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Yeats’s White Vellum Notebook, 1930–1933

Wayne K. Chapman

In 1985, Michael Yeats made a significant deposit of manuscript materials in the National Library of Ireland, neither the first nor last act of generosity on behalf of the W. B. Yeats Estate. Prior to that act, those materials had been examined and inventoried for him by a cadre of Yeats scholars, who collectively produced a typescript entitled “A Partial List of Manuscripts in the Collection of Senator Michael B. Yeats,” an aid to sustain the editorial work that has dominated Yeats studies for more than two generations already. Better known as the “MBY List,” this device consisted of 1,105 core items, many auxiliary ones, and an index, the whole of which essentially mirrored the Estate’s 1985 gift to the NLI and which accompanied the manuscripts—that is, all but 130 items that were crossed off the list.1 Half of these were batches of letters that Yeats and Lady Gregory had written to each other between 1897 and 1932. That correspondence and some other crossed-out items were sold in the “Major Manuscript Sale” highlighted by The Irish Times of July 12, 1985, including as a feature “One of the major literary manuscripts of our time, the great vellum notebook in which William Butler Yeats created, corrected and perfected some of his greatest poetry and other writings, between 1930 and 1933.” Thus, MBY item 545, or “White vellum MS book, begun 23 November 1930[,] together with index of same,” changed hands for the first time at Sotheby’s (London) in the auction of “English Literature & History’ (Books & Manuscripts)” held on July 22–23, 1985. For various reasons—but mainly to expedite the cataloguing of nearly a thousand manuscripts transferred at that time to the National Library—a decision was made by administrators to generate NLI manuscript numbers by adapting those from the entire MBY List, simply by adding 30,000 to the number assigned to each item on the list. Thus, MBY 545 became NLI 30,545 although the notebook had never been a part of library collections. A false impression was compounded, too, in the way roughly ten percent of the MBY listings were similarly adapted to the NLI system.2 Moreover, the notice in the MBY List about the White Vellum Notebook (WVN) and an accompanying “index” to it makes poignant the disappearance of both of them from view, scarcely acknowledging the actual gap in collections that their absence has constituted for many years. This essay is an effort to fill part of that gap in the record.

The Irish Times, understandably economical, cited only a handful of poems substantially written in the WVN. These were reportedly: “‘Vacillation’; ‘Coole Park and Ballylee’ (written after the death of Lady Gregory, his fellow-campaigner for a native Irish theatre); ‘The Mother of God’; ‘Crazy Jane on God’;
'Stream and Sun at Glendalough'; [and] 'Parnell's Funeral.'" When the notebook came up for sale again, in 1990, Sotheby's kept the attention on the poetry while providing more general context, both biographical and bibliographical, foregrounding the tragic significance of Lady Gregory's death:

The period during which this notebook was kept was marked by the final illness and death of Lady Gregory and by Yeats's move to his last home, Riversdale. In it will be found many of the poems printed in *The Winding Stair and Other Poems* (1933) which incorporates the earlier volume *Words for Music Perhaps* (1932). Not long after beginning this notebook, Yeats wrote to Olivia Shakespeare [sic]: "I have a great sense of abundance—more than I have had for years."

The 1990 *Sotheby's Catalogue* draws on a description of Yeats's composing methods as generalized in the preface of Curtis Bradford's *Yeats at Work* (1965) and briefly quotes Bradford's comment from his fifth chapter, "Poems Written in the 1930's," to suggest the complexity of those methods as deduced from the WVN in the poem "Vacillation," where "the entire process of Yeats's creation can be followed in the sheets of the manuscript book, but this was so complex that to do so would require a long monograph." From here a reference to Richard Ellmann's "pioneering work," *The Identity of Yeats* (1954), is recommended for its "similar analysis" of "Vacillation," section VII, as well as his presentation of "Crazy Jane Talks with the Bishop' from the present manuscript." Variant forms, prose subjects, and selected notes by Yeats are also noticed in the Catalogue insofar as they relate to "Three Movements," "Séance" ["Let images of basalt, black immoveable"], and "Coole Park and Ballylee." The latter receives attention because it still has embedded within it the stanza eventually removed and published as "The Choice," and because it appears near "Yeats's essay on the death of Lady Gregory." (See Part III, "Yeats's White Vellum Notebook [MBY 545]: An Inventory," below, items 37, 44, and 75–77.) Our attention is directed to the celebrated wording achieved in individual lines of the poem and to a note of February 13, 1932 about possibly making a single poem by combining "Coole Park and Ballylee," as it stood at that date, and "Coole Park." (Lady Gregory died on May 22, 1932 after a long illness.) Surmounting a moment of deep distress and self-doubt is hard labor for a poet to undertake in a lyric; so "All that is written in what poets name" is in its way a triumph in 1932, in light of a "high horse riderless" and matters "at such a pass" that even self-effacing Yeats may "ride to market on a tinker[']s ass." But it is not exactly the complete victory of theme that is realized in "Traditional sanctity and loveliness; / Whatever's written in what poets name / The book of the people" in another year, in *The Winding Stair* (VP 493, ll. 42–44).
The Catalogue quotes Warwick Gould on the impression that the WVN makes, “beyond the needs of textual scholars,” in its “transcendent visual impact” as a physical property:

