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The Transformation of Modern Irish Poets' Social Consciousness: Their Reference and Attitude to the Green Symbolism

YAMASAKI Hiroyuki

The present paper attempts to compare political rebel ballads written by patriotic poets including W. B. Yeats before the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1921 with artistic poems written by modern Irish poets after the establishment, with particular reference to the colour green, a symbol for Irish nationalism. The aim of the comparison is to demonstrate that the former poets' attitude to the colour is definitely different from the latter poets' and to examine how the latter ones' social consciousness has been transformed after the establishment. To apply Said's theory of decolonization here, the former poets including Yeats, who are publicly committed to Irish nationalism belong to the first period of nationalistic anti-imperialism. In contrast, the latter poets belong to the second period of liberation. Indeed, the latter poets' attitude to the colour green varies from one poet to another. One poet is deeply committed to it, but not politically. It makes another poet feel nostalgia for his childhood it recalls to his mind. Yet another is sarcastic about its implication of intolerance, and the others are sharply critical of its unreality as a symbol. But they have unanimously articulated their individual mind to see the colour in their own way. In other words, they have more or less abandoned a public version of Irish nationalism for an individualist version of it. The social consciousness of the rebel ballad singers is firmly and inseparably connected with national consciousness, whereas the one of the modern Irish poets seems to have been transformed beyond national consciousness into the awareness of human freedom.

1. Introduction.

The present paper tries first to examine the reference and attitude to the green symbolism of patriotic rebel ballad singers including W. B. Yeats, in the political rebel ballads which they wrote after the Rebellion of United Irishmen in 1798 and before the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1921 and then to compare their reference and attitude with those in the poems which such leading Irish poets after Yeats as Louis Macneice, Seamus Heaney, Paul Durcan, Tom Paulin and Paul Muldoon wrote after the establishment. As far as my limited knowledge extends, unlike the use of the green symbolism in rebel ballads, no critical attention has been paid to that in artistic

poems by these poets. The paper aims to demonstrate that these modernist poets have more or less abandoned the rather public version of Irish identity and nationalism for a more personal version of them and to examine how their social consciousness has been transformed after 1921.

According to *The Oxford Companion to Irish History* (*Irish History* 1998, p.200), the colour green has been identified as the Irish national colour. The use of green as the distinctive Irish national colour can be traced back to the 17th century. A standard or flag used by the forces of Owen Roe O' Neill had a harp on a green background. The royal arms of Ireland, devised for James I, also had a harp, though on a blue background. The harp and crown, along with green and blue but also other colours, featured on many of the flags of the Volunteers. Green flags and ribbons were widely used by supporters of the United Irishmen before and during the insurrection of 1798, while loyalists made equally prominent use of Orange insignia. The idea of combining orange and green colours to symbolize the reconciliation of Catholic and Protestant was first reported in the 1830s. The tricolour, with orange and green separated by white was first widely adopted by Young Ireland and in the rebellion of 1845. It continued to be used in the decades that followed, but was less common as a nationalist emblem than the green harp. It was only after the rising of 1916 that the tricolour became the distinctive emblem of the newly dominant militant nationalism. It was adopted as the national flag of the Irish Free State in 1921. The British government, for its part, sought to deploy green and the harp for United Kingdom purposes, in the flags of Irish regiments and on state occasions within Ireland itself. From 1801 the cross of St Patrick was added to the Union Jack, but this continued to be viewed by all sides, both before and after partition, as a unionist emblem. The Flags and Emblems Act (1954) testified to the continued potency of rival flags as emblems of dominance and defiance in a divided Northern Ireland. The new state had to redeem its culture by cleansing it of its colonial impurities, and retrieving what had been blemished or repressed by those who had occupied it. The post-colonial Ireland after 1921, driven by the cultural nationalism, has anxiously sought its pure and original culture, as a means to retrieve its "authentic" tradition. Thus, in this period of cultural nationalism, green has become a symbol of its pure, original, authentic, and traditional culture to restore.

The brief survey of the colour green on the national level is not free from the inevitable simplification of its complex state of affairs. Indeed, the survey can fully

account for the ballad singers' public and nationalistic attitude to the green symbolism, but not for the attitudes to the symbol of Irish modernist poets after Yeats like Macneice, Heaney, Durcan, Paulin and Muldoon, which, varying from one poet to another, are invariably personal and complex.

