THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO

TWENTIETH-CENTURY ENGLISH POETRY

Edited by Neil Corcoran

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The last century was characterised by an extraordinary flowering of the art of poetry in Britain. These specially commissioned essays by some of the most highly regarded poetry critics offer an up-to-date, stimulating and reliable overview of English poetry of the twentieth century. The opening section on contexts will both orientate readers relatively new to the field and provide provocative syntheses for those already familiar with it. Following the terms introduced by this section, individual chapters cover many ways of looking at the 'modern', the 'modernist' and the 'postmodern'. The core of the volume is made up of extensive discussions of individual poets, from W. B. Yeats and W. H. Auden to contemporary poets such as Simon Armitage and Carol Ann Duffy. In its coverage of the development, themes and contexts of modern poetry, this Companion is the most useful guide available for students, lecturers and readers.

NEIL CORCORAN is King Alfred Professor of English Literature at the University of Liverpool.

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1903	Emmeline Pankhurst founds the Women's Social and Political Union
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1908	Ford Madox Ford founds the *English Review*
1909	Ezra Pound, *Personae*
1910	W. B. Yeats, *The Green Helmet, and Other Poems* Death of Edward VII, accession of George V
1912	The first *Georgian Poetry* anthology includes work by Rupert Brooke, D. H. Lawrence, Walter de la Mare and John Masefield
1913	Marcel Proust, *Du côté de chez Swann*
1914	W. B. Yeats, *Responsibilities* Outbreak of First World War
1915	Rupert Brooke dies on his way to the battle at Gallipoli
1916	Charlotte Mew, *The Farmer's Bride*
1917	T. S. Eliot, *Prufrock and Other Observations* Ivor Gurney, *Severn and Somme* Edward Thomas killed in action at Arras The Balfour Declaration lends British support for the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine Revolutions in Russia
1918	*Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins* Siegfried Sassoon, *Counter-Attack, and Other Poems*

	Edward Thomas, *Last Poems* Wilfred Owen killed during the crossing of the Sombre-Oise Canal Isaac Rosenberg killed on the Somme End of First World War Representation of the People Act gives the vote to women (over thirty) for the first time
1919	Treaty of Versailles
1920	T. S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* Wilfred Owen, *Poems* Ezra Pound, *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* Government of Ireland Act and the creation of Northern Ireland
1921	Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Logisch-Philosophische Abhandlung*
1922	T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* published in *The Criterion* Thomas Hardy, *Late Lyrics and Earlier: with Many Other Verses* A. E. Housman, *Last Poems* James Joyce, *Ulysses* W. B. Yeats, *Later Poems* Ivor Gurney's family have him declared insane Founding of the BBC
1923	D. H. Lawrence, *Birds, Beasts and Flowers*
1924	André Breton, *Manifeste du surréalisme* Ramsay MacDonald becomes the first Labour Prime Minister
1926	Hugh MacDiarmid, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* The General Strike is unsuccessful in forcing the government to act to prevent wage reduction and worsening conditions for coalminers
1927	Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* Marcel Proust, *Le Temps retrouvé*
1928	W. B. Yeats, *The Tower* Thomas Hardy dies Charlotte Mew commits suicide
1929	Collapse of the New York stock market
1930	W. H. Auden, *Poems* T. S. Eliot, *Ash-Wednesday* William Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity* John Masefield appointed Poet Laureate The Great Depression hits Great Britain

1932	F. R. Leavis, *New Bearings in English Poetry*
1933	W. B. Yeats, *The Winding Stair, and Other Poems*
1936	London International Surrealist Exhibition Death of George V. Following the abdication of his successor Edward VIII, George VI ascends to the throne Start of Spanish Civil War
1937	David Jones, *In Parenthesis* Stevie Smith, *A Good Time Was Had By All*
1939	W. B. Yeats dies Beginning of Second World War
1940	Dunkirk evacuation The London Blitz
1941	James Joyce dies America enters the war after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour
1943	Jean-Paul Sartre, *L'Être et le Néant*
1944	T. S. Eliot, *Four Quartets* D-Day landings in Normandy Keith Douglas killed in the days after the D-Day invasion
1945	German unconditional surrender Surrender of Japan after atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki Labour win a landslide election victory
1946	Dylan Thomas, *Deaths and Entrances* R. S. Thomas, *The Stones of the Fields* Ezra Pound is found insane and committed to St Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, DC
1947	Edith Sitwell, *The Shadow of Cain* India gains independence from British rule, initiating the post-war break-up of the British Empire The Partition of Palestine
1948	Robert Graves, *The White Goddess: A historical grammar of poetic myth* Ezra Pound, *The Pisan Cantos* Founding of the NHS The *Empire Windrush* lands 492 Jamaicans at Tilbury, carrying the first large group of West Indian immigrants to the UK. The 'open door'

	policy continues during the 1950s to address the post-war shortage of labour
1949	W. S. Graham, *The White Threshold*
1952	David Jones, *The Anathemata* Lynette Roberts, *Gods with Stainless Ears* George VI dies, accession of Elizabeth II
1953	Dylan Thomas dies
1954	Dylan Thomas, *Under Milk Wood*
1955	W. H. Auden, *The Shield of Achilles* Philip Larkin, *The Less Deceived*
1956	British invasion of, and withdrawal from, Suez Hungarian revolt suppressed by the Soviets
1957	Thom Gunn, *The Sense of Movement* Ted Hughes, *The Hawk in the Rain*
1958	Beginning of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
1959	Geoffrey Hill, *For the Unfallen*
1960	Penguin Books acquitted of obscenity for publishing *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, resulting in far greater freedom to circulate explicit material
1961	Major expansion of British universities
1962	Benjamin Britten, *War Requiem* (which includes settings of poems by Wilfred Owen) The Cymdeithas yr laith Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Society) is founded to campaign for the future of the Welsh language: in 1967 the First Welsh Language Act is passed Second Vatican Council
1963	Sylvia Plath commits suicide The Beatles release their first LP, *Please Please Me*
1964	Philip Larkin, *The Whitsun Weddings* House of Commons vote to end the death penalty
1965	T. S. Eliot dies Sylvia Plath, *Ariel* First big Arts Council *Poetry International* festival in London; Ted Hughes one of the organisers

