

Time, Transformation, and Photography in W. B. Yeats's "Easter 1916"

Taeko Kakihara (柿原 妙子)

... and the Photograph is never anything but an antiphon of "Look," "See," "Here it is"...

Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*

It had been a recurrent question of mine, since I read the poem "Easter 1916" for the first time, why Yeats addresses the rebels dryly as "that woman" and "this man." Critics have argued that the use of demonstrative adjectives implies the rebels' anonymity, whereas their last names called at the end by the poet suggests their names become ones that have entered history. Helen Vendler claims: "the hitherto unidentified people of the poem are, finally, named – and not named as 'Thomas MacDonagh,' ... but rather by last names alone, the names they will bear in the history books" (Vendler 20). Although such an account is convincing to some extent, a certain uneasiness still remains with phrases such as "That woman's days were spent" or "This man had kept a school," which sound strangely cold and materialistic. This question, however, may be solved when one visualizes a scene where Yeats, with newspapers in hands, explains the reported rebellion to a nearby friend who is unfamiliar with the political milieu of Ireland, and in such a scene it is rather natural to imagine him pointing at photographs and saying "that woman" and "this man."

In April 1916, Yeats was near London, occupied with the production of his ambitious new play, *At The Hawk's Well* and quite astonished to hear of the sudden outbreak of the Dublin rebellion. He fetched many newspapers to find out what had happened, and sent them to Maud Gonne in France who wanted information desperately as well as to Lady Gregory in Ireland to inform her how British journalism had reported the rebellion. It was his plan to spend the

Easter holidays with his painter-friend, Sir William Rothenstein, to have his portrait done. In his memoir Sir William describes how Yeats reacted to the news:

I recollect his grave face when he read of the outbreak of the Easter rebellion. He spoke of the leaders as innocent and patriotic theorists, carried away by their belief that they must put their theories into practice. ... He obviously felt some discomfort at being safe in England when his friends were risking their lives in Dublin, and fretted somewhat that he had not been consulted, had been left in ignorance of what was afoot. (Rothenstein 47)

What Yeats “read of” must be the newspapers he fetched for information. His remarks about the rebels echo the first two stanzas of the poem.

What I will demonstrate in this article is that Yeats’s experience of finding the rebels in British newspapers, especially in the photographs, became a strong motivation for writing the poem and brought forth the powerful motif of transfiguration in the third stanza as well as of the celebrated refrain, which led him to speculate on human existence as inevitably carried away by the flux of time whatever dream it might have. The poem “Easter 1916” was Yeats’s literal attempt to eternalize one human act that might otherwise end up as useless as a trivial “stone.”

I

In arguing for the possible influence of press photography on Yeats’s poem, I firstly will look at the images Yeats probably saw. In the year 1916, more than ten titles of morning and evening papers were published in Britain.¹ Severe competition in the early 20th century brought forth the so-called “New Journalism.” Any idealism evident in the previous century had long since gone and the newspapers were handled purely as commodities to sell. Readers of the papers who wanted to see “images” of wars, politics, and human interests welcomed visual information, particularly photographs.

The Easter Rising occurred in the early morning of 24 April. *The Times* carried a small article titled “OUTBREAK IN DUBLIN – POST OFFICE

SEIZED” on 27 April, and then “FURTHER IRISH OUTBREAKS — COUNTRY UNDER MARSHAL LAW” on 28. *The Times*, a quality paper, then contained no photographs for its articles, but middling and popular papers use many photographs to satisfy their readers’ appetite for visual information. After 1st of May, a great number of large-size photographs of the rebellion began to appear in those papers. Let us examine how the Easter Rising was reported with photos, using two middle-class papers, *The Daily Sketch* (hereafter *DS*) and *The Daily News and Leader* (*DNL*) as well as the popular paper, *The Daily Mirror* (*DM*).

