

THE NOBLE LABOR OF LIAM MILLER: MAKING THE DOLMEN *YEATS PAPERS*, 1959-1979

by Thomas Dillon Redshaw

In 1950s Ireland, tourism slowly became a sustaining industry.¹ The jewel in the crown of Bord Fáilte's efforts was literary tourism addressed, increasingly, to Irish America.² In Dublin, the Irish Tourist Board, a semi-state corporation, served as a patron to writers by directly employing them, as in the instance of John Montague, who recorded that experience in one of the stories of *Death of a Chieftain* (1965).³ More frequently, the board's payments for contributions to *Ireland of the Welcomes* helped support Irish writers, and the magazine often helped publicize new titles from Irish writers. For instance, in the run-up to its publication in November, 1969, *Ireland of the Welcomes* for March, 1968, presented an eight-page spread from Thomas Kinsella's now famous *Tain*.⁴ In recent decades, academic commentators as well as Dublin begrudgers have not shied away from configuring the mid-century explosion of scholarship concerning Yeats and Joyce as academic "industries" that continue unabated to this day. The printed versions of the *MLA Index* for the past fifty years give ample quantitative, graphic, and physical evidence of these two growth industries.⁵ Owing to his critical expositions of Yeats and his foundational biographies of both Yeats and Joyce, Richard Ellmann (1918-1987) may be seen as the Henry Ford of these industries. Embarrassingly for literary Dublin and for the sleepy Irish universities back in the 1950s and 1960s, it was American and British scholars who carried out these researches and who exploited the resources buried in Dublin's book-barrows, in the musty archives of Irish families, and in the overcrowded National Library.

Among the few literary industrialists native to Ireland may be counted Liam Miller (1924-1987), founder of the Dolmen Press (1951-1987). Miller's long and lively interest in W. B. Yeats, and especially in his ritual drama, should be construed not merely as an enterprise, but also as a long-term counter-cultural statement. With that statement Miller answered not only the narrow demotic views of de Valéran Ireland of the 1950s and 1960s but also the burgeoning vulgarity of Common Market Ireland of the 1970s and 1980s. Miller's own testament as a scholar rests in his *Noble Drama of W. B. Yeats* (1977), the thirteenth volume in the Dolmen Press *New Yeats Papers*, published over eight years between 1971 and 1979. His acknowledgements therein tell the tale: T. R. Henn, David R. Clark, Robin Skelton, Robert Hogan, Robert O'Driscoll, and Kathleen Raine—all scholars of Yeats and his drama, and all connected to the Yeats Society and its summer school in Sligo since the early 1960s.⁶

For fifteen years—the years of the Dolmen Press's most accomplished contributions to Irish publishing—Miller strove to advocate the corrective pertinence of the works of Yeats and the values of the Literary Revival to Irish life and culture. The continuity of his efforts is represented well in the *New Yeats Papers* (1972-1979) and in the *Yeats Centenary Papers* (1965-1968). Starting from before the Yeats Centenary in 1965 and the jubilee of the Easter Rising in 1966, he selected essays from a growing corpus of commentary on Yeats that such occasions as the meetings of the Yeats International Summer School encouraged. As one might expect, Miller's editorial interests came to register in a minor key

his response to the cresting of the Northern “Troubles” in the 1970s. Moreover, Miller’s own engagement as a publisher with Yeats scholarship took the shape of an Aristotelian tragedy. Kathleen Raine’s *Yeats the Initiate* (1986, 1990; see Figure 1) tells much about that drama’s dénouement, which begins with *The Celtic Consciousness* (1981), compiled by Robert O’Driscoll (1938-1996).⁷

Liam Miller designed *The Celtic Consciousness*, and to it he contributed the essay “Celtic Calligraphy: From Penstroke to Print.”⁸ Bound in Yeatsian blue, and stamped with a Celtic mask in gold, *The Celtic Consciousness* runs to 696 pages, contains some 83 contributions, and presents the work of 59 poets and scholars. Aside from repetitions inside the book of the Celtic mask decoration stamped on the boards, the volume contains some 211 figures and illustrations. Many still retain their iconic power. Weighing in at over four pounds, the book offers a compendium of lectures and demonstrations celebrating pan-Celtic identity founded upon assumptions of Jungian essentialism. Basically, the tome preserves in print the legendary weeks of lectures and performances in February, 1978, at the University of Toronto. Irish Studies specialists will quickly note the names to conjure with in the table of contents—Liam de Paor, Conor Cruise O’Brien, Lorna Reynolds, William Irwin Thompson—and in the acknowledgements—Brian John, Desmond Maxwell, Robin Skelton, and Ann Dooley.

Reissued three times in reduced format up through 1987, *The Celtic Consciousness* was first published on Samhain [November 1], 1981, by the Dolmen Press and by McClelland and Stewart in Toronto in a limited edition of 500 copies. In the decades since then, the book has become something of a cult trophy among enthusiasts of all things Celtic. O’Driscoll’s enthusiasms and the immensity of the occasion in Toronto tempted Miller to execute this heroic project. *The Celtic Consciousness* exemplifies the sort of distracting and then exhausting over-reaching to which Miller was prone as a publisher. Like Miller, O’Driscoll had an abiding interest in Yeats and the theater. Like Miller, O’Driscoll was an originator, having served as first chair of the Canadian Association for Irish Studies (1968-72). In 1975 Miller published O’Driscoll’s *Symbolism and Some Implications of the Symbolic Approach: W. B. Yeats During the Eighteen-Nineties* as the ninth fascicle of *The New Yeats Papers*, just after he had put into print Kathleen Raine’s essay *Death-in-Life and Life-in-Death* in 1974.

Like Miller, the English poet and mystic Kathleen Raine (1908-2003) attended the August meetings of the Yeats Summer School.⁹ Like Miller, she was asked to lecture, and these lectures became her three contributions to the *New Yeats Papers*, beginning with *Yeats, the Tarot, and the Golden Dawn* in 1972 and ending with *From Blake to A Vision* in 1979 (see Figure 2). Raine’s high opinion of Miller did not depend solely on his expertise in the arcana of Yeats’s mystical theater.¹⁰ Rather, she had a well-tutored appreciation of his printcraft and for the counter-cultural stance of his Yeats projects. In her preface to *Yeats the Initiate*, she notes that Miller “is himself an artist, and his books are of a quality to delight poets and scholars, being themselves expressions of that Irish renaissance Yeats and his circle laboured to bring about.”¹¹ That acknowledgement appears in Raine’s essays collected in *Yeats the Initiate*, a project instigated by Miller, published in 1986 just before his death, and published again in 1990.

