

Notes

Chapter One Introduction: *Taoibh Amuigh agus Faoi Ghlas:* The Counter-aesthetics of Republican Prison Writing

1. Gerry Adams, "The Fire," *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 37.
2. *Ibid.*, 46.
3. Pat Magee, *Gangsters or Guerillas?* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 2001) v.
4. David Pierce, ed., Introduction, *Irish Writing in the Twentieth Century: A Reader* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000) xl.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Shiela Roberts, "South African Prison Literature," *Ariel* 16.2 (Apr. 1985): 61.
7. Michel Foucault, "Power and Strategies," *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980) 141–2.
8. In "The Eye of Power," for instance, Foucault argues, "The tendency of Bentham's thought [in designing prisons such as the famed Panopticon] is archaic in the importance it gives to the gaze." In *Power/Knowledge* 160.
9. Breyten Breytenbach, *The True Confessions of an Albino Terrorist* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1983) 147.
10. Ioan Davies, *Writers in Prison* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990) 4.
11. *Ibid.*
12. William Wordsworth, "Preface to Lyrical Ballads," *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* vol. 2A, 7th edition, ed. M. H. Abrams et al. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000) 250.
13. Gerry Adams, "Inside Story," *Republican News* 16 Aug. 1975: 6.
14. Gerry Adams, "Cage Eleven," *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 20.
15. Wordsworth, "Preface" 249.
16. *Ibid.*, 250.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990) 27.
19. W. B. Yeats, *Essays and Introductions* (New York: Macmillan, 1961) 521–2.
20. Bobby Sands, *One Day in My Life* (Dublin and Cork: Mercier, 1983) 98.

21. Certainly others may edit such work. However, I have found few examples of what textual scholars such as G. Thomas Tanselle term “substantive” changes (word-level, as opposed to “accidentals,” punctuation, capitalization, and spelling) made between the initial, anonymous publication of Sands’s texts in *An Phoblacht/Republican News* and the versions that were published after his death. [G. Thomas Tanselle, *Textual Criticism and Scholarly Editing* (University Press of Virginia, 1990) 191.] A more detailed examination of the textual history of Sands’s prison writing takes place in chapter three.
22. W. B. Yeats, “Introduction,” *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937) xxxiv.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. Wordsworth, “Preface” 246.
26. Edna Longley, “From *Poetry in the Wars*,” *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*. vol. 3, ed. Seamus Deane (Derry: Field Day, 1991) 648.
27. Edna Longley, *The Living Stream* (London: Bloodaxe, 1993) 9.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Longley, “From *Poetry*” 648.
30. Terry Eagleton, “Nationalism: Irony and Commitment,” *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1990) 33.
31. Frank Ormsby, “Introduction,” *Poets from the North of Ireland* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1990) 20.
32. Gerry Adams, “Inside Story,” *Republican News* 16 Aug. 1975: 6.
33. Section 31 was repressive legislation passed in the Twenty-Six Counties to censor points of view that the government found dangerous.
34. Tim Pat Coogan, *The IRA* (Niwt, CO: Roberts Rinehart, 1994): 238.
35. While perhaps this nomenclature might evoke a chuckle, interstices of neoconservative political and literary interests such as Ireland’s Section 31 continue to threaten academic freedom elsewhere, including the United States. The International Studies in Higher Education Act, for instance, which was approved by the U.S. House of Representatives in 2004, calls for the establishment of what it terms an “International Education Advisory Board,” two members of which would be agents of, to quote the act itself, “federal agencies that have national security responsibilities.” This board would recommend to the federal government, again in the words of the act, ways “to improve the [university] programs under this Title to better reflect the national needs related to homeland security.” [Qtd. in Laurie King-Irani, “We Aren’t the World,” *In These Times*. 28: 3 2004: par. 7.] Does the wording of this act not threaten an iron fist in a velvet literary canon?
36. Anthony McIntyre, for example, has termed himself a “dissident Provisional republican [*sic*],” and has been sharply critical of Sinn Féin and the Provisional IRA. [Anthony McIntyre, “Provisional Republicanism: Internal Politics, Inequities and Modes of Repression,” *Republicanism*

in *Modern Ireland*, ed. Fearghal McGarry (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2003) 181.] McIntyre left the Provisionals after they accepted the Good Friday Agreement.

37. Other Republican groups also wrote while in prison, though their literary output seems to have been more limited. In the Cages of Long Kesh in the mid-1970s, the Officials produced a publication entirely by prisoners called *An Eochair*.
38. Anthony McIntyre, Laurence McKeown, Pat Magee, and Ella O'Dwyer all have doctorates.

Chapter Two “Our Barbed Wire Ivory Tower”: The Cages of Long Kesh

1. Speakers of Irish Gaelic will immediately note the grammatical error in the magazine's title: in standard Irish “glas” should be affected by *séimhiú* (lenition). The error might trace its origin to a misreading of older Irish typescripts that indicate *séimhiú* with a diacritical mark: “ǵlas” in the old typescript = “ghlas” in the modernized orthography.
2. Colm Keena, *A Biography of Gerry Adams* (Dublin and Cork: Mercier, 1990) 64.
3. “Out of the Ashes,” *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 27 Jan. 1979: 1.
4. Keena, *Biography* 65.
5. This overcrowding is predictable given the sheer number of people interned. On the first day internment was reintroduced in the north (9 Aug. 1971), 342 men were arrested, all from a Nationalist/Catholic background [Raymond Murray, *State Violence: Northern Ireland 1969–1997* (Cork and Dublin: Mercier, 1998) 41]. By Mar. 1972 the number of internees had reached 2,357, again the vast majority of whom were Catholic/Nationalist [Allen Feldman, *Formations of Violence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 86].
6. “Brownie” (Gerry Adams), “Inside Story,” *Republican News* 16 Aug. 1975: 6.
7. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Vintage, 1979) 202.
8. Although most of Adams's writings in *Cage Eleven* are near-verbatim reproductions of the *Republican News* articles, some of the stories contained in this anthology evince much editing. For instance, the bulk of “Cage Eleven” is drawn word-for-word from “Inside Story,” though in its brief description of the shooting of an inmate it alludes to topics dealt with in greater depth in “Out There on the Motorway,” the second article by “Brownie.” *Cage Eleven* also includes several texts that did not appear in *Republican News*.
9. Gerry Adams, Foreword, *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 10–11.
10. Laurence McKeown, *Out of Time: Irish Republican Prisoners Long Kesh 1972–2000* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 2001) 177.

11. Adams, foreword, *Cage Eleven* 13.
12. Ciaran Carson, "Question Time," *Belfast Confetti* (Winston-Salem: Wake Forest University Press, 1989) 63.
13. Ibid.
14. Adams, foreword, *Cage Eleven* 13.
15. Liz Curtis, *Ireland: The Propaganda War* (Belfast: Sásta, 1998) 289–90.
16. Ibid.
17. Adams, "Cage Eleven" 16.
18. The word "screw" is derogatory prison slang for a warder. A prison historian and a former H Block guard himself, Jim Challis traces the term's origin to Pentonville Prison in the 1840s where a machine called "the Crank" was put to penal use. It was precisely what its name implied: "a handle attached to a gear and counting mechanism. The handle had to be turned 20 times a minute—10,000 times a day—and, if the going got too easy, a screw could be tightened to control the pressure to make it harder to turn." Jim Challis, *The Northern Ireland Prison Service 1920–1990: A History* (Belfast: The Northern Ireland Prison Service, 1999) 123. It is not surprising that Republican prisoners would readily incorporate this clever metonymy into their everyday vocabulary. This is yet another example of how Republican POWs view prison officers as almost literally a part of a larger disciplinary machine.
19. Qtd. in personal email to author.
20. Kieran McEvoy, *Paramilitary Imprisonment in Northern Ireland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) 219.
21. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991) 165.
22. Ibid., 374.
23. Indeed, the move from the "Cage" system to individual cellular incarceration in the H Blocks in 1976 demonstrates the shift by the British government to a more explicitly panoptic regime of the sort theorized by Bentham. Such a move was motivated in part by a desire to break and delegitimize Republican solidarity, both in terms of command structure as well as morale. When Foucault writes that in panoptic disciplinary structures "The crowd, a compact mass, a locus of mutual exchanges, individualities merging together, a collective effect, is abolished and replaced by a collection of separated individualities" [Foucault, *Discipline* 201], it is difficult not to think of the cells of the H Blocks and the move to "criminalize" political offenders when Special Category Status is no longer given to those sentenced after 1 Mar. 1976.

Unlike the communal Cages, POWs in the H Blocks were subject to cellular confinement, either alone or at most with one cellmate. In addition, the policy of "criminalization" introduced in March 1976 ended the de facto recognition of paramilitary command structures by prison authorities: warders were to deal with POWs on an individual basis

rather than through their OCs. Perhaps worst of all to the incarcerated Republicans, the new prison regime in the H Blocks required the wearing of official prison uniform by all prisoners. This reversal of British policy prompted Republican POWs to embark first on the Blanket Protest, where prisoners refused official prison clothing and wore only the blankets from their beds. Because of increased abuse of prisoners by the warders, this protest eventually escalated into the No-Wash Protest in 1978 where POWs resorted to smearing their excrement on the walls [McKeown, *Out of Time* 56]. Faced with continued British intransigence, in 1980 and 1981 the POWs embarked on hunger strikes and Bobby Sands was the first of ten men to die on the 1981 strike. The H Blocks are dealt with in greater detail in chapter four.

24. Gerry Adams, "Sláinte," *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 52.
25. *Ibid.*, 55.
26. Lefebvre 43–4. As Adams points out, such bootlegging began in earnest after 1661 when a tax was levied on local distilleries. Adams declares that "Nobody in South Derry, North Antrim, South Armagh or Tyrone paid [the tax], nor would they drink the new 'parliamentary whiskey'" [Adams, "Sláinte," *Cage Eleven* 42]. Perhaps it is not surprising that areas known for armed struggle also are known for subversive gestures in the form of *poitín* stills. Lest it be thought I overstate the case, I invite the reader to recall the so-called Whiskey Rebellion of the nascent republic in the United States, a near civil war sparked by the imposition of a tax on alcohol that was only quelled by an extended military campaign led by George Washington himself. I wonder if it is no coincidence that the areas where the rebellion was fiercest were those settled in largest numbers by immigrants from Ulster.
27. Michel deCerteau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) xiii.
28. In the version of the story that appears in *Cage Eleven*, this sentence is revised to describe the warder as "a remarkable piece of humankind, a right pockel" (27). A "pockel" is defined later in the American version of *Cage Eleven's* glossary as an "awkward person" [Gerry Adams, *Cage Eleven* (New York: Sheridan Square, 1990) 145]. Similarly, "sleekitly" is defined as "cunningly, slyly" (145). There is no glossary in the original Brandon Books version, which also appeared in 1990.
29. "Brownie" (Gerry Adams), "Screws," *Republican News* 10 Apr. 1976: 7. In *Cage Eleven* a paragraph break appears at this point. Similarly, in the original *Republican News* version of this story the idiosyncratic punctuation is standardized: the underscoring separating the parallel activities of warder and prisoner is replaced by semicolons. Similarly, a comma is added after the "Like" that begins the last sentence of the quoted section.
30. It also is hard not to see a variant of Hegel's Master/Slave relationship being enacted in moments such as this. Just as the Master has seemingly

assumed a position of superiority through force of arms, the ascendancy proves itself unstable. For, Hegel writes,

It is not an independent, but rather a dependent consciousness that he [the Master] has achieved. He is thus not assured of self-existence as truth; he finds that his truth is rather the unessential consciousness, and the fortuitous unessential action of that consciousness... But just as the position of the master showed itself to be the reverse of what it wants to be, so, too, the position of servant will, when completed, pass into the opposite of what it immediately is: being a consciousness repressed within itself, it will enter into itself, and change around into real and true independence. [Georg Wilhelm Hegel, *The Philosophy of Hegel* (New York: Random House, 1954) 406–7.]