2. The Ballad Singers' Reference and Attitude to the Green Symbolism in Rebel Ballads.

The ballad tradition in Ireland extends back at least to the closing decade of the 16th century, but its history in modern Ireland is more commonly associated with the widespread publication of ballad sheets and chapbooks from the middle of the 18th century onwards. The colour green of the national flower shamrock was the colour for cultural nationalism or revolution in Ireland, since the Rebellion of 1798 called "United Irishmen," and numerous songs were composed and distributed in broadsheets to pronounce nationalistic feeling (*The Field Day Anthology* 1991, pp.108-109). They have been known by the name rebel ballads ever since. W. B. Yeats recorded a number of rebel ballads in *A Book of Irish Verse*, a volume of collected modern Irish poems he edited and published in 1900. They are all set in the Rebellion of 1798. They most typically illustrate each poet's public attitude to the green symbolism which is common to rebel ballads in general. According to his introduction, Yeats endeavoured in the book "to separate what has literary value from what has a patriotic and political value, no matter how sacred it has become to us" (*A Book of Irish Verse* 1900, p.xv). This passage suggests that when he wrote it he kept those rebel ballads in mind and that he recorded them because they had "literary value rather than a patriotic and political value."

"The Wearing of the Green" dates from about 1800; several versions were printed in the nineteenth century. It sings rebellion against England as the oppressive colonizer which forbids Irishmen to wear the green and enforces them to wear the red instead by law, which is a symbol for England: Here the poet speaks not as "I," but "we." Moreover he refers to England and its law, and Ireland and its most important national holiday, St. Patrick's day. These facts suggest that his attitude to the green is entirely public. It is extremely hard to find out any private thought and feeling here.

Paddy dear, and did you hear the news that's going round?
The shamrock is forbid by law to grow on Irish ground;
St. Patrick's day no more we'll keep, his colours can't be seen,
For there's a bloody law agin [against] the wearing of the green....

Then if the colour we must wear be England's cruel red,
Let it remind us of the blood that Ireland has shed.
You may take the shamrock from your hat and cast it on the sod,
But 'twill take root and flourish there, though underfoot 'tis trod.
(*A Book of Irish Verse* 1900, pp.235-236)

The most popular version of "The Shan Van Vocht" dates from 1797, although the first printed version occurs in *The Nation* (29 October 1842). Originally it is said to have been apolitical, dealing with the theme of a young man married to an old woman (*The Field Day Anthology* 1991, p.109). In this rebel ballad, too, the green is used as the colour of the shamrock which in turn connotes free and independent Ireland. The narrator of the ballad is the shan van vocht which means the little old woman as a symbol for Ireland.

O! THE French are on the sea,
 says the shan van vocht;
The French are on the sea,
 says the shan van vocht;
O! the French are in the bay,
They'll be here without delay,
And the Orange will decay,
 says the shan van vocht....

And what colour will they wear?
 Says the shan van vocht;
What colour will they wear?
 Says the shan van vocht;
What colour should be seen
Where our fathers' homes have been,

But our own immortal Green?

Says the shan van vocht....

Will Ireland then be free?

Says the shan van vocht;

Yes! Ireland shall be free,

From the centre to the sea;

Then Hurra! for Liberty!

Says the shan van vocht.

(*A Book of Irish Verse* 1900, pp.234-235)

Wolfe Tone, a founding father of modern Irish republicanism, travelled to France in 1796 to seek military support (*Irish History* 1998, p.568). A small French force arrived too little and too late to find the United Irish movement shattered and the government engaged in a brutal mopping-up operation (*Modern Irish Culture*, p.586). Despite the historical fact, the little old woman in the capacity of Ireland appeals to the reader for the liberty of Ireland, believing in “our own immortal Green” and the decay of “the Orange,” which is symbolic of England. She is unequivocally committed to the programmatic nationalism.