On 1st of May *DNL* reported that all the leaders of the rebellion were either arrested or killed, and the photos of James Connolly and Con Markievicz are shown. (Connolly was heavily wounded and arrested at this point but was mistakenly reported as dead.) The paper also showed a map of central Dublin and photos of the streets, together with a passage from the “Proclamation of the Republic” headlined as “AMAZING REBEL MANIFESTO / IRISH REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED / “GALLANT ALLIES.” *DM* (2 May) carried a striking headline “ALL REBELS IN DUBLIN HAVE SURRENDERED —1000 PRISONERS” and showed photos of Dublin street scenes such as a wrecked carriage and a looted shop. Next day *DM* reported Pearse’s execution together with a photo of him in uniform. The criminal sentence for the sixteen leaders was determined and Markievicz, being a woman, was sentenced to life in prison. *DM* (8 May) on its top page showed in almost full size a snap shot of Markievicz standing beside her sister in Sligo. [Photo 1] The article explained how Markievicz had drawn the two young men, Joseph Plunkett and Thomas McDonagh, into the rebellion and so ruined their young wives’ lives. On the same day *DS* reported the criminal sentences passed upon the rebels, aligned with the portraits of the four leaders, Markievicz, Pearse, O’Rahilly, and McDonagh. Under the photos were added brief explanations: for Pearse it reads, “Patrick H Pearse, the self-styled President of the ‘Irish Republic’ and Commandant-General of the rebels, was shot by sentence of court-martial,” and for McDonagh, “Thomas McDonagh, a University tutor, also shot by sentence of court-marshal. His wife’s sister married Joseph Plunkett a few hours before the latter was shot.” [Photo 2] In *DS* of 10 May, there are other photos under the title, “IRISH REBEL CHIEF’S SURRENDER — FIRST PHOTOGRAPHS”: Pearse and McBride when they

surrendered, and Markievicz in an ambulance in which she was sent to a prison. [Photo 3] A large portrait picture of a young woman named Grace Gifford was carried on *DM* and *DS* (9 May). [Photo 4] The episode of her marriage to Plunkett in prison several hours before his execution is introduced under the title, “Irish Rebel’s Bride — And Widow.” (*DS*) In 6 May’s *DM*, readers saw several photos of poor children in Dublin. These are described as “The Real Sufferers from the Rebellion,” now receiving bread from British troops and happily looking at the camera. [Photo 5]

Despite the abundant visual details, little information was given about the leaders’ personal background and political beliefs except for selected passages from the “Proclamation of Independence” cited with contemptuous quotation marks. There is obvious scorn in the writers’ tone, which suggests that Britain’s attitude toward the rebels is that of an adult looking at the folly of immature youths. What is distinctive about *DM* is its detailed report on the women involved. Their main target seems to be Markievicz, the unmarried woman who was originally a duchess and became an advocate for women’s rights, who in the large-size photo on the paper acquires a witch-like atmosphere, possibly produced by intentional retouches. Another woman, Grace Gifford, together with her pitiful (but very interesting) story was exposed to the readers’ curious eyes. Her fairy-like countenance and peculiar hairstyle looks exotic. These articles written by British journalists for their British readers emphasize the “backwardness” of Irish thinking and perception. The British represent their colony through the images of immature youths, misguided women, and needy children. In other words, Ireland for Britain is no hateful enemy but simply the embodiment of weakness to be remonstrated against, sympathized with, and helped, and by maintaining such a perception towards the Irish, the British can safely justify their continued dominion and condemn the rebellion as merely reckless.

A photograph cannot talk nor refuse a caption given by others. It is “physically mute,” as Susan Sontag indicates, and “words do speak louder than pictures” (Sontag 108) as if trying to block an inaudible message emanating from the fixed figures. Yeats read these newspapers and tried to tell his friend Ireland’s own story instead of the one convenient for Britain, and that is what he is doing in the first two stanzas of the poem. Though certainly impressed with the uprising, he also recognizes the recklessness of the deed, and on this

point he shares the view of the British journalists.² In explaining the event to his friend, he had to admit the immaturity of the rebels, and perhaps it is for this reason that his tone sounds cold. Additionally, the fact that he uses “this” for the male leaders but “that” for Markievicz may imply greater reproach toward this activist woman. Yeats had a desire to rationalize the Irish rebels' action but thus had to admit their defects as well, and this was his dilemma as I will discuss in detail in the following sections.