Unlike the POWs, the warders who guard the wire of Long Kesh in “Screws” can only ever be a reactionary force. Their function is to keep the situation safely in the confines of the status quo; a mastery based on military prowess alone.

31. Hegel, *Philosophy of Hegel* 406.
32. Adams, “Screws” 8.
33. For example, the model of discipline Foucault elaborates in his best-known work often disregards human agency, for as Felix Driver accurately observes “there is little evidence in *Discipline and Punish* of Foucault’s concern with resistance and struggle.” [“Bodies in Space: Foucault’s Account of Disciplinary Power,” *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine, and the Body*, ed. Colin Jones and Roy Porter (New York: Routledge, 1999) 121.] In other, more neglected texts Foucault does acknowledge the limits of panoptic power: for instance, Foucault faults Bentham in “The Eye of Power” for not taking into account “the effective resistance of the people.” [*Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980) 162.] However, although the latter argument may be implicit in the discussion of power in *Discipline and Punish*, it is not framed in such potentially emancipatory terms.
34. McEvoy, *Paramilitary Imprisonment* 42.
35. The translator of Paolo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* glosses this term as “learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and to take action against oppressive elements of reality.” Qtd. in Paolo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Continuum, 1993) 17.
36. Gerry Adams, *Before the Dawn: An Autobiography* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1996) 245.
37. Gerry Adams, “Only Joking,” *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 141.
38. Dr. Laurence McKeown, who was on the 1981 hunger strike for 70 days, denounces members of the church hierarchy such as Fr. Faul, who (in McKeown’s words) engaged in an “anti-hunger strike campaign of vilification of the Republican Movement and its leadership” (Campbell, McKeown, and O’Hagan 210).

39. In many Native American nations, tricksters and contraries perform their vital and sacred function through reversal of expected roles and by the laughter resulting from their unexpected, often obscene behavior. In the words of anthropologist Barbara Tedlock,

The [Native American sacred] clown's mystical liberation from ultimate cosmic fears brings with it a liberation from conventional notions of what is dangerous or sacred in the religious ceremonies of men... Although the clown, by causing people to laugh at shamans and other religious authorities, might appear to weaken the very fabric of his society's religion, he might actually revitalize it by revealing higher truths. ["The Clown's Way," *Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy*, ed. Dennis and Barbara Tedlock (New York: Liveright, 1992) 108–9.]

Although tricksters may seem humorous or even worthy of ridicule, in fact they are endowed with great powers. Paradoxically, they encourage critical detachment from the surrounding world while simultaneously showing the way toward integration within that world. Readers might make comparisons between the contrary and Bakhtin's notion of the carnivalesque; however, I maintain that important distinctions need to be made not only because of the explicitly sacred place accorded to the contrary in many Native American nations, but also because the contrary's function is not merely parodic or antagonistic. Contraries do not just mock official discourse, but rather they simultaneously reinforce aspects of it.

40. Barbara Harlow, *Resistance Literature* (New York: Meuthen, 1987) 16.
41. "Brownie" (Gerry Adams), "Christians for Freedom?" *Republican News* 22 Jan. 1977: 2. The *Cage Eleven* version notes that the assistant "peeked out at them from behind the Bishop's door." [Adams, "Christians" 100.]
42. Adams, "Christians" 2.
43. "Brownie" (Gerry Adams), "Frank Stagg," *Republican News* 10 Jan. 1976: 4.
44. While literary scholars have ignored the Brownie columns, British journalists have caused controversy in their investigations of Adams's collaborations with other writers with whom he shared the Cages. For example, in *Man of War, Man of Peace: The Unauthorized Biography of Gerry Adams* (London: Pan, 1997), David Sharrock and Mark Devenport have suggested that because some of the speakers in the Brownie columns identify themselves as paramilitaries the articles provide evidence of Adams's IRA membership, a claim that the British security forces themselves have not been able to prove. According to Sharrock and Devenport, Adams "maintained that the Brownie articles were not written solely by him, but were the work of a number of prisoners. Asked if he therefore wrote the articles which contained no damaging admissions, but not those which did, he replied yes." For their part, Sharrock and Devenport conclude that "the Brownie columns are clearly the work of an individual rather than a committee" (132).

It may be that political expediency prevents Adams from claiming sole authorship of some or all of the controversial articles. After all, although figures such as Nelson Mandela and former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin (who, as leader of the resistance movement Irgun was responsible for the bombing of the King David Hotel in July 1946, an attack that killed 92 people) might be lionized today, it is largely because their links to armed struggle have been conveniently—sometimes deliberately—forgotten. However, unlike Sharrock and Devenport, I have no particular investment in proving (or disproving) Adams's alleged connections with the IRA. It is perhaps telling that, despite an apparently thorough familiarity with the Brownie columns, Sharrock and Devenport refuse to even mention an article such as “Frank Stagg” that overtly foregrounds Adams as coauthor. This omission is particularly problematic given that Gerry Kelly, one of the coauthors in question, was imprisoned for IRA activity, a detail that supports Adams's assertions that such joint literary ventures with avowed paramilitaries occurred in some of the Brownie columns.

Finally, one must also remain aware of the manner in which Adams may at times utilize a persona not necessarily his own. Furthermore we must also remember that, as recent autobiographical theory has explored, texts are necessarily constructs even when they attempt to represent autobiographical experience objectively. In the foreword to *Cage Eleven* Adams explains that “In this book the main characters are fictional, but they and their escapades are my way of representing life as it was in Long Kesh” [Adams, foreword, *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 14]. Some, perhaps even the majority, of Long Kesh's literary denizens seem carefully modeled after actual personages (including, as Bobby Devlin attests in his memoirs of Long Kesh [8] the loony Cratur—originally identified by his nickname “Thumper or Tumper” in the Brownie column of the same name [Gerry Adams, “‘Thumper’ or ‘Tumper’” *Republican News* 8 Nov. 1975: 5]. However, we must consider the possibility that others, including at times Brownie himself, are composite characters, who, as Adams suggests above, might come as close to an accurate representation of life in the Cages as one could expect from a work of “nonfiction,” a sentiment shared by his comrade Jim McCann, who reveals in his own account of imprisonment in the Cages that his “recollections are 80 percent true and 90 percent as close to the truth as my aging memory permits.” Jim McCann, *The Night the Kesh Went Up* (Belfast: Glandore, 1998) 3.

45. Adams, “Frank Stagg” (RN) 4.
46. It is worth noting that while it similarly notes that Adams “used [Feeney's and Kelly's accounts] . . . almost as they were written,” the *taoibh amuigh* version of “Frank Stagg” does not place quotation marks around the passages in question [Gerry Adams, “Frank Stagg” (RN: 5; CE 117)].
47. The *Cage Eleven* version omits this word. Adams, “Frank Stagg, 1976” (CE) 119.

48. Adams, "Frank Stagg, 1976" (CE) 4.
49. In the *Republican News* version this paragraph reads as follows: "Only the Irish people can guarantee those rights [of Republicans in English jails to be treated as POWs] and they can do this by opposing the Brit presence in Ireland and the injustices and tortures meted out to Irish prisoners" (5). It makes no mention of the "Dublin government."
50. Adams, "Frank Stagg, 1976" (CE) 124.
51. Adams, "Frank Stagg, 1976" (RN) 5.
52. Adams, "Frank Stagg, 1976" (CE) 124.
53. I do not mean to denigrate the past and present efforts of those at *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, which I think is an outstanding example of grassroots journalism. However, as the title announces, the paper reports news from a Provisional Republican perspective, a perspective sadly, though unsurprisingly, absent in papers such as the *Belfast Telegraph* that enjoy greater circulation in the north (and that make more frequent claims of journalistic objectivity despite a decidedly Unionist slant).
54. In making this claim I do not dispute the need for libel laws properly applied. However, when attempting to make sense of a situation as vexed as that of Ireland, readers must avail themselves of a variety of perspectives. The need for the sort of accountability called for in the Brownie articles is all the more pressing when one considers the degree to which the "mainstream" media has historically been manipulated by British military intelligence. According to Colin Wallace, a British Army press officer during the early 1970s, "We had Information Policy, which was the psychological warfare team hidden in the press office" (qtd. in Sharrock and Devenport, *Man of War* 118), and by this conduit MI6 fed information directly to the media, including names and photos of Republican activists and people they alleged were members of the IRA (Adams numbered among these). As Sharrock and Devenport—two reporters generally hostile to Republicanism—confirm, in 1974 such media plants were "part of an overall strategy to soften up the Provisionals in advance of negotiating a new ceasefire with them" (119).
55. The term "Free State" is used pejoratively in this fashion by northern nationalists with regard to the Twenty-Six Counties to point out what they view as the Republic's abandonment of the Six Counties.
56. McKeown, *Out of Time* 176.
57. Adams, *Before* 319.
58. *Ibid.*, 317.
59. McEvoy, *Paramilitary Imprisonment* 204.
60. "Brownie" (Gerry Adams), "A Week in the Life," *Republican News* 29 May 1976: 3.
61. *Ibid.*
62. McEvoy, *Paramilitary Imprisonment* 206.
63. Dennis Faul and Raymond Murray, *The Hooded Men: British Torture in Ireland August, October 1971* (Dungannon: Fr. Faul, 1974) 1.
64. Qtd. in Faul and Murray, *Hooded Men* 40.