…[T]his palimpsest is even more arresting than accounts such as Bradford’s have suggested. Redraftings expand in balloons out of cross-hatched, vigorously rejected passages, as Yeats moves backwards and forwards through the book, out and away from his early draft in quest of his poem. The hand, frequently unreadable—even to himself and his wife—seems to have moved at great speed, its script intended less for anyone’s elucidation than to “beat time” as the poet’s ear listened “for the right combination”—as Jon Stallworthy has said, he was “in fact thinking on paper. Only eventual facsimile reproduction and transcription (as Erdman and Moore accomplished with Blake’s Notebook) will do justice to this “exploded view” of Yeats’s mind in the act of creation.8

The Catalogue cites autograph drafts of poems in an alphabetical list of titles, thus:

A Certain Poet in Outlandish Clothes  
Coole Park and Ballylee 1931  
Crazy Jane and Jack the Journeyman  
Crazy Jane on God  
Crazy Jane Talks with the Bishop  
The Dancer at Cruachin [sic] and Cro-Patrick  
The Delphic Oracle upon Plotinus  
Gratitude to the Unknown Instructors  
Huddon, Duddon, and Daniel O’Leary  
The Mother of God  
Move upon Newton’s Town  
Old Tom Again  
Parnell’s Funeral  
Remorse for Intemperate Speech  
The Results of Thought  
Séance  
The Seven Sages  
Statistics  
Stream and Sun at Glendalough  
Three Movements  
Tom the Lunatic  
Vacillation  
Youthful Innocence or The Garden of Eden9

Five untitled poems are acknowledged in a list of alphabetized first lines or phrasings. These are “Decline of day,” “Jonathan Swift’s at rest,” “Locke sank
down in a swoon,” “O marble lips,” and “Where got I that truth.” Also acknowledged are draft materials for the conversion of *The Resurrection* from prose into its verse version of 1931, as well as drafts of the introductions to *The Resurrection, Fighting the Waves (The Only Jealousy of Emer rewritten)*, and *The Cat and the Moon for Wheels and Butterflies* (1934); the essay on Lady Gregory; corrections for *Deirdre*; an American lecture on “Modern Ireland”; notes on fascism and on Irish censorship; numerous notes and additions for *A Vision*; and the introduction to *The Words upon the Window Pane*. For potential buyers, the description of Lot 210 concludes with a detailed discussion of “illegitimate heraldry” in connection with the bookplate that T. Sturge Moore designed for Yeats, followed by a list of sources and the suggested price, a hefty “£180,000–200,000.”

In reality, of course, the WVN is special but without being the only such “palimpsest,” or manuscript notebook into which Yeats jotted notes and prose subjects for poems; drafts of poems and plays; amendments; introductions; essays; and memoranda for the revised edition of *A Vision* (1937) and other writings. To be fair to Bradford’s “exploded view” of genius glimpsed in the act of creation, full appreciation accords with the fact that the WVN is not the only manuscript book that Yeats used in this way during the early 1930s. So it hardly embodies, between November 23, 1930 and July 13, 1933, “all that was written” in his name. For the Cornell Yeats edition of the manuscripts of *Words for Music Perhaps* (see n. 7), for example, David Clark had to construct an appendix (consisting of four lists) entitled “The Contents of the Notebooks” (WMP 605–12) just to sort through the numerous threads that connect “The Large Notebook Bound in Vellum (MBY 545)” with Rapallo Notebooks C (NLI 13,580), D (NLI 13,581), and E (NLI 13,582); and does not even count sources employed in Clark’s 2003 study of *Parnell’s Funeral and Other Poems*, or several on the making of certain plays and a work of prose fiction—sources integrated below in support of an itemized inventory of the (Great) White Vellum Notebook (present location unknown).

In 2003, Richard Finneran published the final volume of *Yeats: An Annual of Critical and Textual Studies* (1999) after several years delay, featuring in point-position Clark’s short series of transcriptions entitled “Yeats: Cast-offs, Non-starters and Gnomic Illegibilities.” The series was framed by a single paragraph and three notes to acknowledge that the seven transcriptions of the piece were of “unfinished poems” that he had come across while working on his Cornell *Words for Music Perhaps*. His business was therefore tying up loose ends, as his title suggests. All but one of the poems, “The Garden of Eden,” was located in Rapallo Notebooks C and D. The last, initially called “Youthful Innocence,” originated from “MBY 545, p. 172,” or the White Vellum Notebook. A full page of work had been reduced by Yeats to a new title and four lines:
The garden of Eden

The phantom impropriety
Seemed our best condiment, but we
Defeated in our wanton hopes
Saw mustard turn to butter cups

But rather more extraordinary than this Swiftian exercise of indignation and self-laceration is the comparatively long note that Clark hung on the remarkably brief introductory frame of his piece, the purpose being to credit a finding aid and to reason why another lyric in the WVN should not be included with the other transcriptions. In addition to the seven “cast-offs,” he wrote,

[t]here is also “[Only the Dead Have Wisdom].” Curtis Bradford, in his extremely useful “Index to contents of large white MS Book, begun Nov. 23, 1930,” unpublished (Stony Brook reel 21, volume 5, pp. 11–14), describes a poem on pages 208 and 210 [of WVN] as “Working versions of a lyric unknown to me, with the refrain line ‘Only the dead have wisdom.’” This lyric occurs among drafts of The Resurrection, and after considerable work on a transcription, I have concluded that it is a song later superceded [sic] by a different song, “[Astrea’s Holy Child],” found in lines 199–222 of the play (VPl 917). The unpublished lyric is therefore a manuscript of part of the play, and though interesting it is not included here. The “large white MS book [sic]” was formerly in Michael Yeats’s collection and is referred to here as MBY 545. It is now in other private hands....(1)