II

When unfolding the newspapers purchased at a stand, Yeats finds the people who used to walk in Dublin with “vivid faces” (2) and converse with him. Now they are in the photographs in the British newspapers, fixed and shown to British readers. Out of firm political belief, they attempted the Rising and were subsequently executed. Each of them has undergone a strange transformation into an immobile figure (associated with a corpse) in the photographs. His astonishment at these unexpected images, I would argue, is the immediate source for the poem’s significant motif of ‘transformation,’ which symbolically appears in the powerful refrain, “All changed, changed utterly” (15). But this motif appears not only in the refrains. The subsequent third stanza, which opens with a natural scene, presents a variety of transformed figures. The Dublin street where they walked along in the previous stanzas has become a river, and “that woman,” Markievicz, has turned to a moor-hen calling to moor-cocks on the bank. “This man,” Pearse who rode the “wingèd horse” of poetry, has become a common beast with a rider on its back, plashing water as if the disturbance alluded to his political activity. All the living elements — stream, horse, rider, birds, cloud, and back to stream — are organically connected to one another, being incorporated into nature. Although the calling of a female bird hints at something imminent, as a whole it can be seen as an ordinary scene such as one may often see. Before the rising, “they” were members of nature who continually changed like birds and horses. All creatures will keep living, though each one undergoes continuous alterations, and here is a paradox that something which constantly changes can remain unchanged. With regard to this, the influence of Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* is discernible in the depiction of the scenery,

especially in the repeated wording, “minute by minute” and “they change.”³ In Canto vii, 21, where the Judge Nature speculates over Mutability’s request for the power of altering everything on earth, Spenser depicts various creatures around water, which are quite similar to Yeats’s. Nature, having pondered the way things change as they live, makes her final judgment that Mutability may alter things, for every living thing will perpetuate its species through alteration. Frank Kermode elaborates on the poet’s intent in his *Sense of an Ending*: “Spenser directly confronts mutability not only with the *nunc stans*, the constancy of eternity, but with such perpetuity, such immutability, as may be predicated of the *nunc movens*” (Kermode 78). Yeats’s third stanza exhibits an analogous view of the living, but with more imminent movements, and his “minute by minute changing” things have perpetuity and immutability that are to be contrasted with never-changing eternity. The significance of this stanza points to Yeats’s firm belief that one needs to have great patience in order to achieve an aim, requiring bitter compromises and self-alterations, which is based on calm understanding that human beings are weak and vulnerable in the face of the irreversible flow of time.⁴

The rebels on the other hand are described as an immobile “stone,” another process of transfiguration placed in contrast with the “living stream.” This refuses any alteration as it wishes for eternity of the *nunc stans*, whereas all other living things have attained perpetuity of the *nunc movens*. When we turn our eye to the actual world, the way this “stone ... troubles the living stream” is quite analogous to the news of rebellion which suddenly appeared in the British newspapers and stayed only for a couple of weeks on the front page until news on WWI came back. Reading British papers every day, Yeats must have found how quickly the reader’s mind left the Irish rebellion. The “trouble” given by the “stone” was apparently not large enough. Its non-dramatic presence may ironically remind us of Carlyle’s lectures, *On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History*, which were read with great passion by contemporary Irish nationalists.⁵

The confused wreck of things crumbling and even crashing and tumbling all round us in these revolutionary ages, will get down so far; no farther. It is an eternal corner-stone, from which they can begin to build themselves up again. That man, in some sense or other, worship Heroes;

that we all of us reverence and must ever reverence Great Men: This is, to me, the living rock amid all rushing-down whatsoever; — the one fixed point in modern revolutionary history, otherwise as if bottomless and shoreless. (Carlyle 15)

Nationalists became enthusiastic about Carlyle's heroic mood and envisioned themselves as ideal heroes who throw themselves into an abyss or a huge stream in order to stop the falling "wreck" and save his compatriots.⁶ Yeats in this stanza presents an opposite view of the rebellion by ironically replacing the Carlylean "living rock" with a common "stone" found in a pastoral scene where there is no "shoreless" river of turbulent waves but an ordinary, quiet "stream." Yeats thus thoroughly erases heroic connotations from the stone, but nevertheless holds deep sympathy for it. While depicting it in the central position of the scenery without any emotional commentary, he rendered the last short line, "The stone's in the midst of all," (56) in such a way as to counterpoise the preceding ten lines. Fully acknowledging the recklessness and inflexibility of their act, he still cannot deny the "wells of living softness" (Carlyle 15) in their hearts despite his aversion to Carlylean heroism. Yeats's ambivalent thoughts thus brought forth the intense tension that resonates at the end of this stanza accompanied by no haunting refrain.