65. *Ibid.*, 23.
66. *Ibid.*, 27.
67. Indeed, the attempts by the Security Forces to sever POWs from temporality mirrors their attempts to forcibly decontextualize Republicans in other ways, for instance in the repeated attempts by the British to deny or remove Special Category Status.
68. Qtd. in Faul and Murray, *Hooded Men* 41.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Adams, *Before* 189.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*, 222.
73. *Ibid.*, 245–6.
74. “Brownie” (Gerry Adams), “Belfast: 1913 or 1976?” *Republican News* 13 Nov. 1976: 2.
75. “Brownie” (Gerry Adams), “The Republic: A Reality,” *Republican News* 29 Nov. 1975: 4.
76. Adams, “Republic” 4.
77. Richard English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 166.
78. This term derives from the Officials’ use of Easter lily badges with sticky adhesive backing as opposed to the Provisionals’ badges which utilized a pin.
79. “Brownie” (Gerry Adams), “Out There on the Motorway. . .” *Republican News* 23 Aug. 1975: 7.
80. This critique of the Officials is similarly evident in “The Awakening,” which, apart from the farewell that appeared on the same pages below it, was the last of the regular Brownie columns. In “The Awakening” the protagonist, a horse trader described as “a Stick by persuasion” (4), discovers the legendary hero Malachi and his band of warriors in an enchanted slumber in a cavern near Dundalk. An archetypal warrior-king such as Arthur, according to folklore Malachi will drive the English from Ireland when he is awoken, yet the Official wastes his chance to free his country. When one of the warriors stirs and asks him “Is it time yet?” the Stick replies “No, not yet, but it won’t be long now” (4) and the warriors remain asleep.
 In “Such a Yarn,” the *Cage Eleven* version of this story, the horse trader is not an Official but a “Fianna Fail minister” [Gerry Adams, “Such a Yarn,” *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 66]. This change is more than a simple reflection of the fact that by 1990 the Officials had ceased to exist. As was the case with the revisions to “Frank Stagg,” Adams keeps the article relevant to the particular moment of publication by refocusing his critique on the Dublin government. In Adams’s analysis, through their anti-interventionist policies and their hostility to Sinn Féin, Fianna Fail were virtual collaborators in continued British dominance of Ireland.
81. Adams, “Motorway” 7.

82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. I of course recognize that Republican paramilitaries are not averse to hijacking cars if no other option presents itself.
85. I use this term deliberately, for in fact the British first invented such prison compounds in South Africa during the Boer War. While today—for obvious, tragic reasons—the term “concentration camp” carries with it associations with Nazi Germany, we must still recognize the distinction between the concentration camps of the early years of the Nazi regime (whose primary function, like the South African camps, was to confine political dissenters such as communists) and the death camps of later years, whose purpose was industrialized slaughter of human life.
86. Adams, “Motorway” 7.
87. Ibid.
88. McEvoy, *Paramilitary Imprisonment* 67.
89. Adams, foreword, *Cage Eleven* 12.
90. Ibid.
91. Adams may or may not have been aware that the Officials had their own tradition of prison writing in the Cages, their typed and mimeographed periodical entitled *An Eochair*.
92. Qtd. in English, *Armed Struggle* 225.
93. Dave Morley, “Simplicity,” *Faoi Glas* Aug. 1975: 3.
94. Ibid.
95. Tim Pat Coogan, *The IRA* (Niwot, CO: Roberts Rinehart, 1994) 255. In this otherwise excellent book Coogan claims that political and literary texts “are not important to Republicans of the ‘physical force’ school. Deaths, commemorations, holding firm with the past—these are and will be the preoccupations that nourish the IRA” (255). Although this may be true of some Republicans and Republican paramilitaries, I insist that in such a statement Coogan is wildly inaccurate in that it simply does not take into account the radical fashion in which many prisoners embraced literature and political theory on their own, first during incarceration as well as subsequent to release. A glance at the books that comprised the library of the Republican H Blocks—whose holdings include writers from Paolo Friere to W.B. Yeats—should disabuse one of the notion that Republicans, whether paramilitary or otherwise—cannot be simultaneously intellectual and of the “physical force school.” This collection is currently held in the offices of Coiste na nIarchimí in Belfast.
96. *Faoi Glas* No. 1 Aug. 1975: 1.
97. This partition remains today, certainly in the minds of revisionist critics such as Edna Longley who attacked *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing* not just for what they perceived as a nationalist bias, but also for the apparent crime of placing other forms of writing on an equal footing with “Literature.”

98. Derec MacThomais, "Greetings from the Kesh," *Faoi Glas* No.1 Aug. 1975: 3.
99. Harlow, *Resistance Literature* 120.
100. Qtd. in McKeown, *Out of Time* 38.
101. Ibid.
102. Gerry Adams, "The Night Andy Warhol Was Banned," *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 131.
103. Ibid., 132.
104. Ibid., 133.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
107. The reader must keep in mind the fact that although the young Adams was indeed a rising star in Provisional Republicanism in the mid-1970s, other—mainly older—figures occupied the highest positions of power in both Sinn Féin and the IRA Army Council.
108. Alexandre Kojève, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel* (New York: Basic, 1969) 51.
109. In this crucial respect Adams's texts differ from the best-known prison writings of Bobby Sands. Generally Sands's work does not engage in the unconcealed subversion of Republican hierarchies that we see in the Brownie articles and *Cage Eleven*. For a thorough analysis of the factors that contributed to this disparity, see my discussion of Sands's writings in chapter three of this book.
110. McKeown, *Out of Time* 39.
111. This would change in later years in the H Blocks, when "anyone in the wing" could take up positions in the leadership [McKeown, *Out of Time* 245], regardless of affiliation with the PIRA.
112. McKeown, *Out of Time* 24.
113. A derogatory term in Northern Ireland for a Catholic.
114. Qtd. in Martin Dillon, *The Shankill Butchers* (New York: Routledge, 1989) xxiii.
115. Dillon xxi.
116. Adams, "Inside Story" 6.
117. Qtd. in McKeown, *Out of Time* 43.
118. McKeown, email to author.
119. "Brownie" (Gerry Adams), "The National Alternative," *Republican News* 3 Apr. 1976: 7.
120. Adams, "Alternative" 7.
121. Ibid.
122. See also the works of Campbell et al., McKeown, Feldman, and Coogan for detailed discussion of the H Block struggle.
123. The burning of the Cages by POWs in October 1974, and the riot immediately afterward in Belfast's Crumlin Road Prison to express solidarity with "the men behind the wire."
124. McKeown, *Out of Time* 176.
125. Adams, foreword, *Cage Eleven* 13.

126. McKeown, *Out of Time* 180.
127. "Brownie" (Gerry Adams), "An Ard Fheis," *Republican News* 18 Sept. 1976: 2. The *Cage Eleven* version alters the original phrasing, combining the first and second sentence, correcting the spelling of the Irish words, and does not italicize any words: "In an exclusive interview the Cage O.C. and Adjutant told me that they considered the Árd Fheis to have been a great success and hoped Sinn Féin *cumainn* outside would give a favourable reception to proposals sent out to them... They would wait with interest a report from the Árd Fheis outside and promised, somewhat pessimistically that the Cage would probably have another Árd Fheis next year." Adams, "An Árd Fheis," *Cage Eleven* 76.
128. Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, *The Origins of the Present Troubles in Northern Ireland* (New York: Longman, 1997) 71.
129. Tim Pat Coogan, *The Troubles* (New York: Palgrave, 2002) 203.
130. *Ibid.*, 333.
131. Dillon 21.
132. Coogan, *Troubles* 337.
133. English, *Armed Struggle* 173.
134. David Lowry, "The English System of Judicial Injustice," *Catholic League Newsletter* 7.11 (1980): 2.
135. Kennedy-Pipe, *Origins of the Present Troubles* 51–2.

Chapter Three "Comrades in the Dark": Writing in the H Blocks, 1976–1981

1. Bobby Sands, "Trilogy" *Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song: An Anthology of the Writings of Bobby Sands* (Dublin and Cork: Mercier Press, 1982) 57–8.
2. W. B. Yeats, "The Tower," *Oxford Anthology of British and Irish Poetry*, ed. Keith Tuma (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) 47.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Allen Feldman, *Formations of Violence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 148.
5. Similar legislation went into effect in Britain: the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) established juridical procedures identical to those of the EPA. Perhaps the most famous contemporary victims of miscarriages of justice, the Guilford Four and the Birmingham Six were arrested and unfairly imprisoned under the PTA. The case of the Guilford Four received much publicity as a result of the film *In the Name of the Father*: for more analysis of this film see the final chapter of this book.
6. This "emergency" legislation was renewed by Westminster every time that it came up for review, even after the PIRA and other paramilitary groups called ceasefires in 1997 and the Good Friday Agreement was

ratified in 1998. The recent attacks in London by militant Islamists make it unlikely that such legislation will disappear any time soon—indeed, many MPs have argued to broaden the powers of such “antiterrorist” legislation. Likewise, these issues have become all too familiar in post–September 11 America as illustrated by the U.S.A. Patriot Act, the “illegal combatants” denied protection under the Geneva Conventions in Guantanamo Bay, and the National Security Agency’s warrantless wiretapping scandals among others. Interestingly, many of the Irish Americans who spoke out so vociferously against British suspension of Irish rights aggressively defend similar legislation enacted in America’s so-called war on terror.

7. David Lowry, “The English System of Judicial Injustice,” *Catholic League Newsletter* 7.11 (1980): 3.
8. Pat Magee, *Gangsters or Guerillas?* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 2001).
9. Tim Pat Coogan, *The IRA* (Boulder: Roberts Rinehart, 1994) 368.
10. Feldman, *Formations of Violence* 152.
11. See *Nor Meekly Serve My Time* or a more complete history of the H Block protest; for a history of both the Cages and the H Blocks, see *Out of Time*. These books are the definitive works on the topic, as they both utilize the testimony of those incarcerated in Long Kesh.
12. Denis O’Hearn, *Nothing but an Unfinished Song: Bobby Sands, the Hunger Striker Who Ignited a Generation* (New York: Nation, 2006) 185–6.
13. Qtd. in Feldman, *Formations of Violence* 191.
14. As Danny Devenny revealed in his AP/RN eulogy, Sands was an active author during his earlier incarceration in the Cages; “Life in the cages of the Kesh,” *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 9 May 1981: 22. O’Hearne claims the earliest known text by Sands is a short story in Gaelige written in late 1975 during his incarceration in Cage Eleven (O’Hearn, *Nothing but an Unfinished Song* 90).
15. Feldman, *Formations of Violence* 166.
16. Gerry Adams, “Inside Story,” *Republican News* 16 Aug. 1975: 6.
17. Eileen Fairweather, Roisin McDonough, and Melanie Mc Fadyean *Only the Rivers Run Free, Northern Ireland: The Women’s War* (London: Pluto, 1984) 57.
18. O’Hearn, *Nothing but an Unfinished Song* 213.
19. *Ibid.*, 215.
20. David Lloyd, *Anomalous States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993) 47.
21. Sands, *Skylark* 20.
22. *Ibid.*, 14.
23. *Ibid.*, 8.
24. Bobby Sands *One Day in My Life* (Dublin and Cork: Mercier, 1983) 25.
25. Gerry Adams, “Cage Eleven,” *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 16.
26. Bobby Sands, “I Once Had a Life,” *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 17 Mar. 1979: 2.