As much as one might wish to see an “eventual facsimile reproduction and transcription” of the entire WVN in the manner of Blake’s Notebook, as Warwick Gould put it (implying that the then-ongoing Cornell project might partially satisfy that wish), we must be content with what we have and prepare to build on and around it. We have, according to a recent census, two microfilm sources, an unknown number of small caches of photocopied and digital images derived from same, and related troves in the working libraries of individual scholar-editors, their institutions, publishers, and estates. To cite one instance, we now have Collection Number 6836: Cornell Wordsworth and Cornell Yeats Editorial Records, a repository of materials in computer media and microfilm deposited in the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, as the Press wound down its Yeats series a few years ago.17 The Editorial Records primarily house texts and facsimile images related to the material published in the series; they are seldom complete manuscripts. However, everything that I have seen from WVN has originated from one of only two sources on microfilm: either from Reel 5 (Houghton Library, Harvard University) or from Reel
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21, Vol. 5 (Melville Library, State University of New York at Stony Brook). Although the older of the two, Harvard Reel 5 (deposited at Harvard in January 1948 after filming at the NLI from originals loaned by Mrs. Yeats for this purpose) is by far the better copy overall than the Stony Brook film, which suffers from lighting and exposure issues that block out text on some folios; in addition, the latter is also damaged to a greater degree by abusive use and institutional neglect of machine readers to the point where all images are scored with striations on the film itself. The situation makes unlikely a comparable technical achievement in publishing to that of David V. Erdman and Donald K. Moore in their 1973 Clarendon Press edition of The Notebook of William Blake: A Photographic and Typographic Facsimile. The dream of such a tome based on WVN will have to wait for an unexpected opportunity to photograph the whole of it in optimal conditions. Someday or not at all.

Meanwhile, to fill a gap temporarily, it seems constructive to take stock of where we are. Though less-than-ideal reproductions are available, the WVN has been mapped. The first outline of the whole was sketched by the cartographer who also, literally, put his mark on every page of the notebook. This was Curtis Bradford, and the map was called “Index to contents of large white MS Book, begun Nov. 23, 1930.” According to David Clark, in a cover letter of February 26, 2000 attached to the revised list that he sent to Stephen Parrish and that Parrish copied and redirected to Cornell volume editors, “Bradford probably made his listing when he was teaching at Trinity and visiting Mrs. Yeats [in] 1954–1955.” Bradford’s listing is the same as the one accompanying item 545 on the MBY List and noted to be “incomplete” in the 1990 Sotheby’s Catalogue. Clark’s version is a transcription of his “xerox of Bradford’s list,” amended and simplified in his own words as he retyped the partial list. His copy of Bradford’s index was obtained from “Stony Brook 21.5.–11–14,” or Reel 21, Volume 5, frames 0011–14 from the microfilm at Stony Brook. “The xerox is hard to read,” Clark noted, “but I think I have got it right.” All copies of Bradford’s list that I have seen or possess derive from the Stony Brook copy or from photocopies derived from same, some more legible than others. Bradford’s headnote is worth quoting here because it makes an admission that is as extraordinary as it is necessary concerning the paginated text of the WVN in its present condition: “Note: I number the page on which WBY began to write as page 1, and continue through the volume to the final page, number 387. The right-hand page therefore will always have an odd number, the left-hand page an even number.” There are ninety-two items on both Bradford’s list and Clark’s version and several handwritten changes in items 80, 84, and 85 on the former, which might suggest that Bradford hadn’t finished it. My own inspection of the Stony Book microfilm in 1986 recovered five more items for the list (numbered 93–97 in the Inventory, below), accounting for Bradford’s pages 380–87. Presumably, Mrs. Yeats sanctioned his
unorthodox procedure with a marking pencil, in physically numbering the pages of the notebook, because this defacement of the original was conducted in her home and under her supervision. But it is curious that his numbering of the WVN, given the poor quality of the Stony Brook tapes, has become the default referencing system in the Cornell series, even for volumes that feature images reproduced from the unnumbered Harvard microfilm. Clark seems to have preferred the use of Stony Brook materials for personal convenience although he admitted that he could never have transcribed the *Words for Music Perhaps* poems from those tapes. Still, he had hoped that Cornell’s later editors might gain direct access to the WVN from its owner.

