help to Linen Industry'.[74] In fact, Ó Fiaich celebrated the Edict of Nantes of April 1598 because, as Hume wrote, it marked 'a new epoch in the religious history of Europe. France was the first nation to admit that more than one religion could live side by side'.[75] In many ways Ó Fiaich's history was all about tracing European history from the fracturing of an united Christendom as a result of the Reformation in the early 1500s, and the evolution of religious toleration. It is therefore probable Hume perceived division in Ireland as a hangover of the European wars of religion.

It is also important to note in the mid-1950s Ó Fiaich was teaching Hume territorial unity equated to progress and modernity – whilst taking the course Hume most likely came to look upon a partitioned Ireland as very anachronistic indeed – yet the former was also seeking to illustrate how territorial unity did not simply equate to true national unity. Crucially, one of the key aspects of Hume's political thought, his belief Irish unity could

[72] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'European History, 1453-1789', p. 33.
[73] Ibid., p. 38.
[74] Notebook of John Hume for 'European History (Modern)'.
[75] Ibid.

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only be forged through respect for difference, especially religious difference; his vision of a 'unity in diversity' on the island, and his attraction to the idea of *e pluribus unum*, can be traced back to Ó Fiaich's history, if not to the Christian concept of the Trinity.[76] Hume's argument a nation is composed of its people rather than its territory, can also be traced back to Ó Fiaich's lectures. Peter McLoughlin has explored Hume's thinking on the idea of Irish unity, without reference to Hume's experience in Maynooth or to the latter's vision of history.[77] As should already be clear, however, one cannot begin to understand the origins and nature of Hume's relationship with the idea of unity without firstly considering his studies in history under Ó Fiaich at Maynooth.

What is more, Ó Fiaich was always careful to emphasise the numerous 'peaces' which evolved in Europe amidst the near continuous warfare which characterised the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and why many of them ultimately broke down. For example, in his notebook Hume recorded how the Peace of Prague brokered in 1635, during the Thirty Years War, 'could have formed the basis of a permanent peace but for the intrigues of France [and] Richelieu', and how the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which effectively ended the Thirty Years War, 'is one of the most important peaces in the history of Europe and in diplomacy'.[78] Similarly, in his notes on the enduring rivalry between Charles V of Spain and Francis I during the early to mid-1500s Hume has written how the, 'Peace of Cambrai [1529] didn't prove lasting but it gave an uneasy true for 7 years allowing Charles breathing space to deal with religious wars in Germany and Turkish invasions'.[79]

[76] See, for example, John Hume, *Personal Views: Politics, Peace and Reconciliation in Ireland* (Dublin, 1994), p. 19.
[77] See P.J. McLoughlin, "…it's a United Ireland or Nothing'? John Hume and the Idea of Irish Unity, 1964-72', *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 21, 2 (June 2006), pp. 157-180.
[78] Notebook of John Hume for 'European History (Modern)'.
[79] Ibid.

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Further down the page he has recorded how, 'Pope Paul III arranged the Truce of Nice in 1538. It seems this might lead to a permanent peace …but it was only a patch-work peace and in 1538 Charles made his son Philip Duke of Milan and Francis began round 4'.[80] Later he wrote, 'a lasting peace was drawn up in 1559 in village of Cateau-Cambrésis. This is a document of great historical importance as it brought end of dynastic wars of first half of century'.[81] It can be argued Hume's determination to be a 'peacemaker' owes much to the influence of Ó Fiaich and the latter's history. There is a sense in which Hume, in seeking to broker a permanent peace in Ireland, was also endeavouring to *live* the history he had received in Maynooth. It might even be suggested throughout his early political career Hume was seeking to forge Ireland's Edict of Nantes. Indeed, perhaps he perceived the Sunningdale Agreement as paralleling that historic document. Sunningdale also granted a measure of self-government for a religious minority within a state, and thus religious toleration.

Maynooth as History Teacher

Yet it was not just in the lecture hall with Ó Fiaich Hume would was exposed to history whilst at St. Patrick's. Much like his native city, Maynooth had a strong sense of history about it. As Neil Kevin wrote in his *I Remember Maynooth*, the 'prominent place which antique things have on the scene at Maynooth forces a certain amount of history upon us'.[82] There is the elderly Yew Tree just inside the College gates under which 'Silken' Thomas FitzGerald, 10th earl of Kildare, is said to have played the harp the night before he sailed to meet Henry VIII, ultimately ending up in the Tower of London and later

[80] Notebook of John Hume for 'European History (Modern)'.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Kevin, *I Remember Maynooth*, p. 1.

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executed for treason at Tyburn.[83] Thomas rose in rebellion against Henry, believing his father was to be executed and presumably Ó Fiaich would have ensured Hume left Maynooth well aware Thomas' longed-for aid from Charles V of Spain never arrived, similar to the way in which he informed his students how Hugh O'Neill's campaign against Elizabeth had foundered largely due to the disorganised and poorly led force Philip II ultimately sent to Ireland. It could be, however, these histories inspired Hume's drive to seek backing for his political strategy from a powerful and wealthy Catholic Irish America. There is a sense in which Irish America was to Hume what Catholic Spain was to a much older generation of Irish leaders.

There is also the Protestant Chapel, which sits within the college's walls, part of the old chapel of the earls of Kildare built in 1248. In addition, the remains of the Geraldine keep, just outside the college's boundary wall stand near the spot where Garret, 9th earl of Kildare, had founded a college in 1518.[84] Given Hume had rarely, if ever, travelled around the more southerly regions of Ireland before he arrived at St. Patrick's, one wonders which physical legacy of historical violence in the country he saw first: the G.P.O. in Dublin with its bullet marks, or the castle in Maynooth with its façade scared from cannonballs? Kevin wrote seminarians were taught to look upon these relics, particularly the old chapel, as a 'reminder of the Protestant Reformation, and the fact that the first college of Maynooth had a very short-life – twenty years being supressed [by Elizabeth] with the other religious houses in 1558.'[85]

So much like the city of Derry, Hume's university connected him not only with Irish history, but with the history of Protestantism in Ireland. Furthermore, if Derry itself

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[83] Jeremiah Newman, *St. Patrick's College* (Dublin, 1984), p. 1. See also Mary Ann Lyons, 'Gerald Fitzgerald, 9th earl of Kildare', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge 2009), pp. 847-850; Mary Ann Lyons, 'Thomas Fitzgerald ('Silken' Thomas)', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 912-915.
[84] Kevin, *I Remember Maynooth*, p. 1.
[85] Ibid.

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had educated Hume on the early seventeenth century history of north-west Ireland, not to mention the history of Partition and Northern Ireland, Maynooth connected him both physically and intellectually with the earlier Tudor history of the country, which had been much more Leinster and Munster-centric, dominated not by the Old Irish clans of the O'Neills and O'Donnells, but by the Old English families such as the Geraldines, Butlers, Talbots, and Ormonds. Similarly, Maynooth would have served as sort of intellectual bridge, linking Hume's awareness of the history of the Plantation of Ulster in the early 1600s with the earlier Norman colonisation of Ireland and the subsequent Elizabethan Plantations.

Furthermore, much like Derry, St. Patrick's was also conscious of its place and significance in Irish history. It is one of those Irish institutions whose biography can be written as a sort of scaled-up history of modern Ireland. For instance, a St. Patrick's education would have naturally facilitated an intellectual relationship with the 1790s. The college was founded in 1795 and knowledge of its evolution inevitably led to visions of the French Revolution which had in many ways given life to the College. Its existence owed much to the repression of the French Church and nationalisation of its lands by the National Assembly. The desire on the part of the British Government, largely prompted by Edmund Burke, to insulate the Irish Church and thus the country at large from republican zeal was one of the key factors in bringing about the establishment of St. Patrick's. As Corish observed, many of the College's first professors were '*émigrés* from the Revolution, Irish as well as French.'[86] Consequently, seminarians at St. Patrick's would have naturally imbibed visions of the United Irishmen and an awareness of the genesis of republicanism in Ireland. Hume's enduring ideological affinity with Tone, as is illustrated in part by the existence of Elliot's text in his home, helps reinforce this point.

[86] Corish, *Maynooth College*, p. 13.

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It is also true a student at St. Patrick's would have been familiar with Burke in the way that, say, students of the Christian Brothers such as Adams, would have been familiar with their founder Edmund Ignatius Rice. Though a Protestant, Burke was close to Catholicism; his mother had been a Catholic and he was accused of being a crypto-Catholic or Jesuit after denouncing the seizure of the land and property of the French Church in his influential *Reflections on the Revolution in France,* published in 1790.[87] He had been an influential proponent of a national seminary in Ireland owing to his avid aversion to the forces of revolution in France and he ultimately patronised the College. Kevin described Burke as the, 'most honourable of Irishmen', and was conscious his College library housed autographed volumes the great Whig had donated after the death of his son.[88] Burke's *Reflections* had been standard reading in the English class when Kevin was a first year.[89] By the time Hume arrived at the College the syllabus had changed slightly; he studied Burke's 1775 *Speech on Conciliation with America*.[90] Yet it is extremely unlikely Hume left Maynooth ignorant of Burke's opposition to the republican revolution in France. He would surely have been introduced to Burke's text on the revolution at the beginning of Ó Fiaich's course 'European History, 1789-1871'.

St. Patrick's would have also connected Hume with Daniel O'Connell given its establishment foreshadowed Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Moreover, the College's history conjures visions of Sir Robert Peel, who trebled the British government's grant to St. Patrick's in April 1845.[91] There was also a connection with Gladstone and 'justice for Ireland'. The latter had resigned from Peel's government in 1845 over the Maynooth Grant and though disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869 had brought

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[87] See L.G. Mitchell, 'Introduction' to Edmund Burke, *Reflections of the Revolution in France* (Oxford, 2009), p. ix.
[88] Kevin, *I Remember Maynooth*, p. 36.
[89] Ibid.
[90] St. Patrick's College, Russell Library, *Maynooth College Calendar for the Year 1954-1955*, p. 62.
[91] On the Maynooth Grant see Alvin Jackson, *Ireland, 1798-1998*: *Politics and War* (Oxford, 1999), p. 52.

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satisfaction to Catholic Ireland, it had simultaneously terminated the government's grant to St. Patrick's. Gladstone is also bound up with the mythology of the College's Yew Tree. According to Kevin the Grand Old Man was apparently fond of the tree, perhaps because it appealed to his own sense of history.[92]

Consequently, if Derry and its port − where his father had worked for a time − had caused Hume's youthful historical imagination to drift both west across the Atlantic, and back to the north-west of Ireland during the 1800s, and, moreover, to the north-west during the seventeenth century, the environment of St. Patrick's would have directed it in a more south-easterly direction, and further back into history; to Ireland and continental Europe during the centuries stretching from late antiquity to the end of the nineteenth century. Apart from anything else, much like Derry, the site of St. Columb's Oak Grove, a seminary experience would have connected Hume with the monastic tradition in Ireland. Indeed, Maynooth would have taught him a good deal of Irish and European history even if he had not opted to study French and Modern History for his B.A.

Hume Begins to Write History

The sense of history and tradition at St. Patrick's evidently appealed to the undergraduate Hume as is illustrated by a diary of life at the College he produced during his second year, published in the Easter 1956 edition of *The Silhouette*:

> We are, as we begin this record, at the sunrise of another Maynooth year. The life that is Maynooth has begun again and will carry on with one short break until it takes another rest nine months hence. By then another class will have passed between the Sphinxes, and yet another class will be preparing to replace them…We still rise at six, we still retire at ten-fifteen and in between we do the same things as were done in years gone past. These are the materials a diarist has at his disposal. I hope I have used them well.[93]

[92] Kevin, *I Remember Maynooth*, p. 1

[93] St. Patrick's College, Russell Library, John Hume, 'Junior Diary', *The Silhouette*, vol.3, no. 1 (Easter 1956), pp. 95-101.

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Hume's introduction to his 'Junior Diary' expressed an inherent sense of Maynooth's almost cyclical, unchanging history, and a consciousness of his own place within it: 'we do the same things as were done in years gone past'. Perhaps his sense of his College's history and tradition was reinforced by the fact his 'Junior Diary' was published in the tenth anniversary edition of *The Silhouette*. The magazine had been founded in 1945 by the Kerry-born priest Dermot O Donoghue, who studied Philosophy in Louvain whilst O'Fiaich was studying for the Licentiate in Historical Sciences, and who took Hume for Logic during his first year at the College.[94]

Hume's statement in his introduction to the 'Junior Diary' about seminarians passing 'between the Sphinxes' which guarded the College's gates, and ultimately departing from Maynooth, also highlights how, in 1954, he exchanged one walled environment, the city of Derry, for another, St. Patrick's College. In their editorial for the Easter 1956 edition of *The Silhouette*, seminarians Cyril Harlan and John Fingleton described how, 'the present issue has been given an extrovert turn in the hope of securing a wider interest'.[95] 'We must needs go outside the walls', they continued, 'for subjects of fresh interests as we cannot expect college life to afford a constant supply of new topics'.[96]

In *I Remember Maynooth* Kevin described how he and his fellow seminarians came to believe the wall around the College marked the division between two worlds in Ireland. 'We surely did feel as we walked the Dark Walk,' he wrote, 'the wall between us and Parson's Street had a spiritual significance…that it was the boundary between ourselves and 'the world'.[97] According to Kevin those students who, like Hume, 'cut' from the path

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[94] McMahon (ed.), *Tomás Ó Fiaich's Letters from Louvain*, p. 6; *Maynooth College Calendar for the Year 1954-1955*, p. 74.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Cyril Harlan and John Fingleton, 'Editorial'[anonymous], *The Silhouette*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 5.
[97] Kevin, *I Remember Maynooth*, p. 123.

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to ordination were thought of as 'going back to the world'.[98] That the porter who resided in the College's gate lodge where the In-and-Out Book was kept was referred to as 'Cerberus', further illustrates the way in which the population of St. Patrick's felt they inhabited a place separate from the rest of Ireland; something like an island of pure Catholicism *within* the island of Ireland itself, paralleling, in an inverted way, how, according to Hume's M.A. thesis, the Protestant population of Derry had felt towards the realm outside the walls throughout much of the city's seventeenth and eighteenth century history, and how, in his view, the Protestant population of Northern Ireland have felt towards the country beyond the border.

Like Kevin before him, Hume seemed to feel St. Patrick's was a world or island somehow partitioned or removed from the rest of the country; that the College's boundary wall was more a dimensional divide, guarded by mythical sentient beings in the form of the Sphinxes, instead of mere bricks and mortar. Hume's statement about the 'life that is Maynooth' beginning again adds weight to this idea. It is no doubt significant in this sense the 'Old Fourth's' production during Hume's second year at the College was a farce based on Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.[99] Seminarians were conscious they led an almost island existence within the College. The vision of Celtic monasticism surely contributed to, or enhanced, this mode of thought. Did they perhaps even view Maynooth as a Catholic island of Ireland in miniature or microcosm? Did Hume make the connection between the walled institution of St. Patrick's and his walled city? What is more did he make the connection between a Catholic College partitioned-off from the rest of Ireland, and the partitioned, mainly Protestant, entity of Northern Ireland? It may be Hume's history of how Derry expanded beyond its walls in the nineteenth century, and by extension, his thinking on Irish unity, owed something to his confinement within

[98] Ibid.
[99] 'The Old Fourths', *The Silhouette*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 122.

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St. Patrick's College during the mid-1950s and his decision to ultimately depart from it. Was there, in a sense, an autobiographical dimension to the history of Derry he produced in 1964?

From his 'Junior Diary' one also gets the impression Hume viewed St. Patrick's as a chronologically static realm. His statement about students doing the same things 'as were done in years gone past' is a case in point, as is his entry for 15th October 1955 in which he wrote of the, 'tennis courts backed by the never changing but beautiful Yew Trees'.[100] It would appear for Hume St. Patrick's was not only a place apart from Ireland; it was a place where time seemed to operate differently from the rest of the country, if not from the rest of the world; an island which young men came to, leaving the world behind for a time, finally returning to it when they had attained intellectual and spiritual maturity after seven years.

C.S. Lewis' concept of Narnia comes to mind here, as does the Irish legend of *Tír na nÓg*. Both mythical realms are depicted as existing alongside, but very much apart from the real world; both where places where time operated differently from the real world. The way in which Maynooth's student population remained perpetually youthful may have prompted comparisons with *Tír na nÓg*, the Irish Land of Youth inhibited by the *Tuatha Dé Dannan*, the pre-Christian gods of Ireland. This land is usually depicted, as in the legend of Oisín and Niam, as existing alongside the human world, but one in which time flows at a very different rate, much like Lewis' Narnia.[101] It is possible Hume believed in entering St. Patrick's with it unchanging traditions and scenery, and by immersing himself in the study of the past within it, he had somehow departed from modern Ireland; had stepped back into history itself. His desire to 'cut' in 1958 might just

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[100] Hume, 'Junior Diary', *The Silhouette*, p. 96.

[101] For the legend of Oisín and Niam in *Tír na nÓg*, see T.W. Rolleston, *Celtic Myths and Legends* (London, 1994), pp. 270-273.

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have been driven by a growing desire to re-enter and engage with an increasingly self-consciously modern country.

Furthermore, in producing his 'Junior Diary' Hume was, in effect, providing a contemporary chronicle that not only described his seminary experience, but situated it within a historical tradition dating back to the establishment of the College in 1795. Much like his history notebook therefore, Hume's 'Junior Diary' also provides a window onto an intellectual environment that moulded his thinking. Take, for instance, his entry for October 11th 1955. 'The square has a splash of colour these days for the hierarchy are here', he wrote.[102] 'Their meeting was held today and while the Bishops poured over problems we romped about in freedom enjoying the sunshine'.[103] A further entry illustrates the important point Hume spent the mid-1950s cut off from Derry and Northern Ireland, surrounded by men from all over Ireland. 'Tonight began the debates,' he explained.[104] 'The "boys" were in their usual form…Among other things we learnt how to spell Cork, and had quite a serious discussion on the value of past classics on a farm'.[105] In another entry he described the bewildering effect of Rev. James Bastable's second year course on Logic and General Metaphysics, which all students had to take in preparation for the study of Divinity:

> Today we were told that if we doubt our self-consciousness then the self-consciousness by which we doubt our self-consciousness is also doubtful since the self-consciousness with which we doubt our self-consciousness is the same as the self-consciousness which we doubt. We agreed – and came away firmly convinced that water boils at 100º.[106]

What is important, however, is Hume's earliest identifiable published writing came in the form of a short chronicle. The 'Junior Diary' arguably represents a fledgling

[102] Hume, 'Junior Diary', *The Silhouette*, p. 96.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Hume, 'Junior Diary', *The Silhouette*, p. 97.

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attempt by a young student of history to actually produce some history. So in a way his 'Junior Diary' pre-empts his later, more sophisticated history of Derry. Ó Fiaich was simultaneously teaching him the importance of first-hand accounts of the past for the study of history – a legacy of his training in the discipline under Gwynn, Ryan and Dudley Edwards at U.C.D., and subsequently in Louvain. Was Hume seeking to impress his history teacher by bequeathing a chronicle of life in Maynooth to future generations of seminarians? He certainly attempted to flatter Ó Fiaich in his entry for 23rd of October:

> The *Cullacht* [*Chuilim Cille*] year opened tonight with a highly interesting lecture by Fr. Fee entitled "In far foreign fields from Dunkirk to Belgrade." We have come to expect a very high standard from Fr. Fee but this time he really "went to town" and held our interest so well that we were really shocked to hear the 9.15 bell…we live in hope that we'll be hearing from him again before long.[107]

The notion Hume was exercising his historical imagination and attempting to produce history whilst preparing his 'Junior Diary' is reinforced by the existence of another piece which he contributed to the Easter 1956 edition of *The Silhouette*. In tandem with the preparation of his 'Junior Diary' Hume also produced a short work of historical fiction 'Fraternité'.[108] Crucially, this short story demonstrates his historical vision was becoming increasingly developed throughout 1956-57. He had reached an important stage in his intellectual evolution, no longer merely learning history, but beginning to work with and apply it too, as he would subsequently do throughout his political career.

In *I Remember Maynooth* Kevin was keen to demonstrate his education at St. Patrick's had been fundamentally apolitical: 'we took our politics, like out trunks to Maynooth; and took them home with us at the end of seven years'.[109] Moreover, Peter McLoughlin has contended Hume only became 'politicised' during the early to mid-1960s owing to ideological and organisational developments within northern

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[107] Hume, 'Junior Diary', *The Silhouette*, p. 97.
[108] John Hume, 'Fraternité', *The Silhouette*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 104-105.
[109] Kevin, *I Remember Maynooth*, P. 97

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nationalism.[110] Yet 'Fraternité' illustrates after roughly two years at St. Patrick's, Hume's studies, particularly of the past, were precipitating a strand of political thinking subsequently influential in Irish history. If his 'Junior Diary' pre-empts, in a way, his 1964 history of Derry, 'Fraternité' can be viewed as an early incarnation of 'The Northern Catholic'. Significantly, many of the key political ideas he subsequently advanced in that influential article can be found in fledgling form in a short story he wrote in Maynooth just under ten years previously.

'Fraternité' and its Intellectual Origins.

'Faternité' opens on Sunday 12th July 1789, the eve of the French Revolution, with 'a small ragged little man….scurrying through the damp streets of Paris.'[111] It is Pierre Dubois, a hardworking Parisian family man, 'one of those who, daily on the streets of Paris, never seem to attract any attention'.[112] After a profitable day of work he is rushing home to spend time with his wife and children in their small house on the outskirts of the city. Importantly, Hume's Dubois, 'never thought of the injustices to which he was subject'; having 'paid taxes for so long he had now begun to take them for granted and he held no rancour in his heart for those high and mighty nobles who were really the cause of any misery he suffered.'[113] As long, 'as his little family remained happy,' Hume explained, Pierre, 'was content to trundle his little barrow and sell his wares on the cobbled Parisian streets'.[114]

Whilst hurrying past the gardens of the Palais Royal, however, Dubois is distracted by the, 'wild shouts and cries of a mob. "Liberté, down with the

[110] P.J. McLoughlin, *John Hume and the Revision of Irish Nationalism* (Manchester, 2010), p. 7.
[111] Hume, 'Fraternité', *The Silhouette*, p. 104.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Hume, 'Fraternité', *The Silhouette*, p. 104.
[114] Ibid., pp. 104-105.

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tyrants…Egalité…Fraternité' they shout, whilst 'a young man – Camille Desmoulins – stood above them gesticulating wildly – as Frenchmen do… pouring every ounce of himself into the words that he gave forth.'[115] As Dubois listens to Desmoulins' oratory, he begins to think of his children whom he would dearly like to 'make better provision for'.[116] Before long Desmoulins, described by Hume as an 'expert in his art', is carrying Dubois, 'along the stony road of injustice suffered by the *tiers état'*.[117] An 'uncontrollable anger' consequently surges up in Dubois; before long he is shouting with the rest of the mob.[118]

Early the next morning a drunken and blood-stained Dubois arrives home: a 'night spent rioting and looting had left him thus'.[119] Before his wife passes-out from shock, she hears her husband mumble the words 'Liberté…Egalité…Fraternité.'[120] The next day he seeks to convince her 'how the Revolution would lift the children out of their misery', but she stands firm in her condemnation of the movement, thinking it evil. On July 14th Pierre rushes home to tell his wife the great news – the 'power of the nobility – symbolised in the Bastille – had been razed to the ground', only to find a note from her on the table. The ending of Hume's story is worth citing in full:

> The note slipped from his trembling fingers and fluttered to the ground as he stood there in the half-light staring fixedly at the opposite wall where the dancing shadows, projected by the dying flames of the fire, seemed to spell out those awful words: 'Gone with the children to see my brother Jean in the Bastille.'….A slight stooping figure stood in front of the black and smoking mass that was the Bastille…His thumping headache re-echoed the rhythm of the guns, the roaring mob and the flames of that morning. And beating through the heavy mist that was his brain, beating to the same rhythm, were the jumbled meaningless words: Liberté….Egalité….Fraternité….Gone with the children….Liberté….Revolution will lift them out of their…Egalité.…to

[115] Hume, 'Fraternité', *The Silhouette*, p. 105.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.

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> the Bastille to see my brother Jean….Fraternité….All gone, all dead! dead! dead!....Fraternité.[121]

Ó Fiaich's lectures in European history had clearly made an impression on Hume's historical imagination. What renders the story so significant is the way in which it illustrates Hume's knowledge of the history of the Revolution − he knew its chronology, and was more than familiar with the revolutionary journalist Desmoulins − but also his knowledge of the geography and actual *look* of Paris. Hume *knew* the streets were cobbled, he *knew* the location of the gardens of the Palais Royal, and he *knew* that an artisan such a Dubois must necessarily live on the outskirts of the city and not in its affluent city centre. He was able to visualise the French capital in the late eighteenth century and to imagine what it would have been like to have actually been a Parisian citizen in the midst of the riots and revolution that traumatised the city in July 1789. He was *imagining* history. Hume did not actually visit Paris until the summer of 1960.[122] Although physically confined in Maynooth, mentally Hume had not only travelled across Europe with the exiled earls of Ulster, he had visited Paris too. If the 'Junior Diary' gives us a portrait of Hume as a young man, 'Fraternité' bequeaths an important and vivid snap-shot of his youthful historical imagination at play.

Ó Fiaich's perspective on the revolution can be discerned in his treatment of 'Irish Scholars and Soldiers Abroad' in his course 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780'. For instance, he explained how the two Irish Colleges in Paris, which had housed the majority of Irish clerical students in France, had 'been supressed during the Rev[olution]', and that it was sometime before the College in the *Rue des Irelandais* was reopened by Irish students.[123] He also highlighted how the Irish seminary in Bordeaux founded in 1603,

[121] Hume, 'Fraternité', *The Silhouette*, p. 105.
[122] Hume, *Personal Views*, p. 4.
[123] Ó Fiaich Papers, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 58.

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had likewise been suppressed as a result of the Revolution.[124] Apparently the superior at the time, Patrick Everard, was forced to return to Ireland, subsequently becoming the fourth President of St. Patrick's College and later Archbishop of Cashel. According to Ó Fiaich the building in Bordeaux had only been saved because a professor had taken the Revolutionary Oath, though it never reopened. The Irish College in Toulouse had not survived the Revolution, however. As Ó Fiaich put it, the building was 'confiscated and sold' with the Irish Bishops never 'receiving a penny from the sale'.[125]

Importantly, whilst surveying the history of the Irish Colleges in Europe Ó Fiaich argued 'Irish people have been influenced by the Anglo-Saxon idea of Paris in the 18th [century]'.[126] He urged his students to be mindful, therefore, how 'Paris was [then] the capital of Cath[olic] Ireland rather than Dublin, for Paris was the capital of its hopes and aspirations and Dublin of its fears and laws.'[127] In Ó Fiaich's eyes the Revolution had not only wounded the French Church, but also stripped Catholic Ireland of its spiritual capital, undoing the advances made by Irish clerics in the country in terms of preserving and consolidating a faith which had been supressed in Ireland. For him the Revolution was as much a damaging attack on Catholic Ireland as on the French nobility and Church. Admittedly the latter institution is never mentioned in Hume's story, but that 'Fraternité' was inherently opposed to the Revolution is unsurprising given one of its main sources of inspiration was Ó Fiaich's history, and by extension, the history and ethos of St. Patrick's.

Ó Fiaich's history lectures were not the only source of inspiration for Hume's story, however. Hume had also been studying French under Hubert Schild, a polyglot from Lorraine. The *Maynooth College Calendar for the Year 1954-1955* indicates as part of

[124] Ó Fiaich Papers, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 59.
[125] Ibid, p. 58.
[126] Ibid., p. 57
[127] Ibid.

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his first year course Schild taught the 'History of France' using the work of Louis Madelin.[128] Given the subject matter of 'Fraternité', and St. Patrick's institutional connections to that historical event, Hume almost certainly studied Madelin's classic history of the French Revolution, published in 1916.[129] The latter adopted a negative perspective towards the Revolution, particularly the mob riots and looting that had characterised its early stages, validating the assumption Hume read the text. As Madelin stated, by July 14th 'the Paris mob had been seized …with that horribly contagious disease – the lust for blood…[and it subsequently] acclaimed the bandits, gave them rights that were to last for years – and the right to rule for that moment'.[130]

There are more specific connections between Hume's story and Madelin's history. To begin with, Hume's hardworking and originally non-politicised Dubois bears an uncanny resemblance to those 'honest artisans' who, as Madelin saw it, 'would have been content with very little' but whose 'wretchedness' was nevertheless 'skilfully' exploited by '*bourgeois*' ideologues such as Desmoulins.[131] Indeed, Madelin's description of Desmoulins in the gardens of the Palais Royal is very similar to Hume's description of the latter 'gesticulating wildly – as Frenchmen do' in his story. 'All of a sudden a name was spoken,' Madelin wrote, 'a name that was then the most popular of all: Desmoulins! Camille bounded on to a chair, a tall, bilious-looking, sinewy figure, wildly excited. "To arms!" he cried.'[132] There is every possibility Hume got his vision of Desmoulins in the gardens from Madelin: 'In the gardens of the Palais Royal… a young tribune, Camille Desmoulins…his face distorted by hate was attempting to stir up the people with his outcry for a war on society.'[133]

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[128] *Maynooth College Calendar for the Year 1954-1955*, p. 63.
[129] See Louis Madelin, *The French Revolution* (London, 1916).
[130] Ibid, p. 78
[131] Ibid, p. 24.
[132] Madelin, *The French Revolution*, p. 72.
[133] Ibid., p. 70

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There is another text which Hume studied with Schild which might have inspired 'Fraternité'. Alphonse Daudet's *Contes Du Lundi* published in 1875**,** is a collection of short morality tales, like 'Fraternité', set during a period of historical tumult in France, again, like 'Fraternité', in this case the Franco-Prussian War of 1871.[134] Daudet's collection of short stories may have supplied Hume with a template for his story on the French Revolution. Moreover, Daudet's book could possibly have made an impression on Hume not only because the stories it contained were historical in nature, appealing to the latter's interest in history, but because it may have recalled to him the history of Derry. Just perhaps the title of Daudet's collection reminded Hume of Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, whilst Daudet's story 'The Siege of Berlin', which was actually about the 1871 siege of Paris, may have intrigued a young and rather homesick Derryman.[135]

The Platonic Dimension of Hume's Historical Imagination.

The ending of 'Fraternité' betrays the influence of another, more influential text, however; Plato's *The Republic*, an 'old stalwart' of the first year course in Maynooth as Kevin described it.[136] The ending of 'Fraternité' alludes to arguably the most famous part of *The Republic*; the beginning of Book VII where Plato introduced his 'Cave Metaphor' into Western thought.[137] After reading the terrible note left by his wife, Hume's Dubois stares, 'fixedly at the opposite wall where the dancing shadows, projected by the dying flames of the fire, seemed to spell out those awful words: "Gone with the children to see my brother Jean in the Bastille". Significantly, Hume recreated Plato's Cave – a prison where men perpetually quarrel about the nature of shadows cast on a wall by a fire behind their heads – in Dubois' little home. It is, of course, on reading the note Dubois finally

[134] See Alphonse Daudet, *Contes Du Lundi/Monday Tales* (London, 1950).
[135] Ibid, see 'The Siege of Berlin', pp. 24-33.
[136] Plato, *The Republic* (This edition London, 1976).
[137] Ibid, pp. 207-214.

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perceives reality. He becomes aware of the fictitiousness and foolishness of the beliefs he previously held about the efficacy of revolution Desmoulins' oratory engendered in him. The scene clearly alludes to, even recreates, the moment in *The Republic* when one of Plato's ignorant cave-dwellers is dragged to the earth's surface and painfully perceives reality for the first time. 'If someone were to drag him out up the steep and rugged ascent,' Plato theorised, 'would not his forced journey up to the light of the sun be one of pain and annoyance'.[138]

And it is only natural a seminarian such as Hume should have incorporated a key philosophical argument from *The Republic* within a short story for *The Silhouette*, the title of the magazine itself alluding to the Cave Metaphor. It is also unsurprising Hume incorporated a key element of *The Republic* in a story on the French Revolution, effectively juxtaposing the ideal form of (in the Church's view) civic and essentially Christian republicanism forged by Plato in the age of the great Greek city-states, with the corrupted and, importantly, anti-clerical mode of republicanism that emerged in France as a consequence of the Enlightenment, and which inevitably spread to Ireland with equally dire historical consequences. Suffice to say, Hume left St. Patrick's well-versed in what intellectual historians would describe as the 'descent' of the idea of republicanism within Western political thought.

Plato's text might also have resonated with Hume because it was, of course, about a city, thus appealing to the latter's own urban origins. He would certainly have also encountered St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* during his time at the College, a work about earthly cities and their heavenly ideal.[139] Indeed, it was a text in which Augustine had effectively presented Plato as the great Christian philosopher, as someone who had perceived the heavenly city, but who just happened to have lived before Christ. What is

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[138] Plato, *The Republic*, p. 208.
[139] See Augustine, *The City of God* (This edition Cambridge, 1998).

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important here, however, is a seminary education would have reinforced and fostered Hume's interest in his own historic city and urbanism.

Again, it is worth noting how the first shot of Hume's 1963 film *A City Solitary* featured a panorama of Derry, taken from the Waterside, overlaid with a citation lifted from Jeremias: 'How Doth the City sit Solitary that was full of People.'[140] Thus Hume compared Derry's plight to that of Biblical Jerusalem. One could also point to Hume's affinity with Psalm 122, featuring the lines, 'Pray for the peace of Jerusalem….may there peace within thy walls'.[141] St. Patrick's led Hume to see his city as standing in the tradition of the Greek city-states, and the great biblical walled cities such as Babylon, Jerusalem, and Jericho, somewhat similar to the way in which Protestant identity in Northern Ireland has tended to lay claim to an ancient, Israelite ancestry, and also the way in which that community has tended to look upon political developments such as the Council of Ireland proposed in the Sunningdale Agreement with the precedent of the Trojan War in mind.[142] Indeed, owing to its proximity to the city of Derry, and its siting on the River Mourne (which becomes the River Foyle several miles later), Hume would have been more than familiar with the once prosperous Protestant town of Sion Mills.

Furthermore, the affinity with *The Republic* Hume displayed in 'Fraternité' foreshadows his later history of Derry. This also had a distinctly Platonic quality about it. Hume sought to demonstrate how, in the period 1825-1850, the city's Protestant population had finally thrown off their defensive siege mentality, realising that they had nothing to fear, but everything to gain, from living outside of the walls, consequently building their city beyond them in order to achieve better living conditions and to

[140] The Nerve Centre, John Hume and Terence McDonald, *A City Solitary* (1963).
[141] See the Bible (New International Version), Psalm 122. See also, for example, *Hume: Personal Views*, p. 109.
[142] With regards the latter point see, for example, P.J. McLoughlin, "Dublin is Just a Sunningdale Away?' The SDLP and the Failure of Northern Ireland's Sunningdale Experiment', *Twentieth Century British History*, 20, 1 (2009), p. 88.

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facilitate economic progress. Concluding the second chapter of his thesis he described how

> Development outside the walls marked the age old prejudice that it was not respectable to live there. This change is probably due to commercial pressure for space but it is also possible that after thirty years of the Act of Union considerable security had grown in the minds of the townspeople with regard living outside the walls. Their defensive mentality was beginning to disappear.[143]

The way in which Derry's Protestant population had, in Hume's eyes, emerged from behind the walls, realising their fear of living outside of these defences had been largely irrational, mirrors the way in which Plato's cave dwellers had made the transition from the prison to the land above; from darkness to light. Crucially, in 'Fraternité' Hume recreated Plato's Cave within Dubois' little house in Paris; in his M.A. thesis he did something similar, though on a bigger scale, presenting Derry within the walls as the Cave and its Protestant citizens before the mid-nineteenth century as the cave dwellers.

As is also evident from the thesis, Hume looked upon the walled city of Derry as a microcosmic Northern Ireland, and the Partitioned entity of Northern Ireland as a macrocosmic Derry. In his eyes, just as the former had once contained a Protestant population fearful of living outside of the city's defensive walls, where the native Catholic population dwelt, so the Partitioned entity of Northern Ireland contained a Protestant Unionist majority fearful of living without the security of the border between it and a predominantly Catholic South. Importantly, Hume's tendency to view Derry as a microcosmic Northern Ireland and Northern as a macrocosmic Derry can be glimpsed and again and again. For example, in an article entitled 'Basic Paradoxes of Unionism' which Hume produced in October 1970 for the regular column he then held in the *Sunday News*, he argued the, 'decision to retreat behind the siege wall was one which cut the

[143] Hume, 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry 1825-1850', pp. 66-67.

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Northern Unionists off from the cultural mainstream', and posited the existence of a, 'continuing defensive mentality' amongst the Unionist population in Northern Ireland.[144] Furthermore, in his *Personal Views* he described Derry as, 'a microcosm of the Irish situation'.[145]

Hume's tendency to see the walled city of Derry as a microcosmic Northern Ireland is a very Platonic intellectual motif within his thought. Plato, of course, built his ideal city in order to understand the nature of justice as it existed in the human soul. As Socrates muses in *The Republic*, 'perhaps justice may exist in greater proportions in the greater space…we shall begin our inquiry as to its nature in cities, and after that let us continue our inquiry in the individual also, looking for the likeness of the greater in the form of the less'.[146] The way in which, in the early 1960s, Hume set out to build a city is again very Platonic. In effect he was imitating Plato. Much like the way in which the latter built his ideal city through dialogue, Hume used history to recreate his ideal Derry, the economically booming Derry of the mid-nineteenth century; the Derry that grew beyond the walls; that threw off the legacy of the siege.

He did so in order to find answers not only to his city's current economic plight, but the broader problems facing that bigger walled entity, Northern Ireland. Significantly, in his history Hume was not so much depicting how Derry grew beyond its walls in the period 1825-1850, rather, he was demonstrating how Northern Ireland could (and in his view would) eventually outgrow Partition in a gradual and, more importantly, peaceful manner. Indeed, Hume's tendency to refer to Derry as the 'heart of the Irish problem', as he did in his film *John Hume's Derry* screened by RTÉ and BBC Northern Ireland in October 1969, and to also talk of the 'soul' of Derry, as he did in *A City Solitary*, leads

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[144] John Hume, 'Basic Paradoxes of Unionism', *Sunday News*, 11 Oct. 1970.
[145] Hume, *Personal Views*, p. 119.
[146] Plato, *The Republic*, p. 47.

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one to posit that he has not only viewed Derry as a microcosmic Northern Ireland, but that he has also viewed the relationship between his city and the partitioned entity of Northern Ireland in terms resembling the City/Soul analogy developed by Plato in *The Republic*.[147]

Given Hume's grasp of, and intellectual relationship with, Platonic philosophy, Ken Bloomfield's description of him as the S.D.L.P.'s 'philosopher-king' seems incredibly apt.[148] Plato argued that having perceived reality through intensive education, the city's philosopher-king had a duty to descend back into the Cave in order to educate and guide those who dwelt there. 'You have received a better a more thorough education,' he wrote, 'and are more capable of participating in both public life and philosophy. You must therefore descend by turns to dwell with the rest of the city, and must be accustomed to see the dark objects'.[149] The way in which Hume felt the pull back to Derry having completed his B.A.; felt the need to put his education to use in his community, suggests throughout the 1960s, if not beyond, he actually did see himself as Derry's philosopher-king, or he looked upon *The Republic* as a guide to public life. That during his early political career he tended to claim his personal credo was, 'reason is great and will prevail' helps reinforce this argument, whilst simultaneously demonstrating the influence of St. Patrick's upon his political mentality more generally.[150] It can be argued there was a very philosopher-king quality about Hume's notorious statement made upon the walls of Derry in the wake of Bloody Sunday in 1972: 'Many people *down there* feel now that it's a united Ireland or nothing.'[151]

[147] The Nerve Centre, RTÉ, *John Hume's Derry* (1969); Hume and McDonald, *A City Solitary*.
[148] Ken Bloomfield, *Stormont in Crisis: A Memoir* (Belfast, 1994), p. 131.
[149] Plato, *The Republic*, p. 213
[150] Sean Breslin, 'John Hume: A Rational Politician', *Hibernia*, 3 Nov. 1972.
[151] See McLoughlin, "…it's a United Ireland or Nothing'?', *Irish Political Studies*, p. 157 [My italics].