Like *The Celtic Consciousness*, Raine’s magnum opus is a weighty book of some 449 pages containing fourteen very detailed essays of almost Talmudic exegesis accompanied by 146 illustrations printed on china paper. Again, Liam Miller designed the volume, but this time to better effect. The volume fits the hand and does not weary the eye. Even so, Raine’s

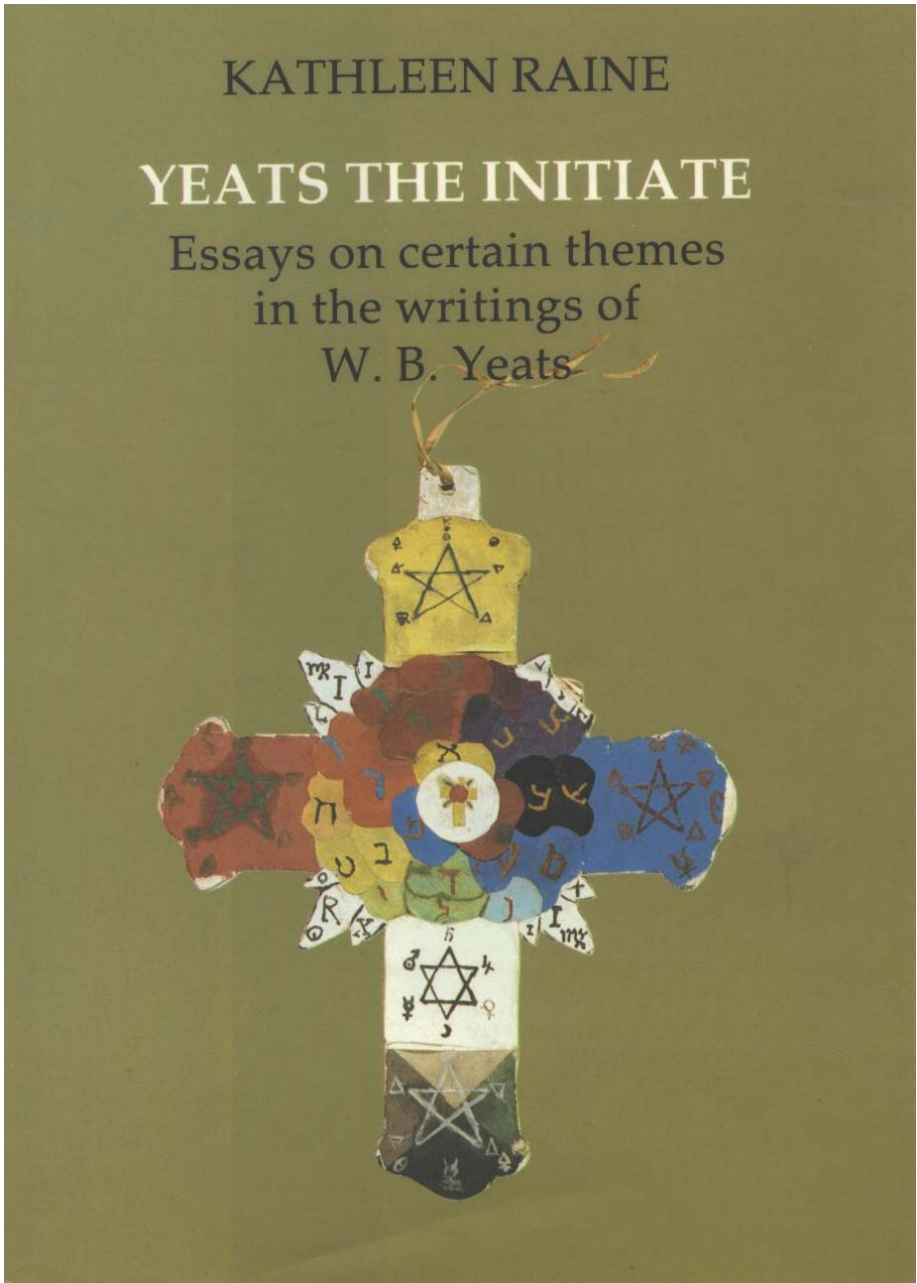


Figure 1. *Yeats and the Initiate* (1986; Savage, MD: Barnes and Noble Books, 1990). The polychrome wrap shows on the front the “rose cross” fashioned of hand-colored paper by Yeats at part of his ritual insignia in the Esoteric Order of the Golden Dawn. The back flap notes that both the book and its wrap were designed by Liam Miller.