Yeats's ambivalence can be expounded through his past relation with Ireland. Having modeled his political stance on that of his mentor, John O'Leary, an old freedom fighter who was against the use of violence, he believed Ireland should be patient until Britain might be prepared to fulfill the promise of Home Rule. He was least sympathetic toward Pearse who became extremely eccentric and wished to become a Christian martyr. He was also critical of Markievicz, who always reminded him of his beloved Gonne due to her radical political behavior. At the same time, however, he keenly felt responsible for their failed attempt.⁷ As a leader of the Irish Revival Movement whose aim was to restore pride to the nation, he had always used the word "dream" as a keyword when introducing Irish myths, legends, and folk tales to the people: "Dream, dream, for this is also sooth."⁸ In fact, he might be regarded as a mother who had nourished their dream for national independence, but whose child is dead because of those very dreams. (Note the words "dreamed" and "dead" share similar sounds and spelling in "enough

/ To know they dreamed and are dead.” (71))

His entangled ambivalence can be analyzed through another keyword. The “stone” as a literary subject has been long regarded as typically Celtic,⁹ and like many other Irish writers Yeats also wrote a number of poems using this motif with affection. One of those poems, “Men Improve with Years” written in the same period as “Easter 1916” is particularly notable in that the poet identifies himself as a stone-made figure:¹⁰

I am worn out with dreams;
A weather-worn, marble triton
Among the streams; (1-3)

These lines, which strongly echoes the “stone” of “Easter 1916” were originally placed after that poem in Yeats’s plan for the new poetry volume, *The Wild Swans at Coole* of 1919, but he decided to exclude “Easter 1916” at this time because of political considerations along with many other reasons (Chapman 71). Here we should remember Hugh Kenner’s suggestion that in Yeats the placement of individual poems in each poetry book is significant (Kenner 13). If the two poems in question were read one after another as originally planned, the reader would have noticed the clear implication that the figure “among the streams” refers to both the rebels *and* the poet. The parallel positioning of the rebels / poet can be identified elsewhere as well. As I argued above, the street in the first stanza of “Easter 1916” becomes a river in the third. We should note that Yeats stands in the street just as the “stone”/ “marble triton” does in the “stream”, and that “they” walk in the street as water flows in the river. But Yeats walking off toward a club in the first stanza did not maintain this position.

III

In spite of the insightful apprehension of the reality of life expressed in the third stanza, Yeats nevertheless cannot suppress his strong sympathy toward the dead and the sense of his own responsibility, and decides to write a poem to memorialize the Easter Rising before people swiftly forget it. To this end, he makes use of a mythology of cyclic time. From the real world where time

flows linearly and irreversibly, Yeats transfers the dead youths to his Irish mythological world of eternal recurrence. Ireland repeatedly had seen disastrous famines and failed rebellions in the past, whose recurrence gives some justification to Stephen Dedalus's view in *Ulysses*, that "[h]istory is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake," (*Ulysses* 2-377) but it can be said that such recurrence indicates a cyclic flow of time. Upon hearing the news of the rebellion, Yeats thought "terrible beauty has been born *again*," (my emphasis) as he later wrote to Lady Gregory (*Letters* 613), which shows he thought of the old legend of *Kathleen ni Houlihan* which he had written for his theater before. As a revivalist writer, Yeats used myths and legends as an effective literary source, and one of his best known successes was the drama "Cathleen ni Houlihan," which was repeatedly staged at the Abbey Theater. The story Yeats and Lady Gregory wrote for their theater is simple: The time setting is the Wolfe Tone's Rebellion of 1798. An old woman appears before a young man who is going to his wedding. She bids him to fight against Britain and the youth, irresistibly moved by her agitation, decides to join a rebellion and leaves his bride cruelly. In the end, some unknown beautiful woman is witnessed nearby walking like a queen, singing "They shall be remembered for ever" (*Plays* 313).¹¹ The drama turned out to be a big hit in its first production in 1902 and was repeatedly staged and inspired young nationalists so much that many contemporaries feared the drama could incite some turbulent political action.¹² Yeats obviously had this drama in mind when he wrote to Lady Gregory and therefore "terrible beauty" in his letter should be considered to refer to a terrible and beautiful woman, that is, *Kathleen ni Houlihan* "born again" through blood sacrifice (Keane 7). Fully aware of this legend's power Yeats reuses it to tactfully build a mythical world in his poem by repeating the phrase "A terrible beauty is born" which should inevitably remind his readers of this unforgettable woman.