Students in Czechoslovakia elect Allen Ginsberg King of the May
First US combat troops arrive in Vietnam; the last leave in 1973

1966 Basil Bunting, *Briggflatts*
Seamus Heaney, *Death of a Naturalist*
'Swinging London' is hailed in *Time* magazine
Bob Dylan tours the UK with an electric backing band

1967 Abortion legalised
Homosexual acts between consenting adults legalised

1968 J. H. Prynne, *Kitchen Poems*
Enoch Powell makes a controversial speech attacking immigration policies
The Prague Spring

1970 Ted Hughes, *Crow*

1971 Geoffrey Hill, *Mercian Hymns*

1972 R. S. Thomas, *H'm*
John Betjeman appointed Poet Laureate

1973 Paul Muldoon, *New Weather*
W. H. Auden dies
The United Kingdom joins the European Economic Community

1974 Philip Larkin, *High Windows*
David Jones dies

1975 Seamus Heaney, *North*
Linton Kwesi-Johnson, *Dread, Beat an' Blood*
Ezra Pound dies

1977 Rise of punk rock

1978 Geoffrey Hill, *Tenebrae*
Hugh MacDiarmid dies

1979 Ted Hughes, *Moortown*
Craig Raine, *A Martian Sends a Postcard Home*
Christopher Reid, *Arcadia*
Margaret Thatcher begins a premiership (lasting until 1990) that will be characterised by support for freedom of economic competition and privatization, and opposition to the trade unions

1981 Creation of the Social Democratic Party

1982	James Fenton, *The Memory of War: Poems 1968–1982*
1983	James Fenton, *The Memory of War and Children in Exile: Poems 1968–1983* Paul Muldoon, *Quoof*
1984	John Betjeman dies Philip Larkin declines the post of Poet Laureate; Ted Hughes is appointed instead
1985	Tony Harrison, *V* Benjamin Zephaniah, *The Dread Affair* Philip Larkin dies Coalminers' strike; violence on Yorkshire coalfields
1989	Simon Armitage, *Zoom!* Fall of the Berlin Wall
1990	Derek Walcott, *Omeros*
1991	Collapse of the USSR The Gulf War
1993	The second Welsh Language Act places Welsh on an equal footing with English in Wales
1994	End of apartheid in South Africa
1995	Seamus Heaney awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature
1997	Don Paterson, *God's Gift to Women* Tony Blair's New Labour government is elected.
1998	Ted Hughes dies. Publication of *Birthday Letters* Re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament and creation of the National Assembly for Wales
1999	Edwin Morgan appointed as Glasgow's first poet laureate Launch of the European single currency: Britain declines membership

Introduction

Now that the succeeding century is well advanced into its first decade, it seems a good time to take a purchase and a perspective on the poetry of the twentieth century. This Companion offers an availably intelligible and stimulating account of the current state of its critical reception, of the issues and challenges to which it gives rise in our own cultural and social climate, and of the various engagements between poetic form and history which it offers as both problems and examples to succeeding poets and readers.

The poetry treated here is 'English' in the sense that it's written in the English language, or versions of it, by poets who are, or were, of English, Scottish or Welsh origin, or have an origin or family attachment overseas but have been resident in Britain or taken British nationality. The place of nation in the construction of personal and poetic identity is itself an issue in some of this work; and the fact that the latter part of the century witnessed a form of the devolution of political power to Scotland and Wales has found effects and emphases in some of the poetry discussed here, and not only poetry from Scotland and Wales.

The Irish story, which of course intersects with these stories at numerous points, is not told here, mainly on the practical grounds that, a separate story too, it is already the subject of Cambridge Companions: one on W. B. Yeats edited by Marjorie Howes, and one entitled *Contemporary Irish Poetry* edited by Matthew Campbell. Even so, Yeats, although he has no essay to himself in this book, is a towering presence within it. Discussions of his place include the elaborately artful self-revisions of his lengthy career, notably those encouraged by Ezra Pound (whose more general place in this story is outlined in several essays in this volume too); his formidable technical expertise and refusal of modernist experimentation; his establishing of the poetic sequence as a highly influential modern form; and the enduring challenge of W. H. Auden's response to him, particularly in his elegy 'In Memory of W. B. Yeats', published in 1939, which is cited and discussed several times. The impact of the poetry of Northern Ireland since

the mid-1960s, and particularly of the work of Seamus Heaney and Paul Muldoon, with its transformations of lyric possibility, is made clear in several essays too, as is the significance of the work of Patrick Kavanagh and Austin Clarke as an enabling resource in the evolution of the poetic of the Welsh poet R. S. Thomas. If the Irish story is not told here, then, the ways in which the story that is being told crosses with it are frequently to the fore.

Although T. S. Eliot does not figure individually in this Companion, his varieties of Modernism are, as much as Yeats's influence, crucial to an understanding of the poetry of this period, and the impact of his poetry, his criticism and, indeed, of his person (in his role as an influential publisher of poetry, for instance) are extensively treated in what follows. Aspects of this include his paradoxical similarity to Yeats in his views of poetic tradition and traditional form; his modulation of personae in *Four Quartets* as one of the crucial contributions made by Modernism to the art of poetry; his ambivalent attitude to D. H. Lawrence, which is rich with implication for the entire history of the poetry of the period; and the desire he shares with Lawrence for a newly naked or bare-boned poetry, however differently they actually expressed this desire and wrote out of it. One essayist in this book suggests that English poetry in this period has never 'got over' Auden, and this may well be so. But the evidence punctiliously adduced and construed here suggests, perhaps surprisingly, that it is Eliot who casts the larger shadow across the poetic century.

But Auden's impact is also wide-ranging, sometimes in contradistinction to Eliot's: from his commandeering position in relation to other writing of the 1930s and 1940s, including William Empson's, and his early turning of a newly Modernist poetic towards sociopolitical concerns, through his overwhelming effect on the young Philip Larkin, to his absorption by James Fenton and others in poetry from the 1980s on. It will come as no news, of course, that Yeats, Eliot and Auden have such standing in this story; but it is still compelling to see this manifested in the various ways that it is in these essays.

