Chapter 4

ROOTS OF YEATS'S POLITICAL AND SOCIAL THOUGHT : MAJOR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TRENDS IN EUROPE AND INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS OF POST WAR YEARS

To understand the poetry of W.B. Yeats it is necessary to know about the social and political background of his age and the writer's response to it. His poetry becomes as it were the mirror of the temper of his age. Yet as we will examine later, his poetry retains a balance between poetry as art and poetry as a weapon for social propaganda.

One of the most important developments that took place in Europe during the last two centuries was the movement of nationalism which had its repercussions in Ireland also. Around 1830 there was a stirring of nationalism in Europe. It was one of the direct causes of the events that led to the First World War. The rise of nationalism as a movement threatened the existence of the Hapsburg Empire. Added to this fact was

1. "For liberals it implied liberty and a degree of popular sovereignty – thus Mazzini would speak of the 'progressive principle which constitutes British nationality', for conservatives the maintenance of native traditions and an established order of society, for others a community spiritually bound by a common heritage of language and culture or one linked by bonds of blood, or a special relationship to a homeland. Some saw in the movement of nationalities a step towards universal brotherhood, while others gave their allegiance to the nation state as a supreme and final entity. The dominant emphasis might vary from decade to decade and from east to west, but whatever it was, here was a word which quickly became charged. "With emotional content, and with its fellows 'Nation' and 'Nationalities' connoted a dynamic force of immense potentiality." - J.P.T. Bury, The New Cambridge Modern History, The Zenith of European Power, 1830-1870 (Cambridge University Press, 1971), Vol. X, p. 213
the economic prosperity that was the result of industrialization and colonization. During the last years of the nineteenth century there was an increase in material production which strengthened the economies of most of the countries of Europe. Moreover with this came an integrated and interdependent world economy and world market. Capital investment doubled in Britain, as in the case of France and it increased by three times in Germany. Yet at the same time the enormous strides taken by material progress and industrial advancement was counter productive in the sense that it led to a system of tariffs which were protectionist in nature and which reduced the scope of liberal principles.

The rapid industrialization of most of the countries of Europe saw a breakdown in the rural way of life and its values. It led writers like Thomas Hardy to write of a life

---

2. "According to estimates for the years 1870 and 1910 capital investments increased in Britain from 35 to 70 billion dollars, in France from 28 to 55 billion, and in Germany from 17 to 70 billion, while British foreign investments grew from 5 to 20 billion dollars, French from 8 to 22 billion, and German from none to 5 billion." - C.J.H. Hayes, Contemporary Europe Since 1870, (Delhi: Surjeet Publications, First Indian Reprint 1977, Copyright 1953, 1958), p. 29

3. "The rise of protectionism in the 1870's and 1880's was accompanied by a growing challenge to the other great principle of liberal political doctrine - the principle that the government had no right to interfere in the lives of its citizens except in so far as was necessary to maintain law and order and to hold the ring for the working unit of economic forces." - James Joll, Europe Since 1870: An International History (Harmondsworth, England, Second Edition 1976), p. 39

4. "The men of theory failed to perceive that agriculture is not merely one industry among many, but is a way of life, unique and irreplaceable in its human and spiritual values." - G.M. Trevelyen, English Social History (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958), p. 554
closely intertwined with nature and explore the consequences of the destruction of the rural way of life. Industrialization increased urbanization which was helped by the increase in population. The increase in population was the result of the strides made in agricultural technology and better standard of living, among other things. Yet this made part of the rural population redundant because of the mechanical methods of farming. In England (1740-1830) one result was the enclosure movement by which landlords and farmers denied the peasantry the use of common grounds. With the formal emancipation of the serfs in 1807 in Germany the larger estates tended to take over the smaller holdings which were uneconomical. This is the important factor to be taken into consideration as in Germany the fascist state later established by Hitler drew its support from the land owning gentry who feared a communist takeover of their lands and property.

The increase in population led to unemployment and labour problems in most of the countries of Europe which ironically had better economies than ever before. Social unrest and strikes were a common feature of the years preceding the first World War. With the greater organization in industry there took place the emergence of the trade unions. The earlier unions were primarily groups of people belonging to particular crafts. The later unions were organised on a broader basis and
paved the way to a greater working class solidarity. 5

Socialist ideas had already struck roots in England. In 1881 a group of intellectuals, among them William Morris and Henry Hyndman had founded the Social Democratic Federation for the spread of Marxian socialism. In 1883 the Fabian society had come into being.

The term "Fabian" was derived from the victory of the Roman General Fabius Cunctator whose military tactics helped win him a battle against heavy odds. Among the leading members were Shaw, Sydney and Beatrice Webb, Annie Besant, Edward Peace and Graham Welles. In 1899 Fabian Essays in Socialism edited by Shaw were published and it attracted the attention of many people. Its credo was derived from the philosophy of John Stuart Mill and Stanley Jevons. The society's objectives were the growth of a socialist state through the education of the public on socialist lines. The emphasis was on a welfare state in which the concentration of wealth in individuals and classes were

5. "The 'new unionism' sought the working class organization on a national scale and by industries, rather than locally and by crafts, in response to the situation in which, with the improvement of internal communications, districts and jobs once localised were becoming competitive with one another. Compared with the earlier unions the movement was more militant and political in its objects and more closely linked with political creeds especially socialism or with social outlooks as was the case with the catholic sponsored unions of France, Austria, Italy, Germany and Belgium and with the Anarcho-syndicalist unions of the eighteen nineties in Argentina, Chile and Mexico." - F.H. Hinsley, The New Cambridge History, Vol. XI, Material Progress and World Wide Problems 1870-1898 (Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 15
abolished. What is striking was the peaceful nature of the conversion - through lectures, discussions, meetings and research rather than through revolutionary means. Though membership was limited, it attracted a good deal of attention and in 1906 it accepted the aims and objectives of the British Labour Party and merged with it.

Essentially the trade union movement in Britain was concerned with practical gains and was not inspired by ideology. In Germany on the other hand the movement was inspired by Marx and Lassalles. The ideas of Marx were to have a profound and far-reaching impact upon socialism in Europe. It was his idea of a proletarian revolution which proved to be so popular with the newly emerging working class movements which now tended to become political. Yet other thinkers were also working along the same lines as Marx. Proudhon's idea was of a federal society in which there would be decentralization of power with the abolition of property and a government based on co-operatives. In France the peasant dominated the largely agricultural economy and favoured the rise of small industrial areas scattered all over the country and thus in France there was already this tradition of a decentralised administration. The ideas of Marx did not make much headway at first. Michael Bakumin's ideas were also in direct opposition to Marx's who believed in an industrial proletariat which would be at the centre of the next revolution, whereas Bakumin concentrated on the agricultural labourers of Italy, Spain and Russia and his ideas gained wide acceptance in these states. In Germany
Ferdinand Lassalle believed in a strong German state which would be the result of an independent working class movement. The movements inspired by Marx and by Lassalle had merged together in 1875 to form the Social Democratic Party. This party tried to consolidate and expand its power by winning elections and joining hands with the trade union movement which became more powerful after 1889 - the year of the strike at the Ruhr coalfields. Within the party itself there was the growth of the threat of the trade union movement which grew in importance as the membership of the party increased. By 1912 the Social Democratic Party was the largest in the country.

In France between 1880 and 1900 we can trace the growing influence of Marxism due to the efforts of Jules Guesde. Another trend that was discernible in French socialism was that of the anarchists which led to the development of anarchosyndicalism which distrusted parliamentary democracy. The movement found a leader in Georges Sorel whose book *Reflections on Violence* preached that direct violent action would transform the old order. In Italy we see the growth of trade unionism in the industrial north coupled with an anarchist tradition in the south of Italy. In Spain after the revolution of 1868 internal dissensions split the country between the Bourbon monarchy and their rivals. Bakunin's ideas grained widespread support with the help of the anarchists and because of the economic backwardness of the majority of the people - the peasants.
Nineteenth century Russia was open to the new wave of socialism and this resulted in the 1905 Revolution which was a failure in the sense that the monarchy was not overthrown but its success lay in the fact that the Duma - a representative parliament was established albeit with limited powers. Thus socialism became an international movement and in 1889 the Second International was founded and in 1900 an International Socialist Bureau was established.  

Thus by the beginning of the twentieth century there had been established in most countries of Europe democratic governments and strong socialist working class movements. Most of them had strong economies which were dependent on an international economic order and world market. But the scramble for colonies in Asia and Africa led to conflict among the nations which was a contributing factor in the First World War. Europe was divided by a system of alliances which set one nation against the other. The Pan German and the Pan slav nationalist movements were a threat to the old and crumbling Hapsburg empire. These and many other factors led to the outbreak of war in 1914. The spark that triggered off the war was the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria by a Serbian nationalist.

6. "Above all the socialist movement, as it gained in strength and in many countries, in parliamentary influence, provided the growing industrial proletariat with a faith and a hope." - Joll, op. cit., p. 77

7. "The growth of world trade made nations more economically inter-dependent than ever before, but the autarchic protectionist measures of powerful states opposed this tendency." - David Thompson, Europe Since Napoleon (England: Pelican Books, 1976), p. 541
Because of the system of alliances and counter alliances the whole of Europe was plunged into war. In November 1918 Germany pleaded for an armistice and thus the war came to an end.

