



Bibliophilia and Descriptive Bibliography: the Case of Yeats's Books

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Abstract:

The essay, with evidence of Yeats's inscriptions and ownership of his rarest books in its Appendices, argues that connoisseurship enhances readership as well as creating value. In the coming era of "Virtual Reading Rooms" for research libraries, collectors, and the antiquarian book trade, Yeats's books as the symbolical embodiment of his endlessly revised texts, will be examined more often in online form. As access to digital representation of rare editions widens, students will have even more need to understand the materiality of the book. Copy-specific provenance data-bases will be an essential tool of online bibliography if we are to understand the motives of collectors with which Yeats himself remained baffled.

Keywords: Connoisseurship, Copy-specific Censuses, Descriptive Bibliography, Gosse, Provenance, Quinn, W.T.H. Howe, Inscription, Yeats, James Carleton Young

What is the place of copy-specific research in Descriptive Bibliography?¹ And how, does Descriptive Bibliography play into the wider field of Historical Bibliography? Connoisseurship implies the "slippered Contemplation"² of finer points of expensive and elusive books in private and research libraries. Now, however, the possibility opens that we might "Zoom" into democratization with "Virtual Reading Rooms" in research libraries all over the world, whereby various copies of a single book in say, Atlanta, Austin, Boston, Dublin, Edinburgh, London, Los Angeles and New York could be compared and collated, page by page, as if they sat side-by-side on a single desk.

Connoisseurship implies the continual recreation of value. It is timely, then, that rare book collecting and assessment should justify themselves anew. The imperative has been felt across the high-end,

¹ The great bibliographer G. Thomas Tanselle has collected his essays on this topic in *Descriptive Bibliography* (Charlottesville, The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 2020). See his opening essay, "A Description of Descriptive Bibliography" (1992), 3-36.

² See "Ancestral Houses" in the sequence "Meditations in Time of Civil War", *VP* 418.

antiquarian book trade, especially after the Covid 19-inspired, AI-developed, displacement of auctioneers and salerooms into the online realm³.

Above all, what does copy-specific antiquarian study contribute to the wider evaluation of W.B. Yeats who, despite his profound engagements with the designers of his books and their symbolical embodiments of his work, was so driven by textual revision of his past works that he would openly show his puzzlement with the motives of collectors of his own first editions?⁴

Ulinka Rublack discerns a “new relationship” between “art, collecting, and commerce in Europe in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries”, and illustrates her point with a now lost (though copied) altar-piece in which Dürer incorporated a self-advertising self-portrait. This work is Rublack’s “lens” through which she questions the meaning of “value” in relation to works of art and artefacts current in Dürer’s times, not only through money and materials but also through “the power of such works to embody philosophical ideas, cultural movements, and changing fashions”⁵. My point of departure is also a single copy of a famous work, one which recently and briefly emerged on the market, and just as quickly disappeared from it. The booksellers rightly reserve the identity of the purchaser.

1. POEMS (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1895), Copy no. 17 of 25 copies on Japan vellum

Riverrun Books of Ardsley, New York offered the collection of the late Bart Auerbach in 2022 with the above item priced at \$12,500. Numbered and signed by Yeats out of the total edition of 775⁶, it had been sent to Yeats in 1902 for an inscription by the Minneapolis-based

³The annual cycle of sales has become a continual process and an armchair obsession for some book-collectors. On the responsibilities of antiquarian book cataloguers, see Lauren Hepburn’s interview with Adam Douglas, chief cataloguer at Peter Harrington, “Why Do We Use Catalogues in the Rare Book World?”, *Why Use A Book Catalogue? - Peter Harrington - The Journal* (<<https://www.peterharrington.co.uk/blog/why-use-a-book-catalogue/>>). On the Democratization of Rare Book Collecting, see the blog by the *viaLibri* founder, John Hincks based on a lecture at the Institute of English Studies, London, 11 March 2014, <<https://blog.vialibri.net/taste-and-technique-in-book-collecting-updated-for-the-digital-age/>>.

⁴ See below, Plate 1 and transcription of note inscribed on “Mr. Young’s” copy of *Poems* (1895). As David McKitterick points out in his wonderfully comprehensive *Readers in a Revolution: Bibliographical Change in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2022), Richard Herne Shepherd (1840-95) “[...] invented a new genre in England, the bibliography of contemporary authors” and “introduced a new aid in tracing authorial revisions and to understanding” (pp. 225 & ff.). McKitterick also gestures to the detective work of John Carter and Graham Pollard for *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* (London, Constable, 1934, 99-109) as revealing *inter alia* that the decade 1885-1895 was the key period for the emergence of interest in modern first editions (*ibidem.*, 225 & ff). Hereafter “Carter and Pollard”.

⁵ I quote from the blurb for *Dürer’s Lost Masterpiece: Art and Society at the Dawn of a Global World* (New York, Oxford UP, 2023). See *Dürer’s Lost Masterpiece: Art and Society at the Dawn of a Global World* a book by Ulinka Rublack (<<https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2024/02/22/in-search-of-the-rare-and-strange-durers-lost-masterpiece/>>) and also see Jenny Uglow, “In Search of the Rare and Strange”, *The New York Review of Books*, February 22, 2024 (nybooks.com). For a reproduction of the copy of Dürer’s lost Heller altarpiece by Jobst Harrich, depicting Dürer himself in the background, centre-left (Image: Horst Ziegenfusz / Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main), see Francesca Peacock, “Death of an Altarpiece”, *Prospect Magazine*, September 6, 2023 (<<https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/culture/62850/albrecht-durer-death-of-an-altarpiece>>).

⁶ See *The Bart Auerbach Collection: Riverrun Books and Manuscripts*, 2022, 446 (212), <<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Z7JHv6042DFhsJwa-78DYE9kb0dQ8bc/view?usp=sharing>>. Auerbach’s information came from a Grolier Club Exhibition Catalogue of Irish Books, of which the organiser and owner of the items exhibited was the prodigious collector, James Gilvarry. Entitled “The Indomitable Irishry”, the exhibition showed the range of Gilvarry’s Irish collection including Quinn’s Japon vellum copy of Wade 15, inscribed by Yeats, copy 11 of the 25-copy vellum issue: see Wade 37. See *The Gazette of the Grolier Club*, 2 October 1966, 4-7, where further Yeats items

magnate and collector, James Carleton Young⁷. Since 1895, Yeats had reversed his opinion of H. Granville Fell's designs for the book's covers and title-page, his enthusiasms now being wholly given over to the symbolical cover designs of Althea Gyles for A.H. Bullen, as found on *The Secret Rose* (1897), *Poems* (1899), *The Wind Among the Reeds* (1899), *The Celtic Twilight* (1902) and *The Shadowy Waters* (1903). He duly inscribed the book on the front free endpaper, but not without a certain asperity:

M^r Young why do you like first editions. This edition is much less agreeable than the later ones. It has a cover which has nothing of the beauty or meaning of Althea Gyles's covers, some misprints & none of the dramatic verse is in its final shape. Some day will not writers have a mortal quarrel with their readers over this business of first editions. I wonder was it I put that stain on the cover. WB Yeats June 1902.⁸

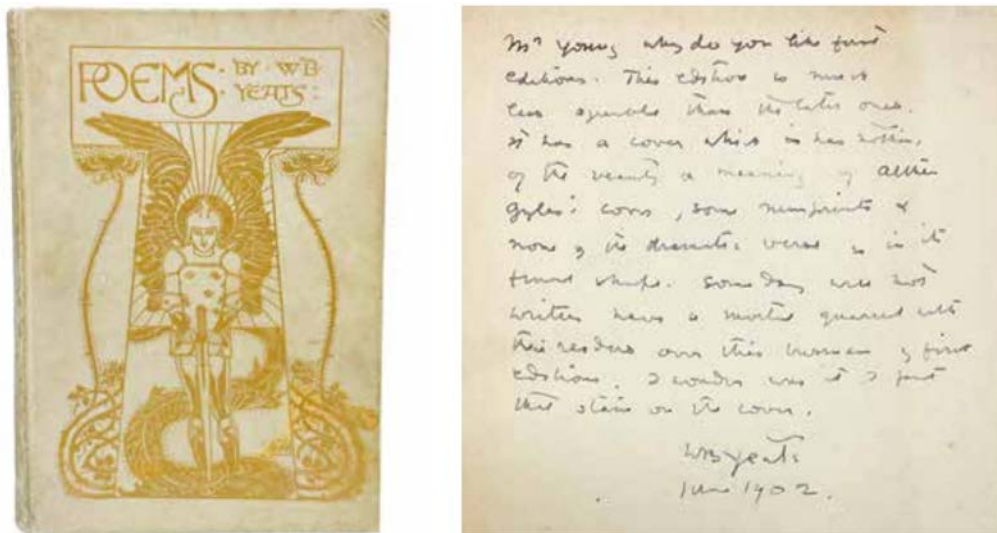


Fig. 1 - Japan Vellum Copy 17 of *Poems* 1895
with inscription by W.B. Yeats to James Carleton Young, June 1902

also exhibited by Gilvarry are listed. The exhibition was accompanied by talks on or by Irish writers by, inter alia, William York Tindall, Pádraic Colum and Denis Johnston. I thank Dr Kevin McKinney of the Club's library for disintering a copy. Confirmation that this was the copy thus exhibited may be found in the renowned catalogue from Christie's, New York, 7 February 1986, *Modern Literature from the Library of James Gilvarry*, item 474 (181)

⁷ James Carleton Young and his mania for having authors sign their books is discussed below. For a list of books signed for Young, see Appendix 1, below pp. 140 & ff.

⁸ See *The Bart Auerbach Collection Riverrun Books and Manuscripts*, 2022, 212, item no. 446. The booksellers rightly reserve the identity of the purchaser. McKitterick also gestures to J.H. Slater's observations in his *Early Editions: A Bibliographical Survey of the Works of Some Modern Authors* (London, Kegan Paul, 1894), on a change of emphasis towards textual development and correction in modern, revising authors, the *edition princeps* being no longer the preferred choice as it had been in 19th C. attitudes to Classical texts (v), quoted in McKitterick pp. 225 & ff.

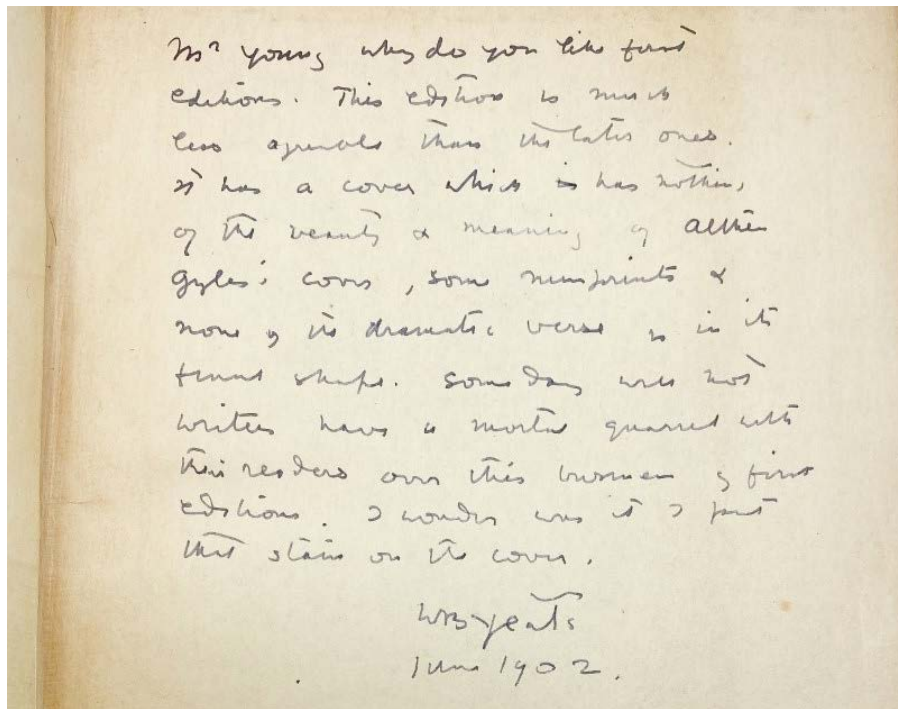


Fig. 2 - Close-up of Inscription by W.B. Yeats to James Carleton Young, June 1902

Born in Marion, Iowa, James Carleton Young (1856-1918), had become a land-speculator in Minneapolis, Minnesota⁹. His gargantuan ambitions for his library embraced virtually all contemporary literatures and languages. By instinct a Leavisite if *avant la lettre*, and with an added twist, he sought to “bring[”] together under one roof “the best literature of the present age”, but sent copies of their books to chosen authors for them to sign so that “each volume [would be] characteristically inscribed by the author”¹⁰. At the height of his collecting mania he had some seven secretaries and librarians working for him on this project.

Young rather breezily distinguished between authors on merit:

[I]n cases of authors who have apparently attained a firm place in literary history, all their books have been included; but where an author has written but one book with any claim upon immortality, that book has been admitted, and his other books excluded.¹¹

⁹ See “Collection: Celia Olney Goodale Collection on James Carleton Young”, Hennepin County Library (<https://archives.hclib.org/resources/celia_olney_goodale_collection_on_james_carleton_y>).

¹⁰ Undated Printed Circular quoted by Elaine J. Zinkhan in “An American Bibliophile and Some Australian Writers”, *Antipodes* 5, 2 (Dec. 1991), 135-140; and “James Carleton Young: Biblio-Canon Consolidation and Australian Writers”, in the *Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand* 13, 3 (Nov. 1990), 101-119. Zinkhan reports that Young’s collection eventually included several hundred volumes of Emile Zola’s own library, scores of Zola’s autograph letters, as well as *Anna Karenina*, inscribed 30 November 1903 by Leo Tolstoi. Other eminent writers in Young’s collection included Gabriele D’Annunzio, John Galsworthy, Richard Garnett, Ellen Glasgow, Maxim Gorky, Edmund Gosse, Thomas Hardy. On the association between book-collecting and the new fashion for autograph collecting see McKitterick, pp. 233 & ff.

¹¹ Cited by Zinkhan, *Antipodes*, cit., 135.

Although Young seems never to have questioned the “ideological soundness” – or the sheer feasibility of his aspiration – he was not unaware of potential minefields. An uninformed and often embarrassingly naïve enthusiast, he did at least seek some advice from writers, critics, academics and others in his attempt at what Zinkhan calls “biblio-canon consolidation”.

Yeats fell into the first category and duly signed and returned to Young a number of his books¹². As Yeats’s question indicates, Young preferred to have an author’s first editions inscribed, partly for the sake of uniformity, but principally because he felt that first editions represent the “author’s first thought on his subject”¹³. In his opinion, revising authors’ later versions fell away from some Platonic ideal, whatever they might themselves have thought.

2. ENTER JOHN QUINN, FOLLOWED BY SOME COLLECTORS

Somewhat to the annoyance of John Quinn (1870-1924), who was busying himself on Yeats’s behalf among Americans who felt themselves to be of Irish origins and sympathies, Yeats rather took to Young when they met in Minneapolis on 22 January 1904¹⁴.

In a lost letter, Quinn had “cold-called” Yeats as a point of entry to the Irish Renaissance. Yeats responded on 28 December 1901¹⁵ and they finally met on 20 August 1902 at a *feis ceoil* in Co. Galway where *An Posadh (The Marriage)* by Douglas Hyde and Lady Gregory was performed. Quinn then met most of the key artists and writers of the Irish Literary Movement at Coole Park where he signed Lady Gregory’s autograph tree, and commissioned paintings from John Butler Yeats, Jack Yeats, George Russell and others. Long before he became the greatest art collector of his day, then, Quinn’s famed patronage had started when he had pressed himself on Irish writers by buying their books and manuscripts and on Irish painters by buying their works.¹⁶ His agency among Americans of Irish origin or with Irish political and cultural interests was indefatigable. He had turned in disgust from Tammany Hall politics in New York City to practical work on behalf of his new friends among Irish makers. A highly successful lawyer and a “fixer”, Quinn at 32 was already rich enough to gamble on an American market in Irish books, manuscripts, paintings and other art works that he had himself created.

One of his “fixer” activities was that of ensuring that US copyrights were secured for their UK or Irish published works in an era in which an American copyright demanded US publication of a US-typeset and printed artefact. The following letters recently offered for sale by Peter Harrington Rare Books in London show the thoroughness of Quinn’s backing for what is now known as *Wade 55*, a 100 copy, numbered edition of *The King’s Threshold* (1904), commissioned and funded by Quinn, and printed on special Italian hand-made paper by the UP, Cambridge (USA)¹⁷.

¹² For more information on Young, see Appendix 1 below.

¹³ *Minneapolis Journal* 18 October 1902, quoted by Zinkhan *Antipodes*, cit., 135.

¹⁴ Quinn had advised Yeats not to “waste much time” on or ‘spend a day’ with Young: see *ChronY92*; *CL3* 533-34, n. 2.

¹⁵ *CL3*, 140.

¹⁶ See L.W. White, “Quinn, John”, *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<<https://www.dib.ie/biography/quinn-john-a7561>>). The New York Irish Literary Society had been founded by Yeats but came to grief when “New York’s catholic archbishop refused to serve as an honorary vice-president alongside [...] a protestant and, according to the archbishop, author of heretical works” (*ibidem*). Quinn’s was later renowned as patron of Joseph Conrad but it was not until 1911 that he began to buy his MSS.

¹⁷ See YEATS, W.B., *The King’s Threshold*, 1904. “First edition of a rare publication with a presentation card from the author” (<<https://www.peterharrington.co.uk/the-king-s-threshold-151855.html>>). I thank Sammy Jay of that

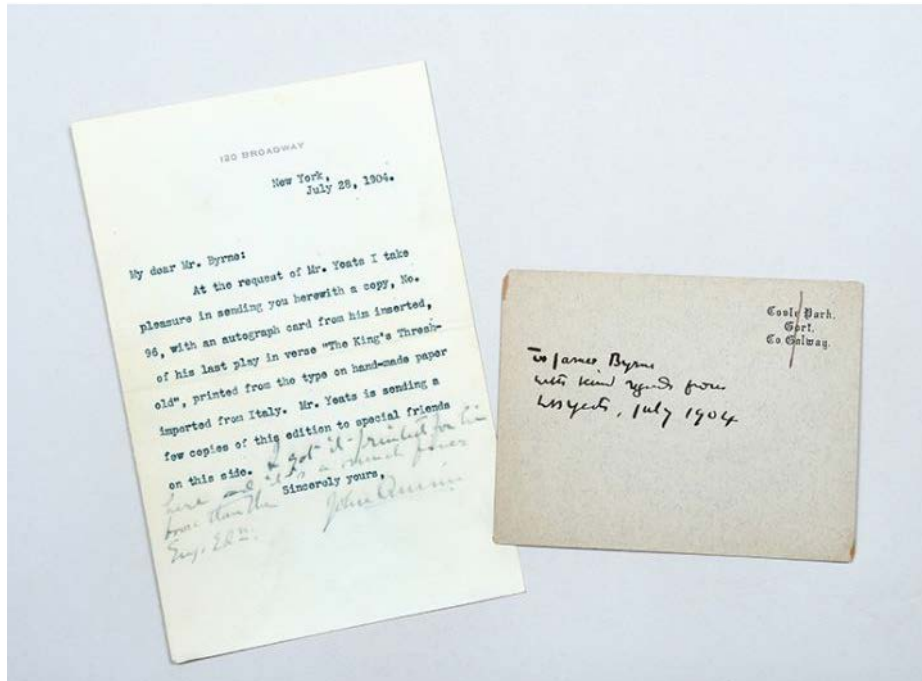


Fig. 3 - TLS from John Quinn to James Byrne 28 July 1904 to Byrne, with card in Yeats's hand also to Byrne, dated July 1904 with cancelled Coole Park address

These then are relics of Quinn's work in stirring Irish-identifying Americans on Yeats's behalf. In sending cards pre-signed by Yeats, Quinn as agent functions as a precursor to the online signing machine¹⁸.