27. Roy Mason, Secretary of State during the late Seventies.
28. Bobby Sands, "Christmas Eve," *Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song* (Dublin and Cork: Mercier Press, 1982) 99.
29. Irish Gaelic, meaning "Our day will come." Sands is credited with politicizing this phrase (Coogan, *The IRA* 380), and one sees it replicated in the discourse of graffiti and wall murals in nationalist areas of the Six Counties, as well as in that of Republican writing.
30. Sands *One Day* 117–8.
31. Bobby Sands, "The harvest Britain has sown" [*sic*], *Republican News* 16 Sept. 1978: 8.
32. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) 4–6.
33. Sands "Harvest" 8.
34. Bobby Sands "Teach Your Children" *Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song* (Dublin and Cork: Mercier Press, 1982) 113.
35. Laurence McKeown, *Out of Time: Irish Republican Prisoners Long Kesh 1972–2000* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 2001) 70.
36. Devenny 22.
37. The prison writings of Thomas Clarke, the first signatory of the Easter Proclamation, are but one example, though unlike the work of Sands and Adams's "Brownie" columns Clarke's reminiscences were written *taoibh amuigh*. First published in 1912–13 in *Irish Freedom*, they were later collected and published in 1922 as *Glimpses of an Irish Felon's Life*.
38. Sands, *Writings* (Dublin) 37.
39. Bobby Sands, "How Much More?" and "I fought a monster today" [*sic*], *Republican News* 7 Oct. 1978: 9.
40. Bill Ashcroft, *Post-Colonial Transformation* (New York: Routledge, 2001) 168.
41. Bobby Sands "On the Blanket," *Republican News* 1 Apr. 1978: 2.
42. Adams, "Cage Eleven," *Cage Eleven* 16.
43. Such valences remain even in post-Good Friday Agreement Belfast. Tired of the yearly strife resulting from contentious Orange parades, a Republican friend of the author who moved with his family from the Ormeau Road to Andersontown in West Belfast related how his former neighbors envied his relocation to, in their words, "Disneyland."
44. Variants include "a young West Belfast fellow" (7 Jan. 1978), "OUR YOUNG COMRADE FROM WEST BELFAST ON THE BLANKET" (21 Jan. 1978), "OUR YOUNG COMRADE FROM WEST BELFAST PRESENTLY ON THE 'BLANKET PROTEST'" (1 Apr. 1978), before stabilizing as "A YOUNG WEST BELFAST REPUBLICAN" for three more articles (3 June, 10 June, and 1 July 1978).
45. Ashcroft's observations regarding the *testimonio* are worth remembering when examining the writings of Republican POWs such as Sands, for they also are marked by a "communal subject position" in which "self-identity . . . is inseparable from the oppressed group or class" (114). Yet, unlike the *testimonio*, the *téacs pluide* does not rely in as complete

(and as problematic) a fashion on an academic interlocutor to reach an audience. For this reason alone Sands's writings are less mediated than those of individuals from the *testimonio* tradition such as Rigoberta Menchu.

46. Sands, "Harvest" 8.
47. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1977) 201.
48. Sands, "Harvest" 8.
49. Ibid.
50. Bobby Sands, "The window of my mind" [sic], *Republican News* 25 Nov. 1978: 7.
51. O'Hearn, *Nothing but an Unfinished Song* 206, 209.
52. Ibid., 206.
53. Bobby Sands, "The Gloves Have Been Removed," *Republican News* 16 Sept. 1978: 8; Sands, "Harvest" 8.
54. Bobby Sands, "I fought a monster today" [sic] and "How Much More" *Republican News* 7 Oct. 1978: 9.
55. Bobby Sands, "The Birth of a Republican," *Republican News* 16 Dec 1978: 6.
56. O'Hearn, *Nothing but an Unfinished Song* 346.
57. Ibid., 183.
58. Earlier visions of such an ideology of course might be traced to Republican theorists such as James Connolly. However, as discussed in detail in the previous chapter, post-1922 mainstream Republicanism was notable for its conservatism and hostility to anything resembling radical socialism. Mickey McMullan, imprisoned in the Cages, remembers that in 1976 the OC of his Cage forbid the POWs to watch television programs about the Cuban revolution, Mao Tse Tung, or Vietnam because the OC deemed them "about communism and therefore not educational" (qtd. in McKeown, *Out of Time* 38). It was not until the rise to prominence in the mid-1970s of theorists such as Gerry Adams and Bobby Sands that Provisionals gave broad support to this blend of the physical force tradition with a socialist politicization of the rank and file.
59. The manuscript of the first stanza of Sands's epic poem "Trilogy" provides a fascinating visual representation of this deliberate deferral of individuality. As evident in *Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song's* photoreproduction of the *teachtaireacht* (message) itself, although the third line of the poem depicts the speaker as inscribing "B.S. was here" on the wall of his cell, next to the title of this first section of the poem Sands signs his name as "Marcella POW." Sands, *Skylark* 2.
60. Laurence McKeown, manuscript letter to *Irish Press*, c. 1980.
61. Bobby Sands, "On the Blanket," *Republican News* 7 Jan. 1978: 6.
62. Bobby Sands, "Poetic Justice," *Republican News* 2 Dec. 1978: 5.
63. "Poems from the H Blocks," *Republican News* 9 Sept. 1978: 10.

64. Qtd. in McKeown, *Out of Time* 64.
65. Danny Morrison, "Introduction," in Bobby Sands, *Prison Poems* (Dublin: Sinn Féin Publicity Department, Oct. 1981) 10.
66. The degree to which this ideal has been put into practice is at present largely unknowable. Unfortunately, the vast majority of Sands's manuscripts have been locked away in the National Archives in Dublin by the Bobby Sands Trust, and will be unavailable to the public until, at earliest, the end of 2007, months after I am contractually obligated to deliver this manuscript to the publisher. As a result, I have only been able to study those *teachtaireachtaí* that have either remained in the hands of his comrades or that have been photoreproduced in works such as *Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song* and *Nothing but an Unfinished Song*. This, I admit is a serious—but sadly, unavoidable—absence in the present study, and one that I will address as the manuscripts become available. I take some solace in the fact that according to Danny Morrison in an interview he gave me in 2003, even he and Gerry Adams are unable to access these manuscripts—particularly notable because Morrison is the director of the Bobby Sands Trust. In fact, Morrison and Adams have a running bet on whether or not a particular line in the published version of one of Sands's poems mirrors the original wording. It is a bet that will be settled only when the manuscripts are made available again. Danny Morrison, interview, July 2003.
67. Roibeard O Seachnasaigh (Bobby Sands), "An scéal" [*sic*], *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 10 Dec. 1981: 10.
68. Elsewhere in *The Living Stream* Longley defines true poetry as something that, "feeling its way through form" exhibits a "utopian pull against the biases of society." Longley, *The Living Stream* (London: Bloodaxe, 1993) 221. The perils of such a mystification evince themselves when they lead to similar confusion about the neutrality of participants in the conflict in Ireland. Unbelievably, earlier in *The Living Stream* Longley praises the "hands-off stance of the UK government" towards the Six Counties! Longley, *Stream* 193. Such a misguided claim is all the more maddening when it is made shortly after the 1992 trial of Brian Nelson, a former Loyalist paramilitary who was put to work as an undercover British intelligence agent in the Ulster Defense Association (UDA), a loyalist paramilitary group. Coogan reveals that Nelson's handlers in British intelligence did nothing as in 1988, under Nelson's guidance, the UDA imported weapons from South Africa. Between 1985 and 1988 the UDA killed three people: in the five years subsequent to the shipment, the UDA killed 160 people with their South African weapons. Coogan, *Troubles* 310. In 1992, a BBC exposé insisted that Nelson himself "had been involved in ten murders or murder plots carried out by the UDA with the knowledge of the [British] army." Coogan, *Troubles* 311. A hands-off approach by the U.K. government indeed, but only as a form of brutal counterinsurgency.

69. Sands, *Skylark* 167–8.
70. O’Hearn, *Nothing but an Unfinished Song* 415.
71. *Ibid.*, 333–4.
72. Revenge is a complicated concept in Sands’s writings. Although in this moment the poem seems to suggest a physical-force response, readers should recall that elsewhere Sands uses the term to contrast the brutality of the state with the United Ireland that he imagines, claiming in his hunger strike diary for example that the Provisionals’ “revenge will be liberation of all.” [Sands, *Skylark* 166.] In an even more forgiving moment he predicts that “the laughter of our children” will be the only revenge.
73. Roibeard Ó Seachnasaigh (Bobby Sands), “An Mhaidin,” *Faoi Ghlas ag Gaill* (Belfast: Gaeil Bheal Feirste in Eadan H-Bloc agus Ard Mhacha, 1981): no page numbers, but appears on 19th page. I have reproduced the song exactly as it appears in *Faoi Ghlas ag Gaill*, making no attempt to allow the longer lines prevented by the limited space of the collection’s page.
74. In the same issue of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* that first published Bobby Sands’s hunger strike diary, Deasun Breatnach claims that “Up to the time of the *amhrán* (popular song), Irish poetry largely was aristocratic. The *amhrán* marks the proletarianization of song and poetry in Irish. It also marks the beginning of the powerful national song, one no longer confined to one class, family or province, but one which covers the entire Irish people, one such as *Róisín Dubh* [*sic*].” Though perhaps an oversimplification of the origins of contemporary poetry in Druidic tradition, Breatnach’s article rightly urges us to ponder the intersections of class and poetic aesthetics. Similarly, he also reminds us that ancient Irish poetic tradition is steeped in the politics of the day as evident in what today might be termed “nationalistic” historic lays, druidic satires intended to effect change, and poems in praise of rulers. “The druid and the poet.” *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 13 June 1981: 15. Whatever one thinks of his claims, Breatnach’s article merits study because of the insights it gives us to Provisional Republican poetic models.
75. Ó Seachnasaigh (Sands), “Mhaidin” 19.
76. Sands, *Skylark* 168.
77. It is unclear to what degree succeeding editors of Sands’s work were aware that other versions of the song exist, let alone that a specific decision was made to privilege the version in the hunger strike diary. Such is the difficulty of oral tradition.
78. Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983) 8.
79. *Ibid.*, 7.
80. O’Hearn, *Nothing but an Unfinished Song* 197.
81. *Ibid.*, 220.
82. *Ibid.*, 264.
83. G. Thomas Tanselle, *Textual Criticism and Scholarly Editing* (University of Virginia Press, 1990) 187.

