

THE QUOTABLE YEATS: MODIFIED IN THE GUTS OF THE LIVING

by *Geraldine Higgins*

When John F. Kennedy and Bill Clinton invited Robert Frost and Maya Angelou¹ onto their inauguration platforms, they wanted to offer more than political sponsorship of the poetic arts. Politicians who quote poets are seeking to harness a certain kind of poetic energy and to appeal to a constituency which is always broader than the poetic. According to Derek Mahon, “A good poem is a paradigm of good politics—of people talking to each other with honest subtlety at a profound level.”² Much debate has taken place about the connections between poetry and politics and indeed about what constitutes the political in poetry leading to Edna Longley’s oft quoted statement: “poetry and politics, like Church and State, should be separate. And for the same reasons: mysteries distort the rational processes which ideally prevail in social relations; while ideologies confiscate the poet’s special passport to *terra incognita*.”³ I do not intend to follow Edna Longley into *terra incognita* without a passport. Rather in this paper, I would like to reverse the direction of the inquiry and to look at the ways in which politicians have quoted and misquoted Yeats during certain key speeches in recent Irish history.

Yeats has become the poet of choice for politicians seeking to engage in a type of literary shorthand. Like Shakespeare, Yeats wrote poems that are full of quotes—Irish and international audiences have a certain familiarity with Yeats—from Chinua Achebe’s “Things fall apart” and Joan Didion’s “Slouching towards Bethlehem” to the ubiquitous “a terrible beauty is born”—there is little need to gloss the reference. Obviously these politicians, or indeed their speech-writers, intend to display a literariness or concern for the craft of wielding language which raises the rhetorical level of each speech. But can we probe further? Are these politicians engaging with Yeats’s politics and should they be? What does this kind of engagement say about the relationship between the political and the poetic?

A 1996 segment of “All Things Considered” on National Public Radio considered this “poetic predilection” as an “attempt to satisfy the growing need for metaphor in speech and scribe.”⁴ Says former U.S. Senator, Gary Hart, “it sort of improves the politician’s image to drop a line of poetry in a speech occasionally. Whether they know where it came from or who Yeats was, it doesn’t seem to matter.” Gary Hart doubts that Yeats would be very keen on politicians appropriating his work even though he did write the poem called “Politics” which Hart says “wasn’t about Politics at all No, it’s about a man looking at a pretty girl. It says how can I see that girl over there [and] think about politics or economics or anything else.” Hart would probably not get an A in any introductory poetry class for this rather perfunctory paraphrase of the poem. However, his reading of “Politics” raises an interesting question about the intersection of political and poetic discourses—can we ask

a quotation to do anything more than paraphrase or poeticize a political thought or should we pay closer attention to the three verities of literary criticism—context, context, context? According to Helen Vendler, “context is everything. Ripping a line or two out of a poem is something akin to cutting off the head of the Apollo Belvedere statue.”

Nonetheless, headless statues abound in the keynote speeches of Irish and American politicians. Mary Robinson, in her presidential inauguration address invited her audience to “come dance with me in Ireland,” invoking an inclusive Yeats as the symbol of her pluralist Presidency.⁵ Gerry Adams, Albert Reynolds and John Hume have all quoted Yeats and like most of the politicians I surveyed, they borrow most frequently, familiar lines from “Easter, 1916” and “The Second Coming.”

Bill Clinton, in preparation for his second visit to Ireland in 1998 pored over Irish books and briefings which staffers had prepared for him. According to *Irish Voice* publisher, Niall O’Dowd, among the books sent to him were John Ardagh’s *Ireland and the Irish*, Tim Pat Coogan’s *The Troubles*, Conor O’Clery’s *The Greening of the White House*, and a slim volume of poems by William Butler Yeats. “He likes to soak in the atmosphere,” said a senior staffer, “He absorbs information about Ireland; there’s actually very little he doesn’t know about the country.” According to the staffer, in recent times W.B. Yeats has become a favourite poet.⁶ Clinton has indeed quoted Yeats on numerous occasions. For example, during his 1998 visit to Ireland, demonstrating America’s commitment to the Northern Irish peace process, Clinton gave a keynote address in Belfast where he said, “With apologies to Mr. Yeats, the centre *can* hold.” Clinton is far from being the first politician to find in Yeats’s poem a quotable image of millennial anxiety and despair but here he translates Yeats’s apocalyptic vision (“Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold”) into a victory for the third way so beloved of the current centrists in Irish, British and American politics