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What is more, the way in which, in the 1960s, Hume took it upon himself to protect and save Derry, highlighting its economic plight in his two films, spearheading the campaign for a university in Derry, and constantly trying to either create or attract new industries to the city reinforce the idea that he looked upon himself as his city's philosopher-king. There might even be a sense in which, as his political career evolved, he came to envisage himself as Northern Ireland's philosopher-king. There is something rather Platonic about his determination to lead the people of Northern Ireland to peace. Did Hume look upon Northern Ireland as, 'peopled by men quarrelling over shadows'?

The fact Hume's 'Fraternité' has an urban setting should not be overlooked. As Enda Delaney and Louise Fuller have observed, during the 1950s and 1960s Irish intellectuals and commentators, particularly Irish bishops such as Cornelius Lucey, Bishop of Cork, were becoming increasingly interested in, and concerned about, urban Ireland and the effects of rural depopulation.[152] A chair in Catholic Sociology and Catholic Action had been established at St. Patrick's in 1925, initially held by Peter McKevitt.[153] During Hume's time at the College it was occupied by Dr. Jeremiah Newman, later Bishop of Limerick. As Delany has pointed out, Newman conducted the pioneering Limerick Rural Survey in 1964, the same year as Hume completed his M.A., which focused on the rural effects of migration towards cities.[154] Indeed, in the mid-1960s Newman was curious as to the relationship between Catholic thought and teaching and the evolution of modernity.[155]

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[152] See Enda Delaney, 'Modernity, the Past and Politics in Post-War Ireland', in Thomas E. Hachey (ed.), *Turning Points in Twentieth Century Irish History* (Dublin, 2011), p. 116-117.; Louise Fuller, *Irish Catholicism since 1950: The Undoing of a Culture* (Dublin, 2002), pp. 42-45.
[153] Corish, *Maynooth College*, p. 315.
[154] Delaney, 'Modernity, the Past and Politics in Post-War Ireland', in Hachey (ed.), *Turning Points in Twentieth Century Irish History*, p. 117.
[155] See Jeremiah Newman, *Change and the Catholic Church: An Essay in Sociological Ecclesiology* (Dublin, 1965) pp. 136-141.

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The romantic perspective forged by the Young Irelanders, and sustained by Pearse and De Valera Ireland was quaint and rural; that the West was somehow the 'true' Ireland, was being questioned and deconstructed during the 1950s and 1960s as more of Ireland's young people forged their futures in urban centres both on the island and in Britain, whilst Ireland itself was becoming increasingly self-consciously modern. The pages of *The Silhouette* reveal this process was being felt within, and impacting upon, the walled environment of St. Patrick's College. For example, in the same issue containing Hume's 'Junior Diary' and 'Fraternité' a student reviewed the annual St. Patrick's night production, arguing the choice of play, '*An Bucko Caol Dubh* by Liam O Ceallaigh…was a happy one'.[156] 'It was…entertaining,' the student went on, 'in so far as it was a departure from the usual run of Irish plays. It was a play on modern lines and no longer were we concerned with "the little old mud cabin on the hill".'

Furthermore, during the 1950s Irish historians were increasingly interested in Ireland's demographic and economic history. Kenneth Connell's pioneering 1950 *The Population of Ireland 1780-1854* is a prime example of this historiographical trend, a trend which Hume's M.A. thesis very much reflected.[157] In fact, Connell's history is listed in the bibliography Hume supplied with the thesis.[158] Thus Hume's 1964 history of Derry, much like the political philosophy he had developed by that stage, and which he articulated in 'The Northern Catholic' owed much to his urban origins, the intellectual influence of St. Patrick's College, and also broader developments within Church thinking, particularly with regards the nature of 'modern' society. Crucially, all these influences can be glimpsed in a little short story he produced for his College magazine in 1956. They were not, however, the only intellectual influences impacting upon his

[156] 'St. Patrick's Night' [anonymous], *The Silhouette*, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 124.
[157] See K.H. Connell, *The Population of Ireland, 1780-1845* (Oxford, 1950).
[158] Hume, 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry, 1825-1850', p. 273.

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thinking. There was another, in fact, and one which would heavily inform the strand of political thought he began to articulate in the early to mid-1960s.

Hume and the Concept of Patriotism.

Hume's short story also reflected a new discourse on the concept of patriotism being forged by Ireland's Catholic intelligentsia during the 1950s. After perceiving the reality of his situation Dubois stands in front of the smoking Bastille reflecting on the, 'jumbled, meaningless words: "Liberté….Egalité….Fraternité.' Importantly, Hume was already thinking about the supremacy of rhetoric within Irish politics. A key argument he subsequently advanced in 'The Northern Catholic' in May 1964 was leadership in Ireland had been 'the comfortable leadership of flags and slogans', and that for decades, 'Catholics of all shades of opinion [had been] expected to band together under the unconstructive banner of nationalism.'[159] 'Fraternité' is an attack on sloganized politics and on political hero-worship.

Traditionally commentators and scholars have tended to contend Hume's rejection of sloganized politics and flag-waving in Ireland stemmed simply from a childhood experience of his father telling him not to get involved in politics during a nationalist parade in Derry, because as Sam Hume is said to have put it, 'You can't eat a flag'. For example, this was effectively the only biographical detail Peter McLoughlin supplied in his monograph on the origins and nature of Hume's 'revisionist' nationalism, the former presenting the anecdote more or less *as* the fundamental origin of the latter's political thought.[160] As has already been demonstrated, the latter's scholarship is, in this sense, a relatively poor intellectual history. It is, however, a good example of the way in which

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[159] Hume, 'The Northern Catholic', *Irish Times*, 18 May, 1964.
[160] See McLoughlin, *John Hume and the Revision of Irish Nationalism*, p. 7. For this anecdote also see, RTÉ *Ireland's Greatest: John Hume* (2010), available in four parts at www.youtube.com (last accessed 1 June 2016), Part 1.

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even scholarly commentary upon Hume has tended to buy into, in an unquestioning manner, its subject's own rhetoric, a luxury never extended to Adams. Suffice to say the intellectual origins of Hume's 'revisionist nationalism' are somewhat more complex, if unfortunately, less romantic.

As Delaney has observed, in 1958 Dr. William Philbin published an influential pamphlet *Patriotism* in which he argued for, 'what can best be described as a civic form of patriotism, based less on visceral and sentimental elements and concerned more with improving communal well-being and fostering economic progress.'[161] Philbin had been Professor of Theology at St. Patrick's between 1936 and 1954, when he was appointed Bishop of Clonfert.[162] Although not in Maynooth when Hume was studying there, many of the arguments Philbin advanced in *Patriotism* can be found in Hume's 'Fraternité', and hence within the latter's political philosophy. For example, Philbin had critiqued hero-worship in his pamphlet. 'Hero-worship,' he wrote, 'in so far as it blinds us to human defects…must be checked and controlled'.[163] He had also attacked sloganized politics. 'We should scrutinise popular slogans and reject those that are indefensible no matter from whom they emanated'.[164] One of Philbin's main arguments was patriotism tended to be highly emotional, particularly in Ireland, and thus blinded men to reason and reality, leaving them easy prey for ideologues. "The herd instinct' and 'mob psychology' are not mere names,' he argued. They are governing influences in communities that substitute emotion for reason'.[165] The same argument can be found in 'Fraternité'. Dubois is, of course, swept away by Desmoulins' oratory and the passion of the mob.

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[161] Delaney, 'Modernity, the Past and Politics in Post-War Ireland', in Hachey (ed.), *Turning Points in Twentieth Century Irish History*, p. 112. See also, William J. Philbin, *Patriotism*, (Dublin, 1958).
[162] Ambrose McCauley, 'William Joseph Philbin', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge 2009), pp. 94-96.
[163] Philbin, *Patriotism*, p. 10.
[164] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[165] Philbin, *Patriotism*, p. 4.

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As has also been seen, whilst staring at the Bastille Dubois comes to realise his belief the, 'Revolution will lift the children out of their misery' is a falsehood. Indeed, Philbin's central argument in *Patriotism* was the Irish needed to realise constitutional change, and, what is more, violent constitutional change, did not necessarily equate to social and economic prosperity:

> such receptivity to new [constitutional] ideas should not be confused with the childish impulse to throw away the whole framework of society because it is imperfect and to assume that radical change will bring something better. All human institutions are imperfect − including those that come by way of revolution.[166]

Philbin argued Irish people needed to accept a 'wider interpretation' of patriotism. For him, true patriotism was not necessarily political. It was, rather, fundamentally economic. The true patriot strove to improve, through hard undramatic work, their community's material well-being: '[we need to] rid our minds of any idea that there is something inherently selfish and mundane about ordinary productive work and that the highest service to one's country can only be thought of in military terms'.[167] Philbin's article delivered a thinly veiled attack on the importance republicans and nationalists traditionally attached to abstract constitutional principles in Ireland and the metanarrative that radical constitutional change or revolution equated to immediate social improvement. He was therefore seeking to invert the nationalist political paradigm in Ireland. In Philbin's view, economic and social prosperity achieved through hard work would gradually precipitate positive constitutional change, as opposed to radical constitutional change, engineered through violence, precipitating immediate social and economic prosperity.

Crucially, Hume's Dubois is the true patriot in this sense, that is, until he is corrupted by Desmoulins. Initially, of course, Dubois does not concern himself with

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[166] Philbin, *Patriotism*, p. 11.
[167] Ibid., p. 14.

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dreams of radical constitutional change, rather he quietly works hard, being 'content to trundle his barrow' every day so as to provide for his family, thus contributing to the economic life and well-being of his city. He ultimately discovers the futility of rousing slogans and the evil of revolutionary violence the hard way. The revolution does not simply lift his children out of their misery; it destroys them. Consequently, it is important the story ends with Dubois staring at the black smoke coming from the Bastille, obviously a metaphor for evil. So what one sees in 'Fraternité' is an early incarnation of Hume's argument true Irish patriotism was about people 'spilling their sweat and not their blood'.[168] The story also contains the germ of the key idea Hume advanced in 'The Northern Catholic', the fundamental tenet of his so-called 'revisionist' nationalism; northern nationalists needed to accept the constitutional reality of Northern Ireland so as they could divert their energies into making a 'constructive contribution on…the social and economic plane':

> It is this lack of a positive contribution and the lack of apparent interest in the general welfare of Northern Ireland that has led many Protestants to believe that the Northern Catholic is politically irresponsible and therefore unfit to rule…the Constitutional position has lost the Nationalist Party the sympathy of Liberal Protestants and has prevented themselves and their followers from playing a fuller part in the development of the Northern Community…it has too often been an excuse for inactivity.[169]

Philbin's thinking was not unique, however, but reflected a discourse on the concept of patriotism evolving at St. Patrick's and within the Irish Church more generally. Fuller has observed how throughout the '1930s and 1940s, Catholic social teaching became a potent force in Irish Catholicism.'[170] Indeed, it is possible to detect a growing interest in the concept of patriotism at St. Patrick's in the pages of *The Silhouette*. For example, a review of the annual lecture series organised by the College's *Cuallacht*

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[168] See, for example, 'Hume: Patriotism in Sweat Not Blood', *Belfast Telegraph*, 3 Aug. 1973.
[169] Hume, 'The Northern Catholic', *Irish Times*, 18 May 1964.
[170] Fuller, *Irish Catholicism since 1950*, p. 69.

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Chuilim Cille published in the Easter 1956 edition of the magazine described how Dermot O'Donoghue, Hume's lecturer in Logic, had given an 'excellent philosophic examination of the concept of "Nation et Patria".'[171]

Ó Fiaich on Patriotism.

In order to trace the more direct origins of Hume's thinking on patriotism it is necessary to return to Ó Fiaich's history lectures. Throughout his courses on European and Irish history Ó Fiaich consistently pushed a perspective on the nature of true patriotism that resembled Philbin's thinking on the concept. Consider the following case study.

In *Patriotism* Philbin compared the stereotypical Irish patriot with the character of Don Quixote:

> The most famous novel ever written tells of a Spanish gentlemen who foolishly romanticised physical combat as a result of unbalanced, uncritical reading….Irish people are too highly emotional and need to be reminded that the great heroism is not always found in spectacular exploits.[172]

This is far from revealing in itself. Yet look at what Ó Fiaich argued whilst lecturing his students on the reasons why Spain experienced financial difficulties during the reign of Philip II, despite her supremacy in Europe, and her lucrative colonies in the New World:

> It is hardly an injustice to the Spanish character to look on Don Quixote as not a bad mirror of it – courageous, adventurous, idealistic, despising haggling over small profit [and] loss, despising patient toil in light of quick spectacular conquests, preferring noble failure to commonplace success. Give him an Empire to conquer, a crusade to fight for and he'll nobly do or die, but ask him to till his own back garden and he'll be on the rocks in a year.[173]

The argument Hume's thinking on Irish patriotism owes much to his studies in history under Ó Fiaich is cemented by the way in which Hume transcribed this passage

[171] 'Cuallacht Chuilim Cille', *The Silhouette*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 125.
[172] Philbin, *Patriotism*, p. 8.
[173] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern European History, 1453-1789', p. 34.

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in his own notebook for European history. The difference is slight, but is nevertheless revealing. Moreover, Hume's transcription of the passage indicates Ó Fiaich's reference to Don Quixote predates the publication of *Patriotism*:

> Don Quixote is typical Spanish [sixteenth century] character. Courageous, adventurous but very impractical, no patience and choosing what offered hope of easy way, despising intrigue, taking line of chivalry, preferring noble failure to common place success…So Spain had remained an unworldly sort of country and people (like us).[174]

The phrase 'like us' indicates that Ó Fiaich was encouraging his students to critique the view of patriotism which had been advanced by republicans and nationalists throughout Irish history. Indeed, it also evidences the way in which Hume learnt his Irish history within a broader European context. Again, Ó Fiaich pushed the idea true patriotism was about slow, undramatic toil as opposed to heady revolution and blood sacrifice. Indeed, one detects an unspoken comparison between Quixote and Patrick Pearse in the sense of both men preferring, 'noble failure to common place success'. Thus the intellectual origins of Hume's belief patriotism is about sweat not blood are to be found in Maynooth.

It is equally important in his M.A. thesis Hume sought to demonstrate how a new form of materially-orientated, civic patriotism emerged amongst Derry's Presbyterian community during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. 'The Presbyterians were the dominant element in the business life of the city,' he argued, '[harbouring] a desire to get higher up the social ladder and into the ranks of the gentry…Good business men they were as the growth studied shows'.[175] 'Responsible in the main for all the improvement we have been discussing,' he contended earlier in the thesis, 'were Derry's middle classes'. 'We have already seen something of their housing,' he continued, 'solid,

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[174] Notebook of John Hume for 'European History (Modern)'.
[175] Hume, 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry, 1825-1850', p 110.

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respectable, well-built, but of very little artistic or architectural merit – mirroring rather accurately, in fact, the character of the occupants.'[176] Here one again detects Hume's tendency to think in terms of Plato's City/Soul analogy.

For Hume an emerging entrepreneurial spirit and sense of civic pride amongst the community had combined with the economic opportunities offered by the Union and the growing North Atlantic trade system to usher in a period of hitherto unknown economic prosperity in the city. This new breed of Derry Presbyterian was, according to him, more concerned about their own social and economic wellbeing – and that of their city – than with the legacy of fear and distrust of the Catholic native Irish generated by the siege of Derry, and the earlier Catholic revolt in 1641. To further business and achieve more comfortable living conditions, Derry's population naturally began to abandon their fear of living outside of the city's historic defensive walls. 'Development outside the walls,' he argued, 'marked the end of the old prejudice that it was not respectable to live there…Their defensive mentality was beginning to disappear.'[177]

What is perhaps most striking, however, is the new breed of confident and entrepreneurial Derry citizen, willing to throw of the siege mentality harboured by their fathers identified by Hume in his M.A. thesis, bore an uncanny resemblance to the new breed of materialistic northern Catholic Hume identified in 'The Northern Catholic', just months before submitting the history. 'It may be that the present generation of younger Catholics in the north are more materialistic than their fathers,' he contended, 'their thinking is principally geared towards the solution of social and economic problems. This has led to a deep questioning of traditional Nationalist attitudes'.[178] So whereas, according to his M.A. thesis, Derry's Presbyterian population expanded their city *outside*

[176] Hume, 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry, 1825-1850', p. 107.
[177] Ibid., p 66.
[178] Hume, 'The Northern Catholic', *Irish Times*, 18 May, 1964.

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of it walls in order to improve their social and economic lot, Hume believed that, inversely, this new breed of materialistic northern Catholic was willing to throw of the historical prejudice of living and working *inside* the parameters of partition so as to do likewise. Crucially, 'The Northern Catholic' demonstrates Hume's tendency to see the outlook of his generation of northern Catholics as mirroring that once held by Derry's Presbyterians: to believe he was then actually *living* the narrative of his own history of Derry.

Hume's tendency to think in this manner can also be observed in his *John Hume's Derry*. He contended 1969 – 300 years after the siege of Derry – had witnessed the 'siege of Bogside'.[179] In Hume's eyes therefore, it was now the city's Catholic community crying "No Surrender". Enclosed with a barricaded Free Derry – an entity mirroring, and clearly modelled upon, the great Protestant walled city looking down upon it – it was Catholic Derry which was now, in Hume's view, channelling the vision of the siege; defending their civil and religious liberties against a Protestant regime and British army. What is more, Hume's identification of a form of materially-orientated civic patriotism amongst the Presbyterian population of Derry and also amongst the Catholic population of contemporary Northern Ireland, surely owes much to his education in Maynooth between 1954 and 1957.

For Ó Fiaich also advanced a perspective on patriotism in his treatment of seventeenth century Irish history. For example, whilst depicting the rebellion launched by Cahir O'Doherty in the wake of the flight of the earls he argued the, 'small rising of Sir Cahir O'Doherty has been given a patriotic halo which it hardly deserves and Sir Cahir has in death gained the mantle of a patriot which in life he never deserved.'[180] According to Ó Fiaich O'Doherty's rising, 'had no patriotic motive behind it' but

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[179] RTÉ, *John Hume's Derry*.
[180] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 13.

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emerged out of a personal row between the latter and the Governor of Derry, who had previously struck O'Doherty during a meeting, and had ended with the latter being, 'shot through the brain' with an arrow at Kilmacrenan.[181] Ó Fiaich was keen to emphasise that as result of his seemingly patriotic revolt against British rule, many of O'Doherty's supporters had been executed while, 'others whose guilt was somewhat doubtful or had already served the gov[ernment] well − like Domhnall Ó Catháin and Niall Garth [O'Donnell] − ended their days after 16 or 17 years in the Tower of London'.[182] He also pointed out how O'Doherty's disloyalty had simply enabled the Crown to confiscate huge tracts of land in Ulster to facilitate its Plantation, leading to many native Irish being cleared from their lands.

Ó Fiaich did, however, educate Hume on how Irish Catholics could and *did* act in a genuinely patriotic manner during the seventeenth century. It involved maintaining one's faith whilst remaining loyal to the Protestant state in civil affairs in the hope of gaining greater toleration. Hume's education in early modern Catholic recusancy, or Catholic loyalism in Ireland – what Roy Foster has described as the, '*politique* approach of the Old English' demands consideration.[183] So too, in fact, does Hume's education in the history and thinking of the actual French p*olitiques*. These aspects of history very much informed his early political thinking. Crucially, Hume's influential strand of so-called 'new' or 'revisionist' nationalism drew upon much older stands of Catholic political thought.

[181] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 13.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland* (London, 1988) p. 90.

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Hume's 'revisionist' nationalism as Catholic Loyalism

The concluding paragraph of Ó Fiaich's treatment of the history of the flight of the earls, which appears just after his survey of O'Doherty's rising, provides an excellent starting point for tracing the historical dimensions of Hume's so-called 'new' or 'revisionist' nationalism:

> By the beginning of the 17th C. Europe was beginning to realise that relig. diffs were now permanent [and the] problem was therefore no longer to restore relig. unity but to provide [a] means of letting Caths and Prots live side by side in peace – e.g. Peace of Augsburg, Edict of Nantes etc. Coming of King James in England brought hope to some in Britain. Peace between Eng[land] and Spain in 1604, James seeking Cath. marriage for his heir from 1611. In Rome Peter Lombard came to conclusion that Rome['s] support for O'Neill could no longer continue and in his *Ad Questiones XII* c. 1616 argued that while Caths could not accept James as a Xtian [Christian] King, they could [and] were bound to accept him as a lawful King, if he ruled justly.[184]

This paragraph again demonstrates there was a comparative dimension to the Irish history Hume learnt under Ó Fiaich. The latter was constantly cross-referencing the histories of Ireland and Europe. Yet what is of particular importance is the argument advanced by Lombard, the absentee Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All-Ireland (a position Ó Fiaich subsequently held), Irish Catholics were required to be loyal to a Protestant monarch and state in spite of their spiritual loyalty to Rome. Ó Fiaich repeatedly argued the most constructive and patriotic political strategy Irish Catholics could adopt within the framework of the seventeenth century Protestant British state was to demonstrate their loyalty to it in civil affairs. Significantly, the phrase, 'Catholics in religion but loyal in civil affairs' recurs in his lectures on pre-Commonwealth Ireland.

For example, whilst dealing with the reasons why O'Neill and O'Donnell felt the need to flee from Ireland in 1607, Ó Fiaich highlighted how having submitted to Mountjoy at Mellifont and travelled to James' Court in London, O'Neill, 'almost fell over

[184] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 14.

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backwards one might say, in his efforts to co-operate with the government and thus show that he was a citizen who henceforth could be trusted'.[185] 'Despite his attempts to live as a loyal citizen,' he continued, 'he was being constantly watched and injured in various ways'.[186] A few pages before the paragraph cited above, in which Ó Fiaich mentioned Lombard, the former described the earls' experience in Rome and again highlighted how Lombard informed O'Neill, 'he couldn't expect his support for any further Spanish invasions of Ireland – the only hope for the Church in Ireland, henceforward, he thought, was to prove its loyalty to the K[ing] in civil affairs.'[187]

Earlier in his lectures Ó Fiaich reminded his students how during the previous year they had observed how, 'the Cath[olics] of the towns had on the whole remained loyal to Elizabeth during O'Neill's wars' but that, ironically, on James coming to the throne, 'it was they and not the disloyal Old Irish of Ulster who caused trouble.'[188] Moreover, at the start of his treatment of Ireland under James, Ó Fiaich explained the, 'Cath. gentlemen of the Pale – loyal in civil affairs but Caths. in religion drew up a protest asking to be allowed to practice their religion.'[189] Similarly, in his lectures on Ireland under Charles I he described how, 'the Anglo-Irish (Old English) were becoming alarmed at the prospect of further Plantations and they were trying to convince the administration that though Cath[olics], they were loyal, and should therefore have certain privileges which Gov[ernment] might not granted to the old Irish'.[190]

A similar pattern can be discerned in Ó Fiaich's lectures on France during the mid-sixteenth century. Every time he mentioned the *politiques*, which he frequently did, he summarised their philosophy. For example, in his notebook Hume wrote, the *politiques*

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[185] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 5.
[186] Ibid., p. 6.
[187] Ibid., p. 11.
[188] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 3.
[189] Ibid., p. 29.
[190] Ibid., p. 40.

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were a, 'Catholic centre party', which emerged in the early 1570s.[191] 'They sought compromise', he wrote. 'These men valued the unity of the nation more than religion'.[192] Noting down the consequences of the St. Bartholomew's Massacre in August 1572 he also wrote how an internal, 'result was another religious war which led to the strengthening of the middle group the politiques – French and political before Catholicism'.[193] Finally, in his notes on the round of warfare that precipitated the Peace of Monsieur of 1576 Hume wrote. 'Little serious fighting… but it witnessed the growth of the politiques – Catholics in religion but willing to compromise with Huguenots for peace and political reasons.'

So the *politiques* were Catholics who willing to cooperate with Protestants, thereby placing the ideals of peace and national unity before their religion. Not quite the same as Catholic loyalism in Ireland, of course, given the French monarchy remained Catholic, Henry of Navarre converted to Catholicism in 1574 to take the crown as Henry IV famously proclaiming, 'Paris is worth a mass.' Nonetheless, the political thinking of the *politiques* still pivoted upon the basic idea in order to make a constructive contribution within the civil sphere it was necessary to divorce one's religion from one's politics.

It therefore needs emphasising in 'The Northern Catholic' Hume basically argued for the evolution of a form of Catholic loyalism amongst the northern nationalist community. Indeed, it can be argued a form of Catholic loyalism akin to that practiced by the Old English was essentially the foundation of his so-called 'revisionist' nationalism. This is crucial:

> The position should be immediately clarified by an acceptance of the Constitutional position. There is nothing inconsistent with such acceptance and a belief that a thirty-two county republic is best for Ireland. In fact, if we are to pursue a policy of non-recognition the only logical policy is that of Sinn Fein. If one wishes to create a United

[191] Notebook of John Hume for 'Modern History (European)'.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.

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> Ireland by constitutional means then one must accept the constitutional position.[194]

Hume's call for nationalists to accept 'the constitutional position' was not merely a call for them to pursue a non-violent approach to the establishment of a united Ireland. It was, rather, a call for northern Catholics to demonstrate their loyalty in civil affairs to a Protestant state that had only ever offered them a limited degree of toleration throughout its existence. In Hume's view, the thinking of Sinn Féin and republicanism led to the same outcome arrived at by the disloyal Old Irish throughout the seventeenth century: increasing suppression and marginalisation. Consequently, he argued the only constructive course of action open to northern Catholics was to demonstrate that, although as nationalists they aspired to a united Ireland, they were nevertheless fundamentally loyal to the Unionist state of Northern Ireland, and could therefore be trusted by the Unionist government to play a fuller part in the life of that state. 'If the whole Northern Community gets seriously to work on its problems,' he argued, 'the Unionists' bogeys about Catholics and a Republic will disappear.'[195]

Foster has argued throughout much of the seventeenth century the, 'Old English continued to stake their position on the compatibility of Catholicism and loyalism.'[196] In the early 1960s, Hume modified this position and applied it to contemporary Northern Ireland, staking his community's position in Northern Ireland on the compatibility between nationalism and loyalism. There was no fundamental revision however. Hume was still aware he was advocating Catholic loyalism as opposed to *nationalist* loyalism. He was, after all, writing about the northern *Catholic*, not the northern *nationalist*:

> There…exists among them [Protestants] a real fear of Rome…[which] produces discrimination on a widespread scale…[This] places the duty on all Catholics to do all in their power to remove it and to remove the disabilities under which their fellow Catholics suffer as a

[194] Hume, 'The Northern Catholic', *Irish Times*, 18 May 1964.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 45.

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> result…Catholics can contribute to a lessening of prejudice by playing a fuller part in public life.[197]

Importantly, Hume's 'revisionist' nationalism was a form of Catholic loyalism which he was well educated in. An obvious parallel can be drawn between the demands of the Civil Rights Movement and the civil rights demanded by both Presbyterians and Catholics under the Penal Laws. He may have also drawn a parallel, however, between the demands of the Civil Rights Movement, such as the right of Catholics to housing and jobs, and those contained within the 'Graces' presenting by the Old English to Charles I, such as the right of Catholics to hold legal office, and to be secure in their property. Indeed, the Civil Rights Movement preached loyalty to a less than co-operative Unionist Government, much like the Catholic Old English had done in their dealings with the often difficult, duplicitous and, of course, Protestant Charles.

Moreover, the similarity between the concept of the S.D.L.P. and that of the French *politiques* cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence: a centrist Catholic party composed of middle-class Catholics, preaching co-operation with Protestants for the sake of peace and national unity. The obvious counter-argument here is the S.D.L.P. was forged by six men, not one, and consequently the party was not wholly Hume's brainchild. Part of the foundation myth of the party, however, is Hume was apparently seeking to form his own Catholic party before he committed to the grouping that became the S.D.L.P.[198] Was Hume trying to form his own version of the *politiques*, and to live a historical narrative he had learnt under Ó Fiaich?

Apart from anything else, it is largely accepted, even by his critics, Hume was the party's political visionary. As Michael Murphy argued, Gerry Fitt, the party's original leader, was neither an organisational man nor indeed a political theorist'.[199] Similarly, in

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[197] Hume, 'The Northern Catholic', *Irish Times*, 18 May 1964.
[198] See Austin Currie, *All Hell Will Break Loose* (Dublin, 2004), p. 160.
[199] Michael A. Murphy, *Gerry Fitt: A Political Chameleon* (Cork, 2007), p.160.

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a report he produced on the 'State of the S.D.L.P.' in January 1976 the British civil servant N. K. Cowling argued if, 'Fitt is the heart of the party, Hume is certainly the brain.'[200] It is significant, in light of the argument advanced here about the historical nature of Hume's 'revisionist' nationalism and the philosophy of the S.D.L.P., that Cowling concluded his report by contending how at that time he thought a, 'Martian would be justified in describing the SDLP as "loyalist" and the UUUC as "rebels".'[201]

Conclusion

This discussion had yielded an original perspective on Hume and a much need reassessment of the origins of his political thinking. Existing accounts of Hume's ideas are problematic. They have ignored the influence of St. Patrick's and its historical dimensions. As noted earlier, McLoughlin has contended Hume only became politicised in the mid-1960s. It is clear, however, from 'Fraternité' Hume was constructing a mode of political thought that owed much to his studies at St. Patrick's, particularly his studies in history. Indeed, McLoughlin has contended Hume produced the 'The Northern Catholic' before the latter had given any thought to entering politics.[202] But that depends entirely upon the kind of politics. For a young and ambitious northern Catholic in mid-1950s Ireland, ecclesiastical politics offered a far more effective route to social and political influence than party politics. There is every chance Hume went to Maynooth to become a bishop, not a priest, and his decision to 'cut' from the path to ordination in 1958 was partly precipitated by a realisation this goal was a not as achievable as he had first thought.

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[200] PRO CJ4/2359: Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), Meetings/Political Matters: N.K Cowling, 'The State of the SDLP: January 1976'.
[201] Ibid.
[202] McLoughlin, "…it's a United Ireland or Nothing'?', *Irish Political Studies*, p. 157.

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As also noted earlier, Murray argued Hume's belief the problem of Northern Ireland could only be solved within a European framework was based on thinking formulated by the N.D.P. That argument is now void. The European dimension of Hume's thinking was in place well before the close of the 1950s. Similarly, although the notion his belief in organised politics stemmed from the examples of National Unity and the N.D.P. cannot be dismissed, one needs to consider his familiarity with the history of the Confederation of Kilkenny, Grattan and the Patriots in the Irish Parliament, and the evolution of the Home Rule party in Westminster.

These conclusions have been drawn from a wealth of unexploited documentary material which demonstrates the impact a Maynooth education had on Hume's thinking. Significantly, this study has identified Hume's earliest published writings and demonstrated they were in fact historical in nature. It has traced the various intellectual influences which precipitated Hume's 'Fraternité', demonstrating this short story both reflected and deployed an emerging discourse on the concept patriotism amongst Catholic intellectuals in the 1950s, a concept which had been present in Ó Fiaich's lectures on European and Irish history.

In fact, it is hard to convey just how indebted Hume's political thinking was to Ó Fiaich's history. What Irish historians think of as 'Humespeak' is in large part composed of phrases he picked up whilst studying history. For example, Hume's argument it was necessary to 'break down barriers' between the communities in Northern Ireland is an Ó Fiaich phrase.[203] It is there in Hume's notes on Philip II. 'All Philip's work can be summed up by saying that it centred around his principle of centralisation. Breaking down every barrier to uniformity, whether religious or territorial barriers…'.[204]

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[203] See, for example, Hume, *Personal Views*, p 28: 'the second element in my party's long term programme…[is] the breaking down of barriers between the different sections of our people'.
[204] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'European History 1453-1789', p. 33.

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Furthermore, this discussion has precipitated a new perspective on the origins of Hume thinking on Irish unity. Hume's faith in the concept of 'unity in diversity', or *e pluribus unum* is a legacy of his studies under Ó Fiaich. His history essentially told the story of the fracturing of Christendom as a result of the Reformation and the painful evolution of the concept of religious toleration, which was particularly elongated in the case of Ireland. What is more, this discussion has demonstrated Hume has been well-versed in the history of the Reformation and Protestantism, just like Ian Paisley. Hume has been very familiar with the history of the Thirty Years Wars. As shall be seen, so is David Trimble. It is also clear Hume has been well-versed in the historical origins of Irish republicanism, particularly their European origins.

The way in which Hume's early political thinking was essentially a form Catholic loyalism arguably represents this discussion's most valuable find. Foster has argued most of what characterised Ireland during the mid-twentieth century was 'obdurately pre-modern'.[205] Hume's political thinking certainly drew upon a very old strand of Catholic political thought, Indeed, it can be argued the concept of the S.D.L.P. was inspired by a vision of the French *politiques*. Hume's belief in non-violent politics and his desire to be a peacemaker were inspired by the nature of the history he learnt under Ó Fiaich, who held up centrists such as Catherine De Medici, Henry IV, William the Silent, and Rory O'More as the true heroes of history. It would seem then, Hume's influential strand of 'revisionist' or 'new' nationalism was fundamentally early modern.

It has also been observed how there has been a significant Platonic dimension to Hume's thinking. The idea of escaping from darkness to light was an integral component of the philosophy he advanced in *The Republic*. It was also an integral component of Hume's vision of Irish history. The way in which Hume studied history within a walled

[205] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 569.

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environment very much shut off from the outside world may have been extremely influential in this respect. Indeed, there was something very Platonic about Hume's tendency to see the walled city of Derry as a microcosmic Northern Ireland and the partitioned entity of Northern Ireland a macrocosmic Derry. Again, the way in which received his earliest history lessons from the walled city, and subsequently studied history within a walled environment, was surely influential in this respect.

John Hume was not, however, the only architect of the Peace Process who was confined for several years during his early manhood, and who similarly immersed himself in the study of history as a result. In fact, Hume was not the only architect of the Peace Process to see his contemporary Northern Ireland writ small in a walled environment. There is, of course, the case of Gerry Adams in Long Kesh.

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Gerry Adams in Long Kesh:

History and the Idea of the 'mini-Republic'

> The OC is the representative in the area and his duty therefore is to establish a 'mini-Republic' in the area…The business of the National Alternative can be brought down to where it counts, to local Company level…We can't wait until after the war to build this structure…As the tearing down intensifies so can the rebuilding. They're not two separate phases either lads.[1]

> O'Connor Lysaght's "The Republic of Ireland" is the same kind of [history] book. I'll never get it finished because some eejit burnt the camp and "The Republic of Ireland" perished, so to speak, in the flames.[2]

> 'What shall we say the Kingdom of God is like, or what parable shall we use to describe it? It is like a mustard seed, the smallest seed you plant in the ground. Yet when planted it grows and becomes the largest of all garden plants, with such big branches that the birds of the air can perch in its shade.' With many similar parables he spoke the word to them, as much as they could understand. He did not say anything to them without using a parable. But when he was alone with his disciples, he explained everything.[3]

Long Kesh: Adams' St. Patrick's.

Intellectually, the experience of Long Kesh Prison was for Gerry Adams what the experience of St. Patrick's College was for John Hume. Adams has claimed whilst at St. Mary's Christian Brothers' Grammar School in West Belfast during the early to mid-1960s he entertained a 'vague ambition' of going to university.[4] Ultimately, however, the time he spent in Long Kesh, and particularly within Cage 11 of the prison, with its so-called 'study hut' replete – before March 1976 – with a library and typewriter, with its lectures, debates and discussions on Irish history and republicanism, and with effectively its own student magazine in the form of *Republican News*, was the closest he came to a

[1] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The National Alternative', *Republican News*, 3 April 1976.
[2] 'Brownie [Gerry Adams], 'The Orange State', *Republican News*, 11 Dec. 1976;
[3] The *Bible* (New International Version), Mark iv., 30-35.
[4] Gerry Adams, *Before the Dawn* (Dingle, 1996). p. 55.

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university experience.[5] 'Brownie' articles such as 'The Lecture', 'The Orange State', and a 'A Week in the Life', an article in which Adams described attending a, 'lecture/discussion on the social content of Republicanism' on a Wednesday morning, and 'Gaelic class' on the Friday, illustrate how he both looked upon, and sought to depict, the prison as a republican university.[6] There is a similarity here with the way in which, as Richard English has observed, Ernie O'Malley's account of Civil War imprisonment '– of books, classes, intellectual conversation, chess, wine and dinner – bears a resemblance to university life'.[7]

Hume left Maynooth a much more intellectually developed figure. The same can be said of Adams who, in the early spring of 1977, walked into, 'God's fresh air [with a] quick backward glance at the greyness of Long Kesh'.[8] The 'educational agenda' he pursued in Cage 11, and the broader educational culture in the prison which, according to Brendan Hughes, Adams both embraced and did much to develop, had very much impacted upon the youthful Provisional's intellectual development.[9] The author of the final 'Brownie' article, 'Exit Brownie: *Slan Libh*' is definitely a more intellectually

[5] Until 1 March 1976 republicans in Long Kesh enjoyed "Special Category Status" and so were treated as political prisoners. Consequently, they were allowed access to books and educational materials. On that date, however, the British government withdraw "Special Category Status" thereby classifying republican prisoners as ordinary criminals, thus restricting prisoners' access to reading materials. Adams described this process in his 'Brownie' article 'Beware the Ides of March', *Republican News*, 13 March 1976: 'Like today we all knew something was wrong…The way I felt compelled to hand over my books to the screws'. Richard English has observed the way in which the change in legislation in March 1976 affected the educational culture amongst the republican prison community. See Richard English, *Armed Struggle*: *A History of the IRA* (London, 2003), pp. 228-231.

[6] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Lecture', *Republican News*, 28 Aug. 1976. 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Orange State', *Republican News*, 11 Dec. 1976. As noted earlier, the illustration provided by 'Flossie' for the article depicted a studious republican prisoner on his bed reading. The shelves above the prisoner's bed are laden with books, so too is the space under his bed. 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'A Week in the Life', *Republican News*, 29 May 1976.

[7] Richard English, *Ernie O'Malley: IRA Intellectual* (Oxford, 1998), p. 25.

[8] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Exit Brownie: *Slan Libh*', *Republican News*, 19 Feb. 1976.

[9] Ed Moloney, *Voices from the Grave*: *Two Men's War in Ireland* (London, 2010), pp. 198-201: '…we began to have debates,' Hughes has explained. 'Gerry used to do a lot of these debates and he was impressive…the type of person he is, he could walk into the so-called intellectual hut and sit down with people there and debate with them'.