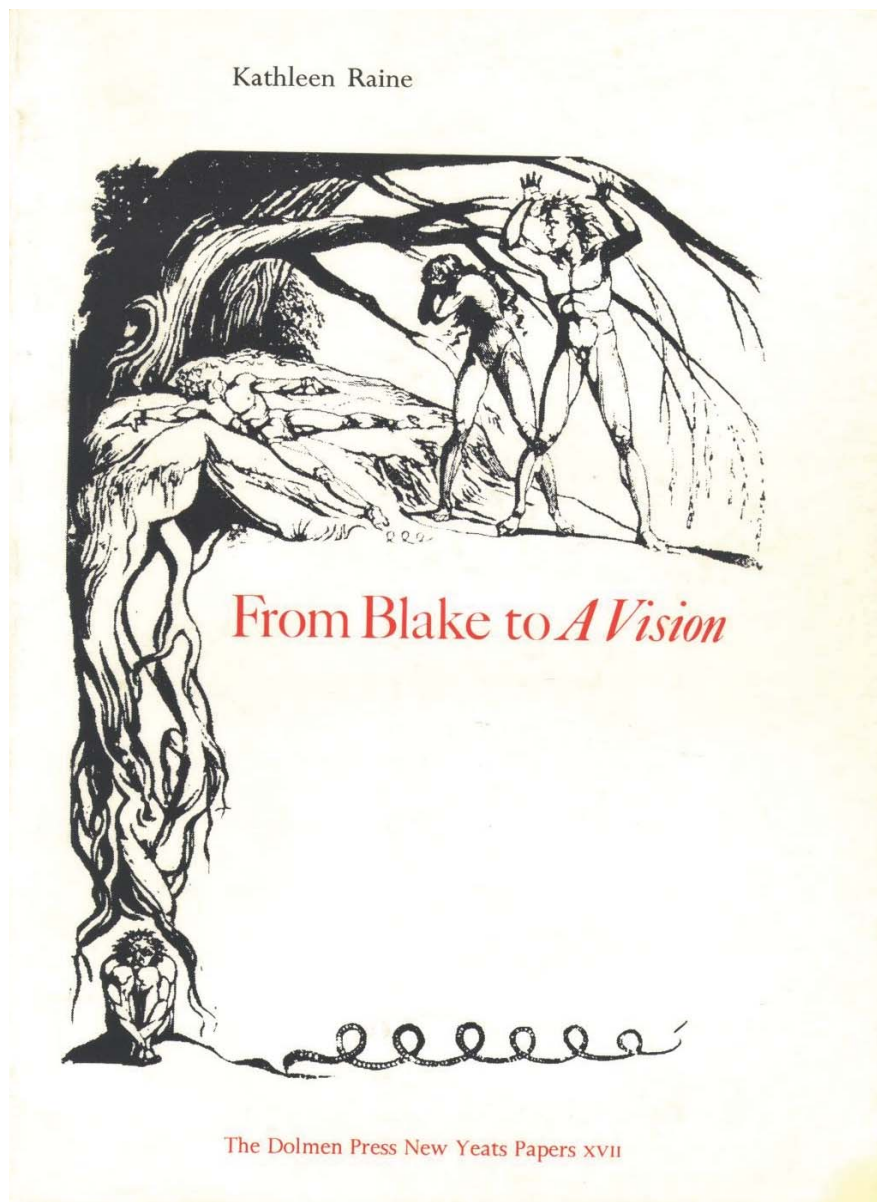


Figure 2. *From Blake to A Vision*, New Yeats Paper XVII (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, 1979). The volume and series title are given in red letter type. The cover illustration repeats Blake's frame drawing for the opening plate of the "Preludium" to *America* (1973) reproduced on the interior, p. 44.

Essays on Certain Themes in the Writings of W. B. Yeats proved particularly costly to Miller in the last months of his illness in 1986 and 1987. Correspondence between the two indicates clearly how the book was built.¹² Miller's respect for Raine's work as a poet and for her leadership of the Temenos group in Britain led him to accede to Raine's changing ambitions for the book. All too frequently Raine prevailed upon Miller to scrap an essay already in proof owing to her uncovering of some new hermetic or Platonic datum. All too frequently Miller found himself accepting new illustrations when previous ones had already been made into blocks. Miller's devotion to Raine's work originates in his faith in her belief in the salvific potency of the arts. *Yeats the Initiate* closes with a personal essay that by design displays Raine the Initiate reasserting that "If painting, poetry, and music are less than that conversation with Paradise [, then] they are less than the measure of our humanity, and a betrayal."¹³

Miller numbered his own exposition of Yeats's plays and their production among the *New Yeats Papers* as the thirteenth of sixteen fascicles, but *The Noble Drama of W. B. Yeats* is no mere fascicle (see Figure 3). Rather, it is the fruit of nearly three decades of Miller's engagement with the practicalities and aesthetics of presenting Yeats's plays on stage in London, Dublin, Sligo, and Toronto. In 365 pages and ten detailed chapters informed by the American and British scholars who visited Dublin and Sligo from 1960 through to 1977—like John Unterecker or Kathleen Raine—Miller lays out the chief periods of Yeats's theatrical experimentation and dramatic accomplishment. Like O'Driscoll's compendium and Raine's exegesis, Miller's exposition comes enlivened by 101 illustrations using blocks previously created for previous issues of the *New Yeats Papers*. This corpus of illustration comprises music scores, blocking diagrams, reproductions of programs, costuming sketches, masks, covers of *Beltaine*, *Samhain*, or *The Arrow*, and Cuala Press title pages, as well as 27 photographic plates on china paper. Miller made his *Noble Drama of W. B. Yeats* the sort of book that, today, would be published as an interactive cd-rom disc. Indeed, Miller recognized both the cost and exceptional ambition of the project: "I have leaned heavily on the indulgence of my own press during the two years the book has been in production."¹⁴

In creating *The Noble Drama of W. B. Yeats* over two years—from 1975 to 1977—Miller originated the format for the later *New Yeats Papers* issued in 1978: a ten-by-seven inch quarto page and a very peculiar placement of text on that page. Rather than locating the text block at the top center of a two-page spread, Miller has slipped it to the bottom and right of each page, leaving the head and left of each page blank so as to accommodate diagrams or illustrations too large to fit the page's column of type. This unsettling—and therefore unsatisfactory—result is that the verso text block appears to the reader to be slipping into the gutter, while the recto block appears to be sliding away off the page. Miller's *Noble Drama* is a book, not a fascicle, having boards in orange-red linen and a spine stamped in black and gold. The four 1978 *Yeats Papers* are large pamphlets, sometimes just a single signature stapled, sometimes several signatures linen sewn into card covers. Their covers come wrapped in coated paper printed in monochrome with titling in the orange-red of Miller's book front and back.

Dating from 1971 to 1975, the first dozen *New Yeats Papers* (I–XII) can easily be distinguished from the later issues (XIV–XVII). The page size is the same, but for these Miller has followed the Renaissance practice of placing the text block according to the proportions of the Golden Mean. For these titles, the interior papers vary according to the degree of illustration required for each essay—many for Kathleen Raine, few for Rob-