84. Qtd. in Tanselle 193.
85. Sands, *Skylark* 172.
86. Bobby Sands, "The Diary of Bobby Sands," special supplement, *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 13 June 1981: vii.
87. Bobby Sands, *The Diary of Bobby Sands* (Dublin: Sinn Féin Publicity Department, June 1981) 42. Bobby Sands, *The Diary of Bobby Sands* (Dublin: Republican Publications, May 1990) 53.
88. Sands, *Skylark* 173.
89. *Ibid.*, 172.
90. *Ibid.*, 172–3.
91. *Ibid.*, 172.
92. It does, however, raise the question as to why so few of Sands's Irish-language texts have made it into widespread publication. *Nothing but an Unfinished Song* has given the world an invaluable gift in its photo-reproduction of a portion of the manuscript of Sands's first-known prison writing in Irish or English, "Ag bunadh gaeltachta." However, I am aware of at least four other texts *as Gaeilge* by Sands that have not yet been anthologized, or indeed appeared in print since their publication in local Republican pamphlets or newspapers: the poem "An Choir inár gCionne" and the prose pieces "An Scéal," "Easbaidh Gaeilge ar Raidio agus Teilifís Éireann" [*sic*] and "Coiscéim Amháin ón Uaigh."
93. Sands, *One Day* 23.
94. Sands, "Diary" iii.
95. Sands, *Skylark* 171, 172.
96. Sands, "Diary" vi.
97. Bobby Sands, "The Writings of Bobby Sands," *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 21 Mar. 1981: 6–7.
98. *Ibid.*, 7.
99. Qtd. in Brian Campbell, Laurence McKeown, and Felim O'Hagan, *Nor Meekly Serve My Time* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 1994) 104.
100. Qtd. in Campbell, McKeown, and O'Hagan 107.
101. Sands, "Birth" 6–7.
102. Bobby Sands, "The Birth of a Republican," *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 4 Apr. 1981: 7.
103. Bobby Sands, "The rhythm of time" [*sic*], *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 29 June 1981: 16.
104. Bobby Sands, "The Captain and the Cowards" and "All God's Children," *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 19 Sept. 1981: 8–10.
105. O'Hearn, *Nothing but an Unfinished Song* 353.
106. Gerry Adams, "Introduction," in Bobby Sands, *The Writings of Bobby Sands* (Belfast?: Sinn Féin, Mar. 1981).
107. Adams, *Writings* intro.
108. The prose pieces are: "I Once Had a Life," "I Fought a Monster Today," "I Am Sir, You Are 1066!," "A Thought in the Night," "The Window of My Mind," "Alone and Condemned," and "The Lark and the

Freedom Fighter.” The poems are “Modern Times” and “And the Woman Cried.”

109. Adams, *Writings* intro.
110. “A Mouse-Eye View,” *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 17 Mar. 1979: 2.
111. The cover’s main semiotic strategy—to humanize, to connect a face to a name—also, of course, fits well with the larger stratagem by which Sands’s supporters hoped to save his life through widespread political pressure, a tactic that reached its zenith in the campaign to elect him to the British parliament. The sadly mistaken theory was that the British government would not allow an MP to die on hunger strike. All involved knew that the election would be bitterly contested, one necessitating maximum voter turnout: Sands’s bid as an “anti-H Block political prisoner” courted voters outside the Republican core who required some convincing that Sands was human first, Republican second. It’s likely that the affable, grinning image of Sands used on placards helped in this goal.
112. “Thoughts from H Block by a Blanket Man’s Brother” [*sic*], *Republican News* 10 June 1978: 3.
113. When first published in *Republican News* on 1 July 1978 “I Am Sir, Your [*sic*] Are 1066!” is accompanied by a similar drawing of a fist, though *sans* barbed wire.
114. Such an image does not accompany the initial publication of the story in *An Phoblacht/Republican News*.
115. Bobby Sands, “The Lark and the Freedom Fighter,” *The Writings of Bobby Sands*, (Belfast?: Sinn Féin, Mar. 1981). No pagination.
116. *Ibid.*
117. *Ibid.*
118. Feldman, *Formations of Violence* 160.
119. Sands’s *Republican News* articles “On the Blanket” (7 Jan. 1978), “The Agony of It All,” and “One of Those Days That Never Ends” all are accompanied by the same portrait of a generic, bearded Blanketman viewed face-on. Starting on 20 January 1979 all of Sands’s “Marcella” articles are accompanied by a “logo” consisting of a bust of a bearded POW seen in profile as if on a coin, superimposed over the backdrop of a large “H,” with the cursive signature indicating that the article is “by Marcella, H Block, Long Kesh.” An earlier version of this logo makes its appearance alongside the first appearance of Sands’s article “The Birth of a Republican” on 16 December 1978, though the image itself assigns no authorship.
120. Gerry Adams, “Introduction,” in Bobby Sands, *The Writings of Bobby Sands* (Dublin: Sinn Féin POW Department, Apr. 1981) 5–6.
121. Despite the fact that the later American version of this pamphlet reproduces the identical introduction as accompanies the Dublin edition, I say this with some confidence. The American edition, published in New York by the “I.P.O.W. Committee” of Irish Northern Aid in “May 1981” is decidedly more funereal in layout. The cover, for example, is

overwhelmingly black, with the title, the “lark and barbed wire” icon, and—like a gravestone—Sands’s birth and death years inscribed in purple.

122. At least two other versions based upon the Dublin edition are extant. The first is a Canadian version, which seems only a photocopy of the original using 8 ½ by 11” paper folded in half with a heavy white paper cover. The only difference between this edition and the Dublin one is the addition of two lines at the bottom of the title page, immediately beneath the bibliographic information that identify the pamphlet as being the work of the Sinn Fein POW Department in Dublin: “IRISH PRISONER OF WAR COMMITTEE/BOX 5085, STATION E, HAMILTON, ONTARIO” (1). As noted above, the American version of *The Writings of Bobby Sands* differs in layout. The same ten stories and two poems appear in it. The texts appear in the same order with one exception: “A break in the monotony” precedes “The woman cried” in the Dublin edition, vice versa in the American. Similarly, the American edition uses exactly the same illustrations and photographs, which appear in the same order apart from those that accompany “I am Sir, you are 1066.” In both editions the story’s text is divided by a drawing of an H Block warder looming in silhouette over a crouched, near-naked Blanketman, the same drawing that appeared next to the story in its reprint in *An Phoblacht/Republican News* on 21 Mar. 1981. However, in the American edition, an image of an excrement-smearred cell window acts almost as a introduction to the story, unlike the Dublin version where the photo follows this story and performs the same function for “I fought a monster today” (30). The American edition boasts only twenty-eight pages in contrast to the thirty-six of the Dublin edition, this condensation providing one possible explanation for the reversals described above. Although the New York editors apparently desired the illustrations to retain connection to the stories that they originally accompanied, sometimes space limitations required minor reformatting. A more substantial shift in focus manifests itself in the change in the inside back cover. In the Dublin and Canadian edition it is a photographic advertisement for *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, Sands’s “publicity photo” a central feature of the newspaper issue depicted. In contrast, the inside cover of the American edition advertises the Irish American newspaper *The Irish People*, with an accompanying invitation to join Irish Northern Aid, which it describes as “an American based non-profit organization formed to alleviate the sufferings of the dependents of Irish political prisoners through An Cumman Cabrach in Dublin and affiliates such as Green Cross in Belfast” (29).
123. Sands, *Writings* (Dublin) 32.
124. *Ibid.*, 15.
125. *Ibid.*, 16.
126. O’Hearn, *Nothing but an Unfinished Song* 1.
127. Sands, *Skylark* 154.

128. Sands, *Writings* (Dublin) 22.
129. *Ibid.*, 21.
130. *Ibid.*, 4.
131. One wonders how this image might be used today in the post–Good Friday Agreement era. Marcella Sands has made no secret of her dissatisfaction with the direction that Sinn Féin and the Provisional IRA have taken. Adams, of course has always been a strong proponent of the Agreement, and the Independent Monitoring Commission has recently verified the PIRA’s total decommissioning of weapons. In the absence of Sands’s own analysis of the present situation this photo might easily be used to gain support among potentially dissident Republicans, for it visually creates a connection between Sands and one of the architects of the Agreement.
132. Sands, “rhythm” 16.
133. Other poems credited to Sands ran in *An Phoblacht/Republican News* only subsequent to the release of *Prison Poems*: “The jail tunnel” [*sic*], 17 Dec. 1981: 11; “Dreamers” and “Stars of freedom” [*sic*], 31 Dec. 1981: 7. These three poems do not appear in *Prison Poems*, but do appear in *Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song*.
134. Marcella, H6 (Bobby Sands), “... and the woman cried” [*sic*], *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 24 Mar. 1979: 11.
135. Roibeard, H5 Block (Bobby Sands), “Poetic Justice,” *Republican News* 2 Dec. 1978: 5.
136. Sands, “The Rhythm of Time,” *Prison Poems* (Dublin: Sinn Féin Publicity Department, Oct. 1981) 81.
137. Sands, “Rhythm” (*PP*) 82.
138. Gerry Adams, “Real poetry” [*sic*], *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 17 Dec. 1981: 9.
139. Adams, “Real poetry” 9.
140. Wordsworth 250.
141. Percy Bysshe Shelley, “From A Defence of Poetry,” *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Vol. 2A. 7th edition, ed. M.H. Abrams et al. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000) 796. On the other hand, in poems such as “Ozymandias” and “England in 1819” Shelley might be accused of failing to heed his own advice, for in the latter poem in particular he all but directly calls for armed insurrection against a tyrannical regime in a very specific historical moment. Perhaps it is asking too much for poets—and literary critics such as myself—to remain consistent.
142. Sands, *Skylark*.
143. Foucault, *Discipline* 202.
144. Longley, “From *Poetry*” 648.
145. Sands, *Skylark*.
146. *Ibid.*, 153.
147. Bobby Sands, *Writings from Prison* (Boulder: Roberts Rinehart, 1997) 3, 24.
148. *Ibid.*, 82.

Chapter Four “Silence Or Cell?”: Women Writing in Armagh, Maghaberry, and Durham

1. A staunchly Republican area of Belfast.
2. Margaretta D’Arcy, *Tell Them Everything* (London: Pluto, 1981) 15.
3. Barbara Harlow, *Barred: Women, Writing, and Political Detention* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1992) 96.
4. Certainly, there is no lack of courage or political commitment in many instances of voluntary incarceration: conscientious objection, for instance. In addition, many fine literary works have been produced by those willingly serving jail time for their refusal to pay government offices: Thoreau’s “Civil Disobedience” ranking highly among them.
5. D’Arcy, *Tell Them Everything* 68.
6. Harlow, *Barred* 83.
7. Mary Corcoran, *Out of Order: The Political Imprisonment of Women in Northern Ireland 1972–1998* (Devon: Willan, 2006) 17.
8. Harlow, *Barred* 4.
9. Benita Parry, “Problems of Current Theories of Colonial Discourse,” *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, 1st edition, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 1995) 43.
10. Gayatri Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, 1st edition, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 1995) 28.
11. Kristin Holst Petersen, “First Things First,” *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* 2nd edition, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 2006) 237.
12. *Ibid.*, 238.
13. Chandra Talpade Mohante “Under Western Eyes,” *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* 2nd edition, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 2006) 242.
14. Nell McCafferty, *The Armagh Women* (Dublin: Co-Op, 1981) 66.
15. *Mother Ireland*, dir. Anne Crilly, Derry Film and Video, 1988.
16. *Ibid.*
17. “Interview with Mary Nelis,” *Slí na mBán*, ed. Melissa Thompson, 1999, accessed 29 Sept. 2006 <<http://www.tallgirlshorts.net/marymary/marynelis.html>>
18. “Interview with Anne Crilly,” *Slí na mBán*, ed. Melissa Thompson, 1999, accessed 29 Sept. 2006 <<http://www.tallgirlshorts.net/marymary/anne.html>>
19. This ban is discussed in this book in greater depth in the chapter dealing with Gerry Adams.
20. Liz Curtis, *Ireland: The Propaganda War* (Belfast: Sásta, 1998) 291.
21. An elite British commando group, comparable to the American Delta Force or the Special Forces.

