The Poetic Economies of England and Ireland,
1912–2000

Also by Dillon Johnston

IRISH POETRY AFTER JOYCE

The Poetic Economies of England and Ireland, 1912–2000

Dillon Johnston

Professor of English

Wake Forest University, and

Director

Wake Forest University Press

Winston-Salem

North Carolina

USA

palgrave

© Dillon Johnston 2001

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No paragraph of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 0LP.

Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted his right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2001 by

PALGRAVE

Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and

175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10010

Companies and representatives throughout the world

PALGRAVE is the new global academic imprint of
St. Martin's Press LLC Scholarly and Reference Division and
Palgrave Publishers Ltd (formerly Macmillan Press Ltd).

ISBN 978-1-349-41896-1

ISBN 978-0-230-51101-9 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9780230511019

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and
made from fully managed and sustained forest sources.

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Johnston, Dillon.

The poetic economies of England and Ireland, 1912–2000 /
Dillon Johnston.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. English poetry—20th century—History and criticism.
2. Literature and society—England—History—20th century.
3. Literature and society—Ireland—History—20th century.
4. Literature publishing—England—History—20th century.
5. Literature publishing—Ireland—History—20th century.
6. English poetry—Irish authors—History and criticism.
7. England—Intellectual life—20th century. 8. Ireland—
Intellectual life—20th century. 9. England—Relations—Ireland.
10. Ireland—Relations—England. I. Title.

PR601 .J64 2001

821'.9109358—dc21

2001021874

10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
10	09	08	07	06	05	04	03	02	01

*For Guinn Batten
&
For Mary and Jim Batten,
who raised her right*

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xviii
1 Yeats, Hardy, and Poetic Exchange	1
1912: a June meeting in Dorchester	1
Hardy's relation to audience	5
Translations from the English and Irish past	17
Yeats's relation to audience	21
The changing relation of audience to Yeats and Hardy	23
2 The Cultural Value of Poetry	28
Henry Newbolt's report	28
Yeats's and Burke's oaks	32
Arnold and Yeats	39
Joyce's response to Arnold's benign colonialism	43
Wilde's strategies and Yeats's responses to Arnold's stereotypes	47
Shy trafficking: Yeats's and Arnold's poetic economies	53
Irish bards, Scots publishers, and English editors	62
The course of culture from 1921	64
3 The 1930s: Yeats, Auden, and Others	75
The emergence of Auden	75
Homosexuality and Auden's sexual identity	82
Yeats, Wilde, and Auden: queer and colonial margins	86
Quest or banishment? Critics' role in Auden's emigration	90
Auden: poetry and questions of value	96
Auden and Yeats	108
MacNeice's intermediate eccentricity	112
Some poetic traffic in the 1930s	121
4 Publishing and Poetry in Ireland and England in the 1960s	128
Clarke and the Dolmen Press	128
Kinsella and the Dolmen bond	129

Montague's publishers in the 1960s and his British readership	136
'It could only happen in England': Larkin, Betjeman, and Eliot	147
Hill and Larkin	156
Hughes and the Celtic exchange	161
The trenches, the Holocaust, and the bomb in the 1960s	166
5 Toward the Present of English and Irish Poetry	169
Translation and recent Irish poetry	170
Muldoon's 'imarrhage' and 'pied' writing	176
<i>Údar</i> : the authority of the absent in Irish poetry	179
The body in Irish and English poetry	186
Hughes and Heaney: laureate prose	193
Recent poetry and publishing in England and Ireland	201
Heaney and English poetry: a postscript	206
<i>Notes</i>	209
<i>Works Cited</i>	225
<i>Index</i>	236

