January 2017

Easter, 1916 Redux

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This essay resonates with the first issue of *International Yeats Studies* in celebrating the centenary of Yeats’s greatest national poem. Written in the aftermath of the Easter Monday (April 24) 1916 rebellion and published privately in England to mark the first anniversary of the uprising, *Easter, 1916* (Clement Shorter, 1917) occupies a conspicuous and frequently misunderstood place in the history of the Yeats canon. No less than five essays in *IYS* 1.1 (Fall 2016) addressed the poem in various respects, and two of those essays have extended the bibliographic record and circumstances related to the dating of the poem. Hence I will build particularly on the new insights of James Pethica, in “‘Easter, 1916’ at Its Centennial: Maud Gonne, Augusta Gregory and the Evolution of the Poem,” and of Matthew Campbell, in “Dating “Easter, 1916.” Pethica’s piece, significantly, is accompanied by an hitherto unpublished essay by Lady Gregory, “What Was Their Utopia?” Without much fanfare, the date of the Shorter edition had been set aright even before this, correcting a long-held critical assumption that the printing must have occurred in late 1916.3

Today, more evidence exists to answer critics who have questioned Yeats’s motives, including his patriotism, for delaying publication of this poem and at least two other poems of its type—“Sixteen Dead Men” and “The Rose Tree”—nearly contemporaries by date of composition yet delayed in publication until late-1920.4 More about those poems anon. “Easter, 1916” met its first, broad, public audience in *The New Statesman* of 23 October 1920 and *The Dial* of November the same year, before being collected in the letterpress edition of *Michael Robartes and the Dancer* (Cuala, 1921). The reason for delay, indeed for extreme caution, was conveyed by Yeats when he advised Shorter to “Please be very careful with the Rebellion poem. Lady Gregory asked me not to sent it you until we had finished our dispute with the authorities about the Lane pictures” (*CL InteLex* 3204; see Foster, *Life* 2 64, and Chapman, *YPM* 84). Lloyd George had succeeded Herbert Asquith as prime minister, and both Yeats and Shorter were already vulnerable over their support for Roger Casement, executed for treason in August 1916. Lady Gregory was “afraid of [the poem’s] getting about & damaging us & she is not timid,” Yeats added. He was echoing much the same concern he had expressed to her at an earlier stage in the Lane controversy, when Lane was still alive, in August 1913, and the trouble was with the Lord Mayor of Dublin and the Corporation. She quotes from Yeats’s letter of 26 August 1913 (*CL InteLex* 2248) in her book *Hugh Lane’s Life and Achievement, with some Account of the Dublin Galleries* (London: John Murray, 1921), page 128:
I do not want to say anything now because, of course, I would sooner have the pictures in a barn than not at all, but if it is finished we must make as good a statement as we can for the sake of the future. Ireland, like a hysterical woman, is principle mad and is ready to give up reality for a phantom like the dog in the fable.

Following Yeats’s remark that “[he] had not thought [he] could feel so bitterly over any public event,” she presented in evidence, without title, his poem “September 1913,” written “at The Prelude—Coleman’s Hatch—Ashdown Forest / Sept. 1913” (on later authority of Mrs. Yeats; see Chapman, YPM 234). “September 1913” and “Easter, 1916” have become as mileposts, or as juxtaposed points used to gauge the development of Yeats’s national feeling during this troubled time in his personal life and in Ireland’s political history. To varying degrees, Pethica, Campbell, and Armstrong have constructed arguments involving Clement Shorter’s printing, although Pethica introduces far more new information in connection with Lady Gregory’s significant influence on the making of the later poem from roughly May 1916 to precisely September 25, 1916, when he finished the early version at Coole Park with Lady Gregory and not, as long supposed, in Normandy with Maud Gonne. We know that a fair copy of stanza IV (headed “III”), dated “Sept. 1916,” is preserved in Lady Gregory’s copy of Yeats’s Collected Works (1908), now housed in the New York Public Library (CM 260). We know that Emory University owns a 4-page autograph copy of the poem, untitled, “in the hand of Lady Gregory with additions and deletions” (MS Collection 600, Box 1, Folder 8; not listed in CM). And we know that she had text to read aloud when canvassing in support of the Lane pictures, in December 1916, among influential sympathizers such as Sir John Lavery for a possible appeal to King George and the royal family. Now we learn from Pethica (IYS 1.1: 42) that Lady Gregory had made for herself a fair copy that she “kept in the second volume of her ballad books” and testified to its being “Copy before [the Shorter] printing—A. Gregory.” Pethica dates this copy from a stop in London “possibly on or near 7 December,” noting:

This manuscript was in the possession of one of Lady Gregory’s grandchildren when I first saw it in 1997. It…had been overlooked on the assumption that it was merely a copy she had made from the 1917 Clement Shorter printing of the poem…. However, it follows the working draft Yeats dated “Sept. 25 1916” [NLI 13,588 (6), 1r–4r], and clearly predates both the fair manuscript copy Yeats sent Shorter on 28 March 1917…and the first surviving typescript identified in George Yeats’s hand as the “First-typed copy with W. B. Yeats’s corrections in his own hand.” [The Lady Gregory copy] bears one emendation in Yeats’s hand to line 71 (“and died” becomes “are dead”). This parallels the change Yeats made on the fair copy he sent to Shorter. (Pethica 48 n. 55)
It seems apropos, therefore, to introduce a facsimile of the legible text that Yeats sent Shorter, on 28 March 1917, beneath a brief cover letter (“I have now copied out the Rebellion poem and enclose it”) and cautionary postscript (“I wonder if you would not mind delaying. Please be very careful with the Rebellion poem. Lady Gregory asked me to send it you until we had finished our dispute with the authorities” etc.; unpublished ALS [369829B], Berg Collection, NYPL; cf. CL InteLex 3204). The enclosed, fair-hand manuscript (not reproduced in Parkinson's Cornell volume) is easy to read and is punctuated somewhat after corrections made on the first typescript (see further below), with a second, fairer typescript expected soon after for the Shorter printing.

Berg AMs, Signed

[1r]

Edward 1916
I have met them at close of day
coming with vivid face
from crowded or dark among grey
eighteenth century houses.
I have passed with a nod and held
or hushed meaningless words
or have lingered awhile and said
while meaningless words,
and thought what I had done
of a mocking tale, or a girl
To please a companion
around the fire at the club
Being certain that they are
But loved when neither is near:
all changed, changed utterly.
A terrible beauty is born.

This woman of whose words I shall
[Note: lines 17–23 are significantly variant—“That woman at whiles would be shrill...//She had ridden well to hounds”; these seven lines would not be revised fully until 1920.]
In the first typescript (HM 43250, below), line 53 here (“Where long legged moore hens dive”) becomes “When <Where> longlegged moorcocks dive”; however, the hyphenation of compounds wins preference as do “hens” over “cocks” in other typescripts made at that time, such as in the Yale typescript, as well as in Clement Shorter’s 1917 printing.
[Note, line 71 (above): “To know they dreamed & died.” becomes “To know they dreamed and are dead.” This revision compares with Pethica’s observation in the newly discovered Gregory copy and in the John Quinn typescript at the Huntington Library (see below).]
Berg AMs, Signed (referred to as NYP [2] by Parkinson) goes with several texts related to production and dissemination of *Easter, 1916* (1917), of which only 25 copies were printed for distribution to Shorter’s friends, including a copy inscribed to “Lady Gregory from WB Yeats May 31 1917” (now in the Berg Collection, NYPL, with a copy of “The Rose Tree” enclosed without title) and a copy inscribed to “Ernest Boyd from WB Yeats June 22 1917” (at the Beinecke Library, Yale University). The latter bears correction to line 25 (“And our wingèd mettlesome horse”) on the printed copy. Next comes the annotated typescript “Easter,” corrected throughout by Yeats (HM 43250), removed from John Quinn’s copy of *Easter, 1916* (RB 129554), and bearing his bookplate. As a general rule, the typescript lacked end-line punctuation (and sometimes elsewhere) before Yeats added punctuation to the typescript, as well as corrected typos, revised lightly, and filled in a blank space to assist the typist with his handwriting. This obviously valuable typescript was chosen as a base-text by Parkinson, against which he collated differences he found in the holograph featured above, in the noted 1917 printed copies, and in ribbon and carbon copies of typescripts such as Yale (1), NLI 30,216 (2) and NLI 13,588 (6), uncorrected carbon copies of one used by Shorter, in two pages, and a three-page ribbon copy located at Sligo. These materials span production of the Shorter edition from its 28 March 1917 submission to at most 31 May but possibly just before 8 April 1917, which was Easter that year. NLI 30,216 (1) is a photostat of the original typescript at the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California. HM 43250 and RB 129554 are compared below.
EASTER.