22. Coogan, *IRA* 440.
23. Qtd. in Raymond Murray, *State Violence: Northern Ireland 1969–1997* (Cork and Dublin: Mercier, 1998) 193.
24. *Ibid.*, 195.
25. Westminster’s apprehension with regard to this documentary proved to be well-founded. On 27 September 1995, the British government was found guilty of breaching Article Two of the European Convention of Human Rights, the Right to Life. The British government simply ignored the verdict. In fact, the Deputy Prime Minister, Michael Heseltine, boldly stated that if given the choice “the same decisions would be made again” to kill the three unarmed people. Qtd. in Murray, *State* 192.
26. Curtis, *Ireland* 288.
27. “Anne Crilly,” *Slí na mBán*.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Qtd. in Roseleen Walsh, *Sticks and Stones* (Belfast: Glandore, 1999) 40.
30. Raymond Murray *Hard Time: Armagh Gaol, 1971–1986* (Cork and Dublin: Mercier, 1998) 8.
31. Murray, *Hard Time* 10. The sharp division in the great numbers of men interned compared to what may seem to be a small number of women in 1972 is actually somewhat misleading. During the height of the Anglo-Irish War in 1920–21, although there were 4,000 men interned throughout the whole of Ireland, according to Challis, “The Government felt it unnecessary to intern women, as they felt it was sufficient to curb terrorist activity [*sic*] by the internment of males.” Jim Challis, *The Northern Ireland Prison System 1920–1990: A History* (Belfast: The Northern Ireland Prison Service, 1999) 25. The proportionately small area and population of the Six Counties (as opposed to all thirty-two in 1920–21) must also be taken into account.
32. Challis, *Northern Ireland Prison Service* 30.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Murray, *Hard Time* 36–7.
35. *Ibid.*, 15–6.
36. *Ibid.*, 18.
37. British Army barracks where brutal interrogations took place during Internment. In 1972 and 1978 Amnesty International accused Britain of human rights abuses at interrogation centers such as these and Castlereagh. Responding to these substantiated reports, in 1976, the European Commission of Human Rights found Britain guilty of torture for the treatment of detainees. In 1978 the European Court of Human Rights found Britain guilty of “inhuman and degrading treatment.”
38. Murray, *Hard Time* 87.
39. *Ibid.*, 26–7.
40. Síle Darragh, personal interview, 7 June 2004. Eileen Hillen (nee Morgan) also termed him “a friend to the [Armagh] women” and described him also as a “great singer” who did his best to entertain the POWs in their difficult hours. Eileen Hillen, personal interview, 5 June 2004.

41. Challis, *Northern Ireland Prison Service* 59.
42. *Ibid.*, 60.
43. Gerry Adams, "Cage Eleven," *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 18–19.
44. *Ibid.*, 19.
45. Roseleen Walsh, interview, Andersontown, 1998.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Walsh and her solicitor were told that this was a member of the RUC, but this remains unverified as all testimony was given from behind a screen.
48. Walsh stated the name during my interview with her, and though it is clear the member of the Security Forces was fabricating the woman's imprisonment as well as Roseleen's association with her, I have decided not to print the name in case the person herself actually exists.
49. Walsh, interview.
50. Walsh, *Sticks and Stones*.
51. Walsh, interview.
52. "Interview with Roseleen Walsh," *Slí na mBán*, ed. Melissa Thompson, 6 Oct. 1999, accessed 29 Sept. 2006 <<http://www.tallgirlshorts.net/marymary/roseleen.html>> As outlined at the beginning of this chapter, this is the same "offence" that eventually landed Margaretta D'Arcy in Armagh. Although transgressive enough to merit three months in Armagh on the outside when directed against the official repository of state-sanctioned culture as embodied in the Ulster Museum's walls on which D'Arcy wrote "H Block," such defiance is all the more courageous when already inside the disciplinary mechanism. The reprisals threaten to be worse, not only because punishment would be concealed from public gaze, but also because a prisoner refusing discipline is doubly defiant in the eyes of the state, having already been judged deviant enough to merit incarceration.
53. "Roseleen" *Slí na mBán*.
54. Roseleen Walsh, "Imprisoned Lovers," *Aiming Higher...* (Belfast: Glandore, 2001) 32.
55. Adams, foreword, *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 13.
56. Walsh, interview.
57. Walsh, "To My Silent Church," *Aiming Higher. . .* (Belfast: Glandore, 1999) 33.
58. In a reading of this poem that she did for the interview on 24 July 1998, this line was read: "Speak! Play now!" This is also the wording in the earliest published version of this poem that I have been able to uncover, one titled "To You," which appeared in *Republican News* in 1974. The poem was used to conclude "Ireland's Valiant Women," an essay about Republican women's activism. Interestingly, the article's introduction to the poem tries to suggest that the verse is directed at Walsh's "fellow Irish women, particularly in Southern Ireland where so many have their heads buried in the sands of apathy and indifference." Qtd. in Michael Tobin, "Ireland's Valiant Women," *Republican News* 31 Aug. 1974: 4.

The altered title certainly might push the poem toward such a reading; one wonders if the changes were made by editors afraid of alienating devout Catholics. At no stage in my interview with Walsh, in other interviews with her that I have read, or in the prefatory remarks in the Glandore Press version have I encountered any suggestion that the poem was not specifically directed at the Catholic Church hierarchy. While certainly “To My Silent Church” might be read as a critique of all those silent in the face of oppression, its present title makes it a more transgressive work in nationalist circles than the version in *Republican News*.

59. McCafferty, *Armagh Women* 18.
60. The draconian nature of the Special Powers Act was so complete as to forbid the possession of phonograph records deemed subversive by the state.
61. Walsh, interview.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Qtd. in Carol Coulter, *Web of Punishment* (Dublin: Attic, 1991) 21.
64. The Blanket and No-Wash Protests are explained in greater depth in the preceding chapter covering Bobby Sands.
65. Walsh, interview.
66. Roseleen Walsh “To Aine” *Aiming Higher...* (Belfast: Glandore, 1999) 37.
67. Walsh, interview.
68. *Ibid.*, Walsh cites “The Journey of the Magi” and “The Lake Isle of Inisfree” as examples of this.
69. Walsh, interview.
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*
72. Qtd. in “1969–1994 Women in a War Zone,” *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachailt* Autumn 1994: 12.
73. Síle Darragh, interview.
74. Chrissy McAuley, interview, Belfast City Hall, Aug. 1998.
75. A small candy bar, known as a “Milky Way” in the United States.
76. “Interview with Martina Anderson,” *Slí na mBán*, ed. Melissa Thompson, Oct. 1999, accessed 29 Sept. 2006 <<http://www.tallgirlshorts.net/marymary/martina.html>>
77. The Republican Women Prisoners, Maghaberry and Durham, *Voices against Oppression: A Collection of Poems* (Dublin: Sinn Féin Women’s Department, 1991).
78. Unlike the work of Sands, the poetry in this collection remains anonymous for years afterward. For example, the poems “Who Is Free?” and “Resistance” appear on page 25 of the Aug. 1994 edition of the Republican periodical *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachailt* without any authorship credited.
79. Qtd. in Laurence McKeown, *Out of Time: Irish Republican Prisoners Long Kesh 1972–2000* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 2000) 181.

80. *Scairt Amach* also included poetry by Republican women: an untitled poem by Martina Shanahan appeared in *Scairt Amach* 4, Nollaig (Dec.) 1990: 14.
81. "Ella," *Slí na mBán*.
82. "Interview with Ella O'Dwyer," *Slí na mBán*, ed. Melissa Thompson, 1999, accessed 29 Sept. 2006 <<http://www.tallgirlshorts.net/mary-mary/ella.html>>
83. Darragh insists that the black clothing used by the women for uniforms "had been allowed in through the prison censor—it hadn't been smuggled in." This makes the violence of the prison administration's wing search all the more troubling, and certainly suggests that it was part of a larger attempt to crack down on protesting POWs.
84. *Ibid.*
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*
87. *Ibid.*
88. "Alone," *Voices against Oppression* (Dublin: Sinn Féin Women's Department, 1991).
89. "From Eve," *Voices against Oppression* (Dublin: Sinn Féin Women's Department, 1991).
90. A similar tactic is evident in the name of the feminist periodical *Spare Rib*, though many of its writers would have been suspicious of Republicanism as an ideology that would merely replace British patriarchy with a united Irish patriarchy.
91. It's worth recalling here Walsh's imagery of Jesus as rebel against injustice.
92. Una Gillespie, "Women in Struggle 1969–1994," *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachailt* Autumn 1994: 19.
93. Qtd. in McCafferty, *Armagh Women* 14.
94. Qtd. in *Mother Ireland*.
95. "Women Join Hunger Strike," *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 22 Nov. 1980: 1.
96. "Don't let them die!" [*sic*], *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 6 Dec. 1980: 16.
97. For example, O'Hearn reveals that both Bobby Sands and Danny Morrison were in favor of women in Armagh fasting again when the men in the H Blocks embarked on their second hunger strike in 1981.
98. Seamus Boyle, "Portrait of a Hunger Striker: Mairead Nugent," *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 27 Dec. 1980: 8.
99. Seamus Boyle, "Portrait of a Hunger Striker: Mary Doyle," *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 10 Jan. 1981: 12.
100. McKeown, *Out of Time* 176.
101. Republican Women Prisoners, "Conditions Document 1996" 5.
102. *Ibid.*, 8.
103. McCafferty, *Armagh Women* 63.

104. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 1995) 28.
105. Councilor Chrissy McAuley, interview, 1998.