Acknowledgments

First, I am deeply indebted to Edwin G. Wilson, my inspirational leader at Wake Forest and supporter of the Press, then my resourceful and patient partner at the Wake Forest University Press Candide Jones as well as our generous designers Richard Eckersley and Rich Hendel, and our student assistants over the years. I thank Wake Forest for Archie Grants and Reynolds Leaves, my colleagues in the English Department, Jane Mead, Eric Wilson, Connie Green, but particularly Phil Kuberski, who read versions of this book in the last century, various librarians at Wake Forest's wonderful library, especially Sharon Snow in Rare Books for access to the Dolmen Archive, and literate friends on Stoots: Lee and Edith, Rick and Ken. I thank my students, especially housemates in London. I thank Seamus Heaney, Craig Raine, Jon Stallworthy, and Declan Kiberd for writing letters on my behalf; Kiberd, Dennis O'Driscoll, and Edna Longley for reading portions of this book; Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill, Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, and Maureen Murphy for help with the Irish language; Ray Ryan, Charmian Hearne, Tim Farmiloe, John Handford, and Eleanor Birne for help with or from Macmillan, and Paul Muldoon for advice and an advance copy of the Clarendon Lectures. I thank supporters at Washington University, especially Naomi Lebowitz, Miriam Bailin, and Fitz Smith. I am grateful to Adele Dalsimer, whose life enriched me. I thank my scattered advisors, not named above: Bill Wilson, Rand Brandes, Eileen Cahill, Tom Redshaw, David Kellogg, James Olney, Helen Emmitt, Stephen Amidon, Ian Baucom, Ciaran Carson, George Watson, Medbh McGuckian, Nigel Alderman, John Waters, Ron Schuchard, C. K. Williams, Dennis O'Driscoll, Michael Longley, Tom and Eleanor Kinsella, John Montague and Elizabeth Wassell (who laughed me out of the title *A Bearable Duty Is Borne*), Jo Miller, and my brother in the trade Peter Fallon. I thank some supreme being for my brothers, for my children wise Kathleen and acute Devin, and especially for Guinn Batten my wife to whom I dedicate this book and much more.

The author gratefully acknowledges that lines of poetry are reproduced by permission of the following individuals or publishers from the following works: R. Dardis Clarke, 21 Pleasants Street, Dublin 8 from Austin Clarke's *Collected Poems* (Lilliput Press, Wake Forest University Press); Dufour Editions, PO Box 7, Chester Springs, PA 19425 from Geoffrey Hill's *King Log* (1968); Faber & Faber Inc. from W. H. Auden's *Collected*

Poems, from Ted Hughes's *The Hawk in the Rain*, *Crow*, and *Wolfwatching*, Philip Larkin's *Collected Poems*, and Paul Muldoon's *The Annals of Chile*; The Gallery Press (Peter Fallon, editor) from Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill's *Astrakhan Cloak* (Gallery; Wake Forest University Press); Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin's *The Brazen Serpent*; and Derek Mahon's *Collected Poems*. Seamus Heaney from 'On His Work in the English Tongue' © Seamus Heaney 2000. Jonathan Cape from Michael Longley's *The Weather in Japan*; Thomas Kinsella from 'Hen Woman' in *Collected Poems* (Oxford University Press); Paul Muldoon from his translations of Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill's *The Astrakhan Cloak*. Penguin Books Ltd from Geoffrey Hill's *Collected Poems* © Geoffrey Hill (1968, 1965); Random House, Inc. from W. H. Auden's *Collected Poems*.

I thank the special-collection librarians for correspondence, photocopying, and permission to quote from the Timothy O'Keeffe Papers, Department of Special Collections, McFarlin Library, The University of Tulsa; Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University; Rare Books, Z. Smith Reynolds Library, Wake Forest University; Special Collections, Woodruff Library, Emory University.

Portions of this book have been revised from essays in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997); *Ireland & Irish Cultural Studies*, ed. John Paul Waters; *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 95: 1 (Winter 1996); *Irish Poetry After Joyce*, rev. edn (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997); *Well Dreams: Essays on the Poetry of John Montague* (Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 2001).

Preface

To the extent that poets are affiliated with the left or right bank of the Irish Sea, they inherit colonial differences which contribute to their identities, whether these identities are real or not.¹ Shaped by a colonialism that thrives on the differences it creates, English and Irish poets may be separated further by religion, original language, disposition toward their audiences, and modes of poetic discourse. However, although important and clear differences continue to divide these two traditions in the twentieth century, most Irish and English poets nevertheless have moved within the same marketplace, employing the same language, sharing many poetic models, attending each other's readings, subscribing to and publishing in the same journals, competing for the same prizes and chairs, lecturing in the same endowed forums, and submitting to some of the same editors and publishers. In certain ways, these sharings of resources and circulation of influences have constituted over most of this century a specialized regional economy in which essential goods are created at home – whether in Belfast, Dublin, or Huddersfield – and processed in and marketed from a few urban centers, rather like a colonial mercantile system. However, in the twentieth century, for the first time, poetic traffic, at least in terms of influences, has gone both ways, so that, for example, Yeats influenced especially W. H. Auden, Louis MacNeice, Vernon Watkins, Ted Hughes, Philip Larkin, and Derek Mahon, as well as other and younger poets, while Hardy influenced poets such as Edward Thomas, Auden, Patrick Kavanagh, Larkin, and Seamus Heaney. Auden, in turn, left traces on the poetry of Thomas Kinsella, Mahon, John Fuller, James Fenton, Glyn Maxwell, and Paul Muldoon, while Muldoon, in turn, has influenced Simon Armitage, Ian Duhig, Alan Jenkins, and others among the younger generation of British poets.