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developed creature than the author of 'Inside Story' which appeared in August 1975.[10] The latter constantly frets about the quality of his work, whether he has enough to write about; whether his article is good enough to get published in *Republican News*.[11] The former confidently looks back upon a column initially 'supposed to be about jail', but which quickly evolved into one suggesting, 'attitudes to such things as sectarianism, active Republicanism, the plight of prisoners in England, and the strategy employed by…the Free State Government'.[12]

There is a marked difference, in fact, between the first three 'Brownie' articles, 'Inside Story', '"Out There on the Motorway…"' and 'Early Risers', and the next one in the series, 'Active Abstentionism'.[13] In his first three articles, particularly 'Inside Story', Adams sought to construct Long Kesh and prison life in his reader's mind. In the latter article, for example, Adams explained there were thirty men, 'to a hut, three huts to a Cage, a washroom, an empty hut, and a study hut thrown in for the crack. Wired off with a couple watch-towers planted around and that's us'.[14] According to Lachlan Whalen, Adams was therefore 'putting the British government's own surveillance under surveillance'.[15] In the view of the former, the latter was essentially publishing, 'the carceral space…outside…[rendering] the cell…the observation tower in which the world outside scrutinizes the disciplinary regime'.[16]

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[10] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Exit Brownie: *Slan Libh*', *Republican News*, 19 Feb. 1976; 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Inside Story', *Republican News*, 16 Aug. 1975.
[11] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Inside Story', *Republican News*, 16 Aug. 1975: 'Maybe I'll get two thousand words out o.k. God's good. BUT WILL THEY PRINT IT??? That's the thing'. Towards the end of the article Adams also wrote, 'I'M STILL NOT SURE THEY'LL PRINT IT!!!'.
[12] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Exit Brownie: *Slan Libh*', *Republican News*, 19 Feb. 1976.
[13] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Inside Story', *Republican News*, 16 Aug., 1975; 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], '"Out There on the Motorway…"', *Republican News*, 23 Aug 1975; 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Early Risers', *Republican News*, 11 Oct. 1975.
[14] 'Brownie', [Gerry Adams] 'Inside Story', *Republican News*, 16 Aug. 1975.
[15] Lachlan Whalen, '"Our Barbed Wire Ivory Tower": The Prison Writings of Gerry Adams', *New Hibernia Review/Irish Éireannach N*ua, 10, no. 2 (Summer 2006), p. 125.
[16] Lachlan Whalen, *Contemporary Irish Republican Prison Writing: Writing and Resistance* (Basingstoke 2007), p. 6.

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In 'Active Abstentionism', however, Adams began to articulate a mode of relatively sophisticated republican thought.[17] There, and in subsequent articles such as 'The National Alternative' and 'Active Republicanism', he constructed a future ideal Irish republic in his reader's mind, theorising the manner in which this brave new republican world would evolve: 'In each and every area…people are governing and helping themselves. And the republican movement has the structure and blueprint to make local government outside the British system not alone feasible but necessary. ACTIVE ABSTENTIONISM'.[18]

Adams' republican vision will of course be carefully considered at a later stage. His thinking was, however, very much influenced by the environment of Long Kesh, an environment which bore distinct similarities to St. Patrick's College. They were, of course, all-male environments, Adams describing jail as 'unnatural' in his first 'Brownie' article 'Inside Story'.[19] 'Imagine thirty men all locked up together', he continued. More importantly, both were institutional environments in which one's life was very much routinized and lived in deference to overarching authority. As Hume put it at the beginning of his 'Junior Diary', 'we still rise at six we still retire at ten-fifteen and in between we do the same things as were done in years gone past'.[20] Neil Kevin wrote of, 'six hundred young men…[spending] most of the day without talking, though they would have loved to talk', and carefully avoiding, 'reading books suited to their tastes'.[21] Adams sought to depict the almost mechanical routine of prison life in his 'Brownie' article 'Screws'. He depicted 'screws', 'performing all kinds of functions to suit their

[17] 'Brownie [Gerry Adams], 'Active Abstentionism', *Republican News*, 18 Oct. 1975.
[18] Ibid.
[19] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Inside Story, *Republican News*, 16 Oct. 1975.
[20] St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Russell Library: John Hume, 'Junior Diary', *The Silhouette*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Easter, 1956).
[21] Don Boyne [Neil Kevin], *I Remember Maynooth* (London, 1937), p. 90.

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capabilities – every rule programmed to suit our attitudes'.[22] He went on to describe meeting a young republican prisoner whilst visiting the prison's doctor. 'I ask him for his name,' Adams explained, 'he gives me his surname. Almost completely institutionalised'.

The repetitive monotony of prison life seemed to influence Adams' vision of Irish history. In the 'Brownie' articles he frequently presented Irish history as basically cyclical and unchanging; as almost itself institutionalised. In 'Inside Story' he described how, 'everyone in here walks in an anti-clockwise direction…always against the clock, maybe some instinct is at work…I suppose it has always been like that'.[23] Moreover, he tended to present Irish history as cyclical and unchanging, with British oppression and republican resistance as historical constants. This is illustrated by his second 'Brownie' article, '"Out There on the Motorway…"'. 'I suppose republicans have always tried to escape', Adams wrote.[24] 'It's funny how the same people continue doing the same things,' he continued, 'Republicans still trying to escape and establishment forces, North and South, still trying to stop them'. Adams' conclusion to his article 'The Change will do us Good' again demonstrates the way which he viewed the central dynamic of Irish history as basically unchanging, with British imperialism and Irish republicanism as constants in history: 'there will always be someone here while the Brit remains and as 'Your Man' says, "the Brit will always be here until he is forced to leave." Even then he will only leave with reluctance, but then the change, I have no doubt, will do us good'.[25]

In his third 'Brownie' article 'Early Risers' Adams also wrote of republican prisoners being dragged out of bed by, 'ambitious or power-crazy Hut O/Cs'.[26]

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[22] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Screws', *Republican News*, 10 April 1976.
[23] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Inside Story, *Republican News*, 16 Aug. 1976.
[24] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams] '"Out There on the Motorway…"', *Republican News*, 23 Aug. 1975.
[25] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Change will do us Good', *Republican News*, 3 July 1976.
[26] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Early Risers', *Republican News*, 11 Oct. 1975.

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Republicans were not only subject to the prison's disciplinary regime, but also to their own internal leadership. As Hughes has explained, the most senior Provisional officer in Long Kesh during his and Adams' confinement in Cage 11 was David Morley, a former British soldier.[27] He ran the republican cages, according to Hughes, 'like a British army camp…where recruits were treated with disdain and degraded and put down'.[28] Partly because of this, Adams and Hughes came to oppose Morley.[29] The latter was also a republican traditionalist who thought mainly in militaristic terms, and who was fundamentally loyal to the original Provisional leadership.[30] Much like that leadership, Morley was opposed to the culture of education and politicisation which Adams was evolving in the prison, and seeking to develop on the outside, a culture Hughes enthusiastically embraced.

The latter described how the 'Brownie' articles were therefore, 'coded in such a way as they would get out [past Morley]…to get the message out that…the war was going wrong and calling on people to re-involve themselves'.[31] Hughes claimed he usually had to read the articles 'two or three times' in order to grasp what Adams was actually arguing. As the latter himself has explained, with 'old friends like the Dark [Brendan Hughes], I was more open…[but] I was always very guarded in my criticisms [in the 'Brownie' articles]…sometimes my criticisms were so subtle that they weren't even picked up on'.[32] Hume's 'Junior Diary', like many articles in *The Silhouette*, was likewise coded. For example, his entry for December 23rd 1956 reads, 'We went on fish', 'fish'

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[27] Moloney, *Voices from the Grave*, p. 186.
[28] Ibid., p. 188.
[29] Ibid., p. 201. According to Hughes, 'Cage 9 and Cage 11 became the focus of opposition to Morley…. We intensified the lectures and training in those two cages'.
[30] Moloney, *Voices from the Grave*, p. 186. According to Moloney, 'Morley was…a leadership man, loyal to Billy McKee who he had succeeded as Camp Commander…in September 1974'.
[31] Moloney, *Voices from the Grave*, p. 203.
[32] Adams, *Before the Dawn*, p. 245.

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presumably being a student code-word for 'holidays'.[33] It is also worth noting in the diary Hume rarely named fellow students or staff members. In fact, in many articles depicting student life in *The Silhouette* students are referred to as 'The Other Fellow' or 'T.O.H', very much resembling the way in which, in his 'Brownie' articles, Adams frequently referred to prisoners as 'Your Man'. In both these enclosed and claustrophobic environments one had to be careful about how they voiced criticisms of the overarching regimes.

The Silhouette was used as a means of criticising the regime or 'rule' at St. Patrick's, much like the way in which, as Whalen has highlighted, Adams was using his prison writings to criticise the Provisional leadership both inside and outside the camp, engaging in a 'textual conflict'.[34] Hume's entry in his 'Junior Diary' for 24th January 1956 is significant in this sense: 'Well you'd never believe it! In a certain class today a note was answered! Hurrah!'.[35] As Barry White highlighted, at St. Patrick's during the mid-1950s few professors, 'would exchange a word with the students from the start to finish of the course…they would expect to deliver their lectures in total silence, accepting questions only in writing'.[36] Hume's entry in his diary was therefore a veiled call for change, as were, indeed, were many of Adams 'Brownie' articles.

Importantly, there is a parabolic quality to many of Adams' prison writings, '"Out There on the Motorway…"' being a case in point. Adams' depiction on the process of tunnel digging in the prison is clearly a commentary on the history of the republican movement. 'We have lost quite few times,' he argued, 'but then we were only amateurs.

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[33] St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Russell Library: John Hume, 'Junior Diary', *The Silhouette*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Easter 1956).
[34] Whalen, *Contemporary Irish Republican Prison Writing*, p. 16. According to Whalen, 'Provisional POWs on both sides of the debate exported their dialectic outside, by means of prison writing…At stake in this textual conflict was nothing less than the future direction of the Provisional movement'.
[35] St. Patrick's College Maynooth, Russell Library: John Hume, 'Junior Diary', *The Silhouette*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Easter, 1956).
[36] Barry White, *John Hume: Statesman of the Troubles* (Belfast, 1984), p. 21.

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Cage 5 was the place for tunnels'.[37] The article itself is essentially a parable with the hidden meaning being republicanism is an underground movement, slowly but surely undermining Britain and its ugly and repressive imperial architecture in Ireland in order to reach the green fields of freedom "out there". Hume's 'Fraternité' was likewise a parable. It was after all, a short morality tale, utilising the history of the French revolution so as to highlight the evils of violence, of worshipping false idols, and of seeking a quick fix to one's problems.

Just like Hume the seminarian, Adams' tendency to write in parables was no doubt inspired by his close readings of the *Bible* in Long Kesh; by a vision of Jesus Christ. According to Hughes, whilst other republican prisoners like himself were to be found studying, 'Che Guevara and Fidel Castro speeches, he [Adams] was saying his Rosary…he was very much involved with his religion and his Catholicism'.[38] Fr. Denis Faul explained in Long Kesh, 'Adams would always attend Mass. With his Confession, Communion and Mass, he was exemplary'.[39] Significantly, in 'Active Republicanism' Adams described how he had been 'trying to find out what Christianity is…the fundamental Christianity of the carpenter's son and his fishermen disciples'.[40] So much like the way in which he was reading up on republican history in order to identify and understand the movement's first principles – 'The Lecture' is fundamentally concerned with isolating and demonstrating these first principles – he was simultaneously trying to discover the first principles of Christianity.[41].

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[37] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], '"Out There on the Motorway…"', *Republican News*, 23 Aug. 1975.
[38] Moloney, *Voices from the Grave*, p. 196.
[39] David Sharrock and Mark Devenport, *Man of War, Man of Peace*: *The Unauthorised Biography of Gerry Adams* (Belfast, 1997), p. 127.
[40] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Active Republicanism', *Republican News*, 1 May 1976.
[41] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Lecture', *Republican News*, 28 Aug. 1976. In the semi-fictional discussion between republican prisoners depicted in the article the character 'Cedric' asks his fellow prisoners to consider the question 'what is a Republican?'. The character 'Egbert' suggests the prisoners should, 'trace the origins of Republicanism'. During the subsequent discussion republicanism is broken down into its component '-ISMs': 'Republicanism as we know is made up of a few other –ISMs…We have SEPARATISM, SECULARISM, and ANTI-SECTARIANISM….'.

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Furthermore, in 'Active Republicanism' Adams was basically presenting Christ and his Apostles as 'active republicans' of another age; a movement preaching a socialist gospel and engaging in a political struggle against oppressive Roman imperialism. In Adams' historical imagination the Romans were the British of a previous age. It would have been quite like him to think in this way, given his tendency to perceive imperialism and republicanism as historical constants. So much like Hume's experience in Maynooth, there was a significant religious dimension to Adams' intellectual evolution in Long Kesh. In fact, there was evidently a religious dimension to his *historical* formation in the prison. Much like Hume in Maynooth, in Long Kesh Adams' vision of history was not limited merely to Irish history, or for that matter, to modern history. Adams' relationship with the *Bible*, and his vision of Christ, certainly influenced the *manner* in which he conveyed his republican vision in the pages of *Republican News*. As shall be seen, a vision of Christ also influenced the *nature* of the republican vision Adams articulated as 'Brownie'.

It is also true the environments of St. Patrick's and Long Kesh were deeply imbued with a sense of sacrifice; of serving time and carrying one's cross for a higher, spiritual cause. Describing a final year student in theology at the College, an 'Old Fourth' as they were known, an anonymous writer in the Easter 1956 edition of *The Silhouette* accounted for this figure's distant and aloof nature: 'He is very old and very wise…He has served seven years for his Love and his Love is waiting just around the corner'.[42] In 'Inside Story' Adams described how the 'eejit' in the bed next to him was 'doing his staunch Republican bit – "McSwiney [sic] taught us how to die" he is saying to the locker at the moment and him…only two weeks without a visit'.[43]

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[42] St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Russell Library: Reuben Butler and Cyril Harlan, 'Ourselves', *The Silhouette*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Easter, 1956).
[43] 'Brownie [Gerry Adams], 'Inside Story', *Republican News*, 16 Aug. 1976.

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As Richard English has observed, alongside Patrick Pearse, Terence MacSwiney was largely responsible for constructing that mode of spiritual, sacrificial, and thus highly militaristic, republicanism which did much to inspire the Easter rebellion in Dublin in 1916, remaining more or less the dominant mode of republicanism throughout the twentieth century, ultimately being embraced by the Provisional republican movement.[44] Furthermore, MacSwiney's death on hunger strike in Brixton Prison in October 1920 did much to ensure the subsequent supremacy of that spiritual, sacrificial mode of republicanism amongst republican prison communities, effectively installing the weapon of hunger-strike within the movement's political arsenal.[45] Although Adams had himself endured a short-hunger strike during his first stint in Long Kesh in the late spring of 1972, it is evident he took issue with the sacrificial mentality embraced by the 'eejit' in the bed next to him in August 1975.[46] As shall be seen, Adams extracted a much more 'civic' mode of republican thought from MacSwiney's writings.

The environments of St. Patrick's and Long Kesh were imbued with a sense of sacrifice because, importantly, they were walled environments which sought to partition their populations from the outside world. According to Neil Kevin, in 'ninety-nine cases in a hundred' a seminarian's daily life was lived 'without reference to what [was] happening in the outside world'.[47] 'From September to December, from January to June,' he added, 'we gave ourselves up to the interior life of the College absolutely'. Lachlan Whalen has observed how, 'the complete success of Long Kesh as a disciplinary machine [required] not only the physical separation of its inmates from the outside population, but

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[44] Richard English, *Radicals and the Republic: Socialist Republicanism in the Irish Free State, 1925-1937* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 9-10.
[45] See Patrick Maume, 'Terence MacSwiney', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 197-199.
[46] Adams went on hunger strike during his first period of internment in Long Kesh during the late spring of 1972; a strike spear-headed by leading Provisional Billy McKee, then in Belfast Prison, for political status. Adams came off hunger strike on the fourteenth day. See Adams, *Before the Dawn*, p. 196.
[47] Neil Kevin, *I Remember Maynooth* (Dublin, 1945), p. 95.

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also the physical and material separation of the compound….from too watchful a civilian eye.’[48] Adams’ sense of detachment from the outside world comes across strongly in ‘“Out There on the Motorway…”’. Moreover, he concluded his article ‘Beware the Ides of March’ asking is, ‘there a world out there?’.[49] Thus it is worth highlighting how both Adams’ and Hume’s fledging attempts at producing history came in the form of short chronicles or diaries depicting life with walled, partitioned environments. In a sense, Hume’s ‘Junior Diary’ in *The Silhouette* mirrors ‘Brownie’ articles such as ‘Inside Story’ and ‘A Week in the Life’.

It has already been observed how seminarians such as Kevin and Hume seemed to look upon their College’s boundary wall as the division between two worlds in Ireland; as having a spiritual significance. Adams certainly came to think of the relationship between Long Kesh and the outside world in similar terms. For example, in ‘Cage Eleven’, the substantially modified version of ‘Inside Story’ contained in his 1990 *Cage 11*, he wrote of republican prisoners inhabiting, ‘some surrealistic limbo’.[50] As Whalen has contended, ‘by self-consciously demonstrating in their writings that they remain informed about current events, Republican POWs such as Adams remind themselves, and their captors, that it is possible to defeat the atemporality imposed upon them’.[51]

As has also been seen, Hume seemed to suggest seminarians felt time operated differently in St. Patrick’s from the outside world, almost like the relationship between this world and Narnia in Lewis’ allegorical stories. For example, in his entry for 25th November in the ‘Junior Diary’ Hume wrote: ‘Did you ever hear why the student who had lost all sense of time could always tell one day of the week – Friday? He never lost

[48] Whalen, *Contemporary Irish Republican Prison Writing*, p. 17.
[49] ‘Brownie’ [Gerry Adams], ‘Beware the Ides of March’, *Republican News*, 13 March 1976.
[50] Gerry Adams, *Cage 11* (Dingle, 2002), p. 14.
[51] Whalen, *Contemporary Irish Republican Prison Writing*, p. 34.

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his sense of smell'.[52] In his prison writings Adams was also keen to demonstrate how he and fellow prisoners had a curious relationship with time. 'Beware the Ides of March' is a case in point, the article dealing with the process via which republicans prisoners were instantly transformed from political prisoners into ordinary criminals by British legislation on 1st March 1976. As he put it, 'Merlyn Rees' new Act came into being at twelve o'clock…We stopped being political prisoners. Like that's as clear as day. As soon as the Brit legislation came into effect, Irishmen all over the North became criminals. It's like an Act of God'.[53] Significantly, clocks are conspicuous in 'Flossie's' illustration for the article. He also depicted the hand of God pointing at the prison, turning POWs into criminals at twelve o'clock. In Adams' eyes, the British could manipulate time and alter one's identity in an almost God-like fashion within their little imperialist stronghold.

It is perhaps significant in this sense that from an early age Adams has had a vision of *Tír na nÓg*. As noted earlier, this land is usually depicted as existing alongside the human world, but one in which time flows at a very different rate, much like Lewis' Narnia.[54] Adams' local hurling team which he has supported since his childhood is named after this mythical Irish realm. Indeed, in *Falls Memories* Adams was keen to point out *Tír na nÓg* was the first hurling team in the North.[55] What is more, a plaque with *Tír na nÓg* written on it adorns Adams' front door in West Belfast.[56] Crucially, he was, and is, no stranger, to the concept of a world within a world or, indeed, to the concept of a world

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[52] St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Russell Library: John Hume, 'Junior Diary, *The Silhouette*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Easter 1956).
[53] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Beware the Ides of March', *Republican News*, 13 March 1976.
[54] For the legend of Oisín and Niam *in Tír na nÓg*, see T.W. Rolleston, *Celtic Myths and Legends* (London, 1994), pp. 270-273.
[55] Gerry Adams, *Falls Memories: A Belfast Life* (Dingle, 1994; 1st edn 1982), p. 44.
[56] David Sharrock and Mark Devenport, *The Guardian*, 17 November 1997. This was the concluding article of a serialised version of Sharrock and Devenport's, *Man of War, Man of Peace*, published by *The Guardian* in the autumn of 1997.

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within a world wherein Time operates differently. This evident from the republican vision he articulated as 'Brownie'.

It can be argued it is relatively unsurprising the influential Provisional concept of the 'Long War' should have evolved primarily amongst the Provisional prison community. For it certainly did evolve in Long Kesh. As Richard Bourke has highlighted, Adams' prison writings reveal the term 'armed struggle' is not derived from Irish history, but borrowed by Adams from anti-colonial writers such as Amilcar Cabral, an opponent of Portuguese rule in Africa.[57] The fact the term 'Long War' was evidently derived from Irish history has hitherto gone unrecognised. The concept was evidently inspired by Adams' readings of Terence MacSwiney's 1921 *Principles of Freedom* in Cage 11, specifically MacSwiney's essay 'Separation'.[58] As Adams wrote at the end of "Out There on the Motorway…", 'I read a book last week, McSwiney [sic] wrote it. He wrote… "Is it not the dream of earnest men of all parties to have an end to our long war, a peace final and honourable".[59]

The rather Leninist notion historical processes could be telescoped through violent revolution which initially informed Provisional thinking was increasingly dispensed with as republican prisoners such as Adams and Hughes realised historical processes, such as serving a prison sentence, for example, simply took time; could only be manipulated or catalysed to a certain extent. Hume reached a similar conclusion through the study of history, particularly through his research on Derry during the nineteenth century. No doubt confinement within St. Patrick's was influential in this respect too. One thinks of the description of Hume advanced by the long-serving

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[57] Richard Bourke, *Peace in Ireland: The War of Ideas* (London, 2003), p. 378. See also, Ian McBride, 'The Shadow of Gunmen: Irish Historians and the IRA', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 46, 686 (2011), p. 701.
[58] See 'Separation' in Terence MacSwiney, *Principles of Freedom* (Dublin, 1921), pp. 14-34.
[59] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams]. '"Out There on the Motorway…"', *Republicans News*, 23 Aug. 1975.

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Northern Ireland civil servant Ken Bloomfield – himself a former student of history at Oxford – that of all Northern Ireland's politicians the former was, 'most inclined to think in grand conceptual terms and long-timescales'.[60] Arguably the idea history and time could only be manipulated so much was brought home to Adams in particular after the failure of his second escape attempt from the prison, after which he sought what Whalen has described as 'symbolic escape' via the production of prison writing.[61] Yet it should also be emphasised Adams turned to history as means of mental escapism, and, moreover, in order to theorise a way in which Ireland and its population could slowly but surely escape from the grip of British imperialism.

Furthermore, it was suggested earlier in entering the walled environment of St. Patrick's, with its unchanging traditions and historical relics such as the Geraldine keep, and by taking up the study of history there, Hume may have felt he had somehow departed from modern Ireland into the past itself; that his subsequent decision to cut from the path to ordination in 1958 was at least partly precipitated by a desire to re-engage with an increasingly modern country. In contrast, having been incarcerated in Long Kesh Adams believed he had departed from a quintessentially old-Irish West Belfast, with its green mountainous scenery, and its quaint, traditional village feel (for that is how he depicted the area in his article '*Is Commain Liom*: I Remember', a primitive draft of *Falls Memories*) into an ugly manifestation of imperial modernity.[62]

By arguing, in 'Inside Story', jail was 'unnatural', Adams implicitly depicted the prison as distinctly modern, thereby juxtaposing it with the green and natural Ireland beyond the perimeter fence. Of course, the notion of an 'unnatural' walled environment,

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[60] Ken Bloomfield, *Stormont in Crisis: A Memoir* (Belfast, 1994), p. 146.
[61] Whalen, *Contemporary Irish Republican Prison Writing*, p. 28.
[62] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], '*Is Commain Liom*: I Remember', *Republican News*, 25 Sept. 1976: 'There was a big house in Huskey's Field…From the Springfield Road a long tree-lined avenue provided entrance while another more humble path cut from the side of the house towards the river which flowed down from the rock dam'.

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constructed by the British, very much invoked the republican vision of the 'unnatural' partition of the island by Britain. Moreover, throughout the 'Brownie' articles the prison was frequently depicted by Adams as grey and metallic, again differentiating it from the green and natural 'real Ireland' outside the barbed-wire perimeter. Similarly, in 'Inside Story' Adams described how he in was in bed with a, 'blue plastic mug of blue plastic tea' in his hand, again presenting the prison as modern in a synthetic and unnatural sense.[63]

The rejection of imperial – and thus industrial – modernity, actually exists as an important theme within the 'Brownie' articles, Adams arguing in 'Active Republicanism', for example, the Irish republic was, 'not some plastic packaged thing that will come with victory'.[64] It also exists as an important theme in Adams' thought more generally. It is revealing, is it not, in *Before the Dawn* Adams claimed he discovered the local history of West Belfast, and thus Irish national history, thus precipitating his entry into the republican movement, by discovering an *underground* river in West Belfast, the Farset; a wild, natural force, driven underground by the modern process of industrialisation?[65] Adams therefore depicted the process by which he became politicised in terms of a flowing river, his consciousness flowing inexorably towards the republican movement. The broader metaphor or parable is, of course, similar to that contained within '"Out There on the Motorway…"'. Irish republicanism and Irish culture are natural and irrepressible forces. The British may try to contain them, and force them underground through modern methods and materials, but they can never totally subdue them; they cannot be tamed; they will always resurface. In Adams' eyes, Irish history, culture, and

[63] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Inside Story', *Republican News*, 16 Aug. 1975.
[64] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Active Republicanism', *Republican News*, 1 May 1976.
[65] Adams, *Before the Dawn*, pp. 49-50.

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republicanism are primeval forces; industrial modernity is foreign and synthetic, much like the imperialism which forged it, and nature trumps industrial modernity.

Adams *was* constructing a vision of Irish modernity in Cage 11, but importantly it was a republican modernity achieved, as shall be seen, largely via a return to Gaelic antiquity. Adams' thinking in this respect was therefore markedly different from Hume's. Heavily influenced by his readings and vision of James Connolly, particularly of Connolly's agitation in West Belfast, Adams has typically depicted the process of industrialisation in Ireland in negative terms – as is clear from a read through *Falls Memories* – and a return to the Irish past as progress.[66] In this sense Adams' thought is very similar to that developed by Patrick Pearse, a figure fascinated with Gaelic antiquity, as the culture he evolved at St. Enda's illustrates. In contrast, in his M.A. thesis Hume celebrated the process by which Derry engaged with industrial modernity in the nineteenth century. For Adams, industrialisation ruined the native landscape in West Belfast, oppressing people, and making their lives miserable. For Hume, this process improved peoples' quality of life, generating more work, better housing, and greater social provision.[67] It should be said, however, the way in which Hume's social and economic vision after 1964 was heavily informed by his vision of nineteenth century Derry; the way in which he perceived a future for Derry *and* Northern Ireland in that

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[66] In *Fall Memories: A Belfast Life* (Dingle, 1994), Adams devoted a chapter to Connolly's time in Belfast, see pp. 33-40. Adams also depicted the way in which, 'The Loney and the Falls…[emerged] from the green fields and grassy meadows of *Tuath na bhFál* …Mills [lining] the right hand side of the Falls...The houses provided for the residents… miserable in the extreme'. See, *Fall Memories*, pp. 22-23. Adams also briefly depicted the process of industrialisation in West Belfast in his 'Brownie' article '*Is Commain Liom*: I Remember', *Republican News*, 25 Sept. 1976: 'Grey barrack-like houses replaced the chesser trees…'.

[67] John Hume, 'Social and Economic Aspects of the Growth of Derry, 1825-1850', M.A. Dissertation (National University of Ireland, 1964), p. 1: 'The choice pf the second quarter of the nineteenth century requires little justification…Within it are to be found both the forces which had previously retarded to the city's growth and those which were to cause its immediate improvement…Changes were taking place in transport which were to have a substantial effect on the economic life of the city. Roads were improving…Great reforms were taking place in the system of municipal administration'.

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vision, does resemble Adams' thinking in a certain respect. Crucially, both men have located visions of 'true' Irish modernity within Irish history.

There are a few further parallels to be teased out between St. Patrick's and Long Kesh, parallels with a bearing upon the vision of history Adams developed in Cage 11, and the mode of republican thought he articulated as 'Brownie'. For example, it is clear Hume led a rather monastic existence in Maynooth between 1954 and 1957. Seminarians would have been well-versed in the history of the great monastic tradition in Ireland stretching back to late antiquity. Indeed, they surely would have perceived themselves as preserving that tradition. Adams has subsequently described the atmosphere in Cage 11 as, 'quiet, subdued – almost monastic'.[68] It is a statement which, again, illustrates the sense of detachment from the outside world he felt whilst in prison. Yet Adams was not the first republican to associate incarceration with the vision of Celtic monasticism.

Whilst in Dublin's Mountjoy Jail during the summer and autumn of 1922, before his execution by the Irish Government that December, Liam Mellows produced his radical and subsequently influential "Notes from Mountjoy", with input from his cell-mate Peadar O'Donnell. Adams would draw upon Mellows' "Notes" extensively in his sixth 'Brownie' article, 'The Republic: A Reality', thus directly associating himself with that particular literary republican, and inadvertently with O'Donnell, who is never mentioned in the 'Brownie' articles, despite the fact, as shall be seen, Adams was then reading about him.[69] It should also be said by invoking Mellows Adams was therefore associating himself and his mode of republicanism with the leftist republican vision developed by Mellows, and subsequently advanced by O'Donnell.[70] This is surely

[68] Adams, *Before the Dawn*, p. 239.
[69] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Republic: A Reality', *Republican News*, 29 Nov. 1975.
[70] O'Donnell was an influential proponent of socialist republicanism throughout the inter-war period. See English, *Radicals and the Republic*. See also Fearghal McGarry, 'Peadar O'Donnell', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 400-402.

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indicative of Adams' earlier education within the Wolfe Tone Societies established by the increasingly left-wing and politicised republican movement of the 1960s. As Richard English has observed, the key ideologues within the Goulding leadership, Anthony Coughlan and Desmond Greaves, 'greatly admired those eminent 1930s IRA socialists, Peadar O'Donnell and George Gilmore'.[71]

Moreover, by invoking Mellows, Adams was situating himself within the broader anti-Treatyite tradition within Irish republicanism, thus attempting to invest the mode of republicanism he had developed and was articulating with a degree of legitimacy. It should added, by drawing upon Mellows' "Notes" Adams was also situating his 'Brownie' articles within a tradition of Irish republican prison writing stretching back to the mid-nineteenth, Adams also referencing John Mitchel's influential *Jail Journal* in 'Inside Story'.[72] This is similar to the way in which, by producing his 'Junior Diary', Hume effectively situated his seminary experience in a tradition dating back to the establishment of the seminary in 1795.

According to O'Donnell's own prison diary, however, in Mountjoy Mellows not only produced his radical "Notes", but also a journal called the 'Book of Cells', the title alluding to the *Book of Kells*, the famous relic of Celtic monasticism now housed in Trinity College, Dublin.[73] In Maynooth Hume would have come to be very familiar with, and taught to aspire to, the vision of the monastic scholar-saint, a vision which, as Peter Brown has observed, evolved out of the vision of the solitary 'man of letters' revered throughout antiquity.[74] It could be, likewise, the vision of the republican prisoner-

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[71] English, *Armed Struggle*, p. 87

[72] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Inside Story', *Republican News*, 16 Aug. 1975. See John Mitchel, *Jail Journal* (The University Press of Ireland, 1982). Mitchel penned his *Jail Journal* aboard various prison ships whilst being transported from Ireland to Bermuda and thence to Van Diemen's Land for Treason-Felony. It appeared in serialised version in the New York *Citizen* between January and August 1854 and was published as a book the same year.

[73] See Peadar O'Donnell, *The Gates Flew Open: An Irish Civil War Prison Diary* (Cork, 2013; 1st edn. 1932), p. 41.

[74] Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150-750* (London, 1971), pp. 32-33.

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scholar, a vision which, as noted, was depicted by 'Flossie' in his illustration for Adams' 'The Orange State' and which figures such as Mitchel, Michael Davitt, Mellows, O'Donnell, Ernie O'Malley, and Adams have all aspired to, has its roots in the much older Irish vision of the monastic scholar-saint.[75] The vision of the early Christian martyrs has certainly inspired that lesser examined phenomenon; contemporary Irish Protestant prison writing. One thinks of Ian Paisley's *An Exposition of The Epistles to the Romans: Prepared in the Prison Cell*, Paisley arguing in the work's preface, 'prison sentences have been the lot of God's faithful servants down through the centuries'.[76] There is also the example of the acknowledgments section of Peter Robinson's *Their Cry Was "No Surrender"*, written in 'Cell 18, D Wing, H.M. Prison Crumlin Road, Belfast'.[77]

It has also been observed how, within the walled environment of St. Patrick's seminarians such as Kevin and Hume felt they were leading an almost island existence *within* the island of Ireland. As noted, it is revealing the senior play at St. Patrick's in 1956 was a farce based on Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. There is a definite similarity here with the way in which Mellows, O'Donnell and Adams looked upon their prison experiences. In his prison diary O'Donnell described how during solitary confinement in Finner Camp he would frequently, 'let the story of Crusoe…rage for a time' in his mind.[78] 'Jail life reminded me vividly of the few years I had spent on small [Irish] islands', he also explained.[79] What is more, it was in Mountjoy with Mellows that O'Donnell wrote the first scene of his first novel *Storm*: 'I suddenly became aware of life outside…of waves breaking on the cliffs of Arranmore'.[80] Indeed, there is a similarity here with the

[75] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams] 'The Orange State', *Republican News*, 11 Dec. 1976.
[76] Ian R. K. Paisley, *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans: Prepared in the Prison Cell* (London, 1968), p. 11.
[77] Peter Robinson, *Their Cry Was "No Surrender": An Account of the Siege of Londonderry 1688-1889* (Belfast, 1988), p. 10.
[78] O'Donnell, *The Gates Flew Open*, p. 116.
[79] Ibid., p. 22.
[80] Ibid., p. 42.

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way in which, in Long Kesh, Adams would basically produce the first drafts of *Falls Memories* and *The Street*; his short story 'Granny Harbinson' certainly foreshadows his latter collection of short stories. Moreover, according to O'Donnell whilst in Mountjoy Mellows contributed a short story to the 'Book of Cells', 'Islanditis'.[81]

Adams evidently looked upon his prison experience with the vision of the island in mind. "Out There on the Motorway…" is a prime example of this. 'Marooned as we are on the desert island of Long Kesh,' he also wrote in 'Cage 11', 'television has become our window on the world'.[82] Commenting on this statement and Adams' "Out There on the Motorway…" Whalen has theorised how in, 'the act of remembering that one is not marooned on a desert island but in reality just a short distance from one of the busiest…highways in Northern Ireland, one is able to defeat the sense of isolation with which the prison authorities hope to break resistance…prison texts are a…passage out of limbo into actual geography and as such a qualified freedom'.[83]

One of Adams' blog posts, 'Message in a Book', reinforces the way in which he has looked upon his prison experience with a vision of the island in mind.[84] The title obviously invokes the old idea of the message in a bottle. As Whalen makes quite clear, prisoners like Adams looked upon their writings as something very similar. Adams' 'Message in a Book' is also important, however, because it reveals he was actually holding a work of history, Michael McInerney's 1974 *Peadar O'Donnell: Irish Social Rebel* whilst being sentenced for his escape attempts in 1974 and led away to Cage 11.[85] Adams wrote a message to a fellow prisoner beside the illustration of an aged O'Donnell contained in the flyleaf at the back of the book: '…I don't know what the date is…the

[81] O'Donnell, *The Gates Flew Open*, p. 42.
[82] Adams, *Cage* 11, p. 15.
[83] Whalen, *Contemporary Irish Prison Writing*, p. 20.
[84] Gerry Adams, 'Message in a Book', *Léargas*, 4 Sept. 2009, available at www.leargas.blogspot.co.uk (last accessed 1 June 2016).
[85] See Michael McInerney, *Peadar O'Donnell: Irish Social Rebel* (Dublin 1974).

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Judge is to my front…He is about to give us three years each and looks very serious. I don't think he likes me writing like this whilst he is summing up. Yahoo only eighteen months'.[86] Indeed, one perceives here how, much like Hume in Maynooth, in prison Adams had lost conception of time. Furthermore, the vision of Adams holding a biography of O'Donnell or, more accurately, demonstrating his disregard for 'British rule' in the North of Ireland by reading a biography of the Irish Civil War veteran and subsequently influential social republican in the dock in Belfast Court illustrates Adams' intellectual relationship with Irish history, especially republican history, during his prison experience. It is also significant Adams displayed his indifference to being sentenced by engaging in the process of writing, a process he would, of course, continue to engage in throughout his time in Cage 11, thereby precipitating the 'Brownie' articles.

The vision of the literary O'Donnell was surely influential in this respect. From his readings of McInerney's biography of the latter Adams would have also received that vision of Mellows sketched by O'Donnell; a vision of Mellows as, 'the most serious thinker' amongst the prisoner in Mountjoy; as a man 'of deep knowledge [who] had read widely in the culture of many nations [and who was a] lover of books on social problems [who] had studied James Connolly and Fintan Lalor and the Fenians and their advanced social views'.[87] No doubt Adams was seeking to imitate Mellows in Cage 11. Like the latter he would produce his own radical and left-wing "Notes for Long Kesh'. Like Mellows Adams would also, as Richard Bourke has illustrated, read-up on foreign liberation movements.[88] As the 'Brownie article 'The Orange State' reveals, an article in which Adams reviewed several works of history and Sinn Féin produced editions of the writings of republican ideologues, he would also study Lalor and Connolly.

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[86] Adams, 'Message in a Book', *Léargas*, 4 Sept. 2009.
[87] McInerney, *Irish Social Rebel*, pp. 73-74.
[88] Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, p. 378.

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The biography of O'Donnell would have also transported Adams' mind to those small islands such as Achill and Arranmore on which O'Donnell had lived and taught. Adams would also have been aware of the way in which, as McInerney highlighted, O'Donnell books, 'search the social side of Irish rural and island life'.[89] It can be argued that, inspired by the vision of O'Donnell, in articles such as 'Inside Story' and 'Early Risers', Adams was seeking to depict the social side of the almost island-like mode of life in Long Kesh. Moreover, there is a sense in which in a work such as *The Street*, Adams was seeking to depict life in West Belfast as O'Donnell had depicted life on Irish islands. Adams' tendency to depict and empower women in his stories very much resembles the way in which, as McInerney contended, O'Donnell had a, 'great understanding and sympathy with Irishwomenhood', woman usually being the heroes in his stories.[90] One thinks of the 'Brownie' article 'Granny Harbinson' in this respect.[91]

It might even be argued just as O'Donnell sought to bring the world of rural and island Ireland to the people of the Irish cities, Adams has consistently endeavoured to bring the self-contained world of West Belfast to the people of the Irish countryside. Intriguingly, Adams has depicted West Belfast much like Long Kesh, as an island existing *within*, but very much apart from, the partitioned entity of Northern Ireland. As he contended at the beginning of *Falls Memories*: 'Part of a political statelet from which it is excluded, the Falls remains a place apart'.[92] What is more, much like the way in which Hume looked upon the walled city of Derry as a microcosmic Northern Ireland, and the partitioned entity of Northern Ireland as macrocosmic Derry, so throughout the

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[89] McInerney, *Irish Social Rebel*, p. 14.

[90] Gerry Adams, *The Street and Other Stories* (Dingle, 1992). Adams' story 'The Rebel' depicts the process by which a woman from West Belfast becomes increasingly politicised after her son is interned for membership of the republican movement. His story 'A Good Confession' tells the story of an elderly women from West Belfast who is told to choose between her religion and her politics by her new priest.

[91] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams] 'Granny Harbinson', *Republican News*, 11.12. 1976.

[92] Adams, *Falls Memories* (Dingle, 1994), 'Foreword to the New Edition' [no pagination].

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'Brownie' articles Adams presented Long Kesh as a microcosmic Northern Ireland, and Northern Ireland as a massive prison. The prison naturally conjured the vision of the island in Adams' mind, and this vision was in turn a key component of the republican vision he developed.

Long Kesh as a mini-Northern Ireland.