A Companion such as this, which offers a view of an extensive chronological period and a great variety of published work, must of necessity be selective. But individual essays do consistently pick up and re-examine the terms offered as 'contexts' in the opening section. The volume makes a persistent inquiry – on what is sometimes still virtually a field of battle – into the applicability of the terms 'modern', 'Modernist', and 'postmodern' as ways of understanding the poetry of the twentieth century and its implicit or explicit politics; and also into the comparative merits and value of the work being so defined.

This inquiry has some salient features to which I think it is worth alerting the prospective reader at the outset. One is the characteristic refusal of contemporary critics to take the Victorians at the modernists' estimate of them, and the consequences of this for more recent writing. To read Victorian poetry as formally innovative and radical is to look more sceptically at the self-justificatory and self-advertising claims of experimental Modernism, and to become more alert to the oedipality of its struggles, while still crediting the remarkable experiments and effects actually demonstrable in Modernist work. In the narrative of inheritance, with its strategies of evasion as well as gratitude, the poetic achievement of the Victorian Gerard Manley Hopkins, and his posthumous publication, reputation and absorption by others, is an especially complicating factor that undermines some clichés of formal radicalism and technical experimentation. Other such factors include the often occluded persistence of influences from both Algernon Charles Swinburne and Walt Whitman.

A further feature of this inquiry is the examination of some ways in which form may be both traditional and radically modern in poets who reject – or just ignore – the radicalism of modernist forms. In some poets of the period – Yeats, for instance, Hardy, Edward Thomas and Charlotte Mew – traditional form may be so originally wrought as to become something quite different from itself and, thereby, a means for the articulation or realisation of things which Modernism itself could not articulate or realise. Proposals such as this – and several of the kind are made in this book – tend to collapse what are coming to seem increasingly jaded or wearyingly *parti pris* hostilities between critical camps of the 'modern' and the 'Modernist'; and that collapse is, invitingly, more of a breakthrough than a breakdown.

And the final feature of inquiry which I will mention here is the one undertaken into what may and may not be allowed to constitute the 'postmodern' in poetry. The essay on the term in the 'Contexts' section of this book holds it sceptically, or 'uneasily', between inverted commas, worries at its elasticity, and offers, as alternatives actually used by poets and critics, the terms 'neo-Modernist' and 'late modernist'. That essay also takes the Movement poets of the 1950s to task for their hostility to Modernism and suggests, rebukingly, that in them we have 'the "postmodernism" we deserve'. Yet the individual essay on Philip Larkin, who is sometimes read as the quintessential 'Movement' poet, on the contrary makes much of his early absorption of Eliot and other Modernists, and also of his assimilations of both Auden and Louis MacNeice. The essay proposes, as a consequence, that Larkin is a much more complex 'late modern' or even 'postmodern' figure, philosophically as well as aesthetically, than he

has often appeared, even – perhaps especially – in his own prose statements. There are involving arguments about subjectivity, authenticity and the survival of the lyric 'voice' in all of this, as there are elsewhere in this book too; and such contradictory readings have, I think, a stimulatingly provocative relationship with one another. They contribute to a sense of the permanently uncompleted business that literary criticism – indeed, that reading itself – is, at its best.

Some concluding thoughts. It is notable how frequently in these essays the word 'contradiction' occurs. It is accompanied by many cognates or near-synonyms: 'division', 'fission', 'dissonance', 'ambiguity', 'conceit', 'self-questioning', 'multi-perspectivism', 'difference', 'discrepancy', 'destabilisation', 'hybridity', 'translocation'. And these are joined by a related set of apparently opposed or mutually undermining binaries: 'constraint' and 'liberation'; 'dualism' and 'dialogism'; 'oral' and 'literary'; 'identification' and 'distance'; 'critique' and 'longing'; 'the real self' and 'acting out'. Individual essays also describe articulate anxieties about 'belatedness', 'community' and 'audience', and some define the various kinds of mobility which poets make available to themselves by engaging in translation, version and pastiche – the self-disguise or self-modification of ventriloquism, for instance, and the opportunity for extensions of, or challenges to, cultural or national consciousness. (Christopher Reid's *Katerina Brac*, published in 1985, which is discussed in the essay on 'lyric adaptations', is, among other things, an exquisite set of variations on these themes.)

Literary critics like contradiction, of course, since it feeds the opportunity for exposition and argument on which critical essays tend to depend: criticism needs crisis. Yet I think that the critics gathered here do offer ample evidence that poems of modernity, whether they fall, or may be allowed to fall, under the rubrics of 'modern', 'Modernist' or 'postmodern', characteristically appear to speak against themselves, to engage in sometimes fraught dialogues of the self with the self, or of the poem with its own origins, traditions and generic characteristics. Poems become the scenes of anxieties, tensions, distresses, uncertainties, contentions and mobilities, in relation to what may loosely be labelled as both the private and the public life or sphere. Or, rather, the poem is that place where, in language and form, the private and the public converge or coinhere, where matters of the deepest moment – of sexual, class, national and racial identity, in particular, and occasionally, still, of religious or quasi-religious identity and belief, or of scepticism about or antagonism to it – are approached, acknowledged and articulated at their most subtle and most complicated levels. The poem is not necessarily the place where such contradictions will be resolved or analysed into harmony: indeed, 'resolution' is a word which

virtually never figures in these essays, and being painfully on both sides or having it anxiously both ways is something the modern poem also characteristically does. The twentieth-century English poem is the place where urgencies of desire, and responsibilities of acknowledgement, indebtedness, moral choice and witness are brought into focus or relief, brought into play, and brought to book.

And in many modern poems this happens self-consciously: a further continuous thread of critical narrative in what follows has to do with what the poetry, metacritically, has to say about itself, about its own modes and procedures, and about its potential consequences and effects. Eliot in the *Quartets* is there at the Modernist origin of this impulse when, in 'East Coker', he modulates persona as he moves away from traditional form at a point of self-critique: 'That was a way of putting it – not very satisfactory / A periphrastic study in a worn-out poetical fashion.' Auden is crucially there in the Yeats elegy, with its hauntingly ambivalent assertion – if it is an assertion, exactly – that 'poetry makes nothing happen', which has proved a magnet – as a puzzle, a support or a scandal – for subsequent poets and critics. And we find it too, variously, in such places as W. S. Graham's late meditations on the role of language in consciousness; in Philip Larkin's sceptical view of the gap between word and world; in R. S. Thomas's late linguistic self-reflexivity, with its sense of the provisionality of a poetry attempting to chart ultimately elusive realities; in Geoffrey Hill's sceptical placing of the allure of poetry in relation to the allure of theology and religious belief; and in Tony Harrison's insider–outsider status as the combative occupier of canonically exclusionary iambics. Modern poetry, it seems, is nowhere more characteristic of itself than when anxiously but scrupulously doubting itself.