This mutual exchange within a poetic economy – one that emphasizes difference even as it effaces distance – only emerges in the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century, poetry in Ireland had been either still in Irish and inaccessible to the reader of English or in English and a fairly pale reflection of Romantic or Victorian poetry. As the Irish language seemed to dwindle toward extinction in the last half of that century, translations from Gaelic poetry from the eighteenth on back to the eleventh century by scholars and poets such as Standish O'Grady, Douglas

Hyde, and Augusta Gregory, infused into Irish poetry in English a new strength. Drawn from Hiberno-English diction and syntax and from subject matter, plots, and characters distinctive to Irish Gaelic literature, this resuscitation may be attributed especially to Hyde's translations, introduced in 1893, which in a recent edition of *The Love Songs of Connacht* the editor Míchaél Ó hAodha claims 'marked a turning-point in the Irish literary Revival and revealed a new source for the development of a distinctive Irish mode in verse and poetic prose' (quoted in Cronin, 135). While poetry in late Victorian and Edwardian England experienced no similar innovating infusion, it extended its own tradition of chiefly rural subjects and settings and elegiac and/or lyrical tones, even while it developed an urban anti-pastoral subgenre of poetry.

The relationship between poetry in England and Ireland that is the subject of this book can be said, then, to begin late in the nineteenth century. Over the four stages that this book charts – the 1910s, 1930s, 1960s, and 1990s – the relation between Irish poetry in English and its sources grows increasingly complex, as questions of origin, identity, and authenticity become more complicated and sophisticated. Although the twilight note and coloring in Yeats's early verse derives in part from the translations of Hyde, O'Grady, and Gregory, it also draws sufficiently on Pre-Raphaelite conventions to make it familiar, if somewhat exotic, to English Victorian readers. As the twentieth century of Irish poetry progresses – from the Hyde-influenced English of 1912, when this book opens, to the Gaelic-tinctured poetry of Austin Clarke in the 1930s, to Kinsella's skillful translation of the *Tain* and its influences and the use of a palpable Hiberno-English by Heaney and other poets in the 1960s, to the strong interrelation of Irish poetry in the two languages within this past decade – Irish poetry in English draws closer and closer to certain distinctive, ultimately untranslatable features of poetry in Irish.

Although the number of native Irish speakers shrank severely in the Victorian era, the cause of this demise, often attributed solely to the famine, also lies in the slow dampening of Irish spirit by the penal laws and by a profound sense in the Irish of economic inferiority. As the Irish language dwindled and withdrew to the isolated fringes, most Irish writers picked up English as the mother tongue, but at arm's length and with a self-consciousness about expression and audience that seems extreme in comparison to most English poets' proprietary ease with their language. The psychological consequences of a similar loss of language, in this case a shift from Romanian to French, Julia Kristeva has characterized at length:

Not to speak your mother tongue. To live in sounds, logics cut off from the nocturnal memory of the body, the bittersweet sleep of childhood. To carry within yourself a secret tomb, or like a handicapped child the language of a another time [*sic*] – treasured and useless – that fades away but never leaves you.²

Although Kristeva's linguistic loss may be directly comparable only to that of bilingual poets of the mid-nineteenth century, such as James Clarence Mangan, nevertheless John Montague claims, in often quoted lines from *The Rough Field*, a psychic recurrence of that earlier loss: 'To grow / a second tongue, as / harsh a humiliation; as twice to be born' (MCP, 37). Working self-consciously in the 'shadow' of English, the Irish poets develop multiple strategies toward their various audiences, a distinctive feature of Irish poetry which, in *Irish Poetry After Joyce*, I have called *tone*.