I have met them at close of the day
Coming with vivid faces
From counter or desk among grey
Eighteenth century houses.
I have passed with a nod of the head
Or polite meaningless words;
Or have lingered a while and said
Polite meaningless words;
Or thought before I had done
Of a mocking tale or a jibe
To please a companion
Around the fire at the club,
Being certain that they and I
But lived where motley is worn:
All changed, changed utterly!
A terrible beauty is born.
That woman at whiles would be shrill
In aimless argument,
Had ignorant goodwill,
All that she got she spent,
Her charity had no bounds;
When young and beautiful
She had ridden well to hounds.
This man had managed a school
And our winged mettlesome horse;
This other his helper and friend
Was coming into his force.

Variants in Shorter 1917

title: Easter, 1916

no numeral I
of day [lacking the]

Eighteenth-century

words,
Or] And

numeral II follows stanza
whiles] while

argument;
good will;

bounds:
beautiful,

An [sic]...wingèd...horse.

no break intended
He might have won fame in the end,
So sensitive his nature seemed,
So daring and sweet his thought;
This other man I had dreamed
A drunken vainglorious lout;
we had done most bitter wrong
To some who are near my heart;
Yet I number him in the song.
He too has resigned his part
In the casual comedy;
we too have been changed in his turn,
Transformed utterly!
A terrible beauty is born.
Hearts with one purpose alone,
Through summer and winter, seem
Enchanted to a stone
To trouble the living stream.
The horse that comes from the road,
The rider, the birds that range
From cloud to tumbling cloud
Minute by minute change,
A shadow of cloud on the stream
Changes minute by minute;
A horse-hoof slides on the brim
And a horse plashes within it.
Longlegged moorcocks dive
And hens to moorcocks call;
Minute by minute they live,
The stone's in the midst of all.

thought.
drunken, vain-glorious
heart,
song;
He, too, has
He, too, has

new stanza III follows
alone

cloud,

brim;
it

call.
live:

followed by stanza break
Too long a sacrifice
Can make a stone of the heart
O when may it suffice?
That is heaven's part; our part
To murmur name upon name
As a mother names her child
When sleep at last has come
On limbs that had run wild.
What is it but night? fall?
No, no, not night but death;
Was it needless death after all?
For England may keep faith
For all she has done and said,
We knew their dream; enough
To know they dreamed and died.
And what if excess of love
Bewildered them till they died?
I write it out in a verse,
MacDonagh and MacBride,
And Connolly and Pearse,
Now and in time to some be
Are changed, changed utterly:
A terrible beauty is born.

III

dreamed and are dead.

had done
know

verse—
MacDonagh and MacBride
Pearse

be, / Wherever green is worn,

W. B. Yeats

Sept. 25, 1916.
Mr. Henry E. Huntington’s source for these documents was the great public exhibition and auction of fellow collector John Quinn’s library held on 11–13 February 1924. Together, they constituted item 11556 in the catalogue:

**Easter, 1916.** 4to, limp green boards, uncut. In a half green morocco slip case. [London: Privately Printed, 1916]

One of 25 copies privately printed by Clement Shorter for distribution among his friends, signed by him. Laid in is the *FIRST TYPED COPY* of the Poem, with autograph corrections by Mr. Yeats.9