“Aghadoe,” a rebel ballad by John Todhunter, sings of “the trouble” which came to the green and silent glade in the glen of Aghadoe, the site of a medieval monastic church in County Kerry, Ireland. A young man who joined in the Rebellion and escaped from the government’s mopping-up operation and hid with the help of his lover in Aghadoe was finally arrested due to her son’s treachery and was beheaded and now sleeps like an Irish King in Aghadoe. A familiar contrast between two colour symbols, “a green and silent glade” and “the red-coats” can be seen in this ballad, too. Although this ballad appears to be a tragic love song, its real motive is not private and emotional, but public and political in that it allegorically expresses the love of Ireland and the hatred for England.

There’s a glade in Aghadoe, Aghadoe, Aghadoe;

There’s a green and silent glade in Aghadoe,

Where we met, my Love and I, Love’s fair planet in the sky,

O’er that sweet and silent glade in Aghadoe.

There's a glen in Aghados, Aghadoe, Aghadoe,
There's a deep and secret glen in Aghadoe,
Where I hid from the eyes of the red-coats and their spies
That year the trouble came to Aghadoe....
Then I covered him with fern, and I piled on him the cairn.
Like an Irish King he sleeps in Aghadoe.
O! I to creep into that cairn in Aghadoe, Aghadoe!
There to rest upon his breast in Aghadoe!
Sure your dog for you could die with no truer heart than I,
Your own love, cold on your cairn in Aghadoe.

(*A Book of Irish Verse* 1900, pp.186-187)

3. W. B. Yeats's Reference and Attitude to the Green Symbolism.

W. B. Yeats (1865-1939) uses the green symbolism in 'The Rose Tree' (1917) and 'Easter, 1916' (1916). In these poems we can see Yeats exposing and more or less deploring the decline of traditional cultures in contemporary Ireland. In 'The Rose Tree' the term green denotes the colour of the leaves, branches and trunks of the rose tree. Since his early poetic career, Yeats has employed the rose as an occult symbol which as Daniel Albright commented (Albright 1990, p.427), "could stand for any desirable thing, and therefore could subsume a multitude of disparate objects." In this nationalistic poem Yeats employs this favourite occult symbol for Irish culture or a free Ireland (Albright 1990, p. 612):

'It needs to be but watered,'
James Connolly replied,
'To make the green come out again
And spread on every side,
And shake the blossom from the bud
To be the garden's pride.'

'But where can we draw water,'
Said Pearse to Connolly,
'When all the wells are parched away?'

O plain as plain can be
 There's nothing but our own red blood
 Can make a right Rose Tree.' (Albright 1990, p.231)

This poem is one of those rebel ballads which sing of the rebellion against enemies or oppressive rulers. I should like to propose here that when Yeats wrote these poems he had in mind the anonymous rebel ballads called 'The Wearing o' the Green' (1800?) and 'The Shan Van Vocht.' Indeed, as Roy Foster suggests (*W. B. Yeats* 2003, p.88), it endorses the two leaders of the Easter Rising, Pearse and Connolly more clearly than 'Easter, 1916' does. It is true that the poem is written as a dialogue in which the two leaders quite casually converse on the Easter sacrifice so that the reader may feel the poet somewhat distancing from what they converse. Yet Yeats here seems to be unequivocally committed to Pearse's appeal for violence that "There's nothing but our own red blood/Can make a right Rose." Almost the same thing can be said of 'Easter, 1916' in which the colour green denotes the colour of the shamrock, the national flower of Ireland. Yeats writes in the last stanza of the poem:

I write it out in a verse—
 And Connolly and Pearse
 Now and in time to be,
 Wherever green is worn,
 Are changed, changed utterly:
 A terrible beauty is born. (Albright 1990, p.230)

'Easter, 1916' was written immediately after the British execution of fifteen nationalist leaders of the Easter Rebellion of 24 April, 1916, when some 700 members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood occupied the centre of Dublin and proclaimed the founding of an Irish state no longer under the dominion of the British crown. The poem as a whole may not always look like a typical rebel ballad. But the last stanza is undoubtedly a rebel ballad. The poem turns on the mutation of comedy into tragedy. The rebels of 'Easter, 1916' are comedians full of idiosyncrasy until the rebellion begins. Then, under a kind of historical pressure, the rebels grow impersonal and universal. In his portraits of the rebels, Yeats shows how ordinary young men can be altered by their involvement in the rebellion into self-resignation and self-

oblivion. In the last stanza the jaded phrase "Wherever green is worn" which reminds us of the rebel ballad 'The Wearing of the Green' as well as the repeated phrase "terrible beauty" helps to heighten the tragic sense of their rebellion. In the first line of the stanza, Yeats as a patriotic poet openly declares that he would perform "his public, textual duty to name and praise the warrior dead" as Declan Kiberd aptly suggested (Kiberd 1995, p.213). Thus his reference and attitude to the colour green here do imply his deep commitment to the cultural nationalism of Ireland.