Parts II and III, below, are presented to identify those scholarly works, to date, that have published facsimiles and/or transcriptions from manuscript materials in the notebook (or declined to do so when they might have) and to collate them into a system of correspondent citations built on the scaffolding erected by Bradford and Clark. Updating and correcting the record on contents have sometimes involved puzzling out inconsistencies by consulting the selected reproductions in the Cornell Yeats series or else by checking the Harvard and Stony Brook copies. The format of Part III follows the example of Bradford and Clark, but with layers of detail added, usually in parentheses or square brackets. Coordination between the “Key to Abbreviations” (Part II) and the WVN “Inventory” (Part III) should be obvious and is integrated accordingly within the body of the ninety-seven items, many of which are compound in nature because Yeats had made multiple entries on those particular pages in the notebook. In two places item numbers were mistakenly assigned by Bradford, noted and followed by Clark, and so are retained for consistency and to assure that specialists who might be following along with photocopies of these older guides, once standard issue to Cornell editors, will have the convenience of a direct correspondence through the first ninety-two items on the new list. Furthermore, as a feature intended to be instructive to everyone, not only to newcomers to the genetic study of Yeats’s texts, location coordinates on the Harvard microfilm are also cited (by folio, recto and verso) within parentheses immediately after an item’s Bradford pages are referenced, since those numbers appear throughout the default Stony Brook copy of the notebook. One hopes that new scholars, in particular, will recognize that discovery has been facilitated in the journey that this research tool portends in the field.

From the Inventory of Part III, one can take comfort from seeing that so much of this veritable field has been settled by Cornell Yeats editors since the four original divisions of the series were reduced to two, Poetry and Plays. Yet opportunities were missed in items 1–3, 5–6, 8, 19, 22, 64, and 94–95. (The latter two are understandable since they were not on Bradford’s list to begin with.) Although regrettable, perhaps none of the omissions are dire if their reasons
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were known. For, even so, opportunity abounds elsewhere because the attenuated series left open almost everything in line with the abandoned divisions of Prose and Family Papers. Opportunity may be defined here as involving items 4, 10–11, 14, 21, 23, 38–39, 41, 45–46, 48, 52, 62–63, 65, 73, 81, 83, 88, 90–91, and 96–97. To be sure, the most promising of these are Yeats’s notes and inserts for essays, unpublished drafts of introductions and prefaces, notes on fascism and on censorship, personal observations, reminiscences, and sundry material for A Vision. I believe there is more than a modicum of Yeats left to recover from this notebook, notwithstanding the obstacles. Thus, may the following guide serve as an incentive to that end.

II. Key to Abbreviations


fac. facsimile(s)


tr. transcription(s)


III. Yeats’s White Vellum Notebook (“MBY 545”): An Inventory

1. Pages 1–29 (ff. 1r–15r). Section I of “Introduction” to The Words upon the Window Pane. [Cited in WWP in the Census (xiii) but omitted in the Appendix (226). See items 5, 19, and 22, below.]

2. Page 4 (f. 2v). Rough draft of the poem “Move upon Newton’s town” used in “Introduction” to Fighting the Waves. See item 6, page 47, below, for the finished version; see also item 94, page 384, below. Lines of revision for the Words upon the Window Pane “Introduction” are partly superimposed. [This draft of the poem as well as the “Introduction” are omitted in OJE/FW, Appendix III, 375–86.]


5. Pages 32–36 (ff. 16r–18v). Part I of the “Introduction” to The Words upon the Window Pane continued. [Cited in WWP in the Census (xiii) but omitted in the Appendix (226). See item 1, above, and items 19 and 22, below.]


7. Pages 51–58 (ff. 26r–29v; 26v is blank and 29v bears a correction for item 8, f. 30v). The “Introduction” to The Resurrection. [See R (fac. & tr.) 478–91 for WVN pages 51–57; see also item 15, below.]
8. Pages 59–67 (ff. 30’–34’, plus a correction on f. 29’; ff. 31’ and 32’ are blank). The “Introduction” to *The Cat and the Moon*. [Though cited in the Census of *AHW/CM* (xx–xxi), the draft is otherwise omitted.]

9. Lacking. [Clark comments in his revised WVN index: “Bradford seems to have skipped from 8 to 10. There is no 9.” Bradford might have considered a possible relationship between the brief note on page 66 (f. 33’) and the Berkeley essay, rather than the *Cat and the Moon* “Introduction,” leaving item 9 to fill in later.]


11. Pages 69–70 (ff. 35’–35’). Additions for *A Vision* (1937). Bradford surmises that they were “not used in this form, I believe.”

12. Page 70 (f. 35’ at the foot of the page). “Subject for poem,” possibly to be entitled “Wisdom,” which, Bradford notes, “was at one time the title of ‘Vacillation’”; see item 29, pages 143–49, and items 68 and 72, below. “However,” he corrects himself, “I believe this prose version is for the poem that was eventually called ‘The Results of Thought.’” [Clark provides a transcription of this prose subject, as a footnote, in *WMP* 296. See items 32, 40, 56, and 58, below.]


14. Pages 72–79 (ff. 36’–40’). A new version of the conclusion of the “Dove or Swan” section for *A Vision* (1937), cued in to the words “possibility of science” in *A Vision* (1925), p. 210. This is one of several rejected conclusions. [See *YRAW* 314 and 320 n. 4.]

15. Pages 81–93 (ff. 41’–47’). A new draft of sections II and III of “Introduction” to *The Resurrection*. [See *R* (fac. & tr.) 502–27 for WVN pages 81–93. See also item 7, above.]

16. Page 84 (f. 42’). A working version of “Crazy Jane on God.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 366–67; see also items 32, 33, and 54, below.]

17. Page 94 (f. 47’). A page of corrections and additions for “Introductions” in *Wheels and Butterflies* (1934; *Wade* 175). [Omitted in *WMP*, *AHW/CM*, *OJE/FW*, and *R*.]

