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Changing Times: Kipling, Yeats, Eliot, and the Measure of Modernity

DISSERTATION

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in English

by

Anna Michelle Finn

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DEDICATION

To

Amy Flinn and Michael Finn,
in loving thanks.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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"Changing Times: Kipling, Eliot, Yeats, and the Measure of Modernity," examines the understudied discourse surrounding temporal prosody and its relationship with the long and varied process of national and global time standardization in nineteenth- and twentieth-century poetry. Today, readers are trained to think of English meter as accentual-syllabic, learning the English approximations of Latin feet and often laboring under the misapprehension that the iambs and dactyls used to describe a poem's meter are both apolitical and ahistorical. However, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, debates concerning poetic rhythm raged and critics and poets alike proposed and employed a variety of metrical systems. Temporal prosody was an influential system in which the unit of poetic measurement was not the foot, but a time unit analogous to the musical bar, which allowed the inclusion of a varied number of syllables and the option for measured silence. While individual prosodists' systems vary, temporal prosody can be summarized by E.S. Dallas' 1852 formulation that "such, then, is metre in its simplest form – time heard." Importantly, Dallas makes this pronouncement in the thick of material time standardization efforts across England, but well before critics of modernist literature begin to agree upon the effect of time standardization on literary works. And while

critics have routinely read the innovative literary techniques that characterize modernist writing as the result of personal resistance to the imposition of standard time, the process of time standardization was longer, more complex, and more contested than such critical accounts admit. Similarly, critical narratives about temporality primarily focus on works of fiction rather than poetry. I argue that the debates surrounding temporal prosody at the turn of the century make poetry an important site for interrogating the modern subject's changing sense of time. Along with historicizing the prosodic practice of three major figures, Rudyard Kipling, W.B. Yeats, and T.S. Eliot, my dissertation questions entrenched critical narratives about Victorian and modernist time, metrical practice, and the development of free verse.

INTRODUCTION

I. Losing Time, or Whatever Happened to Temporal Prosody?

Near the end of the prologue of *Sound and Form in Modern Poetry* (1968), Harvey Gross and Robert McDowell claim that "since polemic is not our intention, we need not multiply examples of the mistakes and misconceptions that plague metrical theory." They go on to argue that "many of the 'revolutionary ideas' developed and promulgated now seem so wrongheaded that we wonder how anyone could have seriously entertained them" (5). The chief representative of these "wrong-headed" ideas is "the musical scansion of Sidney Lanier's *The Science of English Verse*" which they note was praised by T.S. Omond and others despite being "a dismaying example of a theory ridden sadly beyond the limits of good sense" (5) Accordingly, the scansions produced by Lanier's theory are "worse than useless…[they] fling sand in the eyes and pour wax in the ears" (5). In the introduction to *Free Verse: An Essay on Prosody*, Charles O. Hartman makes a similar point from a slightly different position, arguing that where George Saintsbury's "monumental three-volume *History of English Prosody*…codified laws of verse laid down over five hundred years…[and] implicitly supported the mainstream ("accentualist") position," Sidney Lanier's *Science* took the idea of quantitative meter inherited from Latin and Greek poetry and "dressed it in a new finery borrowed from music and set it up as a challenge to the accepted view" (4).[1] In the later chapter "Accentualism, Isochrony, Musical Fallacy," Hartman continues to argue that Lanier's prosodic failures are based on a commitment to replicating quantitative Latin meters and interprets Lanier's time-based metrical system as an "assumption of a quantitative prosody"

[1] In a later chapter, Hartman quotes the same passage from Gross and McDowell that I do and is clear on Lanier's inferiority to Saintsbury's "mainstream" position, depicting them as rivals and Lanier as the rival, who of course, lost (38). It is interesting, though, that Hartman takes Lanier up as an antecedent of free verse, drawing the line of inheritance from his musical prosody to Harriet Monroe and Amy Lowell (38).

(38). Both arguments, 1) that Lanier is hopelessly, laughably wrong and 2) that his metrical system is a mere restatement of quantitative verse, are useful examples of the primary ways in which a major strand of prosodic discourse has been dismissed or reclassified past the point of recognition. While Gross and McDowell see in Lanier's work a system that is woefully inadequate for describing English verse and therefore, not worth discussion, I argue that Lanier's commitment (and those of temporal prosodists more generally) to a temporal system of prosody provides a useful window into the way poets and theorists in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were using meter to think about time. And where Hartman sees Lanier's musical scansions as a needlessly elaborate attempt at producing quantitative meters in English, I argue that the temporal prosodists (of which there were many) were actually generally (and often explicitly) uninterested in importing quantitative meters, and that conflating temporal experiments with those of prosodists genuinely interested in applying the long and short syllables of Latin to English is a misreading that obscures the aims and outcomes of a major strand of metrical discourse.[2]

Importantly, Lanier is not a casual example here, because in "Historical Poetics, Dysprosody, and *The Science of English Verse*" Yopie Prins uses Lanier's *Science* to illustrate historical-poetics methods and call for critics to engage in "a collaborative enterprise that will approach lyric reading differently, differentially, for dissonance as well as resonance" (234). While Prins shows the ways in which Lanier's unique understanding of the inverse relationship

[2] The miscategorization of temporal prosody as a quantitative verse experiment in the same class as the attempts to write an English hexameter or the experiments Robert Bridges and others is certainly not unreasonable particularly given the way prosodists like Steele, Lanier, and even Omond slide between accounts of a time space or time unit and discussions of the length of English syllables. This is in keeping with the confusion produced by the unsystematic use of terms like "quantitative" (and basically every other word related to prosody) combined with the variation in accounts and incremental revisions of previous prosodists works that typifies the history of prosodic analysis.

of an imaginary voice to the lyric offers alternatives to twentieth-century critical accounts of the lyric speaker, her justification for reevaluating Lanier is foundational to this project. Prins argues that "while Lanier's deconstruction and musical reconstruction of English meter might fail as a practical approach to scansion, practical application is not the point of historical poetics. There are other, more interesting questions" (233). For the purposes of this study, those more interesting questions are also not focused on the possibilities of descriptive usefulness of temporal prosody, but rather, on why so many poets and prosodists were invested in time-based metrical systems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, what anxieties these temporal commitments reflected, and what else these poets were timing beyond the various durations required to pronounce a poetic line.

While I have no interest in claiming that temporal prosody is a coherent system or one which can be effectively applied to the description of meter, there are four important characteristics of temporal systems that will resurface in my discussion of the major prosodists and throughout the chapters of this project. The first is that temporal systems are analogous with, not coincident, with musical systems. Of the prosodists I discuss, only Lanier was genuinely committed to the idea that music and verse were indistinguishable.[3] For the others, music, with its time unit the musical bar, provided an apt analogy, not an identical art. This distinction is crucial because just as temporal prosodic systems have been collapsed with other kinds of quantitative metrical experiments, so too has their primary object been convincingly read as a

[3] See Lanier's *Science of English Verse*, particularly claims like, "Music is *not* a species of *Language but Language is a species of Music*" (340). However, his orientation toward his theory really does seem to be to emphasize the centrality of time to both rhythmic systems. He argues "whether the rhythm be music-rhythm or verse rhythm; the only difference between the two being that in music the time is marked off for the ear by musical sounds, while in verse the time is marked off for the ear by verse-sounds. In both cases, it is always necessarily *time* which is marked off" (67-8).

kind of Pater-like elevation of verse to the status of music.[4] However, I argue that the primary poets and prosodists in this study use the language of and analogy with music to describe and manipulate the unwieldy concept of metrical time and that their ends are the manipulation and representation of that time.

The second important characteristic of temporal prosody is a commitment to isochrony[5] and the simultaneous recognition that isochrony is approximate, not exact. One of the major critiques of temporal prosodic systems is that it is impossible to pronounce exactly equal time units with each performance and therefore, these temporal systems are useless. To take one example, here is Hartman's primary criticism of Lanier:

> How could Lanier have arrived at his scansion, prosodic pioneer that he was? He began with the principle of isochronous measures, each containing an accent. If he had marked the accents and left it at that, I could only repeat that he invoked an inadequate principle. But the deceptive accuracy of musical notation tempted him to aim at greater precision….He sought more exactness of prosodic analysis than any scansion can provide. (38-9).

For Hartman, Lanier's attempts at descriptive accuracy are really just an account of a particular performance and not a useful description of the inherent qualities of a poem's meter. However,

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[4] For the fullest articulation of this account and an argument whose end is the interrelation of meter and music, see Joseph Phelan's *The Music of Verse: Metrical Experiment in Nineteenth-Century Poetry* (2008).

[5] According to the OED, the first definition for "isochronous" is "taking place in or occupying equal times; equal in metrical length; equal in duration, or in intervals of occurrence, as the vibrations of a pendulum; characterized by or relating to vibrations or motions of equal duration; vibrating uniformly, as a pendulum. *spec.* in *Prosody*, equal in metrical length." Generally, isochronous intervals in poetry are the units of equal time lengths that comprise the metrical line, but they can also indicate the ratio of approximately equal or proportionate syllable lengths in systems that think of duration in terms of syllables.

for most of the temporalists, exactness is beside the point. Even for Lanier who does claim that "every series of English sounds, whether prose or verse, suggests to the ear exact co-ordinations with reference to duration" the components of those "English sounds" are actually approximate. Lanier describes "the actual average rate of English utterance" as "*probably about* one hundred and eight words to the minute" and insists not on the "absolute time occupied by English words" but on their "relative time" to one another (emphasis mine 61). We see this hedging and this admission (and sometimes celebration) of variability in almost every other major temporal prosodic system, some more so than others, with the result being that the principle of isochrony in verse is really the idea that time units must *seem* to require equal durations to pronounce, not that they exactly do (or intend to).[6] This tolerance for variability surfaces in numerous ways in temporalist systems as we see prosodic accounts that admit of widely variable numbers of syllables and rests within these approximately equal time units and lines of varying length that can be made equal by the presence of metrical rests. Ultimately, a survey of temporal theories reveals a set of systems whose flexibility and comfort with wide variation begins to look a lot

[6] A related strand of temporal experimentation that falls outside the scope of this project but does bear directly upon it are the attempts at testing temporal theories by measuring the exact time of pronunciation of English syllables or verse units using mechanical or laboratory devices. Like the temporalist strand I trace, these experiments have been generally deemed unsuccessful and uninformative about the nature of English verse. Derek Attridge's summary is illustrative: "The methods and aims of these experiments have varied, as have the detailed findings, but all the results point to one simple fact: objective measurement of the sounds of English verse does not reveal simple temporal relationships among syllables. Stressed syllables tend, not surprisingly, to be longer than unstressed syllables (though this is by no means an invariable rule); but there is no evidence of any preference for the simple ratios between the durations of syllables suggested by many temporal prosodists. More importantly, there is no evidence of exact isochrony as an objective characteristic of normal English speech; and in the reading of regular verse English speakers do not give identical durations to fee or measures, unless the lines are chanted in time to a precise beat" (26). For a detailed account of some turn-of-the-century scientific experiments around prosody and their relation to modernist literature, see Michael Golston's *Rhythm and Race in Modernist Poetry and Science: Pound, Yeats, Williams, and Modern Sciences of Rhythm* (2007).

like that critical consolidation known as "free verse." Thus, I argue, particularly in the case of T.S. Eliot, that the metrical variation that has been read so consistently as a break with a stultifying Victorian verse culture, is, in fact, a continuation of the nineteenth-century discourse of temporal prosody.

The third characteristic of major temporal prosodic systems is a commitment of some kind to the idea of "harmony." Joseph Phelan describes this kind of harmony in the context of nineteenth-century musical prosodies as "the attempt to make the sound of the poetry correspond in some significant way with its sense" and traces the use of the term back to William Wordsworth's assertion that "pauses should never be introduced for convenience, and not often for the sake of variety merely, but for some especial effect of harmony or emphasis" (6; 182). Phelan argues that "the strongly marked accentual structure of this kind of poetry set up a clear and definable movement, which can be manipulated to mimic the movement of the action of the poem, or the doubts, hesitations and emphases of the speaking voice" (6).[7] While Phelan notes

[7] I should note that I fundamentally disagree with Phelan's description of the break between nineteenth and twentieth century prosodic practice. He makes the case for a break on the basis of a loss of capacity for hearing "harmony" in particular: "This persistence of musical terminology masks the waning of musical prosody as an animating principle of English verse, and gives a misleading impression of unity to the critical and metrical discourse of the late nineteenth century. To write, as Pound does, of the 'rhythmical' function of images or motifs in poetry is to make any element of the verse form open to description in musical terms; but it is also to undermine the idea of the autonomy of the metrical dimension of poetry. For the partisans of musical prosody, the isochronous interval between metrical accents was a real and ineradicable part of the experience of reading poetry, just as the rhythm indicated by the time-signature was an irreducible part of the experience of listening to music; and this principle of isochrony established a pattern of expectation which interacted with other elements of the poetry to form complex counterpoints and harmonies. Whatever was gained in the general movement towards free verse, the possibility of this kind of harmony was lost, and it takes a significant imaginative effort to rediscover it after the interval of a century" (11-12). Where I see the temporalist tradition still alive and exemplified by T.S. Eliot's 1942 lecture "The Music of Poetry," Phelan reads Eliot's commitments as a suspension rather than an extension of "the amalgam of conventions, traditions and associations which make up the medium (rather than the material) of verse" (179).

that harmonic accounts of meter have been much maligned and relegated to the arena of subjective reader response, we find in the major temporal prosodists a desire for the inextricability of the meaning and the meter of poetry. As Eliot puts it in "The Music of Poetry" (1942), "I would remind you, first, that the music of poetry is not something which exists apart from the meaning. Otherwise, we could have poetry of great musical beauty which made no sense, and I have never come across such poetry" (110). And while Phelan reads this harmony as indicative of various characteristics of the "speaking voice," I argue that the harmony of temporal systems is more often than not employed to analogize or allegorize complex temporal processes outside of the poem. Because poets and prosodists were already thinking of the poetic line as composed of time units, they were able to manipulate those units in ways that spoke to the experience of the changing political, social, and cultural constructions of "time" through which they were living. The coincidence of moments of the variability and flexibility allowable in temporal systems and the explicit invocation of issues of time-keeping, temporality, and more largely, the progression, regressions, and interruptions of national histories bears out the argument that poets were using metrical time to think with and think through a range of temporal issues.

Finally, the fourth characteristic of temporal prosodic systems is, like the variability of isochrony, usually considered a detriment to a metrical system, that is, the centrality of performance. In "The Concept of Meter: An Exercise in Abstraction" (1959), W.K. Wimsatt, Jr. and Monroe Beardsley announce:

> In the broadest sense, we define their [temporal prosodists' or timers'] theory as one which says that meter either consists wholly in, or has as an essential feature, some principle of recurrence in equal, or approximately equal, times – analogous to musical

> pulse. And we respond, in brief, that meter must be a character of the poem, but that timing is a character of performance: what is done or can be done by a reader, a chanter, or a singer. (588)

Similarly, in "The Music of Poetry," John Hollander interrupts his historical account of musical prosodists to warn against the deceptions of

> a *performative* system of scansion [which] would present a series of rules governing a locutionary reading of a particular poem, before a real or implied audience. It would end up by *describing* not the poem itself, but the unstated canons of taste behind the rules. Performative systems of scansion, disguised as descriptive ones, have composed all but a few of the metrical studies of the past. Their subjectivity is far more treacherous than even that of reading poems into oscilloscopes, and claiming that the image produced describes, or even *is*, the true poem. (238-9).

In addition, T.V.F. Brogan introduces the "Temporal Metrics" section of his *English Versification, 1570-1980: A Reference Guide with a Global Appendix* (1981) thusly, "the crux of the temporal view of meter, I suspect, is a conception of the poem not as aesthetic object but as aesthetic experience. "Timers" hold that lines of verse are organized ("metered") not by stresses or syllable-count but by *duration*" (193). Like Hollander, Wimsatt, and Beardsley, Brogan emphasizes the performative act or experience of the poem, not the poem's inherent rhythm as crucial for temporal prosodists.

However, the above condemnations of performative-based prosodies do not take into account the identitarian and community-building work that metrical systems were thought to do by the poets and prosodists who subscribed to temporal systems. Of course, a system that describes the performance of a speaker and not the inherent metrical patterns more than likely

will not help you scan a poem. But the importance of correct, shared performance for Kipling, Eliot, and especially Yeats, cannot be overstated. All three poets were known to chant their poems as well as the poems of others and it is in part this practice that convinced them of the temporal basis of meter.[8] For Yeats, the ability to correctly chant a poem marked the speaker's unbroken inheritance of the ancient, Irish bardic arts and produced an affiliation of style, rather than blood, with the surviving authentic, Irish, peasant identity. For Kipling, correct chanting and pronunciation could signify identification with a variety of groups, especially those marked by demotic idioms of certain class and military affiliations. And for Eliot, the correctly chanted or "rhythmed" poem denoted awareness of and participation in a globalizing economy with rapidly standardizing temporal norms. While all three did at some point endorse a temporal theory of prosody, their theories and practice of metrical performance further mark their temporal prosodic commitments.[9]

Thus, it can be difficult to parse temporal systems of prosody from better known, related systems, and while temporal accounts have been much maligned as both "wrong-headed" and non-descriptive. The four characteristics described above show both that temporal systems are distinguishable from their near-cousins (particularly musical prosodies), and that their flexibility,

[8] For a detailed account of W.B. Yeats's chanting practice and its intersections with T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound, see Ronald Schuchard's *The Last Minstrels: Yeats and the Revival of the Bardic Arts* (2008).

[9] Please note that not only does temporal prosody get confused with quite different quantitative experiments, it also, at times, gets lumped in with strongly "accentualist" systems (what Hartman calls "nativist"). In some ways, the emphasis on chanting and performance emphasizes the four strong beats of the older, accentual line and suggests another discourse that has obscured our ability to fully appreciate what's unique about temporal systems. Certainly, when Eliot claims "what is now called 'modern verse' is partly a return to older forms of English versification…the apparent irregularity and lawlessness of which is due to its being based on the musical bar instead of the foot" he is thinking about the revival of earlier "English" accentual verse forms (quoted in Schuchard 312). Largely, Kipling, Eliot, and Yeats are much more invested in an accentual inheritance than in "quantitative" experimentation and each individually claims an inability to understand the terms of Latin foot prosody.

capacity for harmony, and emphasis on performance make them unique indexes of the many social, political, and scientific temporal changes occurring throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Ultimately, recovering this once prominent discourse reveals the continuity between Victorian and modern poetic theory, counters our conventional thinking about the "timeless" lyric, and shows that meter is not merely an empty aesthetic category or formal container to be filled, but rather, meter carries a variety of ideological meanings, if we know how to listen.

II. Some Major Temporal Prosodists

In the above section, I argued that an awareness of the characteristics of historically specific temporal prosodic systems allows us to see the ways in which poets were using metrical time to think through a range of changing time standards. In this section, I will provide short precis on several of the major temporal prosodists whose theories informed the work of Kipling, Yeats, and Eliot. In doing so, I hope to illustrate some of the heterogeneity of these systems, the degree to which they bear out the characteristics of temporal prosodic systems described above, and to suggest something of the persuasiveness and pervasiveness of temporal prosody, particularly in the nineteenth century. While I have limited my discussion to the major figures within the primary strand of "temporal prosody," T.V.F Brogan's *English Versification, 1570-1980: A Reference Guide with a Global Appendix* (1981) includes 127 annotated bibliographic entries on works about or related to temporal prosody. The discourse is certainly much wider and more complex than the summaries I present here.[10]

A. Joshua Steele

[10] Because I used Sidney Lanier's system to illustrate several of the principles described above and because he is so often seen as the figurehead for the temporalist school of thought and thus, I also highlighted the major critiques of his system, I will exclude him from the short summaries that follow.

Joshua Steele's 1775 *An Essay Towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech, to be Expressed and Perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols* (or *Prosodia Rationalis* for short in subsequent editions) is widely regarded as one of the earliest affirmative statements of temporal prosody. As T.S. Omond puts it "for the first time (I believe) in the history of our literature a writer proclaims that verse is essentially a matter of musical rhythm, and applies musical methods frankly and fully to the notation of meter" (88).[11] While Steele is often best remembered by linguists for his contributions to suprasegmental phonology, Brogan credits him with "charting an entirely new course in verse-theory" and with influencing the many temporalists who followed including "Thelwall, Odell, Chapman, and Roe, and after them Coventry Patmore, A.J. Ellis, Sidney Lanier, T.S. Omond, and John C. Pope" (220).[12]

Still Steele's system is relatively little-read by contemporary prosodists. The text itself is actually the record of Steele's correspondence with James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, which was prompted by the early volumes of Monboddo's *Of the Origin and Progress of Language* (1773-1792). Omond characterizes the correspondence as exceedingly fair on both sides with Monboddo conceding a few prosodic points, but without the disparaging tone that characterizes so much prosodic discourse (87-88). However, because it is ultimately a correspondence, the argument proceeds haphazardly and topics are addressed as they are brought up by the

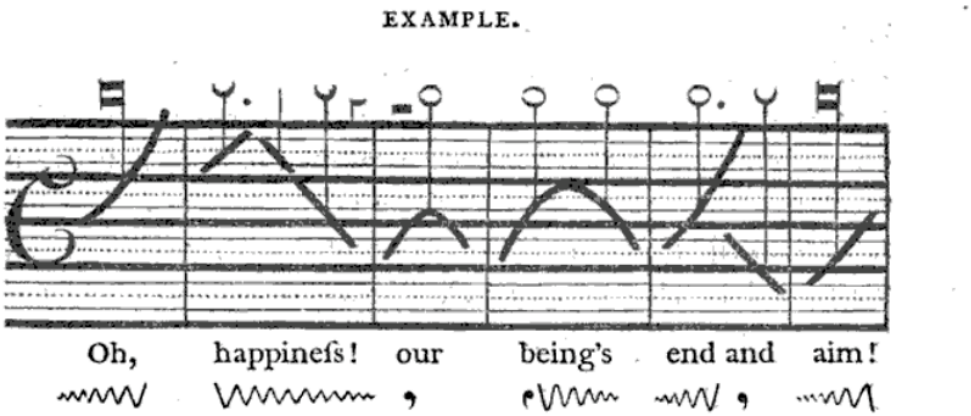
[11] Of course, Omond tempers this foundational act with one of his preferred markers for a diffuse discourse noting that "these ideas had been 'in the air' through the Century" and quotes six different prosodists who had made similar claims without committing to them through practice or prolonged explication (88).

[12] While Steele's system is not well regarded by prosodists today, some of his earlier admirers were quite enthusiastic. According to Joseph Phelan, "Thelwall adopts these notions with an enthusiasm bordering on evangelical zeal; for him, Steele's work represents nothing less than a revolution in the understanding of versification, the casting aside of several centuries of 'monkish' superstition and obfuscation" (20). For an account of Steele's contributions to suprasegmentals, see Jamie C. Kassler's "Representing Speech Through Musical Notation" (2006).

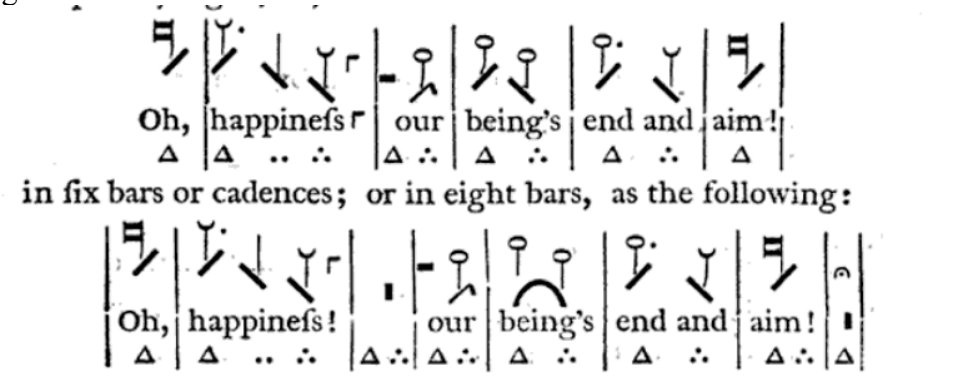
interlocutor, not in service of a logical argument, and Brogan and Omond both therefore describe it as "more a book to be read about than read" (220; 88). Steele's use of an almost impenetrable set of symbols to describe the meter of his examples [Hollander describes them as "resembl[ing] those used in teaching Chinese" (238)] has foreclosed some of the text's accessibility as well.[13]

Further, critics have mischaracterized Steele's use of music as an analogy for meter, obscuring the importance of the temporal component in their rejection of the musical comparison. In *A History of English Prosody*, George Saintsbury claims that "it is not music so much as musical science, falsely so called…that deludes people like Steele and Lanier" (535). For Saintsbury, prosodists like Steele have read too much into the use of the word "music" to

[13] Here is an example of one of Steele's scansions of a line from Pope from page 13 of Prosodia Rationalis:



And here is the same number scanned to indicate the variability of cadence number in heroic lines from page 26:



describe verse when "musical music and poetical music – let it be repeated, if necessary, a thousand times – are different things" (535).

However, what Saintsbury doesn't acknowledge is that Steele's investment in the musical analogy comes from his desire to describe metrical "time," and is not merely motivated by an interest in conflating music and poetry. According to Steele "it is next to impossible by theory alone, to comprehend clearly and distinctly, either the rhythmical or metrical divisions of time [but] to musicians, these will be no difficulties at all…" (xiv). Steele's object is not to combine music and poetry, but to "do justice to the proper measure of our language, without the least intention of adapting the feet of the Greek prosody…" (33). As Omond points out, Steele's system allowed him to describe "rests or pauses" for the first time in the metrical line (89). Omond is particularly animated on this point, arguing that "surely, it is a self-evident proposition that in any ordered succession of articulate or inarticulate sounds an interval of silence may on occasion be substituted for an utterance." However, reviewers of his own *Study of Metre* published more than 200 year later in 1903 deemed his description of the pause "revolutionary" (89). For Steele "the space of time between each pulsation and the next succeeding pulsation" is a "cadence or bar" which can be temporally divided either by the number two or three (116). This cadence "may be subdivided by *metrical articulation* (in *sound* or in *silence*) into any unequal fractional *quantities* of time, provided their sum altogether be neither more nor less than the *integral quantity* of the *cadence* or bar (116).

While Steele does not go so far as later temporal prosodists to suggest that his cadences can be approximately rather than precisely equal time units, he does admit of the variety of syllabic sounds and silences that those cadences can contain. Steele's scansion of Alexander Pope's "Oh, happiness our being's end and aim!" divides the line into cadences that contain

between one and three syllables (26). Steele also uses this line to illustrate that "whoever would pronounce our heroic lines of ten syllables with propriety, must allow at least six cadences, by the assistance of proper rests, to each line and frequently eight" (26). For Omond, the claim that a ten syllable line "contains sometimes six, sometimes eight" cadences is a clear error caused by Steele's overuse of the pause and his inability to account for the way syllable stress can be "altered by metrical relation" (92). However, I argue that this comfort with variability and with performative choice (for Steele, it's up to either the "judicious composer or orator" to implement variable pauses) anticipates the acceptance of only the impression of regularity in later isochronous systems.

John Hollander describes Steele's interest in the performative aspect of meter as his "greatest difficult[y] as a prosodist" and as a "private whim." Hollander argues that

> [Steele] wanted to re-establish declamation on musical principles, and, declaring the then-current fashions of Italianate recitative to be degraded inserted a continuous tonic instrumental drone, with the occasional addition of the fifth for emphasis, into his "scores." Something very much like this may have been a standard practice in the performance of many types of medieval secular song. But Steele's use of the practice constitutes an avowed commitment to his use of a performative system of scansion, rather than a truly descriptive one. (238)[14]

[14] Steele did argue for some muted musical accompaniment that would be the middle ground between opera and "common song." He describes it thusly: "That by the discreet use of the forte and piano, with the occasional addition of the fifth, it enlivens, or softens, the empassioned [sic] expressions, according to the proper degree; and would contribute much to keep an actor in the true pitch of expression, neither ranting above or singing below, what the nature of his part required…and the occasional addition of the fifth in harmony, to be judiciously written, and as exactly performed by the accompanying musician" (39).

However, this performative emphasis has been read by Amit Yahav as an indication of Steele's sense of the "'metrical character' of a language and of its users as social – that is, national – types" (174). For Yahav, Steele naturalizes "the relationship between personal expression and formal idiom" unlike other elocutionists who primarily "take this relation as an object of deliberate didactic efforts" and not, as Steele does, one of "correct analysis" (175). For Steele the "pulsations" that indicate the beginning of each cadence are bodily and thus, easily analogized to the human pulse or step (20). This human pulsation combined with the qualities of a particular language govern the shared metrical time his treatise describes.[15]

Part of what makes Steele such an interesting case is that while he was invested in the shared qualities of English, as an Irishman and as a plantation owner in Barbados, he was exposed to a range of English accents. Steele spent the final years of his life, from 1780 to 1791 in Barbados managing three plantations. Having been elected to the Royal Society in 1756, a year after he came to Barbados he established a similar society in Bridgetown. Many of Steele's attempts to, and theories about improving the lives of both his slaves and the poor white population in Barbados can be found in a series of letters that Steele wrote to Thomas Clarkson and which were included in William Dickson's 1814 *Mitigation of Slavery*. Like the subjects of each of my main chapters, Steele experienced displacement from the center of the empire. In fact Barbados, was so symbolically distant from England that only fifteen years prior to Steele's arrival, it had been used as the destination for the second trial of John Harrison's H4 clock which was designed to keep accurate time at sea so that sailors could determine their longitude. Steele would have been aware of Harrison's clock and its test against the distance to Barbados because the original version of the clock had received significant acclaim from a committee of the Royal

[15] Steele is clear that other languages, French in particular, are distinguished by the differences in their rhythm from English.

Society.[16] Which is to say that Steele's account of temporal prosody is framed by his awareness of the difficulties of time-keeping as geographical distance from England increases.

B. Eneas Sweetland Dallas

A little fewer than eighty years later in 1852, E.S. Dallas published *Poetics, An Essay on Poetry* in which he makes the case for temporal prosody without recourse to the musical analogy. Dallas, who was born in 1828 in Jamaica to Scottish parents, is primarily remembered as a prolific journalist, reviewer, and editor and for his later critical work, *The Gay Science* (1866), which investigates the psychological links between poetry and pleasure. In *Poetics*, published in the midst of material time-standardization efforts across England, Dallas differentiates between the subjective experience of time and the regulation of external modes of time discipline:

> Time we represent to ourselves as an orderly succession of some kind…its real value with every man is subjective, what is long to one being short to another…The measure of time, therefore, which the imagination will provide, is not a uniform beat, like that of a clock, but one like the pulse, varying according to circumstances. (160-1)

For Dallas, meter is governed not by the "number and length of pauses of sound" but by the "quality of sounds as determined by accent" (161). Like the experience of time, the experience of the accent is subjective as indicated by Dallas' rhetorical question, "will any man with two ears read with only one accent?" (163). The accent, not the "length and number of syllables" allows "verse [to] impress ideas of time in another and finer manner" (164). Dallas concludes, "such, then, is metre in its simplest form – time heard" (164). Dallas' account of the personal experience of time (as opposed to clock time) as analogous to metrical time highlights the

[16] For an account of the development of John Harrison's clocks and of his rival Nevil Maskelyne's method for lunar calculations of longitude see J. Donald Fernie's "The Harrison-Maskelyne Affair" (2003).

variability of the "subdivisions of time" that constitute meter. This variability is contingent on emotion as Dallas observes "the voice of an impassioned speaker…will soon flow into waves and roll along in ever-swelling billows….and a poor speaker will mechanically try to reach the same effect by lifting his voice into an unchanging sing-song, ding-dong, that might easily be mistaken for an attempt at blank verse…" (159-60).

Not only does Dallas emphasize the variability of isochrony, he explicitly distinguishes between music and poetry (and several other types of mimetic art):

> As in Sculpture only the idea of space is wrought out, so in in Music only that of time; and as in Painting both space through form and time through colour are depicted, greater prominence, however, being given to the former, so in Poesy, ideas both of space and of time are conveyed, but especially of the latter. (165)

For Dallas, music and "poesy" are recognizably distinct from one another by the way in which poetry has recourse to the eye (through imagery) as well as the ear (through meter). That distinction allows him to maintain the similarities rather than the coincidence between musical and metrical time.

Dallas also maintains the necessity of harmony as described above, arguing,

> When by the first law of poetry…a timed or tuned expression is required, the nature of the concord struck between self and unself (in plain English, the sense) will determine a particular movement in the verse, and be satisfied with nothing else; but the love of harmony is pleased with any and every music, now with namby-pamby, again with the Alexandrine, and it ensures no thing, unless to insist that the connexion between the inward concord and the outward melody shall be well marked, thus only enforcing what is otherwise imperative. (168)

Because Dallas' system's foundation is a psychological reading of literature, he understands harmony to be part of the shaping for of the "movement of verse."[17]

Perhaps Dallas' most emphatic statement about the relationship between time and meter is his description of the "centrifugal force" of the mind and the "centripetal force of self-conscious" which "generates the circling numbers, the revolving harmonies of poesy – in one word, a roundelay" (171).[18] Accordingly, "the fine mechanism of verse goes round, wheel upon wheel, and wheel within wheel" (171-2). Ultimately, for Dallas, just as

> Clement of Rome beautifully says, that the Spirit of God is sent forth…to set the rhythm of the ages…in a like manner, it may not irreverently be said, that poets have come from God to attune the Times to the time of their verse. In adjusting the wheels of their song, they construct the timepiece of history, the horologe of centuries. (172)

Thus, in Dallas, we have our strongest statement of the connection of poetic meter to time and ultimately, to history.[19]

C. Thomas Patmore

T.S. Omond identifies Coventry Patmore's "Prefatory Study on English Metrical Law" (1870, reprinted from 1857) as the origin of the "New Prosody," the flurry of temporally-inflected prosodic debates that intensified around the midpoint of the Victorian period and again

[17] See Winifred Hughes' "E.S. Dallas: Victorian Poetics in Transition" for a nuanced account of Dallas' attempt "to make use of mid-Victorian theories of the unconscious as a basis for literary criticism" (1).

[18] For further discussion of the mental versus physical implications of Dallas' "roundelay" See Jason David Hall's "Materializing Meter: Physiology, Psychology, Prosody" (2011)

[19] Few critics recognize the extreme nature of Dallas' position. Instead, even in sympathetic accounts, his theories tend to be normalized, such as when Emily Harrington depicts his argument in this way: "Later prosodists attempted to shift focus from accent to time as the primary measure of verse. E.S. Dallas contended that accent was difficult to define and proposed using time as a measurement, assessing the duration of feet rather than syllables."

near the fin de siècle.[20] Omond does nominally exclude Dallas, whose *Poetics, an Essay on Poetry* (1852) anticipated much of the temporal metrics to come (and which Patmore's 1857 *Essay* was intended, in part, to review). Like Dallas, Coventry Patmore's "isochronous intervals" are not as equally divided as their name might imply. Patmore argues "that English verse is not properly measurable by the rules of Latin and Greek verse" asserting instead that there are "two indispensable conditions of metre, - first, that the sequence of vocal utterance, represented by written verse, shall be divided into equal or proportionate spaces; secondly, *that the fact of that division shall be made manifest* by an 'ictus' or beat'…(4, 15). However, Patmore goes on to insist "it is furthermore very necessary to be observed that the equality or proportion of metrical intervals between accent and accent is no more than general and approximate, and that expression in reading…admits, and even requires, frequent modifications, too insignificant or too subtle for notation, of the nominal equality of those spaces" (21). Patmore moves almost immediately from this concession to the impossibilty of performing the equality of isochronous intervals precisely into a justification of variation on the grounds of emotion. The "cultivated ear," Patmore claims, "rather delights in, than objects to…remission, inversion, or omission, when there is an emotional motive, as indicating an additional degree of that artistic consciousness, to the expression of which Hegel traces the very life of metre" (22). Just as Dallas' "impassioned speaker" will naturally "flow into waves and roll along in ever-swelling billows" rather than mechanically mimicking a metrically "unchanging sing-song, ding-dong,"

[20] Of Patmore, Omond writes, "By far the most remarkable contribution of this decade [1850s], however, was Coventry Patmore's *North British Review Essay*…his Essay is one of highest importance, and requires careful study…his Essay is a thing by itself. I regard it as inaugurating what I have called the "new prosody" (*English Metrists* 170-1).

Patmore's isochronous intervals (which, despite their name, are only approximately equally), can (and should) vary dramatically to express emotion.[21]

The variability of syllables per foot characteristic of temporal prosody as well as the emotional impetus for irregularity makes Patmore's system somewhat difficult to describe or identify. As Basil Champneys, an early biographer of Patmore, argues, in the later poems "both length of line and distribution of rhyme [are] ruled by a law that defies analysis," which causes him to conclude that "Patmore was never, in one sense, a metrist."[22] However, as Jason R. Rudy asserts, by 1877 "Patmore found the liberty to write the sort of poetry he had long hypothesized" (147). Unlike the metrical regularity of his much more famous *The Angel of the House* (1844), the poems of *Unknown Eros* (1877) "are astonishingly challenging both thematically and formally" despite having received relatively little (positive) critical attention (124).

To illustrate Patmore's implementation of his theories, I focus on the 1877 poem *Amelia* which is composed of lines that contain as few as one beat and as many as seven with no discernable pattern in their arrangement or end rhyme. While it may be difficult to scan Patmore's lines according to the time it takes to pronounce them, *Amelia* as well as many of the later poems allegorize the use of meter in explicitly temporal terms. Line seventy-five of *Amelia* is a particularly explicit example both of Patmore's attempt to implement his theories of temporal meter and of its allegorization of time.

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[21] Patmore emphasizes this point again near the end of the *Essay*, asserting "variety must be incessantly inspired by, and expressive of, ever-varying emotion. Every alteration of the position of the grammatical pause, every deviation from the strict and dull iambic rhythm, must be either sense or nonsense. *Such change is as real a mode of expressing emotion as words themselves are of expressing thought*; and when the means exist without reference to their proper ends, the effect of the 'variety' thereby obtained, is more offensive to right judgment, than the dullness which is supposed to be avoided" (48).

[22] Basil Champneys, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore, Volume 1*, 113.

In *Amelia*, the poem's male protagonist convinces Amelia's mother to permit an unsupervised outing to the grave of his first wife.[23] Once out of her mother's company and emboldened by the bird song, Amelia recites two lines from William Wordsworth's "Not in the Lucid Intervals of Life: An Evening Voluntary,"[24] although the lines are delayed by Patmore's description of Amelia's voice which "Went as a clock does, when the pendulum's off" (l. 75).[25] In the poem, this is undoubtedly a moment of great emotional excitement as the speaker greets Amelia's voice with "happy marvel," Amelia has been "'bolden'd" by "How bravely sang the birds" and how "all things in God's bounty did rejoice" (l. 74, 69, 70, 71). The emotional nature of this moment is also expressed in line seventy-five's exemplification of Patmore's temporal prosodic theory. The meter of this line could, with great strain, be described as roughly anapestic although it is impossible to explain the initial stressed syllable "Went" or to what foot "does" might belong.[26] The issue is made more difficult by Patmore's unique view of caesurae, which

[23] In *Coventry Patmore*, Edmund Gosse notes the strangeness of the poem's topic: "the subject of *Amelia* is not less original than its treatment. Never did a poet choose a theme more perilous, or one which must depend for its success more entirely on the sincerity of his thought and the distinction of his language" (224)

[24] Patmore does amend the quotation slightly: "'By grace divine,/Not otherwise, O Nature, are we thine!'" In Wordsworth's original, the syntax is slightly different, reading "we are" rather than "are we." The archaizing of the syntax exemplifies Patmore's assertion that "the very deformities produced, really or apparently, in the phraseology of a great poet, by the confinement of metre, are beautiful, exactly for the same reasons that in architecture justify the bossy, Gothic foliage, so unlike Nature, and yet, indeed, in its place and purpose as art, so much more beautiful than Nature" (*Essay* 8). Patmore cites Wordsworth specifically as holding "erroneous critical views of the necessity of approximating the language of poetry, as much as possible, to that of prose, especially be the avoidance of grammatical inversions [which] arose from his having overlooked the necessity of manifesting, as well as moving in, the bonds of verse" (9).

