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湯瑪斯·金瑟勒詩作中的歷史、政治與詩學

HISTORY, POLITICS, AND POETICS IN  
THOMAS KINSELLA'S POEMS

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## Abstract

This thesis is a study of history, politics and poetics in Thomas Kinsella's poems—"Nightwalker" (1967), "Butcher's Dozen: A Lesson for the Octave of Widgery" (1972), and "St. Catherine's Clock"(1987). These three poems characterize Kinsella's historical perspective in the process of poetic composition and its perpetual revisions that allow readers to perceive Kinsella's poetic development and its nature of writing process—a self-reflexive perspective of writing and revising in an on-going project. History, for Kinsella, is not only the source for writing, but also the approach and technique of reading the past and revising lived moments in context.

The introduction briefly begins with Thomas Kinsella in relation to modern Irish poetry after Yeats and Joyce and also periodizes these three primary texts in Kinsella's poetic development from the sixties to the present. Chapter one focuses on the experiment of writing poetry in "Nightwalker" that suggests the self-reflexive perspective of writing in relation to the de/reconstructing self/subjectivity and investigates the nature of writing process and the self-exploration in the poetic composition. Chapter two particularly emphasizes on Kinsella's poetic implication of Bloody Sunday and the Widgery Report in "Butcher's Dozen." Consulting with witness, documents, and narratives, the second chapter reconstructs the lived moment of Derry in 1972 and further engages the poetic implications within the practices of colonial politics, nationalism, and versions of historical interpretations. Chapter three specifically presents and discusses the intertextuality of the poetic composition with engravings, documents, narratives, and autobiography. This chapter attempts to incorporate issues from previous two chapters that embody metacommentary of writing process and the poetic tradition in Kinsella's historiography of the poetics and recollections of family and childhood.

## 一九七二血腥星期天、德利與〈屠戶的恩惠〉

本章以金瑟勒的歷史觀點出發，探討作者如何在〈屠戶的恩惠〉處理歷史事件、政治議題及書寫創作的關係。此章節以血腥星期天的遊行場景德利(Derry) (倫敦德利 Londonderry)的歷史與地理為開端，將德利城的發展、過去與現在歷史化、脈絡化，追朔北愛爾蘭長久以來宗教衝突、政治對立、社會暴動的源頭。金瑟勒在此作品中描繪此事件中死亡的十三位受難者，藉以鬼魂遊蕩街頭來重現血腥星期天的現場，同時以《韋德利調查報告》來檢視殖民者的歷史詮釋、政治權力的運作，及歷史論述的建構過程。

首先，作者重回事件現場，描述著漫步在細雨紛飛、殘破淒涼的德利街頭，並與十三位受難者的幽魂在介於過去與現在的時空中交會。由重回德利的歷史空間為起點，本章以回顧德利的歷史地理背景為題，試以呈現聖科倫基爾(St. Colmcille) 最早在此建立的修道院城鎮(monastic town)以及將基督教文明融入蓋爾文化生活之中。接著諾曼人、盎格魯·薩克遜人的相後入侵及殖民，為德利的歷史蒙上不可抹滅的創傷經驗以及埋下日後北愛爾蘭衝突的導火線。以德利舊城中心的戰略位置及其周圍的區域發展，在人口分佈圖中呈現出殖民歷史的衝突、宗教對立的現象。再以舊城牆所處之地理位置及歷史背景，來詮釋城牆的防禦工事功能與政治權力運作的相互關連，並進一步討論血腥星期天遊行當天駐軍在從城牆上監控、射殺無辜百姓的陰謀。

血腥星期天事件中死亡的十三位受難者為逝去的歷史真相發聲，以十三位死者的獨白來重建遊行現場的樣貌。獨白所除了呈現歷史的真相，還語帶諷刺憤怒的批判《韋德利調查報告》的草率及偏頗的觀點。在此章節，藉由參考關於血腥星期天的歷史論述、調查報告、新聞報導、目擊者訪談以及官方檔案，來探究歷史詮釋與意識型態、殖民政治運作的關係。由此，本詩進一步探討了帝國殖民主義對北愛爾蘭歷史、語言文化、政經情勢的影響發展，也試圖尋找該地區社會動亂問題之癥結所在。

而在〈屠戶的恩惠〉此詩文本與其修訂版本，所代表不僅是單篇形式出版的詩作、或是金瑟勒第一時間回應《韋德利調查報告》的社論，還是一項作者為歷史政治的現實情勢而建構詩學/歷史論述的產物，這也絕對是由文學創作、歷史論述與政治解讀交織的藝術作品。

## Chapter Two

### Bloody Sunday 1972, Derry, and “Butcher’s Dozen:

#### A Lesson for the Octave of Widgery”

#### I. Bloody Sunday, the Report of the Widgery Tribunal, “Butcher’s Dozen,” and Kinsella in 1972

“Butcher’s Dozen: A Lesson for the Octave of Widgery,” first published as a Peppercanister pamphlet in April 1972 after the release of the Widgery Report,<sup>1</sup> is a representation and a rewriting of the historical event of Bloody Sunday by depicting and eliciting voices and appearances of the thirteen demonstrators who died as a result of the military suppression of the protest. For the poet, writing this occasional poem is a way to reconstruct and convert history into his poetic discourse. On the one hand, this poem attempts to justify the existing historical truth and penetrate the detailed core of the occasion in its socio-historical context. On the other hand, the poetic technique reifies historical occasions in the fictional form of aesthetics. Therefore, writing about this historical moment allows Kinsella to scrutinize official history and reconstruct its historical contexts. This poem not only embodies the historical and political implications, but also incorporates the intrinsic approach to the writing process. “Butcher’s Dozen” is a cultural product of a particular time. Through the process of uncovering and examining external contexts, this poem also continues Kinsella’s poetic process of revising and further implicates the socially constructed sense of subjectivity in the social relations of text-poet-context.

Bloody Sunday happened on 30 January 1972 in Derry. Injustices of colonial politics and jurisdiction lead to the successive human rights marches, activities of radical violence, assassinations and car or pub bombings intensively in the streets of Belfast and London. Violating the six-month ban of public demonstration and protesting the

‘internment without trial,’ thousands of people mainly conducted by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) departed from the Creggan at 2:50 in the afternoon. (See figure 1-2 of the route map in Appendix 1.) Around an hour later, the crowd moved to William Street and then turned into Rossville Street for a meeting at the Free Derry Corner. At the juncture of William Street and Rossville Street, the clashes and confrontation between rioters and soldiers happened at the ‘barrier 14’ where Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) had already been stationed and blocked William Street in advance. Later on, at 3:55, soldiers proclaimed that they were under attack and started to fire at so-called rioters or ‘identified’ gunman from the deserted building and flats (Mullan 24). While the first Battalion Parachute Regiment with armoured cars stationed in this area forcibly practiced the arrest operation at four-ten, marchers immediately spread in different directions and fled to Free Derry Corner, flats, lanes, and blocks around Rossville Street. During forty-five minutes of confusion and chaos, thirteen rioters were killed and thirteen others injured.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, on February 1 the Westminster parliament in London established a resolution and under the Tribunal of Inquiry Act in 1921 convened the Widgery Tribunal for independent investigation and objective inquiry into the events on that afternoon. Controversially, the Tribunal Report was issued in April 1972.

According to the Report of the Tribunal, the thirteen dead were rebels and eventually convicted as criminals. Nevertheless, even now, after three decades the position of these thirteen dead is still ambivalent and questionable in an ongoing and exhaustive process of juridical inquiry and in a series of debates and discussions in books and newspapers.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the creditability of this Tribunal Report has been constantly critically questioned and challenged by public opinion at that time and now. Thomas Kinsella wrote and published his “occasion poem” just a week after the report of the

Widgery Tribunal was issued.<sup>4</sup>

With the help of historical documents, the social history of Derry, memoirs and interviews of eyewitnesses on Bloody Sunday, and two published editions of “Butcher’s Dozen,” I will reconstruct a historical context of the poem based on a geographic development of the city Derry and then argue that Kinsella presents his historical perspective of Derry in “Butcher’s Dozen” and implicitly represents and reconstructs the historical discourse in his revisions from 1972 to 1996. (See the timeline about Bloody Sunday and “Butcher’s Dozen” in Appendix 1.) “Butcher’s Dozen” intrinsically implies the dialectics between the past and the present in the process of poetic formation. Furthermore, the process of subjectivity-formation in the poem comprises the dialectics among poetics, history, and politics. In addition, this dialectical perspective on Bloody Sunday in this poem accumulates and enhances Kinsella’s discursive formation of poetry, an on-going process of revising his poems in different times.

## **II. Out of Bloody Ruins: Reconstructing “Colmcille’s Town” in “Butcher’s Dozen”**

Reconstructing this historical occasion of Bloody Sunday in Derry, for Kinsella, involves diachronically mapping the genealogy of this town from the past to the present. The concept of the present/the past is not fixed in its definition of temporality in the binary sense; rather, it is a discursive formation of the temporality and spatiality. On the one hand, the present moment will become a moment of the past. On the other hand, the present and the past are actually juxtaposed in the same level of spatiality and inscribed as events in the trajectory of history. Therefore, the historical occasion is closely related to and situated in its context and in the historical discourse of the town. The opening and the ending of “Butcher’s Dozen” are a preliminary framework that reconstruct such a historical horizon of Bloody Sunday 1972 in Derry, and further

contextualize the town Derry as being between the present and the past historically and geographically.

The poet's walk in the streets implicitly brings out the historical horizon of "Butcher's Dozen" and the context of Derry. This poem begins with the poet's descriptive observation of the scene after the occasion:

I went with Anger at my heel.  
Through Bogside of the bitter zeal  
—Jesus pity!—on a day  
Of cold and drizzle and decay.  
Three months had passed. Yet there remained  
A murder smell that stung and stained.  
On flats and alleys—over all—  
It hung; on the battered roof and wall,  
On wreck and rubbish scattered thick,  
On sullen steps and pitted brick. (NLD 77)

The poet demonstrates his promenade vision of the shooting scene around Rossville Street in Derry (so-called Bogside) after Bloody Sunday. The poet walks through these flats and alleys and recalls this occasion when the "murder smell" still "stung and stained" over "flats and alleys" in the streets. This perspective of the Bloody Sunday scene introduces the sense of "cold and drizzle and decay" and then simultaneously reconstructs the demonstration on 30 January 1972 in the Bogside area of Derry. This introductory observation deliberately depicts and then symbolically penetrates the problematics of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. This aftermath-account metaphorically delineates the poet's position among the crowds of two thousand marchers on the scene of Bloody Sunday. Like journalists' reports on newspapers and television, this poetic account also unfolds the consequences of constructing historical truth in accordance with the Widgery Report. In addition, the poet's observation



unexpectedly elicits the hidden and erased parts of Derry history, uncovering the devious trajectory of historical discourse embedded in the streets of Derry as well as in this poem.