Chapter Five "Captive Voices": Post-1981 Republican Prison Writing

1. Eoghan MacCormaic, "The Price of Freedom," *Iris* (Aug. 1984): 34–42.
2. Brian Campbell, personal interview, 1 Jul. 2003.
3. Laurence McKeown, *Out of Time: Irish Republican Prisoners Long Kesh 1972–2000* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 2001) 138.
4. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1993) 62. As a literary critic I cannot help but read these lines as a challenge to the excesses of New Criticism and to those critics who would attempt to bracket politics from poetry. Republican POWs tend to agree. As Brian Campbell said to me in an interview, when it came to creative writings the prisoners were very concerned about the craft of poetry, but "we weren't ignoring the world around us."
5. Freire, *Pedagogy* 54.
6. *Ibid.*, 69.
7. McKeown, *Out of Time* 145.
8. *Ibid.*, 138.
9. Irish Republican Prisoners of War, *Questions of History* (Dublin: Sinn Féin Education Department, 1987) 5.
10. Irish Republican Prisoners of War 76.
11. Qtd. in McKeown, *Out of Time* 146.
12. *Ibid.*, 145.
13. McKeown, *Out of Time* 146.
14. Qtd. in McKeown, *Out of Time* 186.
15. Gerry Kelly, "Tears," *Words from a Cell* (Dublin: Sinn Féin, 1989) 36.
16. Campbell, interview.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. Danny Morrison, *Then the Walls Came Down: A Prison Journal* (Dublin and Cork: Mercier, 1999) 224.
20. Qtd. in Morrison, *Walls* 223.
21. Morrison, *Walls* 143.
22. *Ibid.*, 34.
23. *Ibid.*, 38.
24. Morrison, personal interview, July 2003.
25. A "quid" is slang for one British pound sterling.
26. Morrison, *Walls* 194.

27. Morrison, interview.
28. Laurence McKeown, email to author, 9 Feb. 2007. That the guards did not consider politicized poetry “dangerous” is interesting in itself and perhaps sheds further light on the issues of poetic anonymity discussed in chapter three.
29. Morrison, interview.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Laurence McKeown, personal interview, 1 Jul. 2003.
33. Morrison, interview.
34. McKeown, email to author.
35. Fewer Republican women were incarcerated in the Twenty-Six Counties than in England during these years. Pamela Kane, for example, was one of only three women in Limerick Prison and the only Republican. Pamela Kane, “A Day in the Life” *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 4.1 (Spring 1992): 4. By the time of the Winter 1998 issue there were only eight women POWs, all in Maghaberry. Rosa McLaughlin, “United and Strong” *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 10.2 (Winter 1998): 19.
36. Brian Campbell, “Prison Publications,” *Éirí na Gealaí*, ed. Felim Ó Hagan. (Béal Feirste: Roinn an Chultúir, Shinn Féin, Bealtaine 1991) 15.
37. Republican POWs (Long Kesh), “A Republican Way Forward,” *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 5.2 (Summer 1993): 6–7.
38. Women POWs (Maghaberry), “Women and the National Struggle.” *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 1.1 (Autumn 1989): 10.
39. A Wing H5, “Rás Grinn na Streachailte,” *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 2.3 (Winter 1990): 18.
40. POWs C2 (Maghaberry), “Blatant Discrimination,” *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 4.1 (Spring 1992): 8.
41. Women POWs (Maghaberry), “Big Pat,” *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 2.2 (Summer 1990): 7.
42. *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 2.2 (Summer 1990).
43. Ibid., 26.
44. This consortium of periodicals includes the *Andersontown News*, *North Belfast News*, *South Belfast News*, and the Irish-language paper *Lá. Daily Ireland* was part of this group as well during its all-too-brief run.
45. Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, letter, *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 2.3 (Winter 1990): 13.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 2.3 (Winter 1990): 13.
49. Nina Wilson, letter, *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 3.2 (Summer 1991): 24.
50. Kieran McCarthy, letter, *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 3.2 (Summer 1991): 24.
51. Lucy Chisholm, letter, *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 3.2 (Summer 1991): 24.

52. Jim Hooley, letter, *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 3.2 (Summer 1991): 25.
53. *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 3.2 (Summer 1991): 25.
54. Gearóid MacLochlainn, "Aistriúcháin," *Na Scéalaithe: Cnuasach Filíochta*. (Baile Átha Cliath: Coiscéim, 1999) 67.
55. Keith Tuma, ed., preface, *Oxford Anthology of Twentieth-Century British and Irish Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) xxiv.
56. Gerry Bogaard, letter to the editor, *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 3.2 (Summer 1991): 25.
57. Eddie Seeley, "An Teanga," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 3.2 (Summer 1991): 20.
58. Gearóid MacLochlainn, "800 Years," *Babylon Gaeilgeoir* (Béal Feirste: An Clochán, 1997) 86. This book contains no English translations of any of the poems contained in it.
59. In observing this I do not mean to minimize the extent to which hybridity is seen as a powerful, even necessary part of a Gaeilgeoir's life by MacLochlainn, as must be evident in his past membership in the Irish-language reggae (!) group Bréag. It is only the violence with which these outside influences are imposed on Irish culture that make them problematic: the foreign is not "by definition" harmful in the way it is in the theories of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Republicans such as Pearse. In poems such as "Cainteoir Dúchais" he contests notions of the mythic purity of the native speakers of Irish and their sycophantic devotees. Likewise, he deconstructs essentialist conceptions that consign Gaeilge and its speakers to a misty rural setting. His is an Irish-language poetry rooted firmly in the urban streets.
60. Gearóid MacLochlainn, "Rite of Passage," *Sruth Teangacha/Stream of Tongues* (Indreabhán: Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 2002) 43. There is one relatively minor alteration in the *as Gaeilge* version of the final three lines in this collection: it substitutes "céadtuiscint" (lit. "first understanding, first realization") for the original wording of the third to last line ("an chéad uair"). "Teacht i Méadaíocht," *Sruth Teangacha/Stream of Tongues* (Indreabhán: Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 2002) 42.
61. Gearóid MacLochlainn, author's notes, *Sruth Teangacha/Stream of Tongues* (Indreabhán: Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 2002) 190.
62. *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 1.1 (Autumn 1989): 3.
63. In this story the narrator is Joe, a British soldier, who is literally—if, perhaps improbably—a sympathetic character. Of the hostile nationalist women he faces on his patrol he admits "in a way I can understand them," for their children are being killed and imprisoned by British soldiers such as him. Sands fashions Joe as someone disillusioned with his role in policing the Irish, who realizes that PIRA rebels are not psychopathic sectarian killers but members of a disciplined "army." The reader also learns that Joe has a daughter who turned three the previous month—in fact, one of his last thoughts before being struck down by a bullet is of his desire to take his child to the zoo. Bobby Sands, "Come

Out, You Wee Reds,” *Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song* (Dublin and Cork: Mercier, 1982) 26. I do not read this story as an exercise in sadism on Sands’s part, but rather as a tragic commentary not unlike that made by Brian Friel in the disappearance—and probable murder—of the likable British soldier Yolland in the play *Translations*. Although Yolland embraces Irish culture in a way that Joe does not—Sands’s character makes disparaging comments about Irish accents, for instance, and maintains a policy of shooting first and asking questions later—the basic humanity of both soldiers is clear, reminding us that not all of those who participate in colonialist enterprises do so with self-consciously malicious intent, (and indeed, some might be forced to do so because of economic necessity). By striking down these likable characters both Friel and Sands underscore some of the costs of colonial conflict, though Sands lays the blame for the death far more firmly on the British government than does Friel. Although Friel’s play ponders the possibility—even necessity—of hybridity and crossings of the boundaries between British and Irish even as its characters fail to bring that change about, “Come On, You Wee Reds” is marked by an even less optimistic atmosphere. As manifest in the schoolmaster Hugh’s change of heart with regard to the teaching of English, *Translations* suggests that a pragmatism is needed in Ireland, that an acceptable level of colonialism can permit forward motion, whereas Sands’s story intimates that any armed colonial presence will always elicit armed response and stagnation in violence.

64. Qtd. in “Mobilize!” *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 13 Dec. 1980: 16.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*
67. “Show one sign of weakness and you’ve dug your own grave” he reflects. Bobby Sands, *One Day in My Life* (Dublin and Cork: Mercier, 1993) 33.
68. Sands, *One Day* 48.
69. Martina Anderson and Ella O’Dwyer, “Let’s Talk,” *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 5.1 (Summer 1993): 21.
70. The harm caused by inflexible prison regimes is of course not limited to their effects on the prisoners. Since the time of O’Donovan Rossa and the Fenians of the mid-nineteenth century the prison struggle in Ireland repeatedly demonstrates that repressive conditions and a lack of a legitimate system of trials only breed further conflict and resistance internal and external to prison walls. As the H Blocks struggle between 1976 and 1981 shows in no uncertain terms, such inflexibility tends to prolong and escalate the conflict, not end it. As evident in the abuses of Abu Gharib—whose excesses recall the treatment of nationalist “Hooded Men” in the first days of Internment—and the progression of Guantanamo Bay from a camp structure reminiscent of the Cages of Long Kesh to its subsequent cellular compounds evocative of the H Blocks, the United States clearly has failed to learn any lessons from Ireland.

71. Brian Campbell, "Democratic Confrontation," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 4.2 (Summer 1992): 24–25. As simplistic as Campbell's advice may seem, I cannot help but mourn the extent to which such "democratic confrontation" was absent in the United States in the run-up to the current war in Iraq, a failure on the part of both a pliant American media as well as the timorous Democratic opposition.
72. Another forceful example of such contestation of boundaries can be seen in the "fun run" to raise money for Irish-language schools that Republican POWs in Long Kesh, Maghaberry, and the United States participated in, despite their incarceration. They simply ran the equivalent distances inside their prison yards, taking great pride in their continued ability to "highlight the issue of cultural discrimination" though detained. A Wing H5, "Rás Grinn na Streachailte/Fun Run or Hard Struggle?" *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 2.3 (Winter 1990): 18.
73. Adrian Kelly, "Easter Renewed," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 5.1 (Spring 1993): 3.
74. "The Struggle," editorial, *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 2.1 (Spring 1990): 3.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. "Ten Years On," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 3.2 (Summer 1991): 3–4.
78. Ibid., 4.
79. Maitiú Ó Treasaigh, "Organise [*sic*] for Changing Times—A Reply to 'Ten Years On,'" *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 3.3 (Winter 1991): 23.
80. Likewise, the leadership initiated efforts to include the POWs in important decisions. As Republicans considered the implications of the Good Friday Agreement, Sinn Féin sent high-ranking representatives such as Martin McGuinness as delegates to the H Blocks and Maghaberry. These visits are outlined in the following articles: Rosa McLaughlin, "United and Strong," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 10.2 (Winter 1998): 19, and "Proud of the Past," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 10.2 (Winter 1998): 17–18.
81. "H-Block Submission to Sinn Féin Peace Commission," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 6.1 (Summer 1994): 11.
82. As I complete the final draft of this manuscript, Sinn Féin gets ready to vote on whether or not they will formally recognize the PSNI as a legitimate police force, a prospect that would have been unheard of just a matter of a few years ago.
83. "Prisoners' Address to Sinn Féin Ard Fheis," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 6.1 (Summer 1994): 10.
84. Mairtín Óg Meehan, "Sinn Féin 90th Ard Fheis: A POW Delegate's View," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 8.1 (Summer 1996): 25.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.