Adams frequently depicted Long Kesh as a mini-Northern Ireland throughout his prison writings. Take '"Out There on the Motorway…"' for instance. It begins with 'Brownie' and 'Your Man' lying on the roof of their hut listening to the 'Derry wans…talking about Derry', and observing how 'the Sticks' had painted a 'Red Star' on the 'gable wall' of their hut. 'Brownie' then surveys the camp, observing 'black roofs where new cages had replaced those burnt out and grey ones were work had yet to begin.'[93] The damage had been caused by the burning of the camp by republican prisoners the previous October. What is most important, however, is the camp is made to physically resemble contemporary Northern Ireland, particularly Adams' native Belfast. Significantly, the burnt out cages mirror burnt out streets; there is even gable-end murals.

Although the burning of the camp by republicans is only alluded to by Adams, the event was nevertheless utilised by him as a metaphor for the current violence in Northern Ireland. More specifically, the burning of the British-constructed prison was clearly utilised by him as a metaphor for the republican insurgency against the British-constructed state of Northern Ireland. Reinforcing this notion is the way in which, in the article, Adams was keen to demonstrate how men from Belfast and Derry were all locked-up together. More importantly, he went on to observe how the prison contained, 'Loyalists and Republicans and the Sticks and their Red Star revolutionary theory'.[94]

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[93] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], '"Out There on the Motorway…"', *Republican News*, 23 Aug. 1975.
[94] Ibid.

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Importantly, the political complexion of the prison was therefore made to reflect that of contemporary Northern Ireland, Adams utilising the physical architecture of the prison as a metaphor for what he viewed as Britain's longstanding strategy of *divide et impera* in Ireland. As Richard Bourke has observed, the idea Britain is the source of Irish division, 'pervades the entire history of Republican ideology and insurrection'.[95] Adams was keen to demonstrate how loyalists *and* republicans were all prisoners of British imperialism, not least because, in his view, the 'British' had succeeding in fomenting sectarianism in order to divide Irishman from Irishman, and had also managed to divide republican from republican.

It needs emphasising many of Adams' 'Brownie' articles were written against the backdrop of the 1975 ceasefire between the Provisionals and the British government, which he and figures such as Hughes believed had been agreed to by the British in order to deflate the republican insurgency, and lure its leadership into peace talks and politics, thus precipitating another split in the movement.[96] Adams' vision of the Irish Civil War was important in this respect.[97] 'The Treaty, which the IRA opposed, was accepted, and its acceptance used as a mandate for war by renegade Irishmen against Republicans,' he wrote in 'The Republic: A Reality'.[98] 'There were many factors against the IRA,' he went on, 'people were war-weary and the IRA Truce, at that time, had brought them some semblance of peace and normality….They came under pressure from the 'freedom to win freedom theorists'. By highlighting and depicting the process of tunnel building in the

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[95] Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, p. 119.
[96] The ceasefire was called in late 1974 and lasted throughout 1975, breaking down in January 1976. See Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, pp. 142-150. Also see Andrew Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Irish Republicans and the War for Legitimacy* (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 76-79. According to Hughes, throughout 1975 he and Adams believed the British 'were trying to get us involved in a long-drawn out ceasefire…[the kind which] destroys an army'. See Moloney, *Voices from the Grave*, p. 198.
[97] See Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, pp. 142-150. Also see Andrew Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Irish Republicans and the War for Legitimacy* (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 76-79.
[98] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Republic: A Reality', *Republican News*, 20 Nov. 1975.

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prison in '"Out There on the Motorway…"' Adams was insinuating republicans were determined to undermine and escape from Britain's divisive imperial architecture.

He was also presenting the prison's perimeter fence as basically the Irish border in miniature. Adams' argument at the end of the article reinforces this point. Here he contended MacSwiney, 'wrote his book [*Principles of Freedom*] long before Long Kesh was thought of and Ireland divided into two huge Concentration camps'.[99] It almost goes without saying Adams' thinking was informed by the vision of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, a point confirmed by 'Flossie's' illustration for 'Screws', depicting as it did Long Kesh prison guards in Nazi uniforms.[100] There exists the possibility, however, Adams had a vision of the Boer War, and Britain's development of the Concentration Camp. Yet '"Out There on the Motorway…"' was not the only article in which Adams depicted Northern Ireland as a giant prison. At the end of 'The Change Will Do Us Good' he wrote of British troops patrolling, 'cat-walks in concentration camps and back-streets or country roads in that greater prison outside'.[101] In 'Memories' he also talked of people having 'a wee prison inside themselves into which they retreat from the harsh realities of life,' adding he thought there were probably, 'a lot of people outside who are more prisoners than we are'.[102]

Adams' article 'The Twelfth' is also significant in this respect.[103] There he dealt with the history and legacy of the Williamite Wars. The article also saw him depicting Long Kesh as a mini-Northern Ireland. In the piece republican prisoners are prompted to discuss the history of the Williamite Wars owing to a mini-Twelfth of July Orange parade taking place in a Loyalist Cage. The discussion is frequently infringed upon by the beat

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[99] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], '"Out There on the Motorway…"', *Republican News*, 23 Aug. 1975.
[100] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Screws', *Republican News*, 10 April 1976.
[101] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Change will do us Good', *Republican News*, 3 July 1976.
[102] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Memories', *Republican News*, 3 Jan. 1976.
[103] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Twelfth', *Republican News*, 31 July 1976.

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of a Lambeg Drum, and the mini-parade was depicted by 'Flossie' in his illustration for the piece, reinforcing the idea Adams was presenting the prison as a microcosmic Northern Ireland in the 'Brownie' articles. 'Cedric' consequently delivers 'an impromptu history lecture' of the Williamite Wars and their historical legacy which is effectively a pre-history of Long Kesh, Adams presenting the establishment of the 'Protestant Ascendancy' in Ireland in the wake of William's victory as a key stage in the advance of British imperialism in Ireland, the prison being, in his view, a natural manifestation of this process:

> The significance of the Battle of the Boyne is that the old Gaelic system was finally forced onto its knees, and the Protestant Ascendancy, by depriving and exploiting everyone else, was established…The Brit is and always have [sic] been the prop on which the Protestant Ascendancy is based.[104]

Thus Adams was once more utilising the prison's physical architecture as a metaphor for what he perceived as Britain's longstanding strategy of *divide et impera* in Ireland, a policy which, in his view, precipitated sectarianism, inequality, Partition, and thus the contemporary conflict.

The depiction of the island of Ireland 'Flossie' provided for Adams' article 'Agitate, Educate, Liberate' also demands attention.[105] The border between Northern Ireland and the Republic is depicted as barbed-wire. The perimeter fence of Long Kesh is depicted as surrounded by the very same barbed-wire. Moreover, the island of Ireland is depicted as surrounded by British ships. Consequently, the illustration by 'Flossie' depicts Long Kesh as a microcosmic Northern Ireland, as an island of concentrated imperialism within Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland is, in turn, presented as a massive prison constructed by the British; as an artificial island *within* Ireland. The island of

[104] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Twelfth', *Republican News*, 31 July 1976.
[105] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Agitate, Educate, Liberate', *Republican News*, May 22 1976.

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Ireland itself is depicted as infected with, and effectively guarded and patrolled by, the British.

Adams: The Provos' Plato

Hume's early political thought was largely informed by a vision of the prosperous, booming Derry of the early nineteenth century which he re-constructed in his M.A. thesis. It has been observed how, in Platonic fashion, Hume perceived his contemporary Northern Ireland in miniature in the vision of the Protestant walled city, particularly in the vision of the walled city as it existed before the second quarter of the nineteenth century. He viewed the relationship between Derry and Northern Ireland in a manner reminiscent of Plato's City/Soul analogy. Evidently Hume's thinking was also much influenced by the Cave Metaphor. In his eyes fear and prejudice generated by the Plantation of Ulster, the revolt of 1641, and the subsequent siege had led his city's Protestant population to imprison themselves within the walls, just as the Unionist population had, in his eyes, irrationally imprisoned themselves within the narrow confines of Partition. He therefore felt he had identified, in the vision of his city expanding outside its defensive walls as a result of social and economic progress, a model of historical change which the partitioned entity of Northern Ireland could, and in his view, eventually *would* conform to, albeit on a much larger scale, leading to the peaceful evolution of an economically prosperous, and thus truly united Ireland.

Within Cage 11 Adams emerged as the Provos' Plato. Not only did he, in rather Platonic fashion, look upon Long Kesh Prison as a microcosmic Northern Ireland, he also believed he had identified a 'mini-Republic' which could act as a template for an ideal, island-wide republican state. Crucially, this functioning 'mini-Republic' existed in the republican cages of Long Kesh Prison itself, right at the heart of what Adams viewed as

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Britain's divisive imperial architecture. The way in which republican prisoners had their own internal leadership, and were permitted by the prison authorities to evolve their own system of education, no doubt heavily influenced his thinking in this respect. That said, in this sense it can be argued Adams' mini prison-state was actually precipitated by, and worked, a mode of devolution: that, basically, this little prison-republic was to Adams what Northern Ireland was to the Unionists. As far as he was concerned, however, it was an independent republican state existing *within* the prison. Cage 11 was no doubt its capital and soul; Adams one of its founding fathers and *de facto* President.

Adams' statement in 'The Orange State' that he did not get to finish D.R. O'Connor Lysaght's *The Republic Ireland*, 'because some eejit burnt the camp and "The Republic of Ireland" perished…in the flames', is crucial in this respect.[106] It can be argued this is a prime example of Adams writing in parables. He was admitting he believed a 'mini-Republic' existed in the prison. Indeed, it is surely significant in this sense Adams constructed this little parable utilising a book exploring Irish history from a determinedly socialist perspective, thus implying his prison-republic was a socialist state. Thus it can also be argued he was simultaneously criticising the republican preoccupation with militarism and attacking the Provisional rejection of socialism. As far as Adams was concerned, he had managed to quietly evolve a socialist republic within the prison, bringing into existence that which republicans had always craved, right under the nose of their imperial overlord. Yet fellow Provisionals had destroyed that functioning republic in their determination to oppose the British by violent means. In his eyes they were preoccupied with the *destructive* tendency within republicanism; he was seeking to realise and demonstrate the movement's *constructive* potential. Consequently, this study is strongly inclined to believe Adams opposed the burning of Long Kesh in October 1974.

[106] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Orange State', *Republican News*, 10 Dec. 1976.

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It is true Adams was *doing* several things by producing his 'Brownie' articles, such as seeking to evade and subvert the prison's disciplinary regime. Yet it can also be argued he was inviting republicans outside the prison to gaze upon and admire his small-scale experiment in republican state building; to look upon his functioning 'mini-Republic', and take inspiration from it. The 'Brownie' article, 'An Ard Fheis', which appeared in *Republican News* during the summer of 1976, is significant in this respect.[107] There Adams reported the proceedings for 'the two-day annual Sinn Fein Ard Fheis' which took place in their 'canteen'.[108] Not only is this one of those many articles in which Adams depicted Long Kesh as a microcosmic Northern Ireland, it is also one in which he depicted a functioning 'mini-Republic' in the prison. 'Delegates from Belfast, Strabane, Dungannon, Newry and the Bone had travelled from the half-hut, the middle hut and the Gaeltacht', he explained, in order to attend the conference.[109] It is clear Adams sought to demonstrate this kind of event was a relatively new phenomenon in the prison, thus implying it was largely a consequence of his own considerable efforts to evolve a flourishing political culture in the prison. As Adams stated on the article, a 'veteran observer remarked that it was the biggest crowd he had observed at a non-compulsory meeting in Long Kesh during his five years of in-depth observation here.'[110]

Furthermore, Adams was determined to demonstrate how the conference illustrated the existence of a functioning 'mini-Republic' in the prison, a republic which, in his view, was actually breaking-down or healing longstanding divisions within republicanism. 'Militant left-wingers,' he wrote, 'from the middle hut conversed amiably with the head cases with the half-hut, and awkward country lads studied proposals with an alertness which belied their accents'. So in Adams' highly politicised prison republic

[107] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'An Ard Fheis', *Republican News*, 18 Sept. 1976.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.

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there was a meeting of right and left, and of urban and rural. According to 'Brownie', Brendan Hughes spoke first at the Long Kesh 'Ard Fheis' in 1976, proposing a 'massive agitation campaign in the Free State'.[111] According to Hughes, in Cage 11 Adams was constantly talking about the need for a, 'politically educated rank and file'; 'that was the key phrase, a politically educated rank and file'.[112] It is clear from 'An Ard Fheis' Adams was determined to present the prison-state as intellectually and politically sophisticated:

> Last night in an exclusive interview the Cage O.C. an Adjutant told me that they considered the Ard Fheis to have been a great success. They hoped Sinn Fein Cumann outside would give a favourable reception to the proposals sent out to them. The interest that POWs maintained in events outside was amply demonstrated by the high level of debate and by the informed arguments put forward. Proposals on education, propaganda and Peoples' Councils showed that Republican Prisoners were well aware of the issues facing the Movement.[113]

It can be argued Adams was seeking to present his 'mini-Republic' in the same way in articles such as 'The Lecture' and 'The National Alternative', both depicting, republican prisoners engaged in fairly high-brow debates and discussion about republican history and the movement's vision of the future.[114] Moreover, in 'The Orange State' Adams was clearly seeking to demonstrate how his little state had a flourishing cultural movement, with republican prisoners eager to read up on Irish history and explore the genre of Irish fiction.

In articles such as the 'An Ard Fheis' Adams was basically seeking to demonstrate he had achieved a 'mini-Republic' in the prison and, moreover, that this could be re-created outside. In articles such as 'Active Abstentionism', 'The National Alternative' and 'Active Republicanism' Adams theorised a model of historical change whereby, in

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[111] Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'An Ard Fheis', *Republican News*, 18 Sept. 1976.
[112] Moloney, *Voices from the Grave*, pp. 198-199.
[113] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'An Ard Fheis', *Republican News*, 18 Sept. 1976.
[114] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Lecture', *Republican News*, 28 Aug. 1976; 'Brownie' [Gerry] Adams, 'The National Alternative', *Republican News*, 3 April 1976. Both articles depict semi-fictional discussions between republican prisoners.

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his view, this ‘mini-Republic’ could be recreated again and again in other areas across the island, precipitating a socialist all-Ireland republic, thereby purging the island of British imperialism in a gradual and relatively peaceful manner.

So much like Plato did in *The Republic*, and Hume did in his history of Derry, in Cage 11 Adams was imagining and building his ideal Ireland on paper. Even the manner in which Adams constructed and conveyed his political vision had a Platonic quality about it, even if, as is quite likely, he never actually encountered or studied the *The Republic*. Yet given this work’s title, and it status as one of the most influential texts in Western political thought, a curious republican prisoner such as Adams may have located it. One can be quite certain, however, Adams never studied *The Republic* as intensively as Hume would have done in Maynooth.

At any rate, Adams’ technique of advancing his arguments through a mouthpiece is very Platonic. In a way, ‘Brownie’ is to Adams what Socrates was to Plato. Indeed, it is with the ‘Brownie’ articles one first encounters Adams’ most enduring and intriguing characteristics; his Stoicism; his tendency to mask his true self from the world. The environment of Long Kesh was a key influence in this respect. As noted, in ‘Memories’ he argued, ‘I suppose…we all have a wee prison inside ourselves into which we retreat from the harsh realities of life’. Adams was imagining and constructing his ideal republic in Cage 11, but he was also building that private cell within his soul which so many authors have tried, and largely failed, to break into.

There is also a sense, therefore, in which, much like Hume, Adams was thinking in terms of, and advancing something similar to Plato’s City/Soul analogy. The little prison in Adams’ soul mirrored the bigger prison of Long Kesh, which in turn, in his view, mirrored the much larger prison of Northern Ireland, and the even larger prison of the island of Ireland. It is more likely to be the case, however, Adams’ viewed that serene

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prison-cell within his soul, to which he retreated from 'the harsh realities of life', as a 'mini-Republic'. Crucially, the idea of Irish men and women retreating into mini-republics, and eventually into an island-wide republic, in order to escape the 'harsh realities of life' under British imperialism was a key component of the republican vision he articulated from Cage 11.

Adams' tendency as 'Brownie' to break-up his arguments and plant different ideas in different characters' mouths is also very Platonic. Of course, both men did so partly in order to avoid being persecuted for their own progressive ideas and views. Socrates had previously been put to death for his thinking. It should be added in 'Brownie' articles such as 'The National Alternative' and 'The Lecture' Adams constructed his arguments and republican vision through Socratic Dialogue. Most likely it is mere coincidence, but Adams' characters of 'Your Man', 'Cedric' 'Egbert', 'Daniel' and 'Joe' in the 'The National Alternative' neatly parallel 'Adeimantus', 'Cephalus', 'Glaucon', 'Thrasymachus' and 'Polemarchus' in *The Republic*. Plato used these characters as mouthpieces for different schools of contemporary thought. Adams did likewise, using his characters to depict different types of Provisional and Provisional thought. The exchange between the overly enthusiastic and action-orientated 'Egbert', and the more level-headed and thoughtful 'Cedric' in 'The Lecture' is revealing in this sense:

> Egbert volunteered. "Our Republicanism consistently advocates the use of physical force, the need for a tearing down process which in fact is the war…We are pushing to break the union, to establish Irish independence so that we can initiate a social revolution…" Cedric cut across him, "That's very sound and we will have to return…for a more in-depth discussion. We would need to examine Republicanism in practice but for now I think we have the basics of republicanism in theory.[115]

[115] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Lecture', *Republican News*, 28 Aug. 1976

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In the fictional conversation depicted in 'The National Alternative' it is 'Cedric' who gets carried away preaching republican orthodoxy and has to be cut-off by 'Your Man':

> …we spearhead the resistance…using the ordinary…Brit soldier as the most available target. Like he is the front-line troop of the Imperialist. He represents the whole evil of the English connection, the whole corrupt system which oppresses ordinary people. He represents the system responsible for sectarianism, housing, unemployment…. "Okay Cedric, okay, okay. We get the point, Your Man interrupts.[116]

It is worth noting how in both articles, 'The Lecture' and 'The National Alternative', the character enthusiastically advocating armed struggle is depicted by Adams, not so much as wrong, but rather, as a sincere and committed, yet rather misguided, republican volunteer; someone in need of education and enlightenment.

Furthermore, in the semi-fictional conversation depicted in *The Republic* Plato's characters eventually buy into the thinking advanced by Socrates, much like the way in which, as Richard Bourke has highlighted, the characters in 'The National Alternative', 'are presented as ultimately converging around the Adams line which posits the need for republicans to 'establish a mini-Republic' in their local areas.'[117] Thus much like Plato, Adams was theorising the process by which, as he saw it, the people of Ireland could make the transition from darkness to light; could escape from the dark prison-cave constructed by the British, and reach the green and sunny *true* Ireland.

"Out There on the Motorway…" is definitely reminiscent of the Cave Metaphor, Adams describing how a prisoner had been shot trying to escape: 'Out there it was…between us and the M1…between Long Kesh and freedom'.[118] That said, Adams effectively, and probably inadvertently, inverted the Cave Metaphor. 'Out There on the Motorway where he was trying to reach,' Adams wrote, 'Out there where the cars and lorries whizz up and down, past [the] whitewashed Church, past Long Kesh, past Cage

[116] 'Brownie' [Gerry] Adams, 'The National Alternative', *Republican News*, 3 April 1976.
[117] Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, p. 380.
[118] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], '"Out There on the Motorway…"', *Republican News*, 23 Aug. 1975

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5, past reality'. Plato presented the prison-cave as the realm of shadowy illusion, and the surface as the true reality only the philosopher-king could perceive. As has been seen, Hume presented Derry within the walls as a similar prison, and the realm outside as symbolic of reality. Hume's thinking on Northern Ireland was very similar. Like Plato's philosopher-king, Hume believed he had perceived, through education, the *true* Ireland; one without division. In contrast, Adams argued Long Kesh Prison demonstrated the *reality* of British imperialism in Ireland. For him the prison was the reality few people ever truly perceived; the implication being, of course, if they ever did perceive the true reality of British imperialism, they too would support the republican insurgency against it. In a certain respect Adams' outlook did resemble Hume's, however. In the 'Brownie' articles he was demonstrating his belief that by educating himself within his barbed-wire ivory tower, his prison-republic, he had perceived a vision of united and fair republican Ireland, the *true* Ireland. By producing prison writings Adams was seeking to educate those who had not yet perceived this reality on how to make the transition from darkness to light; from imperialism to republicanism.

Have perceived reality Plato's philosopher-king was duty-bound to return to the Cave and educate those who dwelt there. It was suggested in the previous chapter a vision of the philosopher-king inspired Hume's determination to return to Derry to teach in 1958, and to ultimately enter politics in Northern Ireland. There is also sense in which, in the early spring on 1977, Adams saw himself as descending back into darkness to spread light. According to Hughes, he and Adams had a lengthy discussion the day before the latter's release, a sort of grim Last Supper with Hughes as Peter, during which Adams explained, 'the whole movement on the outside needed to be reorganised'.[119] Hughes claimed, 'the last thing Adams said to me as me as he walked out the gate with his bag

[119] Moloney, *Voices from the Grave*, p. 205.

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was that I was the lucky one staying behind; that he had a much, much harder job than me on the outside'.[120] He was leaving his own 'mini-Republic' in order to start constructing it on a large scale outside the prison's walls. Adams' belief he was leaving reality, leaving his republic, in order to educate those still living in darkness on the outside, many of whom would no doubt reject him, was surely inspired by his vision of Christ.

What is more, just as the Greek philosopher had constructed his republic city-state as means of finding and understanding justice, and Hume had re-constructed nineteenth century Derry as a means of locating solutions to the social and economic problems facing contemporary Derry and Northern Ireland, particularly those facing its Catholic nationalist community, so Adams was theorising a future Irish republic for a similar reason. Having completed his M.A. Hume quickly turned his attention to Northern Ireland, seeking to engineer that process of change he had observed in his history of Derry on a larger scale; seeking to actually construct his ideal Ireland, as opposed to merely imagining it.

In Cage 11 Adams was *simultaneously* imagining and building his ideal 'mini-Republic'. Importantly, he found both inspiration and a range of precedents for this microcosmic state within the realm of history. Indeed, visions of history moulded the cultural, economic, and political characteristics of this little state. Moreover, much like the way in which Hume perceived in the vision of Derry expanding outside it walls a model of historical change that could bring a united, ideal Ireland into existence, so Adams believed the Irish past held clues as to how his 'mini-Republic' could be evolved on a much larger scale. Before exploring the various visions of history which underpinned Adams' concept of the 'mini-Republic', and his proposed model of

[120] Ibid.

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historical change, it is first necessary to demonstrate this model; to examine how Adams believed mini-republics could be precipitated across Ireland, leading to the evolution a sophisticated 'National Alternative' to British imperialism on the island, ultimately displacing and purging this influence. It is also worth considering how this model of historical change compared with that previously advanced by Hume in 'The Northern Catholic'.

Models of Irish Unity: Hume's Civic Nationalism vs. Adams' Civic Republicanism. Apart from in his belief in the legitimacy of physical force, the mode of republicanism Adams articulated as 'Brownie' bore distinct similarities to the strand of civic nationalism articulated by Hume and William Philbin. It is worth bearing mind Philbin was then Adams' bishop. Thus it is not absurd to think the latter was influenced by the former's thinking, even if Adams was not overly fond of Philbin owing to the latter's vociferous condemnation of the republican movement and its armed struggle.

According to Philbin, a materially-orientated form of patriotism, aimed at improving the social and economic well-being of the community through un-dramatic hard work, would gradually, and peacefully, precipitate constructive constitutional change. As has been seen, this was more or less the argument Hume advanced in 'The Northern Catholic' in May 1964: 'If the whole Northern community gets seriously to work on its problems, the Unionists' bogeys about Catholics and a Republic will, through better understanding, disappear. It will of course take a long time.'[121] Here, as in 'Fraternité', Hume effectively inverted the traditional Irish nationalist model of historical progress which posited only fundamental or revolutionary constitutional change could deliver social and economic prosperity. As also noted, his appreciation of the longevity

[121] John Hume, 'The Northern Catholic', *Irish Times*, 18 May 1964.

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of historical processes was surely a direct consequence of his historical education at St. Patrick's College.

There was a distinctly Thomistic dimension to the thinking on patriotism advanced by Hume and Philbin. Their critiques of Irish nationalism rendered that ideology akin to a fundamental mode of Christian thought – Augustinian Neo-Platonism – which both would have been more than familiar with. Hume and Philbin presented Irish nationalism as fixated with a glorious, near transcendent unitary state to come, and so largely dismissive of what its adherents viewed as the sinful and unnatural partitioned world which existed in the present. It has been observed familiarity with Plato's though was a natural consequence of a seminary education, as was relationship with the thought advanced by St. Augustine in his *De Civitate Dei,* where the Christian Platonist, with his eyes directed towards the heavenly city to come, had depicted earthly politics and the pursuit of earthly goods as, on the whole, a regrettable business; at best a necessary evil.[122] Although Peter Brown has contended Augustine's *City of God*, 'was far from being a book about flight from the world', the former conceded it was nevertheless a, 'book about being other-worldly in the world'.[123]

A seminarian such as Hume would have been well aware, however, by reconciling Augustinianism with the political and ethical thought of Aristotle in his great *Summa theologiae*, Thomas Aquinas had forged of a more politicised, presentist, and optimistic strand of Christianity. The latter viewed earthly politics and the pursuit of earthly well-being as admittedly limited and secondary to their heavenly counterparts, but nevertheless as positive and worthwhile activities, something of which Christians had no reason to be ashamed. As Richard Dyson has observed, unlike Augustine, Aquinas saw,

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[122] See Augustine, *The City of God* (Cambridge, 1998).
[123] Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (London, 1967), p. 324.

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'no irreconcilable tension between the acquisition of present goods on earth and the achievement of eternal ones in heaven, provided that the former are directed towards the latter and the latter are not neglected in favour of the former'.[124]

In contrast to the longstanding nationalist and republican outlook, Hume and Philbin saw no irreconcilable tension between engagement in politics and the achievement of social and economic well-being *within* the context of partition and the desire for a united Ireland. For example, Hume had opened 'The Northern Catholic' by contending it was, 'the struggle for priority in their [nationalists'] minds between such [social] problems and the ideal of a united Ireland with which they have been bred which has produced…frustration.'[125] Yet he emphasised nationalists were quite entitled to aspire to the latter – a united Ireland − as long as the former social and economic issues were not neglected as a result of that aspiration, which he believed had traditionally been the case. 'There is nothing inconsistent with such acceptance [of the Constitutional position],' he contended, 'and the belief that a thirty-two county republic is best for Ireland'.[126] For Hume, a truly united and prosperous country could only be forged through the pursuit of social and economic well-being *within* the context of partition no matter how flawed and unnatural nationalists believed it to be. This involved renouncing abstentionism and working the political system of Northern Ireland. In Thomistic fashion, therefore, Hume was arguing nationalists could be the ally of the present, partitioned Irish world, without being estranged from the united and ideal one to come. Again, there is good reason to posit Hume's nationalism, ubiquitously new and modern as it appeared in the mid-1960s and 1970s, drew upon some very old strands of Catholic political thought.

[124] Richard Dyson, 'Introduction' to Aquinas, *Political Writings* (Cambridge, 2002), p. xxv.
[125] John Hume, 'The Northern Catholic', *Irish Times*, 18 May 1964.
[126] Ibid.

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Much like Hume's early nationalism, the mode of republicanism Adams articulated in the pages of *Republican News* also perceived no irreconcilable tension between the pursuit of social and economic well-being *within* the context of British imperialism in Ireland, and the aspiration towards an ideal Irish republic. Republicans need not be ashamed of engaging in the former activity, Adams argued, providing they were solely directed towards the achievement of the latter. Just as Hume had contended in order to achieve a truly united Ireland nationalists needed to, somewhat paradoxically, embrace the partitioned Irish world instead of merely rejecting and waiting to escape from it, similarly, as 'Brownie' Adams contended republicans were obliged to labour for the betterment of the flawed Ireland in which they lived. This did not render them estranged from the better republican world to come, however. Very much resembling the thinking advanced by Hume and Philbin, Adams believed relatively mundane forms of struggle, aimed primarily at improving the lives of nationalist communities, would bring a republic into reality. Much like the latter two figures he rejected what might be thought of as an Augustinian mode of republicanism: republicanism wholly concerned with a better future Ireland, and dismissive of what it viewed as a sinful and unworthy partionist present. Adams craved, and had a vision of, a much more constructive mode of Irish republicanism.

This no doubt owes much to his earlier education with the republican movement during the mid to late-1960s. For example, in 1967 Adams was arrested for hawking the movement's *United Irishman* which had been banned in Northern Ireland.[127] As Matt Treacy has observed, in March 1965 the editor of the *United Irishman* Denis Foley delivered a 'devastating critique of the political strategy…pursued by the Republican movement since the 1920s'.[128] Using very similar language as that used by Hume in his

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[127] Sharrock and Devenport, *Man of War, Man of Peace*, p. 45.
[128] Matt Treacy, *The IRA, 1936-69: Rethinking the Republic* (Manchester, 2011), p. 46

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influential 'The Northern Catholic', which had appeared roughly a year previously, in his editorial Foley claimed republicans had merely criticised the state, but had done 'nothing constructive'.[129] As Treacy has observed, Foley was, 'scornful of the claim that the republican social and economic programme would be implemented in a 'free Ireland''.[130] According to Treacy, the editorial precipitated 'furious debate' within the movement.[131] It might be suggested Foley's piece was influenced by Hume's article; that Foley may have been seeking to produce a republican version of 'The Northern Catholic'.

Similarly, in articles such as 'Active Republicanism' Adams insisted it was not sufficient for republicans to claim they would one day redeem the country, or contend they were actively doing so through dramatic military insurgency against British forces, whilst nationalist communities in Ballymurphy and the Bogside languished daily in the interval. He believed by shirking their social responsibility through an embrace of the militaristic mode of their ideology republicans were, in fact, shirking their higher, spiritual responsibility which called on them to bring their republic into reality at all costs. An embrace of spiritual, sacrificial republicanism, which posited only violent insurrection would bring an ideal republic into existence, had, in Adams' view, rendered the movement socially and economically apathetic and politically under-developed. His reference in 'Inside Story' to the 'eejit' in the bed next to him thinking MacSwiney had taught him 'how to die' is significant in this sense. It was clearly a veiled critique of the mode of sacrificial and, in Adams' view, highly unconstructive republicanism embraced by the Provisional movement. Adams' reference in 'The Orange State' to the 'eejit' who burnt the camp, is likewise revealing in this sense. For Adams the republican movement had, through its preoccupation with the destructive tendency within republicanism,

[129] Treacy, *The IRA, 1936-69*, p. 46
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.

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consigned Irish communities to a degraded existence, thereby rendering their republic the property of the future, as opposed to the here and now. As he argued in 'Active Republicanism:

> The suggestion seems to be that as the Brit withdraws, when he does eventually withdraw, that a new Ireland will be created. This is a fallacy…The people are here, the people living all around us at the moment. [The 'new Ireland' is] Not some plastic packaged thing that will come with victory…Active Republicanism means hard work, action, example…doing the right thing. We fight for the men having a jar in the public houses…the old age pensioner up the street…Our Republicanism must be their Republicanism. We, as Volunteers of the Republic must become servants of the people. We must bring them with us because they are our Republic….Active Republicanism must always be people's Republicanism.[132]

By striving to improve the social and economic well-being of nationalist communities, Adams argued, 'people's Republicanism' would naturally precipitate primitive structures of local government such as, 'housing committees, street committees, defence groups, local policing, people's taxis' and 'people's councils', leading to the evolution 'peoples' civil administration'.[133] In 'The National Alternative' Adams envisaged 'people's Republicanism' as consequently generating what he visualised as mini-republics in nationalist areas, even before the overthrow of British imperialism in the country:

> The OC [Officer Commanding] is the representative in the area and his duty is therefore to establish a mini-Republic in the area…The business of the National Alternative can be brought down to where it counts, down to local Company level…We can't wait until after the war to build this structure…local structures are needed…as the tearing down intensifies so can the rebuilding. They're not two separate phases…every one of us has to examine ways and means of turning our local war machine into an alternative to the Brit system. An alternative in keeping with the peoples' needs, with the war effort.[134]

[132] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Active Republicanism', *Republican News*, 1 May 1976.
[133] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The National Alternative', *Republican News*, 3 April 1976:
[134] Ibid.

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As has been seen, Adams' vision of mini-republic was heavily informed by the partitioned environment of Long Kesh and his experience of the prison's republican cages in which he believed he had evolved a functioning 'mini-Republic'.

So Adams' republic, like the truly united Ireland visualised by Hume, would ultimately emerge as a *consequence* of social and economic improvement, as opposed to simply *delivering* this. Hume had inverted the nationalist political paradigm in 'The Northern Catholic', asserting constitutional change in Ireland would arise from, as opposed to precipitate, social and economic prosperity. Adams did likewise in articles such as 'Active Abstentionism', 'The National Alternative' and 'Active Republicanism'. Moreover, just like Hume's nationalism, Adams' republicanism was also largely concerned with people's welfare. Indeed, just as Hume posited Ireland was its people, not its territory, Adams was arguing a republic existed and, indeed, always had existed in Ireland; a republic composed of Irish *people*. In addition, the idea of 'self-help' was an integral component of Hume's early nationalist thinking, as evidenced by his advocacy of the Credit Union Movement and the Derry Housing Association in the early to mid-1960s. Hume believed the two communities needed to build a better Ireland with their own hands, through hard work. It was a belief very much inspired by the way in which Derry's community had improved their city in the nineteenth century. Importantly, Adams' republicanism was likewise infused with a self-help philosophy. As he argued in 'Active Abstentionism': 'In each and every [nationalist] area, to some degree people are governing and helping themselves.'[135]

Perhaps most importantly, precisely like Hume's united Ireland, Adams' republic was capable of evolving gradually *within* the context of Partition: 'We can't wait until after the war to build this structure…They're not two separate phases'.[136] Just as Hume's

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[135] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams] 'Active Abstentionism', *Republican News*, 18 Oct. 1976.
[136] Ibid.

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historical model of Irish unity was not premised upon radical constitutional change, the existence of Adams' republic was not dependent upon the sudden or dramatic destruction of Partition or, for that matter, what he viewed as its source, British imperialism in Ireland. Though he conceded his republican vision could not reach its ideal form, 'whilst any vestige of British rule' remained in the country, he nevertheless projected a gradual as opposed to sudden and dramatic process of historical change in Ireland, thus positing a republic could start evolving immediately.[137]

For Adams, this republic was already evolving in Long Kesh, right at the heart of Britain's imperial architecture. In articles such as 'Active Abstentionism' 'The Republic: A Reality', 'The National Alternative', and 'Active Republicanism' he highlighting how republicanism and the republican movement was 'imbibed' and 'immersed' within local communities, such as in West Belfast, precisely like the way in which, as he saw it, the movement was 'immersed' within the prison itself.[138] Moreover, judging by 'The National Alternative', it is clear Adams then looked upon the Falls area as an example of a 'mini-republic' on the outside. Resembling Hume's concept a united Ireland could only come about through 'evolution', Adams theorised that the embryonic mini-republics precipitated by 'people's Republicanism', bolstered and protected by the republican 'war machine', which they in turn rendered more endurable, would gradually 'evolve' and link-up, forming a widespread, sophisticated and, what is more, socialist 'National Alternative' to the British imperial system in Ireland.

[137] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams] 'Active Abstentionism', *Republican News*, 18 Oct. 1976.
[138] Ibid.: 'The Republican Movement is strong and imbibed in local life'. 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Republic: A Reality, *Republican News*, 29 Nov. 1975: 'Immersed in this structure, as part of the Alternative, Republicanism cannot be defeated'. 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The National Alternative', *Republican News*, 3 April 1976: 'Immersed in this structure…Republicanism cannot be isolated'. 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams]. 'Active Republicanism', *Republican News*, 1 May 1976: 'The Brit intends to isolate us from the people. If our Republicanism is people's Republicanism they cannot do this'.

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Yet the kind of 'Active Abstentionism' or 'Active Republicanism' required to generate Adams' ideal republic could never be Catholic loyalism, whereas Catholic loyalism of the Hume-variety *could be* 'Active Abstentionism'. The example of the Assembly of the Northern Irish People in the autumn of 1971 proves this, as does the example of rent and rates strike in Northern Ireland which the S.D.L.P. also then encouraged. In fact, Adams believed that strike offered an excellent example of 'Active Abstentionism': 'What then of '71 and '72 when people withdrew [from the system] further through a rent and rates strike campaign…when everyone could be and was involved in some aspect of active abstentionism'.[139] Still, Adams' republic was to evolve *within* the context of British imperialism but always *outside* of the social, economic, and political system he believed it had created in Ireland. In contrast, Hume's model of unity encouraged the working of the Northern Ireland state, leading to its subsequent reform. It should be said in the 'The Northern Catholic' Hume never actually mentioned Britain, though he would later come to assign responsibility to her for the situation in Northern Ireland, as illustrated, for example, by the title of the article he had published in *Foreign Affairs* in 1979, 'The Irish Question: A British Problem'.[140]

Adams' theory ruled-out any attempt at reforming the overarching political systems in Ireland. As the character of 'Your Man' argued in 'The National Alternative', '[we] need to make sure we do not get diverted into building from within, like actually only reforming the system'.[141] It was an argument Adams had previously advanced in 'The Republic: A Reality'. As, 'long as we only replace the parts of the system destroyed and do not get diverted into building within (reforming) the system', he wrote, 'we cannot go wrong'.[142] This perspective differentiated Adams's thinking from Hume's, but also

[139] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams] 'Active Abstentionism', *Republican News*, 18 Oct. 1976.
[140] See John Hume, 'The Irish Question: A British Problem', *Foreign Affairs*, (Winter 1979/80).
[141] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The National Alternative', *Republican News*, 3 April 1976.
[142] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Republic: A Reality, *Republican News*, 29 Nov. 1975.

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from that advanced by leftist intellectuals, such as Coughlan and Johnston, within the republican leadership of the 1960s. As Andrew Sanders has noted, the more politically orientated and left-wing republican leadership which emerged in the wake of the failure of the IRA's 'Border Campaign' in 1962, 'felt that the goal of achieving political mandate from their electorate across Ireland required the movement to work within existing structures', such as Leinster House, Stormont and Westminster.[143]

As the 1960s progressed this leadership became increasingly open to the idea of jettisoning the movement's traditional abstentionist policy towards Leinster House, which purist republicans deemed as a collaborationist and thus illegitimate institution created by the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922. Henry Patterson has observed how, 'considerable influence' was exerted by Coughlan's theory of a civil rights campaign in Northern Ireland fragmenting Unionism, leading to the formation of a 'progressive' coalition between republicans, nationalists and sympathetic Unionists and so generating a situation whereby, as he stated, 'Stormont could…be used against imperialism'.[144] Judging by the strand of republican thought which Adams articulated from Long Kesh, he was at that time genuinely opposed to the idea of dropping abstentionism and working the prevailing political system in Ireland in order to republicanise them. As Richard Bourke has observed, in 1986 Adams began to articulate the concept of 'republicanisation' of existing political institutions in Ireland, whereby the republic grew by infiltration and infection of the pre-existing system.[145] This was a modified version of his earlier theory of Irish people evolving their own mini-republics alongside, but always independent of, the prevailing political systems, and which would ultimately link-up forming a sophisticated 'National Alternative'.

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[143] Sanders, *Inside the IRA,* p. 65.
[144] Henry Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion: A Political History of the IRA* (London, 1997), p. 98.
[145] Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, p. 171. Also see Gerry Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom* (Dingle, 1986).