Through the descriptive vision of ruined streets, the ending of the poem diachronically invokes the recurring reminiscences of Derry in the past and a historical horizon of lived moments in Derry. The implication of the Derry Walls in the ending of the poem further suggests this historical perspective upon the genealogy of Derry history and represents its fictional relation with Bloody Sunday. “Butcher’s Dozen” ends with four lines of descriptive representation of this historical town:

The gentle rainfall drifting down  
Over Colmcille’s town  
Could not refresh, only distil  
In silent grief from hill to hill. (NLD 83)

Bloody Sunday, for Kinsella, is the starting point of the historical retrospect, which creates its fictional position and symbolic representation of the history of Derry. Here “Colmcille’s town,” referring to the old town of Derry, implicates the historical development of Derry and the meaning of St. Colmcille’s<sup>5</sup> monastic town in the modern area of Creggan and Bogside. Derry has experienced a series of recurring bloody scenes and cannot easily be refreshed among the hills. For its name, Derry, the Irish word *doire* with its meaning of “oak grove,” is now politically anglicized with the prefix “London” as “Londonderry” for the official documents of both British and Northern Ireland governments. The re-naming of Derry indicates the struggles between colonial politics and history. The name “Colmcille” not only revives the patron saint of Derry, but also re-justifies Kinsella’s account of Derry’s history and geopolitics in the Gaelic context.

The physical geography of Derry correlates its historical link with words like “wall,” “hill,” “Colmcille’s town.” Here the word “wall” implicates an important connection or a fictional relation between this observation and the historical significance of the Derry

Walls,<sup>6</sup> parts of Old City of Derry on the 120 feet-high hills above the Lough Folye. The Derry Walls on the hill, “the heart of the city,” was established in 1610 as the new town of King James I’s plantation in between the bog and the lough. This new town Londonderry, strategically functioned as the fortress, and it was constructed in the original site of the monastic town of Derry Colmcille in the sixth century (Thomas 69). Hence, the Derry Walls, part of Londonderry in the present, are the historical remains of the colonial plantation. (See figure 3-4 about the distribution of people and religion in Appendix 1.) According to geography and the history of Derry, the Derry Walls represent not only the symbol of British colonization in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, but also later on are significant for surveillance and domination in the event of Bloody Sunday.

Tracing back to the obliterated parts of history in the Gaelic context, around the mid-sixth century St. Colmcille established the monastery in Doire, which is described as the “angel-haunted” city with St. Colmcille as the patron (Deane 13). With two verse stanzas attributed to Colmcille and selected from Latin poems around the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century, Colmcille explicitly praises the beauty of Derry:

The reason I love Doire:  
 its calmness, its purity  
 and the number of white angels  
 from one end to the other !  
 .....  
 Our Doire, with all its acorns,  
 Sad, spiritless, sunk in tears:  
 it hurts my heart to leave it  
 and turn toward alien people. (NOBI 67-8)

At first St. Colmcille describes Doire/Derry as being calm, pure, and bright, which is apparently far different from the bleak, bloody and dark scene on Bloody Sunday 1972. The monastic town is full of blessings, hopes and angels that contrast to the hatred,

violence, and death in modern Derry. For the second part, Colmcille not only depicts the natural scenery of Doire as “oak grove,” but also metaphorically delineates Doire as the ruined town as “spiritless” and “sunk in tears.” Though these poems present feelings of St Colmcille’s exile to Scotland and Britain, the second part still suggests a prophetic message of the recurring colonial experience in the local history of Derry. These two short stanzas implicitly point out the Viking’s invasion between the 9<sup>th</sup> century and 11<sup>th</sup> century, and the Norman’s settlement around the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, this poem initiates a process of uncovering the history of Derry and colonial experiences from its founding period to the moment of Bloody Sunday in “Butcher’s Dozen.”

While Colmcille’s sentimental poem is dedicated to his beloved Derry according to Gaelic history, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* seemingly offers a brief but relatively more authoritative history of “Londonderry” in its particular colonial context:

St. Columba [St.Colmcille] established a monastery on the site in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, but the settlement was destroyed by Norse invaders, who reportedly burned it down seven times before 1200. Later the town served as a strategic point in the Tudor wars against the native Irish. In 1600 an English force seized Derry, demolishing Irish churches and the monastery. Shortly thereafter (in 1613) James I of England granted Derry to the citizens of London who laid out the new city, built stout walls, and brought in Protestant (both English and Scottish) settlers. The place was thereafter officially known as Londonderry.

This concise history of Derry from the mid sixth century to the seventeenth century indicates the anglicized political history, which is a really rough introduction to the fact of recurring invasions in Northern Ireland and further intentionally diminishes the recurring troubles and riots between the Protestants and the Catholics. In addition to the anglicized name of Derry, the name of Colmcille is also anglicized into Columbus or Columba. Therefore, this colonial history of Derry is recorded and categorized as not only the Anglicization of culture, but also the dispossession of local history and Gaelic experience. Moreover, the account in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* can be read as the

threshold to further trace back the lost local history as well as specifically to go back to the problematic account of Bloody Sunday in 1972.

The second part of the Widgery Report offers the “physical background,” or geographic fact as well as the socio-political situation of Londonderry from the interment period to the occasion of Bloody Sunday. This section of the report simply focuses on the area along the Bogside, where the Bloody Sunday event mainly happened, and further investigates the geopolitics and demographics in the Catholic communities of Derry:

This area, which is shown on the map and is in the north-east corner of the Bogside district, is overlooked from the south-east side by the western section of the City’s ancient Walls, which encircle the old heart of the town and which have major significance in Orange tradition because of the successful defence of Londonderry against James II; and from the west by the Creggan, a largely new district built on rising ground. Creggan and the old town look at one another across the Bogside. The Bogside and Creggan are predominantly Catholic districts, their population amounting to about 33,000 out of a total population in the City of Londonderry of about 55,000. The Bogside contains a number of old terraced houses and buildings, many of them derelict or nearly so; but also a large number of new blocks of flats and maisonettes. The small area with which the Tribunal was concerned lies on flat ground at a meeting point of old and new buildings. All flats so frequently mentioned in evidence –the Rossville Flats, Glenfada Park, Kells Walks, Columbcille Court, Abbey Park and Joseph Place—are very modern buildings. . . . A notable feature of the area is that it contains a number of large open spaces which have been cleared of buildings, on both sides of William Street and of Rossville Street, as well as the courtyards and the open spaces arising from the layout of the new blocks of flats. (WR11-2)

This narrative of geography in Derry seems to focus on the strategic perspective of the town for British authorities but rather unfairly deals with the historical development and context of the two opposing communities in Derry as well as to simplify the conflicts between Britain and Ireland. Though this report did mention the history of the Walls, this historical account of Derry is still fragmented and intended to obliterate as well as to break down the Gaelic context of Colmcille’s Derry, the founding period of the monastic

town. Compared with this official investigation of the Catholic community in Creggan and Bogside districts of Derry, “Butcher’s Dozen,” akin to St Colmcille’s poem, makes rather a sympathetic response and a diachronic implication of this town, its people, and this occasion through the events of Bloody Sunday. Kinsella’s historical discourse in “Butcher’s Dozen” not only represents a series of silent witnesses and latent historical realities on Bloody Sunday, but also questions a recurring pattern of Irish history—the constant invasion of foreign forces and the influential impact of colonialism on the Irish people and culture. In other words, this poem pinpoints the continuous hostility between Ireland and England; the Derry Walls are a symbolic barricade between Irish Catholics and British/Scottish Protestants in Northern Ireland.

For Kinsella’s poem “Butcher’s Dozen,” this relevant reminiscence of Derry encompasses its diachronic vision of politics and history, demonstrating the juxtaposition of the changing state of social conditions and the unchanging embedded community feud. “The gentle rainfall” suggests Kinsella’s self-reflexive commentary on Bloody Sunday, which is saturated or distilled deeply in “silent grief from hill to hill,” or like a tangled complex mapped in the conflicting territory of Derry and Londonderry historically. The so-called riots and bloodsheds are evaporated from the reality but still condensed as “silent grief” in this town. This reminiscent flashback of the Colmcille’s town offers or represents the grounded situation of historical reality and further demonstrates the poet’s involvement in public affairs through his historical perspective of poetry and his poetic formation of history. Therefore, this discursive formation of Bloody Sunday in Kinsella’s ‘Butcher’s Dozen’ represents an oscillation between the past and the present as well as further enlarges the definition of spatiality and temporality in his poetic discourse. In this poem, going back to the past is a way to review, reconstruct, revise, and re-interpret history in the present. In other words, the retrospection of historical

narratives and documents refers to the self-reflexive perspective of writing and representing history publicly and personally. This perspective of writing history represents the poet's concern for public affairs and further embodies the formation of subjectivity in the state of oscillation between the present and past, in the process of writing and revising, and in its social relations among the poet-text-context.

### **III. Oscillating Between “Here” and “There:” Representing History in “Butcher’s Dozen”**

Through a series of monologues by thirteen dead in multiple voices and perspectives, the poet embodies the dialectics of the present and the past in “Butcher’s Dozen” during Bloody Sunday in 1972. While W. B. Yeats constructed his occasional poem “Easter 1916” as an aesthetic representation of and poetic response to the Easter Rising in 1916, Kinsella strategically utilizes multiple voices of victims to mediate the historical reality of the occasion into his fictional representation. Unlike Yeats’ personal account on Easter Rising, Kinsella’s transitional meditation of the historical occasion constructs a discursive formation that deconstructs historical realities, which the Widgery Report presented, as fragmented parts and then begins a process of re-constructing/ representing the latent historical discourse about Bloody Sunday in the composition of this poem. Voices of thirteen speaking specters not only particularly represent the historical truth reconstructed by the viewpoints of victims, but also consistently bring out an important recurring historical pattern in the large scale of Irish history—a representation of colonial history in Ireland, its consequence of continuous hostility between the Irish Catholics and English/Scottish Protestants—or the endless troubles in Northern Ireland—and reconstructing the historical truth in the discursive formation of “Bloody Sunday.” However, the speaking specters do not fully represent the historical truth of Bloody Sunday, but rather a poetic representation/distortion from historical realities into the

poetic composition. In other words, multiple voices of speaking specters are the symbol of thirteen dead; they are implicitly surrogate subjects of the poet clothed as voices of the witnesses in the process of poet's walk through the site of the occasion and in the process of writing/revising the poetic discourse of Bloody Sunday.