PART ONE

Contexts

1

TIMOTHY WEBB

Victorian to modern

1

In 1886 William Butler Yeats was introduced to Gerard Manley Hopkins in Dublin. Both were to play a significant part in the history of English verse, yet they constitute an ill-matched pair. Hopkins was a Jesuit priest but also an English patriot who felt painfully out of place in Catholic Ireland, whereas the young Yeats was far from orthodox in his religious beliefs, although descended from a Church of Ireland clergyman. When confronted with Hopkins he seems to have experienced a reaction which was predictably Irish and recognisably Protestant: his impression was the usual Irish one that Hopkins was 'a detested aesthete' and that he had brought a 'faint theatrical Catholicism to Ireland'; the Irish, Yeats told Humphry House, apropos of Hopkins, had 'no sympathy with English Aesthetic Catholicism'.[1] Many years later, Yeats wrote about Hopkins as someone 'whom I knew', vacillated about which poems should be included in *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse* and mis-remembered, or misrepresented, the occasion: 'a boy of seventeen, with Walt Whitman in his pocket, had little interest in a querulous, sensitive scholar.'[2]

Yeats may have had a copy of Whitman in his pocket, a detail intended to suggest a wide gulf of taste, but the example of the American poet seems to have left little trace on his own verse. On the other hand, Hopkins once said that, even if he had only read 'half a dozen pieces at most', 'I always knew in my heart Walt Whitman's mind to be more like my own than any other man's living.'[3] This suggests an undeclared and significant affinity with the poet recognised by D. H. Lawrence in *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923) as 'greatest of the Americans'. Nor was Yeats only seventeen at the time, since he had been born in 1865; yet the instinct to exaggerate his own youthfulness is understandable because, for all his own apparent youth, Hopkins was twice the age of Yeats and destined to die only three years later, whereas Yeats survived till 1939. At the time of the meeting, Yeats had published 'The Two Titans' ('a strained and

unworkable allegory', opined Hopkins, though not to Yeats's face) and the verse-play *Mosada*; Hopkins was known to be a sensitive figure with pronounced aesthetic predilections yet, at this point, he had published very little; his standing was largely based on his appointment as Professor of Classics at University College Dublin, and he was scarcely known as a poet.

Like so many encounters in literary history, this meeting seems anti-climactic. The case of Hopkins undermines the neat patterns to which literary history sometimes aspires: few of his poems reached print during his own lifetime, though several were included in anthologies, especially by Robert Bridges, who published sixteen of his poems between 1889 and the appearance of his own edition of the *Poems* in 1918 (a second, enlarged edition by Charles Williams appeared in 1930). Publication did not mean immediate acceptance: the first edition sold only 750 copies over the course of ten years.

For some time, Hopkins has been classified as a recognisable product of the Victorian age: in his hearty patriotism; in his aesthetics; in his scientific approach to the 'aspects of things' which, as Patricia Ball has shown,[4] links him both with his Romantic predecessor Coleridge and with his older contemporary Ruskin; in his highly developed interest in language and especially dialect; in his profound interest in religion; in his innocent but powerful sexuality; in his fondness for adjectival affirmation, which sometimes seems to counter the more startling verbal acrobatics of his poetry; in his strong though inquisitively directed preference for the natural world; and in his avoidance of urban realities, even though he lived in Glasgow, Liverpool and Dublin.

Such corrective insistence is justified and salutary; yet it is also worth remembering that, in its linguistic innovations, *Poems* has much in common with the experimental writing of the Modernists and especially with that of James Joyce. For example, Hopkins wrote: 'where, where was a, where was a place?' ('The Wreck of the Deutschland'), and 'his riding / Of the rolling level underneath him steady air' ('The Windhover'), and 'how the boys / With dare and with downdolfinry and bellbright bodies huddling out, / Are earthworld, airworld, waterworld thorough hurled' ('Epithalamion'). Since he died in 1889, and since these quotations date from the 1870s or the 1880s, Hopkins could not have qualified as a Modernist, but his verbal innovations indicate that, even within the confines of Victorian literature, some contributions were strikingly experimental. The case of Hopkins might even lead to a reconsideration of the attributes of what is properly 'Victorian' and of Yeats's famous claim in his introduction to *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse* that 'Victorianism had been defeated'.

Several influential modern writers acknowledged its significance. Even if Hopkins was largely dismissed by Ezra Pound (who, like Yeats, had

embarrassingly featured in *The Oxford Book of Victorian Verse*) and, less predictably, T. S. Eliot, he was celebrated by I. A. Richards, William Empson, Robert Graves and W. H. Auden, most of whom were practising poets as well as critics. Auden, in particular, identified Hopkins as a strong but dangerous influence; he once claimed that 'Hopkins ought to be kept on a special shelf like a dirty book.'[5] Although Hopkins had usually worked within the compass of traditional verse form, he was widely associated with innovative poetry, particularly because of his linguistic courage. When F. R. Leavis produced *New Bearings in English Poetry* in 1932, Hopkins was the single focus of its final chapter, largely because of his capacity to admit and enact the realities of struggle. As late as 1936 when Michael Roberts compiled the influential *Faber Book of Modern Verse*, Hopkins was installed as founding father, represented by thirteen poems. (Yeats, who was placed directly after Hopkins, only got eight.)[6] So, through the vagaries of religious restriction and the curious patterns of publication and literary influence, Hopkins was, to some extent, lifted out of his period and connected, positively, with the 'new' and the 'modern'. The Victorian poet became an inspirational model, if not always a direct or immediate poetic influence, on English poetry after the First World War.

The gradual evolution of the poetic standing of Hopkins is an exceptionally good example of the delayed manner in which certain literary reputations are established, long after the death of the poet. The case of Hopkins demonstrates how our sense of a 'Victorian' writer has evolved and achieved greater complexity with the passage of time. With a poetic reputation beyond his own control, he had much in common with Wilfred Owen and Isaac Rosenberg, poets who had not survived the First World War, but who were accorded the stabilising notice of book publication in the early years of peacetime (Owen in 1920, and Rosenberg in 1922).