[25] Patmore identifies women as innately more capable of accurate prosodic recitation or reading of verse giving the description of Amelia's voicing of Wordsworth's poem even greater weight as an exemplar of temporal prosody.

[26] A different prosodist might be inclined to assume that the word "does" at the very least receives a secondary stress if not a full one, but I am following Patmore's assertion that English exhibits "a great preponderance of emphatic and unemphatic syllables in consecutive couples…Adjacent accents occur so seldom, that bad readers are apt to sink one of them when they do occur, or at least to abbreviate the decided intervening pause, which the ear, even of the

he believed were described by, rather than an interruption of, meter and could take the place of entire feet, as a rest might in a musical composition (*Essay* 22). The strong caesura after "does" seems to contain an ictus (given the preponderance of unstressed syllables that surround it), but its foot identity is unclear. While the meter is difficult to describe, it is distinctly not an approximation of iambic pentameter. Instead, it appears to be an exemplification of Patmore's conception of temporal prosody, made more apparent by the simile of the ill-functioning clock. Patmore's term "isochronous," used to describe the nature of the temporal metrical interval, is defined as indicating units that are "equal in duration, or in intervals of occurrence, as the vibrations of a pendulum" (OED). However, Amelia's voice is compared to a clock "when the pendulum's off" indicating that the instrument is not keeping accurate time or demarking equal intervals. The delay in the modification of "Went as a clock does," particularly over the length of the strong caesura, surprises, subverting the reader's expectation that Amelia's voice will be orderly and regularly rhythmical. Instead, the moment in which meter is allegorized, and temporal prosody exemplified, aligns irregular meter with inaccurate mechanical time-keeping.

The pendulum's inexactitude seems particularly appropriate given the general inaccuracy of the mechanical clock,[27] even those which were mass manufactured beginning in the 1850s. Mechanical watches required consistent, periodic winding and were subject to "losing time." Pendulum clocks, particularly those from the nineteenth century, needed to remain absolutely stationary as any movement affected the motion of the pendulum and thus the clock's ability to keep time. Atmospheric considerations, temperature changes and altitude (even moving a clock to the top of a tall building) could affect the accuracy of a pendulum clock. Patmore's analogy

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reader who neglects to give it, must instinctively crave" (*Essay* 12). I am much more inclined to assume that the fifth beat of what seems to be a five "foot" line is in the caesura.

[27] Mechanical clocks were the most accurate means of time-keeping in the nineteenth century and were replaced with the much more accurate quartz clocks in the 1930s and 40s.

for isochrony would have been pendulum clocks which were, in his experience, more incorrect than correct and in constant need of adjustment. Thus, isochrony with regard to a pendulum presents itself to the Victorian cultural imagination as approximate at best and dramatically irregular at worst. Again, it seems that scholars have over-stated the equality of Patmore's "isochronous intervals" and the nature of the temporal prosody project more generally, which, I argue, explicitly admits of, celebrates, and is exemplified by, metrical irregularity.

D. T. S. Omond

Although I have classified T.S. Omond along with Steele, Dallas, and Patmore, his critical output was substantially more significant than the foregoing prosodists as was his role in what Meredith Martin has termed the "prosody wars."[28] Along with George Saintsbury and Edwin Guest, Omond produced not just an account of prosody, but both a detailed prosodic bibliography and a history of metrical theory entitled *English Metrists* (1921). Omond is the subject of eight annotations in Brogan's bibliography and is mentioned in far more as he was a prolific correspondent with a number of contemporary prosodists including George Saintsbury, Robert Bridges, Thomas MacDonagh, and others in the United States, New Zealand, and Australia. But for such an engaged, prolific, and well-regarded theorist, he has almost entirely disappeared from the critical landscape. It is very difficult to find much if any biographical information about Omond. We know that he was a solicitor and that he lived at 14 Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells, England. Otherwise, he is largely a cipher. He insisted that all of his correspondence be burned after his death and apparently, his wishes were honored. I was able to see a few letters that he had written to Thomas MacDonagh only because they are part of the official file on MacDonagh at the National Library of Ireland because MacDonagh was one of

[28] See Meredith Martin's *The Rise and Fall of Meter* (2012) particularly chapter 3 "The Institution of Meter" (79-108)

the martyrs of the 1916 Easter Rising. The letters are exceptionally kind, as Omond was commenting on MacDonagh's masters' thesis on Thomas Campion.[29] Otherwise, the letters that were not published appear to be lost. I can't be sure of the impact of this dearth of information about one of the most important temporal prosodists of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but it does seem that the lack of clarifying material has perhaps contributed to the unpopularity of the system he championed. Certainly, Omond is the central prosodic authority for this project, resurfacing in every chapter. And like the foregoing prosodists, Omond makes clear the temporal, not musical, basis of meter, arguing in the opening pages of *A Study of Metre* that although the proponents of "musical scansion…emphasize the idea of *time,*" those adhering to non-musical systems generally ignore it: "While theoretically admitting time as an element in all verse, they [non-temporal prosodists] practically leave it out of their account" (x). He goes on to assert that "in the following study, time is taken as the basis of our verse, but music and metre are not regarded as synonymous" (xii).[30]

Because Omond is discussed extensively in later portions of this project, rather than elaborating the ways in which he exemplifies temporal prosodic commitments, I would like to

[29] Omond includes MacDonagh in *English Metrists*: "Several publications appeared in 1913. First came *Thomas Campion and the Art of English Poetry*, by Thomas MacDonagh…Mr. MacDonagh was an enthusiastic young Irishman, who fought in the rebellion of 1916, and paid the penalty…[his more interesting points] are some remarks on recitations by W.B. Yeats and AE and on the way we English have of overstressing our accents (258)."

[30] Omond does seem to insist on exact equality of what he calls "time spaces," rather than approximations or relationships of ratio. However, he ultimately admits that those "time spaces" are made up of syllables and rests where the syllables are insufficient. He also refers to consistently to measurement by the "ear" arguing for measurement through correct performance. In these ways, he fulfills the requirements of a temporal prosodist outlined above. He is also, however, one of the figures that really confuses the issue of quantity in verse, at times arguing for the measurement of the duration of syllables. For a more detailed account of his system see *A Study of Metre* (1903) particularly the first chapter "The 'Period' – Time and Pause" (1-16).

describe one of his more unique contentions. Near the end of *English Metrists* Omond begins to reflect on the project as a whole:

> What, then, is the upshot of the whole matter? This, for certain; that we have as yet no established system of prosody. Much analytic inquiry has yielded no synthesis authoritative and generally accepted. It is a strange fact, so late in the history of our literature; Greek metrists would have viewed it with surprise. That the synthesis will come is surely past question. When it does come, I suspect it will be found less and not more complex than its many predecessors. (266-7)

After detailing the benefits and shortcomings of prosodic systems from the Elizabethan period to the present day, after writing several volumes elaborating his own system, and after engaging in a broad correspondence with major metrists of the day, Omond concludes that there really is not a clear system of prosody in English. While he cannot be sure of the precise contours of what will eventually be the established system, he is sure of one thing:

> That this law is a temporal one I cannot doubt. Verse without time-measure is about as conceivable as weaving without thread…. Failure to apprehend this truth has made lifeless much of our metrical criticism. Verse considered apart from time is a dead thing, a corpse for the dissecting theatre of grammarians; the life is fled, how then can their analysis find it? (267)

Omond ends the book with a call to action for future prosodists, inviting them to revise and refine what he has offered in the volume and in his body of work. In some ways, we find the field of prosody much as Omond left it. Certainly, "foot scansion" has dominated pedagogical accounts of meter, but the many returns to the old, and odd, the theories that remain unsubsumed, challenge this dominance and seem like responses to Omond's invitation. While it is difficult to

reconstruct these prosodic discourses and to think with them, we can at least remember that Omond proffers us a "cordial salutation" (269).

III. The Detemporalization of "Lyric" Time

Part of the impetus for this project is the way in which literary critics have insisted that "lyric" poetry is characterized in large part by "timelessness" or a desire to transcend, compress, and otherwise frustrate chronology.[31] This critical conviction has made it difficult to read meter as an expression or index of any kind of temporality beyond the evasion of the temporal. In *Lyric Time: Dickinson and the Limits of Genre*, Sharon Cameron describes one of the primary "tendencies" of lyric as "the manifest concern with direct questions about temporality and with the object relations that are its consequence" (242). For Cameron, the "lyric" is characterized not simply by its short length, but rather, by the way it enacts a particular mode of temporal compression. She asserts that,

> although lyric verbs often record temporal change, they also collapse their progressions so that movement is not consecutive but is rather heaped or layered. This stacking up of movement, temporal forays cut off from linear progression and treated instead as if they were vertically additive…is quite opposite to the way in which meaning 'unfolds' in novels or in the drama. The least mimetic of all art forms, the lyric compresses rather than imitates life; it will withstand the outrage of any complexity for the sake of being able to present sequence as if it were a unity. (240-1)

[31] The critical impulse to see "timelessness" as a characteristic of trans-historical genre called the lyric is a symptom of the process that Virginia Jackson has termed "lyricization." For a full articulation of this theory, see Jackson's *Dickinson's Misery*: *A Theory of Lyric Reading* (2005).

While Cameron's lyric is explicitly and characteristically concerned with temporality and, in fact, enacts its own specific kind of temporality, this kind of lyric time is fundamentally different from the way in which we experience other genres and is outside of the realm of lived experience.

Importantly, Cameron derives these tendencies of lyric from close analysis of a single poet, Emily Dickinson, but offers her generic characteristics as applicable not just to all other nineteenth-century American poetry, but to the work of all poets across an extensive historical range. She argues:

> the premise that the lyric compression of temporality is similarly generated by the Romantic movement does not bear up under the scrutiny of lyrics written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or even in fact earlier. For as we shall see…all these features that unhinge time from its fixtures and reduce it to a unity – are present in the earliest lyrics we can imagine. (241)

Not only does Cameron argue that the lyric resists the depiction of experiential time, she also argues that it is a genre that is consistent across time, at least as far back as the sixteenth century. She hedges this totalizing definition by asserting that these are "tendencies" and not necessary characteristics of each and every lyric poem, but these are the animating features of her theory of lyric (241-2).

We can also read the strangeness of this kind of general definition of "lyric" backward through Herbert Tucker's description of the dramatic monologue in his "Dramatic Monologue and the Overhearing of Lyric" (1985). Tucker asserts that "the charmed circle of lyric finds itself [in the case of the dramatic monologue] included by the kind of historical particularity that lyric genres exclude by design, and in the process readers find themselves unsettlingly historicized

and contextualized as well" (228). Tucker further suggests that Tennyson and Browning's early dramatic monologues were "implicitly polemical" given the "lyrical climate of the day" (228). The dramatic monologue frustrates our conceptions of the lyric tradition through its demystification of subjectivity "by historical contextualization that is the generic privilege of the dramatic monologue" (228). Thus, Tucker suggests, the "charmed circle of lyric" is decontextualized and atemporal while the subjectivity it depicts (or issues from) is, in some way, mystified. Through his contrast of the historical specificity and internal chronology of the dramatic monologue with the lyric, he assumes that the lyric is neither historical nor concerned with anything like unfolding temporality.

Perhaps the strongest statement of the detemporalized lyric is made by Jonathan Culler, who argues that "if we would know something of the poetics of the lyric we should study apostrophe" and then opposes this "apostrophic poetry" to the temporality of narrative. Culler argues:

> If one brings together in a poem a boy, some birds, a few blessed creatures, and some mountains, meadows, hills and groves, one tends to place them in a narrative where one thing leads to another; the events which form ask to be temporally located; soon one has a poem which would provoke Shelley's strictures. But if one puts into a poem thou shepherd boy, ye blessed creatures, ye birds, they are immediately associated with what might be called a timeless present but is better seen as a temporality of writing. Even if the birds were only glimpsed once in the past, to apostrophize them as "ye birds" is to locate them in the time of the apostrophe-a special temporality which is the set of all moments at which writing can say "now." This is a time of discourse rather than story. So located by apostrophes, birds, creatures, boys, etc. resist being organized into events that

> can be narrated for they are inserted in the poem as elements of the event which the poem is attempting to be... Such considerations suggest that one distinguish two forces in poetry, the narrative and the apostrophic, and that the lyric is characteristically the triumph of the apostrophic. (66-7)

For Culler, poetry can have narrative or apostrophic impulses, but what he calls the lyric is decidedly non-narrative, and thus, not mimetic of any kind of chronological temporality. Instead, they lyric enacts the "now" of writing. As Culler puts it:

> Apostrophe resists narrative because its now is not a moment in a temporal sequence but a now of discourse, of writing. This temporality of writing is scarcely understood, difficult to think, but it seems to be that towards which the lyric strives. Proverbial definition calls the lyric a monument to immediacy, which presumably means a detemporalized immediacy, an immediacy of fiction, or in Keats's phrase from "To J.R.," "one eternal pant." This is, of course, the condition which Keats describes in "Ode on a Grecian Urn": a fictional time in which nothing happens but which is the essence of happening. (68)

I have been quoting from Culler's 1977 article "Apostrophe," but this position on the detemporalization of the lyric, on the "time of writing" is a commitment he maintains throughout his career. To put it another way, this is not merely a quirk of 1970s and 1980s criticism, but a dominant mode of reading that persists to the present. As Culler argues in his 2015 *Theory of the Lyric*:

> if we think of the time of enunciation, of the lyric attempt to be itself an event rather than the representation of an event, this changes the perspective on the lyric present…Ever since Pindar and doubtless before, lyrics have been constructed for

reperformance, with an iterable *now*: not timeless but a moment of time that is repeated every time the poem is read" (295).

Here Culler changes the terms ever so slightly, arguing for an "iterable *now*" that seems very much like the "now of discourse, of writing." He even extends the historical purview of this generic characteristic, offering us a characteristic of lyric that begins not just in the sixteenth century as Cameron suggests, but with Pindar. While there has been considerable push back on this definition and theory of lyric, particularly from scholars using New Formalist and Historical Poetics methodologies, the "timelessness" of lyric remains a critical commonplace against which this project is positioned.[32] I see the "timeless" lyric not as a useful characteristic of a genre, but as a characteristic of a reading practice that allows critics to generalize about huge swaths of writing and to collapse that writing into a very large genre without having to know much about the histories or theories out of which that writing was produced. Rather, this project attempts to situate the work of poets within the context of their prosodic commitments and the particular time cultures they were experiencing to better understand what it is that poetry has to say about time.

IV. Changing Times

In 1908, the Educational Book Company of London began serially publishing *The Children's Encyclopedia*, which contained a thematically, rather than alphabetically, arranged grab-bag of patriotically inflected, illustrated entries on such topics as "Wonder," "Golden Deeds," "Familiar

[32] One clear sign of the debate are the many public conversations that have taken place around the New Lyric Studies at professional meetings in the last several years. I can point to the continued prevalence of the belief in the timeless lyric from my own experience at the 2016 American Conference of Irish Studies where I was on a panel explicitly discussing Culler's *Theory of Lyric* and its possible applications for Irish Studies. Irish literary studies tend to be rather historicist already, but there has been almost no application of Historical Poetics methods in explicitly Irish Studies contexts.

Things" and "The Child's Own Life." This encyclopedia (which was marketed as *The Book of Knowledge* in the U.S. beginning in 1910) was advertised by a paper toy comprised of a black envelope with a circular hole cut out of the middle to reveal sections of the paper ovoid it contains. The ovoid is printed with a world map and spins on a brad to reveal the globe at different times of day. The map is mostly light blue interspersed with not insignificant chunks of pink to designate all of the land mass that then made up the British Empire. Both hour designations and terms for segments of the day (e.g. "Morning," "Forenoon," "Midnight") encircle the map like the numbers of a clock, denoting that "the circle shows the area of the sun – what we may call the field of sunshine, or the place where the sun is always shining." Above the map, the toy is emblazoned with an explanatory caption titled "Why the Sun Never Sets Upon the British Empire." The caption begins with the paradox of Britain's identification both as a tiny island and as a world-spanning empire claiming that while England "seems hardly more than a speck on the map of the world" it has expanded such that "one-fifth of the whole earth and one-fifth of its peoples live under the British flag." To express the immenseness of England's colonial holdings, the caption-writer appeals to Britain's privileged relationship to solar phenomena: "so vast is this empire that the sun never sets upon it; it is an empire of eternal sun."[33] I begin this section with a description of this toy because it is emblematic of the way in which globalizing time was difficult to think and represent. This toy, like the foregoing metrical systems discussed, was a pedagogical tool; its intent was to naturalize a conception of national time so expansive that it is clearly a social and political construct. In each chapter, I isolate a particular time change or orientation toward a temporal issue for each poet, but here I provide a

[33] Of course, the phrase has a long history, invoked to describe the ancient Persian and Egyptian empires, the Spanish empire of the 16th century, 18th-century France, and 19th and early 20th-century England.

brief overview of some of the social and political transformations that produced these "changing times" and made the experience of time in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries so complex.

One of the primary factors instigating the complex relationship to temporality that begins with Victorian poets is the revolution in temporal thinking catalyzed by the implementation (and the processes preceding that implementation) of "standard time." In modernist studies, the standardization of time, in combination with the railroad's capacity for dislocation, are conventionally read as engines driving formal innovation. Consider this passage from Virginia Woolf's *The Waves*,

> 'Now we are off,' said Louis. 'Now I hang suspended without attachments. We are nowhere. We are passing through England in a train. England slips by the window, always changing from hill to wood, from rivers and willows to towns again. And I have no firm ground to which I go. (55)

The sense that "Now…we are nowhere" because of the powerfully alienating technology of the train emphasizes not only the complexity and difficulty of describing temporality of the modern period, but also the way in which innovations in technology were read as severing the individual from his proper location and thus, from a traditional sense of personal identity. As Randall Stevenson puts it in "Greenwich Meanings: Clocks and Things in Modernist and Postmodernist Fiction,"

> For all these writers [Eliot, Lawrence, Joyce, Pynchon], the clock and its precise hours had indeed become a kind of curse. However convenient for scientists, businessmen, or railway travelers, new systematization of time had become a key component in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century industrial and economic developments which had

left the 'total human personality' reduced, reified, and subordinated within processes of increasingly soulless automation and mechanization. (127-8)

While Stevenson does note that this is a "late-nineteenth" century problem as well as a problem for modernist writers, the focus of his paper and of the issue of the aesthetic effect of standard time is decidedly modernist. This occlusion of the Victorian response to standard time could in part be a function of the fact that the reliable and universal distribution of accurate standard time was practically impossible until the early twentieth century and thus, its effects are read as a twentieth-century phenomenon. Recently, horologists have been working to provide a more nuanced account of the implementation of standard time, one which breaks with the conventional narrative that "the technology [of standard time keeping and dissemination] was largely unproblematic, reliable and taken up very quickly" (6). As David Rooney and James Nye point out in "'Greenwich Observatory Time for the public benefit': standard time and Victorian networks of regulation," (2009) "the discourse surrounding the means by which standardized time was defined and distributed in Britain and elsewhere in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries…has traditionally been characterized by an approach focusing on novelty and linear progress" (6). Instead, Rooney and Nye attempt to emphasize "the long duration of 'contestedness' of the 'new' technologies of standard time distribution long after they had ceased to be innovative" (7). The following summarization of popular assumptions about time standardization in Britain and the legal, technical and economic realities is worth quoting in full:

> There is an assumption in Derek Howse's standard work[34] and elsewhere that there was a rapid and inevitable de facto standardization initiated in 1852 and completed long before

[34] Rooney and Nye are referring to Derek Howe's *Greenwich Time and the Discovery of Longitude* (1980, reprinted 2003), which is an often-referenced account of time standardization despite being a coffee table-type book written by the head of navigation and astronomy of the Greenwich Observatory to celebrate the anniversary of the Prime Meridian.

> the 1880 Time Act, the latter therefore being merely a catching-up instrument. Greenwich time, so the account goes, was a trustworthy and unambiguous standard, easy to access and technologically straightforward, and (despite the usual Luddite grumbling about 'railway aggression') there was plenty of demand for it, so it proliferated, pretty much straightaway. Yet the facts…appear to reinforce the suggestion in this paper that the situation was not as clear-cut, or as rapid, or indeed as inevitable, as it might have seemed. Moreover, the received historical view that the technology was relatively straightforward also requires adjustment (20).

The routine ascription of the imposition of universal time on personal experience to explain modernist literary innovation becomes untenable once the varieties of contestation provoked by the long process of time standardization are properly understood.

Given this strangeness in the technical history (much of which seems fueled by progressivist accounts provided by the Greenwich Observatory), I read the appropriation of standard time in modernist criticism and standard time's relative exclusion from the consideration of Victorian texts as an effect of the extreme rupture created by a method of periodization that presents the modernist period as utterly unlike its Victorian predecessor. While my primary objective is not to make a "bridge argument" like Carol T. Christ's very persuasive *Victorian and Modern Poetics*, I do read the poets and theorists invested in temporal prosody throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries without the insurmountable style divide often erected there. Nor am I suggesting that the modernist writers I discuss are "really" Victorian or that the Victorian writers are "early" modernists. Rather, both cohorts are acutely conscious of, and committed to working out, the complex changes in the experience of time.[35]

[35] A great deal of work has already been done to counter the rupture that seems to be implied by the ethos of Pound's oft quoted phrase "MAKE IT NEW." In fact, as Kurt Heinzelman points out

Thus, the history of time standardization is an important feature of my argument, one which surfaces thematically in each chapter. Before the introduction of standard time, clocks (if available) in a particular area were set according to "apparent solar time" and later "solar mean time." This could result in several minutes' worth of difference between relatively close locations which, with the advent of the post office, the railroad and the telegraph, proved rather problematic. In *Greenwich Time*, Derek Howse describes a broadsheet published in 1847 by Henry Booth, detailing some of the problems

> with the population as a whole keeping a different time from the railways and telegraphs – the missed trains; Bradshaw's timetable which, being in local time, seemed to make east-west travel faster than going from west to east; the mail that left Holyhead at midnight on Wednesday by Holyhead time, which happened to be Thursday morning by London time; [and] the baby born in London early on Saturday, the news of whose birth could be received in Dublin by telegraph on Friday night. (87-8)

Before the increased speed of communication and transportation, small differences in time did not fundamentally affect lived experience; however, after 1835, one cross-country train ride could require a passenger to reset his watch as many as nine times. While it was clear that some form of time standardization was necessary and the Railway Clearing House did standardize to

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"MAKE IT NEW is not merely a mistranslation but a kind of cultural sounding: it is a translation (from French) of a translation (from Manchuan or Mongolian Chinese) of a translation (from twelfth-century neo-Confucian Chinese) of a text of greater antiquity than the earliest parts of the Hebrew Bible. So, what is 'new' has here passed through four excavations, traversing nearly four millennia…the apotheosis of translation into the vehicle for disclosing what remains new about antiquity is one of Pound's most luminous claims" (132). And of course, as Daniel Albright argues in "Modernist poetic form," "If Modernism implies experimentation with the limits of art, shocks and thrills beyond all previous bounds, then, in the matter of poetic form, the Victorians were more Modernist than the Modernists themselves. As inventors of new stanza forms, transgressors of prosodic boundaries and explorers of new sonorities of verse, the Victorians were unsurpassable – the Modernist poets began their careers in a world in which the Victorians had already broken all the rules and developed strange and idiosyncratic new rules" (24).

GMT in September of 1847, local time was still observed well into the latter half of the 19th century. Towns on the periphery, both in the east and west, were most likely to refuse to conform to railroad time (which was, for the most part, standard time) and this adherence simultaneously to two forms of time was made materially manifest in the Tom Tower at Christ Church in Oxford whose clock had two minute hands, "one set to Oxford time, one to Greenwich" (109).

While the lived experience of multiple versions of time proved both practically and psychologically problematic, the legal ramifications were also profound. Despite the fact that by 1855 "98 per cent of the public clocks in Great Britain were set to GMT, there was still nothing on the statue book to define what was the time for legal purposes" (113). It was not until August of 1880 that the Statutes (Definition of Time) Act was passed. Adam Barrows describes the debate registered at the Prime Meridian Conference as "an example of resistance from within modernity, however unsuccessful, against the global suppression of social time' (36). The eventual misrepresentation of the conference by Sanford Fleming[36] and his associates indicates that global time standardization "was…not a move devised by the British Empire, but by transnational investors who used (or misused) the 'dread international conference'…to synchronize countries to precisely coordinated capital flow" (45). For Barrows, the early twentieth century marks the globalization, not the nationalization, of time at the behest of international businessmen with foreign economic interests. Thus, resistance to global time standardization in the early twentieth century was based on an effort to protect national social time, not an idealized version of personal time.

[36] Sir Sanford Fleming, a Canadian railroad engineer, entrepreneur and the author of global time zones, is the protagonist in most narratives of time standardization, especially Clark Blaise's rather misleading *Time Lord: Sir Sanford Fleming and the Creation of Standard Time* (2002). For a detailed corrective of Blaise's account of technological advances in time measurement and distribution see Ian Bartky's *One Time Fits All:The Campaign for Global Uniformity* (2007).

The 1880 Act was described as designed "to remove doubts as to the meaning of Expressions relative to Time occurring in Acts of Parliament, deeds and other legal instruments" (19). The act, which is extremely brief and was passed through Parliament without discussion after a series of contentious conventions, reads:

> Whenever any expression of time occurs in any Act of Parliament, deed or other legal instrument, the time referred shall, unless it is otherwise specifically stated, be held in the case of Great Britain to be Greenwich mean time, and in the case of Ireland, Dublin Mean Time.[37] (19)

The language of the statute is particularly telling as it is intended to standardize the "expression" of the measurement of time, not to impose a Newtonian sense of "absolute time." By 1880, the Newtonian thinking that might invite a standardized version of time was already being frustrated by the lived experience of multiple versions of time. In fact, Peter Louis Galison suggests that Einstein's practical experience of the uneven measurement of time in the standardization process influenced and inspired his thinking about relativity. As Hannah Gay asserts, the "new cultural-technological situation, one in which people sought uniformity in timekeeping in order to co-ordinate tasks and modernize the economy, may have contributed also to the emergence of new forms of relativistic thinking in the wider culture" (110). For Gay, this relativistic thinking is a product of the human ability "to internalize and live with many different time notations, astronomical, biological, private and public" (111). And while she primarily attributes the recognition of the simultaneous varieties of lived time to authors like Proust and Joyce, her

[37] Dublin Mean Time or "Dunsink Time" was measured and distributed by the Dublin Observatory and was approximately 25 minutes and 21 seconds later than GMT. Ireland eventually accepted GMT on 1 October 1916.

analysis is drawn directly from the experience of the standardization of time occurring throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.

VI. Chapter Summaries

In Chapter one "Rudyard Kipling, the Ballad-Theory of Civilization, and the Standardizing Globe," I argue that Rudyard Kipling uses the ballad and ballad meter to maintain distinctions of civilizational development between countries, particularly between India and England. To do so, I resituate Kipling's understanding of the ballad within the Homeric translation debates of the mid-nineteenth century and competing theories of the relationship of the ballad and oral culture to supposedly "later" cultural forms. I show Kipling's commitment to the ballad as an index of "civilizational" development and read his early volume *Departmental Ditties* as a self-conscious attempt to produce the early stages of an "Anglo-Indian" literary history. And while critics have attempted to rehabilitate Kipling's work by suggesting that characters like Kim have hybrid identities which are valorized above those of strictly British characters, I show that fear of miscegenation and temporal contamination animate Kipling's horror stories and motivate his use of the ballad as a tool for distinguishing between historical civilizational status. In particular, I show that Kipling employs a wide range of "ballad meters" to represent the very different experiences of time, and thus, history, in India and England.

In chapter two "W.B. Yeats, Temporal Prosody, and Irish Rhythm" I argue that W.B. Yeats's insistence on the distinctly Irish nature of his meter has occluded our ability to recognize his participation in the nineteenth-century discourse of temporal prosody. I show how Yeats situated himself as the inheritor of a continuous, Irish peasant tradition of literary style through his strategic editing and anthologizing in the early nineteenth century. I trace Yeats's construction of this inheritance through his accounts of his own rhythm which he describes as

influenced by the Irish language (despite his lack of language skills) and his psaltery experiments. Yeats casts both this "Irish" rhythm and his psaltery chanting as recoveries of ancient arts kept alive in the folk traditions of the still-living Irish peasantry. In particular, I show how Yeats's poem "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" and his evolving critical descriptions and uses of it, register his need to position himself as an inheritor of an ancient, fragmented, yet unbroken, Irish literary tradition, despite his Anglo-Irish background. I pay close attention to Yeats's engagement with the Irish poet, prosodist, and nationalist Thomas MacDonagh who described Yeats's metrical practice as having an explicitly Irish metrical character. Yeats highly valued this endorsement from the Irish-speaking literary scholar. The latter half of the chapter examines the aftermath of the 1916 Easter Rising which effectively severed the dream of Yeats's unbroken, Irish, literary history, particularly through the execution of MacDonagh for his role in the Rising and through the imposition of Greenwich Mean Time on Ireland later that same year. I examine Yeats's poem "Easter, 1916," reading in the ambiguously three or four beat lines the unique experience of living under two different temporal regimes.

In the final chapter, "T.S. Eliot, the New Prosody, and the Time of Global Capital," I argue that T.S. Eliot's perspective about the standardization of time required for the leveraging of global capital is written into the metrical form of *The Waste Land*. This temporal allegorization of meter is possible because Eliot, through his early intercourse with Yeats and Yeats's psaltery experiments, adhered to a temporal view of meter and thought of the poetic line as divided into time segments like the musical bar instead of a Latinate foot. We can see this allegorization in Eliot's invocation of "Greenwich reach" in conjunction with his account of "The city" or financial district of London and in his depiction of the time discipline symbolized by the clock of St. Mary Woolnoth. Where critics have previously only registered the

metaphorical possibilities of Eliot's economic allusions, I argue that Eliot's knowledge of international banking, particularly through his experience at Lloyd's Bank managing German reparations from WWI and his knowledge of the spread of global time required to facilitate such economic exchange, can be heard in the variety of metrical times present in the poem. What has been cast in many passages as a prime example of free verse is, I argue, actually an exemplification of the irregularity and "harmony" licensed by temporal prosody. Ultimately, *The Waste Land* registers Eliot's fears about the severity of the Treaty of Versailles in the final line of the poem, his chanted "*Shantih shantih shantih"* a grim rhythmic depiction of the harsh future that such extreme reparations could usher in for a globalizing world.

CHAPTER 1

Rudyard Kipling, the Ballad-Theory of Civilization, and the Standardizing Globe

I. Introduction by way of "Recessional"

According to R. E. Harbord, Rudyard Kipling conceived of one of his most famous poems, "Recessional" as "something of a *nuzzer-wattu*" or "an averter of the evil eye."[38] The poem was published in the *Times* in July 1897 to mark the closing of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and the tone of the poem is noticeably at odds with the festive mood and the demonstrations of naval dominance that had also marked the occasion.[39] Rather than proclaiming the pomp and glory of the British empire, the poem's strange temporality is a warning about the inevitable demise of all empires, particularly in the third stanza:

> Far-called, our navies melt away;
> On dune and headland sinks the fire:
> Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
> Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
> Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
> Lest we forget - lest we forget! (12-18)

Here, Kipling uses the present tense to align the British empire with the fates of ancient fallen cities, foretelling the doom of an over-extended military and suggesting that the "pomp" of the Diamond Jubilee itself will sink into obscurity just like the former glories of "Nineveh and Tyre." While the poem was consecrated into *The English Hymnal* in 1906 and sung by 10,000

[38] See "The Manuscript of 'Recessional': A Rare Document" in *The Kipling Journal* Vol. X, No. 67. This article also reproduces the cover letter Kipling used to send the poem to *The Times* which includes the corroborating claim "We have been blowing up the trumpets of the New Moon a little too much for white men, and it is about time we sobered down" (12).
[39] See Ann Parry's *The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling* (79) and Tricia Lootens' "Victorian Poetry and Patriotism" (269).

British troops after the fall of Pretoria to Britain in 1900, the verse lacks much of the imperial confidence that contemporary readers assume comprises most of Kipling's work. Rather than a poem declaring the glories of Britain's ever expanding global empire, one of Kipling's most famous and lauded poems articulates a complex historical perspective. The refrain that concludes four of the five stanzas "Lest we forget – lest we forget!" ostensibly warns British subjects against the national hubris that would allow them to forget that it is only under God's "awful Hand" that England holds "Dominion over palm and pine" (3-4). However, Kipling's well-known religious ambivalence[40] makes such a reading difficult to accept at face value. Rather, the eight times repeated "lest we forget" refers to England's easy amnesia with regard to the civilizational decline suffered by every preceding empire. While the title of the poem could be read as marking the analogy between the conclusion of a church service and the concluding ceremonies of the Diamond Jubilee, it also suggests the recession of England's historical status as a world dominating empire.[41] In this chapter, I argue that the historical anxiety represented in "Recessional" is not anomalous, but typical of Kipling's pervasive conviction that the British Empire was constantly in danger of civilizational decline. This decline so concerned Kipling that the maintenance of a clear distinction between colonial and English time, and thus, a clear distinction between colonial and English stages of history, is at the heart of his poetic project. These historical anxieties can be read in Kipling's attempts to maintain temporal

[40] "In later life Lockwood Kipling admitted to having never possessed any firm belief in a personal deity, a position roughly mirrored by his son, whose evangelical guardian at Southsea left him with a quotable familiarity with scripture unusual for his generation, but thoroughly embittered him against proselytic creeds" (Bubb Kindle Location 1127). In "Kipling's Poems" E.M. Forster argues that "The God of his celebrated 'Recessional' is a Hebrew deity who has given us dominion over palm and pine and who may take that dominion away if we do not keep the law; the spirit is not mentioned" (22).

[41] Originally, Kipling entitled the poem "After," and later "Retrocessional" before settling on "Recessional" (*Kipling Journal* 12).

incommensurability between England and India through his investments in the temporal nature of "metre" and a particular version of the "ballad-theory of civilization."[42] In this chapter, I resituate Rudyard Kipling's early ballads within the Victorian ballad revival reading Kipling's "first book" *Departmental Ditties* (1886) as a self-conscious stage of ballad collection that marks Kipling's attempt to fix Indian temporality at a particular developmental point in relation to that of England. In doing so, I show how master-metrist Rudyard Kipling's rhythmic practice is not merely the poetic equivalent of an unceasingly-regular, martial drum, but an index of broad and complex metrical discourses and a mechanism for managing temporal distinctions, which, for Kipling, is short-hand for maintaining historical, civilizational distinctions between different nations.

II. Maintaining Temporal Distinction in a Standardizing World

In a characteristically lively letter to his son John in 1908, Rudyard Kipling describes the experience of visiting Greenwich, England and seeing the Prime Meridian for the first time:

> Then I went to Greenwich Observatory and *I saw the meridian of Greenwich!* It is a sort of tiny gutter in concrete across a public path outside the observatory and it looks like this as you look [sketch of meridian] down on it. I could not help thinking of all the poor chaps at sea all over the world counting to it or from it and I hoped they would reach their ports in safety. It gave me a most funny feeling to actually see the Chief Meridian of all the world marked out on the ground. (339)

While looking directly down at the Prime Meridian, Kipling imagines the thousands of British sailors who were simultaneously at a remove from the line but using it for spatial and temporal

[42] See Meredith Martin's "Imperfectly Civilized": Ballads, Nations, and Histories of Form" (2015) for an excellent account of multiple applications of the concept, particularly with regard to Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

reckoning.[43] Kipling both feels for the "poor chaps" for whom distance has made Greenwich an arithmetical abstraction and feels the strangeness of being in such a concrete relation to the meridian. This close proximity to the "Chief Meridian" conjures the massive network of British sailors measuring their distance from the imaginary line and their displacement from the "tiny gutter in concrete" which symbolizes a complex and relatively new system of time standardization for "all the world."[44] The strangeness of a confrontation with a geographical cum temporal demarcation and the concomitant need to parse and evaluate the temporal diffuseness of empire recur throughout Kipling's published work. At times, it seems that Kipling maintains the coherence of England's empire despite the spatial and temporal displacement of her far-flung citizens and sailors, often attributing greater affiliation with and understanding of England to those who are absent. This sentiment is most famously expressed in the opening lines of the poem "The English Flag," "what should they know of England who only England know?" (l.

[43] This isn't a particularly large leap given that in the prior paragraph Kipling describes visiting the massive Royal Naval School: "We saw them all drill in an enormous yard. They did Swedish exercises and it made Mummy and me dizzy to see their arms and legs all move together" (338). However, as I argue in my final chapter, the area around the Greenwich Observatory is thickly resonant with markers of the disbursement and management of colonial power. Kipling's awareness of the importance of the site can be seen in letter to Andrew MacPhail describing the same trip: "I've just come back from a couple of nights at Greenwich Hospital in a house opposite the house where Byng lived till he was shot; and fronting all the pageant of the Thames. You never imagined anything like it. The Greenwich Museum, the painted Hall and so forth were good enough to look at but one couldn't tear oneself away from the River and all night long the chugging of ships' engines and the calls on the horns were continuous" (336). Here Kipling is describing the massive concentration of manufacture and shipping that comprised the "Greenwich Reach" section of the Thames overlooked by the Greenwich Observatory and the Greenwich Hospital that is so important to T.S. Eliot in *The Waste Land* that I describe at length in chapter three.

[44] Greenwich was adopted as the Prime Meridian a mere twenty-four years earlier at the 1884 International Meridian Conference in Washington, D.C. For an excellent account of the history of the conference and the ways it has been misread in modernist literature see Adam Barrows' *The Cosmic Time of Empire* (2011) particularly chapter 1 "Standard Time, Greenwich, and the Cosmopolitan Clock." See also Vanessa Ogle's *The Global Transformation of Time* particularly pages 12-26.

2).[45] Similarly, critics have read Kipling's *Kim* (1901), and its titular character in particular, as a successful "hybrid of English punctuality and exotic timelessness" where the advantages of disparate English and Indian time senses can mix and inhere in a single individual (or at the very least non-modern time sense can be managed by an efficient colonial apparatus) (77).[46] However, while Kim O'Hara might appear to be an exemplar of British and Indian syncretism, particularly for those critics interested in rehabilitating Kipling as a proto-multi-cultural writer, there are numerous counter examples in Kipling's work that emphasize the incommensurability of different cultures and different time senses.

One of Kipling's darkest and most brutal stories, "Beyond the Pale" (1888)[47] depicts the dangers of attempting to embody cultural hybridity. The story opens with a warning: "a man should, whatever happens, keep to his own caste, race and breed. Let the White go to the White and the Black to the Black. Then, whatever trouble falls is in the ordinary course of things—neither sudden, alien, nor unexpected" (155). What follows is an account of a love story between

[45] "The English Flag" was originally published in *St. James Gazette* in 1891 and collected in the first edition of *Barrack Room Ballads* (1892).