When the poet arrives at that spot of the shooting scene and sighs for its sordid and decayed state, "an answering sigh" or the first voice of this poem immediately recalls the historical truth of Bloody Sunday back to its original scene. "A crumpled phantom," the first voice, witnessed his experience in this occasion and then calmly announces it:

"Once there lived a hooligan.  
A pig came up, and away he ran,  
Here lies one in blood and bones,  
Who lost his life for throwing stones." (NLD 77)

From the context of this excerpt, the speaking subject automatically correlates the past and the present. This confirmative narrative presents a sequence of modifying adverbs, which not only indicate the space of juxtaposition and division in between "here" and "there" but also appropriates its usage into the juxtaposition of temporality between the past and the present. The adverbs *here* and *there* originally describing and distinguishing distances of places or locations, now in this monologue present a temporal distance that modifies the extreme contrast between the past and the present or between the Bloody Sunday and the present time in the poem. The spatial distinction of here and there incorporates the division of time and the sequential narratives of the event that the speaking subject *was there at that time* and then *is here now*. This contrast between the present and the past refers to the poet's process of writing and revising history, which mainly discerns the discrepancy of historical interpretations and perceptions of historical narratives. With the stereotype of Irish gangsters in mind, the colloquial expression 'hooligan,' referring to young troublemakers, is derived from the Irish family name

‘Houlihan,’ and now represents a typically inferior, uncivilized Irishman in the riot (Newman 174). At the same time, an armored British soldier is ironically described, according to the voices of the dead, as a “pig” intruding in that lived moment. These dictions like “a hooligan” and a “pig” intentionally appear as emotional responses or reproaches for the Widgery report as well as representing the influence of colonial ideology and then the local movement of Gaelic-Irish culture revival. The first two past-tense lines posit “a hooligan,” as the cause of its death, and the lines seemingly are manipulated in a chaotic condition. Instantly, the incomplete clause in the second line “a pig came up” intrudes into this demonstration in the streets of Derry. Later on, the last two present-tense lines realistically demonstrate the result of this hooligan’s death and justify his inevitable consequence of “throwing stones” due to the murderous assault in the public meeting. In other words, this short monologue attempts to extricate this aberrant situation from the past and further to elicit voices of dead demonstrators on Bloody Sunday in the present moment. The voice of dead in the past emerges to the very surface of the present moment, or simply the representation of the moment in the poem. The image of hooligan vividly embodies the stereotype of an Irish rebel that is equal to thousands of marchers accused as rioters on Bloody Sunday. This crumpled phantom speaking as the representative of thirteen dead imitates the narratives of historical truth from the perspective of the dead or the suspects in the Widgery Report. Through a series of speaking voices of the dead, the historical truth of Bloody Sunday gradually is explicated and represented between the lines of “Butcher’s Dozen.” And Kinsella further takes the voices of thirteen deceased and their descriptions of the occasion as the structure of the historical narrative in this poem.

Seemingly deriving from this first speaking phantom’s enunciation, a group of three “corpses” with “upturned face” appear, quickly followed with the first voice, and they



uttered their experience of mistreatment in the aftermath of the Sunday demonstration:

“Behind this barrier, blighters three,  
We scrambled back and made to flee.  
The guns cried *Stop*, and here lie we.” (NLD 77)

This short narrative depicts a chaotic and confusing situation in which these three victims were trapped suddenly and tragically on that barricade. The diction “blighter” is a degraded colloquial expression referring to certain groups of people, or simply to those three voices behind the barrier. “The guns” are personified as soldiers crying out to stop marchers’ movements. This realistic depiction touches the grounded situation of hostility and confusion between soldiers and the crowds in the streets at that time. Again the adverb ‘here’ reaffirms the temporal movement between the Bloody Sunday and the present in the poem. In other words, the speaking subject was shot over “there” at that lived moment and is articulating the occasion over “here” now. Moreover, the barrier for the crowds, like the Derry Walls as a metaphorical boundary isolating the hostility between Catholics and Protestants, looks like a temporary site that covers soldiers’ attacks and shooting from different directions. However, this barrier ironically blocks these marchers from the schemed area, and at the same time it becomes a target for the armored soldiers aiming to shoot at those rioters above from the Derry Walls.<sup>7</sup> “The barrier” is symbolized as the site of problematics in the historical accounts and the Widgery Report. Furthermore, the barrier metaphorically delineates the temporal movement to-and-fro the past and the present in that speaking subject respectively dislocates the fact from the Widgery Report to the historical truth in the poetic discourse of Bloody Sunday.

According to the Report of the Tribunal, the commander intentionally planned to erect twenty-six barriers in the area of the demonstration for the purpose of “sealing off each of the streets through which the marchers might cross the containment line” (18).

Moreover, the Tribunal specifically indicates and explains the function of the barriers on this occasion:

The barriers, which were to consist of wooden knife rests reinforced with barbed wire and concrete slabs, were to be put in place early in the afternoon of 30 January. At some of them, notably at barrier 14, an armoured personnel carrier was placed on either side of the street close behind and almost parallel with the barrier to reinforce it and to give the troops some cover from stone throwing. (WR 19)

This information about the barrier clearly conveys a certain presumption from the commander that the Northern Ireland Civil Rights movement is presumed to link with a social-political riot, and moreover, the crowds will inevitably attack the police or soldiers by throwing stones or nail bombs. The Bloody Sunday books, which mainly deal with the Widgery Report, particularly put the case of barricade or barrier into the scrutiny of historical truth. Eamonn McCann mentioned that this controversial matter happened on the barricades and further points out the contradictions between the historical discourse of Bloody Sunday and the Widgery Report (109). Moreover, Pringle and Jacobson further question the inconsistency of soldiers' accounts by presenting the content of the cross-examinations, which were omitted and paraphrased in the Report by Lord Widgery. This cross-examination in the document carefully inquires the captain's accounts about the barricade scene: <sup>8</sup>

Q: Did you see these people behind the barricade?

A: I saw heads. One head was popping up and down; one was crouching much lower

Q: Could you see what they were doing apart from popping up and down or what they had got with them?

A: I still had my gas mask on at the time. I did make an assumption. I said to myself, 'Aye, aye, we have got gunmen behind the barricade.' This was an assumption.

Q: What was your assumption based on?

A: The action they were or seemed to be taking.

.....

Q: And of course, as you have already said, you did not see any shots, or hear any shots coming from the barricade?

A: There was a lot of shooting at the time. I certainly didn't hear it.

Q: You did not see any weapon in the hands of the people at the barricade?

A: This was just a glance, as I said before.

Q: Whatever it was, you did not see any weapons at the barricade?

A: I did not see any weapons at the barricade. (165)

This eradicated section of examination between the captain and Lord Widgery obviously uncovered the process of ‘whitewashing’ the historical truth and making controversies in this occasion. Apparently this cross-examination demonstrates the self-contradictory statement and the irresponsibility of the captain’s account in the report. Unlike those behind the scenes stories of the Widgery Report, Kinsella explicitly presents the voice of the dead depicting and narrating their experiences and stories. However, this poetic representation of experiences and stories is not intended to be realistic to the historical truth, but rather is fictional for the formation of historical discourse. In other words, words or voices of the dead in the poem are dramatized or partially distorted in the poet’s process of writing/ revising history. This specter’s brief personal testimony at the barricade specifically indicates the moment of unfairly being suspects/victims, and this also represents the moment of Irish Civil Rights demonstration and the problematics within the Widgery Report. In addition, the victims are not only degraded as criminals in the riot but also dehumanized in terms of humanity.

Among this group of three bleeding specters, one fellow victim immediately follows up and righteously speaks up his testimony of the killing moment in public:

“We three met close when we were dead.

Into an armoured car they piled us

Where our mingled blood defiled us,

Certain, if not dead before,

To suffocate upon the floor.

Careful bullets in the back

Stopped our terror attack,

And so three dangerous lives are done

—Judged, condemned and shamed in one.” (NLD 78)

Still this fellow victim degrades his companions’ and his own actions satirically as “terror attack” and they are stopped conspicuously by “careful bullets.” The dead speaker is conscious of the British paratrooper’s treatment as a metaphorical process of transfiguration from these three corpses into notorious militants on that Sunday riot. This voice of three specters conveys an extension of the temporality: from the lived moment to the currently lapsed moment, and to the happening in the present tense. The use of past tense in this monologue is utilized to indicate a thorough historical perspective of this lived moment in order to contrast sharply with the military actions in the Rossville Street that British Authorities operated at the same moment. The corpses of these victims ‘piled’ into ‘the armoured car’ are unfairly objectified as forensic evidences and then assertively brought into the judicial process. Apparently these three specters are sentenced to death in advance when they are suspected as criminals at the barricade scene. This victim’s testimony skillfully responds to contradictions and those misleading references about three corpses at the barricade within the Widgery Report.

Voices of specters not only emotionally convey their sufferings in this occasion, but also rationally pinpoint the contradiction in the historical truth and the official tribunal. One of the bleeding and lame ghosts calmly pronounces his experience of being a victim:

“A Bomber I. I travelled light.  
--Four pounds of nails and gelignite  
About my person, hid so well  
They seemed to vanish where I fell. (NLD 78)

The speaking subject is again objectified as a criminal or a “Bomber,” which paradoxically initiates its own controversial position and further points out its coexistence with the subject “I.” The repetition of “I” seamlessly presents a certain confidence of the speaking specter rationally and courageously conveying his deeds in public and before the

poet. Then after a pause or a dash, reveals the accusation against the specter—the evidence of murderous killing and attacking—the nail bombs and gelignite in his pocket (McCann 74-7, WR 84-5). This case of the speaking dead usually refers to the so-called official investigation of Bloody Sunday—the special case of Gerald Donaghy. Maurice Harmon clearly indicated the interrelationship between this testimony of the dead and the partial description in the Report of the Tribunal (106-7). After a severe injury gunshot, Donaghy was brought to the hospital by two volunteers of the crowds around the site, but their car was stopped at “a military check-point in Barrack Street” (WR 84). Later on according to the report, Lord Widgery adopts the Medical Officer’s statement:

The Medical Officer made a more detailed examination afterward but on neither occasion did he notice anything unusual in Donaghy’s pockets. After another short interval, and whilst Donaghy’s body still lay on the back seat of Mr. Rogan’s car, it was noticed that he had a nail bomb in one of his trouser pockets (as photographed in RUC photographs EP5A/26 and 27). An Ammunition Technical Officer (Bomb Disposal Officer, Soldier 127) was sent for and found four nail bombs in Donaghy’s pockets. (WR 85).

Comparing this short excerpt with its context of this report, these statements simply emphasize whether Donaghy possessed a nail bomb or not. Except the discreet investigation of his body, it is seemingly the last step to immediately cure his severe wound, and eventually the Medical Officer just officially “pronounced him dead” in the paper. This piece of historical document intentionally eradicates and then implicates the so-called historical truth, which this specter encountered in this occasion, or more precisely like what he mentioned, “They seemed to vanish where I fell.”

With the inspiration of this travesty of historical truth, Kinsella further reconstructs and rewrites Donaghy’s case. The bleeding specter (referring to Donaghy) palely continues to utter in lines of couplets:

When the bullet stopped my breath  
A doctor sought the cause of death.

He upped my shirt, undid my fly,  
Twice he moved my limbs awry.  
And noticed nothing. By and by  
A soldier, with his sharper eye,  
Saw the four elusive rockets  
Stuffed in my coat and trouser pockets. (NLD 78).

The accusation of “Four pounds of nails and gelignite” against this speaking specter evidently is deconstructed as an intentional conspiracy of the British Authorities. The voice of the unspoken specter reconstructs and justifies the case of Gerald Donaghy in the poem. Furthermore, this specter satirically pronounces his feeling of the mistreatment, “Yes, they must be strict with us, /Even in death so treacherous!” This satirical response obviously reveals the problematics or bias in the Report of the Tribunal: a partial investigation of Civil Rights movements as a murderous riot in Londonderry, and the irresponsibility to justify these thirteen dead demonstrators as criminals in advance. From the stereotype of Northern Ireland troubles embedded in British Authorities and historical documents, Kinsella further questions the problematics of British colonial interests and its great influence on the development of Irish Nationalism and the formation of Irish identity.