Quinn organised Yeats's first North American lecture tour (1903–4) that earned the poet some \$3,200, and arranged similar tours for other Irish writers e.g., Douglas Hyde in 1905. His most practical work lay in the American copyrighting of works by Irish writers. He would quickly circumvent potential piracies with limited edition publications entered for copyright with the Library of Congress. By intimate association with Lady Gregory and with her circle including Yeats, he sought to buy an Irish identity for himself. By amassing his vast library of books and MSS of leading writers. He dictated profuse letters, compiling thereby a blow-by-blow transatlantic record of the Irish Renaissance. He had become a necessary man, and thereby the Patron of the Irish Renaissance¹⁹. Sharp criticism of Quinn, his methods and manners can be found among those he helped and patronized²⁰. While other

distinguished firm. James F. Byrne (1857-1942) was a New York corporation lawyer whose wife, Helen Byrne (1865-1945) was a patroness of the arts and bought a Jack B. Yeats painting. See A.B. Humber (ed.), *The Letters of John Quinn to W.B. Yeats*, with the assistance of George Mills Harper (Ann Arbor, UMI Research Press, 1983), 61, 5. Hereafter *LJQ*.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ L.W. White, "Quinn, John", *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<<https://www.dib.ie/biography/quinn-john-a7561>>). It was not until 1911 that Quinn (1870-1934) began to support Joseph Conrad by buying his MSS.

²⁰ An excellent example is found in Mary Colum's *Life and the Dream* (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday & Co., 1947). On Quinn's provincial manners diet, taste and "dictatorialness", see 214-217.

great collectors – notably James Augustine Healy (1891-1975) – followed him, none had his shaping influence²¹.

His “bought” friendship with Yeats became a genuine one. From 3 February 1918 the Yeats / Quinn correspondence focuses amid all Quinn’s volubility upon the business of paying John Butler Yeats’s extensive debts racked up living in New York. He was determined not to be repatriated to Ireland. By March 1918, Yeats and Quinn were discussing how Yeats’s manuscripts, if purchased on a regular basis by Quinn, might support the feckless old man²².

Yeats was to inscribe John Quinn’s own copy of *Poems* (1895):

The man who made this cover made a beautiful design, which I saw at an exhibition, but after I saw it Dent had spoilt him, with all kinds of odd jobs & when he did this the spirit had gone out of him. I hate this expressionless angel of his. W.B. Yeats, 1904 [...].²³

This copy of *Poems* (1895) reached \$95 in the Anderson Galleries sale of Quinn’s library in 1923. Comparison with other prices at the same series of sales suggests that the uniqueness of this inscribed item had been fully appreciated²⁴.

Also at the Quinn sale, two inscribed copies of the 110 copy edition of *The Tables of the Law. The Adoration of the Magi* (London, privately printed, 1897, Wade item 24) changed hands. One of these was the copy Yeats had straightforwardly inscribed for Lionel Johnson at an unknown date (presumably at or before publication)²⁵.

This was a golden age for “market-makers” and wealthy collectors²⁶. One such was W.T.H. Howe (1868-1939) of “Freelands”, Cincinnati, whose dominant leather book label inflicted severe staining on the front free end-papers of those of Quinn’s books which he bought. A “Cincinnati textbook executive ... [who] took delight in his broad literary connections and brought many English and Irish writers to Cincinnati [and was] ... interested in advancing the cause of poetry in the Cincinnati area²⁷, Howe was also a manuscript collector, and as an “Associate” of the Cincinnati little magazine, *The Gypsy*, printed poems by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Thackeray, and Tennyson from his manuscript collection in the magazine. He

²¹ James A. Healy was a New York stockbroker and bibliophile. For an obituary, see *The New York Times* 24 July 1975, 27. See J.A. Healy, *Guide to the James A. Healy Collection of Irish Literature M0273* (<https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf6f59n8gm/entire_text/>), now at Stanford, and based around Yeats and the Dun Emer and Cuala Presses”. None of this archive is available online. See also Appendix 1 below.

²² See LJQ 177-180. See also Colm Tóibín’s essay, “W.B. Yeats: New Ways to Kill Your Father” in his *New Ways to Kill Your Mother: Writers and Their Families* (London, Viking, 2012) 48-49. The initial manuscript purchases under discussion included *The Swans at Coole* [sic] *The Alphabet* i.e., *Per Amica Lunae*; *At the Hawk’s Well*; *The Player Queen* and the two essays in Lady Gregory’s *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* (1920), viz., “Witches and Wizards and Irish Folklore” dated 1914, and “Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places” dated 14 October 1914.

²³ Wade 15 (37) and above n. 6.

²⁴ *Quinn Cat.*, Lot 11363, p. 1132, as well as unpaginated price index.

²⁵ Lot 11371 in the *Quinn Cat.*, (p. 1133 and unpaginated price index), it fetched \$89.00, and is now in the Berg Collection, NYPL as “Copy 1”. W. T. H. Howe bought both copies of this book at the Quinn sale.

²⁶ That this was a golden era for wealthy American collectors of English literary books and manuscripts of all kinds including highly suspect items is a story admirably told in Joseph Hone’s account of T. J. Wise and his forgeries, *The Book Forger: The True Story of a Literary Crime that Fooled the World* (London, Chatto and Windus, 2024), hereafter “Hone”. See especially Ch. 9, “The Moral Position”.

²⁷ See S.J. Gores, “Building Cincinnati’s Poetry Community in the Period between the Wars: George Elliston, W.T.H. Howe, and *The Gypsy*”, *Ohio Valley History*, 21, 3, 2021, 48-68. See also *Project MUSE*, <muse.jhu.edu/article/806814>. Hereafter “Gores”. Howe became President of the company in 1931, and owned a large country house, “Freelands” about 25 miles out of Cincinnati, over the Kentucky border.

funded prizes for poetry by living poets published in *The Gypsy*, and ran a small press from his house, “Freelands”²⁸. Such was the scale of his collecting that he had to use agents to do it for him²⁹. Though not a native Cincinnati, Howe ensured that its local literary culture thrived and was of wider significance. If “Everything [was] up to date in Cincinnati”, Howe and his swelling collections were in part responsible.

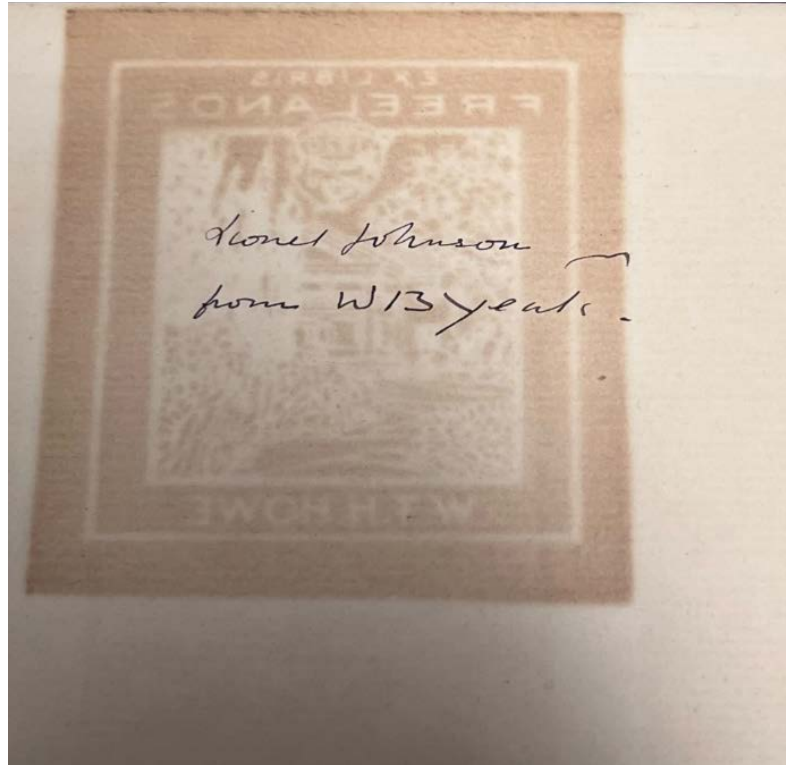


Fig. 4 - Yeats's Inscription to Lionel Johnson, in W.T.H. Howe's copy of *The Tables of the Law. The Adoration of the Magi* (privately printed, 1897)

Lot 11370 was the rather more interesting copy, also stained by the offsetting of Howe's impractical leather book label rudely usurping Jack B. Yeats's bookplate for Quinn on the fixed endpaper:

²⁸ Howe “largely supported” *The Gypsy*, a quarterly magazine edited by George Elliston (1883-1946), who assumed for Cincinnati the role played by another female editor, far better-known Harriet Monroe with *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse* in Chicago. Howe seems to have started in the American Book Company, in Cincinnati as a “lowly [...] sales agent”, having come to the Mid-west intending to be a high school science teacher. His archives are held into the Bird Library, University of Syracuse and in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library which houses his library. See also Appendix 1 below.

²⁹ \$100 for the best lyric, \$50 for the best sonnet, and \$50 for the best free verse piece: quoted in Gores, 53.

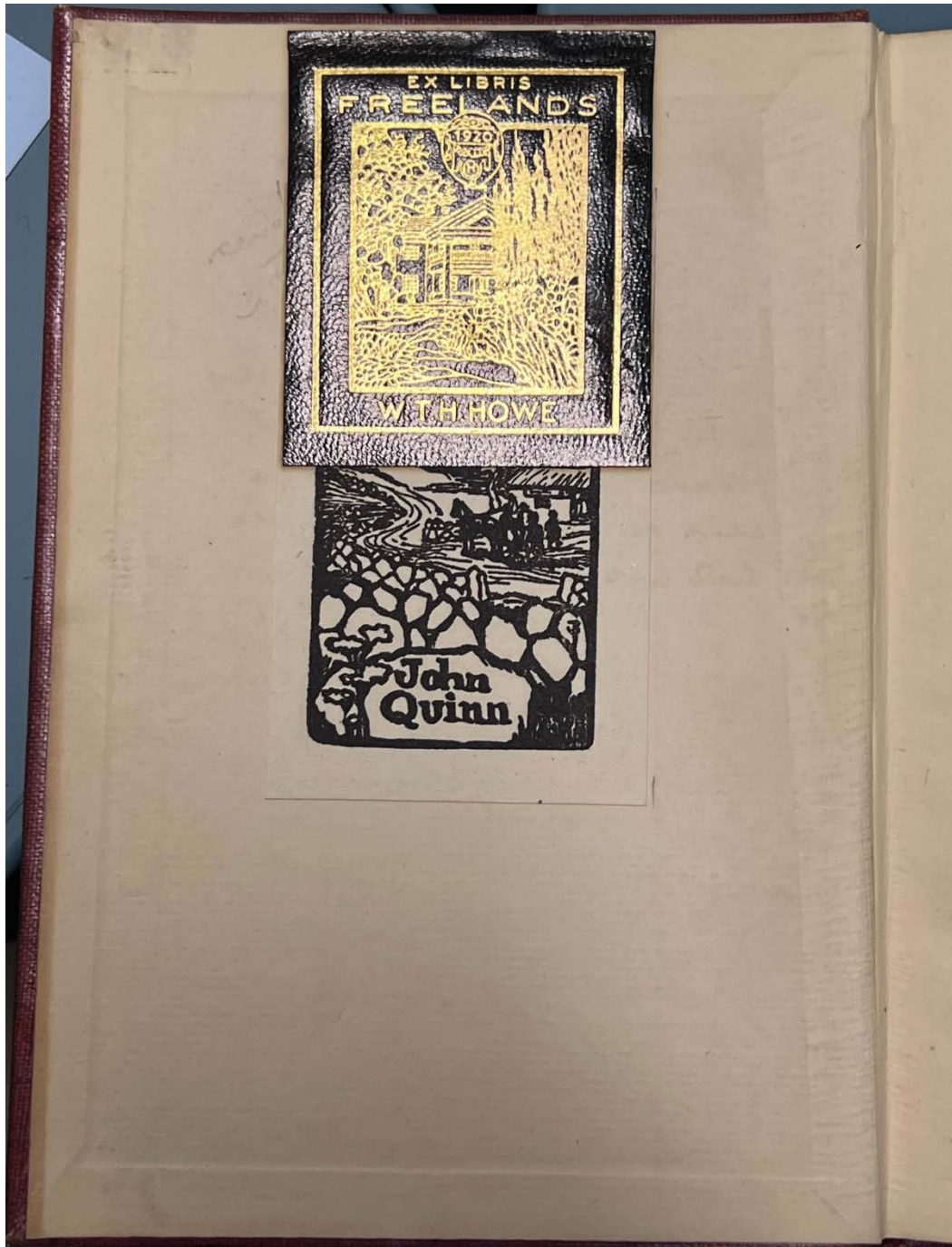


Fig. 5 - W.T.H. Howe's leather bookplate (over John Quinn's bookplate by Jack B. Yeats) in *The Tables of the Law. The Adoration of the Magi* (privately printed, 1897)



Fig. 6 - John Quinn's bookplate (by Jack B. Yeats) in W.T.H. Howe's *The Tables of the Law. The Adoration of the Magi* (privately printed, 1897)

This copy is inscribed by Yeats on the front free recto:

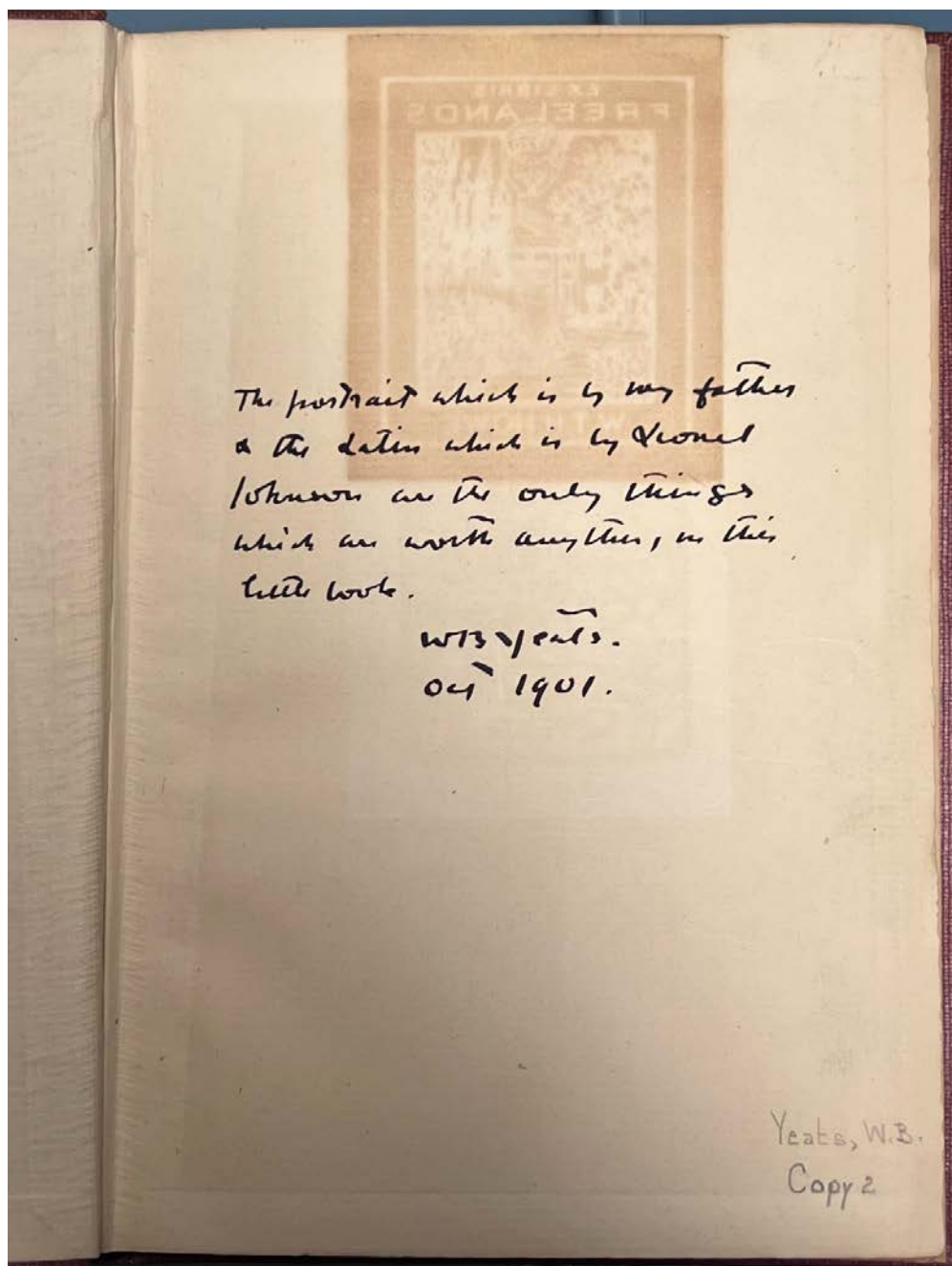


Fig. 7 - Yeats's October 1901 Inscription in W.T.H. Howe's 2nd Copy of *The Tables of the Law. The Adoration of the Magi* (privately printed, 1897)

The Quinn Catalogue was to have a major impact upon the pioneering "Soho Bibliographies" of Allan Wade, and confirms the extent to which Wade worked from that Catalogue, rather than

from inspection of actual copies of the books themselves³⁰. Images of Yeats's wording shows that the punctuation in both the Young and the Quinn Catalogues was inaccurate, but Wade, without access to books by then in American research libraries or still in the hands of private collectors such as Howe, followed them.

3. *THE HOUR-GLASS | A MORALITY* (London, Wm. Heinemann, 1903)

This has long been reputed to be Yeats's rarest book, with Quinn's claim that just twelve copies had been printed in a "unique" private copyright edition. I retell its story to show how entangled the history of a book and of its descriptions can become, especially in the absence of publishers' archives, and why scrappy catalogue entries frustrate provenance research.

The Hour-Glass | A Morality first appeared in *The North American Review*, September 1903³¹. Heinemann's humble pamphlet, a 16 pp. off-print in the *Review* type is date-stamped for copyright purposes in the Library of Congress as early as 13 August 1903 and in the British Museum Library on 29 August 1903³². Its prior history is unknown except through the writings of John Quinn. The Heinemann Archive has disappeared, though a few items were souvenired in the process of disposal³³.

Allan Wade evasively noted in 1908 that "A few copies only of this edition [were] printed, for purposes of copyright". John Quinn was precise and emphatic in Wade's *Bibliography*³⁴:

Of the first separate edition of *The Hour-Glass*, described in Part I under date 1903, only twelve copies were printed. Of these, six went for English copyright, two were lost in the post, the printer kept one, one belongs to Mr. W.B. Yeats, one to Lady Gregory and one to Mr. John Quinn.³⁵

Wade takes up the story in later editions of his *Bibliography*, 1951-68:

Quinn was adamant in 1908 that "there were twelve copies only, of which six went for English copyright; two others were lost in the mail; the printer kept one; one belongs to Mr. W.B. Yeats, one to Lady Gregory and one to Mr. John Quinn".

Quinn is precise: *six* copies for *English* copyright. There were at the time only *five* copyright libraries and to this day the sixth, the National Library of Wales, founded in 1907 and which did not become a copyright library until 1911, has no copy³⁶. The mystery of this sixth "English

³⁰ Cf., the readings of Yeats's annotations as printed in *Wade* 1951, 41; 1968, 43.

³¹ *The North American Review*, September 1903, vol. 177 (562), 445-456.

³² The British Museum (now British Library) copy's shelf-mark is now reclassified C. 58. H.7. I have inspected it several times, most recently on 22 May 2024. See Appendix 2, Provisional Census, below 147.

³³ According to the late Keith Sambrook, a senior Publisher with Heinemann Educational and a Book Historian at the Institute of English Studies, London, the Heinemann Archive was disposed of many years ago, and, but for a few souvenired items relating to Hall Caine, and no early author contracts survive. There remains therefore no record of dealings with Quinn, or Yeats, who was never otherwise published by Heinemann. Starting at Trübner & Co., Heinemann grew his own firm from a spectacular start with Hall Caine. See John St. John, *William Heinemann: a Century of Publishing, 1890-1990* (London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1990; hereafter "St. John"). St. John does not mention Quinn, or Yeats.