[46] See also Abdul R. JanMohamed's "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonial Literature" (1985), "Reading Between the Lines: Geography and Hybridity in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*" (2002) by Sailaja Krishnamurth and Sailaja Krishnamurti, Don Randall's "Ethnography and the Hybrid Boy in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*," (1996), and U.C. Knoepflamcher's "Kipling's 'Mixy' Creatures" (2008). Part of the motivation or this account of Kim's successful hybridity is the desire to recuperate Kipling for the modern reader. An important alternative reading of Kim's youth and time sense can be found in Sara Suleri's *The Rhetoric of English India* (1992) where she reads Kipling's representation of "imperial time" as an indication of his simultaneous awareness of "the futility of empire" and his unwillingness to disavow it (130-132).

[47] This story was first published in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888). It isn't Kipling's only account of the dangers of miscegenation. See also "To Be Filed for Reference" also in *Plain Tales* and "Without Benefit of Clergy" published in *Harper's* in 1890. As Zoreh T. Sullivan points out, Kipling's depictions of the relationship between colonizer and colonized veers between "desire and dread" (13). I would argue that dread wins out, particularly as most of Kipling's tales of partial assimilation end with the rupture of the relationship, although not usually so violently as it is depicted in "Beyond the Pale."

the British subaltern Trejago who is constantly depicted as "know[ing] too much" about Indian culture and the Indian woman Bisesa who, at sixteen, has been widowed and is now the ward of her older brother. Trejago meets Bisesa by singing the first verse of "The Love Song of Har Dyal" into a grate-covered window at the back of a house.[48] Bisesa replies with the next verse and the following day sends him an "object letter" containing "half of a broken glass bangle, one flower of the blood red dhak, a pinch of bhusa or cattle-food, and eleven cardamoms" (156). Trejago is able to interpret the letter which invites him to return to the grated window at 11:00 that day.[49] The narrator of the story describes the interpretation of the packet of objects in detail and depicts Trejago's cultural knowledge as concerning. This concern is juxtaposed with another round of singing "The Love Song of Har Dyal" and a seemingly offhand lamentation that the English version, as opposed to the "Vernacular" leaves out "the wail of" the song. Trejago and

[48] While the text suggests that "The Love Song of Har Dyal" comes from "the old Arabian Nights," it appears that Kipling made the poem up and reprinted it as his own entitled "Bisesa." He reprinted the poem in several editions of his verse as well. In his 1959 speech to the Kipling Society, T.S. Eliot describes his connections to the poem: "Traces of Kipling appear in my own mature verse where no diligent scholarly sleuth has yet observed them, but which I am myself prepared to disclose. I once wrote a poem called "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock": I am convinced that it would never have been called "Love Song" but for a title of Kipling's that stuck obstinately in my head: 'The Love Song of Har Dyal.'"

[49] The "object letter" is worth reproducing in full as it is an exemplary moment of cultural translation and knowledge on which the story turns. It's notable how many opportunities there are for misreading and how the narrator, so closely situated on Trejago's consciousness, naturalizes these moments into a clear translation ignoring the interpretive option of "danger" in lieu of his preferred meaning: "A broken glass-bangle stands for a Hindu widow all over India; because, when her husband dies a woman's bracelets are broken on her wrists. Trejago saw the meaning of the little bit of the glass. The flower of the dhak means diversely 'desire,' 'come,' 'write,' or 'danger,' according to the other things with it. One cardamom means 'jealousy;' but when any article is duplicated in an object-letter, it loses its symbolic meaning and stands merely for one of a number indicating time, or, if incense, curds, or saffron be sent also, place. The message ran then:—'A widow dhak flower and bhusa—at eleven o'clock.' The pinch of bhusa enlightened Trejago. He saw—this kind of letter leaves much to instinctive knowledge—that the bhusa referred to the big heap of cattle-food over which he had fallen in Amir Nath's Gully, and that the message must come from the person behind the grating; she being a widow. So the message ran then:—'A widow, in the Gully in which is the heap of bhusa, desires you to come at eleven o'clock'" (157).

Bisesa continue to meet for several weeks until Trejago, giving in to the pressures of "his other [English] life," is required to escort an English woman to several social functions. The rumors of his attentions spread throughout the English and Indian communities and Bisesa weeps when she finds out, refuses his explanations, and sends him away. When Trejago returns three weeks later hoping to find Bisesa more amenable to his explanations, he instead finds that Bisesa has been horribly maimed: "There was a young moon, and one stream of light fell…and struck the grating, which was drawn away as he knocked. From the black dark, Bisesa held out her arms into the moonlight. Both hands had been cut off at the wrists, and the stumps were nearly healed." At the moment that Bisesa's amputated hands are revealed, Trejago feels something sharp thrust into "one of the muscles of the groin." While the injury isn't fatal, it causes him to limp for the rest of his life. If *Kim* can be read as presenting the utopian possibilities of cultural hybridity, "Beyond the Pale" depicts the horrors unleashed by an attempt to cultivate too deep and intimate an understanding of another culture. For all of his knowledge of the Indian practice of "object-letters" and of "Indian" song, Trejago cannot bridge the cultural distance between himself and Bisesa (who, I would point out, has equal difficulty bridging this divide as evidence by her inability to pronounce Trejago's English first name, Christopher). The story ends with the narrator noting a "special feature" of the tale, which is that Trejago can never locate Bisesa again because he has no idea where the front of the house where she lives is, having only visited her through the grated window on the back of house. Despite his factual knowledge of her culture, Trejago does not have legitimate access to the front door of Bisesa's home or culture and his attempt to venture "beyond the pale" results in bodily mutilation for both of them.[50]

[50] I'd also note that "Beyond the Pale" invokes the British/Irish/Indian triad that Kim supposedly embodies with the phrase "beyond the pale" which is a reference to the area in Ireland not controlled by the English in the middle ages.

Where "Beyond the Pale" ruptures rehabilitationst fantasies about Kipling's conception of the possibilities of cultural hybridity, "The Wandering Jew" provides a clearer sense of Kipling's anti-hybridity anxiety in terms of the lack of temporal distinctions that global time standardization can produce. "The Wandering Jew" is a little-read short story originally published in 1889 in the *Civilian and Military Gazette*.[51] If the "Chief Meridian" gave Kipling a "most funny feeling," then the *fin de siècle* fantasy of time traveling by crossing and re-crossing the International Date Line inspires Kipling to produce something of a horror story.[52] In short, the protagonist of "The Wandering Jew" John Hay inherits a fortune and, having once heard that you could gain a day by continuously traveling eastward, decides to journey by train and steamship around the world in order to bank days and outrun death. However, his cousin and heir, hoping to inherit some of the fortune, tricks Hay into remaining in Madras, hanging "by ropes from the roof of the room" in order to "let the round earth swing free beneath him" allowing him to "gain a day in a day" and become "equal of the undying sun" (*Life's Handicap* 13-14).[53] Of the story, Adam Barrows argues that "Kipling's response to the temporal

[51] As Bryan Cheyette argues in *Constructions of "the Jew" in English Literature and Society* (1993), Kipling's concerns about the unassimilable Jew often turn on the Jew's inability to be naturalized into colonial history because of their "timeless but limited racial purpose" which must be properly fulfilled or their anti-historical "timelessness" will threaten English law and identity (79). While this may be true, it's worth noting that John Hay is never explicitly described as Jewish beyond the title of the story. Instead, homogenization of global time and Hay's ability to manipulate the International Date Line allow Hay to take on this "Jewish" timelessness without explicit racial affiliation which is, of course, what Kipling is so concerned about in the first place.

[52] Adam Barrows points out that, "Poe's "Three Sundays in a Week" (1841), Verne's Around the World in Eighty Days (1873), and Kipling's "The Wandering Jew' (1899), [all] include characters who physically cross the International Date Line, either once or multiple times, and return home to spaces that as a result become temporally unstable or unreadable. They thus embody and make visible the temporal fault line that should have been cartographically projected out of sight and out of mind." (*Spatial Turn* Kindle Location 834).

[53] For an account of the fantasy of an efficient rail system in Asia that Kipling's story depicts and the relationship between John Hay and Baron Julius de Reuter, see Adam Barrow's "Eastward Journeys: Literary Crossings of the International Date Line" (2012). This story is not only about

complexities provoked by global travel was to contain them in the form of an exilic "Wandering Jew" and project them, like the Date Line itself, onto an exotic locale. Rhythmic uniformity is maintained in this way by expunging dissonance from the heart of modernity (Kindle Locations 385-387). However, the fact that the story ends in Madras, India is significant as the city is not just a symbolic "exotic locale" but an important site for thinking about time in India. In 1870, "Madras time" was declared as the "all-India railway" time and was marked by the meridian passing through Madras (80°27'E).[54] While the Greenwich meridian was designated the Prime Meridian in 1885, until 1905 Indian railroad time continued to be determined by the Madras meridian which was "5 hours, 21 minutes, and 10 seconds ahead of Greenwich" unlike the more "rational" time standards that determined all-country time by whole hour differences in other states (Prasad 135; 146). Only after extensive debate concerning the appropriateness of adhering to a meridian that did not pass through an important Indian city did the Government of India implement a new time standard based on a meridian nine minutes ahead of Madras time in order to make the time difference between Greenwich and India an exact, "rational" 5.5 hours (Prasad 147). So when Kipling concludes his 1889 story about the International Date Line in Madras, he is effectively countering the neat division of the globe into equivalent, temporal units by invoking a locally-based form of time standardization that does not correspond rationally to other national meridians. Kipling is not attempting to maintain "rhythmic uniformity" by "expunging the dissonance at the heart of modernity" as Barrows claims, but is instead highlighting the madness produced by a world whose temporal "rationality" provokes attempts at time travel while maintaining the importance of a distinctively Indian time standard that had not yet been

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the horrors of undifferentiated global time, but also of equally distributed infrastructure and travel technology.

[54] See Ritika Prasad's *Tracks of Change*. Cambridge University Press, 2016. pp. 135

fully erased by the advance of global time standardization. For Kipling, these temporal distinctions must be maintained in order to shore up the differences between the colony and the metropole, particularly the difference in their stage in civilizational development or decline.

III. Homeric Translation Debates and Ballad Meter

One of the most famous attempts at critically reevaluating Kipling is T.S. Eliot introduction to his volume *A Choice of Kipling's Verse* (1941). Eliot begins with the caveat "I have been using the term 'verse' with his own [Kipling's] authority, for that is what he called it himself. There is poetry in it; but when he writes verse that is not poetry it is not because he has tried to write poetry and failed. He had another purpose, and one to which he adhered with integrity" (20-21). According to Eliot, early twentieth century readers lacked the critical apparatus to appropriately understand Kipling's verse as Kipling's "starting point…is the motive of the ballad-maker; and the modern ballad is a type of verse for the appreciation of which we are not provided the proper critical tools" (6). Eliot does not suggest what the appropriate critical tools might be, but proceeds by illustrating the ways in which attacks on Kipling's poetry are the opposite of those usually aimed at contemporary poets. Where other poets must be defended against the charges of "obscurity," "a lack of respect for the intelligence of the common man" and the sense that their "verse does not appear to scan," Kipling is criticized for his "lucidity," his journalistic appeal to the "commonest collective emotions," and the association of his meter with "jingles" (6). For Eliot, Kipling's verse is illegible in its hyper-legibility and has lost a great deal of nuance because contemporary readers lack the critical tools to evaluate "ballads." Rather than situating Kipling's verse within the various ballad traditions it explicitly invokes, Eliot insists on Kipling's uniqueness as a poet[55] and the organic wholeness of Kipling's verse project:

[55] "He is so different from other poets that the lazy critic is tempted merely to assert that he is not a poet at all, and leave it at that" (Eliot 22).

"we must consider his work as a whole, and the earlier years in the light of the later, and not exaggerate the importance of particular pieces or phrases which we may not like" (26). While this introduction has been consistently read as an (unsuccessful) attempt to redeem Kipling from the severe backlash against the racial essentialism and imperial enthusiasm that has dominated Kipling's critical reception from Robert Buchanan's assertion of Kipling's "hooliganism"[56] in 1899 to the present,[57] it is also one in a series[58] of motivated (and successful) efforts to revise the English literary canon and set the terms of future literary criticism. By presenting Kipling as the illegible ballad-verse exception to modern poetry, Eliot disavows the long history of the ballad,[59] its centrality to the creation of professional literary studies,[60] and the contested status of the ballad's metrical form.[61]

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[56] Buchanan's "The Voice of the Hooligan," published in *The Contemporary Review* in 1899 is the first of the literary reevaluations of Kipling's *Barrack-Room Ballads* in light of the Second Boer War which began in October 1899. As Stephen Arata points out, Buchanan criticized both Kipling's "hooliganism" and Rossetti's "fleshly school" in terms of degeneration, yoking excessive masculinity and effeminacy together as the primary causes of the degradation of English modernity (11).

[57] Lionel Trilling, Raymond Mortimer, and Graham Greene are just a few of the contemporary thinkers who voiced their staunch disagreement with Eliot's attempt at reassessing Kipling. See Annan's "Kipling's Place in the History of Ideas" (1960) for further discussion of the reception of Eliot's introduction.

[58] Eliot's critical project is still dominant with regard to Kipling today. Consider Richard Cronin's review of Thomas Pinney's *Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling* (2013): "But it seems still more important that so many of Kipling's poems seem written in a manner that resists analysis. His preferred form, as Eliot notes, is the ballad. A verse form that has survived for centuries and spread over much of the world is clearly well suited to a poet so interested in wide expanses of space and time. Kipling's Sussex poems are archaeological. The sound of his footsteps as he walks the lanes echoes the tramp of the Roman legions. Poems such as "Chant-Pagan" hanker after space, "the shine an' the size/Of the 'igh, unexpressible skies." And yet the ballad is of all poetic forms the most resistant to verbal analysis."

[59] See J.S. Bratton's *The Popular Victorian Ballad* (1975)

[60] See Mary Ellen Brown's "Placed, Misplaced, or Replaced?: The Ballad's Progress" for a discussion of Francis James Child's work on the ballad and its relation to his position as the first professor of English.

[61] Bill Gahan's appendix to the *English Broadside Ballad Archive*, "Ballad Measure in Print" offers a good account of the historical debates around ballad meter and their contemporary persistence.

Eliot's consolidation and exclusion of Kipling's verse from the category of "poetry" is just one event in a much longer history of the marginalization of the ballad and the creation of a version of literary criticism that is incapable of reading it. One of the most vociferous attacks on the use of ballad meter was made by Matthew Arnold in his 1857 lectures as the Professor of Poetry at Oxford, later published in 1861 as *On Translating Homer*. Arnold's primary target was Francis William Newman's *The Iliad of Homer Faithfully Translated into Unrhymed English Meter* (1856).[62] Newman justified his metrical choice by arguing that Homer's "direct, popular, forcible, quaint, flowing, garrulous" literary style was most like "the old English ballad and…in sharp contrast to the polished style of Pope, Sotheby, and Cowper, the best known English translators of Homer" (iv). Newman insisted that,

> the moral qualities of Homer's style being like to those of the English ballad, we need a metre of the same genius. It must be fundamentally musical and popular. Only those metres which, by the very possession of these qualities, are liable to degenerate into doggerel are suitable to reproduce the ancient Epic. (v)

For Newman, ballad meter was not a stable prosodic category, but one which shaped a range of poetic projects of various levels of quality and which could be developed through experimentation. He described discovering that "on abandoning rhyme…I found an unpleasant void, until I gave a double ending to the verse, *i.e.*, one (unaccented) syllable more than our Common Metre allows" (vii). While Newman claimed the addition of an unaccented syllable

[62] Of course, Newman did not invent this version of literary history or the use of the ballad as the English analogue to the classical epic. Newman is explicitly working in the ballad revival tradition of Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802 and 1803), and William Maginn's *Homeric Ballads* (1839 and 1842). And as Dentith points out the "historicist position was certainly at stake in the controversy over Homeric translation between Arnold and Newman; while it may not be the case that it was the predominant view of Homer in the first half of the nineteenth century, it was certainly sufficiently prominent to inform writing other than Maginn's and Newman's" (49).

produced "exactly…the metre which the modern Greeks adopt for the Homeric hexameter," he arrived at it through "argument and experiment" indicating the range of metrical options that, for Newman, fell under the heading "ballad metre" (vii-viii). Not only did Newman prize the popularity, musicality, and flexibility of "ballad metre," but his use of ballad metre indicates a particular orientation toward historical genres: "I am not concerned with the *historical* problem, of writing in a style which actually existed at an earlier period of our language; but with the *artistic* problem of attaining a plausible aspect of moderate antiquity, while remaining easily intelligible" (x). For Newman, the cultural distance and foreignness of the ancient text must be maintained, but could be denoted through popular English archaism in meter and diction, not by mimicking the Latin hexameter.[63] Newman, who doubted whether the "Homer" who wrote the *Iliad* was the "Homer" who wrote the *Odyssey* (xix),[64] here endorses and seeks to maintain a

[63] As translation theorist Laurence Venuti [relevant vis-à-vis "domesticating vs foreignizing" tendencies] points out, "the 'popular' in Newman's translation was a contemporary construction of an archaic form that carried various ideological implications…And it assumed an English culture that was national yet characterized by social divisions, in which cultural values were ranged hierarchically among various groups, academic and nonacademic. Newman's archaism constituted the democratic tendency in his concept of the English nation because it was populist, assigning popular cultural forms a priority over the academic elite that sought to suppress them" (129). Strangely, Venuti buttresses his claim by asserting that Newman "thought of the ballad as 'our Common Metre'" while clearly Newman was referring to the specific metrical arrangement known as "common metre" or "common measure" defined as a quatrain with an ABAB rhyme scheme and alternating iambic lines alternately carrying four and three stresses. Common measure is often associated with hymns and ballads. "Ballad meter" is sometimes defined as common measure with an ABCB rhyme scheming, meaning only the second and fourth lines of each quatrain need to rhyme. That said, I don't think that Newman thought of "common metre" as democratic and unifying beyond its specific function as a recognizably archaic, non-Latin verse form.

[64] Newman's historicist commitments are similar in this regard to Macaulay's because, as McKelvy points out, "underlying…the *Lays* was the classical version of the idea that early Hebrew history, as recounted in the Old Testament text, was based on a variety of different source materials which were conflated, combined, and redacted by a succession of scribes or politically empowered editors" (294). In contrast, Arnold repeatedly asks the translator to lay aside the matter of Homer's singular or plural identity, but eventually insists that it "is precisely this nobleness of the poet, this grand manner: we feel that the analogy drawn from other joint compositions does not hold good here, because those works do not bear, like the *Iliad*, the magic

version of the communal production of the ballad, requesting that "any one [who] accepts [the translation] as a whole, let him not think that he does a service to me or the world by expressing his own distaste for special words, without suggesting better. For suggestions in detail, I shall be thankful" (x-xi). For Newman, the appropriate translation of Homer should be, as he conceived of the Latin and Greek versions of Homer available to scholars of the 1850s, products of a community that reflect that community's spirit. As Simon Dentith puts it, "so it is a complicated frame of mind that Newman seeks to create; readers are to recognize, as they read, the equivalence between their experience of reading poems like the Border Ballads and the experience of reading Homer" (52).

While Arnold discusses several other Homeric translations in his essay, Newman is the essay's primary foil. As Lawrence Venuti makes clear in *The Translator's Invisibility*, where Newman's translation attempts to maintain the foreignness and historical distance of Homeric epic, Arnold employs a "domesticating style" that attempts to erase difference, producing an English translation of Homer "without any distracting sense of quaintness, antiquity, or historical distance" (Dentith 53). For Arnold, Newman's translation fails because "Homer's manner and movement are always both noble and powerful: the ballad-manner and movement are often either jaunty and smart so not noble; or jog-trot and humdrum, so not powerful" (Arnold 129). Arnold divines the "noble and powerful" Homeric effect from his understanding of the Greek, asserting that translators should follow the "practical directions" of scholars "who possess, at the same time with knowledge of Greek, adequate poetical taste and feeling" (35). It is precisely not

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stamp of a master; and the moment you have *anything* less than a masterwork, the cooperation or consolidation of several poets becomes possible for talent is not uncommon; the moment you have *much* less than a masterwork, they become easy, for mediocrity is everywhere" (74). While the "oral theory" has gained significant influence in recent scholarship, the question is still being argued. See M.L. West's *The Making of the Iliad* (2011) for a recent account of the "Homer Question" and a defense of the single author theory.

the "unlearned Englishman," to whom Newman has addressed his translation, who matters, but rather (and rather specifically), "the Provost of Eton, or Professor Thompson at Cambridge, or Professor Jowett here in Oxford" who should be the final arbiters of whether a translation gives them "at all the same feeling which to read the original gives them" (36). The ballad's ability to engage and delight that "unlearned Englishman" runs counter to Arnold's larger critical project, which is to advocate for the creation and primacy of an English academy to decide on precisely these sorts of literary questions:

> I think that in England, partly from the want of an Academy, partly from a national habit of intellect to which that want of an Academy is itself due, there exists too little of what I may call a public force of correct literary opinion, possessing within certain limits a clear sense of what is right and wrong, sound and unsound, and sharply recalling men of ability and learning from any flagrant misdirection of these their advantages. (132)

The question of how one should translate Homer is, of course, a question about the literary profession and whose literary opinions should count. That Newman counters this claim with the praise he has received from "children and half-educated women…[and] a working man" would not have fazed Arnold in the slightest as these are not the people to whom literary judgment should be left (Newman 12-13). Arnold dismisses popular opinion and popular forms in his advocacy for an "Academy," thus laying the groundwork for the ballad's future illegibility to that same academy.[65]

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[65] In "Nineteenth Century Homers and the Hexameter Mania" Yopie Prins counters Venuti's assertion that Arnold's hexameters are "transparent." Prins argues that "within the context of nineteenth-century hexameter debates it is difficult to read Arnold's call for hexameter translations simply as a triumph of fluent domestication…the work of translation that Arnold prescribed…was slow, laborious, and strange; even while familiarizing the English ear, hexameter was also an instrument of defamiliarization, and anything but transparent." I agree with Prins' account of the paradoxical nature of Arnold's metrical project and her argument has helped me to understand the ways that Arnold used the Homeric translation debate as an

IV. Thomas Babington Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* and "Minute on Indian Education"

While Newman received the brunt of Arnold's critical opposition in *On Translating Homer*, Thomas Babington Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842) was also censured, with Arnold going so far as to assert, "a man's power to detect the ring of false metal in those Lays is a good measure of his fitness to give an opinion about poetical matters at all" (188).[66] Before Arnold's dismissal, the *Lays* had been both popular and well-regarded by critics;[67] after 1860, the *Lays* were considered "bad poetry for adolescent Philistines" according to William R. McKelvy. In fact, by 1880, Thomas Humphrey Ward wrote of the *Lays*, "the higher critical authorities have pronounced against them, and are even teaching us to wonder whether they can be called poetry at all" (540). Like Kipling's verse, the *Lays* became institutionally associated with national primary education and McKelvy asserts, "we can imagine the *Lays* being read in 1908 side by side with Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys*" (288).[68] And like Newman's ballad translations of Homer, Macaulay's *Lays* assumed a history of literary production in which the existence of

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opportunity to set the terms of the literary academy and canon. Excluding the ballad and the efficacy of public or popular opinion was more important than "transparent" metrical translation.

[66] As John C. Rolfe points out, this pronouncement actually excludes Arnold's father from speaking about poetry as he had approved to pre-publication versions of Macaulay's *Lays*.

[67] For an account of the popularity of the *Lays*, see Donald Gray's "Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* and the Publication of Nineteenth-Century Poetry."

[68] A very similar literary history could be told about Rudyard Kipling whose public acclaim withered to popularity only as a "children's writer." Of course, Kipling was instrumental in publicizing his friend Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* (see Morgan's "The Boer War and the Media") and scouting organizations in the United States and Great Britain still recognize Kipling through various awards and designations that bear his name. According to "The History of Cub Scouting" "A strong influence from Kipling's *Jungle Book* remains today. The terms "Law of the Pack," "Akela," "Wolf Cub," "grand howl," "den," and "pack" all come from the *Jungle Book*." Philip Burton notes the similarities as well: "Indeed, Kipling and Macaulay have much in common: both were popular, if not populist, authors, chanted by thousands for a few generations, then largely dismissed in reaction." (36)

Homer's epics necessitated the pre-existence of some form of ballad culture from which the epics were drawn. Rather than translating Homer into the English ballad meter that Newman thought of as roughly equivalent to Homer's style, Macaulay invented ballads to represent the ballad culture his particular account of history assured him had once existed, but whose most explicit evidence had been lost as a byproduct of an oral culture. Like Newman, Macaulay was convinced by Henry Hart Milman's argument that the Homeric epics were the result of "the minstrelsy of the Grecian border modeled into a continuous story" (124). As such, McKelvy asserts that

> The *Lays* is the best early Victorian example of a less noted process in which national minstrelsies were elevated to epic status, a project which had been in motion ever since the publication of Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*…The recovery of Rome's authentic national epic, then, was only a matter of translating ancient Roman prose back into its original poetic form, an act of literary conversion which was Macaulay's fundamental task in the *Lays*. (288)

And like Percy, Macaulay included a general introduction for the *Lays* and provided a particular historical moment both for the writing of each Lay and for the events that took place within it. For example, Macaulay asks us to suppose the poem "to have been made about a hundred and twenty years after the war which it celebrates," which took place in 514BC.[69]

Importantly, the analogy between Homeric epic and English ballad that Macaulay offers has significant political implications. As McKelvy makes clear, the *Lays* were also intended to

[69] Here, Macaulay is participating in a very specific ballad practice of making audience and genre legible as Virginia Jackson argues in *Dickinson's Misery*, "not only does Percy not claim that historical genres of verse are directly addressed to contemporary readers…but he also acknowledges the role of the critical climate to which the poems in his edition *were* addressed" (9).

serve as "a reassuring historical analogy which favored religious toleration and an expanded franchise" in response to the English constitutional reforms of 1828-1832 (293). Macaulay's *Lays* analogized Plebian participation in the "imperial mission of the Roman state" with England's recent enfranchisement of "the middle class, Catholics, and Dissenters" (293). Although the *Lays* "blatantly promised imperial dividends for liberal reforms," they implicitly advocate for the inclusion of the non-academic in literary discourse. Thus, Macaulay's *Lays* are dismissed as "not poetry" in the same breath as Newman's more democratically-minded, popular Homeric translations.

Given the strong association between *Lays of Ancient Rome* and Macaulay's national, liberal project, it is important to recall that Macaulay wrote the poems while traveling in India as the first Law Member of the Governor-General's Council between 1834 and 1838. During this time, Macaulay also formed the basis of what would become his famous "Minute on Indian Education" (1835) a report that specified English as the language in which education should be conducted in India. Macaulay's "Minute" detailed the need for a class of Indians that could serve as low-level civil servants and as intermediaries between the British Raj and the general Indian population. As Macaulay put it: "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" ("Minute").[70] The

[70] Macaulay's "Minute on Indian Education" formed the basis of the English Education Act of 1835 to support institutions in India that taught English to Indians. The ramifications of the "Minute" were wide-ranging and it is, perhaps, the document for which Macaulay is most widely remembered. The "Minute" appears consistently in anthologies of post-colonial documents and discourse and serves as a foundational document for the field exemplifying the ways in which colonizers impose cultural standards and undermine the values, traditions, and languages of the colonized. One aspect of the 1835 act that is often overlooked is the stipulation that all college level courses must occur in English (as opposed to simply funding English-language courses at all other levels). Thus, the English language became an absolute requirement for college-level work.

"Minute," like Macaulay's *Lays* and his *The History of England from Accession of James the Second* (1848), is an example of what Herbert Butterfield termed "Whig history" in his 1931 *The Whig Interpretation of History.* Macaulay's *Lays* depict through analogy with Rome the liberal progress of the modern English empire. Similarly the "Minute" denigrates all Arabic and "Sanscrit" literature as Macaulay argues that despite having "no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic" he had

> never found one among [Orientalist scholars] who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is indeed fully admitted by those members of the committee who support the oriental plan of education. ("Minute")

This progressivist view of literary history holds up European literature (but especially literature in English) as the result of a consistently improving culture while relegating Indian literatures to a less-advanced cultural past. As Meredith Martin argues,

> Macaulay's Lays were a fusion of Virgil and [Walter] Scott, an elevation of Scott's metrical project to the great themes of Roman civilization but in the form of imagined ancient Roman ballads. But why ballads?... Macaulay was arguing that the ballad was the earliest poetry of all primitive civilizations, and by reconstructing and popularizing this history he was also advancing a ballad-theory of civilization. ("'Imperfectly Civilized'" 347)

Accordingly, Macaulay invoked the literary innocence of Britain's lagging colonial crown-jewel to help constitute and distinguish English literary advancement from Indian primitivism.

V. Kipling's "The Man and the Shadow" and his "Roman" Poems

By the time Rudyard Kipling began writing his *Departmental Ditties* in the 1880s,[71] the effects of Macaulay's "Minute" were being felt throughout the country as well-educated Indians, three decades after the 1857 rebellion, agitated for better representation in the Indian Civil Service and in the upper levels of the judicial system. According to Ann Parry in *The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling*, "the educated Indian, or Babu as he was scornfully known, had been perceived as a threat to British rule, especially if he were to gain access to the Covenanted Civil Service (6). Parry emphasizes that the political unrest[72] between Anglo-Indians and the educated Indian class coincided with contentious parliamentary debates around the status of the Indian colony between Gladstonian Liberals and Radicals and Disraeli's Conservatives. Disraeli's conservative "India-oriented" empire found voice in Kipling's commitment to the ideology of imperial permanence and the "civilizing mission" of England in India that, if undone would cause,

> Ill-conditioned people who
>
> Would fight
>
> At once like wolves if we withdrew
>
> Our right
>
> Of interference (quoted in Parry 7)

Parry uses these lines from Kipling's "The Indian Delegates" to assert that "Kipling had adopted

[71] Kipling was born in Bombay, British India on December 30, 1865 and lived there with his parents until 1871 when he was sent to board at Southsea, Portsmouth, an experience he describes in his autobiography as filled with intermittent neglect and cruelty. Kipling returned to India in 1882 to Lahore, Punjab where his father had secured him a position as a sub-editor or "cub" at the English language newspaper, the *Civil and Military Gazette.* In 1889, Kipling left India as a traveling reporter for another Anglo-English newspaper, *The Pioneer.* He died in 1936. Modernist and Victorian scholars often have trouble dating Kipling from memory, although he's an almost exact contemporary of W.B. Yeats who was also born in 1865 and died in 1939.

[72] As Parry points describes it "Surendranath Banerjea had led protests in 1877 and 1878 against the reactionary policy of the government towards the new class of Indian and in 1883 the Indian National Conference at Calcutta took the decision to organize and fight the restrictions" (7).

this kind of hard-headed [Conservative] morality in *Departmental Ditties"* (7-8). Parry reads Kipling's emphasis on the unseemly origins of the empire and his criticism of the ineptitudes of the civil service as in keeping with a Conservative attitude in large part because it was antithetical to the Gladstonian Liberals for whom "the Empire was a trust, a responsibility that England had to fulfill by passing onto it institutions that ensured freedom and volunteerism (8).

This complex Conservatism that criticizes (and often satirizes) imperial waste and mismanagement while still valorizing the imperial cause, typifies Kipling's attitude toward the British Empire throughout his career and can be usefully contrasted with Macaulay's "whiggish," academic *Lays*.[73] Poems like "The Man and the Shadow"[74] collected in *Departmental Ditties*, demonstrate Kipling's insistently non-progressive version of history in which imperial decay looms as a constant possibility. The poem begins with a six-line epigraph announcing the value of "One good subordinate" and proceeds through ten seven-line stanzas to detail the rise and fall of a junior official in the civil service, "Hastings Clive Macaulay Bevys" (7). The official's names explicitly invoke and unite three important figures in the history of the Anglo-Indian community. Warren Hastings was the first Governor-General of Bengal from 1773 through 1785, Robert Clive, or "Clive of India," was a soldier of fortune who helped the East India Company establish martial control of Bengal in 1765, and Thomas Babington Macaulay,

[73] Kipling's "Common Form" from "Epitaphs of the War" (1919) is often pointed to as a sign of Kipling's change of heart on the imperial question after the loss of his only son Jack in WWI in 1915. However, Kipling excludes himself from the "fathers" in the lines "If any question why we died/Tell them because our fathers lied." Rather, the lines refer to Kipling's warnings before WWI concerning military preparedness. See Katharine Fullerton Gerould's "The Remarkable Rightness of Rudyard Kipling" (1919).

[74] First published in *The Week's News* on February 4, 1888, the poem was collected into the ever expanding section of the *Early Verse* under the heading of *Departmental Ditties*. Kipling's early volumes continued to expand with each collected edition. A detailed set of notes identifying the first Hastings, Clive, and, Macaulay is available in the digital Kipling Society *Reader's Guide* (http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg_manshadow1.htm).

1st Baron Macaulay was, as has already been mentioned, part of the upper Anglo-Indian administration from 1834-1838.[75] However, H.C.M.B. lacks the abilities or commitment to empire that marked his namesakes. While other junior officials look on amazed, H.C.M.B. ascends the "Official Stair" of the civil service, maintaining a "reputation first-class" despite his peers' assessment that he is an "Idler of the worst class." The titular "shadow" behind the advantageously named "man" also bears many names, but these mark his clear difference and exclusion from Anglo-Indian society:

> In his office, scorned of all,
> Saddle-hued, grotesque of feature,
> Worked a weird, bi-racial creature,
> Far too humble-souled to meet your
> Eye – Concepcion Gabral;
> Santu Ribiera Paul
> Luz Concepcion Gabral. (8-14)

Unlike H.C.M.B., Santu Ribiera Paul Lus Concepcion Gabral, is clearly not English, but likely "of partly Portuguese or Goan origin, or from the former Portuguese settlement in Chittagong in Bengal."[76] Gabral represents a more recent imperial power than Rome that had already been

[75] I am grateful to Hugh Roberts for his suggestion that Bevis of Hampton might be the inspiration for the name Bevys in the poem. Bevis of Hampton is a figure from English legend and the subject of a wide range of metrical romances. The Middle English romance *Beves of Hampton* was exceedingly popular and never had to be "rediscovered" as it was continuously read and influenced a range of famous English poets including Shakespeare and Chaucer. In *The Irish Lives of Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton* (1907), Fred Norris Robinson describes the Irish version of the Bevis legend which send Bevis on a journey through India and a yearlong stint as retainer to "the Pope of India" (10, 212). See also Jennifer Fellows and Ivana Djordjevic's edited collection *Sir Bevis of Hampton in Literary Tradition* (2008).

[76] This poem, like much of Kipling's work, is difficult to parse in terms of Kipling's attitudes toward Gabral. On the one hand, the nakedly racist description of Gabral is ironized by how clearly more qualified for civil service he is than the well-named and born, but hapless H.C.M.B.

significantly degraded, particularly post-1844, despite its early advantages on the Indian sub-continent. By the 1880s, Portuguese influence in India was fairly negligible, and the large Luso-Goan empire, previously known as the "Rome of the East" had largely been eclipsed by the British presence in India. Gabral's service in the lower levels of the civil service and his debased humility highlight the change in his empire's fortunes, despite his being the bearer of many meaningful Portuguese-Catholic names.

Although Gabral serves as the specter of a fallen empire, his "labours unremitting" propel H.C.M.B. into a "well-paid flitting/Into Burmahorbengal," i.e. a more geographically desirable and important position in the civil service. However, Gabral is not tapped to accompany his former boss and almost immediately the complaints begin "Crudely, nudely, rudely, rawly,/Saying, 'Take back this Macaulay'" (34-35). H.C.M.B. is publically denounced as his higher-ups "raised that ruler high in air," "stripped him miserably bare," and "On the soft flesh of Pretence/In the face of India, smacked him" (45-48). The schoolboy image of discipline by ruler both reminds the reader of the schoolboy histories to which H.C.M.B.'s name refers and emphasizes the extreme distance between the many great English heroes from the history of India and H.C.M.B.'s degraded state. Kipling goes on to speculate what will become of H.C.M.B. suggesting that he might be found "In 'officiating' fetters/Doing duty for his betters" like the unlucky Gabral or, more likely his end "Will be madness or – Madras" (70). Expelled from the center of Anglo-Indian life, both geographically and in terms of career, H.C.M.B. will likely go mad or become subject to Indian rather than British temporal norms as Madras, as previously mentioned, was the origin point and symbol for the "irrational" all Indian railway

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It is also tempting to read this poem as a defense of the quality and skills of non-English people civil servants in India, however Gabral is a cipher in the poem which focuses on the downfall of H.C.M.B. with little interest in the outcomes for Gabral.

time.

The poem also invokes and announces its participation in the long history of the peripherally produced "lay" in its apology for rhyming "Colaba," "harbour," and "Micawber"[77] asking the reader to "spare the rhyme who read the lay" (54). Like H.C.M.B.'s metaphorical ruler slap, the line alludes to the Biblical commonplace "Spare the rod and spoil the child" (Proverbs 13:24) further suggesting the way Macaulay's *Lays* have been reduced to mere educational tool. This reference indicates the depths to which the Anglo-Indian Empire has already sunk, the work of its officials subject to public degradation. With its basis in the communal storytelling of rumor and its strong analogy with the fallen empire the "Rome of the East" Kipling has fashioned a ballad that works the analogy between disparate historical moments much like Macaulay, but with a starkly different historical vision. For Kipling, the empire is not the natural end of progressive policies, but a fragile product of militant maintenance, and the degradation of H.C.M.B. and Gabral both speak to Kipling's historiographical anxieties, and the titular shadow of imperial decline that constantly looms.[78]

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[77] This is also a reference to Dickens' Wilkins Macawber, another degraded individual whose fortunes move in the opposite of H.C.M.B.'s.

[78] While many critics have noted the concern about imperial decline and in particular, the invasion-scare genre in which Kipling participates [see, in particular, A. Michael Matin's "The Hun is at the Gate!: Historicizing Kipling's Militaristic Rhetoric" (1999)], the dominant conception of Kipling's triumphalist poetics is well-described by Isobel Armstrong: "The conservative tradition at the end of the century was at its most robust in the area in which it was weakest at the beginning–the 'popular' ballad. In comparison with the efforts of Monckton Milnes, the poet in the Tennyson circle most anxious to approach the working class directly through ballad, Kipling's skill in *Barrack-Room Ballads* (1892) is remarkable. His is a cunning demotic populism, imitating for the middle class the simple rhythms of the marching song and the music-hall ballad. Whereas John Davidson used the music-hall genre in poems such as 'Thirty Bob a Week' to make a critique of social conditions, Kipling celebrates the resilience of the common soldier in colonial service with a patrician triumphalism. Despite Kipling's ironising of the imperial theme, despite his sharp sense of the oppression and exploitation of military life, these are heroic poems." (469)

While Kipling's "The Man and the Shadow" satirizes Macaulay and his *Lays* and although their political perspectives on history were almost directly opposed, Kipling did maintain, with Newton and Macaulay, the ballad pre-history of Homer's epics. Kipling's position is made particularly clear by the poem that begins the *Barrack-Room Ballads* section of the volume *The Seven Seas* (1896) entitled "When 'Omer Smote 'is bloomin' lyre." The first stanza reads

When 'Omer smote 'is bloomin' lyre,
He'd 'eard men sing by land an' sea;
An' what he thought 'e might require,
'E went an' took – the same as me! (1-4)

The "'Omer" of Kipling's cockney ballad is, of course, Homer, who here is described as a kind of ballad collector, gathering the songs of his country in order to play them later on "'is bloomin' lyre." The poem continues by including "market-girls an' fishermen,/The shepherds an' the sailors too," in the oral culture as these figures also hear and recognize the old songs Homer has turned into epic, but instead of denouncing Homer's plagiarism, instead keep "it quiet – same as you!" (8). The final stanza begins with the acknowledgement of the community and assent of the community: "They knew 'e stole; 'e knew they knowed./They didn't tell, nor make a fuss" (9-10) and concludes with a conspiratorial wink between Homer and his listeners and between the writer of the poem and his audience: "But winked at 'Omer down the road,/An' 'e winked back – the same as us!" (11-12). While this poem has often been invoked in discussions of explicit plagiarism[79] Kipling's account of Homer's verse practice clearly endorses the view of both

[79] Ralph Durand's *A Handbook to The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling* is so insistent on the plagiarism thesis that instead of glossing the poem, he asserts, "since Rudyard Kipling thus frankly admits his indebtedness to the work of others, there is no indiscretion in indicating a few of the many phrases that he has borrowed" (171). What follows is a list of volume titles and

Newman and Macaulay that an oral, balladic verse culture preceded the epics. Kipling's wandering "'Omer" describes and defends his practice of transforming the songs of the people into a literary form. In particular, Kipling's demotic cockney, ABAB rhyme scheme, and his use of long measure all echo in practice Newton's assertion that the meter into which one translates Homer "must be fundamentally musical and popular" (Newton v).