The long-term English colonization specifically in Northern Ireland is inevitably accumulating the diverse development of Irish Nationalism and then constructing different perspectives of national identity from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to the present time.<sup>9</sup> The troubles in Northern Ireland essentially and obviously could be ascribed to the fundamental discrepancy in sectarianism and to the conflicting ideologies between Unionism and Republicanism. Tracing back to the history of Ulster, in 1541 Henry VIII officially proclaimed the possession of Ireland as part of the Kingdom and vigorously planned to administrate the colonial interests of Ireland. After the Tudor conquest of

Ireland in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the colonization of Ulster ambitiously took place. In the first decade, Scots and English massively began the plantations in Ulster, which devastatingly dispossessed the native Gaelic culture and quickly established its Protestant communities in this particular area of Gaelic Ireland. The Ulster plantation not only found its own colonial interests on exploitation of land and resources, but also rooted the segregation of the Catholics and the Protestants religiously and politically (particularly referring to the Penal Laws).<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the plantation of Ulster by the Tudors probably could be the very source of the partition of Ireland as well as the troubles in Northern Ireland. In 1800 the Act of Union, the unification of Britain and Ireland after the 1789 insurrection, again firmly proclaimed its power of imperialism over the Irish problems, and further deepened the conflicting ideologies between English colonialism and Irish nationalism as well as the discrepancies of Unionists and Republicans. The breach between the Catholics and the Protestants eventually broke out in the conjuncture of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. The consequence of the Anglo-Irish Treaty led to the Irish Civil War of 1922-3, and eventually Ireland was partitioned off into the Irish Free State (later on the Republic of Ireland) and Northern Ireland, United Kingdom (constitutionally six counties of Ulster). The partition of Ireland brought out the formation of Northern Ireland, as well as the close affiliation with Britain, the complexity of Ulster identity, and then became the source of violence and turbulences from the late sixties to the present.

In these voices of the dead, Kinsella's historical perspective discreetly disputes the colonization in Irish history, and particularly implicates its context of the Ulster Plantation and its aftermath in the present. The sixth specter ('Pale and grim/A joking specter) demonstrates "the legacy of imperialism in Ireland" (Tubridy 20), and cleverly proposes a historical/ socio-political perspective of colonial issues in Ulster:

"Take a bunch of stunted shoots,

A tangle of transplanted roots,  
Ropes and rifles, feathered nests,  
Some dried colonial interests,  
A hard unnatural union grown  
In a bed of blood and bone,  
Tongue of serpent, gut of hog  
Spiced with spleen of underdog.  
Stir in, with oaths of loyalty,  
Sectarian supremacy,  
And heat, to make a proper botch,  
In a bouillon of bitter Scotch.  
Last, the choice ingredient: you.  
Now, to crown your Irish stew  
Boil it over, make a mess.

A most imperial success!" (NLD 79-80)

This voice is evidently quite different from the previous specters in the poem. The sixth speaking specter strategically conceptualizes the essential issue of English colonization and attempts to posit a contemplation of its immense impacts on the historical discourse. For the metaphor, "the transplanted root" seems to indicate Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy tangled closely with the consequence of this long-term colonization in Irish history. Under this colonial discourse, the complex of the Gaelic, the Anglo-Irish, the Scots, and the English definitely rooted the extreme discrepancies and conflicts among these communities in Northern Ireland. Then for the symbols, "Ropes, rifles, feathered nest" in general respectively represents the coercion to tidy, to bind, and to manipulate the colonized people. The "unnatural union" probably refers to 'the Act of Union of 1800,' a tactically political enforcement of colonization in order to construct a "most imperial success"—"the Union of Ireland and Great Britain." Moreover, interestingly in this cauldron of "proper botch," the English colonizer like a wicked witch (like the Witches in



*Macbeth*) mixes and allocates scarce ingredients: blood and bone, tongue of serpent, gut of hog, and spleen of underdog—the delicate craft of condemnation, oppression, and legitimization in an on-going process. The image of this wicked witch metaphorically represents the scheme of English colonization unconsciously bewitching and atrociously deteriorating the people and its culture from the past to the present. From these implications of English colonization, this victim’s statement deeply suggests the powerlessness and reluctance of the thirteen deceased resisting the inevitable consequence of colonization, its imperfect realities in Ulster society, and its mistreatment of human rights at their time.

Under this turbulent circumstance, the hopelessness and the resentment at their prospects vehemently prompt Irish people to invoke violence by language as well as action. The eighth voice of the dead in this poem satirically seems to reiterate its companions’ statement of colonial interests and further apprehends the conspiracy and the treachery of colonial experience conjured from the past to the present.

“My curse on the cunning and the bland,  
On gentlemen who loot a land  
They do not care to understand;  
Who keep the natives on their paws  
With ready lash and rotten laws;  
Then if the beasts erupt in rage  
Give them a slightly larger cage  
And, in scorn and fear combined,  
Turn them against their own kind.  
The game runs out of room at last,  
A people rises from its past,  
The going gets unduly tough  
And you have (surely...?) had enough.

The time has come to yield your place  
With condescending show of grace  
--An Empire-builder handing on. (NLD 81)

This section of victims' experience starts with a strong and harsh word "curse," which the speaker obviously tends to be on the offensive against the colonizers and likely to subvert the domination of power structure through the upheaval, likewise "persuasion, protest, arguments" or "the milder forms of violence" (NLD 80). For the image of the cunning, the bland, and "gentlemen who loot a land," the speaker skillfully satirizes and attacks the hypocrisy of colonial interests and the deceitfulness of parliament acts in history. Moreover, the "rotten laws" like the ideological apparatus seemingly manipulates prospects of the colonized and coercively, "with condescending show of grace," enforces them to compromise with the realities and to be submissively merged into parts of the empire. For the self-image of the uncultivated in the colony of this empire, the natives' paws and the beast in the cage vividly embody the metaphor of the dehumanized Irish in the form of barbarization, or even likewise the 'civilized' barbarian. The poet further elaborates these self-degraded voices of these deceased recurring throughout the poem, not only for presenting imbalance between the colonizer and the colonized, but also for demonstrating the fabrication of "violent language," and the practices of politics in the poetics. Besides, more than the anti-colonialism, the discrepancy between Catholics and Protestants deeply brings about self-contradictions and internal conflicts within the Irish nationalist movement, or the condition which people "turn themselves against their own kind." For all that, the statement expressively demonstrates the complex of anti-colonial/ anti-imperialist resistance and self-contradictions within Irish nationalism. This complex of multiple experiences gradually enables the process of decolonization as well as the diverse development of Irish nationalism in the historical context of Ulster. At the very end of this statement, the speaker further questions the particular

colonial-nationalist complex or dual confrontations of historical discourse and represents the cultural/political effects of colonization on the prospect of Northern Ireland. Through this complex of historical discourse, the poet gradually discards those emotional or irrational responses from the victims in the beginning of the poem, and more or less seriously moves his concern toward the historical context of and its development of Northern Ireland Troubles in this process of poetic formation. Nonetheless, the poet firmly persists in his own historical perspective of deconstructing /uncovering history and consistently proceeds with the formation of poetic discourse.

Rather than the grumbles of the deceased, the poet speculates on the complex of historical discourse within his own poetics and further explicates the topic of colonial interests in the context. Being a poet of his living moment, Kinsella willingly tempts to position himself onto the very edge of politics, and paradoxically to detach from the crossroad of troubles. Through the poet's oscillation between involving in and detaching from the politics, the last voice of the deceased (the thirteenth corpse/smiling in its bloody head) eventually appeared with a paradoxical statement "Yet pity is akin to love," and sincerely addresses the modest proposal to the Widgery Report, to the turbulent troubles between the Catholics and the Protestants, and to the instable condition between the British government and Northern Ireland republicans.

If England would but clear the air  
And brood at home on her disgrace  
--Everything to its own place.  
Face their walls of dole and fear  
And be of reasonable cheer.  
Good men every day inherit  
Father's foulness with the spirit  
Purge the filth and do not stir it.

Let them out! At least let in  
A breath or two of oxygen,  
So they may settle down for good  
And mix themselves in the common blood.  
We all are what we are, and that  
Is mongrel pure. What nation's not  
Where any stranger hung his hat  
And seized a lover where she sat? (NLD 83)

Apparently the voice of the thirteenth deceased takes a 'bland' strategy, addressing his resentment and perplexity for his contemporary condition. Moreover, the speaker seriously polishes the emotional language and discreetly commences his argumentation on the complicated relations between England and Ireland, on the Troubles in Northern Ireland, and on the issue of the Irishness in the context of post-colonial Ulster society. This speaking subject implies its uncertainty about the prospect in the statement and further generates the process of subjectivity formation. This speaker's proposal presents its rhetorical pleas for humanity and satirizes the colonial discourse in the particular moment of the Bloody Sunday inquiry. The voice of the dead lightly remarks on the stagnant state of British justice and bureaucracy, further suggesting them to "purge the filth and do not stir it." This final remark of the thirteenth dead seemingly not only demonstrates the significance of Irishness through this socio-political occasion, but also expressively to subvert the tradition of 'violence' in Northern Ireland and to juxtapose the coldly cruel politics of British colonialism. Furthermore, the speaking subjects in this poem implicitly revises the question of Irishness in the dialectics between the subjectivity formation and the practices of politics that the Irish cultural identity is mistakenly displaced and exploited in the post-colonial discourse of Northern Ireland.

"Butcher's Dozen" represents the historical discourse of Bloody Sunday through the

witness of the deceased, the poet's inquiry of the Widgery Report, and the scrutiny of colonial interests in Northern Ireland. Like "Nightwalker," this poem successfully utilizes the political myth in the practices of colonialism and nationalism. However, the poem in 1972 definitely was more than a political implication of Bloody Sunday, but rather a significant entrance for the poet into the public domain and specifically constructing the socio-political discourse and self-project subjectivity in his formation of the poetics. This socio-political implication, for the poet, is not simply fixed on the very spot of the event that happened, but rather keeps on uncovering the truth/ deconstructing the grand narrative of history and reconstructing the documents in the poetic discourse. Therefore, the on-going movement of socio-political implications, placed in the context of history and politics, is a discursive formation of poetics, or an endless process of revising and rewriting poetic composition in the poet's life.

#### **IV. Revising/Rewriting "Butcher's Dozen" in the Context of Bloody Sunday**

The title of the poem "Butcher's Dozen" sarcastically parodies the expression 'baker's dozen,' implying the amount of thirteen. For its subtitle, "A Lesson for the Octave of Widgery" uses the word "octave" to suggest eight-line couplets as a genre of poetry, or a specified interval of space between the first note and the eighth note in the musical scale. The octave couplet for its readers is easy to read and deviously intended to be distributed through the public and the communities. More than these two possible definitions, the term 'octave' in scale not only implies the extreme contrast between the Widgery's report and Kinsella's poetic implication, but also constructs a sense of musical-like dialogue or precisely the dialectics between the dead and the speaker as well as the present and the past. From the organization of this poem, we can see that this elegiac poem is written in only one run-on stanza, or in other words there are no specific

segments between lines, linking a series of monologues from the deceased. This one run-on stanza poem not only implicitly encloses the scene of Bloody Sunday, but also explicitly exposes its dialectics of history and politics within Kinsella's poetic discourse. This poetic discourse incorporates the incessant process of writing, and revising/rewriting historical narratives, or the poetic response to the Widgery Report that extraordinarily elaborates the position of the poet in relation to history and politics in the process of poetic formation.