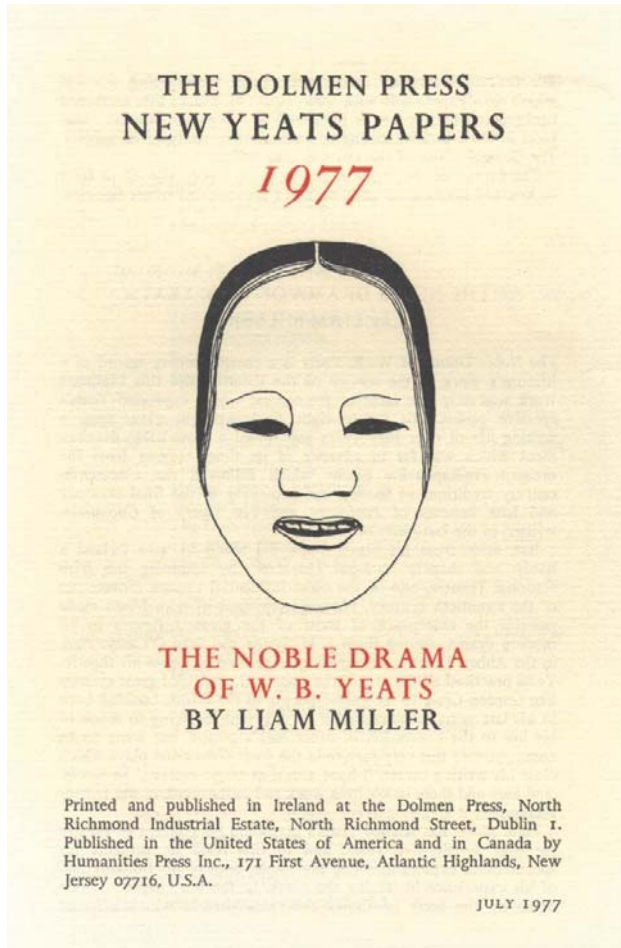


Figure 3. *The Dolmen Press New Yeats Papers, 1977* (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, July 1977), p. [1]. The date and the title are given in red letter type. Liam Miller drew the illustration of the mask of the *Deigan*—the mask of the female spirit in the *Nō* plays—from the photograph reproduced by Hiro Ishibashi's *Yeats and the Nob* (November, 1966).

ert O'Driscoll's commentary on symbolism and *W. B. Yeats During the Eighteen-Nineties*. Each is perfect sewn. Other variations come in cover or wrap stock: buff laid, dun cartridge, and gray card. Titling and some cover illustrations are in red, but more are in black, purple, green, and blue. Miller designed boxes for each set of four papers, but these were not made or marketed by Dolmen.¹⁵

Despite the differences in their execution, the later and earlier *New Yeats Papers* evidence Miller's broadly informed interest in Yeats commentary in the 1960s and 1970s. Miller's personal acquaintance with the American, Canadian, and the few British scholars whom he published often stemmed from his hospitable instincts, especially when Miller and his family were

living above the Dolmen offices on Lower Baggot Street in Dublin. David Krause recalls

at odd hours talking with Liam, whenever he could spare the time from Dolmen business, and sometimes listening at the fringes of it when a stream of visitors stopped by—Montague, Kinsella, Kavanagh, Clarke, Tony Kerrigan, John Jordan, Ronnie Drew, Mary Holland, Russell Alspach and many others.¹⁶

However adventurous Miller's midnight colloquies with visiting Yeats scholars may have been, his definition of this critical miscellany strikes a tone of exceptionally high-and-dry seriousness:

The Dolmen Press New Yeats Papers form a continuing series in which each paper deals with some aspect of Yeats's life, work and background. Each paper is published as a separate volume, complete in itself and presenting an authoritative study of its subject.¹⁷

On the other hand, Miller's extensive correspondence with his contributors—O'Driscoll, George Mills Harper, Richard J. Finneran, and Kathleen Raine, to name but a few—makes a contrary aspect of this enterprise clear. Mutual enthusiasms, friendship, and good times at conferences, at the Yeats Summer School, and during visits to Dublin lay behind Miller's encouragement of their work. Their researches encouraged his own, especially in respect to Yeats's theater. In printing their work, Miller helped inform it as only a Dubliner with manifold contacts and sources could, and as Kathleen Raine's extensive revisions demonstrate.

Apart from *The Noble Drama of W. B. Yeats*, Dolmen also issued Miller's own extensively researched *The Dun Emer Press, Later the Cuala Press* (June, 1973) four-and-a-half times. This *New Yeats Paper* offers another example of Miller's loving scholarship, while its several issues reflected international demand from collectors of Dun Emer and Cuala books and of other Yeatsiana.¹⁸ The first version came in a dun laid wrap, the second in a vanilla laid card cover. The Cuala Press issued the second in a blue linen binding and the third in a vanilla laid card cover. The fourth was issued in New York by The Typophiles. The half-issue consisted of Miller's bibliography of Dun Emer and Cuala printings published in blue card for the Irish National Book League and an exhibition at Trinity College (October, 1973-March, 1974) celebrating the renewal of the Cuala Press, as originally announced in 1969.

In Liam Miller's words, *The New Yeats Papers* constituted "continuation of the idea" of the *Yeats Centenary Papers* announced in August, 1964, and begun in March, 1965.¹⁹ In 1968 Miller had those twelve fascicles bound up in one volume limited to 850 copies (see Figure 4). The *Centenary Papers* had the purpose, again in Miller's words, of allowing "scholars to explore, in whatever length necessary, aspects of Yeats's Life and work."²⁰ This was not the first of Dolmen's scholarly projects. Those may be dated back to the 1959 museum catalogues or to Thomas MacGreevy's *Nicholas Poussin* (October, 1960), or to Peter Faulkner's *William Morris and W. B. Yeats* (August, 1962).²¹ In such works Miller displays a signal counter-cultural habit: his willingness to honor in fine print otherwise ephemeral academic treatments of the chief figures and works of Irish culture.²² In *Dolmen XXV*, Miller characterizes Faulkner's essay as "a forerunner of the two series of Yeats Papers."²³ It is a forerunner mainly in terms of its content, which received an award from the William Morris Society in 1961. Miller set Faulkner's thirty-two-page chapbook in Bembo and bound it in blue Irish

linen with a false vellum spine with red-letter titling and colophon.²⁴ Two years later, when he began to set the *Centenary Papers*, Miller chose for them a Caslon face and bound them in brown card with French flaps, but he carried on with the red titling and colophon.