87. Brendi McCleneghan, "Invisible Comrades: Gays and Lesbians in the Struggle," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 3.3 (Winter 1991): 20.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. McKeown, *Out of Time* 186.
91. Ibid.
92. Morrison, interview.
93. Tony Gorton "Sinn Fein [sic] Leader Gets Warm Welcome in N.Y." *The Militant* 25 Mar. 1996.
94. Qtd. in Adam Nossiter, "Sinn Fein [sic] President Will March in St. Patrick's Day Parade," *New York Times* 15 Mar. Late Edition—Final Correction Appended. <<http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe/printdoc>>
95. Ibid.
96. Friedman, Cindy with Brian Nunes, Bill Stosine, Jason Lin, Greg Gordon and Ron Buckmire. "Newswrap" *This Way Out*, program no. 416, distributed 18 March 1996. Accessed 1 Oct. 2006. <<http://www.qrd.org/qrd/media/radio/thiswayout/summary/newswrap/1996/416-03.18.96>>
97. Qtd. In Agrès Maillot, *New Sinn Féin* (New York: Routledge, 2005) 106.
98. Ibid.
99. Ger Philpott and Paul Colgan, "Sinn Fein [sic] in Bid to Woo Gay Voters," *The Sunday Times* 17 Feb. 2002. The Newspaper Source, 10 Jan. 2006 <<http://search.ebscohost.com>>
100. McKeown, *Out of Time* 187.
101. It should be noted that Gerry Kelly's poem "The Prisoners' Prisoners" raised the issue of prisoners' partners even earlier than McKeown's short story. Written in 1982 and published in 1989, this poem's protagonist feels as if she is in love with a ghost, and in turn has become wraith-like herself. This poem also suggests—though arguably with less certainty than we see in McKeown's tale—that the woman might be having an affair with someone outside: in the penultimate stanza the woman laments "I do not wish to hate myself/For seeking love/In flesh and blood." Gerry Kelly, "The Prisoners' Prisoners," *Words from a Cell* 34.
102. The anonymity of both husband and wife in "The Visit" merits comment, for it seems obvious that McKeown foregrounds through it exactly how common such tensions are in such relationships: by remaining nameless, these characters become archetypical.
103. Laurence McKeown, "The Visit," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 2.2 (Summer 1990): 10.
104. Ibid.
105. The prison administration did not permit conjugal visits for POWs in the H Blocks at any point in their history.
106. Laurence McKeown, email to author, 22 Jan 2007.
107. "A Fighting Battle," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 5.1 (Spring 1993): 14.

108. Jim McCann, "Love Is..." *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 5.1 (Spring 1993): 25.
109. Ibid.
110. Red Spider, "Shabby Clothes, Scruffy Runners, and Dodgy Alarms," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 4.3 (Winter 1992): 21.
111. Carol Cullen, "Enduring Relationships," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 5.1 (Spring 1993): 4.
112. "A Fighting Battle" 14.
113. Ibid., 15.
114. By claiming this I certainly do not dispute that POWs also tried to spare their loved ones from worry. In his poem "On the Boards," for example, Gerry Kelly recounts his harrowing experience of the punishment cells of the H Blocks during the winter of 1976–1977. The freezing and filthy conditions are so extreme that the speaker "refused all thoughts of loved ones/In case they sensed your deep-felt fear[.]" Gerry Kelly, "on the Boards," *Words from a Cell* 21.
115. "A Fighting Battle" 15.
116. Mary McArdle and Ailish Carroll, "How Free Are the Prisoners' Partners?" *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 5.2 (Summer 1993): 10.
117. Ibid.
118. *Mother Ireland*, dir. Anne Crilly, Derry Film and Video, 1988.
119. Paddy Devenny, "An Encouraging Concept?" *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 5.3 (Winter 1993): 21.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. "Tuso," "An Insider's View from Outside," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 6.1 (Summer 1994): 5.
123. Christine Poland and Dáithí Adams, "Just a Prisoner's Wife," *An Glór Gafa/The Captive Voice* 11.1 (Summer 1999): 2–3.

Chapter Six Postscript: "You Look Like Jesus Christ": Images of Republican POWs in Contemporary Cinema

1. *Some Mother's Son*. dir. Terry George, perf. Helen Mirren, Fionnuala Flannigan. Castle Rock, 1996.
2. *In the Name of the Father*, dir. Jim Sheridan. perf. Daniel Day-Lewis, Emma Thompson. MCA/Universal, 1994.
3. Sheridan cowrote *Some Mother's Son* with Terry George. George himself is a Republican ex-prisoner, though he served his time in the Cages of Long Kesh rather than in the H Blocks on which *Some Mother's Son* centers. Ruth Barton, *Jim Sheridan: Framing the Nation*. (Dublin: The Liffey Press, 2002) 63–4.

4. It must be remembered that from 1971 to 1976 Internment was in effect in Northern Ireland, which meant that individuals could be arrested and detained indefinitely without charge or trial.
5. "Early Risers" is included in Adams's 1990 book *Cage Eleven*, an anthology of short stories and essays in large part written during his incarceration in the Cages of Long Kesh. The majority of these texts initially were published as articles in *Republican News*, a Belfast newspaper. Written by Adams under the pseudonym "Brownie" and smuggled out of the Cages, these articles appeared between 1975 and 1977. Gerry Adams, *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 3.
6. Gerry Adams, "Early Risers," *Cage Eleven* (Dingle: Brandon, 1990) 24.
7. Unlike contemporary American prisons, H Block cells did not contain their own individual toilets. Instead, prisoners were required to use chamber pots or the communal lavatories located at the end of the prison wing.
8. Laurence McKeown, *Out of Time: Irish Republican Prisoners Long Kesh 1972–2000* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 2001) 56–7.
9. A notable (though not widely distributed) recent release is *H3* (2002) whose screenplay was authored by two Republican ex-POWs, Brian Campbell and Dr. Laurence McKeown, both of whom served time in the H Blocks. Dr. McKeown was on the 1981 Republican hunger strike with Bobby Sands and went without food for 70 days before lapsing into a coma, at which point his family authorized medical intervention that prevented his death. (Brian Campbell, Laurence McKeown, and Felim O'Hagan, *Nor Meekly Serve My Time: The H Blocks Struggle 1976–1981* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 1994) 253.
10. Barton, *Jim Sheridan* 86.
11. Danny Devenny (who shared *Cage Eleven* with both Sands and Adams) notes that Sands began writing in Long Kesh as early as 1974, contributing to the cage news-sheet "up until his release in 1976." "Life in the cages [*sic*] of the Kesh." *An Phoblacht/Republican News*. 9 May 1981: 22. Like Adams's first writings, Sands's best-known work appeared first in *Republican News*, the Belfast newspaper that became *An Phoblacht/Republican News* in 1979.

Sands's first seven *AP/RN* articles were credited only to "a West Belfast Republican," though after 25 November 1978 subsequent articles by Sands bore the pen-name "Marcella," Sands's sister's name. There was a long interruption in the publishing of Sands's prison literature in *An Phoblacht/Republican News* after his story "I Once Had a Life" appears on St. Patrick's Day 1979. "I Once Had a Life." *An Phoblacht/Republican News*. 17 Mar. 1979: 2. The next time Sands's work appears is during his hunger strike in a special section of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* when the paper reprints three of his stories on 21 Mar. 1981. This is the first time that Sands is publicly identified as the author of the earlier *AP/RN* writings. "The Writings of Bobby Sands." *An Phoblacht/Republican News*. 21 Mar. 1981: 6–8.

12. Sands was imprisoned in the Cages with such Republican leaders as Gerry Adams. Adams writes in his autobiography that he “got to know [Sands] better when we started to develop political lectures and other collective efforts in the cage, and he became very involved in these.” *Before the Dawn: An Autobiography* (New York: William Morrow & Company Inc., 1996) 241.
13. McKeown, *Out of Time* 70.
14. Qtd. in McKeown, *Out of Time* 38.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., 92.
17. This historical inaccuracy may proceed from the fact that George served time in the Cages, and was perhaps more familiar with the more regimented existence in them. It is the era and area of the Long Kesh prison compound in which George was incarcerated that distinguishes him from the screenwriters of *H3* (see note 6 above), both of whom were imprisoned in the H Blocks.
18. Bobby Sands, *Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song* (Dublin and Cork: Mercier, 1982) 171.
19. Ibid., 172.
20. Such comparisons to Christ are almost categorically rejected by contemporary Republicans themselves, particularly POWs. *H3*, for example, accurately represents a number of POWs going on hunger strike with close-cropped hair: Republicans in the H Blocks ended the No-Wash Protest to focus attention on the hunger strike, and as a result many prisoners would have cut their hair short at this time. The appearance of a long-haired Bobby Sands in *H3* seems an attempt to reflect the notoriously shaggy style of the man and should not be mistaken as the employment of a Christological motif. This is a point underscored by the almost non-existent amount of time that the film devotes to dramatizing Sands’s death. Unlike *Some Mother’s Son*, which over the course of several minutes cuts back and forth between Sands’s deathbed and a protest vigil outside a police station, *H3* gives the viewer only a split-second close-up image of Sands’s face being covered with a sheet. In its brevity, *H3*’s portrayal is chillingly matter-of-fact, and more evocative of a morgue than reminiscent of Golgotha or Gethsemane.
21. Liz Curtis, *Ireland: The Propaganda War* (Belfast: Sásta, 1998) 128.
22. Martin McLoone, *Irish Film: The Emergence of a Contemporary Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 2000) 70.
23. For instance, Sheridan’s film shows unambiguously that kneecappings and other forms of policing by paramilitary groups such as the IRA do indeed receive the tacit approval of a large percentage of the Catholic/nationalist community. When IRA members threaten to shoot the cinematic Gerry Conlon and his friends in their knees for stealing, a woman calls out from a neighboring flatblock “Shoot the bastards! They’re always robbing our houses!” For further evidence of the accuracy of this

portrayal, see Jeffrey Sluka's research into nationalist communities' support of paramilitary policing in *Hearts and Minds, Water and Fish*.

24. McLoone, *Irish Film* 73.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Gerry Conlon, *In the Name of the Father* (New York: Plume, 1993) 159.

27. In making this claim it should go without saying that I am not attempting to deny IRA attacks on prison warders in other occasions such as the 1983 escape of republican POWs from the H Blocks: any number of them might be referenced, just as any number of atrocities on the part of the British Army and Loyalist paramilitaries might also be cited by Republicans. However, I find it predictable that of all the departures from historical fact contained within *In the Name of the Father*, the fictional attack on the prison officer remains least discussed by revisionist critics who claim to be interested in setting the historical record straight.

Similarly, few of these critics seem to mind that no scenes of prison warders' abuse of Republican POWs appear in *Some Mother's Son*. The only vague reference takes place when Gerard and his comrade Frankie first are admitted to the H Blocks. The two Republicans refuse to wear the uniforms that are given to them, and the camera gives us a brief close-up of a warder's grip tightening on his baton. However, with a silent toss of the head, the guard's superior prevents any attack from taking place. Where, one might ask, are the brutal interrogations, strip searches, and beatings that Republican POWs have categorically reported as endemic to Long Kesh, and that respected human rights organizations like Amnesty International officially decried on numerous occasions?

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