Now I want to examine how he uses mythology in the poem. The refrain repeats certain words such as "all," "changed" and "utterly" and thereby works as if it were a magic spell. "A terrible beauty is born" is also repeated and its peculiar present tense serves to enhance the mesmeric effect. The first "All changed, changed utterly" is ambiguous and can be read as being in the active voice or the passive. Then the refrain tactfully yet clearly shifts to a passive voice. When MacBride "has been changed" and "transformed utterly," (38,

39) we are led to puzzle over the poet's enigmatic expression. The rebels are one by one changed (in reality, executed) regardless of their will, and the phrase "in turn" implies their vulnerability and powerlessness as humans. Since the third stanza describes their hearts being "enchanted" to a stone, we are led to think that MacBride's (and others') transformation may be due to some magic. Jahan Ramazani correctly states that "[t]he martyrs and history are not the only authors of the change; because of the poet too, all is transformed utterly" (Ramazani 62-63). Indeed, the author of all the changes and transformations is the poet himself.¹³

In the final stanza Yeats after maternal lamentation reappears as a fatherly national bard and at last calls the heroes' names in a solemn, Irish manner, which has been deferred from the opening until this point.¹⁴ It can be said that the poet not only calls the names here but he gives them to those who were anonymous before. The act may be similar to God's act of naming as Judith Butler maintains in the following analysis, "God names 'Peter' and this address establishes God as the origin of Peter. The name remains attached to Peter permanently by virtue of the implied and continuous presence residing in the name of the one who names him" (Butler 32). Yeats is fully aware of the significance of his act of invocation, for those names will be recorded and remembered as heroes as long as his national elegy is sung. In other words, Yeats is their Creator. The trimeter of the poem represents the rhythm of his creation. Three stresses followed by one pause evokes the sound of chiseling, hinting at his labour on a large stone which will become a monument.¹⁵ Poetry writing for Yeats is often compared to sculpture, as clearly indicated by the phrase "Poet and sculptor do the work" (*Poems* 37). Monuments are important for Yeats as they connect present time to the nobler ancient age to which he attributes real Irishness. The reader will remember his reproach to contemporary Ireland in "Sailing to Byzantium" that "Nor is there singing school but studying / Monuments of its own magnificence" (13-14). In short, he attempts to "write in" their death into a verse monument of "Easter 1916."

Such a view of Yeats in terms of memory of death and monuments is similar to what Roland Barthes expounds in *Camera Lucida*. Interestingly, it was photography which stimulates Barthes to meditate on this theme, as it was Yeats's case also.

Earlier societies managed so that memory, the substitute for life, was eternal and that at least the thing which spoke Death should itself be immortal: this was the Monument. But by making the (mortal) Photograph into the general and somehow natural witness of “that has been,” modern society has renounced the Monument. A paradox: the same century invented History and Photography. But History is a memory fabricated according to positive formulas, a pure intellectual discourse which abolishes mythic Time; (Barthes 93)

Barthes claims that the whole perceptual paradigm of the age made a drastic shift which coincided with the emergence of history and photography. Yeats wrote this poem in a similar period of change. Ireland around the turn of century was “a historical period (that of revolutionary nationalism) in which the traditional bardic role — the poet as hero, activist, rhetorician, cultural Gauleiter, man of affairs — could be plausibly recreated” according to Terry Eagleton (308). Such an age of revolutionary nationalism was already becoming a memory of the past. Although the Easter Rising surprised Yeats and reminded him that Romantic Ireland was not quite “dead and gone,”¹⁶ the event was now being swallowed up by the indifference of coming age. The death of the rebels, as Yeats witnesses at a newspaper stand, was reduced to photographs as depressing premonition of what Barthes terms a kind of “flat Death.” In order to save them from it and make people remember them forever, Yeats “[b]last[ed] the Rising out of the continuum of history” (Eagleton 230). He took up this challenge and composed a monumental poem powerful enough to tell the “That-has-been,” (Barthes 77) as Irish ancient songs used to do. Behind this act we can see, not only his entangled affection for the dead rebels, but his poignant recognition that poetry is also a vulnerable thing amongst the streams of time.