The First World War ushered in a crisis in values. It was at first even welcomed by the different countries who believed that victory would be easy. This mood of buoyant hope was soon replaced when the actualities of the war dawned upon the people. The mood turned to pain, despair and disillusionment, one of the major themes of the literature of the First World War. It was a reversal of values from those that upheld those in authority and the cult of heroism. War poetry and the mood it reflected was essentially anti-heroic. It is the mood of disillusionment which developed in poetry and prose. D. H. Lawrence sums up this mood of futility and disillusionment and broadens and links it with the effects of industrialization in his *Twilight in Italy*.

It is as if the whole social form were breaking down, and the human element swarmed within the disintegration like maggots in cheese. The roads, the railways are built, the mines and quarries are excavated, but the whole organism of life, the social organism, is slowly crumbling and caving in, in a kind of process of dry rot, most terrifying to see. So that it seems as though we should be left at last with a great system of roads and railways and industries, and a world of utter chaos seething upon these fabrications: as if we had created
a steel framework, and the whole body of society were crumbling and rotting in between.

The war itself produced a poetry that was bitter and disillusioned. Its main quality is the lack of hope. For example in Siegfried Sassoon's poem "Prelude : The Troops" the mood is one of fear and the uncertainty of the future.

Dim, gradual thinning of the shapeless gloom
Shudders to drizzling daybreak that reveals
Disconsolate men who stamp their sodden boots
And turn dulled, sunken faces to the sky
Haggard and hopeless. They, who have beaten down
The stale despair of night, must now renew
Their desolation in the truce of dawn,
Murdering the livid hours that groups for peace.

Wilfred Owen's poem "Exposure" is another brilliant depiction of the war. The listlessness and the agony of waiting becomes a turning point in the prolonged trench warfare of the First World War. In his poem nature takes on the hue of the enemy.

The poignant misery of dawn begins to grow
We only know war lasts, rain soaks and clouds sag stormy,
Dawn massing in the east her melancholy army

---


Attacks once more in ranks on shivering ranks of grey
But nothing happens. 10

The actual nature of the war is summed up in Owen's "Strange Meeting".

I mean the truth untold
The pity of war, the pity war distilled.
Now men will go content with what we spoiled,
Or discontent, boil bloody, and be spilled.
They will be swift with swiftness of the tigress
None will break ranks, though nations trek from progress.11

The First World War ushered in serious political and social upheavals in most of Europe. Germany was under the control of the Army General Staff during the last two years of the War. On nineth November 1918 Kaiser William II abdicated. With the resignation of Prince Max, Ebert became the head of government. But infighting between the Independent Socialists and the Spartacists led to the failure of the uprising of the socialists. The Weimar Republic was established with the aim of helping Germany to recover but it was unable to deal with inflation. The Weimer Republic was established with the support of the Socialists, Catholics and middle class but it did not enjoy the support of the industrialists. Germany had to bear heavy


11. W. Owen, "Strange Meeting", Ibid., p. 161
reparation payments and the Rhineland was under French occupation. The value of the German mark fell to an astounding low level, with the result that the middle class turned increasingly to the right and the workers turned communist. From 1924 to 1929 there was a recovery but the people turned to anti-democratic forces for help. France was in a better position than Germany after the war. In Britain the war unleashed a series of strikes from 1918 to 1921.

The U.S. on the other hand enjoyed an economic boom. Yet agriculture suffered as a result of over-production. This was followed by speculation in the real estate. In October/November 1929 there was a crash and the credit balance collapsed and since American dollars were supporting most of the economies of Europe there was a financial crisis which was termed the Economic Depression of 1929. One of the results was the rise in unemployment, for example in France the rate of employment can be gauged from the table given below.
It is a safe guess that the Depression of 1929 sparked off the erosion in democratic ideals and institutions. But the cause was more deep-rooted than that. The crisis in moral values that the First World War brought in continued to develop in post-war Europe. All over Europe there was a breakdown in traditional beliefs. One of the most significant events was the Russian Revolution of 1917. It brought in far reaching changes in values and attitudes. Lenin's "State and Revolution" believed that democratic machinery should be used in the transition between the establishment of the dictatorship of

---

the proletariat and the founding of socialism to communism. Lenin believed in the international scope of the revolutionary movement and for this he upheld and saw in the rise of socialism in Europe a triumph of the proletariat. In 1919 the Communist International (Comintern) was formed and the delegates arrived from many countries. In November 1916 a Communist party was formed under the leadership of Bella Kun in Hungary. The years 1918-1919 were years of economic hardship for Hungary and Karolyi was faced with internal problems and lack of support. He resigned and Bella Kun took over. Yet his power was equally shaky and in August 1919 he resigned after which a dictatorship was established. Thus the revolution of 1917 brought in its wake counter revolution which established dictatorships. To begin with there was no tradition of a democratic ideology in the countries in which dictatorships were established. In these states short lived democracies were in control but due to the lack of stability and a tradition in democratic government these countries were receptive to Fascism. Added to this was the economic stagnation after the First World War and the depression. Thus

13. "Marxian socialism represented a significant intellectual tendency of the new era, and, though it was denounced and combated by the majority of the upper, middle and the agricultural classes, by leading statesman and zealous patriots as well as by capitalists and ecclesiastics, though its disciples remained a minority in every country, it made no mean contribution to the era's "Socialising achievements". - Hayes, op.cit., p. 218
it is perhaps easier to understand the nature and rise of fascism and communism. These two forces created a balance of power in Europe.

One of the responses to the depression was the rise of fascism in countries which had large land owning classes. But European fascist movements did not get exclusive support only from the landed gentry. It had a wide support among the lower middle classes. Fascism as a movement puts the nation above the needs and aspirations of the individual. The name "Fascism" was first used by Benito Mussolini in March 1919. The word is derived from the latin "fasces" signifying a bundle of rods with an axe which was used as a symbol of authority. Fascism as a movement tried to completely disregard the tradition of parliamentary democracy and was against individual rights. The concept of a strong nation state was the strength of its appeal and in this it was characterized by a martial outlook and an aggressive foreign policy. These qualities of a martial outlook and an aggressive nation-state lead to the concept of the leader who will lead the state. Moreover the appeal of fascism lay in its rejection of a rational, mechanistic idea of democratic liberalism and its insistence instead on the irrational.

Three intellectuals whose writings showed fascist overtones were the French thinkers Georges Sorel and Charles Maurras and the Italian Vilfred Pareto. Sorel was disillusioned with the corrupt practices of parliamentary
leaders and with democracy itself.

In our modern democracies, almost everyone feels free from the past, is without a deep love of the home, and thinks but little of future generations, deluded by the mirage of speculative riches which would come from the cleverness of their minds rather than from a serious participation in material production, they think only of royally enjoying windfalls. Their true bailiwick is the big city where men pass like shadows, political committees have taken the place of the old "social authorities" destroyed by revolutions, whose descendants have abandoned a country forgetful of its past, and who have been replaced by people living in the new fashion. 14

Sorel advocated the use of violence in history which would be beneficial. He viewed mediation and compromise as weak and he championed the cause of a heroic elite who would create a new heroic civilization. In France Charles Maurras did not approve of the ideas that the French Revolution nurtured, and urged that France should have an active and aggressive foreign policy.

Fascism was primarily a movement which exalted military valour and violence. It was characterized by a lack of a definite code of values and its most distinguishing feature was its flexibility of approach, combined with strong-arm tactics which was responsible for its initial success. However, fascism as regarded by some writers had a decidedly German background. According to J.E. Spenle, Fascism was connected with the Reformation and Luther's teachings which resulted in the schism in the Catholic Church. The Lutheran church emphasizes the divine right of sovereigns to rule.

Rather Luther entrusted the task of judging souls, of defending the faith, and of organizing new rites to worldly power of the German Princes, to the Weltliche Ofrigkiet (secular authority).  

Yet it was in Italy that Fascism came into power. What is worth noting is that fascism, as it emerged, had close links with nationalism and this factor was seized by writers and thinkers who propagated nationalist literature. The concept of the hero in German national literature became a means of glorifying the nation. In this connection Nietzsche's thought and works were to have a profound impact upon fascism.

---

Side by side with the rise of nationalism the concept of the hero emerged. Nietzsche along with Richard Wagner were under the influence of Arthur Schopenhaur who believed in a blind force leading men to their destiny. Nietzsche believed that by an effort man would change his destiny and shape life for himself. In *Thus spake Zara thustra* Nietzsche calls for a change in society and its values which would be done by a race of supermen (Ubermensch). It is easy to understand why his philosophy attracted the attention of the fascist dictatorships particularly in Germany. In fact Nietzsche was primarily concerned with the values of a decadent bourgeois society in the late nineteenth century.

There were other writers in Germany who more than Nietzsche upheld the new German Nationalism that was a feature which encouraged the growth of fascism. Julius Langbehn's *Rembrandt als Erziehen* (Rembrant as Educator) published in 1890 had a wide impact coinciding with the upsurge of German nationalist feeling. Langbehn was vociferous in his attack in German cities especially Berlin. He felt that the true German

16. *For a full account see Fritz Stern The Politics of Cultural Despair* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1961), P. 17
values were to be found among the peasantry.¹⁷

The recurring theme of the book is the value of a regeneration of national feeling. Rembrandt is chosen as the hero as he is the epitome of the range, depth and seriousness of German culture at its best. Moreover the new Germany would base its values on the value of the peasant.