³⁴ *CWVP* 8 222. Also separately repaginated in an edition of just 60 copies as *A Bibliography of the Writings of William Butler Yeats* by Allan Wade (Stratford on Avon, Shakespeare Head Press, 1908). Both editions henceforth *Wade* 1, for which Quinn compiled the list of American publications.

³⁵ Quinn's note can be found at *CWVP* 8 287.

³⁶ The six copyright libraries for the UK are the British Museum Library, the National Library of Scotland, Trinity College (Dublin), the Bodleian Library (Oxford), Cambridge University Library, and the National Library of Wales. Founded in 1907 and a copyright library from 1911, it does not contain a copy of the 1903 published volume, merely the periodical text. I thank Manon Foster Evans of the National Library of Wales for the information (email, 14-05-2024): see also "The National Library of Wales, the art of the book, and Welsh Bibliography" by Gwyn Walters in *A Nation and*

copyright copy”, is explored below in my account of Sir Edmund Gosse’s copy.

In the 1923 Anderson Galleries John Quinn Sale Catalogue, Quinn adds to the story:

The author lost or mislaid his copy; the printer many years ago lost or gave away his copy. This copy [“i.e., that being sold as Lot 11430 in the Quinn sale] and the one in the possession of Lady Gregory are therefore in all probability the only copies in existence, and may rank perhaps as the rarest of all Yeats items.

To return to Wade’s account of these matters:

In July 1909, that is, after the publication of Quinn’s first note, Lady Gregory wrote to me that her copy also had been lost by the binders³⁷ and that she had mentioned this to Quinn when my 1908 bibliography reached her, saying that now his copy was the only one extant. She had just received from him, she wrote, his copy “in a beautiful case.” Nevertheless a copy appears in his sale catalogue, and there was one also in Edmund Gosse’s library, inscribed by Yeats: “Never heard of this edition before”. Oct. 13, 194 [year?]: this copy appeared in the Buhler sale. A copy was also sold at Messrs Hodgson’s on November 30, 1950.

Quinn was mistaken in saying that the author had lost or mislaid his copy; it remained in his library and is now in the possession of Mrs. Yeats. But Yeats cared little for his own first editions and was, no doubt, sincere in saying, on the Edmund Gosse copy, that he had never heard of this edition.

Quinn omits two copies received by the Library of Congress on 13 August 1903. These were deposited to secure American copyright. As instigator of this private edition, Quinn must have been the consigner³⁸. Yet in 1923 when he described a copy offered in the Anderson Galleries sale of his library, he stuck to his former tally of copies:

First Separate Edition of which only 12 copies were printed. Of this number, six went for English copyright; two were lost in the post, one belongs to Mr. W.B. Yeats, one to Lady Gregory, one to Mr. Quinn, and the printer kept one. The author has lost or mislaid his copy; the printer years ago lost or see gave away his copy. This copy and the one in possession of Lady Gregory are therefore in all probability the only copies in existence, and may rank perhaps as THE RAREST OF ALL YEATS ITEMS.³⁹

Despite his air of lawyerly qualification, Quinn was spruiking – even “goosing” – his stock⁴⁰. Where Wade had been vague in 1908, the Quinn Catalogue was precise – 12 copies. If Quinn’s enthusiasm was disingenuous, it bore fruit. As Lot 11430, the modest, not to say wretched, Heinemann booklet book fetched an enormous price, \$190.00, a price to be compared to that of Lot 11429, the revised play’s 37 page autograph manuscript in a crushed green

its Books: A History of the Book in Wales, edited by Philip Henry Jones and Eluned Rees (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 1998). The copyright libraries themselves and publishers sometimes grumble about the burdens that copyright deposit places upon them, especially in the era of digital editions, but Hone’s *The Book Forger* lays out in simple terms what guarantees such a system offers, and how they have been subverted in the past. See esp., Chapter 9 “The Moral Position”.

³⁷The binders were Bradstreet’s of 61 Elm St., Lower Manhattan, New York, “a small fine bindery that was part of the larger reference-book publishing firm of the same name.” It produced deluxe bindings for such collectors as J. Pierpont Morgan: see <<https://www.metmuseum.org/articles/alfred-launder>>; “BOOKTRYST: American Rare Book Trade Ads From 1902” (<http://www.booktryst.com/2012/07/american-rare-book-trade-ads-from-1902_23.html>). See below Appendix 2, pp. 147 & ff.

³⁸I thank Dr Amanda Zimmerman of the Library of Congress: see below Appendix 2, pp. 147 & ff.

³⁹*Quinn Cat.*, Lot 11340 (cf., the paraphrase of this passage in *Wade* 4 (1968), item 51, 68–69. Bart Auerbach usefully adds from auction records that “only five copies of this limitation (one unnumbered and unsigned, presumably retained by the publisher) have sold in the past fifty years. See above, n. 6.

⁴⁰*OED Online* cites the following example of “goose” in the sense of “to goad, spur, or provoke (someone)”: “While the chains were goosing the independent booksellers into a more competitive posture [...] they simultaneously provoked similar shifts in the world of publishing.” (*Newsweek*, 16 July 1957, 2).

levant Morocco solander case, with a laid-in copy of the play's first edition (\$170) at the same sale, where the annotated periodical text (Lot 11431) fetched \$3.00⁴¹.

Quinn never states that his underlying intention was to arrange a unique off-print edition from the *North American Review's* periodical version of the play in order to secure its *American* as well as its U.K. copyright. This accounts for the two copies date-stamped by the Library of Congress on 13 August 1903 and never admitted by Quinn.⁴² These copies had been deposited more than a fortnight before the British Museum date-stamped its copy on 29 August 1903. The American Copyright copies are never mentioned by Quinn in his various tallies of the size of the edition.

In a letter of 25 June 1909 to Lady Gregory, Quinn recalls his actions of the summer of 1903, i.e., before Yeats had ever been to America and when Thomas Mosher's piracy of *The Land of Heart's Desire* was a painful matter, causing a loss of revenue for Yeats⁴³.

For weeks and months I have had here a Morocco solander case which I had made for the unique edition of "The Hour Glass". If you will look in the American Bibliography which I prepared for the collected edition you will see in a note there that I stated that there were only six copies of this edition printed.⁴⁴ It was printed from the same plates as were used for the North American Review number which contained the play. It was separately paged, however, and it is paged as a separate book and has the imprint of William Heinemann. Twelve copies were printed. Six were sent by the publishers for the English copyright. I got four originally. Two I mailed to you, one I mailed to Yeats, and I kept one. Yeats got his. I saw it with his books in London The two that I mailed to you were lost in the mails.⁴⁵ I finally got the last one the publisher had and have had these two here for months. They were at the binders for months, and yours has been back from the binders and carefully wrapped for a long time. Yours I had put in with the number of the Review itself.⁴⁶ There are therefore only three extant copies of this separate publication, and I made a note of its rarity in the American Bibliography. I have had your case carefully wrapped in boards, and am sending it to you at Coole by registered mail and am having it insured at \$100 (£20) I hope it will reach you safely I think registered mail with insurance is safer than expressage.⁴⁷

As so often with Quinn's dictated, garrulous letters – confusion threatens. I read him as saying that, apart from the copyright copies (8, including those for the Library of Congress) Quinn "got four originally", for Yeats (1), Lady Gregory (2), and himself (1). The printer had, and had mislaid, one more, and when Lady Gregory's copies were lost in the post, he scrounged another from Heinemann, ["I finally got the last one the publisher had"]) and have had these two [i.e., that copy and his own] here for months" [to be bound]. So, in 1909, a total of 14 copies. But there may have been more⁴⁸.

⁴¹ Lots 1129-31 in the *Quinn Cat.*, vol. 2, pp. 1140 & unpaginated price list in same volume.

⁴² I am grateful to Dr Amanda Zimmerman of the Library of Congress for scans of these items.

⁴³ *The Hour-Glass* had been first performed at the Molesworth Hall, Dublin, on 14 March 1903. For full details see VPI 640. This was before Yeats first went to the USA, where his travels, lectures, and readings vastly increased the risk of piracy. See Warwick Gould, "Yeats in the States: Piracy, Copyright and the Shaping of the Canon", *Publishing History* 51, Summer 2002, 61-82.

⁴⁴ See Appendix 2, pp. 147 & ff., where Quinn's various computations are challenged.

⁴⁵ This sentence is added as an afterthought, inserted between lines in the double-spaced typescript.

⁴⁶ The Berg Collection Card Catalogue states that this copy, together with two copies of the *North American Review* 177, 3, September 1903 and a corrected clipping from the same journal, "came with Lady Gregory's papers".

⁴⁷ TLS, from John Quinn to Lady Gregory, 5 July 1909, NYPL.

⁴⁸ Quinn's correspondence leading to a contract with William Heinemann is evidently lost. If Quinn kept carbon copies of his letters to Heinemann, they have not come to light. I thank Dr Declan Kiely of the NYPL for searching the John Quinn typescript collection.

4. THE BOOK OF GOSSE⁴⁹

Despite its reasonably complete provenance, the “Gosse copy” poses unresolved problems⁵⁰. Gosse’s close association over many years with the publisher William Heinemann may perhaps explain why Yeats, who had no great admiration for Heinemann, came to be published by him at all, and uniquely, for *The Hour-glass: A Morality* (1903)⁵¹. Long before Heinemann published Gosse’s initially anonymous memoir, *Father and Son* in 1907, he had established himself as London agent for the American *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, and as a “go-to fixer” of literary connexions for Americans seeking outlets in London, and had been appointed by Heinemann as editor of Heinemann’s International Library, a series of translations from foreign literatures⁵².

Gosse’s copy is enigmatically inscribed by Yeats on the inside cover:

Never heard of this edition before | W.B. Yeats. Oct. 13, 1914.⁵³

and Gosse himself has pencilled an ambiguous note:

This is one of 6 copies published to secure English copyright in 1903. E.G.⁵⁴

Gosse as Librarian of the House of Lords would have known that in 1903 there were only five copyright libraries⁵⁵. In 1941, Gosse’s copy turned up as Lot 151 in the C. Walter Buhler sale. Bulked out with extra blank pages and bound in dark green cloth top edges gilt, fore and bottom edges trimmed⁵⁶, it also bears a note, perhaps by a librarian – reading “Quinn Catalogue # 11430” which might imply that this is that very copy – but as it has only Gosse’s bookplate I believe this merely to be a cross-reference for comparison purposes. The full Buhler description of Lot 151 reads:

⁴⁹This was the name of the Gosse family’s visitors book, which now resides in Cambridge University Library.

⁵⁰Now in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, PR 5904 H6 1903. See “The hour-glass: a morality / by W.B. Yeats. - University of Texas at Austin” (<<https://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/fasearch/findingAid.cfm?kw=Hour+Glass&x=21&y=4&eadid=00248&showrequest=1>>). Sir Edmund William Gosse C.B. (1849-1928), minor poet, man of letters, Librarian of the House of Lords, and author of the renowned autobiography, *Father and Son: A Study of Two Temperaments* (1907). Gosse seems to have been easily gulled by T.J. Wise, rather than a co-conspirator in Wise’s astonishing career of literary forgeries and thefts from the British Museum Library. See Carter and Pollard *passim*, and also Nicolas Barker and John Collins, *A Sequel to An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain XIXth Century Pamphlets by John Carter & Graham Pollard: The Book Forgeries of H. Buxton Forman and T. J. Wise Re-examined* (London and Berkeley, Scolar Press, 1983), *passim*. Summarizing the detailed work of Carter, Pollard, Barker, and Collins, Joseph Hone admirably describes Gosse as “a literary hanger-on, second-rate poet, slapdash critic, and devout Browning enthusiast” a “vain and notoriously muddleheaded critic” (Hone, 109, 148). Hone ultimately exonerates him of complicity in Wise’s crimes (266). Ann Thwaite, Gosse’s biographer also quashes the rumour that Gosse was a co-conspirator in Wise’s forgeries in her *ODNB* piece, “Gosse, Sir Edmund William (1849–1928), writer | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography” (<<https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33481>>). Though a visitor at the Gosses’ Sunday evening “At Homes”, Yeats had no high opinion of Gosse’s poems, nor of his proud Saxonism: see *CL1* 476, n. 1 & *CL2* 26-27 nn. & *passim*.

⁵¹Yeats, though fair to William Heinemann, remarked on his pro-Boer stance: see *CW2* 617 n. 3.

⁵²See Ann Thwaite, *Edmund Gosse: A Literary Landscape 1849-1928* (London, Secker and Warburg, 1984; hereafter “Thwaite”), pp. 241 & ff., and *passim*. Thwaite, however, does not refer to any dealings between Gosse and Quinn.

⁵³Yeats’s copy was merely mislaid. It is now in the Yeats collection (NLI): see *WBGY* 2381; *YL* 2359; *Wade* 4, 51.

⁵⁴Gosse’s annotation presumably refers to Quinn’s note in *CWVP8* 287, quoted in fn. 35.

⁵⁵See above n. 39.

⁵⁶Dr Lincoln Howard of the HRHRC (Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center), to whom I am grateful, confirms that this copy is “not bound with staples”, but “in a dark green fabric hard cover”.

YEATS, WILLIAM B. *The Hour-Glass. A Morality.* 8vo, cloth.

London, 1903

FIRST SEPARATE EDITION OF WHAT APPARENTLY IS THE RAREST OF THE AUTHOR'S WORKS. ONE OF 12 COPIES PRINTED. Of this number, six went for English copyright, and two were lost in the mail.

The work was issued without covers.

On the front end-leaf the author has inscribed: "*Never heard of this Edition before. W.B. Yeats. Oct. 13. 1914*". Sir Edmund W. Gosse's copy, with the following penciled inscription by him beneath the author's note: "*This is one of 6 (six) copies published to secure English copyright in 1903. E. G.*" With the Sir Edmund Gosse bookplate.⁵⁷

I venture, however, to ask "What if the Gosse copy is a T.J. Wise forgery?". Gosse was a close friend of the notorious pamphlet/book forger, Thomas James Wise, whose corruption of the book trade extended to "planting out" forgeries of scarce pamphlets upon friends before using the existence of such works as "evidence" of their genuineness. The counter-argument would be that given that Quinn was still alive and that publicity surrounding the strict limitation of the edition had entered into the bibliographical record as early as 1908, Wise would have had severe difficulties in palming off a cache of hitherto unknown copies without suspicion or challenge⁵⁸. Nevertheless, Zoom now permits close comparisons with copyright copies. Watermarks – if there are any – and typographical peculiarities such as the "kernless f" used by Wise in his forgeries, are now subject to off-site investigation. Only chemical analysis of the paper stock would require invasive intervention. Did Wise run off a single copy, plant it out on the apparently blameless Gosse and then draw back? The enigmatic Yeats inscription would be indeed ironical.

5. RE-ENTER QUINN

What if Quinn had not merely omitted the Library of Congress copyright deposit copies, but also had excluded one or two extra copies from his tally? If so, the lively sense of *The Hour-glass's* rarity communicated by Quinn in the Catalogue would have had to be kept up⁵⁹. Wade, later Wade and Alspach, in paraphrasing Quinn in *Wade* 2-4, 1951-68, confer a bibliographical "objectivity" onto Quinn's account, a pseudo-objectivity wholly lacking in Quinn's 1923 description of Lot 11340. Dr Colin Smythe paraphrases Quinn in his forthcoming revision and enlargement of Wade and Alspach, *A Bibliography of the Writings of W.B. Yeats* (1968), and adds his own new researches⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ *The Important Collections of First Editions of William B. Yeats: Property of C. Walter Buhler, Westport, Conn. Sold by His Order ... Public Sale Thursday, May 1, at 2 pm* New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1941. This sale catalogue offers these inscriptions by Yeats and Gosse in a slightly different wording: see Lot 151 (27).

⁵⁸ For Gosse's private holdings of Yeats, including his inscribed copy of *The Hour-glass* (1903) see E. H. M Cox, *The Library of Edmund Gosse: Being a Descriptive and Bibliographical Catalogue of a Portion of his Collection*, with an Introductory Essay by Edmund Gosse (London, Dulau, 1924). The catalogue is dedicated to Thomas J. Wise. For a fulsome review of Hone's *The Book Forger*, see Gill Partington, "Every Watermark and Stain", *The London Review of Books*, 20 June 2024, 23-24.

⁵⁹ Appendix 1 below lists the known facts about all inscribed James Carleton Young copies of Yeats's books I have so far traced. However, I offer the example of an unnumbered copy of the 1904 Macmillan New York edition of *Wade* 52, the American edition of *The Hour-glass and Other Plays*, extant in a Private Collection in London. This Large Paper edition was financed by Quinn, and supposedly limited to 100 numbered copies on Japon vellum. The London copy is unnumbered, and therefore one of perhaps several "overs".

⁶⁰ On which endeavour see Colin Smythe's "Some Aspects of Yeats Bibliography", in *Serving the Word: Essays in Honour of Maurice Harmon*, a special issue of *Irish University Review* Spring 1992, 101-106; and his "Errata and Addenda to the 3rd Edition of Allan Wade's *Bibliography of the Writings of W.B. Yeats*", in *The Long Room* (Trinity College, Dublin), 8, Autumn-Winter 1973, 41-42.

In July 1909, Lady Gregory wrote to Wade that her copy also had been lost by the binders and that when Wade's 1908 bibliography reached her, she had mentioned this to Quinn, saying that now his copy was the only one extant. She had just received from him, she wrote, his copy "in a beautiful case".⁶¹

This particular copy is now in the Berg Collection, New York Public Library. Carolyn Vega of the Berg Collection has kindly sent me images of its holdings related to *The Hour-glass* (1903), which all appear to have come with a bundle of Lady Gregory's books and manuscripts, and received on 13 January 1964⁶². The following images display the catalogue cards for, and individual items of, a "bundle" of items, in a brown crushed levant morocco solander case by Bradstreet's, which includes this particular Quinn/Gregory copy.

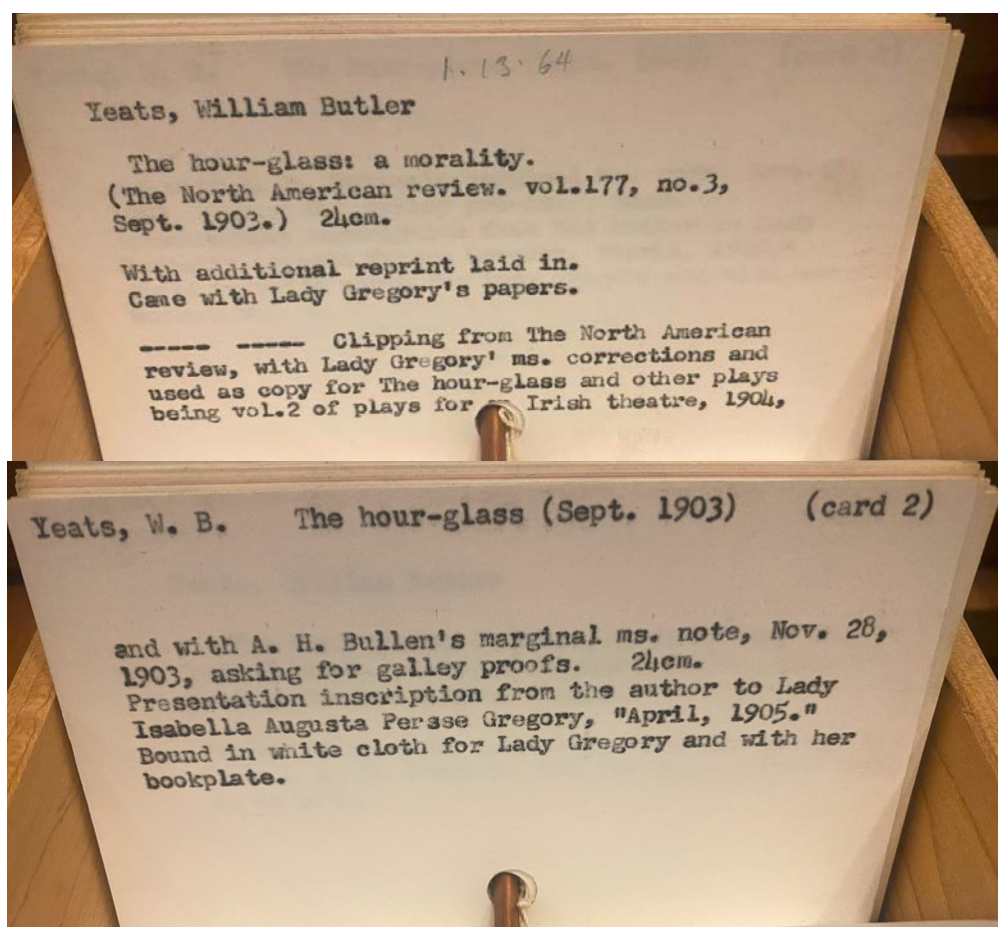


Fig. 8-9 - First and second of two Berg Collection, NYPL Catalogue Cards for the 13 January 1964 Deposit by Major Richard Gregory of Lady Gregory's materials relating to *The Hour-glass: A Morality* (1903)

⁶¹ I thank Dr Colin Smythe for access to and permission to quote from this work in progress.