The poems that surround the Roman stories in *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) similarly confirm Kipling's commitment to a pre-Homeric ballad culture while also emphasizing his historical sense of the fragility of empire. Kipling articulates this historical perspective most explicitly in a letter to Edward Bok in which he claims the stories are "part of a scheme of mine for trying to give children *not* a notion of history but a notion of the time sense which is at the bottom of all knowledge of history and history rightly understanded [sic] means love of one's fellow men and the lands one lives in" (206).[80] This "time sense" is not chronological but analogical, as Kipling emphasizes the similarities between contemporary England and significant

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subtitles that come from other places. Usually, the poem is invoked in reference to the plagiarism scandal surrounding Rider Haggard's *She* and Andrew Lang's resulting article for *Longman's* in 1887. See Letitia Henville's "Andrew Lang's 'Literary Plagiarism': Reading Material and the Material of Language" (2013). In 1974, Francis P. Magoun Jr. does note that although "one little thinks of him as concerned at all with known today as oral poetry, yet, curiously enough, he twice remarks this, and in what seems a most pointed way" (157). I'm not entirely sure why Magoun doesn't see Kipling as having an interest in oral poetry particularly since Kipling chanted his verse and seems to have been participating in the return to orality marked by other modernist writers, but it is an interesting moment in literary criticism that is worth more attention.

[80] Deborah Roberts argues that "Kipling begins with a contrast – never really explained – between a notion of history and a notion of the time sense at the bottom of history. But in what follows, a true understanding of history is identified with the love of land and people; this formulation seems to endorse the strand in *Puck of Pook's Hill* that emphasizes continuity and universality of experience over difference. And Kipling's sudden (and not uncharacteristic) slip into baby talk with 'understanded' suggests that this strand is identified with a child's perspective" (116). What Roberts sees as an unexplained distinction is, to my mind, a productive conflation through which Kipling is able to use a variety of time registers, particularly ballad meter, to make large-scale historical claims and draw England into analogy with other empires, especially Rome.

moments in England's past, especially those that connect to other, now failed, empires. In introducing the volume, Donald MacKenzie presents the past Kipling creates as "fragmented, tactile, mute, on whose excavated fragments a re-creating imagination must play" (ii), a description which strongly resembles Kipling's conception of the creation of the Homeric epic. And as A. Michael Matin argues "apprehensions about the vulnerability of [England] registered throughout Kipling's oeuvre, but they are epitomized in his children's book *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906), which represents the Sussex coast as a choice site for landings of hostile forces."[81] The book thus reconstructs a pro-imperial English history out of the fragmentary experiences of non-chronological narrators while simultaneously warning its readers about the fragility of all such empires, and the martial investment required for an empire's maintenance. The volume is set in Burwash, near Kipling's home Batemans (and near the 1066 landing site of the Norman invaders) and features two children, Dan and Una, who accidentally summon Puck from Shakespeare's a *Midsummer Night's Dream* by performing the play in "a large old Fairy ring" on Midsummer Eve (6). Puck describes himself to the children as "the oldest Old Thing in England" and sets about conjuring historical figures from England's past to recount English history thematically rather than chronologically (8).[82]

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[81] According to A. Michael Matin, "while at work on Puck of Pook's Hill in 1905, Kipling attempted to employ his formidable connections to secure the use of a demilitarized Martello Tower. (More than a hundred of these small but massively fortified and heavily armed structures had been constructed on the southeast English coast between 1805 and 1812, in belated response to the Napoleonic threat.) 'I want to rent a Martello-Tower on the Kent coast for a year or two as a summer refuge,' he wrote to the First Lord of the Admiralty, John Fisher, quipping, 'I promise not to injure the article or let it be stolen.' Although it never worked out, Kipling's planned inhabitation of one of the most conspicuous symbols of the nation's security concerns speaks eloquently of his preoccupations. His request, in fact, is entirely consistent with the inclinations of Puck, whose opening poem, 'Puck's song,' announces the principal theme of the volume as a whole" (436).

[82] Kipling presents Puck as a figure of continuity who weaves a non-chronological but still continuous time-slip narrative for Dan and Una. By folding Puck into this motivated history of England, Kipling gives us a version of the famous character that is not mischievous or invested

The analogy and continuity between contemporary and historical England is made clear in "Puck's Song" which opens the book. In the poem, Puck identifies features of the landscape with historical events pointing out the "dimpled track…where they hauled the guns / That smote King Philip's fleet," "the dread ditch…where the Saxons broke, / On the day that Harold died," and "the trace / Of mound and ditch and wall…that was a Legion's camping-place, / When Caesar sailed from Gaul" (1). The characteristics of the contemporary landscape are, rightly read, an index of England's history, the still visible remnants of a past that is suffused with the present and could potentially be repeated in the future. The poem is written in regular common measure with an ABAB rhyme scheme emphasizing that regularity. The only two lines that fully defy the expectation of the rhyme scheme are the first and third lines of the final stanza.[83] It reads:

She is not any common Earth,

Water or wood or air,

But Merlin's Isle of Gramarye,

Where you and I will fare. (4)

It is impossible to elide the final syllable of "Gramarye" in order to suggest that it is meant to rhyme with "air" and "fair" (which would also violate the pattern of the preceding seven stanzas)

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in chaos like his dramatic progenitor, but the explicit link between the successive ages and racially diverse peoples that make up England.

[83] The preceding stanza does rhyme "lost" with "cease" in the lines "Trackaway and Camp and City lost, / Salt marsh where now is corn; / Old wars, old Peace, old Arts that cease, / And so was England born!" (4). While "lost" and "cease" might be acceptable rhymes in a much looser rhyme scheme, here, the discrepancy seems intentional, particularly given the extreme conventionality of the preceding rhymes. One could argue that this pairing is intended as a step that builds toward the missed rhyme in the final stanza. This is also, however, a moment of self-conscious reflection on the ballad's role in the concept of the nation and the relationship between an evolving country and evolving literary forms. The poem's index of the changes that comprise history concludes on "old Arts that cease" just as the rhyme scheme of this intentionally antiquated poem (eight lines of which begin with "O") loosens. The rules of rhyme change just at that moment and, as we see, remain changed in the concluding stanza.

because in order to support four full beats, the "ye" of "Gramarye" must carry the beat. Thus the poem ends with a repudiation of "common Earth" the same Earth that bore the marks of England's continuous history. It is not an isle of ruins and physical traces, ditches, tracks, and mounds, "But Merlin's Isle of Gramarye" where, apparently, a magical sensibility makes the landscape legible and reveals the true "time-sense" that undergirds history. However, given Kipling's public skepticism about spiritualism and the occult, this magical turn seems somewhat suspect.[84] Instead, it is more likely that Kipling's invocation of "Gramarye" here refers both to Sir Walter Scott's revival of the word in *Lay of the Last Minstrel* and to the more common first meaning of the word, "grammar." The reference to Scott further aligns Kipling with the border balladry so central to Britain's national identity, but *Puck of Pook's Hill*, rather than depicting the physical perimeter of "civilization," narrates the development of civilization's temporal borders, emphasizing the historical moments in which English identity changes. Thus, "Gramarye" isn't merely a reference to magic, but an appeal to the shared grammar – language, balladry, and prosody – of national identity.[85]

Like "Puck's Song" the Roman chapters and the poem that concludes the story "A Centurion on the Thirtieth" are central to this reading as Kipling depicts a British-Roman centurion navigating one such temporal boundary. The chapters are narrated by the Roman

[84] While Kipling maintained publicly the harm of spiritualism, particularly with regard to the charlatans promising to connect families to their dead relatives after WWI, he does maintain some interest and more than passing familiarity with the discourses is evident in his writing. See William Dillingham's "Eavesdropping on Eternity: Kipling's Wireless" (2012) and "Kipling: Spiritualism, Bereavement, Self-Revelation, and 'They'" (2002).

[85] In *The Rise and Fall of Meter*, Meredith Martin shows the way prosodic appendices in grammar books in the nineteenth century were seen as civilizing instruments: "this dream of an ordered language and an ordered mind expanded into a dream of ordered meters and an ordered nation in the nineteenth century, and it was this hope, I claim, that generated many of the disagreements and debates about the grammatical study of prosody, versification, and meter within nineteenth-century teaching texts and among prosodists and poets" (8).

soldier Parnesius who describes his service while stationed on Hadrian's Wall just before the fall of the Roman Empire. Parnesius is drawn into the contemporary moment by Una "sorrowfully" chanting from Macaulay's "Horatius" from his *Lays of Ancient Rome* (126).[86] While Kipling, like Macaulay, takes the opportunity to recast Roman history in a contemporary form (here, the short story), the poems that accompany the tale reinforce Kipling's views on the frailty of empire.[87] According to Phillip Burton

> That writing about the Roman Empire could be a way of writing about the British Empire was widely and openly accepted by Kipling's readers. Indeed, the elision of any distinction between the two is almost explicit when Parnesius talks like an Edwardian schoolboy of his arguments with his "Pater." Carrington's biography of Kipling even suggests that Parnesius' imperial ethic "strengthened the nerve of many a young soldier in the dark days of 1915 and 1941," and...it mattered little that Rudyard's Roman soldiers of the fourth century too much resembled subalterns of the Indian Army. (30)

[86] As Burton argues "The third key English intertext for Puck is Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome.* Dan and Una's first encounter with Parnesius the Roman centurion is framed by their playing at stories from the Lays ("From lordly Volaterrae / Where scowls the famed-famed hold"). This is again paradigmatic for Kipling's use of intertextuality in this work. Macaulay's main sources are, of course, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus; but beyond them lie earlier literary sources, and beyond them—in the Romantic tradition at least—lie a lost popular ballad-literature, which Macaulay sets out to recreate. And successfully, too: Dan and Una's imagination is duly shaped by his half understood but still moving poetry…And there is a further dimension to Kipling's appeal to Macaulay. As author of the Penal Code of India (completed 1860), Macaulay was one of the most influential of all British imperialists. Kipling's metaphysical concept of "the Law" that governs all human actions (and their relation with the divine) has various sources, and cannot be identified with any one of them; but the Old Testament and the Penal Code are probably the two most influential." (36)

[87] The second poem which accompanies the story "A British-Roman Song" works the analogy between Rome and England even more explicitly although it is somewhat more hopeful in that instead of anticipating the fall of empire, it warns listeners "to guard 'gainst home-born ills/The Imperial Fire!" (19-20).

Further, Parnesius identifies himself as a Roman who has always lived in England. When Una question's Parnesius's criticism of Romans, he responds "I'm one of a good few thousands who have never seen Rome except in a picture. My people have lived at Vectis[88] for generations" (128). Like the many nineteenth-century British nationals born and living in one of England's numerous colonies, Parnesius inhabits a complicated identity and harbors conflicting allegiances. Parnesius is also depicted in ways that make him easy for the text's presumed reader, an English child, to identify with as when Una asks to hear about Parnesius's family, he responds briefly that "good families are very much alike" but does mention romping "about the passages" of his home with his father, an anecdote which Una (a stand-in for Kipling's daughter) finds highly relatable (130-1).

Parnesius's tale is primarily an account of Rome's degradation and its effect on ancient Britain. When Parnesius comes of age, his father advises him, "There is no hope for Rome…she has forsaken her gods, but if the gods forgive *us* here, we may save Britain. To do that, we must hold the Painted People back" (136). Thus, Parnesius's account of British history is a story of demarcation between civilization and barbarism. And the only way for Parnesius to discipline and civilize his own, Roman-born men, and maintain clear distinctions between England, the failed Roman Empire of the past, and the surging barbarians at the gate is to march and sing. In fact, both chapters present extended accounts of the process, customs associated with, and experience of marching to Hadrian's Wall. Parnesius remarks several times that "A man never forgets his first march" and describes the process in detail, even referring to the "Road Book" that led his cohort to within sight of the contemporary location where he is telling his tale to Dan and Una (139, 143). And the next day, when the children hear Parnesius singing and follow his

[88] Vectis is an ancient term for the Isle of Wight.

voice to their meeting place to continue the story, he describes his song as "one of the tunes that are always being born somewhere in the Empire. They run like a pestilence for six months or a year, till another one pleases the Legions, and they march to that" (149-51). Parnesius goes on to describe the kind of marching the song accompanied as his men taught him "the Roman step" which, unlike the "quick-marching Auxiliaries" has a different pace (151). The Roman Step "is a long, slow stride, that never varies from sunrise to sunset. 'Rome's Race – Rome's Pace,' as the proverb says. Twenty-four miles in eight hours, neither more nor less" (151). Here Kipling collapses racial identity and marching speed, suggesting both that the rhythm of marching is culturally contingent and that the process of marching synchronizes a people into a shared temporality, here the precise twenty-four miles per eight hours of the "Roman Step." The marching song, which accompanies this step, is a sign of that shared temporality, both in its ability to regulate pace and in its indication of a fad or fashion. Thus the marching song that summons Una and Dan into the shared time of their interaction with Parnesius is also a measure of the temporal status of a particular civilization, here marking the transition from the slowness of the "Roman Step" to the "quick-time" of the British-Romans that would soon overtake it.

In keeping with this theme, the poem that follows the story, "Cities and Thrones and Powers," like "Recessional," details the short life of powerful civilizations which "Stand in Time's eye, / Almost as long as flowers, / Which daily die" (2-4). The second stanza warns that although "this season's Daffodil" cannot remember the winter that killed her antecedent the previous year and thus "Esteems her seven days' continuance / To be perpetual" (9, 15-16). The final stanza frames "Time" as "o'er-kind" in allowing "us" both the "Cities and Thrones and Powers" of the first stanza and the daffodil of the second to remain blind to our certain ends declaring "See how our works endure!" (24). The poem details the inevitability of empire's fall

and our inability to anticipate it. By companioning this poem with "A Centurion of the Thirtieth" who, through Macaulay's chanted lay, is able to emerge into the modern age, Kipling emphasizes his sense of England's historical analogy with Rome, not in terms of epic origin, but as the tragic analogue of a fallen empire. Thus, Kipling's poems, as early as "The Man and the Shadow" in *Departmental Ditties*, legibly and self-consciously participate in a major strand of the ballad discourse of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, articulating a stance on history through analogy with Rome and the recasting of ancient stories in various versions of ballad meter.

VI. Kipling's Ballad Meter

But what is ballad meter according to Kipling? As Meredith Martin has shown, "variable definitions of the ballad stanza persist throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and do not solidify into the notion we have now (a quatrain of alternating iambic tetrameter and trimeter) until the turn of the twentieth century ("'Imperfectly Civilized'" 351). According to Martin, Macaulay's version of "Saturnian meter is a measure that can sound like a 4/3/4/3 measure, with alternating iambs and trochees with an extra unstressed syllable at the end of the iambic lines" ("'Imperfectly Civilized'" 354). Kipling, writing before the concretization of the formal characteristics of the ballad, utilizes a wide range of meters throughout his career and while he may be remembered as primarily writing ballads or mere "verse," he certainly was not committed to a single ballad stanza or ballad meter. Instead, we find Kipling replicating the prosodic patterns of others often and consistently refusing to claim specialized prosodic knowledge.[89] Kipling describes one of his prize-winning poems at Westward Ho as "conceived in the metre of my latest 'infection' – Joaquin Miller" suggesting a habit of mimicking (and

[89] The volume *Echoes: By Two Writers* (1884) written with his sister Beatrice Kipling is an early sign of Kipling's virtuosity at metrical mimicry.

oftentimes parodying) the meters of other authors (*Something* 37). In a letter to *André* Chevrillon in 1919, Kipling remarks "I can't quite understand your being struck with my metrical work – the rhythm, etc. That always seemed to me unsatisfactory. I never yet have reached verse that contented my notions of sound and pulse. But no man knows his own work" (586). Similarly, Kipling claimed that "Allah had excluded all music from his 'make-up except the brute instinct for beat, as is necessary in the manufacture of verse'" (quoted in Gilmour 5-6). Mary Rogers Cabot, whom Kipling lived near while in Vermont, agreed with his assessment of his lack of metrical prowess asserting "he [Kipling] knew little or nothing of the laws of metre and when writing these verses, or even serious poems, would drum an accompaniment on the desk or table to make sure of the rhythm…" Because of this unwillingness or inability to describe his prosodic practice, we have very few accounts from Kipling of his metrical methods or theory.

However, in a letter to the American academic and prosodist Brander Matthews in 1911, Kipling reveals one of his metrical influences. He begins the letter by thanking Matthews for having sent him his "Study of Versification" claiming "it's useful to me in my job – like the rest of your books – so I don't mind betting that your own public across the water hasn't any idea of the value of the work you've been doing. There isn't to my knowledge another set of workman's books like yours" (33). Kipling goes on to describe just such a workman's book though, asking "have you got Hood's "*How I taught a youngster to write verse?"* It was written serially ages ago for a boy's magazine in England and I remember reading it again and again" (33). Thomas Pinney illuminates this reference in his notes to the letters identifying the text which Kipling read "again and again" as Tom Hood's *The Rules of Rhyme: A Guide to English Versification* (1869). T.S. Omond, one of the most influential prosodists of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, describes Hood's book as "cover[ing] wide ground…but it's view of verse is narrow

and defective" (181-2). Omond finds most fault with Hood's inability to describe the differences between "Latin and English metre" and suggests that the volume, based on *The Young Poet's Guide* "cannot be considered trustworthy, even for beginners" (182).[90] Hood's account of prosody does conflate features of Latin meter with that of English as he argues simultaneously for the existence of discrete feet and for the need for those feet to be pronounced as equal temporal divisions of the line. According to Hood:

> There is in accent this, in common with quantity, that just as two shorts make a long, and can be substituted for it, so two unaccented syllables may take the place of one rather more accented; or perhaps it will be found that the substitution is due less to the correspondence in accent alone, than to correspondence of quantity as well as accent. To put it briefly, these resolutions of the foot into more syllables are—like similar resolutions in music—a question of time, and time means quantity rather than accent. (25-6).

Ultimately, Hood maintains foot-based *and* temporal line divisions, arguing for the analogy with music that defines much of the practice of contemporary temporal prosodists (which included Omond). This emphasis on the temporal quality of meter requires that the poet have "a most accurate ear, and no little experience" (Hood 26). Despite the issues with Hood's mixed systems, as we will see Kipling took this "question of time" to heart, emphasizing the temporal distinctions various forms of meter could produce.[91]

Kipling's temporal conception of meter and his insistence on culturally distinct

[90] It's not entirely clear who wrote The Young Poet's Guide on which Hood's volume is based. Initially, Omond thought it was Thomas Hood, Tom Hood's father, but that turned out not to be the case (182).

[91] Kipling concludes the same letter, 'I'd like to war over the sonnet idea with you. A sonnet is much more lawless than you'd have it – inside the 14 line limit. I can't write sonnets but I'm persuaded of that" (34).

temporalities is most strikingly presented in the uncollected poem [“The Stumbling-Block of Western Lore”] (1892).

The Stumbling-block of Western lore
  Is faith in old arithmetics –
That two and two are always four
  And three and three make ever six
Equality of A to B
  Is interesting – Greenwich way:
But does not for a moment predicate the like ‘twixt B and A.

Until this point, the poem advanced in relatively regular long-measure quatrains capped with a couplet, but the beginning of the second set of end rhymes (the poem is not divided into stanzas) introduces a line double the length of all of the others precisely as the poem describes the incommensurability of and non-reversibility of value outside the reach of “Greenwich way.” Beyond the influence of the Prime Meridian and the dictates of the 1884 conference that divided the world into equal time zones to facilitate colonial and global capital management, western equivalences, like those between A and B, fail. “East of Suez” the poem continues, “It may be heat or damp or dew / That warps the numbers.” Thus, Kipling maintains the inherent distinction between the value of numbers in the area governed by the western temporality of Greenwich Mean Time and that which, so far from the metropole, cannot be accurately measured or understood. For Kipling, this distinction indicates that, “there must be people who / Don’t think as other people do” (16-17). This alternative way of thinking is allegorized in a doubled ninth line disrupting the expectation of Kipling’s ballad meter to exemplify the differences between British and colonial national identity.

It is important to keep in mind that Kipling's consistent political orientation toward history necessitates this maintenance of a temporal and temporally metrical distinction between colony and metropole. In "Arithmetic on the Frontier," originally published in the 1886 version of *Departmental Ditties and Other Verses*, Kipling subverts the sentiment of Horace's famous patriotic ode, by beginning:

A great and glorious thing it is
To learn for seven years or so
The Lord knows what of that and this
Ere reckoned fit to face the foe
They flying bullet down the pass,
That whistles clear: 'All flesh is grass' (1-6)

While this poem depicts the historical events surrounding the pacification of Upper Burma in 1886 and the efforts of the resistance to kill British officers through sniper attacks and ambushes, it also stages a temporal dilemma that highlights the incommensurability of Indian and English time-thinking. Rather than valorizing the sacrifice of the dead, Kipling dwells on the seven years of education required to advance to officer status in the British military that are so quickly made useless by a whistling bullet. By contrast, the "cheaper man" i.e. the native man, can be educated to his country's standard quickly and inexpensively, and even if he couldn't, the enemy's strength is not its educational preparedness, but "being blessed with perfect sight" and being one of the many "home-bred hoards" who vastly outnumber the British soldiers on the Afghan border. Here, Kipling challenges Horace's, and by extension, the British adage that it is glorious to die for your country, as according to Kipling's math, the sacrifice of a trained British soldier is enormous compared with the undifferentiated and unnoticeable death of the many natives with

which “the hillsides teem.” However, Kipling does not offer a solution to this incommensurability; rather, the poem is meant to delineate clearly between the “cheap” Afghani soldier and the expensively and exhaustively educated, outnumbered, and difficult to transport British soldier. The poem ends with the stanza:

With home-bred hordes the hillsides teem.
The troopships bring us one by one,
At vast expense of time and steam,
To slay Afridis where they run.
The “captives of our bow and spear”
Are cheap, alas! as we are dear.

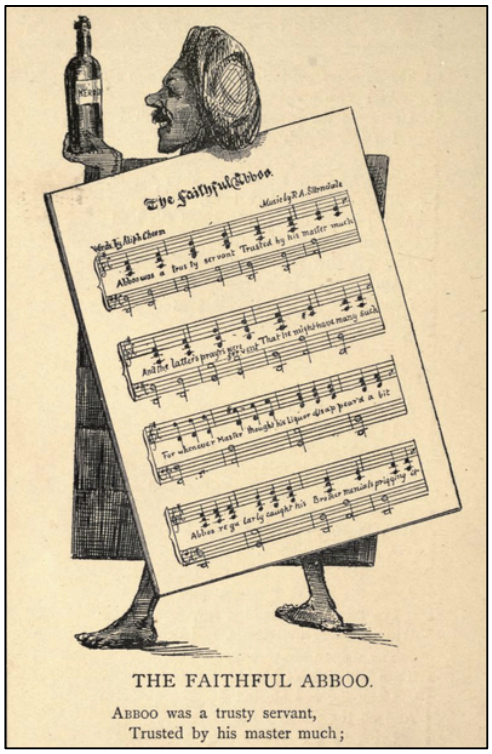
The poem turns on the pun of the final word “dear,” which, given the context of the poem, literally means “expensive” and refers to the litany of costs required to make a British soldier as well as their relative scarcity in India. However, “dear” also indicates the indeterminable intimacy of the relationship between British subjects in India. Kipling rejects the sentimental Horatian bond that would have men die for their country in favor of the sentimental bond between men that makes their deaths not just expensive, but a tragedy. This frontier translation of the Roman ode into a long-measure ballad stanza with closing couplets aligns national identity with the “dearness” of one’s British comrades, not one’s willingness to die in war. The colonial subject, however, is not “dear” either in terms of cost or intimacy, and the poem maintains that distinction in order to define British fraternity and thus, identity.

VII. Anglo-Indian Periodical Poetry

While it is important to mark Kipling’s engagement with the ballad meter controversies of the 1860s, and his temporal prosodic commitments, we must keep in mind the way he

participates in multiple ballad cultures simultaneously,[92] and it is difficult to read the poems of *Departmental Ditties* without contextualizing the volume within the discourse of ephemeral, Anglo-Indian newspaper poetry. Accounts of Kipling's publishing experiences in India tend to focus on his exceptional success rather than the long history of Anglo-Indian satire and newspaper poems that preceded the publication of Kipling's *Departmental Ditties*. However, in *Indian Angles: English Verse in Colonial India from Jones to Tagore* (2011), Mary Ellis Gibson details the primacy of Anglo-Indian poetry to "English language culture in India" asserting, "in colonial India at least through about 1860, poetry was the most important form of English language belletristic writing…from the eighteenth century onward, English language newspapers printed much more poetry than fiction, and printers in the presidencies…brought out various volumes of verse" (7). By 1822, Calcutta's English language poetry had solidified into the "Calcutta School" and was coherent enough to itself be parodied (104). Anglo-Indian poetry circulated not only in the English language weeklies, but also in annuals, initiated originally by David Lester Richardson in imitation of English and American annuals. As late as 1885, the

[92] Of course, this chapter only begins to examine those various ballad discourses. In *The Victorian Popular Ballad*, J.S. Bratton ably describes the triumph of Kipling's ballads: "Kipling's other gift as an heroic ballad writer is of course his command of the web of interrelated technical developments which belonged to the form by the end of the century. He could draw upon country folk-song, Irish street ballads, Romantic and pre-Raphaelite literary ballads, to add effects to the mainstream of heroic popular ballad. In the recitation ballad he could surpass the originators, Scott and Macaulay, by the force of his historical imagination and the skill of his handling of the rhetorical patterns they established; and in the chorus song he understood and extended the incantatory power of the refrain which captures the imagination of the audience, and the possibilities of characterization which lie in the use of stereotypes like his Tommy, who appear over and over again and add further episodes to the story of their many lives" (87). Kipling is also responding to the uptick in ballad collection and imitation in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In particular, Kipling's work is first reviewed and championed by anthropologist and ballad scholar Andrew Lang, who was also the literary editor at *Longman's Magazine*. The ballad revival of the early nineteenth century was echoed in the uptick of ballad writing at the end of the century as well. For more details on this second revival, see Sean Pryor's "Stevenson Among the Balladeers" (2014).



THE FAITHFUL ABBOO.

ABBOO was a trusty servant,
Trusted by his master much;

Kipling family produced *Quartette*, the Christmas annual for the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore (108). All of this is to say that newspaper poetry, written by and intended for the Anglo-Indian population, was both popular and conventional by the time Kipling began writing his *Departmental Ditties* in the 1880s.

Even the transition from newspaper circulation to book publication had significant precedent in the Anglo-Indian publishing community. In particular, Walter Yeldham's *Lays of Ind* (1871, published under the pseudonym "Aliph Cheem"), a wildly popular volume of "humorous verse" depicting Anglo-Indian life, originated in Indian English language newspapers and by 1910 had gone through eleven editions (Bose 11-12).[93] The *Lays of Ind* have been identified as a likely source text for some of Kipling's early verse[94] and have suffered from the comparison with Kipling.[95] Where the satirical edge of Kipling's ditties has been blunted by his reputation as the poet of empire, *Lays of Ind* has consistently been read as light verse with the tone of the volume made immediately apparent in the subtitle "Comical, Satirical, and Descriptive Poems Illustrative of English Life in India." Yeldham employs a variety of meters in the volume, at times switching mid-poem between five and ten syllable lines in "The Naughty

[93] Yeldham describes this composition and publication history in the rhymed preface:
This modest tome, kind Pub., was writ, / From time to time, and bit by bit; / Some Lays appearing here and there, / Where Editors could corners spare; / While other, bound into a book, / Were published in Bombay – and took. / At least 'yours truly' thinks he may / That much, of swagger guiltless, say; / For of his first attempt, no less / Than three editions passed the press, / And of the second, he is told, / There's not a single vol. unsold.
[94] *Kipling Journal*, Vol. XI, no. 61, April, 1942
[95] See Andrew Rutherford's *The Early Verse of Rudyard Kipling* (1986)

Nautch," and utilizing fourteen syllable lines in "The Two Thumpers," but for the most part the poems are written in some form of "ballad meter" as indicated by the lineation and indentation of the poems on the page. Like much of Kipling's writing,[96] the Lays of Ind include illustrations, one of which depicts the first few stanzas of "The Faithful Abboo" written in musical notation and worn as a sandwich-board by the eponymous Abboo who holds a bottle labeled "kerosene."[97] The image emphasizes the relationship between the poem and its musical antecedents in sung balladry without attempting an accurate depiction of that music. While each line of the poem is contained in two measures, the number of quarter notes depicted is rather arbitrary, especially when they all refer to the same note. The top of the music sheet reads "Words by Aliph Cheem" and "Music by R.A. Sterndale" suggesting that Sterndale invented the musical notation as part of his illustration, not as a faithful representation of the way the poem should be sung. In doing so, Sterndale emblematizes the looseness of Yeldham's ballad meter and depicts the more generalized assumptions about the relationship between the popular ballad and music, a relationship which we have seen in the introduction, so often implies the assumption of a temporal basis for meter.

Yeldham's *Lays of Ind*, like Kipling's early verse, also depicts what Gibson calls "the

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[96] Unlike Yeldham, Kipling created the illustrations that accompany much of his work. Ability in the visual arts ran in the family as not only was Kipling's father an artist, but he was also the nephew of Sir Edward Burne-Jones and Sir Edward Poynter, both renowned Victorian painters. Yeldham's illustrations were created by Lionel Inglas and R.A. Sterndale (Bose 12). Sterndale's *Seonee, or Camp Life on the Satpura Range* influenced several scenes in Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (Crane & Fletcher).

[97] Unfortunately, this poem is an example of Yeldham's baser expressions of racism against Indians. In the poem, Abboo is a trusted servant who is, in fact, stealing gin from his master Colonel Jervis. One night, Abboo accidentally steals kerosene instead of gin and consumes the entire bottle. He is caught as he's dying, though the moral of the poem is not Abboo's "sad disaster" but rather that, "Never more will Colonel Jervis / Trust another native boy" (154-158). The illustration inscribes the text of the poem on Abboo's body like a strange perversion of the "blind Beggar" of Wordsworth's *Prelude*.

oldest topos in English language verse in India, the hapless griffin" (269). The griffin is a young man newly arrived in a foreign land, usually India, who is attempting to begin his career and make his fortune, but is often beset by misinformation and incorrect assumption about his new surroundings. The griffin's confusion about the realities of life in India is the stand-in for general British misapprehensions about its largest colony and the real dangers and discomforts of colonial life. Yeldham begins "To a Griffin" with the advice that he "purge from [his] mind every English-formed notion / of Ind, ere you get to the Indian Ocean" (185). This advice is predicated on the fact that "The English are people – what thinker can doubt it? - / Who know and who care very little about it [India]" (185). After listing the many ways in which the English government ignores and evades its responsibilities toward India and the lack of knowledge among the English about India's history and government, Yeldham goes on to list the many incorrect assumptions that the griffin and the English citizen might hold about India. These misconceptions, which include the expectation of princely pay, easily wooed English women, and "cobras…in your slippers" are also the stock and trade of the Anglo-Indian verse volume whose exotic descriptions of life in India were a large part of their ability to gain popularity in the metropole as well as with an Anglo-Indian audience. The consistent use of the griffin in this type of verse thus indicates the way in which Anglo-Indian writers, like Kipling, had their ambitions trained on England.

VIII. Departmental Ditties

While *Lays of Ind* was one of the comparably more popular, and thus, accessible examples of Anglo-Indian poetry, in "My First Book," (the seventh article in a series of similar contributions from other famous authors for *The Idler* in 1892) Kipling describes the newspaper poetry community of which he was a part. In the first place, Kipling claims his poetry was included in

the newspaper only to fill space, quoting the newspaper foreman Rudn-Din as saying "'Your poetry very good, sir; just coming proper length today. You giving more soon? One-third column just proper. Always can take on third page'" (94). Kipling described the newspaper as an appropriate space for poetry as "there is always an undercurrent of song, a little bitter for the most part, running through the Indian papers. The bulk of it is much better than mine, being more graceful" (94). Not only was the paper itself "musical," but there were poets being printed by many other English language papers around India. As Kipling describes it, "Sometimes a man in Bangalore would be moved to song, and a man on the Bombay side would answer him, and a man in Bengal would echo back, till at last we would all be crowing together, like cocks before daybreak, when it is too dark to see your fellow" (94-5). That the poets at various English-language newspapers were in conversation with one another suggests a lost discourse which would further illuminate Kipling's poems. And of course, Kipling recognized the long history of newspaper poetry in India describing how "The newspaper files showed that, forty years ago, the men sang of just the same subjects as we did — of heat, loneliness, love, lack of promotion, poverty, sport, and war" (95). Reaching back further still, he details the eighteenth century poets of *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* which featured poems on similar themes to those of the late nineteenth century, but with a harder edge as those men faced comparatively more discomfort and danger than their nineteenth-century counterparts.[98] However, much of the history and the diversity of Anglo-Indian newspaper poetry that Kipling knew is lost to the modern reader, an ephemeral quality of the genre that Kipling was well aware of as he notes that had it not been for

[98] Kipling also notes a book of poems printed approximately forty years before *Departmental Ditties* which contemporary scholars have been unable to locate: "The note of physical discomfort that runs through so much Anglo- Indian poetry had been struck then. You will find it most fully suggested in 'The Long, Long Indian Day', a comparatively modern affair; but there is a set of verses called 'Scanty Ninety-five', dated about Warren Hastings's time, which gives a lively idea of what our seniors in the service had to put up with."

collecting the poems into *Departmental Ditties and Other Verses* his verses would not have "had the good fortune to last a little longer than some others, which were more true to facts, and certainly better workmanship."

While Kipling, from the vantage of success, cedes a great deal of territory to his preceding and fellow newspaper poets, it is clear the when he was writing for the English-language newspapers, Kipling was intent upon founding a unique culture of poetry. As Andrew Rutherford notes, "Kipling had argued, only half ironically, in 'Music for the Middle-Aged' that conventional drawing-room ballads needed to be reworked to accord with and express the facts of Anglo-Indian experience" (16). "Music for the Middle-Aged" was printed in the *Civilian and Military Gazette* in 1884 as a letter written by Kipling under the pseudonym "Jacob Cavendish, M.A." in which he argues that ballads like Tennyson's "Maud" could be transformed in "spirit" to align in "perfect harmony with our [Anglo-Indian] every-day life" (220). While initially Kipling suggests that "the Form of their songs shall be respected" he concludes the letter with the claim,

> I make no doubt that there will arise a race of virile poets, owning no allegiance to, drawing no inspiration from, Western thought, who will weave for the drawing-room of the future, songs as distinctly *sui generis*, as an overland trunk or a *solah topee*, and breaking in every word the luxuriant imagery and abundant wealth of expression peculiar to the East. (220-1)

The overland trunk and the pith helmet (*solah topee*) are certainly derived from their particular place of use, but they are not purely Indian artefacts. Instead, Kipling invokes emblems of uniquely Anglo-Indian identity and of the nomadic English colonist. While the text is clearly satirical, the impulse to create a distinctly Anglo-Indian ballad culture is completely serious and,

as the Rutherford points out, *Departmental Ditties* "set the seal on his [Kipling's] reputation as *the* poet of Anglo-India (17).[99]

While this chapter takes seriously the task of reading and contextualizing the poems in Kipling's first volume *Departmental Ditties And Other Verses,* it should be noted that T.S. Eliot immediately dispensed with Kipling's "juvenilia" and refused to discuss it in his introductory essay or include any poems from it in his *A Choice of Kipling's Verse* (1949).[100] *Departmental Ditties* collected poems previously published in *The Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, both English language newspapers published in India, both of which employed Rudyard Kipling as an assistant editor at various times throughout the 1880s. Kipling directly oversaw the design and printing of the book which begins, in all editions from 1892 onward, with a poem that confirms the book's participation in the ballad-theory of civilization. The poem "In the Neolithic Age" begins

> In the Neolithic Age savage warfare did I wage
>
> For food and fame and woolly horses' pelt.
>
> I was a singer to my clan in that dim, red Dawn of Man,
>
> And I sang of all we fought and feared and felt. (1-4)

Kipling writes from the perspective of an ancient ballad singer, articulating the earliest civilizational details of the beginnings of mankind. He goes on to describe his service as a singer

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[99] As Tricia Lootens points out, "Like England's official Laureate, the Anglo-Indian Kipling hoped to write the 'song that nerves a nation's heart.' Where Tennyson traced the chivalric patriotic ballad of Maud to a great hall, however, Kipling sought inspiration from imperial barrack-rooms and urban music-halls." (269)

[100] Eliot dismisses Kipling's first volume of poetry thusly: "In the selection which follows I have found no place for the earliest of Kipling's published verse…Most of it is what it was intended to be, light reading in an English newspaper in India…It is obviously the work of a clever young man who might go far in journalism, but neither in feeling nor in rhythm does most of it give any hint that the author would ever write a memorable poem. It is unnecessary to say that it is not poetry…" (7-8).

to clans throughout history, witnessing the cracking of the "Biscayne ice-pack" through the development of cave painting, and into the present day. By the poem's conclusion, we are clearly in contemporary times, but the poet can look back to "when the moose / And reindeer roamed where Paris roars to-night" to provide continuous wisdom to the modern clan. That wisdom, which caps both the fifth and tenth stanza, is apparently the same throughout history: "'There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays, / And every single one of them is right!'" This assertion, told from the perspective of England's historically continuous ballad singer, seems to acknowledge and normalize the heterogeneity of ballads collected throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries arguing that it is this fragmentary, diffuse balladic past that is foundational to a coherent imperial future. The poem's quick pace, well-suited to the swift recounting of history, emphasizes both Kipling's sense of the historical-temporal work meter can do and of the diversity of meters that fall under the heading of Kipling's "ballad meter."

