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ANDREA FERRÁS WOLWACZ

TOM PAULIN'S POETRY: POLITICS, HISTORY AND LANGUAGE

PORTO ALEGRE

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Tese apresentada como requisito para obtenção do grau de doutor pelo programa de Pós-Graduação da Faculdade de Letras da Pontifícia da Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul

ORIENTADOR: PROF. DR. BIAGIO D'ANGELO

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BANCA EXAMINADORA:

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Biagio D'angelo

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Prof. Dr. Marçal de Menezes Paredes

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Maria Tereza Amodeo

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Profa. Dra. Sandra Sirangelo Maggio

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For my daughter Natasha.

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what I have to say's dead obvious
we've had x years of blood and shit
and some of us have written poems
or issued too many credos through the press.

Tom Paulin, 1987

RESUMO

A presente tese analisa a literatura contemporânea da Irlanda do Norte de língua inglesa com apoio teorico dos Estudos Irlandeses. Tem como objetivo introduzir e criticar a poesia escrita por Tom Paulin, poeta britânico contemporâneo, considerado um dos grandes escritores irlandeses protestantes surgidos na província de Ulster. A linha percorrida nesta análise diz respeito à investigação de como os discursos ideológicos e as questões de identidade são representados no trabalho do poeta. Uma avaliação crítica do autor sobre ideologias e identidades existentes na Irlanda do Norte e sua tentativa de responder a elas também serão analisadas. Para realizar esta análise, a tese está dividida em três capítulos. O primeiro apresenta um relato de eventos históricos na Irlanda desde sua conquista pelo Império Britânico até o presente momento, concentrando-se na Irlanda do Norte depois da Partição gerada pelo *Tratado Anglo-Irlandês* de 1922. O segundo capítulo dedica-se a uma reflexão sobre a criação da literatura nacional irlandesa escrita em inglês e sua estreita relação com a história social e política do país. Finalmente, o terceiro capítulo constrói uma análise detalhada de poemas selecionados de cinco coleções diferentes: *State of Justice* (1977), *The Strange Museum* (1980) *Liberty Tree* (1983), *Fivemiletown* (1987) e *The Wind Dog* (1999). A fim de investigar as questões de identidade e ideologia, este capítulo está dividido em três subcapítulos de acordo com três importantes temas recorrentes. A primeira parte analisa poesia e política, a segunda investiga poesia e história, e o terceiro subcapítulo examina poesia e linguagem. Entre os diversos autores consultados para fundamentação do estudo sobre a poesia de Tom Paulin destacam-se Terry Eagleton, Edward Said, Elmer Andrews, Norman Vance, Peter MacDonald, Sara Broom, Patrícia Craig e Neil Corcoran. Grande parte destes teóricos pertencem a uma corrente específica da literatura pós-colonial, denominada Estudos Irlandeses .

Palavras-chave: Estudos irlandeses. Identidade norte- irlandesa. Ideologia. Política. História. Linguagem.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines contemporary Northern Irish Literature written in English with the help of the theoretical approach of Irish Studies. It aims to introduce and make a critique of poetry written by Tom Paulin, a contemporary British poet who is regarded one of the major Protestant Irish writers to emerge from Ulster province. The thread pursued in this analysis relates to an investigation of how ideological discourses and the issues of identity are represented in the poet's work. The author's critical evaluation of existing ideologies and identities and his attempt to respond to them will also be analyzed. To perform this analysis, this dissertation is divided into three chapters. The first chapter presents an account of historical events in Ireland from its conquest to the present focusing in Northern Ireland after partition by the *Anglo-Irish Treaty* of 1922. The second chapter is dedicated to a reflection on the establishment of Irish national literature written in English and its close relation to Irish social and political history. Finally, the third chapter is dedicated to a detailed analysis of selected poems from five different collections*: State of Justice* (1977), *The Strange Museum* (1980) *Liberty Tree* (1983), *Fivemiletown* (1987) and *The Wind Dog* (1999). In order to investigate the issues of identity and ideology, this chapter is divided in three sections according to three important recurring themes. The first section analyzes poetry and politics; the second investigates poetry and history and the third evaluates poetry and Language. Among the authors consulted to form the basis of the discussion are Terry Eagleton, Edward Said, Seamus Deane, Elmer Andrews, Norman Vance, Peter MacDonald, Sara Broom, Patrícia Craig, Neil Corcoran, and John Goodby. Most of them belong to this specific line of Postcolonial literature that is called Irish Studies.

Keywords: Irish studies. Identity. Ideology. Politics. History. Language.

SUMÁRIO

1 INTRODUCTION

Ireland is a strange, small island with interesting history and a birthplace of a great number of writers and artists. Here in Brazil, people do not know much about Ireland. Most of us do not know the island of Ireland is divided into two independent political units, the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, the latter being a province and one of four constituent parts of the United Kingdom. In general, the only city that comes to our minds is Dublin. When historical facts and places like Bloody Sunday, the Troubles[1], Belfast and Derry/Londonderry are mentioned, we realize that most Brazilians have dim knowledge of the facts and locations. Nonetheless, when we try to define Ireland, it becomes a difficult task due to the island's political and social problems that arose from English colonialism and religion. In fact, religion has played a defining role in shaping culture, society, identity and attitudes in both political units. Ireland has a mosaic of identities of ambiguous situations: north-south, Protestant-Catholic, Irish-English; divisions founded on the settler colonial history, and ethnic variety and religious difference.

Moreover, Ireland is the mother land of world-wide recognized artists, musicians and, especially, writers such as Jonathan Swift, Lady Gregory, Oscar Wilde, William Butler Yeats, James Joyce, and George Bernard Shaw. Strangely, these important people from the cultural scene are usually classified as British or English. This misclassification brings different interpretations about Ireland – England, colony – colonizer, the Republic of Ireland – The United Kingdom, Irish – British, prejudice, sectarianism, "us and the others". Nevertheless, Ireland has continued to produce very interesting literature and important writers, among them, Samuel Becket, Elizabeth Bowen, Louis MacNeice, Seamus Heaney, Paul Mudoom and Tom Paulin − the object of this thesis. Some of them are well known world-wide, others still need to be recognized outside Ireland and Britain.

Therefore, as my PhD dissertation I have chosen to introduce and make a critical evaluation of the works by a contemporary poet called Thomas Nelson Paulin, or Tom Paulin, who has been widely analyzed and discussed in Northern Ireland, The United Kingdom and

[1] *The Troubles* refers to the period of violence from 1968 to The Anglo-Irish Agreement signed on 15 November 1987, between the nationalist community, who manly identify themselves as Irish Catholics and its unionist community who mainly identify themselves as British Protestants. The conflict was the result of discrimination against the Catholic minority by the Protestant majority and the position of Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom. The violence was characterized by the armed campaigns of IRA and paramilitary groups. This included the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) campaign of 1969–1997, intended to end British rule in Northern Ireland and to reunite Ireland politically and of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), formed in 1966 in response to the weakening of the unionist domination in Northern Ireland and the British support. This led to the arrival of the British Army in order to help the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) − the police force in Northern Ireland – refrain.

The United Sates, but is unknown in Brazil. Tom Paulin is a well-known English-born Northern Irish poet and critic of film, music and literature who is regarded as one of the major Protestant Irish writers and is considered one of the most respected writers to emerge from the Ulster province of Northern Ireland. Paulin was born in England, from an English father and an Irish mother. When he was four-years-old, his family moved to Belfast, Northern Ireland; consequently, he was raised in a middle class area of Belfast during the civil conflict; thus, he has been deeply affected by it.

I became interested in the works by Paulin when I was researching for my Master's degree thesis titled *History as Fiction* in *Reading in the Dark,* in which I analyzed the issue of identity. The aim was to make an extrinsic criticism of the literary text in its relation to the historical period, by analyzing the political and social context and finding out to what extent the novel showed the contradictions in two cultures which cannot co-exist. I also aimed to comment on the significance of the literary text as a document in which the author's goals were to show the political and social reality of the forties, fifties and sixties, through an approach that only became possible in the nineties, so as to denounce both political systems as instruments of domination, maintenance and validation of the clash between the two existing ideologies that led to sectarianism within the northern territory. Since both Seamus Deane and Tom Paulin are members of the Field Day[2], but the former is a Catholic and the later is a Protestant, I thought it would be very interesting to see how a Protestant writer who belongs to the same movement approaches the issues in Northern Ireland. Before researching about him, I thought Paulin's approach would be very similar to Deane's. It was a big surprise, because although they have some similar points of view concerning Northern Ireland, they address different issues.

When I started researching about Paulin, I realized the work would be very difficult here in Brazil, due to the fact that there were very few resources about him. Although I had been buying his books and researching for essays, interviews and everything I could find on the internet, I knew it would not be enough for a thesis. In the meantime I was granted a Doctorate Sandwich Program – "Programa Institucional de Doutorado Sanduíche no Exterior" by CAPES, a scholarship granted to graduate students in Brazil and abroad concerned with

[2] The Field Day Theatre Company was founded in Derry, Londonderry, Northern Ireland in 1980 by the playwright Brian Friel and the actor Stephen Rea. The Field Day Theatre Company aimed to create a cultural space which would perform a discourse of unity. By the same time, writers Seamus Deane, David Hammond, Seamus Heaney and Tom Paulin were invited to join the Company. They established, as the main purpose, to help solve the present crisis or "the Troubles". Thus, the Field Day became an artistic response to "the Troubles" by analyzing the established opinions, myths and stereotypes which contributed to the political instability and sectarianism through art, criticism and theory.

the training of researchers in doctorate, doctorate sandwich, and post-doctorate programs. I spent four months at the University of Ulster in Coleraine, Northern Ireland doing library research and attending seminars as well as discussing academic journals, my research impressions and findings with my supervisor, Dr. Frank Sewell. It was a fantastic experience, I learned a lot about the Northern Irish issue from him and from experiencing Northern Ireland. I also had some meetings with Dr. Elmer Andrews, one of Paulin's experts; visited museums, libraries, the Queen's University Belfast, government buildings like the Stormont and the City Hall, and sites where major political and civil right movement activities took place, such as the Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods in Belfast, Derry, Fivemiletown, Desertmartin, among others. While there I had the opportunity to witness a series of protests that were taking place in Belfast. Loyalist protestors were marching against a ruling by the city council to limit the number of days that the United Kingdom flag can fly above city hall. Some protests were peaceful; other marches were characterized by sectarian songs and attacks in Catholic neighborhoods by some demonstrators. I also listened to a lot of the radio and it was very important because there were a series of special reports, interviews and analysis concerning the past, present and future of Northern Ireland. Besides, the Irish are very friendly and talkative, so I listened to a lot of personal stories by people I met over there. In general, spending this time in Northern Ireland was extremely important; I had the opportunity of collecting a great deal of publications by literary critics who might not be worldwide known but who have been analyzing, discussing, making critiques and observations, deconstructing, reevaluating and redefining Irish Literature. Besides, I also had the opportunity to collect numerous testimonies and personal stories from people who actually lived through the Troubles. While being there, I realized the complexity of writing about an author, a society and a culture that you do not belong to, so my work became a challenge, and my interest in the subject matter increased significantly.

The thread to be pursued in the analysis of Paulin's poetry relates to how the social and political context and the issues of identity and ideology are dealt with in the works of Thomas Nelson Paulin. His works discuss the Protestant Republican heritage, concepts of Northern Irish Protestant identity, politics, authority, totalitarianism, and democracy, from the Troubles to the Power Sharing[3] and the Good Friday Agreement[4]. My first aim is to examine

[3] In December 1993, the British and Irish Governments issued a joint declaration for the end of violence in Northern Ireland. The aim was to bring both states together in a power-sharing arrangement in which they would jointly run Northern Ireland, with limited input from smaller nationalist and Unionist parties.

[4] The Good Friday Agreement or Belfast Agreement was a major political development in the Northern Ireland peace process of the 1990s which aimed to devolve a system of government to Northern Ireland. Signed on 10

how the ideological discourses are represented in the works of Tom Paulin. I examine the issues of the Protestant identity and the ideology of the Unionists in Paulin's works. After that, I analyze the author's critical evaluation of existing ideologies and identities and his attempt at responding to this period. Besides, I study his political and social sense of consciousness in relation to the political clash and the contradictions of his discourse**.** Paulin makes a distinction between Nation and State. For him, nation is a dangerous idea since it presupposes topics like ethnicity, race, and identity. It can develop into a racist discourse used by both Nationalists and Unionists which is an influence from Nazism. What he wants to discuss is the "state". He fights for a fair society, a just state, a transparent government, a just civil order, through the enlightened model of rational enlightenment. Although he is in favor of rationalism, which does not involve the mythic and legendary Ireland and the quest for a national identity, it seems that he contradicts himself when he makes use of the Protestant experience in Europe in order to provide Northern Ireland with a sense of local historical mythology and uses as a point of reference the failed rebellion of the United Irishmen by emphasizing the union of Protestants and Catholics for a secular republic.

To perform the analysis of Tom Paulin's works I have divided this dissertation into three chapters. The first chapter makes an account of historical events in Ireland; the second chapter is about the establishment of national literature, and in the third chapter, I present my critical analysis of Tom Paulin's works concerning politics, history and language based on literary theory and criticism written by experts and critics in Irish studies This dissertation does not have a chapter specifically dedicated to theory. Theory and criticism are within each chapter. The fact of having chosen an author who is not known in Brazil but of great value in the present postcolonial context was the starting point of my research. From his reading I sought theorists who justify my interpretation of the theory.

Concerning theory, I have mostly chosen Irish theorists who are engaged in discussing Irish literature and its ties with politics history and language, and theorists from other countries as The United States, Poland and England, who have been studying the Irish issue. They are Frank Ormsby, Edward Said, Terry Eagleton, Clair Wills, P.R. King, Neil Corcoran, Conleth Ellis, Allan Robinson, Sara Broom, Patricia Craig, Norman Vance, Elmer Andrews, Wes Davis, Peter MacDonald, Seamus Deane, and John Goodby. Among these authors there

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April 1998, the proposals included plans for a Northern Ireland assembly with a power-sharing executive and created a number of institutions between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and between the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom. The Agreement was the outcome of a long process of talks between the Northern Ireland political parties and the British and Irish Governments, endorsed through a referendum held on 22 May 1998, and subsequently given legal force through the Northern Ireland Act 1998.

are some internationally recognized intellectuals as Terry Eagleton who contributes to the discussion about ideology and Edward Said who analyses cultural and social representations of imperialism. However, I have given emphasis to the ones who have been extensively studying Irish literature and publishing a great body of work in Ireland and most English speaking countries. I have also used Tom Paulin's theory concerning language to discuss poetry and language. I do not specify theorists by chapter for the reason that many of them do not focus on specific aspects and examine the different themes in this work.

Thus, the first chapter outlines the Irish historical context from its colonization by giving special emphasis to the period after partition in Northern Ireland, from the British Empire consolidation of power to the present, giving special attention to the period from the nineteen-sixties to the nineteen-nineties, a period of important historical events such as the Troubles, the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, on 15 November 1985, and the signing of Good Friday Agreement, on 10 April 1998. My outline does not follow a straightforward timeline; it first describes events from partition to the present and then goes back to the beginning of the colonization in Ireland. I have decided to follow this pattern due to the fact that the latest period is focused on Northern Ireland, the province Tom Paulin writes about. Nevertheless, the events preceding partition are present in the poet's works, so that they are important to be briefly summarized as well. The emphasis on the historical outline is crucial to understand why Ireland has developed the ideology of hate, present in the twentieth century, and to establish a relationship between the Irish political and cultural History of Northern Ireland.

The second chapter shows how Irish literature has had a close relationship to all phases of Irish experience and, consequently, has performed historical interpretations and interrogations of Ireland, as well as being politically loyal to an idea of nation and being committed to a cause. The reason for that lies in the fact that for almost three centuries Ireland has experienced a series of political and social dislocations resulting from government policies. In this manner, the Irish literary tradition has undergone a series of revivals and collapses, all of them centered upon an idea of Ireland. My point of departure is early eighteenth century with the writings of Edmund Burke. Then, I give a brief account of the Celtic Revival (1790-1880) and the nineteenth century literature, which is considered the second Celtic Revival by some intellectuals, even though one period overlaps the other. After that, I write about literature after partition, a period which some intellectuals consider culturally depressed. Finally, I cover the Troubles poetry. This period is fundamental to

understand the Irish literary production of the late twentieth century, and consequently the poetry of Tom Paulin.

The third Chapter critically analyzes Tom Paulin's poetry. To perform this analysis, I have selected three relevant recurrent themes in his works: politics, history and language. I analyze his interpretation, critique and response to these themes. In the beginning of this chapter, I write about Paulin's background and works. I find it important, because it helps my readers understand Paulin's set of ideas and beliefs. Then I write a general description of the collections of poems by Paulin that I used in my analysis. I have divided this chapter in three sections according to the chosen themes. The first one is "Poetry and Politics", the second is "Poetry and History", and the third is "Poetry and Language". Most of the time, the poems present more than one theme, that is to say that even though a poem is analyzed in the Poetry and Politics section, it does not mean that this poem does not discuss history and/or language. In fact, the themes are interconnected and often overlap but my decision to split them into three sections and include a particular poem in one or another section is for my analytical purpose.

Concerning the first section, titled Poetry and Politics, I begin with the supposition that political poetry may tell of individuals and societies and seek the meaning of facts that require attention. Political poets are attentive to societies affected by political attitudes and behavior. They dedicate themselves to denounce injustices and look for social justice. Through political poetry, Paulin aims to make critical observations of the unionist ideology and behavior of the second half of the twentieth century. His poems usually refer back to the ideals of the Enlightenment's and of the American and French Revolution as well as the ideology of the United Irishmen, who promoted new iterations of faith for a republican cause and a project for an egalitarian and free Ireland. Paulin advocates that The United Irishmen Rebellion would have been the solution for a secular democratic society, if it had succeeded. However, the failure of the revolutionary movement generated a theologized, sectarian and conservationist politics, which led to social injustices throughout two centuries, having its summit after the partition. Through his poems, the poet criticizes the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) and Orange Order's policy of "Protestant Parliament and Protestant State"[5]. He seeks to bring alternative views and challenging interpretations of contemporary Northern Ireland, especially in relation to the Troubles. Because his poetry is political, some critics tend to point

[5] Sir James Craig, Unionist Party, then Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, 24 April 1934 Reported in: Parliamentary Debates, Northern Ireland House of Commons, Vol. XVI, Cols. 1091-95. The remarks above, are often quoted as: 'A Protestant Parliament for a Protestant People', or 'A Protestant State for a Protestant People.

out that Paulin is more concerned with politics than with poetry itself. Therefore, I will make some considerations in relation to Paulin's poems and contrary points-of-view when analyzing the aestheticism of his political poetry.

The second section is on the subject of Literature and History. It is important to take into account that Irish history is defined by two basic struggles: the external struggle − the conflict between Ireland and England; and the internal struggle − the conflict between the Irish themselves. The internal struggle is about which group belongs to the Irish tradition and, therefore, has the rights to rule Ireland. After partition the Protestant government ensured Protestant control of all state apparatuses turning Northern Ireland into a state with a totalitarian government until the late twentieth century. In fact, authoritarianism, totalitarianism and dictatorship happened in other countries all over the world in the twentieth century, each of them with their own specificities. Paulin sees this time as a period of uneasy stillness of life under the repressive Protestant, ideology that has suppressed the living word and the author describes the society as oppressed, regulated, homogenized and dehumanized. He also denounces the uneasy stillness of the regime which does not acknowledge "the other"[6] and enforces polarization. He criticizes his own heritage by saying that discourses are totally controlled and everything is known, so he looks for a model which he finds in the English and Irish Dissenters. For Paulin this repression cannot hold the spirit of revolt back and prevent history from happening. His ideal republic is founded on the myth of the United Irishmen rebellion of 1798. In his point-of-view, this revolutionary movement would have been the only possibility of a multicultural secular state. However, there is a contradiction because he is in favor of rationalism, which does not involve the mythic and legendary Ireland and the quest of national identity, but he clings to the enlightenment principles and to 1798 myth of the dissenters.

The third section encompasses, perhaps, the most important aspect of Paulin`s poetry concerning the external struggle: language. Paulin believes that the political and cultural imposition of the Standard English is an act of domination, which is reinforced by the Unionist government. Ulster vernacular language may not enjoy linguistic prestige in the eyes of the English but it is an important political act of resistance. He is influenced by the dissenting voice of English poets. His heroes are the English writers and their shaggy speech, distorted dialect which involves competing and challenging the dominant culture. Some of them are William Hazlitt, John Clair and Thomas Hardy; these poets are considered the

[6] In Northern Ireland, "the other" and "us and them" are a term used by both Protestants and Catholics to refer to the opposite communities.

greatest laboring-class poets that England has ever produced. He is also influenced by the Irish working class Rhyming Weaver Poets from counties Antrim and Down in Ulster. These men wrote poems in Ulster Scots of the time, political poetry, and, some of the Weavers joined the United Irishmen Rebellion. Paulin's poetry steams from the European Enlightenment, but is also influenced by Modernism. Its aim is to disrupt the tradition of English Iambic pentameter, the most common meter in English poetry. In addition to what has already been said, there is not a European modernist poetry tradition in Ireland except from Joyce. Paulin may be the best example of a writer who has been influenced by Joyce's modernism. It is very common to find modernist traits in his poems. He disrupts the language and form through fragmentation, and bricolage. One of the reasons for employing these techniques is his interest in two painters, Pollock and Klee. In his late poems he makes a collage of several voices. He also exercises dialogism and heteroglossia to exploit ideological conflict between voices. He writes fragmented and dialogic poetry because he finds the province is dialogical. In the section, I analyze the use of language as a disruption of the English tradition and as a political and cultural independence of community within the British Empire.

Moreover, Paulin compares Irish history and politics to the Eastern European history. It seems to be a false kind of premise to compare the totalitarian regime of the Soviet Union to the regime in Northern Ireland. Although the Northern Irish government tried to promulgate a pervasive scheme of values (ideology) to direct and regulate most aspects of public and private life and opposed pluralism, the atrocities that happened in the Soviet Union did not occur in Northern Ireland. However, the Northern Ireland showed authoritarian characteristics that were common all over the world in the second half of the twentieth century. In Latin America, convinced that a Communist dictatorship was in the offing, our senior officers staged a successful coup suspending our political rights, arresting citizens for no reason other than political dissent. Therefore the effect on ordinary citizens living in authoritarian forms of government share some similarities making Paulin's themes possible to be scrutinized in literary works of other countries.

In the conclusion, I hope to be able to demonstrate that Paulin's poetry is a political act in which politics, history and language are correlated when critically discussing and responding to the existing ideologies and identities as well as the political and social situation in Northern Ireland. As it has been said before, political and historical interpretations are intrinsically related to an idea of nation which, in the case of Northern Ireland, has not been formed yet. This is one of the reasons that literature and art have been extremely interrogative

but have not lost their asceticism. Therefore, any contradictions that may exist in Paulin's works do not disqualify his poetry.

Moreover, it is also important to state that this it is a work of literary criticism and not of theory so that the main focus of this dissertation is on the reading of Tom Paulin's poetry and not on producing any ground-breaking theoretical elaborations. Furthermore, I am aware that I am introducing, not only an author but literary critics who are unknown or very little known by the academic community in Brazil, so I hope to be able to contribute with the academic research and introduce an author who is worth being read, interpreted and critiqued.

2 HISTORY OF *THE SHAN VAN VOCHT*

Irish literature has always been closely related to its history and to the geopolitical map of Ireland. Versions of history and culture of Ireland have been created by colonists and colonized to either ratify an existing cultural, economic and political system or justify its alteration or extinction. Still, the history of Ireland is little known, or it is studied through a Eurocentric point-of-view. This leads to stereotyping, and consequently, a misunderstanding of the political, social and cultural history of the country. What is more, every Irish writer has filled his/her works with references not only to great events of the past but also to important historical figures. The investigation of the past is, somehow, an obsession to Irish writers and poets. The Irish writer finds the interpretation of the past extremely important so that they are able to identify the consequences it has on the present society. Due to this fact, to understand Irish literature it is necessary to study Irish history, language, politics, tradition, legend, society, and even geography. Without having some cultural knowledge of Ireland, the reader will not be able to understand and, consequently, appreciate most Irish writers since they explore ideological dilemmas raised by the historical and political process as well as by the social changes through literature.

The island of Ireland is divided into two political units: Ireland and Northern Ireland. While the Republic of Ireland gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1922, Northern Ireland chose to be part of the British Empire. This separation led to a series of political conflicts within Northern Ireland, and between Northern Ireland and England. Moreover, after the independence, the Republic of Ireland did not have any formal relations with Northern Ireland. In 1998 the Good Friday agreement was signed. Since 1999, the two states have had a policy of co-operation.

Concerning Northern Ireland, in his book *The Truth about the Irish* (1999) Terry Eagleton makes a humorous account of Northern Ireland calling the state as “the hottest potato of all” (EAGLETON, 1999, p. 129). He comments that the name Northern Ireland calls for a political debate since Unionists approve its name while Nationalist prefer to refer to the Northern territory as the “six counties”. Besides, Unionists disagree with the term “Britain and the Northern Ireland” since they believe Northern Ireland is part of Britain while Nationalists believe Ireland is the main land instead of Britain. Eagleton also remarks that “there is nothing you can say on this topic which will not instantly alienate a few millions of people” (EAGLETON, 1999, p. 129).

Ireland is formed by four provinces and Ulster is one of them. The province of Ulster is formed by nine counties which make part of Northern Ireland. Six of them are officially part of the United Kingdom and have been governed by England while three of them belong to the Republic of Ireland. Protestants are the majority in Ulster and most of them are Unionists, which means that they want Northern Ireland to belong to the United Kingdom. Nationalists are the ones who want the six counties to be integrated to the Republic of Ireland. Most Nationalists want this by using peaceful, constitutional means; nonetheless, there is a group of Nationalists who want to grasp the remaining six counties by means of guerrilla. They are the ones involved with the IRA[7].

Nationalists are Catholics of Irish background. They are either the ones who lost their lands and businesses to the English and Scottish settlers or the ones who moved to the six counties of Ulster to look for jobs in industries, mainly, after the partition in 1922. After the partition, Northern Ireland resembled an apartheid state. Protestants outnumbered Catholics and, consequently ruled over them for almost 70 years. The Government in Northern Ireland was dominated by the Unionist party, who kept using the anti-Catholic laws that had been passed in the nineteenth century. The Catholic minority were discriminated and treated as second class citizens. Because of this discrimination, in 1967, The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) was formed and, together with the Catholic population began to protest for the abolition of anti-Catholic measures and equality for Catholics in Northern Ireland. So, in 1968 there were two Civil Rights protests. During the second protest, the Minister for Home Affairs, William Craig said that the movement was a front for the IRA. The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)[8] was sent in to prevent Catholics from marching. The use of excessive force by them created an anti RUC sentiment. This led to the re-emergence of the Provisional IRA[9], also called PIRA – the IRA was active in during "the Partition" – and its guerrilla lasted three decades. From the late 1960's until the signing of the Anglo-Irish

[7] The IRA is a Terrorist organization founded in 1922 in reaction to the Anglo-Irish Treaty which divided Ireland in two political units. The IRA aimed to make Ireland fully independent from Great Britain. In 1969, the IRA split into two rival factions, the Official and Provisional IRA. The Official IRA, with its Marxist-oriented ideology, was opposed to an armed campaign against the British and would later declare an indefinite ceasefire in 1972. The Provisional IRA became the de facto IRA, and maintained a campaign to remove the British troops and join Northern Ireland to the Republic of Ireland.

[8] Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) was state police force in Northern Ireland, established in 1922 out of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC). In 1970 the security of Northern Ireland became the responsibility of the RUC, the British army, and the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR). RUC's responsibility was to act as a peacemaker; nevertheless, the police force was continually accused by the minority Catholic community and human rights groups of one-sided policing and discrimination, as well as for its collusion with loyalist paramilitaries.

[9] The Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) was a republican paramilitary organization who aimed to separate Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom and institute a socialist republic within a united Ireland by force of arms and political persuasion. It emerged out of the December 1969 split of the Irish Republican Army over differences of ideology and how to respond to violence against the nationalist community.

Agreement there were marches, violent protests, riots, guerrillas and bombing campaigns by the IRA and loyalist paramilitary groups. British troops' violent interventions also took place in Northern Ireland causing Bloody Sunday, in which British paratroopers opened fire killing 14 and injuring 13 others.

In the nineteen-eighties, the British government realized that they had to do something to try to quieten the situation and started a series of negotiations with the Republic of Ireland and the main political parties, for example, Sinn Féin, in order to establish the basis for the devolution of a government for Northern Ireland. The Anglo-Irish Agreement signed on the 15th of November, 1985, signalized the beginning of a new era in Northern Ireland. It aimed to put an end to the impasse that had been going on since 1916 and was intensified during the Troubles. This agreement gave the Irish government an advisory role in the Northern Ireland's government, but did not change the constitutional position of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom, since the only legal form for Northern Ireland to join the Republic of Ireland was through elections. The treaty also set out conditions for the establishment of a devolved consensus government in the state. The second step was the signature of the Good Friday Agreement, also known as the Belfast Agreement, held in Northern Ireland on 10 April 1998. This political agreement aimed to develop a gradual process of peace between the British and Irish Governments and establish the basis for the devolution of government for Northern Ireland and the principle that all parties should be committed to exclusively peaceful politics. It was agreed between leading nationalist and unionist parties and the British and Irish governments, and then subsequently supported by 71% of the population of Northern Ireland on a referendum.

The far-right pro-British loyalist Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) of Ian Paisley was the only leading party to oppose the Good Friday Agreement, though they later agreed to share power with Republican politicians, and the First Minister of the devolved Assembly is from the DUP.