Columnist William Safire suggests that “The Second Coming” is cited with such reckless abandon that it should be retired as a soundbite source. With even greater force, Niall O’Dowd claims that lines such as “A terrible beauty is born” or “The Centre cannot hold” or “Too long a sacrifice can make a stone of the heart” are used by American politicians “who think they’re very clever using them,” but, he says, “people in Ireland would see that and say, “Oh that’s almost the equivalent of blarney at this stage.”⁷ These lines, have, by repetition out of context, been drained of political currency and now function almost as clichés or dead metaphors.

It is only possible to describe a complex poem such as “The Second Coming” as “blarney” when, in being broken into soundbite fragments, the poem loses its context and is blithely quoted in direct contradiction to its own meaning. Moreover, this poem seems to invite dissenters—it is usually quoted as confirmation of declining moral values (“this filthy modern tide”) or political standards (“The best lack all conviction and the worst are full of passionate intensity”)—only to be contradicted by politicians offering a return to their own conservative standards.

The quotable Yeats becomes the mis-quoted Yeats since the poem is read or rifled outside the context of Yeats’s cyclical system of thought. For Yeats the “rough beast slouching towards Bethlehem” is the annunciation of a new cycle with its own pinnacle of civilization, a necessary oppositional gyre to the democratic Christian phase of history. It is a poem, not about the end of the world, but about the fact that all things come again, albeit in different forms and on different terms. I would not expect Bill Clinton, or his speech-

writers to read *A Vision* or the Preface to *Michael Robartes and The Dancer* in search of a poetic and historical context for the poem.⁸ Critics argue whether the “rough beast” is an analogy for the IRA or the Black and Tans, the Bolshevik revolutionaries or the rise of the Fascists.⁹ Likewise, Yeatsian scholars debate about the balance of terror and fascination in the poem—does Yeats long for this apocalypse or dread the violence of its annunciation?¹⁰ This is not to suggest with Malcolm Brown, that “there has probably never been a reader of ‘The Second Coming’ who has not been dissatisfied with its generalities.”¹¹ Rather, it is to make the obvious point that there are as many Yeats’s as there are readers of Yeats. To invert Dennis Donoghue’s famous claim that Yeats invented a country and called it Ireland, we may now have invented a national poet and called him Yeats.

I will illustrate this remark by turning to one of the culminating moments in the Northern Irish peace process, the awarding of the 1998 Nobel Peace prize to John Hume (leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party) and David Trimble (leader of the Ulster Unionist Party) for their joint efforts in securing the Good Friday agreement which brought a cessation of the thirty year conflict and offered a framework for the accommodation of the “two traditions,” nationalist and unionist, Catholic and Protestant in Northern Ireland.

It is tempting to read in these speeches which are strikingly contrasting in tone, range and reference, an indication of Edna Longley’s contention that Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland tend not only to remember different things but to remember them in different ways. In dealing with the politics of commemoration, she posits that Catholics remember symbolically while Protestants rely on emblem or “silent parable” with an emphasis on text rather than mystery or symbol.¹² I would like to extend this analysis to suggest certain differences in the way in which Trimble and Hume quote Yeats in their respective speeches and also to note the way in which they locate themselves in the wider cultural and political context.