"In the Neolithic Age" only appeared as the opening poem of *Departmental Ditties* from the time Kipling contributed to the "My First Book" anthology in 1892. In that article, he describes his self-designed book thusly:

> …a lean oblong docket, wire-stitched, to imitate a D.O. Government envelope, printed on one side only bound in brown paper, and secured with red tape. It was addressed to all heads of departments and all government officials, and among a pile of papers would have deceived a clerk of twenty years' service. (96)

This "book" and the newspaper editions that preceded it circulated in materially distinct ways, were intended for very particular and legibly designated audiences, and participated in a version of literary history that has been obscured by twentieth-century critical and reading practices. The facsimile of an official government document filled, not with the minutia of civil governance, but

instead, with poems often satirically critical of the British Raj and the metropole is analogous to Kipling's participation in literary discourses, particularly that of the ballad, using them to rethink the nature of British national identity and history. Kipling's verse in *Departmental Ditties* is clothed in the imperial drag of Macaulay's national ballad, all the while denying Macaulay's conception of history by signaling the impermanence of British imperial rule. At the same time, by mimicking the official record of the inner-workings of the Britain's imperial civil service, Kipling's "book" infiltrates that same historical record and inserts itself into the discourse of colonial administration. For all of the ways that Kipling's newspaper poems fulfill the conventions of Anglo-Indian poetry, the form of Kipling's first book distinguishes his verse as an important part of the long ballad discourse on English history and governance.[101] It also highlights Kipling's participation in the discourse surrounding the ballad-theory of civilization as he serves as his own Homeric ballad collector, stitching ephemeral newspaper poems together to form the foundation of a developing Anglo-Indian civilization. It is this temporally-located civilization and this history that Kipling tells in disparate meters, metrically managing the distinction between and temporal incommensurability of life in the colony and life in the metropole.

[101] Kipling ends the article rather tenderly by describing the book as "a little brown baby, with a pink string round its stomach" who does not realize "it was afflicted with all the most modern ailments" (97).

Image of the front of Rudyard Kipling's *Departmental Ditties and Other Verses* as it would have appeared in circulation with a red ribbon tied around it.

CHAPTER TWO

W.B. Yeats, Temporal Prosody, and Irish Rhythm

"I am not musical; I have the poet's exact time sense, only the vaguest sense of pitch"

–W.B. Yeats, Commentary on *The Great Clock Tower*

I. Introduction

It is a truism in Yeats studies that Yeats wrote traditional metrical poetry in contrast with the *vers libre* experiments of the younger generation of modernists. Yeats appears to say as much himself in his 1937 essay "A General Introduction to my Work," asserting that

> because I need a passionate syntax for passionate subject matter I compel myself to accept those traditional metres that have developed with the language. Ezra Pound, Turner, Lawrence wrote admirable free verse, I could not. I would lose myself, become joyless like those mad old women…all that is personal soon rots; it must be packed in ice or salt…I must choose a traditional stanza, even what I alter must seem traditional…Ancient salt is best packing. (*E&I* 522)

This passage has been consistently interpreted as evidence that Yeats was, as Robert Beum puts it, "an iambic poet…as iambic a poet as Wordsworth or Shakespeare," using the "old 'foot' system" of a supposedly homogenous metrical tradition (66). However, as Meredith Martin has proven, the coherent Victorian monolith of "traditional meter" is itself a twentieth-century critical fiction that obscures a great deal of metrical debate and that debate's relationship to conceptions of national identity and the dream of the civilizing power of education.[102] Where critics like Michael Golston have been comfortable asserting that "Yeats…and most other Modernists worked very much within and against 'rhythm derived from classical scansion,'" I

[102] Please note that Martin begins *The Rise and Fall of Meter* (2008) with the polemic "I don't believe in iambs" (1).

argue, following Martin, that Yeats wrote during a time when meter and rhythm were still thought of as extremely unstable categories and that Yeats had a decidedly non-classical view of poetic rhythm (8).[103] Instead, Yeats participated in a mélange of poetic discourses, where his reference to the "traditional metres that have developed with the language" can mean many things, including the rich tradition of Irish ballads and ballad translation and the complicated process by which Irish poetry written in English was understood as following its own metrical rules, allowing it to better serve and shape Irish national and cultural projects.

What Yeats calls "traditional" is not the consolidated and pedagogically expedient accentual-syllabic "tradition" that Meredith Martin so ably punctures, but, rather, a purposefully "Irish" version of the once-prominent but now little-remembered system called "temporal prosody," where the "ancient salt" is the rhythm produced by correct pronunciation as Yeats describes it in his 1902 essay "Speaking to the Psaltery:"[104]

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[103] Martin argues that "Eliot's poetry and prose are similarly inflected with traces of the rise and fall of meter, and deserve reexamination along historical and prosodic lines, as does the complex prosodic discourse and recasting of tradition evident in the poems of Robert Frost, Mina Loy, H.D., William Carlos Williams, and even, perhaps especially, Yeats" (Martin 186-7)

[104] Temporal prosody, according to T.V.F. Brogan, has as its basis "a conception of the poem not as an aesthetic object but as an aesthetic experience," and he summarizes the theory thusly: "'Timers' hold that lines of verse are organized ('metered') not by stresses or syllable-count but by *duration*….so that the time elapsing between any two stresses in speech is roughly equal regardless of how many syllables intervene – a phenomenon called 'isochronism'" (193).[104] Rather than adhering to some version of accentual-syllabic meter that requires counting out the specific number of unstressed syllables between stressed syllables, I argue that Yeats composed by chanting his verse and maintained a roughly equal amount of time or duration between syllables that carry the rhythmic beat. I should note that Brogan is unconvinced by the temporal view of meter asserting that "timing may well inhere in the language and hence be properly termed an aspect of linguistic *rhythm*, but not therefore an aspect of that abstract paradigm *meter*" (193). I am not invested in or even particularly interested in the accuracy of temporal methods for describing meter. I agree with Brogan that the system is largely an effect of performance rather than description. What I am interested in, however, is temporal prosody's effects for Yeats and his thinking about the temporal work of poetry.

> I have always known that there was something I disliked about singing, and I naturally dislike print and paper, but now at last I understand why, for I have found something better. I have just heard a poem spoken with so delicate a sense of its rhythm, with so perfect a respect for its meaning, that if I were a wise man and could persuade a few people to learn the art I would never open a book of verses again…Another speaker could have repeated all her effects, except those which came from her own beautiful voice, a voice that would have given her fame if the only art that offers the speaking voice its perfect opportunity were as well known among us as it was known in the ancient world. (*CW IV* 128-129)

In this chapter, I argue that although Yeats inherited and participated in the nineteenth-century discourse of temporal prosody, particularly through his chanting composition and performance, his commitment to presenting himself as a distinctly Irish poet obscures that inheritance. Rather, by not questioning the routine ascription of Yeats's prosodic irregularities to his hybrid mix of Irish and English metrical traditions, critics have neglected to situate his prosody in relation to an English strand of experimental rhythm known as "temporal prosody". This obfuscation serves to further the perception of English meter as a single knowable and regular system and helps conceal the poetic relationships and effects of the many competing prosodic discourses that proliferated at the turn of the century. Without understanding Yeats's commitment to this temporal prosodic system, it is difficult to recognize the ways in which Yeats uses rhythm to think through, manage, and allegorize the changing time standards and complex historical shifts that he experienced throughout the process of the founding the Irish state. By describing Yeats's self-conscious construction of a particular Irish literary inheritance and the temporal prosodic discourse that "inheritance" masks, I am able to demonstrate the way that Yeats's rhythms

respond to and depict the transition from Dublin Mean Time to Greenwich Mean Time in October 1916, and the rhythmic consequences of that temporal rupture.

II. Yeats's Criticism of the 1880s and 1890s

In *Principles of Literary Criticism*, I.A. Richards famously describes "Mr. Yeats trying desperately to believe in fairies" as one of the "pathetic spectacles" that typifies the "common misuse of fictions" (249). While the importance of fairy tales and Irish folklore to Yeats's poetic and cultural projects has been amply shown, Richards' derisive statement speaks to the performance of Irish identity that motivates Yeats's early work collecting folklore, anthologizing a particular nineteenth-century Irish literary inheritance, and adapting traditional Irish forms, specifically the popular ballad, for his own use.[105] This curatorial project was a self-conscious attempt by Yeats to mend the schism between literature of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy and that of the "authentic" Irish Catholic peasant, allowing Yeats to develop a continuous Irish literary history predicated on style, of which he was the natural inheritor, and not blood.[106] In this section, I show the way that Yeats's critical practice in the 1880s and 1890s lays the groundwork

[105] For in depth analysis of Yeats's interest in Irish folklore, see Mary Helen Thuente's *W.B. Yeats and Irish Folklore* (1980) and Anne Markey's "The Discovery of Irish Folklore" in *New Hibernia Review* 10.4. For accounts of Yeats's relationship to the Irish ballad tradition see Colin Meir's *The Ballads and Songs of W.B. Yeats* (1974) and Brian Devine's "The Influence of the Irish Ballad Tradition" in *Yeats, the Master of Sound* (2006).

[106] While I'm interested here in pulling out the particular strands of Yeats's critical work that reveal the ways in which he was able to inherit a tradition through "style" rather than racial affiliation, Gregory Castle's *Modernism and the Celtic Revival* (2001) contextualizes Yeats's anthropological interest in folklore across his career. Critics have long observed the ironies of Yeats's attempt to inherit an Irish Catholic peasant tradition. Seamus Deane in particular alerts us to Yeats's construction of history, noting that "Yeats's account of the Anglo-Irish tradition blurs an important distinction between the terms 'aristocracy' and 'Ascendancy'. Had he known a little more about the eighteenth century, he would have recognized that the Protestant Ascendency was, then and since, a predominantly bourgeois social formation. The Anglo-Irish were held in contempt by the Irish-speaking masses as people of no blood, without lineage and with nothing to recommend them other than the success of their Hanoverian cause over that of the Jacobites" (30).

for and is analogous to his conception of the uniquely Irish, bardic rhythm in English that he begins describing in 1902.

Yeats attempted to build his reputation as a leader of the Irish literary movements in Dublin and London in the 1880s and 1890s through various critical projects, particularly his work anthologizing, reviewing, and writing introductions for Irish fiction. In a review of the 1979 reprint of *Representative Irish Tales*, N. Jeanne Argoff asserts that "it may be stretching a point to say that Yeats began his literary career as an editor and anthologizer rather than a poet; it is, however, true that in sheer bulk his anthologies of the works of the nineteenth century Irish writers far outweigh his poetic output of the 'eighties and early 'nineties'" (68). Yeats's publications during the period include *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* (1888), *Stories from Carleton* (1889), *Representative Irish Tales* (1891), *Irish Faerie Tales* (1892), and an anthology entitled *A Book of Irish Verse* (1895). In "The Dark Arts of the Critic," James H. Murphy persuasively outlines Yeats's cultivation of William Carleton (1794-1869) as the appropriately masculine and authentic peasant novelist of nineteenth-century Irish literature.[107] For Yeats, Carleton served both as the masculine antithesis to Matthew Arnold's feminine Celt and as the embodiment of an "authentic, though spontaneous, Irish style" who, through that style, bridged the divide between literature in Gaelic and a new Irish literature written in English (Murphy 82-3).[108] In the introduction to *Stories from Carleton* Yeats described Carleton as "a great Irish historian. The history of a nation is not in parliaments and battle-fields, but in what people say to each other on fair-days and high days, and in how they farm, and quarrel, and go

[107] James H. Murphy. "The Dark Arts of the Critic" in *Yeats and Afterwords*. 2014.
[108] Unsurprisingly, Carleton was not really the peasant Yeats assumed him to be. As Murphy puts it, "ironically, Carleton was far from the unspoiled peasant of Yeats's imagination. Recent criticism has portrayed him as a recycler of English literary conventions rather than as an authentic peasant voice, and he was himself a canny manipulator of critical discourse in a manner that Yeats might have found familiar and laudable, had he known about it" (83).

on pilgrimage. These things has Carleton recorded" (84, quoted in Murphy). Here Yeats ascribes to Carleton the ability to record the immediate and accurate experiences of everyday peasant life and elevates that record to the status of national history, thereby positioning himself, the critical champion of Carleton, as, if not an inheritor, then the true appreciator of the Irish peasant literary tradition in English.[109] Yeats further emphasizes the importance of a distinctively Irish style in English prose in a letter about the volume *Representative Irish Tales*, arguing that, in contrast with Carleton's early and mid-nineteenth century prose, contemporary Irish stories "sail the sea of common English fiction…. The Irish manner has gone out of them though" (85, quoted in Murphy).

While Yeats valorizes the "Irish manner," which he at many points conflates with the grittiness of the Irish peasant experience, his fullest use of Carleton for shaping his own literary credentials occurred in response to Edward Dowden's January 1895 public lecture, in which Dowden criticized the nineteenth century Irish poets Samuel Ferguson, Thomas Davis, and James Clarence Mangan (87). Yeats immediately penned a scathing response to Dowden and his "alleged lethargy concerning the promotion of Irish literature," and the next month responded with a list of the "thirty best Irish books" in the *Daily Express* (88). The list included Carleton in the third, fourth, and fifth ranks; Murphy argues that

> Yeats's praise here for Carleton was strong and, indeed surprising, given Carleton's then rather reduced reputation. Yeats was to use this paradox to develop a theory concerning Irish literature throughout various publications in 1895 that would put him in a position to

[109] One major difficulty with Yeats's desire to position Carleton as the exemplary peasant novelist is Carleton's rather famous deathbed repudiation of Roman Catholicism. However, as Roy Foster points out, "in a detailed and rather serpentine critique, Yeats proved to his own satisfaction that Carleton had actually stayed, so to speak, Platonically Catholic" (Kindle Location 1891).

> be prescriptive concerning current trends in Irish literature. The sort of canon formation that the drawing up of lists of best books implied could thus be turned into an implement for the shaping of a future Irish literature. (89)

By according Carleton such pride of place in a list of "best Irish books," Yeats attempted to consolidate a literary past for Ireland whose natural endpoint was Yeats himself, as critic. In a later article, "From Callanan to Carleton," Yeats argued that "Ireland…did not have a mature literary tradition" and insisted that authors like Thomas Moore "had to borrow English modes of writing" (Murphy 91). What Ireland could offer by way of tradition was either the "Gaelic"[110] or the "peasant" path (Murphy 91). Of those who worked from the peasant tradition, Yeats claimed that

> Only Carleton, born and bred a peasant, was able to give us a vast multitude of grotesque, pathetic, humorous persons…He was half articulate, half emerged from Mother Earth, like one of Milton's lions, but his wild Celtic melancholy gives to whole pages of *Fardarougha* and of *The Black Prophet* an almost spiritual grandeur….In his time only a little of Irish history, Irish folk-lore, Irish poetry had been got into the English tongue; he had to dig the marble for his statue out of the mountain side with his own hands, and the statue shows not seldom the clumsy chiseling of the quarryman. (quoted in Murphy 91-92).

For Yeats, Carleton served as an exemplar of the authentic Irish peasant tradition (however imaginary that has turned out to be)[111] in English, and his lack of continuous popularity indicated

[110] To which, we must recall, Yeats has very little access given his lack of Irish language skills.
[111] Murphy quotes Helen O'Connell's *Ireland and the Fiction of Improvement* (2006), in which she argues that "Carleton's writing emanates from the written conventions of improvement discourse and does not provide an authentic representation of pre-Famine oral culture…. Carleton does not celebrate or preserve Irish-language oral culture in his stories and novels. Instead, his writing shows the extent to which that culture was already mediated by a range of

the need for an Irish literary tradition guided by someone with Yeats's incisive critical powers. Murphy concludes with the assertion that Yeats deliberately invented the tradition of which Carleton was his ideal in the hopes of solidifying his own place in the Irish literary establishment of the 1880s and 1890s (Murphy 97).

Murphy's detailed and persuasive account of Yeats's critical use of Carleton in the last two decades of the nineteenth century helps us identify just one strand of the critical maneuvering Yeats undertook to position himself as the English language endpoint of a ruptured and divisive Irish literary history.[112] Toward similar ends, Yeats also produced two anthologies of Irish folklore, *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* (1888)[113] and *Irish Faerie Tales* (1892). Mary Helen Thuente argues that the collections "reflect [Yeats's] search for an imaginative yet authentic depiction of Irish folklore which avoided the extremes of a ponderous scientific air on the one hand and a bogus stage-Irish literary charm on the other" (74). Thuente shows not only that Yeats's 1888 anthology was the result of extensive research rather than a "hasty composition," as it has often been depicted, but also that Yeats self-consciously fashioned a usable folk tradition from a myriad of sources and, through extensive editing and careful categorization, left a permanent stamp on the reception of Irish folklore (75, 83).[114] In surveying

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discourses and conventions which effectively prevented any kind of authentic representation in writing" (94).

[112] As Austin Clarke compactly puts it in the revised edition of *Modern Poetry in Ireland* (1961), "the unexpected is always happening and few could have foretold that Yeats would return to the ample manner of the past, revive it for himself and enrich it with his own musical cadences" (48).

[113] Note that Yeats included six of Carleton's stories in this collection from *Tales and Sketches, Illustrating the Character, Usages, Traditions, Sports, and Pastimes of the Irish Peasantry* (1845).

[114] For example, Yeats divides the fairy stories into two types: "The Trooping Faeries," who are sociable, "The Solitary Faries," who are significantly more sinister. This distinction originated with Yeats and is maintained in modern accounts of Irish fairies, particularly Carolyn White's *History of Irish Fairies* (1976) and Katharine Briggs' *An Encyclopedia of Fairies* (1976) (Thuente 84-85). It's also worth noting that Yeats's folkloric interests have been significantly

the range of material included in the anthology, Thuente posits a theory of selection, arguing that Yeats's choices show a preference "for weird, inexplicable material" by citing Yeats's praise of Douglas Hyde's translation of "Teig O'Kane and the Corpse" as "the 'weirdest' and the best' of all Irish folklore" and that "other selections, though not always as weird as 'Teig O'Kane', were usually chosen on the basis of their imaginative extravagance" (Thuente 87, 88).[115] Yeats's principles of exclusion were similarly consistent as he avoided folktales that contained strong moral lessons, "religious or political propaganda," or those tales which were "told in a mock-serious tone by a patronizing narrator" (Thuente 92-93). Thuente points out that Yeats also "freely edited his materials," excising "authorial commentary and superfluous literary atmosphere which did not support [his] presentation of a uniquely Irish subject matter free from stale English literary conventions" (93). Thus, Yeats's edited and selected tales accorded with his own definition of the "distinctly Irish," much like his valorization of Carleton's "Irish manner."

As one might expect based on Yeats's preference for Carleton, his process of selection and his editing produced an anthology that emphasized the serious, tragic, and mournful aspects of the Irish peasant (Thuente 99). As Thuente notes, during the same period Yeats praised Davis, Mangan, and Ferguson for writing poetry that was tragic and melancholy, privileging them above the writers who depicted the Irish peasant as "a merry harlequin, sometimes even pathetic, to be patted and pitied and laughed at so long as he said, 'your honor' and presumed nowise to be

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reevaluated in recent years by both Gregory Castle and Sinéad Garrigan Mattar. Mattar in particular has demonstrated how Yeats's conception of folklore was bound up with and reflected greater interests in animism, the new anthropology, and comparative folklore. While I agree with both, I argue that Yeats purposefully constructed his inheritance of Irish folklore to emphasize the uniqueness of Irish literary history and to distinguish it clearly from English examples.

[115] Roy Foster also singles out "Teig O'Kane and the Corpse as Yeats's particular favorite and as an example of Yeats's interest in the Irish occult (156-7). Laura O'Connor emphasizes the provenance of the story, noting that "the source for Hyde's story was a Gaelic ballad, structured as a dialogue between Teig and the corpse, which he had heard just once and could only corroborate by a fragmented version in manuscript" (36).

considered a serious or tragic person" (98).[116] Yeats puts it this way in his introduction to *Faery and Folk Tales*:

> Croker and Lover, full of the ideas of harum-scarum Irish gentility, saw everything humorised. The impulse of the Irish literature of their time came from a class that did not — mainly for political reasons — take the populace seriously, and imagined the country as a humorist's Arcadia; its passion, its gloom, its tragedy, they knew nothing of. What they did was not wholly false; they merely magnified an irresponsible type, found oftenest among boatmen, carmen, and gentlemen's servants, into the type of a whole nation, and created the stage Irishman. (*F&F* xv)

While Yeats "had originally been interested in the visionary and spiritual aspects of Irish folklore…he became more and more concerned with depicting the character of the Irish peasant" as "it turned out that the Irish peasant rather than his fairy lore provided the better subject matter" (Thuente 85, 101).

This tragic, mournful Irish peasant was crucial to Yeats's conception of the continuity of Irish literary history, as he further claimed in the introduction to *Fairy and Folk Tales* that, unlike in Ireland where the English fairies have long departed, "In Ireland [the fairies] are still extant, giving gifts to the kindly, and plaguing the surly" (*F&F* vi). Not only that, but Yeats claimed to have personally gathered accounts of these fairies in his own home county:

[116] Yeats. "Tales from the Twilight," 173 (quoted in Thuente). Yeats's emphasis on the solemn Irish peasant can also be seen in his praise of Lady Wilde's work on folklore: "But the best book since Croker is Lady Wilde's *Ancient Legends*. The humour has all given way to pathos and tenderness. We have here the inner most [sic] heart of the Celt in the moments he has grown to love through years of persecution, when, cushioning himself about with dreams, and hearing fairy-songs in the twilight, he ponders on the soul and on the dead. Here is the Celt, only it is the Celt dreaming" (*Fairy and Folk Tales* xv).

> "Have you ever seen a fairy or such like?" I asked an old man in County Sligo. "Amn't I annoyed with them," was the answer. "Do the fishermen along here know anything of the mermaids?" I asked a woman of a village in County Dublin. "Indeed, they don't like to see them at all," she answered, "for they always bring bad weather." "Here is a man who believes in ghosts," said a foreign sea-captain, pointing to a pilot of my acquaintance. "In every house over there," said the pilot, pointing to his native village of Rosses, "there are several." (*F&F* iv)

Here, Yeats begins his "representative" account of Irish folklore and fairy tales by inserting himself into the narrative of the unbroken literary tradition of the Irish peasant (*F&F* xvi). Yeats the anthologizer becomes Yeats the inheritor of the "aristocracy of thought" of the Irish folk tradition, an insider who, in having personally collected and expertly edited fairy tales from the peasantry, proves himself to be the culmination of that tradition.[117] In summary, Yeats's early critical work shows the Anglo-Irish writer's attempt to align himself with the stylistic tradition of the Irish peasantry, a move which allowed Yeats to remake Irish literary history by presenting himself as the endpoint and inheritor of an unbroken, still-living Irish tradition.

Not only did Yeats recast nineteenth-century Irish prose and Irish folklore to support a continuous literary history, he also selectively endorsed nineteenth-century Irish poets from whom he could inherit an artfully constructed tradition. While Yeats was anthologizing folklore and prose, he was also writing about nineteenth-century Irish poetry and the Irish ballad

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[117] "Yet, be it noticed, if you are a stranger, you will not readily get ghost and fairy legends, even in a western village. You must go adroitly to work, and make friends with the children, and the old men, with those who have not felt the pressure of mere daylight existence, and those with whom it is growing less, and will have altogether taken itself off one of these days. The old women are most learned, but will not so readily be got to talk, for the fairies are very secretive, and much resent being talked of; and are there not many stories of old women who were nearly pinched into their graves or numbed with fairy blasts?" (*Fairy and Folk Tales* x-xi)

tradition.[118] In an 1887 letter to Katharine Tynan, Yeats mentions that "I am writing on Irish poets for *Leisure Hour* - also Irish faeries" (*EA* 93). It is telling that Yeats combines mention of his work on Irish fairy tales with his account of the popular ballad, as both are part of his critical project to construct a particular version of Irish literary history. In "Popular Ballad Poetry in Ireland" (1889), Yeats argues that Ireland has both components necessary for a "popular ballad literature to arise," as the "national traditions of Ireland are not hidden away in libraries, but living in the minds of the populace" and as the literary class is not divided from the general public through literary conventions (*EA* 93).[119] This claim for the possibility of "popular ballad literature" in Ireland is evidenced by his valorizing reading of the poets Thomas Davis (1814-1845), James Clarence Mangan (1803-1849), and Samuel Ferguson (1810-1886).[120] Yeats describes the three writers as standing "above all other Irish writers of that day" while denigrating the more famous Thomas Moore, whose book *Irish Melodies* would have been the most well-known book of Irish songs to *The Leisure Hour*'s English audience (*EA* 107, 527). According to Yeats, Moore "lived in drawing rooms…[and] wrote ever with one eye on London," which prevented him writing either of or for the Irish people (*EA* 107). Davis, Mangan, and Ferguson, by contrast, did not treat Ireland as mere "metaphor," as "the grass is merely green

[118] Between 1886 and 1899, Yeats wrote more than ninety articles on Irish literature and culture for periodicals and literary reviews in Ireland, England, and the United States. For a good account of the ways Yeats constructed himself as the inheritor of a more generalized bardic tradition that includes British antecedents, see Ronald Schuchard's *The Last Minstrels: Yeats and the Revival of the Bardic Arts* (2008), particularly the chapter "Bardic Forefathers."

[119] Yeats practices a form of ballad recovery that is the opposite of Susan Stewart's account in "Scandals of the Ballad." Stewart argues that "all this [the founding of a national literature on recovered balladry] depended upon the invention of a historical rupture, a separation that would enable the 'discovery' of the ballad and the authentication of that discovery as in fact a recovery" (138). However, Yeats posits that Irish literature never lost its ballads, which were maintained by Gaelic speaking peasants, particularly in the west. What Yeats needs as an Anglo-Irish poet is to invent continuity with these peasants, not rupture.

[120] Yeats also wrote individual articles on Mangan and Ferguson for the *Irish Fireside* and a longer companion article on Ferguson for *The Dublin University Review* in 1886 and 1887.

to them and the sea merely blue, and their very spontaneity has made them unequal. But a wonderful freshness and sweetness they have, like the smell of newly-ploughed earth" (*EA* 108).[121] The true Irish poet is intimately connected with Ireland as land, not as literary device, and his work produces a sensation like "newly-ploughed earth" aligning the ballad poet with the peasant who works the Irish soil.[122]

"The Lake Isle of Innisfree" (1888) serves as an excellent through-line example for understanding Yeats's evolving prosodic commitments, not only because so many critics have analyzed its rhythm, but because while Yeats composed the poem under the influence of Mangan and Ferguson's English versions of Gaelic ballads, he also continued to perform and discuss the poem throughout his career, and it was particularly important to his theory and practice of chanting.[123] Several critics assert that Yeats learned his practice of imitating Gaelic metrical

[121] The irony here is that Davis, Mangan, and Ferguson all lived in the city (Campbell 2).
[122] Yeats is even more explicit about the connection these poets provide to the past when describing how Ferguson's poems create the impression of "listening to some old half-savage bard chanting to his companions at a forest fire. If we long, while listening, for the more elaborate music of modern days, the fault is in us and in our time" (EA 105). Later in the introduction to the 1900 edition of *A Book of Irish Verse*, Yeats denies this natural connection both to the Irish land and to an unbroken history ballad history by suggesting that the "Young Ireland poets mingled a little learned from the Gaelic ballad-writers with a great deal learned from Scott, Macaulay, and Campbell," implying that their balladry depended on English examples (xix).
[123] For examples of different approaches to metrical analysis of "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" see Hugh Kenner's *A Colder Eye* (1983), pp. 74; Patrick C. Power's *The Story of Anglo-Irish Poetry* (1967), pp. 99; Adelyn Dougherty's *A Study of Rhythmic Structure in the Verse of William Butler Yeats* (1973), pp. 49; Michael North's *Political Aesthetic* (1992), pp. 26; and Angela Leighton's *On Form* (2007), Kindle Locations 2004-2005. Isobel Armstrong articulates a dominate critical reading of the poem: "[the Lake Isle of Innisfree] is an idyll of retreat, a world of self-sustaining isolation–its economy of labour…is that of private cultivation in which all products can be taken back into the self. It reverses the Tennysonian anxieties of isolation and longs for solitude. This is the poetics of the privileged and aristocratic individual imagination, the cult of aura" (269). Where Armstrong and others read the lake isle as representing an "individual" retreat, I argue that Yeats is attempting to prove his affiliation with the Irish peasant literary tradition through the style and sound of the poem.

patterns in English from both Mangan and Ferguson.[124] In particular, Hugh Kenner, Matthew Campbell, and Roy Foster all argue that the triple stresses that conclude several lines in "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" are patterned on the clustered stresses typical of Mangan and Ferguson's English translations of Gaelic ballads.[125] According to Campbell,

> This was a trick picked up by Yeats in his supposedly founding Irish-English lyric…the 1890 'Lake Isle of Innisfree' with its' 'bee-loud glade' or 'deep heart's core'. In Ferguson's hands, the folk song turns to art poem, a synthetic formal achievement but one nevertheless catching the frankness, the ache and the voice of an original in the forms of another language. (11)[126]

Campbell reminds us that although experiments translating Gaelic or Irish rhythmical characteristics into Anglo-Irish poetry were framed as an early twentieth-century innovation and a feature of the Irish language revival, Irish poets throughout the nineteenth century experimented with creating what Kinsella termed the "synthetic Irish thing," a poem in English that managed to evoke the rhythm of the Irish language and thus a semblance of Irish authenticity (*Irish Poetry* 24).[127] While Yeats had very little knowledge of the Irish language,

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[124] Roy Foster argues that Yeats derived the technique of concluding a line with three equally stressed syllables from Ferguson and Mangan's examples of Gaelic translations. According to Brian Devine, Yeats followed Mangan's example of producing "Gaelic-like rhythms" in English and Ferguson's approach of introducing "a new quality of feeling into English verse by means of distinctive rhythms which echoed Gaelic metrics" (143-44)

[125] See Kenner, *A Colder Eye* (1983), pp. 131-32. According to Foster "He [Yeats] also absorbed—as he had from Ferguson—the manner in which Mangan, working through translations, utilized the arresting metres of Gaelic poetry, such as the ending of a line on three equally stressed beats—a form used to great effect in 'The Lake Isle of Innisfree', written at this very time." (Kindle Locations 1876-1878).

[126] For persuasive description of the process by which nineteenth-century Irish poets translated Gaelic poems into English while self-consciously retaining aspects of Gaelic prosodic structures, see Matthew Campbell's *Irish Poetry Under the Union* (2013), particularly Chapters 4 and 5.

[127] For an excellent account of Yeats's linguistic and stylistic attempts to de-Anglicize English in his collected poems, see Laura O'Connor's *Haunted English* (2006), particularly Chapters 1 and 2. O'Connor argues that "the 'haunted English' of Yeats's literary vernacular is animated by 'the

Brian Devine argues that Yeats had "a peculiarly receptive 'ear'" developed through his research collecting folklore and folk song that attuned him to the sounds of Gaelic rhythm in English translation (Devine 159).[128] In particular, Devine follows Sean Lucy in attributing Yeats's distinctive rhythms in "The Lake Isle at Innisfree" to the submerged *amhrán* or ancient Gaelic song verse, with its "variously distributed runs of short and very long syllables that thereby counterpoint each other from line to line" and its "rhythmic phrases" that do not close at the end of lines "but may even carry over to a medial or terminal position in the following line" (180). Based on his analysis of "The Lake Isle of Innisfree," Devine asserts that

> the real, unsung greatness of Yeats is that he reinserted the slow vowels and long-line rhythms of Gaelic verse into Irish poems in English….if one looks at the poem from this perspective, one could say that Yeats's genius is to take sonorous long vowels from the Great Memory of Gaelic tradition, and from his own Irish speaking voice, and to place these quantities in a language normally devoid of such. (181-82)

Here we see the rhythm of the poem used to mark Yeats's continuity with that same Irish peasant inheritance through style (in this instance, coded through the rhythms of the Irish language) that Yeats simultaneously attempted to shape and inherit through his criticism of the 1880s and 1890s.

Famously, Yeats emphasizes his own affinity with Davis, Mangan, and Ferguson in the poem "To Ireland in the Coming Times," originally published in 1892 as "Apologia addressed to

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ghostly voice' of the subjugated national language whose revivication coincided with his career" (110).

[128] In *Yeats, the Master of Sound* (2006), Devine concludes, following MacDonagh, that the basic metrical unit of the Anglo-Irish poem is the line and that Anglo-Irish meters tend to be quantitative. In part, his confusion seems to stem from the same difficulty that has made temporal prosody difficult to disentangle from quantitative imitations of Latin feet. While I don't agree with his conclusions, his detailed and technical comparisons of Gaelic verse forms with Yeats's poetry go farther than any other.

Ireland in the coming days" as the final poem of *The Countess Kathleen and Various Legends and Lyrics*. Matthew Campbell argues that the poem enacts a strange temporality, ending by both looking backward toward nineteenth-century precursors "Davis, Mangan, Ferguson" while simultaneously positioned "on the cusp of posterity…addressing its own future readers."[129] Campbell reads the temporal complexity as inhering in Yeats's manipulation of tenses, arguing that

> Yeats links poet, audience and poem from the present tense of the poem across the past and future tenses of history: the poet writing in the present of composition…fishes for an audience whose members are reading in their present but the poet's future [while] giving them his own heart now taking the past tense" (11-12).

In this description of the "present tense of the poem" Campbell imagines a rather strange time similar to that of Jonathan Culler's "iterable now," in which the present of the poem that reading enacts has no clear historical relationship to the past in which the poem is written.[130] Particularly for a poem which Yeats significantly revised in 1925 to reflect the intervening revolution and founding of the Irish state (a point which Campbell also makes), it seems strange to attribute an undifferentiated present to the poem when its readers would have been very aware of their changing historical relationship to Yeats's poetry of the 1890s. Instead, it is worthwhile to consider the poetics for which this apologia deliberately prepares the way. As Ronald Schuchard notes, Yeats steps back from the unstinting praise of his late 1880s articles of the Young Ireland poets in the 1895 introduction to the anthology *A Book of Irish Verse*, criticizing Mangan and

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[129] Campbell, Matthew. "Yeats in the Coming Times." *Essays in Criticism*. 53.1 (2003): 10-32.
[130] In *Theory of the Lyric,* Jonathan Culler claims that "If we think of the time of enunciation, of the lyric attempt to be itself an event rather than the representation of an event, this changes the perspective on the lyric present…Ever since Pindar and doubtless before, lyrics have been constructed for reperformance, with an iterable *now*: not timeless but a moment of time that is repeated every time the poem is read" (295).

Ferguson for falling "into rhetoric" when not "inspired by ancient song" or focusing on a "subject of the bardic age" (25). Of Davis, Yeats asserts that "in the main the poets who gathered about Thomas Davis, and whose work has come down to us in 'The Spirit of the Nation,' were of practical and political, not of literary importance" (xviii).[131] While Schuchard reads this break as occurring after the 1892 publication of "Apologia," I argue that the poem marks Yeats's critical turn in its assertion of the superiority of its rhymes and in the metrical variation Yeats uses to describe both the past and the future.

The second stanza of the poem begins

Nor may I less be counted one

With Davis, Mangan, Ferguson,

Because to him, who ponders well

My rhymes more than their rhyming tell

Of the dim wisdoms old and deep,

That God gives unto man in sleep. (ll. 17-22) [132]

[131] Roy Foster makes this point as well arguing that "the 1840s Young Ireland movement provides yet another instance of Yeats's anxiety about influence. From this vital period of his apprenticeship, through his readings in O'Leary's library, he was acutely conscious of the inspirational influence of Thomas Davis on Irish national literature, especially through Gavan Duffy's *Ballad Poetry of Ireland* (the very book Duffy gave to Jane Carlyle); since it also included many Ferguson poems, it might be seen as a sort of sacred book for the young Yeats. But he became increasingly conscious through the 1890s that the Davisite style of balladry was uncomfortably near doggerel, and that his own literary mission was to move things to a more demanding plane" (Kindle Locations 1794-1799). Yeats does recant his early criticism of the poetry of the Young Ireland movement, particularly of Davis in his 1914 debate with Patrick Pearse, but as Foster points out, by that time, "the development and ownership of the Irish Literary Revival had already become a subject for historians" (Kindle Location 1815).

[132] All references to the 1892 version of the poem are from Peter Allt and Russel K. Alspach's *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W.B. Yeats* (137-9). Note that the poem was originally and consistently printed in italics.

Here, the poem invokes the names of Yeats's exemplary Irish poets, making the subtext of the critical work outlined above explicit as Yeats situates himself not as merely one of many Irish poets but as the inheritor and improver of a particular Irish literary history. Yeats manages his forebears by naming them within the confines of a neat, tetrameter line pushed almost to sing-song regularity by the two beats that the name "Ferguson" must carry. Yeats then asserts his technical superiority, claiming his "rhymes" better tell "of the dim wisdoms old and deep" in one of the only lines in the poem that deviates from the clear alternating beat pattern of the rest of the poem. The line begins with two off-beats followed by two beats (xx//) a substitution that is remarkably rare in the poem and seems particularly important in a line that is meant to characterize Yeats's poetic superiority. The "dim wisdoms" disrupt the regularity that so easily contains "Davis, Mangan, Ferguson" and suggest a historical inheritance of greater depth and complexity than these poets were capable of conveying.[133] Similarly, the poem concludes

I cast my heart into my rhymes

That you in the dim coming times

May know how my heart went with them

After the red rose bordered hem. (ll. 45-8)

Like the "dim wisdoms" which are "old and deep," the future too requires a more complex rhythm, and the regular alternation of beat and off-beat is disrupted by the invocation of "the dim

[133] In the 1925 version, "To Ireland in the Coming Times" Yeats drops the "dim wisdoms" and the section reads "My rhymes more than their rhyming tell / Of things discovered in the deep, / Where only body's laid asleep." (ll. 20-22). As Roy Foster points out in *W.B. Yeats: A Life*, the original poem was intended to fuse "occultism and advanced nationalism in a manner calculated to appeal to Maud Gonne and to irritate nearly everyone else" (134), so it is possible to read the revision as related to Yeats's evolving occult beliefs, which wouldn't include reference to "God." However, it seems likely too that Yeats felt less of a need to claim himself as the true inheritor of Ireland's bardic past or to differentiate himself from nineteenth-century poets given his public success as a poet, a senator in the Irish Free State, and his Nobel Prize (1923).

coming times," with "dim" and "coming" carrying juxtaposed beats. Neither the ancient balladic past nor the nationalist future of Ireland can be articulated in what Yeats increasingly perceives to be the mechanical rhythms of the nineteenth-century Irish poets, even the best of them.[134] More importantly, Yeats marks literary history rhythmically, promising a revival of the almost forgotten, bardic past in the just dawning "coming times" of Irish literature, with his poem, like his critical work, a bridge marking the continuity between the two.[135] In "What is 'Popular Poetry'?" (1901), Yeats articulates this point clearly by identifying his early misapprehension of "what we call popular poetry," which is, in fact,

> of the middle class, of people who have unlearned the unwritten tradition which binds the unlettered, so long as they are masters of themselves, to the beginning of time and to the foundation of the world, and who have not learned the written tradition which has been established upon the unwritten. (*E&I* 5-6)

It is indeed a complex temporality that claims a continuity with the ancient past despite the insufficiencies of nineteenth-century Irish poetry in English, a dream of ancient affiliation through style and a consolidation and repudiation of the mechanical English rhythms that intervened.[136]

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[134] As Yeats puts it in the introduction to *A Book of Irish Verse*, "no man was more sincere, no man had a less mechanical mind than Thomas Davis, and yet he is often a little insincere and mechanical in his verse" (xx). Yeats goes on to assert that while the "beautiful enthusiasm" of the Young Irelanders created "some beautiful verses," their efforts often resulted in work where "the rhythms are mechanical and the metaphors conventional" (xxvi).

[135] In "What is 'Popular Poetry'?" Yeats makes a very telling analogy, arguing that the "poetry of the coteries" and the "true poetry of the people" (as opposed to the poetry of Longfellow, Hemans, Macaulay, and Scott), do "not differ in kind" as "both are alike strange and obscure, and unreal to all who have not understanding, and both, instead of that manifest logic, that clear rhetoric of the 'people poetry,' glimmer with thoughts and images whose 'ancestors were stout and wise'" (*E&I* 6; 8).