In March 2007, parliamentary elections were held in Northern Ireland so as to resolve its differences and resume power-sharing between the Democratic Unionist Party, led by Reverend Ian Paisley, and the Nationalist Sinn Fein, led by Gerry Adams. Ian Paisley and Martin McGuinness, another Sinn Fein deputy, were respectively sworn in as leader and deputy-leader of the Northern Ireland executive government. Power sharing put an end to direct rule from London. Thus, Northern Ireland has been facing a new reality from that point onwards.

On February 5, 2010, Gordon Brown and Brian Cowen, prime ministers of England and Ireland, signed the Hillsborough Castle Agreement. According to the terms of the agreement, Britain would hand over control of the six counties' police and justice system to Northern Ireland. The final phase of devolution was completed on April 12, 2010. However, the conflict has not totally ended yet. Because of unemployment, poverty, and alienation there have still been some conflicts in some isolated Unionist areas. Nevertheless, the new generations are becoming aware of the harm this conflict has caused to Northern Ireland. In addition to that, with the new global order the Irish have realized that there is no space for this conflict anymore and it is time to move on.

According to the Field Day the two Irelands cannot be thought within the frontiers of an island anymore, since both nations are part of the group of European countries which signed the Single European Act (SEA) in Luxembourg on 17 February 1986[10]. The Single European Act has also played an important influence to the end of the conflict between Unionists and Nationalists in Northern Ireland for it is not only Northern Ireland but the whole island, even though with two different governments, that is part of a new political and economic European system. So, both Irelands have had to work hard in order to surpass their internal crisis and think of themselves as part of the globalized world, interacting, influencing, and being influenced by a variety of cultures. This new reality has taken Northern Ireland to solve its differences and opt for power-sharing. But, in fact, the "two Irelands" will have to carry a social, economic and political integration if they want to interweave with other nations.

Due to the fact that my aim is to explore the works of a Northern Irish writer, who is preoccupied with history and politics of Northern Ireland, it is also necessary to make a short outline of the Irish historical process from the beginning of colonization to the partition of Ireland, since this process created the roots for the politics developed after the partition, a theme that is fully explored in his works.

In the 5th Century[11], the Irish lived in tribes according to their family names. Ireland was divided into five kingdoms: Ulster, Munster, Leinster, Connaught, and Tara. These tribes were often at war in order to gain territorial advantage over one another. In 1005, The Irish tribes were united to fight against the Vikings invasion. This union lasted until 1014 when the

[10] The Single European Act (SEA) set the European Community an objective of establishing a *Single Market* by 31 December 1992, and codified European Political Cooperation, the predecessor of the European Union

[11] Unless otherwise specified, factual references presented in this chapter are informed through COOGAN (2002).

King of Leinster sought the assistance of Norman allies to expel the Vikings. As a consequence, the Normans led by King Henry II conquered Ireland.

Henry II allowed some independence to the Irish lords. This partial independence lasted until 1205 when Henry's son, King John Plantagenet, took control of Ireland and created the Earldom of Ulster. In the sixteenth century, the English King Henry VIII broke with Rome, created the Church of England, and tried to bring Ireland to accept his religious Reformation. The Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry rebelled against the English King. In 1607, James I began an extensive colonization bringing into Ireland English Protestants, Presbyterian Scots, and, even, French and German Protestants from their homelands. He especially concentrated on the Ulster region, which, at that time, included the nine counties: Donegal, Fermanagh, Cavan, Monaghan, Armagh, Down, Tyrone, Coleraine and Antrim. The best lands were confiscated from Irish and were first given to servitors of the King and the new immigrants, leaving to the native Irish the leftover land. The settling of the Plantation[12] displaced masses of native Irish. The plantations changed the demography of Ireland by creating large communities with a British and Protestant identity. These communities replaced the older Catholic ruling class, which shared with the general population a common Irish identity and a set of political attitudes. In the long run, this process led to the creation of a Protestant ruling class aggravating the sectarian bitterness.

With the French Revolution (1787 - 99), a new organization, the United Irishman, was also formed. Not only did they believe that Protestants and Catholics could live together peacefully but also wanted to set up a French-styled democratic republic and independent from Britain. However, some Protestants formed the Orange Order[13] to preserve loyalty to the monarchy. Besides, Republicanism was seen as treasonous by the British so they saw the United Irishmen as a national threat and began attacking the United Irishman and murdering a large number of them. After a large rebellion, especially in the northern counties, the United Irishmen were defeated and Britain passed the Act of Union, in 1800, forming a new country, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by uniting England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland. All regional parliaments were abolished and the power was centralized in the

[12] The Plantation of Ulster was an organized colonization of Ulster by people from Scotland and England during the rule of King James I. The plantation was sponsored by the British Crown who confiscated the land from the Gaelic chiefs of Ulster was chiefs and gave to its loyal settlers.

[13] The Orange Order is a Protestant fraternal organization founded in 1796 near the village of Loughgall in County Armagh. It was named after King William of Orange who defeated the army of the Catholic king James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. The Order is based in Belfast, Northern Ireland and is strongly linked to unionism. The order sees itself as defending Protestant civil and religious liberties. However, the order is criticized as being sectarian, triumphalist and supremacist.

English Parliament. In 1813, Sir Robert Peel set up Penal Laws[14] and a law-enforcing force, “the Bobbies or the Peelers” in Ireland. These Penal laws affected mainly Catholics and Presbyterians. In 1858, the Irish Republican Brotherhood or the 'Fenians' was formed with the aim of creating an independent Irish republic by force. The IRB was the first group to add a religious (pro-Catholic/anti-Protestant) slant to Republicanism, and this widened the gap between the two religious groups who shared Ireland.

In 1876, the Home Rule Party was formed by Isaac Butt, aiming to form a regional Irish Parliament that could pass laws separately from the main Parliament in London, but without objecting independence from Britain. The Home Rule were merged with the Land campaign, a land-reform movement leaded by Michael Davitt aiming to introduce a new-land reform against the feudal system of land existing in Ireland, and the first Land League was formed with its president being Stuart Parnell. The purpose was to get more rights to tenants and forge the Irish Nation- 'Irish Nationalism'. Basically, there were three groups which aimed at different outcomes to the situation. The first group, The Home Rulers, was mostly formed by Irish Catholics who wanted the Act of Union and Ireland’s own Parliament, but were not claiming full independence. The second group, the Irish unionists, was mostly formed by wealthy Protestants who were against Home Rule and wanted to retain the Act of Union. The third group was formed by those who wanted an independent Ireland – the Irish Republicans”.

In 1886, the Liberal Party Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, William Gladstone, decided to introduce the first Home Rule in Ireland in order to solve the political problem. His project was defeated in the London Parliament by the conservative party who thought it would weaken the United Kingdom. The Irish Unionists, afraid of separatism from Britain, formed 'Irish Unionist Alliance', an organization basically formed by rich businessman and supported by the British Unionists and the Conservative Party. After the First Home Rule Bill had failed, Lord Randolph, leader in the Conservative Party, gave a speech in Ulster in which he told the Irish Unionists that the party would help them to resist Home Rule. In his discourse he uttered 'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right'. This sentence became a slogan for Unionists.

In 1893, the Liberal party in London, led by William Gladstone, had regained power and introduced the Second Home Rule Bill. This Home Rule was passed by the House of

[14] Penal Laws were a code of laws passed by the Protestant Parliament of Ireland which regulated the status of Roman Catholics during the eighteenth century. The purpose of the Irish Penal Laws was to disenfranchise the native majority from both political and economic power. They objected to entice the colonized Irish into conversion to Protestantism. If a Catholic accepted conversion into Protestantism s/he would avoid the oppressive effects of these laws.

Commons but was defeated in the House of Lords, where there were many more Conservatives than Liberals.

In 1900, the Irish Republican Brotherhood (the 'Fenians' or IRB), a group of hard-line Irish Republicans, began to recruit volunteers to rebel against British Rule. In 1905, a Dubliner named Arthur Griffith found Sinn Féin, a Republican party against Home Rule. He aimed to set up a completely independent republic consisting of the whole island of Ireland.

In the 1909 General Election, liberals and conservatives both won exactly 272 seats. The liberals also introduced a Parliament Act to reduce the power of the House of Lords, and with the support of the Home Rule Party the Parliament act was passed and the third Home Rule Bill was introduced. When the Bill was discussed, the Conservatives and the Irish Unionists, led by Sir Edward Carson, the leader of the Unionist party, and Sir James Craig, campaigned to have the north treated separately from the rest of the island. They argued Ireland was formed by two distinct national identities and the Protestants of Ulster belonged to a separate Irish Nation.

On 28 of September 1912, Craig introduced the 'Ulster Covenant', a declaration against the Third Home Rule Bill declaring themselves loyal to the King and considering the Bill a conspiracy against “the material well-being of Ulster as well as the whole Ireland” (DEANE, 1991b, p. 287). The Covenant was divided into two declarations, the covenant itself, signed by 237,368 men, and the Declaration, signed by 234,046 women. Protestant churches held services and industries stopped working to encourage the signing. This day is known as Ulster Day.

In January 1913, The Ulster Unionist Council founded the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) in order to unite the scattered militant groups of Ulster. UVF, led by Edward Carson and James Craig “proclaimed their readiness to resist the Home Rule and, if necessary, to set up their own government in Ulster” (DEANE, 1991, p. 285). By the end of 1913, Nationalists realized that the Liberal government and the Home Rule leader, John Redmond was likely to agree with the Conservatives and leave part of Ulster out of Home Rule, so they formed the Irish Volunteer Force (IVF). There were some clashes between the UVF and the IFV between November and March, so to prevent civil war, the Government introduced a new scheme called “County Option”: each county would vote for or against the Home Rule Bill. On August 1914 the UK went to war with Germany and the First World War began, therefore the government decided to postpone the Third Home Rule Bill until after the war.

Nationalists and Unionist believed if they fought alongside the British they would be able to negotiate the Bill. However, a small group disagreed in helping the British and

dissociated themselves splitting the group in two: a group who remained in Ireland, and another group who went to war. In Easter 1916, Republicans led a rising in Dublin. After four days of Rebellion 450 died and 15 republican leaders were arrested and executed. The Irish volunteers were soon to be renamed as the Irish Republican Army and started a violent campaign for independence in 1919. The British government responded by recruiting a force to fight against the IRA. After negotiations in London, a treaty signed between the IRA and the British on 11 July 1921 set up a Free State in the south. The United Kingdom of Great Britain was renamed 'The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland'.

The 'Irish Free State' would have its own army, although it would remain within the British Commonwealth. The treaty also set up a boundary commission which would define the border between the Unionist and the Nationalist communities. The Sinn Fein leader, Eamon de Valera, became the first Prime Minister of the Irish Free State. Many IRA members opposed the terms of the Treaty, and this led to a civil war in the Free State between June 1922 and May 1923. Within Northern Ireland many Protestants scapegoated Catholics for the IRA violence and the expulsion of Protestants from their homes in the Free State. This resulted in a dramatic rise in sectarian violence and rioting, in Northern Ireland. The border between the Free State and Northern Ireland was finally confirmed in 1925.

3 NATIONAL LITERATURE: FROM THE CELTIC REVIVAL TO THE TROUBLES.

Tom Paulin, like his contemporaries, was greatly influenced by Irish authors from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a period also known as the Celtic Revival. This was when Ireland started to redefine its literature aiming at a national tradition of Irish writing in English, which would give Ireland a national identity that had almost been erased after centuries of colonization. Irish writers started producing an extensive political and literary body of writing in the English language. It does not mean that before this period there had not been important Irish writers writing in English. One notable Irish writer prior to 1789 was Jonathan Swift. Swift was an Anglo-Irish writer who may have wished that he had been born in England, so he saw things in Ireland through the eyes of an outsider. Nevertheless, by living in Ireland, he was plagued by the paradoxes and distortions of the truth of the political, ecclesiastical, legal and social aspects of life in Ireland, so he produced extraordinary writings about these contradictions. In the late eighteenth century, Irish politics suffered a great impact and influence of the Independence of the United States and the French Revolution. It was a time when political speeches and writings, songs, plays, stories and poems questioned identity and nationality. The reason for the appearance of such writings lies in the instabilities and uncertainties of a time of violent political conflict and social transition influenced by the era of revolutions, which urged a redefinition of these new times. Although these writings represented different voices and ideas of the conflict, all of them had their preoccupation with Ireland in common. All of them presented issues of national identity, political liberty, sectarian conflict, territorial possession, and linguistic inheritance. The Celtic Revival was similar to the American Romanticism that acquired force after the American Revolution (1765–1783). The main difference is that The United States was an independent country and Ireland was still a colony of England; nevertheless both were trying to set up a national literature. During the Celtic Revival some writings and movements became the basis of the Irish national literature. Later, in the twentieth century, issues of national identity, political liberty, sectarian conflict territorial possession, and linguistic inheritance are to be found in the literature of the Troubles. In the next section a few authors will be mentioned to illustrate the Celtic Revival period.

3.1 The Celtic Revival

Concerning political writings and speeches, two important names must be mentioned. The first one is Edmund Burke. In his book *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), written in a form of a long letter, Burke provokes a series of debates about the cultural identity, civil liberty and political destiny of Ireland. Despite the fact that his works carried a great deal of contradiction which inspired sectarian politics, Burke aimed to establish the appropriate conditions for a harmonious civil society. Some authors such as Seamus Deane (1985, p. 23), considers him a writer who paved the way for the Celtic Revival.

Another important Irish writing was Wolfe Tone's *An argument on Behalf of Catholics* (1791) in which he writes in favor of the United Irishmen movement, a society whose purpose was to transcend sectarian divisions, eliminate the British rule in Ireland, and establish a system based on ideas of equality and justice. The movement spread its ideals by means of pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers, ballads, catechisms and travelling emissaries. Unfortunately, the United Irishmen was suppressed after the armed rebellion of 1798.

In 1801, The Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, which united Ireland to England, Scotland and Wales, abolished the regional Parliaments of these colonies and centralized the decisions in the English Parliament. Ireland did not have legislative independence, could not control its economy, and suffered mercantile and military burdens imposed by Britain. The opposition between British discourse and practice brought up more political debates and writings through pamphlets, reprinted speeches poems, novels, and plays. Concerning Irish fiction, in his introduction to *Oxford World's Classic: An Anthology of Irish Literature in English 1789 -1939*, Stephen Regan (2004 p. xx) writes that John Gamble and William Carleton prepared the ground on which Irish tale is transformed into printed literary forms.

There were publications that aimed to recover the Gaelic history and culture and several intellectuals contributed to the survival of the cult of the bard. Fragments of the Gaelic culture provided a vital impulse for cultural nationalism. Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1798) is the translation of a body of Irish poems into English, making them accessible to the English-speaking audience. Samuel Ferguson and Thomas Moore perpetuated the cultural nationalism through their writings. Ferguson was a "poet, writer of fiction, critic, translator, and scholar [who worked] to promote awareness of ancient Irish culture. [.] He greatly influenced Yeats who wrote one of his earliest essays on the poet and continued his use of Irish legend" (WELCH, 1996, p. 186).Thomas Moore was a Catholic born in Dublin

who was a friend of the United Irishman Robert Emmet. His best known work is the *Irish Melodies*, published between 1804 and 1834. "He wrote that the poetry sprang from his feeling for music and Irish music, for him, implicitly expressed an idea of national identity which magnetized political subject-matter, however circumspectly he treated it" (WELCH, 1996, p. 376). Moore's early numbers of the *Irish Melodies* call forth leaders of the 1798 United Irishmen rebellion. William Hazlitt and James Joyce were influenced by Moore's *Irish Melodies*. Moore's *Melodies* are mentioned in Joyce's *The Dubliners* (1914).

The Act of Union triggered the idea of separate national identity and generated debates and different views of how Irish nationalism should be developed. Samuel Ferguson, among others, believed in the Union. For Ferguson, literature would create a specific national identity to Protestants and Catholics and a feeling of mutual compatibility. Other writers like James Hardiman, and Patrick Pearse followed Wolf Tone's republican ambition inspired by the French Revolution. Pearse was a poet and one of the leaders of the Easter Rising in 1916[15]. He believed that Ireland had a distinctive cultural heritage and should be a distinct nation. Thomas Davis, an organizer of the Young Ireland movement, was another writer in favor of Irish nationalist thinking. His most important works were *The West's Asleep* (1843) and *A Nation Once Again* (1844). In 1842, he established *The Nation newspaper*[16] with Charles Gavan Duffy and John Blake Dillon.

Another important writer of the Revival is James Clarence Mangan (1803-49) who is acknowledged by his linguistics achievements. Stephen Regan (2004, p. xxviii) writes that Mangan's "best-known poems, including *Dark Rosaleen* (1846) and *Kathleen Ny-Houlihan* (1841), are essentially reworkings and reiventations of Irish poems presented to Mangan in literal English versions already prepared by scholars". *Kathleen Ny-Houlihan* (1841) is a version of an eighteenth century Jacobite poem by a Munster poet called Liam Ó hIferanáil. Mangan's poem characterizes Ireland as a victim of the English imperial politics. Later, Yeats, with the collaboration of Lady Gregory, writes his own version of *Kathleen Ny-Houlihan* (1902). Yeats includes an epigraph of Mangan's translation. James Joyce dedicates a whole chapter to Mangan in his lecture, *Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages*, at Università

[15] The Easter Rising was an armed insurrection in Dublin in 1616, organized by the Irish Republican Brotherhood aiming to end the British rule in Ireland and established an independent Irish Republic. The Rising began on Easter Monday, 24 April 1916, and lasted for six days when it was suppressed by the British army. Its leaders were court-martialled and sentenced to death. It was one of the most important rebellions after the United Irishmen rebellion in 1978.

[16] *The Nation* newspaper was founded by Gavan Duffy in 1840. The newspaper was a sixpence booklet containing a mixture of news, literary criticism, poetry and political and social comment.

Popolare di Trieste on 27 April 1907. The printed version is found in *James Joyce: Occasional, Critical and Political Writing.*

The Great Irish Famine, from 1845 to 1851, led to a huge decline of the Irish language. At that time, the Gaelic culture was in the hands of Protestant intellectuals in favor of the Irish independence as William Butler Yeats, Lady Gregory, and the founder of the Gaelic League, Douglas Hyde, among others. This literature was utile to them since its recovery would realign them with the past of the country they lived in, and could be used as a badge for de-Anglicization of the country. Yeats is the founder of the literary revival and the most prominent poet of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. While Patrick Pearse and Thomas Hyde, leaders of the 1916 Easter Ring, objected to revive the Irish national culture, language and literature in Irish, Yeats' main concern was to reinforce the idea of a distinct Irish national literature written in English. In his works he focuses on Irish mythology and the Ireland of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods. Although he produced a great body of excellent work, it is worth mentioning Three of his very important poems: *Easter 1916*, in which he pays tribute to a fellow colleague and one of the executed leaders of the 1916 rebellion, *The Lake Isle of Innisfree* (1888), in which he showed how Gaelic poetry could be translated into English without losing rhythm and *September 1913 (1914*) in which he praises John O'Leary (1830 -1907), Fenian exile and literary mentor to young Yeats. Because of O'Leary visionary revolutionary politics Yeats associates him with the revolutionaries Robert Emmet, Theobald Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Here is a stanza from "September 1913" to illustrate Yeats' revolutionary and post revolutionary poems

> Was it for this wild geese spread
> The grey wing upon every tide;
> For this that all blood was shed,
> For this Edward Fitzgerald died,
> And Robert Emmet and wolf Tone,
> All that delirium of brave?
> Romantic Ireland's dead and gone
> It's with O'Leary in the grave

According to Johnston and Batten (2006, p. 357),"A history of Irish poetry over the last six decades of the twentieth century begins with a handful of poets struggling not to succeed the great poet and chef d'école Yeats, but to gain independence from his dominant influence." Joyce freed the next generation of writers from looking back at the Celtic past and

taught them how to be creative with language. For Joyce[17] "Ancient Ireland is dead just as ancient Egypt is dead." Besides, history was an obstacle of independence of spirit; what was important was the individual imagination. According to Patricia Craig (1992, p. 107) Joyce's variable manner gave a better indication of the way to carry on, for poets no less than for prose writers. Influenced by the European modernism, Joyce turned to more everyday contemporary, urban, democratic, and international topics.

3.2 After Partition, "Years of Stillness"

After the Partition in 1922, two new institutions were to form: The Gaelic/ Catholic Republic of Ireland and the Scots-Irish Protestant of Northern Ireland. Patrick Crotty (1995, p. 2) asserts that "on both sides of the border from the years 1922 to 1960 mark a period of retrenchment and more or less institutionalized Philistinism. In the south, contemporary literature was all but outlawed by the Censorship of Publications Act (1929)". Besides, due to two World Wars and the neutrality of the Republic of Ireland in World War II, Ireland became isolated, economically stagnant and culturally depressed. Johnston and Batten (2006, p. 359) write that "Ireland neutrality made Irish productions, including literature, unpopular and neglected abroad, while censorship, enacted in 1929, banned the work of many Irish writers at home and interdicted much important writing from elsewhere." After the closure of The Bell Magazine (1940–54)[18], Irish criticism became shadowy. Britain was not interested in reviewing Irish writers and paid little attention to the poetry in Belfast. Patricia Craig (1996, p. 222) notes:

> Censorship in the South, and two brands of Puritanism in the North, had brought about a situation in which it was easier for writers to opt for the ideological truism—religious or political or cultural: to write with their instincts rather than their intelligence, or, in other words, to repeat the emotion (as Yeats had it) because it had been found effective.

Poets like Patrick Kavanagh and Austin Clark had to struggle to survive through their writings. Kavanagh lived in the north and south border, so he "was well positioned to

[17] Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages at < http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~ehrlich/382/IRELAND>.

[18] *The Bell* was a literary a socio-cultural periodical founded in 1940 by Seán Ó Faoláin whose contributors aimed at discussing social and political matters as Irish identity, European influences, state censorship, restrictive clericalism, and reactionary tendencies in Irish literature, among others. Elizabeth Bowen, Flann O'Brien, Patrick Kavanagh, Frank O'Connor, and Jack B. Yeats were among the contributors to the first issue. W. R. Rodgers and Louis MacNeice, among others also contributed to *The Bell Magazine*.

influence poets from both south and north of the border" (REGAN, 2004, p. xxxviii). Seamus Heaney was among the later generation of poets to be moved by "something new, authentic and liberating in Kavanagh's poetry" (HEANEY, 1975, p.115). Others like Denis Devlin and Samuel Becket followed Joyce's path, allied themselves with French Modernists and left the country. W.R. Rodgers, John Hewitt, and Louis MacNeice may be considered the most prominent Ulster poets of this time. Hewitt is especially important because more than just being a free-thinking, agnostic and socialist, he was also a pioneering critic and collector of Ulster writings. In his foreword to his *Collected Poems 1932-1967* Hewitt (1968, p. 7) writes "I am by birth an Irishman of planter stock, by profession an art gallery man, politically a man of the Left". One of his greatest interests was the Ulster Rhyming Weaver poets of the nineteenth century, known as working men of textile and industries who used writing poems in the vernacular Ulster-Scots language. His book, *Rhyming Weavers* (1948) was reprinted by The Blackstaff Press under the name of *Rhyming Weavers and other Country Poets of Antrim and Down* in 2004. The new foreword for the re-published book was written by Tom Paulin. Paulin (2004, p. I) writes "Hewitt was widely regarded as being the father figure of a generation of Ulster poets." Hewitt greatly influenced the next generation.

Louis MacNeice is another Northern Irish poet who must be mentioned here. He was born in 1907. He left Ireland to Marlborough, England and lived all his life over there, so his work was mostly published outside Ireland. MacNeice published seventeen volumes of poetry between 1929 and 1963. In the preface of his *Autumn Journal* (1939, p. 8), MacNeice writes "Poetry in my opinion must be honest before anything else and I refuse to be 'objective' or clear-cut at the cost of honesty". MacNeice, as Yeats, is considered an extremely gifted poet. According to Peter MacDonald (2003, p. 59) Louis MacNeice was an Irish poet and thought of himself as being an Irish poet from the beginning to the end of his writing career". O' Neil and Callagahan (2011, p. 110) write that in his work, "MacNeice signals his sense of being caught up in the criss-cross tensions of history, class nationality and religion; and he finds, as often in his work, a form capable of conveying that sense". Peter McDonald (1997, p. 34) notes that "writing to his overseas audience, during the second war, MacNeice approaches the subject of 'Northern Ireland and her People', paying special attention to stereotypes." As a poet writing during WWII, he pays attention to more public situations and to the history of his own time and generation and he has an inclusive observation of the world "while remaining committed to an idea of poetry as a parable-like, and mythic in its essential bearing" (MCDONALD, 1997, p. 34)

3.3 The Troubles and Poetry

In the 1960s, Irish literature flourishes again. The reasons for this were the economic growth and social modernizations of the late 1950s, allied to the political crisis of the North and the advent of the Troubles in the late 1960s. Although the 1950s was a period of relative inertia, it had already showed some changes in the Republic of Ireland. The end of the neutral South's wartime isolation made it possible for Richard Murphy, Thomas Kinsella, Austin Clark and John Montague to be published in Dublin again. In 1951, Liam Miller, an architect who loved arts, founded the Dolmen Press in Dublin and together with writers set a project to publish books and other artistic activities. Some of the books that were published by the Dolmen Press were Richard Murphy`s *The Archeology of Love* (1955), Thomas Kinsella's *Poems* (1956), John Montague's *Forms of Exile* (1959), and Austin Clark's *Ancient Lights* (1955). John Goodby (2000, p. 8) writes that in the 1950s and 1960s, paralysis provoked responses all over the world from civil rights movements to revolutions that led to radicalization of metropolitan and internal politics. Being Ireland both metropolitan and colonial, a simultaneous sense of liberation and domination in a single geographical but political divided territory is at work. So, in the late sixties, this modernization and decolonization collapsed into the Troubles and sparked off an instantaneous poetic response by a new generation of poets, like Heaney, Longley, Mahon, followed by Paul Muldoon, Frank Ormsby, Ciaran Carson, Medbh McGuckian, and Tom Paulin in the 1970s.

Goodby (2000, p. 8) comments that "Heaney, Mahon and Michael Longley can be viewed as products of the 1947 Education Act", which lead to the possibility of secondary and university education for many people from less advantaged backgrounds. Goodby (2000), Craig (1996), and Johnston and Batten (2006), note that the emergency of poets like Heaney, Mahon and Longley was possible due to the teachings of Philip Hobsbaum, who had arrived at Queen's University and set up a creative writing group in which these poets and others like Edna Longley, Michael Allen, and Arthur Terry, and later, Paul Muldoon and Frank Ormsby, participated.

Nevertheless, the 'Northern Ireland Renaissance' or 'Ulster Revival' of the 1960s and the 1970s is also an aesthetic response to the culture of violence emerging from the volatile colonial and sectarian history of Northern at that time. Curley (2011, p. 74) writes that the "violence provoked numerous efforts at translating cultural conditions into valid compelling poetic representations". Crotty (1995, p. 3) asserts that "the forms of Northern Poetry in the 1960s and early 1970s were made as adequate to the fraught realities to their new socio-

political context". Thus, these poets concerns were history, sectarianism, politics, identity, language, and social criticism.

Ireland was a colony for eight hundred years. The consecutive colonization of Ireland through conquests and invasions has shown the lack of a predominant system of cultural consent that would legitimize the political system, except for the oppressive ones. The totalitarian, colonial condition influenced and has influenced artists, so that it is not possible to believe that these works of art are not imbued with, at least, an observation of the colonial situation. Therefore in twentieth-century Irish literature, some important themes recur and are explored, defined, and refined in poetry, fiction, and drama. Even though between the 1930s and 1950s only a few publications of Irish literature were actually printed, and most of them were printed outside Ireland, the 1960s generation of Irish writers, such as Heaney, Longley, and Mahon, as well as the 1970s generation of writers as Muldoon, Carson, Medhb, and Paulin came into the scene and have continued to produce aesthetic works that focus on their relation to place, politics, history, and social criticism "whether the tone is glum, angry, ironic or ebullient" (CRAIG, 1996, p.222).

Moreover, the poetry of the Troubles "has been generally viewed as a search for a viable Northern Irish communal identity amidst crisis verging on civil war" (CURLEY, 2011, p. 74). The violence generated by the colonial condition and conflicting cultural realities has incited poets to translate into well-founded representations, so contemporary Northern poets have been using a set of images and motifs in response to the growth of state military and paramilitary campaigns and sectarian divisions within the island. Jon Curley (2011, p. 75) observes:

> Troubles poetry is in its very essence expressive of the worst historical-political episode for Ireland since World War II and focuses on discordant milieu in the making as the motive force for almost all aspects of its production. The crisis in Northern Ireland is the be-all and end-all of its styles and subject matter and has evoked many performances of high quality with gripping human interest and, occasionally, transcendent vision.

The second generation of writers shares the experience of the civil rights movement of 1968. They grew up in communities that witnessed acts of violence by both paramilitary groups and the British Army. Besides, by living in Northern Ireland they also experienced the state protection of the Protestant interests that, most of the time, led to arbitrary threats to individual liberties such as the renewal of the Special Powers Act of 1922 in 1973, which

enabled the government to take the necessary steps and issue the necessary orders for preserving the peace and maintaining order as well as internment, which is the imprisonment or confinement of people, commonly in large groups, without trial. The social context of this time in Northern Ireland may help to explain fragmentation of narratives in their poems, "in which no centre holds and in which no stable central consciousness emerge" (Johnston & Batten, 2006, p. 392).