The 1916 date is, of course, incorrect, an inferential error perpetuated by A. J. A. Symons in his 1924 bibliography of Yeats first editions,10 but not by Allan Wade (see note 3). Clement Shorter was no help on dating when his privately printed autobiography of 1927 came out, because the bibliography of his books therein, “C. K. S. as Bookman,” omitted *Easter, 1916* altogether, possibly because of Yeats’s request to “be very careful with the Rebellion poem” while negotiating, in the transmittal letter of 28 March 1917, a private printing of several lyrics for copyright, soon to become *Nine Poems* (1918), which does appear in the Shorter bibliography.11 In any case, the typescript enclosure in John Quinn’s copy of *Easter, 1916* must have been sent to him sometime after Yeats’s marriage on 20 October 1917, and perhaps after Yeats’s first purchase of a typewriter for his wife’s use later that same year.12 George Yeats’s inscription on HM 43250 (upper right-hand corner, p. 1) is consistent with their practice of sending Quinn manuscripts as in-kind payments for the care of J. B. Yeats in New York, up to the latter’s death in 1922 and Quinn’s own in 1924. Notably, the inscription heralds the “First-[y]ped copy,” wording eventually lifted and capitalized in the library sale catalogue.

Shorter was a sort of lesser rival to Quinn as a collector of modern authors. In a sense, the precedent for Shorter’s privately printed *Nine Poems* (1918), and *Easter, 1916* itself, was *Nine Poems Chosen from the Works of William Butler Yeats Privately Printed for John Quinn and His Friends* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1 April 1914; Wade 109), which included the poem “Romantic Ireland” (i.e., “September 1913”). Aside from his incredibly productive career as a journalist, biographer, literary critic, and political controversialist, Shorter had been an avid bibliophile since childhood, a collector who increasingly turned to privately publishing modern authors in limited editions. Both amiable and contentious, he was frequently a figure of satire in *Punch*. A friend to Thomas Hardy and George Meredith, his Irish wife, poet Dora Sigerson Shorter, drew...
to his house writers such as Yeats (an old friend of hers), George Moore, and Bernard Shaw. Her vehement Irish nationalism stoked her husband’s partisan sympathies on the rebel cause to the point where the Shorter home in Buckinghamshire defiantly flew the Irish flag. Unsuccessfully, Yeats, Shorter, and Arthur Conan Doyle started rival petition campaigns to persuade the English government to grant clemency to Roger Casement. One upshot of such activity was that Yeats was at risk of losing his pension, and, as he told Quinn, on 16 May 1917, he had decided to publish in the Cuala Press edition of *The Wild Swans at Coole* only “24 or 25 lyrics or a little more if the war ending enables me to add two poems I have written about Easter week in Dublin” (*CL InteLex* 3244). The two poems were probably “Sixteen Dead Men” and “The Rose Tree” (see note 4) because of Yeats’s provision to publish through Shorter the limited edition of *Easter, 1916* or, if possible, to delay publishing it. Perhaps hastily or in the matter of course to secure copyright for Yeats in wartime, but with undoubted enthusiasm, Shorter donated a copy to the British Library on June 9, 1917, according to the accession date.

Now regarded more for his piracies and misrepresentations in the collectors’ market than for the respect he commanded as a bibliographical expert in his day, T. J. Wise advised Shorter on the printing of grangerized books (usually in small editions limited to 25 copies, ostensibly “not for sale”) and eventually became involved in the affairs of the Clement Shorter estate in 1926. Whether *Easter, 1916* (Ashley MS 2291) raised eyebrows in the British Library between mid-1917 and late 1920, or anyone noticed that it had been deposited for public viewing, is an open question to which we may never know the answer. But the pamphlet was definitely part of a series on the Irish rebellion undertaken by Shorter with the blessing of his wife, who contributed verses of her own to it. Assisted by Wise, the extensive but incomplete “Bibliography,” compiled by Shorter protégé J. M. Bulloch and appended to the autobiography, includes George Russell’s *Salutation: A Poem on the Irish Rebellion of 1916* (1917), contributions by Dora Sigerson [Shorter] of earlier date, not Yeats’s *Easter, 1916* (1917), nor Mrs. Shorter’s seven-page booklet *Poems of the Irish Rebellion 1916* (1916), yet includes the introduction to *A Discarded Defence of Roger Casement, suggested by Bernard Shaw, with an Appendix of Comments by Roger Casement* (1922) as well as *In Memorium Dora Sigerson* (1923) by Katharine Tynan and Eva Gore-Booth (see note 11).