Questions both of *tone* and of translation attract as corollaries two other features that distinguish Irish and English poetry. First, toward the twentieth century's close both English and Irish societies grew increasingly multicultural: Britain absorbed immigrants who are mostly former colonists from India, Pakistan, the Caribbean, and South Africa, whereas Ireland is learning to accommodate refugees from Bosnia, Africa, and other distressed zones in a spirit of restitution toward those who have accommodated the Irish diaspora over the centuries. Nevertheless, compared to Europe both English and Irish societies remain relatively insular, and their poetry often registers the fact of geographical and psychological enclosure in its images of verticality, its tendency to spelunk or dig down – as into Auden's limestone caves or Heaney's bog – or to ascend. Relative to American poetry, for instance, neither poetry can 'slice a big sun at evening . . .' as Heaney says in 'Bogland.'

However, compared to English poets, modern Irish poets – whether speaking as Montague's water-carrier, Heaney's Undine, or Kinsella's Amergin – seem more compelled to return to the midden, to resettle land that has been 'camped on before,' to free Yeats's fountain and tap into a global aquifer (and thereby become more modernist as I will argue in Chapter 2) in contrast to Arnold's, and English culture's, seabound river. When we read accounts in London papers of some event in Ireland that relates to the 'mainland,' by which is meant 'Britain,' we recognize how relative advantages – the larger island, a tenfold greater population, the more global economy – can render their island a continent, within which the English poet is content to remain. On the other hand, English poetry often achieves an opposite verticality by ascending heights to achieve

Wordsworth's sublime epiphany on Mount Snowdon or the isolation of Hardy on the 'Wessex Heights' or a Miltonic overview that draws providential history or the shires of England into a meaningful integrity or unity. This perspective is pervasive enough in English poetry for Auden to extend it playfully, assuming an airman's dwarfing perspective or approaching 'frontiers,' not the wide open spaces of American literature but dangerous borders between gender identities, nation states, or states of mind. If the Irish poet assumes the shovel or sounding rod with his responsibility to disclose and translate his culture, the English poet can ascend mountains and cast the empirical eye over dominions to approach a transcendence that, nearly always, remains grounded in a practical or materialist outlook.

Perhaps through this same empirical legacy and a reaction against modernism, modern English poetry has resisted obscurity and placed a high premium on clarity. In the autumn of 1986, during a reading in the former site of the Poetry Society in Earl's Court, a red-faced auditor rose to demand of – was it? – Jon Silkin: how dare he resort to elitist obscurity in his poetry which had seemed to me bracingly clear. On the other hand, even when Irish poetry seems clear – as it almost always does in the work of such poets as Mahon, Longley, Durcan, Boland, or Murphy – it often contains keys that open different levels of access and thereby often divides the audience between those uninitiated into Irish myth or folklore and the inheritors of such traditions. For example, to understand Paul Muldoon's poems such as 'Aisling' or 'Immram,' we would have to know or learn how eighteenth-century personifications of Ireland and ancient voyage literature are oblique keys to narratives set in thoroughly postmodern society. Cloaked references to Gaelic culture or Irish history have increased in recent Irish poetry, but two kinds of unstated or suppressed references have operated in Irish poetry, story, and song since the shift into English: first, those omissions introduced to frustrate a colonial auditor and convey secrets to a primary audience, and, second, those omissions introduced into a song or story when the fuller context is lost over time or simply dropped because in a place as small as Ireland everyone knows the plot. This unstated context for the narrative song – the original occasion for the poem, the fuller narrative – Hugh Shields identifies as the traditional *údar*, the authority for the song, saying, 'Those who listen to songs know that certain things occurred which were the occasion of the songs, even if they do not know what things they were' (83). Perhaps enumerating general distinctions between poetry from England and Ireland becomes interesting only when, highly qualified, such generalizations illuminate individual

poems. We acknowledge, uncomfortably, that in all societies stereotypes are sometimes fulfilled, and some of the binary distinctions of English and Irish, offered by Matthew Arnold well over a century ago, still hold in some cases, probably because both colonizer and colonist define themselves in contrast to the other. Without accepting the English charge of being *superstitious*, levelled against Catholics after the Reformation, poets in Ireland, including some Protestant poets, leave the door open to the infinite. Poets in England, on the other hand, more often will follow Hardy in reporting on the fact of spiritual longing without slipping on, what T. E. Hulme called, 'spilt religion.'