Paulin and his colleagues also show the need of expressing the crisis through a language outside standard norms and official discourse. They combine the local language with the Anglophone linguistic-literary tradition. The development of a local language is observed in former colonies as well as late-colonial countries like Northern Ireland as being characteristic of the historical process. Countries were and are constantly influenced by linguistic borrowings. In *On Reading Ancient Literature:* The Text and the Context (1995) Michael Sundermeier writes:

> The English spoken in Ireland has its own history as well. […].the Irish were compelled to replace or at least supplement their own language of Irish Gaelic with English. Without going into the reasons for this, one result is that the English spoken in Ireland has been heavily influenced by the Irish language in vocabulary, idiom, and even to an extent in grammar. Although few people in Ireland (some estimates are as low as 30,000) use Irish on a day-to-day basis, and the vast majority of Irish citizens do not have a fluent grasp of Irish, all of them are affected by this linguistic blending. (http://mockingbird.creighton.edu/english/micsun/IrishResources/textcon.htm)

There are other groups that strongly influenced the English language in Northern Ireland. For instance, the Scots who settled in certain counties of Northern Ireland in the 1650s also influenced the language spoken in the Northern Ireland. In fact, Ulster words derived from different languages influenced the vernacular English in Northern Ireland, for example, Elizabethan English, Scots and Irish Gaelic. However, when a colonial country is at civil war, this poetic enterprise has, without any doubt, a political connotation. As Jon Curley (2011, p. 76) notes, the Troubles poems are kinds of shibboleths, artistic keys for open up uneasy analyses of sectarian and political divisions coming to a violent climax in the ugliest phase of the nation's recent formation".

As can be noted, history, place, language, social and political criticism have been part of Irish poetry since its first Revival. Although a new generation of poets has gone in different directions, they have kept the same themes. Jon Curley (2011, p. 76) comments that "often

building on the work of their precursors, [poets] refined aesthetics techniques for critiquing Northern Irish communal identity within a wider historical and cultural context under the duress of unprecedented contemporary turbulence". So has Tom Paulin, as being part of this group who has experienced this particular time of the Irish History.

In fact in general, literature in the Island of Ireland has always been closely related to the Irish experience. Seamus Deane (1985, p. 11) notes that Ireland has experienced a series of social and political failures for almost three centuries. Among them are the Whig Revolution settlement of 1688-90; the Irish Parliament of 1782-1800; the Act of Union, 1800-1922; the Home Rule; and the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922. Adding to those political movements, there are the insurrectionary movements: the United Irishmen, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Citizens Army, and the Irish Republican Army, which culminate with the Troubles. Therefore, the idea of a stable society has not been established in the Irish experience. The formation of the Republic of Ireland, which culminated in the late colonial experience in Northern Ireland and its political social clash delayed the process of modernization and liberal pluralism and led to a sectarian discourse. Colonialism in Ireland had a great impact on people's consciousness and Irish literature has been associated with historical interpretations and has been politically committed. Deane (1986, p. 7) also writes that "because of this, Irish writing has traditionally been extraordinarily interrogative. It has moved between the extremes of aestheticism – seeing literature as an end in itself – and political commitment – seeing it is an instrument for the achievement of other purposes."

4 TOM PAULIN AND HIS POETRY

Paulin is currently a professor of English at Hartford College in Oxford, England. He has published eight volumes of poetry: *A State of Justice* (1977), winner of a Somerset Maugham Award, *The Strange Museum* (1980), which won the Geoffrey Faber Memorial prize, *Liberty Tree* (1983) and *Fivemiletow*n (1987). His later collections are: *Walking a Line* (1994) and *The Wind Dog* (1999), which was shortlisted for the T. S. Eliot Prize. *The Invasion Handbook* (2002), which is an epic poem about the Second World War, *The Road to Inver: Translations, Versions and Imitations* 1975-2003 (2004) and, *Love is a Bonfire* (2012), his most recent collection of poetry. He has written a series of non-fiction books: *Ireland and the English Crisis* (1984), *Minotaur*: Poetry and the Nation State (1992), *The Day-Star of Liberty:* William Hazlitt's Radical Style (1998), and *The Camouflage School* (2007). Tom Paulin is also the editor of *The Faber Book of Political Verse* (1986), *The Faber Book of Vernacular Poetry* (1990), *Thomas Hardy: Poems selected by Tom Paulin* (2001), *The Secret Life of Poems* (2008), *Crusoe's Secret:* The Aesthetics of Dissent (2005), and he is a co-author with Amit Chaudhuri of D. *H. Lawrence and "Difference":* The Poetry of the Present (2003), a co-editor with David Chandler of *The Fight and Other Writings by William Hazlitt* (2000), and a co- editor with Uttara Natarajan of *Metaphysical Hazlitt:* Bicentenary Essays (2005). He has four plays: *The Riot Act*: A Version of Sophocles' *Antigone,* first staged by The Field Day in 1984, *The Hillsborough Convention* (1987), *Seize the Fire* (1990),.and a translation of Euripides' *Medea (*2010), in which he focused on sentence sounds. Paulin has also published a series of essays in The Field Day pamphlets. The first one is titled *A New Look at the language Question* (1983), in which he proposes a Dictionary of Irish English. The aim of this dictionary was to show the difference between the Standard English and the English spoken in Ireland. This essay became the introduction of The *Faber Book of Vernacular Poetry* (1990). This proposal is observed in his works in which the poet employs a great deal of Ulster vernacular oral language.

Tom Paulin's collections analyzed in this dissertation are *A State of Justice* (1977), *The Strange Museum (1980), Liberty Tree* (1983), *Fivemiletown* (1987) and *The Wind Dog* (1999). During his first three publications the political situation in Northern Ireland did not change much. Before the publication of Paulin's first collection of poems, *State of Justice* (1977), the Official Unionist Party had ruled Northern Ireland from 1921 until 1972, when direct rule from London was imposed. The 1970s was the most violent decade in the Northern

Irish history. At the end of the 1960s some the worst riots had taken place, most of them had been responses to the heavy repression on the Civil Rights movement. The seventies were when the British army was sent into Belfast and Derry, curfew was imposed on the Catholic neighborhoods and internment was introduced. Direct rule intended to restore self-government to Northern Ireland on a basis that was acceptable to both unionists and nationalists. However, the agreement proved elusive, and the "Troubles" continued throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and even the 1990s.

State of Justice (1977) is related to a line of Protestantism whose ideals are based on the Enlightenment and the social and political thinking of the European Republicanism of the eighteenth century. For Paulin, a just state is the one that accommodates a heterogeneous society, which is different from ethnic nationalism of the Republic and unionism of Northern Ireland. He believes that to transcend inherited colonial and religious divisions it is necessary to opt for an egalitarian democracy with civic institutions. Most poems in this collection are about the Ulster province and are closely related to the national politics. The poet presents a multiplicity of points of view concerning Ulster, Belfast. His poetry reflects the city life. Most poems depict gloomy and violent situations which Paulin experienced during his childhood and adolescence. Others are stories that the poet witnessed or was told by family and friends.

In *The Strange Museum* (1980), Paulin focuses on his construct of "history" and "stillness". For him "stillness" is related to the stagnant years of Unionist rule, while "history" is the revolutionary moment, when Unionism collapses and life acquires significance and purpose. "Stillness" is the sterile and decadent Northern Irish bourgeois ruling class while "history" is the revolutionary act. This collection brings back a troubled Belfast in the nineteenth-sixties. According to Conleth Ellis (1987, p. 100), this book describes the painful reality of Belfast in the sixties "where nothing was swinging but the pendulum against sanity". Poems in this collection repeatedly emphasize that there is no getting away. One can distance, but cannot cut off the bonds from that "lost city's meanness".

Liberty Tree (1993) establishes a connection between the ideals of the French Revolution and the Irish experience, both past and present. The title is a symbolic reference to Republicanism. *Liberty Tree* is imbued with Paulin's ambivalent feelings toward the heritage of Northern Irish Protestantism. It is a book of poetry in which Paulin intends to discuss the misconceptions of the present politics through a more socially based and humane idea of history. Based on his reading of history, he believes that the failure of the late eighteenth century enlightenment liberalism in Ulster brought the Protestant tradition of liberty to a halt and induced the unionist totalitarianism of the twentieth century. It is in this volume that

Paulin starts to employ vernacular speech by combining types of dictation, among other Ulster and Belfast dialects, which he justifies in his essay "A new Look at Language Question" (1984). He also abandons punctuation, syntax and grammar.

Fivemiletown (1987) is a book of poetry that takes its historical context from the identity crisis instigated by the sign of the Anglo-Irish Agreement at Hillsborough Castle, in 1985. Paulin associates the lack of a local historical mythology and identity with the failure of the Unionist government and the decolonization of Northern Ireland, so he engages in analyzing the opinions of the Ulster Loyalists as well as the community of the crisis. The use of language in this collection follows the same line of *Liberty tree*. This book is full of Ulster Scots language (vocabulary and syntax). This collection may also be the best example of modernism concerning disruption of language and form.

The *Wind Dog* (1999) may be the best example of modernism concerning disruption of language and form. Paulin continues to apply a great deal of oral language, local dialect, as well was fragmentation, bricolage, dialogism and heteroglossia; techniques which involve irony. By exploring local language and dialect, he aims at disrupting the smoothness of Standard English and the conventional poetic structure. This technique is supported in his *The Faber Book of Vernacular Verse* (1990) in which he discusses the political and cultural importance of the living language. The use of fragmentation in his poems helps destabilize the notion of an established identity and a sense of fixed world. These poems reflect the notion of identity in Northern Ireland as a period in which Ulster Protestants were, and some still are, facing the failure of Stormont as a representative institution, and feeling betrayed and abandoned by their partners. Concerning the use of bricolage, the poet intentionally mixes his lines with the lines of authors who explore vernacular languages. For Paulin, the use of vernacular is a political act.

4.1 POETRY AND POLITICS

Some critics believe that any political commitment damages a poem and tend to acclaim not only the poet's choice for non-political poetry but also the critic's freedom from an ideological analysis by believing that poems exist in a timeless vacuum, for poets have the power of renouncing history. Thus, there are a number of approaches which sought to establish literary studies as an objective discipline by aiming to reveal organic unity in complex texts. For instance, formalist critics, based on Ferdinand de Saussure studies, believe that to understand a text, the critic needs to understand the underlying system that makes

meaning possible. The New Criticism, which dominated the American scene of literary criticism in the nineteen-forties and nineteen-fifties, has also tried to exclude the reader's response, the author's intention, and the historical and cultural contexts from their analysis. They affirm that texts possess meaning in and of themselves, so they emphasize the intrinsic meaning of them. For them, the meaning within the text is context-bound. Critics should look to the texts more closely, be familiar with literary conventions, and have ample command of the language so that they are able to seek and resolve the ambiguities as well as show how parts of the text relate to form as a whole (the organic unity of the text). Other critics state that poetry that expresses public concerns may suffer the risk of descending into political propaganda. Nevertheless, as Terry Eagleton (1999, p. 35), writes:

> Literature is inextricably tied to politics. While many literary theories are not explicitly political, all literary theories are subject and permeated by the political and social ideologies of their days; therefore, it is those who attempt to be explicitly non-political and objective who do the most harm by disguising ideology as science. It is this inseparable connection between the world of politics and the world of literature which gives literary theory its importance in an age of seemingly imminent nuclear holocaust and severe economic and social injustice. And, as most literary theory for the past two centuries has been characterized chiefly by a desire to be unpolitical and escape the modern world, it has paradoxically reaffirmed the very doctrine that has led to the socially and politically oppressive forces that exist today: namely, the notion that there is the possibility of a disconnected individual who can escape from his social existence. This individuality is the driving force behind authoritarian capitalism and the military state.

In *Humanism and Literary Criticism* (2007), Edward Said asserts that the role of intellectuals in a relativized society cannot be considered as one who is disengaged from the society, but one who shows the contradictions present within that society. The writer is the one who has the right to be a dissident voice in conflicts with authorities, so we can find writers who witness persecution and suffering, and are dedicated to issues such as intolerance, dialogue of cultures, civil rights struggle, freedom of expression, censorship, the truth, and conciliation. The role of a writer is to tell the truth to the political and economic power since they attest the experience of a region or a country. The writer chooses to write in order to look for social justice and economic equality. Freedom should include a wide range of choices that propitiate cultural, political, economic and intellectual development and lead individuals or groups of people to speak out instead of being in silence. According to Edward Said, this is the vocation of an intellectual. The intellectual is someone who is in position to make these expectations and desires possible, so the role of an intellectual is a dialectic one; he opposes,

reveals, elucidates, defies and defeats the silence imposed as normalized quietude of the power, which is always possible and invisible everywhere. Because there is a social and intellectual equivalence between the dominating collective interest, discourse is used to justify, mystify and disguise their operations preventing the objections or questionings. Therefore, all kinds of art can intervene actively because the role of an intellectual is to present alternative narratives and other perspectives of history to the official ones. Nowadays, it is important to show multiple and complex histories instead of the linear impersonal ones aligned with the political, economic and religious power.

Concerning poetry, Tom Paulin (1996, p.100,) states "the poet who chooses to write about political reality is no different from the poet who chooses love, landscape or a painting by Cézanne as a subject for a poem". When a poet writes a poem about a political subject, he does not necessarily need to have strong commitment to a determined ideology. In totalitarian post-colonial societies, history plays an important role and is an inevitable condition, so it is not possible to separate the public from the private life in these societies. Nor is it possible to believe that a poet is free from the political situation and is able to produce autotelic works, "Art for Art's Sake". Naturally, a work of art does not need to be ideologically involved by offering a specific attitude concerning a given politics; rather, it mirrors a general historical awareness.

Tom Paulin's political poetry seeks to bring alternative visions and challenging interpretations of the contemporary Northern Ireland, especially in relation to the Troubles.

Political poetry seems to be part of the Irish reality. Before and after Partition, we find poetry which depicts the political situation both in the South and in the North, so it is not a characteristic that we find in Paulin alone; other poets have also written political poems. Political poems were not avoided in Ulster from 1930 to 1969 − a literary period considered by some writers as provincial and poor. An example is Louis MacNeice's poetry. In the sixteenth section of his *Autumn Journal* (1939), MacNeice attacks the factionalized Ulster and Irish politics by depicting earlier incidents in Belfast. However, due to the political crisis of the 1960s, it became impossible to ignore politics. Frank Ormsby (1992, p. xvi) writes:

> […] its themes of sectarian division and intransigence, the fear, suspicion and violence that Irish children are heir to, the complex, turbulent relationship between Ireland and Britain, the Irishman's love-hate engagement with his country, the artist's (in this case ironic) 'envy' of the man of 'action'; its depiction of a society where free speech is 'nipped in the bud' and the 'minority always guilty'; its imagery of drums, bombs, banners, sectarian graffiti and of Belfast as a 'city built upon mud' […].

Seamus Deane (1991, p. XXV) writes that throughout the twentieth century one stereotype of Ireland that has remained is that the political violence and the literary art flourish together. Instead of demolishing this stereotype it is much better to study how this association between violence and writing can be understood. This confrontation between the aesthetic and the political realms are both important in itself and historically central to much Irish writing. The aesthetic ideology, which claims 'art for sake" is a political force which pretends not to be so. In Ireland, the linkages between art criticism and political crisis are so close that there is a scarcely distinction in the vocabulary deployed for each. Deane (1991, p. XXVI) asserts that:

> Art gives the example of how tensions, strains, raw authentic experiences and processed moral values can be brought together in harmonious and triumphant wholeness. […]The idea is that which is chaotic, disorganized and 'rude' can be converted to order and civilization was shared by English colonial writers and English literary critics, at least until very recent times. It is also shared by those who see the connection between northern Irish violence and northern Irish literary revival. The literature − autonomous, ordered – stands over against the political system in its savage disorder. The connection here is interesting as a contrast. Ultimately, any key political term is exchangeable with any key literary term.

Paulin`s background is very important when we relate it to the type of poetry he writes. Paulin's parents were members of the Linen Hall Library and subscribed to a British political and cultural magazine *New Statesman*. This magazine was connected with the leading members of the Socialist Fabian Society, a British democratic socialism movement, who aimed to reform the British Colonies and gradually introduce a democratic socialism, rather than through revolutionary means. The society laid many of the foundations of the Labour Party and affected the policies of states emerging from the decolonization of the British Empire. While still a teenager, Paulin joined the Trotskyite Socialist Labour League and sold socialist newspapers in Protestant and Catholic areas of Belfast. This was when he read Trotsky, Marx and Engels. In the *Book In the Chair*: Interview with Poets from Northern Ireland (2002) by John Franklin Brown, Tom Paulin tells how he also distributed socialist newspapers in the working-class neighborhoods of Falls Road, Turf Lodge and Shankill. Falls Road and Turf Lodge are Catholic neighborhoods and Shankill Road (or Sandy Row) is a

Protestant one. These communities are still divided by peace walls[19] mostly built among the years of the Troubles. In his interview Paulin (2002, p. 153) says:

> Our activity came out of an analysis that there was something wrong with the society we lived in but, like many people on the left and many people in the Civil Rights campaign for whom it was not an issue, we didn't take on board Nationalism because we thought that the state was reformable from within. I'd been thrown into politics and I was trying to make sense of the experience and so, as I've continued to do for most of my adult life

In 1967, he went to the University of Hull in England to earn a degree in English and, later, to Lincoln College, Oxford where he earned a Bachelor's degree in Literature on the poetry of Thomas Hardy. He taught at the University of Nottingham, the University of Virginia and the University of Reading before becoming a lecturer at Hertford College, Oxford. Paulin became known in the second half of the 1970s, as one of the main poets together with his contemporaries Paul Muldoon and Medbh McGuckian, during the period known as the Troubles, which started in 1968. There were a series of Civil Rights marches that year. Paulin supported the movement, along with poets of both sides, as for example, James Simmons and Michael Longley from the Protestant side and Seamus Heaney and John Montague from the Catholic side. Therefore, as a poet who has experienced the historical period of the Troubles, Paulin, among other poets, was influenced by that time and, as a consequence, is known as a poet who delivers politically-inflected poetry that investigates politics, ideology and cultural identity.

Tom Paulin is also one of the directors of the Field Day Theatre Company of Irish writing. The members of the Field Day, Tom Paulin, Seamus Deane, Seamus Heaney, Stephen Rea and other Irish important intellectuals have developed a program of cultural intervention in the politics of the Island of Ireland, and more emphatically, in Northern Ireland. This movement was founded in 1980 by the Irish playwright Brian Friel[20] and the theatre and movie actor Stephen Rea[21]. Later, the intellectuals Tom Paulin, Seamus Deane,

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[19] Peace walls are a series of border barriers that separate working-class Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods in some cities of Northern Ireland as Belfast, Derry, and Portadown. These Peace lines (walls) were built to minimize violence between Catholics and Protestants (most of being working class.

[20] Brian Friel (1929-) is one of Ireland's most noticeable playwrights. Friel has written plays, short stories; screenplays; film, TV and Radio adaptations of his plays. Brian Friel's plays have been produced at prestigious places like the Abbey Theatre, London's West End and Broadway. Friel's *Translations* (1981) is one of his master pieces. The play was awarded the Ewart-Biggs Peace Prize. Besides co-founding Field Day, Friel is a member of Aosdána, the national treasure of Irish artists. He was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Literature by the National University of Ireland in 1983, and in 1987 was nominated to the Irish Senate.

[21] Stephen Rea was born in Belfast, Northern Ireland in a Presbyterian but nationalist family. He attended Belfast High School and the Queen's University of Belfast, taking a degree in English. Stephen Rea studied acting at the

Seamus Heaney, the singer David Hammond, and Tom Kilroy joined the company and started a publishing project editing articles about Irish history, cinema, literature, geography, and politics, in association with Cork University Press and Notre Dame University Press. Their aim is to help current studies on history, postcolonial theory, political and social studies, critique of ideology, literature, and aesthetics.

The movement is engaged in the study of the Irish political crisis. Its members aim to articulate these issues to a critique of Irish social and political life. In general, these Irish writers provide an intellectual response to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. They point out that the heritage of sectarianism and cultural stereotyping has done more harm than good to the communities of Northern Ireland. These writers propose a discourse of unity to deconstruct the national myth of sectarianism. Their purpose is to redefine the Irish national culture, history and tradition through plays, poetry, novels, and academic writings since Partition brought disastrous consequences. It gave emphasis to the sectarian features and provided cultural myths about the uniqueness of Irish identity, resulting in the social and political crisis of the twentieth century, named as the Troubles. The Field Day is concerned with the possibility of demythologizing stereotypes which have been built up by historical narratives about English dominance. The movement is engaged in revaluating the existent narratives about Ireland. These narratives have not only been told by the Irish, but also by the English. They refer basically to three different points-of-view: the Catholic-Irish, the Protestant-Irish and the English. The Field Day analyzes, discusses and makes critiques and observations about the Ulster Question in Northern Ireland, the site of the conflict, and the political nationalism applied in the Republic of Ireland, as well as the cultural and social consequences Partition generated in the whole island. The politics of the Field Day is not so much concerned with fighting the English, but rather with healing the Irish from the negative effects that so many centuries of anger and hatred have caused. Moreover, the Field Day analyzes the social and political context in which the culture of a determined society is manifested, with the purpose of performing a critical evaluation, specially, when this evaluation is concerned with the existing ideological discourse. The Field Day has been developing an extensive production about Irish Literature and History. Moreover, The Field Day aims at a concept of Ireland's fifth province, a place where there are no oppositions. The

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Abbey Theatre School in Dublin. In the late 1970s, he acted with Gabriel Byrne in the Focus Company in Dublin. During Margaret Thatcher's government, a broadcasting ban on Sinn Féin was imposed Sinn Féin members could not be heard making statements expressing the views of Sinn Féin, so Rea was one of many actors to talk about problem. Rea was married to former Provisional Irish Republican Army member and hunger striker, Dolours Price.

idea is to help to create an unprejudiced, neutral ground, open to cultural diversity and disengaged from partisan connections.

Paulin is a Protestant Presbyterian and was raised in a Protestant community. However, he does not agree with the politics of Protestant Unionism. In *Viewpoints:* Poets in Conversation with John Haffender (1981, p. 158), Paulin says he "grew up in a culture that was officially Loyalist, but came to see it was a rotten society". His disgust for the Unionist tradition and its ideology has been a constant theme in his poetry and, through it, he attempts to idealize a better society, a social-democratic republic, which he believes was the main objective of republicanism of the 1789 – the political dissent tradition – and the Young Ireland movement, a non-sectarian group that fought for Ireland's independence from Britain and a formation of a Republican state. Therefore, he believes in a secular united Ireland, in which all cultural traditions would be guaranteed full expression. Paulin (1981, p. 158) says:

> How fundamentally ridiculous and contradictory is to be an Ulster Protestant. It is a culture, who could have dignity, and it had once—I mean that strain of radical Presbyterianism, free-thinking Presbyterianism, which more or less went underground after 1798. I pretty well despise official Protestant culture, and can't now understand how people can simultaneously wave the Union Jack and yet hate the English, as many Protestants do. I think there really has to be with the united Ireland, and I don't mean in any way that I'm committed to bloodshed—but it is a fundamentally absurd political state.

Paulin asserts individual liberty, against the political institutions in both, Northern Ireland and the Republic. He believes the state is tyrannical, corrupt and inhuman. By aiming to impose its authority, it violates the constitution and individuals' rights. Nevertheless, Paulin is not interested in discussing Ireland, more specifically, Northern Ireland as a nation as most Irish writers have done, especially before partition. In fact, he makes a clear distinction between nation and state. For him the concept of nation is a dangerous one because it presupposes ideas of ethnicity, race and identity, and can lead to racist discourses and the ideology of "Blood and Soil" (KIERNAN**,** 2009, p. 382) more commonly recognized as a Nazi ideology, which involves cults of antiquity, preoccupation with restoring purity and order, legitimized conquest and the claim of making the conquered territory productive. If we analyze the history of Ireland since its colonization, the four factors mentioned above were used by the players, colonizers and colonized, unionists and nationalists and by the British Empire, to legitimize their actions. Nevertheless, his aim is to argue in favor of a just state, a transparent government, a fair society, and a just civil order.

Paulin's background is the basis of his ideology. He espouses the European Enlightenment, and is influenced by English and Irish writers whose works represent the dissenting voices. Paulin also advocates Republicanism and democratic Socialism. He believes that if the European Enlightenment had reached Ireland, it would have brought intellectual interchange and rational autonomy so that intolerance, the abuses of the church and superstition, would have been prevented. English authors such as Milton, John Clare and William Hazlitt as well as the Irish Presbyterian Rhyming Weavers are important to him because they represented local, spontaneous marginal voices of ordinary men and women in opposition to English and Unionists monolithic ruling voices whose languages were drained of natural stress patterns.

His influences led him to challenge the politics and the grand narrative of Northern Ireland by mocking Unionists and showing the boundary between the public and private realms through poetry. With the purpose of accomplishing his goals, he chooses to embody the voice of the dissent tradition. He applies local dialects and modernist techniques to disrupt the iambic pentameter verse in English poetry. He associates himself to the movement of United Irishmen, which went underground after their defeat, in 1798. He seems rather obsessed by the myth of this movement, as being the only possible solution for the political and social situation in Northern Ireland. Jonathan Hufstader (1999, p. 201) writes:

> Paulin identifies his own political ideals with Protestant nationalism of the United Irishmen, but sees the history of the movement, both, politically and religiously, as one of fatal compromises. The Miltonic tradition of religious freedom as basis for political freedom sits better with Paulin than other aspects of Calvinism such as the douctrines of sin, predestination and election. Two set of images are at war in Paulin's poetic representations on Northern Irish Protestant Culture.

In his essay *Pure Primitive Divinity:*The Republican Epic of John Milton (1993, p. 19) Paulin asserts that Milton was a polemicist, a radical republican visionary and a Protestant internationalist. Yet, critics usually perform stylistic analyses of his works or link him to "De Doctrina Christiana", instead of carrying out a historically grounded practice of analysis, seeking to interpret texts with reference to their cultural contexts and ideological systems. The analysis of De Doctrina Christiana makes students view Milton's writings as tedious works of theology. Paulin (1993, p. 21) argues:

> Milton is "mould-breaker who sets the egalitarian energies of the free market against an aristocratic formality he found 'brutish' and 'lavish'. His free orations, or what he termed 'an Asiatic exuberance of words', […] cannot be assimilated within a critical approach that polarizes the aesthetic and the functional.

Some analyses of Milton's *Paradise Lost (*1667), as Turner and Lowenstein's essay *Milton and the Poetics of Defense* (1990), do not approach Milton's attempt to confront and examine historical causation. Milton was in favor of a bourgeois republic, a free commonwealth, so he uses biblical language to express political issues. Elizabeth Tuttle (1995, p. 80) states that: "The revival of classical concepts of the civic virtues was fuses to those of Radical Puritans - they too called for temperance, justice and piety – to form the modern language of natural rights and political liberty. Moreover, Milton interfuses prose and verse in his writings. Paulin (1992, p.25) explains that: "Abandoning the high, majestic, epic singing voice, he experiments with prose rhythms in chorus, aiming for the tentative rawness and authenticity of vernacular speech" Consequently, Milton introduces early free verse. The use of fricative, surrounding assonance in *Of Reformation* (1641) has an oral relish that joins prose and verse by applying the speech rhythm against the iambic verse. Also, his merging of different historical periods, personalities and textual sources can be seen as his representation of the ideal commonwealth, which is similar to the biblical Paradise of the primitive Church of God.

In 1998, Paulin released *The Day-Star of Liberty:* William Hazlitt's Radical Style, in which he writes about the radical dissenting ideology and identifies himself with Hazlitt 'free-thinking combative critic'. Sara Broom (2003, p. 29) notes:

> William Hazlitt's Radical Style provides a useful starting point for an analysis of the roots of Paulin's particular brand of passionate liberalism. The historical moment of Hazlitt's writing is deeply significant for him in the Irish context. In much of his writing, Paulin takes the failed 1798 uprising of the United Irishmen as his touchstone, emphasizing the way in which Protestants and Catholics fought together in the Republican cause and elevated the principles of political independence and self-determination above religious affiliation.

William Hazlitt studied at New Unitarian College at Hackney in London. The college had a reputation for producing freethinkers. While in London, Hazlitt became friends with a group of writers with radical political ideas. Hazlitt wrote several books on literature and politics. In these books he asserted that the artist should be aware of his social and political

responsibilities. Hazlitt opposed hereditary and despotism, so he wrote about civil and religious liberty and the dissenting tradition as the only movement which assured this liberty. He was against the alliance of the church and state because he believed the religious fervor had only demonstrated hostility towards other religions. Hazlitt (1819, p. 306) writes: "[The Clergy] *are* servants of God by profession and, sycophants of power from necessit*y"* Besides, Hazlitt aimed at showing the presence of spoken word in many of his essays and books. In *The* P*lain Speaker:* Opinions on Books, Men and Things, Hazlitt (1826, p. 90*)* writes that "no style is good, that is not fit to be spoken or read aloud with effect. This holds true not only of emphasis and cadence, but also with regard to natural idiom and colloquial freedom*"*. Paulin (1998, p. 53) remarks: "For Hazlitt, a written style must be effervescent like unpremeditated conversation or an unrehearsed address to an audience". Paulin was greatly influenced by Hazlitt's aesthetics and points-of-view concerning politics and language.

Clair Wills remarks (1993, p. 121, 122) Tom Paulin adopts the secular republican ideal of the Enlightenment against the political and literary conservatism of English literary tradition. He is committed to a cosmopolitan ideal and to an eclectic concept of Irish identity and political community, which has not been fully developed in the island of Ireland yet because of the intricate provincial politics. He advocates that the only way to achieve a modern secular ideal which would dismiss provincialism is by a flexible appropriation of tradition, which means breaking up with the claims of customs and tradition disseminated by Unionists. The failure of the secular ideal in Ireland and England led to injustices of the political system and prevented the civic domain from public political life. Therefore, through poetry, he explores failures and injustices of the system and emphasizes the inclusion of marginalized sections of community aiming to formulate a poetics in opposition to the post-Romantic aesthetics of privacy, which he sees as linked to a conservative politics. In other words, he aims to write poetry which is opened up to the public and the political arena. Therefore, Paulin's poetry should also be analyzed by taking into consideration his influences and his goals.