The day after being informed that he and John Hume had just been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, David Trimble wrote an article for the English newspaper, *The Observer* which began by quoting Yeats’s line from “The Lake Isle of Innisfree” about peace “dropping slow”—“Northern Ireland is slowly moving towards peace. Too slowly.” said Mr Trimble. He went on to talk about the need for decommissioning weapons and minds before berating certain be-grudgers in unionism “who cannot lift their eyes from this month’s sectarian dogfight to observe the promising vista unfolding for Northern Ireland as peace and prosperity take hold, and as the taint of political rancour and violence give way to international goodwill.” Significantly, Trimble finished the article with another reference to Ireland’s first Nobel Laureate: “But American investment and a peace prize will not add up to more than Yeats’s nine bean-rows on the Isle of Innisfree without a change of outlook on both extremes.”¹³

Trimble’s use of the nine bean rows does not flow trippingly off the tongue. It is a conscious echo of his use/misuse of “peace comes dropping slow” at the beginning of the article. It also dismisses the nine bean rows as a “hill of beans,” a hopeless harvest for those who trust to money and prizes instead of the harder currency of decommissioned weapons. Moreover, Trimble reads the poem against the grain—his use of peace dropping too slowly is an ironic quip which relies on the audience recognising the reference without necessarily knowing the poem. Thus, when he returns to Yeats’s “nine bean rows,” he transplants them as an image of deficiency rather than the ascetic sufficiency suggested in the poem—“Nine

bean-rows will I have there, a hive for the honey-bee, / And live alone in the bee-loud glade.”

If we compare Trimble’s startling invocation of Yeats’s “The Lake Isle of Innisfree” to Hume’s easy assumption of Yeats in his Nobel acceptance speech, the difference between these uses of Yeats’s lines out of context becomes even more striking. Hume said:

In the past 30 years of our conflict there have been many moments of deep depression and outright horror. Many people wondered whether the words of W.B. Yeats might come true

“Too long a sacrifice Can make a stone of the heart.”

I want to see an Ireland of partnership where we wage war on want and poverty, where we reach out to the marginalised and dispossessed, where we build together a future that can be as great as our dreams allow.¹⁴

Hume’s acceptance speech notably stressed the visionary and the impossible in stark contrast to Trimble’s cautious pragmatism. In the *Irish Times*, Northern editor, Deaglán de Bréadún, called the two politicians, “the romantic and the realist.” Of Hume’s speech, de Bréadún states, “Not for him the austere philosophers Burke, Plato and Rousseau: Hume preferred to strike a poetic note, quoting Yeats, Louis MacNeice and the idealistic vision of Martin Luther King. Hume’s text fitted into the mould of traditional Nobel Prize orations, idealistic, aspirational and visionary.”¹⁵ Hume’s insistence on the coincidence of the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize and the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights widened the context of the Good Friday agreement to include Hume’s personal political journey from the Derry Civil Rights movement to the moment when he stood in Strasbourg as an MEP (Member of the European Parliament) and saw in the healing of post-war Europe a sign that borders and bridges could unite what they had once divided. In quoting MacNeice, Hume seeks to keep his feet on the ground but to set his course by the stars:

The Irish poet, Louis MacNiece wrote words of affirmation and hope that seem to me to sum up the challenges now facing all of us—North and South, Unionist and Nationalist—in Ireland.

“By a high star our course is set, Our end is life. Put out to sea.”

In contrast, Trimble chooses Edmund Burke, hero to conservatives and liberals alike, “a powerful role model of the pluralist Irishman” as his chief intellectual and political role model in his approach to Northern Ireland. As the son of a Protestant father and Catholic mother, Burke is deemed particularly appropriate as precursor since he “recognised and respected his Irish roots and the British Parliamentary system which nursed him to the full flowering of his genius.”¹⁶ However, Trimble also makes some fascinating cultural observations about his community’s hard-headed approach to the word and defends his own lack of “the vision thing” by mocking Hume’s starry course.

It is a truth universally understood that there is no such thing as a free lunch.

That being so, John and I are obliged to sing for our supper. In short some expect us to speak as experts and hand out advice on how to make peace.

Some old hands say that there are two ways to sing for your supper. The first and the safest course, they say, is to make a series of vague and visionary statements. Indeed are not vague and visionary statements much the same thing? The tradition from which I come, but by which I am not confined, produced the first vernacular Bible in the language of the common people, and contributed much to the scientific language of the enlightenment. It puts a great price on the precise use of words, and uses them with circumspection, so much so that our passion for precision is often confused with an indifference to idealism.