4. Seamus Heaney's Reference and Attitude to the Green Symbolism.

Seamus Heaney (1939-) refers to the colour green in 'The Diviner.' Heaney uses the term green as the colour of natural objects in this poem as he does in a number of his others poems with the green symbolism. It denotes the colour of the hedge from which the water-diviner cuts a forked hazel stick. In Ireland the water-diviners have traditionally employed it as the divining rod to discover the exact location of the underground water. This poem vividly describes the intuitive or supernatural skill of a water-diviner. It suggests that the colour green not only denotes the realistic colour of the hazel stick, but connotes a symbolic sign of Ireland's traditional culture running deep in the ground like water.

Cut from the green hedge a forked hazel stick
 That he held tight by the arms of the V:
 Circling the terrain, hunting the pluck
 Of water, nervous, but professionally

Unfussed. The pluck came sharp as a sting.
 The rod jerked down with precise convulsions,
 Spring water suddenly broadcasting
 Through a green aerial its secret stations. (*Contemporary Irish Poetry* 1986, p.26)

The bystanders would ask to have a try.
 He handed them the rod without a word.
 It lay dead in their grasp till nonchalantly
 He gripped expectant wrists. The hazel stirred.

Interestingly the divining rod is likened to “a green aerial,” namely a telecommunications antenna used in modern times to send or receive signals equally in all directions. What we see here is a clever combination of the traditional natural colour and the modern telecommunication technology. The combination looks far-fetched. But it is not, because as Christopher Ricks points out (Allen 1997, p.22), the term “stations” has a simple and honourable place in traditional praises of nature like “the stars in their stations” and because ‘broadcasting’ did originally mean scattering seed: the modern sense is the metaphorical one, borrowed from country life. The poet exposes the modern Irishmen’s lack of such a skill and insinuates that the modernization of Ireland represented by the spread of telecommunications technology destroyed it. This poem does imply that something like the intuitive or supernatural skill of a traditional Irish diviner is needed here and now by modern Irish men including the poet himself. What he tries here to protest against is not the dominion of the British crown any more, but the modern civilization of Ireland. The poet’s calm and collected attitude to both the water-diviner and the bystanders reveals his awareness of the common people’s indifference to Ireland’s traditional culture. Heaney is deeply committed to what the colour green implies, but is far from being political.

5. Louis MacNeice’s Reference and Attitude to the Green Symbolism.

MacNeice (1907-1963) refers to the colour green in ‘Autobiography.’ He writes:

In my childhood trees were green
And there was plenty to be seen.

Come back early or never come.

My father made the walls resound,
He wore his collar the wrong way round.

Come back early or never come.

My mother wore a yellow dress;
Gently, gently, gentleness.

Come back early or never come.

When I was five the black dreams came;
Nothing after was quite the same.

Come back early or never come.

The dark was talking to the dead;
The lamp was dark beside my bed.

Come back early or never come.

When I woke they did no care;
Nobody, nobody was there.

Come back early or never come. (Contemporary Irish Poetry 1986, pp.11-12)

In this poem, the term green presumably denotes the colour of the shamrock trees at his native place. Hence it may connote Ireland's culture in general. MacNeice was born into a clerical family. He spent his childhood in the town of Carrickfergus on the northern shore of Belfast Lough, where his father was rector of the local Church of Ireland parish. As many critics have pointed out, he was in many respects a displaced person (*Modern Irish Culture* 1999, pp.369-370). He has been well-known to be a poet of melancholy. This poem as a whole is typically melancholic as can be seen in his reference to the black dream he experienced when he was five years old. It is noteworthy that the poet refers a little nostalgically not only to the plenty of exuberant green trees but to his gentle mother who wore a yellow dress gently. This fact indicates his characteristically Anglo-Irish ambiguity about his native country Ulster and about independent Ireland. The latter half of this poem allegorically exposes the political and cultural conflicts between North and South and conveys his constitutional alienation from them. MacNeice's attitude to the colour and its connotative meanings is neither of Unionist kind nor of Republican kind, but of a purely personal nostalgia for his happy childhood.