Still shaped by colonial history, the Irish poet, whether Protestant or Catholic, knows that dismissals of superstition or idolatry, on the one hand, or of materialism or literalism on the other, are closely related to poetic and linguistic questions concerning representation, metaphor and metonymy or even metamorphosis, and duplicity or sincerity in language. Although English poets may have been less self-conscious concerning the relation of religion and poetic language, the English poet Ted Hughes has recognized in his post-Reformation society a drive toward mastery: spirit over matter, mind over body, man over nature, man over woman. In 1970 he offered this Weberian critique of English Protestantism: 'The subtly apotheosized misogyny of Reformed Christianity is proportionate to the fanatic rejection of Nature, and the result has been to exile man from Mother Nature – both inner and outer nature' (*HWP*, 129). We know that Geoffrey Hill would second Hughes in this critique, but I'm tempted to say that most other English poets would follow Hardy in questioning – explicitly or ironically or even regretfully – representation of both immanence and transcendence as expressions of superstition.

In observing the relationship between English and Irish poetry over four different decades, this book will return to these distinguishing characteristics of Irish and English culture: degrees and kinds of translation, tone, spatial orientation, levels of secrecy, and the relation of body and spirit, but the focus of the study will be on individual poets and their poems within specific decades. The success of this study may be measured by the extent to which poems, especially familiar poems by major poets, can be viewed afresh when they are studied as circulating within a dynamic poetic economy.

The book opens in 1912 with a meeting in Dorchester between Thomas Hardy and representatives of the Royal Literary Society, William Butler Yeats and Henry Newbolt, three figures who will be involved fundamentally – through the institutions of publishing and literary societies, as well as through their own writing – with the alliance of poetry

and culture throughout the century. This chapter advances through 1916, when the consequences of horrendous battles on the Belgian and French fronts and of the 1916 Rising in Dublin will have a profound effect on English and Irish cultures and on their poetry. The second chapter revisits the idea of culture, considers the exchange of metaphors representing culture, and recognizes the relative centrality of poetry to culture. The third chapter studies exchanges across boundaries of Irish and English poetry in the 1930s as illustrated by the famous 'tundish' passage in Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist As A Young Man* when in the presence of a representative Englishman Stephen muses on language – its origins, its duplicity, its metaphorical dimension, and its levels of concealment and disclosure. On the basis of Joyce's paradigm, we can see that Auden's 'language of indirection,' enforced on him by his illegal, homosexual status, shares certain evasive strategies with the colonial writer's awareness of multiple audiences and the dangers of openness. By taking an extended look at publishing in the 1960s, both in Dublin and London, Chapter 4 returns to the relationship of poetry to culture before considering the association of poets with their readers. Perhaps in reaction to the anti-nuclear and anti-Vietnam movements in London, Philip Larkin and the Movement adherents of Hardy's poetry express, often wittily, their repressed sense of loss and decline. In Ireland, the rekindling of the Troubles closes off the path of political nationalism and leaves Irish poets to progress either into a neutral ground or toward a linguistically refracted cultural nationalism. Rather than ameliorating the differences between English and Irish poetry, the 1990s sees these distinctions sharpen, with the best of English poets recently dead or shrinking into satirical roles and with Irish poets winning a disproportionate number of prizes, including Heaney's Nobel Prize, Muldoon's and Heaney's ascension into the Chair of Poetry at Oxford, and Kinsella's selection for the first European Poetry Prize. The ascent of Irish poetry over the century and the relative decline of English poetry, which springs from the mysterious distribution of genius, can nevertheless be elucidated by the facts of poetry production and exchange within the economy of English and Irish poetry.

Before launching into a study of such a poetic economy, I should offer a word about my method of advancing and about certain assumptions and questions that impel this book. If we begin with the question 'What is the good of poetry?' then we can acknowledge that attempts to answer that question in this book usually concern social value and the concept of *culture*. Answers to that question might begin with a second question concerning what we would be willing to exchange for poetry.