Since 1972, the Widgery's Report on Bloody Sunday was constantly attacked and criticized as a biased and unfair justification against these thirteen deceased. With increasing public concerns on this socio-political occasion in the Northern Ireland context, Britain Prime Minister Tony Blair proposed to start a new inquiry tribunal on Bloody Sunday and eventually pronounced an official statement in the parliament on 29 January 1998. The new inquiry tribunal on Bloody Sunday brings out new evidences and witness from Londonderry and London. Moreover, this 1998 inquiry offers a possible new track for scrutinizing Kinsella's historical discourse "Butcher's Dozen" closely in relation to the vicissitude of this poetic composition, and possibly contributed to Kinsella's revisions of this poem in 1996 and in 2001. "Butcher' Dozen," as a poetic discourse located in the context of Bloody Sunday, is still an important on-going project to question this socio-political occasion, and to rewrite its tracks of the historical truth at its time and society. The dialectics of genre in this poem brings out the process of versification in revising / rewriting its content, its structure and its attributes.

Kinsella's formation of poetics intrinsically generates the internal dialectics of particular genres of "Butcher's Dozen" including the journalistic writing, the historical document, and the literary artifact (or the literary text). The journalistic writing aims to depict the events in realistic and objective presentation. While it was first published in

1972 after the Widgery Report, this poem was considered as a journalistic presentation of the socio-political event, which focused on its efficiency of language, of argumentation, of its aftermath in the form of a product or a commodity. However, a few critics strongly disagreed with Kinsella and condemned the aim of “Butcher’s Dozen,” its process of publication, circulation, and accumulation of publicity at that very moment of the miserable (Trubridy 14-6). In a 1979 Peppercanister collection of poems, Kinsella wrote a short commentary for Bloody Sunday (17) and further has pinpointed the purpose of writing “Butcher’s Dozen.”

*Butcher’s Dozen* was not written in response to the shooting of the thirteen dead in Derry. There are too many dead, on all sides, and it is no use pitting them hideously against one another. The poem was written in response to the Report of the Widgery Tribunal. In Lord Widgery’s cold putting aside of truth, the nth in a historic series of expedient falsehoods—with Injustice literally wiggled out as Justice—it was evident to me that we were suddenly very close to the operation of the evil real causes. (TKPP 141)

Though Kinsella apparently insisted this poem was not written for those thirteen dead, it is still important and inevitable to notice how the poet represents a historical occasion through the voices of the thirteen victims in order to serve the function of poetry as a historical discourse and social criticism for his contemporary times. For this occasional poem, the essence of the *aisling* actually characterizes a demonstrative affirmation of the rebellious attitude toward the social and political upheaval. With the rendition of the *aisling*, Kinsella conflates the oral tradition with his poetic implications of Irish history and politics in this poem. “Butcher’s Dozen,” for Kinsella, is a ballad-like poem published in a pamphlet and because of its accessible price and design was easily distributed everywhere in a short time. Like what he has mentioned in this note, the poet brings out his implications and interpretations of Northern Ireland’s Troubles. This political implication not only represents social realities in the poet’s words, but also

traces back to causes of or sources of these violent actions and troubles. Against critical reviews or responses to this writing, Kinsella persists in his position as a poet and discreetly responds to those dissensions in his note:

[I]t was presumption of me to deal with the Northern issue at all—living in the Republic, I had not earned the right. It was criticised also for its motives: I had written it for publicity or for money. And it was criticised for its style. It offended many a priori assumptions as to poetic propriety of one kind or another, as to the place of poetry in public affairs, etc. ; it was unwise in its directness of response; it was not poetry at all. (TKPP 142)

This encounter with these dead in the poem presents a dialectical perspective of this uncertain “rebellious” occasion through different visions of revising Northern Ireland history and the trembling state of sectarianism. Nonetheless, from the perspective of journalistic publication, “Butcher’s Dozen” demonstrates the poet’s spontaneous response to his living moment (not just simply the occasion of Bloody Sunday but also the overall responses from Dublin society at that time) through publication and wide circulation in the public domain. Like journalistic writing, this occasional poem in its social context is definitely needed to follow up its current trends of history and then to revise or to rewrite its historical discourse. On the other hand, this poem is not like a photograph or a videotape to exactly reflect what really happened at that time, but rather possibly allows the intrusion of its author’s perspective of politics and society. However, unlike those critical or vile responses to “Butcher’s Dozen,” the poet brings out a polemic issue of the moment and further represents its problematic nature in the historical context as well as in the formation of poetics. Therefore, along with Kinsella’s vicissitude of “Butcher’s Dozen,” the 1972 edition gradually adjusted its attribute or its genre as a historical document for himself and for the public. For the revision in the 1996 edition of *Collected Poems*, “Butcher’s Dozen” implicitly undermines an uncertain position of the poet oscillating between the historical discourse, the changing state of politics and the society.



The 1972 edition and the 1996 revision witness the vicissitude of “Butcher’s Dozen” and further continue the issue of whether the genre is journalistic writing, a historical document, or a literary artifact.

For the revised edition published in 1996, the phrase “Yet there remained” is slightly revised into “Yet here remained” (TKCP 137). On the one hand, for the 1972 edition, the word “there” definitely indicates the temporal distance between the poet and the occasion in Derry. In addition, this distance to the Bloody Sunday events precisely constructs the relation between speaking subject and the poet that suggests self-recognition in the difference and changing movement to-and-fro time and space. On the other hand, the word “here” in the 1996 edition implicates this self-project of subjectivity as the poet’s involvement in the community of Derry, and further indirectly ensures the poet’s intensive assertions in this poem. Moreover, the time marker (A month or Three months) in the very beginning of the poem further signifies the interval, the temporal distance among the reprinted 1973 edition, the 1992 reissue and the 1996 revision, or between Bloody Sunday and the poem, or between the Widgery Report and “Butcher’s Dozen.” In the Knopf edition of *Notes From The Land of The Dead and Other Poems*, the time marker in “Butcher’s Dozen” particularly indicates “Three months has passed,” which represents the exact timing of the Widgery Report and the clear purpose of the poem. Re-thinking these two chosen adverbs “here” and “there” I believe that the edition in 1973, the reissue of 1972 and the revised edition in 1996 strategically originate a dialogue of the present and the past, which attempts to deconstruct the Widgery Report and further dislocates the poet’s prompting response at first sight with the meticulous assertion and implication after two decades.

Moreover, this poem spontaneously not only represents the occasion, but also explicates the poet’s thought about humanity at the very moment of Bloody Sunday. In

between political implications and historical truths of Bloody Sunday, “Butcher’s Dozen” suggests the human solution to the permanent troubles in Northern Ireland.

It seemed the moment to explain  
That sympathetic politicians  
Say our violent traditions,  
Backward looks and bitterness  
Keep us in this dire distress.  
We must forget, and look ahead,  
Nurse the living, not the dead. (NLD 80)

This monologue is the poet’s assertion in the interval of two specter’s voices in this poem. The moment is a temporal conjuncture in this historical discourse as the righteous statement in response to the Widgery Report on Bloody Sunday. Unlike voices of the dead, this afterthought is obviously a starting point for the poet to resonate and then to re/write this moment. Rewriting the moment apparently is not to go ‘backward’ to sordid bitterness of the Bloody Sunday killing, not to “keep” people in “distress” all the time, but rather to “forget” and to “look ahead.” The poet’s rewriting historical discourse is not to distort the facts of life, but to restore its pieces, its fragments of historical truth in its order and its context. This positive proposal is definitely not equivalent to the intention to break with this occasion in the on-going inquiry of the historical truth, but rather an attempt to particularly emphasize the decision of ‘sympathetic politicians’ and its aftermath of these elapsed moments. Moreover, this resonance in the historical discourse questions the function of this occasion poem and how the poet takes his position at that time. Revising the historical discourse in the poem, the poet again deconstructs and reconstructs pieces of historical truth and political implications in his process of revising/ rewriting poetry, the on-going formation of his poetic discourse.

From this internal monologue of the poet, Kinsella evidently attempts to keep on revising the direction of the historical discourse in “Butcher’s Dozen.” This historical discourse is a discursive formation of poetry in progress or a revision of the given historical fragments, and it brings out possible approaches to the kernel of the historical truth, the document and its representation in the poem. For the poet, the 1972 edition of “Butcher’s Dozen” like the Widgery Report and its contemporary history could be compiled or be categorized as the historical document in the historical discourse of Bloody Sunday. The poet in 1979’s *Fifteen Dead* and in *Peppercanister Poems 1972-78* mentioned this occasion poem in his commentary note to “Butcher’s Dozen”:

I couldn’t write the same poem now. The pressures were special, the insult strongly felt, and the timing vital if the response was to matter, in all its kinetic impurity. . . . The poem was finished, printed and published within a week of the publication of the Widgery Report, and I believe it had the effect I wanted, ‘unhelpful’ though I am sure it was. (TKPP 141, 142)

This excerpt obviously shows that the poet is consciously aware of the uniqueness of this poem textually and contextually. In other words, this poem in 1972 should be definitely contextualized and placed for its times and moments. Therefore, the 1972 “Butcher’s Dozen,” later on for Kinsella, belonged to his poetic discourse, the archive of history, poetry and politics in the process of writing and revising.

Kinsella’s archive of Bloody Sunday and “Butcher’s Dozen” has collected a sequence of revisions, commentary, reissue, and re-compilation since the first edition in 1972. For the twentieth anniversary of Bloody Sunday and the Widgery Report, the 1972 edition of “Butcher’s Dozen” was reissued on April 1992. This reissue of the Peppercanister pamphlet including the 1979 commentary and Kinsella’s foreword in 1992 not only extrinsically updates the socio-historical perspective of Bloody Sunday and Widgery Report, but also intrinsically re-accommodates the poet’s historical approach to the poetic discourse of “Butcher’s Dozen.” For the socio-political perspective of Bloody

Sunday and its correlatives with the actualities of Northern Ireland, Kinsella pointed out in the foreword to the twentieth anniversary reissue.

There have been no other advances. Northern Ireland, twenty years after Bloody Sunday, is still an unjust and violent society. The injustice is official and structured, based on the threat of Unionist violence at the establishment of the Northern state, and on a system of sectarian discrimination since then. The current violence is an outcome of this, and continues to increase.

.....  
The troubles in Northern Ireland are regarded in Britain as sectarian and provincial, and are simplified to the issue of violence. The violence is reported in detail, but with nothing of Britain's involvement except in a policing role, and without the consideration of causes. (7)

This statement clearly indicates the poet's perceptions and understanding of the social situation and practices of British politics in Northern Ireland. The poet explained the causes of violence and its complex activities. With the poet's commentary on "Butcher's Dozen" in 1979, the foreword to this reissue definitely prepares for the revision and its reconsideration in the poetic discourse of history and politics in 1996.