Between the Quinn and Shorter printings of *Nine Poems* (1914) and *Nine Poems* (1918), respectively, fell the “pretentious pamphlet” *Eight Poems* (London, 1916). The inscribed copy in Yeats’s library bears witness to the problem copyrighting his work posed during the war: “This pamphlet was brought out by a magazine called ‘Form’ to save my copyright as the poems were being published in America and the magazine was delayed.” The problem was clearly
nettling him as he tried to coordinate the diverse subjects of his writing with the variables of publication and finance. He had suggested as much, too, when conveying the holograph copy of “Easter 1916” to Shorter and proposing terms on other lyrics:

I think the best thing for me to do is to try and place [the other poems] in America & give you half what I get there. “Poetry” always likes my work & would give me £15 or £20 but Watt may have something else offered there. If that is out of the question I shall try “The Seven Arts[,]” a new publication. Please do not publish for a little time as this will give me nothing if I lose copyright.18

Nine Poems did not appear until October 1918 although Shorter was content to publish three poems in The Sphere: “Broken Dreams” (on 9 June 1917), “The Wild Swans at Coole” (on 23 June 1917), and “In Memory” (on 18 August 1917).19 In Ireland, for sake of comparison, his wife’s most beloved lyrics were all written for “the Dark Rosaleen,” or as Thomas MacDonagh had said in January 1916, poems such as “Ireland” and “Cean Duv Deelish.”20 After her death in 1918, it became customary to remember her for the poems she gave to the Easter Week rebellion. The 1916 insurrection, personal decline in illness, and the imminence of death (themes of The Sad Years) were coincident in these poems. She became, with Yeats, a participant in a relatively short-lived but important subspecies of Irish literature: the 1916 requiem lyric, so defined by Edna FitzHenry’s Nineteen-Sixteen: An Anthology (1935), where their identically titled poems “Sixteen Dead Men” face each other at an opening.21 When Dora Sigerson Shorter’s posthumous collection The Tricolour: Poems of the Irish Revolution (or Sixteen Dead Men in America) came out in 1919, Yeats was still engaged writing lyrics on the uprising and beginning to see how a plan to publish them together might be executed.

Although Yeats had written to Quinn, on 23 May 1916, that he was “planning a group of poems on the Dublin rising” (CL InteLex 2960), his dealings were extensive with Clement Shorter and editors willing to pay the price Yeats wanted for a poem. The 1917 Cuala Press Wild Swans at Coole and the 1921 Michael Robartes and the Dancer reflect shiftingsthat were meant to keep certain poems out of the public purview in dangerous times. For the danger was real and potent, justifying the cost of artistic compromise. Even Lady Gregory regretted that the fortified Macmillan Wild Swans at Coole of 1919 might “have made a better and richer book if he had kept it back till he could put in his rebellion poems.”22 The dangers are especially telling in an exchange between Yeats and Shorter in early May 1918. Intending to give a lecture in Dublin on “recent poetry including war poetry,” Yeats asked for and received all of Dora’s
“privately printed rebellion poems” (L 648). Knowing that he should return praise for acts of generosity, Yeats wrote that her poems were “most powerful and most simple and touching when [about] Ireland…or herself”; then he told Shorter that he had put off his talk:

Your wife’s poems would have been my chief effect; [but] times are too dangerous for me to encourage men to risks I am not prepared to share or approve…. I doubt the priests and the leaders [are] able to keep the wild bloods to passive resistance. (L 648)

Arguably, “The Leaders of the Crowd” (1918–1919) and “On a Political Prisoner” (winter 1918–1919) were the last of the “group of poems on the Dublin rising” that he originally had in mind, giving four of five to the magazines in October/November 1920 and all five to Michael Robartes and the Dancer (1921).23 “Easter, 1916” (with and without the medial comma, respectively, in The New Statesman and The Dial) appeared nearly simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic on 23 October and November 1920. Notable preparations for these delayed printings included revising lines 17–23:

Of late this woman spent
From ignorant good will
Her nights in argument
Therefore her voice grew shrill
What voice more sweet than hers
What voice more sweet than
When young & beautiful
Ridding to harriers.
She rode to harriers
(NLI 13,588 (12), on verso of “To Be Carved on a Stone at Thoor Ballylee”)

This revision was made, on George Yeats’s authority, after the dedicatory poem was written for her at Ballinamentane sometime in 1918.24 To follow would be the “TMs (original and carbon), with additions and corrections (Za Dial)” at Yale (CM 260), duplicative of NLI 13,588 (2) and 30,216 (2) and marked as proof copy for the printing of “Ten Poems” in The Dial; as well as NLI 30,209, which amounted to three marked sets of proofs for a volume of “New Poems,” eventually entitled Michael Robartes and the Dancer, “Finished on All Soul’s Day, 1920” (published February 1921, Wade 127)—but not necessarily in that order. Only the version in The Dial repeated the use of numerals from the Quinn typescript and the Shorter edition.

In more than fifty years following George Mayhew’s analysis of the poem and its making,25 so much has come to light as to justify the present revisiting of
the subject and to update facts when necessary. My own research on the poem goes back to the beginning of my career as a scholar, specifically undertaken in the Huntington Library roughly twenty-five years after Mayhew published his findings on HM 43250. So it is gratifying today that updating his account should actually occur on the centenary of the poem’s first printing in 1917, and that returning to the subject, generally, should have such excellent company as provided by the maiden issue of IYS in the centennial year of the Easter Rising. Still, while much in the first two sections of Mayhew’s study is misleadingly incomplete or incorrect in fact, context, or both, his appraisal of the poem in *exegesis* remains valuable reading. For example, he hears the influence of litany and catechism (63, 67), which anticipates Armstrong’s discussion of “sacrificial rhetoric” (63–64) as informed by contemporary trauma studies. Perhaps the best point that Mayhew makes on the writing process, however, has to do with the relationship between the *oral nature* of the poem that Yeats wanted *heard* and that of the corrected typescript. Yeats’s words were “deliberately typed with little or no interior or end-of-line punctuation, most of which Yeats later supplied, as was his custom,...[suggesting] a procedure...[in which] the poem was punctuated upon a musical...basis after being read aloud.”26 This “procedure” is important enough to avoid losing sight of it in transcription. Therefore, although glossed and annotated in this essay, the typescript and antecedent holograph have been allowed to tell their story in facsimile.

**Acknowledgments**

To United Agents LLP on behalf of Caitriona Yeats, I am grateful for permission to reproduce and quote unpublished manuscript materials. Also, to the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations); to the Henry E. Huntington Library (San Marino, California); and to the National Library of Ireland, I am indebted for kind assistance and consent for the use of relevant materials in their possession. Materials inspected at the Beinecke Library (Yale) and the British Library (London) are used to a lesser extent though I am no less grateful to their attendant staffs. Finally, I wish to acknowledge that courtesies and insights were conveyed to me at various times by the following persons: the late George M. Harper, Cathy Henderson, the late Stephen Parrish, Colin Smythe, Guillard Sutherland, the late Lola L. Szadits, and especially the late Senator Michael B. Yeats and his sister, the late Anne B. Yeats.

**Notes**

2. Follows Pethica 49–53.
3. The Wade 117 listing occurs between Responsibilities (1916) and The Wild Swans at Coole (1917) but without attributing a date to Easter, 1916 other than to acknowledge the one affixed to the end of the poem, “September 25, 1916.” In Thomas Parkinson’s introduction to W. B. Yeats, Michael Robartes and the Dancer: Manuscript Materials (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. xix, the date of the edition is given as “the spring of 1917.” Roy Foster avers that Yeats sent the poem in manuscript to Shorter in March 1917 (Life 2 64); and Wayne K. Chapman, first in YA 16 (2005) 81, then in Yeats’s Poetry in the Making: “Sing Whatever Is Well Made” (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 84—hereafter abbreviated YPM—argues that the “grangerized” edition of the poem was produced “in time for Easter Week 1917.” That position is maintained here.