18. Lacking. [Clark notes in his revised index: “Bradford seems to have left out number 18, but I don’t think he has omitted contents.”]
19. Pages 95–97 (ff. 48r–49v). An insert to follow the phrase “Salamis of the Irish intellect,” at the bottom of WVN page 11 in the “Introduction” of Words upon the Window Pane. [See items 1 and 5, above, and item 22, below.]

20. Pages 98–101 (ff. 49v–51r). Working versions of “Crazy Jane and Jack the Journeyman.” [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 340–47; see also item 27.]


23. Pages 129–31 (ff. 65r–66v). Notes on Attis and Dionysus, taken almost verbatim from Hasting’s Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. 1 (under “Attis”) and vol. 6 (under “Greek Religion”) (WBGYL 864 [YL 855]). A note on WVN page 131 involves an image of Attis fastened to a pine tree, as in Section II of “Vacillation.” Another source, explicitly mentioned—“Golden Bough Adonis, Attis, Osiris page 257”—is James George Frazer’s The Golden Bough, vol. 6: Adonis, Attis, Osiris (WBGYL 713 [YL 700]).

24. Page 132 (66v). A program note for an Abbey Theatre revival of The Dreaming of the Bones. [See DB/C 244 (tr.).]

25. Pages 133–35 (ff. 67r–68v. Working versions of “Crazy Jane Talks with the Bishop.” [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 566–71; see also item 26, below.]

26. Page 137 (f. 69r). Fair-hand copy of “Crazy Jane Talks with the Bishop,” dated November 1931. [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 572–73; see also item 25, above.]

27. Page 139 (f. 70r). Fair-hand copy of “Crazy Jane and Jack the Journeyman.” [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 348–49; see also item 20, above.]

28. Page 141 (f. 71r). Fair-hand copies of “The Delphic Oracle upon Plotinus” [see WMP (fac. & tr.) 562–63; see also items 57 and 59, below], “The Dancer at Cruachan” (called here “The One & the Dancer”) [see WMP 539 (variants collated in apparatus; see also item 55), and “Statistics” [see WMP (fac. & tr.) 270–71; see also item 55, below].

29. Pages 143–49 (ff. 72r–75r). A nearly final version of “Vacillation,” with titles given for each of sections I–VII and with the poem’s title given as “Wisdom” and “Vacillation,” both cancelled. [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 74–81; see also item 12, above, and 68 and 72, below.]
30. Page 151 (f. 76r). Nearly final versions of “Old Tom Again,” “Gratitude to the Unknown Instructors” (here called “The System”) and “Quarrel in Old Age.” [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 292–93; see also items 66, 67, 70, and 71, below.]

31. Page 153 (f. 77r). Fair-hand copies of “Remorse for Intemperate Speech” and “The Mother of God” (here “The Annunciation” and “Mary Virgin”). [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 316–17; see also items 61, 66, and 96, below.]

32. Page 155 (f. 78r). Fair-hand copies of “The Results of Thought” (dated “August 15” and entitled “At Last” and “After Long Years”), and the first two stanzas of “Crazy Jane on God.” [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 370–71.]

33. Page 157 (f. 79r). Fair-hand copy of stanzas 3 and 4 of “Crazy Jane on God” (continued from item 32 and dated “July 8, 1931”) [see WMP (fac. & tr.) 372–73]. In addition, a revised version of the second stanza of the final lyric from The Resurrection [see R (fac. & tr.) 376–77; also T (fac. & tr.) 298–99]. Also includes the final version of “Tom at Cruachan,” dated July 29 [see WMP (fac. & tr.) 552–53], and the final version of “Three Ages Movements,” dated “Jan 26” [see WMP (fac. & tr.) 272–73].

34. Page 159 (f. 80r). Final version of “Tom the Lunatic,” dated July 27. [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 546–47; see also items 30, above, and 42, below.]

35. Page 161 (f. 81r). Final version of “Huddon, Duddon and Daniel O’Leary” used in the Cuala Press Stories of Michael Robartes and His Friends (1931). [See YRAW (tr.) 276; see also item 49, below.]

36. Pages 161 and 163 (ff. 81r and 82r). A late version of “The Seven Sages,” dated January 30. [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 256–61; see also item 74, below.]

37. Pages 165 and 167 (ff. 83r and 84r). A late version of “Coole Park and Ballylee,” dated February 13, 1932. [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 190–95; see also item 44, 75, and 76, below.] At the bottom of p. 167 is a note [transcribed by Clark in WMP 194] on how this poem might be combined with “Coole Park.” [Noted in Sotheby’s Catalogue 137.]

38. Pages 168–69 (ff. 84r–85r). Notes for an interview on the suppression of “The Puritan” (the 1931 novel by Liam O’Flaherty) and on Irish censorship generally. Cf. NLI 30,706, Clipping from the Manchester Guardian, February 24, 1932, “Irish Ban on ‘The Puritan.”

39. Page 168 (f. 84r). Late version of eight lines (“A certain poet in outlandish clothes” etc.) that were inserted in italics at the beginning of “The Old Age of Queen Maeve” in The Collected Poems (1933).
40. Pages 170–71 (ff. 85v–86r). Working versions of “The Results of Thought.” [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 296–99; see also items 12 and 32, above, and 56 and 58, below.]

