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Wayne K. Chapman

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EASTER, 1916 REDUX

by Wayne K. Chapman

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 Pethica's piece, significantly, is accompanied by an hitherto unpublished essay by Lady Gregory, "What Was Their Utopia?"² Without much fanfare, the date of the Shorter edition had been set aright even before this, correcting a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 IntelLex* 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 IntelLex* 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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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), 1^r–4^r], 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"⁷) 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

[1^r]

Easter 1916

I have met them at close of day
 coming with vivid faces
 from counties or desks among grey
 eighteenth century houses.
 I have passed with a nod of the head
 Or polite meaningless words
 or have lingered awhile and said
 "Polite meaningless words,
 and thought before I had done
 of a mocking tale or a gibe
 To please a companion
 around the fire at the club,
 Being certain that they and I
 had lived where mortar is born:
 all changed, changed utterly,
 A terrible beauty is born.

"

That woman at white would be skull

[2^r]

In another argument;
 Had ignorant good wits;
 All that she good she spent
 Her charity had no bounds:
 Sweet wined & beautiful
 she had ridden well & hounds.
 This man had managed a school
 And our wretched melle some horses;
 This other his helper & friend
 Was coming into his force,
 He might have won fame in the end,
 So sweet his nature seemed
 So daring and sweet his thought;
 This other man I had dreamt
 A drunken vain glorious lord.
 He had done most bitter wrongs
 To some who are near my heart,
 Yet I number him in the song,
 He too has resigned his part

[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.]

[3^r]

In the casual comedy,
 He too has been changed in his turn
 Transformed utterly:
 A terrible beauty is born

|||

Hens with one henpin alone
 Through summer & winter, seem
 Enchanted to a stone
 To trouble the linn, & stream,
 The horse that comes from the road
 The rider, the birds that range
 From cloud to tumbler, cloud
 Minute by minute change;
 A shadow of cloud on the stream
 Changes minute by minute,
 A horse that slides on the brim
 And a horse flashes within it
 When long legged moor-hens, dive
 And hens to moor-cocks call;

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.

[4^r]

minute by minute they live
 The stones in the midst of all

IV

To 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 is past has come
 On limbs that had run wild.
 What is it but nightfall?
 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 know this dream; enough
 To know they dreamed and are dead,
 And what if even of love

[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).]

[5^r]

Buried them like they died?
 I will it out in a verse,
 Mac Donogh and Mac Bride
 and Connolly, and Peers
 now and in time to be
 whenever gear is worn
 are changed, changed utterly:
 A terrible beauty is born.

WB Yeats
 Apr 25. 1916

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 ("~~An~~ <And> our wingèd mettlesome horse") on the printed copy.⁸ 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.

HM 43250, John Quinn typescript, p. 1

EASTER.

1

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} ~~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.

11

That woman at whiles would be shrill
 In aimless argument,
 Had ignorant goodwill,
 All that she got she spent,
 Her charity had no bounds;
^{sweet-winded}
~~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;

He had

Variants in Shorter 1917

title: Easter, 1916

no numeral I
of day [lacking the]

Eighteenth-century

words,
Or] Andnumeral II follows stanza
whiles] whileargument;
good will;bounds:
beautiful,

An [sic]...wingèd...horse.

no break intended

HM 43250, John Quinn typescript, p. 2Variants in Shorter 1917

He might have won fame in the end,
 So sensitive his nature seemed,
 So daring and sweet his thought;
 This éther 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 has been changed in his turn,
 Transformed utterly;
 A terrible beauty is born. ^{lll}
 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 splashes within it.
^{where}
~~When~~ 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

HM 43250, John Quinn typescript, p. 3Variants in Shorter 1917

IV

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~~ 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,
 MacDonogh and MacBride,
 And Connolly and Pearse,
 Now and in time to ~~come~~
 Are changed, changed utterly:
 A terrible beauty is born.

III

heart.

heaven's part,

name,

death.

had done

know

dreamed and are dead.

verse—

MacDonogh and MacBride

Pearse

be, / Wherever green is worn,

W. B. Yeats

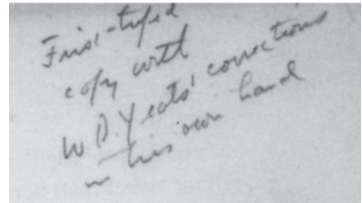
Sept. 25, 1916.

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-t[y]ped copy,” wording eventually lifted and capitalized in the library sale catalogue.



George Yeats's inscription

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.¹³ One upshot of such activity was that Yeats was at risk of losing his pension,¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

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 1926.¹⁶ 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."¹⁷ 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 shiftings that 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 Ballinamantane 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

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Notes

1. Respectively, 30–48 and 54–59 in *IYS* 1.1 (fall 2016). In the same issue, the other commentaries on the poem are by Charles Armstrong, "Easter, 1916' and Trauma" (60–65); Joseph Valente, "The Bioaesthetic of 'Easter, 1916'" (66–73); and Lucy MacDiarmid, "The Avian Rising: Yeats, Muldoon, and Others" (74–86).
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).
6. Chapman, *YPM* 83.
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.
9. *The Library of John Quinn*, Part Five (New York: The Anderson Galleries, 1924), 1155.
10. A. J. A. Symons, *A Bibliography of the First Editions of Books by William Butler Yeats* (London: The First Edition Club, 1924), 33.
11. Clement Shorter, *C.K.S.: An Autobiography—A Fragment by Himself*, ed. J. M. Bulloch (London: privately printed by Constable & Company at the University Press, Edinburgh), 161–65.
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.

14. Foster, *Life* 2 64.
15. 9 June 1917. See Campbell, *IYS* 1.1: 57; and Armstrong, *IYS* 1.1: 61. Symons (33) notes that the press mark of the British Library copy is "Tab 578.a.48."
16. Surely, the reason why so much of Shorter's literary collection wound up in the Ashley Library. See "Shorter, Clement (1857–1926)," *The 1890s: An Encyclopedia of British Literature, Art, and Culture*, ed. G. A. Cevasco (New York and London: Garland, 1993), 550–51.
17. The inscription in W. B. Yeats, *Eight Poems*, transcribed by Edward Pay (London: Published by "Form" at the Morland Press, 1916) is quoted in Edward O'Shea, *A Descriptive Catalog of W. B. Yeats's Library* (New York and London: Garland, 1985), 328. A partial inscription is given by Balliet (*CM* 16–17), who quotes other inscriptions laid in similar tone.
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.
21. Edna C. FitzHenry, ed., *Nineteen-Sixteen: An Anthology* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan; London: George G. Harrap, 1935), 56–57. Coincidentally, Christine Kinealy recently featured Dora Sigerson Shorter and Yeats at the end of Kinealy's "The Poets' Revolution," in the 1916 Special Commemorative Issue of *Irish America* (Feb./Mar. 2016) 98–100, where images of the two poets are juxtaposed and first and last stanzas from Dora Shorter's "Sixteen Dead Men" are quoted with a similarly generous excerpt from her requiem lyric "The Choice," written in memory of Roger Casement and the unsuccessful effort that she, Clement Shorter, Arthur Conan Doyle, Shaw, and Yeats had made to rescue Casement from hanging.
22. Isabella Augusta Gregory, *Lady Gregory's Journals*, vol. 1: *Books One to Twenty-Nine, 10 October 1916–24 February 1925*, ed. Daniel Murphy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 66.
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).
24. Chapman, *YPM* 238.
25. George Mayhew, "A Corrected Typescript of Yeats's 'Easter 1916,'" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 27.1 (1963) 53–71.
26. Mayhew, "A Corrected Typescript" 58.