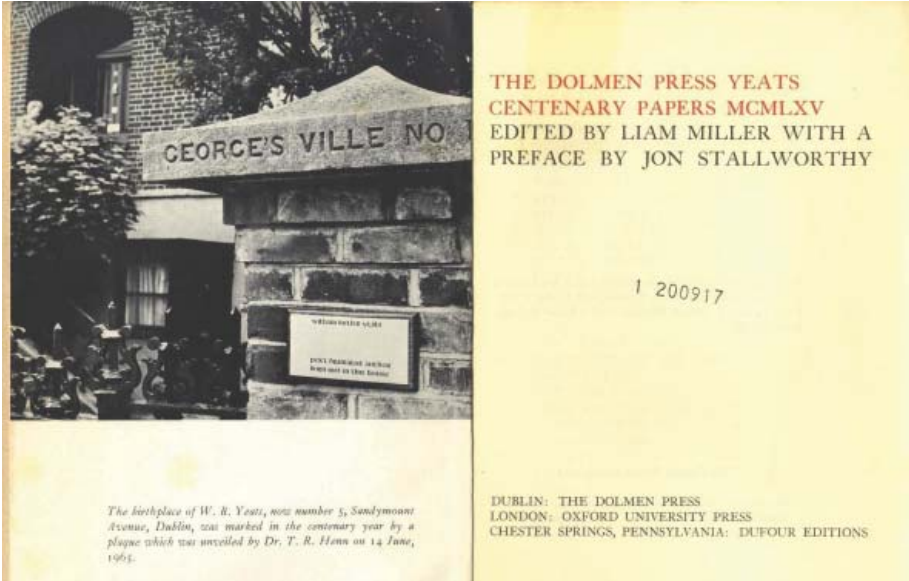


Figure 4. *The Dolmen Press Yeats Centenary Papers*. ed. Liam Miller (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, [May] 1968). The title is given in red letter type. Facing the title page is Liam Miller's frontispiece photograph of the entrance to Yeats's birthplace, 5 Sandymount Avenue, Dublin, with the memorial plaque in Irish uncial script unveiled by the Yeats scholar T. R. Henn, then president of the Yeats Society, Sligo.

Certainly this first set of papers constitutes Miller's first extended encounter with postwar literary criticism and historical scholarship as practiced in Britain and America after World War II. Miller recruited the most illustrious names in Yeats scholarship for the pages of the *Yeats Centenary Papers*, among them Russell K. Alspach, Richard Ellmann, George Brandon Saul, and John Unterecker. In *Dolmen XXV*, Miller retrospectively posed the purposes of the *Centenary Papers*:

*The Centenary Papers and the later series, New Yeats Papers, were devised to allow scholars to explore, in whatever length necessary, aspects of Yeats's life and work. The success of this first series led to the continuation of the idea.*²⁵

Miller's 1968 introduction to the series observes that the "authors of the various papers have been most patient and understanding of the slow passage of their work through the press."²⁶ There Miller also proposed a slightly different set of purposes when he observed that the *Centenary Papers*

were conceived as a series of explorations of various aspects of Yeats's life and work, several of which, I felt, had not been treated to any large extent in the voluminous literature about the poet and I sought the friendly co-operation of the various scholars whose contributions make up the text of this book.²⁷

Miller's introduction not only reflects his wide knowledge of the classics of Yeats scholarship, it also and more particularly highlights his particular interest in the aesthetics and dramaturgy of Yeats's theater while at the same time underscoring his counter-cultural interests. For example, Miller characterizes John Unterecker's *Yeats and Patrick McCartan: A Fenian Friendship* (May, 1967), the tenth of the *Centenary Papers*, as a contribution to Yeats studies "far more than editorial in its function." By doing this, Miller poses by synecdoche and allusion the founding principles of Ireland's republicanism over against the reformulation of them in the policies of Jack Lynch's Fianna Fáil government then in power. Miller's gesture has added pertinence in the context of the government-sponsored, public celebrations of the golden jubilee of the Easter Rising, which Miller and the Dolmen Press also marked in the *Cuimhneacháin 1916* catalogue published by the National Gallery.²⁸ The same passage of the introduction thanks the American translator and scholar Anthony Kerrigan (1918-1991), "who, from his great store of knowledge, edited and advised on the production of Hiro Ishibashi's paper." Ishibashi's *Yeats and the Nob* (November, 1966) derived from her lecture at the 1963 Yeats International Summer School. Miller cites this sixth paper in particular owing to his own cresting interest in Yeats's drama as articulated a decade later in *The Noble Drama of W. B. Yeats* (1977).

Aside from documenting Miller's scholarly engagement with Yeats's life, milieu, and works, the *Centenary Papers* also constitute an ambitious attempt to preserve the rich intellectual substance of the exhibitions, lectures, and conferences prompted by international celebrations of Yeats's birth. For example, Dolmen published the matter of the Yeats Centenary Festival (February 14-March 16, 1965) at the University of Victoria, Vancouver, under the title *The World of W. B. Yeats: Essays in Perspective* (June, 1965).²⁹ Six months later on, Miller also issued *Irish Renaissance* (February, 1966) extracted from the pages of the "Irish" issue of the *Massachusetts Review* edited by David R. Clark, a contributor to the *Yeats Centenary Papers*, and Robin Skelton.³⁰ In particular, Miller used the *Centenary Papers* as a way of preserving the fruits of the Yeats International Summer School, whose lectures he had attended since the school's founding session in 1960.³¹ Indeed, Miller recorded the advent of the Yeats Centenary by publishing and republishing two "helps" whose substance he recognized as more than merely of touristic import: Sheelah Kirby's *The Yeats Country* (August, 1962), Mary Hanly's *Thoor Ballylee—Home of William Butler Yeats* (June 1965).³² Likewise, Miller printed *A Memorial Sermon Preached at Drumcliffe on the Occasion of the Centenary of the Birth of W. B. Yeats* (June, 1965).

A British Yeats scholar, horticultural writer, and early member of the Irish Georgian Society, Edward Malins (1910-1996) provided matter for the very first and last fascicles in the twelve *Centenary Papers*.³³ These two publications typify the series and its origins. *Yeats and the Easter Rising*, the first paper, Miller had heard at the Yeats International Summer School in 1962. Malins sent the typescript on to the Dolmen Offices in Herbert Street in March, 1963. In the spring of 1964 Miller wrote to Malins with a "specimen page for the Yeats scheme," and when he sent the proofs in October, he proposed *Yeats*

and the *Easter Rising* as the model for the remaining papers (see Figure 5). When Malins returned the proofs, he commented that the pamphlet had a “beautiful lay-out, and very exciting visually.”³⁴ Malins also offered Miller the text of what became *Yeats and Music*, the last pamphlet in the *Centenary Papers*, and Miller accepted it in March, 1965, just after Malins’s visit to Dublin and his night at the Lantern Theatre.³⁵