Langbehn particularly put his faith in the youth of Germany who would effect and benefit from the change. His teachings had a powerful impact on the growth of youth movements in Germany. All over Europe and England between 1890 and 1914 nations began to give the utmost of attention to the education and co-curricular activities of the young. In Germany particularly the growth of youth movements was rapid and intensely nationalist in spirit. The association known as the Free German youth had a far-reaching influence upon society with their insistence upon the revival of the German national spirit. Moreover the outdoor life with

¹⁷. This idea of a folk (volk) tradition in German literature was an expression of an attempt to identify and focus the significance of the German nationhood, whose roots lie in its connections with the land. Folk literature becomes a means of identification. This idea of a folk literature was used by D.H. Lawrence in his search for an identity because he felt that the values of a materialistic Victorian society did not hold meaning for him. For Yeats the Folk tradition was literary and in a sense national because it served to illustrate his identity as an Irishman. "All folk literature and all literature that keeps the folk tradition, delights in unbounded and immortal things."—W.B. Yeats Essays and Introductions "The Celtic element in literature", p. 179
regular outings proved to be popular.18 The German Social Democratic party channelized the activities and energies of the Free German Youth into their own circle.

The upsurge in nationalism as has been described earlier coincided with the growth of an anti-democratic ideology in most of the countries of Europe. Fascism is in its essence a rejection of the democratic principles which the French and American revolutions nurtured.

The social and literary scene in Germany proved conducive to the rise of fascism with its apparent successes combined with the disillusionment of the post-war era. In Germany the National Socialist Party led by Hitler came to power. On July fourteenth the NSDAP was declared the only political party in Germany. On May second 1933 the police raided the headquarters of all the Independent Trade Unions and on June twenty-fourth the Catholic unions were crushed. In place of these a Labour Front was established. In Poland the economic problems led to strife in parliamentary politics and in May 1926 Joseph Pilsudski took control and thus Poland became a dictatorship. The other countries of eastern Europe, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia had democratic institutions but

18. "At the same time, for all its revolt against existing society and its explicit assertion of a non-political nature, the German youth movement was imbued with a mystical nationalism, a belief in a purified and rejuvenated Germany, a nation in touch with its ancient roots in German soil, preserving its own traditions untainted by decadent foreign influences." - Joll, op.cit., p. 154
they were shaky and were not able to cope with strife. Austria
took over and he systematically destroyed the last vestiges of socialism, the trade unions which supported the Austrian Social Democracy. Austria
followed suit when Englebert Dolfuss took over and he systematically destroyed the last vestiges of socialism, the trade unions which supported the Austrian Social Democracy. Austria
followed suit when Englebert Dolfuss took over and he systematically destroyed the last vestiges of socialism, the trade unions which supported the Austrian Social Democracy. Austria
followed suit when Englebert Dolfuss took over and he systematically destroyed the last vestiges of socialism, the trade unions which supported the Austrian Social Democracy. In Hungary in 1931 Julius Gombos took over and the government became increasingly authoritarian. In Yugoslavia the conflict between the Serbs and the Croats led to the establishment of a dictatorship under King Alexander in 1929. In Romania parliamentary politics met with some success but with the resignation of Prince Carol there was a fascist overture in politics and in 1938 a royal dictatorship was proclaimed. Bulgaria and Albania also became dictatorships. In Italy Mussolini organized his group of fascists to fight against the Communists. Italy under the grip of a recession became a dictatorship because of the influence of the middle and upper classes who supported Mussolini's strong-arm tactics.

Britain after the war in 1918 was in no better condition. The economic situation had worsened. In the Elections of 1922 the Conservatives came to power and after Andrew Bonar Law, Stanley Baldwin came to power. The failure of the government in taking active steps to improve the economic situation caused by the Depression led to the General strike by which the working classes organized a protest against the return to the gold standard. The Miners Federation supported by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress decided to strike when the government failed to come up with any effective proposals. The General Strike of 1926 was a
remarkable instance of working class unity and its failure should not obscure the success it had in institutionalizing working class sympathies.

This led in turn to a decline of faith in democratic institutions and values in Britain. There was much debate regarding the monopoly of agricultural land and the ownership of urban land held by the aristocracy. This led to agitations on the part of the urban working class and to the establishment of socialist groups which aimed at the socialization of the land, trade and industry. The crisis of the inter-war years not only saw the spread of disillusionment with Parliamentary democracy, but also with Parliamentary socialism. The Communists became more influential, partly owing to the prestige of Soviet Russia as a Communist state. In the thirties a group of poets wrote poetry committed to social and political aims. Parliamentary democracy was viewed with mistrust and so these poets turned to the left. Others became increasingly conservative in their world view. W.H. Auden, Stephen Spender, C.S. Dey Lewis and Louis MacNiece wrote poetry that was definitely leftist in content. The Spanish Civil War had left a deep imprint upon the writers who fought in the name of social justice, writers like Ralph Fox, Christopher Caudwell and John Cornford. Andre Malraux made it the subject of his novel L'espoir (Days of Hope, 1937). For these poets it was a renewal of faith in a new ideology that is communism. It seemed to the writers of the thirties that the only way of combating the growing menace of fascism lay in communism. It
left them with a new hope.

In Ireland Sean O'Casey had registered social protest through his dramas which portrayed ordinary working class people in the midst of civil war as having ordinary passions, and not moved by a romantic conception of valour and patriotism. They are above all human. O'Casey became a marxist as he saw in the working class the hopes of a new generation of Irishmen who would lay the foundation of an Irish state which would try to temper the Clergy - influenced ideas and values of his time. But as events show, his dream was not fulfilled which is reflected in Autobiographies.

Two fierce fights were going on for liberty, one on the little green dot in the world's waters called Ireland, and the other over a wide brown, grey, blue and scarlet expanse of land, later to overflow into the many coloured, gigantic bloom of the Soviet Union. The first* for a liberty of the soul that was to leave the body and mind still in prison, the other for the liberty of the body that was to send the soul and mind as well out into the seething waters of a troubled world on a new and noble adventure.19

To turn from O'Casey to W.B. Yeats is to turn from one dominant world view to the other that was current at that

19. Sean O'Casey, Autobiographies, Vol. 2
time. Yeats's inclination towards fascism was an instance of the trend of writers and thinkers who saw in fascism a safeguard against communism. In contrast to the writers who had Leftist sympathies we have certain writers who came to have fascist leanings and who developed the cult of the hero. This growth of a tendency towards Fascism led to Oswald Mosley founding the British Union of Fascists in 1932. It was a means of opposing liberal democracy which they felt had failed them. Such writers like Pound, Yeats and Wyndham Lewis developed a sympathetic attitude towards the fascist dictatorships in Italy and Germany. Wyndham Lewis supported Italian fascism, first in "The Art of Being ruled" (1929). Lewis felt that the thirties was the age of the leftists who condemned other writers and particularly himself who tended towards a more conservative viewpoint.

Now in the past I have perfectly understood that a good deal of hostile criticism that came my way was inspired by political intolerance, but at the time people in general had little understanding of the violence of the political forces at work just beneath their heels. Today it is otherwise - it is unnecessary for me to mention, even, the strong Leftist political coloration of so much of the newest poetry, of the majority of intelligent periodicals. In the European world of art in the last half decade more than one prominent writer or painter has undoubtedly suffered in consequence of
his non-adherence to Communism. I need only mention in
the field of painting, the Italian Chirico (as fine a
painter as Pirandello is a dramatist), and in the
literary field Mr. Aldous Huxley, whose Brave New World
was an unforgivable offence to progress and to political
uplift of every description.  

What the Leftists failed to realize was that these
writers with conservative viewpoints were motivated by the same
passion as their own to look for a change in society which
would benefit the individual and his liberties.

I started life as what is called a "revolutionary" (in
art and letters) : a man of the tabula rasa. I thought
everything could be wiped out in a day, and rebuilt
nearer to the heart's desire. I designed an entirely
new London, for instance ... ... I am often called
a reactionary. I am not that at all. But I at times
have accepted the conservative viewpoint, for
conservative action seemed to me all that people were
capable of, and that more could be got out of them by
indulging their conservatism than by whipping them into
novel efforts. (I have never varied in what I have
considered desirable. But I have varied a good deal in

20. Wyndham Lewis The Letters of Wyndham Lewis "To the Editor
of the Times Literary Supplement, Nov. 28, 1934" (ed.) W.K.
what I regarded as feasible. I still believed that
nations—Russian, French, English for instance are
very rigid, and grow slowly like trees. The theoretician
has his chance in moments of shake-up like the present,
when they become not molten but disorganised. They soon
sink back into the national pattern. 21

This question of nationhood seemed intertwined with this
conservative view and it led Evelyn Waugh to praise Mussolini's
conquest of Ethiopia in 1936. Waugh writes in Robbery under
Law (1939) of the violent turn of events in Mexico which
reiterated his conservative tendencies. His stress is on the
inequalities of wealth and position which he feels is both
inevitable and desirable and which should coincide with a
strong belief in nationality. In Black Mischief he turns to
a picture of an African state in the process of achieving
independence, its pitfalls and the sense of confusion that
beset the new state. For Roy Campbell the Spanish civil war
was a means of keeping communism at bay. In the case of T.E.
Hulme his conservatism in politics is associated with the
classical element in literature.

From the pessimistic conception of man comes naturally
the view that the transformation of societies is an
heroic task requiring heroic qualities ... Virtues

21. Wyndham Lewis, Ibid. To Leonard Anster (c.c. August 1940, p. 274
which are not likely to flourish on the soil of a rational and skeptical ethic. This regeneration can, on the contrary, only be brought about and only be maintained by actions springing from an ethic which from the narrow rationalist standpoint is irrational, being not relative, but absolute.  