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In Long Kesh Adams believed he had forged a mode of republicanism rendering the 'republicanisation' of the prevailing political systems in Ireland unnecessary. Very much in contrast to the thinking forged by the Goulding leadership, the republicanism advanced by Adams in his prison writings was capable of generating *its own* independent republican political structures. Its unique selling point was it enabled republicans to engage in politics, because they could only ever be republican, as opposed to collaborationist, politics. Within Adams' model, republican engagement in politics was effectively fine; technically republicans would only ever be administrating their own republic. In fact, from this perspective republican politics was wholly necessary, as any republic naturally required administration.

By asserting a republic could start to evolve immediately within the context of the overarching British imperial system even whilst armed struggle continued, Adams thereby challenged the model of 'phased' social revolution advanced by ideologues such as Coughlan within the Goulding leadership which Adams came to view as detached from reality as Northern Ireland descended into violence in 1969. In 'The National Alternative' he argued the war against British imperialism in Ireland and the process of realising the republic were 'not two separate phases' of the republican struggle.[146] As he has explained elsewhere, he came to believe the "stages' theory of progressive democratisation' was not applicable to Northern Ireland because he felt it, 'ignored the very nature of that state and [his] own occasional personalised and parochial encounters with loyalism.'[147] Unlike Hume, and also the Dublin based-republican leadership during the late 1960s, as far as Adams was concerned the Northern Ireland state was simply not capable of reform, rendering the 'stages' theory void.

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[146] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The National Alternative', *Republican News*, 3 April 1976.
[147] Gerry Adams, *Free Ireland: Towards a Lasting Peace* (Dingle, 1994), p. 24.

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Adams' model also differed from Provisional republican thinking as the former demanded relatively undramatic forms of social and economic activism from republican volunteers, the kind of activism which militant republicans deemed relatively incidental to the struggle for Irish freedom. Furthermore, the fact Adams' republic could theoretically begin to evolve without outright military victory over British imperialism − envisaging as it did a very gradual displacement of the latter influence, as opposed to a sudden defeat or withdrawal of it − again differentiated it from Provisional ideology. Admittedly, one can detect in Adams' concept of evolving mini-republics linking-up, traces of the federalist *Eire Nua* programme advanced by Provisional Sinn Féin in March 1972, which envisaged the construction of inter-linked regional assemblies in each of the four Irish provinces against the backdrop of a phased British withdrawal.[148]

Adams theory was rather different from *Eire Nua*, however, not least because it imagined a republic evolving from the ground up, from the local to the national, as opposed to *vice versa*.[149] There was a point of contrast here too with Official republican ideology, which had envisioned a quintessentially Leninist, top-down mode of social revolution, engineered by a vanguard of determined ideologues. Adams' mode of republicanism also differed from *Eire Nua* in that, again, it did not require the British to have relinquished power, and to have agreed to leave Ireland, in order for a republic to come into existence.

As Adams saw it, the republican 'war machine' could be remarkably constructive as well as destructive. There is a sense he was making a similar, if somewhat more ambitious, argument in 'Active Abstentionism' to that advanced by Hume made in 'The

[148] See Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion*, pp. 186-188. See also, Alvin Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998* (Oxford, 1999.) p. 397.

[149] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The National Alternative', *Republican News*, 3 April 1976: 'The business of the National Alternative can be brought down to where it counts. To local level, to a complete fusing of military and political strategy'.

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Northern Catholic'. There Hume asserted nationalists needed to play 'a fuller part in public life'; needed to become loyal Catholics, and so improve their own situation by altering the prevailing Unionist mind-set which he believed viewed the Northern Catholic as 'politically irresponsible and immature and therefore unfit to rule'.[150] Adams did not pitch his argument specifically in terms of the division between republicanism and loyalism, and, as noted, was he was *not* calling for a form of Catholic loyalism.

It would also be incorrect to suggest Adams' republicanism effectively accommodated loyalism. It certainly did not. He did, however, theorise if republicans actually brought their republic into reality through the exercise of 'peoples' Republicanism', leading to the evolution of a republican 'National Alternative', thus demonstrating they were fit to govern, and *did* indeed have the right vision for Ireland, then loyalism might just begin to respect the republican alternative; buy into its vision; perhaps even emulate it. Adams' 'Active Abstentionism' began with a hypothetical conversation between 'Brownie' and a 'man on the street' whose political affiliation is never specified, but who is deeply sceptical of republicanism, mainly because he has never seen or experienced an actual functioning republic. He therefore implies republicans are more concerned with the quest for a republic than the actual realisation of it, and do not have a political vision to operationalise if in fact they do succeed in their campaign. During the conversation 'Brownie' sketches the history of the movement's attempts to bring their republic into reality, referencing the precedents of Daíl Eireann in 1919 and *Eire Nua*. 'Active Abstentionism' then saw Adams outlining his own political vision of how a republican national alternative might begin to evolve:

> …but, sez the man in the street, "where the hell is this Government?" Well in 1919 Daíl Eireann was established on the votes of the Irish people acting as a unit in a 32 country election … 'Oh that!" sez the man in the street…"Sure that was years and years ago. Do Republicans

[150] Hume, 'The Northern Catholic', 18 May 1964.

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> really believe that the ordinary people will give their allegiance to a Parliament that doesn't really exist?"…Republicans have proposed a method of bringing back a nationalist Government with a decentralised form of local and Provincial Parliaments… "Ah" sez your man, "But where is it????"…And where is that alternative?? All around us friends! In each and every area to some degree, people are helping and governing themselves…ACTIVE ABSTENTIONISM…In Belfast alone, could not the three or four big nationalist areas be organised into community councils? Some might say this is sectarianism but in the short term I would classify it as realism. Better by far, of course, that Loyalists would do the same, and eventually they will have to be involved, but for now, as a first step, let us build on the foundations we have laid.[151]

Terence MacSwiney and the Origins of Adams' Civic Republicanism.

Ironically some of the ideological origins of Adams' strand of civic republicanism can be located in the writings of Terence MacSwiney. As noted, Richard English has argued MacSwiney and Pearse were mainly responsible for constructing that influential mode of spiritual, sacrificial republicanism which overshadowed its more materially-orientated, socialist variant advanced by figures such as O'Donnell throughout the inter-war period. The, 'web of spiritual, religious, sacrificial ideals revered by so many within the republican movement was deeply unhelpful,' according to English, 'to the socialist republican cause…[rendering] invalid the O'Donnellite reading of a self-consciously materially motivated, class struggling movement'.[152]

As English was keen to highlight, MacSwiney opened his essay 'The Basis of Freedom' − the first essay a reader is confronted with in *Principles of Freedom* − with the statement a, 'spiritual necessity makes true the significance of our claims to freedom: the material aspect is only a secondary consideration'.[153] MacSwiney also contended it 'is a spiritual appeal… that primarily moves us.'[154] It is therefore hard to dismiss Roy

[151] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams] 'Active Abstentionism', *Republican News*, 18 Oct. 1976.
[152] English, *Radicals and the Republic*, p. 47
[153] Ibid., p. 10.
[154] MacSwiney, *Principles of Freedom*, p. 6.

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Foster's opinion that, much like his sisters Mary and Anne, MacSwiney was a, 'convinced physical force nationalist' and a, 'devout Catholic preoccupied by the corruption of materialism emanating from England like a poisonous miasma'.[155] Indeed, it seems hard to reject English's belief MacSwiney harboured significant 'anti-material sentiments'.[156]

As has been observed, in Cage 11 Adams was reading MacSwiney's *Principles of Freedom,* citing the latter's essay 'Separation' at the end of "Out There on the Motorway…", thereby referencing the concept of the 'Long War' then being discussed and developed in the prison. Adams' article 'A Review of the Situation- Past, Present and Future' also saw him repeatedly paraphrasing MacSwiney's essay 'Principle in Action', Adams concluding his article with MacSwiney's statement: 'If we are to be fit for the historic tomorrow we must arise and be men today'.[157] What is more, Adams' 'man on the street' in 'Active Abstentionism' bears an uncanny resemblance to MacSwiney's 'philosophical friend' who appears at the beginning of 'Separation'. Both characters advance more or less the same argument: they remain unconvinced by republicanism because it adherents have failed to actually bring a republic into reality. According to MacSwiney:

> Our friend… will discuss it [republican philosophy] readily…Yet he may not be convinced; he may point his finger…and contrast its weakness with its opponents' strength and conclude: Your philosophy is beautiful, but only a dream…[his] attitude is explained in part by our never having attempted to show that a separatist policy is great and wise. We have held it as a right, have fought for it, have made sacrifices for it, and vowed to have it at any cost; but we have not found for it a place in our philosophy of life.[158]

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[155] Roy Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923* (London, 2014), p. 36 and p. 97.
[156] English, *Radicals and the Republic*, p. 45.
[157] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'A Review of the Situation- Past, Present and Future', *Republican News*, 14 Aug. 1976.
[158] MacSwiney, *Principles of Freedom*, p. 14.

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True, MacSwiney argued republicanism was animated by a 'spiritual necessity', and material considerations 'secondary' to this. It is also true he sacrificed his life for the republican cause in Ireland. As the extract from 'Separation' above reveals, however, he had also called for a republican 'philosophy of life'. Although MacSwiney advanced a mode of spiritual, sacrificial republicanism in his writings, it would be wrong to assume, even in light of his statement in 'The Basis of Freedom', his thinking was not in any way materially-orientated. It would be surprising, in fact, if MacSwiney's republicanism *did not* exhibit significant material considerations, given the man taught business methods at Cork Municipal School of Commerce fulltime from 1912 onwards.[159]

It can be argued Adams extracted a different mode of republicanism from MacSwiney than that gleaned by English or Foster. In referencing the 'eejit' who believed MacSwiney had taught republicans 'how to die' in 'Inside Story', Adams was subtly critiquing the Provisional embrace of sacrificial republicanism. He was implying MacSwiney had taught republicans much more than merely how to die. In Adams' eyes, through his writings the republican martyr had, somewhat ironically, taught republicans how to *live* their philosophy. For example, MacSwiney had opened his essay 'Principle in Action' with the statement: 'Our philosophy is useless unless we bring it to life', and he concluded the piece by stating 'we must take our philosophy into life'.[160] The idea MacSwiney's republicanism was essentially spiritual, sacrificial republicanism, lacking material or worldly dimensions, is effectively rebuffed by his statement in 'The Secret of Strength':

> There is a further mistake that our national work is something apart, that social, business, religious and other concerns have no relation to it, and consequently we set apart a few hours of our leisure for national

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[159] Patrick Maume, 'Terence MacSwiney', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 197-199.
[160] MacSwiney, *Principles of Freedom*, p. 76.

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> work, and go about our day as if no nation existed…He will be the best patriot and best soldier who is the best friend and best citizen.[161]

Thus one can detect a demand for a mode of civic republicanism within the writings of supposedly one of the chief progenitors of sacrificial, spiritual republicanism. Indeed, in 'Principle in Action' MacSwiney lambasted republicans for not taking an interest in the social and economic life of their nation. 'When a national crisis emerges, which involves our public boards, public men, and business men in action,' he argued, 'he [the republican] is silently absent from his meetings'.[162] He went on to contend, 'the national idea touches life at every point' and republicans were duty bound to carry their 'flag everywhere':

> There are errors to remove: The first is the assumption that we are only required to acknowledge the flag in certain places, offer it allegiance at certain meetings and certain times that form but a small part of our existence…we must carry our flag everywhere…the battle is lost when we satisfy ourselves with an academic debate in our spare moments…we must take the flag from its hidden-resting place and carry it boldly into life.[163]

So much like Adams, MacSwiney was calling on republicans to work seriously on the country's social and economic problems, and thus bring their republic into reality in the here and now. What is more, his attack on the easy republicanism of flag waving rather resembles the argument advanced by Hume in 'The Northern Catholic'; that northern nationalists had tended to hide behind the 'unconstructive banner of nationalism' and the Nationalist Party had delivered the 'easy leadership of flags and slogans', thereby neglecting the social and economic life of their nation.[164] This is not to imply Hume's nationalism was somehow influenced by MacSwiney, but merely both men were urging the development of a civic consciousness within their movements. Moreover, it can be

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[161] Terence MacSwiney, *Principles of Freedom* (Cork, 2005), pp. 28-29.
[162] Ibid., p. 39.
[163] MacSwiney, *Principles of Freedom* (1921), p. 81.
[164] John Hume, 'The Northern Catholic', *Irish Times*, 18 May, 1964.

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argued 'Principle in Action', in which the latter contended republicans needed to bring their philosophy to life, needed to make it an active one by engaging in hard work for the good of the nation, was a key source of inspiration for Adams' concepts of 'Active Abstentionism' and 'Active Republicanism'. The similarity between the openings for 'Separation' and 'Active Abstentionism' reinforces this argument, as does the fact both essays advanced similar arguments. Crucially, some of the ideological origins of Adams' mode of civic republicanism can be located in MacSwiney's writings. There were however, other historical influences at work.

The Influence of Lalor and the Vision of the Land War.

Adams' desire for republicans to fuse the national and social questions, to evolve what was essentially a civic mode of republicanism as a means of generating mini-republics across the island, was not merely precipitated by his readings of MacSwiney. His vision of Mellows was influential in this respect, so too, no doubt, his readings of McInerney's biography of O'Donnell. For example, Adams was eager to demonstrate in 'The Republic: A Reality' how Mellows had called upon the movement to actually bring a republic into existence. Indeed, the beginning of 'Active Abstentionism', when Adams' 'man on the street' asks 'where the hell is this government?' not only resembles the beginning of MacSwiney's 'Separation', but also one of Mellows' prisons writings which Adams cited in 'The Republic: A Reality: 'Where is the Government of the Republic? It must be found, Republicans must be provided with a rallying point and the Movement with a focusing point'.[165]

As has also been noted, the vision of Mellows Adams received from *Irish Social Rebel* would have directed his attention to towards Connolly and Lalor. As illustrated by

[165] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Republic: A Reality', *Republicans News*, 29 Nov. 1976.

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the 'The Orange State' Adams was reading editions of both men's writings, and also the writings of Tone and Pearse. There is scope for a much more detailed examination of Adams' vision of Connolly and the relationship between the former's thinking, and the latter's numerous writings. It cannot be accommodated here, however. Moreover, authors and scholars are already alert to this relationship, even if it has not been explored in a rigorous fashion. Suffice to say, Adams' desire for republicans to fuse the national and social questions, and to evolve an island-wide republic which would completely displace British imperialism, clearly owed much to the influence of Connolly. Adams was, of course, aiming for a complete *re-conquest* of Ireland. His felt he had evolved a republican vision capable of ridding Ireland of the social, economic, political *and* military dimensions of British imperialism.

Scholars are less conscious of the relationship between Adams' mode of republicanism and the thinking advanced by Fintan Lalor, the reclusive agrarian radical who veered towards the Young Irelanders. According to Randall Clarke, however, the latter was 'not a Young Irelander'.[166] 'His ideas and those of the Young Irelanders were incompatible', Clarke argued. 'From the first he [Lalor] wished to use force, they preferred constitutional means; he wished to attack the landlords, they sought for an alliance with the landlords; he demanded complete independence of Ireland; they asked only for Repeal'.[167] 'The Orange State' reveals Adams had a copy of a pamphlet *Readings from Fintan Lalor* produced by Sinn Féin's Belfast Press Centre, and also a 'battered copy of 'Faith of a Felon'. Moreover, Adams frequently referenced Lalor in his articles.[168] In 'Active Republicanism' Adams' described Lalor as someone who had 'lived the spiritualism of active republicanism', whilst the 'Brownie' article 'Clearing the

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[166] Randall Clarke, 'The Social and Political Teachings of the Young Irelanders, 1842-1848', M.A. Dissertation (Queen's University, Belfast, 1936), p. 96.
[167] Clarke, 'The Social and Political Teachings of the Young Irelanders, 1842-1848', p. 96.
[168] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Orange State', *Republican News*, 10 December, 1976

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Decks' was basically a reproduction of one of Lalor's article of the same name published in the *Irish Felon*.[169] One of Adams' characters in 'The Lecture' also described how, 'many people have pushed the social content of Republicanism. Connolly, Mellows and Pearse are about the best known, but I think Fintan Lawlor [sic] was the daddy of them all'.[170]

'The Lecture' reveals Adams was conscious Lalor was one of the first figures in Ireland to posit the social question or, in Lalor's parlance, the question of tenant right, could be made the material for national victory. As Arthur Griffith put it, 'Lalor flung the agrarian question across the path of the nationalist movement and foretold ruin for the latter if it did not link itself to the former'.[171] It was a concept subsequently embraced and effectively applied by Michael Davitt during the Land War, a figure who, like Adams was an enthusiastic student of Lalor's writing, and who also wrote in prison.[172]

Judging by 'Active Abstentionism' it is clear Adams was seeking to operationalise Lalor's tactic of 'moral insurrection' in order to rid Ireland of British imperialism. Much like the way in which, in April 1847, Lalor had told the landlords that they were far less important to the people than the people were to them, Adams was saying to the Irish people they were much more important to the British, than the British were to them.[173] Adams' argument in 'Active Abstentionism', that republican 'struggle is as much a part of the people as the people are of it', bears an uncanny resemblance to Lalor's famous dictum.[174] Lalor contended he had developed a, 'mode of force better founded in moral right, and more efficient in action, than either agitation or military

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[169] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Active Republicanism', *Republican News*, 1 May, 1976; 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Clearing the Decks', *Republican News*, 8. Jan. 1977. See also Fintan Lalor, 'Clearing the Decks', in L. Fogarty (ed.), *James Fintan Lalor: Patriot and Political Essayist* (Dublin, 1918), p. 110.
[170] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Lecture', *Republican News*, 28 Aug. 1978.
[171] Fogarty (ed.), *James Fintan Lalor: Patriot and Political Essayist*, preface by Arthur Griffith, p. ix.
[172] See Michael Davitt, *Jottings in Solitary* (Dublin, 2003).
[173] Fogarty (ed.), *James Fintan Lalor: Patriot and Political Essayist,* p. 13.
[174] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams] 'Active Abstentionism', *Republican News*, 18 Oct. 1976.

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insurrection'.[175] As he explained, 'moral force' involved, 'refusal of obedience to usurped authority…resisting every attempt to exercise such usurped authority…and taking quiet and peaceable possession of all the rights and powers of government, and…proceeding quietly to use them'.[176] This is basically what Adams was calling upon nationalist communities to do in 'Active Abstentionism, 'The Republic: A Reality', and 'The National Alternative' and 'Active Republicanism'. He was urging people to simply ignore the prevailing political systems, and build their own. What is more, it is basically what he believed the republican prison community had done within Long Kesh, thereby precipitating a 'mini-Republic' within its perimeter fence.

As has also been noted, in 'Active Abstentionism' Adams enthusiastically referenced the rent and rate strike and campaign of civil disobedience launched by the S.D.L.P. in the late summer of 1971. Adams clearly viewed this as an example of how 'moral insurrection' could precipitate progress in the North. The tactic of rent strike basically originated with Lalor and was later re-deployed by the Land League in October 1881 with the No Rent Manifesto. As Lalor put it in 'Faith of Felon', 'I selected as a *mode* of re-conquest, to refuse payment of rent and resist the process of ejectment'.[177] Indeed, the S.D.L.P.'s campaign of civil disobedience, so admired by Adams, might just have been inspired by a vision of the Land War of 1879-81. Hume would certainly have left Maynooth with a vision of Lalor and an understanding of 'moral insurrection'. What is more, in his article entitled 'Basic Paradoxes of Unionism' in the *Sunday News* Hume argued the

> period of the Land League in the late century bears a remarkable similarity to the Civil Rights Movement of today. The mass involvement of the people then led to a natural awakening of political and social consciousness and was followed by a great cultural revival.

[175] Fogarty (ed.), *James Fintan Lalor: Patriot and Political Essayist*, p. 74.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Fogarty (ed.), *James Fintan Lalor: Patriot and Political Essayist*, p. 93.

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> I believe it is inevitable that a similar revival will begin in the North today and may already be underway.[178]

It can be argued Hume was also inspired by the way in which the Land War, in pushing Gladstone to legalise the much sought after 'three Fs' in 1881, ultimately precipitated a less radical Catholic middle-class, more inclined to endorse constitutional nationalism rather than violent agitation and insurrection. Indeed, there is good reason for thinking Hume's belief the 'three Rs' – reform, reconciliation and reunification–, provided the solution to the Irish problem, was very much modelled upon the 'three Fs', and also the Trinity.

Adams might have also been attracted to the tactic of rent-strike owing to his readings of McInerney's *Irish Social Rebel*. O'Donnell launched a campaign against the payment of land annuities to England in his native Donegal in 1926, during which he urged small farmers to withhold payment.[179] The campaign itself was surely inspired by O'Donnell's vision of Lalor and the Land War. Indeed, Henry Patterson has observed how O'Donnell was also influenced by a vision of Connolly, and the idea of a total re-conquest of Ireland.[180] As McInerney argued,

> Peadar O'Donnell might agree there has only been one real revolution in Ireland, that of Davitt who overthrew the system of landlordism…I would presume to add that Peadar O'Donnell's own campaigns amount to another successful social revolution. He and his comrades altered the lives of tens of thousands of land workers by his land annuities and other campaigns which gave new life and living to hundreds of thousands of rural workers.[181]

A vision of the Land War certainly informed Adams' concept of the evolution of a 'National Alternative' to British imperialism achieved through 'Active Abstentionism'. Flossie's illustration for 'Active Abstentionism' is important in this respect, depicting as

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[178] John Hume, 'Basic Paradoxes of Unionism', *Sunday News*, 11 Oct. 1970.
[179] On O'Donnell's campaign against land annuities see Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion*, pp. 37-50.
[180] Ibid.
[181] McMcInerney, *Irish Social Rebel*, pp. 29-30.

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it did Stormont with a sign hung round it reading 'Boycott'.[182] In fact, the concept of the Boycott or 'moral force' – unveiled by Charles Stewart Parnell in his speech in Ennis in September 1880 – is quite at the heart of Adams' model of historical change. As he put it in 'Active Abstentionism': 'Why complain about the British government's systems, boycott them – abstain from them – and build your own'.[183] The Orange State' reveals Adams was reading P. Berresford Ellis' 1972 *A History of the Irish Working Class*.[184] Adams also alluded to reading the book in 'Beware the Ides of March'.[185] No doubt he found the vision of the Land War presented by Berresford Ellis alluring; the latter's work is of one of those many histories which, as Paul Bew has observed, 'presents us with a vision of the 'alien' landlord excluded [through the practice of Boycott] by the intense unity of the homogenous peasantry'.[186] Importantly, Berresford Ellis depicted the Land War as the 'People's War', and described how in western areas, the Land League had basically evolved into the 'de facto government' of the country.[187]

Furthermore, judging by the illustration supplied by 'Flossie' for 'Active Abstentionism' it could well be Adams was applying the Land League's tactic of the boycott of the 'landgrabber' or middleman on a bigger, macrocosmic scale. As far as Adams' was concerned nationalist communities could simply boycott British imperialism and evolve their own system. It seems he saw the partionist political institutions in Ireland as effectively macrocosmic 'landgrabbers' managing Ireland in the interest of the absentee landlord, which, on this scale, is Britain. As Richard Bourke has observed the belief that Stormont was merely a screen or middleman between the Irish people and

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[182] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Active Abstentionism', *Republican News*, 18 Oct. 1976.
[183] Ibid.
[184] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], The Orange State', *Republican News*, 10 Dec. 1976. See also P. Berresford Ellis, *A History of the Irish Working Class* (London, 1972).
[185] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Beware the Ides of March', *Republican News*, 13 March.
[186] Paul Bew, *Land and the National Question in Ireland, 1858-1882* (Dublin, 1978).
[187] Berresford Ellis, *A History of the Irish Working Class*, pp. 152-159.

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British imperialism had become a key element in republican thinking by the early 1970s, though this idea had much deeper roots in Irish history.[188] Given Adams' tendency to depict Long Kesh as a microcosmic Northern Ireland, and Northern Ireland as a macrocosmic prison, there is good reason for suggesting Adams felt Westminster was to Stormont what Lord Erne was to Captain Charles Boycott.

It might also be suggested in constructing the concept of a, 'completing fusing of military and political thinking' within the republican movement, a concept which morphed into the concept of 'Armellite and Ballot Box' in the early 1980s, and subsequently Hume-Adams, the latter was applying a vision of the New Departure. It can be argued Adams was seeking to evolve a New Departure, but, crucially, one completely contained *within* the republican movement; a sort of mini, self-contained New Departure, whereby the political and military wings of the republican movement achieved an island-wide republic by alternatively threatening and agitating in conjunction, reliant upon nobody but itself.

Visions of History and Adams' Concept of the 'mini-Republic'

Probably the most obvious precedent for Adams' concept of mini-republics evolving within the midst of, and ultimately displacing, British imperialism is the formation of Daíl Eireann in early 1919. From the beginning of 'Active Abstentionism' it is clear Adams had a vision of this development in modern Irish history and that it was influencing his own political thinking. Given the argument Adams advanced in 'Active Abstentionism', and the illustration provided by 'Flossie', it is evident Adams believed Daíl Eireann had evolved as a result of republicans effectively boycotting the British imperialist system in Ireland, and establishing their own republic. Consequently, he

[188] Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, p. 84.

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believed contemporary republicans could basically do likewise. Indeed, the way in which the Daíl evolved within the midst of the imperialist system no doubt inspired Adams' thinking.

As Bourke has demonstrated, the evolution of the Daíl was itself inspired by the vision of passive resistance by the Hungarians to Austrian imperialism introduced to Irish nationalism by Arthur Griffith in 1904.[189] Adams would have been aware of this from his readings of Berresford Ellis. The latter described how, in 1904, 'Griffith produced *Resurrection of Hungary* [demonstrating how the] Hungarian representatives in the Austrian *diet* had withdrawn and established their own parliament'.[190] According to Bourke, Adams' concept of 'Active Abstentionism' demonstrated how the, 'original Sinn Féin policy, pioneered by Arthur Griffith, of practically seceding from an 'illegitimate' sovereignty was to be adapted to the political circumstances of the North'.[191]

Adams' concept of mini-republics achieved through 'Active Abstentionism' did differ from the precedent of Daíl Eireann, however. As was observed when comparing Adams' republican theory with that previously advanced by the Goulding leadership, the former envisaged an all-island republic evolving from the ground up, from the local to national, as opposed to *vice versa*. Adams was not thinking in terms of a 'mini-Republic' brought into existence by, and composed of, a small group or cabinet of committed individuals acting in defiance of Britain. His mini-republics were to be composed of actual communities, thus rendering them much harder to contain or, indeed, eliminate. A cabinet or vanguard could simply be arrested, a whole community could not. 'The Brit intends to isolate us from the people,' he argued in 'Active Republicanism'.[192] 'If our Republicanism is people's Republicanism, they cannot do this'. As noted, he made the

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[189] Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, pp. 127-133.
[190] Berresford Ellis, *A History of the Irish Working Class*, p. 176.
[191] Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, p. 166.
[192] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Active Republicanism', *Republican News*, 1 May, 1976.

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same point in a more vehement fashion towards the end of 'The National Alternative'. If republicans succeeded in turning their 'local war machine into an alternative to the Brit system…[an] alternative in keeping with the people' needs', then the 'Brit', he explained, 'has to remove everyone connected from schoolchildren to customers in the co-operative shops, from paper sellers, to street committees before he can defeat us'.[193]

It is also worth considering other visions of history informing and inspiring Adams' concept of mini-republics evolving within the midst of British imperialism. Perhaps, given his interest in the history of the Land War, and the evident relationship between his vision of it and his own republican vision, Adams was conscious to some extent of the 'microcosm of independence' theory which, as Paul Bew has observed, enjoyed a certain popularity during the late 1800s; the belief the tenant, freed from the relationship with his repressive landlord, would show the sturdy characteristics of the independent man.[194] Adams was advancing a theory very similar to this; freed from their relationship with their oppressive landlord, Britain, republican communities would naturally engage in 'Active Republicanism', evolving an Ireland displaying the study characteristics of an independent nation.

As evident from the argument he made towards the end of 'The National Alternative' Adams was also much influenced by the concept of co-operativism. He certainly had a vision of William Thompson and the history of co-operativism in nineteenth century Ireland whilst in Cage 11.[195] For example, in 'Active Republicanism' he described Thompson as a, 'pioneer of the philosophy of people's co-operatives…[who] established a real co-operative movement'.[196] 'His was a philosophy

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[193] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The National Alternative', *Republican News*, 3 April 1976.
[194] Bew, *Land and the National Question*, p. 229.
[195] On William Thompson see Richard Pankhurst, *William Thompson (1775-1883): Pioneer Socialist* (London, 1991; 1st edn 1954).
[196] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Active Republicanism', *Republican News*, 1 May, 1976.

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for the people,' Adams argued, 'His philosophy was the people. Is ours?'. At the end of 'The Orange State' Adams claimed he had only, 'scraped the surface on the immense of pile of Irish political writings'.[197] 'O'Donovan Rossa, Liam Mellowes [sic], William Thompson and many others,' he explained, 'must wait for another day'.

From his readings of Berresford Ellis Adams would have been made aware of the history of co-operativism in Ireland in the late 1800s.[198] More specifically, he would have known about the host of small Irish 'soviets' established in the early 1920s in places such as Mallow, Cashel and Ballingarry, Adams probably looking upon these as effectively mini-republics, and as templates for his own little prison-state.[199] It is also worth noting the 'Andersontown Co-operative' was then currently in existence, Adams presumably looking upon this as something akin to a 'mini-Republic' existing outside the prison. In the same edition of *Republican News* featuring the 'Brownie' article 'Screws' an article by 'Vindicator' described the Andersontown co-op as an, 'opportunity for the working-class to actively participate in economic resistance to local capitalism'.[200] Furthermore, it can be argued Adams' vision of an all-Ireland republic composed of mutually dependent and interlinked mini-republics working a co-operative, socialist philosophy, very much resembled the composition of the U.S.S.R. Adams was certainly driving at a form of republican autarky and perhaps, from his days as a Goulding republican, he had a vision of Stalin's policy of 'collectivisation' during the 1930s. Indeed, Adams' theory of evolving mini-republics does bear a similarity to Stalin's vision of 'socialism in one country'. Adams was essentially advancing a policy of 'republicanism in one area'.

Significantly, Berresford Ellis' history also bequeathed a vision of Gaelic communism to Adams, as well as a vision of Irish co-operativism. For example, the

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[197] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Orange State', *Republican News*, 10 December 1976.
[198] Berresford Ellis, *History of the Irish Working Class*, pp. 170-172.
[199] Ibid, p. 252.
[200] 'Vindicator' [Gerry Brannigan], 'Andersontown Co-operative', *Republican News*, 10 April 1976.

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former had described how Standish O'Grady had been, 'intrigued by the concept of Celtic Communism…[and] tried to establish a commune on his farm'.[201] Reviewing Berresford Ellis' book in 'The Orange State' Adams explained it was, 'written from a socialist viewpoint,' and traced, 'the conquest from the days of civilised Ireland, [with its laws, common ownership and democracy] through feudalism, landlordism, capitalism, imperialism, to modern colonialism and neo-colonialism'.[202] O'Connor Lysaght would also have explained to him how, during the late 1800s and early 1990s, there existed a 'view of early Irish society as primitive communism…held, most conspicuously by James Connolly'.[203] No doubt Adams' vision of a democratic and socialist mini-prison republic channelled a vision of Gaelic antiquity in this sense. In fact, although the federalist quality of Adams' theory of evolving mini-republics certainly betrays the influence of the Provisionals' *Eire Nua* programme, it also suggests a familiarity with the Gaelic clan system.

Adams' belief in the concept of co-operativism surely owed much to a vision of Gaelic antiquity and the clan system in which land was, as he saw it, held in common. Thus it can be argued Adams believed his prison republic worked a very green and native mode of socialism; that he believed his future island-wide republic would work the *original*, Irish mode of socialism. Again, one perceives Adams discerning modernity deep within the Irish past; that he believed republican modernity could be achieved via a return to Gaelic antiquity. His readings of Connolly would certainly have led his thinking in this direction. What is more, although Richard Bourke explored Adams' understanding of the idea of democracy in a rigorous and sophisticated manner, the former nevertheless

[201] Berresford Ellis, *A History of the Irish Working Class*, pp. 170-171.
[202] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Orange State', *Republican News*, 10 December 1976.
[203] O Connor Lysaght, *The Republic of Ireland*, p. 10.

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overlooked the fact Adams' thinking in this respect owed much to a vision of pre-invasion Gaelic antiquity, which derived from his studies in Irish history within the prison.

Adams was probably not too sorry O'Connor Lysaght's *The Republic of Ireland* 'perished in the flames' in October 1974. For one thing, its author was rather dismissive of the idea of Gaelic communism. Ireland was merely 'pre-feudal' at that time, according to O'Connor Lysaght, not an enlightened communist society.[204] What Adams *would* have found attractive about the history, however, was O'Connor Lysaght's depiction of Gaelic society as, 'exhibiting a high standard of learning'.[205] In the view of the latter, this was early Irish society's 'most attractive feature'.[206] Significantly, in striving to evolve an educational culture in Long Kesh Adams was no doubt again channelling a vision of Gaelic antiquity. In a sense, he was pioneering his own little Gaelic renaissance in the prison, and seeking to evolve this renaissance outside.

Adams' vision of Patrick Pearse is surely crucial in this respect. As has been observed, in many ways Long Kesh was to Adams what St. Patrick's College was to Hume. Yet there is also a sense in which the Cage 11 was to the Adams what St. Enda's was to Pearse. It can be argued Adams was trying to evolve his own St. Enda's, founded by Pearse in 1908, within the prison. Like Pearse, Adams was enchanted with Gaelic antiquity; had a vision of the learned Gaels he wanted to re-create in his own little barbed-wire hermitage. The determination to celebrate and inculcate bilingualism with the republican Cages, as illustrated by Adams' article 'Early Risers', which depicted prisoners getting up early to study Irish, and also his allusion to the 'Gaeltacht hut' in 'An Ard Fheis', certainly conjures visions of St. Enda's.[207]

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[204] O Connor Lysaght, *The Republic of Ireland*, p. 10.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid.
[207] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Early Risers', *Republican News*, 11 Oct. 1975.

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Furthermore, O'Connor Lysaght observed how Pearse, 'revived in modern form the early [Irish] idea of fosterage'.[208] Berresford Ellis likewise noted, 'Pearse adapted the old Irish concepts of education (i.e. fosterage) to fit his schools'.[209] There is a sense in which, in Long Kesh, Adams was seeking to do likewise. Like Pearse, Adams' evolved his own education system, one which admired and channelled a vision of Gaelic antiquity. Young Provisionals who were arrested came to his little state, with its distinctive educational culture. There they learnt about, and were taught to respect, their great Irish ancestors and, moreover, how to re-gain the Ireland that had been robbed of that great race by the British. Just like St. Enda's, Long Kesh was an all-male environment in which, as the illustration 'Flossie' provided for 'The Orange State' illustrates, the vision of the true republican man was cherished. In this sense there was almost a Jesuitical quality about Adams' education system. 'Give me the Provisional lad', Adams was effectively saying to the British in many of his 'Brownie' articles, 'and I will give you the true republican man'.

There is definitely a link between the educational culture Adams strove to evolve in Long Kesh and the vision of Pearse. For example, in 'The Orange State' Adams argued, 'a greater awareness and consciousness would quickly evolve' amongst republicans if texts such as Pearse's "Murder Machine," "Ghosts," [and] "From a Hermitage" were reprinted.[210] Thus Adams had a vision of the St. Enda's within the Hermitage and education in the thought of Pearse. In the *Murder Machine* Pearse had attacked the Irish education system, arguing it consolidated and advanced British imperialism in the country. Pearse's drive to evolve his own education system in Ireland surely appealed to the incarcerated Adams. It could well be, in fact, Adams looked upon St. Enda's as a sort

[208] O'Connor Lysaght, *The Republic of Ireland*, p. 47.
[209] Berresford Ellis, *A History of the Irish Working Class*, p. 193.
[210] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Orange State', *Republican News*, 10 December 1976.

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of 'mini-Republic'; looked upon the Hermitage as a secluded mini-Irish Ireland *within* Ireland. It might also be worth suggesting Adams' prison writings, his 'Notes from Long Kesh', were inspired to some extent by Pearse's 'From a Hermitage'. It might also be suggested Adams came to look upon the educational Wolfe Tone Societies developed by the Goulding leadership with the vision of St. Enda's in mind. Moreover, there exists the possibility he came to view the societies as akin to mini-republics, given their purpose was to politicise republicans in areas throughout the country, thus helping to evolve an island-wide republic.

The vision of Young Ireland was also surely influential with regard the educational culture Adams evolved in Long Kesh. From 'The Lecture' one is aware Adams *had* a vision of the Young Irelanders, and the evolution of cultural nationalism in Ireland during the mid-1800s. 'The Young Irelanders would probably take the credit,' he argued, 'for emphasising the need for culture and national identity'.[211] It can be argued in 'The Orange State' Adams was demonstrating how republican prisoners were busily involved in a rediscovery of Irish culture. According to Hughes, in Cage 11 Bobby Sands, 'was more into the cultural end of things and he was running classes in Cage 11 and in the end hut'.[212] What is more in 'The Orange State' Adams was demonstrating how republican prisoners were busy building their own little Library of Ireland in Long Kesh, thereby embracing the motto of Young Ireland – 'educate so that you might free'.

One should not overlook the influence of the concept of the 'lock-out' in Adams' theory of evolving mini-republics. A key theme in Adams' prison writings is republicans needed to utilise the weapons of their imperialist, capitalist overlord, not least political warfare. 'She [Britain] is intent for many reasons…on defeating the I.R.A. and on

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[211] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Lecture', *Republican News*, 28 Aug. 1976.
[212] Moloney, *Voices from the Grave*, p. 191.

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retaining her control on island,' he argued in 'A Review of the Situation'.[213] 'The tactics she uses for this are many and varied and will change to suit the situation she faces'. Recalling the emergence of the no-go areas in Derry and Belfast in August in 1969, in 'Active Abstentionism' Adams argued: 'Didn't government exist behind the barricades?' Importantly, it would seem Adams was thinking in terms of boycotting, and then simply locking-out British imperialism, and thus capitalism, from republican areas, just as William Murphy had locked-out workers in Dublin in 1913 and was boycotted by Larkin, a moment in Irish history Berresford Ellis devoted a whole chapter to.[214] It is possible Adams believed the capitalist British had subsequently locked-out the six counties for the republic in 1920. It might even be suggested Adams came to see the barricading of republican areas as the continuation of the policy parliamentary obstructionism pioneered by Biggar and Parnell by other means, which, again, he would have learnt about by reading Berresford Ellis.[215]

There is good reason for believing Adams looked upon the G.P.O during Easter Week 1916 as an example of a 'mini-Republic' akin to his own little prison-state. Berresford Ellis described the '1916 Republic' as a 'People's Republic'.[216] Perhaps Adams believed that, just as Pearse and Connolly had done in 1916, he had actually brought a republic into reality, one which, importantly, was also physically surrounded by British imperialism. As he argued in 'Double Talk', the 1916 'Insurgents, by their decision to fight a "stationary war", had in effect doomed themselves to failure'.[217] As observed, Adams had a different strategy. He would evolve his republic subtly, and he would fight on the political, social and economic fronts. Yet much like the G.P.O in 1916

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[213] 'Brownie [Gerry Adams], 'A Review of the Situation – Past Present and Future', *Republican News*, 14 Aug. 1976.
[214] Berresford Ellis, *A History of the Irish Working Class*, see ch. 11, 'The Dublin Lock-Out'.
[215] Ibid, p. 153.
[216] Berresford Ellis, *A History of the Irish Working Class*, p. 235.
[217] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Double Talk', *Republican News*, 8 May 1976.