In contrast, the route followed by Yeats was strikingly different. Very much not dead, he played a significant part both in keeping his own work before a reading public and in transforming his poetic self over a number of years. Since Yeats has now been dead for more than sixty years, it is easy to fail to notice the significance of this process of change and the centrality of Yeats himself to this extraordinary choreography. Yet the patterns were sometimes surprising and apparently controlled, or at least permitted, by Yeats himself. Take, for instance, these facts assembled by George Bornstein:

> The importance of *Poems* (1895) and its successors to Yeats's public image cannot be overstated. This was the volume by which Yeats was best known to readers for nearly four decades, until the publication of *Collected Poems* in

> 1933. Its first edition of 750 copies ... sold well, as did the American edition. Revised editions appeared in 1899, 1901, 1904, 1908, 1912, 1913 (with further slightly revised impressions in 1919, 1920, 1922 [twice], 1923, and 1924), 1927, and 1929.[7]

With whatever revisions, therefore, this relatively early volume continued to sell well even during the years of the First World War, the Troubles, the Irish Civil War and the first, difficult, years of the Irish Free State, while Yeats was giving expression to an exceptional poetic maturity with the publication of *Responsibilities* (1916), *The Wild Swans At Coole* (1919), *Michael Robartes and the Dancer* (1921) and *The Tower* (1928). Yeats was prepared to sanction publication, or re-publication, of poems such as 'Down by the Salley Gardens' (first published, 1889), 'The Lake Isle of Innisfree' (first published, 1890), 'The Sorrow of Love' (first published, 1892) and 'Who Goes with Fergus?' (first published, 1892), at the time when he was also writing and publishing such unsparingly modern texts as 'The Second Coming' (first published, 1920; in book form, 1921), 'Sailing to Byzantium' (first published, 1927; in book form, 1928), 'Meditations in Time of Civil War' (first published, 1923; in book form, 1924) and 'Leda and the Swan' (first published, 1924; in book form, 1924).

Such apparent clashes and contradictions suggest that Yeats possessed an unusually canny instinct for commercial possibilities though he also may have recognised not so much a blunt disconnection as a process of continuity. Privately, he admitted: 'This book [*Poems* (1895)] for about thirty years brought me ... twenty or thirty times as much as all my other books put together.'[8] He might have wished it otherwise; but there is no evidence that he curtailed or tried to prevent these revealing ambiguities of publication. The record clearly shows that we need to re-examine received notions of the poet putting the past behind him as he rejects the encumbering coat of old mythologies, appearing to move on without a backward glance from a discarded style to the new.

2

The evidence of the early volumes also shows that Yeats was much exercised by the opportunities of ordering the poems in his volumes. This directive input, often radical, revealed much about Yeats and usually carried enduring consequences. As George Bornstein puts it, in examining one notable instance: 'The arrangement of the early lyrics in *Poems* established a paradigm still present even in posthumous arrangements of Yeats's verse.'[9] Perhaps the most famous example of the construction of a volume is exemplified by the carefully planned volume *The Tower* (1928),

which was assembled from a variety of sources, including poems published as early as 1919 and as recently as 1927. Such attentiveness may have reached a rich climax in *The Tower* but the revisionary procedure left its impress on much earlier stages of his work.

If Yeats was much concerned with such organisational matters, he also paid particular attention to style. This gradual process of rewriting and revision helped to transform his poetry from a state of expression which was passively beautiful, if often merely Victorian or late-Victorian, to a form which was more acutely responsive to the troubling and often ugly facts of a modern world. Unlike Hopkins, who partly rejected the restrictions and inadequacies of Victorian diction, and unlike Owen who responded to the pressures of trench warfare by moving from a language which was lushly adjectival and 'Keatsian' to a sparer articulation more suited to his shocking subject matter, Yeats followed a slower trajectory but also gradually replaced an inappropriate poetic diction with something more starkly functional.

A particularly rich example is provided by the history of what was first published in 1890 as 'The Old Pensioner', which later evolved into 'The Lamentation of the Old Pensioner'. Although the title was altered as early as *The Countess Kathleen* (1892), the text remained unchanged till the 1925 version of *Early Poems and Stories*. The original version, which was based on an anecdote told by George Russell, was in effect a transposition of that experience and ran to only two stanzas. A third stanza (the second in standard editions) was not introduced till 1925, at which point the whole poem changed its status, becoming less anecdotal and giving voice to a completely new ferocity both of vision and poetic diction. A diction largely sentimental and sometimes old-fashioned ('Ah, wherefore murmur ye') has been replaced by an utterance which is more simple ('I spit into the face of Time'), more fiercely direct and more brutally physical. In the revised version there is no effort to capture the voice or mode of speaking of the old pensioner; the outspokenness of the Yeatsian persona expresses the proud indignation of old age rather than the depression of any reduced individual and looks forward to the unrestrained utterances of Crazy Jane, which combine metaphysical insights with an understanding which is almost shockingly physical.[10]

The shocking detail of spitting, and the revised version of the text which includes it, did not appear till 1925, when Yeats was sixty; and, at that point, the rewritten text was published in a book called *Early Poems and Stories*, with the result that, whatever the author's intentions, the true path of Yeats's poetic progress was largely concealed or occluded. Ironically, he later attacked Hopkins in a passage which unfairly suggests that he had

forgotten the long course of this progress and that the two poets were separated by a simple divergence of practice. Hopkins, claims Yeats, is 'typical of his generation where most opposed to mine'. His meaning is 'like some faint sound that strains the ear ... his manner a last development of poetical diction.' Whereas Yeats himself, he says, belongs to another set of writers which pursues very different objectives: 'My generation began that search for hard positive subject-matter, still a predominant purpose.'[11]

Quite apart from the fact that Yeats was not prepared to admit the linguistic courage and the experimental audacity of his predecessor, he has also significantly misrepresented the curve of his own development. One of the most interesting elements in Yeats's work is the slow way in which it retreats from a stylistic manner and a subject matter which are distinctively Victorian to versions which are more in accord with a modern world and with 'hard positive matter'; from tapestries, gold cloth, dreams and 'dim' landscapes to 'violence of horses', 'A sort of battered kettle at the heel' and 'the foul rag and bone shop of the heart'. This difficult and hard-earned transformation owes a great deal to the ways in which the decoratively adjectival has been changed to the brutally physical: from wishing for the cloths of heaven or remembering forgotten beauty to 'A shudder in the loins' or a 'rough beast' which 'Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born'.