⁶² See also the "W.B. Yeats collection of papers" finding-aid. Carolyn Vega kindly reports that this solander case holds one copy of the *North American Review*, and one copy of *The Hour-glass: A Morality* (1903). *The Hour-glass* pages clipped out of the *North American Review*, with Lady Gregory's corrections, and later bound in white cloth with her book plate and a presentation inscription from Yeats to Lady Gregory, dated 1905 are now shelved separately in the Berg Collection.

The words “With an additional reprint laid in” on the first card are ambiguous. Carolyn Vega of the Berg Collection concurs in thinking that they refer to the 1903 edition enclosed.

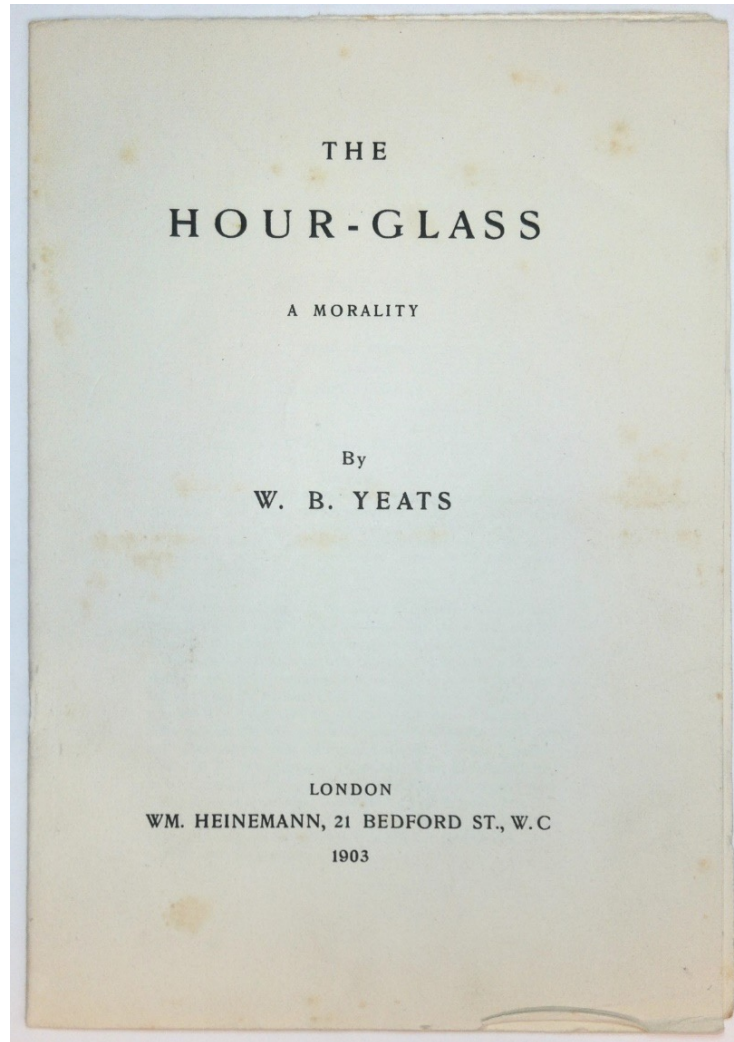


Fig. 10 - Lady Gregory's copy of W.B. Yeats's *The Hour-glass: A Morality* (London: William Heinemann, 1903)

The bundle numbered by the Berg Collection 65B4800 also includes a copy of the *North American Review* and the published 1903 edition.

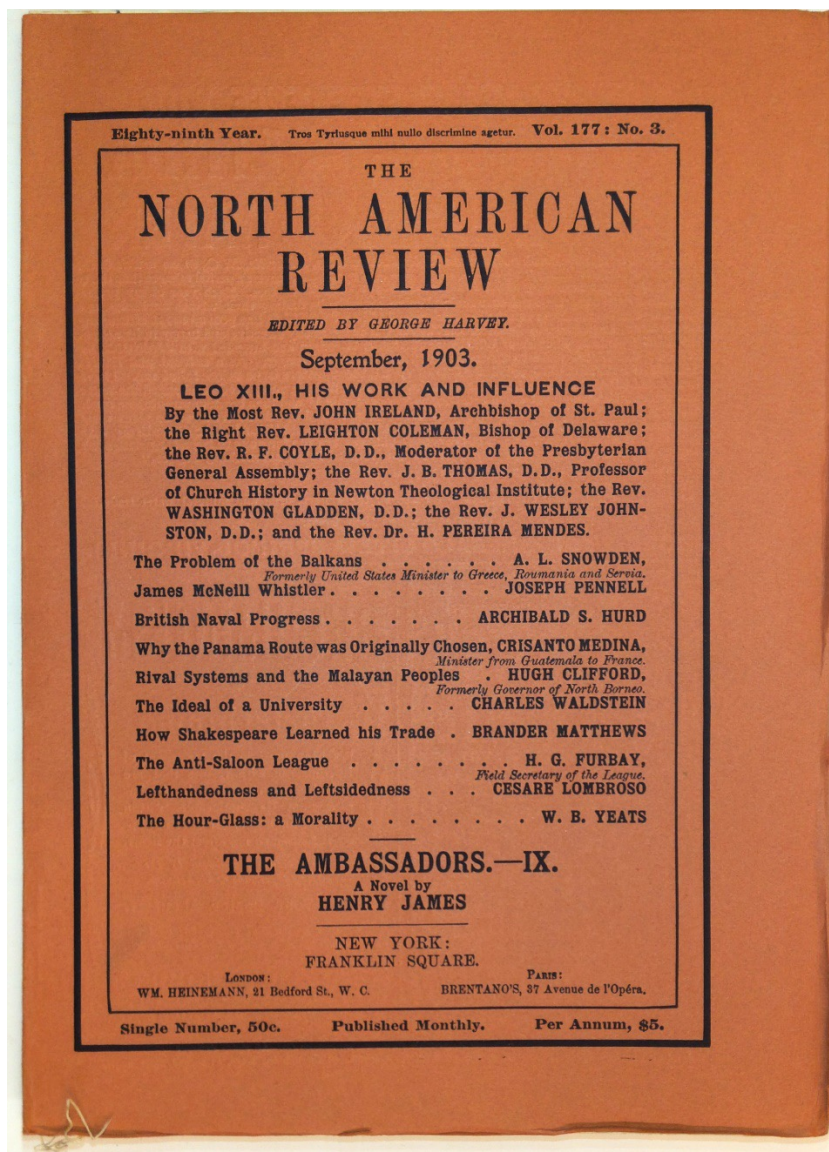


Fig. 11 - The September 1903 issue of *The North American Review* containing W.B. Yeats's *The Hour-glass: A Morality*

The following are images of the box made by Bradstreet's labelled THE HOUR-GLASS | A MORALITY | W.B. YEATS | NORTH | AMERICAN | REVIEW | 1903



Fig. 12 - The crushed Morocco Solander Slipcase for Lady Gregory's materials for and copies of *The Hour-glass: A Morality* (1903), made by Bradstreet's of New York

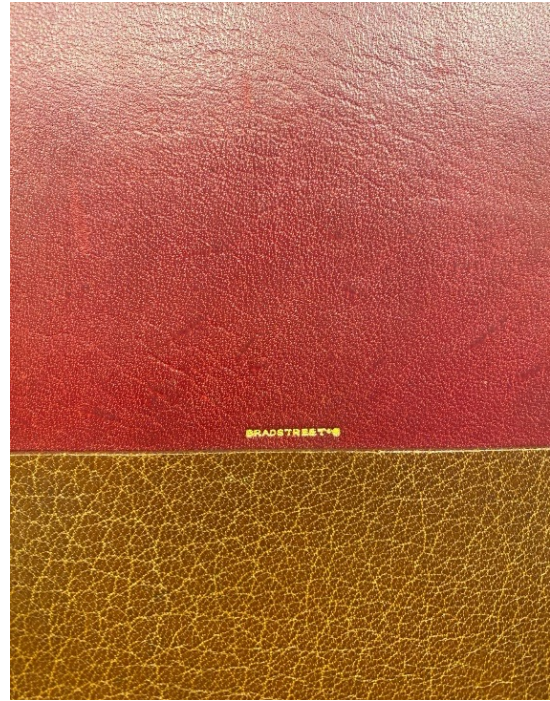


Fig. 13 - The crushed Morocco Solander Slipcase by Bradstreet's of New York, for Lady Gregory's copies of *The Hour-glass: A Morality* (1903), with top removed

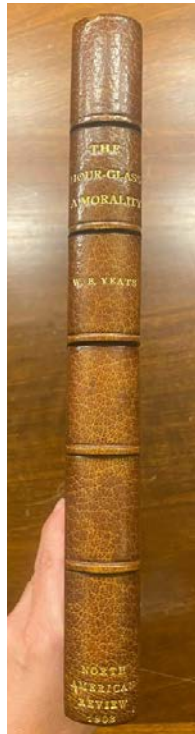


Fig. 14 - The Spine of the crushed Morocco Solander Slipcase by Bradstreet's of New York, for Lady Gregory's copies of *The Hour-glass: A Morality* (1903)

6. THE 1979 SOTHEBY'S SALES OF MAJOR RICHARD GREGORY'S COLLECTION

The majority of Lady Gregory's Yeats collection was sold to Emory University's then Robert W. Woodruff Library⁶³, at the Sotheby's London sales of Major Richard Gregory's Yeats/Gregory collection on 24 July and 17 December 1979⁶⁴. Early that year, Emory University had received \$105 million in Coca-Cola stock from Robert and George Woodruff⁶⁵. The inaugural ambition of the new President, James Laney, was to "create a great Emory University research library". Professors Richard Ellmann and Ronald Schuchard advised him of the upcoming Richard Gregory sales and Laney authorised the venture to buy the collection. Tom Taylor, the young bookdealer and bidder helping the Librarian Ted Johnson, and the Head of Special Marella Walker takes up the story:

I remember her scrambling to raise money, and she did. I had a fixed total sum to spend; she gave me a list of priorities. In those days I usually stayed with John Boyle, who was a close friend, and on the morning of the sale he accompanied me to keep a running total of what I was spending. Arthur [Freeman], as I suspect you already know, was representing the California collector/bookseller Maurie Neville. It was the first time, and the only time, I dominated an auction. Marella was in the room, at the back, and she was quite pleased. I was quite pleased myself, if a bit hung over from the night before. As I recall, when the printed price list arrived from Sotheby's, it listed John Taylor, the English autograph dealer, as the dominant buyer. *Sic transit gloria* [...] I'm pretty sure I spent most all of Emory's money at the sale.⁶⁶

When news came back of Emory's triumph at the first sale, Professor Schuchard addressed a celebratory gathering of librarians, "This is such a fabulous windfall for Emory, that I hope we can make the teaching mission it inspires as important as the research mission, including the training of our undergraduates in archival research for their honours theses and related projects."⁶⁷

I record this sale not just because it the origin of Emory's outstanding Modern Literature collections, but also because the Richard Gregory Collection did not all go to Emory. One of the mysteries is Lot 412 in the 24 July 1979 sale. Sotheby's catalogue displays a title-page image from a corrected copy of the *North American Review* printing, with Yeats's cancellation of his printed name with his hand-written signature.

⁶³ Now named the Stuart Rose Library.

⁶⁴ See Ronald Schuchard, "The Lady Gregory – Yeats Collection at Emory University" and "Yeats's 'On a Child's Death': A Critical Note", *YA* 3, 153-166 and 190-192.

⁶⁵ "During the 1980s, under the presidency of James Laney and with the support of the Woodruff gift, Emory achieved national prominence as one of the nation's top research institutions. A key marker of this success was the election of Emory into the Association of American Universities (AAU), a select group of leading public and private research universities in the United States and Canada" ("Chapter 1: Emory University Overview | Emory University | Atlanta GA", <<https://provost.emory.edu/faculty/policies-guidelines/handbook/university.html>>).

⁶⁶ Email from Tom Taylor to Warwick Gould, 17 July 2024. Taylor was, however, unable to recall anything about bought-in lots.

⁶⁷ Email from Ronald Schuchard, 18 July 2024. Schuchard himself had been trained in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center by the great bibliographer William B. Todd (1918-2911), Mildred Caldwell and Baine Perkins Kerr Centennial Professor Emeritus in English History and Culture at the University of Texas at Austin, a great believer in the application of archival research to teaching.

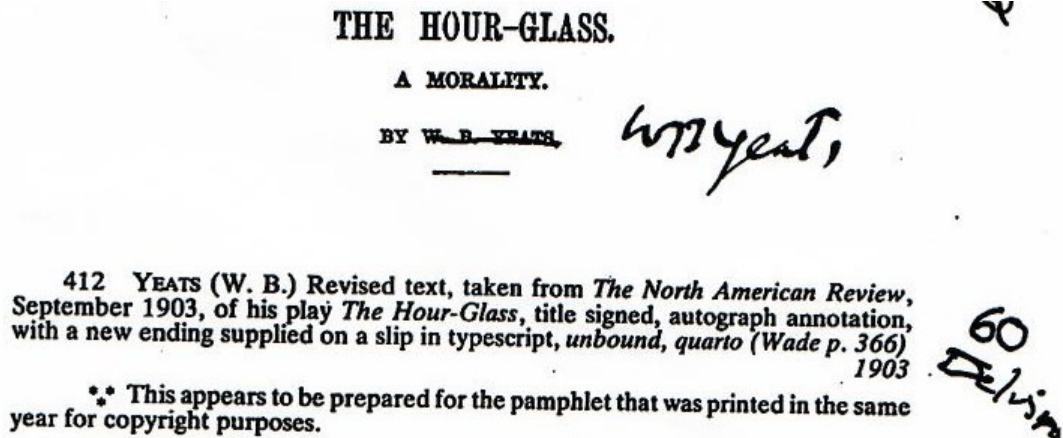


Fig. 15 - Lot 412 of Sotheby's Catalogue, 24 July 1979 Sale, showing Title Page of the *North American Review* printing, with Yeats's Cancellation of his Printed Name with Hand-written Signature. Annotated with price £60.00, to 'Delisma' or 'Delvoise'

Of this sale, Colin Smythe reports "As to Delisma (which I scribbled illegibly down at the time), he appeared not to buy anything else in the sale. Sorry I can't help: the tendrils of memory do not stretch over so many decades".⁶⁸ Ed. Maggs of Maggs Bros. concurs "[Lot] 412 was probably bought in [...] Sotheby's used fake names to cover up unsold lots – our marked copy records a variant 'Delvoise'".⁶⁹

Way back at the 1923 Anderson Galleries Quinn sales, two consecutive lots had fetched sharply contrasting prices.

- 11430 THE HOUR-GLASS. A Morality. 8vo, sewn, uncut. In a crushed brown levant morocco solander case. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1903
First Separate Edition, of which only 12 copies were printed. Of this number, six went for English copyright, two were lost in the post, one belongs to Mr. Yeats, one to Lady Gregory, one to Mr. Quinn, and the printer kept one. The author has lost or mislaid his copy; the printer years ago lost or gave away his copy. This copy and the one in the possession of Lady Gregory are therefore in all probability the only copies in existence, and may rank perhaps as the RAREST OF ALL YEATS ITEMS.
- 11431 THE HOUR-GLASS: A Morality. In the *North American Review* for September 1903. 8vo, wrappers. In a half blue morocco slip case. First publication of this play. New York, 1903

Fig. 16 - Lots 11430 and 11431 in the Anderson Galleries, New York, Sales of the Library of John Quinn showing Quinn's claims for 'THE RAREST OF ALL YEATS ITEMS.'

⁶⁸ Email to Warwick Gould, 29 June 2024.

⁶⁹ Email to Warwick Gould, 1 July 2024.

Fuelled by Quinn's spruiking, Lot 11430 had fetched \$130.00. Lot 11431 had fetched only \$3.00. In the absence of detail on Lot 11431 it is impossible to say whether it was a revised text, but the low price suggests it was probably just a copy of the *North American Review* text, and, if it stayed in its "half blue Morocco slipcase", it is not one of the two copies of the September 1903 periodical now in a "crushed brown levant solander case" in the Berg collection.

Quinn had been correct in suspecting that Yeats had mislaid his copy. As Smythe suggests, Yeats was no doubt, sincere in saying, on the Edmund Gosse copy, that he had never heard of it. But it turned up in his library and is now in the Yeats Collection of the National Library of Ireland. Another copy was also sold at Messrs. Hodgson's on 30 November 1950.

Only a provisional census of such surviving copies as are known will help flush out those possibly still hidden in private collections, and which might suggest if Quinn had printed but not counted further copies. The processes involved can be protracted as the reticulation of such hidden treasures through the antiquarian book trade can be very slow. I illustrate with two fugitive copies of *Mosada* (1886).

7. MOSADA

THE DELURY MOSADA

Only 15 copies of *Mosada* were known to their census-taker, Dr Colin Smythe, who has inspected the cover types of 14 of these, and hypothesizes that up to 23 copies might survive out of an edition of 100 copies⁷⁰. Wade 2-4 (1951, 1958, and 1968) which Smythe is extending and updating, all call it "exceedingly rare"⁷¹. Its rarity was probably recognized when it became known by word of mouth that Yeats had decided to delete it from his canon. He had included it in *The Wanderings of Oisín and Other Poems* (1889) but dropped it thereafter. Given that *The Countess Kathleen and Various Legends and Lyrics* (1892) was all newer work, that moment must have been 1895, when the first of his retrospective self-canonizations appeared in *Poems* (1895)⁷². His own comments inscribed in John Quinn's copies of *Mosada* are nostalgic for the poet he had himself once been, not for the text he had so firmly suppressed.

When the family of Alfred Tennyson DeLury donated his Irish Collection to the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in the University of Toronto after his death, they withheld his copy of *Mosada*⁷³. At the London Book fair of 2016, it surfaced in the display mounted by the dealer, Rick Gekoski.

⁷⁰ See Colin Smythe, "W.B. Yeats's *Mosada*", *YA* 20, 239-261.

⁷¹ Allan Wade's first bibliography had been published in the 8th volume of *The Collected Works in Verse and Prose* (1908), as *A Bibliography of the Writings of William Butler Yeats, 197-267*. A repaginated separate edition of just sixty copies, was published by the Shakespeare Head Press in the same year. Wade's prefatory remarks record "a kind of wonder that I see my notes taking the form of a book or part of a book at Mr. Bullen's beautiful Shakespeare Head Press" (*CWVP8* [198]). For Wade's latest list of "exceedingly rare" copies of *Mosada*, see *Wade* 1968, 20.

⁷² "This book contains all that the present writer cares to preserve out of his previous volumes of verse" wrote Yeats in the Preface to *Poems* (1895): see *VP* 845.

⁷³ After a century with one family, Gregg's copy surfaced, inscribed in Yeats's early hand "To F. Gregg from his friend the Author". See Smythe, "W.B. Yeats's *Mosada*", *Census*, Copy 3, *YA* 20, 239-261. Alfred Tennyson DeLury, mathematician and bibliophile (1864-1951) Dean of the Faculty of Arts (1922-34) an "avid collector of Irish Literature" whose extensive collection came to the University of Toronto's Fisher Rare Book Library. DeLury became a friend of the Yeats family. See "British Literature | Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library" (<<https://fisher.library.utoronto.ca/collections/subject-strengths/british-literature>>). His family, however, had withheld *Mosada*.