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with Pearse and Connolly inside, Adams believed he had evolved a republic wherein the spiritual and social dimensions of republicanism, its destructive and constructive dimensions, worked in harmony with each other, as Adams believed they always had done until the arrival of the Treaty and the subsequent Civil War. Indeed, it is clear Adams believed the latter conflict resulted in republicanism bifurcating into its militaristic and socialist tendencies. The split in 1969 would have influenced his thinking in this respect. It would appear Adams was not merely seeking to reunify Ireland by evolving a republican vision; he was seeking to re-unify an old division within republicanism itself.

Crucially, the vision of Partition must be viewed as a key component of Adams' republican vision and his model of historical change. The influence of the environment of Long Kesh was significant in this respect. Adams felt he and other republican prisoners had used the architecture and nature of the prison to their advantage, effectively partitioning themselves from the prison regime. As 'Brownie' Adams was arguing Irish communities could wield the weapon of Partition against the British. As he saw it, nationalist communities could retreat into 'mini-republics', and thus simply partition themselves from British imperialism. Adams' argument in 'Active Abstentionism' 'didn't government exist behind the barricades' is significant in this respect.

It also needs emphasising the image or vision of the island of Ireland itself was also a key component of the conceptual architecture of Adams' republican vision. As has been observed, like O'Donnell and Mellows before him, Adams believed he was leading an island existence within Long Kesh; that he was almost a republican Crusoe marooned on an imperialist island. Again and again the 'Brownie' articles reveal Adams viewed Long Kesh prison as an artificial island constructed by Britain *within* Northern Ireland, and Northern Ireland a much larger artificial island, again constructed by the British. Importantly, however, within Cage 11 Adams constructed a theory of small islands of

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republicanism evolving and growing across the country, eventually covering the *whole* island, thereby displacing British imperialism.

Furthermore, the article 'Memories' indicates Adams also believed he had an island of republicanism within his soul; a small cell or island containing the essence of republicanism his imperial captors could not penetrate. Indeed, Adams seemed to believe every true Irishman was basically of island of republicanism. Thus Irish people could, in as he saw it, come together to produce mini-republics, and eventually an all-Ireland republic. Importantly, Adams' belief he had a mini-republic in his soul and that, as he argued in 'Active Republicanism', the Irish republic already existed in the form of the Irish people, very much resembled the Fenian concept of a republic 'virtually' established in the hearts of men, contained in the original IRB oath.[218] The vision of James Stephens walking Ireland, quietly evolving a republic, was no doubt influential in this respect. What is more, Adams' belief his prison-republic was evolving right under the nose of the British, much like the Irish republic in general, was surely influenced by idea of the 'hidden republic' which figures such as O'Donnell believed they inhabited and worked within during the inter-war years.[219]

And finally, given Adams' Catholicism and studies of the *Bible* in Long Kesh, it is not far-fetched to theorise his concept of mini-republics growing into a sophisticated and just alternative to British imperialism betrayed the influence of Christ's Parable of the Mustard Seed. Adams was an observant Catholic in Long Kesh, frequently to be found studying the *Bible*. As has been observed, in 'Active Republicanism' Adams essentially presented Christ as someone who had 'lived the spiritualism of Active Republicanism' within the context of Roman imperialism. It can be argued Adams' concept of a republic existing amongst the people not only resembles the Fenian concept

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[218] See Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (London, 1988), p. 391.
[219] McInerney, *Irish Social Rebel*, p. 15.

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of a republic 'virtually established amongst the Irish people, but also Christ's idea of the Kingdom of Heaven existing the hearts of men and women, that need only be realised. Given his interest in Christian socialism it could even be Adams' vision of ridding Ireland of the capitalist dimension of British imperialism was influenced by the vision of Christ clearing the money-lenders from the Temple. Indeed, it can be argued the republican aspiration of ridding Ireland of the corrupting influence of British imperialism owes something, conceptually, not only to the vision of St. Patrick expelling the snakes from the country, but to the Christian concept of the purgation of original sin.

What is clear, however, is Adams' republican vision, his concept of 'mini-republics' precipitated through civic or 'Active Republicanism' was inspired by a host of historical visions, not least a vision of Christ preaching within the context of Roman imperialism. Commentary on the republican movement has tended to highlight how the educational culture which evolved amongst the its prison communities during the conflict in Northern Ireland was inspired by precedents set by literary republicans such as Mitchel, Davitt, Mellows, O'Donnell and O'Malley. It is clear, however, the educational culture which Adams strove to evolve in Long Kesh was informed by, and drew upon, much older visions of history, such as the vision of Gaelic antiquity, the vision of Celtic monasticism, and, of course, the vision of Christ educating his followers as to the nature of the Kingdom of God. Significantly, it would seem republican prisoners such as Mellows and O'Donnell had similar visions.

Perhaps all that remains to ask, however, is why did Adams' vision of mini-republics evolving to displace British imperialism ultimately not materialise? Why, in the years after his release from Long Kesh, did he start to think in terms of the 'republicanisation' of the prevailing political systems in Ireland, a mode of thought he initially rejected but which, importantly, ultimately facilitated the evolution of the Peace

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Process? That is an analytical quest for another day. But Charles Gavan Duffy's portrait of Fintan Lalor will perhaps suffice for now:

> His imagination was so vivid that his desires framed themselves like palpable images in his mind…He projected, as solitary thinkers are apt to do, in the unfenced fields of fancy, and his schemes seemed so logically exact and demonstrable that he could discern no difficulties which forbade their immediate execution. But when he tried to put them into action, they tripped over impediments of which he had no account.[220]

[220] Charles Gavan Duffy cited by John Kelly in his introduction to *James Fintan Lalor: Collected Writings* (Poole 1997) [no pagination].

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***Pax quæritur bello*: Mr. Trimble Goes to War.**

> This example occurred to me at the time and I've used it many times since…people in Europe were genuinely shocked by the sack of Magdeburg in the 1630s. The city had surrendered but the Imperial Army commanded by Tilly…Tilly just let his soldiers loose on Magdeburg and…something…like 20,000 people were killed, in a city that had surrendered, right? And Europe was shocked at that. Europe didn't express any surprise at Drogheda were the city was stormed at the garrison put to the sword. Because that was the method, the rules or laws of warfare as they existed in the seventeenth century. That a fortress or a city or whatever was under siege, that the besieging army give the garrison the opportunity to surrender and if the garrison surrender then they are allowed to leave, sometimes with or without arms, that tended to vary, there had to be a bit of negotiation…but if they [the garrison] didn't avail themselves of that opportunity and it [the city] was stormed then they had no right to mercy….It was entirely at the discretion of the forces who were storming as to whether they spared them or not. They had no right to surrender from that moment on. So what happened at Drogheda was entirely consistent with the rules of warfare as understood in the seventeenth century but the sack of Magdeburg was not.[1]

> Parnell believed in a policy of war…He regarded them [the English] as enemies, and he would treat them as enemies…He believed in fighting…He was, indeed, a great peacemaker.[2]

Men of War, Men of Peace: Trimble vs Adams

Gerry Adams has been depicted as Northern Ireland's quintessential 'man of war, man of peace'. 'For much of his adult life,' argued Sharrock and Devenport, 'Gerry Adams has undoubtedly been a man who played by the rules of war'.[3] The latter had nevertheless evolved, in their view, into a figure, 'willing to break the mould which for so long had doomed the people of Northern Ireland, the Irish Republic, and England to sudden and terrible acts of violence'.[4] Ed Moloney likewise presented Adams as a 'ruthless general'

[1] David Trimble (Lord Trimble of Lisnagarvey) interviewed by the author, Houses of Lords, London, 6 April 2011.
[2] R. Barry O'Brien, *The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell* (London, 1899) p. 103.
[3] David Sharrock and Mark Devenport, *Man of War, Man of Peace: The Unauthorised Biography of Gerry Adams* (Belfast, 1997), p. 3
[4] Ibid. p. 3.

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masterminding the Provisional insurgency throughout much of the 1970s and 1980s, but who, thankfully, 'launched, shaped, nurtured, and eventually guided the peace process to a successful conclusion'.[5]

Adams' biography has been collapsed into one animated by an elemental struggle between war and peace; good and evil; darkness and light. His distinctive appearance and colouration has invited this mode of analysis. The mainly black and white imagery featured on the covers adorning *Man of War, Man of Peace* and *A Secret History of the IRA* is revealing in this respect, covers contrasting sharply with the mostly white covers adorning Barry White and Paul Routledge's biographies of Hume.[6] Writing in *The Guardian* in February 1996 Sharrock even suggested the increasing number of grey hairs then displayed by the President of Sinn Féin was indicative of his evolution from a man of war to a man of peace.[7] 'For a while he died his hair a uniform jet black,' Sharrock observed, 'in the background there was invariably that word – Peace'.[8] 'The grey hair has been creeping back,' Sharrock went on, in 'the last two years he [Adams] has changed from being so dangerous to the national interest that his voiced had to be banned from the airwaves to rubbing shoulders with the international set'. The depiction of Adams as Northern Ireland's 'man of war, man of peace' is indicative of the way in which authors have tended to present Irish history as a, 'scaled-up biography and biography a microcosmic history'.

The notion of peace achieved through war was at the heart of the mode of republican thought Adams articulated from Long Kesh, however. As has been observed, he believed true republicanism, and the movement channelling it, had formidable

[5] Ed Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA* (London, 2002), see p. 88 and p. xvi.
[6] See Barry White, *John Hume Statesman of the Troubles* (Belfast, 1984); Paul Routledge, *John Hume* (London, 1996).
[7] David Sharrock, 'The Troubles with Gerry', *The Guardian*, 15 Aug. 1996.
[8] Roy Foster, *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making It All Up in Ireland* (London, 2001), p.xi.

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destructive *and* constructive capabilities. 'Brownie' was imploring republicans to embrace and exploit their ideology's constructive capabilities. Armed struggle against British imperialism was not to be viewed as an end in itself he contended, and republicans should not simply aim for the mere defeat or overthrow of the British. As they tore down the more obvious manifestations of imperialism in the country, the republican movement was obliged to graft; to engage in 'Active Republicanism', so as to build something better in their place. As Adams saw it the republican 'tearing down process' could and *would* precipitate a sophisticated republican 'National Alternative' ultimately displacing, in a relatively peaceful manner, the subtle and stubborn social and economic manifestations of British imperialism in the country, thereby achieving complete re-conquest of the island. As far as Adams was concerned, therefore, armed struggle was, and should only ever been thought of as, basically a grim but necessary means of precipitating perpetual peace in Ireland.

But whilst violence and militancy certainly dominates Adams' biography, nevertheless, one rarely gets the feeling, when leafing through *Falls Memories* or *The Street and Other Stories*, or even his short treatment of the history of Easter 1916 in Belfast, that militant events, topics, and themes actually appeal to his imagination.[9] As Adams has pointed out, his interest lies in, 'local and social history... the history told by local people about their own lives', as opposed to, 'history which is about the big people…the generals and the kings and the queens and the state's persons'.[10] In much of Adams' fiction big history, such as the violent upheavals which characterised the beginning of the 'Troubles', usually takes place off-stage. The conflict is typically alluded to: it rumbles away in the background, filtering through to the central characters

[9] See Gerry Adams, *Falls Memories: A Belfast Life* (Dingle, 1994; 1st edn 1982); Gerry Adams, *The Street and Other Stories* (Dingle, 1992); Gerry Adams, *Who Fears to Speak…? Belfast and the Story of the 1916 Rising* (Belfast, 2001; 1st edn 1991).

[10] Gerry Adams Interviewed by the author, Leinster House, 20 June 2013.

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– frequently ordinary men and women occupying humdrum settings – via a T.V. screen, for instance, consequently altering the personal dynamic between them, a process Adams clearly finds fascinating. In Adams' fiction personal narratives are almost always in the foreground, the violence of the 'Troubles' usually providing the backdrop.

This mode of story-telling surely owes much to his confinement within Long Kesh, an environment which, as has been observed, limited Adams' view of contemporary Northern Ireland, forcing him to focus on the people around him for inspiration, and to *imagine* what was going on outside the perimeter fence. For example, Adams' tendency to use the conflict in Northern Ireland as a backdrop can be observed in his 'Brownie' article 'Granny Harbinson'. 'That night Granny Harbinson sat by the window,' Adams explained. 'In the distance she could hear the rattle of gunfire and, closer at hand, the whine of armoured pigs as they squealed their way up the Falls Road'.[11]

'Civil War' in *The Street and Other Stories* is also a good example of Adams' tendency to situate personal narratives in the foreground, and utilise the conflict as a backdrop. The story also illustrates his tendency to present and utilise settings familiar to him, in this case a household in West Belfast occupied by an elderly brother and sister, as microcosmic Northern Irelands, again, a mode of storytelling which owes much to his incarceration within Long Kesh – in 'Civil War' the close relationship between the mostly housebound brother and sister corrodes in tandem with Northern Ireland's descent into violence. Perhaps most importantly, however, stories such as 'Civil War' and 'Granny Harbinson', illustrate how Adams' imagination appears to have been *moulded*, but not actually *impassioned*, by violence and militancy.[12]

[11] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Granny Harbinson', *Republican News*, 11 Dec. 1976.
[12] See Gerry Adams, *The Street and Other Stories* (Dingle, 1992), pp. 7-14.

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Crucially, one gets the opposite feeling when reading the histories Trimble produced for the Ulster Society, particularly his pamphlet *The Easter Rebellion of 1916* and his foreword to C.D. Milligan's *The Walls of Derry: Their Building Defending and Preserving*.[13] In contrast to Adams, Trimble's is a mind which appears fascinated with military history and strategy, precisely with, 'the generals and the kings and the queens and the state's persons', and certainly not with what might be broadly defined as history from below. If 'generals and the state's persons' rarely feature in Adams' writings, then local and social history rarely features in Trimble's historical offerings. In his stories Adams situates personal narratives in the foreground and utilises the conflict as a dramatic backdrop; Trimble surveys conflict and is not much concerned with personal narratives.

A brief comparison of Adams' and Trimble's histories of 1916 once again reveals the latter was much more interested in the military history of the rebellion than his republican nemesis. *Who Fears to Speak…?* is more a local, social history of republicanism in West Belfast during the early 1900s, a lot of the material recycled from *Falls Memories*. Adams was compelled to produce the pamphlet because, as he observed, during Easter Week, 'Belfast…'the first home of republicanism in Ireland'…was quiet'.[14] This militarily settled state of affairs did not intrigue Trimble, who in his own pamphlet summed-up and dismissed the rebellion outside Dublin in a few lines. 'Liam Mellows gathered some 500 badly armed men in Galway and although quickly pinned down, held out until Saturday,' he explained.[15] In Ulster, he continued, 'Denis

[13] David Trimble, *The Easter Rebellion of 1916* (Lurgan,1992); Cecil Davis Milligan, *The Walls of Derry: Their Building, Defending and Preserving: Parts I & II*, (Lurgan, 1996), Foreword by David Trimble M.P., pp. vii-xiv.
[14] Adams, *Who Fears to Speak…?*, p. vii.
[15] Trimble, *The Easter Rebellion of 1916*, p. 20.

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McCollough – the IRB leader there – found himself with hardly any men and with no transport for a rendezvous with those in the West.[16]

Indeed, Trimble was primarily concerned with demonstrating the rebellion was thoroughly unimpressive from a tactical or strategic point of view. For example, he was keen to point out all, 'the positions were occupied without resistance, except for Dublin Castle, which was virtually undefended, but after shooting the policemen at the gate, the insurgents took cold feet and retired to City Hall, not realising the Castle was there for the taking'.[17] In contrast, Adams was determined to present the rebellion as an inspirational battle, reminiscent of that between David and Goliath. 'On Saturday…Pearse announced an unconditional surrender. Against all the odds the republican forces had held out for a week against the might of the British Empire…They were armed only with shoulder weapons and hand guns'.[18] Adams therefore presented Pearse's surrender as a beneficent action engaged in so as to save lives. According to Trimble, however, the militarily inexperienced and naïve Pearse was effectively forced into unconditional surrender by a much superior British force. As Trimble explained, Pearse's initial offer to treat for terms with the British (which Adams does not mention) was, 'abruptly rejected and the Republicans leaders told that unconditional surrender was their only option'.[19]

In his pamphlet on 1916 Trimble was seeking to highlight just how naïve the rebels were when it came to the actual practice and reality of warfare. As far as he was concerned, in a conflict situation one treats for terms of peace from a position of strength, *not* when already beaten. This might a reason why Trimble appeared to rate Michael

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[16] Trimble, *The Easter Rebellion of* 1916, p. 21.
[17] Ibid., p. 17.
[18] Adams, *Who Fears to Speak…?*, p. 60.
[19] Trimble, *The Easter Rebellion of 1916*, p. 20.

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Collins in the pamphlet, describing him as 'natural military leader'.[20] It could be Trimble believes Collins waged a more tactically sophisticated war against the British than the 1916 rebels, thereby *extracting* an offer to treat for terms from his enemy. Trimble might also rate Collins as a military leader because, in his view, the latter realised there was a time for war, and a time to negotiate peace with your enemy and, moreover, that it was crucial one negotiated terms before actually being beaten on the field. It should be said, however, Trimble believed Collins met his match, not in the form of the British, but in the cool, hard-headed, and strategically gifted Craig. A Trimble contended in his 1991 *The Foundation of Northern Ireland*, 'Collins…would try to exploit the communal disturbances in Ulster in order to undermine Craig, but he was outmanoeuvred by the latter'. 'A big IRA offensive was to be launched,' Trimble also explained, 'masterminded by Collins, but by then Craig had the tools and the job was swiftly done'.[21]

Moreover, Trimble insinuated the battle in Dublin in 1916, and the subsequent 'War of Independence', were very small-scale military engagements, despite the importance subsequently attached to them by republicans. He was keen to point out how during, 'the post-1919 'troubles' which Republicans call the 'War of Independence…casualties were the equivalent of a few days' wastage on the Western Front'.[22] Arguably his point was republicans had never truly experienced an actual full-scale war or, for that matter, faced the full military might of the British Empire. Importantly, Trimble has taken a similar view of the more recent republican insurgency. It is revealing whilst speaking to the Ulster Unionist Council Conference in 2002 he described politics in Northern Ireland as the continuation of the 'so-called war by other means'. His argument in his 2007 publication *Misunderstanding Ulster* is also significant

[20] Trimble, *The Easter Rebellion of 1916*, p. 19.
[21] David Trimble, *The Foundation of Northern Ireland* (Lurgan 1991), p. 29.
[22] David Trimble, *The Easter Rebellion of 1916*, pp. 30-31.

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in this respect. 'Militarily…the unspoken truth was that the British Government could, if it wished, deploy overwhelming military forces to the province,' he argued. According to Trimble the government, 'enjoyed total dominance of the territorial waters around Northern Ireland, the airspace and – save for a small area adjacent to the Irish border…the land'.[23] Thus one again perceives Trimble's tendency to think in terms of, and assess, military strategy, even when depicting the recent history of Northern Ireland.

There are certainly similarities between Adams and Trimble, not least the fact both men's careers display significant conflictual and consensual dimensions. Just like the President of Sinn Féin, the former leader of the U.U.P. has been angel to some and demon to others. Drumcree is, of course, a case in point. Both have also been associated with – to a much greater extent in the case of Adams admittedly – the 'hard men' occupying the radical fringes of their movement, Andy Tyrie, then the Supreme Commander of the U.D.A., apparently remembering Trimble at the time of the U.W.C strike in May 1974 as someone who was 'prepared to fight'. 'I would certainly have been glad of him', he added.[24] Similarly Sam McClure, who apparently swore Trimble into William Craig's Vanguard Service Corps claimed Trimble, 'would be the first to admit that he was as militant as you can get. Everybody who joined the V.S.C. knew it was a potential army in waiting.'[25] What is more, there has definitely been a Stoic quality about Adams and Trimble. Both have been thoroughly enigmatic. One wonders what is the more analytically daunting, or, indeed, thankless quest: to find the real Mr. Trimble or that to find the real Mr. Adams?

It should also be said both men taught in Long Kesh, albeit in very different ways, on very different subjects, and in very different capacities; Adams enthusiastically

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[23] David Trimble, *Misunderstanding Ulster* (November 2007), p. 35. Full text available at the website of David Trimble www.davidtrimble.org (last accessed 1 June 2016).
[24] Dean Godson, *Himself Alone*: *David Trimble and the Ordeal of Unionism* (London, 2005), p. 40.
[25] McDonald, *Trimble* (London, 2000), pp. 39-40.

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organising and delivering his lectures on Irish history and republicanism in Cage 11, Trimble visiting Cage 2 once a week between late 1971 and May 1972 to deliver tutorials to one of his Law students from Queen's University interned for membership of the Official IRA.[26] Indeed, Henry McDonald has suggested in terms of political education Long Kesh was to Adams what involvement in Craig's Vanguard Unionist movement was to the former. Whilst this parallel is perhaps not as conceptually satisfying as that this study has drawn between Adams in Long Kesh and Hume in Maynooth, it is certainly appropriate in a chronological sense; Adams' entry into the prison in the spring of 1973 roughly coincides with Trimble's entry into Craig's movement, whilst Adams was released roughly a year before Trimble followed Craig back into the O.U.P. in 1978.

But whilst there are certainly distinct similarities between Adams and Trimble – more than at might first seem – their historical tastes and imaginations are markedly different. These are two very intellectually contrasting political creatures indeed. With Adams you are dealing with an alleged 'man of war' seemingly quite uninterested in war as a historical theme. With Trimble it is a celebrated civilian 'peacemaker' evidently fascinated with military history and strategy. Perhaps it is the case one utilises military history as a means of escapism; the other has frequently turned to local and social history in order to escape from the republican violence and militancy which has dominated his world (or, perhaps, to escape being *associated* with such violence).

Hillaire Belloc claimed before the outbreak of the Civil War, Oliver Cromwell was essentially a 'soldier out of place'.[27] Might the same be said of Trimble the politician – can he also be thought of as a 'soldier out of place'? There would certainly appear to be a relationship between his interest in military history and strategy and his political

[26] McDonald, *Trimble*, pp. 31-32.
[27] Hillaire Belloc, *Cromwell* (London, 1932), pp. 115-134.

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imagination. Given there has been a distinctly militant quality about Trimble the perspective advanced here is the very Cromwellian idea of *pax quœritur bello* ('let peace be sought through war'), – the Lord Protector's personal motto – has exerted a powerful guiding influence upon his political imagination.[28] As shall be seen, the former leader of the U.U.P. has displayed something of an intellectual fascination with the Norfolk squire and regicide. This reinforces the idea he has been keenly interested in seventeenth century warfare. Trimble's comparing of European reactions to the sieges of Magdeburg and Drogheda is a case in point. Furthermore, given the interest in Cromwell, it would seem Trimble is not the only Northern Ireland 'peacemaker' attracted to the concept of republicanism. His pamphlet on 1916 seems to validate this suspicion.

This discussion delivers a sustained exploration of Trimble's vision of history, specifically its militant dimensions. Is there a relationship between Trimble's interest in military history and strategy and his political outlook? Could it be the tale of how peace came to Northern Ireland is also, in effect, the tale of how Mr. Trimble went to war, viewing his political environment as virtually a battlefield and wielding history as his weapon of choice? Has Trimble been, in effect, a 'soldier out of place'?

The Thirty Years War: Northern Ireland's Tragedy?

Trimble's interest in military history and strategy is relatively easy to evidence even without delving into his early biography. To begin with, it is revealing a work which once adorned his bookshelf in his office at Westminster was Johnson Beharry's *Barefoot Soldier: A Story of Extreme Valour*.[29] Furthermore, Trimble's interest the history of early modern siege warfare is apparent from the opening citation in which he compared European reactions to the storm of Drogheda by Cromwell in September 1649 with the

[28] See, Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell: Our Chief of Men* (London, 1973) p. 89.
[29] *Irish Times*, 5 April 2008.

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earlier storm, in May 1631, of the Protestant walled city of Magdeburg by the Imperial forces commanded by the catholic Bavarian Count Johannes Tilly during the Swedish period of the Thirty Years War (c.1626-1632). Even the language Trimble used when talking about the realities of siege warfare, referring to garrisons having 'no quarter offered', of cities being 'stormed' and 'put to the sword' arguably demonstrates just how keen a student of seventeenth century siege warfare he has been.

On the same occasion as he compared reactions to Drogheda and Magdeburg he also spoke of being 'pleased to see a new book on the Thirty Years War' which he claimed had, 'acquired and started to read'.[30] Given the timing of the interview, this was probably Peter H. Wilson's *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of The Thirty Years War* (2009).[31] One can perhaps understand why Trimble, someone with a pre-existing interest in the Thirty Years War, was attracted to Wilson's text. As the latter pointed out, whilst the history of the conflict is 'rich in specialist studies' few accessible, general histories of it exist.[32] Indeed, Trimble claimed to have read C.V. Wedgwood's classic *The Thirty Years War* (1938), which he was introduced to by his headmaster and history teacher Randall Clarke whilst studying seventeenth century, Irish, British and European History for A-Level at Bangor Grammar during the early 1960s.[33] Incidentally, Wedgwood's text was also recommended reading for Ó Fiaich's lectures on the conflict, so Hume most likely studied it.[34]

Significantly, large swathes of Wilson's text read as military history, complete with diagrams of battle-formations during decisive engagements, such as that between

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[30] David Trimble interviewed by the authors, House of Lords, London, 6 April 2016.
[31] Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*: *The Thirty Years War* (London, 2009). The text was published in paperback by Penguin in 2010, adding weight to the suspicion Wilson's was the text Trimble purchased.
[32] Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, p. iii.
[33] Trimble interview be the author, House of Lords, 6 April 2011. See also C.V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London, 1938).
[34] Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich Library and Archive, Tomás Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, Lecture notes for the course 'Modern European History, 1453-1789', p. 100.

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Gustavus Adolphus and Tilly at Breitenfield, north of Lepzig, in September 1631.[35] In addition, Trimble's attraction to the history of the Thirty Years War may stem from the fact it contains tales of great sieges, consequently illustrating the way in which he has been interested in the broader history of seventeenth century siege warfare, not merely in the history of the siege of Derry. For example, alongside Tilly's sack of Magdeburg the Thirty Years War also witnessed the great Spanish siege and capture of the Dutch town of Breda in 1625.

Trimble's interest in the Thirty Years War reinforces the idea he is keenly interested in military history and strategy, given the conflict boasts some of the famous names in European military history; Prince Wallenstein of Friedland, Count Tilly, and the great saviour of Protestantism in the period, Gustavus Adolphus, who avenged Magdeburg at Breintenfeld. Drawing upon Michael Roberts' two volume biography of the Swedish King in his lectures, Ó Fiaich described Adolphus as, 'one of the most attractive figures of 17th C, a great soldier and courageous leader, a statesman with wide but not impracticable ambitions'.[36] By comparing European reactions of the sieges of Drogheda and Magdeburg Trimble could well be implying that Catholic generals and armies were equally capable of committing atrocities in the era of the Counter-Reformation – Wallenstein and Tilly being particularly guilty subjects in this respect – thus challenging the view held by many Irish Catholics Cromwell's brutality at Drogheda and Wexford owed much to a cold, uncompassionate and zealous Protestantism.

It may also be significant the Thirty Years War is a conflict littered with 'Peaces'. It grew out of the breaking down of the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 by which the existence of Lutheranism and Catholicism was accepted in the Germanic territories. It also witnessed the Peace of Lubeck in 1629 and the Peace of Prague in 1635 where it was

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35 Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, p. 323.
36 Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern European History, 1453-1789', p. 108.

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agreed, amongst other things, that there were to be no private armies in the Empire. The great Peace of Westphalia in 1648 effectively ended the conflict in the Germanic territories, although the struggle between France and Spain for mastery of Europe would continue until 1659 when France's supremacy was confirmed with the Peace of the Pyrenees.

In his more recent lectures and publications Trimble has sought to educate on audiences as to why peace was not brokered in Northern Ireland until 1998, despite the way in which, according to him, by the mid-1970s many could perceive the general shape any settlement would take by the mid -1970s:

> I remember in 1974 after the collapse of Sunningdale, discussing the political future with an old friend…he said anyone could write that [the shape of a future peace settlement] on the back of an envelope and proceeded to mention the basic elements that can be seen in both Sunningdale (1973) and the 1998 Agreement. Why did it take so long, why did it take twenty five years to achieve?[37]

Thus on perusing the introduction to Wilson's history of the Thirty Years War, a veteran peacemaker such as Trimble, might just have been attracted to it because, as Wilson explained, the 'second part [of the book] follows the unfolding tragedy roughly chronologically, paying particular regard to why peace-making efforts failed before the 1640s'.[38]

As has been observed, in his lectures on European history Ó Fiaich always emphasise the numerous 'Peaces' which evolved in Europe amidst the near continuous warfare during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and why many of them ultimately broke down. It was suggested earlier that Hume, when his schooling in History in Maynooth was perhaps fresher in mind, may have looked upon Sunningdale as something

[37] Private Possession, Papers of David Trimble, Hinsely Lecture, Cambridge (November 2010), p. 19.
[38] Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, pp. xxvii-xxiv.

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like Ireland's Edict of Nantes; that his desire to be a peacemaker constituted an attempt to live the history he received under Ó Fiaich.

Given Trimble's interest in the Thirty Years War, his 'strong sense of historical precedent', and his tendency to draw parallels between past and present, there is (an admittedly slight) possibility he has come to look upon the Good Friday Agreement with the precedent of the Peace of Westphalia in mind. Westphalia concluded the Thirty Years War, but did not end to the overarching struggle between France and Spain for dominance in Europe, and Trimble was mindful, even during the talks-process, that whilst any subsequent agreement would draw a line under the thirty year conflict in Northern Ireland, it was unlikely to diffuse the underlying struggle between republicanism and Unionism. Indeed, one suspects Trimble has an interest in the Thirty Years War partly because he has come to perceive a symmetry between it, a bitter and lengthy sectarian conflict, but one which was deeply political nonetheless, and the thirty years of 'Troubles' which plagued Northern Ireland; has come to view the latter conflict as Northern Ireland's tragedy.

Moreover, much like Hume, and to some extent Paisley, Trimble may view the 'Troubles' not as essentially anachronistic, but as directly descended from, or constituting an unresolved theatre of conflict dating back to the European wars of religion. It could be that, much like Paisley, Trimble perceives a symmetry between the advance of nationalism in Northern Ireland from the late 1960s onwards, as illustrated by the emergence of a forceful ex-seminarian such as Hume, and the Counter-Reformation. It is certainly true both Hume and Trimble have in their own ways traced the origins of the Northern Ireland conflict back to the seventeenth century, the latter, for example, arguing

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in his Athenaeum Lecture by the 1960s community, 'relations were disintegrating and the longest period of violence since the mid seventeenth century was beginning'.[39]

Trimble may also perceive, in the relationship between the Peace of Augsburg and the later Peace of Westphalia, a symmetry with the relationship between Sunningdale and the Good Friday Agreement. As Wilson highlighted, the former two peace treaties were relatively similar in terms of their basic elements, not least in terms of their provisions with regards religious toleration, yet it took three decades of bitter conflict for the combatants to arrive at the latter agreement. There is also the possibility, however, that Trimble could perceive in the history of the breaking down of the Peace of Augsburg and the evolution of the Peace of Westphalia a parallel with the history of Northern Ireland between the Government of Ireland Act in 1920 and the much later Good Friday Agreement in 1998.

Theorising aside, what is of particular importance here is a student of the history of warfare is also a student of the history of peace and peace-making; knowledge of the former naturally engenders knowledge of the latter. Ó Fiaich's history lectures bear this out. The most obvious manifestation of the relationship between Trimble's political imagination and his interest in military history might just be his drive to negotiate a 'peace' with his republican enemy in Northern Ireland.

The Siege of Derry

The foreword Trimble produced for the Ulster Society re-issue of Milligan's *The Walls of Derry: Their Building Defending and Preserving* again illustrates his interest in military history and strategy, particularly his interest in the siege of Derry. That this piece

[39] Private Possession, Papers of David Trimble, Athenaeum Lecture (September 2010), p. 1.

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was presumably based upon a lecture which he previously delivered for the Ulster Society on 'The Siege of Derry' cements the idea he has been a keen student of the topic.[40] Yet his foreword also illustrates how Trimble has been a student of the broader history of seventeenth century warfare. For example, he has explained how he learned of the role played by the *Swallow*'s longboat, and its boatswain John Shelley, in helping break the boom across the River Foyle, leading to the relief of the city from a source, 'not writing on Irish history at all but a British-based history of the maritime aspect of the Williamite Wars'.[41]

In his foreword to Milligan Trimble depicted the military history of the siege. For example, he dwelt at length on how Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy had sought to prepare the city for the impending Jacobite investment, building defensive structures such as earthworks at vulnerable sections of the city's walls. 'Lundy's trenchworks around the Windmill were vital for the City's defence,' Trimble argued, 'for they prevented the Jacobites from occupying the ground outside the Bishop's Gate.[42] Had they done so, artillery placed there close to the walls would have done considerable damage.'[43] That Trimble was also aware Derry's, 'walls were not built to stand an assault by a sophisticated foe with modern i.e. seventeenth century artillery' reflects his interest in the broader history of early modern warfare, as opposed to merely the history of the siege of Derry.[44] According to Belloc, for example, a major reason for the success of Cromwell's 'siege train' in both England and Ireland was the latter has powerful, modern artillery,

[40] Linen Hall Library, NIPC, Ulster Society Box, *The Ulster Society Invitation Lectures* (Lurgan, 1995). The programme reveals Trimble delivered a lecture on 'The Siege of Derry'.
[41] Trimble interviewed by the author, House of Lords, London, 6 April 2011. See also Milligan, *The Walls of Derry*, p. xi. As Trimble explained, 'The *Swallow* was a small frigate which accompanied the *Mountjoy* when it entered the river [Foyle] in the attempt to relive the city…the *Swallow*'s longboat played…a crucial role…The boat was manned by nine seamen and the *Swallow*'s boatswain, one John Shelley. It was he who as the *Mountjoy* went to go at the boom leapt on it hatchet in hand and proceeded to hack away at the boom'.
[42] Milligan, *The Walls of Derry*, p. x.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid..

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and 'his opponents insufficient knowledge of the growing art of supplementary fortification with Earth as it was developing on the Continent', particularly in Italy.[45] That Lundy was aware of, and knew how to construct, what would appear to have then been relatively cutting-edge means of fortifying a walled city, may be one of the factors which has precipitated Trimble's view of him as a competent professional soldier. Trimble's may also respect Lundy because he believes the latter's drive to fortify the walls demonstrated he was determined to treat with the Jacobite army from a position of military strength.

Trimble's respect for Lundy, and his broader interest in both military history and the rules of siege warfare, came across strongly in the interview that precipitated his comparison of European reactions to Drogheda and Magdeburg. As Trimble was keen to point out,

> William regarded Lundy well and employed him and what Lundy did was not irrational at the time. Again it comes back to the laws of warfare because the Jacobites had not at this stage made a formal demand for the surrender of the city, but that was clearly going to come. From Lundy's point of view that could be the rubicon for the garrison…if they surrendered when called upon to do so, they will be able to leave, but if they did their heels in then they face the prospect of an assault and having no quarter offered. [46]

Although Trimble does not allude to it, given his knowledge of Cromwell's actions at Drogheda, he may entertain the possibility whilst resolving upon his strategy of compromise with the Jacobites, Lundy had the vision of Cromwell's Irish campaign in mind; was well aware his city was to be the first besieged by the Jacobite army, and of what had happened to the first Irish city to stand up to an invading army in 1649. Consequently, in defending Lundy Trimble could be making the point the military governor of Derry was conscious if the city was stormed by the Jacobites, James may

[45] Hilaire Belloc, *Cromwell* (London, 1932), p. 220.
[46] Trimble interviewed by the author, House of Lords, London, 6 April 2011.

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have wished to make an example of Derry and its citizens, much as Cromwell had done with Drogheda under Sir Arthur Aston and subsequently with Wexford, largely as a means of indicating to other cities resistance was unwise, thus avoiding the necessity of any further long sieges. Like Lundy, Trimble is mindful that, according to the rules of warfare, James would have been quite entitled to put the Protestant citizens of Derry to the sword if they choose to cry "No Surrender" and their defences were ultimately found wanting.

Trimble offered further explanation as to why he thinks Lundy believed negotiating with the Jacobites was preferable to the strategy of digging-in and crying "No Surrender". His comments again reveal his interest in military strategy, and also his knowledge of the military history which preceded the Jacobite investment of the city:

> He [Lundy] looked at them [the city's garrison], and these were the people who had a skirmish on the river way down by Strabane, a few shots were fired and they ran away! They panicked. And he looks at them as a trained soldier, and trained soldiers had a tendency to look down their nose at militia-type things in not the best terms, so he looks and these people and it's quite rational from his point of view to think that these people have no hope. How are they going to hold this city against a determined attack from professional soldiers?...the best thing to do is to arrange to negotiate surrender. That's not irrational.[47]

He also reflected upon James' military strategy in the north of Ireland. Whether Trimble's assessment of this is technically valid is not what concerns this discussion, merely the way in which his reflections upon it reveal a student of military history:

> the big mistake James made was to even care about Londonderry…the Jacobite army had come up through Down and Antrim and so when we get to the Jacobite army investing Londonderry they already controlled all, apart from Londonderry and Enniskillen….So why on earth did they bother with Londonderry and Enniskillen? All they needed to do was to leave smallish forces there masking them and the rest of the army should have been taken over to Scotland…there was a strategic success to be achieved by immediately going to Scotland. If that Jacobite army that went to Derry had instead, after they secured Coleraine…there was a short investment of Coleraine that lasted about

[47] Trimble interviewed by the author, House of Lords, London, 6 April 2011.

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> a week…by which time a second Jacobite force had come up through Mountjoy, turning the flank and so the Williamite forces that were in Coleraine and along the lower Bann they then decided on a further retreat to Londonderry. Now once that retreat had taken place…the way was open for the Jacobite armies to cross over into Scotland. There would have been a very real chance of them conquering Scotland. William would not have sent an army to Ireland in 1689 and he would have concentrated on sending an army up to Scotland and he would have had what would have been a game check…And Louis XIV assumed that there would not be a walkover by William…that is why he sent his main armies into the Palatinate, which was another huge mistake on his part! But James himself made a mistake and James's French officers wanted him to go to Scotland and he wouldn't do it…[James] was a bad soldier. He was just a poor general.[48]

Again, the language Trimble used, arguing James should have left 'smallish forces masking' the city, and describing how the second Jacobite force came up through Mountjoy 'turning the flank', reveals a student of military history. So too does Trimble's determination to demonstrate how James' military strategy was flawed; that the latter was basically a 'bad soldier' and a 'poor general'. Trimble's tendency to engage in historical revisionism is also apparent, as it is in his foreword to Milligan where he argued, for example, it 'may surprise readers to learn that the siege of 1649 was actually longer than that of 1689'.[49] Importantly, here is a former leader of Ulster Unionism arguing Londonderry was not actually significant from a strategic perspective during the Williamite Wars; that the great siege, so valuable to Ulster Protestant imagination and identity, only came about largely because of a tactical miscalculation on James' part. Moreover, Trimble was implying that Derry could have been simply another one of the many walled cities across Britain and Europe that were stormed in the early modern period, generating little attention, let alone condemnation. One will not find Robinson advancing such perspectives in his account of the siege.

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[48] Trimble interviewed by the author, House of Lords, 6 April 2011.
[49] Milligan, *The Walls of Derry*, p. viii.