3

With scarcely any exceptions, the Victorian poets operated within a conception of verse form which was essentially traditional. Hopkins may have been a great innovator but, with whatever difficulties and prevarications, he worked inside the boundaries of traditional verse form (perhaps this combination of obedience to a discipline with personal innovations and adventures paralleled his dilemma as a Jesuit and sharpened the edge of his creativity). Many of his most daring poems are cast in the form of a sonnet, a form which in his original versions runs from just over ten lines (in 'Pied Beauty'), to twenty-four (in 'That Nature is a Heraclitean Fire'). Tennyson's *Maud* is a long dramatic monologue centred on a consciousness which at best is seriously destabilised, and at worst is mad; but although its verse form is varied and fluctuating, the poem never expresses extreme states of mind through extreme and uncharted poetic forms. Likewise, *In Memoriam* may be divided into one hundred and thirty-three sections, but it is held together both by its troubled and ruminative central consciousness and the repeated formality of its quatrains; while, in spite of its apparently intrusive

patterns of colloquial speech, Clough's *Amours de Voyage* is a sustained attempt to import the classical hexameter creatively into the received modes of English verse.

This devotion to form continued to leave its impress on poetic composition, even though subject matter necessarily changed, and even though this period includes the decadent experiments of the *fin de siècle*; the Boer War; the exciting though troubled years leading up to the First World War; the unimaginable and protracted experience of the war itself; the Easter Rising in Dublin and the Bolshevik Rising in Moscow; the strengthening claims of feminism; post-war elation, turmoil and redefinition; the Irish Troubles followed by the creation of the Irish Free State and the Irish Civil War.

Though T. S. Eliot (an American living in London) had allowed himself the challenges of free verse in 'Portrait of a Lady' (whose title celebrated another Harvard graduate living in England) and 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock', he could not entirely abandon the urbanity and apparent security of rhymed verse (as in 'The Hippopotamus', 'Whispers of Immortality' and 'Mr Eliot's Sunday Morning Service'): seven out of the eight English-language poems in his *Poems* (1920) were written in quatrains, though usually with only one pair of rhymes to each four-line unit. Ezra Pound (another American living in London, before he moved to Paris), the energetic author of *The Cantos* (which had begun to appear as early as 1917) and the controversial 'translator' of Propertius, was also responsible for 'Hugh Selwyn Mauberley' (1920), which balances its passages of free verse with sections both in rhyme and in tightly controlled metre which, like the quatrains of Eliot, owe a direct debt to French examples.

While even Eliot and Pound showed themselves susceptible to the attractions of traditional verse form, the aesthetic securities were even more alluring to poets who were unquestionably English. The poets of the Nineties (many of whom Yeats knew personally and memorialised in *The Tragic Generation*) were usually conventional in verse form and poetic diction, even if they were occasionally shocking in their choice of subject matter and outrageous in their private lives. Even Arthur Symons (who shared a flat in London with Yeats) wrote a timid, rhyming verse, an odd form of expression for the friend of Rimbaud and Verlaine and the importer of French Symbolism. The poets collected in the five volumes of *Georgian Poetry* between 1913 and 1922 (including the pioneering but ill-fated Rupert Brooke) were apparently content to speak for values which were representatively English in a verse strangely separated, in content, language and form, from the pressures of a changing world. Its verse forms were

stanzaic and strongly traditional: only two of the poems it published were in free verse (one of these was D. H. Lawrence's 'Snake').

There is much evidence that this concentration on pastoral virtues and traditional verse forms was a patriotic act of defiance aimed at those disturbing changes which might be identified as continental or even 'German'.[12] There were also the notable cases of Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) and Thomas Hardy (1840–1928), who pursued a long poetic career which extended from the 1860s till his death and who concentrated on writing poetry during the last thirty years of his life. In the first part of the twentieth century Hardy was extremely active poetically. He produced several volumes which showed a keen poetic ear and an attentiveness to the metrical lessons of folk-song and hymn but he confined its strong experimental tendency to executing variations on traditional verse form rather than attempting something entirely original. Free verse he regarded as 'a jumble of notes' and, in his view, Whitman 'wrote as he did, formlessly, because he could do no better'.[13] Dennis Taylor, the expert on Hardy's sophisticated versification, has described his last works as 'most unusual metrical experiments, poems written in unique, complex stanzas' and introduced comparisons with William Carlos Williams as well as Herbert; yet, just as Hardy planned, the strength of these poems derives from the fact that they operate, with whatever audacity, inside a recognised tradition.[14]

The polarities were forcefully articulated by Yeats in a late essay called 'A General Introduction for My Work' intended for a complete edition of his writing which, in the event, did not appear in his lifetime. Yeats makes it clear that he is seriously at odds with many of the poets who would claim to be 'modern'. According to his philosophy, a successful poet must tune in not only to the voices of the present but the powerful, or even ghostly, voices of the poetic past. He admits that he had discovered 'some twenty years ago that I must seek, not as Wordsworth thought, words in common use, but a powerful and passionate syntax, and a complete coincidence between period and stanza'. The direct consequence was a return to poetic traditions: 'Because I need a passionate syntax for passionate subject-matter I compel myself to accept those traditional metres that have developed with the language.' Or again, he asserts: 'I must choose a traditional stanza, even what I alter must seem traditional.' In a characteristically Yeatsian passage, he develops this point in a flurry of images and an unambiguous declaration: 'Talk to me of originality and I will turn on you with rage. I am a crowd, I am a lonely man, I am nothing. Ancient salt is best packing.' A little later, he describes his troubled excitement on reciting the opening line of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, where he can detect that 'the folk song is still there, but a ghostly voice, an unvariable possibility, an unconscious norm.