Thus, Yeats constructs his mythical world using the mesmeric refrain, while, on the other hand, showing his calm recognition of the reality of linear time flow in the third stanza. His awareness of the forceful contradictions contained in the poem is subtly sensed in the phrase “wherever green is worn”¹⁷ which hints at his melancholic prediction for the patriotic future of Ireland. Yeats thus leaves the questions of dichotomies — individual and community, history and myth, mutability and immutability — unsolved in his

own as well as the reader's mind. That is why many readers feel the poem contains "terrible ambiguity" (Said 232). The poem was written with the explicit aim to construct an eternal monument, but quite ironically, the author's repressed struggle remains vacillating within its material of solid stone, and makes the reader feel the poem to be ever restless and dynamic.

Notes

This is a revised version of the oral presentation " 'Easter 1916' and Press Photography" given at the 47th Conference of The Yeats Society of Japan held at Edogawa University on 30th October, 2011.

1 1. For further discussion of the overall British press industry of this period, see Hampton, Bromley, and Potter.

2 Vendler observes that the fact that Yeats calls it "rebellion" instead of "Rising" shows his stance to be closer to that of the British (Vendler 17).

3 Ramazani points out the refrain's passive tense, "changed be" is influenced by *The Faerie Queene* (62). My additional claim is that its influence can be also observed in the entire scenery of the third stanza.

4 A passage of Maud Gonne's letter in reply to Yeats's draft of the poem reveals that he had told her of this belief before: she wrote, "Even Iseult reading it didn't understand your thought till I explained your [?]retribution] theory of constant change & becoming in the flux of things —." But Gonne herself did not accept the belief and responded to the poem negatively (Gonne *Letters* 384).

5. Yeats depicts how Charles Gavan Duffy and his nationalist friends admired Carlyle's *On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History* (*Autobiographies* 186-87). Elsewhere he argued that Carlyle is to blame for influencing certain impatient Irish writers including Standish O'Grady (*New Island* 109).

6 The heroic tendency of this period was spurred by O'Grady's *The History of Ireland*, where he introduced a number of Irish myths into the English language, claiming that they are part of the national history. The tales of Oisín, Cúchulainn, and many other legendary characters inspired the contemporary nationalists and nourished their belief that real Irishness was only to be found in the heroic age.

7 The works such as "Three Songs to the One Burden" (*Poems* 605) and "Man and the Echo" (*Poems* 632) show his reflections on his own responsibility.

8 "The Song of the Happy Shepherd" (*Poems* 64).

9 For an example, see Renan, 23.

10 The similarity between the two poems is pointed out by Elizabeth Cullingford

and other critics.

11 The original ending by Yeats and Lady Gregory hinted that the old woman is something akin to *Femme Fatale* or *Dracula*, but *Gonne* and Arthur Griffith made Yeats alter it to the present extremely patriotic one. *Gonne* played the leading role in the first production and fascinated the audience. Detail is given in *Cusack*. Hearing of the rebellion *Gonne* immediately remembered this song and wrote to Yeats, “The deaths of those leaders are full of beauty & romance & they will be speaking forever, the people shall hear them forever” (*Gonne* 377).

12 One example is a contemporary drama critic, Stephen Gwynn’s utterance: “Such plays should not be produced unless one was prepared for people to go out to shoot and be shot.” (Gwynn 376) Its substantial influence on the rebels can be exemplified by *Markievicz’s* remarks that the play was for her “a sort of gospel” (*Máire nic Shiublaigh* and *Edward Kenny*, *The Splendid Years*, 19 (qtd. in *Keane* 13).