It turned out to be Frederic Gregg's copy, and it had remained in the DeLury family for nearly a century⁷⁴.

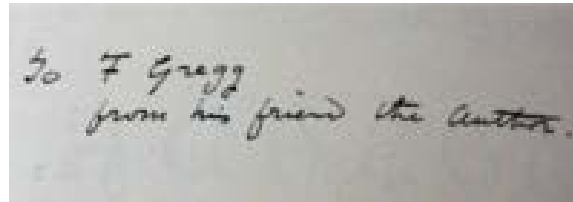


Fig. 17 - W.B. Yeats's Inscription to Frederick Gregg in a Copy of *Mosada* (1889)

The recovery of elusive pamphlets is momentous enough, especially when deliberately sequestered. Such are the slim dimensions of such objects that they were very likely to be lost or mislaid until their value, as with that of the Sibylline Books, became swollen by their increasing rarity⁷⁵.

With the recovery and reassessment of such books as they pass through the hands of expert dealers comes refinement of their provenances, as my second rediscovered *Mosada* shows.

THE ZENA VOWELL *MOSADA*

Censuses of surviving copies require constant refinement and updating. Copy No. 9 in the Smythe Census of *Mosada* was identified as the “Zena Powell” copy because Yeats’s inscription had been read as “Miss Zena Powell from her friend the Author”⁷⁶. No connexion between Yeats and a Zena “Powell” could be identified. When Dr Smythe was constructing his census, we had tried vainly to connect Zena Powell with the Yeats family’s friend Professor York Powell (1850-1904)⁷⁷. It had passed to a noted Dublin collector, Dr F. S. Bourke, who, in 1956 loaned it to a Trinity College Dublin Library for an exhibition. There, it had been listed as with the “lower wrapper missing”. It was offered for sale by Mrs M. Whitley as “from the collection of the late Dr F. S. Bourke” at Sotheby’s London on 3 December 1962. From the marked-up sale catalogue retained by Sotheby’s there is a suggestion that the reserve was £700 and the copy was bought in. Nevertheless, the published listing of prices and buyers for the sale notes

⁷⁴ Frederick J. Gregg’s copy is 21.6 × 13.7, with a cover of silurian paper, lined white. Gregg (1864–1927) had been a contemporary of WBY’s at the Erasmus Smith High School and in late 1886 was living at 6 Eccles St., Dublin. He published poems in the *Irish Monthly* and two were later in *Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland* (1888). However, “El Greggo” (as John Quinn later termed him), emigrated to the U.S. in 1891 where he became a journalist on the *New York Evening Sun*: see *CLI* 7–8 esp. n. 1. DeLury purchased his copy from C. Gerhardt & Co. Rare Books, New York, in May 1916 for \$25.00. See above n. 71 and *YA* 20, Pl. 34, Yeats’s inscription in his presentation copy to Frederick J. Gregg of *Mosada: A Dramatic Poem* is © Colin Smythe and courtesy of a private collection. All rights reserved.

⁷⁵ See <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sibylline_Books>.

⁷⁶ See Colin Smythe, “W.B. Yeats’s *Mosada*”, *YA* 20, 239-261 (250).

⁷⁷ The polymath and Old Icelandic scholar Frederick York Powell became Regius Professor of Modern History in Oxford on the death of J.A. Froude in 1894. He was responsible for bringing Stéphane Mallarmé to lecture at the Taylorian Institution in February 1894 where Yeats heard Mallarmé, and the Belgian poet Verhaeren was Powell’s guest at Christ Church. He was one of the presidents of the Irish Texts Society and on 7 April 1902 lectured in Dublin to the Irish Literary Society on Irish influences in English literature. He was a neighbour of the Yeatses in Bedford Park. John Butler Yeats’s oil portrait of him hangs in Oriel College. He had one daughter, Mariella, b. 1884. See *ODNB* and Oliver Elton’s *Frederick York Powell*, 2 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906).

a figure of £580 for its sale to one “Wright”. It is likely that the copy in the “private collection in Dublin” mentioned in the 1951 and 1958 editions of *Wade* (*Wade 1 & 2*) was Dr Bourke’s, and that Russell Alsop had not been aware of its subsequent history when editing *Wade 3*. Page 18 of *Wade 2* and *Wade 3*, relate wholly to owners of *Mosada* and are unchanged between the editions. Sotheby’s records give no idea as to its subsequent fate⁷⁸.

The “Zena Powell” copy turned up at Harrington’s in 2023, and with the opportunity to examine and photograph the inscription at first hand, my doubts grew. Closer examination of Yeats’s hand led me to wonder if the name might in fact not be Miss Zena Powell but “Mrs Zena Vowell”.

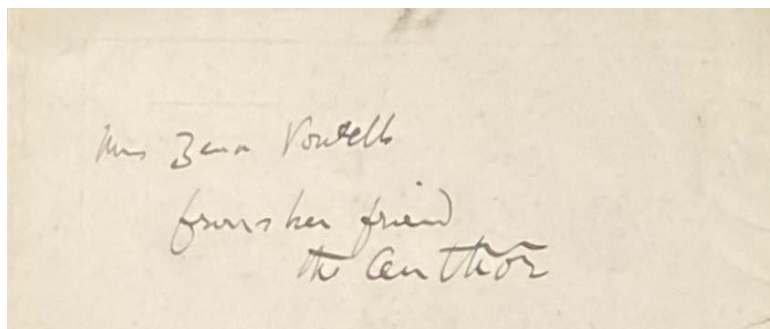


Fig. 18 - W.B. Yeats’s Inscription to Mrs Zena Vowell in a Copy of *Mosada* (1889)

I began a wide internet search for the name “Vowell” if only to eliminate that name. Only one of the initial searches turned up anything, Google directing me via Google Books to a page in Portuguese

Uma voz que se anunciou como sendo Zena Vowell dirigiu-se a Mrs. Travers Smith, que soube manter o colóquio em marcha. Vinha de uma distância de dois pés de Mrs. Smith. Sentado perto dela, eu ouvi tudo. MRS. SMITH - Quando ocorreu o seu passamento? ZENA VOWELL - Há oito anos. MRS. SMITH - E onde nos encontramos pela última vez? ZENA VOWELL - Em Hill of Howth.⁷⁹

The names ZENA VOWELL, TRAVERS SMITH, and Hill of Howth had Yeats, though not present, triangulated. I had by chance hit a bullseye in the vast word-hoard of Google Books, the text being a translation of H. Dennis Bradley’s *Towards the Stars* (1924), a personal history of psychical research amongst mediums and members of the Society for Psychical Research including a number well-known to W.B. Yeats⁸⁰. According to Bradley, Zena Vowell had come out of the

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*. As the Smythe Census indicates, the “repeated catalogue description of the torn condition of the back cover makes it likely that this is the same copy sold at Hodgson’s on 7 December 1933 (Lot 426) to Lee for £27–10–0, and again by them on 17 July 1935 (Lot 167) to Radcliff for £19–0–0, the drop in value perhaps indicating a further deterioration of the back cover, later lost in its entirety” (250).

⁷⁹ H. Dennis Bradley, *Rumo às estrelas*, tradução de Monteiro Lobato, Saga Egmont, 2021 (<https://books.google.it/books/about/RUMO_AS_ESTRELAS.html?id=h2B4PgAACAAJ&redir_esc=y>).

⁸⁰ Herbert Dennis Bradley (1878-1934) was, at the time of writing *Towards the Stars* (London, T. Werner Laurie Ltd., 1924), both a direct voice medium following training with the American George Valiantine and a member of the largely sceptical London-based Society for Psychical Research, with which he later quarrelled. See *Encyclopedia of Occultism and Parapsychology*, “Bradley, H(erb)ert Dennis (1878-1934)” (<https://archive.org/details/isbn_9780810349155/page/214/mode/2up?q=bradley>). Other psychical researchers known to Yeats and present at the séance included Eric Dingwall and Everard Feilding, the last-named being the co-investigator with Yeats and

aether in the midst of There I found her in the midst of a “*A disappointing séance – A coldness in the room*”⁸¹. After the “indistinct” spirits who had addressed the room through Eric Dingwall and Everard Feilding were requested to “retire”, the medium Mrs Hester Travers Smith, daughter of another Yeats family friend, Professor Edward Dowden, was given her chance to summon new spirits⁸². Immediately, the ghost of Zena Vowell saw her chance to get back among human voices:

Announcing itself as Zena Vowell, a voice addressed itself to Mrs Travers Smith, who at once kept the conversation going. The voice was heard to be speaking about two feet in front of Mrs. Travers Smith. I [i.e., H. Dennis Bradley] was seated next to her and heard it.

MRS. TRAVERS SMITH – When did you pass away?

ZENA VOWELL – Eight years ago.

MRS. TRAVERS SMITH – Where did we last meet?

ZENA VOWELL – The Hill of Howth.

Mrs Travers Smith said that she had spent two summer holidays at the Hill of Howth some years ago with a friend of hers, named Zena Vowell, who had passed away eight years back.⁸³

Despite this identification, Zena Vowell remains a shadowy figure in Yeats’s acquaintance. The General Editor of Yeats’s *Collected Letters* and great expert on Yeats’s handwriting concurs in the reading “Mrs Zena Vowell” and believes that she was probably Mrs Tamsine [sometimes Thomasina] Vowell (b. 1831, Cork, d. Dublin 31 July 1918) widow of Revd. William Richard Vowell (d. 1869). If so, given her age, she may well have been one of the contributing patrons of *Mosada*: in short, the change from “Miss” to “Mrs” is every bit as important as the correct transcription of the surname “Vowell”⁸⁴.

This discovery garnered some press attention for Peter Harrington’s in the *Observer* 29-

Maud Gonne of the “Bleeding” Oleograph of the Sacred Heart belonging to the Abbé Vachère in Mirebeau, Nouvelle-Aquitaine, France, in 1914. See George Mills Harper, “‘A Subject of Investigation’: Miracle at Mirebeau” in *Yeats and the Occult*, edited by George Mills Harper (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1975), 172-89, esp. 175-76. Yeats, who wrote an untitled and, in his lifetime, unpublished report of the investigation, with Feilding submitted the results to the Lister Institute in London which reported that the oozing substance was “not human blood”. Feilding’s “The Case of Abbé Vachère” was first published in the *Transactions of the Fourth International Congress for Psychological Research*. Athens, 1930, and may be found at <<http://www.survivalafterdeath.info/articles/feilding/vachere.htm>>.

⁸¹ Bradley, *Towards the Stars*, Ch. XV, 193-95. There is no indication that Yeats himself was present at this séance.

⁸² Hester Dowden (1868–1949), Mrs Travers Smith, was an Irish medium best known for her claimed contact with the spirits of various writers. *Voices from the Void* (1919) and *Psychic Messages from Oscar Wilde* (1923) were the chief works over her name. The daughter of the Irish literary scholar Edward Dowden (1843-1911), John Butler Yeats’s friend and fellow-student at TCD, and later Professor of English at TCD. She may have been the model for the medium in Yeats’s *The Words upon the Window Pane*, first produced at the Abbey Theatre on 17 November 1930.

⁸³ Howth Head or Ceann Bhinn Éadair is a peninsula northeast of Dublin. The Yeats family had lived at the village of Howth on the north-eastern face, 181-84, and Howth Hill was later a place to which Yeats had taken Maud Gonne when courting her. Most of Howth Head is occupied by the Hill of Howth.

⁸⁴ Kelly observes that Yeats did not begin to use the superscripted “M^{rs}” until c. 1889. While the 1901 Irish Census records also offer a Mrs Thomasina M. Green, b. Thomasina Vowell, aged 40 and married to a Gage Green, aged 38, the householder at 148 Dartmouth Square. At the time of the Census her mother had been visiting, also Thomasina Vowell, a widow aged 70, born in Co. Waterford, and an elder sister Elizabeth R. Vowell, unmarried, aged 45. Kelly is of the view that the “Mrs” is conclusive, and that Hester Travers Smith had met her on Howth in the mid-1880s and that they could at the time have called on Yeats who, with his father, was at the time still very friendly towards Professor Dowden and his family.

10-2023: “Yeats” play on sale for £125,000 – thanks to message from the dead: A 1924 seance has solved the mystery surrounding a signed copy of the dramatist’s first play” wrote David Barnett. The price was achieved and *Mosada* rapidly went to a new and undisclosed home at a price some £27,000 in excess of that of the DeLury copy.

With the help of leading, scholarly antiquarian book dealers as Maggs Bros and Peter Harrington, and the top auction houses, *Yeats Annual* plans further censuses of fugitive, or rare Yeats publications, including the vellum bound copies of *The Wind Among the Reeds* (1899-1904), *Is the Order of R.R. & A.C. to remain a Magical Order?* (March 1901) and its *Postscript to Essay called “Is the Order of R.R. & A.C. to remain a Magical Order?”* (May 1901), *Wade 33* and 34⁸⁵. Arrington and Maggs Bros.

8. PROVENANCE STUDIES, PRICE, AND VALUE

In recent years’ provenance research has become very fashionable in the Descriptive Bibliography of author-inscribed printed books, following the methods developed by historians of manuscript culture such as the late Peter Beal FBA, the Sotheby’s auctioneer turned manuscript indexer⁸⁶. Many author-inscribed books are author-corrected, and so witnesses to textual states essential to textual editing. But their place of signing and subsequent provenance provide pointers to geographical dissemination and ownership. Such studies are essential if we are to measure the growth of a reputation if, as I have endeavoured to show, rare book collectors are often in the vanguard when it comes to spreading the news about new writing.

Beyond commercial reasons for provenance research, there are idealistic ones⁸⁷. In an earlier era, the scholar Conrad Balliet had as his sole aim the assembly of a *Census* of Yeats’s MSS. Volumes lacking marginalia or other inscriptions by WBY were of no interest to his necessary but infuriating compilation, created too early in the history of Humanities Computing. Outdated, it is not yet superseded⁸⁸.

⁸⁵To a would-be bibliographer in the late 1930s Yeats was abrupt. “Dear Mr McMichael: | No, on no account mention the pamphlet “Is the order of RR ...etc”. I have never stated that I am the author. | I am afraid I have made so many inscriptions in books that it would be impossible for me to remember them, nor have I the time to comment upon them, in any way that would be interesting. | It would be a @@@discussion of old friendships. I am sorry not to be more helpful” [signed] Yours | W B Yeats (TLS, Private).

⁸⁶For a brief account of the achievements of the great scholar of English Literary Manuscripts in the 17th century, see Sir Brian Vickers’s eulogy for him at “Peter Beal eulogy.pdf” (sas.ac.uk). See also Beal’s autobiographical essay, “Lost”, on “the destruction, dispersal and rediscovery of manuscripts,” during the 17th Century in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds), *Books on the Move – Tracking Copies, through Collections and the Book Trade* (London, The British Library, 2007), 1–15. See also *Out of Print & Into Profit: A History of the Rare and Secondhand Book Trade in Britain in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Giles Mandelbrote (London, British Library & New Castle, DE, Oak Knoll, 2006).

⁸⁷The distinguished London bookseller Dr John Valdimir Price whose catalogues always contain learned detail on provenance cautions that while “a lot of British booksellers are more interested in provenance now ... [m]y own impression is that it seldom increases the possibility of a sale” (private email communication, 12-06-24). The Leo Baeck Institutes in Jerusalem and London are jointly tracing the dispersed library of the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Berlin (1872-1942) in order to reunite it virtually. Looted by Nazis, the c. 60,000 books in Jewish studies are scattered all-over the world. The project “encompasses education about a German-Jewish community” and “places provenance research in classrooms across the globe”. The project includes “exhibitions illustrating the paths of people and books in places where parts of the library have resurfaced, e.g., Germany, Czech Republic, Israel, USA, and Britain”. See <www.libraryoflostbooks.com>.

⁸⁸“Staff Sergeant, student, high school teacher, college professor, scholar, world wanderer, friend, gentleman farmer, curmudgeon, codger, pilot, writer” he says in a self-obituary “Conrad Balliet Obituary - Littleton & Rue Funeral Home and Crematory - 2018” (<<https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/dayton/name/conrad-balliet-obituary?id=1780285>>). See also

For all books catalogued since 1998, the Rare Books Department of Cambridge University Library has indexed online the “donors, annotators and previous owners of books ... with the following identification labels: former owner; donor; depositor; annotator; inscriber; associated name; owner. All such names can be found in iDiscover”⁸⁹.

The University of Delaware’s copy of Richard Le Gallienne’s *Robert Louis Stevenson: An Elegy and Other Poems* (1895) offers a pertinent example of such an approach. Dr Mark Lasner the doyen of collectors of *fin de siècle* books, kindly provided me with these images and his subtended Delaware Special Collections catalogue entry⁹⁰.

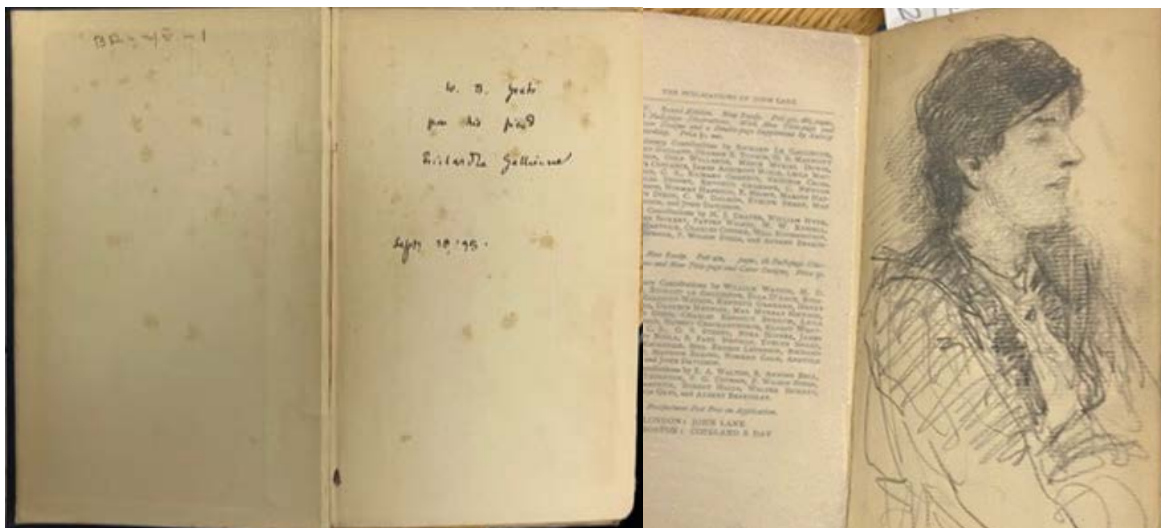


Fig. 19 - Richard Le Gallienne’s Presentation Inscription to W.B. Yeats in a copy of his *Robert Louis Stevenson: An Elegy, and Other Poems, Mainly Personal* (1895)

Fig. 20 - Pencil drawing by of John Butler Yeats of his daughter Lily Yeats. on rear free endpaper of Richard Le Gallienne’s *Louis Stevenson: An Elegy, and Other Poems, Mainly Personal* (1895)

Title

Robert Louis Stevenson; an elegy, and other poems mainly personal

Creator

Le Gallienne, Richard, 1866-1947.

Cameron, David Young, Sir, 1865-1945, illustrator.

Egerton, George, 1859-1945, former owner.

Krauss, Clinton K., former owner.

Secker, Martin, 1882-1978, former owner.

Lowndes, Marie Belloc, 1868-1947, former owner.

Copeland and Day, publisher.

Mark Samuels Lasner Collection.

“Passing On A Love Of Poetry | Wittenberg University” (<<https://www.wittenberg.edu/news/06-20-17/passing-love-poetry>>). His small private plane took him from research library to research library compiling his census. Neither close page-by-page or volume-by-volume comparison was central to his task. He will be outflown by “Virtual Desk” projects”.

⁸⁹“Rare Books provenance | Cambridge University Library” (<https://specialcollections-blog.lib.cam.ac.uk/?cat=5>>).

⁹⁰ Silently corrected.