It is more literary than political, rather similar to Eliot's. In the case of Ezra Pound it took the form of broadcasting for Radio Rome during the second World War after which he was tried for treason. He saw in fascism a hope for the future.

The Germans are strong because they believe they can create a new order - they believe they can establish a just peace for a thousand years to come.  

He is aware of the confrontation between the artist and the thinker and fascism.

Prejudice is much against Nazi and Fascism.

The fascist regime is only as good as its propaganda - Italy is full of people who do not know what fascism means. They see only the riots and the strict

---


24. Ibid., p. 324
regimentation of the system. There is obviously a great need for an immediate interchange of ideas.\(^2\)

All these writers had a conscious desire for a sense of order and stability. Along with this conservative trend was the concept of the hero in literature though not all of them accepted it. This tendency can be traced back to its nineteenth century roots and the concept of the hero is evident in Carlyle who was influenced by German thought. His *Heroes and Hero-Worship* equates the hero with advancement and stability in society. It had its roots in Burke's conservatism and was a challenge to liberal democratic ideals. In *Heroes and Hero-Worship* he writes -

> To the present editor, Hero-worship as he has elsewhere named it, means much more than an elected Parliament, or stated Aristocracy of the Wisest, for, in his dialect, it is the summary, ultimate essence and supreme practical perfection of all manner of worship and true worthships and noblenesses whatsoever. Such blessed Parliament and, were it one in perfection, blessed Aristocracy of the Wisest, god-honoured and man-honoured, he does look, for, more and more perfected, as the topmost blessed practical apex of a whole world reformed from sham-worship, informed anew.

---

25. Ibid., Letter to the Minister of Popular Culture, p. 333
with worship, with truth and blessedness. He thinks that Hero-worship, done differently in every different epoch of the world, is the soul of all social business among men, that the doing of it well, or the doing of it ill, measures accurately what degree of well being or of ill being there is in the world's affairs.26

The spirit of heroism was later used by D.H. Lawrence who uses the term nobility of spirit to signify the best part of what a man can have. It is the quality which enlightens democracies and dictatorships.

Some men must be noble, or life is an ash heap. There is natural nobility given by God or the Unknown far beyond common sense. And towards this natural nobility we must live.

This is our job, then, our common sense to recognize the spark of nobleness inside us, and let it make us. To recognize the spark of nobleness in one another, and add our sparks together, to a flame. And to recognize the men who have stars, not mere sparks of nobility in their souls and to choose these for leaders.27


This concept of heroism also attracted T.E. Lawrence whose life seemed an embodiment of the heroic virtues. His *Seven Pillars of Wisdom - A Triumph* is noteworthy for its spirit of adventure and of the author's part in the wars of independence in the Middle East. This concept of the hero found favour with Yeats whose politics developed in relation to the Irish question. Yet Irish events were not the sole reason for Yeats's conservative politics. It only helped to aggravate the conservatism that partly was his natural bent and partly came out of his study of certain thinkers who nurtured the conservative tradition. This quality in his nature led him to uphold certain heroes who he felt were products of a romantic nationalism like Parnell, O'Leary and later Kevin O'Higgins. This love of heroes in Yeats can also be traced to the tradition of German nationalist and authoritarian thought.

> No art can conquer the people alone - the people are conquered by an ideal of life upheld by authority. As this ideal is rediscovered, the arts, music and poetry, painting and literature, will draw closer together. 28

Yeats's dislike of the new middle class can be related to the influence of Nietzsche who believed that the masses should

---

28. W.B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, p. 491
have their proper place in society which is to follow a leader. Otherwise they would attempt to thwart the ambitions of the hero. Yeats felt that the present age would be a time for Nietzschean supermen to assert their dominance. According to Nietzsche it is the hero who triumphs over smugness and intellectual hypocrisy. It can also be connected with O'Leary's dislike of democratic sentiments.

His ancestors had probably kept little shops, or managed little farms, yet he hated democracy, though he never used the word for either praise or blame, with more than feudal hatred. 20

This concept of heroism and hero-worship which came from the European nationalist literature and Carlyle was personalised for Yeats in the figure of John O'Leary. The Irish question was an intrinsic part of Yeats's personality therefore the events that were happening in Ireland at that time were to have a direct bearing on his work. 30 Yeats took upon himself to direct a movement which was literary and yet at the same time had political overtones. It is at this point that Yeats was compelled to take a stand vis-a-vis the various ideologies in

29. W.B. Yeats, Autobiographies, p. 211

30. "Irishness is not primarily a question of birth or blood or language, it is a condition of being involved in the Irish situation and usually of being mauled by it." - C.C. O'Brien, Writers and Politics Essays in Criticism (London: Pantheon Books, Random House, 1955), p. 99
the air. His nationalism was romantic in its bent and the '
heroic usually seemed to him to ennoble Irish events. John
O'Leary seemed to him to be the ideal embodiment of the heroic
virtues, combining European nationalist thought and the Irish
tradition. When he was with O'Leary he felt like the artist
in the presence of his theme. What drew Yeats to O'Leary was
not so much his politics as his heroic image and romantic past.

His long imprisonment, his association with famous
figures of the past, his lofty character, and perhaps
his distinguished head had given him great authority. 31

O'Leary's vision moved beyond political principles to embrace
a more comprehensive grasp of ideals which were essentially
non-political. It was O'Leary who introduced Yeats to the
writings of the Young Irelanders and drew his attention to the
sort of books which were an indispensable part of the Irish
heritage - Irish geography, history and poetry and folklore,
English history and the classics. It was O'Leary who perhaps
more than anyone else influenced Yeats's concept of a romantic
nationalism that was idealistic in its view of Irish politics.
The nationalist spirit captured Yeats's imagination far more
than the dry political principle. This explains his
indifference to the First World War.

31. W.B. Yeats, Memoirs (ed.) Denis Donoghue (London :
Macmillan 1972), p. 52
Damn Toller, but you should know that no nationalist of the school of John O'Leary has ever touched international politics.  

It was O'Leary who shaped Yeats as a nationalist poet and who first introduced him to the fascination of popular politics.

The true ambition is to make criticism as international and literature as national as possible.

The earlier poetry of Yeats lacked purpose though not intensity of feeling, and it is with the new turn that Irish nationalism gave to his poetry that it becomes full and has a satisfying richness in it. Yeats looked for inspiration to the folklore of Ireland and the ordinary peasant life is lifted out of its place and given values which hold meaning even for the urban dwellers of Dublin city. There is a continuity and a sense of permanence and Yeats upholds this as necessary for a unity of being and culture.

You will find it a good thing to make verses on Irish legends and so forth. It helps originality and makes one's verses sincere, and gives one less numerous competitors. Besides one should love best what is


33. W.B. Yeats, Letter to the Editor of United Ireland, Nov. 10, 1894, pub. Nov. 24, 1890, Ibid., p. 239
Yeats associated O'Leary with heroism, courage and a romantic nationalism which by writing of Ireland's past would bring about a new outlook in nationalist feeling. It would have wider connotations than just a political nationalism because a cultural nationalism was implicit in Yeats's concept of Irish life. But as events proved the actual did not often live up to the ideal and at O'Leary's death Yeats mourned the passing away of not just the man but the tradition of romantic nationalism he was associated with. This concept of heroism underlies the significance of Irish events for Yeats as he sees in them the repudiation of the belief that the mob and the hucksters were only a brute force. It is these moments of glory which transforms and uplifts them for Yeats.

When O'Leary died I could not bring myself to go to his funeral, though I had been once his close fellow-worker, for I shrank from seeing about his grave so many whose Nationalism was different from anything he had taught or that I could share. He belonged, as did his friend John F. Taylor, to the romantic conception of Irish Nationality on which Lionel Johnson and myself founded, so far as it was founded on anything but literature, our art and our Irish criticism. Perhaps his spirit, if

34. W.B. Yeats, Letters of W.B. Yeats Ibid., p. 104
it can care for or can see old friends now, will accept this apology for an absence that has troubled me. I learned much from him and much from Taylor who will always seem to me the greatest orator I have heard; and that ideal Ireland, in whose service I labour, will always be in many essentials their Ireland. They were the last to speak an understanding of life and Nationality, built up by the generation of Grattan, which read Homer and Virgil, and by the generation of Davis, which had been pierced through by the idealism of Mazzini and of the European revolutionists of the mid-century. 35

This nationalism, romantic in its outlook, soon found another hero who becomes for Yeats the turning point between his old idealism and a new conservative outlook. Parnell, for Yeats, represents the hero associated with romantic nationalism, in the line of O'Leary. But here the implications are tragic because of his downfall at the hands of the Irish public. To explain his rise to popularity is to turn from an uncompromising Fenianism to a new link between the land-war and parliamentary politics. Parnell managed to combine both. The spread of nationalism in the eighteen eighties led to the rise of Parnell, which heralded a new direction in Irish politics.

Parnell had a gift for political leadership and when Davitt founded a new movement, 'The Land League' he entered it and became the President uniting the agrarian revolts and the political Nationalist movement. Gladstone returned to power in 1880 and he approved of a bill to give temporary security to tenants even if they had arrears. But Parnell and his followers rejected the bill as inadequate and this was followed by a series of violent incidents which were politically motivated. At Ennis in 1880 Parnell introduced the boycott movement. In 1881 a new Land Act gave greater protection to the tenant but Parnell and his followers stood aloof. Acts of violence and terror continued.