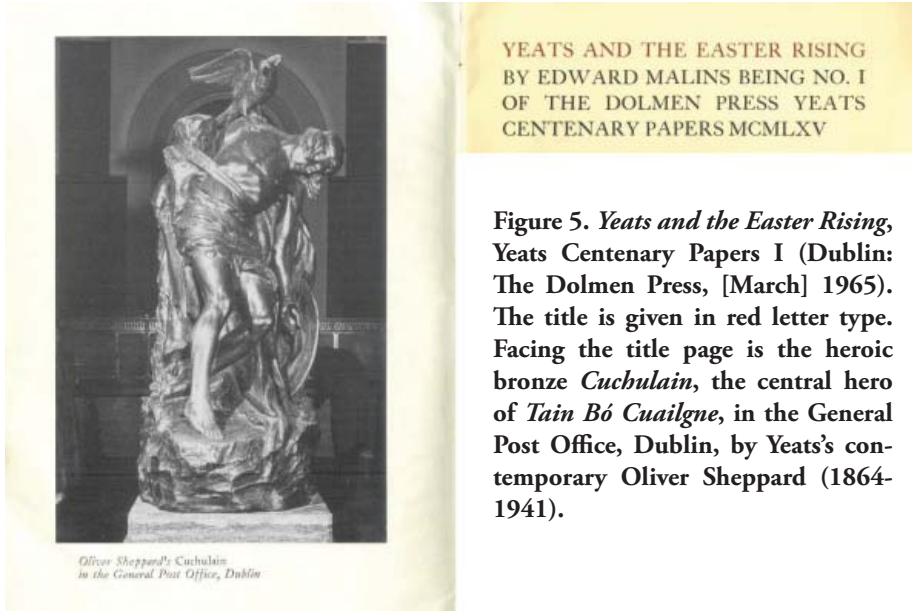


Figure 5. *Yeats and the Easter Rising*, *Yeats Centenary Papers I* (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, [March] 1965). The title is given in red letter type. Facing the title page is the heroic bronze *Cuchulain*, the central hero of *Tain Bó Cuailgne*, in the General Post Office, Dublin, by Yeats’s contemporary Oliver Sheppard (1864–1941).

Miller’s part in bringing out *Yeats and the Easter Rising* set the pattern for his editorship of both the *Centenary* and *New Yeats Papers*: he regularized and confirmed citations and found the illustrations and acquired permissions for them, as Malins lived then in Bristol. The six interior illustrations—of Oliver Sheppard’s *Cuchulain* in the GPO on O’Connell Street, of the Easter Proclamation and its signatories, of The O’Rahilly, Maud Gonne, and Countess Markievicz—appear on suitable coated stock. Miller’s editorial choice in this instance predicts his printerly and cultural interest in the fiftieth anniversary of the Easter Rising. Miller regarded the Easter Proclamation as a constitutional document equal in historical and moral stature to the American Declaration of Independence. He printed the Easter Proclamation in 1960, 1975, and 1976, using Victor Hammer’s American Uncial type for the latter and illustrating it himself.³⁶ But in 1976, three years after Derry’s infamous Bloody Sunday, Miller may had cause to consider the cost of Malins’s conclusion to *Yeats and the Easter Rising*:

Yeats saw the Easter Rising not as the work of politicians or patriots, but of heroes who in the moment of death had transcended all their intellectual limitations and found themselves complete. Nothing else mattered.³⁷

Indeed, the later series of *New Yeats Papers* (1971–77) attends less to Yeats’s engagement with Ireland’s political history and more to aspects of his biographical milieu, his

bibliography, and his hermeticism, as emphasized by two contributions from Kathleen Raine.³⁸ On Miller's part, the drift of these interests away from the painful factuality of sacrificial Irish republicanism and toward Yeats's hermeticism, in particular, registers gently Miller's dismay at the consequences of practical, military republicanism practiced by the Provisional IRA during the worst years of the "Troubles" in the North.

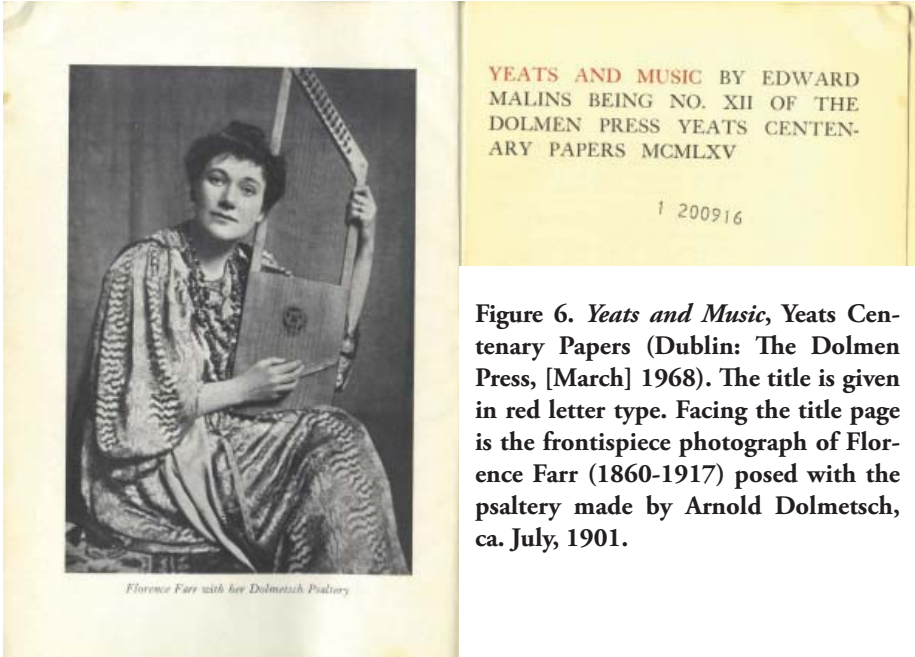


Figure 6. *Yeats and Music*, *Yeats Centenary Papers* (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, [March] 1968). The title is given in red letter type. Facing the title page is the frontispiece photograph of Florence Farr (1860-1917) posed with the psaltery made by Arnold Dolmetsch, ca. July, 1901.

By focusing on the performed aesthetics of music and verse, the very last of the *Yeats Centenary Papers* foreshadows that shift in Miller's editorial interests to the *New Yeats Papers*. *Yeats and Music* gave both Miller and Malins some trouble. Miller sent Malins the proofs in February, 1967, but publication was held up. In *Yeats and Music* Malins expanded an article he had researched and composed for *The Consort* (Summer, 1964) under the less prosaic title "Yeats and the Bell-branch." Refined and enlarged, the article displays Malins's talents as a cultural historian at ease in the four arts—poetry, drama, dance, and music—that Yeats sought to weave into his chamber dramas, which were his version of the courtly masque of the seventeenth century. Of course, the substance of Malins's essay appealed to Miller's theatrical interests. When Miller wrote for permissions, he discovered that they were not quickly forthcoming. Another problem arose because Malins presented six examples of music composed for Yeats's pocket dramas by Florence Farr, George Antheil, Edmund Dulac, and Walter Rummel.³⁹ Setting the six "quotations" of music posed problems that Miller put on the long finger after he had noted them to Malins in 1965. Most trouble, however, came over finding the block that *The Consort* had used—and misplaced—for the frontispiece photograph showing Florence Farr posed with her new Dolmetsch Psaltery (see Figure 6). When at last Miller published *Yeats and Music* on May 23, 1968, he included with it the preliminaries and index for all of the *Yeats Centenary*

Papers, as well as card giving instructions as to how to acquire the slipcase from Dolmen.