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The extract also illustrates Trimble's capacity to visualise or situate James' strategy, and thus Irish history, within the border framework of the British Isles; he was aware of, and could visualise, contemporary developments in Scotland, how these related to the situation in Ireland, and how James could have responded to them. Much like his comparing of the sieges of Magdeburg and Drogheda, the extract also illustrates his tendency to situate Irish history not only within a wider British context, but within a much broader European context. Trimble was not only aware of James' military strategy, but also of that being deployed by Louis XIV upon the Continent. This surely owes much to Trimble's schooling in seventeenth century Irish, British and European history under Clarke at Bangor Grammar, Trimble informing McDonald how he 'learned Irish history [under Clarke], but it was in a British and more importantly a European context'.[50] Indeed, Trimble has also claimed it was in the classroom with Clarke that he was first 'struck' by the differing contemporary reactions to Magdeburg and Drogheda:

> …if you're doing Irish and British history, you're going to see the relationships there. I don't see how anybody can seriously study Irish history in isolation…What was a very interesting corrective to it [Irish history], was European history…this example occurred to me at the time [at school], and I've used in many times since…people in Europe were genuinely shocked by the siege of Magdeburg…Europe didn't express any surprise at Drogheda.[51]

It is clear, therefore, both Hume and Trimble learnt their Irish history with a European context, and that both have been keen to highlighted this, the former writing in his *Personal Views* how his, 'European experience allowed me to study Irish history in an objective way and influenced my subsequent thinking very heavily'.[52]

The way in which Trimble imagines and treats with the history of the Williamite Wars in Ireland is markedly different to the way in which Adams dealt with this topic in

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[50] McDonald, *Trimble*, p. 16.
[51] Trimble interviewed by the author, House of Lords, London, 6 April 2011.
[52] John Hume, *Personal Views: Politics, Peace and Reconciliation in Ireland* (Dublin, 1996), p. 4.

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his 'Brownie' article 'The Twelfth'.[53] It is worth highlighting how this article is one of the rare instances when Adams situates Irish history within a European context. Indeed, it is probably the only 'Brownie' in which you will find Adams depicting European, as opposed to merely Irish history. 'The Twelfth' is also one of the rare instances where Adams' history is concerned with 'high' history; with kings and generals, for, as has been noted, his primary aim was to demonstrate how William's army contained papal troops, thus demonstrating that loyalists' reverence towards the Prince of Orange and hatred of the Pope and Catholicism was basically incompatible. As Cedric explains, 'Innocent XI objected to French domination in Europe…and so you had the Augsberg [sic] League crowd on one side with the Pope and King Billy…against James and the French King on the other side'.[54] Although Adams was concerned with demonstrating papal troops fought for William, he was not at all interested in the latter's military strategy in Ireland, or for that matter, the military strategies deployed by James and Louis XIV. That is precisely what interests Trimble, however.

'The Twelfth' also reveals a major difference between Adams' historical imagination and those possessed by Hume and Trimble. In contrast to his fellow two peacemakers, who have been intrigued by that historical event and its legacy, Adams rarely talks or writes about the siege of Derry, reflecting, it would seem, the West Belfast-centric nature of his historical imagination. Hume's historical imagination differs somewhat from Trimble's in this respect. Whereas the latter has been a keen student of the siege itself, Hume produced an M.A. thesis in which that event is never actually mentioned, even in the historical overview of the city he provided at the beginning of it. The siege and its legacy are only ever *alluded* to by Hume in his history of Derry, the thesis aiming primarily at displacing the siege as the defining era in the city's history.

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[53] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Twelfth', *Republican News*, 31 July 1976.
[54] Ibid.

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Even in a historical article on the history of 'The Twelfth' Adams had little to say about the siege, only mentioning it in passing: 'The whole business Aughrim, Derry and the Boyne are known as the Williamite Wars and King Billy fought aided by the arms, men and treasures of his allies the League of Augeberg [sic]; and part of his expenses were paid for by his Holiness, the Pope.'[55] Adams was more interested in the siege of Limerick and the historical importance of the subsequent Treaty of Limerick than with the siege of Derry and its historical legacy. 'After the English broke the Articles of the Treaty of Limerick (it granted religious toleration amongst other things),' he explained, 'the people were in a bad state. All the old laws including the Penal laws were re-juvenated [sic]'.[56] It can be added the way in which Adams repeatedly failed to spell Augsburg correctly in 'The Twelfth' illustrates he was weak on European history and geography, (though he also tended spell Fintan Lalor's name wrong, sometimes writing it as 'Lawlor').[57] Arguably it is a mistake you would not have found a young Hume or Trimble making.

The latter's interest in military history and strategy is also evidenced by the wain in which, in his foreword to Milligan's history, he devoted attention to the earlier siege, or 'blockade' as he defined it, of Derry in 1649 by the Lagganeers, and the forces commanded by George Munro following the execution of Charles I, and the ultimate relief of the city by Owen Roe O'Neill's native Irish army. '[The siege of 1649] arose out of the confused circumstances following the execution of Charles I,' Trimble explained. 'The vast majority of Ulster Protestants followed the lead of the Scottish Kirk in declaring for Charles II. Londonderry, however, was closely linked to the City of London which of course supported the English Parliament.'[58]

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[55] Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Twelfth', *Republican News*, 31 July 1976.
[56] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Twelfth', *Republican News*, 31 July 1976.
[57] See 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'The Lecture', *Republican News*, 28 August 1976.
[58] Milligan, *The Walls of Derry*, p. viii.

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Trimble described the Lagganeers as, 'a force based around the planters of east Donegal, who hand banded together for their defence in the dark days of 1641 and who then distinguished themselves as perhaps the most effective fighting force in the subsequent war'.[59] His footnote for the sentence is interesting. It is the work of someone with an interest in military history and strategy: 'There is a need for a good modern account of this force [the Lagganeers],' Trimble contended, 'which on more than one occasion defeated Owen Roe O'Neill with greater strategic effect than the latter's much lauded, but strategically barren, success at Benburb.'[60]

Trimble's perspective on O'Neill resembles that advanced by J.C. Beckett. 'O'Neill was not a statesman, and not even the military genius he has been made out to be,' argued Beckett, 'as a soldier he has perhaps been over-rated'.'[61] It is possible Trimble took some delight in challenging O'Neill's status as one of the great military leaders in Irish history. This was certainly the view of O'Neill Hume received from Ó Fiaich: 'Owen Roe O'Neill, officer in Sp[anish] army in Low Country…who has already gained great fame in military circles by his defence of Arras in 1640, man of military genius and courage and a statesman as well as soldier'.[62] Ó Fiaich also described O'Neill's victory at Benburb as, 'the most brilliant victory ever won by an Irish army over foreign forces in Ireland'.[63]

Significantly, Trimble's view of O'Neill facilitates consideration of his interest in Oliver Cromwell. As explained in another footnote for his foreword to Milligan, 'O'Neill…was unable to move south in time to oppose Cromwell who landed with a Parliamentarian army in Dublin on 15 August and took Drogheda on 10 September.

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[59] Milligan, *The Walls of Derry* pp. viii-ix.
[60] Ibid., p. 239.
[61] J.C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland* (London, 1966), p. 102.
[62] Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich Library and Archive, Tomás Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, Lectures notes for the course 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 72.
[63] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 75.

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O'Neill died in November while marching south to link up with other forces opposed to Cromwell'.[64] Firstly, in downplaying O'Neill's military talents, Trimble may have been challenging another view prominent in Irish history; if only O'Neill had lived to face him, Cromwell would have met his match. Hume received this view from Ó Fiaich: '[O'Neill] dies on route to Cavan on 6. Nov. 1649…So at the very time when Ireland needed him most, the one soldier who could have faced Cromwell on equal terms was no more'.[65] Trimble most likely received the same perspective from Randall Clarke at Bangor Grammar. In 1941 the latter produced a textbook *A Short History of Ireland*: *From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* whilst Senior History Master at Ballymena Academy, a text which Trimble recalls Clarke using in the classroom at Bangor Grammar. Although *A Short History of Ireland* is, as Trimble described it, 'a fairly basic, introductory text' – Clarke explaining in the work's preface, 'detail, no matter how interesting or picturesque had been ruthlessly supressed'– it nevertheless grants an insight into the mode of Irish history Trimble received from his teacher.[66] For example, Clarke's presentation of O'Neill in relation to Cromwell was essentially the same as that received by Hume under Ó Fiaich: 'A few months later [after Cromwell landed in Ireland] Owen Roe O'Neill, the only general who might have been able to withstand him, died.'[67] Trimble's small but nonetheless significant swipe at O'Neill's military talents can be read as veiled defence of one of his historical heroes, Oliver Cromwell.

Cromwell: Trimble's Chief of Men.

Trimble displays an intellectual fascination with the English republican. This reinforces the idea he has been an avid student of military history and strategy, owing to Cromwell's

[64] Milligan, *The Walls of Derry*, p. 239.
[65] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern Irish History, 1603-1780', p. 97.
[66] Randall Clarke, *A Short History of Ireland* (London, 1941), Preface by Clarke [no pagination].
[67] Ibid., p. 33.

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historical reputation as a gifted military leader and tactician, particularly when it came to cavalry manoeuvres. '…above all he was a soldier' Hume wrote in his notebook for Ó Fiaich's course on European History, the latter drawing largely upon Belloc's *Cromwell* whilst constructing his lectures.[68] 'It was the decisive quickness of his military judgements, the brilliant rapid concentration of his mind in battle, which brought him the well-deserved rise to fame', was the conclusion reached by Antonia Fraser.[69]

Trimble's interest in Cromwell is illustrated by the anecdote supplied by Blair in his autobiography of walking out of a meeting with Gerry Adams in 10 Downing Street on 14th May 1999, during multi-party negotiations, to find the leader of the U.U.P. in the Cabinet Room leafing through a biography of Cromwell which he apparently, 'took great delight in flourishing under Adams' nose'.[70] What work was it? Possibly Fraser's weighty 1973 *Cromwell: Our Chief of Men*, the type of imposing book Blair might have had on the shelves in Downing Street. It is also the sort of book one could imagine Trimble flourishing under Adams' nose given Fraser hailed from a southern Irish Catholic family; Trimble perhaps making the point the Catholic nationalist rejection of Cromwell rested upon a narrow and irrational vision of history; that republicans could, or indeed should, embrace the regicide.

According to Godson's description of the scene, however, it was not a biography of Cromwell at all, but a volume of the latter's, 'letters and speeches, including missives from Ireland'.[71] Thus the work Trimble flourished under Adams' nose could have been volume two of Thomas Carlyle's four volume *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, originally published in 1845, and which contains Cromwell's reports from his Irish

[68] Ó Fiaich Papers, NP4/8, 'Modern European History, 1453-1789', pp. 153-156.
[69] Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell: Our Chief of Men* (London, 1973), p. 700.
[70] Tony Blair, *A Journey* (London, 2010), pp. 153-154.
[71] Godson, *Himself Alone*, p. 422.

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campaign.[72] Enhancing this theory is the way in which, later that day, Trimble goaded Seamus Mallon by quoting Cromwell's account of the taking of Newry. 'It fell without a fight', he teased.[73] Trimble had either been reading, or had at some point previously read, Cromwell's letter of 27th September 1649 to the Speaker of Parliament, William Lenthal, wherein he reported how Venables had, 'marched from Carlingford, with a party of Horse and Dragoons, to the Newry; leaving the Foot to come after him. He summoned the place, and it was yielded before his Foot came up to him.'[74]

What exactly was Trimble *doing* by invoking Cromwell in Downing Street? Trying to wind-up Adams seems a very likely, if simplistic, explanation. He might merely have been implying he knew more British and Irish history than the President of Sinn Féin, and, for that matter, the New Labour leader. It could be, however, Trimble was making the point although republicans traditionally abhor Cromwell owing to his actions at Drogheda and Wexford, and the subsequent Cromwellian land settlement in Ireland, the latter was a republican nonetheless, and most likely, in Trimble's view, a much superior kind of republican than Adams and his followers. As Desmond Clarke has highlighted, people are, 'more likely to think of…Cromwell as the most unwelcome guest who ever visited the island of Ireland, than to think of [his]….military adventures as inspired by a republican ideal'.[75]

If Trimble flourished the text simply to highlight Cromwell's republican credentials, he need not have bothered; Adams was already aware of them, as confirmed by the 'Brownie' article 'The Lecture'. 'Cedric', the prisoner leading the discussion, challenges his fellow prisoners to think about and 'define' their republicanism. 'But what

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[72] Thomas Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* Vol. II, (London, 1897).
[73] Godson, *Himself Alone*, p. 422.
[74] Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, pp. 64-65.
[75] Desmond M. Clarke, 'One Commonwealth, Three Nations: The Concept of a Nation in English Republican Thought, 1640-1680', in Tom Dunne and Lawrence M. Geary (eds), *History and the Public Sphere: Essays in Honour of John A. Murphy* (Cork, 2005), p. 43.

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about the Sticks,' he asks, 'are they republicans? Fianna Fail say they're a Republican party, and Richard Nixon is a Republican. Fidel Castro is one as well. So indeed was De Gaulle and good old Oliver Cromwell'.[76] The argument is lifted straight out of the first page of the foreword supplied by Michael McInerney for his *Peadar O'Donell: Irish Social Rebel*.[77] Thus although Adams was aware Cromwell was a republican, no doubt his understanding of the latter's character and political outlook was relatively shallow, particularly when compared to Trimble's understanding of him.

In referencing the latter's account of the taking of Newry, the main town in Mallon's constituency, Trimble was perhaps highlighting how the latter hailed from a party which embraced a completely non-violent philosophy. Was he therefore equating this political philosophy with weakness? Given Adams was present in Downing Street that day, Trimble may have been implying the S.D.L.P. were losing ground to Sinn Féin because the latter were a much more militant force, even with regards to their political approach and strategy. Was Trimble suggesting Mallon's party was in danger of falling 'without a fight', or was he suggesting that he himself would have the better of constitutional nationalism in the present political struggle?

Perhaps, on encountering Adams in Downing Street whilst holding a text on Cromwell, Trimble may have looked upon the president of Sinn Féin with the figure of Owen Roe O'Neill in mind. As has been seen, Trimble does not rate O'Neill as a military leader and tactician, and the same goes for his view of Adams. It is clear that whilst leader of the U.U.P. Trimble believed he could strategically outmanoeuvre the latter and the republican movement, effectively driving them down the path to peace.

[76] *Republican News*, 'The Lecture', 28.8.1976

[77] Michael McInerney, *Peadar O'Donnell: Irish Social Rebel* (Dublin, 1974), p. 9: 'But Republicanism, in its true sense, is much more than that. After all Cromwell was a Republican, so was Napoleon, so was De Gaulle and so is De Gaulle'.

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Trimble might also have sensed, in the sight of Adams and Mallon, a sort of contemporary echo of the rapprochement during the late 1640s, between the Catholic Old English and the Old Irish under O'Neill. The way in which he associated himself with Cromwell in Downing Street suggests Trimble viewed his defence of the United Kingdom, via his battle with the republican movement for the survival of the Union, as is some sense related or comparable to Cromwell's defence of the English Republic via his campaign in Ireland. It could be Trimble views the Cromwellian Commonwealth as an early incarnation of the United Kingdom. At any rate, the exchanges with Adams and Mallon in Downing Street evidence Trimble's interest in Cromwell and seventeenth century warfare more generally. Indeed, these exchanges evidence another important aspect of Trimble's political character: his tendency to wield history as a weapon; to utilise it as a means of continuing physical and political conflict by another method.

Trimble also displayed his interest in Cromwell during the Anthony Alcock Memorial Lecture he delivered at the University of Ulster in April 2007.[78] Here he described, with evident enthusiasm, how on a visit to Chequers to meet Blair, in the wake of the Good Friday Agreement, 'I was able to see some of the Cromwellian momentos there and even handle the sword Cromwell had carried through the battle of Naseby!'.[79] Perhaps on lifting Cromwell's sword Trimble imagined he was the great military leader winning the battle and altering the course of history. Did he allow himself to believe, in that moment, his fight against the republican movement would be as successful as Cromwell's against the Royalists; that he was destined to become Northern Ireland's great Protector?

[78] David Trimble, Anthony Alcock Memorial Lecture, University of Ulster, 24 April 2007, full text available at the website of David Trimble www.davidtrimble.org (last accessed 1 June 2016), p. 5.
[79] Ibid.

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When one combines Trimble's religiosity, which although he rarely discusses it seems sincere nonetheless, with his evident fascination with Cromwell, it could be he actually believed he was holding a blade that the Lord himself had once directed, Cromwell famously writing of the battle of Naseby that his victory was achieved, 'by none other than the hand of God'.[80] There may just be a religious significance to the episode. Did Trimble feel the 'hand of history' on lifting Cromwell's sword in Chequers, the very same as Blair felt upon his shoulder during Easter 1998? It is clear Trimble was conscious he had his hand *on* history; on a relic once wielded by a powerful historical force.

Trimble's interest in Cromwell also came across in his discussions with Henry McDonald. Reflecting upon his experience of learning about the English Civil War under Clarke at Bangor Grammar Trimble explained, 'I tended to be more with the people, the Commonwealth. But at the same time I thought that while the Royalists were wrong they were also romantic, whereas the Roundheads were right but offensive'.[81] Was this a veiled commentary on Northern Ireland politics, or on how the competing factions in the conflict were perceived around the world?

Trimble is not ignorant of the way in which Irish republicanism, with its spiritual, sacrificial and militant dimensions, and with its goal of achieving the unity of Ireland, has exuded a romantic quality at home and abroad, not least in America. Despite the fact Trimble views republican philosophy as fundamentally wrong even he has found the movement and its history alluring. His pamphlet on 1916 illustrates this. Although the pamphlet presents the military actions of the rebels in a very negative light, one does get the impression Trimble at least admired the gallantry and bravery displayed by them during Easter Week, even if he looks upon the military strategy they adopted as naïve

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[80] Fraser, *Cromwell: Our Chief of Men*, p. 161.
[81] McDonald, *Trimble*, p. 17

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and foolish. Thus was the statement to McDonald Trimble admitting that to some extent he finds republicanism 'romantic'?

Likewise, his comment about the Roundheads 'being right but offensive' can easily be taken as a commentary on Ulster Unionists, not always graceful in articulating their political philosophy and aims, but articulating a position, in Trimble's view, fundamentally right and defensible nonetheless. Trimble may even have been making a veiled commentary upon himself, on his own political personality and cause. Trimble explained to Frank Millar how he was aware of his 'alleged temperamental defects', but he was merely 'direct' with people, not 'rude'.[82] 'I'm not there to be easy for other people,' he informed Millar, 'if some people find me difficult or say they find me difficult that gives me reassurance'.[83] Thus the point about the Royalist's being 'wrong but romantic' could likewise be a veiled commentary on Adams, as much as the movement he leads; the writer of sentimental short-stories and nostalgic autobiography. The statement might also apply to Hume, for both he and Adams have played the part of the romantic, endearing Irishman in a way Trimble never could.

If there was an allegorical quality to Trimble's statement on the Civil War, then his point about being for the 'the people', in the form of the Commonwealth, would mean he associates the United Kingdom with 'the people'. This would again suggest Trimble views the Cromwellian Commonwealth as an early incarnation of the United Kingdom. On the other hand, it could well be Trimble's remark was not informed at all by the situation in Northern Ireland. If his statement to McDonald did have an allegorical quality to it, however, then that is significant. Intriguingly that would mean Trimble finds it possible to associate Irish republicanism with Royalism, and English republicanism with Ulster Unionism.

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[82] Frank Millar, *David Trimble: The Price of Peace* (Dublin 2008; 1st edn 2004), pp. 11-12.
[83] Ibid.

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Furthermore, during an interview in July 2005 the Welsh journalist John Humphries asked Trimble whether he thought Paisley was a 'bigot', to which the former replied, 'I am not going to make judgements on individuals' consciences. As Oliver Cromwell once said, 'that he looks into no man's mind'.[84] This seems an allusion to Cromwell's position on religious toleration, which was, in ways, relatively liberal. Within, 'the general boundaries of Protestant feeling, Cromwell was not fanatical, still less exclusive', Belloc contended.[85] According to Fraser, he 'was renowned for his personal tolerance, and vigorous against the Church of King Charles before the war for that uniformity it sought to impose upon consciences'.[86] In seeking to realise his vision of a, 'pluralist parliament for a pluralist people' in Northern Ireland as leader of the U.U.P., Trimble no doubt found this dimension of Cromwell's character, and of the Commonwealth, alluring.

As Dean Godson has explained, in May 1974 Craig 'loaned' Trimble out to the U.W.C., apparently in a, 'bid to hold back some of the wilder ideas which would emerge from some individuals at 'brain-storming' sessions'.[87]According to Henry McDonald, Trimble had two tasks throughout the U.W.C. strike in May 1974 which ultimately brought down Hume's beloved power-sharing Executive, 'co-editing *The Bulletin* (the daily newssheet of the strike committee) and giving political and legal advice to the U.W.C.' then operating of Vanguard headquarters in Hawthornden Road, East Belfast.[88] Importantly, there are articles in the *Strike Bulletin* bearing Trimble's intellectual fingerprints. For example, the article in *Strike Bulletin No. 8* entitled, 'Who is against the Spirit of the Constitution?' was surely written by him:

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[84] 'Transcript of BBC "On the Ropes" with John Humphries, July 12th, 2005', available at the website of David Trimble www.davidtrimble.org (last accessed 1 June 2016).
[85] Belloc, *Cromwell*, p. 62
[86] Fraser, *Cromwell: Our Chief of Men*, p. 704.
[87] Godson, *Himself Alone*, p. 49.
[88] McDonald, *Trimble*, p. 52.

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> Francis Pym said that there can be no negotiations with, or concessions to, the Ulster Worker's Council, because the British Constitution will not tolerate challenges to Parliament from outside bodies. But that's nonsense. Time and again the British Parliament has brought about fundamental changes in responses to social pressures from outside Parliament. The present strike has plenty of precedents in the history of the British constitution…the U.W.C. methods are both practical and in accordance with the Constitution.[89]

This is surely a legal mind in action, Indeed, during the strike Glen Barr is said to have informed Trimble he would become his Minister of Law Reform when he himself became Prime Minster of Northern Ireland.[90] Trimble's 'strong sense of historical precedent' is also evident in the piece. Arguably his tendency to think in terms of historical precedents is one of the clearest indications of a relationship between his legal training and his political imagination, for, of course, the Law more or less works in precedents.

With regards Cromwell, however, it is intriguing that on two occasions the power-sharing Executive was described as a 'rump Parliament' by the *Strike Bulletin*. An article in *Strike Bulletin No. 3* entitled 'What is the Solution Now?' contended that by 'its recent actions the government has turned the Assembly into a rump Parliament'.[91] Likewise, an article in *Bulletin No. 5* entitled 'The Strikers' did the same. One can be fairly sure that this was Trimble's doing:

> The farmers show increasing support for the strike as it continues, and many seem prepared to put up with serious loss of stock…and to hold out…rather than see the strike beaten by the colonial administrator and his rump Parliament, (because that is what they have made themselves)…in the monastic seclusion of Stormont our Don Quixote tilts in his fascist windmills and the Assembly engages in a ritual that has no connection with the outside world. It is a situation without precedent in the history of British politics.[92]

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[89] Linen Hall Library, N.I.P.C., U.W.C. Box, 'Strike Bulletin No. 8' in, *The Ulster Workers Council Strike: Strike Bulletins of the Workers Association [*no pagination].
[90] McDonald, *Trimble*, Godson, *Himself Alone*, pp. 46-47
[91] Linen Hall Library, N.I.P.C., U.W.C. Box, 'Strike Bulletin No. 3' *in The Ulster Workers Council Strike: Strike Bulletins of the Workers Association* [no pagination].
[92] Ibid., 'Strike Bulletin No. 5'.

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Trimble's sense of historical precedent is again evident. It is also interesting to note that he felt the U.W.C. strike was more in keeping with the spirit of the British constitution than the power-sharing Assembly. The point about Quixote in 'monastic seclusion', and the Assembly 'engaging in a ritual' could be a reference to Hume with his seminary background; the latter was after all a loyalist hate-figure in May 1974 owing to his determined advocacy of the Council of Ireland. At any rate, the reference to Quixote and 'fascist windmills' points to an author of some intellectual calibre. Furthermore, it is not unlike Trimble to depict contemporary political arrangement in terms of English political history during the mid-1600s. For example, he informed Godson that in the spring of 2003 he ultimately abandoned his position of no Assembly elections without a republican 'act of completion' with regards decommissioning because, 'it was becoming ever more difficult to sustain things and the Assembly was starting to resemble the Long Parliament'.[93]

Did Trimble look upon the U.W.C.'s attempt to bring down the Assembly with the vision of Cromwell's forcible expelling of the Rump on 20th April 1653 in mind? This is an obscure historical precedent to draw upon, but as should be clear by now, drawing upon obscure historical precedents is what Trimble does. Cromwell expelled the Rump because he believed the Rumpers were intending to 'perpetuate themselves' against the wishes of the people.[94] As David Smith has explained, 'the Rump dragged its feet about setting a date for its own dissolution and holding elections for a new Parliament'.[95] Trimble possibly perceived a symmetry between this moment in English history and the way in which the Assembly had proceeded on the 14th May, to the endorse the Sunningdale Agreement, Council of Ireland and all, despite a firm ultimatum not to do

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[93] Godson, *Himself Alone*, p. 771.
[94] David L. Smith, *A History of the Modern British Isles, 1603-1707: The Double Crown* (Oxford, 1998), p.183.
[95] Ibid, p. 182.

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so issued by the U.W.C.[96] Perhaps the vision of Cromwell summoning Drogheda was also acting upon Trimble's thinking when the ultimatum was issued.

For it is clear the strike channelled a vision of the siege of Derry, if not the storm of Drogheda. Indeed, the strike was a sort of siege of Derry in reverse, whereby a Protestant army invested Stormont, which in their view had come to be a nationalist stronghold and a base for the Irish Republic. Ironically then, there is a sense in which, in May 1974, the loyalists were besieging a Trojan horse. Thus although commentary and scholarship on the Ulster Protestant community has tended to either suggest or emphasise the existence of a defensive 'siege mentality' amongst it, little thought has been given to the way in which it has also proved capable of channelling, in a more offensive manner, a vision of the siege. It might even be worth suggesting, given his interest in the event, Trimble looked upon the U.W.C strike with the vision of the Easter Rebellion in mind, with Stormont as the G.P.O and the loyalists as the British forces surrounding it and forcing its occupants to surrender. Trimble's interest in the rebellion may just stem partly from his interest in siege warfare, giving the rebellion essentially boiled down to a siege situation, or, more accurately, a number of mini-sieges, the British surrounding and shelling the republican strongholds, particularly the G.P.O, ultimately extracting an unconditional surrender from Pearse. As Trimble explained in what was more or less a military history of the 1916 rebellion:

> That day [Tuesday], the British concentrated first on securing Dublin Castle and then cleared then cleared the ICA men from St. Stephen's Green… Thereafter the army essentially contained the rebel positions south of the river, whilst concentrating on capturing the rebel headquarters… during Wednesday, artillery fire from Trinity College, supported by the gunboat *Helga*, reduced the undefended hall [Liberty Hall]…By Thursday morning, the British were concentrating on the GPO and during that day, drove in Republican outposts around it… By Saturday morning, it was realised that the position of the handful of rebels in Moore Street was hopeless and a nurse was sent out with a

[96] The U.W.C gave 'notice that: If Brian Faulkner and his colleagues vote in the Assembly on Tuesday 14th, to support Sunningdale, then there will be a general stoppage', *News Letter*, 15 May. 1974.

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> white flag and an offer to negotiate with the British commander…The offer was abruptly rejected and the Republican leaders told that unconditional surrender was their only option…Pearse surrendered that afternoon on behalf of himself and all the Republican units in the city and country. The Four Courts' unit surrendered in reluctant obedience to Pearse's orders that evening.[97]

This phase of the discussion can accommodate a few further reasons as to why Trimble has been intellectually attracted to Cromwell. To begin with, he may perceive a parallel between himself and Cromwell because the latter rose to power despite hailing from a relatively humble background. According to Fraser, 'Cromwell demonstrated how a man could rise from a modest inheritance and by his own extraordinary qualities live to defy the greatest in the world'.[98] As Alvin Jackson has pointed out, Trimble's roots were 'far removed both socially and geographically from the networks that traditionally upheld Ulster Unionism…Trimble was in every sense distant from…what Maurice Hayes has called the 'Presbyterian meritocracy of Inst and Campbell College, who ran the Ulster Unionist Party and the government of Northern Ireland during the 1960s.'[99] As Trimble informed Godson, 'From the point of view of the "Good Ole' Boys" in Glengall Street" I'm never one of them. I come from the outside'.[100] Indeed, much like Cromwell, Trimble quickly rose from relative obscurity to a position of leadership rather late in life, and he may be conscious of this symmetry. Moreover, it could be Trimble perceives, in the regicide, and the numerous contradictions and paradoxes that his character and career displayed, a reflection of himself.

He may also be attracted to him because he sees him as a figure misrepresented by history, particularly Catholic history, much like Ulster Unionists. Consequently, it is possible Trimble has been intellectually attracted to Cromwell for similar reasons as he

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[97] Trimble, *The Easter Rebellion of 1916*, pp. 18-20.
[98] Fraser, *Cromwell: Our Chief of Men*, p. 705
[99] Jackson, *Home Rule*, p. 309.
[100] Godson, *Himself Alone*, p. 95.

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has been attracted to Sir James Craig. In spite of his Puritanism the former can be looked upon as a pioneer of religious toleration in Britain, particularly when set against the backdrop of Charles II's religious policy. Similarly, in Trimble's view Craig and members of his Cabinet inclined towards pluralism in Northern Ireland, despite the Catholic nationalist view of them as the great champions of the 'protestant Parliament for a protestant people'. For example, Trimble has highlighted the unsuccessful attempt by the Marquis of Londonderry's, Northern Ireland first Minister of Education, to introduce a single unified education system in 1924, and which the former has described as 'one of the great lost opportunities in NI's history'. Significantly he was keen to point out that it 'failed because all the churches were against him'.

Most likely Trimble's religiosity, his Presbyterianism, also accounts for his intellectual attraction to Cromwell. Accounting for the way in which the latter came to be embraced by the British during the nineteenth century, having previously been largely perceived as a villain, Belloc argued that the change came about as consequence of the way in which:

> The new industrial forces were accumulated by men, many (perhaps most) of whom came from Noncomformist stock of which Cromwell had ways been the hero. These…destroyed the old Tory tradition…They were still full of the Bible…their restrictions and sanctities identical with those which had ruled in Cromwell's own household…[For them] their could no longer be a comprehension of sacred kingship…It could no longer be conceived how Cromwell had destroyed a thing in his own days most sacred. All that for which Cromwell stood and of which his triumph was the climax, the Englishman of the nineteenth century called "constitutional" – whereas it had been in Cromwell's time purely revolutionary. [101]

Trimble's embrace of Cromwell can be seen as descended from, or related to, this nineteenth century mentality. More importantly, given the very section of the British community who came to embrace Cromwell were of a nonconformist, Liberal

[101] Belloc, *Cromwell*, p. 6.

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disposition, it can be argued Trimble's tendency whilst leader of the U.U.P to associate himself with Cromwell was part of a drive to present himself, and his political thinking, as in the tradition of late nineteenth century Liberal Unionism.

Herein lies the significance of the Foreword he produced to Gordon Lucy's 1995 Ulster Society pamphlet *The Great Convention: The Ulster Unionist Convention of 1892*, a piece which Trimble has described as the 'closest thing to a personal political credo I have ever written'.[102] Revealingly Trimble sought to highlight the importance of Liberalism and Liberal Unionism with the political culture of Ulster. For example, he was keen to point out how, 'both the 1793 and 1892 Conventions the lead was taken by the liberals of Ulster', and thus that one of, 'the great virtues of this work by…Lucy is that it demonstrates the leading role in these events of the Ulster Liberal Unionists'.[103] He went on to contend that, 'Ulster's Liberal Unionists have not received the attention they deserve'.[104]

It is perhaps telling in the same interview with Humphries in 2005 during which Trimble invoked Cromwell, he was also keen to point out that, 'there is a misapprehension that people think that Liberalism is soft. Liberalism isn't soft. Liberalism in the historical, classical sense can also be tough minded'.[105] Thus there would seem to be an intellectual connection between Trimble's attraction to Cromwell and the way in which seems to see himself as essentially an Ulster Liberal Unionist of the late nineteenth century variety. Presumably then, there is also a relationship between his attraction to Liberal Unionism and his historical interest in the 'Ulster Custom' given that, as Alvin Jackson has explained, in the mid-1880s, even before the evolution of

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[102] See Dean Godson, Himself Alone, p. 122. See also Gordon Lucy, *The Great Convention: The Ulster Unionist Convention of 1892* (Lurgan, 1995), Foreword by David Trimble, pp. v-xii.
[103] Lucy, *The Great Convention*, p. ix.
[104] Ibid.
[105] 'Transcript of BBC "On the Ropes" with John Humphries, July 12th, 2005', available at the website of David Trimble www.davidtrimble.org (last accessed 1 June 2016).

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Liberal Unionism, a relatively strong mode of 'popular tenant Liberalism' existed in Ulster.[106]

Consequently, it may be worth considering whether Trimble gravitated towards Blair during the mid-1990s not merely because of a failing Tory Party which had also wounded its relationship with Ulster Unionism via the Anglo-Irish Agreement, but also as a result of the vision Blair then entertained (owing largely to the influence of Roy Jenkins) of reunifying the centre-left of British politics, of healing the schism within British Liberalism that had occurred in the early 1900s; 'of infusing Labour's programme with the Liberal's agenda' as Brian Harrison has put it.[107] As Blair informed the leader of the Liberal Democrats Paddy Ashdown in later 1996, the 'real shame is that our two parties weren't able to stay together in the early part of the century…we have to bring these two strands back together again'.[108]

Significantly, in the mid-1990s Trimble and Blair cherished visions of Edwardian Liberalism. That both inclined strongly towards the Liberal concept of devolution helps cement this argument. Moreover, it should be said Blair's vision of reunifying the centre-left of British politics resembles Adams' ambition of healing the fundamental split within Irish republicanism that occurred in 1923. There is also a sense in which Hume saw himself as helping heal the consequences of the great schism in European Christianity triggered by Luther. According to Anthony Seldon, Jenkins sent Blair off to Tuscany in August 1996 with several works on British political history, 'including the speeches of Keir Hardie and Lloyd George', apparently in order to wean the New Labour leader off John Wilson's *C.B.: A Life of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman*, which Robert Harris once described as the 'only political biography Tony Blair ever seems to have read'.[109] Clearly

[106] Alvin Jackson, *The Ulster Party*: *Irish Unionists in the House of Commons* (Oxford, 1987), p. 39.
[107] Brian Harrison, 'The Rise, Fall and Rise of Consensus Politics in Britain since 1940', *History*, p. 323.
[108] Antony Seldon, *Blair* (London, 2004), p. 272.
[109] Ibid., p.271. See John Wilson, *CB: A Life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman* (London, 1973).

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the ambitious Blair perceived himself in the former Scottish Liberal Prime Minster, a figure whose father was a self-made man from Glasgow, much like his own father Leo, and who himself had went Liberal despite his father being a passionate Tory, similar to way in which Blair opted for Labour despite his father's membership of the Conservative Party. Yet given the first part of Wilson's text examined the Liberal's relationship with the 'Irish question', one can be sure that Blair came to power knowing a good deal about Parnell and, for that matter, more about late nineteenth century Irish history than what he gleaned from Jenkins' biography of Gladstone.

It may well be, therefore, Blair's drive to secure peace in Northern Ireland, to solve the 'Irish question', was intimately linked to his vision of reunifying the centre-left in British politics. During his frequent readings of Wilson's biography of Campbell-Bannerman, he possibly came to perceive it was the issue of Irish Home Rule which set the fragmentation of the Liberal Party in train. With regards Trimble, it could well be he was aware of the so-called 'Project' launched by Jenkins and Blair, and, importantly, he believed it would allow him to achieve his own vision of Ulster Unionism re-entering the mainstream of British politics. In the mid-1990s both Trimble and Blair wanted to recreate, politically speaking, Edwardian Britain. Trimble's Foreword to Lucy's text is a case in point. Moreover, in his maiden speech in the Commons in May 1990, Trimble was keen to emphasise how the UUP was not a provincial party, but one of the 'the British national parties', formed, as Godson put it, 'as an alliance of Tories, Liberals and latterly of Labourites who had to band together in defence of their constitutional rights'.[110].

Yet above all else, one feels it is Cromwell the soldier that Trimble finds fascinating; Cromwell the gifted military tactician and leader of men; the figure who believed the path to perpetual peace lay in war, and who evolved the formidable military

[110] Godson, *Himself Alone*, pp.103-104.

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force that was the New Model Army in order to realise this vision. Given Trimble's tendency to think of politics as war, and his interest military strategy, it could very well be his concept of 'New Unionism', of a better organised, more efficient mode of Ulster Unionism, of a Unionist political army inclined to go on the offensive in a strategically sophisticated manner, was as much indebted to the historical vision of the New Model Army as it was to contemporary Blairite penchant for political spin and marketing. What is certain, however, is that Trimble's intellectual attraction to the regicide necessitates consideration of the place of republicanism within his political thought.

Trimble and Republicanism.

Given Trimble's intellectual attraction to Cromwell, and his tendency to justify political schemes and structures in terms of historical precedents, sometimes historical precedents drawn from the Cromwellian era of British history, surely there is every reason to assume he does not wholly reject republicanism. In May 1974 Trimble had effectively turned 'Queen's rebel', but if, theoretically, he believed the Crown was impeding or defying the wishes of the people then he may rebel against it. If his delight in handling the sword of Cromwell confirms one thing, it is Trimble is much less royalist than many of his fellow Orangemen. Presumably his loyalty to the Crown is, in theory at least, as conditional as his loyalty to the British Parliament. He would certainly be justified by precedent in taking up the sword against the Crown, or, for that matter, putting the Crown to the sword.

If anything, the avid interest in Cromwell, combined with the pamphlet on 1916 and the forays to the republican cages of Long Kesh during the early 1970s, leads one to consider whether Trimble might just be fascinated by the concept of republicanism. As noted, it is possible he was admitting to McDonald that he finds republicanism 'romantic', whilst at times Trimble has tended to be oddly sympathetic to republicanism

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and the republican movement. His relatively sympathetic treatment of the United Irishmen in the pamphlet on 1916 is a prime example, as is his suggestion to the republican leadership in 2003 that in order to maintain 'some form of old comrades association' in the event of the I.R.A. disbanding, the movement should 'revert to the original name of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and that the body then be deproscribed'.[111] The latter point in itself illustrates the way in which Trimble has displayed a good grasp of republicanism and it history. It is also a prime example of Trimble's 'firm but fair' approach to his enemy, an approach which one feels owes something to his vision of Cromwell.

Now it might just be that, as a Unionist, Trimble has found it interesting to engage with a deviant ideology. There is surely more to it than that, however. As has already been suggested, there are grounds for thinking he has derived a degree of intellectual satisfaction from the idea the republican Commonwealth pre-empted the United Kingdom; from the idea that Cromwell the republican can also be viewed as a pioneering Unionist, almost the inverse of the way in which Carson the Unionist can, and has, been looked upon as almost a great Irish nationalist (one think's of J.C. Beckett's work on the Unionist leader).[112]

That Trimble has tended to flirt with the idea of an independent Ulster, not least during the U.W.C. strike, lends further weight to the idea his thinking is not wholly remote from republicanism. In an article published in the *Sunday News* in January 1974, he took issue with Desmond Boal's proposal for an 'amalgamated Ireland', contending that 'Independence may be the only alternative to [a] United Ireland'.[113] What is perhaps most interesting about the article, however, is not that Trimble seriously entertained the

[111] David Trimble at the Mitchell Conference, Queen's University, Belfast, May 2008, p. 5.
[112] J.C. Beckett, 'Carson– Unionist and Rebel', in J.C. Beckett, *Confrontations Studies in Irish History* (London, 1972).
[113] David Trimble, 'Loyalists' first aim must be to preserve the Union', *Sunday News*, 10 Jan. 1974.