In the following section I analyze poems that depict the Northern Irish state politics of Ulster Unionists and their relation to England during the 1970's and 1980's. Most poems describe the province as a place of wrath, anger, fear and death, as well as the oppressive authoritarian policy of the state, which convey a powerful sense of stasis and stagnation. It is interesting to note that these poems usually begin with either an account of events and experiences or descriptions of places or people and become explorations of personal and social states of being, often ending with a symbolic image that expresses such states. They

show the contradictions between natural justice and institutionalized justice, in other words, between fair social justice and arbitrary exercise of power. Paulin depicts the individual and the social subject as well as their relation to the political power.

4.1.1 A Just State

The first poem, "A Just State" (1993 p.11) (annex A), is about a state that is unwilling to change. Instead, the decisions harden the social situation in the province. In an interview by P. R. King (1979, p. 233) Paulin says he wrote this poem after visiting Pakistan. He realized the Islamic theocracy in Pakistan was very similar to the Protestant fundamentalist theocracy in Northern Ireland. Paulin asserts that "Protestants Fundamentalists worship the Mosaic Law – an eye for an eye, measure for measure" (PAULIN, 1979, p. 233). The attitude of young men concerning their involvement in right-wing movements is odd because the idea of being young and belonging to right-wing movements seems contradictory. Usually, the youth tend to be revolutionaries and against institutions, but In Ireland, they tend to ratify political institutions by perpetuating their ideology.

In Northern Ireland young men join fundamentalist movements, for example, the young wing of the Ulster Unionist Party- UUP[22]. In the first line, "The children of scaffolds obey the Law", describes both totalitarian states where religion and politics are closely intertwined. Although having different precepts both theocratic countries have the same attitude.

> The children of scaffolds obey the Law.
> Its memory is perfect, a buggered sun
> That heats the dry sands around noon cities
> Where only the men hold hands.

His description of the state is somehow harshly ironic and cruel: he uses capital "L" for law which means the Mosaic Law, inferring that God gave His divine law to his chosen people, the Unionists. The words like "heat", "dry", "buggered" give an idea of a violent and

[22] The UUP's youth wing is also known as Ulster Young Unionist Council –UYUC. The party was formed in 1949, disbanded twice but recently reconstituted. Nowadays there has been a reorientation in the party's aim: although they seek to strengthen the constitutional union between Northern Ireland and Great Britain, they have in mind that it is necessary to promote co-operative relationship between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. There are a series of web pages devised by them advertising meetings and discussing their political points of view.

brutal inactive state and as well as a harsh and destructive ideology in which women do not have any rights. It is a male state where only men make decisions. The sun is generally considered as a male attribute in contrast to the female attribute. The sun is the male spirit that leads to the concept of men as gods of light and fire and to images of power. Since women do not have a role in such societies, there is no balance of reason. Besides, in a great number of literary works, Ireland is often characterized as the feminine, whereas England is the masculine.

Paulin attacks Unionists and ridicules their politics and the interference of the British army. The juxtaposition of "bare wood" and "bricks" gives an ironic picture of an immoral justice of authoritarian states.

> Its justice is bare wood and lime washed bricks,
> Institutional fixtures, uniforms
> The shadows of watchtowers on public squares
> A hemp noose over a greased trap.

Unionist politics is stagnated but they avoid social changes by controlling subjects through their ideological discourse. They maintain the power by using military force. This kind of ideology operates to keep subjects alienated.

Neil Corcoran (1992, p. 174) writes that "A Just State" suggests comparison with works of Eastern European writers like Mandelstam[23], and clearly applies to totalitarian states and their oppressive politics of torture, internment and assassinations. Paulin compares the dictatorship developed by the Eastern European states, a form of government in which the ruler is an absolute dictator as in the Soviet Union. However, in Northern Ireland, institutionalized exercise of power was different from Eastern European countries, firstly, because only the Catholic community had their civil rights suppressed. Secondly, the control exercised over the Protestant community was ideological. The politics and religion of Unionism became an ideology, so the followers could not tolerate the existence of those who had different views or beliefs.

[23] Osip Mandelstam was a Russian poet who criticized the Soviet regime and mocked Josef Stalin. He was arrested and sentenced to exile twice. He died in a transient near Vladivostok. His works were prohibited to be read in the USSR. He only became known in the second half of the 20th century.

4.1.2 States

"States" (1993, p. 1) (annex B) is another poem in which he argues about the notion of totalitarian political unities. The pluralized title refers to any state that is authoritarian. The inspiration for this poem came from his crossing of the Irish Sea between England and Northern Ireland. While observing the lights of the cities on both coasts at night, he finds himself with dual feelings of belonging, quite common among Irish writers who left the island.

> That stretch of water, It's always
> There for you to cross over
> To the other shore, observing
> The lights of cities on blackness."

Paulin compares the ship he is travelling to totalitarian states which are indifferent to its human cargo. On the ship, travelling with him, there is a man wearing army uniform which he describes as a functional garment that matches with the functional appearance of the ship. According to the poet, the boat is the image of states that are indifferent to the needs of their members. Those states do not respect their citizens' individuality and their political apparatuses are used against their people.

> Any state, built on such nature,
> Is metal convenience, its paint
> Cheapened by the price of lives
> Spent in a public service

Paulin makes a strong criticism about Northern Ireland as a state governed by a few leaders on the basis of an ideology that claims validity for all aspects of life and religion. The regime does not tolerate any deviation from its ideology. They persecute their opponents and members of ethnic minorities. As a believer of the Enlightenment and the United Irish movement, Paulin claims the need for the separation of powers, basic civil rights and religious freedom.

In the last stanza, while approaching Northern Ireland he resumes his disappointment with the province, by remembering scenes of Ulster at night after the closure of the Peace Gates when the British army goes to the streets to protect the political apparatus but with the excuse of protecting the citizens. As any oppressive state, its citizens do not feel safe, for they

know the military apparatus is not there to assure their security, but to maintain the government policies.

> With each other, their security
> Threatened but bodied in steel
> Polities that clock us safely
> Over this dark; frightening us.

The poem evokes the dark *images* of *authoritarian regimes* by illustrating with scenes of Belfast at night and his feelings about Ulster during the Troubles. But in the end, by observing from a distance, those bright lights of cities provide nighttime imagery but do not reveal the histories of those cities. Paulin (1979, p. 231) writes:

> *States c*omes out of innumerable night journeys by boat between Ireland and England. It's very strange, travelling between two countries in complete darkness and seeing the lights of distant cities and towns, the lights strung along the coast. The whole complex organization of society, of law and order, is reduced to a pattern of cold lights on complete blackness.

4.1.3 Under the Eyes

"Under the Eyes" (1993, p. 3) (annex C) denounces and condemns the colonial legacy and is a sarcastic and, many times, polemical description of the chaos in Ulster. The title creates a mental image of a state that has total control of its citizens. Everything is continuously, attentively and carefully observed; everything is under the eyes of the state. Besides, unionist system encourages conflicts, riots and paramilitary groups, so all that one sees is *anger, fear,* frustration, revenge, murder and assassinations.

> Its retributions work like clockwork
> Along murdering miles of terrace-houses
> Where someone is saying, 'I am angry,
> I am frightened, I am justified.
> Every favour, I must repay with interest,
> Any slight against myself, the least slip,
> Must be balanced out by an exact revenge.

Scottish, English and Welsh planters have internalized and passed from generation to generation that Belfast is a triumph over mud and water. The building of the city was only possible due to the hard work of subsequent generations of merchants, engineers and

entrepreneurs. However, it is a controversial view of history because the objective of the English monarchy was to occupy the lands with Anglicans to make it a loyal territory, so the planters had to accept the faith to be able to migrate to Ireland. The land from Irish landowners and Scottish Presbyterian were confiscated. So instead o saying "mud and water", Paulin ironically says "mud and wrath"

> The city is built on mud and wrath
> Its weather is predicted; its streetlamps
> Light up in the glowering, crowded evenings.
> Time-switches, ripped from them, are clamped
> To sticks of sweet, sweating explosive.
> All the machinery of a state
> Is a set of scales that squeezes out blood

The ideology of wrath has been sustained for all these years. It has been perfect for the purpose of social control. The Protestant fundamentalist ideology blinds its members to issues of social equality and focuses on issues of sectarianism, revenge and violence. All decisions made by the state apparatus aim to control people and make them fear democracy thus failing to distinguish human rights from communism. The last stanza brings an image of chaos: social disorder, riots, murdering and bombings all over the 'secure' city. Nobody escapes from getting involved. Even children are compelled to participate in this unjust fight. And life goes on in this wet, gloomy, unsafe, unjust city. The weather is also a metaphor for the political and social chaos. The description of the gloomy weather in Ulster is a pathetic fallacy.

> Memory is just, too. A complete system
> Nothing can surprise. The dead are recalled
> From schoolroom afternoons, the hill quarries
> Echoing blasts over the secured city;
> Or, in a private house, a Judge
> Shot in his hallway before his daughter
> By a boy who shut his eyes as his hand tightened.
>
> A rain of turds; a pair of eyes; the sky and tears.

John Kinsella **(**The Observer, Sunday 2 January 2000) points out that "Paulin writes political poetry that is vital without being polemical. He builds up textual allusions and breaks down the absolute nature of place and experience. As we read, we move with him on a journey through symbolic and real political considerations".

4.1.4 Still Century

"Still Century" (1980, p. 10) (annex D) is a poem from Paulin's *The Strange Museum* (1980) and portrays Paulin's dissatisfaction with the religious fanaticism of unionist culture of Ulster, whose political decisions are justified by the belief of being the 'chosen ones'. This ideology makes Paulin feel like a stranger in his own province. Allan Robinson (1988, p. 100) points out that "the poet's sense of dispossession and [*his*] feeling of unease and displacement denotes his permanent internal exile". "Still Century" describes a claustrophobic feeling of living in a society which shows no signs of changes. The title implies the stagnant social and political system. The poem illustrates the "inertia", of a place controlled by few who prevent social changes in order to keep power.

The hard captains of Industry
Held the province in a firm control,

Judges, your pious tyranny
Is backed bone-dry in old

Bricks of hundred linen mills,
The shadows of black tabernacles.

A crowd moves along the Shankill,
And lamps shine in the dull

Streets where the fierce religion
Prays to the names of power:

Edwart and Bryson, Craig and Carson.
On every wall, texts or a thick char.

Stacked in the corners of factory yards,
The wicker carboys of green acid.

Hold on their bitter promise of whiteness
To the bleachgreens above the city.

The orange smoke at sunset, the gruff
Accents of thousands foremen, speak.

To the chosen, saying they are the stuff
That visions, cutlery and Belleek

China are laid on. They are tied
To the shad of a bearded god

Their dream of happiness in his smile
And his skillful way with the hardest rod.

The industrialization in Belfast is controlled by Protestant fundamentalists who are also unionists or Loyalists and whose main purpose to keep Ulster under their control for political and religious reasons. Belfast is a heavy industrialized city compared to the rest of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

The black color of buildings signifies the negative aspects of human life, for example: terror, death, famine, evil, and sorrow. It also refers to "the Black Preceptory", a fundamentalist Protestant group that controls the streets of Shankill: a Protestant neighborhood. Allan Robinson (1988, p. 110) writes that "the linen industry which contributed largely to the wealth of the province prompts resonances of Blake's 'dark satanic mills'[24]. Shankill is the central and main area of Protestant Belfast. It is a working-class neighborhood that is considered radical. Most inhabitants of Shankill are militants of paramilitary groups, and hate nationalists. They believe that nationalists steal their jobs. Edwart and Bryson, Craig and Carson are important leaders of Unionism. They signed the Ulster Covenant against two Home Rule bills, in 1886 and 1893, so that Northern Ireland would continue being administrated by England. They are like the daylight gods. Carboys are large glass bottles, containing dangerous chemicals. They are used for bombing the Catholic areas. Most militants of this area belong to either The Royal Ulster Constabulary – RUC or to unionist paramilitary groups. Belleek is a prized, delicate pottery, manufactured in Belleek, Co. Cavan, one of the industries of Belfast that only employs working class Protestants.

The description of the activities in the Shankill area of Belfast: the industry workers packing the porcelain while militants of the area are preparing homemade bombs for the guerrilla against Catholics; and the murals painted with legalist symbols, phrases and names give a very realistic picture of the situation in the reader's mind.

4.1.5 Under Creon

For Paulin, the eighth-century republicanism based on the American Revolution, the French Revolution principle of Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité, and the United Irishmen, an

[24] There are three basic interpretations about the mills. David Erdman (1953, p. 396), writes that that Blake's "dark, Satanic Mills" are "mills that produce dark metal, iron and steel, for diabolic purposes" as arsenals of machinery of war. Some critics interpret dark Satanic Mills as referring to the early Industrial Revolution and its destruction of nature and human relationships, exploitation tyranny and oppression. A third interpretation is that "the satanic mills" are the orthodox churches and their attempt to shape people's consciousness. For Paulin (The Observer, 2000) "Jerusalem is an affirmation of English or British freedom in opposition to the black Satanic Mills. It's done in a way that is not ethically exclusive. (…) Blake is a great, radical, dissenting, one-nation English poet."

organization that crossed the religious divide with a membership constituted by Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists and other protestant dissenters who were influenced by the American Revolution and the French, would have been the most important movements if the Irish Rebellion of 1798 had not failed: Ireland could have had a secular politics. Hence, many of his poems are about the movement and their leaders. "Under Creon" (1983, p.13) (annex E), from *Liberty Tree*, is one of them. This poem exalts the radical revolutionaries of France and Ireland and introduces the motif of this collection that is the absence of human dignity and freedom. Among other poems in the book, "Under Creon" reacts to the impoverishment the British Empire brought to Northern Ireland. According to Maurice Harmon (1984, p. 128), "for Tom Paulin political and artistic problems are intertwined. His poetry is an intelligent, skeptical response to the political".

In "Under Creon" Paulin explores the role of the Ulster dissenting tradition movement that after the Act of Union went underground and was supplanted by Unionism. Unionism and Britishness are regressive and reactionary. The poem is full of dental fricative words, for example, "passing, neapish, searched, shrub, dissenting, shore, glistening, Nisus, pressed, starlight, justice, snapped". This is one of the characteristics of the vernacular language of the Rhyming Weavers. Terry Eagleton (2008, p.16) notes:

> Paulin has a masterly way with dentals and fricatives, but he pays too little attention to tone, pitch, pace, volume, timbre, grammar and syntax. Behind his acoustics lies a politics. Paulin favours harsh, gritty language, which as a Northern Irish Protestant he associates with lower-middle-class Dissent, and has it in for smoothness and elegance, which to his Puritan mind suggests a bunch of effete upper-class Cavaliers camping it up.

"Under Creon" is also full of words related to the natural geography of Ireland. The poem starts by describing the nature of Ireland and by contrasting its wilderness with "high walls" found in Northern cities, a term used to describe peace lines used to separate Catholics from Protestants.

> Rhododendrons growing wild below a mountain
> and 'no long high wall or trees either;
> a humped road, bony-dry, with no one –
> passing one lough, and then another
> where water-lilies glazed, primed like traps.

At that exact moment, the poet looks back and remembers the United Irishmen, the dissenting green voice clearly recognized by their accent, going down the colony's Black mountain to the shore to fight the "imperial shrub". These men are represented by James Hope (1764 – 1846), a Christian Socialist who fought the 1798 Ulster insurrection, Henry Joy McCracken, a radical commander and one of the leaders of the United Irishmen, and J. G. Biggar a Home Ruler. These men's voices were disseminated by the United Irishmen newspaper *Northern starlight*. They were the enemies to "the daylight Gods", the Unionist government, who "are the force that guarantee the civic life, self conscious, rational life (PAULIN, 1992, p. 252). Paulin compares the revolutionaries to the character of Nisus in Virgil's *Aeneid.* They are strong, skilled and loyal warriors with great valor who are willing to sacrifice themselves for a free Ireland. Nisus is willing to sacrifice his own honor to help Euryalus. The United Irishmen are willing to sacrifice their lives to free Ireland. The Government acts like Creon, blinded by pride, unwilling to compromise or listen to the opinions of his people.

> A neapish hour, I searched out gaps
> in that imperial shrub: a free voice sang
> dissenting green, and a syllables spoke
> holm oaks by a salt shore, their dark tangs
> glistening Nisus in a night attack.
>
> The daylight gods were never in this place
> and I had pressed beyond my usual dusk
> to find a cadence for the dead: McCracken,
> Hope, the northern starlight, a death mask
> and the levelled grave that Biggar traced;

McCracken, Hope and Biggar are part of "a stringent grief and form of love". These men took "that Jacobin oath" on the Black mountain above Belfast. And the poet longs for the time history was being written by this secret society and finds some joy for a time in which something had been done to prevent Northern Ireland from becoming a segregated colony. Elmer Andrews (1995, p. 338) notes:

> The speaker identifies with those who took 'that Jacobin oath on the black mountain'; the searcher/poet is looking at language/history from the outside, from a point of view of a potentially different language/history. He operates in danger zones of margins and boundaries, at the intersection of different codes, where it may be he can release new energies from the dead hand of history and state power.

Norman Vance (2002, p. 220) points out that “these Lagan Jacobins provide Paulin with a dream of counter tradition to what he sees as political sterility, cultural meagerness and pour intransigence of contemporary Ulster Unionism”.

In an analysis of Ted Hughes poems Paulin (1992, p. 252) writes that the poet “reports back to the society from wild”. […] Yet nature poetry is a form of disguised social comment”. He also writes that “the apparently natural forces he celebrates are symbolic metaphors for a series of historical struggle” (1992, p. 252). It seems that Paulin has been influenced by Ted Hughes. The nature above Belfast symbolizes Ireland as the motherland of the United Irishmen. The Black mountain stands in opposition to the light of religious divinity of the colonizers settled in Belfast.

4.1.6 Inishkeel Parish Church

Paulin’s disagreement with the politics of Ulster Protestantism and its ethno-religious fidelity has led him to feel displaced, becoming a sort of “internal émigré” in his own community. Nevertheless, he does not agree with the nationalism of the Republic of Ireland and the Catholic Church, so he also makes forceful criticism of the political development of the South. Paulin (2002, p. 161) asserts that “Irish Nationalism needs to be deconstructed as well as Unionism, but you start with what you know about first, you criticize cultures from within themselves”. Paulin’s poetry is a critique of the sectarian colonial society of Northern Ireland, and the unionist politics. Paulin’s political poems call for a return to the politics of the 1798 in order to bring the society back to a time in which there was a desire to be a free state.

Paulin is a Protestant who criticizes the Unionism of Northern Ireland and the Nationalism of the Republic of Ireland, so he rejects and is rejected by both ethno-religious communities. It is like being “in between”. Added to that, Paulin lives in England, but keeps his Northern Irish accent, so he is not seen as English but Irish or “an outcast in his native country” (SCHWERTER, 2008 p. 41).By being ideologically disaffected with the ethno-religious communities in Ireland and living in England, he is in “internal” and “external” exiles, i.e. political and geographical exile.

Paulin is usually criticized by writing political poems. Others consider him an important voice of contemporary Ireland. Wes Davis (2010, p.574) writes that “his work has always been multivalent than of the stereotypical political poet […] the poetry itself displays a complexity of viewpoint that preserves it from collapse into propaganda”. The combination of ideology and poetic imaginary makes his work the poetic medium of social function.

"Inishkeel Parish Church" (1980, p.15) (annex F) expresses the feeling of being free from the rigidity of a congregation and the dogmatism of a minister who "Read[s] the lessons in an accent as sharp as salt", and among a homogeneous community in which individuals' lives have already been prescribed. The Church is part of the authoritarian system of the state so the poetic voice feels oppressed in the religious service.

> Only one moment counted with the lessons,
> And it was when, the pressure just too much,
> You walked slowly out of that packet church
> Into bright cold air.
> Then, before the recognitions and the talk,
> There was an enormous sight of the sea,
> A silent water beyond society.

This feeling is only released when the poet leaves the building into the "bright cold air" and sees the sea that has been there long before the imposition of a culture. "Inishkeel Parish Church" is another poem in which Paulin uses the nature and freedom from "the forces that rule the civic, self-conscious, rational life of the society" (PAULIN, 1992, p. 252). The ocean is a historical, transitional universal and the symbol of life; The Protestant Church stable, rigid and authoritarian.

4.1.7 The Book of Juniper

"The Book of Juniper" (1993, p. 46 – 51) (annex G) is a long poem from *Liberty Tree* (1983) which emphasizes the need for a secular republic which is idealized in the 1798 movement, but, today, can only be found in a dream. "In the original liturgy / on a bare island", a liturgy of the nature on Inishkeel, a tiny island in County Donegal, the poet is filled with an unresting desire for freedom and turbulent words.

> 'Place the yeasty word
> between my lips,
>
> give me comfort
> in a sheepfold,
>
> shelter me
> in a mild grove,'

Paulin is a “city poet”, he does not evoke ancient Celtic myth or write about the landscape but in this poem he celebrates the nature in a place where “there is no word/ and no comfort. / Only a lichened stone is given you”. He chooses the juniper tree as a symbol of freedom or as the Jacobin Tree of Liberty, used in France to signify liberty, equality and unity, by French revolutionaries who were inspired by the American Revolution. The ideas of the Enlightenment found expression in the American Revolution and the new nation’s Constitution. This inspired many European nations and colonies to revolt, including the movement of United Irishmen.

On this coast
it is the only
tree of freedom
to be found,
and I imagine
that a swelling army is marching
from Memory Harbour and Killala
carrying branches
of green juniper.

Killala was the site of the first battle and the last battle of the rebellion of 1978. This is where the French landed to help the United Irishmen. The poet imagines the battle that would have changed the course of history and, then expresses his desire of a unified, nonsectarian Ireland: a place with no bigotry where people from different backgrounds speak their language (Irish, Ulster Scots and Irish English) in a united society. Sara Broom (2003, p. 137) writes that “the final stanza imagines reconciliation and transformation throughout Britain and Ireland, and emphasizes that the poem's vision is one of sociality and communication”. For her the final stanza suggests that in spite of the historical hurt there is a possibility of future healing.

now dream
of the sweet
equal republic
where the Juniper
talks to the oak
the thistle
the bandage elm,
and the jolly, jolly chestnut.

The dialogue among the different flora is a metaphor for that equal multicultural society. Nevertheless the last stanza conveys that today it is only a dream. The utopian equal republic is only found in the botanical diversity. Besides, Juniper is a Jacobin tree of liberty, so it is about a republic; thus, it is not a reconciliation dialogue between Northern Ireland and Britain, but a dialogue between people of different ethnicities and the separation of Northern Ireland from Britain.

Concerning the poem's figurative language, Neil Corcoran (1994, p. 412-13) writes that Paulin "takes a playful, lingering delight in the world's surfaces and textures, implying a politics through the sensuous apprehension and fragmentary evocation of ordinary moments and episodes, as in the sequence". The equal republic is evoked through different imagery of the juniper plant. The poem functions as an anti-colonial medium and expresses an act of resistance against the hegemonic representation and the ideology of discrimination and oppression of individuals whose position in society is regarded as marginal in relation to the dominant centre. Elmer Andrews (1995, p. 337) writes that in this poem Paulin demonstrates "that a radical poetry need not to be limited to counter-discursive guerilla maneuvers of a subversive nature, but can accommodate the singing lines".

4.2 POETRY AND HISTORY

Irish poetry can be characterized by a tackling of the past. Engaging with the past can be perceived as an imaginative response, an act of evoking memory and imagination in a different way. Many intellectuals feel it is necessary to explore the past to understand the present. Patricia Craig (1992, p. 107) notes that "getting the grips with the past is a longstanding practice in Irish Poetry. It is a matter of imaginative response of compression and evocation". It is impossible to disregard history when contemplating Northern Ireland since "history remains so telling the appendage" (CRAIG, 1992, p. 108). According to Peter MacDonald the reading of history is a crucial and unavoidable prerequisite for someone who intends to make a serious reading of Northern Irish Literature. For him, contemporary poetry has contributed in some way "to an all-too-pressing historical discussion, one conducted in the contexts not just of memory and tradition, but of real bullets and continuing deaths" (MACDONALD, 1992, p. 86). He also affirms that the discussion of history and the notion of community are always connected to the concept of identity. The importance given to identity, particularly among Protestants, when discussing politics and history "makes the topic almost inescapable. (MACDONALD, 1992, p. 86)

According to Johnston, until Joyce most writers aimed to unearth Celtic myths, folklore and history to the point of exhaustion and Yeats was the greatest of them. “Joyce’s modernism paved a new way of dealing with the past since he was neither interested in the past nor in the Irish landscape. Joyce’s proposition that ‘all that exists, exists only now, and the past is really only as I imagine it’ helped the next generations of poets free themselves from the weight of the past” (JOHNSTON, 1997, p. 37). “History, Stephen said, is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake”. (JOYCE, 1987, p. 32) Joyce’s Stephen sees the Irish history as a complete chaos that can only be represented by art. Paulin (1984, p. 94) writes that “the struggle to wake is crucial to Joyce’s inspiration because the epic imagination draws on history in order to free itself from the past, to make a leap into imaginative freedom”. What is important is the emphasis that the individual imagination gives to the reading of history. Joyce’s Stephen[25] sees Ireland as a chaotic place, controlled by the British and by the Catholic Church imperialisms, and is inhabited by bigoted people (English and Irish). Paulin agrees with Joyce’s Stephen. In fact, Joyce greatly influenced him, especially in relation to the need to overcome history. In *In the Chair:* Interview with Poets of the North of Ireland, Paulin (2002, p. 156) says: “I read writers like Graham Greene and Orwell and I studied Synge for my ‘A’ Levels but, most of all, it was Joyce who was fundamental to both me and my mates.”

Roy Foster, a revisionist Irish historian who also experienced the time of the “troubles” and whose works deal with the history and the nature of Irish identity, wrote "The most illuminating history is often written to show how people acted in the expectation of a future that never happened” (FOSTER, 2002, p. 34). Anyone can reconstruct historical facts, what is difficult is to investigate what did not happen. However, to understand those historical facts it is necessary to reconstruct the facts that could have happened, but have never actually occurred. Therefore, for Paulin, the ideal Northern Irish state is one that did not come into existence but could have come if the Rebellion of the 1798 had succeeded. Andrews (2008, p. 183) remarks that “the priority for [Paulin] is a social democratic Irish republic, founded on the equality of citizenship and civic institutions of the just state, and capable of transcending inherited colonial and religious divisions”. Once again, it is possible to observe Joyce’s influence on Paulin. In *Ulysses*, Stephen says: "I am a servant of two masters, an English and an Italian” (JOYCE, 1987, p. 19).What he wants to mean is that Ireland suffers equally under

[25] Stephen Dedalus is the protagonist and of James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and an important character in Joyce's *Ulysses*.

British and Catholic oppression. Paulin says that Northern Ireland suffers from the British and Protestant oppression. In an essay, *James Joyce*: A Centenary Celebration (1984), Paulin comments that Joyce was able to create a full and complete Irish identity in *Ulysses* and the novel is "an epic monument that faces the United independent Ireland" (PAULIN, 1984, p.143-145). Joyce also commented that Catholicism was a 'coherent absurdity' and Protestantism was 'an incoherent absurdity'. Joyce and several other Irish intellectuals were influenced by French culture and by the long tradition of Franco-Irish Republicanism. Moreover, according to Paulin, Joyce hated the racial purity ideology and believed in cultural identity, so he usually showed the Irish provincial narrowness and sectarian stupidity.

Paulin's ideal state is a multicultural, secular state. In his book *Ireland and the English Crisis* (1984, p. 17-18) Paulin writes about his ideal state:

> My own critical position is eclectic and found on an idea which has yet no formal or institutional existence. It assumes the existence of non-sectarian, republican state which compromises the whole island of Ireland. It also holds to an idea of sanctuary and to the concept of the fifth province. This other invisible province offers a platonic challenge to the nationalistic image of the four green fields.[…] I've come to believe that class politics and proper democracy will only be possible in Ireland once the "national question" has been answered. It is a question, not of religious, but secular values"

Literature for Paulin "becomes more powerful when it confronts history, and "history in [Northern Ireland] has to be encountered and faced down" due to the fact that it is a place of extremities where history "seems to be abstract or easily escapable" (McDONALD, 1992, p. 98). Paulin's historical memory focuses on the myth of Protestant radicalism and the United Irishmen rebellion of the 1798. This rebellion is the main theme of his poetry because it was when a union of people from different religions was possible. It was also when Protestant dissenters, like the Ulster Presbyterians, and the Irish Catholics fought side by side for the political independence of Ireland. In *In the Chair*: Interview with Poets from the North of Ireland Paulin (2002, p. 155) says: "When you get a politics outside democracy then it is a tragic politics and you have to choose one position or the other." Paulin chooses Republicanism as he says in the same interview:

> I choose Republicanism. I don't and never did support violence but it did come down to having to choose. Now traditional Irish Nationalism is having to take on board a British identity and history – to which I've all kinds of

> fealties – that is represented by Unionism while Unionism is obviously having to re-event itself (BROWN), 2002, p. 155).

4.2.1 Martello

"Martello" (1983 p. 55, 56) (annex H) is a poem from his third collection *Liberty Tree* (1983). In this poem Paulin makes allusions to Joyce's *Ulysses and to* Homer's *Iliad*. The title, for example, is a reference of Stephen Deadalus rented government watchover, built against the French invasion that he wants to turn into a cultural center. The poem is dedicated to Roy Foster[26] and his wife, Aisling Foster.

> Cack-handed, like a stotious mason,
> Napper Tandy picks at this coast
> A brave chiseller that one,
> he might be Nestor as *géneral*
> in the army of the revolution

The first stanza glorifies Napper Tandy's political activism by comparing him to Homer's Nestor in the *Iliad* (1990), for both were wise, tactful counselors, challengers and motivators. By comparing Napper Tandy to Nestor, he is also comparing the political clash between Ireland and Britain to the Trojan War. Napper Tandy was a very popular Irish Protestant and political activist of the 1780's who was appointed as a member of the Irish Parliament and became popular by his oratory and by being in favor of the rebellion against the British Empire. He took many actions against the British Parliament, denunciated municipal corruption, and because of the restrictions imposed to the Irish commerce by the British he advocated a boycott of English goods in Ireland. He was strongly influenced by the French revolutionary ideas and helped Theobald Wolf Tone, to organize the society of the United Irishmen. He also orchestrated a fusion between them to the Defenders, a Roman Catholic society of violent political agitators. He describes Napper Tandy by using dialect words like a ¨cack", an agitator, and a "stotious mason", "a brave chiseller" an inebriated skilled man who exploited the confidence of the British by creating a series situations in which prevented them from imposing their rules.