13 Another example of his strong authorship is the passage about *MacBride*, “Yet I number him in the song”: by saying this he permits *Maud Gonne’s* estranged husband to join this elegy.

14 *Kiberd* points out that Yeats deferred invocation which is essential in traditional Irish elegies (*Kiberd* 444). In spite of his dislike of this Irish convention (*Autobiographies* 199), Yeats employs it in this national elegy.

15 *Vendler* claims that the trimeter is a “nationalist measure” (*Vendler* 192-94). *Terrence Brown* asserts that the poem has “its own mesmeric, dissonant music” (*Brown* 52).

16 “September, 1913.” (*Poems* 289)

17 It clearly echoes the Irish patriotic ballad titled “The Wearin’ o’ the Green.”

Photographs

Photo 1



Photo 2



Photo 3

DAILY SKETCH, THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1916
 DARE HUNS' BATTLE-CRUISERS RAID OUR COASTS AGAIN?—P. 2.
DAILY SKETCH.
 GUARANTEED DAILY NETT SALE MORE THAN 1,000,000 COPIES.
 No. 2,227. LONDON, THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1916. (Published by the Proprietor) ONE HALF-PENNY.

IRISH REBEL CHIEF'S SURRENDER:— FIRST PHOTOGRAPHS.

Major McElin, on the left in uniform takes Connolly, being marched away, into custody.

Patrick H. Joyce (left), late President of the Irish Republic, accompanied by other rebels, is being escorted by British soldiers.

The Captain, Hennessey, being in charge of a number of British soldiers, is seen in the foreground.

These photographs are the first to be published showing the arrest of the general of the Irish Army and the late President of the Irish Republic.

Photo 4

DAILY SKETCH, THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1916
 SINN FEIN PRESIDENT ARRESTED: Premier On
DAILY SKETCH.
 GUARANTEED DAILY NETT SALE MORE THAN 1,000,000 COPIES.
 No. 2,228. LONDON, THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1916. (Published by the Proprietor) ONE HALF-PENNY.

Irish Rebel's Bride—And Widow **Society On The**

The widow of James Connolly, the leader of the Irish rebels, who became both bride and widow of James Connolly, the Irish rebel chief, is the most interesting woman in Ireland. At 35 years of age, she is a widow, in a sense of "being a widow."

Lady Hamilton, the wife of the late Lord Hamilton, is the most interesting woman in Ireland. At 35 years of age, she is a widow, in a sense of "being a widow."

LAWYERS TO INQUIRE

Lord John Russell, a member of the House of Commons, is the most interesting man in Ireland. At 35 years of age, he is a member of the House of Commons.

Mr. James Connolly, the leader of the Irish rebels, is the most interesting man in Ireland. At 35 years of age, he is the leader of the Irish rebels.

Photo 5

Page 6
THE REAL SUFFERERS FROM THE REBELLION.

Here we see children holding up their portions of food, which they were very thankful to receive.

Works Cited

[Books]

- Barthes, Roland. *La Chambre Claire: Note sur la Photographie [Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography]*. Trans. Richard Howard. London: Vintage Books, 2000.
- Bromley, Michael and Tom O'Malley. Ed. *A Journalism Reader*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Brown, Terrence. *The Literature of Ireland: Culture and Criticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010.
- Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. NY: Routledge, 1997.
- Carlyle, Thomas. *On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History*. Facsimile ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1841.
- Chapman, K. Wayne. "Yeats's Dislocated Rebellion Poems and the Great War: The Case of *The Wild Swans at Coole* and *Michael Robertes and the Dancer*." *Yeats Annual 16*. Ed. Richard J. Finneran. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997. 71-97.
- Cullingford, Elizabeth Butler. *Gender and History in Yeats's Love Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996.
- Cusack, George. *The Politics of Identity in Irish Drama; W.B. Yeats, Augusta Gregory and J.M. Synge*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger*. London: Verso, 1995.
- Gonne, Maud. *The Gonne-Yeats Letters, 1893-1938: Always Your Friend*. Ed. Anna MacBride White and A. Norman Jeffares. London: Hutchinson, 1992.
- Gooch, John. ed. *The Boer War: Direction, Dxpérience, and Image*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000.
- Gwynn, Stephen. "Stephen Gwynn on the Effect of 'Cathleen ni Houlihan.'" *W.B. Yeats: the Critical Heritage*. London: Routledge, 1977. 375-77.
- Hampton, Mark. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950*. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Joyce, James. *Ulysses*. Ed. Hans Walter Gabler with Wolfhard Steppe and Claus Melchior. NY and London: Garland, 1984.
- Keane, Patrick J. *Terrible Beauty: Yeats, Joyce, Ireland, and the Myth of the Devouring Female*. Columbia : Univ. of Missouri Press, 1988.
- Kenner, Hugh. "The Sacred Book of the Arts." *Yeats: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Ed. John Unterecker. Englewood Cliffs, NJ : Prentice-Hall, 1963.
- Kermode, Frank. *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the theory of Fiction*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966.
- Kiberd, Declan. *Irish Classics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2001.
- O'Grady, Standish. *The History of Ireland: The Heroic Period*. (2 vols) London:

- Sampson Low, Searle, Marston and Rivington, Dublin: E. Ponsonby, 1878, 1880.
- Potter, Simon J. *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876-1922*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003.
- Ramazani, Jahan. *Yeats and the Poetry of Death: Elegy, Self-elegy, and the Sublime*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1990.
- Renan. Ernest. *La Poésie des Races Celtiques [The Poetry of the Celtic Races, and Other Studies]*. Trans. William G. Hutchinson. London: Walter Scott, 1896.
- Rothenstein, William. "Yeats as a Painter Saw Him." *Scattered Branches: Tributes to the Memory of W. B. Yeats*. Ed. Stephen Gwynn. London: Macmillan, 1940. 37-54.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf, 1993.
- Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973.
- Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. Ed. A. C. Hamilton. London: Longman, 1977.
- Vendler, Helen. *Our Secret Discipline: Yeats and Lyric Form*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2007.
- Yeats, W. B. *Autobiographies*. Ed. William H. O'Donnell and Douglas N. Archibald. New York: Scribner, 1999.
- . *Letters to the New Island*. Ed. Horace Reynolds. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1934.
- . *Michael Robartes and the Dancer: Manuscript Materials*. Ed. Thomas Parkinson. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Univ. Press, 1994.
- . *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*. Ed. Allan Wade. New York: Octagon, 1980.
- . *The Variorum Edition of the Plays of W. B. Yeats*. Ed. Russell K. Alspach. London: Macmillan, 1966.
- . *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats*. Ed. Peter Allt and Russell K. Alspach. London: Macmillan, 1957.

[Newspapers]

- "ALL REBELS IN DUBLIN HAVE SURRENDERED — 1,000 PRISONERS." *The Daily Mirror* [London]. 2 May, 1916.
- "AMAZING REBEL MANIFESTO — IRISH REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED — "GALLANT ALLIES." *The Daily News and Leader* [London]. 1 May, 1916.
- "COMMUTATION OF DEATH SENTENCE ON REBEL COUNTESS WHO WRECKED YOUNG GIRLS' LIVES." *The Daily Mirror* [London] 8 May, 1916.
- "DEATH AND PENAL SERVITUDE FOR IRISH REBELS." *The Daily Sketch* [London]. 8 May, 1916.
- "FURTHER IRISH OUTBREAKS — COUNTRY UNDER MARSHAL LAW." *The Times* [London]. 28 April, 1916.

- “IRISH REBEL CHIEF’S SURRENDER — FIRST PHOTOGRAPHS.” *The Daily Sketch* [London]. 10 May, 1916.
- “IRISH REBEL’S BRIDE — AND WIDOW.” *The Daily Sketch* [London]. 9 May, 1916.
- “OUTBREAK IN DUBLIN — POST OFFICE SEIZED.” *The Times* [London]. 27 April, 1916.
- “‘PRESIDENT’ PEARSE, WHO HAS BEEN EXECUTED.” *The Daily Mirror* [London]. 6 May, 1916.
- “THE REAL SUFFERERS FROM THE REBELLION.” *The Daily Mirror* [London]. 6 May, 1916.
- “THE TRAGIC BRIDE OF JOSEPH PLUNKETT, THE REBEL.” *The Daily Mirror* [London] 9 May, 1916.