Taken together, the *Yeats Centenary Papers* of 1965-1968 and *The New Yeats Papers* of 1971-1975 constitute accomplishments of editorial endurance, academic ambition, and aesthetic bravura. While Miller involved himself in every aspect of the production of the *Yeats Centenary Papers*, he entrusted the day-to-day correspondence, copy editing, and typing of the *New Yeats Papers* to Eileen Power—the unsung heroine of the Dolmen Press in its last fifteen years. As often was the case, Miller miscalculated the economic return of both sets of his *Yeats Papers*, but that did not matter. Publishing the papers gave him the academic resources and the visual sources for his own testament to Yeats: *The Noble Drama*. Publishing the papers undergirded the academic ambitions Miller had for the Dolmen Press in an era when academic publishing in the Republic—excepting the short-lived Irish University Press, which the Irish government had subsidized—lacked both funding and public prominence. The *Yeats Papers* gave the Dolmen Press stature in the studies and lecture theaters of the international professoriate rather than in pubs frequented by Dublin's Burdensome Bardic Company. That prominence tempted Miller to the Faustian tasks of *Yeats the Initiate*, which he barely lived to complete, and of *The Celtic Consciousness*. By reclaiming Yeats at home, Miller helped preserve and amplify the aesthetic and intellectual legacy of the Irish Literary Revival. Of course, in the decade after the fiftieth anniversary of the Rising, Ireland was swept into the dismaying “Troubles” in the North and sought solace in the financial caresses of the European Community. In those years, through the *Yeats Papers*, Miller posed the cardinal values of the Revival against both de Valéran austerities and the materialism and secularism of what would become, after a hiccup in the mid-1980s, Celtic Tiger Ireland.

Notes

1. Bord Fáilte Éireann (Irish Tourist Board) was established by two acts of Dáil Éireann (1952, 1955) by which Fógra Fáilte became An Bord Fáilte and then Bord Fáilte Éireann, all based on the foundations established by the Tourist Traffic Acts of 1931 and 1939. Bord Fáilte became a highly visible example of the practical application of policies proposed in T. K. Whitaker's *First Programme for Economic Expansion* (November, 1958) promoted by Seán Lemass's Fianna Fáil government and carried on by Jack Lynch through the 1960s. See J. J. Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 341-59.
2. See: Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland: 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2004), pp. 536-622; Fergal Tobin, *The Best of Decades: Ireland in the Nineteen Sixties* (Dublin: Gill and Bord Fáilte Éireann (Irish Tourist Board) was established by two acts of Dáil Éireann (1952, 1955) by which Fógra Fáilte became An Bord Fáilte and then Bord Fáilte Éireann, all based on the foundations established by the Tourist Traffic Acts of 1931 and 1939. Bord Fáilte became a highly visible example of the practical application of policies proposed in T. K. Whitaker's *First Programme for Economic Expansion* (November, 1958) promoted by Seán Lemass's Fianna Fáil government and carried on by Jack Lynch through the 1960s. See J. J. Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 341-59. See: Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation* Macmillan, 1984), pp. 55-56; R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London: Allen Lane / The Penguin Press, 1988), pp. 58-81; and Brian Kennedy, *Dreams and Responsibilities: The State and the Arts in Independent Ireland* (Dublin: The Arts Council / An Chomhairle Ealaíon, 1990), pp. 119-48.
3. Montague delineates the ins-and-outs of managerial politics in the semi-state corporation in “A Change of Management,” in *Death of a Chieftain and Other Stories* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1964), pp. 93-114.
4. Bord Fáilte publicized Kinsella *Tain* (1969) with an eight-age insert in *Ireland of the Welcomes*, 17, 6 (March-April, 1968) based on the Dolmen specimen pages for “The Boyhood Deeds of Cúchulainn.” The *Ireland of the Welcomes* printed caused Liam Miller and Louis le Brocquy a number of headaches. See Liam Miller, *Dolmen XXV: An Illustrated Bibliography of the Dolmen Press 1951-1976*, Dolmen Editions XXV