[136] Yeats concluded the introduction to the 1900 version of *A Book of Irish Verse* by praising precisely this power in Douglas Hyde: "Dr. Hyde…has written Gaelic poems which pass from mouth to mouth in the west of Ireland…I have indeed, but little doubt that Ireland, communing

III. Chanting and Psaltery Experiments

Although Yeats may have been in thrall to—or mediating his relationship with—his Young Ireland predecessors and their examples of Gaelic rhythm when he composed "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" in December of 1888, by 1900 the poem had become an important part of a somewhat different critical project that included Yeats's collaboration with Florence Farr and their experiments with chanting and the psaltery. Yeats and Farr consistently performed "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" throughout their twenty-year collaboration and, despite Yeats's vocal dislike for the poem, it was one of the few that he chanted for the BBC in the 1930s.[137] They performed the poem so much, in fact, that it became the subject of both parody and public complaint.[138]

While it is clear that Yeats was a prolific chanter, his metrical commitments remain difficult to parse, in part because his chanting practice and the relationship of rhythm to his psaltery experiments have been seen for so long as an embarrassing footnote in Yeats's career and not a subject for sustained study.[139] However, in *The Last Minstrels* (2008), Ronald

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with herself in Gaelic more and more, but speaking to foreign countries in English, will lead many that are sick with theories and with trivial emotion, to some sweet well-waters of primeval poetry" (xxxi).

[137] Although Yeats received significant acclaim for "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" and received royalties as it was consistently reprinted in various anthologies throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, he was clear about his distaste for the poem. For example, in a letter to a friend's daughter in 1929, Yeats says, "your father has been a very good friend of mine for many years and it gives me pleasure to think that you have this book and sometimes read it. When I was your age I did not think about poetry at all though I began to write it when I was two years older. Please don't think "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" is better than all the other poems, for I don't." (*CL Intelex* 5322) You can also here the surviving recordings here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u2FT4_UUa4I

[138] A.H. Bullen mocked "Innisfree" and Yeats's chanting in a 1905 "poem entitled 'When My Ship Comes In,' proclaiming that he would 'follow no poet to Innisfree, / For I don't much care for the honey-bee's hum, / And a clay-wattled cabin is not for me: / But I'll bid farewell to the life of a clerk / And third-floor lodging in Battersea Park' (quoted in Schuchard 78).

[139] In *Rhythm and Race in Modernist Poetry and Science*, Michael Golston goes so far as to say that "in Yeats's work we have something of a prosodist's nightmare" (147).

Schuchard persuasively argues that the collective critical unwillingness to understand Yeats's 1902 essay "Speaking the Psaltery" as a "major dramatic and poetic manifesto" has "affected our understanding of [Yeats's] intellectual activities, his poetics and prosody, his dramaturgy, his aims for the Abbey Theatre, his cultural nationalism, his role in the development of Imagism, and his place in a complex of interrelated arts in London and Dublin" (xx). While Schuchard's literary history does not include specific prosodic analysis, he does provide the basis for a large-scale, metrical reevaluation of Yeats's poetry and plays. Schuchard argues that "Yeats was certain that he composed to a manner of music, and in the bardic manner he had already begun to dwell on the vowels, placing strong emphasis on the rhythm, which he hummed over and over for hours in the process of composing" (1). This is confirmed by Katherine Tynan's rather famous account of how she was woken in the night while staying with the Yeatses by "a steady, monotonous sound rising and falling. It was Willie chanting poetry to himself" (726). Yeats, of course, corroborates this account in his description of his compositional process: "like every other poet I spoke verses in a kind of chant when I was making them; and sometimes, when I was alone on a country road, I would speak them in a loud chanting voice, and feel that if I dared I would speak them in that way to other people" (*E&I* 14). This performance-based method of composition lends a spectral quality to the poems as the rhythm only emerges in response to the incantatory power of correct reading or performance. Michael Golston points out that Yeats "employs the same terminology in treating rhythm that he uses for discussing ghosts," but where Golston understands Yeats's rhythmic obscurity "as a key component in a poetics of haunting," I argue that Yeats genuinely hoped to instruct the public both in the performance and perception of his "chant-rhythm" (146).[140] Yeats described the appropriate performance of his lyrics as "not

[140] There is much to admire in Golston's *Rhythm and Race*, particularly his depiction of the relationship between scientific developments for measuring rhythm and modernist metrical

sung, but spoken, or rather chanted, to music, as the old poems were probably chanted by bards and rhapsodists" (726). While modern modes of reading, recitation, and particularly singing obscure "their own proper rhythm and emphasis…in the rhythm and emphasis of the music," Yeats argued that "a lyric which is spoken or chanted to music should upon the other hand, reveal its meaning, and its rhythm so become indissoluble in the memory" (726). This ideal mode of performance and rhythmic perception is difficult to attain, however, as Yeats asserts that

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experimentation. However, Golston is unable to prove that Yeats ever encountered any of these scientific experiments (despite recent work that indicates the many ways the supposedly anti-science Yeats utilized scientific concepts; see especially Mattar's *Primitivism, Science and the Irish Revival* [2004]) and he also consistently fails to mark the distinction between Yeats's Anglo-Irish identity and the ancient rhythmic identity of the ballad culture supposedly kept alive by the Irish peasant. This causes Golston to come to some strange conclusions about the literalness of Yeats's rhythmic inheritance and the importance of "blood" in his thinking about rhythm. I also don't think it's caviling to point out that Golston's account of Yeats's prosody and of the critical consensus appears to be at times purposefully misleading. To illustrate, on the first page of his first chapter on Yeats, Golston plucks a highly elided quote from Thomas Parkinson's chapter "The Passionate Syntax" in *W.B. Yeats, The Later Poetry* as evidence that Yeats's prosody is "mysterious and instinctual." However, Golston pulls this quote from a long section where Parkinson details the many paradoxes inherent in Yeats's prosody and descriptions of it, vacillations which include its mysterious quality but also emphasize Yeats's technical virtuosity and insistence on rhythmic precision (Golston 146). Parkinson's clearly stated position on Yeats is that "he had a few private conventions...but generally he worked within a fairly stable and rational prosody" (183). For Parkinson, this is not what he calls "foot meter," but it is a knowable and rational system (Parkinson 203). More confusing still is Golston's habit of generalizing any of Yeats's descriptions of meter or rhythm to his own poetic project, even when Yeats is actually describing someone else's work. Again on the first page, Golston quotes Yeats as claiming that "rhythm['s]...primary purpose...is to 'blur definition [and] clear edges'" (Golston 146). However, this quote refers to the rhythm of J.M. Synge's *The Well of the Saints*, which Yeats describes thusly: "Above all, he [Synge] made word and phrase dance to a very strange rhythm, which will always, till his plays have created their own tradition, be difficult to actors who have not learned it from his lips. It is essential, for it perfectly fits the drifting emotion, the dreaminess, the vague yet measureless desire, for which he would create a dramatic form. It blurs definition, clears edges, everything that comes from the will, it turns imagination from all that is of the present, like a gold background in a religious picture, and it strengthens in every emotion whatever comes to it from far off, from brooding memory and dangerous hope" (*E&I* 299-300). Here Yeats is not saying that all rhythm blurs definition and clears edges, but that Synge's particular rhythm, which has particular goals and must be learned from Synge's lips, in this instance, has that effect.

"the speaking of words, whether to music or not, is, however, so perfectly among the lost arts that it will take a long time before our actors, no matter how willing, will be able to forget the ordinary methods of the stage or to perfect a new method" (726). In arguing thusly, Yeats depicts the process of chanting as the recovery of an ancient art, not as an inheritance from his nineteenth-century antecedents.

Schuchard claims that "Yeats was certain that he composed to a manner of music, and in the bardic manner he had already begun to dwell on the vowels, placing strong emphasis on the rhythm, which he hummed over and over for hours in the process of composing" (1). However, because Schuchard's project centers on the rehabilitation and contextualization of Yeats's psaltery experiments, he does not connect Yeats's prosody to the various temporally-based experiments that precede, coincide with, and shape Yeats's conception of prosody. Schuchard notes briefly that Yeats was enamored of Coventry Patmore's "Essay on English Metrical Law" (1856, 1886) and considered it a statement of his own "theory of music and speech," and Thomas MacDonagh's influence on Yeats receives some limited attention as well (Schuchard 85; 266-7). But Schuchard diminishes the importance or leaves out the impact of the theorists who participated in the transatlantic discourse of temporal prosody.[141] By following the example of Yeats's own criticism and tracing Yeats's prosody through folkloric and bardic influences, his psaltery experiments with Francis Farr, and Arnold Dolmetsch's work on early music, Schuchard's account combines ancient influence and contemporary innovation without considering the intervening temporal prosodic discourse of the nineteenth century.

Despite Yeats's claims of the Irish bardic provenance of his chanting practice, Schuchard

[141] The most important omission is the lack of analysis of Thomas MacDonagh's relationship with the then famous and influential T.S. Omond, to whom MacDonagh consistently appeals as a great authority, referring to him as "the ablest of English Metrists" (*Thomas Campion and the Art of English Poetry* 41).

does show how Yeats's chanting was also greatly influenced by nineteenth-century English poets like William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and A.C. Swinburne, who all chanted their poetry in private. As Schuchard notes, the description of Yeats's chanting sounds uncannily like that of his nineteenth-century English antecedents, pointing to Hazlitt's description of Wordsworth's practice: "[the poems] sung themselves to him [Wordsworth], as he thought them out, often keeping them, even when of considerable length, in memory before a syllable was placed on paper: and in strict accordance with that inner music was the audible rendering of it" (quoted in Schuchard 11). What is more, John Masefield recalled a time when a young W. B. Yeats visited the Pines and encountered Swinburne composing a poem by "trying over his measures in a musical chant" (quoted in Schuchard 14).[142] Schuchard concludes his inventory of Yeats's English chanting antecedents with the assertion that although nineteenth-century English poets "were loathe to give up the voice of poetry to the eye of the solitary reader," the public popularity of chanted poetry was an artifact of the distant past and "chanting of poems had retreated into drawing rooms" (14). However, Schuchard still concludes that while Yeats had strong recent antecedents in nineteenth-century English chanters, his commitment to "reversing the modern shift of poetry from the ear to the eye…was essential to his vision of cultural revival in Ireland" (14).

The plausibility of the uniquely Irish nature of chanting is further complicated by Yeats's primary collaborator Florence Farr, who was an English actress born, raised, and educated in and around London.[143] Yeats met Farr in early 1889 when he was living in Bedford Park and, as

[142] Yeats later claimed not to remember ever having met Swinburne; however, he would have surely been aware of Swinburne's chanting from his father and, tellingly, Yeats was also known to chant the choruses from Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon* (Schuchard 12, 14).
[143] When Yeats began to revive his psaltery experiments in the 1930s, he did collaborate with an Irish actress Margot Ruddock (who was also his mistress); however, his collaboration with Farr was a much more substantial (See Schuchard, Chapter 10).

Schuchard explains, "for the next twenty years Yeats and Farr would collaborate in their efforts to return musical speech to lyrical, narrative, and dramatic verse in a modern revival of the minstrel tradition" (20). Yeats claimed that Farr had "an incomparable sense of rhythm and a beautiful voice, the seeming natural expression of the image" and that she could only express her "genius" "through an unfashionable art, an art that has scarce existed since the seventeenth century, and so could only earn unimportant occasional praise" (*A* 245). Schuchard argues that Yeats was "entranced by the musical, incantatory voice" of Farr and that Yeats and Farr embarked on a multi-year speaking tour and writing campaign to convince the skeptics of the value of the revival of their bardic arts (xxi). However, the English Farr's *natural* talent for chanting and psaltery seems at odds with Yeats and Schuchard's insistence that their project was that of a uniquely Irish bardic revival.

In terms of his awareness of the discourse of temporal prosody, Yeats's primary influences came through his reading of the English poet Coventry Patmore and through his interactions with the young Irish poet, teacher, and prosodist Thomas MacDonagh.[144] Yeats not only read Patmore's poetry extensively, but in a letter to Lady Gregory dated March 4, 1909, exclaimed, "Patmore…I find most exciting – no poetry has excited me so much for ever so long (*CL Intelex* 1101). This excitement extended to Patmore's "Essay on English Metrical Law," which Yeats read in the appendix to Patmore's *The Unknown Eros, and other odes*. Yeats recommended the essay to Farr in a letter dated 17 March of the same year, claiming that "I find in Patmores [sic] book of Odes an appendex [sic] in which he states our theory of music and speech very clearly. In the 3.6 edition (Poetical Works Vol II) you will find a long passage

[144] I would note that Patmore was intimately acquainted with one of Yeats's revered nineteenth-century Irish antecedents, William Allingham. It is unclear if Yeats was aware of that relationship, but Allingham's collected letters were published in 1911 and would have made that information accessible.

starting on page 232 which will interest you and at any rate give you the support of a great authority" (*CL Intelex* 1111). Yeats understood the isochronous intervals of Patmore's prosodic system as similar in kind to his chanting performance and his compositional strategy. Reading Patmore's *Essay* in 1909, Yeats assumed that he and Patmore had come to similar conclusions independently. However, as T.S. Omond notes, the time-unit based "new prosody," which Omond credits Patmore with inaugurating, was not so much an invention as a culminating statement of ideas that were already "in the air" (*English Metrists* 171). As for Patmore, so for Yeats: at the turn of the century, it would have been very difficult to avoid the idea of a verse line divided into time-units.

Critics often are unclear about the nature of Patmore's "isochronous intervals" and object to the impossibility of such intervals without realizing that they are not as equally divided as their name might imply. Patmore argues "that English verse is not properly measurable by the rules of Latin and Greek verse," asserting instead that there are "two indispensable conditions of metre, - first, that the sequence of vocal utterance, represented by written verse, shall be divided into equal or proportionate spaces; secondly, *that the fact of that division shall be made manifest* by an 'ictus' or beat'…" (4, 15). However, Patmore goes on to insist that

> it is furthermore very necessary to be observed that the equality or proportion of metrical intervals between accent and accent is no more than general and approximate, and that expression in reading…admits, and even requires, frequent modifications, to insignificant or too subtle for notation, of the nominal equality of those spaces. (21)

Patmore moves almost immediately from this concession to the difficulty of performing the equality of isochronous intervals precisely into a justification of variation on the grounds of emotion. The "cultivated ear," Patmore claims, "rather delights in, than objects to…remission,

inversion, or omission, when there is an emotional motive, as indicating an additional degree of that artistic consciousness, to the expression of which Hegel traces the very life of metre" (22). Patmore's isochronous intervals are not precise time units, but rather license metrical irregularity.

Not only did Yeats find his poetry vindicated by Patmore's description, he also chanted Patmore's poems for the young poet, prosodist, teacher, and Irish Nationalist Thomas MacDonagh as MacDonagh began his master's course at University College, Dublin.[145] In his thesis *Thomas Campion and the Art of English Poetry*, MacDonagh describes the experience in his defense of the "tune deaf" poet who "suffers in no way, and, I think, rather gains, in his chanting of verse by his deafness to tune" (55).[146] Yeats "read for [MacDonagh] in a chanting voice some of Coventry Patmore's poems from *The Unknown Eros*," which convinced MacDonagh that

> Mr. W. B. **Yeats**, being quite tone-deaf—or perhaps, I should say, tune-deaf…could, I am sure, continue his chanting, not only undisturbed, but probably aided by the rhythm of the tune on the lyre. It is this chanting quality in his verse and in the verse of some others, joined to a wandering rhythm caught from Irish traditional music, that has informed a

[145] According to Matthew Campbell, "one source of guilt for the republican [Austin] Clarke was non-participation in insurrection. Another cause, seemingly smaller in scale, was his confession of an initial deafness to the sound effects MacDonagh and William Butler Yeats were hearing in a new poetry written in the English language. Writing in 1951, in his pamphlet *Poetry in Modern Ireland*, Clarke confessed that when, as a student, he first met what he called 'Celtic Twilight poetry', it seemed 'incomprehensible.... I groped through a mist of blurred meanings, stumbled over lines in which every accent seemed to be in the wrong place'. Yet after his first sonic acquaintance with these accents in English poetry he later came to feel that, 'it was pleasant to escape awhile from the mighty law and order of English poetry into that shadowy world of subdued speech and nuance [...] So, abandoning for a while the fundamental commonsense of English poetic tradition, our poets set themselves free for curious mental experience, and rendered themselves liable to many intermingling influences'" (22)

[146] In a letter to MacDonagh, T.S. Omond asserts "All about the "tune deaf" poets is most suggestive, & just what I should expect" (NLI, MS 44,330/3).

> new species of verse. It is chant-verse, overflowing both song-verse and speech-verse (52).

Here MacDonagh identifies the quality that exceeds the categories of "song-verse" and "speech-verse" delineated in his thesis, one which he conceives of as explicitly Irish in nature, although based on a familiarity with "Irish traditional music" rather than racial affiliation.

MacDonagh's (and thereby Yeats's) commitment to the Irish nature of his prosodic system is so strong that he actually leaves the door open to Thomas Campion's Irish heritage, asserting that "the poet's father, John Campion, is described as 'son and heir of John Campion of Dublin, Ireland, deceased'" and describing the prevalence of the name Campion and its Irish variants (6). While MacDonagh does include an introductory note indicating that his sources have not found evidence of Campion's Irish heritage, the impulse to make Campion Irish remains and indicates the strong connection in MacDonagh's mind between the capacity for "chant-verse" and Irish identity (vii). Yeats was delighted by this connection and wrote back to MacDonagh after receiving a copy of the thesis that "I read every word of it" (*CL Intelex* 2048). He also expressed interest in MacDonagh's future work on "chant-verse," lamenting that "I find it extraordinarily difficult to explain to any, my own system of scansion for I have very little but instinct" (*CL Intelex* 2048). Yeats was extremely pleased to find that that instinct was founded on an inherent understanding of Irish folk rhythms.

MacDonagh's convictions concerning the racial basis of meter is well-described in the protest that T.S. Omond, a contemporary temporal prosodist whom MacDonagh describes as "the ablest of English metrists," registers in response to MacDonagh's implied resistance to being called "British." Omond, who regrets that he has never been to Ireland and is still hopeful in 1913 that Home Rule will be resolved successfully, also insists that "I must repeat that in old

maps you will find Ireland styled Britannia Minor, that [it] refers only to size, & that I know no reason why you should object to be called British. It is not a question of race. Besides, which of us is pure-blooded?" (NLI, MS 44,330/3). Where Omond sides with the generalized discourse of the "amalgam" of races that produces English prosody, MacDonagh asserts the uniquely Irish character of particular rhythms in English.[147]

MacDonagh makes this distinction explicitly in *Literature in Ireland*, published in January 1916. What surprised contemporary critics about this volume was that MacDonagh advocated the particular character not of Irish or Irish language literature, but of Anglo-Irish literature. MacDonagh claims in his first of three theses "that an Anglo-Irish literature, worthy of a special designation, could come only when English had become the language of the Irish people, mainly of Gaelic stock, and when the literature was from, by, of, to and for the Irish people" (vii). He goes on to assert "that the English language in Ireland has an individuality of its own, and the rhythm of Irish speech a distinct character (vii). While MacDonagh's volume characterizes the "Irish Mode" as an alternative to previous, hazier definitions of the "Celtic Note," most of the analysis is limited to poetry, and the final chapter is comprised solely of examples of poems either composed by Anglo-Irish authors or translated by Anglo-Irish authors to exemplify the "Irish Mode." MacDonagh also makes the distinction between English verse and Anglo-Irish verse clear: "English verse, then, is accentual, a rhythm of stressed and unstressed syllables" (65), whereas "Irish verse is also accentual; but there is this occasional

[147] T.S. Eliot's articulation of this point in "The Music of Poetry" is helpful and representative: "What I think we have, in English poetry, is a kind of amalgam of systems of divers sources (though I do not like to use the word 'system', for it has suggestions of conscious invention rather than growth): an amalgam like the amalgam of races, and indeed partly due to racial origins. The rhythms of Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Norman French, of Middle English and Scots, have all made their mark upon English poetry, together with the rhythms of Latin and, at various periods, of French, Italian and Spanish. (109)

difference, that while what may be called central English verse, in order to emphasise the stressed, under-emphasises the unstressed, Irish frequently allows for the clear pronunciation of several syllables between stress and stress" (65). For MacDonagh, the pronunciation of Irish allows for a greater flexibility in the number of unstressed syllables between stressed syllables. He further claims that "such Irish verse is not rigidly governed by the law of mono-pressures; it is generally found in songs, the tunes of which have a good deal to do with drawing the metrical feet dancing out of their bars" (65). Much like Yeats's psaltery experiments, MacDonagh invokes the musical analogy, arguing that the musical "bar," itself a time unit, accommodates a greater number of unstressed syllables than the rigid English foot. Matthew Campbell calls MacDonagh's *Literature in Ireland* "the first great retrospective critical construction of this [Irish poetry in English] poetry" arguing that "MacDonagh's notion of an 'Irish Mode' in English poetry is still one of the most finely tuned prescriptions for the poetry that emerged from nineteenth-century Ireland" (22). However, few people have considered the effect of MacDonagh's analysis on perceptions of English verse. MacDonagh, despite his strong prosodic background and correspondence with T.S. Omond, consigns English verse to undifferentiated regularity and rigidity in an effort to mark the difference between English meter and Irish meter in English.

IV. Easter 1916 and "Easter, 1916"

Despite Yeats's extraordinary critical and creative efforts to construct a continuous "authentic" Irish literary history of which he was the inheritor, the 1916 Easter Rising ruptured any notion Yeats might have maintained of continuity with the bardic, peasant past. Not only did the Easter Rising emphasize for Yeats what David Lloyd calls the "implicit violence of identity formation," but 1916 also saw a literal rupture in the lived experience of time as Dublin Mean

Time was replaced by Greenwich Mean Time in Ireland in October of that year (4). I argue that Yeats's initial investments in the way rhythm produced and conveyed national history and identity through the flexibility of a temporal prosodic system inform his poems in the aftermath of 1916, allowing them to reflect and allegorize the strangeness of these temporal ruptures rhythmically. Because very little has been written on the history of the transition from Dublin Mean Time to Greenwich Mean Time in Ireland, the account of the legal change from Dublin Mean Time or Dunsink Time to Greenwich Mean Time that follows was reconstructed directly from archival parliamentary transcripts from May and August of 1916.

On May 8, 1916, Eamonn Ceannt, Michael Mallin, Sean Heuston, and Conn Colbert were executed by a firing squad at Kilmainham Gaol in Dublin for their role as leaders in the Easter Rising. On the same day in the House of Commons, Home Secretary Herbert Samuel[148] argued for the institution of "Summer Time"[149] in England and for the simultaneous unification of legal time between Ireland and England by abolishing Dublin Mean Time. As Samuel put it,

> In respect of time in Ireland and the advantage of securing the uniformity of British and Irish time, Irish time, as the House knows, is twenty-five minutes behind British time. It has long been felt in many quarters that it was exceedingly desirable to unify the time throughout the British Isles. (Hansard sec. 357)

Despite the support of the unnamed "many quarters" to unify Irish and British time, Samuel conceded that

> it is impossible, owing to recent events in Ireland, to ascertain what is really the opinion of the Irish Government and the Irish public. The matter must be considered from the

[148] This is the same Herbert Samuel whose restrictive fiscal requirements, particularly the demand that all Irish revenue be deposited in the "Imperial Exchequer," contributed seriously to the failure of the Home Rule efforts of 1912.
[149] Interchangeably called "Daylight Saving Time" in these transcripts.

> standpoint of Ireland, as much as from the standpoint of England, and we must wait until more normal times before we can express an opinion upon the legislation. (Hansard sec. 357-8)

Samuel's euphemistic "recent events in Ireland" is the only mention of the Rising in nearly seventy pages of transcribed debate, a significant portion of which centers on the question of Dublin Mean Time. Samuel maintains the reasonability of unification in spite of the armed insurrection against England in Ireland that had occurred only two weeks previously and the debate's concurrence with the execution of four of the rebellion's leaders.[150] And although Samuel does note that May 1916 might not be the ideal time to gauge Irish support for a transition to Greenwich Mean Time, this reservation is immediately diminished by Samuel's next assertion that "it would be a very convenient moment to effect that unification" (Hansard sec. 358). The simultaneous implementation of GMT and Daylight Saving Time would mean that Ireland's clocks would only need to be "put back thirty-five minutes instead of one hour," and thus both transitions "could be done with one change" (Hansard sec. 358). For Samuel, the dubious willingness of the Irish people to accept the time change is superseded by the convenience of changing to both GMT and Daylight Saving Time on October 1, 1916.[151]

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[150] It is not entirely clear whether Samuel would have known about this coincidence or not, especially because there has been some uncertainty as to which decisions were made by English leaders in Ireland, particularly Gen. John Maxwell, without consulting the English government. However, because the executions began on May 3, 1916 with Thomas MacDonagh, Patrick Pearse, and Thomas Clarke, and because of John Redmond's (IPP) May 3rd pleas to parliament not to inflict undue hardship on those involved, it seems Samuel couldn't have been unaware of the simultaneity.

[151] Some of the best evidence of Irish resistance to the imposition of Greenwich Mean Time can be found in the letters of Countess Markievicz, a deeply political member of the aristocracy who grew up at Lissadell House near Sligo and inspired several of Yeats's poems. She was also the only woman sentenced to death for her participation in the Easter Rising; however, her sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and she was released in 1917. In a previously unpublished letter that sold at auction on 8 November 2014, Markievicz argues that the time change would

The simultaneity of these two events has occluded the arguments surrounding the end of Dublin Mean Time as popular accounts of the transition either fail to provide an explanation or attribute both the transition to Summer Time and GMT to the necessity of the "war effort." While Daylight Saving Time was envisioned as a temporary wartime measure to save coal and oil by providing an extra hour of sunlight in the evening, Ireland's temporal synchronization with England was never related to WWI. Samuel makes this quite clear when he describes "the legislation which is now proposed [Daylight Saving] as legislation for the War only, while the unification of Irish and British times would be effected by a Statute which would remain permanently upon the Statute Book" (Hansard sec. 357).[152] The superficial appearance that the two time transitions coincided and must therefore have the same cause has subsumed Samuel's "convenience" argument.

Just as the cause of the transition is difficult to parse without recourse to parliamentary transcripts, the public response in Ireland to the implementation of GMT is challenging to gauge. While there had been some abstract debate on the issue of temporally synchronizing all of Britain since the 1890s (and even some failed legislation on the issue in 1912), the process only came under serious consideration in 1916. Obviously, the ongoing war in Europe and the Easter Rising and its aftermath distracted from what might otherwise have been a catalyzing issue. Even without these distractions, transcripts from the debate surrounding the "Time (Ireland) Bill" in August reveal that the question was never put to the Irish constituency. On August 1, 1916, John Dillon, a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party from Dublin, claimed "I am certainly absolutely astonished that the right hon. Gentleman, without consulting the Irish party at all,

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"put the whole country into the SF (Sinn Féin) camp" and that "public feeling (was) outraged by forcing of English time on us" (*Irish Times*, 27 October 2014).

[152] Ironically, Daylight Saving Time has persisted, while Ireland's synchronization with England has varied.

should put a notice on the Paper to alter the whole time of Ireland, without giving us time to consider the matter or let him know what our views are" (Hansard sec. 74). Not only did Dillon argue the Irish members of parliament were given no notice concerning the bill, but he went on to insist that "I decline to be a party to the alteration of Irish time to English time until I have had an opportunity of consulting my Constituents" (Hansard sec. 74). Similarly, at the second and third readings of the bill on August 17, Timothy Healy, a member of the All-For-Ireland Party from Cork and later the first Governor-General of the Irish Free State, repeatedly argued to postpone implementation on the grounds that "the Bill has not been properly considered" (Hansard sec. 2226). Despite this resistance, the "Time (Ireland) Bill" passed on August 23, 1916 and Greenwich Mean Time replaced Dublin Mean Time at 2 AM on October 1, 1916.

The justification for the "Time (Ireland) Bill" might seem both flimsy and punitive given its reliance on the convenient coincidence with the implementation of Summer Time to both initiate and rush the bill through parliament so soon after the Easter Rising. However, while Dillon and Healy were correct that the general Irish public was not privy to the bill, Samuel voiced the endorsement of a variety of economically interested parties. Samuel repeatedly claimed the support of many chambers of commerce throughout Ireland and, as the debates continued through August, his list of endorsements grew:

> The Dublin Chamber of Commerce has recently passed a resolution urging that the Government should make this proposal. The Belfast Chamber of Commerce has done the same, and also the London Chamber of Commerce...The Astronomer Royal of Ireland and the Astronomer Royal of England have been consulted, and the Board of Trade, the Admiralty, the Post Office, and the Railway Executive Committee have all declared themselves in favour of this proposal. (Hansard sec. 73)

That organizations in urban centers, particularly those engaged in cross-Channel economic and communications traffic, would support the time synchronization is unsurprising (although concern over the validity of these endorsements was registered at each step of the debate). By contrast, the primary criticism of the bill's content was based on Ireland's rural and agricultural needs. As Healy put it on August 17,

> there is a serious and particular objection to this measure, namely, that while the Daylight Saving Bill added to the length of your daylight, this Bill adds to the length of your darkness. Agriculture, in the main, is the chief business of Ireland. I concede that for Dublin and Belfast this Bill has several advantages…But if you take the farmers of the country, this Bill is most disadvantageous. (Hansard sec. 2223)

Ultimately, however, the argument for the temporal specificity of Ireland's agricultural economy was trumped by the Irish Parliamentary Party's greater desire to pass the "Dublin Bill" (which, incidentally, never made it to first reading). As Thomas Lundon (IPP, East Limerick) admitted under Timothy Healy's (AFI, Cork) scrutiny on August 17, 1916,

> we look upon the Dublin Bill as being a Bill of great importance to Ireland…the moment that we found that the right hon. and learned Member and his friends were to oppose the Dublin Bill, if we continued our opposition to the Time Bill, we went to the Home Secretary and told him that we would withdraw our opposition to the Time Bill, on the understanding that the right hon. and learned Member and his friends would support the Dublin Bill. (Hansard sec. 2228)

It is clear that this deal took place sometime between John Dillon's (IPP) August 1st speech on the bill and the second and third readings on August 17th. The debate seems to be less about the issue of Dublin Mean Time and more about the divisions within Irish politics, specifically

between the Irish Parliamentary Party and the splinter-group, the All-For-Ireland Party. As Healy (AFI, but formerly IPP) noted on the 17th,

> When this Bill [Time (Ireland)] was read a first time the other night, there was an amazing outburst against its enactment. There appeared upon the Paper a whole series of notices for its rejection—numbering some ten altogether. The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) went so far as to say that he would take immediate steps to go over to Ireland to consult his Constituents…and to find out their opinion with regard to this measure. By some fairy wand which I am wholly unable to understand, all that welter of objections has disappeared. It is certainly a great lesson in the art of government and the art of managing men to find out that the patriotism of Wednesday in last week becomes the ordinary British Imperialism on the following Thursday week. I am annoyed at this extraordinary change of heart. (Hansard sec. 2223-4)

The exchange remained heated throughout, and the more "right, honorable, learned, etc." modifiers that precede the mention of another MP, the more he seems to be held in contempt by the speaker. For his part, Healey did not believe in the symbolic value of Dublin Mean Time, nor did he believe that Greenwich Mean Time represented English imperialism (Hansard sec. 2223). Rather, his resistance appears to have been intended to make this political transaction a part of the public record and shame his political rivals, the IPP members who brokered the deal. At one point, the debate devolved into an argument about whose constituents contacted them for assistance after the Rising. This tangent only ended when Timothy Lundon (IPP) declared that "no matter what happens at the next General Election, whatever may be the decision in the Time table, we are quite prepared to meet the hon. and learned Member for North-East Cork [Healy], and those who are with him, at the ballot box" (Hansard sec. 2228).

Thus, the "Time (Ireland) Bill" was accepted as part of a larger compromise by the Irish members of the House of Commons, despite their considerable opposition to the bill, a situation which helped to quell what otherwise might have been a very public debate on the cultural and political autonomy of Ireland in the wake of the Rising. Just as there was very little debate in parliament, the rush to implement the time change by October 1, 1916 prevented the bill from being thoroughly presented to and discussed by the Irish constituency, and only those with direct economic interest in the bill, such as urban chambers of commerce and railroad owners, had their opinions represented. Practically, these circumstances resulted in the relatively quiet transition from Dublin Mean Time to Greenwich Mean Time on October 1, 1916. Dublin Mean Time has since become a footnote in Irish history, and while some accounts do speculate that the transition was intended as a punishment for the Easter Rising, the nuance of the arguments against and political use of the bill by both the Irish Parliamentary Party and the All-For-Ireland Party has been entirely lost.

While the political maneuvering that enacted the transition to Greenwich Mean Time prevented sustained public debate and called the question as part of a compromise rather than a decision on the symbolic uniqueness of Ireland's identity, there have still been several critiques of the imposition of "English Time" on symbolic grounds. The earliest is actually from John Dillon, who sandwiched an appeal to the cultural and national distinction of Dublin Mean Time within his claims that the bill had been rushed. Dillon highlighted the ancient distinction between England and Ireland, arguing that "we are not at all alarmed or terrified by the fact that we are isolated from the rest of Europe. We are isolated by what Disraeli called the melancholy ocean. We have managed to get along for 600 or 700 years…without assimilating our time to that of Great Britain" (Hansard sec. 74). Unlike the appeals to the difficulty the bill would create for

farmers who cannot milk their cows or harvest hay in the proposed twenty-five minutes of additional darkness or to the lack of public consensus on the issue, Dillon claimed ancient precedent, asserting "we have got along very well," a rather odd claim in light of the very recent rebellion and the history of insurrection and famine that preceded it. But what Dillon said next seems neither to follow from nor connect to the rest of his speech: he claimed that the difference in time between England and Ireland "reminds us that we are coming into a strange country" (Hansard sec. 74). In Ireland, the English had come to be known as the "stranger in the house"; Dillon's use of the word "strange" evokes that phrase, indicating the time difference as a way to maintain the cultural and political distinction between the two islands (Heffernan 293). The time difference not only reminds one that one is entering a "strange country," but also indicates the strangeness of the English themselves, a symbolic good not registered in the rest of the parliamentary defense of Dublin Mean Time. The only other indication that Ireland's time is strange came from Herbert Samuel in his initial suggestion of May 8, 1916 that English and Irish time be synchronized. As quoted above, Samuel noted, "we must wait until more *normal times* before we can express an opinion upon the legislation" (emphasis mine, Hansard sec. 358). Ostensibly, Samuel is referring to the recent rebellion and the difficulty of gauging Irish public opinion at such a moment. However, the rush to approve the bill prevented the expression of "opinion upon the legislation" and Greenwich Mean Time, a more "normal time" than the locally administered Dublin Mean Time, was imposed with very little debate or public outcry.

One of the few mentions of Dublin Mean Time in Irish literature is famously found in James Joyce's *Ulysses*. Joyce began publishing the novel serially in 1918 (with the full volume published in 1922), but he began writing *Ulysses* in earnest in 1914, two years before the time change. The novel depicts the events of June 16, 1904 in Dublin, thereby cataloguing the

existence of Dublin Mean Time (or Dunsink Time, so named for the Dunsink Observatory from which it was distributed), with the knowledge of its eventual abolition. In the "Letrygonians" episode of *Ulysses*, Leopold Bloom notices the time ball on the Ballast Office "at the southern end of O'Connell Bridge" (160): "After one. Timeball on the Ballastoffice is down. Dunsink Time. Fascinating little book that is of sir Robert Ball's. Parallax. I never exactly understood" (8.109-11). Soon after, Bloom realizes that the time he had registered was not in fact Dunsink Time but Greenwich Mean Time: "Now that I come to think of it, that ball falls at Greenwich time. It's the clock is worked by an electric wire from Dunsink." (*Ulysses* 8.571-2). As Adam Barrows points out, Bloom's move from time*ball* to *ball*astoffice to Robert *Ball*'s book emphasizes

> The term "parallax," which refers to the apparent displacement of an object caused by a change in the position of the observer…Robert Ball was himself an opponent to the Irish adoption of Greenwich Time, and his term "parallax," associated as it is in this episode with the sight of a Greenwich-controlled time ball, arguably gestures toward what was, at the time, a fraught national issue of privileged access to accurate interpretations of solar phenomena. (273-4)

While critics of *Ulysses* tend to read Dunsink Time merely as an example of the term parallax and an instance of the "stereoscopic vision" enacted by interwoven narratives (Kenner 75), I agree with Barrows that this moment is not just a metaphor but a registration of the impending imposition of Greenwich Mean Time on Ireland. The disjunction between the clock and the ballast office time ball enacts the parallax or "strange" time of the novel, set during the use of Dunsink Time and published after the imposition of GMT. But this "strange" time is, importantly, also a clear indication of the strangeness of the distinct Irish time standard in 1904

juxtaposed with the "stranger in the house" of the Greenwich-controlled time ball. The importance of Dunsink Time to *Ulysses* gestures toward the complexity of the transition to Greenwich Mean Time despite the absence of details from the historical record.

While James Joyce memorialized Dunsink Time in *Ulysses*, the same cannot be said for W.B. Yeats, the content of whose writing seems not to have registered the transition at all. Yeats never mentions Dublin Mean Time, Dunsink Time, or Greenwich Mean Time in his prose, drama, poetry, or letters. In an unpublished letter to John Quinn dated June 5, 1922, Yeats does mention the Irish Free State's maintenance of "summer time," or Daylight Saving Time, noting that

> I have had to interrupt this dictation to George to find out why our collie puppy should start barking a [sic] eleven o'clock at night. George has been down and has just returned to say that he is barking at the Cuckoo. It is only ten o'clock by the true time of the sun, and so not too dark for the cuckoo, but the free state earned its first unpopularity here by continuing english [sic] "summer time." (*CL Intelex* 4133)[153]

This letter shows that Yeats associates Daylight Saving Time with the imposition of English time more generally, and his comments evince a knowledge of both the larger contemporary debate and his own awareness of the legal time transitions affecting Ireland.[154] This anecdote also

[153] It should be noted that Yeats is writing from Thoor Ballylee on the west coast of Ireland and is thus experiencing the extremity of the difference between apparent and mean time. Residents of Dublin or the east coast of Ireland, being several degrees closer to Greenwich, would have experienced a less dramatic difference.

[154] The non-event of the transition to Greenwich Mean Time in 1916 can also be explained by the fact that many Irish citizens simply did not change their clocks. As Ernie O'Malley puts it in *On Another Man's Wound* in the chapter spanning July-August 1920, "there was the difficulty of three different times for councils and classes. Summer time was kept by cities, some towns and the railway; new time was an increase of twenty-five minutes on old Irish time to synchronisze [sic] with English time; as yet punctual time had not come" (186). That Yeats, the urbanite, is using "english summer time" all the way out at Thoor Ballylee is unsurprising and indicates that he definitely would have experienced the time transition.

depicts the way in which the combination of Greenwich Mean Time and Daylight Saving Time severed the relationship between clock time and apparent time in Ireland, creating the parallax experience depicted in *Ulysses*. Despite the fact that it is 11 PM by the clock, the sun is still out and the "Cuckoo" is still calling. (It is unclear whether the collie was really disturbed by a "Cuckoo" or whether Yeats chose the bird, already so closely associated with clocks, to further emphasize the disjunction between the time registered by the natural world and that of the clock.) Besides this instance, Yeats does not refer to the status of legal time in Ireland explicitly.