What moves me and my hearer is a vivid speech that has no laws except that it must not exorcise the ghostly voice.'[15]

By a strange chance (or perhaps it is no coincidence), Yeats's declaration bears a curious resemblance to Eliot's defence of *vers libre* which had been published in 1917. There, Eliot had claimed (no doubt, in defence of his own practice): 'the ghost of some simple metre should lurk behind the arras in even the "freest" verse; to advance menacingly as we doze, and withdraw as we rouse. Or, freedom is only truly freedom when it appears against the background of an artificial limitation.'[16] There is more in common between Yeats and Eliot than one might imagine from their practice; and their respective invocations of 'the ghostly voice' and 'the ghost ... behind the arras' suggest that, with whatever difference, both were sensitively attuned to the relations between the forms of traditional verse and those modes of fashionable expression which might seem to have succeeded and superseded them.

The complexity of the case is well illustrated by Yeats's 'The Second Coming', first published in November 1920. For many years this visionary poem has been acknowledged as an iconic intimation of the collapse of civilisation, and formulations such as 'Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold' are still widely quoted. The poem has much in common with the later poems 'Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen' and 'Meditations in Time of Civil War', which hold within patterns of harmonious versification, and the stabilising and protective presence of rhyme, the harsh evidence of a country which acknowledges no such restraints. But 'The Second Coming' expresses its terrifying vision of collapse not as a counterpoint to such intricate patterns but through the medium of verse which is apparently blank.

As a glance through any volume of Yeats will quickly show, this verse form was used elsewhere, but it does not seem to have been one of his regular poetic choices. In 'A General Introduction' he celebrates its force but seems to suggest some difficulty in combining past and present: 'When I speak blank verse and analyse my feelings, I stand at a moment of history when instinct, its traditional songs and dances, its general agreement, is of the past. I have been cast up out of the whale's belly though ... I smell of the fish of the sea.'[17] In its turn, 'The Second Coming' makes conscious use of the possibilities of blank verse but, although it never entirely forgets its powerfully primitive origins, it enriches our reading experience by reminding us of other forms which are never far away. In this case, at least one of those ghostly voices is the tradition of verse in Irish which Yeats cannot have known intimately but which provides a strongly directive presence for a poem which seems to dispense with the traditional formalities of rhyme. Ancient salt proves to be an inestimable resource.

Yeats begins by drawing our attention to the possibilities of end-rhyme, which the poem is soon to abandon:

> Turning and turning in the widening gyre
> The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
> Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.

The falconer might seem to be linked to the gyre in the sort of half-rhyme or pararhyme which Wilfred Owen had evolved out of the intense but unharmonious experiences of war, or which Yeats himself increasingly employed to blunt any simplistic response (for example, 'faces' and 'houses', 'gibe' and 'club', 'comedy' and 'utterly', 'verse' and 'Pearse', in 'Easter 1916'). Even the move from 'hold' to 'world' might hint at a rhyming connection while miming that breakdown of order and relation which it so resonantly articulates. In this poem, though, the possibilities of traditional end-rhyme are soon withdrawn, emphatically denied by the marked repetition of 'is loosed' in lines 4–5. This strangely different kind of discourse reaches climax in the stunned progression of lines 9–11: 'Surely some revelation is at hand; / Surely the Second Coming is at hand! / The Second Coming!'. The intensity of the poem's vision and its distance from received patterns is indicated by these mesmerised repetitions. Although there is a brief flicker of end-rhyme in the conjunction of 'man' and 'sun' at the end of lines 14 and 15, the poem generally avoids such apparently easy patterns of connection.

Paradoxically, though, Yeats's poem is not a free expression of disconnection but a carefully contrived piece of poetic art. Like 'Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen', though with greater concentration, it revists and rewrites Yeats's earlier poetry in the light of an experienced understanding more obviously in accord with the precepts of the 'modern' and the disillusionment of a post-war world. While the reference to 'Herodias' daughters' in that poem looks back to 'The Hosting of the Sidhe', 'the blood-dimmed tide' shockingly redeploys the adjective 'dim' which features in so many early poems and achieves an ugly precision in its compound adjective which is later matched by the arrogant physicality of 'Slouches'. Not only does 'The Second Coming' rewrite the adjectival tradition of the earlier poems; it is also a strongly alliterative poem which carries some patterns of assonance or internal rhyme.

In such ways, it has something in common with the practice of Hopkins who occasionally employed Anglo-Saxon alliteration and the intricate patterns of Welsh *cynghanedd* to add extra determination to the form of

the sonnet or the rhyming stanza. Of course, Yeats does not require the double securities of Hopkins; nor, on the other hand, does he allow himself the calculated collapse into fragmentation which marks the end of *The Waste Land*. Like Eliot's five-part vision, 'The Second Coming' is driven by intimations of collapse and exploits terms of reference which invoke Christian explanation but, unlike Eliot, Yeats does not simulate collapse by imitating its effects. As he once told Pound, '*vers libre* is prose', and Yeats prefers not to capitulate by admitting the prosaic.[18] As I have written elsewhere: 'Eliot, the self-declared classicist, employs a technique which is expressionist and mimetic, which to some extent participates in the fragmentation which it laments. On the other hand, Yeats, the self-declared Romantic, approaches the subject of impending anarchy with a formal control which might be described as classical.'[19]

Even though 'The Second Coming' is expressed in the form of blank verse, it insists on a tightness of structure and recurrent evidence of intelligible control which defy those forces of destruction which it so frighteningly but resolutely envisages. 'The Second Coming' is unflinchingly modern; but it deliberately rejects any temptation to be Modernist.

The poem's strength is also increased by its gradual evacuation of political particularities. The drafts show that Yeats was thinking of other examples of social breakdown – the French Revolution and the Bolshevik Rising – but 'The Second Coming' achieves a superior generality precisely because it eliminates any reference which is historically specific, cunningly avoiding any mention of William Pitt, Edmund Burke, Marie Antoinette, the Germans and Russia. This unified concentration is intensified by the final choice of one unparagraphed piece of verse: in the last typescript version, Yeats had divided the poem into three distinct sections but now all divisions are omitted, with the effect of increasing the inevitability of the social decline which begins with the escape of the falcon from his handler's control.[20]

4

Yeats's progress exhibits another significant shift which seems to represent a move from 'Victorian' to 'modern'. That is, the clear but gradual transition from a poetry which had strong connections with narrative to a form of expression avoiding 'story' or 'plot' and finding utterance through modes appearing more characteristically and exclusively 'poetic'. To many writers who considered themselves 'modern', the apparent simplicities of narrative seemed increasingly inadequate to a world of growing complexity. As Eliot put it in 1921: 'it appears likely that poets in our civilization, as it exists at

present, must be *difficult*'.[21] For some time, even novelists had been showing their impatience with the seemingly imperative requirements of plot: so, in their different ways, James, Conrad, Joyce and Woolf all found ways to minimise or redistribute the traditional structures of narrative continuity. In the work of most of these writers, the English novel also extended its range to include a linguistic sensitivity and a symbolic suggestiveness which traditionally had been attributed to poets rather than novelists.