The revision of "Butcher's Dozen" in the 1996 edition, a great leap to witness history from the detached position, certainly conveys Kinsella's determination to keep on embodying this occasion into his poetic composition. The two-decade interval between the 1972 original edition and the 1996 revision allows for a discursive formation of Kinsella's poetics: a dialectic perspective of historical discourses, society and politics. The revision apparently implicates certain specters' testimony in relation to the injustice of the British Juridical System obviously shown in the Report of Widgery's Tribunal. The emotional, "harsher stirred" specter, or the fourth voice in the poem, spoke of the over-simplification of the juridical trial as his companion mentioned being 'judged, condemned and shamed in one' (NLD 78). For this polemical occasion, the fourth voice's eight-lines testimony about the treachery of the Widgery Tribunal is strategically

omitted in the 1996-revised edition:

Law that lets them, caught red-handed,  
Halt the game and leave it stranded,  
Summon up a sworn inquiry  
And dump their conscience in the diary.  
During which hiatus, should  
Their legal basis vanish, good.  
The thing is rapidly arranged:  
Where's the law that can't be changed? (NLD79)

This omitted excerpt evidently shows the poet's direct thought and is characterized as a slight agitation in direct response to the Widgery Tribunal. Apparently, the tone of this testimony is attempting to penetrate the deception of the tribunal; moreover, it seems to offer a certain poetic justification of this socio-political occasion. By the voices of speaking subjects, this critical attempt of historical discourse is an unusual movement for the poet's involving or participating in the debate of public issues and politics. This omitted section, somehow, brings out the poet's question of position taking in the field of literature or organically involving the society and politics. These omissions, which are eradicated from the publication, significantly represent the particular strategy or a certain ritual process of 'documentation' in this poetic composition. For the meaning of documentation, the poem "Butcher's Dozen" conveys its value on public issues and afterwards on the historical discourse of Bloody Sunday. In other words, the poet's concern is no longer fixed on the poetic composition in the area of journalistic publication, but rather turns to question "mechanics of power and authority" (Tubridy 22). Questioning the system of society and politics, this omitted excerpt further suggests the issue of subjectivity in the turbulent polemics and indicates that the poet is consciously aware of his position and then is concerned about his poetic discourse.

Therefore, taking the 1972 edition as one historical document, the revised edition of “Butcher’s Dozen” prudently further implicates the poet’s conservative assertion into an ambivalent and confused condition, tactically a dialectics oscillating between the poet, the literary text, and the context of social-politics

To discuss the socio-political issue of Northern Ireland in this poem is not exactly a poet’s revelation about the politics, but rather expresses concern about the public domain, the social activities. Kinsella’s socio-political implication of Bloody Sunday in the 1972 edition expressively explicates the politics of colonial power over the justice system and the humanity or civil rights in general. However, these explications of injustice and inhumanity are eradicated from the edition of 1996. Through the process of revising the poem, words of emotion explicated by the fourth victim are restrained and also stored into the poet’s archives of history and politics. In other words, though these explications of the social realities are no longer present in the revision, the truth and emotion implicitly exist and are latent in the present.

Yet England, even as you lie,  
You give the facts that you deny  
Spread the lie with all your power  
--All that’s left; it’s turning sour. (NLD 79)

Obviously these omitted words are full of resentment and yet anguish from the people in Northern Ireland. These emotional responses should be simply appropriate to the occasion in 1972, and also particularly be immediate and efficient feedback to the Widgery Report at that time. Emotional expressions of the populace in the 1972 edition are considered as part of the ‘violent tradition’ in Irish culture, and yet even mistakenly as devices of populism or a vile action to take advantage of thirteen corpses. For the revision, the poem not only appropriates the historicity and reality following the trend of history, but also refines its rhetoric of violence in the poetic discourse. Apparently these

emotional words are not allowed in the mistaken interpretations and yet not appropriate to the timing of the revision, which for the poet is a reconsideration and postscript to its former implications.

The rhetoric of violence, characteristic of *aisling* and ‘violent tradition,’ vividly suggests the realities of facts in the living moment. Six lines omitted from the 1972 edition indicate the ways of “violence” in the period of Northern Ireland’s troubles:

Persuasion, Protest, arguments,  
The milder forms of violence,  
Earn nothing but polite neglect.  
England, the way to your respect  
Is via murderous force, it seems;  
You push us to your own extremes. (NLD 80-1)

Not only the demonstrations of “violence” listed, but also the satirical but emotional criticisms proposed in between lines. Though it is not obvious and not easy to understand the poet’s decision to omit these six lines, the revision of the poem definitely implicates resentments and further restores its timely satiric statement into the archive of history. In addition to this implication, the revision trims and polishes the language of the poetics. To modify, to revise, or to remove those inappropriate segments in the poem is presumed as an objective of revising a poetic composition. The revision of “Butcher’s Dozen” implicates the extrinsic context of history and the intrinsic context of Kinsella’s poetics. This revision in 1996 textually polishes the language and the political implication, and further deviously dissembles its historical discourse and populist interests within the poetic discourse. This process of revision reassures the question about the poem as a literary propaganda, or an historical document in an archive of historical discourse, or a poetic artifact in literary history.

The study of “Butche’s Dozen” and its revision undergo the process of poetic

formation, the transformation of its genre in context, and the question of significance or implication in the development of poetics. Definitely the revision makes an intrinsic evolution in the poetic composition, or a stylish change or an aesthetical reconsideration of poetic language. For “Butcher’s Dozen,” the occasional poem concerning the socio-political events brings out the question of its genre, discussed when it was published in 1972. Though its spontaneous implication of this realistic occasion and the official document once were taken as parts of journalistic writing in the moment of Bloody Sunday, the poem itself should not be mistakenly simplified and constrained into the grid of political implications in journalistic publication. From the revision of “Butcher’s Dozen,” the poem intrinsically is extended to the “text” and embodied its intertextuality from the poem “Butcher’s Dozen,” narratives about Bloody Sunday, criticisms on the Widgery Report, and the local history of Derry in a process of documentation. For the poem, this process of documentation is similar to the formation of poetic styles and literary values in the archive of historical discourse, or monuments in the museum. Hence, the documentation of “Butcher’s Dozen” is not only the way of historicizing the text, but also possibly the way of establishing its significance, its uniqueness, and its particularity in poetics. The poem as the text posits the variation of its genre, or its attribute in literature and then cultural domain. From this intrinsic perspective of poetry, the process of revising “Butcher’s Dozen” brings out the problematic of the poet’s artifact-formation.

Despite historical discourse and socio-political realities, the text “Butcher’s Dozen,” indeed, intrinsically constitutes the aesthetics which possibly causes it to have the particular aura of an artifact in its context. This sense of aura in the poem, meant to be a ‘distinctive expression’ and mystic element within the work of art, is not exactly equal to the fixed or closed form of art but rather more flexible and ubiquitous in its form,



content, and context. For the “Butcher’s Dozen” in 1972 was published and sold in “an issue of 10,000 copies at 10p”(Tubridy 15). In fact, the publication of this poem represents not simply a phenomenon of the publication-circulation chains in a short-term market, but rather the strategy and significance of literary artifacts pervasively reproduced and consumed among the populace in different times and spaces. In other words, the publication of “Butcher’s Dozen” in 1972 and its successive editions are respectively cultural products of their own times and then both belong to particular segments of the text “Butcher’ Dozen” or the temporal and spatial trajectory of the poetic discourse within this artifact. Conflating the lived moments of thirteen deceased and a retrospect of the colonial past in Northern Ireland, “Butcher’s Dozen” as an artifact of living moments reconstructs a poetic discourse contextualizing in historical documents, politics, and poetic tradition.

However, this poem also represents a certain perspective of self-reflexivity in which the poet questions the poem as the ‘artifact’ as well as the genre of poem. Like the subtitle of the poem, the poet not only presents “a lesson for the octave of Widgery” (the representation of Bloody Sunday and criticism on the Widgery Report), but also proposes a lesson or the meta-commentary on the octave and the occasional poems in the poetic discourse and its historical context. Obviously this poem, in the form of an artifact, represents historical and political disputes and further preserves its particular temporal and spatial aura in the context of Kinsella’s poetic discourse. Meanwhile, this artifact embodies the problematic of the historical discourse, social realities, and politics, carrying out the tradition of *asiling* as well as the very kernel of occasional poetry. Through the process of revising and rewriting, the poet represents the socio-political and historical discourse within the succession of poetic discourse and poetic composition. Furthermore, this poetic discourse itself questions the procession of the genre-occasional

poetry within the text “Butcher’s Dozen” plainly from the best-selling pamphlet in the market, the historical documentation of Bloody Sunday/the Widgery Report, to the problematics of this occasional poem as an artifact.

## **V. From Poetic Implications in the Context of History and Politics to the Poetics of Historiography in Remembrances of History, Family, and Childhood**

For Kinsella, this first Peppercanister pamphlet not only establishes a certain reputation based on headlines and poetry reviews, but also constructs a delicate dialectic among representations of history, implications of socio-politics, and poetic discourse of poetic tradition and its meta-commentary. Reviewing and revising the development and continuity of historical narratives enhance the poem’s socio-political implications and further aesthetically reify the formation of the poetics in the living context of socio-political realities. Unlike the formation of subjectivity and the construction of the poetics in the writing process of “Nightwalker,” this occasional poem aims to critically respond to the Widgery Report so it incorporates the poet’s process of writing and revising historical discourse in the socio-political context. Following this approach to Kinsella’s poetic discourse, the next chapter continues the dialectic among history, politics and poetics and further focuses on the intertextuality of the poetic composition in “St. Catherine’s Clock,” its multiple layers of historical discourse, and this visual representation of Dublin experiences through fragmentary memories, engravings and historical events. Through a retrospect of places and occasions historically and geographically, the poet goes back to his own town Dublin, the point of departure or the origin in his state of mind and poetic formation. Like the representation and writing history of Derry and Bloody Sunday in “Butcher’s Dozen,” the poet meticulously projects his sense of subjectivity affiliated with the hometown, with its development over times

and spaces. Crossing through boundaries of time and space, chapter three will explicitly present Kinsella's poetics of historiography, delineate restless movements to-and-fro the present and the past, question excessive perceptions of social spaces in historical contexts, and discern perpetual self-reflexivity of reading/walking/writing in the poetic discourse.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Tubridy offers a complete and comprehensive publishing history of *Butcher's Dozen* in her *Thomas Kinsella: Pepercanister Poems* (14-6). However, this introductory article does not include the latest Carcanet edition in 2001. In this chapter, I will consult and discuss three editions respectively published in 1973—Knopf's reprint version of Pepercanister pamphlet of *Butcher's Dozen* in *Notes from the Land of the Dead*; the reissue edition of the 1972 Pepercanister edition, and the 1996 Oxford collection—*Thomas Kinsella: Collected Poems 1956-1994*. Since the Carcanet edition has few changes and is almost the same as the 1996 edition, I will not particularly include this edition in my analysis and discussions.

<sup>2</sup> Though it is said that thirteen people died in this demonstration, actually one of the thirteen injured—John Johnston—died due to severe trauma after six months.