[26] Foster is Paulin's colleague at Hertford College in Oxford. He is a revisionist Irish historian and specialist in Irish cultural, social and political history in the modern period. He an honorary Member of the Royal Irish Academy and the author of the authorized two-volume biography of the poet W.B.Yeats among other important books and biographies.

> There is a dead vigilance along this coast,
> a presence that bruises like word British,
> You can catch that atmosphere of neglected garrisons,
> and rusted artifact of bully beef
> in the dashed surprise of a cement watchtower
> ruined on a sloppy of ragweed and bullocks grazing.
> In the dovegrey Victorian hotel
> a spooly at the bar and says,
> "We're nearly a nation now, before the year's out
> They'll maybe write Emmet's epitaph

The second stanza describes the poor conditions of the underground resistance against the British; "neglected garrisons, rusted artifacts, ragweed and bullocks grazing"; however, objective. "We're nearly a nation now, before the year's out / they will maybe write Emmet's epitaph". Robert Emmet was another Irish Protestant and member of the United Irishmen. After the Rebellion of 1798, he and his fellow members were exiled in France where they planned a new insurrection against the British rule. Emmet obtained French military support and went back to Dublin to organize the French landing, and the Irish army. However, due to an explosion in one of the arms depots, Emmet decided to call an early rising, which was put down by the British army. Besides, the French aid did not arrive. He was captured and tried for treason. On September 19, 1803, after being sentenced to death, he delivered a speech, "Speech from the Dock", which became famous among Irish Republicans.

> I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world — it is the charity of its silence! Let no man write my epitaph: for as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them. Let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times, and other men, can do justice to my character; when my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done. <http://www.robertemmet.org/speech.htm>

There still are discussions whether his epitaph should be written. Some say Ireland is still divided; others say that the Republic does not follow Emmet and the United Irishmen's ideals. For Paulin (1984, p. 98), *Ulysses* is the epitaph because it gave Ireland a national and international identity. It does not mean that *Ulysses* is a nationalistic epic. What Joyce does is to shape the Irish political reality and describe the citizen's bigotry.

> Can you describe history, I'd like to know?
> Isn't it a fiction that pretends to be fact

> Like *A journal of the Plague Year*?
> And the answer that snaps back at me
> is a winter's afternoon in Dungannon,
> the gothic barracks where the policemen
> were signing out their weapons in a stained register,
> a thick turbid light and a brisk smell of fear
> as I described the accident and felt guilty−
> guilty for no reason, or cause, I could think of.

The third confronts the issue of whether history is a fact or fiction; however, the poet prefers to see it as a concrete experience as "in a winter's afternoon in Dungannon" when the British army was opening fire against people. His view of history is rather skeptical since his historical memory is filled with hostile events of an oppressed history which is opposed to the metanarrative he is trying to reconstruct. Richard Kirkland (1996, p. 3) notes that "this forms a useful illustration of the difficulties surrounding any attempt to articulate the past historically". The metanarrative that the poet is trying to write is one that did not happen but could have happened if the rebellion had succeeded. Like Nestor, the poet becomes the transmitter of memory, which is critical for the immortality of the republican movement.

Images of dark, wet, gloomy, miserable weather related to hostility, threat, bloodshed, guilt, and rage are recurrent in Paulin's poetry. This poem describes worldly experiences of the historical present: the civil servants at Stormont Castle are "stony bonkers talking to each other in their "accents that sound like dustbins" while violence is happening all over the city. These images described in the poem can be analyzed as gothic influence of his internalized Calvinism. "The Calvinistic sense of sin and damnation slips easily into a secular mode. Fear, guilty, the atmosphere of menace a latent violence: these are the unmistakable conditions of Paulin's poetry" (ANDREWS, 1995, p. 333).

Elmer Andrews (1995, p. 329) notes that Paulin's poetry searches for a way of escaping from the nightmare of this inert, frozen life and from the destructive, eternal forces of Ulster Unionists and their polarization of politics, gerrymandering, and discrimination. Nevertheless, there are no possible changes, since the historical period which they live completely controls their discourses. The end of Stormont and imposition of direct rule in 1972 brought more violence, oppression and demoralizing hopelessness instead of positive, fair changes. To prevail over the present history of Ulster and by believing in the dissenting tradition, which resisted and opposed the authorities, Paulin tries to follow their ideology by writing poetry which also defies the present order and by revealing more accurate and complex reality. Besides, Paulin does not believe that we can set apart from history and write a poem which does not carry our identity, ideological position and our perception of the

world. A poem is always political; it describes different versions of human beings and their ideological points-of-views. Elmer Andrews (1995, p. 331) writes:

> Clearly, the kind of poetry Paulin admires is that which flees from the high ground of orthodoxy, which acts as a revelation of potential that is denied or constantly threatened by circumstances, a poetry which occupies the interstices of the prevailing codes and discourses, and gives voice to suppressed or marginalized life.

Patricia Craig (1992, p. 108) writes: "What you can do with history, as Paulin and others have shown, is adapt its ingredients to the most exacting and inventive of the purposes, taking an event or an emblem from the past and instilling it the utmost savior connotation". In fact, it is almost impossible to forgo history in Ireland since it is always there. Lastly, History for Paulin is stagnated since Ulster Unionists dominate the population through ethno-religious discourse, discriminate the 'other' and rule through violence.

4.2.2 A Partial State

In "A Partial State" (1980, p. 18) (annex I) Paulin criticizes the righteous politics of Ulster Unionists by being tenacious and unwilling to yield. He compares the grim, miserable state of Northern Ireland to the gloomy weather. "Intractable and northern/ dry in the sun when it shines, /otherwise rained on, justly. The "white god", the conqueror who came to Ireland and, through power and a racist view, stole the land, forced relocation, committed cultural genocide, imposed the Protestant religion and left the Island in the hands of "the desert god". Hence, "the desert god" or "the chosen", according to the Calvinist tradition, also named Seth in the ancient Egyptian mythology, usurped the "throne" and brought chaos and misery.

> White god to the desert god, 'the
> lines are open, what you do
> to your helots is up to
>
> you, no concern of ours. Say
> no if you like, but keep them
> quiet. Never forget that
>
> irony is the weapon
> of the disarmed , that yours are
> blunter instruments, dourness.'

"The desert god" oppresses their "helots" by disempowering them and preventing them from fighting for their rights. The tactics to avoid uprisings are to split the dangerous proletarian citizens in neighborhoods divided by peace lines: "The chosen, having broken / their enemies, scattered them /in backstreets and tight states". Contrasting images placed next to each other to create a state of opposition between persons or ideas or interests: "desert god" juxtaposed with "helots"; "Patriarch and matriarch", hegemonic masculinity versus female oppression; "industry and Green Hills", working class districts versus rich neighborhoods. A divided nation is easy to control. History is static since it is a totalitarian state that prevents history to happen, but your policies and your lack of concern have incited anger and resentment. Your instruments of control are not strong enough to keep the population from rebelling against this unjust state: "Leviathan spouts / bursting through manhole covers". Paulin may either refer to a Christian leviathan as a metaphor for socially and politically organized masses endangering "God's creature" i.e. "the chosen" or the Jewish mythological Leviathan, which refers to an unnamed historical /political enemy of Israel. To contain the angered "helots", the "desert gods" order military assaults against the population. Military force is the symbol of this stagnant despotic government:

> The clocks are bleeding now on
> public buildings. Their mottoes,
> emblem of failure, tells us:
>
> *What the wrong gods established,*
> *no army can ever save.*

Along with weather images, other political images of totalitarianism and chaos are also recurrent in the poem, as for instance, machine guns, special constables, water cannons, and fire. The poet uses these images to depict the chaotic state led by the repressive Protestant Unionist government that spread injustice and reinforced sectarianism. Therefore, through poetry, Paulin denounces the system. Elmer Andrews (1995, p. 334) notes:

> Poetry for Paulin, is a subversive act, a defiance of a linguistic and literary order designed for the ideological suppression or pacification of potentially rebellious impulses. It is a paradigmatic gesture of spontaneity in an increasingly, manipulated world. The poet is an underground resistance fighter (underground movements, secret societies, secret signs, coded messages – these recur throughout Paulin's work) in a bleak, cold country occupied by foreign powers. He is an aspired dissenter in every way.

For Paulin, the only way to change and write history again is to have the social forces interacting, participating and influencing the process again. The society is dormant and being led and brain-washed by a few Unionist leaders and their authoritarian discourses. It is necessary to liberate people from the inoperative Unionist ideology and identity. The only possible way to change this situation and revive history is by following the revolutionary effort of the 1790s. Protestant radicalism was a historical movement which inspired an independent and self-determined nation above religious divisions. However, Elmer Andrews (1995, p. 337) considers Paulin's idealism a utopia.

> He is so absorbed in a Utopian model of redeemed Presbyterianism that he blinds himself to complication. His myth of the United Irishmen, it must be said, has little in common with orthodox Republican politics and his attempt to associate Republican socialism with Protestantism has no relation whatever to contemporary reality."

Andrews might be right, but, at the same time, Paulin might not have found a movement which he believes fits the Northern Irish reality as the United Irishmen. Firstly, by being republican, this revolutionary movement held strong ideals of Liberté, égalité, fraternité; secondly, they were against the British Imperialism; and, thirdly, they were united under different creeds against the political order. Paulin idealizes this movement because it was a movement that gathered people from different dissenting groups under the banner of the United Irishmen. They fought for a universal and non-sectarian secular society and political project for the island of Ireland. What is important to consider here is that the failure of the rebellion led to circumstances that propitiated the establishment of a government that did not have, as its principle, political and social equality and incited sectarian divisions. It is very difficult to imagine what would have happened if the movement had succeeded. It is possible that Paulin is not only romanticizing the movement but believing in a better outcome for Northern Ireland by seeing the movement as one that would have had more chances to establish a democratic government

4.2.3 Presbyterian Study

Sara Broom (2003, p.132) writes that *Liberty Tree* (1983) is "Paulin's most forthright espousal of his political vision. The title derives from the iconography of Republicanism. *Liberty Tree* is pervaded by Paulin's fierce ambivalence toward the heritage of Northern Irish

Protestantism". "Presbyterian Study" (1983, p. 49) (annex J) is a representation of Paulin's love for the Free Thinkers' movement as well as his hate for the contemporary Protestantism. Edna Longley (1983, p. 19) writes that Liberty Tree "is an assault on Unionists, and one which certainly does not fear to speak of 98 evocations of 'McCracken/Hope, the northern starlight" in contrast with the generation epitomized by "Desertmatin" (1983, p. 16). Edna Longley is a former teacher at Queens University; she is an influential literary critic in Northern Ireland since the times of "the Trouble" who disagrees with the post- colonial literary school. She strongly criticizes Paulin's poetry and the Field Day Theatre company's obsession with colonialism and nationalism. She also disagrees with The Field Day's concept of the fifth province and with their tendency of abolishing the limit between poetry and prose, poetry and politics. According to Edna Longley, "Poetry and politics, like Church and State, should be separate" (LONGLEY, 1985, p. 26). Her concern is that political art may lead to propaganda. By studying the Irish experience, one realizes that it is very difficult for Irish writers to avoid representing the public and private spaces. However, it does not mean that they will necessarily be engaged in propagandist art.

The first stanza of "Presbyterian Study" describes a quiet, bright but empty room, which resembles a description of a museum. In this place, the poet visits the images of long-dead patriarchs, the ones who held strong beliefs of a free society. He emphasizes the moral values and the responsibility of independent individuals of making autonomous judgments.

A lantern ceiling and quiet
I climb here often and stare
At the scoured desk by the window,
The journal open
At a date and conscience.

The museum exhibition represents those men, the United Irishmen, who shared optimism concerning the primacy of human reason and the need to act as a group to set up a better society based on the Enlightenment ideals over the established one who is based on the doctrine or faith.

It is a room without a song
That believes in the flint, salt
And a new bread rising
Like a people who share
A dream of grace and reason.

In the next three stanzas, he honors those who participated in radical movements and their knowledge independent of their creed for "But choosing the free way, / Not the formal / And warming the walls with its knowing." Then he realizes that it is not possible to bring this association back to the present because these men and those ideals are restricted to the museum space. The poet praises these men but, unfortunately their ideals and deeds will be more likely to be forgotten than to be revived, especially because they are not taught at schools. "Hardly a schoolroom remembers/ their obstinate rebellion";

> We wait on nature,
> Our jackets of a dungy pattern
> Of mud and snapped leaves,
> Our state a jacked corpse
> Committed to the deep.

In the last stanza, he also recognizes that such a union is impossible nowadays because the Protestant culture lacks activism. It is sad to observe the present Protestantism society who once took action to achieve political and social goals. Nowadays, the society has lost dignity and is powerless. There could be a chance of reviving those ideals if the current Protestant society did not passively believe in the demagogy of the Unionists. Citizens are comfortably paralyzed. Everybody accepts and perpetuates the static and stagnant politics of the state.

4.2.4 Desertmartin

"Desertmartin" (1993, p. 16) (annex K), from *Liberty Tree* (1983), is a poem in which Paulin criticizes the bigot politics of Ian Paisley. Sara Broom (2003, p. 133) writes that "Paulin underlines the restrictive aspects of communal identity and religious institutions. The central theme here is that of freedom." Desertmartin is a predominantly Protestant town located in the middle of Northern Ireland. On February 6, 1981, Ian Paisley joined 500 men into a military formation and pledged to them to oppose the reunification of Ireland[27]. In this poem, the poet states that the citizens' violence surpassed the British violence. Those men's hypocrisy is the cause of violence. This poem conveys Northern Irish Unionism's cultural inadequacy.

In the village, the poet observes the Unionist movement in "the dead centre of a faith" from the outside. "Here the world has withered to a few / Parched certainties, and charred

[27] The Anglo-Irish Agreement

stubble/ Tightens like a black belt, a crop of Bibles". Words that denote dryness as "bitter", "baked", "parched", "charred stubble" describe the rigid Protestant ideology. The Protestant state controls its citizens. The main authority is "The Big man", Ian Paisley.

> Because it is a territory of Law
> I drive across it with a powerless knowledge −
> The owl of Minerva in a hired car
> A Jock squaddy glances down the streets
> And grins, happy and expendable,
> Like brass cartridge, He is useful thing,
> Almost at home, and yet not quite, not quite.

The law is above all citizens. It is there to tell them what to do. And there is a group of supporters controlling the streets. The poet does not recognize Ulster as his home. His ideal home would be the time when the community could be described as "plain Presbyterian grace", when there was a "free strenuous spirit" and when "the word was alive". But especially after the partition and with the events that took place in Northern Ireland the Protestant ascendency became more and more rigid. Added to this, the Unionist policy of based on the religious fanaticism of Ian Paisley turned the Unionist ideology "hard", weak and "servile".

> It's limed nest, this place. I see a plain
> Presbyterian grace sour, then harden,
> As free strenuous spirit changes
> To a servile defiance that wines and shrieks
> For the bondage of the letter: it shouts
> For the Big Man to lead his wee people
> To a clean white prison, their scorched tomorrow.

The poet also compares the loyalist Politics of Ian Paisley to the political extremism of the Islamic fundamentalism "Masculine Islam, the rule of just". The Protestant Religion is compared to a "theology of rifle-butts and executions". Desertmartin, as other places in Ulster, is desert from the "free spirit": "These are the places where the spirit dies".

The Protestant Unionist politics in Northern Ireland is known as stern and rigid. What the poet wants to depict in the poem is that the Protestant society has been homogenized and regulated by the Loyalist, bigot politics of Ian Paisley. Due to a change in the politics of England towards Northern Ireland, these Loyalists are protesting against being excluded. The poem ends with the following emblematic lines: "I see culture of twigs and bird-shit / Waving

a gaudy flag it loves and curses". Even though having been betrayed by England, they are waving the Union Jack flag. In the interview with John Haffenden (1981, p. 159), Paulin says:

> But what I find at the moment is a real sense of how fundamentally ridiculous and contradictory it is to be an Ulster Protestant. It is a culture which could have dignity, and it had it once−I mean that strain of Radical Presbyterianism, free thinking Presbyterianism, which more or less went underground after 1798. I pretty well despise official Protestant culture, and can't now understand how people can simultaneously wave the Union Jack and yet hate the English, as many Protestants do. I think there really has to be a unite Ireland, and I don't mean in any way that I'm committed to bloodshed−but it's a fundamentally absurd political state, and it's got to go.

Unionists want to avoid losing their status within the United Kingdom but this status is not of interest to England anymore. Northern Ireland has given them too many financial and political problems. Besides, the English do not see Northern Ireland as Northern Ireland sees themselves and "the poet accurately transmits a sense of impasse, of an avoidable social evil hanging over Ulster" (HUFSTADER, 1999 p. 202). Being excluded from the negotiations raised an ambivalent feeling love and hate towards to England, a feeling which the poet depicts accurately and strongly criticizes. Jonathan Hufstader (1999 p. 202) writes:

> At the dead center of the faith, Ulstermen cling to a dead faith; they cannot give it up and they cannot receive it. They are loyal to England but England is not loyal to them: they cannot give England up and they cannot rejoin it (so they love to curse their gaudy flag).

Figurative language used in the poem to represent the Unionist speech – "Dead, bitter, baked, withered, parched, charred, tightens, black, blind" – "depicts the sterile spiritual atmosphere (…) and the feeling emanated by a place where even the primordial life giving word has been used to sow victims" (RADU, 2012, p. 4). The unionist language is contrasted with the accent of the Unite Irishmen in "Fathers of History" (1983), which is analyzed in the language section. Paulin uses fricative words to show the engaged Ulster. These words not only turn the poem aggressive but illustrate the sterile spiritual atmosphere of a place where people are mobilized by religious words used for radical and militant struggle.

A criticism that could be made here is that Paulin does not see the United Irishmen movement's internal contradictions. The movement was formed by men with vague and diverse political and religious views. Moreover, because of their conflicting and contradictory conceptions of society, it is difficult to predict what would have happened if the revolutionary

movement had succeed; therefore, Paulin seems to be romanticizing the movement instead of trying think of a more valid solution to the conflict in Northern Ireland.

4.2.5 An Ulster Unionist Walks the Streets of London

"An Unionist Unionist Walks the Streets of London" (1987, p. 42, 43) (annex L), from *Fivemiletown* (1987), is characterized by being not only a historical but also a political analysis in which Paulin speaks, from the inside, on behalf of the community, but at the same time, rashly criticizes and destroys the ideology when examining it from the outside. It was written after the signing of "the Anglo-Irish Agreement". Peter McDonald (1992, p. 100) comments that "the agreement allowed Ulster Unionists, as well as the community, to examine the Ulster Unionist identity crisis, the bankrupt allegiance and the political betrayal". McDonald (1992, p.101) notes:

> That word 'community' is close to the heart of Paulin's concerns in Fivemiletown (1987), in which there is a Protestant community which broadly speaking, coheres and has 'identity; this community has its totems, its sign systems, its conception of history, all of which can be cracked; it is also, of course, on the verge of historical crisis.

Paulin sees Ulster Protestantism / loyalism as bereft of mythology and history. For him, it is "fragmented culture (…) a provincialism of the most disabling kind (PAULIN, 1984, p.17)". Therefore, "the identitarianism lurking behind the 'community', 'tradition', 'culture' and 'provincialism' reveals an assumption that loyalism is an impoverish nationalism" (GOODBY, 1990, p. 287).

"An Ulster Unionist Walks the Streets of London" is a poem written in free verse, with only one stanza and filled with dialogism. The whole poem transmits the discourse of the other. The poet reproduces the Unionist ideological discourse, with the intention to reproduce the socio-ideological languages within this community and ridicule the feeling this ideology causes in the Unionist community. The poem is a collection of discourses made by two Anglo-Irish MPs, Harold McCusker's and Ian Paisley. The first line, "All that Friday" is about the signature of the Anglo-Irish agreement which took place on Friday, 15 November 1985. The following lines were taken from the Official Unionist MP, Harold McCusker's statement given on 18 November 1985, right after the Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed

between the Irish and the British Governments in Hillsborough Castle, on Friday, 15 November 1985.

> […]there was no flag
> no Union Jack, no tricolor
> on the governor's mansion.
> I waited like a dog
> in my own province
> till a policeman brought me
> a signed paper.[…]

Hence, the unionists felt an acute sense of betrayal by consciously acting against Northern Ireland in favor of their enemies. It is best presented in Harold McCusker's incensed statement. Here are some parts of his statement:

> I should like to believe that, while it might have been the most bitter of all, the bitterness was conveyed with dignity […] I went to Hillsborough on Friday morning, despite the obstacles put in my way by the Northern Ireland Office, the headquarters of the RUC, the divisional commander in Lisburn and the police commander in Hillsborough. I stood outside Hillsborough, not waving a Union flag – I doubt whether I will ever wave one again – not singing hymns, saying prayers or protesting, but like a dog asked the Government to put in my hand the document that sold my birthright. […] Having never consulted me, never sought my opinion or asked my advice, they told the rest o the world what was in store for me. I stood cold outside the gates of Hillsborough castle and waited for them to come out and give me the agreement second hand. It was more despicable they could not even send one of their servants to give it to me. I had been told three hours before that it would be brought out to me. At 2.45pm, after the press conference had begun, I asked a policeman whether he would bring me the declaration that betrayed everything that I ever stood for. A senior police officer went into Hillsborough castle, asked for the document and brought it out to me. I felt desolate because as I stood in the cold outside Hillsborough castle, everything that I held dear turned to ashes in my mouth (MCCUSKER, 1991 p. 372,).

From the very beginning, we are able to observe dialogism in Paulin's poem. He quotes parts of McCusker's discourse, which reproduces the Anglo-Irish ideology, and describes the feeling of losing power, prestige and the rights of being British. He makes McCusker's experience the content of his enunciation. His reality is subjective and existential. The poet describes the feeling of a community to which he belongs and to which, until 15 November 1985, had believed to be British citizens but had the misfortune to realize they were nothing more than colonists in the eyes of the British Empire. The following lines are, in

fact, taken from the oratory delivered by Reverend Ian Paisley, on 14 November 1985 in which he denounced the Anglo-Irish Agreement which would be signed the following day.

> I set on a breakfast-shuttle and I called−
> I called out loud –
> to the three Hebrew children
> for I know at this time
> there is neither prince, prophet, nor leader –
> there is no power
> we can call our own.

Ian Paisley compared the unionists of Northern Ireland to "*The Three Hebrew Children*", a parable by the prophet Daniel (chapter 3) which tells the story of three young Jews who denied worshiping the monument King Nebuchadnezzar and told the king they would only worship their God. Paisley, referring to Daniel's parable, says: "Like the three Hebrew children, we will not pass, we will not bend and will not burn" (PAISLEY, 1991, p. 371). Since they were protected by God and by faith, they left the furnace intact. According to Tom Paulin, (*http://www.drb.ie/more_details/08-09-28/ A Sentimental_Dissenter.aspx;),* Paisley accused the British government of betraying the Ulster loyalist community who identifies themselves with the British identity. Besides, he reinforces the myth of Protestant Ulster when he identifies post-colonial Britain to the Babylonian Empire of Nebuchadnezzar. He compares the parable to the legalistic sense that feels extremely traumatized at having to accept the Agreement between Britain and the Republic of Ireland. Dialogism is also present in these lines. The poet quotes Ian Paisley's ideological discourse, who quotes Daniel's discourse in order to reinforce the Anglo-Irish myth of dominance. In the Minotaur, Paulin (1992, p. 14, 15) writes that Ulster Protestants have the habit to interpret the Bible as it were related to their experience:

> This story of 'peoples, nations and languages' related hermeneutics to state authority, political power and nationhood. Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon was Britain in post-imperial confusion. Daniel was a loyalist imagination which sits 'in the gate of the king, identifies with the British sovereign and holds a British identity. To read the story was to read both personally and communally, but the process of recognition also carried an awareness that such intensely direct interpretation was boxed in and parochial; it could be of no interest to anyone outside a community that now felt in was a minority within Ireland (PAULIN,1992, p. 14, 15)

The lines "I sat on the breakfast-shuttle and I called/ I called out loud / to the three Hebrew children" and "I grabbed a fast black ack", describe the way the Northern Irish usually travel to London. The breakfast-shuttle means an early flight from Belfast to London. Northern Irish Protestants used to be full British citizens, so when the poetic voice writes:

> I grabbed a fast black −
> ack, I caught a taxi −
> to Kentish Town,
> then walked the streets
> like a half-foreigner
> among the London Irish.

He is showing the feeling of not belonging to the British Nation anymore. Now, the Unionists feel like semi-British citizens losing their identity and becoming part of the group of Irish who, for political or economic reasons, moved to London and ended up in Kentish Town- a suburb with a heavily Irish immigrant population that is considered sub-race as any other immigrant of any other colonized nation. Moreover, he feels less integrated than the Irish who have made their lives in England.

In the end of the poem the Member of Parliament asks "How does it feel like / to be a child of that nation? But I went underground" Although the Anglo-Irish lose their citizenship and their identity, they will refuse to lose their ideology. Now they are discriminated as any other Irish nationalist or Northern Irish Catholic. Despite believing they have the right to be part of The United Kingdom, they "went underground" as any other Irish immigrant. Unionists hold to the idea that both Northern Ireland and Britain share the same culture; nevertheless, McCusker has far less sense of belonging in London than the London-Irish. The poem records the Unionist sense of betrayal and shows the speaker's alienation, who feels an outsider among the London Irish and in the country to which he is loyal. Ulster Unionists are disposed of their identity, disoriented and unsure of where they belong. They are a "lost tribe".

At a first glance, we infer that the poet is sentimentally defending the Ulster culture and ideology, especially when he describes the unionist disappointment towards the Anglo-Irish Agreement. By paying closer attention, both discourses quoted by the poet intend to strategically instill a single point-of-view. So, what is the author's intention? Declan Kiberd, the editor of *Contemporary Irish Poetry* (1991), writes about Paulin:

> Parting almost regretfully with every word expressed, Paulin produces a parsimonious Northern lyric, characterized by words that at once are accurate and surprising. His images are mischievous and mocking, his contempt for the cultural distortions of imperialism very thinly concealed. There is, nevertheless, a certain elegiac sadness in these studies in a dying culture, as if he were also haunted by that which he condemns. (KIBERD, 1991, p. 1406).

This poem can only be understood by studying its contextual framework, since it deals with the Unionist social, cultural, and political context. The poem criticizes the discourse produced by the Unionist hegemony. By using two discourses delivered around that period, McCusker's discourse and Ian Parley's oratory, who also quotes Daniel's parable "The Three Hebrew Children" (DANIEL, chapter 3), and by quoting other social accents that express the feeling of being an ordinary Irishman in England, Paulin fills the poem with social voices. In his book *Marxism and Literary Criticism* (2011) Terry Eagleton asserts that to understand literature is to understand the whole social process that literature makes part of, therefore, to study a work of art is to understand these indirect and complex relations between the work of art and the ideological world they are inserted; since ideology represents the imaginary ways in which human beings live and create, and this is exactly what works of art provide. However, this experience is not a passive one because by observing and thinking about the nature of this ideology, we are able to understand this social experience thoroughly. "An Unionist Walks the Streets of London" invites the reader to think about political agitation and turbulence in Ulster, and aims to bring some awareness about an important political event: the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement at Hillsborough Castle, on Friday, 15 November 1985.

4.2.6 Defenestration of Hillsborough

The signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement was a great disappointment to the Unionists who had a deep sense of belonging and loyalty to Britain. It made them feel betrayed and abandoned by the British. The poem, "The Defenestration of Hillsborough" (1987, p. 54) (annex M), is a reference to "The Defenestration of Prague", a 30-year struggle (1618–48) between the Roman Catholic and Protestants, the name given to the time when Protestants threw two of the Holy Roman Emperor's officials out of window. In the poem, Paulin identifies with the displaced Ulster Protestants who became aware of their "impossible imperative of belonging to something under scrutiny might cease to exist" (MACDONALD, 2002, p. 94). Paulin describes the community's ontological insecurity in the introduction of

Minotaur (1992). He writes that by reading the Apocrypha: "Prayer of Azariah" Chapter 1, from a Protestant point-of-view, he found a passage that describes the wound that was reopened by the Anglo-Irish Agreement. The verses 14-16 say:

> For we, Oh Lord, are become less than any nation, and be kept under this day in all the world because of our sins. Neither is there at this time prince, or prophet, or leader, or burnt offering, or sacrifice, or oblation, or incense, or place to sacrifice before thee, and to find mercy. Nevertheless, in a contrite heart and an humble spirit let us be accepted. (http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/apo/aza001.htm)

Paulin (1992 p.15) also writes that these verses are related to the Ulster community, a people who is not internationally accepted as a nation. "To adapt Benedict Anderson's famous phrase, there is an underground 'imagined community', without a leader or prophet or a place where it can be secure and worship its God". In *Ireland and the English Crisis,* Paulin (1984, p. 17) states that the Unionist "community possesses very little in the way of an indigenous cultural tradition of its own and in its more reflexive moments tends to identify with the British way of life." The Anglo-Irish Agreement dismissed the Community from a powerful nation.