Subject

Stevenson, Robert Louis, 1850-1894

Genre

Poems -- English -- 19th century

Contents

Robert Louis Stevenson: an elegy -- An ode to spring -- Tree-worship -- A ballad of London -- Paris day by day: a familiar epistle -- Alfred Tennyson -- Professor Minto -- On Mr. Gladstone's retirement -- Omar Khayyam -- The second crucifixion -- An impression -- Natural religion -- Faith reborn -- Hesperides -- Jenny dead -- My books -- Mammon -- Art -- To a poet -- A new year letter -- Snatch -- My maiden vote -- The animalcule on man -- Come, my Celia -- Time's monotone -- Cor cordium: O golden day! O silver night! -- Lover's exchange -- To a simple house-wife -- Love's wisdom -- Home -- Lover's landmarks -- If, after all ...! -- Spirit of sadness -- An inscription -- Song.

Related titles

Available in other form: Online version: Le Gallienne, Richard, 1866-1947. Robert Louis Stevenson. London, John Lane; Boston, Copeland & Day, 1895

Series

Belles lettres

Publication/Production Details

London, John Lane; Boston, Copeland & Day

Creation Date

1895

Physical Description

viii, 99, [1], 16 pages 21 cm

8vo.

Source

Library Catalog

General Note

Title vignette.

Title vignette. Title page is an original etching by D.Y. Cameron.

Publisher's advertisements: 16 p. (at end).

Local Note

1st ed.

Spec copy: Shelved in v. 20 cm.

Spec copy: Author's autograph copy, inscribed: "W.B. Yeats from his friend Richard Le Gallienne."

Spec copy: From the library of W.B. Yeats.

Spec copy: Pencil drawing on rear free endpaper by of John Butler Yeats of his daughter Lily Yeats.

Spec copy: Publisher's advertisements: 16 p. (at end). P. 9-16 unopened.

MSL copies 1-2: Shelved in Books A-Z.

MSL copy 1: Bookplate of Martin Secker.

MSL copy 1: From the collection of Clinton Krauss.

MSL copy 1: Author's autograph presentation copy, inscribed "George Egerton from her friend Richard Le Gallienne May 16, '95." For details about Le Gallienne's relationship with Egerton at this time--certainly a romantic one, if not an actual affair--see Terence De Vere White, *A Leaf from the Yellow Book: The Correspondence of George Egerton*, London, The Rochard Press, 1958, 44-55. Le Gallienne was, of course, the reader for the Bodley Head who recommended the publication of *Keynotes* in 1893--the ms. of his report is in the Mark Samuels Lasner Collection.

MSL copies 1-2: Bound in original blue cloth.

MSL copy 2: Author's autograph presentation copy, inscribed "Marie Belloc from Richard Le Gallienne, May, 20, '95."

Citation/References

McKay, G.L. Beinecke Collection of Robert Louis Stevenson, 1611

Identifier

LC: 12036144

OCLC: (OCoLC)00384447

9. A NEW DATABASE?

I therefore suggest as a new research tool, an online provenance framework for censuses of surviving copies of books by individual authors. Its users would also be its compilers – antiquarian booksellers, scholars, collectors, auctioneers and rare book librarians. A conference might initially establish guidelines, followed by a proposal to a charitable foundation with an interest in Book History. Backing for the maintenance of such a site might be sought from such bodies as the Antiquarian Booksellers Association, the Grolier Club, Abebooks, the major auction houses and other organisations with an interest in the future – dare one say the futures – of provenance recovery.

A research collection such as the National Library of Ireland would be a more appropriate institutional home, and ensure more continuity than an academic department, regularly uploading approved additions according to established guidelines offering that widest usefulness. The thesis behind such a census is that we could better understand the spread and growth of a writer's esteem if we knew who bought his books and took the trouble to have them signed⁹¹.

The counter-arguments to this are easily mounted and demolished, especially for authors who published before the age when mass publisher-driven bookshop book-signings revived the age of autograph hunting with the issue of the pre-signed mass edition. This chimed admirably with the cult of celebrity in the age of Seamus Heaney or J.K. Rowling. Now in the age of online, world-wide auctions,

Celebrity Provenance Powers the Luxury Market [...] Provenance is the x-factor that can give something a staggering, and difficult to forecast, boost on the auction block [...] statement Selects, our latest curated collection of game-worn jerseys from NBC stars [...].⁹²

Thus Sotheby's tries to sell Sylvester Stallone's watch, or sweaty clothing discarded by some basketball player, or, taking advantage of the Paris Olympics, Florence Griffith Joyner's running shoes⁹³. The world-wide exposure proffered by online auctions has focused commerce in objects once never considered destined for the auction-room, and spilled downwards into book auctions. A recent remark on the SHARP List alleged that

⁹¹ See, Karin Margaret Strand, "W.B. Yeats's American Lecture Tours", PhD thesis, Northwestern University, 1978. It is not clear from Strand's monumental work that Major Pond's Agency did drum up Yeats's publishers to be in attendance at his lectures and readings. The second chapter of Robert Volpicelli's *Transatlantic Modernism and the US Lecture Tour* (Oxford, Oxford UP, 2021) focuses on Yeats's lectures in the US and Canada, and Quinn's agency in initiating and organising the tours undertaken before Quinn's death (55-80). Volpicelli draws most of his material from Karin Strand's thesis, and is silent upon Yeats's book signings on these tours.

⁹² See, e.g., Paula Mejía, "How Celebrity Provenance Powers the Luxury Market", 5 June 2024 (<<https://www.sothebys.com/en/articles/the-power-of-provenance-how-celebrity-drives-the-luxury-market>>); NBA Auctions: Statement Selects Luxury Sotheby's (sothebys.com).

⁹³ <https://www.sothebys.com/en/videos/florence-griffith-joyner-world-record-gold-medal-winning-shoes?lid=08a3sgj4oqct&cjs_aid=9850eff3-36b6-4d9a-a54d-94edc918418d&utm_campaign=Auction-Series>.

Charlie Watts [...] [the late] Rolling Stones percussionist, was probably more of a collector than a real reader.⁹⁴

There are readers who wish to collect and read every state of a revising author's works and I number myself among that class of reader-collector, preserving the uncut copy in its clamshell box, while generally using a shabby old dog of a reading copy. Viscount Esher's Preface sums up with lordly reasonableness the questions arising from the motives of the selective bibliophiliac:

The plan on which I have founded my library is a combination of investment and speculation. I invest in the established classics; I speculate in the living authors. The former are a gilt-edged security, safer than Consols, firmly based on the sanctions of time. The latter are the expressions of my individual opinion and taste, the value of which only the future can justify. Having chosen my author, I buy a first edition of every book or pamphlet that has ever been printed of his work. So simple and comprehensive a scheme sounds easy enough. Collectors know that it is not.⁹⁵

Esher selects his purchases in pristine condition, and keeps them in the country, away from "urban dirt", having cases made for the rarest or most expensive or most fragile items, among which he includes 'special pamphlets in papers wrappers'. His copy of *The Hour-glass* (1903), however, is listed in the 1930 catalogue as "12 copies printed, wrappers, quarto, Heinemann 1903" i.e. with no mention of a solander box or slipcase, but Esher had had a half-Morocco slipcase made for it before the library was sold in 1946⁹⁶. Sotheby's catalogued the book as

Lot 2039 The Hour-Glass, a Morality ONE OF 12 COPIES PRINTED FOR COPYRIGHT PURPOSES, *unbound and uncut*, in a half-morocco slip-case. 8vo Heinemann 1903.⁹⁷

While the evidence of a "half-morocco slip-case" is admittedly slender, it may be significant in filling out the provenance of Viscount Esher's copy which is now in the William Andrews Clark Library, UCLA. Provenance study of rare books requires records of slipcases, and boxes, as well as of inscriptions and drawings. Further speculation on the Esher copy will be found below in the Provisional Census, Appendix 2.

Are there connexions between descriptive bibliography, provenance studies, and research into an author's own library? The answer is, in the case of a family as uniquely gifted as the Yeates, is emphatically affirmative. The evidence is there in such collections as the "Healy (James A.) Collection of Irish literature" (<<https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf6f59n8gm/>>). A "bibliography of unique copies" would also take in all volumes and associated papers missing from the library, not merely Chapman's details of copies not transferred from Yeats family ownership to the National Library of Ireland in recent years, such as the Le Gallienne *Robert Louis Stevenson: An Elegy* now in the University of Delaware as discussed above. "Missing" covers such a multitude of different acts. Books and papers, covers and backstrips, lost, stolen, strayed, given away, deaccessioned and under what

⁹⁴ See <<https://www.christies.com/en/auction/auction-21924-cks/overview>>. On Robin Kinross see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robin_Kinross>.

⁹⁵ See Oliver Brett, Viscount Esher, *The Modern Library Collected by Viscount Esher at Watlington Park* (London, Curwen Press, privately printed, 1930), xi. Esher's pioneer collection of twentieth century literature was sold at Sotheby's in 2134 Lots on 25-26 March, 20-21 May, and 18-20 November 1946, with his Yeats items towards the end: see S.C. Sotheby at the British Library.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem.*, xii, 317.

⁹⁷ As found in the British Library at S.C. Sotheby, Seventh Day of Sale, 20 November 1946 (156). Lot 2039 was sold to "Libris" for £20.0.0.

circumstances? And where now to be found – in private collections, in bookseller’s catalogues, in publishers’ archives, in research libraries? It would find in Wayne K. Chapman’s *c.* 140 usages of the word “missing” in his online catalogue of the Yeats Library new foci for enquiry⁹⁸.

To the editor of this issue of this journal, W.B. Yeats is “*Yeatses*” – a “multiverse”⁹⁹. A word, therefore of caution. When invited to contribute to this volume, I was flattered, but had to locate my interests outwith the editors’ range of preferred topics. I was surprised and grateful when my outline for this piece was welcomed into their *tenda grande*.

“Pluralities” are now a “Rhetoric of Discourse” which, to self-declared, self-identifying groupuscules, valorise “diversity” and declare a commitment to “interdisciplinarity”. “Digital space” itself complicates and dominates such a “Rhetoric of Discourse”. Yet digital libraries are undeniably transforming the inspection and textual comparison of copies of books in research collections and public libraries which, in the real world, are thousands of miles apart. The commercial exploitation of the mass digitization of books by Google Libraries and the Hathi Trust has transformed bookselling and Historical and Descriptive Bibliography just as AI is transforming the student experience in other ways. Tools such as Harvard’s Mirador Viewer bring images from disparate sources to one’s desk¹⁰⁰. Commercial bundlers – bunglers perhaps? – of such data-sets are rolling them into new and ever-larger packages for the touch-screen and skyping generation so that the “student experience” of texts, criticism and commentary is becoming less and less material and more and more preselected and packaged.

It seems to me that this new digital commerce is not unconnected with the growing abstraction of commentary. Yeats himself was as wary as Blake of abstraction and was later agreeably surprised that Pound’s advice to “go in fear of abstraction” had taken up his own fore-warning¹⁰¹. One giant Urizen is ProQuest, which atomizes digital data even as it itemizes it¹⁰². I close with a few remarks about this “trendency”, too rarely seen for the looming problem that it is.

And so back to G. Thomas Tanselle. He once remarked that “Books are physical objects made by human beings”¹⁰³. A.S.G. Edwards glosses the remark to remind us that the ‘study of “physical objects” is also one of “the motives of the “human beings” who shape the ways in which books

⁹⁸ <https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=cudp_bibliography>.

⁹⁹ The word originated in 1895 with William James describing “[v]isible nature” as “all plasticity and indifference, a multiverse, as one might call it, and not a universe”. See *OED Online*.

¹⁰⁰ Mirador is a configurable, extensible, and easy-to-integrate image viewer, which enables image annotation and comparison of images from repositories dispersed around the world”: see “Mirador” (<<https://iif.harvard.edu/mirador-viewer/>>).

¹⁰¹ As found in Ezra Pound’s “A Few Don’ts by an Imagiste”, *Poetry*, March 1913, 201. See “A Few Don’ts by an Imagiste by Ezra Pound | Poetry Magazine” (<<https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poetrymagazine/articles/58900/a-few-donts-by-an-imagiste>>). Abstraction was inimical to the Blake-trained Yeats and his lifelong campaign against it is chronicled in *Autobiographies*. In a note added to “William Blake and his Illustrations to *The Divine Comedy*” in 1924 Yeats wrote ‘some seven or eight years ago I asked my friend Mr. Ezra Pound to point out everything in the language of my poems that he thought an abstraction, and I learned from him how much further the movement against abstraction had gone than my generation had thought possible. Now, in reading these essays, I am ashamed when I come upon such words as “corporeal reason,” “corporeal law,” and think how I must have wasted the keenness of my youthful senses. I would like to believe that there was no help for it, that we were compelled to protect ourselves by such means against people and things we should never have heard of.” (*E&I* 145; *CW*4 107).

¹⁰² The title of this current volume and its conspectus are another example of how a growing abstraction currently steers literary criticism and scholarship.

¹⁰³ See G. Thomas Tanselle, “A Bibliographer’s Creed”, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, vol. 25, 1, 2014, 1-17 (1-2 and *passim*), “HLB 25_1 Book to UW 2014-1016.indb” (<<https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/42672707/A%20Bibliographer%e2%80%99s%20Creed.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>>). For Tanselle, “there is a profound difference between verbal works and the physical objects by means of which we try to apprehend them” (3). “*The branch of bibliography that focuses on books in society (sometimes called “history of the book”) – encompassing author-publisher relations, copyright, censorship, book distribution (by publishers and by dealers in new and old publications), and book reception (by collectors, librarians, and readers) – makes its distinctive contribution only when its treatment of verbal works grows out of their representation in the texts of specific physical objects.* [italics in original] (11).

are created, and “require the bibliographer to have the instinct of a psychologist and to probe the human capacity for messiness, muddle and irrationality that can affect the book at every stage in its creation”¹⁰⁴. I have in this essay sought to move between Descriptive Bibliography of unique objects and the human “messiness, muddle and irrationality”, but offer in closing Edwards’s caution against the “growing reliance, particularly by graduate students, on virtual forms [which] has created a diminished interest in the detailed analysis of material aspects of the book and of any sense of why it matters.” During my own lifetime, “English” or “Literature” as a “subaltern” discipline has endured the condescension of Historians. As “Humanities Computing” asserts its presumptuous suzerainty in Literature and Bibliography, “the book” in its materiality risks becoming more alien to future students.

A suitable emblem for the concept “Yeateses” would be Lady Gregory’s inscribed bookplate copy of Yeats’s *Poems 1899-1905* (1906), which has relentlessly climbed in value since Major Richard Gregory sold it at Sotheby’s, London, in 1979¹⁰⁵. Unlike so many of Lady Gregory’s books released into the market in 1979, it continues to elude a research library destination. With its bookplate, its inscription, and a draft of “The Friends that have it”; it is a mighty emblem of Yeats’s remaking of himself in his own books, and in a material world.

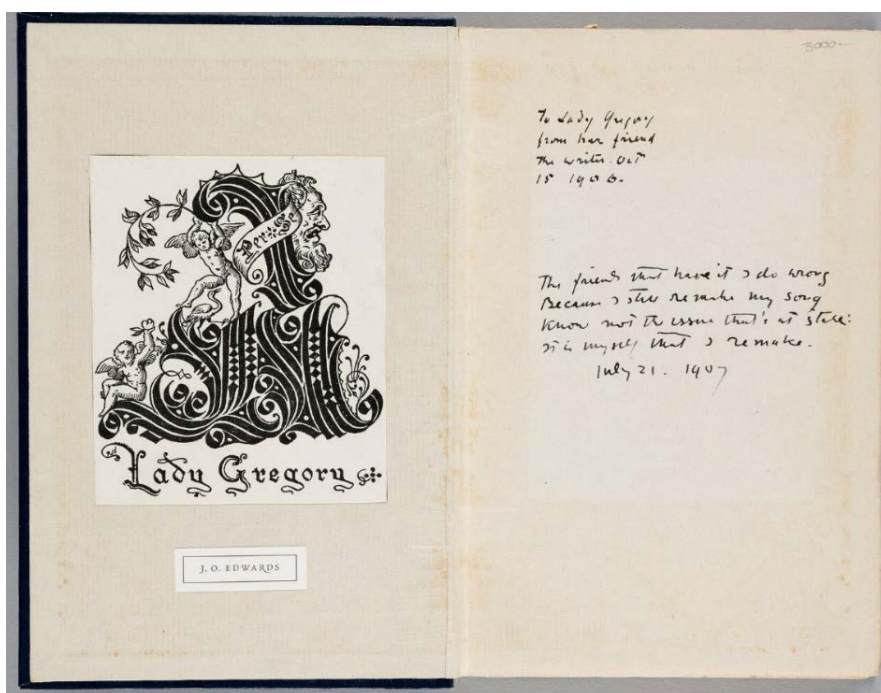


Fig. 21 - Lady Gregory’s Bookplate Copy of Yeats’s *Poems 1899-1905* (1906), inscribed by Yeats and with his autograph draft of “The Friends that have it”, formerly in the Collection of James O. Edwards

¹⁰⁴ A.S.G. Edwards, “G. Thomas Tanselle at ninety”, *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 February 2024 (<<https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/living-on-paper-essay-a-s-g-edwards>>).

¹⁰⁵ Lot 351 at Sotheby’s Sale of 24 July, 1979 was sold to Quaritch for £850, i.e., c. £4,057.52 at 2024 prices according to the Bank of England’s Inflation Calculator. At some point it was sold on to James O. Edwards, and on 27 June 2024, via Peter Harrington, on consignment to another private buyer.

Appendix One:
WBY's Inscribed Books in W. T. H. Howe's Collections
and in James Carleton Young Sales
at the Anderson Galleries, 1916-17

W. T. H. Howe Collections¹⁰⁶

The Augustan Books of English Poetry, Second Series, No 4, W.B. YEATS (London: Ernest Benn Ltd, 1927, Wade 155 [157-58]). Inscribed. NYPL¹⁰⁷.

Autobiographies: Reveries over Childhood and Youth and The Trembling of the Veil (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926 Wade 151 [134-35]). Inscribed. NYPL¹⁰⁸.

Poems (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895, Wade 15, [35-37]) Inscribed "With pleasant memories" and dated 1 December 1932, NYPL¹⁰⁹.

James Carleton Young Sales, Anderson Galleries, 1916-17¹¹⁰

Sale 1

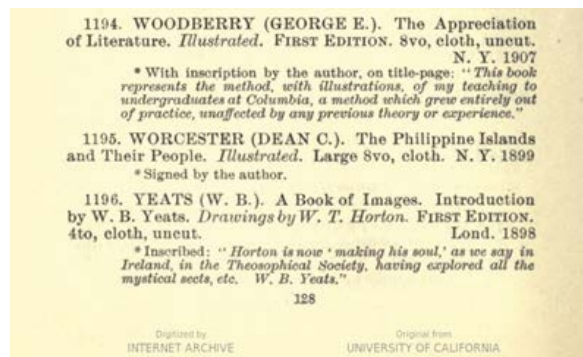


Fig. 22 - W.B. Yeats's Inscribed Books in James Carleton Young Sales at the Anderson Galleries, 1916-17

1196. YEATS (W. B.). *A Book of Images*. Introduction by W.B. Yeats. *Drawings by W. T. Horton*. FIRST EDITION. 4to, cloth, uncut. Lond. 1898.

*Inscribed: "*Horton is now 'making his soul,' as we say in Ireland, in the Theosophical Society, having explored all the mystical sects, etc. W.B. Yeats*".

1197. YEATS (W. B.). *Ideas of Good and Evil*. FIRST EDITION. 12mo, boards, cloth back, uncut. Lond. 1903.

*Inscribed: "*All art is, indeed, a monotony in external things for the sake of an interior variety. W.B. Yeats*"¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁶ See above pp. 113 & ff. for discussion of the Howe collections.

¹⁰⁷ See *W.B. Yeats: A Census of the Manuscripts*, by Conrad A. Balliet, with the assistance of Christine Mawhinney (New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990), 81. Hereafter *CM*.

¹⁰⁸ *CM*, 81.

¹⁰⁹ *CM*, *ibidem*. It is possible that other items signed for both Howe and James Carleton Young are among a substantial number of books listed by Balliet as inscribed for "Unknown Recipients": see *CM* 93.