Parnell was arrested and the Land League then said that no rents were to be paid until they were released. The League was then suppressed until Parnell and Gladstone came to an agreement known as the Kilmanham Treaty. The government passed a bill to clear the arrears of rent. In October 1882 Parnell founded the National League with the aim of getting Home Rule. In the General Election of 1885 Parnell's eighty five followers held a balance of power between the Liberals and the Conservatives in the House of Commons. In 1887 the Times published a letter supposed to have been written by Parnell applauding the murder of the British Under Secretary Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish, Chief Secretary. At the end of 1880, Parnell's private life was exposed to the public life as a result of the divorce proceedings taken by
Captain O'Shea. Gladstone said that if Parnell remained in power the Liberals could not expect another Home Rule Bill and the Catholic bishops declared against him. Only twenty six members of his group remained with him but he was a broken man and died in 1891. The fall of Parnell was a crucial turning point in Irish history. It revealed the divisions within Irish society itself.

Yeats writing of its importance told the Swedish Academy in 1925:

The modern literature in Ireland and indeed all that stir of thought which prepared for the Anglo-Irish war began when Parnell fell from power in 1891.  

For Yeats the fall of Parnell has tragic implications because it involved the ignobility of the Irish mob. The strength of Irish nationalism lay in the middle class yet this strength was also a weakness because in times of stress this middle class revealed its basic ambivalence and petty baseness. It had neither the deep-rooted folk tradition of the peasantry nor the cultural superiority of the land-owning gentry. Yeats was able to sense this inherent weakness in the middle class yet realized that this mob was necessary to Irish nationalism. In the midst of the confusion that arose out of the fall of Parnell Yeats helped to found the Irish Literary Society in

Dublin and the Abbey Theatre. It is a mark of Yeats's political astuteness.\(^{37}\)

When I had gone to London with my father and mother, it had been with the thought of returning some day to begin some movement like that of Young Ireland, though less immediately political. I knew by a perception that seemed to come from without, so sudden it was, that the romance of Irish public life had gone and that the young, perhaps for many years to come would seek some unpoltical form of national feeling.\(^{38}\)

As a result the Irish Literary Society was founded on 28th December 1891 and the National Literary Society of Dublin was founded on 24th May 1892.

Yeats is bitter in his attack on the changing public opinion which led Parnell to greatness and later proved to be his downfall.

I was once enough of a politician to contemplate politics ever since with amusement. The leading articles, the speeches, the resolutions of the shocked Irish and

\(^{37}\) C.C. O'Brien suggests "For he not only saw in retrospect the crucial importance of the fall and death of Parnell. He saw it at that time, immediately and he saw in it his opportunity and took that opportunity" Passion and cunning: Politics of W.B. Yeats. In In Excited Reverie A centenary tribute (ed.) A norman Jeffares and K.G.W. Cross (London: Macmillan, 1965), p. 217

\(^{38}\) W.B. Yeats Memoirs op.cit., p. 50
English politicians, the sudden reversal of all the barrel-organs, the alphabets running back from Z to A sycophantic fiction become libel, eulogy vituperation, what could be more amusing. 39

The change in Yeats begins at this point. From an idealistic view of Irish nationalism he turns to an awareness of the limitations of a narrow concept of romantic nationalism and popular politics. He sought for an outlet for his energies and this was directed to the Abbey Theatre which was founded in 1904 which became a platform for nationalist propaganda. Yeats's play Cathleen ni Houlihan reflects this new sense of purpose in Yeats. Celtic and Irish plays were produced at the theatre which became the centre of a literary revival. Yet this was the beginning of a series of events which led Yeats away from popular politics.

The plays of Synge were unpopular in the Abbey theatre, as were Yeats's plays about heroic legends. Synge's play The Shadow of the Glen was disliked by the audience as they felt it was a slur upon the Irish peasantry. Matters came to a head with Synge's Playboy of the Western World. The audience turned violent and Hissed at the play. This hit Yeats very badly and he was bitterly disappointed at the reaction of the public. He felt that it was an attack upon the creativity of

39. W.B. Yeats, Essays and Introductions "Parnell", p. 487
the artist himself.

The truth is that the objection to Synge is not mainly that he makes the country people unpleasant or immoral, but that he has not a standard of morals and intellect. They never minded Boyle, whose people are a sordid lot, because they knew what he was at. They understood his obvious moral, and they don't mind Fitzmaurice because they think he is at anything, but they shrink from Synge's harsh, independent, heroical, clear, wind-swept view of things. They want their clerical conservatory where the air is warm and damp. Of course, we may not get through tomorrow night, but the row won't be very bad. Nothing is ever persecuted but the intellect, though it is never persecuted under its own name.  

After this episode the incident of the Huge Lane picture added insult to injury. The nephew of Lady Gregory donated his collection of French paintings for the modern art galley in 1905. Lane wanted the pictures housed in a more conducive setting designed by Lutyens. But the design was not supported by the public and Yeats again felt that this was an attack upon culture and men of genius. In a mood of deep disillusionment he withdrew from active politics. Deeply disillusioned with the narrowmindedness of the middle classes

40. W.B. Yeats, Letters of W.B. Yeats To John Quinn 4 August, 1907, p. 495
Yeats veered closer to the Irish Ascendancy background, though by birth he belonged to the middle class. He wanted a union of the folk tradition and the nobility so as to bring about a unity of culture. Yeats's ideal of life upheld by authority was one which was firmly based on a feudal order of society, similar to the "volk" or folk tradition in Germany. His idea of an ideal society was one of the noble and the peasant, two opposing forces that would generate creativity and ensure the freedom of the individual. In these his views were similar to Oswald Splengler's in *Decline of the West* who also believed in a cyclic view of civilization. There is a transition from culture to reflection and material comfort followed by a period of decline. His view of the peasantry and nobility as two opposing forces are similar to Yeats's.

Within every Culture, moreover—while peasantry is a piece of pure nature and growth and, therefore, a completely impersonal manifestation—nobility and priesthood are the results of high breeding and forming and therefore express a thoroughly personal Culture, which by the height of its form, rejects not merely barbarians, but presently also all who are not of their status, as a residue—regarded by the nobility as the "people" and by clergy as the "laity". And this style of personality is the material that, when the fallah-age arrives, petrifies into the type of a caste, which thereafter endures unaltered for centuries. As
in the living Culture race and estate are in antithesis as the impersonal and the personal, in fellah-times the mass and the caste, the coolie and the Brahmin, are in antithesis as the formless and the formal.\(^{41}\)

Yeats's ideas stemmed from his growing horror at the spread of socialism coupled with the growing militancy of the middle class and this tended to redirect him more and more to his own Anglo-Irish background.

Only once did he take the side of the working classes. In the Dublin Lock-Out of 1913 the employers led by William Martin Murphy tried to starve the workers in order to divide Jim Larkin's Irish Transport and General workers Union. Yeats came out with a fiery attack on the employers and the public. Murphy supported by Archbishop Walsh had decided to prevent the children of the Dublin workers going to the homes of English sympathizers. This starvation programme roused in Yeats an angry tirade against nationalist newspapers and moreover he condemned Murphy's use of religion for inciting religious passions in order to break up working class unity. Here Yeats's concern is not so much with the working classes as with the unity of the Irish nation.

I do not complain of Dublin's capacity for fanaticism whether in priest or layman, for you cannot have strong

---

feeling without that capacity, but neither those who
directed the police nor the editors of our newspapers
can plead fanaticism. They are supposed to watch over
our civil liberties and I charge the Dublin nationalist
newspapers with deliberately arousing religious passion
to break up the organization of the working men, with
appealing to mob law day after day, with publishing the
names of working men and their wives for purposes of
intimidation.

And I charge the Unionist Press of Dublin and those who
directed the police with conniving at this conspiracy.
I want to know why the 'Daily Express' which is directly
and indirectly inciting Ulster to rebellion in defence
of what it calls "the liberty of the subject" is so
indifferent to that liberty here in Dublin that it has
not made one editorial comment, and I ask the 'Irish
Times' why a few statements at the end of an article,
too late in the week to be of any service, has been the
measure of its love of civil liberty?

I want to know why there were only (according to press
reports) two police men at King's bridge on Saturday
when Mr. Sheehy Skeffington was assaulted and a man
prevented from buying a ticket for his own child? There
has been tumults every night at every Dublin station,
and I can only assume that the police authorities wish
those tumults to continue. I want to know why the mob
at North Wall and elsewhere were permitted to drag children from their parent's arms, and by what right one woman was compelled to open her box and show a marriage certificate. I want to know by what right the police have refused to accept charges against rioters; I want to know who has ordered the abrogation of the most elementary rights of the citizens, and why authorities who are bound to protect everyman in doing that which he has a legal right to do - even though they have to call upon all the forces of the Crown - have permitted the Ancient Order of the Hibernians to besiege Dublin, taking possession of the railway station like a foreign army.