In the first two lines of "The Defenestration of Hillsborough" Paulin reworks the words of a loyalist leader "Here we are on the Window ledge/ with the idea of race". In *Minotaur*, Paulin (1992, p. 16) notes that the tormented statement of the loyalist leader, who refers to the Defenestration of Prague 1618- a thirty-year-war between Protestants, which ended with the Catholics defeat and a weakened and fragmented Holy Roman Empire in independent states- was an effort to find an "imaginative image for a sudden shock of being marginalized by two powerful nations" and by being forced to be dismissed from the British nation. Paulin (1992, p. 16) writes that "the school syllabus in Northern Ireland was designed to reinforce a protestant identity and to submerge the Catholic population of the province within those dominant values" The signing humiliates the Protestant pride, so Ulster Protestants, betrayed by the British Government, are involuntary taken to the end of the road or to the verge of the window.

The following lines impel the autocratic leaders to come back to reality and find a new beginning as a post-colonial nation. The poem suggests that Ulster will have to find its place among small nations, just as the Holy Roman Empire had to do after the Thirty Years War (1618–1648). Northern Ireland is not part of the British Empire anymore, so it is time to follow the examples of Tomás Masaryk, who fought for the independence of Czechoslovak

and eventually became the founder and the first president of a new nation. Masaryk had Ulster and Scot-Irish background. Paulin also identifies himself with Scottish and Presbyterian movement of the United Irishmen. Martin Mooney comments (1983, p23) "The Enlightenment origins and subsequent darkening of Ulster Protestant ideology are exposed in a network of analogies. In opposition to the historical tradition of Irish republicanism, Unionism is a dependent ideology which is being dismissed by the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement".

> The door's locked on us
> So we begin again
>
> With a cack on the sill
> and *The Book of Analogies*
>
> It falls open at a map
> of the small nations of Europe,
>
> it has a Lutheran engraving
> of Woodrom Wilson's homestead
>
> in a cloon above Stabane,
> and it tells you Tomás Masaryk

Is Paulin mocking the Unionist ideology or is he trying to show how this dependent and authoritarian politics made them lose their control of the situation? Many of Paulin's poems are considered obscure and cryptic, therefore difficult to read. In *Poetry in our time: Poet, Publisher, Reader and Reviewer* (2008). Eddie Wainwright writes about the obscurity of "The Defenestration of Hillsborough" He quotes Eliot's concept in *The use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism* (1933) about the reasons for a poem to be obscure. According to Eliot (2008, p. 55), obscurity is the result of, firstly, "the poets personal causes which make it impossible for the poet to express himself in any but an obscure way"; secondly, readers have been told the author is difficult to read; and thirdly, "there is the difficulty caused by the author's having left something which the reader is used to finding; so that the reader, bewildered, gropes about for what is absent, and puzzles his head for a kind of 'meaning' which is not there, and is not meant to be there". He also writes that "complexity seems to do with several things going on at once, or in sequence, but capable of being 'sorted out' by appropriately- careful reading" (2008, p. 49). Another important aspect mentioned by Eddie Wainwright is that certain poets and poems are obscure for being faulty, fawned, incompetent, cavalier, and arrogant among other reasons. Nevertheless, obscurity sometimes, is only apparent and can be clarified at the

end of the poem. According to him, the last two lines in Paulin's poems, "This means we have a choice / either to jump or get pushed" clarify the rest of it. Andrews (2008, p. 185) notes:

> To get pushed means to be forced to change since there is no other way out; to jump means to rethink the whole political and religious structure, seen that, in Northern Ireland, religion is politics and politics is religion, and be willing to liberate themselves from rigorous ideology, an "act of defiance".

By using dialogism and layering historical events and personalities within his poems, Paulin satirizes Ulster unionists. However, Paulin's poetry may cause estrangement to common uninformed readers; for they find them difficult to understand and appreciate if they do not know historical events alluded to in the poems.

4.3 POETRY AND LANGUAGE

In the first Field Day Pamphlet, published 1983, Tom Paulin writes an essay, "A New Look at the language Question" (1984, p.178-193), republished as a chapter in his book *Ireland and the English Crisis* (1984), in which he reviews the relationship between language and political power by giving emphasis to the Hiberno-English and Ulster English. In this essay, Paulin (1984, p.178) asserts that:

> The history of a language is often a story of possession and dispossession, territorial struggle and the establishment or imposition of a culture. Arguments about 'evolution' or the 'purity' of a language can be based on a simplistic notion of progress or on a doctrine of racial stereotypes.

In his essay he also writes that there had been many discussions against and in favor of standardization of the English language. For instance, the first theorists were Samuel Johnson and Jonathan Swift but a theorist that was crucial to this discussion was Noah Webster, who argued that America needed not only a Federal Constitution but also a linguistic and cultural independence. In 1783, Webster published *The American Spelling Book;* thus, initiating his concept of linguistic separatism.

Concerning Ireland, after the Norman invasion, in the twelfth century, the Norman French and the English of the settlers were gradually influenced by native Irish. The Cromwellian settlement of the 1650s united Old English with the native Irish resulting in a distinctive speech called Anglo-Irish or Hiberno-English, spoken in most parts of Ireland with

the exception of Ulster. The province of Ulster has its own dialects, called Ulster Scots[28] or Ullans and Ulster English, descending from Old British[29]. According Ian Adamson (http://www.ianadamson.net/):

> These original dialects were modified in the mouths of the local Gaelic speakers who acquired them and eventually, after a bilingual period, lost their native tongue. These modified dialects were ten adopted by the Scottish and English settlers themselves, since the Irish constituted the majority population. The dialect of Belfast is a variety of Ulster English, so that the people of the Shankill Road speak English which is almost a literal translation of Gaelic.

Although Paulin considers Adamson's arguments rather weak, especially when Adamson regards Ulster Scots as a stigmatized language compared to Ulster English, he sees his argument as a positive one since Adamson calls for the preservation of both Irish and Ullans languages within an Independent Ulster. Irish has never ceased to be spoken in the Island but was, until recently, considered a hostile language by the English as well as Unionists, who mistakably considered it as belonging to the Irish Catholic culture, the same way that Ulster English is stigmatized by most English who are for the standardization of the language as a political act.

An important point in this essay is about the status of both Hiberno-English and Ulster English since both, until the publication of it, did not have a dictionary[30]. Paulin (1984, p. 186) writes that "the richness of speech lacks any institutional existence and so is impoverished as a literary medium". Nevertheless, he considers that dialects carry cultural contents and are fundamental to unite people within a community. When Paulin wrote this essay the political situation in Northern Ireland was extremely problematic. In the last decades there have been many academic studies about both Hiberno and Ulster English, and dictionaries have been devised. These new dictionaries have, with no doubt, contributed to

[28] The Scots language, often called Lallans, (Scots word for 'lowlands'), was first taken to Ulster by the Scottish settlers of the Plantation in the early seventeenth century. Its presence was sustained and reinforced by later migrations and by the strong social and economic ties across the narrow North Channel. Ulster-Scots (or 'Ullans' or even the 'Braid Scotch') is a variant of Scots, the language used by Robert Burns in many of his poems. Scots is still spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland today.

[29] While the term British has a positive, inclusive and multi-racial concept, English is regarded as exclusive, negative concept.

[30] Ulster Scots and 30 languages in the European Union, including Lowlands Scots, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Welsh and Cornish with which it forms the group of six lesser-used languages of the British Isles, have recently achieved recognition by the *European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages*, founded in 1982.

elevate the status of these languages. He also states in "A New Look at the Language Question" (1984) that vernacular and oral language as well as punctuation and syntax are important instruments for the social and political struggle for territory, property, culture, national identity and power. In his introduction to *Minotaur* (1993), Paulin contrasts oral language with the social and political value of print: "Within oral culture there is an instinctive suspicion of print culture because it expresses power and law" while "orality is synonymous with powerlessness and failure" (PAULIN, 1993, p. 6).

Paulin expresses his concern of using vernacular, dialect and colloquialisms from within the Protestant tradition not only in his essay "New look at Language Question" (1984) but in other works of criticism such as *Thomas Hardy:* The poetry of Perception (1975), *Minotaur:* Poetry and the Nation State (1992), and *Writing to the Moment* (1996), in which there is a chapter, titled "Vernacular Verse" (1996). In this chapter, Paulin analyzes the use of vernacular by authors like Mark Twain, Walter Whitman, Thomas Hardy, Robert Burns, Cristina Rossetti and Elisabeth Browning among others. He states that texts that have vernacular authenticity are more relaxed and spontaneous and thus bounding the reader to it immediately. He writes that "vernacular speaks for an alternative community that is mostly powerless and invisible. This oral community voices itself in a general tactile language (…) which printed texts with their editorial apparatus of punctuation and authoritative capitals can often deaden" (PAULIN, 1996, p. 248). He also writes that, most of the time, when books are standardized, spelling flattens out vocal difference and these differences are the ones which show us the different regional speech. Most of the time, regional speech is termed dialect, and this term is marginalized by the ones who give privilege to Standard English.

The author counterpoints oral language with printed language by giving an example of John Clare whose unpunctuated poems were rewritten by his publisher, making the author feel robbed of his ties to the land and his native speech-community. The reading of Clare's original poems – restored later – "with their lack of punctuation, freedom from standard spelling and charged demotic ripples, they become a form of Nation language that rejects the polished urbanity of Official Standard" (PAULIN, 1996, p. 259). They represent the speech of a community, defenseless against the powerful official, institutionalized language. For Paulin, standardizing vernacular texts into printed language is a form of violence because the language becomes alien and unauthentic. Paulin (1996, p. 259) writes:

> I have no wish to sentimentalize orality, only to notice that the vernacular imagination distrusts print in the way that most of us dislike legal

> documents. That imagination expresses itself in speech and feels trammelled by monolithic simplicities of print, by those formulaic monotonies which distort the spirit of the living language.

Paulin praises John Clare's works and considers him one of the greatest laboring-class poets that England has ever produced. One of Clare's characteristic is the use of shaggy speech, and distorted dialect. In *Minotaur* Paulin (1992, p. 47) writes that John Clare used dialect in his writings "before the ice age of standard British English clamped down on the living language and began to break its local vernacular energies". For Paulin, dialect is politics, so he writes that the imposition of British English as the official language diminishes individual speech communities. As "Listening to [Clare's] unique and delicate sound-patterns the reader is caught in the blow-back of an immense historical suffering and glimpses what happens when an oral culture is destroyed by the institutions of law, order, printed texts" (PAULIN, 1992, p. 47).

Besides John Claire, other English, Scot and Irish writers whose works represent the dissenting voices greatly influenced Paulin. They are Thomas Hardy, William Hazlitt, the Rhyming Weavers, and John Hewitt. Some American writers, who emphasized the vernacular speech in their writings as Mark Twain and Walt Whitman, also influenced the poet. In *Writing to the Moment: Selected Critical Essays 1980- 1996* (PAULIN, 1996) There is a long essay about Thomas Hardy[31]. In this essay, he divides English poetry in two different tendencies. The first is the Surrey and south tendency that he terms as high melodic, vowel-based tradition whose representatives are Shakespeare, Spencer, Milton, Pope, Wordsworth, Keats, Tennyson and Eliot. This tendency is inspired in the Romance languages and rooted in the court. The other tendency is the consonantal northern Gothic tradition with its fricative, spiky, spoken texture which is rooted in the people's oral culture whose representatives are Wyatt, Donne, Johnson, Clare, Barnes, Browning, Hardy, Frost, Edward Thomas and early Auden.

For instance, Paulin writes that Hardy grew up in a rural area where most people were illiterate and spoke dialect. He used to write letters to girls from his village to their lovers, so, by moving between two cultures – the educated and the communal illiterate one – he understood the tensions between the two cultures and chose "a mode of feeling that is bound in with song, dialect, physical touch, natural kindness and what he terms crude enthusiasm"

[31] Thomas Hardy's poetry was the subject of Paulin's post graduate dissertation.Later the dissertation became a book titled *Thomas Hardy:* The Poetry of Perception (1975).

(PAULIN, 1996, p. 175). For Hardy, the community itself was essential to art. Hardy was fascinated by the human voice rather than the literate world.

In *William Hazilitt's radical Style* (1998, p. 151), Paulin writes that Browning and Hazlitt are writers who "are drawn to an infinitely flexible vernacular expressiveness". In order to dramatize consciences in process, the syntax and system of punctuation, their writings are full of gaps, breaks, shifts, and unexpected changes in vocal texture fluidity. This technique embodies thinking, feeling and speaking. Their works show their connection with the dissenting culture against the institutional fixity.

The usage of vernacular speech by these writers has inspired Paulin so deeply that in many of his collections he employs vernacular. There are many poems in *Liberty Tree* (1983) and *Fivemiletown* (1987) in which Paulin uses dialects. Therefore, what is significant here is that Paulin chooses to use Ulster dialects in his poems, especially Ullans language, and he does so as a political act of resistance against the English rule. Even though he criticizes Unionist identity of Northern Ireland, he states in "Surveillances" (1980, p. 6) that the North "is one of the places you belong in". For Paulin, religion is "one of the elements of the sensed identity, which he confirms by devoting many texts to social and political dimensions of Protestantism (both negative and positive) to Protestant imagination as both creative and a limiting force" (KRUCZKOWA, 2011, p. 242).

Paulin's use of vernacular language, as for example, the Ulster dialects and archaic words, can be observed in most of his books of poetry. The vernacular language in his works is taken from the oral culture, history and politics, and has as the goal to emphasize the importance of oral language as a social and political act. In his poems he deals with punctuation, syntax, phonology, and semantics in order to represent his view concerning the social and political struggle for territory, property, culture, national identity and power. Kruczkowska (2011 p. 241) asserts that the use of vernacular language of Ulster is ambiguous because the linguistic differences used in his poems are associated with violence. He employs the northern speech as a kind of cipher, a way of threatening or inciting rebellion against the authority of the state. In fact, his choice is directly related to the social speech he wants to depict, and the treatment he wants to give to this or that social voice. He may criticize, ironize, praise, or incite rebellion. The problem is that he makes his poems rather hermetic to the outside world; this means that for the ones who are not Irish, British or are unfamiliar with history and culture of Northern Ireland, his poems become rather difficult to be understood and appreciated. Paulin's use of vernacular language portrays his contradictious feeling in relation to his community:

> Yet this analysis reveals that it is not communal identification that lies at the heart of his focus on the language's oral qualities or of his use of dialect. It is rather a love-hate relationship: love of his community's language, oratory, and radical tradition (embodied in his poetry by the United Irishmen), and hate of their current ideas and state unionism with its Orange parades. (KRUCZKOWSKA, 2011 p. 242)

Steve Mathews (1969, p. 150) writes that vernacularization and hybridization are common in poems from both communities of North and South of Ireland, and from those influenced by Joyce's linguistic ideas. Paulin, like Seamus Heaney, Thomas Kinsella, Paul Durcan, has employed the vernacular, dialect and colloquialisms of the street. Paulin's commitment with politics, culture and language results from his disappointment with the Unionist mentality and his esteem of the Dissenter movement. Paulin was also influenced by John Hewitt[32]. John Hewitt is the most significant Irish poet to emerge before the 1960s generation of poets that included Seamus Heaney, Derek Mahon and Michael Longley. He wrote several poems about the Irish radicals such as the Presbyterians Rhyming Weavers. His book *Rhyming Weavers* **(**1974) is a collection that celebrates the irreverent and egalitarian poems and songs written by hand-loom weavers, small farmers and country school-masters of verse in the Ulster counties of Antrim and Down during the nineteenth century. These poets wrote in spoken vernacular language of Ulster-Scots and drew their themes from the landscape and life of the community at a time. Hewitt not only collected the poems and songs but also contextualized the period the Weavers in the introduction of his book. In 2004, the book was republished and Paulin wrote a foreword on the expressive possibilities and social political significance of Ulster dialect verse. Therefore, as we can observe, Paulin was greatly influenced by John Hewitt's political engagement to Ulster and enthusiasm for the dissenting tradition. Hewitt's use of vernacular language of Ulster, especially of the Rhyming Weavers, for example, the plodding final lines by inclusion of dialect words like 'scraws' and "tryst" served as an example for Paulin. Dialect as well as fragmentation, curt choppiness of line and an angular Ulster diction have been the poet's common practice since his collection of poems *Liberty Tree* (1983). This is when he begins to use "Ulsterisms" in many of his poems. Paulin explains his choice for vernacular language of Ulster in his essay "A new Look at Language Question" (1983, p. 12) in which he writes:

[32] John Harold Hewitt was born in Belfast in 1907. Hewitt had an active political life. He was attracted to the Ulster dissenting tradition and was drawn to a concept of regional identity within the island of Ireland.

> Here, dialect is notable for its intimacy and for the bonds which it creates among speakers. Standard speech frequently gives way to dialect when people soothe or talk to small children, and sexual love, too, is often expressed through dialect words. Such words are local and 'warm' while their standard alternatives can be regarded as coldly public and extra-familial. […] For English people such tensions are invariably a product of the class system, but in Ireland they spring from more complex loyalties.

Later, in the same essay, Paulin comments that the use of dialect words in writings generates a form of closed secret communication with readers who come from the same region. "This will express something very near to a familial relationship because every family has its hoard of relished words which express its members' sense of kinship" (PAULIN, 1983, p. 16). Dialect is a kind of secret code which communities share that serve to exclude the outside world.

Some critics have opposed views about Paulin's use of Ullans, especially because Paulin mixes highly formal literary and historical content with dialect. Nevertheless, Maurice Harmon (1984, p. 127) writes that "the writing of poetry that combines wit and erudition and a special reanimation of dialect and archaic words is one man's creative response to the political muddle." According to him, Paulin's technical skill of combining erudition with various dialects in a creatively way is a representation of freedom and is exactly what he advocates in "A New Look at the Language Question". Paulin writes that a federal concept of Irish English "would redeem many words from that too-exclusive, too-local usage." (PAULIN, 1983, p. 15).

Peter McDonald (2002, p. 101) criticizes the choice of vocabulary that the poet has used in writing, by asserting that the combination of "vocabulary stretching from the most abstract and dry of academic terms to the words he hears as Ulster vernacular" is a pretentious attempt at representing common Ulster speech. However, the poet is capable of perceiving and conveying the experience in Northern Ireland accurately, disregarding his blending of academic terms with vernacular language.

4.3.1 Father of History

"Father of History" (1983, p.32) (annex N) is a poem that could be analyzed in the "Poetry and History" section; nevertheless, due to the use of rich vernacular language I have opted to include it in the "Poetry and Language" section. The title of this poem is borrowed

from Herodotus, who is famous for his dealings with the causes and events of the wars between the Greeks and the Persians (490-479). This does not only to refer to the war between the Irish and the British but also conveys the idea that a secular history could have been traced, if the United Irishmen had won the rebellion. Paulin, once more, exalts the radical dissenting Presbyterian "free strenuous spirit" of the United Irishmen in contraposition to the "servile defiance" of the present politics. Unionism is a religious authoritarian regime, so there is a mistaken idea of freedom which is maintained by the Protestant faith and by narrow interpretations of history. Therefore, Paulin makes the dissenting radical tradition into a historical symbol. This poem is full of the rough pronunciation of the "r", "the spiky burr", a sound usually made with the tip of the tongue and characteristic of Lallans and Ullans dialects, to praise the Irish Dissenters.

A state schoolroom and a master talking
In a limber voice, spiky burr
Like a landrail crecking in the bracken
Ock there he is with hair like furze,

The master is an example of these men fought for an ideal. Paulin hears the echoes of those, who through their speech, show their origin and their deeds

On the New Light in relish dialect
The eager accent of free sept,
Broken in the north, in resurrection.

Their ideals are also Paulin's ideals. This free speech means the promise of the revival of the republican ideal, which Paulin tries to bring back in his poetry. The use of dialect words like "sheugh," and "brackish" emphasizes his republican convictions and the Presbyterian spirit of the United Irishmen in opposition to the lack of ideals of the present Unionism. These men with a rough speech are for Paulin a surviving trace, "remnants", of a lost ideal.

I traced them to the Linen Hall stacks –
Munro, Hope, Porter and MacCracken;
Like sweet yams buried deep, these rebel minds
Endure posterity without a monument,
Their names covered sheugh, remnants, some brackish signs.

This poem is in Paulin's collection *Liberty Tree* (1983). The title, *Liberty Tree* refers to the symbol of the 1798 uprising movement. If speech is freedom, the United Irishmen's accent sounds and pronunciation support their political ideal. Paulin aims to give these men recognition by employing their speech in his poems. Nevertheless, Paulin shows emotional commitment that blurs his rational judgment of the dissenting radical tradition. After the defeat, those men went to different directions; some of them even joined Unionism. Hufstander (1999, p. 202) writes that "Paulin therefore blesses and curses the same faith in nearly the same breath. [*He*] venerates the symbolic representatives of Protestant culture whose accents provide vestigial echoes of 1798, echoes now to be heard only in a historical library".

Edna Longley comments on Paulin's works are the most severe. In her essay Poetry and Politics in Northern Ireland (1986) she criticizes his choice of dialect words in the *Liberty Tree* (1983) by writing that Paulin has invented a new form of poetic diction by sprinkling his poems with dialect, or would-be dialect. She considers that some of the words Paulin uses as Ulster Scots dialect can be taken as racist implications. Edna asserts that Ulster-Scots cannot be classified as "backward species whose robust primitivism may one day contribute to the national bloodstock" (LONGLEY, 1986, p. 194). For Edna, Paulin's excessive awareness of linguistic difference causes the loss of creative innocence and damages a poet's style. Edna Longley has also criticized the members of Field Day Company aims. She asserts that poetry and politics like church and state should be separated. She also writes that some pamphlets written by the members of the Field Day are "the Catholic grievance in the North, the rightly hurt pride of second-class citizenship, of slighted civilization, translated into historical terms that purport to complete the whole picture" (LONGLEY, 1986, p. 195). According Edna Longley, poetry should be subtle and Paulin lacks this quality. She considers *Liberty Tree* (1983) an assault to the Unionism and Britain's colonial history rather than poetry itself. No matter how aggressive his poetry may seem, especially for the outside world, Paulin's poetry represents the social inequality and the feeling of discontent and resentment towards the colonialist policy of England. Paulin has an aim, which he seems to accomplish. His aim is to write poetry which criticizes the instituted political system in Northern Ireland and language is a way of finding a home for Irish-English is depreciated by the official language.

In his essay, "A New look at Language Question", Paulin writes (1983, p. 15) about a concept of Irish English which would contemplate the all-Ireland context. He argues that including words that are local and exclusive to certain communities within Ireland, and thus, neglected by "educated Ulster English" − the provincial language of official Unionism, which

differs in vocabulary and pronunciation from the standard accent of Standard English in England − would enhance the vocabulary and, consequently, the written language.

> In Ireland there would exist three fully-fledged languages – Irish, Ulster Scots and Irish English. Irish and Ulster Scots would be preserved and nourished, while Irish English would be a form of modern English which draws on Irish, the Yola and Fingallian dialects, Ulster Scots, Elizabethan English and American English. A confident concept of Irish English would substantially increase the vocabulary and this would invigorate the written language. A Language that lives lithely on the tongue ought to be capable of becoming the flexible written instrument of a complete cultural idea. (PAULIN, 1991, p. 15).

In *In the Chair:* Interview with poets from the North of Ireland (2002, p. 160). Paulin says that he wrote "A New look at Language Question" (1983) in order to rectify the absence of a home for Irish-English after realizing that there had been local dictionaries in other English Speaking countries. Although one constantly heard words that were outside the standard in Ireland, the local language was not institutionalized. When he read the works by Whitman, Melville and Twain he thought about "what must that language been like to use in print [and] how this vernacular energy [*could*] be released" PAULIN, 2002, p. 160).

4.3.2 S/He

S/He (1985, p.67-69) (annex O) makes full use of Ulster vernacular vocabulary. The following lines tell about a couple of youth who after having secretly left Derry / Londonderry in Ulster, probably had forbidden sex just for fun and without love somewhere between the cities of Derry and Convoy in Donegal, in the Republic of Ireland, and then are having fun somewhere in a ditch (sheugh) along "the ridge". The title may be referring to the couple as equals in their decision to have forbidden sex in a society where men rule. However, although "S/he" seems non-sexist, Paulin is not approaching "the women's rights issue in the poem but he uses sexuality as a metaphor for the conflict between the public civic duty and private freedom.

> Here's a wet sheugh
> smells like a used sheath
> and here's frogspawn
> and a car battery under a scraggy hawthorn
> they are having a geg
> chucking weebits and yuk

There is a used condom (used sheath and frogspawn) and litter under a slim piece of wood (scraggy hawthorn) and the couple are having fun (geg), eating and throwing away the unwanted small bits of food. In this poem, the poet uses casual sex as a metaphor for the violence of the Northern state to explore the complex relationship between the personal and public sphere.

Yesterday I stared
at this girl with cropped hair –
a grandpa shirt on her
and lovebites on her neck
little pink bruises
like a rope had snagged there
Ah shite, the bitter joy
as the plunged head gets born!
a March wind
hits the main street
of a village called Convoy
and I'm starved
by the first screech that's torn
from out the guts of the blind poet.

There was an ancient Jutland rite in which a noose put around the neck of a female symbolized the loss of innocence The imagery of the girl's neck with "little pink bruises/ like a rope had snagged there" illustrates the forbidden free sex and the forbidden free will. Words as "snag and "plunged" have two connotations: "snag" means to cause damage or to steal; "plunged" means to move headlong through something and a term for "fucking" or going deep into someone. There is a contrast between being in Donegal and in Derry in the poem. By being on the outskirts of Derry, the couple is able to have fun by the quay, which crosses the border of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, without being watched by the military apparatus of the state. They are free to enjoy themselves near the relaxed everyday quiet atmosphere of Donegal across the border.

This hereness is to loiter
by the quay in Derry
and a gaze at the spread river,
the pigeons and the pigeon-cowlings
on a stained flour mill,
until the voice whispers
in the balmy sight of a lover
'who' is in the wrong county
like a maiden city?

The Derry is nicknamed *the Maiden City* because its walls were never breached during the Siege of Derry in the late seventeenth century. Is Derry on the wrong side of Border?

> It stuck close to me, though,
> how all through the last half
> a helicopter held itself
> above the Guildhall –
> Vershinin's lines were slewed
> by the blind chopping blades,
> though Olga looked chuffed
> when she sighted, 'Wont it be odd
> with no soldiers on the streets?

But when the speaker approaches the city he relates the political system of the Protestant state to the Soviet Union by relating the sound of the helicopter to the sound of the Russian air force. He uses. Konstantin Andreevich Vershinin, a Chief Marshal of Aviation of the Soviet Union and deputy minister of National Air Defense as a metaphor to the sound of the British helicopters flying over Derry. The poet also gives the Irish girl a Russian name. However, the sound of helicopters and soldiers in the streets are awkward but familiar because this is part of life Northern Ireland.

4.3.3 Waftage: An Irregular Ode

"Waftage: An Irregular Ode" (1987 p.6-8) (annex P) is a poem from Paulin's *Fivemiletown* (1987) The suspension of Stormont, Northern Ireland's parliament and the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement are the main topics in this book of poetry. Paulin associates the lack of a local historical mythology with the failure of the Unionist government and the disfranchisement of Northern Ireland. To dramatize the whole situation the poet sets images of defeat, disappointment a chaos in the province of Northern Ireland, so his poems are filled with scenes of stagnation, lack of direction, sex without love, and sexual and inexpressive words as a metaphor

Although the effect may represent the situation in Ulster at that time, his poems become awkwardly, aggressive causing some harsh criticism. Steve Mathews writes: "Paulin's aggressive deployment of Ulster dialect words, particularly in his 1987 *Fivemiletown* (1987), however, came close to essentialism which was politically powerful but poetically strained and awkward, a poetry whose designs were all palpable" Neil Corcoran (1992, pp. 412, 413) observes that *Liberty Tree* (1983) is more "supple and musical by turns

luxuriant and ascetic," while *Fivemiletown* (1987) is "paring Paulin's natural eloquence to the bone". Clare Wills (1993, p. 125), on the contrary, writes that some critics have interpreted the poems of this book "as distasteful confessions, or as simple metaphors for the violence in Northern Ireland". These critics refuse to pay attention that the poet is using these narratives to explore "the complex relationship between personal and national histories". They tend to generalize these narratives as "postmodern skepticism about overarching theological narratives". What is important to be explored is how the poetic reveals the changing relationship of the poet to his poetic and national community, and the narratives which sustain them. Sexuality in all societies is colonized by the public domain. In Northern Ireland as well as in the republic, among other nations, the church and the state are not separate and, even though sexuality is seen differently by both Protestants and Catholics, sex is regulated by the church and the state, so individuals are not able to be free to enjoy sex without "binding it to the family and to reproduction (WILLS, 1993, p. 125)". Therefore, in *Fivemiltown*, Paulin chooses to write sexual poems to in order to criticize the controlling power of the state over individuals opposed to the principles of liberty, fraternity and equality. At the same time, the loveless sexual narratives are symbols of "pretended love", a response for being betrayed by the English and by the Republic of Ireland by having left Northern Ireland out of the Anglo Irish Agreement. So, on one hand the poet feels like part of the community and feels betrayed; on the other hand he sees the situation from the outside due to the fact that he does not identify himself with the conservative politics of Northern Ireland.

"Waftage: An Irregular Ode" is a poem in which Paulin's enunciation lacks grace. The speech used to describe the loveless sexual relationship is rude and abrupt. It reproduces Ulster diction and brings together the idea of pretended love and betrayal. He mixes dialects and slangs (lunk july, bum hour, soft hoor, aye, boneheads and geg) with jargons (boffe de politesse, Va-t' en) and academic speech (the subterfugue text within the text itself) to imply freedom from the sectarian politics, recalling the free speech of the eighteenth century liberty and the popular speech in Ulster. The dialogue between the lovers is full of local words, and their speech reveals the bonds among speakers within the province. The male protagonist recalls James Fenton "foregrounding the subterfuge text within the text itself" denoting the lovers' relationship as well as the current political moment in Ulster.

for a geg one day
I bought this tin
of panties coloured
like the Union Jack,

but she slung into the bin
an never breathed the least bit sigh.
'Va-t'en' she spat,
'I just can't stand you
No one can,
Your breath stinks
and your taste
it's simply foul –
like that accent.
Please don't come slouching
near my bed again.'
So, real cool, I growled
'Lady, no way you'll walk
right over *me'*
Dead on. I chucked her then.