¹¹⁰ See above pp. 109 & ff. for discussion of the Young collections. The order is that of the two sales and their lots. Transcription of entries is *literatim* and my own footnotes attempt to create "provenance chains" where possible by cross references (some necessarily conjectural, others certain) between the lot numbers and descriptions in the Young Sale, the Quinn Sales, and, where possible, the shelf marks of those volumes which have come to rest in research libraries.

¹¹¹ Cf. "**All art is, indeed, a monotony in external things for the sake of an interior variety**, a sacrifice of gross effects to subtle effects, an asceticism of the imagination." (Speaking to the Psalter) [1902]," emphasis added: see *Ideas Of Good and Evil* (London, A.H. Bullen, 1903, hereafter *IGE*), 25; *CW*4,16. Yeats returns to what he saw as his discovery in "The Symbolism of Poetry": "The purpose of rhythm, it has always seemed to me, is to prolong the moment of con-

1198. YEATS (W. B.). *The Celtic Twilight. With a Frontispiece by J. B. Yeats* FIRST EDITION. 12mo, cloth, uncut. Lond. 1893.

*Inscribed: "*A little out of a great store of stories I got in Galway in three or four summers lately. I like it among the best of my books, for I got it all in good summer weather. W.B. Yeats*"¹².

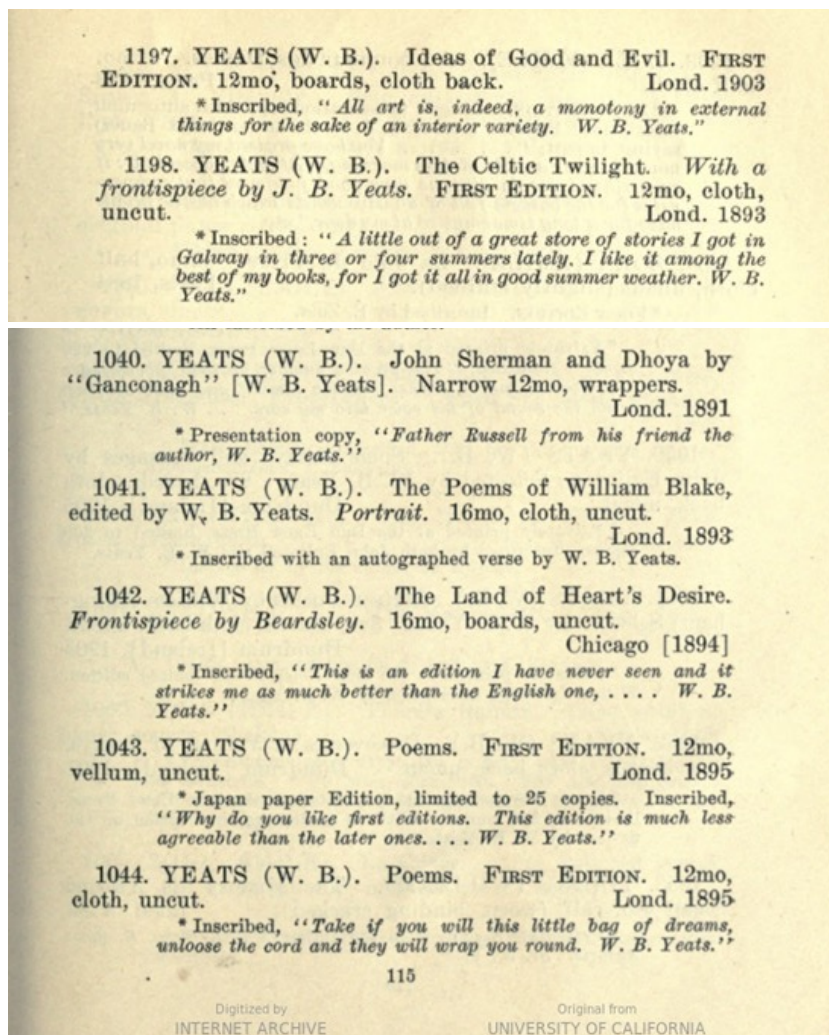


Fig. 23-24 - W.B. Yeats's Inscribed Books in James Carleton Young Sales at the Anderson Galleries, 1916-17

templation, the moment when we are both asleep and awake, which is the one moment of creation, by hushing us with **an alluring monotony, while it holds us waking by variety**, to keep us in that state of perhaps real trance, in which the mind liberated from the pressure of the will is unfolded in symbols." (*IGE* 247; *CW* 4 117). For a comparable passage on "monotony", see e.g., "Lionel Johnson [...] spoke with so much music that what had been in another monotony, became nobility of style. His reading or speaking of poetry befitted his own particularly, that had from scholarship and from the loneliness and gravity of his mind an air of high lineage [...]" See Yeats's Preface to Lionel Johnson, "Poetry and Patriotism", in *Poetry and Ireland: Essays by W.B. Yeats and Lionel Johnson* (Churchtown, Dundrum, Cuala, 1908) [19].

¹²Yeats was not bringing his full attention to bear on the task of signing. Indeed, it may have become a bit of a chore. This first edition of *The Celtic Twilight* contains no Galway stories. They were added in the 1902 edition! "[L]ately" suggests it may have been signed c. 1903 or thereabouts. This copy is one of three books signed for Young now in the Yale University Library, Ip.Y34.893c. See also *CM* 98.

1040. YEATS (W. B.). John Sherman and Dhoya by “Ganconagh” [W.B. Yeats]. Narrow 12mo, Wrappers. Lond. 1891.
 *Presentation copy, “*Father Russell from his friend the author; W.B. Yeats*”¹¹³.
1041. YEATS (W. B.). The Poems of William Blake, edited by W.B. Yeats. *Portrait* 16mo, cloth, uncut. Lond. 1893.
 *Inscribed with an autographed verse by W.B. Yeats¹¹⁴.
1042. YEATS (W. B.). The Land of Heart’s Desire. *Frontispiece by Beardsley* 16mo, boards, uncut”. Chicago, [1894].
 *Inscribed “*This is an edition I have never seen and it strikes me as much better than the English one, ... W.B. Yeats*”¹¹⁵.
1043. YEATS (W. B.). Poems FIRST EDITION 12mo. vellum, uncut. Lond. 1895.
 *Japan paper Edition, limited to 25 copies, Inscribed “*Why do you like first editions. This edition is much less agreeable than the later ones. ... W.B. Yeats*”¹¹⁶.
1044. YEATS (W. B.). Poems FIRST EDITION 12mo. Cloth, uncut. Lond. 1895.
 *Inscribed “*Take, if you must, this little bag of dreams*”;
 Unloose the cord, and they will wrap you round. W.B. Yeats¹¹⁷.

¹¹³ The implication must be that Young purchased the copy presented to Fr. Matthew Russell SJ (1834 – 1912) the founding editor of the Catholic magazine, the *Irish Monthly*, 1873 – 1954. Russell must have relinquished it and at some point it was sold on to Young. There is no evidence that Yeats reinscribed it for Young.

¹¹⁴ Unlocated. Is the “an autographed verse by W.B. Yeats” a “verse by Yeats in Yeats’s autograph”? Or is it a quotation from another writer – e.g., Blake – in Yeats’s hand? It is undated, a feature of Yeats’s despatch when dealing with Young’s requests. If Yeats’s library retains gifts from Young his name does not turn up in the library catalogues.

¹¹⁵ Does this mean that Stone & Kimball, the Chicago co-publisher did not send the author’s copies on publication, or were they lost in post? This was not a pirate edition. Now in Yale University Ip.Y34.894.b. See *CM* 98.

¹¹⁶ As sold by riverrun books, 2022, item 446, 212. This firm kindly informed me by email that it “bought the book in 2019 from a New York area owner – the descendant of the buyer, perhaps he who bought it in the Young sale. Bart Auerbach bought it from [riverrun books] at that time, and then [riverrun] got it back for sale as part of his estate in 2022. It is now in a U.S. private collection.”

Item 409533 refers to my inventory numbering system. Riverrun is “not sure where the following numbers come from. They are not numbers assigned here. It was number 446 in the Auerbach catalogue.

The printed catalogue is now out of print. But see the PDF at: <<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Z7JIH-v6042DFhsJwa-78DYE9kb0dQ8bc/view?usp=sharing>>.

¹¹⁷ Yeats quotes his own Druid’s words in ll. 29-30 of “Fergus and the Druid”, *VP* 102.

1045. YEATS (W. B.). *The Tables of the Law. The Adoration of the Magi. Portrait.* 8vo, cloth, uncut.

Privately Printed, 1897

* Inscribed, "*The portrait which is by my father and the latin which is by Lionel Johnson are the only things which are worth anything in this little book. W. B. Yeats.*"

1046. YEATS (W. B.). *The Secret Rose. Illustrated by J. B. Yeats.* FIRST EDITION. 12mo, cloth, uncut. Lond. 1897

* With an interesting inscription by the author.

1047. YEATS (W. B.). *The Shadowy Waters.* FIRST EDITION. Royal 8vo, cloth, uncut. Lond. 1900

* Inscribed, "*This play took me the better part of two years to write. . . . W. B. Yeats.*"

1048. YEATS (W. B.). *In the Seven Woods: Being Poems Chiefly of the Irish Heroic Age.* 8vo, cloth, uncut.

Dundrum [Ireland], 1903

* Privately printed at the Dun Emer Press. Inscribed with an autographed verse by the author.

1049. YEATS (W. B.). *Twenty-One Poems. Written by Lionel Johnson: Selected by W. B. Yeats.* 8vo, boards, cloth back, uncut.

Dundrum [Ireland], 1904

* Privately printed at the Dun Emer Press, limited to 220 copies. Inscribed, "*The greater number of these poems have been read to me by Lionel Johnson himself and some of them bring the sound of his voice into my ears. . . . W. B. Yeats.*"

1050. YEATS (W. B.). *Some Essays and Passages by John Eglinton; Selected by W. B. Yeats.* 8vo, boards, cloth back, uncut.

Dundrum [Ireland], 1905

* Privately printed at the Dun Emer Press, limited to 200 copies. Inscribed by both John Eglinton and W. B. Yeats.

1051. YEATS (W. B.). *Sixteen Poems by William Allingham: Selected by W. B. Yeats.* 8vo, boards, cloth back, uncut.

Dundrum [Ireland], 1905

* Privately printed at the Dun Emer Press, limited edition. With a full-page inscription by W. B. Yeats.

1052. YEATS (W. B.). *Discoveries: a Volume of Essays.* 8vo, boards, cloth back, uncut. Dundrum [Ireland], 1907

* FIRST EDITION; privately printed at the Dun Emer Press, limited to 200 copies. With an interesting inscription on the fly-leaf by W. B. Yeats.

1053. YOUNG (WILLIAM). *The History of Athens.* Small 4to, calf (worn, binding cracked). Lond. 1786

* Presentation copy from the author, "*Ben. Way., E. don: Autoris. Sr. W. Y.*"

Fig. 25 - W.B. Yeats's Inscribed Books in James Carleton Young Sales at the Anderson Galleries, 1916-17

1045. YEATS (W. B.). *The Tables of the Law. The Adoration of the Magi. Portrait.* 8vo, cloth, uncut. Privately Printed, 1897.

*Inscribed. *The portrait which is by my father and the latin which is by Lionel Johnson are the only things worth anything in this little book. W.B. Yeats.*

This became one of John Quinn's copies, viz., *Quinn Cat.* Lot 1137 (p. 1133). He perhaps acquired it at one of the Young sales (1916-17). *Wade* 1951 (p. 41) adds a date after signature "Oct., 1901" and inserts commas after "father" and after "Lionel Johnson" and replaces "and" with "&". Young had extracted the quoted words from Yeats but someone else catalogued for him, possibly hastily. For the actual wording in the inscribed copy, now in the Berg Collection, NYPL, see above pp. 123 & ff.

1046. YEATS (W. B.). *The Secret Rose Illustrated by J. B. Yeats* FIRST EDITION 12mo, cloth, uncut Lond. 1897.

*With an interesting inscription by the author¹¹⁸.

1047. YEATS (W. B.). *The Shadowy Waters* FIRST EDITION Royal 8mo, cloth, uncut. Lond. 1900.

*Inscribed "*This play took me the better part of two years to write. . . . W.B. Yeats.*"

1048. YEATS (W. B.). *In the Seven Woods: Being Poems Chiefly of the Irish Heroic Age* 8V0, cloth, uncut. Dundrum [Ireland] 1903.

*Privately printed at the Dun Emer Press. Inscribed with an autographed verse by the author.

1049. YEATS (W. B.). *Twenty-one Poems. Written by Lionel Johnson: Selected by W.B. Yeats* 8vo, boards, cloth back, uncut, Dundrum [Ireland] 1904.

*Privately printed at the Dun Emer Press, limited to 220 copies. Inscribed "*The greater number of these poems have been read to me by Lionel Johnson himself and some of them bring the sound of his voice into my ears W.B. Yeats*".

1950. YEATS (W. B.). *Some Essays and Passages by John Eglinton; Selected by W.B. Yeats.* 8vo, boards, cloth back, uncut. Dundrum [Ireland] 1905.

*Privately printed at the Dun Emer Press, limited to 200 copies. Inscribed by both John Eglinton and W.B. Yeats.

1951. YEATS (W. B.). *Sixteen Poems by William Allingham; Selected by W.B. Yeats.* 8vo, boards, cloth back, uncut. Dundrum [Ireland] 1905.

*Privately printed at the Dun Emer Press, limited edition. With a full-page inscription by W.B. Yeats.

1952. YEATS (W. B.). *Discoveries: A Volume of Essays by W.B. Yeats.* 8vo, boards, cloth back, uncut. Dundrum [Ireland] 1907.

*FIRST EDITION; privately printed at the Dun Emer Press, limited to 200 copies. With an interesting inscription on the fly-leaf by W.B. Yeats.

This copy has for many years been unnoticed and not fully catalogued in the Beinecke Library at Yale. How and when it got there is as yet unclear. Conrad Balliet merely supplies its date and gestures to its being about the "origins of the book". He doesn't identify the medium (pencil, indicative of a note Yeats has hastily made for himself, towards correction of the book in preparation for its collection in *CWCP* 8, 13-14), the former owner (Young), nor the location of the note (as indicated in the Young Sale item 1952, i.e., on the fly-leaf i.e. the front free endpaper)¹¹⁹. This item offers allows us the opportunity to initiate a chain of ownership and so the biography of the volume.

In what follows, I try to reconstruct the known facts. First, however, an image and a transcription of Yeats's autograph note¹²⁰.

¹¹⁸ Perhaps the elusive copy noted in *VSR* 270 as Quinn 11367.

¹¹⁹ I.e., copy Ip Y34 907d, Beinecke Library, Yale. Yeats's note is described by Balliet as "dated Dec. 16, 1907" and as "about the origins of the book" *CM* 81.

¹²⁰ The Beinecke's catalogue does not record this inscription, or volume's provenance nor its date of acquisition by the library. I am profoundly grateful to Dr Tom Cahill of the Beinecke, a prince among librarians, for cutting through a thicket of automated sites, examining the book, and sending the image for my use.

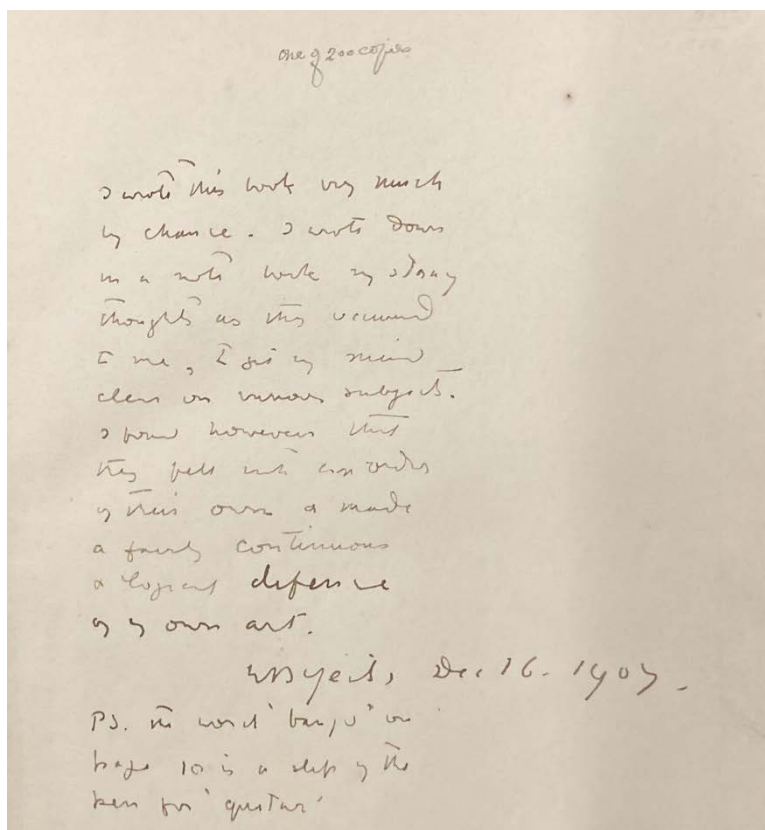


Fig. 26 - W.B. Yeats's Note in a Copy of his *Discoveries* dated 16 December 1907, formerly in the Collection of James A. Healy

one of 20 copies¹²¹

I wrote this book very much by chance. I wrote down in a note book my stray thoughts as they occurred to me, to get my mind clear on various subjects. I found however that they fell into an order of their own & made a fairly continuous & logical defence of my own art.

W.B. Yeats Dec 16. 1907.

PS. The word "banjo" on page 10 is a slip of the pen for "guitar"

¹²¹ A librarian's pencilled addition.

On 15 December 1907, *Discoveries* had been published by the Dun Emer Press in Churchtown, Dundrum¹²². Yeats wrote and signed this note the next day in London, where he was working in the British Museum Library, studying astrology with Ralph Shirley. We might perhaps conjecture that this copy awaited his arrival at Woburn Buildings. Portraits, self-reflection and the origins of his work were very much on his mind, as he was in the process of choosing the images for the frontispieces of Vols 1, 3, 5, and 7 of *The Collected Works in Verse and Prose* (1908)¹²³. He was also coping with Annie Horniman's dislike of portrait drawings of him by Augustus John¹²⁴, and talking to Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon about the latter's new portrait of him, for which John Quinn was paying¹²⁵. Yeats was sorely tempted to include among the portraits an "ugly, gypsy" etching by Augustus John, which he thought

a very fine thing ... [which] has made me sheer tinker, drunken, unpleasant and disreputable, but full of wisdom, a melancholy English Bohemian, capable of everything, except of living joyously on the surface.¹²⁶

Much later, he had recalled that John wished to do what Oliver Gogarty commended as a new "serious portrait"¹²⁷ whether John would record certain "lines" on his face

marks of recent illness, marks of time, growing irresolution, perhaps some faults that I have long dreaded [and] [...] lay great emphasis upon them, and [...] insist that those lines show character. [...] my character is so little myself that all my life it has thwarted me. It has affected my poems, my true self, no more than the character of a dancer affects the movement of the dance. When I was painted by John years ago, and saw for the first time the portrait (or rather the etching taken from it) now in a Birmingham gallery, I shuddered. [...] Always particular about my clothes, never dissipated, never unshaven except during illness, I saw myself there an unshaven, drunken bar-tender, and then I began to feel John had found something that he liked in me, something closer than character, and by that very transformation e it visible. He had found Anglo-Irish solitude, a solitude I have made for myself, an outlawed solitude.¹²⁸

Inspecting the book, he notes the error whereby he had misnamed his portrait of "A Banjo Player"¹²⁹. guitar which he has called a banjo. On the same day he inscribed on the title page of another copy "W B Yeats, Dec 16 1907" adding there

¹²² The volume of critical discussion on *Discoveries* is very small: see, however, Curtis B. Bradford, *Yeats at Work* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Southern Illinois UP, 1965) Ch. 11; as well as his edited transcripts of the unpublished "*Discoveries*: Second Series" essays, "The Doctor in Site of Himself", "The Return of the Stars", "[Pantheism]", and "[Changing Canons of Form]", *The Massachusetts Review*, Winter 1964, 297-306.