41. Page 172 (f. 86v). Versions of a quatrain first called “Youthful Innocence,” then “The Garden of Eden.” Bradford notes: “So far as I know, it was not published. The final draft goes: ‘The phantom impropriety / Seemed our best condiment, but we / Defeated in our wanton hopes / Saw mustard turn to buttercups.’”

42. Pages 173, 175, and 176 (ff. 87r, 88r, and 88v). Working versions of “Old Tom the Lunatic.” [See WMP (fac. & tr.) 544–45, 542–43, and 540–41, respectively; see also items 30 and 34, above.]

43. Page 173 (f. 87r). A working version of “Tom at Cruachan,” dated Coole, July 29. [See WMP (tr. only) on 545.]

44. Page 174 (f. 87v). A working version of part of stanza II, “Coole Park and Ballylee.” [See WMP (tr. only) on 190; see also items 37, above, and 75 and 76, below.]

45. Page 177 (f. 89r). Two notes for A Vision (1937), designated as (1) “Foot note to go somewhere in Vision, Part I” and (2) “Foot note for Part III (symbol completed).”

46. Page 178 (f. 89v). The dedication of A Vision (1937) quoted by Ellmann: “Dedication for ‘A Vision’ | To my wife | who created this system which bores her, who made possible | these pages which she will never read & | who | has accepted this dedication on the condition | that I write nothing but verse for a year” (Yeats, the Man and the Masks [New York: Macmillan, 1948] 262). [See YRAW (tr.) 272.]

47. Page 178 (f. 89v). Introductory note for the Cuala Press “Stories of Michael Robartes and His Friends” (1931). [See YRAW (tr.) 272.]


49. Pages 180–83 (ff. 90v–92r). Working versions of the poem “Huddon, Duddon and Daniel O’Leary.” WBY says here that it is “to go before ‘The Resurrection.’” [See YRAW (tr.) 273–75; see also item 35, above.]

50. Page 183 (f. 92r). “Correction of certain lines in ‘The Tower’” (an error in fact as the corrections are for the first stanza of the closing lyric in The Resurrection.) [See YRAW (tr.) 275.]
51. Pages 185–230 (ff. 93r–115v). A draft of *The Resurrection* for the revised, 1931 version of the play, including its accompanying lyrics. [See *R* (fac. & tr.) 271–375.]

52. Pages 208 and 210 (ff. 104v and 105v). Whereas Bradford identifies work on these pages as involving “Working versions of an unknown lyric, with the refrain line ‘Only the dead have wisdom,’” Clark thinks these versions might be precursor elements of a song eventually superseded by “[Astrea’s Holy Child],” lines 199–222 in *The Resurrection*. See n16 and the corresponding discussion in this essay (above).

53. Page 222 (f. 111v). Two prose “Themes for Poems” [transcribed only in *WMP* 90 and 312] for “The Mother of God” and “Remorse for Intemperate Speech.” Also bears notes on Cowley’s rhymes and stanzas employed in his “poem…in essay on Oliver Cromwell” and “poem in essay on Solitude.” [Found on p. 135 of Stony Brook microfilm Reel 21, Volume 5.]

54. Page 231 (f. 116r). A version of “Crazy Jane on God,” dated July 8, 1931. [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 368–69; see also items 16, 32, and 33, above.]

55. Page 233 (f. 117v). Working versions of “Statistics” [see *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 270–71 and 536; see also item 28, above] and “The Dancer at Cruachan” [see *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 536–37; see also item 28].

56. Pages 234–35 (ff. 117v–118r). Working versions of “The Results of Thought,” here entitled “At Last.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 300–03; see also items 12, 32, and 40, above, and 58, below.]

57. Page 236 (f. 118v). A working version of “The Delphic Oracle upon Plotinus.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 558–59; see also items 28, below, and 59, below.]

58. Page 237 (f. 119v). A late version of “The Results of Thought,” dated August 18, 1931. [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 304–05; see also items 12, 32, 40, and 56, above.]

59. Page 239 (f. 120r). A working version of “Delphic Oracle,” dated August 19. [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 560–61; see also items 28 and 57.]

60. Page 239 (f. 120v). A prose draft of “Three Movements” (dated “Jan 20, 1932”) as follows: “The Passion in Shakespeare was a great fish in | the sea, but from Goethe to the end of the Romantic | movement the fish was in the net. It will soon | be dead upon the shore.” [Qtd. in Sotheby’s Catalogue, 136. See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 272–73; see also item 33, above.]

61. Pages 240–41 (ff. 120v–121v). A working version of “Remorse for Intemperate Speech.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 312–15; see also item 31, above.]


64. Page 245 (f. 123v). Suggestion that WBY discuss Peadar O’Donnell’s novels in the “Introduction” to *Fighting the Waves*, where he is to be suggested as a possible dictator to the Cellars and Garrets. [Omitted in *OJE/FW*, Appendix III, 375–86.]


66. Page 245–49 (ff. 123r–125r). Working versions of “The Mother of God.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 90–97; see also item 31, above, and 96, below.]

67. Pages 250–53 (ff. 125v–127r). Working versions of “Quarrel in Old Age.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 284–91; see also 51, above.]

68. Pages 252, 254–56, and 259 (ff. 126v, 127v–128v, and 130r). Working versions of section II of “Vacillation.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 36–45; see also items 12 and 29, above, and 72, below.]