The male lover, who bought "panties coloured like the Union jack" is rejected because of his bad taste resembles the British accent, "that accent" After being given his marching orders, the male voice discards, "chucks", his lover as the last act of self-dignity. The relationship without love is a metaphor for the political relationship between Northern Ireland and England as well as the disastrous politics in Northern Ireland. To break up the relationship means to get rid of this unsatisfactory situation. It is an irony against the politics of Northern Ireland. Paulin combines different kinds of pronunciation, vocabulary and syntax, which range from formal to slang, as well as creating words and misspelling some others to express nonconformity, an act of freedom from this imposed politics.

4.3.4 The Wind Dog

"The Wind Dog" (1999, p. 22) (annex Q) is a poem taken after the title of his 1999 book of poetry that was commissioned to be recited on Radio Three in celebration of its fiftieth anniversary in 1996; therefore, the poem's main concern is to emphasize oral language. Since *Liberty Tree* (1985) and especially *Fivemiletown* (1987), as well as his latter books of poems, Paulin has gradually abandoned punctuation, syntax and grammar, and has given importance to a multiplicity of dialects and onomatopoeic words. This collection may be the best example of modernism concerning disruption to language and form and is rich in Ulster Scots language either in vocabulary or in syntax. The use of dialogism and heteroglossia involving irony and dialogism is related to Ireland.

The Wind Dog (1999, p. 21-36) is a long and highly fragmented poem in which the poet remembers his childhood and adolescence experiences in Belfast. The title is based on a

fishing day with an old fisherman. While fishing, he listens to the fisherman's stories, told in Ulster-Scot language (Ullans). Suddenly, the fisherman asks him in Ullans: "D'you see thon wind-dog?". In Standard English this means: Do you see that broken rainbow? Paulin (1996, p. 260) recalls this experience in his essay "Vernacular" Verse.

> I recall a moment when that imagination spoke directly to me. I was out in a boat, lazily fishing for mackerel with a man I was found of, an old merchant seaman from Islandmagee in Co. Antrim. He nodded up at the rain washed blue sky and said 'D'you see thon wind-dog?' I looked up and saw a broken bit of rainbow and though how rare and new 'wind-dog' seemed, how dull and beaten thin 'rainbow' was. It was MacDiarmitd's 'chitterin licht' of the watergaw just happening as he spoke.

The seaman's "thon wind-dog?" is MacDirmid *Watergaw* (1993) or a broken rainbow above the sky of County Antrim. As the seaman, MacDiarmid substitutes the English expression "broken rainbow" for the Lallan word "Watergaw". Both of them are expressions with a distinct meaning from rainbow*:* they mean an incomplete or imperfectly formed rainbow. MacDiarmid was part of a literary group who became known as the Scottish Renaissance. He used the literary Lallans to bring together all the various dialects of Scots – from the far north to the Lowlands – under the one, broad umbrella of this literary language. It is worth pointing out that MacDiarmid published his first collection of poems in 1925, so he is contemporary to TS Eliot, James Joyce, among others, who were experimenting language, fragmentation, tribal art, classic myths, psychology and anthropology. These writers, among others, who either used dialect or were radical republican visionaries or both, have greatly influenced Ulster writers of the "Irish Renascence" like Paulin.

"The Wind Dog" (1999, p. 21-36) can be classified as a stream of consciousness poem. It is a long fragmented poem that depicts the poet's multitudinous thoughts and feelings and fragments of his favorite books and authors, in other words, a bricolage, a technique that borrows from Paul Klee and that, pervades his former book of Poems, *Walking a Line* (1994). The poet recalls not only his native Belfast family speech but also different pronunciations he heard when he was a child. Through the poem he finds a way of being close to Belfast as complex, hybrid cultural city, against the fixity of the official printed language, so he disrupts the smooth discursive surface of official language as a political and social act. He celebrates the vernacular Ulster-Scots language and writers who used the vernacular as a social and political tool. He begins by quoting the "Tinker Whistling O'Donnell Abu (1924) by Jack Butler Yeats, a popular political ballad.

I married a tinker's daughter
in the town of Skibbereen
but at last one day she galloped away
with me only shirt in a paper bag
to the shores of Amerikay

Then, there are two stanzas in which he makes reference to Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn, which he writes about in the introduction of his *Faber Book of Vernacular Verse*, (1990, p. ix). "

I lay in Huck's canoe
one still night
and heard men talking
− clean every word they spoke
on the ferry landing
like the Mississippi

Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* (1884) is a text that greatly influenced Paulin because of its breaking with conventions of the nineteenth century. Like Mark Twain, Paulin asserts his authorial freedom from narrative conventions; he is concerned with different voices and discourses and he dialogizes a great number of social voices.

Along the poem he quotes "Farmer Frost". For Paulin, as for Frost, language is a living medium, so the poet is greatly influenced by Frost's[33] ideals concerning language: "The words exist in the mouth, not in books. You can't fix them and you don't want to fix them. You want to adapt them to persons and places and times. You want them to change and be different (FROST, 1964, p. 25)." And he keeps quoting or making a bricolage a series of authors: Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1894) in which *Rikki-Tikki* fights with the Nag and Nagaina poison snakes is there in the poem; Robert McLellan's Mr. Jubb a character in *Linmill Stories* (1990) written in Scots language and broadcasted from 1960- 1965; Louis McNeice's semi-autobiographical novel *Roundabout Way* (1932) published under the name of Louis Malone; Matisse"s *Odalisque* (1927); James Joyce imitating children's language in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1914- 1915): "Baby tockoo, tuckoo"; and John Clare: **"**- Yet what I am none cares or knows/ My friends forsake me/ like a memory lost; I am the self-consumer of my woes," and the Rhyming Weavers.

He remembers the time of the Troubles: "– you know a cargo cult line, that dirty British coaster", and the Orange Order Parades. He lists names of places and streets: Giant's Ring, Gweebarra Bay, Ormeau Road, Cypress Avenoo, Malone Road. He mixes Latin with

[33] Robert Frost, letter to Sidney Cox 19 January 1914Beaconsfield. Laurence Thompson (ed.). Selected Letters of Robert Frost (New York. Holt Rhinehart & Winston, 1964, p. 25)

lullabies (Lingo-jingo), Irish, English and Scots vernacular language of the Northern Irish multicultural identities, so he sings:

> which is all beginning
> all beginning still
> yet I wanted to put a date
> when this naked shivering self
> began to puzzle at a print sound
> spoken sound
> the wind in the reeds
> or a cry in the street
> I'd choose that room for a start

He remembers his childhood and the words his relatives, friends and people in the streets would utter in daily conversations as well words that he makes up

> And my English not my Scots granny
> calls me hinny
> and it feels
> −that houyhnhnm whinny
> of a northeast coast
> almost like love and belonging
> so I ask myself
> why Elaine Tweedie
> say tarr or tar?
> […]
> and why does my mother say modren not modern?
> a modrun novel, not a modern novel?
> a fœnatic not a fanatic
> which is a way of saying in my mother tongue
> the golden torc

He remembers the first time he came across James Fanton's book on Ulster Scots vocabulary and pronunciation. Then he makes a list of words and their meanings

> the second time out
> of Ireland
> have me sort of come
> to find in a book called *The Hamley Tongue*
> that word jum
> means a 'large unreliable trouble-giving car'
> as well – it's the dipstick talking
> as 'a large, lazy and probably none too clean woman'
> so did the word – the word *jum* −
> bob over the sleugh to Broagh
> to the riverbroo

the mudshelf of the bank?
Or is it Ulstermade?

Besides giving the meaning of "jum", Paulin is playing with the sound of Broagh, a village where a United Irishman was hanged. The lightly guttural "gh" and the first vowel, the clipped "o", makes this word into a sort of two-syllable tongue-twister and cannot be pronounced correctly by the English but is pronounced the same way by Catholics and Protestants in Ireland. Paulin is also quoting Broagh (1972, p. 27) a poem by Heaney: "suddenly, like that last / "gh" the strangers found / difficult to manage". This sound differentiates the Irish from the English: the strangers in the Island. Following his thoughts, the poet recalls an experience he had which he also writes in his chapter "The Vernacular Verse (1990) and which is the title of this poem:

while I'm out after mackerel
in an open boat
blue blue sky
after a skif of rain
the wet wondrous sky
stretched tight like bubble
− hey Tammie Jack says
d'you see the thon wind dog?
look yonder
− what's a wind dog?
− ack a wee broken bitta rainbow
tha's a wind dog

Through bricolage and a stream of consciousness the poet celebrates language as a living medium in his highly fragmented poem. Paulin comments in the Minotaur (1992, p.104) "the writer must aim to go beyond writing into a kind of speech continuum". By following his political aim to empower a language that is stigmatized by the English and by the print, he breaks with the official language, deconstructs the aesthetic and subverts the official form. According to Joanna Kruczkowska (2011, p.242) "Paulin's thinking about language falls into the network of pronounced social and political ideas, which as a practice stands out from most of contemporary Irish poetry". However, the poem falls into a great chance of not being understood, and consequently, appreciated by common readers in general. On one hand, native readers will identify the different pronunciations, semantics, names of people and places; on the other hand, they need to have wide reading knowledge in order to recognize and understand the fragments of writers that the poet includes. Non-native readers, who may have wide reading knowledge but lack historical and geographical understanding,

may not be able to appreciate the poem either. Therefore, Paulin seems to fail at his aim; he celebrates ordinary people in a poem which ordinary people might not be able to grasp the meaning, so the poem is inaccessible for native and non-native readers of English as well as impossible to be translated without losing meaning. He seems to be following Joyce's steps whose late writings, as Ulysses, are regarded as literature understood and enjoyed by few.

4.3.5 Fortogiveness

"Fortogiveness" (1999, p. 56) (annex R) is a poem Paulin writes about going back to Belfast to do a poetry reading. The poem symbolizes the poet's feelings about identity and the notion of belonging to Northern Ireland. "You know this is one of the places you belong in," (PAULIN, 1980, p.6). On one hand, "fortogiveness" means asking pardon or forgive about having left Belfast, or "the City" as it is called by its inhabitants. On the other hand, "Fortogiveness" emphasizes the structure "for to*"* used as infinitive of purpose in Ireland instead of "I'm here to give a poetry reading". Therefore "for to" is one of non-standard features in syntax of Irish English that occur in both south and north of Ireland, which is considered grammatical and wrong in Standard English.

We are catching the shuttle Hugo Williams and me
to give a poetry reading in Belfast
− maybe I ought to rephrase that?
− we're catching the shuttle Hugo and me
for to give a poetry reading in Belfast
of course in adding that little connective *for*
I'm only affecting the dialect
in order to signal TP feels that he never
ever really left the place they call *THE CITY*
that I'm still at home in its speech
even though somewhere along the way
my vowels have maybe got shifted or faked
so there's a salt rebuff as Larkin puts it
in a poem he began not a stone's throw
from the room we'll be reading our own stuff in

The expression "Salt rebuff of speech" is quoted from Philip Larkin's poem "The Importance of Elsewhere**".** Larkin was an English poet who worked at Queen's University, Belfast for a while. "Salt rebuff of speech" is his description of the harsh northern Irish accent he listens to in "the City". Paulin affirms his speech has changed after all those years in

Britain, and he is rehearsing the Northern Irish accent to pretend he has never left "The City". The poet also plays with structure and with the word forgive:

> but look at the problem – what problem? –
> look like this
> from *for to* give to *forgive*
> there's only a syllable blink
> so forgive me Lord that I caught the Liverpool boat
> all those years back
> and took a train to Hull where as it turned out
> Larking was planning *High Windows*

Although being born in Leeds, and being away from Belfast for several years , he has made Northern Ireland his main theme, so through symbolic and political considerations, Paulin negotiates his loyalty to "the city" by rephrasing standard sentences into local dialect, even though his vowels may have shifted, or even faked.

Is he really asking for forgiveness or is he being ironic? Trying to speak the local language and writing poems about Ulster will make him an insider after all – "there is a salt rebuff" – Is he rejecting Belfast? In the end it is clear that he has made a choice of leaving "an a historical one-party state with a skewed and uncertain culture" (HUGHES, 1999,p. 117):

> forgive me Lord that I only skip back now and then to
> this city
>
> − blink blink a day a weekend in no time at all
> I'm away on the plane again
> and forgive me too that unlike Hugo
> I've not been a freelance writer
> for the last twenty or more years
> but instead have held down a job
> held it like a fat sluggish Pollack
> between my salary hands
>
> so Hugo go you first
> you know something's got stuck in my head
> − all I can do now is repeat like mantra
> *for to give for to give for to give*

According to Norman Vance (2002, p. 220) "Paulin's sense of belonging is touchingly negotiated in "Fortogiveness" occasioned by guilty–tinged trip back to Belfast – or should be, Ulster Parlance 'For to give' a reading? Is speaking the language a convincing way of belonging?" Paulin is not really asking for forgiveness, nor trying to feel at home. He is being

ironic, for there is nothing for him to regret. He is only there “for to give” a poetry reading. After all Paulin is not a poet who writes forgiving poetry.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This dissertation investigated contemporary postcolonial Irish Literature written in English, more specifically, a literary analysis of author's work. This research did not aim to develop a theoretical concept but to introduce and undertake a critical analysis of Tom Paulin's works written from the nineteen-seventies − a period known as "The Troubles" − to the nineteen-nineties in Northern Ireland. The research I set out to complete was both complex and challenging, mainly because the poet's work is unknown in Brazil and his critical fortune is not available in our libraries and bookstores. It was necessary to conduct bibliographical research not only on the internet but also at universities and specialized bookstores in Northern Ireland. Besides, to understand such a complex work of art requires rigorous study including knowledge of history, culture and society, so there were risks of following a wrong direction due to their complexity. But it was precisely these dangers that made this research worthwhile and extremely fascinating. I am sure that new paths remain to be discovered and now I see the possibility of new routes to be traced by other researchers.

Seeing as Ireland is divided into two political entities, one remaining an English colony and the other an independent republic, the ideal of a nation-state comprising the island of Ireland remains an unfulfilled dream until now. This failure has been exemplified by innumerous unsuccessful rebellions in the preceding centuries, and movements such as the human rights movements. In more recent years the literary, historical, political, religious and psychological discourses about Ireland have had a tendency to approach Ireland's problematic history as a national myth of "historic failure". Therefore, Irish writing, strongly conditioned by historical and political factors, has produced excellent literature which discusses the destiny of individuals and of their community and nation. Tom Paulin is not an exception. Influenced by the historical and political context in Northern Ireland, he writes contemporary poetry that investigates history, politics, language, ideology and cultural identity of his community and nation. Therefore, the purpose of the current study was to investigate how the social and political context and the issues of identity and ideology were dealt with in the poetry of an author with a Protestant background, and to also make a critical analysis of his works.

In my master's degree thesis, I had analyzed these issues in a contemporary novel by Seamus Deane: an Irish writer with a Catholic background. While researching I came to realize that the issues addressed by Paulin are closely related to the Protestant community of Northern Ireland, while Deane's issues were closely related to the Catholic community. This

opened a totally new discussion which I was able to present throughout my dissertation and I am therefore glad to have chosen him as the object of my research. I have undergraduate degrees in History and Letters, so I do believe that literary works are closely related to social and political contexts and it is impossible for a writer to be disengaged from society.

Since literary works in Ireland are closely related to the island's history it became necessary to write an outline of Irish history and the history of national Irish literature to better contextualize Paulin's works. The result of this study supports the idea that even a superficial and general description of the Irish political history reveals the necessity of Ireland in search for an identity. This became the basic motif in Irish literature written in English. Ireland's development from being part of the UK to becoming an independent republic and being parted in two political entities, caused and implied cultural and ideological self-definition during the Gaelic Revival and the Irish Literary Renaissance respectively. Due to this process, the island developed three antagonistic structures: Irish vs. Anglo-Irish, Catholic vs. Protestant, and Republican vs. Unionist. Literature, among other discourses, found the need to discuss the identity of self and other. This discussion was emphasized in Northern Ireland during the sixties and seventies, a period of Irish Literature that is called 'Northern Ireland Renascence' or 'Ulster Revival'. It was when an aesthetic response to the culture of violence emerges from the volatile colonial and sectarian history starts to be written. It is also when Paulin makes his entrance with the publication of *The Sate of Justice* (1977).

Therefore, the focus given to the analysis of Paulin's poems relied on the criticism he makes about the relationship between the British and the Unionists that led to an authoritarian politics. As the poet writes, "we've had x years of blood and shit / and some of us have written poems / or issued too many credos through the press" (PAULIN, 1987 p. 55) While researching, I realized that the main themes in his poetry are politics, history and language. By investigating the connections between poetry and politics, this study has found that Paulin dedicated himself to denounce the ideological discourses of the Unionist government and British imperialism, and to the search for a more enabling model for social justice, which he finds in the European Enlightenment and in the United Irishmen rebellion of the 1789. Paulin believes that if the rebellion had succeeded, Ireland would have become a secular and multicultural social-democratic republic encompassing the whole island of Ireland.

The second major finding was that Paulin distinguishes nation from state. He believes the concept of nation leads to the ideas of ethnicity, race and identity resulting in a racist ideology propagated through authoritarian discourses that aim at restoring purity and order. He contraposes the idea of nation to the idea of state. State is a territory inhabited by different

peoples organized in a social-democratic government that respects the individual rights and guarantees full expression of a variety of cultural traditions. For that reason, Paulin denounces the injustices of the Unionist government through poetry emphasizing the inclusion of marginalized voices of the community. In his poems he explores the social and individual states of being and shows the contradictions between social justice and justice exercised by the political power. In brief, through poetry, Paulin strongly criticizes the Northern Irish Unionist leaders who do not accept any deviation from their ideology.

The findings in Poetry and History convey that his poems represent this time of history as a period in which there is an uneasy stillness of life, therefore history is not being written because of the conservatism of the Protestant politics. It is a chaotic historical period in which discourses are completely controlled, and a period that brought oppression, violence and death. Unionism does not let the social forces participate in the historical process; this is the reason why history is not being written. Paulin makes his individual reading of history to reach his personal freedom which he finds in the Rebellion of 1789. He focuses on the United Irishmen as a movement that would have set his idealistic "fifth province", characterized by fair politics, an egalitarian society and rationalism. So he praises the movement but knows that these men have been forgotten and that they can only be seen in museums. Moreover, the poems that depict the poet's attitude towards the Anglo-Irish agreement could be considered as his personal victory over Unionism. Paulin ridicules the unionist leader's immutable, sensed identity and their reaction to the signing, as well as ironically invites them to find a solution since they lost their statues within the British Empire. History may be resumed from now on.

One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is the importance of language in Paulin's poems. Paulin's use of Ulster dialect speech and invented words are sometimes very effective. He has been critically engaged with language, politics and culture since early 1970s as they reflect the mindset unionist Ulster. According to Paulin, Standard English prevents the individual expressions of spontaneity. It helps to centralize state, to expand imperial marks, and to dictate and single monolithic ruling voice. It is an act of domination. Standard English drains language of natural stress patterns. Vernacular language is a social and political counter-act, an act of resistance. Besides, dialects unite and speak for powerless communities and are important instruments for social and political struggle for territory, property, culture and national identity. Therefore, it was observed that he uses Ullans vernacular speech in his poetry to incite rebellion, praise the revolutionary movement of 1789 and to emphasize expressions of individuality; in contrast, he uses the provincial

official language of unionism to picture and criticize the ideological hermeticism and authoritarianism of unionism. Some of his poems are also characterized by the use of fragmentation, bricolage, dialogism and heteroglossia. His disruption of language through these resources is ideological. By applying them he either ironizes and criticizes society and politics, or celebrates the vernacular by uniting a variety of voices within poems. If Paulin's concept of state is one that is unprejudiced, on neutral ground, open to cultural diversity; then he immortalizes his ideals in his poetry by giving space to multicultural voices.

A critique that can be done in relation to Paulin's works is, firstly, although Paulin's poetry is a document of the late twentieth century political and social crisis in Northern Ireland, it cannot fall into the frame of propagandist art. If we look through Paulin's poems we find that they are intelligent, sensitive and rich. His work can be valued for their fidelity and detail in the treatment of common experience. His poetic activity is a tentative way to give evidence of reality by illustrating social, historical and political facts through modernist and contemporary poetry. He breaks with traditional forms, concepts and styles, and applies free verse, prosaic elements and colloquial language, as well as new modes of expression and styles when illustrating the public memory. Therefore, Paulin's poetry can be considered as a literary monument. However, his experimentation of language through disruption of language and form, invention of new words, code-switching and inclusion of passages of other authors, makes his poetry difficult to be understood not only by non-native speakers, but by native speakers of English who are unfamiliar with some literary works, the history of Ireland, and vernacular languages. This may be the reason Paulin's poetry is only known in a few English-speaking communities and have not been translated to other languages.

Secondly, on one hand, he idealizes the United Irish movement as the only possible way for a rational social democracy but fails to suggest a more contemporary alternative solution for a social-democratic state. On the other hand, he gives emphasis to the need of reviving the Enlightenment principles, still necessary to be reinforced and discussed nowadays, seen the international crisis, especially between the East and West, and the future world politics. In a recent essay for the "Le Monde Diplomatique Brazil", the Israeli historian and one of the world's leading experts on Fascism, Zeef Sternhell (http://www.diplomatique.org.br/print.php?tipo=ar&id=830) writes about the need for the Enlightenment values nowadays. He asserts the opposition to Enlightenment remains a current issue. For philosophers of the eighteenth century reason is the most significant and positive capacity of mankind; it enables one to break free from primitive, dogmatic, and superstitious beliefs, irrationality and ignorance. In realizing the liberating potential of reason,

one not only learns to think correctly, but also act correctly; reason makes all humans equal and, therefore, deserving of equal liberty and treatment before the law; beliefs of any sort should be accepted only on the basis of reason, and not on traditional or priestly authority. However, for political thought represented by the powerful and tenacious anti -Enlightenment stream, still prevalent nowadays, the individual has meaning only in and for the community. It is therefore necessary to prioritize what distinguishes, divides and separates the men: what makes their identity irreducible to more vigorous pure reason. Concerning the definition of nation, the Enlightenment definition is a considerable amount of people who inhabit a certain extent of territory, terminated in certain limits and that obey the same government. There is no word on the history, culture, language or religion. Enlightenment struggled to release the individual from the determinism of his time − especially religion − and assert their autonomy. Nevertheless, Enlightenment view of nation would not survive the first years of the French Revolution; it was soon to be replaced by Johann Gottfried Herder, founder of ideological nationalism. For him nation is a natural phenomenon, a living organism with a soul and own genius, manifested in language and men exist only as a nation. Nationalism, which went through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is still alive; it asserts that the community must prevail over the individual. Islam and other fundamentalisms, as the Jewish or Christian preach the need for isolation. For them each person and historical community have their own culture specific and inimitable, and that is what should be privileged. They consider the nation as the ideal type of a united community, dedicated to God and whose engines are independent of individual will and reason, because men need the sacred and must obey him. This implies a totally opposite view of the Enlightenment. Despite the disastrous experience of the twentieth century, the confrontation between the two political traditions continues. The defense of universalism and rationalism today remains an urgent and complex task: keep what founds a nation composed of autonomous citizens as postulated by the Enlightenment. Therefore Paulin's poems about religious fundamentalism and political conservadorism in Ireland are updated and may contribute to the discussion of ideology and identity, individual freedom, and the ideas of nation and state not only in the light of Irish studies but also postcolonial theories.

Thirdly, through his poems, Paulin aims at finding more diverse identity for Northern Ireland. Therefore, by criticizing the Northern Irish Protestant identity he looks for a more humane project. This is the project of Seamus Deane and the members of The Field Day. Aiming at reviewing the Northern Irish colonial society and criticizing the one-party sectarian statelet, they want to show the harm unionism was causing to the society in order to help put

an end on the system. However, these intellectuals also criticize the cultural nationalism developed in the republic, which they consider very conservative in social matters and distinct from what they believe to be Irish Republicanism. In fact, their purpose is to establish a cultural identity, not just for the North, but for the whole island of Ireland based on multiculturalism. Therefore, the Field Day's concept of Ireland as fifth province as a place where all oppositions are resolved, a neutral ground, multicultural society against partisan and prejudiced connections is illustrated in Paulin's writings as well as in the writings of Seamus Deane, and the other members of the Field Day. In fact, addressing identity, ideology, politics and history in order to debate a more plausible solution is not new on the island of Ireland. In fact, Irish writers from both Catholic and Anglo-Irish ascendency, as for example, Jonathan Swift, Wolf Tone, Yeats, Lady Gregory, Oscar Wild, James, Joyce, and Seamus Heaney, among many other writers, who have made a large contribution to world literature, do not only discuss Ireland through poetry, fiction and nonfiction works but also share the typical Irish characteristics of style, that is to say, a comic vein, a keen sense of humor, wit, satire, sharp political opinions, a taste for finding the right word to be placed the right way, the ear for the best sounding word place where it should be.

Finally, I am aware that on one hand to understand all the social and political interconnections posed by Paulin is rather difficult for someone who does not belong to that determined society. On the other hand similarities exist between Ireland and Brazil concerning the historical and political context in the second half of the twentieth century, as well as in literature that was written in response to totalitarianism and dictatorship in both countries. Therefore, I believe this dissertation certainly contributes to introduce an author who is unknown in Brazil but whose works are well worth being analyzed and read in the present postcolonial context. Taken this into consideration, a practical suggestion would be to carry out an annotated translation of a selection of Paulin's poems, an activity that I am looking forward to engaging myself in within the near future.

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ANNEX A

A Just State

The children of scaffolds obey the Law.
Its memory is perfect, a buggered sun
That heats the dry sands around noon cities
Where only the men hold hands.

The state's centre terrifies, its frontiers
Are sealed against its enemies. Shouts echo
Through the streets of this angry polity
Whose waters might be kind.

Its justice is bare wood and limewashed bricks,
Institutional fixtures, uniforms,
The shadows of watchtowers on public squares,
A hemp noose over a greased trap.
(1977, p.11)

ANNEX B

States

That stretch of water, it's always
There for you to cross over
To the other shore, observing
The lights of the cities on blackness.

Your army jacket at the rail
Leaks its kapok into the wind
That slices gulls over a dark zero
Waste a cormorant skims through.

Any state, built on a such nature,
Is a metal convenience, its paint
Cheapened by the price of lives
Spent in a public service.

The men who peer out of dawning
Gantries below a basalt beak,
Think their vigils will make something
Clearer, as the cities close

With each other, their security
Threatened but bodied in steel
Polities that clock us safely
Over this dark; freighting us.
(1993, p. 1).

ANNEX C

Under the Eyes

Its retributions work like clockwork
Along murdering miles of terrace-houses
Where someone is saying, 'I am angry,
I am frightened, I am justified.
Every favour, I must repay with interest,
Any slight against myself, the least slip
Must be balanced out by an exact revenge.'

The city is built on mud and wrath.
Its weather is predicted; its streetlamps
Light up in the glowering, crowded evenings,
Time-switches, ripped from them, are clamped
To sticks of sweet, sweating explosive.
All the machinery of a state
Is a set of scales that squeezes out blood.

Memory is just too. A complete system
Nothing can surprise. The dead are recalled
From schoolroom afternoons, the hill quarries
Echoing blasts over the secured city;
Or, in a private house, a Judge
Shot in his hallway before his daughter
By a boy who shut his eyes as his hand tightened.

A rain of turds; a pair of eyes; the sky and tears.
(1993, p. 3)

ANNEX D

Still Century

The hard captains of Industry
Held the province in a firm control,

Judges, your pious tyranny
Is backed bone-dry in old

Bricks of hundred linen mills,
Shadows of black tabernacles.

A crowd moves along the Shankill,
And lamps shine in the dull

Streets where the fierce religion
Prays to the names of power:

Edwart and Bryson, Craig and Carson.
On every wall, texts or a thick char.

Stacked in the corners of factory yards,
The wicker carboys of green acid.

Hold on their bitter promise of whiteness
To the bleachgreens above the city.

The orange smoke at sunset, the gruff
Accents of thousands foremen, speak.

To the chosen, saying they are the stuff
That visions, cutlery and Belleek

China are laid on. They are tied
To the shad of a bearded god

Their dream of happiness in his smile
And his skillful way with the hardest rod.
(1980, p. 10)

ANNEX E

Under Creon

Rhododendrons growing wild below a mountain
and no long high wall or trees either;
a humped road, bone-dry, with no one –
passing one lough and then another
where water-lilies glazed, primed like traps.

A neapish hour, I searched out gaps
in that imperial shrub: a free voice sang
dissenting green, and syllables spoke
holm oaks by a salt shore, their dark tangs
glistening like Nisus in a night attack.

The daylight gods were never in this place
and I had pressed beyond my usual dusk
to find a cadence for the dead: McCracken,
Hope, the northern starlight, a death mask
and the levelled grave that Biggar traced;

like an epic arming in an olive grove
this was a stringent grief and a form of love.
Maybe one day I'll get the hang of it
and find joy, not justice in a snapped connection,
that Jacobin oath on the black mountain.
(1983, p. 13)

ANNEX F

Inishkeel Parish Church

Standing at the gate before service started,
In their Sunday suits, The Barrets talked together,
Smiled shyly at the visitors who packed the church
In summer. A passing congregation
Who mostly knew each other, were sometimes fashionable,
Their sons at prep school, the daughters boarding.
Inside it was a neat and tight as a boat.
Stone flags and whitewashed walls, a little brass.
Old Mrs. Flewitt played the organ and Mr. Alwell
Read the lessons in an accent as sharp as salt.

O Absalom, Absalom, my son,
An hour is too long; there are too many people,
Too many heads and eyes and thoughts that clutter.