- (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, 1976), pp. 58-59.
5. Ellmann's stature endures based on the foundations he established in: *Yeats The Man and the Masks* (1948), *The Identity of Yeats* (1954), *James Joyce* (1959), and *Oscar Wilde* (1988), and for *The Selected Letters of James Joyce* (1975).
 6. The Yeats International Summer School was founded in 1961 by the Yeats Society of Sligo, itself founded in 1957. The school was early on publicized by Bord Fáilte, which provided subventions for the Dolmen Press's publication of Sheelah Kirby's *The Yeats Country* (August, 1962). See Thomas Dillon Redshaw, "Unpacking Liam Miller's Crane Bag: Using the Dolmen Press Archive," *An Sionnach*, 2, 1-2 (Spring-Fall, 2006), 114-27.
 7. O'Driscoll inspired and helped create the Celtic Studies program at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, after his arrival there in 1966. He also helped found the Canadian Association for Irish Studies. The latter years of his academic career were troubled by mental instability and his authorship of an anti-Semitic tract in 1993.
 8. Liam Miller, Pat Musick, "Celtic Calligraphy: From Penstroke to Print," in *Celtic Consciousness*, ed. Robert O'Driscoll (Dublin: The Dolmen Press; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981), pp. 355-65.
 9. Poet and scholar of hermeticism, Raine remains a prominent figure in British twentieth-century letters owing to her *Collected Poems* (2000), to her association with the British Surrealists, to her advocacy of Blake and Yeats, and to her founding of the journal *Temenos* and of the Temenos Academy.
 10. Partnering with Hamish Hamilton in London, Miller published two collections of Raine's poetry: *The Lost Country* (Dublin: The Dolmen Press; London: Hamish Hamilton, September 1971) and *On a Deserted Shore* (Dublin: The Dolmen Press; London: Hamish Hamilton, November 1973). *Dolmen XXV*, pp. 66, 75.
 11. Kathleen Raine, *Yeats the Initiate: Essays on Certain Themes in the Work of W. B. Yeats* (1986; Savage, MD: Barnes and Noble Books, 1990), pp. xvii-vii. Of the Yeats International Summer School and her appearances there, Raine notes that, had T. R. Henn not invited her to Sligo, then *Yeats the Initiate* "might very well not have existed."
 12. The complicated history of *Yeats the Initiate* is documented in more detail than may succinctly be elucidated here. See the extensive correspondence between Miller and Raine, Dolmen Archive, Box 65 F15, Box 66 F13, and Box 67 F1.
 13. *Yeats the Initiate*, p. 447.
 14. Liam Miller, *The Noble Drama of W. B. Yeats*, New Yeats Papers XIII (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, 1977), p. xii.
 15. Worksheet, Dolmen Archive, Box 57, File 15. Rare Books, Z. Smith Reynolds Library, Wake Forest University.
 16. See David Krause, "Remembering Liam: An Epiphany of Friendship," *An Sionnach*, 2, 1-2 (Spring, 2007), 67-88.
 17. *The Dolmen Press New Yeats Papers* ([Dublin: The Dolmen Press] October 1975), [p. 1]. This is the promotional leaflet for the first twelve *New Yeats Papers*.
 18. Liam Miller's bibliographic interest may be traced back to three Dolmen Press printing jobs: Arland Usher's catalogue and essay *Yeats at the Municipal Gallery* (1959), *W. B. Yeats: A Centenary Exhibition* (November, 1965), and Michael J. Durkan and David R/ Clark's *William Butler Yeats 1865-1965: A Catalogue of his Works and Associated Items in Olin Library, Wesleyan University* (December, 1965).
 19. *The Dolmen Press New Yeats Papers* (October, 1975), p. [1].
 20. Consider Patrick Kavanagh's *self portrait* (June, 1964), which is the transcript of a 1962 Radio Telefís Éireann broadcast, or Ann Saddlemyer's *J. M. Synge and Modern Comedy* (November 1968), the chapbook publication of a lecture for the Yeats International Summer School (1967). See *Dolmen XXV*, pp. 38, 55.
 21. For example, see *John Millington Synge 1871-1909: A Catalogue of an Exhibition Held at Trinity College Library Dublin on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of His Death* (Dublin: Friends of the Library of Trinity College Dublin, April 1959). *Dolmen XXV*, pp. 32, 35.
 22. *Dolmen XXV*, p. 42.
 23. *Dolmen XXV*, p. 35.
 24. As designed and printed by Miller, *William Morris and W. B. Yeats* echoes strongly the design traits of Cuala Press titles issued by the Yeats sisters. Consequently, Faulkner's lecture may also be counted as forerunner of the titles that Miller issued from Cuala after he had "revived" it in 1973.
 25. Liam Miller, Introduction, *The Dolmen Press Yeats Centenary Papers MCMLXV: Preliminaries and Index* (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, April 1968), p. xv. This chapbook accompanied the publication of the twelfth and last of the *Centenary Papers*. With it Miller included a postcard stating: "We regret that we cannot undertake to bind subscriber's sets of papers, but we have made a binding case in cloth, blocked in colour and gold for the collected volume."
 26. *The Dolmen Press Centenary Papers*, p. xiv.

27. *Dolmen XXV*, p. 42.
28. See *Cuimhneacháin 1916: A Commemorative Exhibition of the Irish Rebellion 1916* (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland / Gailearaí Naisiúnta na hÉireann, [April] 1966).
29. See *The World of W. B. Yeats: Essays in Perspective*, ed. Robin Skelton, Ann Saddlemyer (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, June 1965).
30. See *Irish Renaissance: A Gathering of Essays, Memoirs, and Letters from The Massachusetts Review*, ed. Robin Skelton, David R. Clark (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, February 1966). Miller also designed and printed *Yeats and Sandymount*, ed. David R. Clark, Noel Kavanagh (Dublin: The Yeats Association, April 1966), published to mark the installation of a plaque marking the boyhood home of John Butler Yeats.
31. At the second Yeats International Summer School in August, 1961, Miller met Mary Ballard Duryee (1896-1988) and her husband Samuel Sloan Duryee, a wealthy lawyer, who sailed regularly to Ireland to attend the summer school in the 1960s. A contributor to the *New Yorker* in its first decades, Duryee commissioned two of her five collections of poetry from Miller: an *homage* to Yeats entitled *Words Alone Are Certain Good: William Butler Yeats, Himself, The Poet, His Ghost* (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, [March] 1961) and *Signs and Wonders* (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, September 1972). While Miller lists neither title in *Dolmen XXV*, he comments on *Words Alone* in his June, 1961, catalogue. His words echo the poet's own comments: "When she was persuaded that there were Irish readers ready to take the manuscript to their hearts and that readers in other countries might recognise in the poems an intense personal experience related to their own discovery of Yeats, she felt that the book should bear an Irish imprint."
32. *The Yeats Country* and *A Memorial Sermon* were partly financed and marketed by the Sligo bookseller J. Keohane. Several printings of *Thoor Ballylee* and *The Yeats Country* were also financed and marketed by Bord Fáilte. Keohane's also sponsored the publication of Rev. T. A. Finnegan's *Sligo: Sinbad's Yellow Shore* (Dublin: The Dolmen Press; Sligo: J. Keohane, 1977).
33. An historian of painting and gardens, Edward Malins wrote *A Preface to Yeats* (1974, 1994) and coedited *Place Names in the Writings of William Butler Yeats* (1976). His chief works are: *English Landscaping and Literature, 1660-1840* (1966), *Samuel Palmer's Italian Honeymoon* (1968), *Lost Demesnes: Irish Landscape Gardening* (1977, 1980), and *Irish Gardens* (1977).
34. Edward Malins to Liam Miller, 27 October 1964, Dolmen Archive, Box 47, File 12.
35. Edward Malins to Liam Miller, 2 March 1965, Dolmen Archive, Box 47, File 16.
36. *Dolmen XXV*, p. 32. Specially bound in a slipcase, the 1976 issue marked the sixtieth anniversary of the Easter Rising.
37. Edward Malins, *Yeats and the Easter Rising*, Yeats Centenary Papers I (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, [March] 1965), p. 23.
38. See Kathleen Raine, *Yeats, the Tarot and the Golden Dawn*, New Yeats Papers II (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, August 1972) and *Death-in-Life and Life-in-Death: 'Cuchulain Comforted' and 'News for the Delphic Oracle'*, New Yeats Papers VIII (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, July 1974).
39. Edward Malins, *Yeats and Music*, Yeats Centenary Papers XII (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, [May] 1968), verso of title page.