MacDonagh's account of the variation in the number of unstressed syllables between stressed syllables described above aptly describes the loose triple-stress rhythm of Yeats's poem "Easter, 1916," written in the aftermath of the Easter Rising in response to the execution of the rebellion's leaders, which included Thomas MacDonagh on May 3, 1916. Yeats was in England when the Rising broke out and had been unaware of the plan. He first mentions the rising on April 27 in a letter to Lady Gregory, stating that "it is a tragic business that will leave Ireland different for a long time & affect our work a good deal. We know little here the government is keeping back information" (*CL Intelex* 2934). On the 30th, he wrote to his sister Elizabeth expressing dismay at the participation of several men: "I know most of the Sinn Fein leaders & the whole thing bewilders me for Connolly is an able man & Thomas MacDonagh both able & cultivated. Pearce I have long looked upon as a man made dangerous by the Vertigo of self sacrifice. He has moulded himself on Emmett" (*CL Intelex* 2935). These initial impressions of the tragedy and ill-conceived martyrdom of the rebels begin to cohere into the shape of a poem, which Yeats describes to Lady Gregory in a letter dated May 11: "I am trying to write a poem on the men executed—'terrible beauty has been born again'" (Wade 613). Yeats continued working on the poem through the summer and presented Maude Gonne with a draft on September 25,

1916. Gonne, disliking the poem's ambivalence toward the Rising and the executed leaders, wrote back to Yeats, "My dear Willie, No I don't like your poem" (White 384). Yeats did not, however, publish the poem in either the 1917 or 1919 versions of *The Wild Swans at Coole*. Instead, he waited, publishing the poem in 1921 in the volume *Michael Robartes and the Dancer*.

"Easter, 1916" is one of Yeats's most famous and written-about poems and has been subjected to extensive prosodic analysis. In *Our Secret Discipline*, Helen Vendler rearranges a portion of the poem into lines that contain four stressed syllables each rather than the three stressed syllables of Yeats's composition in order to contrast the impression made by each type of line. It's an odd experiment and produces strange conclusions, as Vendler claims that "we recognize the contrast between the rapidity and intensity of the trimeter quick-march…and the more sedulous and deliberate step of such tetrameters" (64). Of course, given Yeats's chanting theory of composition and performance, with its license both to include additional unstressed syllables and fully pronounce those syllables, it is difficult to imagine this, or any of Yeats's poems, as a "quick-march."[155] And while Vendler asserts the rapidity of the poem's metrical pace, she simultaneously claims that the stanza structure is fixed by its invocation of the first day of the Rising, April 24, 1916:

> In "Easter 1916," the "16" of the year and the "24" of the date are commemorated in the lengths of the poem's four stanzas, arranged in alternating line-groupings of 16, 24, 16, 24….Because April's number among the months is 4, the poem rhymes in 4-line groups: *abab*, and so on…He must have felt that embedding the date of the Rising in his poem about it guaranteed the fit of the work to its subject. (25)

[155] Jonathan Culler makes precisely the opposite argument: "the poem ["Easter, 1916"] gains solemnity from the three-beat meter with a virtual beat or pause at the end of each line" (304)

For Vendler, the structural enactment of the Rising's date abstracts the event from the "minute by minute" daily time of the poem, solidifying the rebellion's leaders and the Rising in the recursive time of the semi-liturgical. Each reading of the poem enacts the date's return, emblematizing the sacrifice of the executed men and of Ireland's changed identity. This assessment seems more plausible given the fact that Yeats never alternates verse paragraphs of different lengths in any of his other poems.

However, the neatness and fixity of the emblematic numbering of the verse paragraphs belies the complexity of what appear to be trimeter lines. Each line varies between five and eight syllables and almost every line frustrates the expectation of the previous line with regard to beat placement. The poem even begins with this undecidability and not with the rhythm-defining sureness conventional in opening lines. "I have met them at close of day" contains eight syllables, the first four of which could each plausibly carry the beat. While it seems most likely that "met" carries the initial beat, the second line confounds expectation by beginning with a syllable that carries the beat rather than the two non-beat carrying syllables of the first line. The third line varies the pattern again, beginning with only one off-beat syllable, and the fourth line repeats the pattern of the second, beginning with a syllable that carries the beat.

> /
> I have met them at close of day
> /
> Coming with vivid faces
> /
> From counter or desk among grey
> /
> Eighteenth-century houses. (1-4)

While this initial irregularity is perfectly acceptable in a variety of prosodic systems, the lack of consistent beat placement, particularly in word clusters in which several syllables could carry the

beat, makes the experience of reading the poem both difficult and unsettling. A reader cannot settle into the rhythm of the poem and her expectations are consistently frustrated. In fact, it is not even initially clear how many beats each line is intended to contain. The first four lines could almost be common measure, with the first and third lines containing four beats and eight syllables each and the second and fourth containing three beats and seven syllables (including the feminine endings), all ending in the ABAB rhyme scheme. However, it is impossible to fall into the tripping lilt of common measure here, and the possibility that the odd lines contain four beats is soon frustrated by lines like eleven ("To please a companion"), which barely contains three beats (and only if the pronunciation of "companion" is strained), let alone four.

The inconsistent placement of the beat in trisyllabic words compounds the difficulty of performing the rhythm. To eke three stresses out of line eleven requires the promotion of the final syllable of "companion," a perfectly acceptable substitution, but one which sets up a sense of frustrated expectation in lines where Yeats ignores syllables that would easily be promoted were the poem composed of four beat, rather than three beat lines. Similarly, lines nineteen ("Her nights in argument") and twenty-three (She rode to harriers?") require that the three-syllable word carry two stresses, although not that they be mispronounced. However, a line like twenty-nine ("So sensitive his nature seemed") contains a three syllable word, "sensitive," that carries only one beat on the first syllable. Unlike "comPANiON" which is stretched almost past its conventional capacity to carry the third beat in the line, "SENSitive" could very easily and without strain carry two beats. While the rhythmic context of the three-beat lines makes it clear that line twenty-nine does not carry four beats, it so easily could that the four beat line can almost be heard underneath, an invocation of the parallax perspective enacted by time change, here represented rhythmically. Most telling is the way that the line contains three syllables in a

row that do not carry the beat

/ x x x / x

(sensitive his nature), enacting MacDonagh's account of the "extra" unstressed syllables allotted to the Irish poet writing in English.[156]

This subversion of expectation coincides most dramatically with invocation of time measurement, the "Minute by minute" of the third verse paragraph. The first line of the section once again presents an interpretive problem, as the line demands four stressed syllables; however, what follows is the heretofore-unseen regularity of six lines that begin with an unstressed syllable followed by a stressed syllable. Internal variation in stress placement in the rest of the line persists, but the six lines with metrically similar beginnings set up a pattern of expectation that is ruptured by the eighth line of the verse paragraph, which begins with a stress ("Minute by minute they change;"). This disruption inaugurates the same kind of initial variation that we saw in the first verse paragraph, as the subsequent eight lines each begin with a different stress pattern than that which precedes or follows it.

Somewhat ironically, this poem and the volume *The Wild Swans at Coole* (which was largely written around the same time) consistently thematize measurement.[157] John MacBride is

[156] Recall MacDonagh's insistence that because "Irish frequently allows for the clear pronunciation of several syllables between stress and stress," the Anglo-Irish poet can employ more unstressed syllables per metrical unit than the English poet (*Literature* 65).

[157] Daniel Albright notes that "When Yeats was a young man, he devoted himself to the perfection of tight, closed lyrics; but now, in his early fifties, he seems more flexible, more open – open to spiritual revelation from dubious sources, open to new themes, new personae, new verse techniques…in 'Broken Dreams' he verges, for almost the only time in his career, on something like free verse; yet this modernity is counterpointed by other poems that resurrect the most archaic verse forms, such as the pastoral elegy in 'Shepherd and Goatherd'" (549-50). Despite the formal incoherence Albright identifies, Andelys Wood points out, the *The Wilde Swans at Coole* is thematically obsessed with "measurement." While Wood concludes that measurement is a Yeatsian opposition—"measurement is narrow, repressive, empty, dead; but at the same time it produces beauty, freedom, life"—it seems counterintuitive that, given this obsession, *The Wild Swans at Coole* should be the least formally "measured" volume (77).

not simply included in the poem; rather, Yeats says of the "drunken, vainglorious lout" "I number him in the song;" (16, 18). Here, "number" and the list of names recalls the much earlier poem "To Ireland in the Coming Times." Where Yeats once asked to be "*counted one / With Davis, Mangan, Ferguson*," we now see the flip side of such neat metrical management. Yeats mourns the stillness, the manageability and containment of the rhythmical list and confronts a history that cannot be so easily remade. Unlike the mild irregularity of the "dim coming times," when Yeats asserts in the final verse paragraph that "I write it out in a verse - / MacDonagh and MacBride / And Connolly and Pearse," he rhythmically contains the names of the Rising's martyrs, fixing them "Now and in time to be" as the changed but now unchanging "stone" that will "trouble the living stream" of history.[158] This is a rupture that cannot be easily naturalized through stylistic affiliation, in no small part because Yeats's critical champion of the "Irish Mode" and guarantor of the validity of the Irish effects of his rhythm, Thomas MacDonagh, is dead.[159]

All of this is intended to illustrate that the irregularity of the rhythm in this poem is

[158] According to David Lloyd, "where 'Coole and Ballylee' writes out the failure to maintain epic continuity between the tradition of one family and that of the people, 'Easter 1916' concerns the foundation of a nation by the transformation of individuals into symbols. What disturbs Yeats here, though, is that this transformation takes place not through the intermediary of poetry but in consequence of violence itself. The passive voice of 'All changed, changed utterly' betrays the secondariness of poetic reflection to a process of transformation which has already completed itself, impersonally, as it were" (*Anomalous States* 15). I agree, but with the slight modification that Yeats's passive syntax admits of the ways in which he will not be able to maintain the critical project of continuity that animated his early criticism and poetry.

[159] Campbell notes this ruptures somewhat differently, arguing that "if one solution for Yeats had been to write verse drama, then that still left him with the problem of continuing to write lyric under a dissolving Union. One response, given historical events, was to rise to the challenge of elegy. The poem composed two years later that names 'MacDonagh and MacBride / And Connolly and Pearse' solves it in that very roll call: 'I write it out in a verse –.' But the extraordinary success of 'Easter 1916' as a public elegy that finds a metric for heroic naming was not consistently matched by Yeats's other war poetry, nor indeed in what was to come" (*Irish Poetry* 193).

certainly licensed but not simply explained by Yeats's chanting. "Easter, 1916" would be very difficult to chant and would require the reader to make endless decisions, as her expectations are subverted in almost every line. As David Lloyd has argued, for Yeats, the act of choosing between the syntactically distinct but equally valid grammatical performance of the poem enacts the violence inherent in the founding of the Irish State (8).[160] While Lloyd focuses on grammar, the performative difference between these grammatical options is usually the decision of which syllable to stress. With specific regard to the rhythm of the poem, which we know Yeats conceptualized in explicitly temporal terms both through his interest in Patmore and through his chanting, the undecidability of the location of stressed syllables enacts temporal violence. The rhythm of the poem thematizes the collision of multiple conceptions of time, enacting the parallax perspective of living under two time regimes and on the cusp of a new conception of national identity. However, while Vendler argues that the "daily time" of the poem's rapid meter contrasts with the temporal recursivity of the stanza structure, I argue that daily time is also out of joint. As the poem was written from within the simultaneous transition from Dublin Mean Time to GMT and Daylight Saving Time as well as in the aftermath of the Rising, it is clear that

[160] I follow Lloyd in emphasizing the unassimilable rupture of this poem: "Against this recuperative tradition, I would argue that Yeats's reaction to the rupture which "Easter 1916" represents, within his own oeuvre as in history itself, is at once relentlessly extreme and profoundly unsettling in political terms. For, far from seeking to offer aesthetic reconciliation, he writes out to its logical extremes the lesson of an act that threatened to displace him both as a poet whose cultural work becomes redundant and as one of the "colonizers who refuse." This writing in extremis proceeds on four levels which are distinct but interrelated: a refusal of a symbolism founded in an organic model of natural representation in favor of an allegorical mode; a wresting, from the very condition of dislocation, of a language use which depends for its authority on authorial fiat alone, being anti-mimetic and performative; the radical deployment of antinomies which, if posited in pure formality, often gain an extraordinary degree of signifying instability on account of the inorganic arrangements through which their elements produce meaning; a sustained reflection on the political significance of violence and death as the condition of any act of foundation" (21-22).

what is meant by "time," both legally and rhythmically, is open for debate. This is not to suggest that Yeats set out to encode secret rhythmic resistance to the imposition of Greenwich Mean Time in his poem. Rather, this reading resituates Yeats's temporally based rhythmic practice within the lived experience of a series of politically important changes to legal time.

V. Return to Innisfree

So what does a poet who's spent so much of his career manufacturing continuity do in the face of an unmanageable historical and literary-historical rupture? As mentioned previously, "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" continues to serve as an excellent test case, signifying differently against the backdrop of Yeats's evolving prosodic commitments. While Yeats is undoubtedly indebted to the examples of Gaelic rhythm that his nineteenth-century forebears provided when he wrote the poem in 1888, his post-1916 account of the rhythm of "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" frames his rhythmic source very differently. In the section of *Autobiographies* (1926) entitled "Four Years: 1887-1891," Yeats famously describes the moment of inspiration for the poem and his sense of its rhythm:

> …when walking through Fleet Street very homesick I heard a little tinkle of water and saw a fountain in a shop-window which balanced a little ball upon its jet, and began to remember lake water. From the sudden remembrance came my poem 'Innisfree', my first lyric with anything in its rhythm of my own music. (*A* 103-4)

Yeats does not attribute the particular rhythm of the poem to his imitation of Gaelic meters or his familiarity with the metrical practice of Mangan or Ferguson but instead claims the rhythm as the first instance of his "own music," asserting that "I had begun to loosen rhythm as an escape from rhetoric and from that emotion of the crowd that rhetoric brings" (*A* 104). While the poem is inspired by the memory of Lough Gill near Sligo in the west of Ireland, where Yeats did much of

his folkloric research, by 1926 he claims the particular rhythm as personal, not historical or cultural. In fact, the description of his metrical practice that immediately precedes the Innisfree anecdote suggests alienation, both from the Irish poetic tradition he had worked so hard to seem to inherit and from the land which was so crucial to the identity of the authentic Irish peasant.

Yeats begins this section by denigrating a rote relationship with tradition: "When that Fenian[161] poet says that his heart has grown cold and callous—'For thy hapless fate, dear Ireland, and sorrows of my own'— he but follows tradition, and if he does not move us deeply, it is because he has no sensuous musical vocabulary that comes at need…" (*A* 102). What imbues tradition with emotion and meaning is a "sensuous musical vocabulary," not mere adherence to convention. He goes on to assert that

> I thought to create that sensuous, musical vocabulary, and not for myself only, but that I might leave it to later Irish poets, much as a mediaeval Japanese painter left his style as an inheritance to his family, and I was careful to use a traditional manner and matter, yet changed by that toil, impelled by my share in Cain's curse, by all that sterile modern complication, by my 'originality', as the newspapers call it, did something altogether different. (*A* 102)

This sounds very much like an account of Yeats's prosodic practice as described above. We have the invocation and dismissal of explicit tradition and the "musical" vocabulary of chanted poetry, all intended to seem "traditional." Importantly, though, Yeats attributes the failure of his poetic aspirations to his "share in Cain's curse." As the editors of *Autobiographies* remind us, Cain was cursed "to wander endlessly, alienated from the land" (Genesis 4: 11-12). Just before he recounts

[161] The editors of *Autobiographies* note that the reference to the "Fenian" is "untraced" and does not refer to a specific poet. For my purposes, "Fenian" here could mean a general nineteenth-century nationalist poet, while also recalling the nineteenth-century poetic tradition Yeats aspired to inherit in the 1880s.

the origin story of "The Lake Isle of Innisfree," the poem which previously was such a confident exemplar of both Gaelic rhythms and psaltery chanting practice, Yeats claims that he is alienated from the land, even the land of the lake island with which he was most closely associated and upon which he built his reputation as a distinctively Irish poet. For Yeats, this poem is no longer evidence of a long, unbroken Irish literary history stretching back to the ancient Irish bards, but an example of the impossibility of such an inheritance and of the modern revival of the bardic arts that he tried and failed to pass on to the next generation of Irish poets.

IV. Conclusion: "Hound Voice"

Still, as Ronald Schuchard convincingly proves, Yeats's conception of the bardic arts animated his poetics throughout his life and, just a month before his death in January 1939, Yeats was still attempting to produce "a small book dealing with the relations between speech and song" (quoted in Schuchard xiv). Whatever alienation he felt when he recast his account of "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" in 1926, he certainly did not stop chanting the poem, as evidenced by the BBC recordings of Yeats reading that and several other poems in the 1930s.[162] And although Yeats was forced to face a temporal and historical rupture that no ameliorative account of literary history could suture, his post-1916 poems and criticism remain somewhat hopeful about contact with the ancient bardic past.[163] In his 1937 essay "A General Introduction For My Work," Yeats maintains Irish folkloric exceptionalism, arguing that "our mythology, our legends, differ from those of other European countries because down to the end of the seventeenth century they had

[162] This is despite his often attested dislike for the poem, particularly as it grew in popularity. Unfortunately, these BBC tapes are also the only extant recordings of Yeats performing his chanting. No recordings of Yeats and Farr performing with the psaltery survived.

[163] While I recognize that this is an assertion that could fill a book, I'd argue that Yeats's occult interests (which he initially attempted to connect to Irish folklore and which have received short shrift in this chapter, especially since Yeats and Farr honed their chanting in The Golden Dawn), particularly his development of a theory of history that contains rupture every 2000 years in *A Vision*, and his interest in eugenics late in life both seem like obvious responses to that rupture.

the attention, perhaps the unquestioned belief, of peasant and noble alike" (*E&I* 516). While other "modern poets" argue that "jazz and music-hall songs are the folk art of our time…we Irish poets, modern men also, reject every folk art that does not go back to Olympus" (*E&I* 516). Once again, we see Yeats claiming, on the basis of his Irish heritage, an affinity for and relationship to an ancient folkloric tradition. He goes on to bemoan the fact that "again and again I am asked why I do not write in Gaelic" and, by way of an anecdote about his championing of Sanskrit to a group of Indian writers, asserts again the strangeness of his affiliations with Gaelic: "I could have no more written in Gaelic than can those Indians write in English; Gaelic is my national language, but it is not my mother tongue" (*E&I* 519; 520). From the question of the Irish language, Yeats moves immediately in the next sentence to a discussion of "style" mirroring the critical move that allowed him to produce "Gaelic" sounding rhythms in English in the 1880s. He claims "style is almost unconscious. I know what I have tried to do, little what I have done" and almost immediately attaches that "unconscious" style to his "Irish preference for a swift current," which induced him to write almost exclusively short poems (*E&I* 521). And thus, we are back where we began, with the often misinterpreted valorization of "traditional meters" (or at the very least, meters that seem traditional) and the repudiation of free verse which cannot contain or preserve the accidents of personal expression (*E&I* 522). Yeats describes the traditional rhythm underlying blank verse, claiming that

> When I speak blank verse and analyse my feelings, I stand at a moment of history when instinct, its traditional songs and dances, its general agreement, is of the past. I have been cast up out of the whale's belly though I still remember the sound and sway that came from beyond its ribs, and, like the Queen in Paul Fort's ballad, I smell of the fish of the

> sea. The contrapuntal structure of the verse, to employ a term adopted by Robert Bridges, combines the past and present. (*E&I* 524)

Once more, by virtue of his Irish identity Yeats's conceives of his relationship to rhythm as distinct from that of an English poet. His Countess Cathleen can only "speak a blank verse which [he] loosened, almost put out of join, for her need," and his mythological heroes "Deirdre and Cuchulain and all the other figures of Irish legend are still in the whale's belly" (*E&I* 524-5). For Yeats, rhythm is still capable of mediating that complex temporality that is both ancient and modern while also having been simultaneously maintained by the Irish peasantry. And somehow, Yeats is imbued with this ancient memory too; he remembers what it feels like to be in the belly of the whale with Deirdre and Cuchulain. He still bears the smell of fish.

There is a poem in Yeats's posthumously published *Last Poems* (1939) that both enacts his metrical commitments and rehearses the argument of "A General Introduction" by using a different metaphor. The poem, "Hound Voice," has received relatively little attention, in part because it is so easily read as of a piece with Yeats's late interest in eugenics.[164] Both because it is less well-known and because it is very tightly patterned, the poem is worth quoting in full:

> Because we love bare hills and stunted trees
> And were the last to choose the settled ground,
> Its boredom of the desk or of the spade, because
> So many years companioned by a hound,
> Our voices carry; and though slumber-bound,

[164] The lines where Yeats chooses his mate based on physical traits that connote a specific ethnic heritage are most problematic: "The women that I picked spoke sweet and low / And yet gave tongue…We picked each other from afar and knew / What hour of terror comes to test the soul…And understood, what none have understood, / Those images that waken in the blood" (*l.* 8-15).

Some few half wake and half renew their choice,
Give tongue, proclaim their hidden name -- 'Hound Voice.'

The women that I picked spoke sweet and low
And yet gave tongue. 'Hound Voices' were they all.
We picked each other from afar and knew
What hour of terror comes to test the soul,
And in that terror's name obeyed the call,
And understood, what none have understood,
Those images that waken in the blood.

Some day we shall get up before the dawn
And find our ancient hounds before the door,
And wide awake know that the hunt is on;
Stumbling upon the blood-dark track once more,
Then stumbling to the kill beside the shore;
Then cleaning out and bandaging of wounds,
And chants of victory amid the encircling hounds.

Like the Gaelic influenced rhythm of "The Lake Isle of Innisfree," here we have several clusters of triple beats ("few half wake," "name – 'Hound Voice," "picked spoke sweet" "gave tongue. Hound"), although they do not come at the ends of the lines. This packing together of juxtaposed beats is consistently used to describe those that have a "Hound Voice" in contrast with the extreme regularity of alternating beats used to describe modern life. Lines two and three depict

life on the "settled ground" in a stultifyingly regular rhythm, with the boredom that line three describes enacted by the extra, regular final foot it is forced to slog through. The rhythm only varies when the poet turns to the awakening of that secret group that resisted "settled ground" for so long. While it is understandable that "Hound Voice" could be seen as evidence of Yeats's interest in eugenics, the claims it makes for participation in ancient Irish culture are remarkably like those that Yeats once used to align himself with peasant ballads of the 1880s and to justify his chanting as distinctly Irish. The identifying characteristic is not, in fact, the blood that is mentioned twice in the poem, but a quality of voice. Hound voices are united by the fact that their voices "carry," and the ability to use that voice is explicitly a "choice," not an inherited characteristic. While it would seem that this is an ancestral inheritance, the distinction is based on what seems to be a contemporary "love" for "bare hills and stunted trees," as Yeats collapses an entire history of modernization and alienation from the land into the story of a single, undifferentiated "we" united by choice.

However, like the "dim coming times" that Yeats predicted but could not describe in his "To Ireland," the hound voices have not fully awakened and the return of the "ancient hounds before the door" has not yet come to pass. Instead, Yeats projects into the as yet unrealized "some day" the moment when the hound voices will fully recognize one another, "know that the hunt is on," and stumble "upon the blood-dark track once more" to a triumphant kill.[165] The poem ends with a juxtaposition of Yeats's figure for history in the gyre-like "encircling hounds," with hound voices engaged in "chants of victory," an overdetermined invocation of Yeats's bardic chanting practice. The line itself further enacts what Yeats conceived of as his distinctly Irish

[165] Notice the resonance between "blood-dark track" and "bee-loud glade" from "The Lake Isle of Innisfree."

/ x x x /

metrical practice with three unstressed syllables (victory amid), bridging the two halves of the line. The poem is the realization of the unrealized, an imagined historical justification for a bardic future that never came to pass and an exemplar of W.B. Yeats understanding of the nineteenth-century discourse on the temporal nature of meter, disguised as a uniquely Irish verse practice.

CHAPTER THREE

T.S. Eliot, the New Prosody, and the Time of Global Capital

"Scansion tells us very little."
T.S. Eliot, "Reflections on *Vers Libre*" (1917)

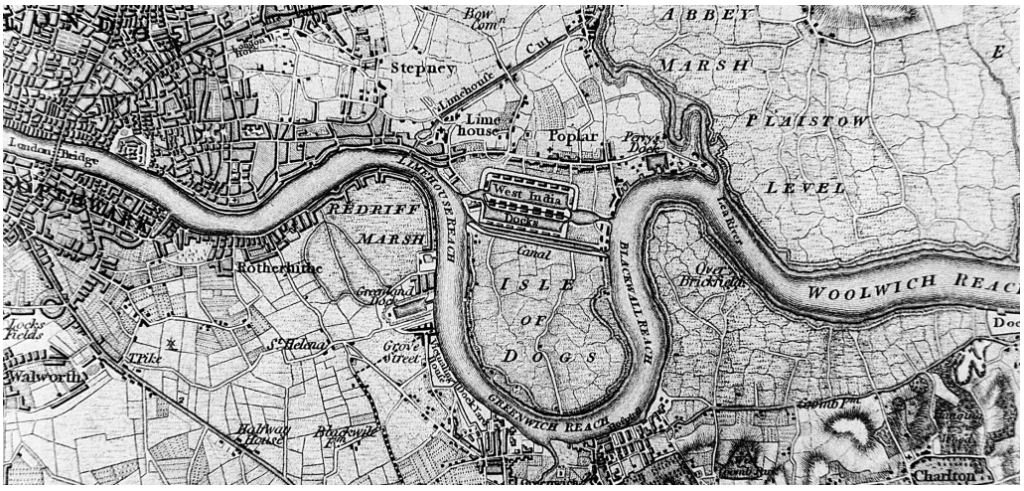
I. Introduction

Near the end of "The Fire Sermon" in *The Waste Land* (1922), T.S. Eliot reduces the line length dramatically as he moves from an account of "the City" (the financial district of London)[166] directly into a description of the Thames sweating "Oil and tar" (268). In his notes, Eliot calls this section "The song of the (three) Thames-daughters," based on Wagner's "Rhine-daughters," and claims the intermittent "Weialala leia"-ing is the sound of the maidens "speaking in turn." Critics have consistently read the two-beat lines as a pastiche of Wagner's Rhine-daughters' songs, but rarely has their role as guardians of the Rhine gold been read into Eliot's metrical choice or the image of the sweating river.[167] However, the succeeding lines locate this scene in a very specific bend of the Thames:

> The barges wash
>
> Drifting logs
>
> Down Greenwich reach
>
> Past the Isle of Dogs (273-6).

[166] In "The 'City Man' in The Waste Land" (1965), Robert A. Day notes "the 'unreal City' of The Waste Land is obviously London…but 'City,' with a capital C, has another meaning unfamiliar to many Americans though taken for granted by a Londoner. It denotes the ancient City of London, a small area along the north bank of the Thames, which contains modern London's financial district and most of England's mercantile and monetary power."
[167] In "Musical and Poetic Analogues in T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* and Igor Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*" Mildred Meyer Boaz does note that the "'lala' of the Rhine maidens" echoes the "'ta ta' of the barroom ladies" and anticipates the "Da" of the final section of the poem.

The "Isle of Dogs" was once an island formed by a sharp turn in the Thames whose landward edge is bisected by the canal that provides access to the West India Company's multiple docks. This area was heavily urbanized and industrialized throughout the nineteenth century with the construction of the West India Docks in 1802, the East India Docks in 1806, and the immense growth in shipbuilding, sugar and flour processing, and the many other types of manufacture the docks facilitated. During the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, the Isle of Dogs boasted some of the busiest docks in the world from which England managed its vast colonial holdings and maintained an extensive trading network.[168] This section of the river was the heart of the "Thames gold," the locus of the complex of worldwide exchange that fueled what could still in 1922 be reasonably called the British Empire.[169] Given the importance of the Isle of Dogs to England's maritime and market supremacy, it is no wonder that the Thames-Daughters begin singing here, marking their protection of the alchemical gold of England's shipping and manufacture empire. By pointedly juxtaposing the Isle of Dogs with the description of London's banking district "The City," Eliot links the two economic centers and highlights their prior linkage by the contaminated Thames.



[168] Eve Hostettler, The Isle of Dogs: 1066-1918: A Brief History, Volume I
[169] Eleanor Cook, "T.S. Eliot and the Carthaginian Peace." 1979. pp. 342.

Fig: The Isle of Dogs, the West India Docks, and Greenwich Reach depicted in an extract from the first Ordinance Survey Map completed in 1801

If the connection between Eliot's gold-hoarding Thames-daughters, the City, and the Isle of Dogs makes contextual sense, the relationship of "Greenwich reach" is somewhat less obvious.[170] Annotations of *The Waste Land* tend to point to the Greenwich Hospital, which was perched on the river's edge and served disabled sailors from the Royal Navy. However, it is difficult not to hear an allusion to the Greenwich Observatory, located just up the hill from the hospital, in the phrase as well. Eliot was, of course, familiar with *The Secret Agent* (1907) in which Joseph Conrad recasts "the already old story" of Martial Bourdin's apparent attempt to blow up the Greenwich Observatory in 1894.[171] What's more, the public was familiar with the Greenwich Observatory as marking the first line of longitude and as the source of standard time due to the misrepresentation of the 1884 Prime Meridian Conference by Sanford Fleming and his "standard time apostles" (Barrows 43). Eliot's juxtaposition of "Greenwich reach" with the centers of British finance and British shipping is not just a geography lesson, but evinces an insider perspective on the role of global time regulation in the movement of goods and capital throughout England's extensive trading network. The "reach" is not just a section of the Thames of uniform depth, but an indication of the extent of Britain's influence as Greenwich Mean Time extended England's capacity to manage far-flung areas, thereby facilitating global commerce and the multiplication of the "Thames gold."

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[170] Adam Trexler reads the allusion to the Rhine daughters somewhat differently noting the "great symbolic importance [that] was attached to Britain's suspension of the gold standard in 1919: sterling and all the international currencies dependent on it were now unsecured from value. This loss of symbolic value is dramatized in *The Waste Land* by the woes of the Thames daughters and the Rhine daughters, who are charged with guarding the gold that secures the nations of Britain and Germany" (278).

[171] Conrad, Joseph. 1920 [1907] "Author's Note" The Secret Agent. Recall too that Eliot's first epigraph for *The Waste Land* was a quotation culminating in "The horror! the horror!" from Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*.

Importantly, the Wagnerian allusion is not merely thematically resonant for this section, but formally appropriate as well. Lawrence Rainey points out that "the two-beat measure which typifies much of this passage is adapted from Wagner's nymphs, who use this measure whenever they sing" (111). For Rainey, Eliot's lines are mimetic of music, better described by the twice-repeated "measure" than "line" or "meter." However, if Eliot's lines are to be measured like the operatic lines of Wagner's Rhine-daughters' songs, they must be measured in something like the time units of the musical bar. What Rainey does not point out is the robust field of temporal prosody, a once influential alternative to foot scansion, that provides the precedence for Eliot's musically measured lines. The division of the lines into the time units of temporal prosody reinforces Eliot's invocation of Greenwich Mean Time, which similarly divided the globe into time units. Thus, this short section is not just an English version of Wagner, but signals Eliot's recognition of the dense relationship between global capital and global time mediated through an awareness of and capacity to manipulate the temporal basis of meter.

Admittedly, this account of the short section of "The Fire Sermon" deviates significantly from most criticism of *The Waste Land*. Despite Eliot's intimate knowledge of the movement of global capital through his position in the "Colonial and Foreign Affairs" department at Lloyds Bank from 1917 until 1925, economic readings of *The Waste Land* tend to function metaphorically in terms of "sexual economies" or "cultural capital" or as an instance of the "mythical method" evidencing the relationship between London and ancient Rome.[172] Critical

[172] Lawrence Rainey asserts "the British banks concentrated in the City were the heart of global capital, and Eliot's experience of their operations is perceptible throughout The Waste Land, which repeatedly conflates financial and sexual economies into an amorphous world of uncontrolled circulations" (9). Michael Levenson's "Does The Waste Land have a Politics" is a good account of the cultural capital argument in which he claims "Eliot's banker's understanding of writing markets led him to administer his reputation carefully within a robustly modernized urban culture" (2). And Eleanor Cook's "T.S. Eliot and the Carthaginian Peace" in Bloom's *T.S.*

accounts of Eliot's modernist time sense consistently privilege his various philosophical commitments to Bergson and Bradley, or they biographically read a past-facing Classicism or Roman Catholicism back into *The Waste Land* while neglecting Eliot's understanding of the politically-charged national and global time standard regulated by the Greenwich Observatory. And most importantly, any formal experimentation with temporal prosody is illegible to the modern reader due to the early twentieth century critical consolidation and dismissal of non-foot based prosodic systems and the recasting of a great deal of temporal prosodic experimentation as free verse or proto-free verse.[173]

In the following chapter, I situate Eliot's metrical project, both theory and practice, within the context of the temporal prosodic experiments of the early twentieth century. Doing so reveals that the form of *The Waste Land*, the irregular line lengths and the groups of stressed syllables that refuse to resolve into accentual-syllabic feet, do not merely constitute "free verse" or loosely evaded iambic pentameter. Rather, Eliot's metrical imagination includes the flexible, mimetic intervals of temporal prosody. Understanding the temporal basis of Eliot's meter not only highlights the way that Eliot's particular time sense and thus, prosody, is inflected with the movement of global capital and the global time project, it also repoliticizes what has become a largely aesthetic category, demonstrating the ideological function of Eliot's metrical commitments.

II. Eliot and the New Prosody

Eliot's The Waste Land (35-48) is an excellent early articulation of the economic analogy between modern London and ancient Rome.

[173] In *The Rise and Fall of Meter*, Meredith Martin argues that twentieth-century literary critics consolidated nineteenth-century prosodic practice into a homogenous, regular monolith that obscures a wide range of political, social, and experimental accounts of meter.

Charles O. Hartman devotes most of the sixth chapter of *Free Verse: An Essay on Prosody* (1980) to T.S. Eliot's "evasions" of meter on the assumption that Eliot's allusions to older poets prepare readers to hear "the play of slack and accented syllables that has shaped the rhythm of most English verse" (111).[174] This is an enormous assumption, both about Eliot and about the history of English versification. Hartman reduces the history of English prosody to a series of disputes between specialists whose disagreements were minor noting that "elsewhere prosody was well enough understood to be taught to children in school" (4). This reduction allows Hartman to read Eliot as the recipient of a coherent metrical tradition, one which could be meaningfully broken with and through the innovations of *vers libre.* Hartman's account is of a piece with what Meredith Martin describes as "the received view" that "modernists violated an established and stable tradition of English versification itself little concerned with experiment" (3). Hartman even goes so far as to begin "in 1908, the world was in order" referring to the relative peace, the uncontested succession of British rulers, the gradual acceptance of Darwin's theories of evolution, and, of course, the "slow but sure" progress of all of British "culture" (1). Hartman posits this orderly world as an analogue to the supposedly orderly field of English versification whose teleological end was the free verse revolution. But in *The Rise and Fall of Meter* (2012) Martin presents a very different history of English prosody arguing, that "literary movements around the time of the First World War, along with the national, pedagogical, and political movements in the period leading up to it, essentially erased a vast history of debates about versification in English" (5). These debates ground Martin's account of the intense instability of meter as a category in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,

[174] Hartman's account self-consciously builds on Harvey Gross' "T.S. Eliot and the Music of Poetry" (1964) in which Gross famously asserts "some early and obviously deaf critics labeled Eliot a "free-verse poet," and since first misconceptions, like first impressions, doggedly persist, many still think of Eliot as a writer of unmetered verse" (167).

undermining narratives, like Hartman's, of the distinct, modernist rupture with Victorian verse practice and discourse.

The critical elision of the prosodic debates and experimentation that Martin describes has left scholars without a metrical vocabulary or verse context with which to analyze the long metrical sections of *The Waste Land*.[175] The results of metrical analysis have therefore ranged from dehistoricized accounts that use foot scansion to "prove" the metrical nature of the text despite its associations with free verse[176] or the inventive use of Eliot's own language, from the poems or his criticism, to describe Eliot's supposed metrical innovation.[177] Both methods fail to account for the relationship between Eliot's poetry and the verse cultures of the nineteenth or twentieth century. Both also assume that Eliot wrote out of a coherent metrical tradition in which verse is composed of metrical feet made up of a specific number of accented or unaccented syllables arranged in a particular order. This assumption, Martin argues, stems largely from the dominance of George Saintsbury's ideologically driven, three-volume *A History of English Prosody from the 12th Century to the Present Day* (published in 1906, 1908, and 1910). Saintsbury's account of English versification provided a simplified version of the prosodic experimentation that proceeded and ran parallel to his massive history. It also collapsed and

[175] In The Invisible Poet: T.S. Eliot, Hugh Kenner recounts Eliot's description of initial drafts of The Waste Land: "There were long passages in different metres, with short lyrics sandwiched in between" (126).
[176] I would describe Helen Gardner, Sister M. Martin Barry, Harvey Gross, and Roy Fuller as all using this strategy.
[177] Annie Finch's "metrical code" in The Ghost of Meter is a good example of the attempt to read Eliot's metrical commitments using terms internal to the poet although she does build to her account of Eliot through earlier American examples of free verse. In The Rhythms of English Poetry, Derek Attridge describes the "ghost of meter" in a section of The Waste Land, asserting "the five-beat rhythm remains only a familiar ghost behind the arras, one of the multiplicity of associations which constitute in large measure the poem's mode of meaning" (324). Hartman's "evasion" is also an account based on Eliot's description of his metrical practice in "Reflections on Vers Libre" (1917).

rejected a variety of forms of investigation, particularly, quantitative verse experiments with temporal prosody, or what the prominent late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century prosodist T.S. Omond called "The New Prosody."

In 1878, Saintsbury dismissively reviewed Coventry Patmore's "Essay on English Metrical Law," (1870, reprinted from 1857),[178] an important articulation of temporal prosody, asserting "Mr. Patmore does not seem to have made quite as valuable a contribution to the literature of the subject as he might have made; the fatal old quarrel between accent and quantity has drawn him to take part in it with the usual result" (757). This dismissal fails to recognize the clear distinction between Patmore's "isochronous intervals" of time and the long and short syllables of quantitative Latin verse experiments.[179] Saintsbury's conflation is often repeated and surfaces as late as W.K. Wimsatt Jr. and Monroe C. Beardsley's 1959 "The Concept of Meter: An exercise in Abstraction" in which they situate the "quantitative…theory of long and short *syllables* on the classical analogy" within the field of temporal prosody more broadly (588). [180] While Wimsatt and Beardsley do provide some distinction between the "timers," who they describe as advocating "that meter either consists wholly in, or has as an essential feature, some principle of recurrence in equal, or approximately equal, times – analogous to musical pulse," the timers and those who would attempt to describe English syllables as "long or short" on the strength of the Latin model, are both dismissed on the grounds of false adherence to quantity. As influential mid-century editors and anthologists, this dismissal of temporal prosody becomes part

[178] Saintsbury, Atheneaum 2642 (June 1878)
[179] By 1919, Saintsbury's account of Patmore was even more pointed in his *Historical Manual of English Prosody*. Of Patmore's essay Saintsbury warns "This essay is full of suggestive and ingenious notions, but exceedingly crotchety, and, for persons not thoroughly grounded in the subject, unsafe" (258).
[180]Wimsatt and Beardsley also identify Northrup Frye as understanding meter on the basis of the musical analogy, lumping him in with the "timers" and thus identifying a strand of temporal prosody that outlived the modernist reduction of meter to repeated accentual-syllabic feet.

of the gesture of modernist criticism making it even more difficult to parse modernist temporal prosodic practice.