Not so. But I am personally and perhaps culturally conditioned to be sceptical of speeches which are full of sound and fury, idealistic in intention, but impossible of implementation; and I resist the kind of rhetoric which substitutes vapour for vision. Instinctively, I identify with the person who said that when he heard a politician talk of his vision, he recommended him to consult an optician.¹⁷

In this speech, Trimble addresses the perennial problem of Unionist Public Relations—while Gerry Adams can command \$500 a plate at his 50th birthday party in New York—Unionism remains “stubbornly unable to charm.”¹⁸ As Longley wryly remarks, “in contrast with the seductions of Dark Rosaleen, nobody can accuse Unionism of being an inspiration to poets.”¹⁹ Trimble here articulates a tradition which emphasizes rationality, precision and circumspection—all weighed against the unnamed “vague and visionary” statements of his Catholic colleague. Unionism, most often caricatured for its reiteration of the word “No,” is now narrated as cultural conditioning, part of a “tradition” here naturalised as common sense. Moreover, Trimble manages to convey the sense that Unionism’s inability to charm on the international stage shows that it is not merely misunderstood but is also an oppressed culture. His rhetorical strategy suggests that Unionists may be politically dominant but the nationalists are culturally ascendant. Trimble here deftly makes a virtue out of the media’s impression that unionists may have all the power but the nationalists have all the poets.²⁰

So where does Yeats come in? It would appear that Trimble has abandoned Yeats for Burke, Amos Oz, and George Keenan in his Nobel speech—he addresses the problems of dealing with revolutionary violence and reissues Burke’s warning not to aim for abstract perfection. However, I would like here merely to point out Trimble’s unacknowledged verbal bridge between Burke and his great apologist, W.B. Yeats, in his closing phrase about the Good Friday agreement, “That agreement showed that the people of Northern Ireland are no petty people.” Here the need to read Yeats against the grain of the “Lake Isle of Innisfree” gives way to an invocation of the defiantly Protestant Yeats—the Yeats who declared his opposition to the proposed legislation against divorce in the theocratic Free State in 1925 by invoking Burke, Grattan, Swift and Goldsmith:

We against whom you have done this thing are no petty people. We are one

of the great stocks of Europe. We are the people of Burke: we are the people of Grattan; we are the people of Swift, the people of Emmet, the people of Parnell. We have created the most of the modern literature of this country. We have created the best of its political intelligence. ²¹ [11 June 1925]

Trimble's truncated echo of this speech confirms that the Yeats he intends to claim may be the Godfather of Irish nationalism, but, above all, he is Protestant, elitist and no republican.²² In a speech which successfully strikes a note of casual erudition, this buried reference to Yeats carries a detonating charge. Yeats's peroration in Conor Cruise O'Brien's words was "not a liberal one; it was the statement of the spokesman of a superior caste, denying the right of inferior castes to make laws for it."²³ Trimble may be claiming to rebuild Craig's "Protestant Parliament for a Protestant People" as "a pluralist parliament for a pluralist people" but he is addressing a constituency which has a traditional resistance to pluralism and requires reassurances that its Protestantism will not be undermined by "the Church of Rome."²⁴

This is not to frame Yeats in terms of the old Belfast joke, "Are you a Catholic or a Protestant?" Answer: "I'm a Jew". "Well, are you a Catholic Jew or a Protestant Jew?" In other words, I am not suggesting a sectarian reading of Yeats which would corall or claim the poet for only one of the two traditions.²⁵ Yeats's Protestantism has long been considered as a complex, illuminating and essential part of his identity, nowhere more sensitively than in Roy Foster's recent biography, *W.B. Yeats: The Apprentice Mage*. However, I am suggesting that the casual peppering of political speeches with quotations from Yeats is not so casual in the context of Northern Ireland. These moments may offer a particularly revealing attempt to construct a tradition and to assert cultural hegemony.