69. Pages 255 and 257 (ff. 128r and 129r). Working versions of “Old Tom Again.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 255–57; see also item 30, above.]

70. Page 257 (f. 129r). Working version of “Gratitude to the Unknown Instructors.” [See *WMP* (tr.) 311; see also items 30, above, and 71, below.]

71. Page 258 (f. 129v). Final version of “Gratitude to the Unknown Instructors.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 310–11; see also items 30 and 70, above.]

72. Pages 259–69 and 271 (ff. 130v–135r and 136r). Working versions of “Vacillation” continued. [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 44–61 and 66–73; see also items 12, 29, and 68, above.]

73. Page 270 (f. 135v). Prose notes on Francis Stuart’s verse.

74. Pages 272–77 (ff. 136v–139r). Working versions of “The Seven Sages.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 242–55; see also item 36, above.]

75. Page 277 (f. 139v). Notes for and early draft of “Coole Park and Ballylee.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 170–71; see also items 37, 44, above, and 76, below.]

76. Pages 278–84 (ff. 139v–142v). A working version of “Coole Park and Ballylee.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 174–89; see also items 37, 44, and 75, above.]


78. Pages 300–03 (ff. 150r–152r). Working versions of “Stream and Sun at Glendalough.” [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 318–23; see also item 79, below.]

79. Page 305 (f. 153r). A fair-hand copy of “Stream and Sun at Glendalough,” dated June 23, 1932. [See *WMP* (fac. & tr.) 324–25; see also item 78, above.]


82. Pages 334, 335, 336, 338, and 342 (ff. 167v, 168r, 168v, 169r, and 171v). Working versions of “Parnell’s Funeral.” [See *PF/FMM* (fac. & tr.) 20–23, 6–7, 16–17, 18–19, and 8–9, respectively; see also items 84, 86, 87, 89, below.]


84. Pages 356–64 [amended to “356–67” in Bradford Index and Clark’s list] (ff. 178v–184v). “Historical Notes” (that is, “notes to go with the poem ‘Parnell’s Funeral.’” [Bradford enters the query “Unpublished?” after striking the typed sentence “I have not compared texts as yet.” The notes are omitted in *PF/FMM* save for WVN page 366, which is reproduced on *PF/FMM* 10; see also items 82, above, and 86, 87, and 89, below.]

85. [In his amended version of the WVN index, Clark accepts Bradford’s correction: “This is not a separate item, in spite of the new listing {i.e. number}, but a continuation of item 84.” Formerly, Bradford had typed and then cancelled the following: “pp. 365–367. Three pages of notes, additions, I think, for A VISION, though I do not find them there.”]

86. Page 366 (f. 183v). A working version of stanza II of “Parnell’s Funeral.” [See *PF/FMM* (fac. & tr.) 10–11; see also items 82 and 84, above, and 87 and 89, below.]

87. Pages 368–69 (ff. 184v–185v). Prose and working versions of “Parnell’s Funeral.” [See *PF/FMM* (fac. & tr.) 2–5 and 12–15; see also items 82, 84, and 86, above, and 89, below.]
88. Pages 370–71 (ff. 185v–186r). Notes under the heading “Four Positions” (numbered 1–4 on page 370, with “Note upon 2” on page 371), possibly for the revised edition of *A Vision* (1937). Refers to Kant, Hegel, Croce, and “New [Italian] philosophy.” See item 90, below.

89. Pages 374–75 (ff. 187v–188r). An early version (complete) of “Parnell’s Funeral” (entitled “Somebody at Parnell’s funeral”). Dated April 1933. [See *PF/FMM* (fac. & tr.) 24–31; see also items 82, 84, 86, and 87, above.]


92. Page 379 (f. 190r). “Theme for a poem.” [Bradford notes: “Became, I think, XII of ‘Supernatural Songs.’” With this item, Bradford’s Index ends, as does Clark’s amended list. Both versions misread the clause “The ascetic frozen with the ice birds sits naked in contemplation” as “…frozen into the ice berg” in anticipation of “Meru,” lines 9–12. The prose theme is quoted in full in *Sotheby’s Catalogue*, 137. But see “Meru” in *PF/FMM* (fac. & tr.) 242–43; see also item 93, below.]

[Hereafter, items 93–97, listed to complete the “Index,” were reported to the Melville Library staff following an examination of the WVN on Stony Brook microfilm, Reel 21, Volume 5 (Wayne K. Chapman, June 3, 1986). More recently, these descriptions were again examined and compared against the unnumbered folios of Harvard microfilm, Reel 5.]

93. Pages 380–83 (ff. 190v–192r). Including a rough, working draft of “Meru,” on the theme of item 92, above. See *PF/FMM* (fac. & tr.) 244–51; also item 92, above, and *Sotheby’s Catalogue*, 137. N.B.: Clark’s *PF/FMM*’s presentation concludes with WVN, page 381.]


96. Page [386] (f. 193v). A short list of “Books leant” followed by the line “What does this portent shadow forth” (cancelled) and a draft of amended lines 1341–46 for the Chorus in Sophocles’ Oedipus at Colonus, first published in The Collected Plays (1934; Wade 177).