This failure to differentiate between the theories of temporal prosodists and those who attempt to adapt English to Latin meters occludes the important ways in which nineteenth and twentieth-century metrists were thinking about time as the basis for meter. Because the dominant pedagogical modes of teaching prosody retain the usage of Latin foot names (like iamb and dactyl), if not a commitment to long and short syllables, experiments in approximating Latin verse have faired far better in the critical memory. What we have not retained, however, are accounts like those of T.S. Omond, who concludes his 1903 (republished in 1907) volume *English Metrists* with the assertion

> that this law [of prosodic structure] is a temporal one I cannot doubt. Verse without time-measure is about as conceivable as weaving without thread. All talk of stresses and thought-groups and emotional climax and centroid recurrence is so far beside the mark; it omits the most necessary factor. Verse depends first and always on time-rhythm; it "contrives its pattern of sounds in time." (267)

While Omond admits "for certain…we have as yet no established system of prosody," he maintains the centrality of time to the constitution of meter. The preceding section of *English Metrists*, entitled "The New Prosody," details prosodists with similar commitments to temporal metrics on both sides of the Atlantic. Omond begins with Coventry Patmore of whom he asserts, "Patmore voiced ideas that were in the air, and was sometimes less original than he fancied. However this be, his Essay is one of highest importance, and requires careful study (171)." Thus, Omond insists that the generalized discourse of temporal prosody suffused a variety of metrical theories.

In what follows, I demonstrate the ways in which Eliot's poetry and theory participate in this discourse of temporal prosody. However first it is important to note how Eliot's prosodic commitments have invited so much misreading. To begin, Eliot seems to have been significantly influenced by the previously mentioned, leading prosodist of the late Victorian and early modernist eras, George Saintsbury.[181] By Eliot's solicitation, Saintsbury contributed the opening article, "On Dullness," to the first issue of the *Criterion*, the literary magazine Eliot edited in its various incarnations from its inception in 1922 until it was dissolved in 1939. On February 6, 1923, Eliot wrote to Saintsbury again in his capacity as *Criterion* editor with a request that indicates his positive assessment of Saintsbury's prosodic capacity. He asks, "would you be willing, at your leisure and convenience, to discuss the style and the prose rhythms of Mr. James Joyce's *Ulysses*? (*LOTSE II* 38). Saintsbury replied twice to Eliot, in the first letter admitting that "to tell you the truth I have read very little of it [*Ulysses*] – coming on things not at all 'obscene' but what I risk meaning by nasty" (*LoTSE II* 52). But by February 11, 1923, Saintsbury had decided "it's a no go. There is no prudery in me but I have what the doctors I believe call an 'irritable vomiting centre' and Mr Joyce unfortunately acts on it like ipecacuanha or a feather" (53). Eliot accepted the rejection gracefully in his return letter on February 15th replying, "while I do not see eye to eye with you on this subject, I fully realize the difficulties and sympathise with your attitude" (54). He goes on to assure Saintsbury that "for what my opinion is worth…I recognise and appreciate the most eminent English critic of our time" concluding the letter

[181] In "Reflections on Vers Libre" in 1917, Eliot asserts "Scansion tells us very little. It is probable that there is not much to be gained by an elaborate system of prosody, but the erudite complexities of Swinburnian metre" (33). In "The Music of Poetry," published 1942, Eliot claims similarly "There is another, more particular respect in which the scholar's and the practitioner's acquaintance with versification differ. Here, perhaps, I should be prudent to speak only of myself. I have never been able to retain the names of feet and metres, or to pay the proper respect to the rules of scansion" (108).

"Yours very sincerely" (54). Of course, Saintsbury's literary clout and Eliot's desire to maintain solicitation access to one of the preeminent scholars of the day might have informed his rather grave and respectful tone (which is particularly striking in contrast to Saintsbury's colorful letter). Still, there is little reason to think that Eliot's admiration for Saintsbury is not genuine (despite Ezra Pound's opposing attitude) and that when Eliot refers to Saintsbury as "that genial doyen of English letters" in the preface to the Collected Edition of Criticism (1967), the gesture is earnest (*LOTSE* 878).

Further, Eliot's best known writing on prosody, his 1917 "Reflections on *Vers Libre,*" has been read as participating in what critics now think of as the false opposition sketched above between a coherent Victorian metrical tradition and the modern phenomenon of *vers libre* or free verse. While Eliot famously asserts, "*vers libre* does not exist" given that it can only be defined negatively through the absence of characteristics, he also claims "any line can be divided into feet and accents" (32). Critics have used this assertion, and Eliot's identification of "iambic pentameter" as a "simple meter" from which to withdraw or toward which to advance, as evidence of his accentual-syllabic, foot-based metrical imaginary (33). Such statements do seem like good evidence that Eliot's conception of meter contains only the uncontested foot units of both the reductive twentieth century critical account of Victorian versification and of Saintsbury's system.

However, careful attention to Eliot's metrical vocabulary in "Reflections on Vers Libre" indicates his awareness, and in some instances acceptance, of competing models of meter that, in 1917, were still serious alternatives to Saintsbury's system. When describing a metrical line, Eliot asserts, "the simpler metres are a repetition of one combination, perhaps a long and a short, or a short and a long syllable, five times repeated" (32). By referring to English syllables as

"long" and "short," rather than as accented or unaccented, Eliot indicates an awareness of the quantitative metrical experiments that approximate Latin and Greek verse forms in English. A few pages later, Eliot distinguishes the duration of syllables from what he calls "quantities" claiming that in John Webster's *The White Devil*, "the [metrical] irregularity is further enhanced by the use of short lines and the breaking up of lines in dialogue, which alters the quantities" (34). His choice of example, a line with eleven syllables followed by a line with six syllables, indicates that Eliot's "irregularity of deliberation" does not merely consist of mixing different kinds of metrical feet in the same line, but admits the variability of radically different line lengths understood as containing different "quantities" (34). I argue that these quantities are temporal in nature, particularly given Eliot's description of the "English ear's" fitness to hear "the inevitable iambic pentameter" (35-6). Eliot claims "the English ear is (or was) more sensitive to the music of the verse and less dependent upon the recurrence of identical sounds in this metre [iambic pentameter] than in any other" (36). By "identical sounds" Eliot means rhyme, but his insistence on "the music of the verse" as distinct from the "regular accentuation" that can spoil a line indicates that he understands irregularity as licensed on the grounds of musical analogy. In a very short essay, Eliot uses the word music to describe good metrical practice twice more: first contrasting the "trick" of Swinburne's metrical experiments with the more desirable "inexplicable line with the music which can never be recaptured in other words" and as an effect of the craftsmanship necessitated by the absence of rhyme which allows "much ethereal music [to] leap up from the word, music which has hitherto chirped unnoticed" (33, 36). In this essay, Eliot presents us with evidence of his awareness of the long and short syllables of Latin models and the accentual regularity of Saintsbury's accentual-syllabic feet, but he consistently privileges meter that is like music

In *The Last Minstrels* (2008), Richard Schuchard makes a similar claim, arguing that there is a great deal of evidence to indicate that Eliot's metrical practice and theory were informed by a musical account of prosody (308-34). Schuchard identifies both Pound and Yeats's influence on Eliot's conception of musical prosody resurrecting an account of modernist metrical experimentation that grounds Pound's famous Imagist "don't," "to compose in the sequence of the musical phrase, not in sequence of a metronome," in the work of the musician and early-music revivalist Arnold Dolmetsch. In his 1917 "Vers Libre and Arnold Dolmetsch," Pound claims to have found a basis for *vers libre* in the irregularity of the seventeenth and eighteenth century music Dolmetsch describes (310). Eliot consistently anthologized this essay, keeping it in print through the 1950s while publicly averring its importance (312). Schuchard also reads Eliot's own assertion in "Reflections on Vers Libre" that

> the most interesting verse which has yet been written in our language has been done either by taking a very simple form, like iambic pentameter, and constantly withdrawing from it, or taking no form at all, and constantly approximating to a very simple one. It is this contrast between fixity and flux, this unperceived evasion of monotony, which is the very life of verse." (33)

as underwritten by Dolmetsch's "historical and musical authority" (311). But Schuchard's strongest evidence of Eliot's acceptance of the Dolmetsch-Pound version of *vers libre* comes from the lecture the "The Spoken Word" (1951) in which Eliot claims "what is now called 'modern verse' is partly a return to older forms of English versification…the apparent irregularity and lawlessness of which is due to its being based on the musical bar instead of the foot" (quoted in Schuchard 312).

However, Schuchard's account of the musical basis of modernist prosody, while compelling, fails to fully consider the many temporal prosodic experiments that were part of the context that shaped Eliot, Yeats, and Pound's musical prosody. Schuchard notes briefly that Yeats was enamored of Patmore's "Essay" and considered it a statement of his own "theory of music and speech" and Thomas MacDonagh's influence on Yeats receives some limited attention as well (266). But Sydney Lanier, probably the most famous musical prosodist of the latter half of the nineteenth century, is not mentioned at all, and neither are most of the other theorists who participated in the robust transatlantic discourse of temporal prosody. By tracing Yeats's musical prosody through folkloric influences, the characteristics of the Irish language, his psaltery experiments with Francis Farr, and Arnold Dolmetsch's work on early music, Schuchard's account combines ancient influence and contemporary innovation without considering the intervening temporal prosodic discourse of the nineteenth century.

While Schuchard fails to connect musical prosody with the discourse of temporal prosody, in *The Music of Verse* (2012), Joseph Phelan situates the emphasis on the musical analogy very much within the discourse of temporal prosody reading Patmore and other temporal prosodists extensively. However, Phelan excludes Eliot from an awareness of the field of nineteenth century verse experiments. In his introduction, Phelan describes "the movement towards free verse" as a "halting and interrupted one," but also "one that was mediated, to a large extent, through the dominant metaphor of music" (11). Phelan identifies "harmony" as one of the key features that motivates and distinguishes musical prosody, describing the nineteenth century definition of "harmony" as "the attempt to make the sound of the poetry correspond in some significant way with its sense" (12). However Phelan claims that "whatever was gained in the general movement towards free verse, the possibility of this kind of harmony was lost, and it

takes a significant imaginative effort to rediscover it after the interval of a century" (12). And while he does note that Eliot holds a similar view of harmony according to the eponymous 1942 lecture in which he explicitly asserts "the music of poetry is not something that exists apart from the meaning," Phelan insists that Eliot's metrical thinking lacks "any consideration of the amalgam of conventions, traditions and associations which make up the medium…of verse." (180). He concludes the book with the assertion that "it is only, for Eliot, when these conventions and traditions are suspended that the poet can once again hear the 'ethereal music…which has hitherto chirped unnoticed in the expanse of prose'" (180). Thus, Phelan and Schuchard each, in their own way, replicate the gesture of rupture between Victorian verse cultures and modernist poetic practice. Taken together, however, we can see how Eliot's metrical thinking is grounded in nineteenth-century accounts of temporal prosody that understand verse as based on the time units of the "musical bar instead of the foot."

III. Eliot and the Global Reach of Standard Time

Like the elided heterogeneity of Victorian verse cultures, modernist critics mark the 1884 Prime Meridian Conference as the advent of time standardization, ignoring the long and contested process that occurred throughout the nineteenth century. The simplification of Eliot's and most modernists' metrical imaginary is analogous to the way critics have routinely attributed the technical innovation characteristic of many modernist texts to time standardization while ignoring the rather inconvenient fact that British citizens were experiencing the process of standardization from the 1830s onward. Critics have read twentieth century literary techniques, including the use of stream of consciousness narration, non-linear narratives, and the fragmented perspectives of multiple narrators, as the representational defense of a version of personal time

against the imposition of universal time discipline.[182] This is despite the existence of several early articulations of this idea from Victorian critics. One such example is from E.S. Dallas, a little remembered Scottish journalist and literary critic most famous for his reviews of contemporary fiction and his later critical work *The Gay Science* (1866). In *Poetics*, published in 1852 in the thick of material time standardization efforts across England, Dallas differentiates between the subjective self's experience of time and the regulation of external modes of time discipline:

> time we represent to ourselves as an orderly succession of some kind…its real value with every man is subjective, what is long to one being short to another…The measure of time, therefore, which the imagination will provide, is not a uniform beat, like that of a clock, but one like the pulse, varying according to circumstances" (160-1).

This account sounds very much like the narrative of subjective time (here made bodily *and* ideal) placed in opposition to the imposition of external, standard time, but notably, Dallas articulates this argument in relation to literature, and meter explicitly, well before the modernist period.

As Adam Barrows argues in *The Cosmic Time of Empire*

> the dominant critical tendency has been to treat modernist time as a purely philosophical exploration of private consciousness, disjointed from the forms of material and public temporality that standard time attempted to organize. This familiar narrative, though

[182] For an analysis of the effect of time standardization on the individual see Randall Stevenson's "Greenwich meanings: Clocks and Things in Modernist and Postmodernist Fiction" (2000). This is, of course, an over-simplification of a dominant critical tendency. One intervention that opposes the implicit Bergsonism of conventional critique is Ann Banfield's "Tragic Time: The Problem of the Future in Cambridge Philosophy and To the Lighthouse" (2000) which identifies "two British philosophies of time, both equally hostile to Bergson" that marked early twentieth century life and would have affected literary conceptions of time.

illuminating in many ways, fundamentally misinterprets the role of time in modernism. (7)

While Barrows is concerned with re-politicizing what has become a hyper-aestheticized and philosophical conception of modernist time, his assertion that "modernist scholarship [treats] Bergson's particular version of modernist time…as an indelible encapsulation of his age's zeitgeist" highlights the elision of the "competing models of temporality" that informed the discourse surrounding the writing of *The Waste Land* (11).[183] And although Barrows is focused on modernist fiction, accounts of Eliot's time sense have almost exclusively been presented through his various philosophical commitments to Bergson, F.H. Bradley, Bertrand Russell and later Roman Catholicism, without much consideration of alternatives such as experiential, political, or metrical time.[184]

Not only has the "private versus public" time narrative held deceptive sway over critical accounts of modernism, but the narrative of time standardization itself has recently received extensive critical revision from both political and technical perspectives. The first chapter of Barrows' book uses archival sources to support the "provocative assertion" that the 1884 Prime Meridian Conference "did not in fact achieve the goal for which it is credited. It did not advocate the use of the Greenwich meridian as a universal time-reckoning tool" but was rather misrepresented by the "standard time apostles in the succeeding twenty years" (36, 43). A reexamination of transcriptions of the conference reveals the significant resistance to global time

[183] Despite Eliot's explicit criticism of Bergson's time philosophy, critics have consistently cited Bergson's direct influence on Eliot's "Rhapsody on a Windy Night" a poem ostensibly about the interpenetrative relationship of memory and the present.

184 For further accounts of Eliot's early philosophical commitments see M.A.R. Habib's The Early T.S. Eliot and Western Philosophy *(1999) and Manju Jain's* T.S. Eliot and American Philosophy: The Harvard Years *(2004).* See Charles Tung's "MODERNIST CONTEMPORANEITY: Rethinking Time in Eliot Studies and "The Waste Land" for an argument against Eliot's "atemporality" that privileges Eliot's relationship with Russell.

standardization by national representatives concerned with maintaining social, cultural and agricultural versions of time (markedly not private, interior time) (36). Barrows describes the debate registered at the Prime Meridian Conference as "an example of resistance from within modernity, however unsuccessful, against the global suppression of social time' (36). The eventual misrepresentation of the conference by Sanford Fleming[185] and his associates indicates that global time standardization "was…not a move devised by the British Empire, but by transnational investors who used (or misused) the 'dread international conference'…to synchronize countries to precisely coordinated capital flow" (45). For Barrows, the early twentieth century marks the globalization, not the nationalization, of time at the behest of international businessmen with foreign economic interests. Thus, time standardization in the twentieth century is less about personal resistance to the uniformity of government-issued time and more about the way economic processes determine the experience of time.

There are few twentieth century poets better situated to understand the relationship between global capital and the globalization of standard time than T.S. Eliot. Since Eleanor Cook's 1979 article "T.S. Eliot and the Carthaginian Peace," it has been difficult to think of Eliot without accounting for his intimate knowledge of economics and banking, particularly as she ties Eliot's work at Lloyd's Bank to John Maynard Keynes's *The Economic Consequence of the Peace* (347). Keynes's book is a scathing critique of the Treaty of Versailles, which he describes as a "Carthaginian Peace" due to the extreme sanctions placed on Germany and the likelihood that they would result in another war. Michael Levenson goes so far as to assert that "more than

[185] Sir Sanford Fleming, a Canadian railroad engineer, entrepreneur and the author of global time zones, is the protagonist in most narratives of time standardization, especially Clark Blaise's rather misleading *Time Lord: Sir Sandford Fleming and the Creation of Standard Time* (2002). For a detailed corrective of Blaise's account of technological advances in time measurement and distribution see Ian Bartky's *One Time Fits All: The Campaign for Global Uniformity* (2007).

Jessie Weston, more than *The Golden Bough*, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* anticipates the ghostly modality of *The Waste Land*, the spectral insight into the fictions of modernity" and that Keynes' volume must be read "as a canny instrument for stitching the relations of politics, economics and poetry at an uncanny juncture" (4). But it has been difficult to read Eliot's economic knowledge outside of metaphorical registers (as both Cook and Levenson do) in part because Eliot's responsibilities at Lloyd's have been undermined by Aldous Huxley's famous account of visiting Eliot at the bank only to find him "not on the ground floor nor even on the floor under that, but in a sub-sub-basement sitting at a desk which was in a row of desks with other bank clerks." However, on first taking the job at Lloyd's, Eliot wrote to his sister Charlotte "Lloyds is one of the banks with largest foreign connections, and I am busy tabulating balance-sheets of foreign banks to see how they are prospering…Anything to do with money – especially foreign money – is fascinating and I hope to learn a little about finance while I am here" (*LoTSE* 1 182). By 1920 it seems he had, as Eliot was put in charge of settling the pre and post-war German debts for the bank. In a letter to his mother, Eliot ties his work on the war debt to his increased prestige at the bank noting "next week I shall have an assistant and a typist to write my letters and do card indexing" (*LoTSE* 1 445). Such assistance was required to free Eliot to "elucidate knotty points in that appalling document the Peace Treaty" (445-6). Eliot's position in the foreign department makes him precisely the modernist who would understand the use of standard time as an instrument of the coordinated movement of global capital.

IV. Examples in *The Waste Land*

The concluding section of "The Burial of the Dead" situated in the "Unreal City" of London's financial center provides a good example of the conjunction of Eliot's temporal, economic, and prosodic commitments.

Unreal City,

Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,

A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,

I had not thought death had undone so many.

Sighs, short and infrequent, were exhaled,

And each man fixed his eyes before his feet.

Flowed up the hill and down King William Street,

To where Saint Mary Woolnoth kept the hours

With a dead sound on the final stroke of nine.

(lines 60-69)

It is important to note that not only was Eliot aware of the economic basis of global time standardization, his sense of time pressure at Lloyds was intense as evidenced by his letter to Richard Aldington dated 4 January 1923. In it, Eliot asks "could you manage to fetch me at twelve at my office? We could lunch nearby – I only have *one hour*! - and would save time" (*LoTSE II* 5). Eliot then directs Aldington to meet him at the "Information Dept opposite clock of St Mary Woolnoth." The juxtaposition of Eliot's time constraint, the "*hour!*" of accurate time measurement, with St. Mary Woolnoth's clock suggests that Eliot associated it with the time pressure of the City and that the "dead sound on the final stroke of nine" the clock emitted indicates Eliot's experience of passing under it on his way to begin work at Lloyds at 9:15 each morning. However, as much as St. Mary Woolnoth is implicated in the time-keeping Eliot associates with Lloyd's bank, the building is also an anachronism marking past modes of civic ogranization. St. Mary Woolnoth is a neoclassical structure built between 1716 and 1724, long before the City had been emptied of its inhabitants and the churches of their parishioners through

a series of infrastructural changes (particularly the installation of the electric underground) at the fin de siècle.[186] Importantly, it was also listed in the pamphlet *The Proposed Demolition of Nineteen City Churches*, a proposal which Eliot vehemently opposed and which he references in his note for St. Magnus Martyr in line 264. For Eliot, the disused church represented both the temporal synchronization and discipline of the new City and served as a sign of the religious and architectural tradition of London's past.

In *The Ghost of Meter*, Annie Finch's description of the critique inherent in Eliot's apparent use of iambic pentameter in this section exemplifies the kinds of misreading that the application of accentual-syllabic foot scansion creates.[187] She asserts that "the faceless crowd in the "Unreal City" shuffles along in dull, mechanical pentameters with almost no rhythmical variation or enjambment" (106). She goes on to point out the way "Eliot's use of the word "feet"…in the line, 'and each man fixed his eyes before his feet,' [indicates] the hypnotic monotony of the pentameters" (107). However, Finch greatly overstates the regularity of the meter in order to assert an iconic relationship between content and her conception of Eliot's meter. The line she quotes *could* be read as perfect iambic pentameter, but the lines that proceed and follow it are definitely not. The preceding line reads "Sighs, short and infrequent, were exhaled" and only contains nine syllables rather than the ten needed to produce a hypnotically monotonous pentameter. There are also stressed (or relatively stressed) syllables straddling

[186] Lawrence Rainey. The Annotated Waste Land with Eliot's Contemporary Prose, 85. C.D. Blanton's "London" in *T.S. Eliot in Context* also provides a useful account of the "literalism of this passage's topography" situating St. Mary Woolnoth in Eliot's lived experience of London. Blanton goes on to assert that "*The Waste Land* maps the city it inhabits, co-ordinating symbolic superstructures with an infrastructure lying beneath them, ultimately connecting London to the distant points from which strangers arrive…Indeed, the poem consistently imagines London as a series of strategic entry points through which commodities (human and otherwise) pass (39-40).
[187] Finch, like Gross, is invested in recuperating Eliot's metrical commitments in the face of free verse.

strong caesurae at either end of the line ("Sighs, short" and "-quent, were") which would slow the meter dramatically, harmonically enacting the sigh, with help from the modifying appositive, rather than conforming to the regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables of iambic pentameter. The line which follows "Flowed up the hill and down King William Street" is also irregular, although not as dramatically. It simply contains two substitutions, a trochee in the first foot and a spondee in the fourth, which, while not terribly disruptive, certainly prevent the line from achieving the iambic monotony Finch describes. Perhaps most difficult for Finch's accentual-syllabic pentameter is the difficulty any prosodist would have in demoting the single-syllable content word "man" in the line "And each man fixed his eyes before his feet" (65). For Finch's reading to stand, the word "man" could not receive a stress, while the words "each" and "fixed," would carry stresses on either side. This choice is almost impossible to justify without recourse to some form of emphatic stress (i.e. the word "each" is very important!) and one could alternatively suggest that the metrical disruption of the stressed "man" actually disrupts the monotony of the pentameter.

Rather than applying accentual-syllabic scansion to the poem (which, as demonstrated, can so easily produce perfectly opposed interpretations), I argue that in this section, Eliot's meter participates in the necessary variation endorsed by temporal prosodists like Patmore, Omond, and Dallas. The flexible time unit of temporal prosody allows for the syllabic irregularity described above as temporal units can admit or omit syllables as long as the duration of each unit remains approximately equal. Most striking of all however is the way Eliot formally allegorizes meter in explicitly temporal terms, particularly in the line containing the reference to St. Mary Woolnoth. "To where Saint Mary Woolnoth kept the hours" is eleven syllables long and could easily pass as a line of accentual-syllabic iambic pentameter, particularly given the conventional

precedent of eliding the final syllable of hypercatalectic lines to make them conform to foot requirements. But as Phelan notes, paraphrasing the eighteenth century prosodist John Thelwall, "where such extra syllables occur they should have their full share of the available quantity…allocated to them; their existence is, indeed, one of the outward and visible signs of the flexibility and variety of genuinely musical duration" (21). How like Eliot's account of good verse in "Reflections on *Vers Libre*" this sounds: "it is this contrast between fixity and flux, this unperceived evasion of monotony, which is the very life of verse" (33). We should also note that the facsimile edition of *The Waste Land* shows both that Ezra Pound recommended this line and the next be cut ("Blake. Too often used"), but that afterward Eliot made only one revision (9). He replaced the single syllable word "time" with the indeterminate word "hours." Eliot and Pound's revisions fairly consistently produce this kind of irregularity, particularly in the section about the typist in "The Fire Sermon," but there Pound advised Eliot to work on the meter urging, "verse not interesting enough as verse to warrant so much of it" (45). Eliot subsequently "roughed up" the meter and rhyme scheme in this section. But in the case of St. Mary Woolnoth, Eliot only makes one, unadvised revision. The revision concerns a word that describes equal time units while simultaneously exemplifying a prosodic system that employs equal time units. Eliot's choice to replace "time" with "hours" is both licensed by and allegorizes his temporal prosodic commitments. In the word "hour" Eliot's capital inflected time sense and his prosody inform one another.

If St. Mary Woolnoth is the primary landmark of the verse paragraph just considered, the second section is marked by the Chapel Perilous from Jessie L. Weston's *From Ritual to Romance* which Eliot famously asserts in the first note of *The Waste Land* provided "not only the

title, but the plan and a good deal of the incidental symbolism of the poem.[188] The description of the title begins, "upside down in air were towers / Tolling reminiscent bells, that kept the hours/And voices singing out of empty cisterns and exhausted wells" (l. 382-4). This section containing "upside down" towers begins upside down, inaugurated by a verse paragraph that ends with "Unreal" (l. 376) rather than opening with it. The first three lines are iambically regular with only two possible substitutions: the spondee "black hair" in the first line and the anapest "in the vi-" in the third line. Both substitutions occur in the fourth foot of the line. From here, the iambic impulse remains, but the length of the lines begins to vary. The next line contains only three iambic feet rather than five and the following one, while five feet long, clusters stressed syllables such that it frustrates the iambic rhythm. The next line

```
|x   /| x    / | x   / | x   / |x
And upside down in air were towers
```

is fairly regular, but it only contains four feet and also has an extra-metrical stress on the word "towers." The immediately subsequent line invokes the temporal/metric allegory and is noticeably similar to the "Saint Mary Woolnoth" line from the pervious section.

```
|/   x | x x  /| x   /  |      x    / | x   /|x
Tolling reminiscent bells,|| that kept the hours
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However, because this line is preceded by a similarly hypercatalectic rhyme word, this time I have chosen to scan the word "hours" as two syllables, admitting the irregularity of the feminine ending. The line itself is generally much more irregular with an initial trochaic inversion, and an anapestic substitution in the second foot. Just as this line seems to echo the Saint Mary Woolnoth line metrically, although with a difference, the mode of time keeping here also seems like an

[188] Although, it is difficult to know which of Eliot's notes to take seriously as Lawrence Rainey has found a letter from Eliot to John Quinn that references his plans for a large-scale poem written before the publication of Weston's text.

echo or memory as it is "*reminiscent* bells, that kept the hours" (l. 383, emphasis mine). The allegorization of meter here recalls Eliot's assertions in "The Music of Poetry" that "the only way to learn to manipulate any kind of English verse seemed to be by assimilation and imitation, by becoming so engrossed in the work of a particular poet that one could produce a recognizable derivative," (108). Here, Eliot seems imitate his own poem, producing a recognizable derivative, but one which is more thoroughly invested than the original in metrical variability. These "reminiscent bells" seem less capable of keeping the hours just as the poem becomes less formally regular, indicating a shift toward non-modern forms of time-keeping.

The line that follows is a whopping eight feet long and perfectly iambic, its repetitious meter iconically indicating the "empty cisterns" and "exhausted wells" of the traditional metrical foot (l. 384). After this exhausted and exhausting line runs itself out there is a verse paragraph break and then the irregularity begins with a single foot substitution in the first line building to the final two beat line "Bringing rain" (94). Here Eliot's meter hardly seems to approximate iambic pentameter as the irregularity increases to the metrically illegible "Co co rico co co rico" of the cock crowing (l. 392). The veiled reference to Peter's denial of Christ in the onomatopoeic representation of the French or Italian rooster crow invokes the line from the previous passage "With a dead sound on the final stroke of nine" (l. 68). Scholars have read this line as alluding to the hour of Christ's crucifixion, 9 AM, despite Eliot's less than helpful note that the sound is "A phenomenon which I have often noticed" (71). Despite the ambivalent tone of the content of this section, ultimately, the cock's crow coincides with "a flash of lightning. Then a damp gust / Bringing rain (393-4). The rain is an unequivocally good sign for the desert waste land of the poem, but it comes not with the ill-considered overthrow of a prosodic tradition, but with the renovation of that tradition through its exhaustion and rebirth. Both the grail quest and cock's

crow receive similar rejuvenation as the poem's content and form both challenges and valorizes tradition. In terms of time discipline, the cock is a fairly unreliable c(lock) and his "Co co rico" marks a release of the waste land back into the natural rhythms of birth and regrowth.

V. Shantih shantih shantih

The final line of *The Waste Land* crystalizes the conjunction of capital, time, and Eliot's temporal prosodic commitments. The lines read:

> These fragments I have shored against my ruins
> Why then Ile fit you. Hieronymo's mad againe.
> Datta. Dayadhvam. Damyata.
>
> *Shantih shantih shantih*
>
> (430-33)

There is a verse paragraph break between the penultimate line and the final line and Eliot creates visual space between each "shantih," space which he maintains sonically in his readings of the poem.[189] Eliot emphasizes the "rest" required between each word, a technique which he shares with several temporal prosodists who valued the musical bar's capacity to describe such metrical silence. In his note to the final line, Eliot writes "Shantih. Repeated as here, a formal ending to an Upanishad. 'The Peace which passeth understanding' is a feeble translation of the content of this word." Many critics have taken comfort in this note, arguing that the line clearly invites a redemptive reading, where the waste land of the rest of the poem is reconciled through analogy with myth and the return of fertility and rain to a barren land.[190] But in an unpublished paper entitled "Eliot and Virgil in Love and War," Nancy K. Gish identifies a far less comforting

[189] Recall Virginia Woolf's account in her journal of first hearing Eliot read *The Waste Land*: "He sang it & chanted it, rhythmed it. It has great beauty & force of phrase: symmetry and tensity." Eliot's propensity for chanting aligns him further with Yeats and Pounds musical meters and with temporal prosodists like Patmore and Dallas.

[190] See K. Narayana Chandran's "'Shantih' in The Waste Land" for a summary of positive readings and an argument for the irony of its usage.

source for Eliot's "feeble translation."[191] She argues that the Treaty of Versailles was widely referred to as "the peace which passeth understanding" citing contemporary accounts like Alfred Manual Smith who wrote in 1922 that "Sir Edward Carson has been quoted by the Oxford students who have recently visited America to debate with American students as describing the peace established by the Treaty of Versailles as 'The Peace which passeth all understanding'" (365). Gish also points to John Reed's play *The Peace that Passeth Understanding* (1919) which criticized the Treaty on Keynesian grounds. It is very unlikely that Eliot could have been unaware of this alternative meaning of the phrase, particularly given R. E. Vernède's use of the line:

> Then to our children there can be no handing
>
> Of fates so vain - of passions so abhorred...
>
> But peace...the peace that passeth understanding.
>
> Not in our time...but in their time, O Lord!
>
> (9-12)

Vernède, now considered a war poet, was killed in action in 1917, two years before the Treaty was ratified, but we can see in his lines the earnest hope for an end to all war, a hope that the Treaty's harsh reparations prevents and perverts. Thus, Eliot's repeated "shantih," so translated, does not indicate spiritual peace or closure, but prophesies the resumption of hostility in the near future. Further, this line is not, as some have suggested, simply imported to conclude *The Waste Land,* expressing in another language what English cannot. It is, instead, an evocation

[191] I am very grateful to Nancy K. Gish for not only allowing me to cite her unpublished paper, but also for providing me with all of the sources and evidence that support her argument. "Eliot and Virgil in Love and War," Keynote, International Conference on Eliot, Italy, and Modernism, Florence, December 2012.

of England's extensive economic reach and the impending consequences of that reach expressed through Eliot's management of the metrical possibilities of temporal prosody. This mutual inflection of the histories of capital-driven time standardization and metrical discourse emerge again and again in *The Waste Land,* although their convergence has gone largely unheard as Eliot's poem continues to be read as backwards-looking pastiche rather than a future-oriented, formalist speculation.

Coda

This dissertation has focused on the ways the process of time standardization and its implementation is registered, reflected, managed, and manipulated by poets and prosodists through temporally-based metrical systems. In making that argument, however, I generally overlooked the many unsavory and politically problematic beliefs of the subjects of my chapters, assuming that these ideas had been sufficiently handled by other critics and that they were already or soon to be safely relegated to the swiftly receding past. I guess I didn't learn anything from Kipling's anxious premonitions of civilizational decline, and so as I come to the very end of this project, it seems important to try to be clear where I have otherwise been oblique or silent.

After November 8, 2016, I saw the first verse paragraph of W.B. Yeats's poem "The Second Coming" (1920) making the rounds on social media:

> Turning and turning in the widening gyre
> The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
> Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
> The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
> The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity. (1-8)

Based on who shared these lines, I assume their intention was to describe the post-election political climate, to bemoan the rise of a neo-fascist to the United States presidency and the reemergence, newfound confidence, and unexpected dominance of so many people harboring racist, misogynist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic, and anti-Semitic beliefs. Certainly,

the lines do seem to speak to our current apocalyptic political moment, describing the confusion, violence, despair, and rule by "the worst" that many see as the now unavoidable outcome of the presidential election. But to read Yeats's lines in this way, to derive some kind of analogy between a liberal interpretation of the 2016 election and Yeats's conception of the political climate in Ireland and Europe in 1919 as he wrote this poem, would be a severe misreading. Even the lines that follow the verse paragraph break that concludes the section quoted above can tell you that:

> Surely some revelation is at hand;
>
> Surely the Second Coming is at hand.
>
> The Second Coming! (9-11)

Excising the above lines from their context (including the context of the rest of the poem) allows one to read our contemporary poetic and political norms into the poem, ignoring their expression of Yeats's growing fascistic sympathies and his genuine excitement for the apocalyptic reversal of the then-current two-thousand-year gyre of history.[192] Critics have struggled with Yeats's late-

[192] Like almost every interpretation of Yeats, critics are divided on whether Yeats's enthusiasm for the arrival of that "rough beast" is tempered with fear or concern. For an early reading that argues that Yeats's tendencies toward fascism can be read in these first eight lines, see Yvor Winters "The Poetry of W.B. Yeats" (1960) in *Twentieth Century Literature*. Elizabeth Butler Cullingford's *Yeats, Ireland and Fascism* (1981) is perhaps the strongest statement of the many ways Yeats's other ideological commitments minimized and mitigated his enthusiasm for fascism.

in-life enthusiasm for Mussolini[193] and Eoin O'Duffy's Blueshirts,[194] attempting to determine the degree to which Yeats's poetic achievements are marred by his apparent enthusiasm for fascism on the eve of WWII.[195] However, in 1960 Yvor Winters anticipates our contemporary inability to read "The Second Coming," arguing that "one who has lived through the last thirty years and who has not observed the date of the poem…may feel that Yeats was writing about the growth of fascism, nazism, or communism" (9). Winters goes on to argue that

> the poem is an attack on civilized government made by a man who felt an intense dislike for democracy and the political activity without which democracy cannot survive – a dislike which was due in part to his native temperament…[Yeats was] a man who, during much of his later life, was often tempted in the direction of fascism. (9)

I think Winters would agree that if there is any analogy to make here between the sentiments expressed in "The Second Coming" and our contemporary situation, we might see it as an early

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[193] According to Elizabeth Butler Cullingford, Yeats's admiration for Mussolini was produced by a visit to Italy in 1925 wherein he witnessed a number of impressive reforms including "the draining of the Pontine marshes, the building of towns on reclaimed land, and the planting of new grain fields" and none of the later brutality (153). Cullingford argues that these sympathies for fascism are tempered by a general disgust for totalitarianism and a liberal commitment to a Burkean model of national organicism (156). Other contemporary scholars, particularly Seamus Deane, have read Yeats's fascism as perfectly consonant with a liberal passion for individual heroism.

[194] During the Irish War of Independence (1919-21), Eoin O'Duffy was a prominent soldier and politician for the Irish Republican Army and later become the commissioner of the police force of the new Irish Free State. In 1933, he led the Army Comrades Association, a group which prevented the disruption of (and free speech at) the Cumann na nGaedheal's (a political party in the Free State) public meetings. Because of O'Duffy's admiration for Mussolini, the ACA adopted many conventions of European fascism including the salute and the blue uniforms from which their nickname was derived. See James K. Warner's *The Blue Shirts and General Eoin O'Duffy* (1993).

[195] For an excellent account of the ways in which Yeats's early, proto-socialist commitments and his late interest in fascism both derive from a commitment to the rights and value of the individual, see Michal North's *The Political Aesthetic of Yeats, Eliot, and Pound* (1991).

form of whatever it was that certain educated but alienated voters felt immediately prior to the election.

While I did not include "The Second Coming" in the chapter on Yeats, its continual return in my various feeds has reminded me that it is a kind of invisible buttress for my general argument, a stepping stone between "Easter, 1916" and "Hound Voice" that I omitted but which has obviously lingered. I do think that Yeats's investment in the mytho-historical system introduced in "Per Amica Silentia Lunae" (1918) and fleshed out in the two versions of *A Vision* (1925 and 1937) stems from his desire to naturalize and systematize the historical rupture he experienced through and during the Easter Rising. If Yeats's vision of history is the closed unit of two interlaced gyres, a system which is structured by and contains predictable, cyclical apocalypse, then such ruptures reinforce rather than undermine Yeats's carefully constructed, continuous literary history. When I read "The Second Coming," I think of it not just as a poetic exemplification of *A Vision* but as an expression of the historical thinking that allows Yeats to maintain his sense of an Irish bardic literary inheritance, even through the destabilizing Rising, the Irish War of Independence, and the Irish Civil War that followed. Yeats's ability to reconceive the cosmos and remake history such that it supported his identitarian and increasingly fascistic ideologies is a strand of this project that, until very recently, seemed minor. But now, the kind of work that highlights the ways in which recent histories can be bent toward a range of ends seems incredibly relevant. So, too, does admitting the ways in which I deliberately downplayed Yeats's related interest in eugenics, mentioning it in conjunction with "Hound Voice" only to dismiss it in order to better push my own argument.

The political sins of T.S. Eliot and Rudyard Kipling are perhaps more widely known and exhaustively elaborated. Eliot's anti-Semitic and misogynistic sentiments and Kipling's openly

racist and pro-imperial commitments surface much more obviously in their verse and prevent them from being so easily read as comforting historical, liberal analogues.[196]

But I do feel compelled to draw one analogy, lopsided and ahistorical as it may be. In this project, I have been primarily concerned with prosodic features that depict experienced time, without giving comparable attention to the future-looking qualities of these temporal meters. Yet all three poets were engaged in predictive poetic projects. At this moment, it is difficult not to hear the ominous beat that heralds the approach of so much of what their poems anticipated: second comings, second Romes, second great wars.

[196] For just a small sample of the work on these issues, see Anthony Julius' *T.S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism, and Literary Form* (1997) (although arguments over the validity of Eliot's anti-Semitism animated the early years of *Modernism/modernity*), Lyndall Gordon's *T.S. Eliot: An Imperfect Life* (2000), Christopher Ricks' *T.S. Eliot and Prejudice* (1981), Cassandra Laity and Nancy K. Gish's *Gender, Desire, and Sexuality in T.S. Eliot* (2004), Patrick Brantlinger's "Kipling's 'The White Man's Burden' and its Afterlives" (2007), John McClure's "Problematic Presence: The Colonial Other in Kipling and Conrad" (2009), Eyal Amiran's *Modernism and the Materiality of Texts* (2016), and Nasser Mufti's "Kipling's Art of War" (2016)

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