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idea of an independent Ulster – Craig had been doing for a couple of years – but that he arguably displayed a more nuanced understanding of republican thinking than that commonly displayed by leading Unionists at the time. It is quite possible such understanding owed something to his earlier excursions to the republican cages of Long Kesh:

> Irish Republicanism has always been directed mainly towards ejecting "British forces" from Ireland. With regard to the Protestant community their position has been fundamentally ambiguous; at times regarding them as part of the British forces to be ejected and at other times regarding them as persons who would really be republicans if they were not misled, bribed or stupid, etc. One advantage of recent years is that Republicans poses a form of independence. Of course there are circumstances where the Northern minority would oppose independence and there are some Republicans who would oppose independence in any circumstances. But if independence was accompanied with guarantees an untrammelled Protestant hegemony (and it is not part of the policy of the Loyalist parties to create such a hegemony) then there is a very real prospect of a form of independence not leading to chaos.[114]

The idea that Trimble is fascinated with the concept of republicanism, or at least finds it alluring, can be developed. To begin with, it would seem his vision of republicanism is not limited either to English or, indeed, Irish republicanism. He relished studying Ancient History for A-Level at Bangor Grammar School – winning first prize in the subject during the school's 1963 Speech Day – a course which, as he has explained, covered 'the closing days of the Roman Republic and the period of the Principate'.[115] His teacher for the subject Jim Driscoll apparently once informed Sylvia Hermon that it he could not understand why Trimble went into politics as 'it was a great loss to History', so clearly Trimble impressed him.[116]

Trimble's boyish interest in Roman history perhaps owed much to the way in which in contains stories of great armies and battles. As Terence MacSwiney wrote it in

[114] Ibid.
[115] David Trimble, Interviewed by the author, House of Lords, London, 6 April 2011.
[116] Ibid.

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'The Basis of Freedom', the 'school boy's dream is…of a Roman triumph – tramping armies, shouting multitudes, waving banners'.[117] It might also be the case Trimble was, or has been, attracted to the way in which the Roman Empire accommodated religious pluralism, somewhat like the Commonwealth. Whilst simultaneously studying ancient and seventeenth century history at Bangor Grammar he could well have perceived, in Cromwell's construction of the Commonwealth largely through military triumph, a parallel with the construction of the Roman Empire through conquest. In this sense Catholic Ireland, and subsequently Connaught, were to the Commonwealth what the Germanic territories ultimately were to Rome. Perhaps Trimble has associated the defence of the Union and the United Kingdom with the vision of Roman Empire defending itself from the onslaught of the 'barbarians'.

Furthermore, Roman history may have grabbed Trimble's attention because it bequeaths visions of great walled cities and sieges, much like the way in which Hume associated Derry with the walled cities of antiquity and the Bible. It should be said Hume also studied Ancient History whilst taking Latin during his first year at Maynooth, the course covering 'Outlines of Ancient History, 322 B.C.-27 B.C.' and 'Latin Literature of the Republican period'.[118] Consequently, the mode of civic nationalism Hume later articulated may have been indebted to his vision of antiquity as well as his vision of European and Irish history. Likewise, it is quite possible Trimble has looked upon Roman republicanism with a degree of admiration, and that the intellectual origins of the mode of 'civic Unionism' that he sought to articulate as leader of the U.U.P. owe something to a vision of Roman civic virtue. In addition, his political imagination more generally might have ideological roots in antiquity, possibly similar to the way in which, as David Norbrook has illustrated, although the English rarely discussed republican theory until

[117] Terence MacSwiney, *The Principles of Freedom*, (Dublin, 1921), p. 3.
[118] St. Patrick's College, Russell Library, *Maynooth College Calendar for the Year 1954-1955*, p. 59.

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the regicide, nevertheless they were familiar with republican practice through their knowledge of classical texts.[119]

It has been observed how in his story 'Fraternité' Hume appeared to juxtapose the mode of classical, civic republicanism that flourished in the Greek city states with the anti-clerical republicanism that emerged during the French revolution, most likely drawing upon Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. In his Nobel Speech Trimble also cited Burke's *Reflections* and traced the descent of modern Irish republicanism from Plato to the French Revolution, the key difference being that, unlike Hume, Trimble regarded Plato's republicanism as being as flawed and dangerous as that embraced by the Parisians, positing as it did the idea of the perfectibility of man: 'that savage pursuit of abstract perfection starts in the Western world with Plato's Republic'.[120] Trimble therefore proposed a common line of ideological descendent for National Socialism and modern Irish republicanism: 'It rises to a plateau with the French and Russian revolutions. It descended to new depths with the Nazis.'[121] That does not mean Trimble rejects republicanism as it existed in antiquity, merely Plato's philosophy and its influence upon Western thought. Indeed, his rejection of Platonic thought might just have something to do with the way in which Catholicism is deeply imbued with it. Although it cannot be proved at this stage, if it did transpire Trimble has a vision of Roman republicanism – which seems likely– and looks in any way positively upon it, much like Hume looked upon the Greek city states with admiration, then one has another significant point of similarity between the two Nobel laureates.

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[119] See Ronald Hutton, *The British Republic, 1649-1660* (London, 2000), p. xix.
[120] See 'Lecture given following the award (jointly with John Hume0 of the Nobel Prize for Peace' in David Trimble, *To Raise Up a New Northern Ireland: Articles and Speeches, 1998-2001* (Belfast, 1998), available at the website of David Trimble www.davidtrimble.ord (last accessed 1 June 2010), p. 3.
[121] Ibid.

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One also has a point of contrast with Adams. As has been seen, as Brownie, particularly in 'Active Republicanism', he presented the Romans as essentially the imperial British of an earlier age; oppressing populations and repressing the inevitable people's liberation movements which emerged to them, such as that led by Jesus. Why can Trimble appreciate republicanism of the Cromwellian variety but not modern Irish republicanism? More importantly, why does Trimble seem to veer towards certain modes of Irish republicanism, but ardently rejects the mode of republicanism developed Pearse, Provisional republicanism and also that advanced by Adams? As noted, he wrote positively of the United Irishmen in his pamphlet on 1916 and he has evidently been attracted to the Official variant of the ideology. For example, on becoming leader of the U.U.P. he stocked his political backroom – what might be thought of as Trimble's Council of War – with a former Provisional Sean O'Callaghan, and also with several figures who hailed from the Official hinterland in the form of Paul Bew and Eoghan Harris. The willingness to cooperate with Henry McDonald is also telling in this sense. Additionally, Trimble's gravitation towards Austen Morgan, the lapsed Derry Catholic and author of a study of James Connolly, also suggests an interest in leftist republicanism.

Furthermore, during the interview that precipitated his comparison of Drogheda and Magdeburg, a copy of Brian Hanley's and Scott Millar's *The Lost Revolution: The History of the Official I.R.A and the Workers' Party* adorned his bookshelf in Westminster , even if he did claim not to have read any of it.[122] Again, there is the example of Trimble going to Long Kesh to teach a student interned for membership of the Official I.R.A. Was Trimble seeking to learn about republicanism from these visits? Was he, in a sense, spying? His biographers have been keen to present the episode as proof he is a straightforward, avidly non-sectarian meritocrat, but would he have gone to

[122] Trimble interviewed by the author, House of Lords, London, 6 April 2011.

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the prison if the student had went Provisional? Further reinforcing the idea Trimble has been fascinated with republicanism and republican culture, or at least very curious about it, is the fact that during the 1966 elections he canvassed Andersontown, where Adams' granny Adams then lived in a small bungalow, for Basil McIvor. Importantly, Trimble was not asked to go to that republican area. Apparently, he *wanted* to go 'so as to see what it was like'.[123] Has Trimble has been covertly researching Irish republicanism for decades?

Trimble's attraction to Official republicanism has not gone unnoticed: explanations for it have been advanced. McDonald contended during the later 1990s his subject's thinking on the republican movement was influenced by the way in which the Official I.R.A. and Official Sinn Féin had transformed itself, after 1970 into, as Alvin Jackson has put it, 'constructive constitutional enterprises that have developed some understanding of the nature and condition of Ulster Unionism'.[124] Trimble's decision to invite Proinsias de Rossa, a former republican activist and member of the Workers' Party, to U.U.P. headquarters in 1998 is revealing in this sense, so too his statement shortly after the meeting that, 'some Unionists have difficulty envisaging Gerry Adams coming to Glengall Street, but that's because they see Adams as he is today. But if we have a situation whereby people have proved a commitment to exclusively peaceful methods….that will put them in the same position as Proinsias de Rossa today'.[125] According to Godson, Trimble viewed "the Stickies' as a 'largely southern-based movement impelled far more by a particular interpretation of republican ideology than were the northern-based Provisionals…the latter's roots, he believed, lay in ethnic rage

[123] Godson, *Himself Alone*, p. 28
[124] McDonald, *Trimble*, p. 45, 157-8. Jackson, *Home Rule*, p. 311
[125] Godson, *Himself Alone*, p. 160.

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and 'Defenderist traditions: hence, Adams' increasing use of the term 'Catholic' as part of the effort to displace the SDLP'.[126]

It can be argued the reason why Trimble rejects certain modes of Irish republicanism, but looks somewhat positively upon the republicanism of the United Irishmen, the Official variant of the ideology, and also English republicanism, has to do with Catholicism, or, more accurately, the relationship between modern Irish republicanism and the Catholic Church and its teachings. It is possible neither McDonald or Godson were prepared to moot this perspective (though Godson seemed conscious of it) given it would cast their subject as somehow sectarian, much like the way Hume's biographers, not to mention Hume himself, have found his seminary education difficult to deal with in this sense. The only architect of the Peace Process who one can get away with depicting as sectarian is Adams.

As discussed above, Trimble rejects modern Irish republicanism, particularly Provisionalism, because of the way it which it became imbued with the spiritual, sacrificial ideals of Catholicism during the later 1800s, effectively becoming a tool of the Church: 'Irish Republicans today tend to project their ideals back to the United Irishmen, but this is not true…Modern Irish Republicanism (like the Nationalism of which it became a cutting edge) is a post-Famine creation, which can be traced back through the Irish Republican Brotherhood to the Fenians'.[127] His point in the pamphlet on 1916 about Irish nationalism being, 'saturated with religion to such an extent that it is unconscious of the anomaly of treating a historical event as a movable feast'.[128] so too his subsequent argument that Pearse's poem *Mionn* illustrated the, 'intermingling of religious and

[126] Godson, *Himself Alone*, pp. 387-398.
[127] Trimble, *The Easter Rebellion of 1916*, p. 2.
[128] Ibid, p. 1.

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Nationalist concepts' and how 'his [Pearse's] nationalism was an exclusive one, in which there could be no place for Protestant nationalism with a British identity'.[129]

The Catholic influence within Irish republicanism, particularly that mode of spiritual, sacrificial republicanism constructed and advanced by Pearse and McSwiney in particular, later embraced by the Provisional leadership, partly accounts for the reason why Trimble looked upon the United Irishmen positively, and his Presbyterianism is no doubt a factor here as well. It also owes something to his belief that the republicanism embraced by many United Irishman was not actually separatist, 'except for the faction around Wolfe Tone they were not separatist. This, of course, is why so many United Irishmen welcome the replacement of the corrupt Dublin administration with a Parliament which promised reform'.[130]

Trimble seemed to admire the way in which many United Irishmen wanted to preserve a pan-British state and, importantly, did not take exception to their republicanism, that is, to their distaste for monarchical government. That said, in his Foreword to Lucy's *The Great Convention* he contended that the earlier 1793 Convention had been 'ignored' by historians because it 'does not suit the canon of Irish Republican history for there to be such clear evidence that the Northern radicals, one the eve of the rebellion from which modern Irish republicans wrongly claim their descent, were stressing their loyalty to the Crown'.[131]

Given Trimble's respect for Cromwell, however, and the way in which in the pamphlet on 1916 he appeared to chastise the United Irishmen primarily because of the separatist tendency within their thinking, not their actual republicanism, it is likely he has no objection, in theory at least, to an overarching republican state evolving on the islands,

[129] Trimble, *The Easter Rebellion of 1916*, p. 32.
[130] Ibid, p. 2.
[131] Lucy, *The Great Convention*, pp. vii-viii.

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providing, of course, that the constituent states remained united, as under the Commonwealth, and that there was religious toleration. Trimble may regard the monarchy as important and necessary only in so far as, historically, it provided a point and means of unifying the British Isles, the Union of Crowns in 1603 being a case in point, so too the establishment of the lordship of Ireland in 1179. Yet the unifying function of the Crown ultimately passed to Parliament, as illustrated by the Parliamentary Unions of 1707 and 1801, and the current devolutionary arrangements. Moreover, a united British state existed without the Crown during the mid-1600s. So provided the British Isles remained a united, secular state, other modes of government are possibly permissible in Trimble's view, such as the Protectorate. Hypothetically speaking, Trimble might be prepared to accept a united republican British state, as constructed by Cromwell. Thus it would seem the theme or idea of unity exists as much in Trimble's political imagination as it does in those exhibited by Adams and Hume.

It goes without saying, however, Trimble would reject a *Provisional* republican Britain – an odd phrase to find yourself writing – because of the relationship between that ideology and Catholicism. The way in which Trimble has preferred Cromwell to Charles I, and indeed, William of Orange to James VII & II, illustrates the importance he has attached the idea of religious toleration, and, for that matter, to Protestantism, though his preference for these two figures also clearly has a lot to the do with the way in which he perceives them as superior military leaders to their opponents. Cromwell and William are certainly not seen by Irish Catholics as pioneers of religious toleration in Britain, but arguably Trimble feels that both were quite justified in seeking to limit the power of the Catholic Church within the British State, and that this did not simply equate to religious discrimination; in his eyes it was reasonable for Protestants to see themselves as engaged

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in a war for survival against the Catholic Church and its forces in the early modern period, particularly during the Counter-Reformation.

Does the issue of Catholicism account for why Trimble has been attracted to the Official variant of republicanism, whilst rejecting Provisionalism? It cannot be the leftist tendency within the former mode of republicanism which attracts him in the sense he does not sympathise with leftist economic thought, or at least one always gets the impression his own sympathies lie firmly on the right in this sense. His current membership of the Conservative Party supports this view. Arguably, what has impressed Trimble, however, is the way in which the leftist tendency within republicanism, with its intellectual origins in Marxism and, precipitated the attempted shedding of the movement's Catholic ethos in the 1960s – one thinks of the effort to remove the saying of the Rosary from republican ceremonies – thus allowing the evolution of a more secular, anti-clerical mode of the ideology.

Similarly, the way in which the United Irishmen aimed at a secular mode of republicanism might also account for his somewhat positive view of that movement. So while Hume the seminarian was presumably taught to reject republicanism of the late eighteenth century French variety, primarily because its ethos was anti-clerical, one suspects whilst Trimble rejects this mode of republicanism, he feels the anti-clerical stance was perhaps its only admirable ideological characteristic. Bear in mind Trimble has craved the evolution of secular Unionism in Northern Ireland, partly accounting for his attraction to Craig's Vanguard movement in the early 1970s. As Garry Watson has contended, the Vanguard leader's political vision can be situated within 'a tradition of liberal, assimilatory and, moreover, ostensibly secularised Unionist political thought'.[132] The same might be said of Trimble.

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[132] Garry Watson, "'Meticulously Crafted Ambiguities': The Confused Political Vision of Ulster Vanguard', *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 536-562 (2013), p. 545.

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That said, it is likely that Trimble's Presbyterianism has either engendered, or allowed for, an intellectual relationship with republicanism. The influence of Randall Clarke may well be significant here too, given he produced an M.A. thesis at Queen's in April 1936 'The Social and Political Teachings of the Young Irelanders 1842-1848', presumably under the supervision of T.W. Moody, in which he argued, for example, the 'Young Irelanders did not…represent any one creed, section or division of the community...[but] were men bound together solely by their commitment to nationalism', and that their 'demand was for legislative independence, but legislative independence within the British Empire'.[133] Clarke may have been a Presbyterian of nationalist hue, and his thinking and history have influenced Trimble. The latter informed McDonald that not only did he dislike Clarke 'intensely as a person', – mainly because Clarke did not initially rate him as a student of history – but that he also disliked the latter's view of Irish history, implying that it was nationalist, perhaps even republican, in ethos.

Although one could envisage, under certain circumstances, Trimble advocating separatism (he has, of course, done so occasionally throughout his political career) and even embracing a mode of republicanism. He would definitely not veer towards modern Irish republicanism or join Sinn Féin, however, because of the association with Catholicism and the Catholic Church. This, one feels, constitutes the real barrier between Trimble and Irish republicanism, not the idea of separation, not the rejection of monarchical government, and certainly not the belief in the use of force. Were it not for that association, perhaps Trimble could embrace republicanism. As he has pointed out, you can still be an Irish republican and not be a separatist. Moreover, you could still be loyal to the idea or spirit of Britain whilst rejecting monarchical government; a united Britain does necessarily have to be a United *Kingdom*, Cromwell and the Commonwealth

[133] Randall Clarke, 'The Political and Social Teachings of the Young Irelanders 1842-1848', M.A. Dissertation, (Queen's University Belfast, 1936), p. 2 & Conclusion, p. 5.

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proves this. Interestingly then, if Trimble's embrace of monarchical government is by no means absolute, then presumably neither is Adams' rejection of it. The latter's aversion to monarchy must surely give way to his Christianity. Does Adams believe he will still be a republican when he enters the Kingdom of Heaven?

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Conclusion

During the evenings of late May 1974 Adams warmed himself by a fire outside Cage 11. The fallout of the loyalists' 'constitutional blockage', as he has subsequently described the U.W.C. strike, reached the grey metallic environs of Long Kesh.[1] As a result of the loyalists' stranglehold over power, fuel, and food supplies in Northern Ireland republican prisoners were compelled, as Adams has recalled, 'to survive only on prison grub re-cooked in the fires which we lit in the yard, stripping wood from our huts for fuel'.[2] It was a very primitive, pre-modern mode of existence. But in his view it was a highly communalistic, organic, and admirable way of life. Ironically, loyalism was helping catalyse the precipitation of Adams' 'mini-Republic' in the prison. The U.W.C. strike was facilitating the regression (or in Adams' view, *progression*) on the part of republican prisoners into industrious and independent noble savages of a Gaelic hue.

By obstructing the working of what Adams viewed as Britain's prison regime in Northern Ireland, loyalists had caused the regime within that miniature Northern Ireland, Long Kesh, to consequently falter and break-down, thereby throwing republican prisoners back upon their own resources. Much to Adams' delight, the momentary stalling of British imperialism as a result of the loyalist blockade in the North forced republican prisoners to look-after themselves. They were compelled to be *constructive*; to engage in a mode of 'Active Republicanism', albeit on small scale. Freed from the oppressive relationship with their imperial overlord, republicans were demonstrating the sturdy characteristics of independent men; 'a microcosm of independence' was evolving just off the M1. Indeed, by impeding the imperialist system in the North, and thus in the prison, loyalists were causing, or, more accurately, *enabling* republicans to actually burn

[1] Gerry Adams, *Before the Dawn: An Autobiography* (Dingle, 1996), p. 234.
[2] Ibid, pp. 234-235.

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Long Kesh in order to cook their food, and thus sustain themselves. So crucially, in late May 1974 Adams' fledgling prison-republic was literally *feeding-off* its oppressive environment; *feeding-off* and simultaneously *destroying* Britain's imperialist architecture in the North in a thoroughly parasitic manner.

It is worth suggesting Adams' concept of 'Active Abstentionism' or 'Active Republicanism' precipitating mini-republics across the island was actually inspired to some extent by his experience of the U.W.C strike, as well as his close readings of Irish history in Long Kesh. There is certainly a deafening silence in the 'Brownie' article 'Active Abstentionism', which appeared in *Republican News* in October 1975, with regard the loyalist blockade of the previous year.[3] Adams was, of course, urging nationalist communities to simply boycott the British imperialist system in Northern Ireland; to grasp the power of Lalor's concept of 'moral force', and so wage moral insurrection against Britain by engaging in a form of civil disobedience, reminiscent of the Land War, thereby evolving a republican 'National Alternative' within the midst of British imperialism.

In May 1974 loyalists had effectively boycotted Stormont, Richard Bourke rightly describing the U.W.C. strike as, 'civil disobedience on a cataclysmic scale'.[4] They had also veered towards evolving their own state-within-a-state in the process. As the strike progressed, the U.W.C inaugurated a system of rationing.[5] Furthermore, its membership eventually took on provisional 'Ministries'. Billy Kelly, a worker at the Coolkeeragh power station, became 'Minister of Power', thereby challenging, if not practically usurping, Hume's authority as Minister of Commerce.[6] As has been observed, Glen Barr then informed a young David Trimble the latter would be his Minister for 'Law Reform'

[3] 'Brownie' [Gerry Adams], 'Active Abstentionism', *Republican News*, 18 Oct 1975.
[4] Richard Bourke, *Peace in Ireland: The War of Ideas* (London, 2003), p. 215,
[5] Ibid.
[6] Terry Kelleher, 'Who's in the U.W.C.', *Hibernia*, 7 June 1974.

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when he subsequently became Prime Minister of Northern Ireland.[7] Thus the U.W.C. strike was basically 'Active Abstentionism' in action. Thus it could be that, much like the way in which Irish republicans such as Pearse had been inspired by the creation of the U.V.F. by Carson and Craig, Provisionals such as Adams were, in 1974, inspired by the evolution and actions of the loyalist U.W.C. which, of course, channelled a vision of 1912, particularly the provisional government of Ulster threatened by the leaders of Ulster Unionism in the event of Home Rule. Perhaps, as the strike progressed, an imprisoned Adams was inspired to believe republicans could also utilise 'moral insurrection' against British imperialism in order to precipitate their own state. No doubt the walled environment of Long Kesh was already pushing his thinking in that direction, indeed the heady barricade days of the late 1960s and 1970s would seem to have initially inspired the idea, but it could be as the east of Northern Ireland became a maze of loyalist barricades in May 1974, Adams was also inspired to believe republicans could effectively wield Partition against the Britain; could basically lock-out the British from nationalist areas, just as the British had locked-out the North from the Republic in 1920.

And as Adams set about theorising his future republic within Cage 11, Hume simultaneously fretted in Stormont over the demise of his brave new Northern Ireland, power and the ideal of power-sharing slipping, or more accurately, being ripped, from his hands. Increasingly he was coming to the realisation Sunningdale had precipitated a depressing recurrence of the Home Rule crisis, as opposed to a scaled-up repetition of his city's nineteenth century success story. Reviewing Robert Fisk's *The Point of No Return* for the *Irish Times* in November 1975, Hume was keen to point out the U.W.C strike was, 'not the first time in Irish history that the Ulster Unionists [had] upset the democratic process by unconstitutional means'.[8] The, 'defiance by the threat of force in 1912 of the

[7] Dean Godson, *Himself Alone: David Trimble and the Ordeal of Unionism* (London, 2005), p. 46.
[8] *Irish Times*, 15 Oct. 1975.

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Home Rule Bill…had serious and bloody consequences for the whole of Ireland,' he argued, 'the consequences of the U.W.C. strike may be equally far reaching'.[9] The strike therefore finally terminated Hume's belief, which had never really chimed with reality throughout the spring of 1974, that largely as a consequence of the evolution of power-sharing, of both communities 'getting seriously to work on their problems', Northern Ireland had entered into a new era of economic prosperity; had begun to experience an economic boom similar to that which had occurred in Derry in the mid-nineteenth century; was beginning to quietly outgrow the confines of Partition as his city had outgrown its defensive walls.

But far from emulating those civic-minded business men who had thrown off the siege mentality of their fathers, who had taken over the reins of their city's municipal administration, and so built their city beyond the walls, in May 1974 Hume had essentially become a spiritual descendent, a sort of Catholic nationalist reincarnation, of one of Derry's Protestant besieged, with Trimble and the loyalists as the Jacobites. For besieged Hume was. 'Those responsible for the situation have now brought us to a position in which within a very few days we may have no electricity supply at all', he lamented in an emergency meeting of the Assembly on 23 May.[10] 'Those who are behind this action are not merely destroying are future economic prospects…they are in a real sense gravely imperilling the life and welfare of every person in this country.'[11] Consequently, it is worth noting how, in May 1974, Adams and Hume were both essentially prisoners; Adams the prisoner of the British in Long Kesh; Hume and his fellow members of the Executive imprisoned in Stormont by Trimble and his fellow loyalists.

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[9] *Irish Times*, 15 Oct. 1975.
[10] Linen Hall Library, N.I.P.C, Northern Ireland Executive Press Release, 'Statement by Minister of Commerce, Mr. John Hume, made during the emergency debate in the Assembly today, 22.5.1976'.
[11] Ibid.

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If Adams and Hume were both prisoners in 1974, it also needs emphasising Hume and Trimble have been both besieger and besieged throughout their respective political careers. Trimble besieging Hume in Stormont in May 1974 as the 'cerebral backroom boy' helping direct the U.W.C. strike, forcing the former to live the one aspect of Derry's history that has *not* inspired him; Trimble emerging as the leader of the Protestant besieged during the so-called 'siege of Drumcree' in 1995, and again in 1996, thereby living that militant episode from Derry's history which *has* very much inspired him. How ironic that, in the late spring of 1974, just when Hume believed Northern Ireland had entered that phase of its history when its Unionist population was beginning to jettison is siege mentality and expand beyond its walls, Trimble should have besieged Hume and wrecked the model of historical change he had developed whilst completing his M.A. thesis on nineteenth century Derry.

It is also worth noting how in May 1974, Hume's great experiment in, and display of, Catholic loyalism, that mode of Irish political thought Ó Fiaich had taught him to admire, was choked to death by loyalists such as Trimble who had basically veered towards a mode of Protestant nationalism. Indeed, opening the first meeting of the Assembly of the Northern Irish People in late 1971, Hume's first great exercise in Catholic loyalism (if was, after all, the Assembly of the *Northern Irish* People), he sought to vindicate that body's existence, and the northern nationalist boycott of Stormont more generally, by citing Carson's threat to Westminster he would form a provisional government of Ulster if Home Rule was introduced and, 'did not care tuppence if it was treason or not'.[12] How ironic then, Hume's second and greatest display of Catholic loyalism, participation in the Northern Ireland Executive, was wrecked by a movement

[12] 'Alternative Assembly Holds First Meeting in Dungiven', *Derry Journal*, 29 Oct. 1971.

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channelling something approaching Protestant Ulster nationalism and, of course, a vision of 1912.

What is more, as has been observed, whilst opposing the Sunningdale Executive Trimble seems to have entertained and channelled a vision of Cromwell's forcible expelling of the Rump. So not only was the U.W.C. strike helping to precipitate a 'mini-Republic' in Long Kesh, and possibly also inspiring Adams' theory of how an all-island republican could be achieved through 'Active Abstentionism', a vision of the great regicide, and of English republicanism, was also a part, albeit a small part, of the conceptual cocktail of the great Ulster loyalist coup. In fact, it needs highlighting how, in May 1974, Trimble was by far the most militant of the three future 'peacemakers'.

It would seem, however, Hume's political thought and strategy was not as inherently pacifistic as it has typically been depicted. Indeed, it would seem Trimble perceived this. The latter's statement to Frank Millar that, 'John Hume never gets his head round the concept [of consent]' is revealing in this sense.[13] Hume believed the most fascinating aspect of Derry's history was the era in which its Protestant citizens finally threw-off their defensive siege mentality, and built their city beyond the walls, but this vision of history, which he held so dear, also caused him to believe sooner or later Unionists would *have* to come out from behind what he described as the 'siege wall' they had built for themselves in 1920, and so treat with Irish nationalism. Significantly, there is a sense which Hume's political thought channelled a vision of the siege of Derry.

Fresh from his post-graduate studies in history, Hume believed the historical process by which Unionism would come out from behind the 'siege wall' would be a very gradual one. 'If the whole Northern community gets seriously to work on its problems,' he argued in 'The Northern Catholic', 'the Unionist bogeys about Catholics

[13] Frank Millar, *David Trimble: The Price of Peace* (Dublin,2008; 1ST edn 2004), p. 56.

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and a Republic will, through better understanding, disappear. It will, of course, take a long time'.[14] Yet by the early 1970s he began to get impatient; much like Lenin he came to feel he could telescope history, for in a way Hume's political strategy can be read as a series of – increasingly belligerent – attempts to break down Unionism's 'siege wall'. There is, of course, a point of contrast here with Adams, who initially believed, much like his fellow Provisionals and, indeed, their Official rivals, history could be telescoped. Yet Adams ultimately came to realise, largely as a result of incarceration it would seem, historical processes simply took time, thus developing the republican concept of the 'Long War'.

By the 1970s Hume believed he could bring the siege situation in Northern Ireland to a head in more timely fashion. For example, the Assembly of the Northern Irish People in the autumn of 1971, can be viewed an attempt by him to starve the Unionist government at Stormont into treating with its enemy by depriving it of legitimacy. Similarly, his cherished vision of the Council of Ireland was another political measure aimed at breaking down the 'siege wall', a measure which, as has been noted, was viewed by loyalists as a Trojan horse – the vision of that more ancient siege having also acted upon the Ulster Protestant imagination. It is worth noting how in May 1974 Trimble and his fellow loyalists were more or less besieging the Trojan horse. What is perhaps more intriguing in this sense, is in doing so they were inadvertently helping to precipitate Adams' 'mini-Republic' in Long Kesh, which clearly was envisaged *as* a Trojan horse; Adams' tiny prison-state was designed to subvert and displace British imperialism from the *inside* of its own imperial architecture. In fact, the idea or concept of the Trojan horse was quite at the heart of the republican vision Adams articulated in the pages of *Republican News*.

[14] John Hume, 'The Northern Catholic, *Irish Times*, 18 May 1964.

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Focusing in on each peacemaker in May 1974 helps to, in a sense, bring Richard Bourke's vision of Northern Irish society fracturing into competing democracies during the early to mid-1970s down to the level of the individual and, more importantly, to the level of the three individuals who would subsequently help reunify that polity. How the intellectual and political biographies of Adams, Hume and Trimble, who were perhaps never more apart both spatially and ideologically than they were in the late spring of 1974, ultimately came to converge on Castle Buildings in April 1998 is without doubt one of the most important narratives yet to be forged within Irish historiography. By examining some of the ways in which each 'peacemaker' has engaged with the ideological resource of history throughout their respective political biographies this study has started to evolve this narrative. It has laid the groundwork for a more fully fledged comparative intellectual biography of each 'peacemaker'.

Focusing in on Adams, Hume and Trimble in May 1974 also helps demonstrate what this study has and, more importantly, *has not* yielded in terms of findings. With regard Hume this study has demonstrated how scholars of northern nationalism have ignored his studies in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth during the mid-1950s. By exploring the wider evolution of northern nationalism since the late 1950s and effectively presenting this narrative *as* Hume's intellectual biography they had rendered the man a mere mouthpiece for northern nationalism; they have basically taken Hume's mind out of that history. These scholars have claimed Hume's political ideas were based upon pre-existing ideas and politics precedents. In a way they are correct, they have, however, failed to appreciate how Hume's political thought drew upon much older strands of Catholic political thinking, such as Catholic loyalism of the seventeenth century variety. Indeed, there is good reason to believe the concept of the S.D.L.P. was inspired by a

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vision of the French *politiques* which Hume had received from Ó Fiaich in Maynooth. What is more, Hume's thinking on Irish unity owed much to his schooling in modern European history under Ó Fiaich.

The Platonic dimension of Hume's thinking was also very much a legacy of his experience in Maynooth. It has been observed how, in Platonic fashion, he came to look upon his native walled city as a microcosmic Northern Ireland and Northern Ireland as a microcosmic Derry. Just like Plato had built his ideal republic on paper, so in the early to mid-1960s Hume built his ideal Derry through the medium of history. Significantly, in the vision of Derry expanding outside it walls Hume believed he had identified a model of historical change which the partitioned entity of Northern Ireland could and, so he believed, would eventually follow. To a large extent, Derry and Northern Ireland are to Hume's thinking what the City and Soul were to Plato's. Furthermore, Hume believed he had perceived, in the vision of the Protestant population of nineteenth century Derry expanding their city beyond it walls in order to better their social and economic situation, a model of historical change which very much resembled the way in which Plato's cave dwellers made the transition from darkness to light. Moreover, there is good reason for believing that, having departed from Maynooth in 1958, Hume came to look upon himself as Derry's and subsequently Northern Ireland's philosopher-king.

There was also a Platonic quality about the thinking Adams articulated as 'Brownie'. Like Hume, Adams' historical imagination was very much influenced by a walled environment; like Hume he came to look upon a walled environment, in this case Long Kesh Prison, as a microcosmic Northern Ireland and Northern Ireland a massive prison. This study has argued Long Kesh was to Adams' intellectual biography what St. Patrick's was to Hume's. For one thing, both men's early attempts at producing history came in the form of chronicles detailing life within these walled environments. Yet there

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is also a sense in which the Long Kesh was to Adams political imagination what Derry was to Hume's. Hume believed the Protestant population had irrationally imprisoned themselves within the walled city during the 1700s, and the Unionist population of Northern Ireland had done likewise throughout the 1900s. Adams believed the whole population of Northern Ireland had been imprisoned by the British.

Just as Hume perceived, in the vision of Derry expanding beyond it walls, a model of historical change by which true Irish unity could and would be achieved, Adams perceived, in the republican cages of Long Kesh, particularly Cage 11, a model of historical change whereby an all-Ireland republic could be achieved. In Hume's mind Derry and Northern Ireland were bound together in a relationship resembling that which Plato perceived between City and Soul. Similarly, it has been observed how, in Long Kesh, Adams believed he had a little prison cell within his soul, inhabited by the essence of republicanism, and which was a microcosmic version of the 'mini-Republic' he had constructed within the prison, which, as he saw it, could in-turn be recreated on a larger scale in nationalist areas across the island by republicans engaging in 'Active Republicanism', leading to the evolution of an all-Ireland republic.

Oliver McDonagh argued, 'in one sense, the Irish problem has persisted because of the power of geographical images over men's minds'.[15] It is clear, however, that in the case of Adams and Hume, the environments of Derry and Long Kesh, precipitated strands of political thought designed to bring an ideal Ireland in existence in a relatively peaceful manner. Indeed, McDonagh also contended, 'the image of the island, with the surrounding water carving out a territorial identity, has been a compelling image'.[16] It certainly was for Adams in Long Kesh. Like Liam Mellows and Peadar O'Donnell before him, incarceration forced the image of the island upon his consciousness, thus he was

[15] Oliver McDonagh, *States of Mind* (London, 1983), p. 15.
[16] Ibid.

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inclined to think of Irish people, each containing a little island of republicanism within their soul, evolving islands of republicans throughout the island, leading to the evolution of an all-island republic. What is more, if one is looking for evidence of the way in which visions of history have been put to positive use within recent Irish history; how visions of history have been used to construct political ideologies designed to usher in peace and stability in Ireland, they should direct their attention to the models of historical change developed by Hume and Adams.

Indeed, it has been observed how both these men constructed modes of political thought which posited Irish unity would evolve as a *consequence* of social and economic prosperity, as opposed to merely *delivering* this. In case of Hume the environment of St. Patrick's was influential in this respect. His political thinking was very much informed by a new discourse on Irish patriotism evolving amongst Ireland's Catholic intelligentsia. Much like William Philbin, Hume came to believe progress on the social and economic gradually precipitate constructive social and economic change. Hume was inclined to advance a mode of civic nationalism. As seen, in the pages of *Republican News* Adams advanced a mode of civic republicanism, contending the evolution of a socially and economically progressive republic was in fact a necessary prelude to the displacement of British imperialism in the country.

There has been a tendency in commentary, particularly on republicanism, to posit Catholicism manifests itself in Irish nationalism and republicanism as a sacrificial tendency. Yet the modes of civic nationalism and civic republicanism advanced by Adams and Hume each man's Catholicism. In fact, it would seem there is a relationship between Terence MacSwiney's fervent Catholicism and the mode of civic republicanism he advanced in the *Principles of Freedom*. It is certainly the case Adams' extracted a mode of civic republicanism from his readings of this text. Richard Bourke has explored

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the relationship between Adams' mode of republicanism and his ideas of democracy and imperialism. This study has explored the relationship between Adams' vision of Irish history and the mode of republicanism he articulated as 'Brownie'. Yet the relationship between Adams' Catholicism and his republicanism is in need of attention. For example, as asked earlier, will Adams still be a republican when enters the Kingdom of Heaven?

Furthermore, the relationship between Hume's political thinking and the evolution of thinking within the Catholic Church during the early 1960s demands attention. Crucially Hume wrote his M.A. thesis against the backdrop of the Second Vatican Council. The way in which Hume had Rev. Brian Hannon, a Church of Ireland clergyman, narrate *A City Solitary* evidences the way in which Hume was, as you would expect of a former seminarian, sensitive to developments within Church thinking during the early 1960s.

If the relationship between the Adams' and Hume's political imaginations and each man Catholicism demands further attention, so too does the relationship between Trimble's political thought and Catholicism. In fact, Trimble's relationship with republicanism deserves a more careful and sustained consideration than it has been given here. It has been observed how Trimble seems to reject Irish republicanism because of the relationship with, or in his view, it subservience to, the Catholic Church. This study has suggested that Trimble has been intellectually taken with the concept of republicanism. He has certainly been very curious about it. Indeed, it would seem Trimble veers towards more secular modes of republicanism. It has with the Official mode of republicanism, as opposed to its Provisional variant seems to bear this out. Significantly, it has been demonstrated how Trimble entertains visions of republicanism as distinct from Irish republicanism. If his interest in Irish republicanism is deserving of more careful consideration than it has received here, so too is his relationship with Cromwell and

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English republicanism. It would also seem that, like Hume, Trimble has a vision of Roman republicanism. In contrast Adams merely has only a vision of Roman *imperialism*, and the republicanism of Christ and his Apostles.

Admittedly this study's major failing is the way in which it has merely surveyed the militant dimension of Trimble's historical imagination. It did not demonstrate how this interest, particularly his interest in seventeenth century siege warfare, influenced his political strategy with regards the republican movement during on becoming leader of the U.U.P. Furthermore, there is a need to explore Trimble's early biography in order to trace the origins of the militant dimension of his political imagination. What this study has demonstrated, however, is Trimble displays a more militant imagination than Adams.

Moreover, it is worth highlighting how Trimble and Hume were schooled in history by figures who were themselves educated by historians closely associated with the *Irish Historical Studies* School of Irish history. Ó Fiaich studied under Robert Dudley Edwards at U.C.D in the late 1950s, and there is good reason to believe Randall Clarke, who taught Trimble history at Bangor Grammar, was one of Theodore Moody's first postgraduate supervisees at Queen's University Belfast. Clarke, of course, submitted his M.A. thesis at Queen's University Belfast in April 1936, 'The Social and Political Teachings of the Young Irelanders, 1842-1848'. Is it, in fact, significant the two men who won the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1998 boasted historical imaginations which were to a large extent moulded by the mode of Irish historical scholarship developed by Moody and Edwards? Is there a sense in which the evolution of the relatively peaceful and stable Ireland owes its existence to the historiographical project launched by Moody and Edwards in the late 1930s? Does present day Northern Ireland represent, in effect, the vindication of historical revisionism? This question requires further thought. It is clear,

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however, visions of history, Irish and otherwise, have very much informed the influential strands of political thought constructed by the architects of peace in Northern Ireland.

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