Prime Ministers have fallen and Ministers of State have been impeached for less than this. I demand that the coming police enquiry shall be so widened that we may get to the bottom of a conspiracy, whose like has not been seen in any English-speaking town during living memory. Intriguers have met together somewhere behind the scenes that they might turn the religion of him who thought it hard for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven into an oppression of the poor. 42

Yeats is here speaking from a sense of injustice, therefore he is vehement in his attack, bringing to mind the similar ferocity of Swift's writings about the injustices of the social system. The importance of this gesture lies in that it shows that in spite of the intellectual fascination of fascism to him, he could not subordinate his human impulses totally to the need for order. Unlike the Fascist the traditional conservative believes in a paternal concern for the poor. He felt that the working class movements would cause a disruption of the 'fine life' by dissension which would tear the fabric of a society which was essentially aristocratic and feudal in its leanings. Socialism for Yeats was a logical outcome of democracy and for him political theories were always connected with social ideas, thus he prefers an aristocracy of intellect, culture, politics and society. It represents an ideal condition.

The literature of suggestion, richest to the richest, does not belong to a social order founded upon argument, but to an age when life conquered by being itself and the most living was the most powerful. What was leisure, wealth, privilege but a soil for the most living? The literature of logic, most powerful in the emptiest, subduing life, conquering all in the service of one metallic premise, is the art of democracy, of generations that have have only just begun to read. They fill their minds with deductions just as they fill their empty houses, where there is nothing of the past,
At this point, though there were socialist groups being formed in Ireland, nationalism again flowered into the Easter Rising and socialist movements paled into insignificance.

After the war Ireland also revived a militant nationalism of its own with the establishment of the Sinn Fein whose founder was Arthur Griffith. They advocated a separate government for Ireland and a passive resistance was decided upon. On Easter Monday 1916 members of the Irish Volunteers took control over certain buildings and declared the establishment of an Irish republic. They held out for some time but additional troops were sent and the movement was suppressed at the cost of four hundred and fifty lives. Fifteen leaders including Patrick Pearse were sentenced to death by court martial and executed. For Yeats it was a return to heroism. The middle classes in one stroke had achieved "A terrible beauty", as most of the leaders and the movement itself was middle class. Yet he was still suspicious of them because he felt it threatened the existence of the social order, and his suspicions were confirmed when the idealism and glory that Easter 1916 generated developed into the rancour of the civil war and the bitterness of Yeats's attack reaches its fullest expression in his view of the civil war.

The Civil War was traumatic in its tragic implications. It brought out the rift between the Free Staters and the Republicans over the issue of the Treaty with Britain which the latter refused to accept. For Yeats it was a further example of the way things were moving. The Civil War is seen on his own terms - he is aware of the tragic loss of the unity of the Irish state itself. What is noteworthy is the lack of heroism that the civil war ushered in. Bitterness and disillusionment were the keynotes of a personal and social crisis for Yeats.

His poems present a balance as it were, between his vivid insight into contemporary, very often, murky politics and his love of the "fine life". This love of the 'fine life' can be traced to his Anglo-Irish background. In his later career as a poet Yeats tended to look to the eighteenth century Protestant Ascendancy. In this context, Swift, for Yeats was a personality who espoused the cause of Irish nationalism and yet was conscious of his own Anglo-Irish heritage. Swift in 1820 wrote his pamphlet "Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture" in which he upheld the cause of an independent Irish industry. In his Drapier's Letter Swift is scathing in his attack on the English. In the fourth letter he writes -

A people long used to hardships, lose by degrees the very notions of liberty, they look upon themselves as creatures at mercy, and that all impositions laid on
them by a stronger hand, are in the phrase of the report legal and obligatory. Hence proceeds that poverty and lowness of spirit, to which a kingdom may be subject as well as a particular spirit. 44

It is to Swift's sense of justice that Yeats was most drawn to. The influence of Swift was not a direct influence upon Yeats's political thought and ideas but it worked in a far more subtle way because Swift was a part of the Anglo-Irish race and culture centring round the Established Church which led to a certain reservation on his part to accept the culture of the Catholic majority. Yeats, on his part, made a conscious attempt to unify Catholic and Anglo-Irish culture but he was never quite able to throw off his Anglo-Irish background. It explains his conservatism and love of Burke and established order, exemplified in the Big House tradition of Coole Park and his natural distrust of the new middle class, majority of whom were Catholic.

His conservatism developed in relation to Irish events, yet his reaction to these events was an instinctive and an emotional response rather than an exclusively intellectual response proceeding from a conscious ideology.

A part of Yeats had always held aloof from the popular democratic movement. It is this part that eventually rejected Fascism, the upstart conservative order. He had a love of order and 'Measured ways'. Yeats's conservatism can be linked to his reading of Burke whom he admired. Yeats believed in a society which would be ordered and graceful. It is easy to trace Yeats's admiration for Burke's belief in the traditional sanctity of a continuing tradition. And like Burke he too would prefer a conservative order that allowed individual rights up to a point.

You will always observe that from the Magna Charta to the Declaration of Rights, it has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties, as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity; as an estate specially belonging to the people of this kingdom, without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right. By this means our constitution preserves a unity in so great a diversity of the parts ... We have an inheritable

---

45. "His admiration for Lady Dorothy Wellesley and for her poetry helped to strengthen his instinctive love of brilliant and distinguished people, of the ancient traditions of noble families, almost of the sacred right of kings. It helped to cause that romantic sublimation of a certain folie de grandeur which had always lived at the back of his mind." - Michael Mac Leammoir and Eavan Boland, W.B. Yeats and His World (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 113
crown, an inheritable peerage, and a House of Commons and a people inheriting privileges, franchises, and liberties, from a long line of ancestors. This policy appears to me to be the result of profound reflection, or rather the happy effect of following nature, which is wisdom without reflection, and above it a spirit of innovation is generally the result of a selfish temper, and confined views. People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors. Besides the people of England well know that the idea of inheritance furnishes a sure principle of conservatism and a sure principle of transmission; without at all excluding a principle of improvement."  

In a speech which Yeats delivered at the Irish Literary Society on thirtieth November 1925 he speaks of Burke and Berkeley, both Irishman, whose sayings according to him are the foundations of modern thought.

Yeats goes on to say in the same speech that Gaelic literature has a great folk culture and on Berkeley and Burke it is possible to base the whole life of a nation.

Burke's view of man's nature can be linked to his belief in original sin.

We have real hearts of flesh and blood beating in our bosoms. We fear God; we look up with awe to kings; with affection to parliaments; with duty to magistrates; with reverence to priests; and with respect to nobility. Why? Because when such ideas are brought before our minds, it is natural to be so affected; because all other feelings are false and spurious, and tend to corrupt our minds, to vitiate our primary morals, to render us unfit for rational liberty; and by teaching us a servile, licentious, and abandoned insolence, to be our low sport for a few holidays, to make us a perfectly fit for, and justly deserving of, slavery, through the whole course of our lives. 47

This idea of the imperfect nature of man is the basis of conservative thought and it is this idea which attracted Yeats. 48 Similarly Hulme also says this idea in his Speculations.

What is at the root of the contrasted system of ideas you find in Sorel, the classical, pessimistic, or as its opponents would have it, the reactionary ideology.

This system springs from the exactly contrary

47. Edmund Burke, Reflections on the French Revolution and Other Essays, pp. 83–84

48. "What we have called Burke's conservatism is closely connected with his intense aversion to the employment of abstract principles in political reasoning, and in general to what the metaphysicians call the philosophical method." - See Introduction by E.J. Payne Burke Select Works, Vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1874), p. xxi
conception of man, the conviction that man is by nature bad or limited and can consequently only accomplish anything of value by disciplines, ethical, heroic, or political. In other words it believes in Original Sin.\textsuperscript{49}

Yeats does not proclaim the notion of Original Sin. But he too reveals a concern for man’s imperfections and by implication rejects the doctrine of perfectability.

A love for others must in some ways include their lives, their lives which are as yet unknown and unlived. We remake the world for the sake of those lives. Karl Marx puts too much emphasis upon this remade world and not enough upon the living, only when we contemplate those living can we remake the world. The recreation is from love of the perfect and mercy for the imperfect.\textsuperscript{50}

Similarly Burke’s of the nature of society was that it was organic rather than abstract. This idea also found favour with Yeats. Burke favoured the family as a unit, with each individual having in him a composite relationship with his ancestry, his family and on a larger scale, the society and then the state. He favoured the state ruled by a traditional aristocracy. Yeats’s ideas on society and the state were influenced by Burke and by the failure of nineteenth century liberal individualism

\textsuperscript{49} T.E. Hulme, \textit{Speculations “Reflections on Violence”}, p. 256

\textsuperscript{50} W.B. Yeats, \textit{Explorations}, p. 326
which he felt gave rise to materialistic democracies in which there is too much vulgarity and commonness, the rule of the mob. It is a 'levelling creed'. Thus Yeats looked for a heirarchical order which preserves the liberties of the personality. Burke's greatest passion was for order and for justice and these two qualities were uppermost in Yeats's mind. He strove to maintain the social and personal rights of the individual.

Feed the immature imagination upon that old folk-life, and the mature intellect upon Berkeley and the great modern idealist philosophy created by his influence, upon Burke who restored to political thought its sense of history, and Ireland is reborn, potent, armed and wise. Berkeley proved that the world was a vision, and Burke that the state was a tree, no mechanism to be pulled in pieces and put up again, but an oak tree that had grown through centuries. 51

Yeats's attraction to Berkeley's ideas lay not so much in their philosophical considerations but in an attitude of mind.