<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, I consult with three history books about Bloody Sunday for the preparation of the historical, social, and political background of Derry. For historical accounts of Bloody Sunday, Eamonn McCann's *Bloody Sunday in Derry: What Really Happened*, which primarily is the collection of interviews and memoirs from fourteen victims' families in chronological order, was firstly published two decades after this event. Later on, Don Mullan in 1997 published a comprehensive and significant book *Eyewitness Bloody Sunday*, which mainly consists of witness' interviews, his own research on historical accounts, and an analysis of official documents. For journalist reports, Peter Pringle and Philip Jacobson's *Those Are Real Bullets, Aren't They? Bloody Sunday, Derry, 30 January 1972* mainly focuses on the news reports on the scene of Bloody Sunday as well as the Saville Inquiry from 1998, and they also are arranged in the sequence of social events after the Widgery Report.

In addition to the reference books, on-line projects and special reports also offer a comprehensive and updated perspective of Bloody Sunday Tribunal. The CAIN project (Conflicts Archives on the Internet), an academic project held by University of Ulster in 1996, contains a series of historical accounts, official documents, book reviews specifically on the studies of Northern Ireland conflicts from 1968 to the present. The Guardian Unlimited, the on-line edition of a private UK newspaper, constructed an updated special report with news reports, critical analysis and multimedia resources of this event. The UK state-run media, BBC News started its in-depth coverage from 2000, particularly on Lord Justice

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Saville's Bloody Sunday Inquiry. The local media Derry Journal.com also contributes a special report on Bloody Sunday, which provides grounded information on historical accounts, social conditions as well as an interaction between local people and people around the world.

<sup>4</sup> Kinsella's "Commentary on Poems" in the 1979 edition of *Peppercanister Poems 1972-1978* explained his own thoughts and intentions of writing this poem. For detailed discussion, see Brian John's comment in his *Reading the Ground* (146). For the Peppercanister pamphlet of *Butcher's Dozen*, Derval Tubridy introduces the design, the condition of distribution quoted from the editor of the Dolmen Press as well as interviews, reviews, and other responses from *The Nation*, *Irish Independence*, and *News*. (14-5)

<sup>5</sup> The name Colmcille, which Kinsella uses in the poem, could be written as Columcille as well as the anglicized name of Columbia or Columba. For Colmcille and the development of monastic town Doire, Thomas Cahill presents Colmcille's stories with the founding the Christianity as well as Irish civilization in "What was Found: How the Irish Saved Civilization" (169-71).

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed history of Derry Walls, Avril Thomas offers a grounded observation in "Derry—A Spectacular Maiden":

One of the most spectacular achievement of the Ulster Plantation was the construction of a formidable town wall at Derry. Incredibly, it was accomplished during just five years, 1613-18. This, and the town laid out within it, was a major exercise in urban planning. It is little wonder that such a costly undertaking was made the responsibility of the city of London, for the government envisaged it as the showpieces of the entire plantation. What is, perhaps, more surprising in an Irish context, and indeed unique, is that both street pattern and the stone wall have survived almost completely intact. The bastions and curtain wall continue to add emphasis to the hill site as they rise above more recent building, and it is also still possible walk around most of the circuit. The number of gates was almost doubled in later centuries, but this in fact only serves to reinforce the sense of enclosure as one usually enters the heart of the modern city through a gateway. The walls of Derry are one of the island's great historical monuments (74).

<sup>7</sup> This concept is inspired from Don Mullan's account of *Eyewitness Bloody Sunday*, as well as

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Pringle and Jacobson's discussions in *Those Are Real Bullets, Aren't They? Bloody Sunday, Derry, 30 January 1972*. Pringle and Jacobson clearly mention the suspicion of the firing from the Wall:

A key issue here is whether three of those shot at the rubble barricade could have been shot by soldiers on the city walls. The autopsies suggests that they could have been shot from the walls because of the 45 degree downward track of the bullets through the body. If they were shot from the walls, they must have been standing up. It seems to us, taking into account eyewitness testimony and soldier evidence, that they were shot by the paratroopers at Kells Walk and they were crouching behind the barricade at the time they were shot. (307)

<sup>8</sup> Pringle and Jacobson clearly depict the physical background of the “rubble barricade”:

The barricade was the central point of the killing field, bound to the north by aggro corner and the south by the Free Derry Corner. To the east of the barricade were three blocks of the Rossville flats. To the west of the barricade was Glenfada Park—two sets of four three-storey blocks of brick and stucco maisonettes, each with a central courtyard for parking cars, and Abbey Parks. (161)

<sup>9</sup> See O'Mahony and Delanty, “Origins and Context of Irish National Identities” in *Rethinking Irish History: Nationalism, Identity and Ideology*. This chapter introduces and analyses the history of Irish Nationalism and its mobilization from the nineteenth century.

<sup>10</sup> Penal Laws, ‘popery laws’ starting from the seventeenth century, intentionally excluded Catholics from political and administrative structures of hierarchy and further repressed Catholic worshiping, depriving lands and rights of the Irish Church. On the contrary, the enactment of Penal Laws increases and strengthens Protestants’ influence in politics, economics, and properties. See a further introduction to the entry Penal Laws in *The Oxford Companion to Irish History* (438).

**Appendix 1**  
**Timeline of Bloody Sunday and “Butcher’s Dozen”**

Time	1972 Jan. 30	1972 April	1992 Jan.30	1996	1998	2001	2002 Jan. 30
Bloody Sunday	Bloody Sunday	The Widgery Report published	The 20 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of Bloody Sunday		The Saville’s Inquiry launched		The 30 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of Bloody Sunday
“Butcher’s Dozen” in history		Peppercanister Pamphlet	Reissue of 1972’s Peppercanister pamphlet	Revision in Oxford’s <i>Collected Poems</i>		Republished in Carcanet’s <i>Collected Poems</i>	
Politics in Northern Ireland’s history	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Interment, Hunger Strike, Civil Rights Movements.</li> <li>2. Car Bombings happened in London, Dublin, and Belfast</li> <li>3. ‘Direct Rule’ from Westminster</li> <li>4. Anglo-Irish Agreement on November 15, 1985</li> </ol>	<p>Anglo-Irish Talk (Brooke / Mayhew Talk) among Northern Ireland, Irish Republic and Britain from April 1991 to November 1992</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Irish Peace Process launches from 1990s to the present</li> <li>2. The Irish Government’s assessment of Bloody Sunday and the Report of Widgery Tribunal presented to the British Goovernment (June,1997)</li> <li>3. Northern Ireland Peace Pact on April 10, 1998.</li> <li>4. P.M. Tony Blair announced the re-examination of Bloody Sunday on January 29, 1998 in the parliament. The Saville’s Inquiry launched on April 3, 1998 and is still going on now.</li> </ol>				
Other Texts on Bloody Sunday		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Brian Friel’s play <i>The Freedom of the City</i> published in 1973 / reissued in 1992.</li> <li>2. U2’s “Sunday Bloody Sunday” released in 1983’s <i>War</i> album</li> </ol>					<p>Paul Greengrass’s film <i>Bloody Sunday</i>-- Golden Bear Award in Berlin Film Festival</p>
Location/Place	Derry (aka. Londonderry)	London /Dublin	Derry (Londonderry)				The Saville Inquiry is held respectively in-between Derry (Londonderry)--London

# Figure 1. Route of NICRA's March on Bloody Sunday, Jan 30, 1972

(Selected from *Guardian Unlimited Special Report*)

<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/bloody sunday/flash/0,6189,184944,00.html>>

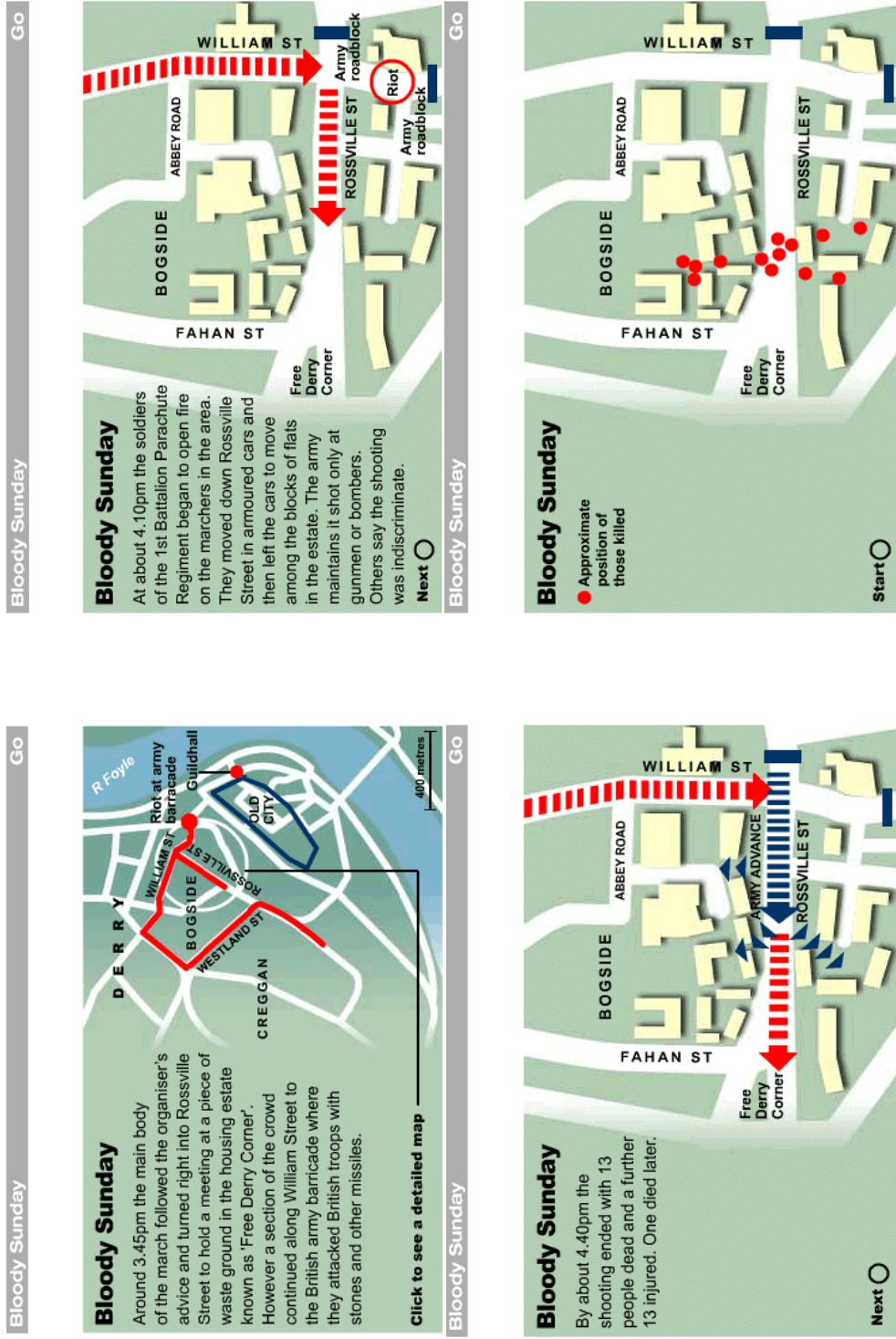




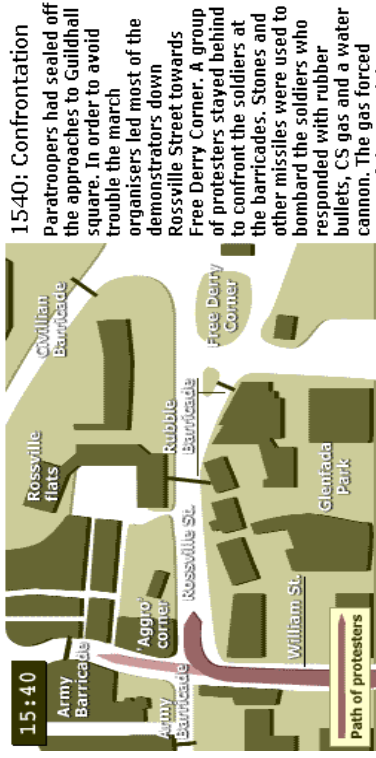
Figure 2. Route of NICRA's March on Bloody Sunday, Jan 30, 1972