Naturally, there were also some continuities. The young Yeats had been much impressed by William Morris, who was particularly well known for his narratives in verse, including *Sigurd the Volsung* (1876), which Yeats invokes with apparently nostalgic innocence at the end of his broadcast/essay on 'Modern Poetry'. Much closer to the chronology of Yeats's own life was that of Rudyard Kipling, who published many ballads and who combined verse and prose in a number of his books. There was the example of John Masefield, who published widely before and after the War and throughout his life continued a practice of telling stories in verse. His war letters reveal a rawness of experience which cannot be guessed from his verse. This incapacity to integrate his war experience creatively suggests a flaw both in his temperament and in his attitude to poetry (or 'verse-making', as he revealingly calls it).

There was the Scottish poet John Davidson, best known as the creator of 'Thirty Bob a Week', but also the author of an ambitious if depressing narrative of Edwardian London, *The Testament of a Prime Minister* (1904), set in disappointingly turgid blank verse. Here again, the poem seems to be fettered by the decision to cast it in the shape of a traditional narrative and the equally conventional choices of poetic diction and verse form. Yet another, and different, case is that of the whimsical and inventive Walter De la Mare, who published copiously in prose and wrote a great deal of poetry, some of which (like the much-anthologised 'The Traveller') is uncanny or eerie and relates in suggestive ways to his more 'prosaic' inventions.

This powerful and continuing strand should not be ignored; yet there was also an undeniable and intentional departure from the gratifications of narrative. Nowhere is this exemplified more clearly than in Thomas Hardy who had published fourteen novels and over forty short stories when *Wessex Poems* appeared in 1898. From that point till his death nearly thirty years later, Hardy abandoned the writing of fiction ('the novels seem immature to me') but published another seven individual books of poetry. For all his unfashionable awkwardness, his rejection of literary experiment and his homage to Tennyson rather than T. S. Eliot or the precepts of Modernism,

Hardy finally evolved into one of the most distinctive poetic voices of the twentieth century. Admittedly, some of his volumes, notably *Time's Laughingstocks* (1909) and *Satires of Circumstance* (1914), are still informed by an active narrative consciousness, and this can be sensed (if more obliquely) even in later poems such as 'During Wind and Rain' or 'Voices from Things Growing in a Churchyard'. Yet Hardy's distinctive vision transcends the limitations of narrative and expresses itself with a lyrical force and intensity and a truly creative strangeness which is unique.

For all Hardy's achievement, or that of the much younger Robert Graves, who graduated from the *Georgian Anthology* and the educating realities of war to a theory of poetry which was concentrated on the brief and the lyrical, assumptions about the structure of narrative and the organization of poetry certainly died hard. Clear evidence of this can be found in the attempts of critics to deduce a biographical narrative from poems such as Eliot's 'A Cooking Egg'. Even Virginia Woolf was puzzled by the structure of *The Waste Land* when she heard Eliot read it: 'He sang it & chanted it [&] rhythmed it. It has great beauty & force of phrase: symmetry; & tensity. What connects it together, I'm not so sure.'[22] This is a striking example of residual beliefs about the nature of poetry since it was Woolf who, with her husband Leonard, would first publish Eliot's poem in book form in 1923 and since, as a novelist, she had publicly rebelled against the traditional formalities of plot, in books such as *Jacob's Room* (1922) and polemical essays such as 'Modern Novels' (which she revised as 'Modern Fiction').

Even Eliot himself seems to have succumbed to these imperatives since some of the notes to his poem imply a traditional coherence which the text itself escapes through the alternative patterning of its imaginative logic. Just as striking is the layout of Yeats's *Collected Poems* which was published as late as 1950. This large and supposedly definitive volume enacts an important generic segregation. At the end, it places a separate section which is entitled 'Narrative and Dramatic'. This is made up of 'The Wanderings of Oisin' (1889), 'The Old Age of Queen Maeve' (1903), 'Baile and Ailinn' (1903), *The Shadowy Waters* (1906), 'The Two Kings' (1914) and 'The Gift of Harun Al-Rashid' (1923). Like other poems in this collection, these six works are presented in their final form so, for example, the many stages of revision which led to *The Shadowy Waters* and Yeats's creative struggles with 'The Wanderings of Oisin' [or 'Usheen'] are totally ignored.

Of the works classified as 'Narrative and Dramatic', only *The Shadowy Waters* can be counted as 'dramatic', though this is not a play for staging but a verse-play in the traditions of nineteenth-century poetry. The final poem, which dates from relatively late in Yeats's career, constitutes his

most obvious debt to Browning and shows that, in his case as in those of Pound and Eliot, modern poetry owed a particular debt to Browning's example in the dramatic monologue. It is also a sign of a changed emphasis that 'The Wanderings of Oisin', which Yeats had chosen to open most of his selected or collected volumes, is now significantly displaced. By 1950 the uses of narrative poetry would seem to have been limited or regarded as part of a previous age; yet, by relegating these poems to the end of the book and by setting them apart so obviously, Yeats's editor (or editors) has illuminated the strength of Yeats's debt to the nineteenth century and the formative part played by narrative verse in helping him to become the 'modern' poet we immediately recognise as W. B. Yeats.

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5 Cited in Humphrey Carpenter, *W. H. Auden: A Biography* (London, Boston and Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1981), p. 59.
6 See Michael Roberts, *The Faber Book of Modern Verse*, 2nd impression (London: Faber and Faber, 1936), p. 4: 'he [Hopkins] moulded a style which expressed the tension and disorder that he found inside himself'.
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10 For full details, see W. B. Yeats, *Selected Poems*, ed. Timothy Webb, revised edn ([1991]; London: Penguin Books, 2000), pp. 35–6 and Introduction, for an account of Yeats's revisionary practice.
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