Born in such a community, Berkeley with his belief in perception, that abstract ideas are mere words, Swift with his love of perfect nature, of the Houyhnhnms, his

---

disbelief in Newton's system and every sort of machine, Goldsmith and his delight in the particulars of common life that shocked his contemporaries, Burke with his conviction that all states not grown slowly like a forest tree are tyrannies, found in England the opposite that stung their own thought into expression and made it lucid.\textsuperscript{52}

The development in Yeats of an aristocratic authoritarian attitude is easy to trace. Yeats's love of tradition can be linked to the conservative politics that he fought for.

In August 1922 Arthur Griffith died and in May 1923 De Valera asked for a truce. In Ireland itself there was the emergence of an authoritarian trend in politics which resulted in the Blue-shirt movement. It was in keeping with the establishment of dictatorships all over Europe. It led Yeats to believe that there was a return to an authoritarian form of government which would keep in check the forces of disruption which the civil war unleashed.

I have met some of the ministers who more and more seem too sober to meet the wildness of these enemies, and everywhere one notices a drift towards conservatism, perhaps towards Autocracy.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{52} W.B. Yeats \textit{Essays and Introductions "Bishop Berkeley"}, p. 402

\textsuperscript{53} W.B. Yeats, Letter to Olivia Shakespear, October 9, 1922, \textit{Letters of W.B. Yeats}, p. 90
These thoughts were quite in keeping with Yeats's conservative politics which favoured everything to do with tradition and the old established order.

We are preparing here, behind our screen of bombs and smoke, a return to conservative politics as elsewhere in Europe or at least a substitution of the historical sense of logic. The Ireland that reacts from the present disorder is turning its eyes toward individualistic Italy.\(^{54}\)

The 'Blueshirt' as they were popularly called were overtly fascist and Yeats's letters to Olivia Shakespear were full of praise of this new form of opposition.

Politics are growing heroic. De Valera has forced political thought to face the most fundamental issues. A Fascist opposition (Blueshirts movement) is forming behind the scenes to be ready should some tragic situation arise. I find myself constantly urging the despotic rule of the educated classes as the only end to our troubles (Let all this sleep in your ear ... Our Chosen colour is blue, and the blueshirts are marching about all over the country, and their organizer tells me that it was my suggestion, a suggestion I have entirely forgotten - that made\(\text{him}\) select

\(^{54}\) W.B. Yeats, Letter to H.S. Grierson, Nov. 6, 1922, Letters of W.B. Yeats, Ibid., p. 693
for their flag a red St. Paul's cross on a blue ground. All I can remember is that I have always denounced green and commended blue the colour of my early book covers.\textsuperscript{55}

The political situation in Europe favoured the rise of fascist dictatorships. Therefore it was natural that Yeats came to admire a system which seemed to be reaping good results. Certainly he admired Kevin O'Higgins (another of Yeats's heroic figures) ruthless attacks on the Republicans. But after seeing the heroics of the movement at close range Yeats realised the hollowness of it all. Moreover, as an individualist he resented the public tone of the movement. That he had reservations about it there can be no doubt.

The great secret is out ... a convention of blue shirts - National guards - have received their new leader with the Fascist salute and the new leader announces reform of parliament.

When I wrote to you, the Fascist organizer of the Blue shirts had told me that he was about to bring to see me the man he had selected for leader that I might talk my anti-democratic philosophy. I was ready, for I had just rewritten for the seventh time the part of

\textsuperscript{55} W.B. Yeats, Letter to Olivia Shakespear, 13th July, Ibid., pp. 811-12
'A Vision' that deals with the future. The leader turned out to be General O'Duffy, head of the Irish police for twelve years, and a famous organizer ... Italy, Poland, Germany, then perhaps Ireland. Doubtless I shall hate (though not so much as I hate Irish democracy) but it is September and we must not behave like the gay young sparke of May and June. 56

But by the end of 1933-34 the Blueshirts were a dwindling force and Yeats left active politics for a time. Yeats's initial attraction to fascism can be linked to the rise of authoritamism in the thirties. Most writers whether having leftist or conservative views had come to feel a distrust of liberal democracy which they felt had failed them.

The most obvious social fact of the last forty years is the failure of liberal capitalist democracy, based on the premises that every individual is born free and equal, each an absolute entity independent of all others; and that a formal political equality, the right to vote, the right to a fair trial, the right of free speech is enough to guarantee his freedom of action in his relations with his fellow men. The results are too familiar to us all. By denying the social nature of personality, and by ignoring the

56. W.B. Yeats, Letter to Olivia Shakespear, July 13, 1933, Letters of W.B. Yeats, Ibid., p. 812
social power of money, it has created the most impersonal, the most mechanical and the most unequal civilization the world has ever seen, a civilization in which the only emotion common to all classes is a feeling of individual isolation from everyone else, a civilization torn apart by the opposing emotions of economic injustice, the just envy of the poor and the selfish terror of the rich.  

In the case of Auden it was a question of social injustice, whereas in the case of Yeats his distrust of democracy arose out of his love of individual liberties, especially that of the artist. He saw in fascism a return to a sense of order and discipline, prerequisites for the artist, but later he saw in it a suppression of the individual's freedom and imagination which led to his later rejection of it as a creed. His search for order leads to a confrontation between his individual dreams and his search for a stable society. He distrusted the concept of socialism because he felt it would curb the individual.

What I want is that Ireland be kept from giving itself (under the influence of its lunatic faculty of going against everything it believes England to affirm) to

Marxian revolution or Marxian definition of values in any form. I consider the Marxian criterion of values as in this age the spearhead of materialism and leading to inevitable murder. From that criterion it follows the well-known phrase 'Can the bourgeoise be innocent?'

Yeats believed in the value of the individual who would lead the state.

All states depend for their health upon a right balance between the one, the few and the many. The one is the executive, which may in fact be more than one - the Roman republic had two consuls ... but must for the sake of rapid decision be as few as possible; the Few are those who through the possession of hereditary wealth, or great personal gifts, have come to identify their lives with the life of the state, whereas the lives and the ambitions are private. The Many do their day's work well, and so far from copying even the wisest of their neighbours, affect a "singularity" in action and in thought; but set them to the work of the state and every man Jack is listed in a party and becomes the fanatical follower of men whose characters he knows next to nothing, and from that day on puts nothing into his mouth that some other man has not

58. W.B. Yeats, Letters of W.B. Yeats, Letter to George Russell, p. 656
already chewed and digested.\textsuperscript{59}

This passage brings out Yeats's distaste for party politics and the confrontation between individualism and the Mob in his mind. In a democracy, individualism was guaranteed on the basis of the one man, one vote principle. But this could lead to the concept of the state being the sum total of its citizens, resulting in its turn in the control of society by the mob. Yeats's anti-democratic attitude is based upon this assumption and it was influenced by Burke and the contemporary Irish situation. He stressed the rights of the individual over, and in the face of, the mob. He desired order and stability within a traditional framework.

These ideas have close affinities with Fascism with its ideas of a one-party system controlled by a leader which was why Yeats was attracted to Fascism. The personality of the leader was the prime factor in the building up the unity of the state. There was obviously a connection between the concept of hero-worship as conceived by Nietzsche which the Fascists used to their own advantage. The emphasis was on the instinctive and the irrational. But later Yeats seems to have undergone a change in attitude, as a result of the Fascist state's stress on the rule of the corporate state which underplays individual liberty and this led him to a

\textsuperscript{59} W.B. Yeats, \textit{Explorations}, p. 351
reconsideration of his views.

This clash between the individual and the mob is the focus of many of Yeats's clashes with the Irish public. It highlights the individualistic tendencies of the poet who strove to maintain a personal dignity in the face of public opposition. This value of the individual is connected with his concept of heroism. These ideas were similar to Burke's anti-democratic tendencies and who also values individual liberties against the background of an established social and cultural tradition.

Of this I am certain, that in a democracy, the majority of the citizens is capable of exercising the most cruel oppression upon the minority, when ever strong divisions prevail in that kind of polity, as they often must, and that oppression of the minority will extend to far greater numbers, and will be carried on with much greater fury, than can almost ever be apprehended from the domination of a single sceptre. 60

We might ask the question whether Yeats's vision of political life could be really reconciled to the political realities of fascism. He was drawn to fascism because he felt fascism could uphold the values of a feudal aristocratic order. But he was also aware of its limitations and its threat to the artist.

What discords will drive Europe to that artificial unity - only dry or drying sticks can be tied into a bundle, which is the decadence of every civilization?  

The use of the image of the bundle of twigs relates to the symbol of fascism which uses a bundle of rods signifying authority. Thus he is aware of its limitations. It was the same Yeats who believed in a unity of culture that led him to sympathize with fascism. He was first and above all Ireland's national poet who upheld Ireland as a mirror for the whole world.

This idea of a unity of culture was Yeats's guiding thought and in *A Vision* he views history as a cyclic process so as to include all the ideas that interested him in its phase. Yeats's idea of the self and anti-self implicit in his theory of the mask were developed so as to cover a wide range of feeling and thought in Yeats's system. Even in his earlier essays "Ideas of Good and Evil" and "Per Amica Silentia Lunae" Yeats was conscious of trying to develop a pattern and relationship between his poetry and thought which would explain and combine his poetic, philosophic, social and political beliefs. This unity of being is central to the poet and the man. What is fundamental to this concept of a unity of being is not so much a unity, as a opposition of contraries without

---

which no action is possible. Conflict is at the root and nature of his belief. It helps to explain Yeats's romantic and anti-romantic attitudes and the nature of his romantic conservative ideology. *A Vision* is a means of achieving a union based upon conflict and between the romantic and conservative leanings of his ideology. This question of form and order, thesis and antithesis is the basis of *A Vision* which illustrates and amplifies Yeats's theory of the mask. It is implicitly political in its intent.