¹²³ The frontispieces respectively for vols 1, 3, 5, and 7 are from a John Singer Sargent charcoal, a new oil by Charles Shannon (see next fn.), a new pastel by Antonio Mancini, and a drawing by John Butler Yeats (1896), used as frontispiece in *The Tables of the Law. The Adoration of the Magi* (1897) and in *The Celtic Twilight* (1902). See *Explorations*, selected by Mrs W.B. Yeats (London, Macmillan, 1962; New York, Macmillan, 1963), 307-08; hereinafter, *Ex*.

¹²⁴ See letter to A.H. Bullen, 8 July 1907 about the origins of the Dun Emer volume, *Discoveries* and how it was planned to be incorporated into vol. 8 of *The Collected Works in Verse and Prose* (1908). "A Banjo Player" was the fourth of "My Thoughts and Second Thoughts 1. - X." commissioned by A.H. Bullen and published anonymously in his *The Gentleman's Magazine* Sept.-Oct. 1906.

¹²⁵ See *LJQ* 87, and n. 15 (91).

¹²⁶ See letter to Quinn of 7 January 1908 (*CL5* 16-17). He had received two copies of this etching on 16 December, to which Annie Horniman had taken exception See *ChronY* 115.

¹²⁷ See *Pages From A Diary Written In Nineteen Hundred And Thirty* (Dublin, Cuala, 1944), XXV, collected in *Ex* 289-340 (307-08).

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*. See also WBY to Lady Gregory, 18 December 1907, *CL4* 803 and to Augustus John, 20 Dec. 1907, *CL4* 817.

¹²⁹ He does not, however correct the cross-reference back to the "banjo-player" [*sic*] in "The Tree of Life" a meditation upon Verlaine, a few pages on (*Discoveries* 1907, 13). Both banjos are replaced by guitars in *CWVP8*, and the uncertain hyphen removed (13, 16).

“banjo” on page 10 is a slip of the pen for “guitar”

The full provenance of this copy is unknown. It may have been a file copy, for there is now no copy of *Discoveries* 1907 in Yeats's own library. Nor was there a copy in the “1920's partial catalogue of that library”¹³⁰. There is, however a single, unannotated copy in the separate Yeats family collection of Dun Emer and Cuala books¹³¹. I consider it likely that this annotated copy had been Yeats's file copy (in his role as General Editor of those presses), and that at some point it “got away” from his library before being purchased by Healy, who bought many items in his collection from Yeats's sisters. At any rate, Healy incorporated it into his “special set” of Dun Emer and Cuala books¹³². When Healy sought further inscriptions for this ‘set’, the book once again crossed Yeats's desk, and he further annotated his correction of “banjo” to “guitar” with the words

Yes a “slip” though not of the pen – probably from ignorance.

The player was the Countess of Cromarty.

W B Y 1931¹³³

Appendix 2:
Provisional Census of Copies of
The Hour-glass: A Morality (London, Wm. Heinemann, 1903)

As argued above (pp. 118 & ff.), it is likely that John Quinn's “unique” copyright edition was larger than the twelve copies to which he always claimed it was limited, a claim which has resulted in its being seen as Yeats's rarest book.¹³⁴ Following Quinn's and Wade's extensive letters and notes on this edition – again, quoted above – the following copies can be confirmed and more may be hypothesized. Quinn's tallies of copies being emphatic, and confusing if not obfuscatory, this provisional census can but attempt to reconcile his memories by counting confirmed surviving copies, and allowing also for the possibility that a copy or copies he claimed had been “lost” might have resurfaced.

Part 1. The Copyright Deposit Copies

Copies 1 & 2 –>John Quinn –>Library of Congress shelf-mark PR5904.H6 1903, entered for copyright 13 Aug 1903, copies date-stamped 15 Aug. 1903.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ For this catalogue, see *YA* 4, 279-290.

¹³¹ See Wayne K. Chapman's awkwardly titled “*Something that I read in a book*”: *W.B. Yeats's Annotations at the National Library of Ireland*, vol. 2, *Yeats [sic] Writings* (Clemson, Clemson and Liverpool UPes, 2022), Appendix V, “A List of Dun Emer and Cuala Press Items in the Library”, 208. To judge by a book bill inserted, this copy might have been formerly owned by John Butler Yeats.

¹³² See *The James A. Healy Collection Guide to the James A. Healy Collection of Irish literature M0273*, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford 1999; revised 2022, <<https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf6f59n8gm/>>).

¹³³ Sibell Lilian, Countess of Cromartie (1878-1962), was the niece of the Duchess of Sutherland and a writer with an interest in the occult who “occasionally” came to Yeats's Monday evenings at Woburn Buildings. See *CL4* 133-34. In an inscription in James A. Healy's copy of *Discoveries* (Stanford) WBY identifies her as the model for “A Guitar Player”. See *W.B. Yeats & the Irish Renaissance: An Exhibition of Books and Manuscripts from the James A. Healy Collection*, with an Essay by Michael Stanford (Stanford, CA, Stanford University Libraries, 1990). The copy of *Discoveries* 1907 which Yeats inscribed for Healy on 30 July 1938 is Item 11 in a selection from Healy's “special Set” of Dun Emer and Cuala books, the exhibition of which this book is a record (60-61). It is baffling that this identification of his guitar player is “untraced” in the annotation to “A Guitar Player” (*CW4 Early Essays* 436, n. 1).

¹³⁴ *Wade* 51 (69). All copies were printed off in the US by the printers of *The North American Review*.

¹³⁵ The Library of Congress requires two copies for U.S. copyright purposes. Dr Amanda Zimmerman kindly supplied an image of the date stamp. These copies are not mentioned by Quinn.

- Copy 3 → John Quinn → British Museum shelf-mark C. 58 H. 7, date-stamped 29 Aug. 1903.
 Copy 4 → John Quinn → Bodleian Library, Oxford, shelf-mark M. adds. 43 d.3, date-stamped 13 Oct. 1903¹³⁶.
 Copy 5 → John Quinn → Cambridge University Library, shelf-mark XXI 74. 44, date-stamped 12 Oct. 1903¹³⁷.
 Copy 6 → John Quinn → Trinity College Dublin, shelf-mark 64.e.72 no 4¹³⁸.
 Copy 7 → John Quinn → National Library, Scotland, shelf-mark 4.215 (6)¹³⁹.

As indicated above (p. 118 fn. 33) Quinn always maintained that there had been six copies for “English” copyright purposes, despite there being at the time only five copyright libraries in the UK¹⁴⁰.

Part 2 “Personal” Copies

- Copy 8 → John Quinn → ?? → Edmund Gosse → [?? →] C. Walter Buhler, sold by Parke-Bernet Galleries 1941¹⁴¹ → [?? →] William M. Roth → Ransom Center, Texas (purchase from Roth, May 1950). Shelf-mark PR 5904 H6 1903.

Though perhaps not complete, this provenance is impressive¹⁴². Gosse annotated this copy “One of 6 copies published to secure English copyright in 1903. E.G.”. This has been interpreted to mean that he thought this is the ‘sixth copyright’ copy. It is countersigned by Yeats himself, “Never heard of this edition before | W.B. Yeats. Oct. 13, 1914”, which raises further questions¹⁴³.

At the time Librarian of the House of Lords, Gosse probably did have a role to play on Quinn’s behalf in placing the UK copyright copies in the five libraries¹⁴⁴.

- Copy 9 → W.B. Yeats → Mrs Yeats → Yeats Family → National Library of Ireland¹⁴⁵.

¹³⁶ I thank Dr Dunja Sharif of the Bodleian for this information and an image of the Bodleian copy’s stamp on the verso of the title-page. On the seeming delay in stamping regional UK deposit library copies, see above 118, fn. 36, & ff.

¹³⁷ I thank Claire Welford-Elkin for an image of the Cambridge copy’s stamped title-page.

¹³⁸ TCD’s copy 64.e.72. N^o.4. has been bound with 4 items in a binding with an inked date, “Jan. 1907”. I am grateful to Anna Bielenberg for images of the binding and catalogue entry.

¹³⁹ The NLS catalogue dates accession to 1904 but there is no date stamp in the copy itself. I thank Dr Kaye Galloway of the NLS for this information.

¹⁴⁰ Whether Quinn thought that, as with the Library of Congress, two copies were required at, e.g., the British Museum, is unknowable.

¹⁴¹ See *The Important Collection of First Editions of William B. Yeats*: Property of C. Walter Buhler, Westport, CT. Sold by His Order etc. New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1941, Lot 151. The catalogue entry reads “FIRST SEPARATE EDITION OF WHAT APPARENTLY IS THE RAREST OF THE AUTHOR’S WORKS. ONE OF 12 COPIES PRINTED. OF THIS NUMBER, SIX WENT FOR ENGLISH COPYRIGHT, AND TWO WERE LOST IN THE MAIL. THE WORK WAS ISSUED WITHOUT COVERS.

On the front end-leaf the author has inscribed: “*Never heard of this Edition before. W.B. Yeats, Oct. 1913, 1914.*” Sir Edmund W. Gosse’s copy, with the following penciled inscription by him beneath the author’s note: “*This is one of 6 (six) copies published to secure English copyright in 1903. E. G. “With the Sir Edmund Gosse bookplate”.*”

¹⁴² That Yeats mislaid and forgot his own copy perhaps confirms his indifference to his first editions. See above pp. 119 & ff.

¹⁴³ See above pp. 122 & ff. on the not yet eliminated possibility of forgery.

¹⁴⁴ On the absence of any dealings between Gosse, Quinn and Heinemann, see above pp. 118, fn. 33. Gosse had been a chief Literary Advisor for William Heinemann and Editor of Heinemann’s International Library.

¹⁴⁵ Because Quinn’s was a private edition for copyright deposit purposes, Yeats did not receive the author’s usual six copies from the publisher, just the one from Quinn. I am grateful to Emanuela Turani an image of the stamped title-page of this item, shelf-marked YL 2359.

- Copy 10 → Quinn's bookplate copy → Anderson Galleries sale Lot no. 11430 in a "crushed brown levant Morocco solander case" → [??] → Huntington Library "in brown cloth protective folder, inserted in brown morocco solander case, by Bradstreet¹⁴⁶. Uncut and unopened." Call-number 129188.
- Copy 11 → Heinemann's file copy → Quinn → Quinn's binder → Lady Gregory → ?Major R. G. Gregory? → Berg Collection, New York Public Library (the Lady Gregory replacement copy)¹⁴⁷.
- Copy 12 Quinn → Lady Gregory → Major Richard Gregory → Sotheby's, London, Lot 412 in the 24 July 1979 sale → ??
- Copy 13 another of the two copies said by Quinn to have been lost in the post to Lady Gregory.
- Copy 14 → Quinn → [?? →] → Schuyler B. Jackson¹⁴⁸ by 12-08-1922 → [??] → Major W. Van R. Whitall Lot 1438, 1927 sale (\$260) → [??] → Viscount Esher by 1930 and until 1946 → "Libris" → → William Andrews Clark Library, UCLA. This copy remains unbound, but within a green cloth folder, in half dark green morocco slip case.¹⁴⁹
- Copy 15 → Printer's file copy as Quinn claims, "lost or given away".

Further precision in identifying and listing the copies of this edition becomes more difficult. Cataloguing which does not include provenance increases the possibility – indeed, the near certainty – of the "double-counting" of copies. By way of example, I turn to the copy to which Wade refers as sold at "Messrs. Hodgson's on November 30, 1950". According to Hodgson's Sale Catalogue of that date, the copy had been in the library of "A.G.B. Randle Esq., of Cheam" in Surrey, but its prior and subsequent provenance are otherwise unknown.

Copy 16? → ? → A.G.B. Randle → Hodgson 1950 → ? → ?

It is possible that Randle, of whom little is at present known, purchased Viscount Esher's copy and sold it on in 1950, in which case it is Copy 11 above and in the William Andrews Clark Library at UCLA. Further, if Schuyler Jackson, an early owner as we have seen of the Esher copy, speculated correctly that this copy was one of the two copies Quinn had reported as lost in the post, we arrive fairly neatly at a "jackpot" hypothesis: copies 13, 14, and 16 are the same copy, as in

Copy 14 → Quinn → [?? →] → Schuyler B. Jackson by 12-08-1922 → [??] → Major W. Van R. Whitall Lot 1438, 1927 sale (\$260) → [??] → Viscount Esher by 1930 and until 1946 → "Libris" → [?] → A.G.B. Randle → Hodgson 1950 → ? → William Andrews Clark Library, UCLA.

If so, the provisional total would be 14 copies: Quinn's claimed 12 plus the two he always omitted from his total, i.e. Copies 1 and 2 above, the two Library of Congress copies. Certainly 14 is a rather strange number to have had privately printed. Could it have been 15? Was Quinn's memory simply at fault? Or had he confused himself because he was disingenuous? The possibility that there could be a small, unspecified number of copies still lurking in private collections, as the DeLury *Mosada* did for so long, cannot be eliminated.

¹⁴⁶ In this Census I also cite details of bindings and casings because they were made for and so tend to travel with their frail contents.

¹⁴⁷ See above pp. 120 & ff. for Quinn's 1909 letter to Lady Gregory. I am profoundly grateful to Professor James Pethica of Williams College for sharing this letter with me, and to Dr Declan Kiely and Dr Carolyn Vega of the NYPL for further work in the Berg Collection, NYPL, and for the images supplied courtesy of the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library and the Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

¹⁴⁸ In 1941, Jackson (d. 1968) married the poet Laura Riding (1901-91). *Inter alia*, they wrote *Rational Meaning: A New Foundation for the Definition of Words*, published by the UP of Virginia, in 1997.

¹⁴⁹ To help me in this enquiry, Dr Nina Schneider to whom I am very grateful, reviewed the history of this copy within the Clark and rewrote its catalogue entry. She confirmed the year of acquisition and that it was the Schuyler Jackson and later the Esher copy.

I offer by way of example another of Lady Gregory's signed gifts from Yeats, her copy of the first (1902) edition of *Where There is Nothing*¹⁵⁰ inscribed by Yeats:

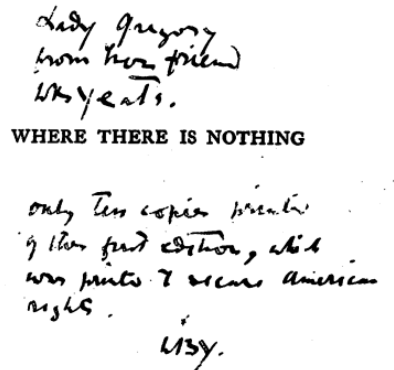


Fig. 27 - Yeats's Inscription to Lady Gregory in her copy of his *Where There is Nothing* (1902), Sotheby, London Catalogue, 24 July 1979, lot 410

Despite Yeats's "only ten copies printed ... to secure American rights", John Quinn wrote "Fifteen copies printed for copyright of which not over eight are now known. Printed for Mr. John Quinn from the author's first draft and contains some errors corrected in the large paper edition", an estimate so divergent from Yeats's as to call for a future census for *Where there is Nothing*¹⁵¹.

My tally therefore remains provisional. The current "final" destinations include those for the seven Copyright Library Deposit Copies, plus "personal" copies now in the Ransom Center, the National Library of Ireland, the Berg Collection, NYPL, the William Andrews Clark Library, UCLA, and the Huntington Library.

Disclaimer

The texts from Yeats's inscriptions and letters are all either out of copyright or are reproduced with the permission of the Yeats Estate, via the General Editor of Yeats's *Collected Letters* (of whom I am one). The first three images are supplied for use by Riverrun Books, Ardsley, New York. Image 4 supplied for my use by Peter Harrington Rare Books, London, as was access to the Zena Vowell inscription, the photograph of which is my own, and the image at the end on the main text of Yeats's inscription of *Poems 1899-1905* to Lady Gregory. The image of the Gregg Mosada inscription is taken from *Yeats Annual* 20, 2016. Of which I am editor. All images of entries reproduced from book catalogues are my own, and from copies of catalogues which I have purchased over the years, except the images of Lot 410 and Dr Colin Smythe's hand annotation "Delisma", next to Lot 412, 24 July 1979, kindly supplied for publication by Dr Colin Smythe. Images of books, inscriptions, texts and objects from the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library were supplied to me by Dr Declan Kiely and Dr Carolyn Vega, of the Library. These include Images 5-15, for which I have credited "the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library and the Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations". The remaining images in Appendix 1 are from the freely available internet archive of the University of California and can be found on Project Gutenberg.

¹⁵⁰ New York, Knickerbocker Press, for John Lane, 1902 *Wade* 42. See the Sotheby Parke-Bernet, London Catalogue for 24 July 1979 Lot 410 (292). It was sold to Taylor for the then extraordinary price of £1900.

¹⁵¹ *CWVP* 8, 283. Quinn immediately issued a 30-copy large-paper edition fully described at *Wade* 43 (61), with the corrected texts.

Abbreviations

ABA	Antiquarian Booksellers Association.
<i>ChronY</i>	<i>A W.B. Yeats Chronology</i> , by John S. Kelly (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
<i>CL</i>	<i>The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats. Volume I, 1865-1895</i> , ed. by John Kelly and Eric Domville; <i>Volume II, 1896-1900</i> , eds. Warwick Gould, John Kelly, Deirdre Toomey; <i>Volume III, 1901-1904</i> , and <i>Volume IV, 1905-1907</i> , eds John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986, 1997, 1994, 2005).
<i>CM</i>	Conrad A. Balliet, with the assistance of Christine Mawhinney, <i>W.B. Yeats: A Census of the Manuscripts</i> (New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990).
<i>CW2</i>	<i>The Collected Works of W.B. Yeats. Volume II: The Plays</i> , eds David R. Clark & Rosalind E. Clark (New York & London, Palgrave, 2001; New York, Scribner, 2001).
<i>CWCP8</i>	<i>The Collected Works in Verse and Prose of William Butler Yeats</i> (Stratford-on-Avon, The Shakespeare Head Press, 1908), 8 vols.
<i>E&I</i>	<i>Essays and Introductions</i> (London and New York, Macmillan, 1961).
<i>EX</i>	<i>Explorations</i> , selected by Mrs W.B. Yeats, London, Macmillan, 1962; New York, Macmillan, 1963.
HRHRC	Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.
<i>IGE</i>	<i>Ideas of Good and Evil</i> , London, Bullen 1903.
<i>LJQ</i>	<i>The Letters of John Quinn to W.B. Yeats</i> , edited by Alan B. Himber, with the assistance of George Mills Harper (Ann Arbor, UMI Research Press, 1983).
NBA	National Basketball Association.
NBC	National Broadcasting Company.
NLI	National Library of Ireland.
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
NLW	National Library of Wales.
NYPL	New York Public Library.
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
<i>Quinn Cat</i>	Complete Catalogue of the Library of John Quinn sold by auction in five parts [with printed prices] (New York, The Anderson Galleries, 1924), 2 vols.
SHARP	Society for the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing.
TCD	Trinity College Dublin.
TLS	Typed Letter, Signed.
UCLA	University of California Los Angeles.
<i>VP</i>	<i>The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W.B. Yeats</i> , ed. Peter Allt and Russell K. Alspach (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1957). Cited from the corrected third printing of 1966.
<i>VSR</i>	<i>The Secret Rose, Stories by W.B. Yeats: A Variorum Edition</i> , ed. Warwick Gould, Phillip L. Marcus, and Michael J. Sidnell (1981; 2 nd ed. rev. and enlarged, London, Macmillan, 1992).
<i>Wade</i>	Allan Wade, <i>A Bibliography of the Writings of W.B. Yeats</i> , third ed. rev. by Russell K. Alspach (London, Rupert Hart-Davis, 1968). Cited by item no. and/or page no. preceded by 'p.'. First ed.: London, Rupert-Hart Davis, 1951; second ed. rev: London, Rupert-Hart Davis, 1958.
<i>YA</i>	<i>Yeats Annual</i> (London, Macmillan, nos. 1-17, 1982-2007; Cambridge, Open Book Publishers, nos. 18-, < https://www.openbookpublishers.com/section/39/1 >), cited by no.
<i>YL</i>	Edward O'Shea, <i>A Descriptive Catalog of W. B. Yeats's Library</i> (New York and London, Garland Publishing, 1985).