We might speculate on the amount of money invested in individual books of poetry which, of course, might vary widely from title to title. A book for which the purchaser pays, say, £8 might have already been underwritten by charitable or governmental institutions. To arrive at the book's actual value, we would have to factor into the actual cost of the book subsidies to the publisher, underwriting of individual titles as through the Poetry Book Society's choice, which guarantees a certain number of books sold, grants to the poet or forms of employment that give him or her time to write, airing of the books in public – at readings or on radio or television – in exchange for a fee, lucrative prizes, and the selling of poetic remains (manuscripts, letters, and journals whose value accrues from the poems) for as high as six figures in sterling. We would then recognize that the value of the book increases geometrically and that this surcharge, the price beyond the £8, is borne by society at large in the often unspoken name of culture rather than directly by individual readers.

Although we might support such subsidies and value poetry's contribution to culture, ultimately the value of poetry arises from the relationship between individual readers and single poems that, paradoxically, lift us out of our individual condition through symbolic exchange: the language and verbal constructions readers share with the poet. Although we may attempt to evaluate this relationship generally, this abstraction may seem remote from the individual relationship to the literary text on which this value is based. Acknowledging this gap in our understanding, we then can only consider all aspects of a poetic economy – including such diverse aspects as the exchange between bookseller and readers, the influence of one poet on another, the making of a canon – as enlargements of or digressions from the exchange between a reader and a poem.

List of Abbreviations

- ACP Auden, W. H. *Collected Poems*, ed. Edward Mendelson. London: Faber & Faber, 1976.
- ACPW *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. R. H. Super. Vols III, V and IX. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962.
- AF&A Auden, W. H. *Forewords and Afterwords*. Selected by Edward Mendelson. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.
- CSP Clarke, Austin. *Selected Poems*, ed. Hugh Maxton. Dublin: Lilliput Press; Winston-Salem, NC: Wake Forest University Press, 1991.
- AEA Auden, W. H. *The English Auden: Poems, Essays, and Dramatic Writings, 1927–1939*, ed. Edward Mendelson. London: Faber & Faber, 1977.
- ESP Eliot, T. S. *Selected Prose of T. S. Eliot*, ed. Frank Kermode. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1975.
- HCP Hardy, Thomas. *The Complete Poems of Thomas Hardy*, ed. James Gibson. New Wessex Edition. London: Macmillan (now Palgrave), 1976.
- HEL Hardy, Florence Emily. *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy, 1840–1891*. London: Macmillan (now Palgrave), 1928.
- HL *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy*, eds Richard Little Purdy and Michael Millgate, vol. III, 1902–08, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982; vol. IV, 1909–1913, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984. (Cited as HL III or IV.)
- HLY Hardy, Florence Emily. *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy, 1892–1928*. London: Macmillan (now Palgrave), 1930.
- HN&CP Hill, Geoffrey. *New & Collected Poems*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1994.
- HWP Hughes, Ted. *Winter Pollen: Occasional Prose*, ed. William Scammell. London: Faber & Faber; New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1992.
- KCP Kinsella, Thomas. *Collected Poems, 1956–1994*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- LCP Larkin, Philip. *Collected Poems*, ed. with introduction by Anthony Thwaite. London: Faber & Faber/Marvell Press, 1988.
- LFC Leavis, F. R. *For Continuity*. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1968; 1933.

- McCP MacNeice, Louis. *The Collected Poems of Louis MacNeice*, ed. E. R. Dodds. London: Faber & Faber, 1966.
- MCP Montague, John. *Collected Poems*. Oldcastle: Gallery Press; Winston-Salem, NC: Wake Forest University Press, 1995.
- MP MacNeice, Louis. *Modern Poetry*. New York: Haskell House, 1969; 1938.
- RW Larkin, Philip. *Required Writing: Miscellaneous Pieces 1955–82*. London: Faber & Faber, 1983.
- WC&C Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- YCL Yeats, W. B. *Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats. Vol. III*, eds John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- YCP —. *W. B. Yeats: The Poems*, ed. Richard J. Finneran. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1983.
- YE&I —. *Essays and Introductions*. New York: Macmillan (now Palgrave), 1961.
- YL —. *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Allan Wade. New York: Macmillan (now Palgrave), 1961.
- YUP, 1 —. *Uncollected Prose, 1: First Reviews and Articles, 1886–1896*, collected and edited by John P. Frayne. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- YUP, 2 —. *Uncollected Prose, 2: Reviews, Articles and other Miscellaneous Prose, 1897–1939*, collected and edited by John P. Frayne and Colton Johnson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.