6. Paul Durcan's Reference and Attitude to the Green Symbolism.

Paul Durcan's (b. 1944) reference to the word green can be seen in a poem called 'Making Love outside Áras an Uachtaráin.'

When I was a boy, myself and my girl
Used bicycle up to the Phoenix Park;
Outside the gates we used lie in the grass
Making Love outside Áras an Uachtaráin.

Often I wondered what de Valera would have thought
Inside in his ivory tower
If he knew that we were in his green, green grass
Making Love outside Áras an Uachtaráin.

Because the odd thing was – oh how odd it was –
We both revered Irish patriots
And we dreamed our dreams of a green, green flag
Making Love outside Áras an Uachtaráin.

But even had our names been Diarmaid and Grainne
We doubted de Valera's approval
For a poet's son and a judge's daughter
Making Love outside Áras an Uachtaráin.

I see him now in the heat-haze of the day
Blindly stalking us down;
And, levelling an ancient rifle, he says 'Stop
Making Love outside Áras an Uachtaráin.'

(Contemporary Irish Poetry 1986, p.320)

The green here denotes the colour of the grass outside the official residence of the president of Ireland near the Phoenix Park, Dublin, named Áras an Uachtaráin in Irish language. It also denotes the colour of the national flag. The phrase "Making

love outside *Áras an Uachtaráin*” is repeated at the end of each of the five stanzas. This line summarizes the poet’s individualist attitude to the colour green. The poem is quite paradoxical and even ironical in that it is designed as a rebel ballad to attack de Valera. De Valera was the dominant political figure in the twentieth-century Ireland. He was the last commandant to surrender after the 1916 Easter Rising. He was sentenced to death, but the sentence was reduced to life imprisonment. In 1959 he was elected president of Ireland and started his life at the official residence. His career may be sufficient to show that he was both an authentic patriot and nationalist. This poem does not aim at attacking his lack of nationalistic feeling, but his conservative Catholic view of sexual love. De Valera has been known to have introduced a new constitution in 1937, which recognized the special position of the Roman Catholic church. Also, under pressure from the Roman Catholic hierarchy, de Valera amended the Health Bill so that it was in harmony with God’s law. Durcan is sharply sarcastic to de Valera, who, putting a ban on sexual love, only admires national love. He exposes and criticizes de Valera’s traditional Catholic view of national love which would not admit sexual love. In the final stanza, he tries to defend his own individualist view of national love which is tolerant to sexual love between man and woman (*Modern Irish Culture* 1999, pp.164-165).

7. Tom Paulin’s Reference and Attitude to the Green Symbolism.

Tom Paulin (b. 1949) strategically tries to distance himself from those poets whom I have already discussed above, for they have more or less accepted the colour green as a conventional symbol. Paulin wrote poems of what I provisionally call meta-green symbolism. I would like to define poems of meta-green symbolism as poems in which poets are sceptical of the reality of the traditional green symbolism and trying to get free from what it connotes, namely cultural or political nationalism in Ireland. For example, in a poem called ‘A Written Answer,’ Paulin critically comments on the green symbolism used in a fictitious poem by a fictitious poet:

The poet describes Gough of the Curragh
and by his use of many metric arts
he designs a fictionary universe
which has its own laws and isn’t quite

the same as this place that we call real.
His use of metonymy is pretty desperate
and the green symbolism's a contradiction, ... (*Contemporary Irish Poetry* 1986, p.366)

Paulin, though raised as a Protestant, has been influenced by the Republican principles of the United Irishmen. This poem mocks the fictitious poet's use of the green symbolism designed to describe the unionist General Hubert Gough who led the Curragh mutiny in 1914 in order to oppose Home Rule. As far as the colour green connotes the cultural and political nationalism of republicans, to use it to represent the unionist is a contradiction. In this poem Paulin seems to be mocking himself, who suffers from the deep division within himself between Unionist nationalism and Republican nationalism. In this poem he seems to suggest that the green symbolism can not fully represent Ireland any more as it really is.