Yeats, like his mythical hero, Cuchulain, has become a site of cultural contestation. Indeed, Cuchulain himself has adapted to changing times and circumstances—for Standish O'Grady in the 1880s, he was the ultimate aristocrat—an Irish Arthur; for Yeats in the 1890s, he became a "protesting individual voice," a heroic demi-god facing down "the vast and slavish multitude"; and for Pearse in 1916, he was the icon where Catholic martyrdom and heroic sacrifice merged. Cuchulain, baptized by Pearse as the hero of the Easter Rising and frozen into iconic bronze in the G.P.O. has now been re-claimed by the "Red Hand" Loyalist paramilitaries who have cast him as defender of Ulster.²⁶ A figure previously associated only with nationalist and republican iconography has been transformed into an Ulster hero. In Ian Adamson's influential invented history, *The Cruthin*, Adamson claims that the republican interpretation of Cuchulain is not only false but part of a wider conspiracy to deny Unionists their own history. According to Adamson,

So total has become the Gaelic domination in language and culture that even in these modern times Gaelic Ireland is synonymous with Irish Nationalism, and the Gaelic tongue is unequivocally known as Irish. That the Irish Gaelic suffered under late English domination is but one side of the coin which carries on its reverse the long cruel extermination of the population and culture of the ancient kindred of the Ulster people. ²⁷

Hence, the propaganda battle which saw Cuchulain claimed by both the Anglo-Irish elite and the Catholic nationalist intelligentsia in the early part of this century is today played out in the murals of East and West Belfast.

Are we seeing a similar trend in the movement of Yeats across the great divide? It is hard to imagine Ian Paisley or even the former leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, Jim Molyneaux, quoting Yeats. But David Trimble, who danced down the Garvaghy road holding hands with Paisley and more recently held hands with Bono and Hume, may have a livelier, more provocative and ultimately more interesting definition of Protestant culture in mind, one which takes into account Yeats's own description of "the two traditions":

I had noticed that Irish Catholics among whom had been born so many political martyrs had not the good taste, the household courtesy and decency of the Protestant Ireland I had known, yet Protestant Ireland seemed to think of nothing but getting on in the world. I thought we might bring the two halves together if we had a national literature that made Ireland beautiful in the memory, and yet had been freed from provincialism by an exacting criticism, a European pose.²⁸

Yeats himself believed that the poet could interact with history to influence events. His own fears about the recruiting power of *Catbleen ni Houliban* led to the most famous line of confessional self-doubt in Irish poetry, "Did that play of mine send out certain men the English shot?" With Paul Muldoon, we might chorus, "Certainly not,"²⁹ but Yeats's sense of responsibility is not merely rhetorical. It is ironic that the poet who most longed to reshape Ireland along lineaments he himself had chosen should be the unseen laureate of so many political constituencies. As he said himself, in quoting T.W. Rolleston's poem "Clonmacnoise" in the Senate in 1925, "I think I am the first person who has quoted a poem in the Seanad. I only do so because I am sure the poem will be, to use the appropriate words, "a definite asset."³⁰

NOTES

1. At Bill Clinton's inauguration as President on January 20, 1993, Maya Angelou said, "History, despite its wrenching pain, cannot be un-lived, but if faced with courage, need not be lived again." When Clinton visited Northern Ireland in September 1998, Seamus Mallon (Deputy Prime Minister) quoted these lines during his welcoming speech at Belfast's Waterfront.
2. Derek Mahon, "Poetry in Northern Ireland," *20th Century Studies*, 4 (1970), 93.
3. Edna Longley, "Poetry and Politics in Northern Ireland," *Crane Bag*, 9:1 (1985), 26-37.
4. "Politicians and Their Quoting of William Butler Yeats," *All Things Considered* (NPR), March 15, 1996. All subsequent references in this paragraph are from this source.
5. See Mary Robinson, "The Inaugural Speech," in Donovan, Jeffares and Kennelly eds. *Ireland's Women: Writings Past and Present* (London: Kyle Cathie, 1994), 253-6. President Robinson was also fond of quoting Eavan Boland, Seamus Heaney and Paul Durcan.
6. Niall O'Dowd, "Euphoria over but Clinton determined peace will hold," *Irish Times*, August 28, 1998.
7. "Politicians and Their Quoting of William Butler Yeats," *All Things Considered* (NPR), March 15, 1996.
8. See W.B. Yeats, *A Vision* (rev. ed.; London: Macmillan, 1962), 263.
9. See Edna Longley, "Helicon and ni Houliban: *Michael Robartes and the Dancer*" in Jonathan Allison, ed. *Yeats's Political Identities* (Michigan: Michigan UP, 1996), 203-20.