Notes

1. The “MBY List” was compiled between June 1978 and July 1981. Each item on the list is correspondent with a descriptive caption (initialed by the identifying compiler) on a large brown envelope. The acknowledged compilers are given as Curtis Bradford (“from previous compilations”), Mary Fitzgerald Finneran, Richard J. Finneran, George Mills Harper, John S. Kelly, F. S. L. Lyons, and Thomas F. Parkinson. The index followed an addendum called “Additional items: John Butler Yeats and Other Family Letters” (MBY 1,106–22).

2. Subsequently, the integration of the MBY List into the NLI system as Collection List No. A16, Yeats Papers (Mss 30,001–31,122) has clarified the status of absent items by citing them in a separate section, called “List of manuscripts not received,” and subdividing the remainder (items 1,106–22) into two sections, “Miscellaneous Correspondence to and from members of the Yeats family 1897–1952” and “Additional items.” This organization is further enhanced by the addition of a table of contents and a brief introduction and key to abbreviations. (See http://www.nli.ie/pdfs/mss.lists/A16_Yeats.pdf.) Though the “List of manuscripts not received” does not identify the current location of such material, it is a comfort to know that the Yeats/Lady Gregory letters are currently at the Berg Collection, New York Public Library and that several important manuscript notebooks other than the White Vellum Notebook are available today for study in the William Butler Yeats Collection at Boston College.


7. To paraphrase David R. Clark’s transcription of MBY 545, 283, in Words for Music Perhaps: Manuscript Materials, 189; see WMP in the “Key to Abbreviations.”


10. Sotheby’s Catalogue, 139.

had been unpublished. See item 77 in the WVN Inventory, regarding Yeats's fifteen-page draft and Curtis Bradford's subsequent ten-page typed transcription.


13. Sotheby’s Catalogue, 139.

14. Respectively, these dates are inscribed (1) on the first page, over the draft of section I of Yeats's “Introduction” to The Words upon the Window Pane, and (2) beside the dated correction for “The Mother of God” that he entered on page 385.

15. The WVN and its typed index have, no doubt, been secured in the vaults of a succession of private investors, at first individuals though more recently corporate entities with an interest in the speculative value of commodities. It seems unlikely the originals will appear for us to study unless obtained, one day, by some wealthy library or well-endowed university.


17. The Cornell Yeats side of Collection 6836 is generally limited to production materials for volumes published since 1999, theoretically not affecting any of the titles that either do or should (but don't) include WVN facsimiles and transcription. Compact Discs bearing images from the notebook are located in Box 4 (CD 1972) and Box 8 (CDs 1983, 1984, and 1985). Images on microfilm are in Box 9: “White Vellum Notebook and other Yeats mss.” See http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/htmldocs/RMM06836.html.

18. Almost certainly, the Harvard microfilm was arranged by or for Richard Ellmann, after a stint of Naval and OSS duty in England and Ireland, where he first met George Yeats in 1945 and remained for the academic year 1946/47 to study Yeats's books and papers and to write the doctoral thesis that became his famous study Yeats: The Man and the Masks (London: Macmillan, 1948). When he returned in 1947/48 to teach at Harvard, where he had previously been an instructor, he was soon promoted to assistant professor while at work on his next book, The Identity of Yeats (see n5, above) remaining at Harvard until the end of academic year 1950/51. His treatment of Yeats's unpublished evidence in both books, but especially the second one, compares with the same range of material one finds in the Harvard collection of Yeats on microfilm (including WVN) as well as noted in NLI 30,217, a “typed list of WBY microfilms in the Harvard Library.” See Ellmann's late reminiscence “At the Yeatses,” in his posthumously published anthology along the riverrun: Selected Essays (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 239, where he remembers encountering for the first time Yeats’s “cabinets and file cases [where] all his manuscripts [had been] arranged with care by his widow,” who later “proved equal to the problem of logistics [and] produced an old suitcase and filled it with the manuscripts that I wanted to examine.”

19. Clark says in the same letter that he was prepared to send his amended transcription of Bradford’s “Index” to Richard Finneran for publication; however, Finneran's journal was already in a state of suspended animation. See n16, above.

21. David Clark to Stephen Parrish, February 26, 2000. Clark noted that he’d transcribed what he needed “directly from the notebook long before Michael Yeats sold it.” The conspectus to Collection 6836 in the Archives of the Cornell University Library confirms that Clark provided images that were “Photographed later than Harvard reels (WVNb is paginated here).” In other words, he used the Stony Brook microfilm.

22. Those of us who edited manuscripts for the plays know that there was no hard and fast rule about including Yeats’s introductions—a matter more or less left to volume editors rather than policy. There was no such issue for poetry editors. Andrew Parkin seems uninterested in the introductions to *At the Hawk’s Well* and *The Cat and the Moon*, though he acknowledges the latter in his Census. Mary Fitzgerald does almost the same thing in her edition of *Words upon the Window Pane*, which reprints the published introduction without an apparatus but cites MBY 545 in her Census. But Steven Winnett ignores the draft materials for Yeats’s creative essay on *The Only Jealousy of Emer*, appended in 1921 to *Four Plays for Dancers*, even though Winnett’s own Appendix III (“Yeats’s Introductions to *Fighting the Waves* [1932–1934]”) offers an amalgamation of several disparate fragments from NLI 8774(1) and NLI 13,567, irrespective of some fifteen pages of draft material in WVN not acknowledged in his Census. Such inconsistencies are baffling.