Only one moment counted with the lessons,
And it was when, the pressure just too much,
You walked slowly out of that packet church
Into bright cold air.
Then, before the recognitions and the talk,
There was an enormous sight of the sea,
A silent water beyond society.
(1980, p. 15)

ANNEX G

The Book of Juniper

In the original liturgy
on a bare island

a voice seeks an answer
in the sea wind:

“The tides parted and I crossed
barefoot to Inishkeel.

Where was the lost crozier
among the scorched bracken?

And where was that freshet
of sweet water?

Goose-grass and broken walls
were all my sanctuary,

I mistook a drowsed hour
for the spirit’s joy;

on a thymy headland
I entered

the strict soul
of a dry cricket.

Heat haze and wild flowers,
a warm chirring all

that civil afternoon,
till its classic song

failed me and I sighted
for a different love

in grey weather.’

*

‘Place the yeasty word
between my lips,

give me comfort
in a sheepfold,

shelter me
in a mild grove.’

*

‘There is no word
and no comfort.

Only a lichened stone
is given you,

and juniper
green juniper.’

*

Tougher than the wind
it keeps a low profile
on rough ground.
Rugged, fecund,
with resined spines,
the gymnosperm
hugs the hillside
and wills its own survival,
The subtle arts are still to happen
and the eye of a neddle
a singing voice
tells a miniature epic
of the boreal forest:
not a silk tapestry
of fierce folk
warring on the tundra
or making exquisite love
on a starry counterpane,
but an in-the-beginning
was a wintry light
and *juniperus.*

*

On the brown hills
above a Roman spa
in Austro-Hungaria
the savin hides
its berries of blue wax
in a thorny crown,
while in the rapt
shaded casino
a small black ball
skips and ricochets

like a sniper's bullet.
*
Jug-ears and jowls,
walrus moustaches, frowns –
those gravid urns
on clotted mahogany.
What mineral water can soothe
a tetchy liver or a glum colon?

The wheel flicks,
the hard pea itches;
in the gummed hotel
fingers dibble and thrust
like sappers pushing
through primed earth.

Later, the dry scrape
of an empty tumbler
locked on a ouija board
will spell out a dead yes
like chalk on a billiard cue.

The wind riffles the savin;
the humid band begins to play.

*

A clear and tearful fluid,
the bittersweet *genièvre*
is held to a wet window
above a college garden.

On the lazy shores
of a tideless sea,
the Phoenician juniper
burns a fragrant incense
in a sandy nest.

And a Zen garden
all miniature trees
have the perfect despair
of bound feet.

Exiled in Voronezh
the leaving priest of the Word
receives the Host on his tongue –
frost, stars, a dark berry,
and the sun is buried at midnight.

*

On a bruised coast
I crush a blue bead
between my fingers,
tracing the scent, somewhere,
of that warm mnemonic haybox,
burnished fields, a linen picnic
and a summer dawn
where mushrooms raise their domed gills.
They are white and in the dew
and this nordic grape
whets an eager moment
of bodies meeting in fishy fume.
Its meek astringency is distilled
into a perfume and medicines,
it matches venison
as the sour gooseberry
cuts the oily mackerel.
Spicy, glaucous,
its branches fan out
like the wind's shadow
on long grass,
then melt back
and go to ground
where swart choughs
open their red beaks,
stinging the air
with stony voices.

*

Though it might be simple,
decoration
or chill fragrance
in snug souterrain,
I must grasp again
how its green
springy resistance
ducks its head down skirts
the warped polities of other trees
bent in the Atlantic wind.

For no one knows
if nature allowed it
to grow tall
what proud grace
the juniper tree might show
that flared, once, like fire
along the hills.

*

On this coast
it is the only
tree of freedom
to be found,
and I imagine
that a swelling army is marching
from Memory Harbour and Killala
carrying branches
of green juniper.

Consider
the gothic zigzags
and brisk formations
that square to meet
the green tide rising
through Mayo and Antrim,

now dream
of the sweet
equal republic
Where the juniper
talks to the oak
the thistle
the bandage elm,
and the jolly, jolly chestnut.
(1993, p. 46 – 51)

ANNEX H

Martello

(for Roy and Ailsling Foster)

Cack-handed, like a stocious mason,
Napper Tandy picks at this coast,
A brave chiseller that one,
he might be Nestor as *général*
in the army of the revolution
When they captured Rutland Island
He supped poteen with the postmaster
and rapped out a proclamation
dated the first year of liberty.
His own officers laid hands on him,
rolling him back on the board the *Anacréon,*
merry and bulky, like a Greek.
The same month, another calendar,
I tracked him to a stoned harbor
where he slips through the salmon nets
and swims out, like a patched seal
beyond Roaninish. A boaster,
a daft eejit, but a hard taproot
that can't be shifted, he nips back
with a springy juvenescence,
his lips stained with wine, his chest wrapped
in a new, freshly dyed tricolour.

*

In an hour of difficulty
Barney McLoone rowed a German spy
across the Gweebarra;
so a line may stretch,
in that illusion of causes,
from the salmon quay at Lettermacaward
to the *oifig an phoist*
on Rutland Island.
He drew an IRA pension,
got full every night,
and took a pick to the living rock
below a breezeblock shell
thrown up by a visitor from Clogher.

*

There is a dead vigilance along this coast,
A presence that bruises like word *British*.
You can catch that atmosphere of neglected garrisons,

And rusted aftertaste of bully beef
in the dashed surprise of a cement watchtower
ruined on a slope of ragweed and bullocks grazing.
In the dovegrey Victorian hotel
a spooly sways at the bar and says,
"We're nearly a nation now, before the year's out
They'll maybe write Emmet's epitaph."

Can you *describe* history, I'd like to know?
Isn't it a fiction that pretends to be fact
Like *A journal of the Plague Year*?
And the answer that snaps back at me
is a winter's afternoon in Dungannon,
the gothic barracks where the policemen
were signing out their weapons in a stained register
a thick turbid light and that brisk smell of fear
as I described the accident and felt guilty–
guilty for no reason, or cause, I could think of.

*

Shaggy sandstone and wet granite,
the usualness of rhododendrons,
gravel, and liverish glumped laurels:
it's a bad day at Stormont Castle
where a twitchy civil servant
is writing to a friend in Kew,
"This might be Sir Walter Scotland
or even very bad Tennyson–
it's being stuck in a fraud barony
only escapists would want to enter.
Bloody awful it is (or a code it
PREETY MAULDING DON'T YOU THINK?)
Their accents sound like dustbins
being dragged over concrete,
though to hear them one'd think
that instead of being lumbered
with rotten shower of prize idiots
this was God's own acre we're holding–
can you imagine? Stony bonkers, they are.
They are always saying *sorry* and *like*,
As in *Could you please tell me, like?*
There is a rum history to blame
and it's like this the whole time–
fucking terrible in fact…."

The gravel ralls; his nibs on the buzzer
…must hatch a snifter; Ciao now, old cock.

*

Consider a city of disappointed bridges
and a crowd at New Year
clodding bottles at the Albert Clock
(what is that they want to stop?)
There you are taking a slow dander
down Donegall Street:
you might be going to file your copy
or cast a vote that if he knew
your editor would call disloyal.
Most likely it's jar you're after
and peace from all the linseed captains
do to provoke your secret laughter.

*

Action is solid: this one day in March
a hijacked saloon smacks a dozen rounds
into the Bunch of Grapes
and in Desertmartin
men in lockram masks and dark glasses
dig down through sandy soil to a bristling dump
of a lumpy kapok, cortex fuse and green jerricans
as a meshed landrover at Clady
mounts the ramp on the humped bridge into the
blinding square
while the chief sub hears the pips spitting in his ear
and the dunchered skip of Clyde Valley slips a short
to an invisible quartermaster in Klondike
and a van waits, waits at the corner
of Atlantic and Baltic Avenues
all at no purpose, yet affecting a cause
like a stubbed toe, cracked axle
or backfiring old banger
for these acts must come back
as syntax, as grammar
and a temporal fiction.

*

Like lead dropping in a shot-tower
Clio's voice has no feeling,
for it isn't music, this estranged mixture,
of hindsight and becoming
where crowds mass in a spent future
wearing unionjack raincoats and raising
red-white-and-blue umbrellas.
Lymphatic and neatly, like jellyfish
crowding in duskiss tide.

their images slop against the eyes;
and what dory monsters glup to surface,
each like a plated turd with a pilot-light
see Brookeborough in tinged glasses
like an oily magnate, and the long fellah,
de Valera, gliding in a black car
to express regret at the death of Hitler.
(1983 p. 55, 56)

ANNEX I

A Partial State

Intractable and northern
dry in the sun when it shines,
otherwise rained on, justly.

White god to desert god, "The
lines are open, what you do
to your helots is up to

you, no concern of ours. Say
no if you like, but keep them,
quiet. Never forget that

irony is the weapon
of the disarmed, that yours are
blunter instruments, dourness.'

*

The chosen, having broken
their enemies, scattered them
In backstreets and tight states.

Patriarch and matriarch,
industry, and green hills, no
balance of power. Just safety.

Stillness, without history;
until leviathan spouts,
bursting through manhole covers

in the streets, making phone ring on
bare desks. 'The minister is
playing golf, please try later.'

Special constables train their
machine guns on council flats;
water-cannons, fire, darkness.

The clocks are bleeding now on
public buildings. Their mottoes,
emblem of failure, tell us:

What the wrong gods establish
no army can ever save.
(1980, p. 18)

ANNEX J

Presbyterian Study

A lantern ceiling and quiet
I climb here often and stare
At the scoured desk by the window,
The journal open
At a date and conscience.

It is a room without a song
That believes in the flint, salt
And a new bread rising
Like a people who share
A dream of grace and reason.

A bit starchy perhaps,
A shade chill, like a draper's shop.
But choosing the free way,
Not the formal,
And warming the walls with its knowing.

Memory is a moist seed
And a praise here, for they live,
Those linen saints, lithe radicals,
In the bottle light
Of this limewashed shrine.

Hardly a schoolroom remembers
Their obstinate rebellion;
Provincial historians
Scratch circles on the sand,
And still, with dingy smiles,

We wait on nature,
Our jackets of a dungy pattern
Of mud and snapped leaves,
Our state a jacked corpse
Committed to the deep.
(1983, p. 49, 50)

ANNEX K

Desertmartin

At noon, in the dead centre of a faith,
Between Draperstown and Magherafelt,
This bitter village shows the flag
In baked absolute September light.
Here the Word has withered to few
Parched certainties, and charred stubble
Tightens like a black belt, a crop of Bibles.

Because this is the territory of the Law
I drive across it with a powerless knowledge
The owl of Minerva in a hired car.
A jock squaddy glances the street
And grins, happy and expendable,
Like a brass cartridge. He is a useful thing,
Almost at home, and yet not quite, not quite

It's a limed nest, this place. I see a plain
Presbyterian grace sour, then harden,
As free strenuous spirit changes
To a servile defiance that wines and shrieks
For the bondage of the letter: it shouts
For the Big Man to lead his wee people
To a clean white prison, their scorched tomorrow.

Masculine Islam, the rule of the just,
Egyptian sand dunes and geometry,
A theology of rifle-butts and executions:
These are the places where the spirit dies.
And now, in Desertmartin's sandy light,
I see culture of twigs and bird-shit
Waving a gaudy flag it loves and curses.
(1993, p. 16)

ANNEX L

An Unionist walks the streets of London

All that Friday
There was no flag –
No Union Jack
No tricolor –
on the governor's mansion.
I waited outside the gate-lodge,
waited like a dog
in my own province
till a policeman brought me
a signed paper.
Was I meant to beg
and be grateful?
I sat on the breakfast-shuttle and I called –
I called out loud –
to the three Hebrew children
for I know at this time
there is neither prince, prophet, nor leader –
there is no power
we can call our own.
I grabbed a fast black ack,
I caught a taxi –
to Kentish Town,
then walked the streets
like a half-foreigner
among the London Irish.
What does it feel like?
I wanted to ask them
what does it feel like
to be a child of that nation?'
But I went underground
to the stranger's House–
We vouch, they swore,
We deem, they cried,
till I said, 'Out…
I may go out that door
and walk the streets
searching my own people.'
(1987, p. 42, 43)

ANNEX M

The Defenestration of Hillsborough

Here we are on a window ledge
with the idea of race.

All our victories
were defeats really

and the tea chests in that room
aren't packed with books.

The door's locked on us
so we begin again

with a cack on the still
and *The Book of Analogies.*

It falls open at a map
of the small nations of Europe,

it has a Lutheran engraving
of Woodrow Wilson's homestead

in a cloon above Strabane
and it tells you Tomás Masaryk

was a locksmith's apprentice.
This mean we have a choice:

either to jump or to get pushed.
(1987, p. 54)

ANNEX N

Father of History

A state schoolroom and a master talking
In a limber voice, spiky burr
Like a landrail crecking in the bracken
Ock there he is with hair like furze,
Smiling obliquely on the risen town
And building Lisburn like a warn
Plain-spoken sermon on the rights of a man
A sunned Antrin face, maybe prays
On the New Light in relish dialect,
The eager accent of free sept,
Broken in the north, in resurrection.
Folded like bark, like cinnamon things,
I traced them to the Linen Hall stacks –
Munro, Hope, Porter and MacCracken;
Like sweet yams buried deep, these rebel minds
Endure posterity without a monument,
Their names covered sheugh, remnants, some brackish signs.
(1983, p. 32)

ANNEX O

S/He

There is burnt ground
and a cindertrack
all along the ridge
between the shops
and the railway bridge,
like it's occupied territory
with no one around
this cold snap.

Here's a wet sheugh
smells like a used sheath,
and here's a frogspawn
and a car battery
under a scraggy hawthorn.
They are having a geg
chucking *weebits* and *yuk*
and laughing at the blups –
kids turned fierce
on a tip
little hard men boiler suits
locked in a wargame.

Yesterday I stared,
at this girl with cropped hair –
a grandpa shirt on her
and lovebites on her neck,
little pinky bruises
like a rope had snagged there.

Ah shite, the bitter joy
as the plunged head gets born!−
a March wind
hits the main street
of a village called Convoy
and I'm starved
by the first screech that's torn
from out the guts of the blind poet.

*

Something in the air,
too-quiet-altogether
on the back road that slips
down into Derry.
Where that open pasture
slopes from a close wood

to a file of chestnuts
there's a counterfeit sense
that unsettles me just now.
It might be the landlord's absence
from a version of pastoral,
or a hidden scanner
that has to be somewhere.

Over the ramp
the light that bangs back
from the fieldgrey screens
has a preserved feel to it,
like radio silence
or a site of an accident.

I wind down the window,
pass proof of myself
and match
the copper stubble on his chin
with light green
of his shirt –
may God forgive me
this parched gift of sight.

*

This hereness is to loiter
by the quay in Derry
and a gaze at the spread river,
the pigeons and the pigeon-cowlings
on a stained flour mill,
until the voice whispers
in the balmy sight of a lover
'who' is in the wrong county
like a maiden city?

'Would you give us a lift, love?
it's that late n'scary…'
I was only half there
like a girl after a dance,
wary, on the road to Muff.
We might've been out of curfew
in the buzzy *deux-chevaux,*
slipping past the chestnuts
on the street in Provincial France.

It stuck close to me, though,
how all through the last half
helicopter held itself
above the Guildhall –

Vershinin's lines were slewed
by the blind chopping blades,
though Olga looked chuffed
when she sighted, 'Won't it be odd
with no soldiers on the streets?
(1985, p. 67-69)

ANNEX P

Waftage: An Irregular Ode

All my mates
were out of town
that lunk July
and though we shared a bed still
it was over.
She'd paid the rent
till August first
so each bum hour
those rooms chucked back to me
this boxed-up, gummy warmth
like a pollack's head an eye
wedged in an ironstone wall.

Most every day
she'd paint
in the loft above the stables
while I wandered
right through Le Carré −
Murder of Quality
was where I started.
That dower-house,
it felt like a forced holiday
or some queer, white theatre
open but empty
on the Sabbath.

At night we'd mount
this slippy mime
called *Boffe de politesse* –
we did it best
in the bath, I reckon –
a kind of maritime
bored experiment,
lll yompy farts
and soap torpedoes.
One dayclean, though,
when a pouter-dove
was crooling

like a soft hour,
I thought hoe James Fenton
read Shakespeare in Saigon−
got the complete works
in dime paperbacks
on the black market.
Bit by bit he'd foreground

the subterfugue text
within the text itself,
and so turn wiser –
aye, I used think wiser –
than us boneheads here.

It was quiet
in the Circus;
Bill Haydon wafted
down corridor…
For a geg one day
I bought this tin
of panties coloured
like the Union Jack
but she slung into the bin
an never breathed
the least bit sigh.
Va-t'en she spat,

I just can't stand you
No one can.
Your breath stinks
and your taste
it's simply foul –
like that accent.
Please don't come slouching
near my bed again.'
So, real cool, I growled
'Lady, no way you'll walk
right over *me'*
Dead on. I chucked her then.
(1987 p.6-8)

ANNEX Q

The Wind Dog

I married a tinker's daughter
in the town of Skibbereen
but at last one day she galloped away
with me only shirt in a paper bag
to the shores of Amerikay

Snug as a foot in a mocassin shoe
– never the boot no never the boot
I lay in Huck's canoe
one still night
and heard men talking
– clean every word they spoke
on the ferry landing
like the Mississippi
was a narra crick
you could hear across
plum as a bell
– one man he reckoned
it was near three o'clock
he hoped daylight wouldn't wait
more'n about a week longer
so there I lay a clockaclay
waitin for the time a'day

logs float down the Mississippi
logs float down the Mississippi
but
but
don't let's start
the whole caper or caber
don't let's ever grow up

*

not to roll out the Logos
– at least at the start
or say in the beginning
was the Word
– not to start with a lingo
with the lingo jingo of beginnings
unsheathed like a sword
stiff and blunt like a phallus
or masonic like a thumb
– not to begin then *arma virumque*
– plush Virgil
but to start with sound
the plumque sound of sense

the bite and the kick of it
– green chilli
kerali
white mooli radish
all crisp and pepper definite
– so my vegetable love did grow
vaster than pumpkins and more slow
for the sound of sense
is what the pretend farmer
– Farmer Frost that is
used call sentence sound
because a sentence he said
was a sound in itself
on which other sounds called words may be strung
which – never not quite iambic though –
is ten syllables that hang together – so
– just so
the way the elephant's child
took seventeen melons
(the green crackly kind)
and said to all his dear families
'Goodbye. I am going to the great
grey-green, greasy Limpopo river,
all set about with fever-trees,
to find out about what the Crocodile has for dinner'
just as Rikki-tikki
– Rikki-tikki-tavi
dates me in a carbon childhood
by this huge swollen river
all along a mill village
– soot bracken and stone
where Mrs Jubb
and Mr Jubb whose leathery right hand
had its thumb missing
– where they lived in a back to back
in a deep warm kitchen with a big kettle
like a pet
lived by the music of that bulgy river
that bulgy bulgy river
wider and deeper and slopping at the bank
ever and always ever and always
all those torn waters turning dark
in maybe October
as though the world itself had become bigger and wilder
than the world itself could ever be
because world is suddener than we fancy it
big with itself
gonflé
now I know the source
– the elephant child

of the tram that tatty doubledecker
that stood out from the others
– blue and ice-cream white
or fire-engine red they were
– but the tatty one
that was the fever tram and it slid
sinister along the main the dangerous main road
at the bottom of Wensley Drive
in Leeds Yorkshire
in Leeds Yorkshire
– which is a change of sound accent place
so let me trawl and list
a couple or three sounds in my archive
– not the images
not the pictures
there must – because the ear
the ear is the only true reader –
there must be nothing seen or sighted
no moral message neither
no imperative
because out of the ocean of all sound
one little drop
two little drop
three little drop
shall come forth and fall back
as Rikki-tikki
that other the grey-green
greasy Limpopo river
the green crackly melons
and the snake eggs
– eggs with a skin not a shell
that're buried in a melon bed
or a crack in a mud wall
where Rikki-tikki
is snacking
on the tops of the eggs
– this is like buried bakelite
the headphones on my crystal set
– or the set my strike-breaking uncle
built back in the Twenties
in the attic of 7 Deramore Drive
he set the aerial on a telegraph pole
in the garden of a house called Invergowrie
a house off the Malone Road
with tartan curtains – Robertson tartan –
and a lectric bell under the dining-room carpet
to call the maid
who'd left way back as surely as Louis MacNeice
alias Louis Malone had left
the city on the lough

and then had shuffled off this wiry copper coil
long before the city hit the news again
but it's not the dring of that bell
I'd press so my granny'd think
it was the front door
it's a woman – a jum –
– in an untidy room
its greasy cushions hookah
a few sweetmeats
– green pistachio
on a shiny tin plate
at the edge of a brass tray
the huge and shapeless woman
clad in greenish gauzes
and decked
brow nose ear neck wrist arm waist and ankle
with heavy native jewellery
when she turned
it was like the clashing of copper pots
– even she banged a bangle against the tray
when she lifted it to offer me
one of those green sweetmeats
a vein of the gospel proffer the grub the prog
– you know the cargo cult line
that dirty British coaster
its cheap tin trays
cheap tin trays
that's the music speaks me
sings me
makes me
cheeps me
but it's also the cheapo rings on a curtain pole
the way they clishclash too
– something greasy there
greasy or oily
a mixture of brass and unction
like a skitter of listless syllables
that makes me ask
what am I hearing?
what am I knowing?
as the woman – the jum –
in baggy pants
plumps the cushions back into shape
– again the slickslock of her bangles
those silk cushions
the sigh of Hindi being spoken
spoken and then sung
because it's all surface like Matisse
odalisque Matisse
and I'm a child again

a child that reads and hears
but doesn't understand
– who neither comprehends
this nor that
nor the silk sash my father never wore
before the heavens
before the silksack clouds were filled
with the clashing of swords
before I asked Brian Fearon
how much his bottle of orange
– his *bottulornj* cost?
and he said *thhee dee*
then showed me a little brass
little brass hexagonal
thrupenny bit
in the palm of his catholic hand
so I heard *thhee*
for the very first time
on the half between North
and South Parade
before ever I heard it come back in song
– *thhee black lumps*
outa her wee shap
– *candy apples hard green pears*
kanversation lazengers
which is all beginning
all beginning still
yet if I wanted to put a date
when this naked shivering self
began to puzzle at print sound
spokensound
the wind in the reeds
or a cry in the street
I'd choose that room for a start
the bangles
the curtain rings
– it's my baby tuckoo
tuckoo tuckoo it is
not the tundish
this is echt British
except that's always fake somehow
it's machinery means of production
not a spring well
– the well of Anglish
or the well of Oirish undefiled
for this isn't when
but where it happened
where ice burned
and was but the more ice
and salted was my food and my repose

salted and sobered too by the bird's call
the golden bird who perched
on his golden bough
to sing that ancient salt
is best packing
that all that is mortal of great Plato there
is stuck like chewed gum
in Tess's hair
which happened – as it had to –
before ever I seen those tinned kippers
packed into boxes
on the quayside
in Cullercoats or Whitley Bay
and my great aunt
takes the penny ferry over the Tyne
and my English not my Scots granny
calls me *hinny*
and it feels
– that houyhnhnm whinny
of the north-east coast
almost like love and belonging
so I ask myself
why does Elaine Tweedie
say *tarr* not *tar*?
why do I glance down
at her skirt – yella'n'black tartan
skirt – when she says it?
what is it almost touching me
like skin warm skin?
I mean we live in two streets
off the same road
– the Ormeau Road
why should we say it different?
and why does my mother say *modrun*
not *modern*?
a modrun nuvel not a modern novel
a fánatic not a fanatic
which is a way of saying
this is my mother tongue
the gold torc
second time out
for out of Ireland have we sort of come
to find in a book called *The Hamely Tongue*
that the word *jum*
means a 'large, unreliable trouble-giving car'
as well – it's the dipstick talking –
as 'a large, lazy and probably none too clean woman'
so did that word – the word *jum* –
bob over the sheugh to Broagh
to the riverbroo

the mudshelf of the bank?
or is it Ulstermade?
would you puzzle me that one?
puzzle me proper
while I'm out after mackerel
in an open boat
– blue blue sky
after a skift of rain
the wet wondrous sky
stretched tight like a bubble
– hey Tammie Jack says
d'you see thon wind dog?
look yonder
– what's a wind dog captain?
– ack a wee broken bitta rainbow
tha's a wind dog
we were neither off Coney Island
nor floating down Cypress Avenoo
– we were out
in the Gweebarra Bay
so I say to myself *Gweebarra*
and drive westward
leaving the picky saltminers
of Carrickfergus behind
me and that lover
of women and Donegal
– 'ack Louis poor Louis!'
was all Hammond's aunt the bishop's
housekeeper could say at the end
it was too looey late to tape her
she was too far gone
what with age and with drink
hardly a mile to go
before she shleeps
hardly a mile to go
before she shleeps
– there used to be such crack in that kitchen
her and the maid
always laughing and yarning the pair of them
and wee Louis in the room above
hearing the brangle of talk
rising through the floorboards
o chitterin chatterin platinum licht
the bow shall be in the clouds
and I will look upon it
to remember the everlasting testament
between God and all that liveth upon earth
whatsoever flesh or faith it be
– they may have turned Tyndale into tinder

but the bow he wrought lives high
in this wet blue sky
hardly a mile to go
through the deep deep snow
as I follow another poet's
long shivering shadow
over the crumping snow
– not the journey out of Essex
nor the journey – yet –
out of Egypt
its chisel chipping stone
this is us walking snow
– its widewhite horizon dazzle
the soft quoof
and near crump of it
under our boots
their leather thin and soft
as mocassins
our feet cauld
—*crump crump crump we go*
like break of day in the trenches
as our breath spoofs
in the frore air
soundlessly collateral
and incompatible
how cauld it is
out on air
for the very first time
but not as gross and crass
as the first studio in Belfast
its acoustic deadness
– every wall and bit of furniture muffled
not a shred of echo –
where a cheery *good day*
or – it's Tyrone Guthrie talking –
a ringing roundelay
fell with a dull thud
into a sterilised blank
so two comedians' backchat
it sounded like one mute
telling dirty stories
to another mute in an undertaker's parlour
– so there was none
– it's almost a daft term
like the name of a flower
– none of that 'recorded ambience'
which means the putting back
of silence between sounds
so in the undertaker's studio
there was none

of the living hum of silence
because silence
isn't the absolute absence of sound
– that's death
the undertaker's parlour
silence is the barm the rise the yeast
– so never let those horny feet protood
just parle parle parle
go eat
banana nut ice-cream
in a parlour off Ormeau Avenoo
– it's cauld but
like the battlements
on Elsinore
a nipping and an eager air
– *eager* I suppose as in *aigre*
meaning *vinegary bitter acid*
meaning *keen sharp*
like the blade of a knife
no a knife-blade
– put a spondee boy
in place of the anapaest!
this is exposure
the here and the now
where we look round the muddy compound
– walls made of tin
or stone or brick
and soggy with sound
wet sound
where we feel
like sick to death almost
a generation
that has come so far
in darkness and in pain
that has heard the sound
– behold we have no continuing city
of gunfire
down streets and over fields
and rooftops
at the Giant's Ring
Shipquay Street
Divis
the Ormeau and a thousand other
roads and streets and fields
round after round after round
– that has heard the sound
of culvert bomb upon culvert bomb
that plump and heavy sound
that tells us
– master of the still stars

never such innocence again
as it dumps and bumps and crumps
over the snow
near Swordy Well
there's a frozen lane between stone walls
– high stone walls
listen
our nailed boots wi clenching tread rebound
& dithering echo starts and mocks the clamping sound
– all the way
from the acoustic deadness of that studio in Linenhall Street
to the poet who died
in the same asylum as Lucia Joyce
– *Yet what I am none cares or knows*
my friends forsake me like a memory lost
I am the self-consumer of my woes
– all the way
to a brook in Northamptonshire
Were as one steps its oaken plank
The hollow frozen sounding noise
From flags & sedge beside the bank
The wild ducks brooding peace destroys
walking the plank
we turn the bridge into a thunderbox
– blocks of dead sound
drop *bock bock bock*
into the air
as though something formal and dreadful
is both happening and about to happen
on this wooden platform
– sound is always ahead of itself
– at least sound that has an echo
and a living skin of air
ambient air
around it
so sound is both Being and Becoming
like that river that bulgy river
where I walked with Mrs Jubb
one maybe October evening
in the third or fourth year
of this
my life

(1999, p22)

ANNEX R

Fortogiveness

We are catching the shuttle Hugo Williams and me
to give a poetry reading in Belfast
− maybe I ought to rephrase that?
− we're catching the shuttle Hugo and me
for to give a poetry reading in Belfast
of course in adding that little connective *for*
I'm only affecting the dialect
in order to signal TP *feels that he never*
ever really left the place they call THE CITY
that I'm still at home in its speech
even though somewhere along the way
my vowels have maybe got shifted or faked
so there's a *salt rebuff* as Larkin puts it
in a poem he began not a stone's throw
from the room we'll be reading our own stuff in

but look at the problem – what problem?
look at it like this
from *for to give* to *forgive*
there's only a syllable blink
so forgive me Lord that I caught the Liverpool boat
all those years back
and then took a train to Hull where as it turned out
Larking was planning *High Windows*
− the poem the book and the building
and where Douglas Dunn lived in Terry street
the brick terrace he named his first book for
(Andrew Motion flew in later – he too wrote a poem
about reading in Belfast again not a stone's throw
from where Larking felt amorous in the rose terrace
just over there in the Botanic Gardens)

forgive me Lord that I only skip back now and then to
this city
− blink blink a day a weekend in no time at all
I'm away on the plane again
and forgive me too that unlike Hugo
I've not been a freelance writer
for the last twenty or more years
but instead have held down a job
held it like a fat sluggish Pollack
between my salary hands

so Hugo go you first
you know something's got stuck in my head
− all I can do now is repeat like mantra

for to give for to give for to give
(1999, p.56)