8. Paul Muldoon's Reference and Attitude to the Green Symbolism.

The most sophisticated and individualist attitude to the green symbolism can be seen in 'Louis,' a section of the long poem '7, Middagh Street' by Paul Muldoon (1951-) (*Meeting The British* 1987). We can see almost the same implication in this poem as in 'A Written Answer.'

Among the blue flowers of the flax a linnet
sang out 'Lundy'
at the implications of that bleach-green.
'It was merely a figure of speech.'

'Call it what you like.
The grey skies of an Irish Republic

Are as nothing compared to this blue dome.'
He tailed off over the flax-dam.

To return with a charm of goldfinches
who assailed me with their 'Not an inch'

and their 'No', and yet again, 'No.'

As they asperged me with kerosene

I recognized the voice of Sir Edward Carson;

'Bid me strike a match and blow.' (*Meeting the British* 1987, pp.60-61)

Muldoon was born in Count Armagh in 1951. He was educated at Armagh College and Queen's University, Belfast. Since 1987 he has lived in the United States, where he is now Howard G. B. Clark '21 Professor at Princeton University and Chair of the University Center for the Creative and Performing Arts. Between 1999 and 2004 he was Professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford. As a critic points out, this career has caused his Northern roots to have been irretrievably blended into his international canvas (*Modern Irish Culture* 1999, p.396). The title of the section containing the poem suggests that the speaker "I" is Louis MacNeice, who was among the residents and visitors of the Brooklyn-Heights residence, 7, Middagh Street in New York. Probably he acts as a mouthpiece for Muldoon. Through the mouthpiece of MacNeice the poem is presumably intended to convey the sense of Muldoon's constitutional alienation from the political and cultural conflicts between North and South. In fact what we see here is his strategic use of the enigmatic references to Lundy and Sir Edward Carson and of the obscure cultural terms associated with linen industry in Ireland: "the blue flowers of the flax," "that bleach-green," "the flax-dam," and "this blue dome," which is presumably a word to replace "the blue flowers of the flax." A Scots Protestant, Robert Lundy became governor 21 December, 1688. His ineffective attempts to defend the city allowed the Jacobites to force the Williamites into a disorderly retreat behind the walls. Protestants subsequently made 'Lundy the traitor' a symbol, burning his firework-filled effigy, hanging from the Walker pillar, every 18 December (*Modern Irish Culture* 1999, p.361). On the other hand, Carson was elected a Liberal Unionist after a successful legal career in Ireland (*Modern Irish Literature* 1999, p.84). Elected leader of the Irish Unionist Party in 1911, he became regarded by many as the personification of opposition to Home Rule. He was prominent in the setting up of the Ulster Volunteer Force and in the general militarization of the Ulster psyche (*Modern Irish Culture* 1999, p.97). Judging from the brief outline of their career, it is for his lack of commitment to Unionism and Unionist nationalism that conservative Unionists ("a linnet" and "goldfinches")

represented by Carson criticize MacNeice, not budging an inch from their Unionist position.

Linen was Ireland's most important manufacturing industry during the 18th and 19th centuries. It was heavily concentrated in Ulster where it became the lead sector in the industrialization of the eastern half of the province during the 19th century (*Irish History* 1998, p.1317). Flax is an annual plant, one to two feet high, with blue flowers. A flax dam, traditionally called a lint hole in Northern Ireland is not really a dam, but a pool where bundles called beets of flax are placed for about three weeks to soften the stems. The process is called retting. Fibre from flax was cleaned and spun into yarn, woven into linen and bleached (Andrew Moore's teaching resource site 2006, www.universalteacher.org.uk). Woven linen cloth is a pale beige colour and must be bleached to achieve the crisp whiteness. Before the introduction of chemical agents bleaching was done by exposure to sunlight and weather. The cloth was laid out on the ground, bleach-green, preferably on a south-facing slope, pegged to prevent it blowing away, and left to the full effects of the weather (The Ulster Folk Museum 2006, http://www.uftm.org.uk/about_us/). Facilities for bleaching and finishing, and the core markets in the industry, tended to be located in East Ulster in an area known as the linen triangle linking Belfast, Dungannon, and Armagh. So "that bleach-green" in this poem is laden with the overt connotations of history and politics in the service of cultural nationalism. As a figure of speech it may be designed to be not a Republican, but a Unionist emblem of cultural and political nationalism. The phrase may also allude to that bleached green which implicates Lundy the traitor as a symbol for the loss of allegiance to Unionism and Unionist nationalism. It might further imply the colour white as an emblem of the reconciliation of Catholic and Protestant through association with the whiteness which is achieved by bleaching the unbleached linen cloth. Perhaps this poem exposes not only Muldoon's awareness that he is a Lundy the traitor like Macneice, but his view of the colour green that it is no more an emblem of its pure, original, and authentic culture, either Republican or Unionist, to restore, but rather a symbol of the hybrid of both Unionist and Republican cultures as the colonial aftermath.