I found myself upon the third antinomy of Immanuel Kant, thesis: freedom; antithesis: necessity; but I restate it. Every action of man declares the soul's ultimate, particular freedom, and the soul's disappearance in God; declares that reality is a congeries of beings and a single being; nor is this antimony an appearance imposed upon us by the form of thought but life itself which turns, now here, now there, a whirling and a bitterness.62

All civilization and man himself is divided between these two extremes. *A Vision* sets out to describe man and civilization on the basis of these two extremities.

In primary phases the Mask and Will are enforced, the Creative Mind and Body of Fate of Fate free. In

62. W.B. Yeats, *A Vision*, p. 52
antithetical phases the Creative Mind and Body of Fate are enforced and the Mask and Will free.

*Primary means democratic*

*Antithetical means aristocratic.*

These two divisions are split into Four Faculties which consist of two sets of opposing qualities. Will is the choice which governs man's life and opposing this is the Mask, which may be either true or false, and is the anti-self or the image of what we wish to become. The second set of opposing principles is the Creative Mind which may be either true or false and is the Intellect which acts on external events. Contrary to this is the Body of Fate or the general physical environment which acts upon individuals. These two sets of contraries affect man and civilization and may occur either in a primary phase which is an objective phase in the life of man or civilization. In this phase the Will or Ego and its anti-self are in a preconditioned state, and Creative Mind and Body of Fate are free, only being influenced by external events. Whereas in the antithetical or subjective phase external events are enforced and Mask and Will are free. To symbolize these opposing forces Yeats uses the symbol of the gyres to represent this unity based on contraries. These gyres also symbolize Yeats's romantic-conservative ideology which is the basis of

---

63. Ibid., p. 104
his political thought and his view of personality.

The basic assumption underlying Yeats's theory of personality lies in the difference between an aristocratic and a democratic view of personality, which is also the basis of all changes in civilization. Thus personality and civilization are cyclic and move between contraries. These two opposing forces also combine in a search towards a moral unity in culture and civilization and in human personality. Yeats describes and gives examples of certain men born during any one of the twenty-eight phases of the moon which accounts for their genius and individuality. For example Parnell is an embodiment of Phase Ten. His life is ordered yet passionate.

This sacrifice is code, personality no longer perceived as power only. He seeks by its help to free the creative power from mass emotion, but never wholly succeeds, and so the life remains troubled, a conflict between pride and race, and passes from crisis to crisis.⁶⁴

Similarly civilization is a balance between order and passion, revelation and reflection.

A civilization is a struggle to keep self-control, and in this it is like some great tragic person, some Niobe who must display an almost superhuman will or the cry will not touch our sympathy. The loss of control over

⁶⁴. Ibid., p. 123
thought comes towards the end; first a sinking in upon the moral being, than the last surrender, the irrational cry, revelation - the scream of Juno's peacock. 65

For Yeats the ideal union between order and passion, thought and emotion is achieved in Byzantium and eighteenth century Ireland. Energy controlled is energy and creativity perfected in their ideal union between desire and object, the actual and the ideal. He felt that these eras came to represent an ideal society in which art and ideals were related to the society which nurtured them.

I think that in early Byzantium, maybe never before or since in recorded history, religious, aesthetic and practical life were one, that architect and artificers - though not, it may be, poets, for language had been the instrument of controversy and must have grown abstract - spoke to the multitude and the few alike. The painter, the mosaic worker, the worker in gold and silver, the illuminator of sacred books, were almost impersonal, almost perhaps without the consciousness of individual design, absorbed in their subject-matter and that the vision of a whole people. 66

65. Ibid., p. 268, Bk. 5, Dove or Swan
66. Ibid., pp. 279-280
Yet his views were basically romantic in that his conservatism was individualistic. It was the result of his own inclinations and was not part of a set and confined tradition. Yeats believed in an irreducible human personality. At the root of everything there lies a core which is free of intent and purpose and cannot be controlled. It is this quality which defines personality and society.

Then I understand. I have already said all that can be said. The particulars are the work of the Thirteenth Cone or Cycle which is in every man and called by every man his freedom. Doubtless, for it can do all things and knows all things, it knows what it will do with its own freedom but it has kept the secret. 67

Another thinker whose ideas were to have a considerable influence upon Yeats was Vico. His view of history was cyclical and Yeats in "On the Boiler" places Vico as the first modern philosopher to discover in the European past all human destiny.

According to Yeats the greatest ages are those in which there is a fusion between art and life, ideas and events, a unity of being and culture. This unity of culture for Yeats is achieved in Byzantium and in the Renaissance and in Ireland in the eighteenth century. This ideal of perfection is the standard against which Yeats views Irish events and world events.

67. Ibid., p. 302
As he himself says, politics is half an achievement for a vision seeking man. Yeats was moved for a unity of culture and its impact on the collective and individual imagination of man. Politics is only half the stay.

This is seen in his work for the Irish Senate during 1922-29. He tried to bring about a unity of culture and this is reflected in his chairmanship of the Coinage Scheme and various other schemes. This desire for a unity of Culture based on nationalistic ideals is revealed in his view of education, influenced as it was by the philosopher Gentile, who eventually became Mussolini's Minister of Education. Yet even here his social and political commitments were towards order and peace and his Anglo-Irish heritage, as is dramatically reflected in his famous Divorce Speech. The impact of an increasing clerical influence upon government matters, and the Censorship bill forced him to withdraw and reconsider his ideas of a unity of culture. He felt increasingly isolated and felt the need to justify and defend the rights of the individual over the state and this characterised almost all his later pronouncements on the political situation in Ireland. Inspired by an ideal he found that there was this inevitable tension between the individual and the state. Yet his endeavours continued to be inspired by this ideal.

Preserve that which is living and help the two Irelands, Gaelic Ireland and Anglo-Ireland, so as to unite that neither shall shed its pride. Study the great problems
of the world, as they have been lived in our history, the rebirth of European spirituality in the mind of Berkeley, the restoration of European order in the mind of Burke. Every nation is the whole world in a mirror, and our mirror has twice been very bright and clear. Do not be afraid to boast so long as the boast lays burden on the boaster, study the educational system of Italy, the creation of the philosopher Gentile, where even religion is studied not in the abstract but in the minds and lives of Italian saints and thinkers, it becomes at once part of Italian history. 68

It was Gentile's ideas of education that influenced Yeats's thoughts on the education system in Ireland which would be most beneficial while at the same time creative in its attempt to educate the child.

Indeed, the whole curriculum of a school should be as it were one lesson and not a mass of unrelated topics. I recommend Irish teachers to study the attempt now being made in Italy, under the influence of their Minister of Education, the philosopher Gentile, the most profound disciple of our own Berkeley, to so correlate all subjects to study. I would have each religion, Catholic or Protestant so taught that it

68. W.B. Yeats, Explorations, op.cit., p. 337
permeate the whole school life and that it may do so, that it may be good education as well as good religion, I would have it taught upon a plan signed, as is in Italy, by the representative of the government as well as by the religious authority. 69

Yet, unlike Gentile, Yeats retains his concern for the individual to the end.

I would like to suggest another principle, that the child itself must be an end in education. It is a curious thing how many times the education of Europe has drifted into Error. For two or three centuries people thought that their religious systems were more important than the child. In the modern world the tendency is to think of the nation; that is more important than the child ... There is a tendency to subordinate the child to the idea of a nation ... We should always see that the child is the object and not of our special purposes. 70

The focus of Yeats's thought is between the individual and the state. His system of thought is grounded in a conservative tradition which upholds the dignity and sanctity of society as a whole. Yet Yeats's romantic individualistic tendencies and

70. Ibid., pp. 11-12
his search for order and stability in society generates a tension which is inherent in his outlook because of the co-existence of these tendencies. This leads him eventually to reject fascism as a movement because he saw in it a suppression of the individual's liberty.

Besides, why should I trouble about communism, fascism, liberalism, radicalism, when all, though some bow first and some stern first but all at the same pace, all are going down stream with the artificial unity which ends every civilization? Only dead sticks can be tied into convenient bundles. My rage and that of others like me seems more important though we may but be the first of the final destroying horde. I remember old O'Leary saying 'No gentleman can be a socialist though he might be an anarchist.'

Yeats resorts to the only weapon he has, verse, in an attempt to synthesize and capture the fluctuating reversals of politics. In a letter to Ethel Mannin he writes -

Do not try to make a politician out of me, Even in Ireland I shall never think I can be that again — as my sense of reality deepens, and I think it does with age, my horror at the cruelty of government grows greater, and if I did what you want, I should seem to

hold one government more responsible than the other, and this would betray my convictions. Communist, Fascist, nationalist, clerical, anti-clerical, are all responsible according to the number of their victims. I have not been silent; I have used the only vehicle I possess — verse. If you have my poems by you, look up a poem called "The Second Coming". It was written some sixteen or seventeen years ago and foretold what is happening. I have written of the same thing again and again since. This will seem little to you with your strong practical sense, for it takes fifty years for a poet's weapons to influence. 72

This confrontation between ideas and events is the source of much of his poetry and gives it its peculiar tension and intensity. It is also part of Yeats's myth, and this dualism is examined in the next chapter.

72. W.B. Yeats Letter to Ethel Mannin Letters of W.B. Yeats, pp. 850-51