10. See Elizabeth Cullingford, "From Democracy to Authority" in Jonathan Allison, ed. *Yeats's Political Identities* (Michigan: Michigan UP, 1996), 61-80.
11. Malcolm Brown, *The Politics of Irish Literature* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1972), 171.
12. Edna Longley, "The Rising, The Somme and Irish Memory," in *The Living Stream: Literature and Revisionism in Ireland* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Bloodaxe, 1994), 69-85. As a further example of distinctions in Catholic and Protestant interpretive strategies it is interesting to note that when free copies of the Framework Document were placed in post offices throughout Northern Ireland, they disappeared within a few hours. The English newspaper, *The Guardian*, quipped that the IRA had pored over it like a group of academic deconstructionists. However, in the ensuing political debate, Unionists tended to have a legalistic and textual approach to the document—citing, paragraph 3, section 2 etc. (in other words, "chapter and verse") while Nationalists referred to "the spirit of the document"—again inferring a different emphasis in reading practice, between the spirit and the letter of the law.
13. David Trimble, "Comment: We must harness the Peace Prize for the economic good of all," *Observer*, October 18, 1998, 29.
14. John Hume, *Nobel Lecture*, Oslo, December 10, 1998. Hume also quoted Yeats in praising the "passionate intensity" of the international array of politicians who had helped to broker the peace agreement.
15. Deaglán de Bréadún, "Contrasting Words of the Romantic and the Realist," *Irish Times*, December 11, 1998.
16. David Trimble, *Nobel Lecture*, Oslo, December 10, 1998.
17. David Trimble, *Nobel Lecture*, Oslo, December 10, 1998.
18. Edna Longley, "What do Protestants Want?" *Irish Review*, 20 (1997), 104-120.
19. Edna Longley, "Poetry and Politics in Northern Ireland," *Crane Bag*, 9:1 (1985), 26-37.
20. Seamus Heaney's treatment as a spokesman for nationalism by some media outlets is a case in point—when Heaney moved from Northern Ireland to Southern Ireland in 1972, the *Protestant Telegraph* reported that "the well known papist propagandist is on his way to his spiritual home in the popish republic." More recently, in his 1996 poetry collection *The Spirit Level*, Heaney recalls a 1979 encounter with an acquaintance in the IRA: "When for fuck's sake, are you going to write / Something for us? 'If I do write something, / Whatever it is, I'll be writing for myself.'" "The Flight Path," *The Spirit Level* (London: Faber and Faber, 1996), 25.
21. W.B. Yeats, "Debate on Divorce," *The Senate Speeches of W.B. Yeats*, ed. Donald R. Pierce (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), 99.
22. Yeats also features in the commentary about Trimble's speech. In Tim Pat Coogan's scathing review of the speech in *Ireland on Sunday*, he writes "to paraphrase Yeats, a most uncouth Beast has slunk back from Oslo to Belfast. Its name is David Trimble."
23. Conor Cruise O'Brien, "Passion and Cunning: An Essay on the Politics of W.B. Yeats (Excerpt)," ed. Jonathan Allison, *Yeats's Political Identities* (Michigan: Michigan UP, 1996), 33.
24. See Ian Paisley's most recent speech opening his election campaign for the European parliament: "John Hume thinks, because he has been accorded with David Trimble the Nobel Peace Prize, that he will also be accorded for the first time, top of the poll position. I am the only candidate on the unionist side who can keep John Hume from achieving his goal... That is the primary issue of this election. It is a roll call of the Ulster people to reverse the disaster of the government, backed by republicanism, to take over our beloved country." Ian Paisley, reported in *Irish Times*, 24 February, 1999.
25. It is also important to note that Yeats's speech against divorce legislation was at least partly prompted by fears about its implications for the possibility of a future United Ireland: "If you show that this country Southern Ireland, is going to be governed by Catholic ideas and Catholic ideas alone, you will never get the North." See W.B. Yeats, "Debate on Divorce," *The Senate Speeches of W.B. Yeats* ed. Donald R. Pierce (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), 92.
26. See James W. McAuley, "Cuchullain and an RPG-7: the ideology and politics of the Ulster Defence Association," in Eamon Hughes, ed. *Culture and Politics in Northern Ireland 1960-1990* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991), 45-68.
27. Ian Adamson, *The Cruibin* (Donard, 1974) 15. Browsers on the Official Unionist web site may also be interested in items for sale which include UUP rosettes, plaques, ties, ladies scarves with the Ulster motif, pens, key rings and a pamphlet called "Cuchulain—the Lost Legend, Ulster—the Lost Culture."
28. W.B. Yeats, *Autobiographies* (London: Macmillan, 1955), 101-2.
29. Paul Muldoon, "7, Middagh Street," *Meeting the British* (Winston-Salem: Wakeforest, 1987), 45.
30. W.B. Yeats, "Historic Monuments," *The Senate Speeches of W.B. Yeats*, ed. Donald R. Pierce (London: Faber