(Selected from *BBC Bloody Sunday Inquiry Special Report*)

< [http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in\\_depth/northern\\_ireland/2000/bloody\\_sunday/map/default.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/northern_ireland/2000/bloody_sunday/map/default.stm)>

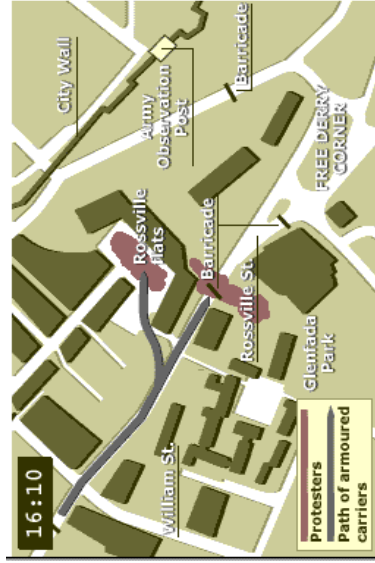


**14:50: The march begins**  
 The demonstration was held in protest at the policy of internment without trial. It was organised by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. About 10,000 people gathered in the Creggan Estate planning to walk to Guildhall Square in the centre of the city, where a rally would be held. The march itself was illegal because the Stormont Parliament had banned all such protests.



**15:40: Confrontation**  
 Paratroopers had sealed off the approaches to Guildhall square. In order to avoid trouble the march organisers led most of the demonstrators down Rossville Street towards Free Derry Corner. A group of protesters stayed behind to confront the soldiers at the barricades. Stones and other missiles were used to bombard the soldiers who responded with rubber bullets, CS gas and a water cannon. The gas forced many of the remaining protesters to take refuge in the Bogside.

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**16:10: Soldiers open fire**  
 The paratroopers had orders to move in and arrest as many of the civil rights marchers as possible. They advanced down Rossville Street into the Bogside. What exactly happened next is not clear. The soldiers say they were fired upon from the Rossville flats as they moved in to make arrests and that they returned fire. The Catholic community says soldiers on the ground and army snipers on the city walls above the Bogside shot unarmed civilians.

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**16:40: Thirteen dead**  
 After 25 minutes of shooting, 13 civil rights marchers were dead. An inquiry by Lord Widgery reported that the paratroopers' firing had "bordered on the reckless". It also concluded the soldiers had been fired upon first and some of the victims had handled weapons. The Catholic community rejected these findings and began the long campaign for another inquiry. In 1998 a fresh inquiry into the events of Bloody Sunday was announced.

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Figure 3. Derry Religion Breakdown: Religious Distribution in Derry  
 (from The Irish Story—Irish History, Maps of Ireland)

<[http://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/maps/towns/derry\\_religion.gif](http://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/maps/towns/derry_religion.gif)>

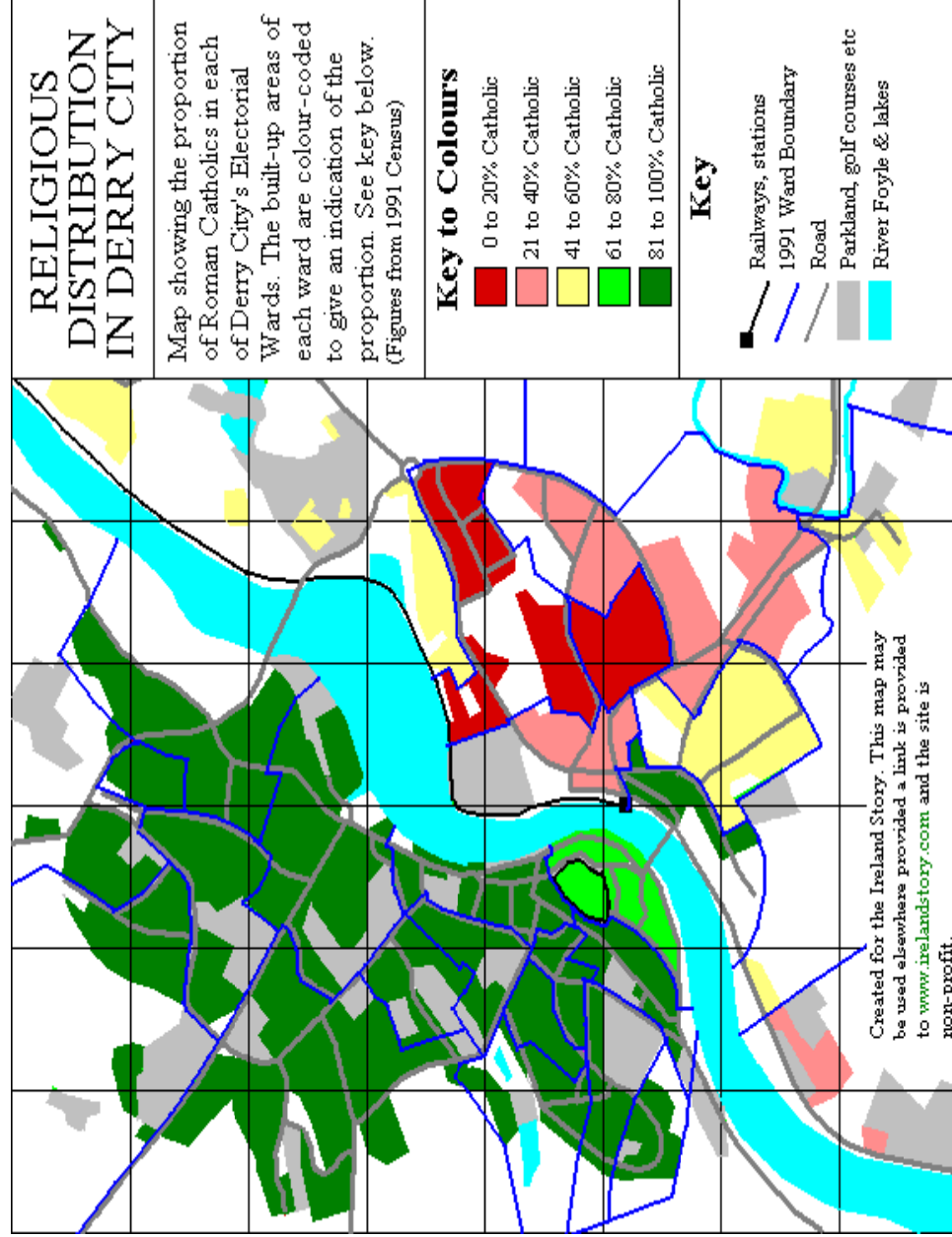
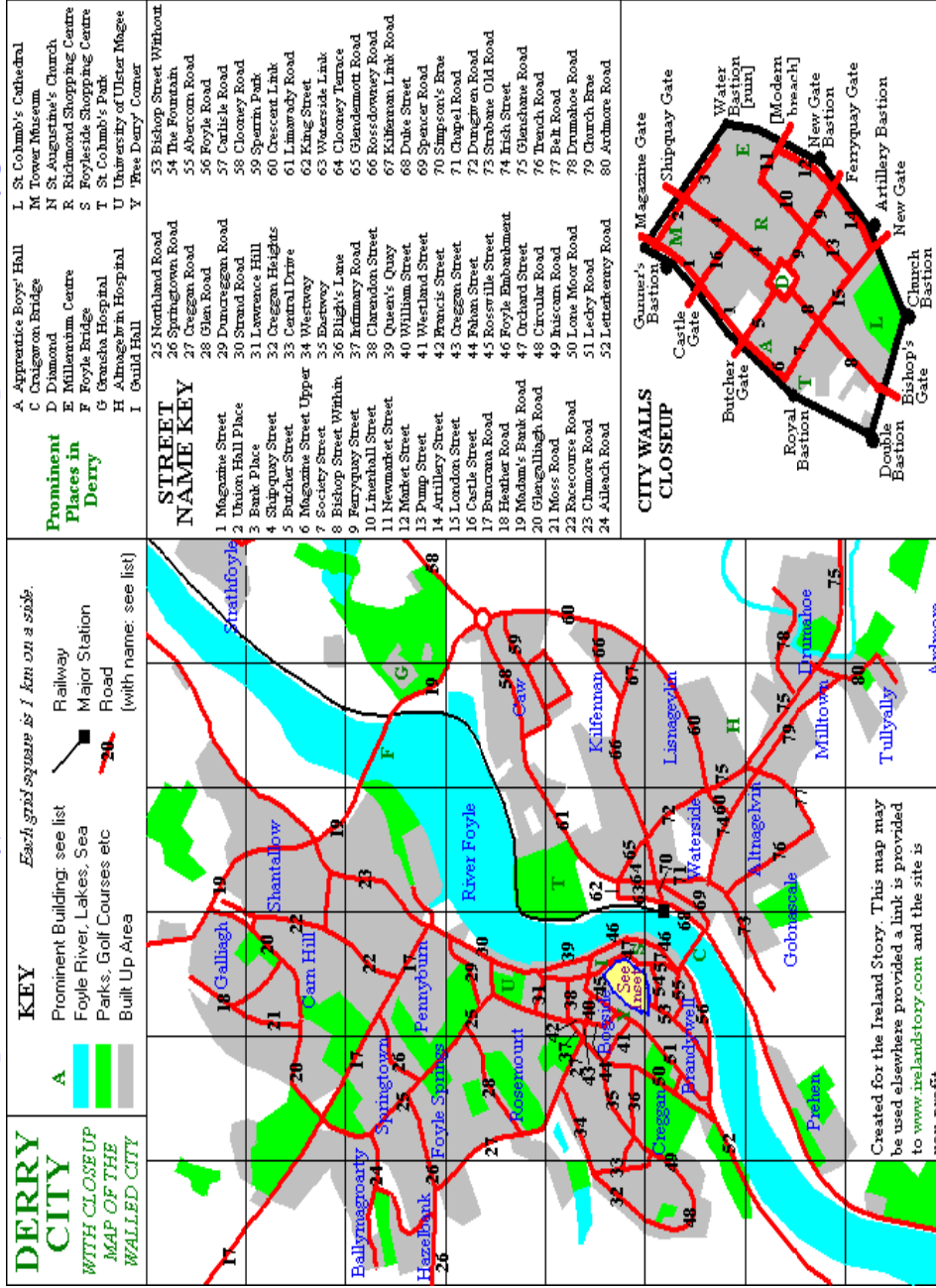


Figure 4. Street Map of Derry City

(from The Irish Story—Irish History, Maps of Ireland)

<<http://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/maps/ireland/maps/towns/derry.gif>>



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