4. See Chapman, YPM 237, where “Dec. 17, 1916” and “April 7, 1917” are given for the writing of these two poems, which also appeared in The Dial of Nov. 1920 with rebellion poems “Easter 1916,” “On a Political Prisoner” and “The Leaders of the Crowd”—the latter two written in winter 1918–1919. For instances of extremely mistaken critical speculation based on a misreading of bibliographic context, see YPM 308 n. 11.

5. Yeats made the same point, implicitly, while at work on the Easter elegy and appending the following observation of “July 1916,” about “September 1913,” to Responsibilities (1916 and 1917): “‘Romantic Ireland’s dead and gone’ sounds old-fashioned now. It seemed true in 1913, but I did not foresee 1916. The late Dublin Rebellion, whatever one can say of its wisdom, will long be remembered for its heroism. ‘They weighed so lightly what they gave,’ and gave too in some cases without hope of success” (VP 820).


7. Yeats offered the poem as a possible substitute for “Presences,” among several lyrics already sent for a projected book, having decided, by this time, to withhold the rebellion poem from the collection he planned for the Cuala Press, eventually entitled The Wild Swans at Coole, Other Verses and a Play in Verse, published on 17 Nov. 1917. For the full story, see Chapman, YPM 78–96 and YA 71–97.

8. Conrad Balliet (CM 16) incorrectly attributes enclosures of “Easter 1916” in MS to both the Gregory and Boyd copies, as well as Ashley MS 2291 in the British Library, when these bore copies of “The Rose Tree” (finished on “April 7, 1917”); see n. 4, above, and my review of CM in YA (1992) 392. As these three copies of Easter, 1916 bore within them Yeats’s most recent rebellion poem of that spring (written on the day before Easter), and as Ashley MS 2291 derived from Shorter himself, the private printing might have been coincident.


12. See Chapman, YPM 215–16, 310 n. 15. The argument here is not that George Yeats was in this case the typist, only that the gift, according to Anne Yeats in conversation with the author, marked the beginning of Mrs. Yeats’s secretarial service to the poet, including the production of “manuscripts” from expendable material valued by Quinn. Curtis B. Bradford, in Yeats at Work (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), noted: “Inspection of such manuscripts from Quinn’s library as I have run into strongly suggests that they had been, so to speak, ‘concocted’” (389). On 16 May 1917, in fact, Yeats raised the prospect of bartering in manuscripts to relieve his father’s debt to Quinn: “I wonder if you could give him the value of some MSS of mine (my ready money is not very abundant in war time)” (CL InteLex 3244).

13. Chapman, YPM 309 n. 12; Foster, Life 2 52.


18. ALS, 28 March [1917]; see full text in *CL InteLex* 3204.

19. See the figure in Chapman, *YPM* 94–95.

20. Thomas MacDonagh, *Literature in Ireland: Studies Irish and Anglo-Irish* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1916), 238. According to the Ashley Library catalogue, poet and sculptor Dora Shorter was also responsible for producing *A series of twelve Broadside Poems and Leaflets* (privately printed by her during the years 1916–1917). Such poems and leaflets as “God Save Ireland,” “Irishmen,” “Atrocities,” and “Irish Women” were composed for the small printing studio she operated at 16 Marlborough Place, St. John’s Wood, N.W., where typesetting and printing were entirely the work of her own hands. See “Shorter, Dora (1866–1918),” *The 1890s: An Encyclopedia of British Literature, Art, and Culture*, ed. G. A. Cevasco (New York and London: Garland, 1993), 551–52.


23. Four or five rebellion poems might have been about the right number if Yeats had in mind a private printing of only 25 copies for Shorter’s friends. A copy of Dora Shorter’s *Poems of the Irish Rebellion* was inscribed and sent to Yeats by Clement Shorter on “Dec 10, 1916” (NLI 30,692), and consisted of five poems: “The Hill-side Men,” “Conscription,” “The Choice,” “Sixteen Dead Men,” and “The Sacred Fire.” Yeats’s own “Sixteen Dead Men” was written a week later, on 17 Dec. 1916 (Chapman, *YPM* 237).