and Faber, 1961), 89.

WORKS CITED

- Brown, Malcolm. *The Politics of Irish Literature*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1972.
- de Bréadún, Deaglán. "Contrasting Words of the Romantic and the Realist." *Irish Times* 11 December, 1998.
- Hume, John. *Nobel Lecture*. Oslo, December 10, 1998.
- Longley, Edna. "Poetry and Politics in Northern Ireland." *Crane Bag* 9:1 (1985): 26-37.
- . "The Rising, The Somme and Irish Memory." *The Living Stream: Literature and Revisionism in Ireland*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Bloodaxe, 1994. 69-85.
- . "What do Protestants Want?" *Irish Review* 20 (1997): 104-120.
- . "Helicon and ni Houlihan: *Michael Robartes and the Dancer*" in Jonathan Allison, ed. *Yeats's Political Identities*. Michigan: Michigan UP, 1996. 203-20.
- Mahon, Derek. "Poetry in Northern Ireland." *20th Century Studies* 4 (1970): 89-93.
- Muldoon, Paul. *Meeting the British*. Winston-Salem: Wakeforest, 1987.
- McAuley, James W. "Cuchullain and an RPG-7: the ideology and politics of the Ulster Defence Association." in Eamon Hughes, ed. *Culture and Politics in Northern Ireland 1960-1990*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991. 45-68.
- O'Brien, Conor Cruise. "Passion and Cunning: An Essay on the Politics of W.B. Yeats (Excerpt)." Ed. Jonathan Allison, *Yeats's Political Identities*. Michigan: Michigan UP, 1996. 29-59.
- O'Dowd, Niall. "Euphoria over but Clinton determined peace will hold." *Irish Times* August 28, 1998.
- "Politicians and Their Quoting of William Butler Yeats," *All Things Considered* (NPR), March 15, 1996.
- Robinson, Mary. "The Inaugural Speech." In Donovan, Jeffares and Kennelly, eds. *Ireland's Women: Writings Past and Present*. London: Kyle Cathie, 1994. 253-6.
- Trimble, David, "We must harness the Peace Prize for the economic good of all." *Observer* October 18, 1998: 29.
- . *Nobel Lecture*. Oslo, December 10, 1998.
- Yeats, W.B. *Autobiographies*. London: Macmillan, 1955.
- . "Debate on Divorce." *The Senate Speeches of W.B. Yeats*. Ed. Donald R. Pierce London: Faber and Faber, 1960.
- . "Historic Monuments." *The Senate Speeches of W.B. Yeats*. Ed. Donald R. Pierce London: Faber and Faber, 1960.
- . *Variorum Edition of the Poems of W.B. Yeats*. Eds. Peter Allt and Russell K. Alspach. New York: Macmillan, 1957.
- . *A Vision*. Rev. Ed. London: Macmillan, 1962.