9. Conclusion.

In 'Yeats and Decolonization' (1988), E. W. Said suggests that there were two

distinct political moments right across the third world including Ireland in the period from World War I to the 1940s and 1950s. One is the period of nationalist anti-imperialism which brought forth all the various independence movements that culminated in the birth of many new states throughout the world. The other is an era of liberation which often followed it and by its very nature involves a transformation of social consciousness beyond national consciousness. He argues that each has its own imaginative culture, the second unthinkable both in politics and history without the first. He also emphasizes that the nationalism of the first moment that formed the initial basis of the second was insufficient, but an absolutely crucial first step. In Said's view, Yeats belonged to the second period because there appeared the Irish Free State by the end of his life (Said 1988, pp. 76, 83). Yet Yeats's patriotic attitude to the green symbolism in his rebel ballads suggests that he arguably belongs to the first one. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the other rebel ballad singers belong to the first one. What about those modernist Irish poets, then? As we have seen, their references to the colour green unanimously reveal their own personalized attitudes to the cultural nationalism which the colour connotes traditionally in the social, cultural, political and historical contexts of both South and North. What the colour denotes in their artistic poems varies from one poet to another. Also, their attitudes to the cultural nationalism the word connotes are subtly different from each other. Indeed, one poet is deeply committed to it, but not politically. It makes another poet feel nostalgia for his childhood it recalls to his mind. Yet another is sarcastic about its implication of intolerance, and the others are sharply critical of its unreality as a symbol. But all of them seem to belong to what Said called the second moment of liberation. I believe that the above analysis has successfully demonstrated that these poems have articulated the poets' individual mind to see the colour green as a national symbol in their own way (Kiberd 1995, p.161) and that their social consciousness has more or less been transformed beyond national consciousness into the awareness of human freedom.

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現代アイルランド詩人の社会意識の変化： 象徴としての緑色に対する彼らの言及と態度

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本論では、イエイツを含む愛国的詩人たちが1922年のアイルランド自由国成立以前に書いた政治的な反逆バラッド (rebel ballad) とイエイツ以後の現代アイルランド詩人たちがアイルランド自由国成立以後に書いた芸術的な詩作品を、特に、アイルランドナショナリズムの象徴としての緑に関連して比較検討することを試みる。比較の目的は、前者の詩人たちの緑色に対する態度が後者の詩人たちのそれと明らかに異なっていることを証明し、1921年以後、後者の詩人たちの社会意識がどのように変化しているかを検討することである。ここでサイドの脱植民地理論を援用すれば、公的にアイルランドナショナリズムに荷担しているイエイツを含む前者の詩人たちは第一期の国家主義的な反帝国主義の時代に属する。これとは対照的に、後者の詩人たちは第二期の解放の時代に属する。なるほど彼らのアイルランドナショナリズムに対する態度は、各人各様である。ある詩人は深く荷担してはいるが、政治的にはなく、別の詩人は緑色が想起させる幼年時代に郷愁的であったり、また別の詩人はこの色が含意する偏狭さを揶揄し、残りの詩人たちは、その象徴としての非現実性を鋭く批判したりといった具合である。しかし、彼らの詩は、一樣に、緑色を独自の距離を置いた態度で眺めようとする詩人たちの個性的な精神を表現している。換言すれば、彼らは多かれ少なかれアイルランドナショナリズムへの公的な姿勢を捨て、個人主義的な姿勢を採用している。反逆バラッドの詩人たちの社会意識がしっかりと分かちがたく国家意識と結びついているのに対して、現代のアイルランド詩人たちのそれは、国家意識を乗り越えて人間の自由の自覚へと変化している。